PLAYING MAKE-BELIEVE

How Fantasy Leagues Have Changed Sports

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The human capacity for fantasy allows us to rearrange reality, to conjure up scenarios that, while often improbable (or even impossible), gratify our desire for control. Combine that capacity with sports and you have an alternative reality in which participants can create their own make-believe team or league. Fantasy sports participants can, for example, place all their favourite players—real athletes, often from a variety of teams—on a single fantasy team, as well as make trades that they think would suit their team better than the moves actually made by general managers. This, in a nutshell, is the world of fantasy sports, and it is this concept, fashioned in the 1960s by some day-dreaming sports enthusiasts, that has turned the sporting world on its end.

With the Internet boom of the late 1990s, fantasy sports received the platform it needed to explode into what has become a $5 billion-a-year activity. According to the Fantasy Sports Trade Association, as of 2015, some 56.8 million North Americans were playing fantasy sports—an increase of 350 percent in the space of a decade. Fantasy leagues have not only changed how fans follow their favourite sports and fan allegiances to individual teams; they have also altered how the leagues themselves are run. Television and radio sports shows, print publications, and sports blogs are now geared to attracting fantasy sports fans. Fantasy sports have also changed how the largest sports broadcasters operate. Broadcasters have
introduced streaming stat lines, specialty-channel programming highlights scoring plays and in-depth analyses of players, and schedules are adjusted based on when the most popular fantasy league players will be playing.

Nor are there signs that fantasy leagues are losing steam. This is because fantasy leagues bring together a number of human drives in compelling ways, combining the spectacle of sports with people’s need for community and competition and the age-old attraction of gambling. Being able to manage an organization, even if it is in fantasyland, can replace the powerlessness that many people feel in their ordinary lives with a sense of power and achievement. Arguably, nothing since the birth of fantasy sports approximately three decades ago has come close to having the same impact on the sporting landscape as fantasy sports.

No major professional sport has been affected more than the National Football League (NFL). Although the NFL is an American league, it has a massive following north of the forty-ninth parallel. Most Canadian sports fans adopt an NFL team as their own based either on geographic proximity or on the loyalty created by watching games on television. NFL games are a staple of most Canadian sports television on Sunday and Monday nights, and nightly sports newscasts devote a great deal of airtime to the NFL. In 2008, the Buffalo Bills started the Bills Toronto Series, playing one regular-season game each year in Toronto’s Rogers Centre. In 2008 and 2010, they also played a pre-season game in Toronto. The five-year deal expired in December of 2012 but was quickly renewed for another five years. In 2014, it was cancelled by the new Bills owners, who are bringing their focus back to the city of Buffalo.

In a November 2012 poll conducted by Sun Media, people in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Ottawa were asked what their favourite NFL team was. Not surprisingly, geography determined the response in some cases. The Minnesota Vikings came out on top with a majority of Winnipeg readers. The three next teams on the list have historically been among the best teams in the league—the Green Bay Packers, the New England Patriots, and the Pittsburgh Steelers. The Seattle Seahawks ranked fifth, presumably because of their proximity to Vancouver. Surprisingly, however, the Buffalo Bills were a lowly ninth, unable to win the loyalty of fans in nearby Toronto.

With nearly 70 percent of all fantasy participants calling it their favourite, football is by far the most popular fantasy sport. Aside from the obvious popularity of the NFL, football has unique characteristics that lend themselves to fantasy sports. Unlike in baseball, hockey, and basketball, NFL teams play only one game per week. Every team prepares for an entire week focused on a specific opponent.
So fantasy team managers, like the actual coaches, can spend the week analyzing game films, reviewing playbooks, and dissecting the strengths and weaknesses of opposing players. A week provides enough time and psychological space to analyze lineups, weekly injury reports, and player match-ups. And because the game is played on a field that is divided up much like graph paper, every play can be charted and tabulated.

The scope of fantasy sports has expanded beyond the playing field into living rooms, offices, and classrooms. Businesses lose valuable productive hours to fantasy managers tweaking their lineups. The fantasy sports world has thus spun its web farther than anyone could have imagined. From humble beginnings in a hotel room on the US East Coast, fantasy leagues have become both an industry and a social phenomenon. The creators could not have imagined what they were starting—a game made by fans, for fans, that now affects the very ways in which sports are broadcasted and viewed in Canada and the United States.

