

Antiblackness and Carcerality: Implications for the Study of College Athletics

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Abstract: We frequently frame criticisms of college athletics in terms of labor exploitation and/or legacies of racism. Though these remain necessary and foundational analytical frames, there are other important frameworks through which we must analyze college athletics to fully understand how and why inequity and racism are both rationalized and compounded. Antiblackness and carcerality—and their deep interconnection—are two such perspectives that both complement and complicate other approaches to the study of college athletics. This paper discusses these two essential theoretical frameworks and demonstrates the nuance that using them in college athletics research provides through several exemplars.

Keywords: Antiblackness, carcerality, college athletics, racism

Theorizing the Function of College Athletics

For decades, critical sport scholars have documented the tension between the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and college athletes who continue to fight for their rights to healthcare, free speech, bodily autonomy, education, and fair compensation (Comeaux, 2018; Gayles et al., 2018; Huma & Staurowsky, 2011; Sack & Staurowsky, 1998; Southall & Staurowsky, 2013). Those who have organized against the current structure and fought for player rights have experienced massive resistance from administrators and state officials who fight to preserve the system—an arrangement that has been critiqued for mirroring a plantation (Branch, 2011; Hawkins, 2010), and relying on the disposability of primarily Black men (Comeaux, 2018; Rhoden, 2006). Scholars have analyzed other functions of college athletics, such as propagating white supremacist delusions of the ultimate heterosexual white subject (Hextrum, 2021a; Smith, 1990), serving as another privileging access point to college for white youth (Hextrum, 2018, 2019, 2020a, 2020b; Jayakumar & Page, 2021), and accumulating wealth for primarily white administrators and corporate entities (Gayles et al., 2018).

Recent analyses of sport in relation to state violence (Haslerig et al., 2020) and statehood (Hextrum, 2021a) lead us to consider other, often more expansive, views of the root of inequity and harm in sport. Hextrum (2021a) explicated the relationship between college sport, the NCAA, and state power:

Like other arms of the state (e.g., military or taxes), the NCAA is not a singular thing but a collection of member institutions and individuals. Through its diffuse organizational membership (discussed in forthcoming chapters), the NCAA's reach and the state's power expand. (pp. 5-6)

As such, college sport can be seen as enmeshed in and complementing other antiblack state projects and carceral expansion such as segregation, organized abandonment, the war on drugs, nonprofit

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sporting organizations (Hartmann, 2012), the proliferation of tropes about Black athleticism and invincibility (Azzarito & Harrison, 2008; Harrison & Lawrence, 2004; Haslerig et al., 2020), as well as narratives that sport via the “state-sponsored sports pathway to college” as an avenue for social mobility (Edwards, 1979; Hextrum, 2021a, p. 3; Kalman-Lamb, 2020).

What remains undertheorized is how higher education’s administering of college athletics rests within the carceral continuum of these antiblack state projects and structural conditions of antiblackness in general. Put another way, how is the system and foundational logics that structure college athletics tethered to the dehumanization of Black players specifically, and the reproduction and normalization of the abjection of Black people generally? In what ways does higher education use antiblack logics and carceral formations to administer college athletics? What forms of control and ideologies are used to indoctrinate and rationalize this system to participants, as well as gain public consent?

To reflect on the significance and explanatory power that carcerality and antiblackness offer toward these questions, I present a portion of data from a study that qualitatively examined how athletic department policies and practices shaped former (18) and current (two) college player experiences (see Appendix A for participant demographic information). Interviews with 10 Black and 10 nonblack¹ participants from 13 different Division I institutions were collected and analyzed. Data analysis demonstrated the power these theories had in situating participant experiences within a larger continuum of state violence – particularly as it relates to an undergirding antiblack logic.

