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Colorism research often suffers from endogeneity issues related to human capital outcomes and researchers' inability to compare the effects of skin tone to those of racial classification. Furthermore, colorism research focuses on intraracial differences in skin tone inequality while insufficiently considering skin tone inequality across racial groups. Using data from video broadcasts of the National Collegiate Athletic Association's annual, single-elimination Men's Division I Basketball Tournament for the years 2000–2010, we quantitatively examine comments made by announcers about the performance, physical characteristics, and mental characteristics of players across various skin tones. Controlling for objective measures of performance, we find that announcers are more likely to discuss the performance and mental abilities of lighter-skinned players and the physical characteristics of darker-skinned players. We argue that, although the two concepts are related, skin tone is not simply a proxy for racial classification. Rather, skin tone inequality transcends traditional racial boundaries.

INTRODUCTION

Colorism is a key measure for assessing the broader social, cultural, and economic ramifications of living in a racialized society. A growing literature in

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the United States and in Latin America shows the deleterious associations with skin tone for people with darker skin relative to people with lighter skin (Herring 2004; Hunter 2005, 2007; Glenn 2009; Villarreal 2010; Flores and Telles 2012). Indeed, the literature on colorism pushes researchers to include more nuanced measures of race beyond simply using racial self-identification (Roth 2010).

However, the colorism literature suffers from a series of potentially fatal shortcomings. First, researchers are hard-pressed to comprehensively document a causal relationship flowing from observed phenotypic traits to outcomes. Second, researchers have difficulty finding skin tone measures that are collected before or in isolation of potential confounders that might influence how interviewers assess the skin tone of study participants (see Villarreal 2012; Garcia and Abascal 2016). Third, the colorism literature overrelies on human capital outcomes and not on ideologies of racial superiority and inferiority that undergird human capital. Even if a sizable segment of scholars accept that discrimination explains some differences in human capital outcomes (see Roth 2010), studies normally do not include variables of actual performance, or lack thereof, to further isolate potential discrimination effects. Furthermore, studies with an overreliance on human capital outcomes such as education normally do not include important confounders (such as rank of university, major, or GPA) that may mediate relationships with skin tone. Fourth, the colorism literature primarily relies on skin tone scales without properly including other physical traits such as height and weight that matter for perceptions of ability. Finally, the colorism literature often defaults solely to skin tone without comparing outcomes with a racial classification measure. While skin tone may be the main mechanism at play in certain social contexts, racial classification may be more potent in others (Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014).

To address these shortcomings, we constructed a unique data set from an underutilized social institution—sport. Using data from video broadcasts of the National Collegiate Athletic Association's annual, single-elimination Men's Division I Basketball Tournament for the years 2000–2010 (NCAA 2018), we quantitatively examine comments made by announcers about the performance, physical characteristics, and mental characteristics of players across various skin tones. Our incorporation of controls for actual performance measures (such as points per game) and physicality (e.g., height and weight) allows us to get underneath human capital to more precisely operationalize perceptions of ability across skin tone variation. Our simultaneous consideration

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of socially ascribed race and skin tone inequality across all racial classifications allows us to isolate and compare their respective explanatory utilities.

As Roth (2010, p. 1308) recommends, "Discussions of race should adopt language that communicates the multiplicity of social processes involved." Our study advances the literature on colorism and race in this important direction by simultaneously including (1) an extensive skin tone measure labeled as "objective" by some scholars (Flores and Telles 2012); (2) a socially ascribed racial classification measure (Roth's [2010, p. 1294] term "appearance-based observed race"); (3) measures of actual player physical characteristics that can impact how race is inferred from and racism is directed toward the physical body (e.g., height and weight) (Eberhardt et al. 2006); and (4) objective performance measures (e.g., blocks per game or steals per game). These variables are assessed in a well-established closed network that is less susceptible to erroneous forces and unevaluated confounders that often undermine colorism studies.

Below, we summarize the colorism literature and its limitations. Next, we incorporate the social psychological literature to make a case for why sports (and college basketball in particular) provides an ideal context for the examination of colorism's impact on stereotypical ideologies about ability. We then detail the methods, present the findings, and discuss the broader implications of this work for the colorism and race literatures, the sociology of sport, and social psychology. Even after controlling for socially ascribed race and additional measures, our results show significant relationships between skin tone and performance, physical characteristics, and mental characteristics. We argue that, although the two concepts are related, skin tone is not simply a proxy for racial classification but operates in distinct ways that deserve more theoretical and empirical attention. Skin tone inequality transcends traditional racial boundaries.

BACKGROUND

Conceptualizing Colorism

Colorism is typically conceptualized as skin tone discrimination. It is commonly assessed by scales that measure skin tone and/or other phenotype characteristics (Herring 2004; Hunter 2005, 2007; Glenn 2009; Ray 2010). Skin tone has a global impact on human capital outcomes from household income to education (Keith and Herring 1991; Villarreal 2010; Bailey et al. 2014; Monk 2014). Historically, colorism has mattered in the lives of black Americans, as evinced by the role of skin tone in slave labor segregation and the advent of the "brown paper bag test" (Drake and Cayton 1945; Frazier 1957). Moreover, the legacy of slavery extends to South and Central

America, the Caribbean, Europe, and even Africa (where we see skin tone used as a bench mark for opportunity and upward mobility). At the same time, European colonization has an impact on the societal role of skin as the expansion of a global system of white supremacy spreads across the globe.

However, colorism was not always seen as quantitatively important to understanding the operation of racial stereotypes. For example, psychological studies in the 1950s showed no intraracial differences in perceptions of blacks (see Secord 1959). The argument at the time was that the lives of blacks were so linked during the Jim Crow Era that whites would classify blacks, regardless of their skin tone, as members of the same social category rather than on a continuum. Even more recently, scholars hypothesized about the potential decrease in the potency of skin tone in the United States (Gullickson 2005). Yet, in the post–Civil Rights era, sociological, psychological, and economic research shows significant differences by skin tone in perception of intelligence (Hannon 2015), education, wages and employment (Hughes and Hertel 1990; Keith and Herring 1991; Goldsmith, Hamilton, and Darity 2007; Monk 2014), perceived personality characteristics (Maddox and Gray 2002), perceived attractiveness (Hill 2002; Hunter 2002), marriage (Edwards, Carter-Tellison, and Herring 2004; Monk 2014), self-esteem (Keith 2009), school suspensions (Hannon, DeFina, and Bruch 2013), and perceptions of criminality and criminal sentencing (Blair, Judd, and Chapleau 2004; Eberhardt et al. 2006).

Most quantitative research on colorism performs intraracial analyses exclusively with minority group members by using a continuous measure of skin tone to show how lighter-skinned minorities have higher levels of socioeconomic status than darker-skinned minorities. For example, Keith and Herring (1991) and Monk (2014) use a continuous measure of skin tone to examine intraracial differences among blacks. These researchers find that a lighter skin tone results in higher levels of income and education (significant only among women in Keith and Herring [1991]). While Keith and Herring found that a lighter skin tone significantly increases employment, Monk did not find this pattern using more recent data. However, Monk did find that lighter-skinned women tend to marry higher-status spouses than darker-skinned women.

Other research on colorism indicates not only that lighter-skinned minorities receive a skin tone wage and associated social and economic benefits but also that skin tone increases the interracial gap. This perspective has roots in Du Bois's (1935) wages of whiteness concept and is similar in some ways to "preference for whiteness" (Goldsmith et al. 2007), "wages of lightness" (Ray 2010), and "money whitening" (Flores and Telles 2012, p. 91). Using data from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality and the National Survey of Black Americans, Goldsmith and colleagues (2007) found that a lighter skin tone leads to higher wages even when controlling for human

capital, demographic, workplace, family, and neighborhood characteristics. The preference-for-whiteness perspective draws attention to the assumption that individuals with less "black blood" are inherently more intelligent; thus, they command higher compensation for their performance. Preference for whiteness includes both assertions of intellectual superiority and a belief in the Protestant work ethic (Hoberman 1997; Eastman and Billings 2001; DiTomaso 2013). A central problem with this line of inquiry, however, is that studies have not been able to examine objective performance in real time. This is a shortcoming we overcome in our study.

While useful in categorizing blacks by skin tone, some research on colorism falls victim to regurgitating the dominate black/white dichotomy because it simply uses colorism as a proxy for racial categorization versus comparing the two constructs (Ray 2010; Bailey et al. 2014; Hannon 2015). Including individuals who may self-identify differently by race or who are socially ascribed to different races may better capture the fluidity of race and ethnicity in 21st-century America. For example, across four experimental studies, Blair and colleagues (2004) found that blacks and whites with perceived African features were more likely to be associated with blackness, and those individuals were then more likely to be associated with stereotypes associated with black authenticity (i.e., athleticism, criminality, ineptitude, and poverty).

Research on Latin America and Hispanics has advanced the literature on colorism past the black/white dichotomy that often plagues research on race in the United States (Murguia and Telles 1996; Roth 2010; Villarreal 2010, 2012; Saperstein and Penner 2012; Bailey et al. 2014; Garcia and Abascal 2016). Collectively, this body of research documents the seemingly inescapable associations of skin tone on human capital outcomes.

Critiquing Colorisms

Despite theoretical and empirical extensions over the past two decades or so, the colorism literature is often critiqued for not being able to document that observed associations are actually operationalized from traits to outcomes. The debate that ensued in the most recent wave of colorism research illuminates this. While applauding Villarreal's (2010) focus on colorism in Mexico, Flores and Telles (2012) argued that Villarreal used a simplistic three-category skin tone and did not include measures of social class. In a rejoinder, Villarreal (2012, p. 501) disputed the critique of Flores and Telles and claimed that "any measure of skin tone based on interviewers' ratings is inherently subjective." This is even more relevant when skin tone is assessed (as it frequently is) after interviews are completed. Our study aims

to overcome this inherent limitation by separating skin tone assessments from performance to reduce the influence of potential confounders. We also include socially ascribed race as a comparison and control for other phenotypic features.

Including skin tone alongside racial classification in the same model is controversial. Obviously, the two variables are often correlated, prompting concern for some researchers about potential collinearity issues. Including individuals who are perceived as white, Hispanic, Asian, and black within the same model to examine the associations of skin tone is also a source of some controversy. Yet, there is reliable precedence for both (Bailey et al. 2014). Drawing upon data from the United States and 18 Latin American countries that include both skin tone and racial classification, Bailey et al. (2014) found that skin tone better explained differences in household income than did racial classification in 11 of the 19 countries. Yet their analysis of the United States showed that the model fit was best when including both skin tone and racial classification. Comparing blacks and whites, they found that skin tone explains away the income gap even when racial classification is included. Our data allow us to perform a more holistic assessment of the effects of skin tone and racial classification on perceptions of performance, physicality, and mental characteristics.

Accordingly, we learn some important things from the Bailey et al. (2014) study. First, there is precedence for including both skin tone and racial classification in the same model—especially if a study aims to determine which one has more explanatory power. Second, skin tone or racial classification may be more significant depending on the context. Bailey et al. (2014, p. 735) note the possibility that "instead of being the bases for different race paradigms, categorical race and skin color are best viewed as two distinct dimensions of the same race construct" and that "their utility as analytic concepts may vary across contexts." We agree. When there are methodological and empirical opportunities to examine and compare both constructs, researchers should do so.

Third, skin color may do a better job of explaining differences between groups than socially ascribed or self-identified race alone.[2] Consider, for example, cases in which a lighter-skinned person who identifies as Hispanic or black is racialized similarly to a darker-skinned person who identifies as

[2] Even Maddox (2004, p. 397) stated, "My own work has investigated skin tone variation as a categorical distinction among light- and dark-skinned blacks. But there is one difficulty with this approach. Clearly, skin tone varies on a continuum from light to dark; to dichotomize this continuum may be considered artificial." Although Maddox may be referring to the light-skinned vs. dark-skinned dichotomy among blacks, the statement also has credence for including all possible respondents in a study.

white. When researchers insufficiently address such a possibility, our understanding of colorism and race remains incomplete in avoidable ways. For a social institution such as sport, there may be times where skin tone matters more and there may be times where racial classification matters more. Our study aims to disentangle these processes.

We should also note another limitation of the colorism literature. Even in cases where researchers have skin tone, racial classification, and human capital measures to move the literature forward (Bailey et al. 2014), most surveys use interviewees' assessments of skin tone at the end of the survey. Consequently, interviewees may be influenced by the social class background of the respondents and introduce endogeneity issues into the data before researchers even have a chance to analyze them.

In summary, research on colorism suffers from endogeneity problems. It also suffers from the inability to fully isolate and compare the relative effects of skin tone and racial classification. We offer a data set that overcomes these limitations. We have a closed network. The data and key players in the data set operate by the same rules in a utilitarian fashion. Our study also overcomes endogeneity issues and subjectivity of interviewer biases. First, reverse causality is highly implausible. For example, why would announcers' comments affect the skin tone ratings of players? But, even if skin tone is associated with announcers' comments by virtue of the players' in-game performance, we control for the role of performance with a series of objective, well-established, and agreed-upon metrics about what makes someone a better basketball player than others.

Our analysis extends the colorism literature in four meaningful ways. First, our data include objective performance (team statistics, average in-game statistics, games played, minutes played) rather than perceived performance alone. Most research on colorism uses education or other human capital characteristics as proxies for performance and does not actually examine the extent to which objective performance mediates the association of skin tone with a given outcome. Even previous research that uses parental education, while extremely useful, does not capture children of workers who were able to build wealth through other means besides education. Nor does parental education capture what the individual respondent actually did. Our analysis controls for actual past performance via career statistics of the individual in question to further determine the impact of skin tone.