THE HISTORY OF FANTASY LEAGUES

Although much debate has surrounded the origins of fantasy sports, there is wide consensus that Dan Okrent, an American writer and a former editor of the New York Times, created the first fantasy game—rotisserie baseball, the most popular form of fantasy baseball played today. Okrent and his friends thought up the game while sitting in La Rôtisserie Française restaurant in New York City in the late 1970s. Fantasy hockey began only a few years later, in the early 1980s. Jay Arbour, the son of legendary New York Islanders coach Al Arbour, and Neil Smith, a former New York Rangers general manager turned TV analyst, created the first league. The NHL and broadcasters TSN and the CBC jumped on the fantasy train early in the twenty-first century.

Fantasy football’s roots are even deeper than those of baseball and hockey. In 1962, Wilfred “Bill” Winkenbach, an Oakland-area businessman and a limited partner in the NFL’s Oakland Raiders, along with Bill Tunnel, a Raiders PR representative, and Scott Stirling, an Oakland Tribune football writer, created what is now known as fantasy football, the game that gives each fan the chance to “own” an imaginary team made up of professional players. The fantasy league known as the Greater Oakland Professional Pigskin Prognosticators League, or the GOPPPL, began in 1963.⁴ As described in an excerpt from the original league rules, the objective of the league was “to bring together some of Oakland’s finest Saturday morning gridiron forecasters to pit their respective brains (and cash) against each
other. Inasmuch as this league is formed only with owners having a deep interest and affection for the Oakland Raiders Professional Football Team, it is felt that this tournament will automatically increase closer coverage of daily happenings in professional football.”

The rules brought the standardization that was needed in fantasy sports, but most crucially, the GOPPPL league objective outlined the key reasons why millions of people participate in fantasy sports today. The rules also enabled the average fan to test his or her knowledge against that of friends and colleagues. The league brought friends together and became yet another way to gamble on sports. Moreover, the fulfilment of the prediction that GOPPPL would “automatically increase closer coverage of daily happenings in professional football” would have a crucial impact on the relationship that the NFL had with its fans. The financial stakes for the league soon became obvious. The more that people followed the day-to-day happenings in the NFL, the more they would watch or go to the games, purchase merchandise, and so on. All of this meant more revenue for the NFL. Fantasy football—and fantasy sports, in general—has been arguably the single most influential marketing tool the sporting world has ever seen.

**Fantasy Football**

Fantasy football turns the average fan into a general manager of his or her own made-up football team that competes against other teams based on weekly game statistics from real football players. It all begins with a draft during which players are chosen, much like the NFL entry draft that takes place every spring but with a few key differences. In fantasy drafts, the objective is to fill a roster with current players from existing NFL teams to form a “fantasy team” that a person will then manage throughout the NFL regular season.

A fantasy draft is a spectacle in and of itself. The date is set months in advance. Every manager knows the time and place. Hours of research are usually conducted to determine the best possible player for each position. Mock fantasy drafts are conducted by some hardcore managers in an effort to predict when certain players will be taken. Then, in basements, living rooms, kitchens, offices, and pubs, and online, fantasy drafts take place. Managers sweat over projected statistics, sometimes unwilling to commit to a player because he may have had an unreported injury in preseason or he may be a running back who fell out of favour with the head coach, information that is not yet fully public. Loyalty to fantasy leagues is often so strong that even as a participant grows older, has a family, or moves
to another city, the league still remains. Todd and April Rice, a couple who have both been playing fantasy football for more than a decade, moved from Calgary to London and then, in 2011, to Hong Kong. Despite living on the other side of the world, continuing with their fantasy league in Calgary remains a significant part of their lives. April admits that staying connected to friends back home is one of the reasons for her continuing to play: “I miss watching every Sunday with friends back home, but I know they’re watching and it keeps us in touch,” she told me.

The most popular form of draft is the “snake” draft. For example, if there are twelve managers in a league, someone will draft first overall, and then the second manager will draft a player, and so on down the line until everyone has his or her first player. Then, instead of that first manager drafting first again in round two, the person who drafted last in round one will draft first in round two: the order is simply reversed to level out, to some extent, the opportunity to choose top players. This process will continue for eighteen rounds until every manager has a full roster of NFL players. Every league has different rules regarding starting positions for players. Generally—unlike the original GOPPPL, which focused much more on defensive players—managers will select one or two quarterbacks, two running backs, two wide receivers, one tight end, two flex players (either wide receivers or running backs, giving the manager a choice), a kicker who earns points for field goals and extra points, and a team defence that earns points based on points allowed and defensive touchdowns converted from interceptions and fumble recoveries.

