

Okullardaki Örtük Programın Görünen Kısmı

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ÖZ. Alışlagelmiş okul algısının dışına çıkılan bu çalışmada, örtük programın incelenmesi yoluyla okullaşmanın resmi olmayan yönlerine dikkat çekilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaca yönelik olarak örtük program üzerine yapılmış çalışmalar alan yazında odaklanılan, (a) örtük program kavramının tanımı, (b) örtük programın araştırılma yöntemi, (c) örtük programın öğrenciler üzerindeki etkileri ve (d) örtük program ile baş etme yolları olmak üzere dört temel tema altında sunulmuştur. Ayrıca, okullaşmanın yan etkilerinin ulusal bağlamda tartışılması amacıyla örtük program üzerine Türkiye’de yapılmış çalışmalar incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın Türkiye’de eğitim uygulamalarının eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla sorgulanmasına katkı sağlaması beklenmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: örtük program, Türkiye’de örtük program, alan yazın incelemesi

ÖZET

Amaç ve Önem: Öğrencilerin okulda öğrendikleri yazılı eğitim programlarıyla sınırlı kalmamaktadır. Okulların birtakım fonksiyonlarını örtük programlar aracılığıyla yerine getirdikleri artık bilinmektedir (Vallance, 1973). Örtük programın öğrenciler üzerinde yarattığı etkinin daha büyük olabileceğini (Bloom, 1972) göz önünde bulunduran bu çalışma, örtük (gizil, gizli, saklanan, informal, derin) programı eğitimciler ve araştırmacılar için daha görünür ve dolayısıyla daha anlaşılır kılarak onunla ilgili farkındalığı arttırmayı hedeflemektedir.

Yöntem: Bu çalışmada uluslararası ve ulusal alan yazında örtük program üzerine yapılmış bazı çalışmalar derlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Araştırma ve kavramsal tabanlı çalışmalar ışığında örtük program hakkında bugüne kadar ortaya çıkarılmış bulguların sentezlenmesi yoluna gidilmiştir.

Bulgu ve Sonuçlar: Çalışmanın bulguları örtük programın artık görünür hale gelmiş bazı kısımlarına işaret etmektedir. Bu bulgular dört temel tema altında ortaya çıkmaktadır: (a) örtük program kavramının tanımı, (b) örtük programın araştırılma yöntemi, (c) örtük programın öğrenciler üzerindeki etkileri ve (d) örtük program ile baş etme yolları. Bu çalışmada farklı tanımların vurguladığı noktalardan yola çıkılarak örtük programın bazı temel özelliklerine işaret edilmiştir. Buna göre, örtük program genel anlamıyla resmi programda belirlenmiş ya da açık bir şekilde kabul edilmiş kazanımlar dışında kalan ve öğrenciler üzerinde olumlu ya da olumsuz olası etkiler doğurabilecek akademik olmayan bazı değer ve becerilerin bilinçli olarak ya da farkına varılmayan bir biçimde bir gruba öğretilmesi şeklinde betimlenmiştir. Bulgular, örtük programın okullarda sınıf içi ve dışında olmak üzere çok çeşitli durumlarda ve ortamlarda ortaya çıkabileceğini göstermiş ve doğası gereği örtük programın pek çok çalışmada nitel araştırma yöntemlerine başvurularak incelendiğini ortaya koymuştur. Bunların yanı sıra, ulusal ve uluslararası yazının ortak olarak örtük programın bireyler üzerindeki olumsuz etkileri üzerine odaklandığı gözlenmiştir. Örtük programın eleştirel ve yaratıcı düşünme becerilerin geliştirilmesinden ziyade daha çok mevcut düzene uyum sağlayabilen bireylerin ortaya çıkmasına katkı sağladığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Özellikle Türkiye’de örtük programın demokratik olmayan bir takım eğitim uygulamalarıyla kendisini gösterdiği saptanmıştır. Ne var ki, çalışmalar aynı zamanda öğrencilerin bu etkilere direnç göstererek karşı koyabileceklerini de göstermiştir.