Second, our data include measurable physical characteristics (height and weight) that often go unaddressed in colorism research. Phenotype is not solely about skin tone. It is also about the physical size and makeup of a person. Most studies assume these traits play a role but use skin tone as a proxy anyway. In statistical models, physical size may introduce noise that impacts researchers' ability to isolate the association between skin tone and outcomes of interest. Third, our analysis focuses on perceptions of mental,

physical, and performance characteristics. Most studies only address one of these categories or focus on outcomes related to socioeconomic status. Finally, our focus on sport, which constitutes a social institution where black authenticity may be more potent, provides an interesting case study to determine the vitality of colorism. Sport is one of the few social institutions where whites are not generally viewed as superior. To date, no study on colorism has focused on sports. Instead, studies on sport frequently socially ascribe race to players. Considering the increasing number of individuals who identify as biracial and multiracial (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Thangaraj 2012), socially ascribing race may mask important differences that skin tone can illuminate. Below we provide a history of stereotypes in sport and details on why college basketball is a key site to examine colorism.

Stereotypes in Sport

Black athleticism counters the prevailing narrative of white superiority, providing enough distance from "money whitening" and the "wages of whiteness" (Flores and Telles 2012, p. 91; Du Bois 1935; Telles 2002; Saperstein and Penner 2012) that we can more directly assess the influence of skin tone. If colorism is as important as the literature claims, we should still see the robustness of skin tone even if in reverse from traditional studies examining human capital outcomes. Sport also allows us to push "subtyping" to its limits (Kunda and Thagard 1996). Subtyping is when individuals "who behave counter to the stereotypes of the group are redefined as being outside of the group" (Saperstein and Penner 2012, p. 684). In the realm of sport—where physicality is often primary—assumptions of white intellectual superiority may take a back seat. In this regard, we can isolate the extent to which skin tone and racial attribution influence differences in how players who engage in the same actions are described by announcers.[3]

Sport allows us to incorporate more than just performance in the operationalization of skin tone. Sport as a social institution has a particular history with upholding certain racial tropes. While some people may think that blacks were always viewed as physically superior in the United States because of their lineage of engaging in physical slave labor, this was not the case. Carrington (2010) asserts that until Jack Johnson became the boxing heavyweight champion in 1908 by beating Canadian Tommy Burns, whites

[3] Do announcers discuss players in similar ways or do they work against subtyping and still discuss players according to traditional tropes of racism? For example, if two players of different skin tones have a high point per game average and are both considered excellent scorers, is the lighter-skinned player more likely to be described as hard working, while the darker-skinned player is described as athletic? Our research can answer this fundamental question, among others, with implications for how scholars theorize about colorism moving forward.

were viewed as physically superior in addition to being intellectually superior. In fact, Jewish players dominated professional basketball in the early to mid-20th century. Johnson, however, as the son of slaves, forced a rethinking of the meaning of whiteness and physicality with his boxing prowess (Carrington 2010). Consequently, white intellectual superiority and black physical superiority became corollary racial projects that reproduce "structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race" (Omi and Winant 1994, p. 71; see Hawkins 1995).

Athleticism is one of a few stereotypical outcomes where whites may be viewed more negatively relative to blacks.[4] Given its function as a microcosm for societal norms, values, stratification systems, rules, and social control mechanisms as well as its unique history as a site for the implementation and alteration of racial ideologies (Delaney and Madigan 2009; Carrington 2013), sport provides one of the best social institutions to empirically test the vitality of colorism.[5] Accordingly, sport provides an ideal venue to determine whether a bold outward face of racial egalitarianism may mask the operation of subtle stereotypes about race. As a social institution, sport reinforces and disseminates values from the broader society (Edwards 1973), imposes stratification, establishes roles and statuses, designates rules, and exerts social control (Delaney and Madigan 2009). Sport also provides space for the imposition of, conflict over, and revision of racial ideologies (Carrington 2013). Hartmann (2012, p. 1007) takes this sentiment even further, arguing that "sport is among the most potent institutions in the production, maintenance and contestation of race in the modern world."

A significant way that sport transmits information about race is through the interpretation of in-game sports announcers. The often fast-paced nature of in-game announcing situations, such as those found in basketball games, may force announcers to rely on automatic evaluation, drawing on immediately accessible cues such as skin tone to frame athletes' actions within the context of prevailing racial stereotypes. This type of framing is in line with Feagin's (2013) white racial frame analysis. Therefore, basketball announcing

[4] In his book *Darwin's Athletes*, Hoberman (1997) argues, however, that sport has fractured black progress and actually maintained the myth of white superiority by reinforcing the notion that there are meaningful biological differences across racial groups. Research continues to highlight that athleticism is perceived to be negatively associated with intellect (Entine 2000; May 2008). National polls also highlight the popular perception that blacks are physically superior to whites, which coincides with negative assumptions about black intelligence. As Hawkins (1995, p. 26) describes the problem, "Overemphasizing the physicality of the black body implies that the black mind is intellectually inferior."

[5] Despite its history with racial stereotypes and corollary racial projects, sport is regarded as a great equalizer, promoting a path to racial egalitarianism long before other social institutions (Johnson 1968).

may provide a particularly clear window into how less overt forms of racial prejudice operate in the public sphere.

Colorism in College Basketball

Within sports, college basketball is particularly well suited to examine colorism. First, relative to other college sports, college basketball is more racially diverse. In 2018, African-Americans accounted for roughly 56% of the players in NCAA Division I men's college basketball, while whites accounted for about 24%, and other racial groups made up the remaining 20%. In contrast, less than 1% of NCAA Division I men's ice hockey players are black (NCAA 2018). Second, unlike other sports where players of different racial groups dominate certain positions, basketball has three main positions (guard, forward, and center) where players more or less engage in similar types of performances (shooting, jumping, dribbling, rebounding, blocking). Third, basketball is the most-played competitive sport by youths ages 9–17 in the United States (Kelly and Carchia 2013). Fourth, many universities and colleges, regardless of size, have a basketball team. This means that most college-educated individuals are exposed to basketball as a spectator by attending a game, watching one on television, or seeing advertisements about a game on campus.

Within the interactional order of a basketball game, rules provide guidelines that permit individuals to perform an assortment of social projects (e.g., spectator, supporter, agitator). In most production formats, there is a speaker who projects a particular schematic onto audience members with a variety of participatory statuses (e.g., recipient, eavesdropper; Goffman 1983). During a televised basketball game, announcers interpret the social meaning of what is occurring for viewers or recipients. However, they also draw upon established scripts from development meetings about the types of comments to make about certain players. In some ways, media structure what is possible in a given context such as a basketball game (Hartmann 2012, 2016; Wachs et al. 2012).

Considering the plethora of images viewed during a basketball game and the speed of the game itself, there are many opportunities for announcers to interpret the players' performances. Basketball allows for observers to see more of the physical body of players. Unlike other major sports such as football, hockey, or lacrosse, basketball players do not have equipment that diminishes bodily assessments. Even baseball players wear loose fitting clothing and hats, whereas basketball players typically expose their heads, arms, and legs. Additionally, the speed of the game forces announcers to comment quickly and, in most instances, react emotionally in the moment. The closeness of announcers to the scene allows them to also draw upon the emotions and sounds of the players. Moreover, announcers can also hear, feel, and

smell the game. Because of these emotional responses, announcers may draw upon a racialized tool kit (a "comprehensive orienting structure that whites and others have long used to understand, interpret, and act in social settings" [Feagin 2013, p. 12]), thus triggering unconscious biases as well as racial beliefs and stereotypes. As Saperstein and Penner (2012) state, "Indeed, research has demonstrated that negative beliefs about blacks can be activated without mentioning race at all through the use of racially coded words."[6]

Communication scholars, sport scholars, economists, psychologists, and sociologists have explored some of the outcomes of reactions to race in sports (Bruce 2004; Rada and Wulfemeyer 2005). In a lab experiment, Stone, Perry, and Darley (1997) gave 50 undergraduates at Princeton University pictures of two black men and two white men (one athletic and the other nonathletic). After listening to commentary of a basketball game about an unidentified player, respondents gave a higher athletic rating for the nonathletic black person than for the athletic white person. In his qualitative examination of basketball during the transition from high school to college, May (2008, p. 79) noted that black players were regarded as more natural athletes who were "quicker, stronger, and more aggressive," while white players were viewed "as crafty, intelligent, skilled shooters." In their assessment of men's and women's college basketball games during February and March of 1999, Eastman and Billings (2001) found that black men were regarded as naturally athletic, quick, and powerful, while white men were regarded as working hard and having mental skill. They found a similar pattern for women, although the significant associations were weaker. These were important findings but were based on only two months of descriptive data and categorized players as white, black, Latino, or Asian. Feagin (2010, p. 112)

[6] Colorism may also alter individuals' interpretations of the emotional reactions of athletes, such as throwing down a bat during a strikeout, hitting the clay with a tennis racket, displaying "emotional volubility" (Goffman 1974, p. 571) during an interview after an interception, or running down the court in dismay after a called foul. Goffman (1974, p. 572) terms this type of behavior "unintentional self-disclosure," which is the inability for a person to control his or her emotions. Behavior is considered to emanate "not [from] the role but [from] the person—his personality, his perduring moral character, his animal nature, and so forth" (Goffman 1974, p. 573). Because blacks, and black men in particular, are viewed as more aggressive and less morally competent, psychological research suggests that darker-skinned individuals may be perceived as aligning more with unintentional self-disclosure than lighter-skinned players (Eberhardt et al. 2004; Correll, Urland, and Ito 2006; Trawalter et al. 2008; McConnaughy and White 2011). Carrington (2010, p. 2) states that blackness becomes racialized through the lens of sport in ways that interpret black bodies and identities as "nearly human, almost human, and sometimes even super-human. . . . But very rarely, simply ordinarily human." Indeed, there is a "racial signification of sport" that plays "a central role in popularizing notions of absolute biological difference while also providing an important arena for forms of cultural resistance against white racism" (p. 3).

notes that announcers typically discuss the physicality of black players more than white players, and that black players must be "well-behaved" (see Carrington 2012). Finally, Price and Wolfers (2010) used data from NBA games from the 1991–92 season through the 2003–4 season. They found evidence that implicit racial biases manifest during NBA basketball games when players are officiated by opposite-race referee crews. In other words, if the referee crew had more whites, compared to nonwhites, then more fouls were called on black players and vice versa. Price and Wolfers (2010) found evidence that this racial bias influences the final score of games.

Previous literature extends our understanding of race and sport but suffers from several shortcomings. First, research in this area typically includes convenience samples or observations from a limited period of time (with the exception of Price and Wolfers [2010]). Our study utilizes a random sample of each round from the Sweet Sixteen to the championship of NCAA men's basketball tournament games over a 10-year period. Second, most studies examining perceptions of race in sports only present descriptive statistics without properly taking into account other factors that may attenuate the association of race and a given outcome. Our study uses logistic regression modeling and controls for an assortment of team, player, and performance variables to more fully examine the associations between skin tone and the content of announcers' comments.

Third, despite considerable research highlighting how differently athletes may be viewed based on perceptions of race, skin tone—one of the most immediately visible components of self-presentation used to make racial attributions—has been insufficiently explored in the sociology of sport literature (Forster-Scott 2013). Insofar as racial stereotypes function as cognitive shortcuts (Fiske 1998), perceptions of skin tone provide a visual medium by which to expedite stereotype formation (Maddox 2004). In extending considerations of colorism to sports, we utilize previous conceptualizations of colorism "as a manifestation of racism, not a replacement of it" and as not only intraracial but also interracial (Martin and Horton 2014, p. 109; Blair et al. 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2009; Bailey et al. 2014; Hannon 2015). Accordingly, we quantitatively assess whether skin tone is stereotypically associated with mental ability, physical ability, and performance.

HYPOTHESES

Goffman (1974, p. 30) calls examples of athletic superiority "cosmological interests," which are stunts that seem impossible for most humans. In basketball, stunts may include jumping very high or from a far distance to dunk a ball, shooting the ball from the half court line, or blocking a ball into the stands. Some stunts seem to blur the lines between "human agents and animal ones" and venture into the realm of "animal acts" (Goffman 1974, p. 30).

Normal queuing blocks should inhibit individuals from distinguishing between a dunk, three-point shot, or blocked shot by a light- or dark-skinned player. Colorism theorists, however, assert that the continued push for social Darwinism may lead some individuals to connect the stunts of darker-skinned players, compared to lighter-skinned players, to animal acts and racial differences in natural physical ability. Correspondingly, when lighter-skinned players perform these stunts, they may be interpreted as stemming from a strong work ethic or high basketball intelligence quotient rather than from natural physical ability. Therefore, we test three hypotheses:

HYPOTHESIS 1.—*Compared to darker-skinned players, lighter-skinned players may be rewarded more for their performance due to being perceived as working harder to achieve a similar outcome. Given this, we hypothesize that announcers will be more likely to discuss the performance of players with lighter skin tones.*

HYPOTHESIS 2.—*Given the tendency for Americans in general and sports announcers in particular to characterize darker-skinned players as physically superior (Hawkins 1995; Hoberman 1997; Feagin 2010, 2013), we hypothesize that announcers will be more likely to discuss the physical characteristics of players with darker skin tones.*

HYPOTHESIS 3.—*Given American assumptions about the intellectual superiority and work ethic of individuals with lighter skin tones (Hoberman 1997; Eastman and Billings 2001; Hannon 2015), we hypothesize that announcers will be more likely to discuss the mental characteristics of players with lighter skin tones.*

METHODS

Data

Data for these analyses come primarily from video broadcasts of the NCAA's annual, single-elimination Men's Division I Basketball Tournament for the years 2000–2010 (NCAA 2018).[7] In 2000, the NCAA tournament consisted of 64 teams with approximately 30 teams automatically qualifying by winning their conference tournaments. The one exception was the Ivy League; with no conference tournament it sent the team with the highest number of regular season wins. Other teams were added to round out the field of 64 via at-large slots as determined by the NCAA tournament selection committee (Coleman and Lynch 2001). All 64 teams were seeded into four regions from 1 (the most desirable seed) to 16 (the least desirable seed) and

[7] At the time of data collection, 2010 was the most recent year in which videos were available. Lack of availability of video broadcasts for women's games precluded their inclusion in the study.

played an initial round. Then the remaining 32 teams played for the opportunity to compete in the Sweet Sixteen, with advancement to the Elite Eight and eventually the Final Four. The Final Four's winners played against each other in the championship game to determine the tournament winner. From 2001 to 2010, the tournament expanded from 64 to 65 teams, with the 64th and 65th teams playing a qualification game prior to the original first round of 64 to determine which would be included in the field of 64 (*USA Today* 2010).

