# **Reading Red Report 2003**

A Call for the News Media to Recognize Racism in Sports Team Nicknames and Mascots

By the Native American Journalists Association with research from the News Watch project at San Francisco State University

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Thank you for taking the time to read the second installment of the "Reading Red Report."

Last year we looked at how the mainstream press wrote about Native issues. That report generated a great deal of interest within our membership and the mainstream media. Because of that interest, this year NAJA chose an in-depth examination of one of those issues, the question of how media should treat Indian mascots.

This is an issue that is particularly important given the recent decision of The Minneapolis Star Tribune to reverse its policy and allow the use of Indian mascots in their coverage. And It's an issue that comes at a time when other newspapers are saying no to using those same words and images. Indeed, schools across our nation are also abandoning the use of the same words and images.

We thank our friends at News Watch for a continued partnership with NAJA to produce this report. Thanks, too, to all the newspapers who have already rejected the use of these derogatory terms and images and to those papers \_ including The Minneapolis Star Tribune who shared their policies with us.

NAJA urges all journalists to not accept as convention the use of these terms and images, but rather to critically examine and reconsider those conventions. We owe our readers, our listeners, and our viewers the opportunity to look at both sides of the issue!

As journalists, we all know the power of words. We hope this report encourages those who read it to take action in their own newsrooms to end the use of these derogatory terms and images.

Esquali (Thank you), Patty Talahongva NAJA President The Native American Journalists Association calls on the news media in the United States and Canada, and people of conscience everywhere, to cease publishing and broadcasting sports teams' Indian mascot names and images.

Since 1992 six U.S. newspapers have demonstrated that it is possible to report accurately on professional, collegiate and local high school sports while avoiding the use of words and images that disparage Native Americans, their cultures, their religions and their appearance.

The Oregonian, of Portland, Ore.; The Portland (Maine) Press Herald; The St. Cloud (Minn.) Times; The Kansas City (Mo.) Star, The Lincoln (Neb.) Journal Star and The Minneapolis Star Tribune set standards of decency over racism when their editors established policies that ended the printing of words such as Redskin and images such as the Cleveland Indians' Chief Wahoo.

Unfortunately, the Star Tribune has chosen to reverse its policy. While the paper now encourages reporters and editors to avoid "loaded phrases" and to "pay close attention to headlines, subheads and captions," they will no longer avoid openly racist words and images that lie at the heart of the mascot issue.

The five remaining policies rise above daily business. They are reminiscent of the courageous stands that some newspapers took during the Civil Rights movement for what is morally right.

William Hilliard, the retired editor of The Oregonian, stated in 1992 when he established the first such policy that these names and mascots, "Came into being when a majority in this country was insensitive to minority concerns."

He stated: "I have directed this action with the belief that these names tend to perpetuate stereotypes that damage the dignity and self-respect of many people in our society and that this harm far transcends any innocent entertainment or promotional value these names may have."

The most recently adopted policy simply stated, "Out of respect for Native people, the Lincoln Journal Star does not publish sports team nicknames that are racial slurs."

These newspapers, and other media in which individual journalists reported and editorialized against mascots, did not act alone. Their actions since 1992 are one step in a reform effort that began in the 1970s when Native American leaders raised the issue. Research by News Watch project at San Francisco State University and the Morning Star Institute shows that some 3,000 local elementary, middle and high schools throughout the United States have dropped racist team names over the last 30 years. This massive elimination of mascots is a sign that people of all races understand this issue at a grassroots level.

At a time when the news media are struggling to hold onto market share, profit margins and credibility, why does a professional journalism organization take up this issue?

One answer is that we are professional journalists who understand the power of offensive words and images to perpetuate myths and inaccuracies about people.

Another answer is that although editorial boards often have recognized and taken the moral high ground, most have failed to recognize that moral high ground on the issue of Indian mascots.

NAJA also calls on the nation's editorial boards, particularly those in cities were professional teams or university teams use mascots, to tell the truth about these names and images and to demand the organizations that use mascots immediately cease.

#### An issue of accuracy

Editors at the Star Tribune said their new policy would result in a greater degree of accuracy in their paper.