In addition to the starting players on every team’s roster, each team has five or six bench spots, or reserves, which gives managers extra players in case a starter gets injured, or more options when choosing his or her starting lineup every week. When a player gets injured and placed on the injured reserve (IR) list, meaning he is out for the season, managers have the option of putting that player on the fantasy IR, opening up another spot on their roster for a different player. Managers can then go to the free agent list of players (players that weren’t drafted) and pick up any player who will best help their team. This is where managing and research come into play, since managers have to know which players are likely to perform well. According to the September 2010 Nielsen Net Ratings, “Fantasy Football players on CBSSports.com register the highest level of engagement of any major site, with players spending an average of 1 hour, 41 minutes per session and returning 4 times each week to research and optimize their rosters.” Needless to say, this level of ultra-engagement is rarely found in other activities.

Once the draft is over, which usually happens a week or two before the regular season begins, the fantasy schedule is released. This pits each manager’s team
against another manager’s team at least once, and sometimes twice during the season. The NFL season is seventeen weeks long, with every team playing sixteen games and having one week off. Most leagues end their regular season after week thirteen, allowing the fantasy playoffs to occur in weeks fourteen to sixteen. Week seventeen is generally not played in fantasy leagues since many NFL teams rest their top players in preparation for the NFL playoffs, which begin in January. This is the case for head-to-head leagues (the most popular type of fantasy football), in which managers will go up against each other every week, giving them a simple win-loss record.

In most fantasy leagues, managers have a reserve of bench players who can be swapped into their lineups based on certain matchups, injuries, and so forth. This is where the tinkering and managing comes into play: countless hours are spent trying to get the latest scoop on a player’s ailment or a specific matchup and trying to determine why a particular player might be in line for a big game on Sunday. This usually relates to who the player’s main defensive opponent will be on game day. For instance, if Aaron Rodgers (quarterback for the Green Bay Packers) is playing against the Pittsburgh Steelers, a fantasy manager might think twice about starting Rodgers since the Steelers often own one of the best passing defences in the NFL. Rodgers might be contained and limited in the number of completions and touchdowns he throws. The same manager might make a different choice if Seattle Seahawks quarterback Russell Wilson is playing against the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, one of the league’s worst defensive teams. Rodgers might be the better overall quarterback, but the matchup might force the manager to think differently. This dilemma is one of many scenarios for any given fantasy team each week, and days can be spent trying to decide the right option at each position.

Points in fantasy football are awarded to each player based on per-game statistical performance, including touchdowns, rushing yards, receiving yards, passing yards, rushing and passing attempts, catches, field goals, extra points, points allowed, safeties, fumbles, and interceptions. At the end of the week, the total points for each starting player are calculated, and the team in the head-to-head matchup with the most total points wins.

After thirteen weeks of regular season play, the top eight teams (sometimes six or four, depending on the size of the fantasy league) make the playoffs. Teams are then slotted into brackets where the top-ranked team will face the bottom-ranked team, the second-best versus the second-worst, and so on. Winners move on until a champion is declared. Prizes, including cash, are awarded and egos either balloon or shatter, forcing fantasy managers to rebuild for the next season.
In 2012, an estimated 29.6 million people in the United States and Canada were playing fantasy sports, and the breakdown per sport was as follows, with many fans playing multiple sports:

- Football (72%) = 21,213,333
- Baseball (37%) = 11,050,666
- Auto Racing (24%) = 7,202,666
- Basketball (20%) = 5,821,333
- Golf (13%) = 3,749,333
- College football (13%) = 3,848,000
- Hockey (12%) = 3,552,000
- Soccer (7%) = 2,072,000

In fantasy sports, football is king. In 2012, the NFL extended its television contracts with CBS, FOX, and Comcast’s NBC for another nine years, with CTV, TSN, and Sportsnet in Canada continuing as well. More recently, the NFL negotiated an eight-year, $12 billion deal with DirecTV, which will now pay $1.5 billion a year for its rights to NFL coverage. Much of this revenue can be credited to the influence that fantasy football has had on the NFL. According to a January 2010 Nielsen report, “the DVR-proof nature of sports continued to entice commercial advertisers who, despite a down economy, spent $7.6 billion on sports programming in the previous year. . . . On average 81 million people in the US visited sports websites each month to keep tabs on their fantasy teams or follow any one of the captivating stories this year.”