For each year from 2000 to 2009, we included the championship game and used a random number generator to select two Sweet Sixteen games, one Elite Eight game, and one Final Four game for inclusion in the sample of 54 games.[8] We transcribed the broadcasts in their entirety (see app. A). Reading through the transcripts, the authors and a trained research assistant logged any comment in which a player was discussed. Comments were not logged if they were the product of impressions of the situation rather than the individual player being discussed. For example, discussion of a player being very tall was included, but discussion of one player being taller than another player despite neither being especially tall was not included. Some remarks included discussion of more than one player, in which case separate entries were entered for each player. This process yielded 2,659 entries, which the researchers coded for major themes. For some entries, only one code was necessary, while for others more than one code was necessary. Comparison of coding between researchers resulted in an initial intercoder reliability rating of 88%. In all cases of a discrepancy in coding between the researchers, entries were reexamined for consistency with the coding of agreed-upon entries until the researchers came to a consensus regarding the coding of all entries.

The researchers and another research assistant compiled supplemental data for the analyses on player characteristics and in-game performance. These data came from sports statistics company StatSheet (http://statsheet.com/mcb/players/stats) and included players' average assists, blocks, personal fouls, minutes, points, rebounds, steals, turnovers per game, eventual draft status, number of games played up to the game being coded, height, and weight.[9]

[8] For the year 2010, the researchers inadvertently coded only one Sweet Sixteen game rather than the originally planned two games. However, the games included for 2010 still incorporate all rounds of the NCAA tournament from the Sweet Sixteen game to the championship game in parallel with the other years for which data were collected.

[9] Statsheet was developed by a Cisco distinguished IT engineer to compile up-to-date statistics on every Division I basketball team and be a repository for previous seasons.

Independent Variables

The primary variable of interest is player skin tone (see table 1). To capture the fluidity of race and ethnicity in 21st-century America, we utilize a broad-spectrum measure of skin tone: the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA) scale (Telles et al. 2014). The scale ranges from 1 (lightest skin tone) to 11 (darkest skin tone). To assess players' skin tones, we recruited 2,037 participants on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) website (on the generalizability of MTurk samples, see Paolacci, Chandler, and Ipeirotis [2010] and Buhrmester, Kwang, and Gosling [2011]). MTurk users could opt in or out of the study and stop at any time. We paid them an above-average rate for their time spent and controlled for their demographics.

Given cross-national differences in racial ascription and our focus in this study on racial attribution within the United States, we restricted our sample to Americans (e.g., Wade 1997). Still, we recognize that skin tone is fluid across national borders. Nearly 25% of people in Latin America are Afrodescendants. There is also a sizable percentage who have European ancestry. Similarly, for people born in the United States, particularly African-Americans, a substantial percentage have ancestry from Europe and Africa. In this regard, the PERLA captures the fluid range by which skin tone operates and the nuances in how European colonization impacts the global society.

Respondents were shown randomly selected player photos from our sample and asked to provide each player's skin tone using the PERLA scale. To standardize the images used to code skin tone, the same research assistant who helped compile the player data found photos from men's basketball rosters on university websites. Unlike professor profiles that may use personal photos, athletic pictures are professional photos with the players wearing the same attire (normally their basketball uniform or a shirt and tie). The photos for each team also use the same lighting and retouching, allowing the skin tones of the players to be evaluated under similar conditions. Still, we recognize that the lighting for one team may be different from another. Although this is an upgrade from previous studies that may use photos to measure skin tone, we note this as a limitation. On average, this yielded approximately 57.26 PERLA scores per player. All PERLA scores for each player were averaged together to determine the skin tone of that player.

A key benefit to this approach is that it allows us to better understand the role of skin tone in the categorization of biracial, multiracial, Latino, Asian, and Native American players. For example, Joakim Noah, who was coded as skin tone quintile 2 (Q2; see table 1), is the son of a Cameroonian and French father and a Swedish mother and spent much of his childhood living in Paris, France. Al Horford, who was coded as skin tone Q3, was born in the Dominican Republic, is bilingual in English and Spanish, and wrote a blog

TABLE 1

MEANS/PROPORTIONS FOR INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES BY AVERAGE SKIN TONE

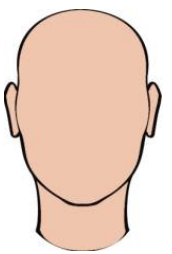
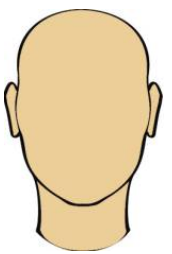
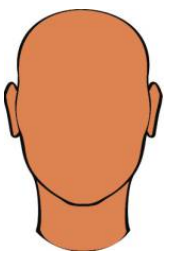
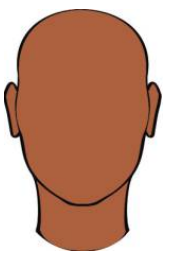
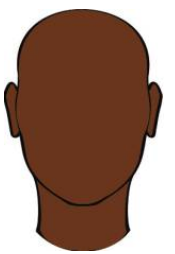
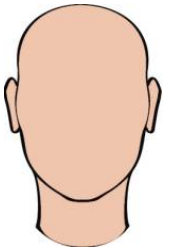
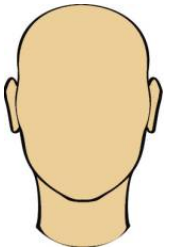
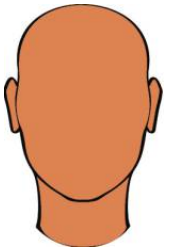
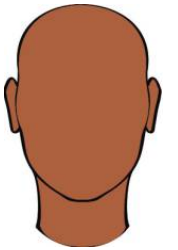
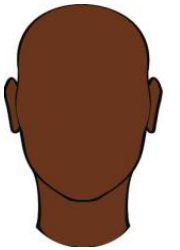
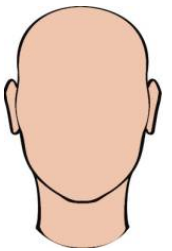
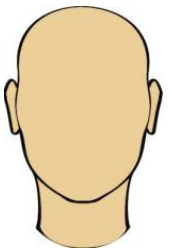
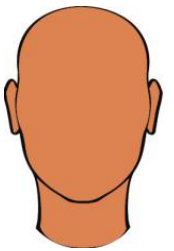
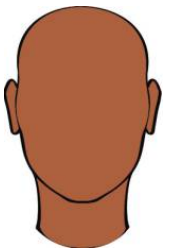
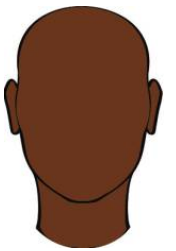
	SKIN TONE LEVEL (Light to Dark)				
	Q1, 0.0–2.20	Q2, 2.21–4.40	Q3, 4.41–6.60	Q4, 6.61–8.80	Q5, 8.81–11.00
					
	(7.57% of players, 6.96% of announcer comments)	(15.37% of players, 15.80% of announcer comments)	(22.25% of players, 22.38% of announcer comments)	(47.71% of players, 46.37% of announcer comments)	(7.11% of players, 8.60% of announcer comments)
Independent variables:					
Tournament variables:					
Announcer's skin tone	2.83 (1.18)[3,5]	2.84 (1.30)[3,4,5]	2.64 (1.04)[1,2,4,5]	2.98 (1.27)[2,3,5]	3.21 (1.11)[1,2,3,4]
Game type	2.06 (1.09)[4]	2.21 (1.20)	2.11 (1.17)[4]	2.22 (1.17)[1,3]	2.22 (1.14)
Tournament seed of team	3.89 (3.50)[2,5]	2.91 (2.41)[1,3,4,5]	3.42 (3.42)[2,5]	3.59 (3.07)[2,5]	2.45 (2.62)[1,2,3,4]
Player characteristic variables:					
Average minutes	27.91 (7.82)[2,5]	25.59 (7.78)[1,3,4]	28.76 (6.27)[2,4,5]	26.83 (7.01)[2,3]	25.97 (6.16)[1,3]
Games played	87.09 (31.16)[3,5]	84.81 (36.82)[3,4,5]	96.84 (33.19)[1,2,4,5]	89.76 (31.16)[2,3,5]	75.44 (31.08)[1,2,3,4]
Height	78.11 (3.80)[2,3,4,5]	79.36 (3.57)[1,3,4,5]	77.27 (3.70)[1,2]	77.43 (3.47)[1,2]	77.22 (5.03)[1,2]
Weight	212.08 (31.80)[2,5]	227.41 (29.59)[1,3,4,5]	208.81 (27.07)[2,4,5]	215.63 (29.09)[2,3,5]	221.77 (32.13)[1,2,3,4]
Center	.23 (.42)[3,4]	.21 (.41)[4]	.17 (.37)[1,2,4]	.11 (.31)[1,2,3,5]	.18 (.39)[4]
Guard	.50 (.50)[2]	.31 (.46)[1,3,4,5]	.54 (.50)[2]	.51 (.50)[2]	.48 (.50)[2]
Forward	.26 (.44)[2,4]	.48 (.50)[1,3,4,5]	.30 (.46)[2,4]	.38 (.49)[1,2,3]	.34 (.47)[2]

TABLE 1 (*Continued*)

	Skin Tone Level (Light to Dark)				
	Q1, 0.0–2.20	Q2, 2.21–4.40	Q3, 4.41–6.60	Q4, 6.61–8.80	Q5, 8.81–11.00
					
	(7.57% of players, 6.96% of announcer comments)	(15.37% of players, 15.80% of announcer comments)	(22.25% of players, 22.38% of announcer comments)	(47.71% of players, 46.37% of announcer comments)	(7.11% of players, 8.60% of announcer comments)
Player race/ethnicity:					
%white	.85 (.21)[2,3,4,5]	.72 (.28)[1,3,4,5]	.07 (.10)[1,2,4,5]	.02 (.11)[1,2,3]	.02 (.09)[1,2,3]
%black/African-American	.01 (.08)[2,3,4,5]	.03 (.08)[1,3,4,5]	.59 (.16)[1,2,4,5]	.79 (.07)[1,2,3,5]	.85 (.07)[1,2,3,4]
%Hispanic/Latino	.05 (.04)[2,3,4]	.10 (.10)[1,3,4,5]	.18 (.08)[1,2,4,5]	.08 (.04)[1,2,3,5]	.05 (.05)[2,3,4]
%other	.05 (.05)[2,3,4,5]	.11 (.10)[1,3,5]	.16 (.08)[1,2,4,5]	.12 (.06)[1,3,5]	.10 (.05)[1,2,3,4]
Player objective performance variables:					
Average assists per game	2.71 (1.81)[2,4]	2.35 (1.99)[1,5]	2.49 (1.61)	2.39 (1.72)[1,5]	2.70 (2.29)[2,4]
Average blocks per game	.49 (.41)[2,3,4,5]	.73 (.63)[1,5]	.71 (.75)[1,5]	.67 (.79)[1,5]	1.01 (1.25)[1,2,3,4]
Average personal fouls per game	2.09 (.62)[4]	2.06 (.67)[3,4]	2.17 (.56)[2]	2.19 (.55)[1,2]	2.15 (.54)
Average points per game	11.77 (5.06)[3]	11.60 (5.75)[3]	12.90 (4.90)[1,2,4,5]	11.51 (4.63)[3]	12.14 (4.68)[3]
Average rebounds per game	4.47 (2.37)[2,3,4,5]	5.39 (2.90)[1,3,4]	5.02 (2.20)[1,2]	5.03 (2.65)[1,2]	5.20 (2.88)[1]
Average steals per game	1.10 (.63)[3]	1.08 (.60)[3,4]	1.27 (.67)[1,2,4,5]	1.18 (.69)[2,3]	1.12 (.64)[3]
Average turnovers per game	1.91 (.67)[2,5]	1.70 (.71)[1,3,4]	1.96 (.67)[2,5]	1.96 (.76)[2,5]	1.71 (.54)[1,3,4]
Drafted	.55 (.50)[4]	.47 (.50)[3,5]	.56 (.50)[2,4]	.43 (.50)[1,3,5]	.59 (.49)[2,4]