Literature Review

There is a large archive, both academic and activist, that details college athletes’ inequitable and exploitative conditions within higher education. Most research critical of the system has investigated the structure of college sport and player experiences through lenses of capitalism, neoliberalism, racism, and white supremacy. Research has examined these structuring logics and how fulfilling them, e.g., organizing and administering athletics according to them, is tied to structural racism (Gayles, 2018; Hawkins, 2010), white supremacy and whiteness (Hextrum, 2018; 2020d; 2021a; 2021b), capitalism and neoliberalism (Comeaux, 2018; Gayles et al., 2018; Giroux & Giroux, 2012), and antiblackness (Comeaux & Grummert, 2020; Dancy et al., 2018). Most research references the structure of wealth accumulation for white administrators and the disproportionate percentage of Black players in revenue-generating sports compared to other sports and the rest of the study body as a signifier of racist exploitation (Gayles et al., 2018; Giroux & Giroux, 2012). Dancy et al. (2018) and Hawkins (2010) paralleled the current structure of college athletics to slavery and a plantation system, respectively. Dancy et al. (2018) asserted that Blackness being equated with property has never been eradicated from the white imagination, structures, and society. Several authors have noted that universities have shifted from relying on enslaved Black labor to build and maintain institutions to relying on Black players to generate revenue and promote the university under the guise of amateurism (Dancy et al., 2018; Hawkins, 2010; Nocera & Strauss, 2016).

¹ The term “nonblack” encompasses white people and nonblack people of color. Theorists of antiblackness have been clear in their departure from a People of Color vs white people analytic, finding that a Black/nonblack distinction is more accurate in defining the analytical scope and explanatory power antiblackness offers (Vargas, 2018). ²See Hartman, 1997, p. 21 for her analysis of fungibility and fungibilities relationship to libidinal economy.

Furthermore, research has analyzed player experiences across sport and gender to delineate common coercive practices such as surveillance, threat of punishment, and precarity (Hatteberg, 2018; Hatton, 2020). Other research has analyzed how the structure placates white comfort and fragility and serves as a privilege access point for white youth to gain preferential treatment in admissions (Hextrum, 2018; 2021a; 2021b). Hextrum (2018; 2020a) directly implicated the ideal of amateurism as a form of symbolic violence and privileging mechanism for white prospective athletes, whereby they are able to convert their various forms of capital into athletic scholarships and thus protect white property interests through sport (Harris, 1993; Hextrum, 2018; 2021a). Furthermore, many analogies have been used to analyze and describe the structuring logics used by universities and the NCAA such as the plantation (Hawkins, 2010), indentured servitude (Nocera & Strauss, 2016), migrant labor (Hawkins, 1999), exploited worker (Hatton, 2020; McCormick & McCormick, 2006), brothel (Southall et al., 2011), cartel (Kahn, 2007; Koch, 1973), and company town (Southall & Weiler, 2014).

Within the body of research that analogizes the structure of college athletics to slavery, authors tend to foreground an analysis of the exploitation of Black men in football and basketball and thus prioritize a focus on *labor exploitation*, which may unintentionally obscure an analysis of the ways in which college athletics is imbued with antiblack logics that exceed the labor relation. Scholars of gendered antiblackness have emphasized an analysis of ontology, fungibility, and gratuitous violence as elements constitutive to antiblackness that are not rooted in a labor conflict, but rather the structure of humanity and sociability for which Black people have been excluded (Hartman, 1997; Vargas, 2018; Vargas & Jung, 2021; Wilderson, 2010). The focus on antiblackness is not meant to negate the ways in which white supremacy and racial-colonial violence affect all People of Color; rather, an interrogation of antiblackness provides a sharper analytic of the root of Black abjection and violence – one that is separate and distinct from white supremacy. As stated by Vargas and Jung (2021), it is a “difference in *kind* that is continually misrecognized as a difference in *degree*” (p. 8). As such, this paper suspends an analysis focused on labor exploitation and racism to highlight constitutive conditions of antiblackness and carcerality that often remain unexamined and/or obscured in analyses of college athletics.

