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Socialising Online Ethnic Hegemony: Kenyan's Responses to Political Blog Posts before and after 2013 Elections

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Abstract: Kenyans are yet to examine with a constructive political conversation on social media. As a result, Kenyans use social media (blogsphere) as a forum for political attacks, ethnic fights, hate speech and other unconstructive divisive conversations. This can be seen through the responses that Kenyans post for political stories, especially when the stories do not favour their political affiliations. This study aims to analyse the way Kenyans socialize ethnic hegemony on the blogsphere before and long after the 2013 general elections. The questions to be answered in this article are: how do Kenyans respond to political blog posts in which two Uhuru Kenyatta/ Jubilee or Raila Odinga/Cord are implicated. Do Kenyans differentiate ethnicity from political differences? Where did ethnicity begin before it went to social media in Kenya? What are some of the cases of ethnicity in social media and how are they handled? What is the solution to online ethnic hegemony? The researchers relied on content Analysis for the selected blogs' responses. The study is based on purposive sampling in which three blogs were selected and political posts were selected provided they were posted before or after the 2013 elections and they carried messages related to 2013 general elections with ethnic implicated responses. The data constitutes responses to the selected blog posts. The responses are analysed for the elements constituting ethnic discussion; constructive or non-constructive. The study found out that in Kenya, there is no difference between a political player, his political party (coalition of parties) and his ethnicity.

Keywords: Political conversation, Blog posts, Ethnicity, Discursive

INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity in Kenya has become a fulcrum on which divisive ethnic relations are hinged and institutionalized. More than forty Ethnic groups in Kenya have coexisted for a long time[1]. According to Ogot [2], the Gikuyu, the Luyha, the Luo, the Kalenjin, the Kamba, and the Gusii are the most dominant ethnic communities in this multi-linguistic and ethnic landscape of Kenya. However, there are many other smaller ethnic communities in Kenya. Since the onset of colonialism, power in Kenya has been associated with a particular ethnic group [3]. Kenya was initially a protectorate and later colony of the United Kingdom. From self-rule in 1963 until the death of the first president Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, political and economic power was increasingly vested in his trusted circle of his ethnic community members[2]. During the second presidential regime, political power became concentrated in the hands of Kalenjin elites[3]. In all the different regimes then and after, the ruling group sought to use the resources of the state for the special benefit of its own ethnic community and its allies. This ethnicity created and institutionalized ethnic acrimony and distrust that is now eating into the culture of ethnic

coexistence that is predicted to be the only starter for our national development.

Today, political arenas and rallies are always rife with ethnic overtones and undertones that have become weapons for political mileage. On Thursday April 24th 2014, kalonzo musyoka spoke what many of our political leaders hide in their hearts regarding members of other ethnic groups. In that material day, there was a press conference called by cord (the opposition coalition in Kenya) to deliver its rating of the government's one year performance. Afterwards, journalists were given a chance and one Kennedy Mureithi from OTV (one of nation media house's television) directed a question to Musyoka but the former vice president sought to know his sir name first. The journalist faithfully introduced himself by name and Musyoka's response was: "Thank you, that name betrays it all. Absolutely. Thank you! I have nothing else to say." Kenyan politics have institutionalized ethnicity. For example, the ethnicity of the president determines the perspective of how things will be looked at. Even the media primes such terms as a Kikuyu president, a Luo president and so on. In the case of Musyoka and many other hearts that are not opened; the fact that Kennedy Muriithi is a kikuyu means he can only be against opposition simply because the president is a kikuyu. This by itself is a simplistic assumption that when it comes from a high-ranking personality (opinion shaper) and a co-leader of a coalition with large following shapes the ways Kenyans interpret political reality.

