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HUNGER OR PROCREATION-RELATED BENEFITS? THE GROWING POPULATION AND STRAIN ON RESOURCES AMONG REFUGEES IN THE UGANDAN NAKIVALE REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Ahumedi Nsamba

Research Assistant Makerere University and Student at University of Bonn, Germany

Corresponding Author:

ahumedinsamba6@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

The increasing number of refugee settlements necessitates increased resources from national and international organizations to support the well-being of refugees. The Nakivale Refugee Settlement's Base camp has developed strategies to diversify income sources, such as having a large number of children to receive payments from aid organizations. This has led to population pressure within the camp, impacting the host community and national and international budgeting. A qualitative study using snowball sampling and focus group discussions found indirect factors like resource shortages, gender dynamics, and remittances from INGOs contributing to population pressure. Direct factors include rape, prostitution, malnutrition, poor access to reproductive health care, and integration with host communities. Failing to resolve the issue of giving birth for aid collection could worsen the suffering of refugees. Recommendations include educating refugees on the negative effects of large populations, providing family planning instructions, and providing adequate training to reduce unemployment rates.

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INTRODUCTION

Due to a number of factors, including but not limited to host country insecurity and rising discontent in both developing and established nations, the discussions surrounding refugees and their interactions with host populations are continuing to garner more attention. According to Sultani et al. (2024), 100 million individuals have been forced to leave their homes due to persecution, war, natural disasters, or other threats on a global scale. A large number of them are confined in settlement camps, where they have the option of staying to receive aid from humanitarian organizations or leaving to integrate into host communities and look for opportunities within the framework of Uganda's refugee policy, which permits free movement both inside and outside the settlement. Worthy to note is that by 2009, 3.6 million refugees, or 25% of the world's total, received asylum from least developed nations (Hopgood, 2010). These migrations frequently have numerous drawbacks, but they can also have positive effects on both the hosts and the refugees, either by enhancing their standard of living or impairing their means of subsistence. Nevertheless, despite the fact that many communities, particularly in developing nations, aim to slow down the rate of population development, the situation with regard to refugees appears to be the opposite, with many seeing large numbers of household members as a means of subsistence. According to Kouni (2018), the international community provides developing nations that accept refugees with financial and technical support. Kouni noted that this assistance usually takes care of the refugees' basic needs and could also pay for other expenses incurred by the host nation as a result of their presence (Kouni, 2018). When you visit the Nakivale refugee settlement, the first thing you hear is the UNHCR's help and the concerns of people who receive far more than others. However, there are also those who rejoice new births because they see them as extra sources of cash as every new member comes with potential aid reception after registration. Although the UN's 2016 Global Compact on Refugees provided a framework to address refugee protection in situations of prolonged displacement as well as for those who host them, it has not packaged itself well in addressing population increase among refugees (Bjørkhaug, 2020). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to evaluate the variables that affect the number of refugees in the Nakivale refugee camp as well as any potential pressure or complementing variables on resources.

1.1 Background Of The Study

One of the 11 refugee settlements in Uganda, Nakivale is spread across 185 km² and is situated in Isingiro district of Southwestern Uganda (Bjørkhaug, 2020). The settlement was founded in 1958, and officially recognised as a refugee settlement in 1960 through the Uganda Gazette General Notice No. 19. As of 2020, over 132,000 refugees from various African nations were accommodated in the Nakivale refugee settlement, more than twice as many as in 2014 (58,000) and it is believed that the number has risen to over 171,387 refugees. Bjørkhaug (2020) states that in addition to providing labor capital, the growing population has put strain on the available resources in Nakivale, which has resulted in conflict both within and between host communities and refugee populations. Bagenda et al. (2003) connected social tensions to conflicts with the host population living on land reserved for refugees. To further address these concerns about resource constraints, the Ugandan government has implemented an open-door policy and selfsufficiency approach since 1999. However, the economic independence shown by the reports was for a refugee camp of relatively small group in Nakivale; Most people still live in poverty (Kigozi, 2017) and therefore, their results have been criticized for portraying "refugees in Uganda as better than they really are" (Bagenda et al., 2003). A number of organizations are providing humanitarian assistance to refugees in Nakivale, including the frontline United Nations refugee agency (UNHCR), which is working with the Government of Uganda through the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), other agencies of the United Nations, NGOs and civil society to provide protection and support to those affected. It is important to note that little attention has been paid to the increase in the number of refugees, especially those who have stayed much longer, despite the periodic data on population changes carried out by the UNHCR. Currently, Nakivale refugee settlement is home to refugees from a number of countries including; Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Eritrea and a small size of refugees from South Sudan. The refugee population in Nakivale, especially those in a protracted refugee situation, has continued to grow, if only deliberately, to obtain higher benefits from UNHCR and other organizations. Given the limited research done in this particular case, this research aims to discover the causes of the increase in fertility in the Base camp zone of Nakivale refugee settlement and the possible impact on resources.