Theoretical Frameworks: Antiblackness and Carcerality

Theorists of antiblackness analyze the enduring social and structural formations that continue to render the dehumanization of Black people, i.e., as nonhuman or antihuman, as essential toward the construction of humanity (Hartman, 1997; Vargas, 2018; Wilderson, 2010; 2021). I draw upon theories of antiblackness informed by Saidiya Hartman, Patrice Douglass, João Costa Vargas, Joy James, Frank Wilderson III, Jared Sexton, Orlando Patterson (1982), Sylvia Wynter, and Frantz Fanon (1952), alongside other critical theorists who have outlined specific distinctions within Black experiences and traced them to a fundamental antiblack antagonism. As explained by Vargas and Jung (2021), an analysis of antiblackness is distinct from racism:

...while the world of racism is structured according to a White/nonwhite continuum of which Black people are a part (and thus, as nonwhite peoples, possessing fractions of humanity and social belonging), the world of antiblackness is structured according to a Black/nonblack continuum from which Black people are

categorically excluded (and thus, unlike nonblack nonwhite peoples, possessing no fraction of humanity or social belonging) (p. 2).

This paradigmatic shift draws our attention to the distinct forms of violence and abjection that are unique to antiblackness. For example, Hartman's work (1996; 1997; 2007) demonstrated how the convergence of natal alienation, dishonor, gratuitous violence, and fungibility² are constitutive to the "social relations of slavery" (1996, p. 542). Following Hartman, Vargas posed that we analyze the "blueprint" or "underlying algorithm" of slavery as "a socially enforced theory of human relations" that cements antiblackness as a structuring logic of human sociability (Vargas, 2018, p. 35; Vargas & Jung, 2021) that has fungibility at the core of its antiblack schema (Hartman, 1997; Vargas, 2018; Wilderson III, 2010; 2021). Vargas (2018) argued:

Following Hartman's reasoning, fungibility provides a more precise measure of contemporary Black experiences rooted in transhistorically imposed abjection through terror: Black subjugation is not explainable as solely a product of capitalist pragmatic logic; Black subjugation is as much about a libidinal economy—a regime of desires and abjections—shaping the ways in which the enslaved were at once dehumanized, transformed into discardable and interchangeable machines, and made into a medium for the expression of the subjectivity of the nonblack. (p. 12)

As Vargas emphasized, Hartman's analysis of fungibility exposes the affective dimensions of slavery – or the economy of enjoyment created through chattel slavery. In situating slavery as a *theory of social relations*, Hartman also posed whether the concept of the "human" (and subsequent notions of freedom, rights, and liberty) have been accurately transmuted to Black people. She stated, "As well, it leads us to question whether the rights of man and citizen are realizable or whether the appellation 'human' can be borne equally by all" (1997, p. 6). Other theorists of antiblackness have extended this analysis further. For example, Afropessimism, as "a lens of interpretation" and "outgrowth" of the work of Hartman and Spillers in particular (Wilderson III, 2021; Wilderson III & King, 2020, p. 61), centers ontology to interrogate the nature of being and critiques humanity as a parasitic formation that established a Black bodily foil for which nonblack – and most grotesquely white – humanity gained its coherence (Vargas & Jung, 2021; Wilderson III, 2010; 2021).

Wilderson III (re)outlined the analytical project of Afropessimism and clarified its theoretical similarities and departures from other radical theories, which are helpful for beginning to grasp the theoretical depth, explanatory power, and paradigm shift they offer. He explained that several theories share an understanding that violence forms unethical paradigms; however, when looking at the antagonist/ism each theory analyzes, one can see the departure and the alternative paradigm Afropessimism interrogates:

If revolutionary feminism is an immanent critique of the family or the paradigm of kinship, if Marxism is an immanent critique of capitalism or the paradigm of political economy as a structure, then Afropessimism is an immanent critique of the Human or the paradigm of Humanity. (2021, p. 39)

²See Hartman, 1997, p. 21 for her analysis of fungibility and fungibilities relationship to libidinal economy.