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The Visible Side of the Hidden Curriculum in Schools

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ABSTRACT. Going beyond the common sense view of the schools, this study aims at moving attention to informal aspects of schooling through exploring its hidden curriculum. To achieve this end, a review of the studies conducted on hidden curriculum is introduced on the basis of four major themes highlighted in the literature: (a) the definition of the hidden curriculum, (b) the methods for the inquiry into the hidden curriculum, (c) the potential influences of the hidden curriculum on students' learning, and (d) the ways to cope with the hidden curriculum. An analysis of hidden curriculum studies conducted in Turkey additionally was presented to demonstrate the impact of the hidden curriculum across contexts. Overall, this study is expected to contribute to the critical inquiry of educational practices that convey hidden messages.

Key Words: hidden curriculum, hidden curriculum in Turkey, review of literature

INTRODUCTION

What do students learn throughout their years of schooling? Who decides what and how students will learn in the schools? Why is it decided so? Do schools in any case fulfill the functions for the benefit of the pupils? Moreover, are the purposes of the schooling in all aspects explicitly known by students, teachers, and parents? To come across the most accurate and complete answers for such basic but noteworthy questions, the common sense view of the schooling needs to be challenged. Schools indeed may not be like the way they appear to be because "a pervasive hidden curriculum has been discovered in operation" (Vallance, 1973/74, p. 5).

It is no longer hidden that schooling executes some of its functions under its invisible agenda as it latently socializes students into certain kind of values and behaviors apart from its manifest operation (Hlebowitsh, 1994). Yet, what the hidden curriculum teaches students and how it influences their development and learning remain to constitute one of the dark sides in the field of education despite great thrust for understanding it. Indeed, discovering the hidden side of the schooling has offered a great challenge for the scholars so far. It seems to be quite understandable given the magnitude of the problems encountered in the investigation of the manifest curriculum, years of familiarity with it notwithstanding (Dreeben, 1976).

The driving force of the current study is to present an overview of the hidden curriculum studies. Particularly, in attempting to portray a number of aspects which are not anymore hidden about the hidden curriculum, all relevant and accessible studies either empirical or conceptual from different sources (e.g., journal articles, books, theses, conference papers) were attempted to be synthesized in this review paper. The search was dominantly carried out in electronic databases though it was not only limited to it. In addition, several studies conducted in Turkey are included to depict the impact of the hidden curriculum in the national context. Key words for the review were basically hidden curriculum, latent curriculum, informal curriculum, and covert curriculum, and also their equivalences in Turkish. Although it was attempted that all essential studies on hidden curriculum were included in the review, it is still likely that some important studies might have been missed in this paper. Constituting the major discussions in the literature, the findings were presented under the following themes: (a) the definition of the hidden curriculum, (b) the methods for the inquiry into the hidden curriculum, (c) the potential influences of the hidden curriculum on students' learning, and (d) the ways to cope with the hidden curriculum.

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THE DEFINITION OF THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Literature offers alternative but complementary definitions for the hidden curriculum. Gordon (1982), for instance, underscored three core points to identify the hidden curriculum, differentiating (a) academic learning from nonacademic learning, (b) cognitive environment from physical and social environment, and (c) conscious influence from unconscious influence. In this framework, the hidden curriculum is associated with the acquisition of nonacademic competencies like attitudes, dispositions, and social skills in a physical and social environment in an unplanned manner. On the other hand, Portelli (1993) questioned if the hidden curriculum is indeed unplanned or not. It was argued that the influence of the hidden curriculum may be consciously planned as hiddenness may be in different forms in terms of whether learning outcome is intended by a teacher and whether it is recognized by a teacher or a student. Therefore, hidden curriculum studies should not only delve into what is hidden but also “by whom and from whom” it is hidden (Portelli, 1993, p. 347).