Newspapers, however, do not increase their accuracy by printing sports team names that range from offensive to racial slurs. But they do erode what credibility they have among Native Americans and others, including communities of color and religious communities. They also miss the point of accuracy discussion. Readers want newspapers to get the facts right whether that means spelling a name correctly or reporting long enough to understand the real story.

It is not inaccurate to simply call the Washington Redskins "Washington," omitting the racist element. It may be more precise to call them the Washington Redskins, but news organizations decide all the time to leave out things that may be harmful or offensive to readers and viewers.

Moreover, absolute accuracy might also require us to regularly report that the Washington team neither plays, practices nor pays taxes in the nation's capitol. They are, for these most practical of purposes, the Virginia team not the Washington team.

As the Star Tribune's former editor Tim McGuire stated in a 2001 speech about his decision to drop mascots, editors make decisions every day about what is decent and appropriate to print.

Reporters don't write that an accident victim's brains were splattered on the pavement, they write that the victim died of massive head injuries. Family newspapers and prime-time newscasts don't repeat obscene words or typically don't use racial epithets; instead, such words are omitted, bleeped out or written around. Despite those editorial changes, these reporters are not charged with being inaccurate or imprecise.

NAJA also refers editors concerned with accuracy to The Portland Press Herald's newsroom policy, which states that the absence of sports teams' nicknames will not affect the newspaper's journalistic ability to tell full and complete sports stories.

#### Words have meaning

Star Tribune Editor Anders Gyllenhaal, in his June 8, 2003, column explaining the newspaper's policy change, compares mascot sports team names to those instances when there is "friction over languages" related to religious debates and cultural wars.

But Native American's objections to mascot team names are not comparable to the debates over what words we use to refer to abortion protesters or which name to call a holy site. Our complaint about mascots is that they are racial slurs and stereotypes that are comparable in meaning to the "n-word" and which should be offensive to all thinking people.

We count team names such as Indians to be stereotypes and team names such as redskins, squaws and red men to be slurs. However, to say one is more acceptable than the other is simply to bargain with racism.

All are racist and therefore offensive, as recognized by NAJA, every national Native American organization, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the education offices of numerous U.S. states.

Stereotypical mascots, such as the numerous logos depicting an Indian man's head drawn in silhouette, convey an entire race, some 500 nations in the U.S. alone, in a narrow and historically inaccurate way.

They give rise to racially offensive behaviors such as the Atlanta baseball team fans' "tomahawk chop" and marketing images such as bulbous-nosed Chief Wahoo. They also perpetuate the blindness of mainstream society to the continued existence of more than 2 million Native Americans in the U.S. alone.

"Chief" is an example of a stereotype that may not be negative in and of itself. However, Native Americans are familiar with that word used by people of other races derisively toward them. A word of honor for those selected to lead Native communities, "chief" often is used as a generic reference to all Indians, taking on the same patronizing overtones as the word "boy" directed generically at African Americans.

This is borne out by the experiences of Charles Albert Bender, a White Earth Chippewa and World Series pitcher for the Philadelphia Athletics in the first decade of the 20th century. According to Nathan Aanseng's book, "Athletes," part of the American Indian Lives Series, "Bender joined the A's in 1903. Inevitably, his teammates tagged him with the nickname 'Chief.' Bender stoically tolerated the name. But he signed autographs "Charley Bender' until late in his career when he conceded that 'Chief' was part of his baseball identity."

"The Indian chants and tomahawk chops that swept American sports complexes in the late 1980s were hardly original with that generation. More than 80 years earlier, fans commonly greeted Charley Bender with the same kind of mimicking. Most were opposition hecklers trying to get his goat.

"Normally among the quietest, most gracious men in all baseball, the proud Bender could not ignore the insulting behavior. 'Foreigners!' he would shout back at the taunting fans. Bender found professional baseball to be a hostile environment. 'I

wouldn't advise any of the students at Carlisle [Indian Industrial School] to become a professional baseball player,' he wrote in 1909. 'It is a hard road to travel.'"

Outright racial slurs, both written and visual, are easier to define. From the beginning, "Redskins" has been used almost exclusively as an epithet. It was first defined as derogatory toward Native Americans in the 1699 Oxford Dictionary. Redskin and squaw, which was widely used as a nickname for women's teams until the 1970s, are the equivalents, respectively, of the "n-word" and the most obscene words used toward women.