Fantasy sports have become so pervasive that, according to one estimate, it costs employers more than $13 billion in lost productivity each year from workers playing while on the job. Some employers, however, believe that having their employees participate in a fantasy league encourages camaraderie and adds a social aspect to the work culture. Fantasy football has even spawned its own TV show, appropriately called The League, which premiered on FX in October 2009. The League focused on six friends, including one woman, playing in a fantasy football league and the resulting trials and tribulations they went through on a weekly basis.

**LOYALTY, FANTASY, AND DAILY ROUTINES**

After the draft, each owner has imaginary rights over a certain number of players in the league. Pride of “ownership” can become tangible and can have a significant
impact on which real NFL teams owners support and whose merchandise they buy. Each person becomes attached to these players. Andy Mousalimas, an original member of GOPPPL, puts it this way: “It’s the ego trip, you know . . . You own your own team. You draft ‘em. They’re yours. You can say, ‘This is my team.’” As sports writers Bob Harris and Emil Kadlec write, “Fantasy football offers NFL fans the otherwise unattainable ability to ‘get in’ on their favorite sport by requiring them to assume all the responsibilities associated with operating real NFL franchises.”

Greg Ambrosius, the former editor of Fantasy Sports Magazine, explains the desire to be a fantasy team owner: “It’s the old armchair quarterback theory: every fan thinks they can do a better job than the coach on the sidelines or the general manager in the front office or the owner in the owner’s box. Fantasy sports are perfect for people who want to fulfill those fantasies.”

In a 2009 article, Chris Russo, the chairman and CEO of Fantasy Sports Ventures, an integrated marketing and media firm that aggregates more than 250 fantasy websites and related digital properties, is quoted as saying:

The one thing that unites all fantasy gamers is their passion to win. . . . When you lose a big player, you start scrambling for a substitute, looking at different options, and considering trades. In many ways it mimics what happens in the major leagues—if one of your players is injured, you have to come up with alternatives. The reason fantasy is so exciting is because the user becomes the general manager—it puts the power of the GM in the hands of the fan. You play to show off your knowledge and to share in a community with your friends. It’s more about bragging rights than anything else.

Fantasy football also has a substantial impact on game attendance. A survey conducted by iMedia Connection found that “55 percent of those surveyed say that they watch more sports on TV because of their involvement in fantasy sports leagues, and they are much more likely to go to professional sports games than the average American.” According to a study by economists Todd Nesbit and Kerry King, the average fantasy football participant attends 0.22 to 0.57 more games per year than a person who does not play fantasy football. Moreover, fantasy football participants become more involved with the NFL and are more likely to spend more money on the game, including on such items as magazines, tickets, cable channels, and merchandise.

Even NFL players are getting in on the action. Chris Cooley, a tight end for the Washington Redskins, loves to play. “I had four teams last year,” Cooley said in a 2006 Washington Post interview. “I made the playoffs with one and honestly lost because I beat myself against Dallas. The guy on the other team had me, and I scored three
touchdowns against Dallas, and I lost to myself on fantasy points.” NFL quarterback Matt Hasselbeck took a different approach and famously benched himself on his fantasy team in favour of a competing quarterback, Brett Favre.

The NFL has no rules against NFL players playing fantasy football—quite the opposite, since the league recognizes the value of the make-believe game. Indeed, the league's official website, NFL.com, has its own version of fantasy football.

Fantasy sports have even changed how people start their day. In an interview, Matthew Lippitt, an avid Canadian fantasy participant in multiple hockey and football leagues, told me that fantasy sports not only changed the way he conducted his morning routine but turned him into an NFL nut. “I became a fan of the team that the players played on because I wanted to watch to see if the players succeeded,” he said. “From that I learned the game itself, and it took fantasy football to open that up to me.” Lippitt, who paid little attention to the NFL before becoming involved in fantasy football, is one example of how fantasy football draws more fans to the NFL. During the NFL season, he gets to work, turns on his computer, and checks Rotoworld.com (a site owned by NBC that specializes in tracking player news) for any updates on his players. Then he adjusts or tweaks the lineup of his fantasy sports team. He also visits these sites at lunchtime. Some might call this extreme, but, according to numerous reports, this is standard behaviour for those engaged with fantasy sports. Gone are the days when the weather was the first thing you checked when you woke up.