The aforementioned theorists of antiblackness provide analyses that call into question the very notion of the *human* as an unethical formation (Hartman, 1997; Hartman & Wilderson III, 2003; Vargas, 2018; Vargas & Jung, 2021; Wilderson III, 2010; 2021).

Carcerality and the Carceral Regime

As Hartman and others have asserted, the social and structural dynamics of slavery have been and continue to be rigorously and thoroughly conserved through our structures and social relations, despite legislation and (neo)liberal notions of racial progress. Scholars have documented how captivity under slavery transitioned over time to other forms of surveillance, punishment, containment, and terror. To name a few iterations, the 13th amendment, the convict prison lease system, Black codes, Jim Crow laws, and residential segregation represent an antiblack carceral continuum – an evolving set of state strategies to contain, surveil, and terrorize Black communities (Browne, 2015; James, 1996; Richie, 1996; Rodríguez, 2021). Carceral regimes, and the antiblack logics they are founded on and proliferate, are prime vehicles through which this operates (Rodríguez, 2021; Vargas, 2018).

Dylan Rodríguez’s conceptualization of the *prison regime* (2006) or *carceral regime* (2021) is central to understanding carcerality as an elaboration of antiblackness. His definition of the carceral regime and its conceptual reach magnifies the “meso-range” of practices and logics that mediate, inform, and deploy carceral logics and formations beyond the site of the prison itself (p. 41):

Structures of human captivity and bodily punishment, though perhaps most spectacularly actualized at the locality of the jail or prison, necessarily elaborate into other, at times counterintuitive, sites of targeting: the school, the workplace, and the targeted neighborhood or community. (Rodríguez, 2006, p. 58)

As several theorists have emphasized, the logics of containment, control, and racialized punishment of the carceral regime is underwritten by an antiblack code, or what Vargas (2013) characterized as an *antiblack death drive*. Thus, antiblackness inflects the formation and management of other institutions such as schools, higher education, and medical systems according to the same logic that targets, dispossesses, criminalizes, and/or kills Black people (James, 1996; Roberts, 1999; Rodríguez, 2006; 2021; Sojoyner, 2016; Vargas, 2018). The prevailing logics of the sociality of slavery are preserved, institutionalized, re-narrated, and disguised as reform. As explained by Rodríguez (2021),

The antiblack chattel relation forms as it facilitates the condition of modernity as well as modern (state) institutionality. This formation of power—as paradigm, method, and infrastructural template—structures the very coherence and preconceptual premises of modern institutions and bureaucratic structures—including notions of order, administrative/labor hierarchy, disciplinarity/compliance, stability, and normative white civil subjectivity. (2021, p. 194)

Furthermore, Joy James’ (1996) analysis of state violence illustrates how the state codified the concept of the *criminal* in Black people. James asserted that “Rather than the erasure of bodily

torture for a carceral of self-policing citizens, as Foucault (1975) maintains, punitive torture in the United States became inscribed on the black body,” while bodies that conform to whiteness are granted autonomy to self-police, or at most be policed without force (p. 26). Thus, even though carcerality cannot be reduced to antiblackness, antiblackness is a foundational logic and precondition of carcerality (Vargas, 2018).

For the purposes of this paper, I present a broad overview of findings related to 20 participants’ experiences with various spheres of healthcare in their athletic departments to illustrate the undergirding antiblack logic that dictated who received care, whose pain was legitimized versus neglected, and whose bodies were routinely deemed fungible (see Appendix A for demographic information). To read the participants’ full narratives and the study’s findings, please reference Grummert (2021).