Moreover, the definition of the hidden curriculum might vary based on the nature of its influence on students. Skelton (1997) discussed the potential influence of hidden curriculum from functionalist, liberal, and critical perspectives. From a functionalist perspective, the hidden curriculum is, for instance, defined as regards its influence on maintaining social order and stability, while the liberal perspective questions the practices that are assumed to be normal in educational process as the hidden aspects of the school life. On the other hand, the critical perspective identifies the hidden curriculum with its function in reproducing existing social inequalities. Such influences are likely to support the argument that the influence of the hidden curriculum on individuals can be both positive and negative (Seddon, 1983).

Figure 1 reveals the distinguishing features which are likely to help finding the hidden curriculum in the schools. Different perspectives are likely to result in different interpretations of the notion of the hidden curriculum. However, they are in sum likely to point out that hidden curriculum may be intentionally planned or unconsciously occurring, positive or negative in terms of its influences, and recognized or not. Yet, in any case it is not written, apart from the official curriculum of the school, and invisible for a group of the subjects. After all, it can basically be considered to be a component of the informal system of the schools comprising latent demands, values, and functions (Ballantine & Hammack, 2008). In this informal system of the schools, it may just be regarded as a useful tool to uncover the systematic side effects of the schooling which are not explicitly acknowledged in educational rationales but still effective throughout the process of schooling (Vallance, 1973/74).

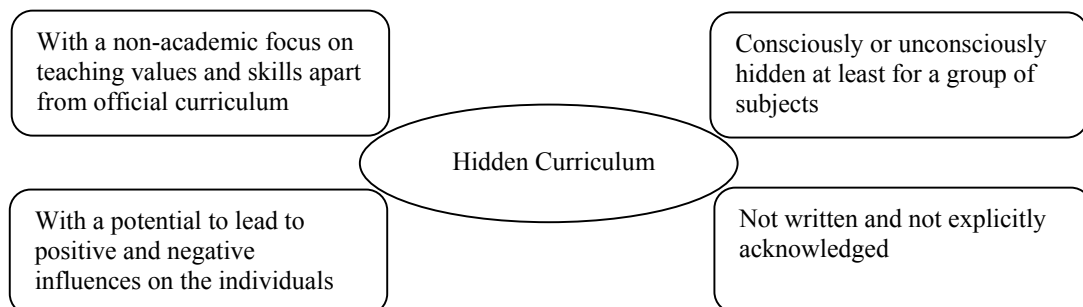


Figure 1. Key features of the hidden curriculum

THE METHODS FOR THE INQUIRY INTO THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

The educational concern is not all about defining the hidden curriculum but also to find it in school settings to determine its means and ends. Looking at the right places with an aware

mind set and appropriate methods might help to unveil at least some sides of it. King (1986) underscored that research on the hidden curriculum largely rests on the unique decisions in particular settings since it is hard to reach generalizations about it. An interpretivist point of view, associated with qualitative research, may then be considered to be the most appropriate approach for its inquiry because it attempts to provide local explanations relevant for specific contexts (Feinberg & Soltis, 1998). Especially, qualitative research considering its flexible design (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006) is presumed to offer an ideal research setting for the effective investigation of the unfamiliar phenomena and so for the study of hidden curriculum. It is highly likely that the invisible sides of the hidden curriculum emerge in this type of open ended inquiry. It is mostly because of that qualitative research is useful for developing understanding about cases about which yet is little known or expanding understanding about cases which is difficult to convey with quantitative data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In congruence with this view, numerous studies have extensively applied qualitative paradigm to explore the hidden curriculum thus far (e.g., Anyon, 1980; Apple & King, 1977; Booher-Jennings, 2008; Buzzelli & Johnston, 2001; Fielding, 1981; Hansen, 2002; Hemmings, 1999; Langhout & Mitchell, 2008; LeCompte, 1978; Omokhodion, 1989; Pitts, 2003; Sambell & McDowell, 1998; Vanderbroeck & Peeters, 2008; Varpalotai, 1987).