The war has been taken to the social media because it provides a platform on which discussions. sharing of thoughts, differences and attacks can be waged against each other with assured anonymity[4]. Social media is a term that has been used to refer to a collection of digital communication tools that enhance interaction through two way or multidirectional communication and must engage some form of computing[4]. Social media can also refer to on-demand right of entry to content anytime, anywhere, on any digital device as well as interactive, creative, and participative user feedback [5]. The social media and especially blogs in Kenya act as a platform for major politically divisive ethnic groups to exchange hate speech and entrench 'negative ethnicity'. The two major political parties in Kenya are the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) and Jubilee coalitions with their leaders being archetypes of their ethnic groups. Raila Odinga from CORD is seen as a Luo chief and Uhuru Kenvatta is parked in Kikuvu's outfit. Whenever there is a blog post online for or against one of them, supporters from the two affiliations resort to namecalling and using coded and covert ethnic labels and messages to attack each other. However, what cannot pass without notice is the mention of the words 'Luos' and 'Kikuyus' in the responses posted by Kenyans on blogs. The war we are seeing on social media was found in political rallies and other mainstream media before, during and immediately after 2007/2008 post election violence. Reading Yieke's The Discursive Construction of Ethnicity: The Case of the 2007 Kenyan General Election (2010) the results presented and the utterances have just been transferred online; probably because of the anonymity that social media accords given that hate speech, though covertly defined, and tribal overtones and undertones are illegalized in Kenva.

Social media and ethnicity in Kenya

What Koigi Wa Wamwere, a veteran politician and rights activist referred to as "negative ethnicity" is the kind of ethnicity that instills the culture of the 'other' or excludes members of an ethnic group; leading to 'othered' members seeing resources as grounds for struggle for the survival of the fittest. This means seeking to kill and eliminate the parasitically perceived ethnic groups in some regions considered as property of another ethnic group by the supposed owners. In Kenya, the land factor has, for instance, contributed to this and members of ethnic groups have viewed others as the causes of their economic inadequacies, poverty and suffering thus seeking to eliminate the 'invaders' (Kriegler and Waki Reports, 2009). The post election violence of the 2008 was an unprecedented insidious sample of how people can be divided along ethnic lines, and resort in a deadly violence while trying to address their long time deep seated tensions and historical injustices (KNCHR, 2008; The Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group, 2013; Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission report, 2013). Negative ethnicity results to blaming the other ethnic groups for the social, economic, and political evils and colluding as a group to terminate or 'ethnically exterminate' the invaders from a region in what is referred to as ethnic cleansing.

This culture of negative ethnicity is not confined to the physical world interaction; it is very real and active in the virtual world. Social media has provided a forum not only for sharing of life experiences, information and news for citizen journalists; it has also provided a forum for conflict, accusations, and word lashing whenever the virtual community is angry at each other. It has been noted severally "Kenyans on Twitter (KOT) are arguably one of the most vibrant crowds in the social media, world wide" (Standard Group, 2014). There are various instances where Kenya has engaged in an online war and cyber bullying such as after the announcement of the elect president in March 9th 2013 and after the election was upheld by the Supreme Court on March 30, 2013. Since then, Kenyans on FaceBook and Twitter have always found themselves fighting online whenever they are engaged in political or other discourses that involve two sides of the political divide. Kenyans on twitter and FaceBook juggle humor, creativity and bullying to bring to submission whenever another country demeans them; ask Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda. However, when it comes to ethnic fights, there is no space for sympathy in Kenya, and this trend poses a danger in future ethnic relations. Worse is the fact that in most cases, ethnicity has found its way through hate speech, which has become so elusive to define and conceptualize in Kenya.

Online cases of ethnic undertones in Kenya

Since the infamous 2007 post election violence, Kenya's traditional media sector has done a lot to clamp down on hate speech. The concerted effort has driven the extremists into the internet. In the latest general elections held on March 4th of 2013, there was no repeat of the chaos of 2007, but while towns and communities across the country remained peaceful, old ethnic tensions spilled over on social media [6]. There were a number of threats and incitements to violence on social media networks that were reported by various researchers on the topic. FaceBook and Twitter revealed a lot of incitement to cyber-violence, which shifted to other online networks. An example of the online hate

speech are calls to "chinja chinja" in Swahili, which translates to "butcher butcher" and to beat, kill, riot, loot and drive out other tribes[6]. The most recent example is that of activist turned politician Moses Kuria. He was charged on 1st July 2014 with hate speech in a Nairobi Court. Kuria was charged with incitement; hate speech and causing ethnic contempt through FaceBook messages which were allegedly posted on May 16, 2014. The post posted after the twin explosion in Gikomba market in Nairobi where twelve people died and others hospitalized with serious injuries read:

"I think it is only a matter of time before Kenyans start violence against PERCEIVED (sic) terrorists, their sympathizers, their financiers and those issuing travel advisories without intelligence...I am not sure I will not be the one of those Kenyans. When you touch Gikomba the nerve centre of our economic enterprise, you really cross the line. Brace yourself. Choices have consequences."