Dependent variables:					
Player performance:					
Ball-handling ability (n = 80)	.03 (.16)	.01 (.11)[3,4]	.04 (.19)2	.04 (.19)[2]	.01 (.11)
Defensive ability (n = 195)	.04 (.20)[4]	.04 (.19)[3,4]	.08 (.28)[2,5]	.10 (.29)[1,2,5]	.02 (.15)[3,4]
General ability (n = 45)	.01 (.07)[2]	.08 (.27)[1,3,4,5]	.01 (.09)[2]	.00 (.06)[2]	.00 (.07)[2]
Leadership (n = 47)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.12)	.01 (.08)[4]	.03 (.16)[3,5]	.00 (.07)[4]
Offensive ability (n = 81)	.11 (.31)[2,3,4,5]	.02 (.14)[1]	.02 (.15)[1]	.03 (.16)[1]	.03 (.17)[1]
Passing ability (n = 101)	.07 (.26)[2,3,5]	.03 (.18)[1]	.03 (.18)[1,5]	.04 (.20)[5]	.01 (.09)[1,3,4]
Rebounding ability (n = 93)	.07 (.26)[4,5]	.04 (.19)[5]	.05 (.21)[5]	.03 (.17)[1,5]	.00 (.07)[1,2,3,4]
Scoring ability (n = 278)	.21 (.41)[2,3,4]	.09 (.29)[1,5]	.07 (.26)[1,4,5]	.10 (.30)[1,3,5]	.15 (.36)[2,3,4]
Shooting ability (n = 206)	.03 (.18)[2,4]	.13 (.34)[1,3,4,5]	.06 (.24)[2,4,5]	.08 (.28)[1,2,3,5]	.03 (.16)[2,3,4]
Stealing ability (n = 63)	.00 (.00)[2]	.13 (.33)[1,3,4,5]	.00 (.00)[2,4]	.01 (.09)[2,3]	.00 (.00)[2]
Overall performance (n = 1,288)	.66 (.48)[3,4,5]	.61 (.49)[3,4,5]	.39 (.49)[1,2,4,5]	.50 (.50)[1,2,3,5]	.28 (.45)[1,2,3,4]
Player physical characteristics:					
Athleticism (n = 48)	.00 (.00)[5]	.00 (.05)[5]	.01 (.12)[4,5]	.00 (.06)[3,5]	.15 (.36)[1,2,3,4]
Attribution of nonhuman characteristics (n = 26)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.08)	.01 (.12)	.01 (.10)	.00 (.07)
Conditioning (n = 16)	.00 (.07)	.02 (.14)[3,4,5]	.00 (.00)[2]	.00 (.07)[2]	.00 (.00)[2]
Jumping ability (n = 48)	.04 (.19)[2,5]	.00 (.05)[1,3,4]	.02 (.14)[2]	.02 (.15)[2]	.00 (.07)[1]
Lack of size/height (n = 26)	.01 (.07)	.00 (.05)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.12)	.00 (.07)
Length (n = 41)	.01 (.07)	.00 (.05)[3,4]	.02 (.14)[2]	.02 (.14)[2]	.01 (.09)
Mobility (n = 114)	.06 (.24)	.04 (.19)	.06 (.23)[4]	.03 (.18)[3,5]	.06 (.24)[4]
Size/height (n = 194)	.02 (.15)[2,3,4,5]	.09 (.28)[1]	.06 (.25)[1]	.08 (.27)[1]	.07 (.26)[1]
Speed (n = 84)	.02 (.13)[5]	.01 (.08)[4,5]	.02 (.14)[4,5]	.04 (.20)[2,3]	.07 (.26)[1,2,3]
Strength (n = 180)	.00 (.00)[2,3,4]	.04 (.19)[1,3,4]	.07 (.25)[1,2,4,5]	.10 (.30)[1,2,3,5]	.01 (.11)[3,4]
Overall physical (n = 805)	.19 (.40)[3,4,5]	.21 (.41)[3,4,5]	.29 (.46)[1,2,5]	.34 (.47)[1,2]	.39 (.49)[1,2,3]
Player mental characteristics:					
Aggression (n = 21)	.00 (.00)[2]	.02 (.14)[1,3,4]	.00 (.04)[2]	.01 (.09)[2]	.00 (.07)
Awareness (n = 70)	.00 (.00)[3,5]	.00 (.00)[3,5]	.03 (.18)[1,2,4,5]	.00 (.05)[3,5]	.21 (.41)[1,2,3,4]
Bravery (n = 17)	.01 (.07)	.00 (.00)[4]	.01 (.07)	.01 (.10)[2]	.00 (.07)
Cleverness (n = 25)	.00 (.00)[3]	.00 (.05)[3]	.04 (.20)[1,2,4,5]	.00 (.00)[3]	.00 (.00)[3]
Confidence (n = 25)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.09)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.09)
Control (n = 16)	.00 (.00)[2]	.03 (.17)[1,3,4,5]	.00 (.00)[2]	.00 (.06)[2]	.00 (.00)[2]

TABLE 1 (*Continued*)

	Skin Tone Level (Light to Dark)				
	Q1, 0.0–2.20	Q2, 2.21–4.40	Q3, 4.41–6.60	Q4, 6.61–8.80	Q5, 8.81–11.00
					
	(7.57% of players, 6.96% of announcer comments)	(15.37% of players, 15.80% of announcer comments)	(22.25% of players, 22.38% of announcer comments)	(47.71% of players, 46.37% of announcer comments)	(7.11% of players, 8.60% of announcer comments)
Coordination ($n = 52$)	.03 (.18)[2,4]	.00 (.05)[1,3]	.06 (.25)[2,4,5]	.00 (.06)[1,3]	.01 (.09)[3]
Craftiness ($n = 23$)	.00 (.00)[2]	.05 (.22)[1,3,4,5]	.00 (.00)[2]	.00 (.03)[2]	.00 (.07)[2]
Toughness ($n = 26$)	.01 (.07)	.01 (.11)	.01 (.12)	.01 (.09)	.01 (.11)
Work ethic/effort ($n = 39$)	.01 (.10)[3]	.01 (.08)[3]	.04 (.20)[1,2,4,5]	.01 (.09)[3]	.00 (.00)[3]
Overall mental ($n = 462$)	.10 (.30)[2,3,5]	.16 (.37)[1,3,4,5]	.27 (.44)[1,2,4]	.12 (.32)[2,3,5]	.32 (.47)[1,2,4]

NOTE.—SDs are shown in parentheses. $N = 2{,}659$ for all independent variables. Superscripts for the skin tone categories stand for Q1–Q5 and indicate significant differences at the .05 level (two-sample *t*-tests with equal variances). The overall performance, overall physical, and overall mental variables represent 96.09% of all sample codes. The remaining 3.92% (including lack of size/height, which is analyzed separately but not incorporated into overall physical) are negative codes.

in Spanish for the National Basketball Association (NBA). Deron Williams and Blake Griffin, who are both biracial, were coded as skin tone Q1. Griffin, who has red hair like his white mother, has an Afro-Haitian father. Although we use the continuous skin tone measure in the regression models, we present demographics in quintiles for ease of presentation.

Additionally, given the frequent confluence of skin tone and race, we also collected data on player race/ethnicity. Data on self-ascribed race of individual NCAA men's basketball players are not publicly available, but, even if they were, we could not assume that they would necessarily align with external classifications of race. Since prejudice and discrimination extend from external classifications, such classifications of player race/ethnicity best suited our purposes. Therefore, we collected data on player race/ethnicity via MTurk among the same 2,037 participants who provided perceptions of player skin tone. This allowed us to mitigate the prospect that differences between perceptions of race/ethnicity and perceptions of skin tone might stem from sample differences.

Respondents were randomly assigned player faces and asked to assess the race of each player via a question modeled after the originally proposed race and ethnicity question for the 2020 census (Krogstad and Cohn 2014).[10] Respondents were asked to select all boxes that applied and were informed that they could select more than one group. On average, this yielded approximately 57.48 racial attributions per player. We then created variables for each racial group reflecting the percentage of respondents who identified each player as a member of that group. For example, a player might have a value of .5 for white and a value of .6 for black/African-American, which would indicate that half of the respondents who coded that player's race checked the box for white, while 60% checked the box for black/African-American.[11]

[10] This question included checkboxes for "White (For example, German, Irish, English, Italian, Polish, French, etc.)," "Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish Origin (For example, Mexican or Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadoran, Dominican, Colombian, etc.)," "Black or African American (For example, African American, Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Somalian, etc.)," "Asian (For example, Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese, etc.)," "American Indian or Alaska Native (For example, Navajo Nation, Blackfeet Tribe, Mayan, Aztec, Native Village of Barrow Inupiat Traditional Government, Nome Eskimo Community, etc.)," "Middle Eastern or North African (For example, Lebanese, Iranian, Egyptian, Syrian, Moroccan, Algerian, etc.," "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (For example, Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Chamorro, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese, etc.)," and "Some other race, ethnicity, or origin" (with a write-in box for respondents to specify).

[11] In supplemental analyses, we also coded players based on the race most frequently ascribed to them by the MTurk participants and used this information to create dichotomous variables for black and white. Running the models in this article with the dichotomous variables for racial attribution yielded similar results to the ones we report in this article.

We collected data for three sets of control variables (see table 2): tournament variables; player characteristic variables; and player objective performance variables. Tournament variables were constructed from the tournament game transcripts and included announcer's skin tone (using the same 11-category PERLA scale used for player's skin tone); game type (1 = Sweet Sixteen, 2 = Elite Eight, 3 = Final Four, and 4 = Championship); and tournament seed of the player's team (from 1 [best] to 16 [worst]).

Most of the player characteristic variables were constructed using data from StatSheet (2013). These variables included player's height (in inches), player's weight (in pounds), games played (calculated by counting the number of games played by the player up to that point), and average minutes (the average number of minutes played per game by the player). Using data from Sports Reference (2013), we constructed dichotomous variables for each possible player position (forward, guard, and center) for each player.

TABLE 2
Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables for All Entries

Independent Variables	Mean/Proportion	SD	Min	Max
Primary independent variables:				
Player's skin tone	6.19	2.27	1.40	10.07
Player's race:				
%white	.20	.34	0	1
%black/African-American	.58	.33	0	.98
%Hispanic/Latino	.10	.08	0	.54
%other	.12	.08	0	.49
Tournament variables:				
Announcer's skin tone	2.90	1.22	1	6
Game type	2.19	1.17	1	4
Tournament seed of team	3.37	3.08	1	12
Player characteristic variables:				
Average minutes	27.06	7.06	3.70	39.60
Games played	89.12	33.05	13	144
Height	77.73	3.79	67	87
Weight	216.26	29.80	153	295
Guard	.49	.50	0	1
Forward	.36	.48	0	1
Center	.15	.36	0	1
Player objective performance variables:				
Average assists per game	2.46	1.81	0	8.6
Average blocks per game	.70	.80	0	4.2
Average personal fouls per game	2.16	.58	.50	3.79
Average points per game	11.90	4.95	.357	22.7
Average rebounds per game	5.06	2.61	.381	24.57
Average steals per game	1.17	.67	0	10
Average turnovers per game	1.90	.72	0	3.95
Drafted	.49	.50	0	1

Note.—N = 2,659 for all variables.

Player objective performance variables included player's average number of points, assists, rebounds, blocks, steals, turnovers, and personal fouls per game as well as draft status (with 0 = undrafted, 1–30 = draft picks 1–30 of the first round of the NBA draft, and 31–60 = draft picks 1–30 of the second round of the NBA draft).

Dependent Variables: Relationship between Skin Tone and Announcer Remarks

Remarks from announcers about players were used to create variables divided into three categories: remarks about the player's performance abilities; remarks about the player's physical characteristics; and remarks about the player's mental characteristics (see table 3).[12] Performance variables address measurable ability to succeed in various areas of athletic competition, such as scoring or rebounding. Physical characteristic variables focus on physical capacities that influence performance (such as height or speed). Mental characteristics focus on cognitive and emotional capacities that impact athletic success. The first category of variables (remarks about player performance) included ball-handling ability, defensive ability, general ability, leadership, offensive ability, passing ability, rebounding ability, scoring ability, shooting ability, stealing ability, and overall performance. The second category (remarks about players' physical characteristics) inlcuded athleticism, attribution of nonhuman characteristics, conditioning, jumping ability, lack of size/height, length, mobility, size/height, speed, strength, and overall physical characteristics. The third category (remarks about players' mental characteristics) included aggression, awareness, bravery, cleverness, confidence, control, coordination, craftiness, toughness, work ethic, and overall mental characteristics.

ANALYSIS

Analyses began with the calculation of descriptive statistics for the independent variables, including the primary independent variables of externally attributed player skin tone and race, tournament variables, player characteristic variables, and player objective performance variables (see table 2). Then descriptive statistics were calculated (percentages of total cases and frequencies) for the 10 most frequently mentioned dependent variables across all three categories: player performance, player physical characteristics, and player mental characteristics. We also created composite variables for each category incorporating all variables within that category, including

[12] In supplemental analyses, we controlled for each individual announcer, and the results were generally consistent with what we report here.