And can anyone question the derogatory features of the Native character known as Chief Wahoo? Although the Cleveland Indians purportedly took their name to honor their once-great pitcher, the Penobscot Louis Sockalexis, Wahoo's bright red visage, big-toothed grin and bulbous nose depict nothing less than a red Sambo or Fu Man Chu, an image that should be intolerable in any ethnicity.

Their continued use by public universities and professional sports owners is a matter of economic gain. Fans of all races follow blindly, disinterested in the toll that Native American psychologists and educators of all races contend that mascots images and nicknames take on tribal youth.

## Change is possible

Clearly, it is possible to change the name of a professional sports team or a major university team when the moral costs of its merchandising plan outweigh its potential for economic gain. Fans adjusted when the owners of the NBA Washington Bullets decided on moral grounds to change the team's name to the Washington Wizards rather than seem to promote violence plaguing the streets of the nation's capitol city.

Fans, students and alumni organizations also adjusted nearly 30 years ago when four of the nation's most prominent universities dropped their mascots. The first was the University of Oklahoma, then Dartmouth University, then Stanford University and then the University of Syracuse.

We know to take this stand requires soul searching for some because the mascots may be perceived as tradition in local communities. But news organizations have their own timehonored traditions of asking questions of institutions and customs that victimize people. Editorial boards have a unique role in educating communities about broader issues of moral importance.

NAJA commends the handful of editorial cartoonists who have exposed the racism of mascots on editorial pages. NAJA also commends the sports columnists, particularly The Washington Post's Michael Wilbon and Tony Kornheiser, who have called for the end of mascots. NAJA thanks the journalists who have initiated conversations in their newsrooms about mascot team names. A conversation may not lead to a policy, but it may influence the decision an editor makes about using a racist logo or putting a stereotypical word in a headline.

However, NAJA calls on reporters to broaden and deepen their coverage of the mascot issue and also Native American issues in general.

A 2002 survey by News Watch and NAJA found that articles about mascot were the third most common type published in the nation's largest newspaper about Native Americans, as documented in last year's "Reading Red" report. However, NAJA found the vast majority of these articles to have been poorly reported. They typically acknowledge only that Native

Americans find mascots offensive and other people don't, without pursuing those opinions in depth or identifying the national trend story out of a school board meeting.

In short, they fail to tell the whole story.

Over 30 years, as documented by research of the Morning Star Institute and Newswatch, some 3,000 U.S. schools have dropped offensive names leaving about 1,000 still in existence. And every year more mascot names continue to be dropped.

Prominent Native American artists and authors, who work in image and metaphor themselves, have led the fight against mascots. Native American psychologists and educators say mascots are just the tip of the iceberg in a culture that discriminates against Native Americans. They say Native American youth are paying the price in low self-esteem and some of the highest high school dropout rates and suicide rates of all Americans.

Suzan Shown Harjo, the lead plaintiff in the lawsuit against the Washington football team's owners and a columnist for Indian Country Today, said that in the future people will consider the Indian mascots a curiosity of American culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

For 500 years the popular images about Native Americans, who we are, how we look and how we live, has been shaped and reshaped by other people. Over the last 100 years Native American storytellers, image makers and dream keepers have eroded our colonizer's misconceptions of us.

Images such as Little Black Sambo, Fu Man Chu and the Frito Bandito have all but been exiled from popular expression. NAJA looks forward to the day when Indian mascots join those other narrow and misleading images in exile.

# Appendix

The policies established by five daily newspapers against printing Native American mascot team names vary significantly. All acknowledge that terms such as "redskins" are racial epithets. They generally tend not publish pictures of the Cleveland Indians' mascot, Chief Wahoo, or of fans doing the "tomahawk chop." Most acknowledge that a photo may be published that shows a mascot on a player's uniform or a stadium wall if it is critical to the story.

Some policies focus on visual images while others focus on words. The best policies are specific and written in staff handbooks, such as the Portland Press Herald and St. Cloud Times policies.

The policies or statements about policy were provided to Newswatch and NAJA by the newspapers, including The Minneapolis Star Tribune's new policy, which took effect June 8, 2003.