2. Review Of Literature

Two to four percent of urban refugees in Africa are elderly people (60 years of age and over), according to the UNHCR (Amara & Aljunid, 2014). The numbers about the rural refugees varies somewhat for a variety of reasons that require

careful examination of secondary data in addition to primary research for original composition. According to Myers (2002), there is so much population pressure on the land and its resources that it leads to resource depletion, which pushes refugees to relocate and integrate with host communities. Between 1960 and 2006, the number of refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa increased by 28%, with a population growth rate of roughly 2.2% and a parallel rate of deforestation of between 0.5% and 0.7% (Ingram et al., 2002).

2.1 Physical And Economic Resources Among Refugees

The refugee settlements in Uganda are located in rural areas, making them less appealing to young people (Crisp, 2003). Youths in developing countries are increasingly migrating from rural to urban areas in pursuit of work, education, and other opportunities. This tendency, known as "rural-urban migration," leaves people living in camps with few or no options other than to depend on Aid (Kaiser, 2006). In the Nakivale refugee settlement, for example, there are several well-established groups that support self-reliance, and as a result, many of the refugees there have developed successful subsistence farming (Browne, 2006). The UNHCR defines "protracted refugee situations" as those in which refugees "have lived in exile for more than five years, and when they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight" (Crisp, 2003). This is an important point to keep in mind as a lot of refugees in Uganda fall into this category. In light of this history, a large number of them have developed a dependency syndrome on assistance, which can only increase with the rate of births. Furthermore, according to Browne (2006), "the longer refugees have been away from their homes, the less likely they are to repatriate," meaning that hardship is more likely to strike in situations where they have less alternatives for diversifying their sources of income. As their exile lengthens, refugees are likely to encounter greater difficulties (Kaiser, 2006), which forces them to come up with new strategies for integrating into the community. Nevertheless, while having the legal right to work in Uganda, they still have to negotiate the job market to find even the lowest-paying positions while simultaneously trying to get hired by Ugandan companies (Browne, 2006). Their employment conditions are unstable, characterized by low pay, discrimination at work, and other unfavorable working conditions (Kaiser, 2006), which frequently make it difficult for them to continue working.

2.2 Refugee Self-Reliance Strategy In Uganda

The Self-reliance strategy (SRS) is used by the Ugandan government to assist refugees in utilizing their skills and knowledge to create survival plans. According to Svedberg (2014), these settlements prioritize long-term housing more than refugee camps, which "are often spontaneous and temporary creations in which refugees almost exclusively depend on relief handouts." Infrastructures like clinics, schools, brick buildings, boreholes, etc. are frequently what define them (Bagenda et al., 2003) and which could perhaps help refugees achieve their aim of self-reliance. Hovil (2007), however, contends that the system "itself is a contributing factor to the protracted nature of refugee situations" and that the settlement structure seriously hinders refugees' capacity to be economically active. In order to improve their situation, meet their own needs, or find ways to meet these needs in the same way as members of the local host community, refugees must be able to exercise agency in the local context. According to Myers (2002), this can be achieved through negotiation with a variety of local, national, and international social actors. Furthermore, it is important to remember that a number of obstacles, including lack of social networks, prejudice, language barriers, and low or no formal education, affect refugees' ability to integrate into the workforce and make it difficult to implement the self-reliance strategy (Dijk, 2022). That withstanding, this migration, in particular the freedom of movement granted to refugees in Uganda, results in refugee settlements primarily populated by elderly and young refugees who contribute less to the economic progress. According to Tulibaleka et al. (2021), the youth would rather live in urban regions where they can search for work and try their hand at starting small enterprises in order to survive. Somali refugees, who have taken over major sections of Kampala City's Kisenyi parish, provide a good example.