TABLE 3
DESCRIPTION OF ANNOUNCER COMMENTS AND REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES

Category	Description	Example
Player performance:		
Ball-handling ability	Any positive remark about the player's ability to handle the basketball.	"He's also a good ball handler. I realize he hasn't scored in the second half, but, if you're Syracuse, let him touch it."
Defensive ability	Any positive remark about a player's general contributions on defense.	"He's a presence on the defensive end—really a solid guy."
General ability	Any positive remark about the player's overall ability without specification to a particular type of performance or task.	"[He is as] versatile as baking soda. . . . You can use it for house cleaning, hygiene, cooking, baking, leavening, all types of sweets and cakes and cookies . . . a little bit of deodorizer, and that's what [D.G.] is. He gives you all of those good, positive elements in his basketball stat line."
Leadership	Any positive remark about a player's leadership on the court.	"His leadership. He may not be the guy who gets all the statistics. He doesn't get the ink, but this guy has led his team here."
Offensive ability	Any positive remark made about a player's general contributions on offense.	"[He is] a much more gifted offensive player than many people give him credit for."
Passing ability	Any positive remark about a player's ability to pass the ball.	"[He is] able to deliver it with someone just challenging. Uncontested, he's magnificent. Contested, he's magnificent."
Rebounding ability	Any positive remark about a player's rebounding ability.	"He knows how to get offensive rebounds."
Scoring ability	Any positive remark about a player's ability to score.	"He is a guy who can score."
Shooting ability	Any positive remark about a player's ability to shoot.	"He's got both arms that he shoots well with."
Stealing ability	Any positive remark about a player's ability to steal the ball.	"See why he's the all-time . . . steal man in Illinois high school history."
Overall performance	Encompasses all remarks about any aspect of a player's performance, including remarks assigned to other variables in this category and remarks related to performance excluded from the other analyses as separate	See above.

	outcome variables because they fell outside of the variables with the 10 largest sample sizes for this category (see app. B, tables B1–B3).	
Player physical characteristics:		
Athleticism	Any positive remark about the player's general athleticism.	"[He is] incredibly athletic."
Attribution of nonhuman characteristics	Any nonhuman description used in reference to a player.	"He still isn't 100 percent, but a real tiger."
Conditioning	Any remark about the physical conditioning of a player.	"He's had a healthy senior year. It's made quite a difference. Plus, he's rounded himself into impeccable shape for his last year."
Jumping ability	Any positive remark about the player's ability to elevate.	"Because he's such a high flyer, you can throw it over the top."
Lack of size/height	Any remark about a player's small size or short height.	"Even though [A.D.] is light-framed and light-weight, he's gotta be a little more aggressive in trying to keep the ball out of the paint."
Length	Any remark about how long the player is or about the player's arm span or leg span.	"Another guy with a long wingspan."
Mobility	Any positive remark about a player's mobility.	"You talk about [J.P.]—6'8", extraordinarily mobile."
Size/height	Any remark about a player's large size or tall height.	"[He has a] big body of seven feet even."
Speed	Any remark about the quickness of a player.	"He's got tremendous speed. . . .You saw evidence of it right there in getting to that loose ball."
Strength	Any remark about how strong a player is.	"He has a lot of strength."
Overall physical	Encompasses all remarks about any aspect of a player's physical characteristics, including remarks assigned to other variables in this category and remarks related to physical characteristics excluded from the other analyses as separate outcome variables because they fell	See above.

TABLE 3 (*Continued*)

Category	Description	Example
	outside of the variables with the 10 largest sample sizes for this category (see app. B, tables B1–B3).	
Player mental characteristics:		
Aggression	Any remark about a player's aggressiveness.	"I mean, he's an aggressive performer . . ."
Awareness	Any positive remark about a player's awareness of what occurs on the court.	"[He] keeps those eyes up. He really understands not only where his four teammates are but what the defense is presenting to him."
Bravery	Any positive remark about a player's bravery.	"Now this kid is fearless!"
Cleverness	Any remark about a player's cleverness.	"[W.]is so clever the way that he plays."
Confidence	Any positive remark about a player's confidence.	"Well, [B.] up, tough—he's a confident player."
Control	Any remark about a player's control over himself or the game.	"He always is under control."
Coordination	Any remark about a player's coordination.	"[He is] very coordinated."
Craftiness	Any remark about how a player is able to be crafty at achieving his aims.	"We've talked about . . . how crafty he is."
Toughness	Any remark about a player's toughness.	"Well, one thing about [M.B.] is his toughness."
Work ethic/effort	Any remark about a player's work ethic or effort.	"He's such a hard worker—never gives up on a play."
Overall mental	Encompasses all remarks about any aspect of the player's mental characteristics, including remarks assigned to the other variables in this category as well as remarks related to mental characteristics excluded from the other analyses as separate outcome variables because they fell outside of the variables with the 10 largest sample sizes for this category (see app tables B1–B3)	See above.

the 10 most frequently mentioned, and calculated descriptive statistics for those as well. The number of cases was the same for all dependent variables ($n = 2{,}659$). The frequencies and percentages of cases for each dependent variable appear for each quintile of skin tone level (0.0–2.20, 2.21–4.40, 4.41–6.60, 6.61–8.80, and 8.81–11.0) in table 1.

We estimated four logistic regression models to predict the effect of player's skin tone on announcer remarks about player performance (testing hypothesis 1), physical characteristics (testing hypothesis 2), and mental characteristics (testing hypothesis 3). Using a stepwise approach, each model adds a different group of independent variables to see how those variables attenuate the relationship between player's skin tone and the dependent variable of interest. First, bivariate associations were computed between player's skin tone and each dependent variable. Second, controlling for tournament variables, associations between player's skin tone and each dependent variable were calculated. Third, controlling for tournament variables and player characteristic variables, associations between player's skin tone and each dependent variable were calculated. The fourth and final models examined the association between player's skin tone and each dependent variable, controlling for tournament variables, player characteristic variables, and player objective performance variables (see tables 4–6).

To account for the independent impact of racial attribution on announcer comments about players and the extent to which skin tone might be attenuated by racial attribution, we also ran four additional models controlling for tournament variables, player characteristic variables, and player objective performance variables. The first model excludes skin tone and focuses on the impact of racial attribution as black. The second model excludes skin tone and focuses on the impact of racial attribution as white. The third includes skin tone and racial attribution as black controlling for other independent variables, while the fourth includes skin tone and racial attribution as white (tables 7–9). We compared these models to the aforementioned parallel models including skin tone but excluding racial attribution.

In separate analyses (available upon request), we also ran the models while controlling for individual players and individual teams to determine whether the prevalence of announcer remarks about a particular player or team might have impacted the association between skin tone and the dependent variables tested. Neither controlling for individual players nor controlling for individual teams substantially altered the direction or significance of the relationship between player's skin tone and each dependent variable.

Supplemental Analyses

Additional dependent variables under the categories of player performance abilities, player physical characteristics, and player mental characteristics

TABLE 4

LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS TO PREDICT THE EFFECT OF PLAYER'S SKIN TONE ON REMARKS ABOUT PLAYER PERFORMANCE

	Ball-Handling Ability ($n = 80$)	Defensive Ability ($n = 195$)	General Ability ($n = 45$)	Leadership ($n = 47$)	Offensive Ability ($n = 81$)	Passing Ability ($n = 101$)	Rebounding Ability ($n = 93$)	Scoring Ability ($n = 278$)	Shooting Ability ($n = 206$)	Stealing Ability ($n = 63$)	Overall Performance ($n = 1,288$)
Skin tone	1.10	1.09*	.63***	1.12	.87**	.94	.90*	.98	.93*	.56***	.89***
	(.06)	(.04)	(.05)	(.08)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables)	1.10	1.10**	.63***	1.10	.86**	.94	.90*	.97	.93*	.56***	.89***
	(.06)	(.04)	(.05)	(.08)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables + player characteristic variables)	1.10	1.15***	.60***	1.08	.84**	.94	.92	.97	.94	—	.89***
	(.06)	(.04)	(.05)	(.08)	(.04)	(.05)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)		(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables + player characteristic variables + player objective performance variables)	1.08	1.19***	.56***	1.14	.84**	.99	.90	.99	.99	—	.88***
	(.07)	(.05)	(.06)	(.10)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.03)	(.04)		(.02)

NOTE.—Data are shown as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. The dash (—) indicates that the model failed to converge.

* $P < .05$.

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE 5

Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone on Remarks about Player Physical Characteristics

	Athleticism ($n = 48$)	Attribution of Nonhuman Characteristics ($n = 26$)	Conditioning ($n = 16$)	Jumping Ability ($n = 48$)	Lack of Size/ Height ($n = 26$)	Length ($n = 41$)	Mobility ($n = 114$)	Size/ Height ($n = 194$)	Speed ($n = 84$)	Strength ($n = 180$)	Overall Physical ($n = 805$)
Skin tone	2.63***	.98	.73**	1.01	1.14	1.26**	.99	1.05	1.29***	1.14***	1.14***
	(.40)	(.08)	(.08)	(.06)	(.11)	(.11)	(.04)	(.04)	(.08)	(.04)	(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables)	2.66***	.97	.71**	.99	1.14	1.25**	1.00	1.05	1.29***	1.15***	1.14***
	(.41)	(.08)	(.08)	(.06)	(.11)	(.11)	(.04)	(.04)	(.08)	(.04)	(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables + player characteristic variables)	1.70***	.89	.80	1.00	1.07	1.27**	1.01	1.10**	1.23**	1.06	1.16***
	(.20)	(.09)	(.11)	(.07)	(.11)	(.11)	(.04)	(.04)	(.08)	(.05)	(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables + player characteristic variables + player objective performance variables)	1.16	.92	.94	.80**	1.08	1.17	.99	1.21***	1.23**	1.04	1.14***
	(.21)	(.09)	(.18)	(.07)	(.14)	(.12)	(.05)	(.05)	(.08)	(.06)	(.03)

Note.—Data are shown as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. The variable Overall Physical does not include "Lack of Size/Height," as it already includes the variable "Size/Height."

* $P < .05$.

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE 6

Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone on Remarks about Player Mental Characteristics

	Aggression ($n = 21$)	Awareness ($n = 70$)	Bravery ($n = 17$)	Cleverness ($n = 25$)	Confidence ($n = 25$)	Control ($n = 16$)	Coordination ($n = 52$)	Craftiness ($n = 23$)	Toughness ($n = 26$)	Work Ethic/ Effort ($n = 39$)	Overall Mental ($n = 462$)
Skin tone	.95	2.03***	1.20	.73***	1.01	.72**	.90	.55***	.97	.90	1.01
	(.09)	(.22)	(.15)	(.06)	(.09)	(.08)	(.05)	(.07)	(.08)	(.06)	(.02)
Skin tone controlling for tournament variables)	.94	1.81***	1.19	.73***	1.00	.73**	.91	.53***	.97	.90	1.01
	(.09)	(.17)	(.15)	(.07)	(.09)	(.08)	(.05)	(.07)	(.08)	(.06)	(.02)
Skin tone controlling for tournament variables + player characteristic variables)	1.03	2.13***	—	—	.99	.76*	.90	—	.93	.87	.99
	(.11)	(.32)			(.09)	(.09)	(.07)		(.09)	(.06)	(.02)
Skin tone (controlling for tournament variables + player characteristic variables + player objective performance variables)	1.01	—	—	—	.97	.65*	.76*	.65	.95	.86	1.04
	(.12)				(.10)	(.14)	(.08)	(.16)	(.09)	(.08)	(.03)

Note.—Data are shown as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. The dash (—) indicates that the model failed to converge.

* $P < .05$.

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE 7
Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone and Racial Attribution on Remarks about Overall Player Performance, Controlling for Tournament Variables, Player Characteristic Variables, and Player Objective Performance Variables ($N = 1{,}288$)

	Model						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Skin tone	.88***			.88*	1.09*	.65***	1.05
	(.02)			(.05)	(.03)	(.05)	(.04)
Racial attribution as black		.41***		.93		.18**	
		(.06)		(.34)		(.09)	
Racial attribution as white			2.39***		1.54*		.17*
			(.31)		(.33)		(.14)
Interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as black						1.56***	
						(.14)	
Interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as white							1.32**
							(.13)

Note.—Data are shown as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. In models 4 and 6, skin tone is coded as usual (from lightest to darkest). In models 5 and 7, skin tone is reverse coded (from darkest to lightest) to ease interpretation.

were tested but not included in the analyses for this study, because we only included the 10 most frequently mentioned types of comments for each category. Dependent variables under the category of player performance abilities covered a number of positive or neutral comments about players' level of activity, acrobatics, blocking, character, coachability, community orientation,

TABLE 8
Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone and Racial Attribution on Remarks about Overall Player Physical Characteristics, Controlling for Tournament Variables, Player Characteristic Variables, and Player Objective Physical Variables ($N = 805$)

	Model						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Skin tone	1.14***			.99	.87***	1.02	.87***
	(.03)			(.06)	(.03)	(.09)	(.03)
Racial attribution as black		2.82***		2.92**		3.28*	
		(.45)		(1.20)		(1.81)	
Racial attribution as white			.50***		1.08***		1.30
			(.08)		(.27)		(1.03)
Interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as black						.97	
						(.10)	
Interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as white							.98
							(.10)

Note.—Data are shown as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. In models 1, 2, 4, and 6, skin tone is coded as usual (from lightest to darkest). In models 3, 5, and 7, skin tone is reverse coded (from darkest to lightest) to ease interpretation.

TABLE 9

Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone and Racial Attribution on Remarks about Overall Player Mental Characteristics, Controlling for Tournament Variables, Player Characteristic Variables, and Player Objective Mental Variables ($N = 462$)

	Model						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Skin tone	1.04			1.28**	1.05	2.04***	1.12*
	(.03)			(.09)	(.05)	(.22)	(.05)
Racial attribution as black		1.01		.20**		2.92	
		(.19)		(.10)		(2.00)	
Racial attribution as white			.63*		.48*		22.01***
			(.12)		(.14)		(18.48)
Interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as black						.49***	
						(.06)	
Interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as white							.61**
							(.07)

Note.—Data are shown as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses.

defensive ability, dominance, dribbling ability, efficiency, experience, popularity, positioning, quiet demeanor, ability to rally teammates, rebounding ability, reliability, shot-blocking ability, and smoothness. These variables also covered negative remarks about players' failing expectations, including foul trouble, lack of ball-handling ability, lack of consistency, lack of offensive ability, lack of polish, and lack of shooting/scoring ability. We show the coefficients or indicate failure to converge for models of these variables in appendix tables B1–B3. Although these variables were excluded as individual dependent variables, they were subsumed under the overall performance variable. We did, however, exclude the negative remarks from the overall performance variable so they would not conflict in direction with the positive comments.[13]

Variables based on player physical characteristics covered a number of positive or neutral comments about players' dexterity, energy, finesse, form, hustle, intimidating presence, mobility, natural ability, poise, power, and range. These variables also covered negative remarks about players' lack of conditioning, lack of poise, lack of size/height, lack of speed, lack of strength, and a summative variable encompassing all of the variables addressing a lack of some physical characteristic. We show the coefficients or note failure to converge for models of these variables in appendix tables B1–B3. While these variables were excluded as individual dependent variables, they were subsumed under the overall physical characteristics variable (with the exception of the negative comments) used in the article's main analysis.