Health Experiences

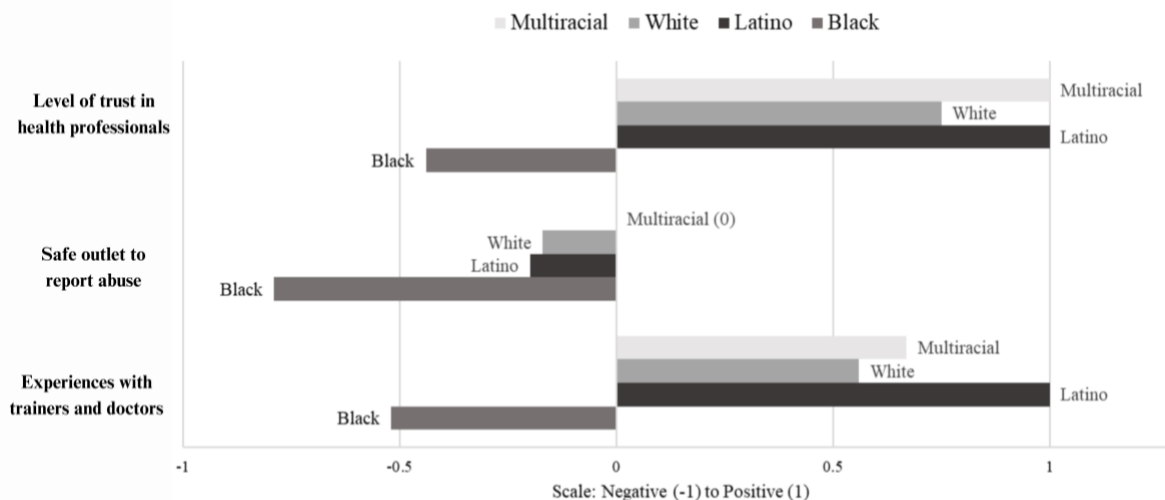
Experiences with Athletic Trainers

Participants described how they endured a range of mental and physical health problems while playing college sport. I asked participants about their experiences with coaches, athletic trainers, and team doctors regarding their mental and physical health. Former players shared problems stemming from abusive coaches, under-trained and/or negligent trainers and doctors, and a general environment that discouraged tending to mental and physical health. However, there was a clear distinction between Black and nonblack players regarding the severity and nature of abuse and injuries.

All but two participants (90%) suffered an injury while competing, but the extent to which their pain and injury were handled with attention and care varied by race. When I asked each participant to describe their experiences with athletic trainers, nonblack participants were overwhelmingly positive, citing how they felt cared for. Figure 1 illustrates the overall sentiment from participants revolving around three topical areas: the level of trust they had in their team doctors, whether or not they felt there was a safe outlet to report abuse related to health and wellbeing, and their overall experiences with team trainers. Black participants consistently reported the lowest levels of trust in team doctors, the most negative experiences with team trainers, as well as the lowest level of confidence there was a safe outlet to report abuse.

Figure 1

Average Quality of Health-Related Experiences by Race



Note: Participants self-identified their race; two participants identified as multiracial (Toby and Iliza) and are therefore reflected as such in Figure 1.

The narratives from participants highlighted this dichotomy further. When I asked each participant if they trusted team doctors, the responses from Black participants were in stark contrast to nonblack participants. Black participants overwhelmingly responded with a negative such as “no,” “hell no,” “not at all,” “no, clearly no,” and “I can’t trust nobody,” whereas nonblack participants overwhelmingly answered with an affirmative “yes,” “absolutely,” “definitely,” “yeah, for sure,” and “wholeheartedly.” Some nonblack participants even expanded, unprompted, about how much they felt cared for and in trusted hands with medical staff.