2.3 Gender Dynamics And Resource Mobilization Among Refugees

According to Larsson (2019), there is sexual and gender-based violence in the Nakivale settlement region of Uganda, either through rape or sexual exploitation, and it is difficult for young women to access the legal system. Even though there are acute physical effects following sexual assault and GBV, there is evidence that these events also contribute to expected and unexpected pregnancies, which in one way or another affect population growth. While some crimes of sexual and gender-based violence had been committed in origin countries or while traveling to Uganda, other crimes had been committed inside the refugee settlements in Uganda (Liebling et al., 2020). Furthermore, Horn et al. (2014)

contend that there is evidence connecting food and water shortages to gender-based and sexual violence (SGBV). In fact, a large number of young girls in Nakivare have experienced sexual abuse near water sources, leading to unintended pregnancies that result in an increase in the population of the settlement's households as well as the community. Another example is the post-earthquake and post-conflict regions of Haiti, Colombia, and Sierra Leone, where poverty has been connected to higher rates of sexual and gender-based violence (Horn et al., 2014).

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted at the Base camp zone of the Nakivale Refugee Settlement in the District of Isingiro, in the southwest of Uganda. The study area was chosen because it was one of the first refugee settlements to be established in Uganda and because it seemed to fit the goals of the research for the generation of reliable data. Refugees from a variety of nations, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and a small number from South Sudan, made up the community. These engaged in trading, small-scale farming, and several other small-scale enterprises, while others carried out fishing at the Nakivale Lake.

3.1 Research Design

Given its capacity to serve as a broad catch-all for research approaches that characterize and explain people's experiences, behaviours, interactions, and social situations, a qualitative research design was chosen for the study (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Furthermore, qualitative research also helps to advance our understanding of complex or poorly understood phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 1996), which is why it was a necessary tool for examining the demographic influences in the Base camp zone of Nakivale refugees settlement.

3.2 Sampling Method

The 30 respondents who made up the sample were selected using the snowball approach; 10 of them were men and 20 of them were women with more than two children living in the same home. Because there existed a connection between and among the respondents from whom data was collected, the method was helpful and simplified the data gathering process. One respondent gave the researcher the name of another respondent who shared the same traits of having more than two children living in the home.

3.3 Data Collection And Analysis

Data were gathered using ethnographic techniques at the chosen Base camp zone of the Nakivale refugee settlement, including in-depth individual interviews, focus groups discussions, and observation. Data was transcribed and then subjected to thematic analysis using coding, which Rice and Ezzy (1999) defines as a process of labelling data segments to identify themes, or processes. This procedure is essential to efficient data retrieval. Popay et al. (1998) state that qualitative research findings are provided as textual descriptions that should shed light on the subjective meanings of the phenomena, or social world, under study. This is another important reason why the study employed this methodology.

FINDINGS

4.1 Resources For Refugees In Nakivale Refugee Settlement.

Natural and financial resources were present in the Base camp zone of the Nakivale Refugee Settlement, helping the refugees to diversify their sources of income and daily means of subsistence. One of the things that everyone in the Base camp zone had dreamt of having was land, but sadly, many had lost it again owing to poverty, forcing them to trade land for food or occasionally sell it for the construction of businesses. Those that had land used it for a variety of purposes, such as farming (albeit subsistence farming), and they frequently grew bananas, which are the staple food for the host communities in the Mbarara district and Isingiro. A few of them who had been here for a long also acquired cattle though still in small numbers and they are in position to receive milk which is sold and hence generating income.