The Law Society of Kenya said that the Facebook posts were intended to incite the public to hatred against a specific community. This came at a time when there were accusations that members of cord coalition were funding terrorists in order to derail the government's efforts to fulfill their promises to the people. There were also accusations that the foreign countries were issuing travel advisories to Kenya and it was felt that cord members were pleased because this act delineated the government failure on which they were riding on to push their agenda. Therefore, the interpretation of the post, and those Mr. Kuria was referring to was clear in terms of the use of "their" and "our" innuendoes.

The politician also posted a controversial tweet before Cord held their highly publicized Sabsaba rally

on July 7, 2014 in which Cord claimed they had consulted Kenyans on their political claims. In response to this issue, Moses Kuria posted on his twitter handle *@HonMosesKuria:*

Why only consult certain regions and yet one of the agenda 4 dialogues is inclusivity?" Foreskin misleads the mind.

This tweet's punch line is "Foreskin misleads the mind" which supposedly referred to Raila Odinga, who comes from the Luo community that culturally never believed circumcision. For long time and as we are going to see in the responses to blogs, kikuyu ethnic community, from which Moses Kuria hails have been mocking members of Luo ethnic community because they never used to be circumcised. Kikuyu ethnic community members consider uncircumcised men as cowards, non-grown-ups and timidly incomplete. Moses Kuria, however, received his share of online bullying and name calling. Later in an interview with KTN on August 12, 2014 Moses Kuria, by then the MP for Gatundu, said by 'foreskin' he meant the 'forehead'. This issue becomes elusive because the burden of proof in law lies with the utter of the hate speech.

METHODOLOGY

The study was based on purposive sampling in which three blogs were selected and from each blog some stories were selected provided they were posted before or after the 2013 elections and they carried messages related to 2013 general elections. Therefore, based on these criteria, 5 blog posts from the Kenyan Daily Post.com, one from Ole-Shitemi.wordpress.com and one from Omwenga.com blogs were considered. The data constituted responses to the selected blog posts. Interpretive textual analysis was used in which the responses were analysed for the elements constituting ethnic overtones and undertones whether constructive or non-constructive.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The following section is a presentation of selected seven blog posts' responses and their interpretative analysis. **Blog Post One**

Uhuru Kenyatta's Jubilee Candidature will deliver a Raila Presidency Date Posted: Dec 23, 2012

Number of Responses 10

Source: http://oleshitemi.wordpress.com/2012/12/23/uhuru-kenyattas-jubilee-candidature-will-deliver-a-raila-presidency/

Response		Analysis	
1.	Uhuruto have not been proven guilty can western keep off Kenyans affairs	No mention of ethnic names or a tribal undertone	
2.	U can't force p'ple to love u .Elections were won on 18th december. Let the d.day come.But who ever win kenya is still there. No politician or tribe will put ugali on ur tabl	No mention of ethnic names or a tribal undertone	
3.	Better to let Raila win this time. For sure next time is for Uhuru.	No mention of ethnic names or a tribal undertone	

Blog Post Two

How Jubilee Shamelessly and Recklessly Rigged Elections of March 4th 2013 in Kenya

Date Posted: March 18, 2013 Number of Responses 12

Source: http://omwenga.com/2013/03/18/how-jubilee-rigged-elections/

Response	· · · · ·	Analysis
1.	CORD won this election. Thieves (read kikuyu can never [hold] any free and fair election)	Cord is a coalition of parties led by Raila Odinga. The response implies that the name 'thieves' is synonymous to Kikuyu.
2.	I think our comments are based on what side we support. For **** [name omitted] he is obviously cord.	Another voice of reason On what side we support referring to either Cord (headed by Raila; Luo) or jubilee (headed by Uhuru; a kikuyu). The ethnic affiliation of the coalition leaders defines the followers.