[13] These comments could not simply be reverse coded, because doing so often resulted in the comments completely overlapping with other existing variables.

Variables based on player mental characteristics covered a number of positive or neutral comments about players' academic ability, anticipation, assertiveness, attention to detail, attitude, calmness, cleverness, competitiveness, concentration, confidence, control, creativity, decisiveness, dedication, discipline, emotionality, focus, generosity, humility, intelligence, intuition, opportunism, patience, personality, reaction time, risk aversion, savviness, selflessness, sneakiness, spirit, stealthiness, style, superstitious nature, technique, timing, mental toughness, understanding, versatility, and vision. These variables also covered negative remarks about players' lack of academic ability, cockiness, lack of assertiveness, lack of confidence, lack of decision-making ability, lack of intelligence, lack of judgment, and lack of self-control and a summative variable encompassing all of the variables addressing a lack of some mental characteristic. We show the coefficients or note failure to converge for models of these variables in appendix tables B1–B3. Even though excluded as individual dependent variables, these variables were subsumed under the overall mental characteristics variable (with the exception of the negative remarks) used in the article's main analysis. Overall performance, overall physical, and overall mental variables represent 96.09% of all sample codes. The remaining 3.91% are negative codes. Results for models incorporating all aforementioned variables are available upon request.

RESULTS

Relationship between Skin Tone and Announcer Remarks: Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics for independent variables for the full sample. The mean skin tone for player entries is 6.18/11, while the mean announcer skin tone for the entries is 2.90.

Table 1 shows the mean percentages for each independent variable by skin tone quintile (Q1–Q5) as well as the percentage of cases for each dependent variable by skin tone quintile. The largest percentage of players fall into the Q4 range of PERLA scores (6.61–8.80, 47.71%), followed by Q3 (4.41–6.60, 22.25%), Q2 (2.21–4.40, 15.37%), Q1 (0.0–2.20, 7.57%, and Q5 (8.81–11.00, 7.11%). Players in the darkest skin tone quintile (Q5) played in significantly fewer games than players in all other skin tone quintiles. Players in Q2 tended to be the tallest and heaviest on average (at approximately 79.36 inches in height and 227.41 pounds in weight).[14]

[14] On average, a player in Q1 was rated as white by 85% of respondents, as black/African-American by 1% of respondents, as Hispanic/Latino by 5% of respondents, and as some other race by 5% of respondents. For Q2 these values were 72%, 3%, 10%, and 11%, respectively; for Q3, 7%, 59%, 18%, and 16%, respectively; for Q4, 2%, 79%, 8%, and 12% respectively; and for Q5, 2%, 85%, 5%, and 10%, respectively.

Regarding objective performance variables, players in Q1 had the highest average number of assists per game, players in Q2 had the highest number of rebounds per game, and players in Q3 had the highest number of points and steals per game but also were tied with players from Q4 for the highest number of turnovers per game. Players in Q4 fared less well, with the highest number of personal fouls and (tied with players in Q3) the highest number of turnovers per game. These players were also the least likely to be drafted. Players in Q5 had the highest number of blocks per game and were most likely to be drafted.

For the dependent variables, almost half of all announcer comments (48.44%) address player performance. The largest categories of player performance comments are scoring ability (21.58% of player performance comments) and defensive ability (15.14%). Nearly one-third of announcer comments address physical characteristics (30.27%). Roughly one-quarter of physical characteristic comments address size/height (24.10%), while 22.36% address strength. Comments about player mental characteristics comprise 17.37% of all announcer comments. Of these comments, 15.15% address awareness and 8.44% address work ethic/effort.

Table 1 provides the distribution of announcer comments about player performance. More players from Q1 were discussed in terms of overall performance and rebounding ability than from any other quintile, while more players from Q2 were discussed in terms of stealing ability. Additionally, more players from Q2 were discussed in terms of shooting ability than from any other quintile. Regarding physical characteristics, most comments about jumping ability were directed at players in Q1 compared to other players, most comments about conditioning were directed at players in Q2 compared to other players, players in Q4 were more frequently discussed in terms of speed and strength, and players in Q5 were more frequently discussed in terms of overall physical ability. As for mental characteristics, players in Q2 were more frequently discussed in terms of aggression, control, and craftiness, while players in Q3 were more often noted for their cleaver and coordinated. Players in Q5 were much more commonly referred to in terms of awareness and overall mental characteristics. Without awareness, however, players in Q5 are least likely discussed in terms of mental characteristics.

Relationship between Skin Tone and Announcer Remarks: Logistic Regression Analyses

Skin Tone and Player Performance

Overall, we find support for hypothesis 1 that announcers will be more likely to discuss the performance of players with lighter skin tones. Table 4 presents logistic regression models of the relationship between player skin tone

and announcer comments on player performance variables. As seen in the row for skin tone, a one-unit increase in skin tone (from lighter to darker skin tone) is associated with a 9% increase ($P < .05$) in the relative odds of comments about defensive ability. A one-unit increase in skin tone is also associated with a 36% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about general ability, a 13% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about offensive ability, a 10% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about rebounding ability, a 7% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about shooting ability, a 44% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about stealing ability, and an 11% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about overall performance.

Controlling for tournament variables in table 4, logistic regression models of the relationship between player skin tone and player performance variables continued to indicate similar, significant relationships between player skin tone and each aforementioned variable. This was also largely the case when controlling for tournament variables and player characteristic variables, with two exceptions. Once player characteristics are added, the model rebounding ability is no longer significantly associated with skin tone and the model of the relationship between skin tone and stealing ability no longer converges.

In the final models, significant relationships remain between skin tone and announcer comments about player performance for defensive ability, general ability, offensive ability, and overall performance. A one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 19% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about defensive ability, a 44% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about general ability, a 16% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about offensive ability, and a 12% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about performance overall. Darker skin tone, then, is associated with an increase in the relative odds of comments being made about defensive ability but a decrease in the relative odds of announcers positively commenting on a player's general ability, offensive ability, and performance overall.

Skin Tone and Physical Characteristics

Table 5 shows logistic regression models of the relationship between player skin tone and announcer comments about player physical characteristics. At the bivariate level, significant relationships exist between skin tone and comments about athleticism, conditioning, length, speed, strength, and physicality overall. A one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 163% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about athleticism, a

26% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about length, a 29% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about speed, a 14% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about strength, and a 14% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about physical characteristics overall. A one-unit increase in skin tone is also associated with a 27% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about conditioning.

Controlling for tournament variables, logistic regression models of the relationship between player skin tone and player physical characteristics variables continue to indicate significant relationships between skin tone and comments about the aforementioned variables. Controlling for tournament variables and player characteristic variables, the relationships with athleticism, length, speed, and overall physicality persist, but the relationships with conditioning and strength are no longer significant. Additionally, a significant, positive relationship emerges between skin tone and size/height.

In the final models in table 5, significant relationships remain between skin tone and variables constructed from announcer comments about size/height, speed, and overall physicality. Further, a negative relationship between skin tone and comments about jumping ability becomes significant. Specifically, a one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 21% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about size/height, a 23% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about speed, and a 14% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about overall physicality. However, a one-unit increase in skin tone is also associated with a 20% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about jumping ability. With the exception of the finding with jumping ability, these results provide evidence in support of hypothesis 2 (that announcers will be more likely to discuss the physical characteristics of players with darker skin tones).

Skin Tone and Mental Characteristics

Table 6 shows logistic regression models of the relationship between player skin tone and announcer comments about player mental characteristics. At the bivariate level, there are significant relationships between skin tone and comments about awareness, cleverness, control, and craftiness. A one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 103% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about awareness. On the other hand, a one-unit increase in skin tone is also associated with a 27% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about cleverness, a 28% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about control, and a 45% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about craftiness.

Controlling for tournament variables, logistic regression models of the relationship between player skin tone and player mental characteristics variables continue to indicate significant relationships between skin tone and comments about awareness, cleverness, control, and craftiness. Controlling for tournament variables and player characteristic variables, similar associations persist except that the models for cleverness and craftiness no longer converge. A one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 113% increase in the relative odds of comments being made about awareness and a 24% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about control.

From the third set of models to the final models in table 6, the significant negative relationship between player skin tone and comments being made about control remains, but all other associations either become nonsignificant or cannot be ascertained due to a lack of model convergence. One new negative significant relationship emerges (between skin tone and coordination). A one-unit increase in player skin tone is associated with a 35% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about control and a 24% decrease in the relative odds of comments being made about coordination. Overall, a darker skin tone is associated with a decrease in the relative odds of announcers talking about players' control and coordination. Consistent with hypothesis 3, we find limited evidence that announcers more frequently discussed the mental characteristics of players with lighter skin tones, although not for the overall mental variable.

Impact of Racial Attribution on the Relationship between Skin Tone and Announcer Remarks

Our aforementioned results suggest that players' skin tones (considered separately from race) can significantly impact how announcers discuss their performance and personal characteristics. However, a consideration of how racial attribution impacts announcer comments is necessary to determine whether skin tone is serving more or less as a proxy for race or is operating in unique ways on its own. In table 7, we compare full models (including the control variables used in tables 4–6) of the relationship between seven key independent variable iterations (skin tone alone; racial attribution as black; racial attribution as white; skin tone and racial attribution as black; skin tone and racial attribution as white; skin tone, racial attribution as black, and the interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as black; and skin tone, racial attribution as white, and the interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as white) on our three aggregated outcome variables (overall performance, overall physicality, and overall mental characteristics).

Model 1 of table 7 reiterates the already discussed finding that a one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 12% decrease in the relative odds of

a player being discussed in terms of performance. Models 2 and 3 indicate that blackness is similarly associated with a lower likelihood (56% decrease in the relative odds) and whiteness with a higher likelihood (139% increase in the relative odds) of being discussed in terms of performance. When skin tone and racial attribution as black are simultaneously included in the model (model 4), the impact of skin tone on the relative odds of being discussed in terms of performance remains unchanged, while the impact of racial attribution as black is no longer statistically significant. When skin tone and racial attribution as white are simultaneously included (model 5), a one-unit increase in reverse-coded skin tone (from darker to lighter) is associated with a 9% increase in the relative odds of being discussed in terms of performance, and a one-unit increase in the percentage of respondents who classified the player as white is associated with a 54% increase. We should note that in models 5 and 7 in tables 7–9, skin tone is reverse coded (such that odds ratios below 1 indicate darker skin tone, whereas odds ratios above 1 indicate lighter skin tones). This is to ease interpretation that the skin tone measure moves from darker to lighter to correspond to the increased percentage of a player being perceived as white.

Models 6 and 7 explore interactions between skin tone and racial attribution. Lighter skin tone and more frequent categorization as white are associated with being discussed more in terms of performance in most models in table 7. However, including interactions between skin tone and racial attribution, we find a bimodal result in which both darker-skinned blacks (model 6) and lighter-skinned whites (model 7) are more likely to be discussed in terms of performance. After further analysis, the bimodal result shown in models 6 and 7 actually makes sense. As seen in table 1, players in skin tone Q1 and Q2 are perceived as being 85% white (1% black) and 72% white (3% black), respectively. On the other end of the skin tone scale, Q4 is perceived as 79% black (2% white) and Q5 as 85% black (2% white). Using scoring ability as an example, it increases in a bimodal fashion. Shooting ability, similar to overall performance, also increases when moving away from Q3 toward Q2 and Q4.

Table 8 addresses announcer comments about players' physical characteristics. Model 1 of table 8 reiterates the already discussed finding that a one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a 14% increase in the relative odds of a player being discussed in terms of physical characteristics. Models 2 and 3 indicate that blackness is associated with a higher likelihood (182% increase in the relative odds) and whiteness with a lower likelihood (50% decrease in the relative odds) of being discussed in terms of physical characteristics. When skin tone and racial attribution as black are simultaneously included in the model (model 4), the impact of skin tone is no longer statistically significant, while a one-unit increase in the percentage of respondents who classified the player as black is associated with a 192% increase

in the relative odds that the player will be discussed in terms of physical characteristics. When skin tone and racial attribution as white are simultaneously included (model 5), a one-unit increase in reverse-coded skin tone (from darker to lighter) is associated with a 13% decrease in being discussed in terms of physical characteristics, while a one-unit increase in the percentage of respondents who classified the player as white is associated with an 8% increase in the relative odds.

Models 6 and 7 explore interactions between skin tone and racial attribution. In model 6, skin tone is not significantly associated with being discussed in terms of physical characteristics, but a one-unit increase in the percentage of respondents who classified the player as black is associated with a 228% increase. The interaction effect between skin tone and racial attribution as black is not significantly associated with being discussed in terms of physical characteristics.

In model 7, a one-unit increase in reverse-coded skin tone (from darker to lighter) is associated with a 13% decrease in being discussed in terms of physical characteristics. Racial attribution as white and the interaction between skin tone and racial attribution as white are not significantly associated with being discussed in terms of physical characteristics.

Table 9 addresses announcer comments about players' mental characteristics. Models 1 and 2 demonstrate that neither skin tone nor racial attribution as black is significantly associated with a player being discussed in terms of mental characteristics. Model 3 indicates that whiteness is associated with a lower likelihood (37% decrease in the relative odds) of being discussed in terms of mental characteristics. When skin tone and racial attribution as black are simultaneously included in the model (model 4), the impact of skin tone on the relative odds of being discussed in terms of mental characteristics becomes significant, with a one-unit increase in skin tone being associated with a 28% increase in the relative odds of being discussed in terms of mental characteristics. Racial attribution as black is associated with an 80% decrease in the relative odds of being discussed in terms of mental characteristics. When skin tone and racial attribution as white are simultaneously included (model 5), skin tone is not significantly associated with being discussed in terms of mental characteristics, but racial attribution as white is associated with a 52% decrease in the relative odds of being discussed in terms of mental characteristics.