Remittances from relatives who are either overseas or who have stayed in their countries of origin are one of the resources available to the refugees in Base camp. They contended that when things are not going well in Uganda, they typically get in touch with them, get some money, and then use different money transfer services to pay it back. One respondent was quoted saying in verbatim that:

It is crucial to understand, according to the respondent above, that while remittances may be possible, not all refugees are guaranteed payments from their families. This is due to the fact that some people appear to have relatively few relatives living overseas, and everyone in the camp hopes to travel and support the other residents by becoming a breadwinner. Furthermore, it is difficult for them to get remittances from those who stayed back in their home countries due to the protracted hostilities there; occasionally, these individuals even attempt to travel to Uganda's refugee settlements by any means imaginable.

4.2 Remittances From The UNHCR/WFP

In order to help the refugees in Base camp of Nakivale survive, the World Food Program (WFP) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) simultaneously provide food supplies and cash. As will be explained below, the refugees get these remittances under a number of categories, based on information from responding refugees as well as officials from the UNHCR and WFP.

People in the first category—chronic sickness sufferers, the elderly, the lame, and those with any physical disabilities—receive a monthly allowance of 24,000/= Uganda Shillings (6.5 USD). Those in the second group, who are not yet regarded as independent, get paid 12,000/= Uganda Shillings (3.2 USD) every month. The third group consists of those who are self-sufficient and do not get any food assistance from the UNHCR or WFP. Many respondents stated that they were taken out of the classes receiving remittances before they were even self-reliant because they did not grasp the standards used to assess whether or not one is self-reliant. One respondent was quoted saying in verbatim that:

...... I do not know what they used as justification to take me out of the remittance class because even the saloon where I used to make some money was destroyed and all I have left is the remittances that my children receive. How do you know that I have seven children from various men because of this? I might do that in order to keep getting money since, if you register a newborn, you get money.

Another unclassified category of refugees consists of those who are recent arrivals to the settlement, having arrived from their home countries approximately one to two months ago. In their first month of arrival, these are granted 36,000/= Uganda Shillings (10 USD), which they keep until they settle in and are assigned to the various groups indicated above. The new participants will also receive 3 kg of corn, 1.5 kg of beans, and 1 bottle of cooking oil in addition to this charge.

4.3 Gender Dynamics In Resource Mobilization And Population Growth In Base Camp Of Nakivare Refugee Settlement

Similar to other refugee settlements, a large number of families in the Base camp zone of Nakivale were headed by women, and men frequently withheld whatever income they earned from sources other than UNHCR remittances, which many still find difficult to reveal. There are women who were taken out of the remittance receiving groups, and in this particular situation, it was likely that even the husband had been taken out of the list. In this instance, the women were discovered working tirelessly to complete whatever task in order to provide food for both their cherished husbands and their children. Even though some of the men appeared to be self-reliant, these were the ones who had lived in the camp for more than seven years and had developed links with the host towns, who rented land to them for farming and raising livestock. According to the data gathered, even in families with both a man and a woman receiving remittances, the woman's earnings would be utilized for household maintenance. One respondent said in verbatim that:

...... I wish the UNHCR removed remittances from these men since many of them just use the money to get other women, while others either hide it or take it to the drinking establishments. See, I have to go back with something every morning from the market even if I don't have any clients to sell these dried fish. How do you want me to proceed? As long as we put food on the tables, our husbands cannot naturally know about all the activities we are compelled to do which some sometimes even include prostitution.

According to the interview with the respondent mentioned in the above remark, women confront a number of obstacles that men do not, particularly when it comes to resource mobilization. Indeed, a few of them emphasized that both men and women have an impact on the problem of population growth. This is due to the fact that a man will make sure he has numerous children from numerous spouses in order to potentially be eligible to obtain a portion of the money that the children from various wives receive if they are registered. A very similar situation befell the ladies, and despite realizing that her spouse was no longer able to ger her conceive, the lady would still try other men. This is another problem that frequently caused arguments and fights among the refugees in the Base camp, sometimes even resulting in the victims' deaths. Certain families, who had been residing in the camp for a number of prosperous years, had male breadwinners, and because these families relied less on remittances from the UNHCR or WFP, the issue of resource mobilization was highly delinked from family size increase.