**Effects on the Broadcasting Schedule**

Fantasy sports have infiltrated almost every aspect of sports: they even play a role in which games are broadcast on regional and national television. Fordham University professor John Fortunato found that before fantasy leagues became popular, fans would only watch the team to which they had an allegiance. They didn't really worry about the other games unless they affected their team's divisional standings or playoff situations. Today, many fans don't just watch their home team; they also watch teams that include their fantasy players. For instance, a Green Bay Packers fan would usually have little interest in watching a Denver Broncos–New England Patriots game. Those teams don't play in the same conference as the Packers, and the game will have no effect on how the Packers finish in the standings. But if this Packers fan has Denver quarterback Peyton Manning or New England’s Tom Brady as his fantasy quarterback, then this game becomes much more important.
Fortunato conducted an experiment based on the ratings of all the Sunday night and Monday night football games in 2009, as well as statistics from CBS.com that measured the percentage of certain players starting on a fantasy roster in a given week. He determined that the more fantasy players playing in a game, the higher the ratings for that game. When broadcasters are deciding which games to broadcast in the spring, it can be hard to discern which teams will perform well during the season. Fortunato believes that it is easier to predict which players will be the top-ranked fantasy stars, and the temptation is therefore to broadcast games based on fantasy league selections rather than real team performance.20

In Canada, Leonard Asper, the former CEO of Canwest Global Communications, has launched Fantasy TV—a specialty channel dedicated solely to fantasy sports. “The one thing that convinced me to do this,” Asper told the Globe and Mail in 2013, “is watching my staff and never being sure if they are working when they have their computers on or if they checking fantasy sites, because they are all doing it.”21

WHO IS PLAYING?

According to a 2009 FSTA poll, fantasy sports attract relatively young, well-educated, higher-income men. The same research showed women making up almost one-fifth of fantasy sports players but men outspending women four to one.22 In 2015, FSTA research generally confirmed these trends: the average age of fantasy league players stood at thirty-seven, 57 percent had college degree, and almost half (47%) had an annual household income of $75,000 or more. However, the gender balance had shifted: women now accounted for one-third of the players.23

Having more female fans may make fantasy football—by far the largest of the fantasy sports—even more desirable to advertisers.24 When April Rice became involved in fantasy football in order to take part in her boyfriend’s hobbies, she was the only woman in her league. “When we started dating I started following Todd’s team,” she said. “It’s why I got into the NFL really! Clearly, a big part of our relationship, and just being a ‘guys’ girl, I loved being in the league.” For their wedding, in the summer of 2010, April and Todd had a special wedding cake designed in the shape of a football stadium with a bride tackling the groom at the fifty-yard line. Clearly, fantasy football has had a significant impact on this Canadian couple’s relationship and has kept them connected to their friends back home even after their move to Hong Kong.
Fantasy sports have become another avenue for betting on game results, and it’s completely legal. Estimates are that fantasy football alone generates roughly $2 billion annually, with $1.35 billion made up of league fees or dues. This means that billions of dollars are being exchanged among friends, colleagues, and acquaintances based on the outcome of NFL games and the stat lines of some of the game’s biggest stars. However, because the NFL believes that fantasy football is one of its best marketing tools, it does not look on this as gambling. Sport Select—Canada’s legal method of sports betting, run by provincial lottery corporations—has recently included fantasy proposition bets, allowing people to bet on the individual performances of certain players much like fantasy participants do every week. In the United States, FanDuel.com, a site that prides itself on being a single-day fantasy betting site, recently received an $11 million investment from a group that included Comcast, the cable broadcasting giant and owner of NBC/Universal. “Single day” means that instead of managers competing over an entire season, they are competing over just one day for big sums of money. The Unlawful Internet Gambling Enforcement Act, which was passed in the United States in 2006, makes a distinction between games of skill and games of chance. The legislation excludes fantasy leagues, stating that such a league “has an outcome that reflects the relative knowledge of the participants, or their skill at physical reaction or physical manipulation (but not chance), and, in the case of a fantasy or simulation sports game, has an outcome that is determined predominantly by accumulated statistical results of sporting events, including any non-participant’s individual performances in such sporting events.”