Considering distinguishing characteristics of qualitative research such as naturalism, description, process orientation, induction, and meaning making (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998), in practice, it, therefore, seems to be essential to (a) conduct hidden curriculum studies in real school settings, (b) collect evidence about hidden curriculum from multiple sources, (c) focus on educational processes to capture the hows and whys of the hidden curriculum, (d) start with no predetermined thesis about hidden curriculum but to end with an emerged synthesis about it, and (e) take into consideration what students, teachers and school administrators think to grasp the hidden curriculum impact on them. Compatible with this design, typical qualitative methods, namely observation, participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and document analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) can be utilized to collect data about the hidden curriculum. Gordon (1984), pointing to highly tentative and speculative nature of the hidden curriculum research, especially highlighted the use of observation to capture the “redundant” messages communicated by the hidden curriculum and collecting sound evidence to ensure that students are exactly learning from the hidden curriculum. Regardless of the method used, it may be required that a researcher act as a critical theorist while investigating hidden curriculum so that main interest would be to question and change an existing situation rather than merely understand it (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011).

In search of the hidden curriculum, anywhere, anyone, and anything in the school setting can indeed be a source of inspection for researchers. School rules, rituals, ceremonies, routines, and documents (Wren, 1999), methods of assessment of student learning (Sambell & McDowell, 1998), textbooks (Vanderbroeck & Peeters, 2008), hallways, lunchrooms, and other corridor spaces (Hemmings, 1999), extracurricular activities (Garner & Knowlton, 1997), official knowledge introduced in formal curriculum (Apple, 1993), classroom discourse (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2001), the way of teaching and general atmosphere in the educational settings (Pitts, 2003), disciplinary system and the process of academic engagement (Langhout & Mitchell, 2008), and classroom seating arrangement, class times, regulations, and the values (Martin, 1998), to name a few, have been the common variables providing evidence about the covert messages of the hidden curriculum, embedded in the culture of the educational organizations. Thus, they can be considered to be vehicles for the discovery of the hidden curriculum in future studies.

Table 1 summarizes the research design applied in a sample of studies on hidden curriculum in terms of samples involved and methods used for data collection in a chronological order. As can be derived from the table, interview, observation, document analysis, discourse analysis, textbook analysis, and survey with open-ended questions have been utilized to explore

the hidden curriculum thus far regardless of the year in which the studies were conducted. It seems that researchers studying hidden curriculum had the tendency to select particular cases as their field of study and combine multiple methods to gather in-depth information about them. It appears to be very rare that they included large samples and applied quantitative methods to shed light on the hidden curriculum.

Table 1. *A summary of research designs applied in a sample of studies on hidden curriculum*

Publication	Method	Sample
Apple & King, 1977	Observation, interview	A public kindergarten classroom
LeCompte, 1978	Observation	Four fourth-grade teachers from two different schools
Anyon, 1980	Classroom observation, interview, assessment of curriculum and other materials in the classrooms and the school	Five elementary schools
Fielding, 1981	Survey with open-ended questions	Sociology or social studies students of the fourth, fifth and sixth years
Varpalotai, 1987	Participant observation, interviews	A girls' camp
Sambel & McDowell, 1998	Individual and group interviews, document analysis, observation	Thirteen case studies of assessment in action
Hemmings, 1999	Accompanying participant students in the class, travelling with them through hallways, eating lunch with them, hanging out with them before and after school, individual and group interviews	Two urban high schools
Buzzelli & Johnston, 2001	Analysis of classroom dialogue	A third-grade classroom
Hansen, 2002	Attending weekend activities of the schools, spending time in hallways, offices, and gymnasium of the school, observation of classes, formal and informal interviews	An inner-city high school
Pitts, 2003	Survey with open-ended questions	Junior students from music department in a university
Booher-Jennings, 2008	Participant observation, document analysis, interview	An urban primary school
Langhout & Mitchell, 2008	Teacher interview, field notes, behavior chart quantitative analysis	A second-grade classroom in a school
Vanderbroeck & Peeters, 2008	Interviews, textbook analyses	Forty-six male adults in the field of child-care, eight textbooks of secondary voluntary education