4.4 Rape Cases In Base Camp Zone Of Nakivale

Rape in Base camp occurs for a variety of reasons, including limited resources, broken marriages, and security weaknesses, among others. According to several interviewees, young girls who are hungry are driven to see lovers who, under false pretences, rape them in exchange for food and a better life. Because they speak a similar language at times and are all refugees, they are forced to let the two start a family, which leads to early marriages and child births in Base camp as a result of these rape cases. When the two families meet (should the perpetrator be identified), they come to an agreement never to bring issues to the police station. Only in certain situations may it turn into a case if the victim and the offender are not from the same tribe. In these situations, the offender typically flees the camp and is never seen again, leaving the victim pregnant with an unidentified father. A male respondent made the argument that occasionally even girls or women set themselves up to be raped for a variety of reasons, such as forcing a marriage or building a case to gain financial compensation from the offender. In verbatim, he stated that;

The problem of insecurity was also brought up, with some pointing out that there do not seem to be as many security guards in the camp as there are migrants at the moment. This makes it difficult for the police to give the refugees adequate security, which leads to an increase in incidents, including rape cases.

4.5 Factors Influencing Population Growth Among Refugees In Base Camp Zone Of Nakivale Refugee Settlement

There are a number of factors that account for population changes both with a decline and a rise, even though some countries may not see declining population as an issue, it is an issue to some countries that have so far been forced to widen the door for immigration. On the other hand, developing countries have for long been uncomfortable with high population that often places them in highly indebted countries due to the international debts. This withstanding, it is in the same developing countries that we see open door policies for refugees and other asylum seekers who depend much on the aid from the governments and the United Nations. There has been another issue observed among the refugees linked to population increase which is not better connected to the numbers that came from the countries of origin but linked to a number of factors that needed thorough review as discussed in the following paragraphs with a focus on the Base camp zone of Nakivare refugee settlement.

4.5.1 Hunger

Though the exact relationship between hunger and population growth is unclear, in the Base camp of Nakivale, hunger was a key factor that sparked population pressure. Nearly all of the respondents stated that they have never had the opportunity to eat three meals a day and that in their houses, even two or one meal is considered a great day. There are many people who do not receive any assistance from the UNHCR or WFP, and some of them have reported going up to two days without food. Therefore, there remains only a chance from some NGOs that visit the camp to provide food supplies before things return to normal. Those suffering of hunger are the group that frequently advocated for having numerous children in exchange for cash or food supplies from the UNHCR and WFP.

According to the data gathered, if a baby was born at about six months of age, the parents would accompany him or her to the offices for registration. After that, they would be able to pick up cash or items from the offices that would

help them survive. Therefore, even though having more children put strain on both the camp population and the larger national population, having more children increased the likelihood that a household would not experience starvation. Hunger is a severe problem that can lead to many migrants being taken to medical facilities under the mistaken impression that they are ill when in fact they are just starving. Even those with sizable plots of land, the primary problem was lack of enough money to hire the labour needed, therefore they typically had to wait for UNHCR and WFP rations before paying the people who had to farm their property. Additionally, things became difficult for individuals who were no longer receiving donations and had no choice but to ask their families, either overseas or at home countries, for help.

4.5.2 Rape

Rape was a typical occurrence within the refugee settlement, without the exception of Base camp, despite being a rare behaviour outside the refugee settlement. Although it may be difficult to link rape to population pressure given the circumstances in Base camp, where forced sex was a major element in many marriages, rape has undoubtedly had a significant influence on the rise in birth rates. Entering a community of refugees alters the fear of being arrested for rape, compared to communities outside of refugee confinements. As was mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, women frequently trick men into having sex and even call it rape in order to get money from them. In a similar vein, males frequently choose to commit rape rather than invest in a happy relationship due to a lack of resources. This is especially true considering the tribal background of the settlement, which requires a man to pay a bride price before beginning relationship connections. Even if the police are making every effort, the number of refugees and the ratio of police to security professionals appear to be incompatible with the standards of safety in the camp. This weakness in the security surrounding the camp also accounted for the increasing number of rape cases. Numerous young girls and a fair proportion of elderly women had been pregnant as a result of being raped, which ultimately contributed to the settlement's population expansion.