#### Section 1: The Oregonian

The Oregonian's policy was the first. It was announced to readers in the following small article in the Sunday Oregonian. This statement by William Hilliard, then editor, is the strongest explanation of the moral reasons for not using mascot teams names. Tim McGuire, the retired editor of The Star Tribune mentioned in a 2002 speech that it is a credit to Sandra M. Rowe, who followed Hilliard as The Oregonian's editor, that she let the policy stand.

THE OREGONIAN TO OUR READERS Date: Sunday, February 16, 1992 Section: SPORTS Edition: FOURTH Page: D01 WILLIAM A. HILLIARD, Editor, The Oregonian

The Oregonian will immediately discontinue using sports teams' names and nicknames that many Americans feel are offensive to members of racial, religious or ethnic groups.

Initially, this will include references to Redskins, Redmen, Indians and Braves. Others may be dropped if it becomes evident that they, too, are offensive.

I have directed this action with the belief that these names tend to perpetuate stereotypes that damage the dignity and self-respect of many people in our society and that this harm far transcends any innocent entertainment or promotional value these names may have.

America is a multicultural society and all of us have an absolute right to demand respect from our fellow citizens. The Oregonian is sensitive to the feelings of those in our society who are rightly offended today by names and nicknames that came into being when a majority in this country was insensitive to minority concerns.

WILLIAM A. HILLIARD Editor Section 2: The Portland Press Herald The Portland Press Herald has a detailed written policy. Of all of the policies, The Press Herald's most thoughtfully explains its editor's arguments for the policy. What follows is an entry from The Press Herald's style book, titled "Use of Slurs in News Stories, Columns, Headlines:"

We do not use slurs in our news coverage. We do not use slurs that relate to ethnicity, religion, racial background or sexual orientation. We do not use the word "Redskin" to describe sports teams. We use the location of the team "The Washington Football Team" instead. (Note specific policy language below.)

Any exceptions to this policy, which would be rare and would be tied to extraordinary news events, must be discussed prior to publication with the managing editor and the editor.

This prohibition extends to news stories, columns, commentary, headlines and cutlines. Our position is that the use of slurs is harmful and does not impart knowledge or information. It has only one purpose and that is to hurt. We do not want our newspaper to participate in the furtherance of that hurt.

We quote from The New York Times "Manual of Style and Usage" on this subject and we endorse this stance:

Slurs relating to ethnic, racial, religious and sexual identity are "epithets of bigotry (that) have no place in the newspaper. Even in ironic or self-mocking quotations about a speaker's own group (in rap lyrics, for example), their use erodes the worthy inhibition against brutality in public discourse. If an exception is essential to readers' understanding of a highly newsworthy crime, conflict or personality, the decision should first be discussed thoroughly by senior editors."

The Associated Press "Stylebook and Libel Manual" notes these cautions in stories about Native Americans:

"Such words such as wampum, warpath, powwow, teepee, brave, squaw, etc., can be disparaging and offensive. Be careful and certain of their usage."

Portland Press Herald/Maine Sunday Telegram policy on the use of the words Redskin and Squaw:

We consider the word Redskin to be a racial slur and, as such, we will not publish it when the word is used as a nickname for sports teams.

Because the word is used as a nickname for athletic teams, we believe its absence from our news columns will not affect our journalistic ability to tell full and complete sports stories. The name is not germane to understanding what occurred in an athletic competition. Its absence, therefore, will have no qualitative journalistic impact on the news content of the sports section or on the credibility of the sports section.

This policy will affect Maine school sports teams, the NFL Washington, D.C., team and any other teams or institutions that use the word. In our sports coverage, we will refer to teams by their geographic names only; for example, Scarborough, Sanford, Wiscasset and Washington. We will not use the offensive nickname. This policy will relate to all copy, including agate, headlines, cutlines, columns and story text. The only exception to this policy will be news coverage of public and government discussions about the use of the word Redskin. The three Maine towns mentioned above have been debating the use of the word and have held public discussions on the issue. We will use the word in covering such developments, but we will make only limited references to it. The word will not be used in headlines, cutlines, pullout quotes or other areas of prominence.

The word squaw is also offensive and we will take all steps to avoid its usage in our news pages. In Maine, the word is part of the place names and at least one well-known company, the Big Squaw Mountain Resort in Greenville. The Legislature and governor in 2000 enacted a law, at a request of Maine Indians, banning the word squaw from all state place names. As a result, some Maine mountains, rivers, ponds, islands and bays will have to be renamed. The law will affect about two dozen locations.