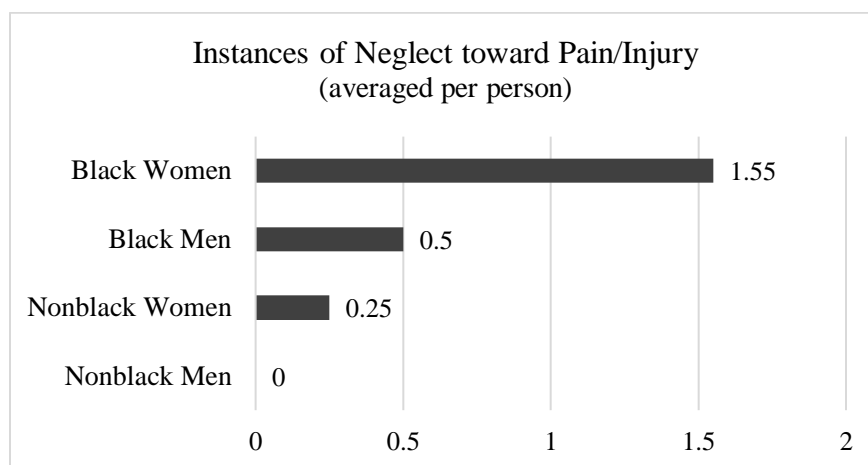
For example, Diego, a Latino soccer player, said he remembered having a reflective moment where he realized “All right, he [the athletic trainer] really cares about me.” Other nonblack participants shared similar sentiments such as Thiago who stated “They treated me with respect, they cared about me, they were always there for me taking care of me;” Wayne, who reported he “had really good trainers, like at both schools;” and Jennie, who “trusted my [her] ATs wholeheartedly.” Two participants – Iliza, a Latina and White track and field athlete and Whitney, a White swimmer – explicitly stated how they felt respected as humans and had bodily autonomy: Whitney felt treated like a “holistic human being,” and Iliza felt her body was more respected during her time *in* college sport versus after. In nonblack participants’ narratives of being injured or in pain, there was a general theme of trainers being cautious and ensuring players – particularly nonblack men – were healthy and cared for.

Nonblack participants’ positive experiences were juxtaposed with Black participants’ overwhelmingly negative experiences, the majority of whom described how they were often not treated at all and/or mistreated. There were three exceptions in Chiney, Toby, and Tori’s experiences. Tori stated that she had a world-renowned Olympic trainer and thus received exceptional care; Toby did not suffer any significant injuries; and Chiney felt she could trust her athletic trainer, but acknowledged that trusting trainers as a Black woman was a rare occurrence. Black women, in particular, described the negligence they routinely faced from coaches and trainers (See Figure 2). Five out of nine Black women offered numerous stories of neglect from

athletic trainers, how coaches attempted to convince them that they were not hurt, and in some cases how they suffered worse health problems due to ongoing neglect. This was a shared experience among several Black women participants; within Jessica, Janelle, and Ari's accounts of trying to get care, the women explicitly stated that trainers did not believe they were in pain – a pattern of dismissal that Jessica and Janelle said they had faced since high school. Notably, nonblack men reported zero instances of neglect from athletic trainers and doctors.

Figure 2

Average Instances of Neglect by Race and Gender



Lastly, there were no options for recourse to address the individual and structural harm participants were subjected to. I asked each participant if they felt there was a safe option for reporting such abuses, whether micro or macro, and most participants said no. Importantly, the depth and assuredness of answers varied by race and gender, as they did with the amount of trust participants had in medical doctors. Most Black women answered with a definitive “no,” and the answer often came after they had already detailed experiences of being harmed and attempted to ameliorate the harm or find redress to no avail. Of the few women who did not answer with a definitive “no,” they said they could think of somewhere or someone to report to, but doubted anything would be addressed. For instance, Chiney provided an example of the volleyball team reporting their coach to administration but that “it wasn’t taken seriously” and she felt that “it was kind of shut down.”