Blog Post Three

Kikuyus are the most democratic tribe in Kenya's politics-USAID report

Date Posted: May 12, 2013 Number of Responses 267

Source: http://www.kenyan-post.com/2013/05/kikuyus-are-most-democratic-tribe-in.html

Response		Analysis	
1.	I agree with the report, look at how the Luo community selected their leaders during the last election	In Kenya, kikuyu and Luos are treated as binary oppositions. Whenever one of the names is mentioned, it triggers the presence of the other. It shows the deep rooted rivalry that has been nurtured over the years through ethnicitisation of politics and social life in Kenya.	
2.	It should be exact opposite they can never vote for any other community other than their own	A reflection of ethnic distrust. The fact that the two communities believe that no one can ever vote for the other in elections means they can never trust one another.	
3.	What do you expect a kikuyu writer to say about his tribe? He is like those saying Kikuyus are Jews or Judas of this country	The analysis goes beyond the subject of the post to analyzing the name of the author. Kikuyus believe that a Luo author cannot write and post an anti Luo story as this one. The meaning is that whatever favors Kikuyus, disfavors Luos; Its is a Kenyan creation of ethnic dynastic oppositions	
4.		Translated: "Money and tribalism comes first for them" Based on stereotypes that kikuyu worship moneythey are implicated as having bribed for this story to be posted.	
5.	A kikuyu can never be a tribalist. He needs all tribes as his customers. In all his business, be it in Matatu business, thievery, funeral business, umalaya, plot everything	Sarcastically and creatively drawing from Mahatma Gandhi statements on customer service. The response implicates Kikuyus in all manner of business including 'umalaya' prostitution provided they get money.	
6.	I agree- Luos are still in first generation	Implicating Luos as uncivilized and belonging to the past.	
7.	Yes I agree but they are thieves	Another stereotypical statement on kikuyu ethnic group members implying that although Kikuyus are democratic as claimed in the post, they are thieves.	
8.	Let us all strive to accept one another, and desist from hate speech and tribal comments. We are all Kenyans after all	A voice or reason. The presence of these voices online functions to balance the ethnic tensions and cool down the attackers. It shows that there is hope of ethnic coexistence and that ethnicity is a creation of our minds.	

No way can Kikuyu/Kalenjin make somebody win presidency- Raila says he won all other 40 tribes			
		Date Posted: Jul 17, 2013	
Number of Responses 125			
Source: http://www.kenyan-post.com/2013/07/no-way-can-kikuyu-kalenjin-make.html			
	sponse	Analysis	
1.	Don't keep boring us with news about this baboon. Ugly man it's a shame he is Kenyan. We better read news about Tom and Jerry than about him.	Hatred that has been bundled against Raila, not as a person but as a member of Luo community. It is not clear from the post whether the response implicated other members of Luo community.	
2.	Even god hate you so much you can never be the president only a tribal chief ya Wajinga Wajaluo.	Here, Raila is attacked and members of his ethnic group are also attacked. <i>Wajinga wajaluo</i> meaning "foolish Luos". It just shows how Kenyans do not see politicians as persons but as members of an ethnic group. The use of own ethnic grouping and amassing of power leaves politicians vulnerable to such interpretations.	
3.	I concur no way one tribe of Chinese people can be more than the 42 tribes of Kenya	Very tricky but referring to Kikuyus. During the construction of Thika superhighway, there was news that kikuyu women bore children with Chinese workers. This brought a controversy and implication of love for money, that kikuyu women as they prostituted bore Chinese children. The mainstream media took the stories that children born in central are of Chinese decent. 'Tribe of Chinese people' is label for members of kikuyu community whom Uhuru represents	
4.	I cannot vote for somebody who is not circumcised. That is a taboo, that is why we cannot vote for Luo	Another cultural prejudice from kikuyu that circumcision marked superiority of their culture. However, it has such a serious implication and trying to create a bigger dearth of distrust between Kikuyus and Luos in politics.	
5.	He want to tell us that Luo won by themselves	A sarcastic statement. Also referring to members of an ethnic group and reductive in nature to mean that Raila can only get votes from Luos.	
6.	Why use nasty words whenever Raila is mentioned, style up guys or you want us believe all what he says its true	A voice of reason: whenever Raila is mentioned, Kenyans do not see him; they see an ethnic group he hails from. The tragedy of Kenyan politics and a big threat to ethnic coexistence and trust.	