In our news pages, we will only use the word in place names or company names when there is no other way to accurately and clearly convey news developments to readers. That said, we will use the full name only in the first references. In subsequent references, we will use a geographic or general description; for example, the "Greenville ski resort."

We will not use the word squaw in any headlines, cutlines, pullout quotes or other areas of prominence.

## Section 3: The St. Cloud Times

The St. Cloud Times, like the Portland Press Herald, has a detailed written policy. The Times' policy, though, is unique in noting that no displays of offensive memorabilia will be tolerated in the newsroom.

St. Cloud Times policy on offensive mascots:

The St. Cloud Times policy on using team mascots is to avoid using what makes the mascots offensive.

"Redskin" is offensive in and of itself. We will not use Redskin in referring to the Washington Redskins. Instead, use "Washington." Change all references, even in wire copy.

The "Fighting Sioux" and "Fighting Irish" are offensive mainly because of the word, "fighting." Remove that word. Refer to the teams as the Sioux and the Irish.

As far as symbols and photos: Avoid using offensive symbols whenever you have a choice. The caricature for the Cleveland Indians is offensive; the tomahawk chop for the Atlanta Braves is offensive. For instance, if you're doing team capsules and the team logo contains the offensive symbol, use words of the team's name in its font or scrip instead. However, if the symbol is on the baseball cap or the helmet and you need to use the mug of the player, DO NOT alter the photo or crop inappropriately.

Whenever you have a question about what's offensive, ask.

NOTE: These rules also apply to display of memorabilia in the Times newsroom.

#### Section 4: The Kansas City Star

The Kansas City Star does not have a specific written policy. However, it's assistant managing editor for sports, Mike Fannin, explained the policy in a conversation with Newswatch staff member Christine Yee on April 15, 2003. Fannin states that The Star

competes with some of the nation's largest news organization in covering sports. He said that Redskins is clearly a racial slur and said that logos are often as offensive or more offensive than the team names, and therefore aren't published.

However, The Star publishes names such as the Kansas City Chiefs and the Atlanta Braves. Fannin contends that chiefs and braves are honorable terms. NAJA disagrees.

**Fannin**: "We just did an entire baseball section, on Latin America's influence on American baseball. The Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Mexico. We're just really interested in documentary style sports journalism. We just think that stupid things like the Redskins and Chief Wahoo get in the way of us doing serious work."

The Star also does not use the term Redskins:

**Fannin:** "When we heard the word Redskins, that's just clearly a racial slur. It's very clear."

But The Star has a different take on more ambiguous terms, such as "chief" or "brave." The paper does use the nickname of the hometown Kansas City Chiefs:

**Fannin:** "We don't think that's as compelling and obvious an issue as Redskins and Chief Wahoo. Braves, in my mind it's like using the generals, the Kansas City Generals."

Fannin believes that the paper's individual effort probably has little effect on people's perceptions of Indians and Indian mascots, but that if more paper's took a proactive stance they could begin to change people's minds:

**Fannin:** "I think it does a couple of things. It's for your readers who might be offended by that, and hopefully it educates the other readers that we were being offensive and we need to stop doing that. It's a way to personally make a difference. But I have no illusions about it having some grand impact, but maybe collectively papers have made a difference."

## Section 5: The Lincoln Journal Star

The Lincoln Journal Star policy is the newest, having taken effect on Jan. 26, 2003. It was written by NAJA member Jim Johnson for the newspaper. The Lincoln Journal Star deserves recognition not only for its mascot policy, but also for its consistent coverage of Native Americans by Native American staff and its efforts to make its overall style choices reflect the words that Native Americans use for themselves.

Out of respect for Native people, the Lincoln Journal Star does not publish sports team nicknames that are racial slurs. We also do not publish sports team logos that appropriate or caricature Native culture or symbols.

We do not publish:

- The terms "Redskins" or "Skins" to refer to the Washington NFL team. We refer to that team as Washington. It is acceptable to use the terms in stories discussing the Native mascot issue.
- The modifier "Fighting" before Native nicknames (i.e., Fighting Sioux, Fighting Illini, etc.)