THE INFLUENCES OF THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM ON STUDENTS' LEARNING

The significance of the hidden curriculum essentially seems to lay behind its potential for affecting student learning. Bloom (1972) explained that knowing the educational consequences of the hidden curriculum is paramount to educational practice because the latent curriculum may have a superior impact on educational outcomes compared to the manifest curriculum. Inspired

from this assumption, a number of studies have partially put forward what students indeed learn from the hidden curriculum.

According to Bloom (1972), “schools teach more about time, order, neatness, promptness, and docility in this latent curriculum. Students learn to value each other and themselves in terms of the answers they give and the products they produce in school. Students learn how to compete with their age mates in school and the consequences of an academic and a social pecking order” (p. 343). They, moreover, might learn to cope with living in a crowd, continuous evaluation of others, and unequal power share (Jackson, 1990). Also, students are prepared for their adult roles in the schools by means of the transmission of critical social norms identified as independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity (Dreeben, 1967). Jachim (1987), furthermore, discussed that pupils in the process of schooling may regularly but implicitly learn to value content over process, convergent thinking over divergent thinking, answering questions over asking questions, and accepting authority over challenging authority.

All together these studies are likely to support that the hidden aim of the schooling is to preserve present societal order as students act more as the receivers of the values rather than their creators (Apple, 1971). It is noticeable that schools endeavor to fulfill this aim even in the early stages of the schooling. In the kindergarten, children learn how to be an obedient, enthusiastic, adaptable, and persistent workers as they all often perform identical tasks in an identical pace with identical materials in the way desired to achieve identical products (Apple & King, 1977). To maintain existing social order, students do not just practice work skills but also are prepared for their designated work positions based on their social class as children from working class families frequently engage in mechanical and routine tasks, while students from affluent parents learn to be creative (Anyon, 1980).

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY

What is presently known about the hidden curriculum in schools in Turkey is actually and unfortunately not so much. It remains to be hidden to a large degree due to the scarcity of research devoted to this area in Turkey (Tezcan, 2003). In this limited literature, what the textbooks implicitly teach students has been revealed to an extent. To illustrate, social studies course books were found to foster national values particularly in the first years of elementary education even though the formal curriculum emphasized the acquisition of national and universal values equally important (Evin & Kafadar, 2004). Consistently, teachers and students alike reported that acquisition of universal values is secondary to learning national values in the process of schooling (Kuş, 2009). In addition to stress on nationalism, the texts may also transmit messages to students which are likely to reinforce negative behaviors or ideas by use of some misleading proverbs or portraying heroes with negative traits (Başaran, 2010). They may as well underpin stereotypical gender roles, illustrating women more in home-related environments, engaging with child-related tasks and men more outside the home environment, engaging with work-related tasks (Esen & Bağlı, 2002).

Moving beyond textbooks, both reported and observed experiences of the students in schools seem to provide other clues about the hidden aspects of schooling for specific contexts. In the case of a teacher training program, the hidden aim seemed to be the overemphasis on the subject-matter knowledge and the underestimation of teaching training courses, likely to result in that teacher training programs raise subject matter experts but not effective teachers (Yüksel, 2007). Moreover, in the case of primary and secondary education, the acquisition of several religion and gender related beliefs may be one of the hidden aims of the schooling in Turkey (Arıkan, 2004). Acar and Ayata (2002) specifically argued that the culture of imam-hatip high schools - a type of high school that provides more religious education- is likely to reinforce gender inequalities and religious values. This study particularly uncovered that students' experiences with the hidden curriculum changed based on the type of schools they attended. The

private high school in this study was characterized with the norms of competition, success, modernity, whereas the public high school was identified with the feeling of disappointment, lack of self-confidence, and insecurity as a mirror of the social class of the students studying therein.