Blog Post Five

Uhuru/Ruto win on March 4th election was credible free and fair-ELOG tell Raila's Cord

Date Posted: Jul 30, 2013 Number of Responses 55

Source: http://www.kenyan-post.com/2013/07/uhuru-rutos-win-on-march-4th-election.html

Re	sponse	Analysis
1.	Na hii jaluo kila wakati inasema ilishinda	Translated "And this Luo says he has won every time". Referring to 2007 when Raila disputed elections. The narrative created is that he is always disputing elections. The mention of his ethnic affiliation implies that his ethnic members shares in his perceived "weaknesses"
2.	I truly pity Luos who follow Odinga blindly	Anything concerning Raila here is attached to members of his ethnic group. It means that ethnicity plays a big role in political identity.
3.	Luos should have been in Uganda or Sudan where their likes live. Most of these power hunger related problems are caused by them. If Kenya was all Luo, it probably be the poorest country in Africa if not the world	Note that there was no mention of Luo in the title of the post. However, as stated in earlier posts, the name of Raila invokes the images of Luo ethnicity.
4.	It is stupid to think that only those dissatisfied with Kenyan state of affairs are the Luos	Voice of reason Trying to refute the generalization that comes with responses on any post favoring Uhuru

Blog Post Six

Shock a	Shock as Kikuyus jam the ICC website to apply for kikuyu translation job at The Hague (salary 8 million) does this mean Uhuru Kenyatta's case is on?		
Source	Date Posted: Mar 17, 2014 Number of Responses 35 Source: http://www.kenyan-post.com/2014/03/shock-as-kikuyus-jam-icc-website-to.html		
Respon		Analysis of the story	
1.		There has been a prejudice that <i>kikuyus</i> are businessmen. The response utilizes such a prejudice for their advantage and mentioning ' <i>wajaluo</i> ' members of Luo community as jealous of the kikuyu ethnic group. it's incitement to state, ' <i>wajaluo wajinyonge</i> '; let the Luo commit suicide	
2.	Those are Luos who have applied pretending to be Kikuyus	Straight forward statement but provocative in the sense that one ethnic group can blame the other. The fact that Uhuru is implicated in the ICC is an assumption that a kikuyu cannot betray their kin by applying for the job. Since Luos, as competitors are supposedly out to implicate Kikuyus, the meaning is that they are applying for the ICC job so as to be in a better position to implicate a kikuyu. This brings about an ethnic rivalry.	
3.	Kikuyus will go for money, hata kama ni from Satan himself	The "kikuyu will go for the money, even if it is from the devil himself". A stereotypical statement directed to the members of kikuyu community. This stereotype of kikuyu worshiping money, killing for money and doing anything to get money is an ethnic stereotype.	
4.	Reke jaluo cite ruta na kuongithio muthita ni kihii ti Raila	An insult "let Luos salivate and enjoy suckling Raila's uncircumcised penis". This statement is meant, given that was written in kikuyu language, to instill in- group hatred against members of Luo community.	
5.	Kenyans, Kenyans grow up- brothers and sisters. Our country needs us so bad and this is not the time to start pointing fingers. Let move on together please!!	A sensible statement Under all the madness on the blog posts, there is always a voice or reason and this is what keeps us hoping that one time; sense will come back to us.	

Blog Post Seven

Raila Odinga says he will beat Uhuru/Ruto by a land slide and form the next government
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Date Posted: Jun 4, 2014 Number of Responses 71