• Logos for professional teams that depict Native American symbols (i.e., the Cleveland Indians' Chief Wahoo, the Kansas City Chiefs' arrowhead logo, etc.). It is acceptable to publish a game photo that contains such a logo if that is the best photo of the action.

Other guidelines:

- For high school teams with Native-themed nicknames, we use the school name rather than the nickname in most instances, particularly in headlines.
- For pro and college teams with Native mascots (Indians, Chiefs, Braves, etc.), we use the name of the city or university in most instances, particularly in headlines.
- We do not use verbs with ethnic connotations, such as "scalp" or "slaughter."
- From the Journal Star Stylebook on referring to someone who is descended from the original inhabitants of North America: Use "Native(s)" in the upper case. This is preferred over Native American, American Indian or Indian, unless in a quote or part of a formal group name. Use specific tribal identity when known, such as Lakota or Navajo.

## Section 6: The Minneapolis Star Tribune

The Minneapolis Star Tribune changed its policy about publishing mascot team names on June 8, 2003. We publish the former and the current policies below. The following is a stylebook excerpt from Minneapolis Star Tribune, established in 1994 and rescinded in 2003:

Indian nicknames for sports teams: We will not use the following names when referring to sports teams: Redskins and the derivation 'Skins, Redmen, Braves, Indians, Tribe and Chiefs. This applies to professional, college, high school and amateur sports teams, but not to the Cincinnati Reds. The name has nothing to do with Indians. It is descended from the team's original name, the Cincinnati Red Stockings. It was the country's first professional baseball team, in 1869. Tribal names: We will continue to use tribal names (e.g. Seminoles).

However, context should be considered; tribal names should be used in a respectful manner. At some point we may reconsider the use of tribal names. In the interim, we will delete the "Fighting" designation when it is used in front of tribal names. Because this policy applies when we're speaking with our own voice, and an underlying philosophy is that we not compromise our coverage in any way, it follows that we will not alter quotes or change pictures. However, we should try to avoid images of fans mocking Indians.

Logos: We will not use logos that incorporate an offensive nickname or that appropriate an Indian symbol. Instead, we will contact teams and ask them to provide us with a suitable replacement. (For instance, Kansas City also uses a "K.C." in lieu of the arrowhead.)

Folos, roundups, boxes, charts: Use city names instead of nicknames.

News stories: When writing a news story that involves the issue of American Indian nicknames and imagery, it would be improper not to refer to those nicknames, although the names should not be used gratuitously when it is possible to avoid them.

#### The Minneapolis Star Tribune's policy on mascots changed on June 8, 2003:

In February of 1994, in a unique and symbolic measure, the Star Tribune banned the use of American Indian nicknames that many argue are offensive and insulting.

Over time, however, the policy has increasingly been at odds with the paper's commitment to accuracy and the need to reflect the reality of the news. After broad discussion through the winter and spring of this year, we are amending the policy: We will no longer categorically ban the use of these names and logos. Instead, we will follow guidelines that minimize their impact and avoid unnecessary references and the insensitive language that often comes with them. The guidelines move us from a blanket rule to a policy that places the decision in the hands of writers and editors.

The guidelines:

- The use of official names and logos that represent teams are acceptable in sports and news stories. However, we encourage the use of alternate references and also the use of logos of those organizations or teams that have adopted them. For example, the Cleveland Indians' script "I" is more appropriate than the team's Chief Wahoo logo. We will not design our own alternative logos.
- In sports stories involving teams with Indian names, strive for a conversational tone that is aimed above all at covering the story. Alternating the city, state or school names with the team name is a good way to minimize the impact. Use your judgement in word choices.
- Avoid cliches and slang terms that often accompany these names. Use the exact nickname. Do not use derivations. Thus, using "Skins" to refer to Redskins or Tribe to refer to Indians is not acceptable.
- Edit wire stories, as always, for clarity, style and length. Unless the story is in clear conflict with these guidelines, there is no need to alter wire reports when it come to Indian team names.
- Particular attention and sensitivity should be given to the use of Indian nicknames in headlines and captions. Do not use verbs that play of or mock Indian names.
- Use city, state or school names for teams in the agate and score listings that are the most common references to the professional teams.

If you are unclear about the use about the use of those guidelines in a specific case, please discuss your issue with the assistant managing editor responsible for the section in which the material would appear, or consult with the managing editor.