Women, and Black women in particular, had a more intimate awareness of their vulnerability to harm and the limited options for recourse. The culmination of neglect was felt in and on players’ bodies. Negligence toward Black participants’ bodies and health was demonstrated by coaches overworking them, not providing sufficient income or resources for nutritious food, trainers and doctors denying their pain, and coaches using increased physical activity as punishment for advocating for better wellness practices. Furthermore, coaches’ power to revoke one’s scholarship at will further incentivized and coerced players into playing while injured, which had lasting ramifications on their health and exemplified Black players’ fungibility.

Discussion

The sport-state partnership of college athletics functions in three overarching, related ways that have been previously documented: (a) maintaining racial and class reproduction and stratification by privileging white access to higher education through athletics (Hextrum, 2018; 2021a; 2021b); (b) reinforcing white supremacist, eugenicist notions of white superiority and Black inferiority and fungibility (Haslerig et al., 2020; Hextrum, 2021a); and (c) creating a network of parasitic economies that profit off players' labor, images, and likeness through racism and capitalism (Gayles et al., 2018; Hawkins, 2010; Huma & Staurowsky, 2011; Staurowsky, 2007). The research presented here underscores how antiblackness and carcerality are logics that are enmeshed, and perhaps driving forces, in the previously documented functions.

Every participant was subjected to carceral conditions across Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS), Football Championship Subdivision (FCS), and Division I (no football) institutions including participants who competed in track and field, cross country, men's and women's basketball, men's soccer, football, softball, and volleyball. By centering antiblackness, findings demonstrated how college athletics preserves the sociality of slavery, as seen through an analysis of health outcomes in relation to fungibility. The specificity of antiblackness was evidenced by Black participants' unique experiences of: (a) athletic trainers' and doctors' negligence toward their bodies and emotional wellbeing; (b) being treated as fungible and discardable; and (c) having their pain dismissed and/or denied. Antiblackness was also evidenced in the larger collection of findings from this study that described participant experiences of the denial of their bodily autonomy and rights and all-encompassing surveillance, as well as the policing of political thought, working under threat of punishment, and mandating that athletes be deferential to authority (Grummert, 2021).

The logic of antiblackness, specifically fungibility, was perhaps most glaring when Black participants shared their experiences with athletic trainers, coaches, and doctors. As evidenced by participant stories, the antiblack structuring logic of college athletics enabled and produced harm and abuse toward Black players as their injuries and pain were consistently neglected or denied. Importantly, Black women were uniquely vulnerable to state violence as administered through college athletics – psychologically, emotionally, and physically. More than half of the Black women participants in this study referenced their pain and injuries being treated as an afterthought or not treated at all. These findings complement other studies on antiblackness in college athletics broadly (Comeaux et al., 2022; Comeaux & Grummert, 2020), the ways that media promote Black players' dehumanization and perceived imperviousness to pain through the production of college football broadcasts (Haslerig et al., 2019; 2020), as well as studies that document how Black women's pain is uniquely denied (Roberts, 1999; Sacks, 2019). Perhaps not surprisingly, trainers' and doctors' refusal to recognize Black players' pain is reflective of the larger medical community's denial of Black pain and humanity in the U.S. more broadly (Hoffman et al., 2016), and other literature that details antiblackness as a planetary phenomenon (Douglass, 2018; James, 1999; 2021; Vargas, 2018; 2021; Wun, 2016).

Implications and Conclusion

As we can glean from research at the nexus of prison and schooling (Sojoyner, 2013; 2016; Wun, 2016; 2017; 2018a; 2018b), there may be more explanatory power when situating college athletics in relation to state-sanctioned attempts to enclose and police Black communities and control dissent rather than analyses of racist labor exploitation alone. This requires a more thorough analysis of the carceral processes that structure contemporary college athletics and how those processes are informed by and extend antiblackness as a logic of social and institutional life. Additionally, reform efforts should be met with skepticism. Scholars of the prison regime have continued to document how carceral systems thrive on reform (Gilmore, 2007; Rodríguez, 2017; 2021). Reforms often present a narrow set of solutions that operate within the current paradigm, such as diversifying athletic departments or allowing college players more access to economic opportunities, i.e., more rights to their name, image, and likeness. As Name, Image, and Likeness (NIL) bills increasingly garner support from state legislators and backlash from university presidents, we see an orchestrated dance between higher education and the state that preserves the current structure. Reform efforts need to question if proposed changes will alter the material conditions of students, and the antiblack sociality of college sport more generally.