Single-day betting sites may come close to the line by tilting more toward chance than skill. According to the American Gaming Association, the Super Bowl typically generates more than $100 million in legal wagers, a paltry amount compared to the association’s estimate of “$3.8 billion worth of illegal bets on the 2015 Super Bowl between the New England Patriots and Seattle Seahawks.” Indeed, the US National Gambling Impact Study Commission reported in 1999 that “estimates of the scope of illegal sports betting in the United States range anywhere from $80 billion to $380 billion annually.” Yahoo! Sports, which runs one of the largest fantasy football websites, has implemented a league-dues page on which commissioners can keep track of who has paid and who owes, which implicitly implies that money is exchanging hands. It has brought gambling into the mainstream, much like poker has done over the last decade.
WHY NOT THE CFL?

With the NFL receiving substantial benefit from fantasy football, why is there no comparable CFL fantasy game? Part of the problem is that there are only nine teams in the CFL, compared with thirty-two NFL teams. An average fantasy football league has twelve teams. The larger pool of teams gives managers the ability to pick from a wider number of players. If the NFL model is applied to the CFL, the number of fantasy teams would be two or three, immediately reducing the effect that fantasy football would have on the game and the nature of the competition among participants.

One website, Fantas-Eh Football (fantaseh.ca), is trying to promote fantasy CFL football but has yet to take hold or attract a substantial number of new fans to the Canadian sport. In terms of social media, Fantas-Eh has only a small number of friends and followers, a blip on the radar in terms of Canadian fan interest and the level of fantasy participation in the NFL. Fantas-Eh draws much of its support from avid Saskatchewan Roughrider fans. But even the Riders fans can't push fantasy football from the far corners to the centre of the Canadian football experience. In March 2013, the CFL and TSN agreed on a new five-year deal worth approximately $4 million per team, double the revenue per team of the previous agreement. But even with this new commitment to the CFL, TSN has yet to launch its own form of CFL fantasy football.

CONCLUSION

Wilfred “Bill” Winkenbach died on 7 March 1993 at the age of eighty-one. Shortly before his death, he was asked about the growth of fantasy football. “Oh, yeah. I’m surprised how big it’s gotten,” he replied, and this was when the Internet was in its infancy. Now played by more than 41.5 million Canadians and Americans and widely considered to be the NFL’s best marketing tool, it has had an enormous effect on the world of sports—and in particular, on the National Football League. The complex and statistical nature of the game, mixed with the thrill of running one’s own team on a day-to-day basis, makes fantasy football—and all fantasy sports, for that matter—an emotional draw for avid fans. The Nesbit and King study confirms that those in fantasy leagues participants are more likely to attend games and spend money on sports. To a large degree, fantasy sport remains an NFL phenomenon, but the fact that Canadians have adopted the NFL through fantasy sports has had a major impact on sports in Canada. The NFL still ranks second to
the NHL in Canada in terms of popularity, but given the speed and power of the fantasy train, this may not always be the case.

NOTES

1 “Industry Demographics: Numbers at a Glance,” Fantasy Sports Trade Association, 2015, http://fsta.org/research/industry-demographics/. In 2005, the number of players was estimated to be 12.6 million. The association further reports that the average adult player (aged eighteen or over) now spends $465 annually on fantasy leagues.


4 Harris and Kadlec, “Nod (and a Wink),” 10.

5 Ibid.


11 Quoted in Harris and Kadlec, “Nod (and a Wink),” 9.

12 Ibid.


20 Fortunato, “Relationship of Fantasy Football Participation with NFL Television Ratings.”


22 Cited in David R. Schreindl, “Fantasy Sports: Establishing the Connection between the Media, Social Identity, and Media Dependency” (PhD diss., Scripps College of Communication, University of Ohio, 2012), 27.

23 “Industry Demographics: Numbers at a Glance.” FSTA research also shows that a large majority of fantasy league players are Caucasian.


29 Harris and Kadlec, “A Nod (and a Wink),” 14.