Models 6 and 7 explore interactions between skin tone and racial attribution. These interactions indicate that comments about mental characteristics are more likely to be directed at players categorized as lighter skinned and less black (model 6) as well as players categorized as darker skinned and less white (model 7). Initially, these findings seem like contradictory results. However, further analysis reveals that skin tone and racial attribution (as whiteness or blackness) are tapping into different types of stereotypes about

players. As seen in table 1, craftiness, coordination, and control are more likely to be associated with players in skin tone Q1 and Q2. These players are also more likely to be socially ascribed as white. On the other end of the skin tone scale, awareness is significantly more likely to be associated with players in skin tone Q5. These players are significantly more likely to be perceived as black relative to the other skin tone quintiles. So, similar to the results in table 7 for performance characteristics, the results for mental characteristics are bimodal and tapping into divergent stereotypes about whiteness (superior intellectual ability) and blackness (awareness as reaction).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Using data from video broadcasts of the NCAA's Men's Division I Basketball Tournament from the years 2000–2010, we examined whether comments made by announcers are dependent on the skin tone of the player. We hypothesized that players with lighter skin would be more likely to be discussed in terms of performance and mental characteristics, whereas players with darker skin would be more likely to be discussed in terms of physical characteristics. The data generally supported our hypotheses.

Using logistic regression modeling and controlling for team variables, player characteristics, and player in-game statistics, we found that announcers were more likely to discuss lighter-skinned players' general ability, offensive ability, and overall performance. Regarding mental characteristics, lighter skin players were more likely to be discussed in regard to control, coordination, cleverness, and craftiness. Regarding physical characteristics, announcers were more likely to discuss the size/height, speed, and overall physical characteristics of darker-skinned players. They were only more likely to comment on lighter-skinned players' jumping ability. Considering that the players in the darkest skin tone quintile were significantly shorter than players in skin tone Q1 and Q2 and weighed less than players skin tone Q2, on average, the finding that size and height were mentioned significantly more often in reference to darker-skinned players by announcers during in-game commentary lends support to our argument regarding the importance of measuring objective performance and including physical traits to properly evaluate the potency of stereotypical attributions.

There were a few exceptions to the support for our hypotheses for specific characteristics that deserve more elaboration than what we provided in the results section. Jumping ability was associated more with lighter skin tones. It could be that seeing lighter-skinned players jump high operates to counter subtyping and becomes more salient as a result. For mental characteristics, darker-skinned players were associated with having more awareness. Although awareness seems to imply some sort of intellectual acuity, the

comments we coded as representative of awareness more so highlight reactivity and the ability to pay attention and focus. Animals are frequently associated with having quick reactions, and reactivity is often framed as instinctual or inherent. For example, in reference to one player, an announcer commented, "He does a good job of tracing the ball—we call it—tracing the ball with your eyes and with your hands." On the other hand, cleverness, craftiness, and control are often discussed in terms of strategic thinking. An example coded as cleverness included "Clever. Really understands the game," while examples coded as craftiness included "We've talked about [M.H.] and how crafty he is. [S.] is much the same way as a perimeter player—knows how to use that height at 6′5″ very effectively to get into the lane." Comments about control included "He's the horse whisperer is what he is. Anybody that can tame horses can definitely control opponents on the basketball [court]." The reactivity of awareness, while still mental in nature, is distinctive from cleverness, craftiness, or control (which are more specifically linked with the operationalization of knowledge).

We also examined the role of racial attribution. Building on the work of Bailey et al. (2014), we include skin tone and socially ascribed race (racial attribution from coders) in the same model to emphasize how skin tone is not simply a proxy for race but rather an independent construct worthy of investigation in its own right. For overall performance, skin tone was still significant even when controlling for racial attribution. For overall physical characteristics, skin tone was nonsignificant when controlling for black racial attribution, but it was significant when controlling for white racial attribution. Moreover, a player being perceived as black seemed to override the significance of skin tone, but a player being perceived as white did not. Racial stereotypes about physicality may be so strong that blackness trumps skin tone. For physical characteristics, skin tone may serve as a proxy for racial attribution, whereas with performance skin tone is a more autonomous construct.

For overall mental, skin tone was significant when controlling for black racial attribution but in the unexpected direction. As skin tone shifts from lighter to darker, announcers were significantly more likely to mention mental characteristics when controlling for black racial attribution. This finding was driven almost exclusively by the awareness variable discussed above. Although awareness is a mental characteristic, it has a more reactive quality than craftiness or cleverness. Craftiness and cleverness suggest having a plan and being proactive, whereas awareness suggests that a player is more reactionary to what is occurring on the court. While these comments are quantitatively grouped as mental characteristics, they are qualitatively different in terms of what they highlight. In turn, these characteristics tap into different stereotypes about the meaning of having lighter skin or darker skin as well as what it means to be socially ascribed as white or black.

Collectively, with the exception of overall physical when controlling for racial attribution as black and overall mental when controlling for racial attribution as white, skin tone was still significant when controlling for racial attribution. And, although characteristics were grouped as performance, physical, and mental characteristics, players were discussed in qualitatively different ways by commentators based on the specific attribute within each main category (which we illuminated by showing the top mentioned characteristics for performance, physical, and mental characteristics).

These findings show that the significance of skin tone and racial attribution may vary in relative significance depending on the social context. Indeed, one of our most important contributions is to provide findings suggesting that socially ascribed race (as racial attribution from coders) may mediate skin tone when racial stereotypes are more strongly related to the outcome and a particular racial group, whereas skin tone may matter more when outcomes are more ambiguously related to racial stereotypes about specific groups. For example, racial attribution as black mediated skin tone when comments related to physical characteristics were assessed (table 8). This makes sense. Stereotypes about blackness and physicality are quite strong and even transcend the sports arena (Hoberman 1997; May 2008; Carrington 2012; Ray 2015). Likewise, skin tone was mediated by racial attribution as white when mental characteristics were examined (table 9). Stereotypes about the intellectual superiority of whites obviously transcend the social institution of sport (Hawkins 1995; Entine 2000) but still seem to have the ability to trump skin tone in this social context. However, skin tone maintained significance when we examined performance (table 7), when physical characteristics were not linked to blackness, and when mental characteristics were not linked to whiteness. So it is not simply about racial attribution. It is about racial attribution as white or black depending on the outcome and depending on the social context. Performance may be even more context specific and task based than physicality and intellect, which are generally applied to most social settings. The ambiguity of task-based performances may be more susceptible to the influences of skin tone when the power of intellect or physicality is less clear.

Accordingly, our analysis provided a series of important extensions to the colorism literature. First, our analysis was able to overcome previous studies that suffer from endogeneity issues. We took up the challenge from Villarreal (2012) to examine skin tone before human capital measures influence interviewer assessments. As mentioned in the theoretical background section, most surveys ask surveyors to assess skin tone at the end of interviews, which increases the likelihood that respondents' answers (such as human capital outcomes) have "whitened" respondents more than if skin tone was assessed at the beginning of the interview. Our study did not provide any information or attributes to respondents. Second, we were able to examine

performance, physical, and mental characteristics and control for objective metrics and actual past performance (rather than perceived performance) in a closed network. Third, we included additional measures related to phenotype, such as height and weight. In this regard, we were not only including skin tone but also accounting for the extent to which colorist and racial stereotypes might be influenced by the actual physical size of the person. However, we acknowledge that our study only analyzed one sport. Future research should examine the extent to which we see these patterns in other sports.

Finally, we were able to highlight how vital skin tone is for labeling and attribution even when controlling for racial attribution. Similar to Bailey et al. (2014), we chose to include all individuals in the same model rather than splitting them up by racial attribution. We believe this is important because a substantial percentage of players were classified by respondents as potentially being more than one race. While there was racial congruence and uniformity about some players, there was wide disagreement about others. Fittingly, we argue that skin tone is not simply a proxy for race. They are obviously interrelated, but they are independent constructs with unique features. As society becomes more multiracial and multiethnic, skin tone may grow in importance if people are unable to uniformly attribute racial classification onto others. In this regard, colorism may become even more significant to help deal with the ambiguity of socially ascribed race and social context, which are two features that people often use to racially stereotype others.

Our findings also have implications for race scholars (Omi and Winant 1994; Bobo and Smith 1998; Zuberi 2001; Hunter 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2009; Feagin 2013; Monk 2014), sport scholars (Hoberman 1997; May 2008; Carrington 2010, 2013; Yep 2012), and social psychologists interested in frame analysis, schemas, and emotions (Goffman 1974; Maynard and Peräkylä 2003; Fine 2014). For race scholars, we highlight how actors in an event, situation, or scene may draw upon different racial codes to make interpretations of the setting. Similar to other studies showing differences between darker- and lighter-skinned blacks (Keith and Herring 1991; Eberhardt et al. 2004; Goldsmith et al. 2007; Monk 2014), we find that darker-skinned players are acutely stereotyped as more physical and athletic compared to lighter-skinned players. Our work extends research highlighting how the minds of dark-skinned individuals are silenced by stereotypes about the operation of their bodies (Hawkins 1995; Carrington 2012). It is evident that skin tone is a variable that needs to be incorporated into examinations of racial differences in the 21st century even if racial classification is included.

Regarding the sociology of sport literature, our findings suggest that sport is not an institution that is immune from racialization and may, in fact, play a vital role in shaping beliefs and interpretations about intellectual ability,

physical ability, and performance. We continue the legacy of Harry Edwards (1973) and take up the challenge of Carrington (2012) to place sport front and center as a social institution that mirrors what occurs in broader social life. This is important considering that the last three *Annual Review of Sociology* articles about sport over the past three decades continue to mention the lack of focus that sport as a social institution is given in sociology despite its massive social appeal with the lay public (Frey and Eitzen 1991; Washington and Karen 2001; Carrington 2013). As Bourdieu (1988, p. 155) argues, "Sports is not a self-contained universe."

For social psychologists, our work illuminates the relevance of frames (Goffman 1974, 1983; Maynard and Peräkylä 2003) by showing how skin tone can transform innocuous schematics into primary frames that reinforce existing stereotypes and racial hierarchies about social groups. For sport, skin tone becomes the schematic that people use to make sense of the images they see. Historical stereotypes about black intellectual inferiority as well as white physical inferiority continue to manifest themselves in 21st-century America and extend well beyond the white lines of basketball courts. Implicit biases in sport may transfer to other social institutions including, for example, education—where teachers may draw upon a racialized tool kit to make inferences about the intellect of darker-skinned students (Hannon 2015) or their (in)ability to manufacture human capital by being crafty or clever (Ferguson 2000; Carter 2005; Harris 2011; Tyson 2011). Likewise, individuals may be influenced by colorism and be suspicious of the moral character or emotional volubility of a darker-skinned individual walking through a neighborhood or on public street (Eberhardt et al. 2004; Correll et al. 2006; Trawalter et al. 2008; McConnaughy and White 2011; Ray 2015). Collectively, these stereotypical beliefs highlight the importance of Goffman's (1974) concept of unintentional self-disclosure and suggest the need to investigate how innocuous frames of analysis may be racialized via skin tone.

Our research also has implications for lighter-skinned individuals. Stereotypes about the physical inferiority of lighter-skinned individuals may lead white children to view sports (at least the most popular U.S. sports of basketball and football, and possibly even track and field and soccer in an international context) as primarily reserved for darker-skinned people. This interpretation may be reaffirmed by parents who believe that sports are not worthy of their children's pursuits given stereotypic notions about biology and race. Altogether, it is clear that skin tone inequality (via stereotypes and racial ideologies about mental and physical ability and perceptions of performance) is alive and well in the 21st century and may be a major schematic that individuals use to make sense of their social worlds, whether this is about how they view a basketball player on a televised game, students at

their children's school, teenagers and young adults walking down the street, or colleagues at work.

APPENDIX A

TABLE A1
Games Included in the Sample

Tournament Round Game	Teams
2010 Championship	Butler University vs. Duke University
2010 Final Four	Butler University vs. Michigan State University
2010 Elite Eight	Baylor University vs. Duke University
2010 Sweet Sixteen	University of Washington vs. West Virginia University
2009 Championship	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill vs. Michigan State University
2009 Final Four	Michigan State University vs. University of Connecticut
2009 Elite Eight	Oklahoma University vs. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
2009 Sweet Sixteen	University of Arizona vs. University of Louisville
2009 Sweet Sixteen	Gonzaga University vs. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
2008 Championship	University of Kansas vs. University of Memphis
2008 Final Four	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill vs. University of Kansas
2008 Elite Eight	Xavier University vs. University of California, Los Angeles
2008 Sweet Sixteen	University of Louisville vs. University of Tennessee, Knoxville
2008 Sweet Sixteen	Villanova University vs. University of Kansas
2007 Championship	The Ohio State University vs. University of Florida
2007 Final Four	Georgetown University vs. The Ohio State University
2007 Elite Eight	University of Memphis vs. The Ohio State University
2007 Sweet Sixteen	University of Southern California vs. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
2007 Sweet Sixteen	University of Tennessee, Knoxville vs. The Ohio State University
2006 Championship	University of Florida vs. University of California, Los Angeles
2006 Final Four	University of California, Los Angeles vs. Louisiana State University
2006 Elite Eight	George Mason University vs. University of Connecticut
2006 Sweet Sixteen	George Mason University vs. Wichita State University
2006 Sweet Sixteen	Louisiana State University vs. Duke University
2006 Championship	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill vs. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
2005 Final Four	University of Louisville vs. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
2005 Elite Eight	West Virginia University vs. University of Louisville
2005 Sweet Sixteen	University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee vs. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
2005 Sweet Sixteen	North Carolina State University vs. University of Wisconsin-Madison
2004 Championship	University of Connecticut vs. Georgia Institute of Technology
2004 Final Four	University of Connecticut vs. Duke University
2004 Elite Eight	Oklahoma State University vs. St. Joseph's University
2004 Sweet Sixteen	University of Nevada, Reno vs. Georgia Institute of Technology
2004 Sweet Sixteen	Wake Forest University vs. St. Joseph's University
2003 Championship	Syracuse University vs. University of Kansas
2003 Final Four	University of Kansas vs. Marquette University
2003 Elite Eight	Syracuse University vs. University of Oklahoma
2003 Sweet Sixteen	University of Wisconsin-Madison vs. University of Kentucky
2003 Sweet Sixteen	Duke University vs. University of Kansas
2002 Championship	University of Maryland, College Park vs. Indiana University