4.5.3 Prostitution

Many of the interviewees acknowledged that prostitution occurs in the settlement and is still supported by the scarcity of resources, despite the fact that there was no market or location set aside for it at the Base camp of Nakivale. In verbatim one respondent stated that;

........... We commit a lot of adultery activities, but naturally, hunger drives us to sleep with men other than our husbands in order to provide for our families, including the husband and children. We don't sell ourselves; instead, we constantly go to other guys for food and cash, and even though our spouses are aware of it, some of us are injured while others just consider the fact that you have brought food on the table.

There were still a lot of recorded pregnancies as a result of these acts of sex for food or money, which led to an increase in population but also sparked arguments later on when men would show up to defend the child. The above woman respondent had become a widow due to a quarrel that resulted from having sex for food or money, though we could not identify a single incidence at the time of data collection. There were a few incidents of deaths as a result of these acts of sex for food that were explained by the respondents.

4.5.4 Integration With Host Communities

Due to a variety of circumstances, a sizable portion of the host community has joined the Base camp and merged with the refugees. Some of them have joined the refugee community in order to conduct business, such as financial transactions. Members of the host community have started retail stores, design boutiques, mobile money firms, and many other kinds of enterprises. Due to their subsequent marriages with the refugees, the community now has a larger population. Although this integration has benefits, it has also resulted in a difficulty. One significant problem is the distribution and use of resources. For instance, when fishing in Nakivale Lake, the host community frequently kept the resources to themselves until the leaders made decisions allowing the refugees to fish at predetermined, regular intervals. Negotiations between host communities and refugees have eventually resulted in a further increase in the settlement's population and, in one way or another, increased demand on its limited resources.

4.5.5 Reproductive Health Programs

Inadequate reproductive health initiatives are a problem that could make the refugees in Base camp more prone to unexpected pregnancies and increased birth rates. This has restricted the settlement's access to reproductive health information, despite being one of the initiatives that could help slow down population growth. Respondents contended

that although NGOs do not always visit the camp to educate people about reproductive health, when they do, many of them are preoccupied with other tasks or seeking funding. The restricted access to reproductive health services in the Base camp has made it difficult for the refugees to obtain supplies and techniques that could contribute to population decline. Therefore, it has been challenging for the refugees to address issues associated to growing numbers because they are unable to access or even use family planning methods. A handful of the respondents stated that they had received condoms and other forms of contraception, but they also listed a few reasons why they did not want to use them. The advantages of having a kid born in the settlement were among them, as were many other culturally relevant aspects that they were hesitant to go deeply into.

CONCLUSION

Although having a large population has many benefits, the statistics revealed that if the number of refugees in Base camp continues to rise, it may become more difficult for the government, other stakeholders, the UNHCR, and other NGOs to effectively plan for them. This shall not only affect the government but also the refugees themselves because, despite the fact that many of them have more children in an attempt to get more financial assistance and help, the advantages still fall well short of what they would have hoped for. As a result, the refugees become trapped in a cycle of poverty, which occasionally causes them to regret applying for asylum but also makes it difficult for them to return to their home countries. The host communities, who frequently get into arguments with the migrants over resources, have also been negatively impacted by the population pressure among the refugees at the Base camp. When the causes contributing to the population rise were examined, it was found that many of them were human induced by the refugees themselves, such as the need to have more children in order to get remittances from the UNHCR and WFP. One additional aspect that many male respondents brought up was the fact that women and girls might occasionally entice men and boys to fall in love. The other factor that many male respondents brought up was the fact that women and girls occasionally lure men and boys into romantic relationships in an attempt to trap them in the pretence of rape cases. Many respondents also mentioned prostitution, which they did not accept as prostitution but rather acknowledged as the exchange of sex for food and money. Given this context, it is essential to regularly offer sensitization services to the refugees. Numerous elderly men and women in the camp have stated that this was helpful in the early days of the settlement's establishment, and the situation has only gotten worse now that there are not many organizations offering these services. Training in a variety of abilities and knowledge can help young people obtain certifications for job opportunities.

ETHICAL STATEMENT

Due to the sensitivity of the research, respondents above the age of eighteen were interviewed, and the study complied with ethical research guidelines. Second, in order to gather information for the focus group discussions and the individual interviews, each respondent's consent was first obtained.

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