Furthermore, this study analyzed how economic exploitation is insufficient for describing participant experiences as they were shaped by university policies and practices. Such a focus serves to obscure Black women's experiences in particular. There must be increased attention and research that attends to how gendered antiblackness is shaping college athletics as well as reform efforts. Experiences of antiblackness are deployed and mediated in gendered ways, but the fundamental organizing logic behind them remains (Vargas, 2018). Participants were not being strategically funneled into sport, isolated and contained, surveilled, and rendered fungible because they played football or basketball, but rather because they were Black. The experiences of players in sports outside of men's basketball and football, and experiences of Black women in particular, may be glossed over in part due to the inclination to focus purely on economic exploitation. These findings suggest that it would be more appropriate to center Black women's experiences in discussions and advocacy related to health and wellbeing. Doing so may prevent the exclusive focus on men, and therefore *revenue-generating* sports, as well as reductive narratives that come to the fore when women's players receive attention, which are often white-washed and solely focused on resource discrepancies compared to men's sports.

Lastly, these experiences of neglect were neither exclusive to DI FBS institutions nor football or basketball players. Rather, it was a shared, relational experience that proliferated the very foundation of the system and thus was reflected in Black players' narratives across sports and gender. As such, this research should push researchers and organizers to contend with how antiblackness and carcerality are structuring logics that are being expanded and preserved through sport as well as various reform efforts aimed at college athletics. In the macro sense, we can see how the NCAA, as a nonprofit organization inextricably tied to the state (Hextrum, 2021a), is used to manage and control dissent and complement other state projects of enclosure. Sport, when operationalized this way, takes on the state's carceral logic, necessarily making the organization of these leagues follow an antiblack blueprint of containment, control, surveillance, bodily harm, and punishment.

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APPENDIX A

Participant Demographics

Participant Pseudonym and Demographics

| Pseudonym | Race | Gender | Sport | Division | Athlete-Status |
|-----------|---|--------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| Aaliyah | Black | Woman | Track | FBS | Current |
| Aneesa | Black | Woman | Soccer | NF | Former |
| Ari | Black | Woman | Basketball | NF | Former |
| Chiney | Black | Woman | Volleyball & Track | NF | Former |
| Diego | Latino | Man | Soccer | NF | Former |
| Dom* | Latino | Man | Soccer | NF | Former |
| Elena* | white | Woman | Basketball | NF | Former |
| Iliza* | Multiracial (Latina, white) | Woman | Track | FBS & NF | Former |
| Janelle | Black/West Indian | Woman | Cross country | NF | Former (quit sport) |
| Jenny | white | Woman | Softball | FCS | Former |
| Jessica | Black | Woman | Basketball | NF | Former |
| Kyle* | white | Man | Football | FBS | Former |
| Nate* | Black | Man | Football | FBS & FCS | Former |
| Skylar | Black | Woman | Track and Field | FBS | Former (quit sport) |
| Sydney* | Black | Woman | Soccer | NF & FCS | Former |
| Thiago | Latino | Man | Soccer | NF | Former (quit sport) |
| Toby | Multiracial (Hispanic, African American) | Man | Basketball | NF | Current |
| Tori | Black | Woman | Soccer | NF | Former |
| Wayne* | Latino | Man | Soccer | NF | Former |
| Whitney | white | Woman | Swimming | FCS | Former |

* Participant transferred to a different university

FBS (Football Bowl Subdivision); FCS (Football Championship Subdivision); NF (Division I no football)