Number of Responses 71		
Source: http://www.kenyan-post.com/2014/06/raila-odinga-says-he-will-beat-uhuru.html		
Response	Analysis	
 Forget weka kwa kaburi la sahau uongozi with your Luo hooligans 	Translated "forget and bury the dream of leadership with your Luo hooligans" The response is implicating Luos in a story about Raila Odinga. The reference to his tribe here is what constitutes an element of ethnicity.	
2. Kikuyuism is too much in this post. And its time for Kikuyus to start respecting other tribes	The mention of kikuyu ethnicity and dominance termed kikuyuism is a mark of identified ethnic enemy. The response factors out other tribes and implies that kikuyu members do not respect them.	
3. He beat Uhuru in 2013, beat Kibaki in 2007 (fact) wizi wa kura. Luyias, Kambas, Luos and other communities, we are determined, KIUKS don't ever think we will vote for you, you can vote your voting KALE machines tuko na nyinyi- it will go the Malawi way	 Translations: <i>wizi wa kura</i> - vote rigging <i>tuko na nyinyi</i> - we are with you The response also factors out Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic groups [representing Uhuru the president and Ruto, his deputy] and creates a situation where all others tribes, and he/she mentions some, will be against them in 2017. The Malawi way as mentioned refers to Malawi elections held on 20 May 2014 in which the opposition candidate Peter Mutharika of the Democratic Progressive Party defeated incumbent President Joyce Banda. The response therefore implies a situation where the opposition will take over the government come 2017 in Kenya. 	

	4. Next time it will be all tribes against kikuyus. Na si kwa ubaya but it will be time to vote!!!!!	Ethnicity is still brewing in our hearts and awaiting next elections. Singling out an ethnic group against others in Kenya and prospecting their clash in future is a sitting bomb.
5.	Yes, Kenyans are behind you. they have notices jubilee is not taking them anywhere	The response praises Raila Odinga and connecting Kenyans discontent with the current government.

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing analysis, it can be deduced that:

- Political fights in Kenya are highly informed by ethnicity just the way the politicians use ethnicity to gain political mileages
- In blogs where the administrator does not require an email or personal details for those who are posting responses, there are more unconstructive messages, conversations and narratives such as name calling some of which is mere insults to members of the other ethnicity
- In Kenya, members from Luo and Kikuyu ethnicities are seen to engage more in ethnic fights online. This is understandable given that the two major political heavyweights from the two main coalitions of parties come from those ethnic groups
- The conversations that dominated in 2007/2008 ethnic tensions are in 2013 transferred online to blogs because of the freedom of expression and anonymity ensured in the virtual platforms.
- Most political blogs are sensationalizing headlines and capturing the ethnic factor which is easy to notice right from the headlines with ethnic tags such as Kikuyu and Luos.
- Ethnicity has been used for long in Kenya for political purposes. It originated from the colonial masters who used it for divide and rule policies which were meant to appropriate Kenyans divisions for easy rule
- Blog posts before the elections did not generate divisive and unconstructive responses. The wording of the headlines by the editors was also not sensational compared to the headlines that the stories carried after the elections. Before elections, Kenyans were sober in their discussion of elections and had high expectations of fair and free elections. The call to maintain peace was also taken in to highest levels by media and other institutions.
- The political environment before and after the elections was different. The failure of biometric voter kits, the delay of the results and the alleged deliberate malfunctioning of the IEBC infrastructure heightened tensions that peaked at the announcement of the presidential election, the cord contest of the

elections and the Supreme Court ruling of the presidential petition.

- In most of the stories that generated ethnic conversations and hate speech associated Raila with Luo more compared to cases where Uhuru was associated with kikuyu.
- The responses of the political blog posts before the elections did not associate Raila with Luos or Uhuru with Kikuyus but they largely associated them with Cord and jubilee respectively.
- Whether the anonymity provided by blogs and other social media platforms allow therapeutic outlet for deep-seated anger among Kenyans, it comes with benefits or is unpredictable.
- It is evident from the responses that there are Kenyans who provide voices of reason on blogs. in most of these responses, some diligent Kenyans calls those engaging in online lynching to sanity and realization of what they share more than their differences.

Remedies to online ethnic acrimonies

- i. Kenyans should be encouraged to participate online and engage in constructive discourses and conversations. Even when people are fighting, it pays to come in between and provide a voice of reason that can cool people's anger and bring sanity in their online conversation.
- ii. There is little hope of legal approaches curbing ethnicity because being responsible and accountable on online discourse is more of a moral duty than it is a legal issue.
- iii. Since ethnicity is highly socialized in Kenya, may be the best way out of it will be to find ways of de-socialising it by appealing to the goodwill of Kenyans to think beyond their ethnic cocoons and embrace constructive ethnic relations.

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