TABLE A1 (*Continued*)

Tournament Round Game	Teams
2002 Final Four	Indiana University vs. University of Oklahoma
2002 Elite Eight	University of Connecticut vs. University of Maryland, College Park
2002 Sweet Sixteen	Kent State University vs. University of Pittsburgh
2002 Sweet Sixteen	University of Kentucky vs. University of Maryland, College Park
2001 Championship	University of Arizona vs. Duke University
2001 Final Four	University of Maryland, College Park vs. Duke University
2001 Elite Eight	University of Arizona vs. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
2001 Sweet Sixteen	University of California, Los Angeles vs. Duke University
2001 Sweet Sixteen	Temple University vs. The Pennsylvania State University
2000 Championship	University of Florida vs. Michigan State University
2000 Final Four	University of Wisconsin-Madison vs. Michigan State University
2000 Elite Eight	University of Florida vs. Oklahoma State University
2000 Sweet Sixteen	University of Tulsa vs. University of Miami
2000 Sweet Sixteen	Syracuse University vs. Michigan State University

APPENDIX B

Supplemental Logistic Regression Models

TABLE B1
Supplemental Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone on Remarks about Player Performance, Player Physical Characteristics, and Player Mental Characteristics

	Skin Tone	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables + Player Objective Performance Variables)
Player performance:				
Activity ($n = 6$)	.44*	.41*	—	—
	(.14)	(.15)		
Blocking ($n = 10$)	1.15	1.14	1.20	1.06
	(.18)	(.18)	(.17)	(.21)
Dribbling ($n = 6$)	.77	.72	.68	—
	(.13)	(.13)	(.15)	
Foul trouble ($n = 7$)	1.17	1.17	1.09	.92
	(.22)	(.23)	(.22)	(.39)
Lack of ball-handling ability ($n = 9$)	1.41	1.41	1.37	1.21
	(.30)	(.30)	(.28)	(.31)

TABLE B1 (*Continued*)

	Skin Tone	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables + Player Objective Performance Variables)
Lack of shooting/scoring ability ($n = 28$)	1.02	1.01	1.01	1.07
	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)	(.10)
Shot-blocking ability ($n = 26$)	1.76***	1.78***	2.75***	—
	(.27)	(.28)	(.74)	
Smoothness ($n = 13$)	.20**	.10**	—	—
	(.10)	(.07)		
Teamwork ($n = 17$)	1.01	1.00	.96	.75
	(.11)	(.11)	(.13)	(.14)
Player physical characteristics:				
Dexterity ($n = 9$)	.89	.85	.73	—
	(.12)	(.13)	(.13)	
Energy ($n = 14$)	1.06	1.06	1.03	1.05
	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)
Natural ability ($n = 12$)	1.20	1.19	1.14	1.11
	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)	(.20)
Power ($n = 6$)	1.36	1.34	1.00	—
	(.33)	(.34)	(.28)	
Player mental characteristics:				
Academic ability (positive) ($n = 10$)	.86	.88	.93	1.02
	(.11)	(.12)	(.13)	(.16)
Anticipation ($n = 9$)	1.13	1.12	—	—
	(.18)	(.19)		
Competitiveness ($n = 15$)	1.23	1.22	1.22	1.06
	(.17)	(.17)	(.20)	(.29)

Decisiveness ($n = 8$)	1.32	1.33	1.50	1.45
	(.27)	(.27)	(.40)	(.49)
Intelligence ($n = 12$)	1.01	1.03	1.03	1.03
	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)	(.16)
Judgment ($n = 14$)	1.02	1.05	1.05	1.23
	(.12)	(.12)	(.13)	(.23)
Lack of academic ability ($n = 5$)	.89	.89	—	—
	(.17)	(.17)		
Patience ($n = 11$)	1.06	1.06	—	—
	(.15)	(.15)		
Timing ($n = 8$)	3.65**	2.96**	3.17	—
	(1.55)	(1.23)	(1.96)	
Versatility ($n = 6$)	1.06	1.06	1.06	1.04
	(.20)	(.20)	(.21)	(.23)

NOTE.—Data are reported as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. A dash (—) indicates that the model failed to converge. Variables with $n = 5$ or fewer were excluded from the appendix due to insufficient size for analysis. Among player performance variables, these included acrobatics ($n = 1$), character ($n = 1$), coachability ($n = 2$), community orientation ($n = 1$), description using a metaphor from another profession (such as calling someone an "assassin") ($n = 2$), dominance ($n = 1$), efficiency ($n = 1$), experience ($n = 4$), failing expectations ($n = 1$), lack of consistency ($n = 2$), lack of offensive ability ($n = 1$), lack of polish ($n = 1$), lack of shot-blocking ability ($n = 2$), popularity ($n = 1$), positioning ($n = 1$), quiet ($n = 3$), rallies teammates ($n = 2$), and reliability ($n = 1$). Among player physical characteristics variables, these included finesse ($n = 1$) form ($n = 4$), hustle ($n = 1$), intimidating presence ($n = 2$), lack of conditioning ($n = 1$), lack of poise ($n = 1$), lack of speed ($n = 2$), lack of strength ($n = 2$), poise ($n = 3$), and range ($n = 2$). Among player mental characteristics variables, these included assertiveness ($n = 1$), attention to detail ($n = 1$), attitude ($n = 1$), calmness ($n = 1$), cockiness ($n = 1$), concentration ($n = 2$), creativity ($n = 2$), dedication ($n = 1$), discipline ($n = 1$), emotionality ($n = 4$), focus ($n = 2$), generosity ($n = 3$), humility ($n = 1$), intuition ($n = 1$), lack of academic ability ($n = 5$), lack of assertiveness ($n = 1$), lack of confidence ($n = 2$), lack of decision-making ability ($n = 1$), lack of intelligence ($n = 1$), lack of judgment ($n = 3$), lack of self-control ($n = 1$), opportunism ($n = 3$), personality ($n = 1$), reaction ($n = 1$), reluctance ($n = 1$), risk aversion ($n = 4$), savviness ($n = 1$), selflessness ($n = 4$), sneakiness ($n = 4$), spirit ($n = 1$), stealthiness ($n = 1$), style ($n = 2$), superstitious ($n = 1$), technique ($n = 1$), understanding ($n = 4$), and vision ($n = 4$).

* $P < .05$.

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE B2

Supplemental Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone and Racial Attribution as Black on Remarks about Player Performance, Player Physical Characteristics, and Player Mental Characteristics

	Skin Tone	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables + Player Objective Performance Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables + Player Objective Performance Variables + Interaction between PERLA and Racial Attribution as Black)
Player performance					
Activity ($n = 6$)	6.46	11.13	—	—	—
	(6.79)	(17.64)			
Blocking ($n = 10$)	1.33	1.30	.96	.92	4.26
	(.50)	(.50)	(.40)	(.44)	(4.00)
Dribbling ($n = 6$)	.93	.87	—	—	—
	(.54)	(.53)			
Foul trouble ($n = 7$)	1.77	1.59	1.04	1.13	3.29
	(.80)	(.67)	(.51)	(1.12)	(4.63)
Lack of ball-handling ability ($n = 9$)	1.50	1.53	1.19	1.36	.12
	(.58)	(.60)	(.54)	(.58)	(.15)
Lack of shooting/scoring ability ($n = 28$)	1.04	1.07	1.06	1.04	1.87
	(.23)	(.23)	(.22)	(.23)	(.65)
Shot-blocking ability ($n = 26$)	1.27	1.29	1.89	—	—
	(.29)	(.31)	(.74)		
Smoothness ($n = 13$)	..25*	.10**	—	—	—
	(.17)	(.08)			
Teamwork ($n = 17$)	.45***	.44**	—	.36**	.58
	(.10)	(.10)		(.13)	(.45)
Player physical characteristics:					
Dexterity ($n = 9$)	.89	.88	.73	—	—
	(.39)	(.37)	(.37)		

Energy ($n = 14$)	1.24	1.24	1.17	1.07	.74
	(.41)	(.41)	(.40)	(.40)	(.43)
Natural ability ($n = 12$)	1.07	1.13	1.13	—	—
	(.37)	(.39)	(.41)		
Power ($n = 6$)	.70	.75	—	—	—
	(.31)	(.32)			
Player mental characteristics:					
Academic ability (positive) ($n = 10$)	1.86	1.71	1.73	3.42*	1.95
	(.79)	(.71)	(.73)	(2.10)	(1.52)
Anticipation ($n = 9$)	.72	.78	.83	—	—
	(.27)	(.29)	(.32)		
Competitiveness ($n = 15$)	2.07*	1.86*	—	—	—
	(.64)	(.55)			
Decisiveness ($n = 8$)	1.14	1.08	1.49	1.63	3.59
	(.47)	(.43)	(.69)	(.92)	(5.29)
Intelligence ($n = 12$)	1.13	1.11	1.14	1.14	.51
	(.41)	(.39)	(.43)	(.53)	(.34)
Judgment ($n = 14$)	.48**	.39**	.35**	.18*	.07**
	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.14)	.07
Lack of academic ability ($n = 5$)	.38	.40	—	—	—
	(.12)	(.14)			
Patience ($n = 11$)	.74	.70	—	—	—
	(.26)	(.26)			
Timing ($n = 8$)	2.93*	2.14**	.66	—	—
	(1.43)	(1.10)	(1.25)		
Versatility ($n = 6$)	1.14	1.08	1.11	1.36	1.53
	(.57)	(.52)	(.54)	(.82)	(1.36)

NOTE.—Data are reported as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. A dash (—) indicates that the model failed to converge. Variables with $n = 5$ or fewer are as in table B1.

* $P < .05$.

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE B3

Supplemental Logistic Regression Models to Predict the Effect of Player's Skin Tone and Racial Attribution as White on Remarks about Player Performance, Player Physical Characteristics, and Player Mental Characteristics

	Skin Tone	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables + Player Objective Performance Variables)	Skin Tone (Controlling for Tournament Variables + Player Characteristic Variables + Player Objective Performance Variables + Interaction between PERLA and Racial Attribution as White)
Player performance:					
Activity ($n = 6$)	.83	1.02	—	—	—
	(.26)	(.41)			
Blocking ($n = 10$)	1.17	1.19	1.20	1.25	1.28
	(.27)	(.28)	(.23)	(.28)	(.28)
Dribbling ($n = 6$)	.81	.81	.77	—	—
	(.20)	(.22)	(.26)		
Foul trouble ($n = 7$)	1.03	1.04	1.28	1.58	1.67
	(.30)	(.31)	(.38)	(.71)	(.76)
Lack of ball-handling ability ($n = 9$)	.62*	.63*	.62	.63	.44
	(.15)	(.60)	(.17)	(.22)	(.24)
Lack of shooting/scoring ability ($n = 28$)	1.25	1.26	1.22	1.20	1.20
	(.16)	(.16)	(.15)	(.16)	(.16)
Shot-blocking ability ($n = 26$)	.56**	.55**	.27***	—	—
	(.09)	(.31)	(.08)		
Smoothness ($n = 13$)	3.01	—	—	—	—
	(2.13)				
Teamwork ($n = 17$)	1.25	1.25	1.33	1.51	2.01**
	(.22)	(.22)	(.29)	(.41)	(.52)
Player physical characteristics:					
Dexterity ($n = 9$)	.96	.99	1.14	—	—
	(.24)	(.26)	(.35)		

Energy ($n = 14$)	.82	.82	.83	.84	.75
	(.16)	(.16)	(.17)	(.17)	(.22)
Natural ability ($n = 12$)	.92	.92	—	—	—
	(.21)	(.22)			
Power ($n = 6$)	.93	.92	—	—	—
	(.33)	(.33)			
Player mental characteristics:					
Academic ability (positive) ($n = 10$)	1.16	1.16	1.10	1.01	1.06
	(.29)	(.30)	(.28)	(.27)	(.29)
Anticipation ($n = 9$)	1.21	1.23	1.30	1.33	1.35
	(.29)	(.30)	(.32)	(.33)	(.33)
Competitiveness ($n = 15$)	1.27	1.30	1.38	1.44	1.62
	(.24)	(.24)	(.31)	(.53)	(.63)
Decisiveness ($n = 8$)	1.14	1.16	1.04	.99	.98
	(.32)	(.33)	(.41)	(.47)	(44)
Intelligence ($n = 12$)	.86	.84	.81	.76	.66
	(.18)	(.19)	(.18)	(.19)	(.21)
Judgment ($n = 14$)	.80	.78	.77	.39**	.34*
	(.15)	(.16)	(.17)	(.13)	(.16)
Lack of academic ability ($n = 5$)	1.66	1.73	—	—	—
	(.45)	(.49)			
Patience ($n = 11$)	1.46*	1.47*	1.77*	—	—
	(.28)	(.28)	(.46)		
Timing ($n = 8$)	.27**	.34*	.42	—	—
	(.12)	(.14)	(.38)		
Versatility ($n = 6$)	1.60*	1.64*	1.66*	1.65	1.58
	(.35)	(.37)	(.40)	(.43)	(.41)

NOTE.—Data are reported as odds ratios with SEs in parentheses. A dash (—) indicates that the model failed to converge. Variables with $n = 5$ or fewer are as in table B1.

* $P < .05$.

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

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