Additionally, schools in Turkey appear to be places damaging the idea of democracy. Teachers are likely to model behaviors that completely contradict with democratic attitudes such as “humiliation, shouting, threatening, physical violence, and ridiculing in front of others” though it may be by large more prominent in low quality schools (Sarı & Doğanay, 2009). The lack of democratic teacher-student relationship is also apparent in the study by Veznedaroğlu (2007), underlying the following aspects of the hidden curriculum in the case of a Turkish private elementary school: (a) teacher as the authority figure, (b) teacher opinion as more valuable than student opinion, (c) answers as more valuable if it is in the way teachers like. It can be argued that schools pose a significant threat for the strengthening of democratic system in Turkey because it fosters learning only for tests, facilitates obedience to rules merely to avoid punishment (Veznedaroğlu, 2007), and encourages docility and conformity in daily practices (Engin-Demir, 2008).

Unlike these studies, the investigation by Engin-Demir (2003) centered on the hidden curriculum as it is reflected in the physical environment of the schools both in the context of Turkey and the USA. This study indicated that the schools in both countries resembled each other in their practices regarding high control of student behaviors, low trust in students, and isolation of teachers from students. However, school buildings in Turkey particularly conveyed the idea that extra-curricular activities were not as valuable as intellectual activities. The neglect of the socio-emotional, aesthetical, and physical needs of the students was also more obvious for the schools from the poor neighborhood in Turkish context. Moreover, course books and the principles of Atatürk were found to shape the world-view of the students in the case of Turkey. In relation to the hidden curriculum of the physical environment of the schools, Tuncel (2008), moreover, revealed that classroom environment underestimating the needs and feelings of the university students in a teacher training program put the instructors at the centre of education and is likely to convey the message that courses about teaching and the participation into these courses are not so valuable.

Yüksel (2006), going one step further, focused on how students might react to the hidden curriculum. The findings indicated that the hidden aspects of the curriculum (e.g., reproduction of knowledge and opinion of the instructor over critical thinking, instructors’ positive discrimination against female students, against certain sort of ideological and political views, and against psychology-based courses) were likely to be accepted or only passively resisted by the university students from the department of psychological counseling and guidance due to their fear for being failed in the courses. Accordingly, it can be concluded that conformity to the instructors remains to be a kind of value reinforced even at the level of higher education in the Turkey. Given that Turkish society is more associated with the collectivist culture (Hofstede, 1991), emphasizing being a member of a group than an individual, it is likely that students appear to act consistent with the expectations of the society. Therefore, it becomes indeed difficult for them to be in opposition with the dominant ideas and authority figures in the school.

Table 2 provides a summary of the hidden curriculum impact in and outside Turkey based on the studies included in this review. Overall, the results are likely to imply that hidden curriculum universally appears to be concerned with teaching students to be obedient and cope with power differences rather than developing critical and creative thinking skills in them. Particularly in Turkey it is considered to manifest itself with many kind of undemocratic educational practices including teacher-centered education, physical and psychological violence, and reinforcement of national, gender and religion specific beliefs in the mind of students despite so called progressive educational reforms. It seems that the hidden aspects of schooling are more negative than positive both in and outside Turkey.

Table 2. *Some visible aspects of the hidden curriculum in schools in and outside Turkey*

	Turkish Context	International Contexts
Whats of the Hidden Curriculum	acquiring national values rather than universal values, stereotypical gender roles, some religion-related beliefs, learning conformity to the authority, learning for tests	learning promptness, order, docility, neatness, obedience, competition, adaptation, persistence, achievement, social comparison, living in a crowd, coping with continues evaluation, dealing with unequal power share
Hows of the Hidden Curriculum	overemphasis on some subject-matters, neglect of extra-curricular activities, differentiation of school norms and values across different type of schools, undemocratic teacher behaviors and practices, the neglect of the needs and feelings of students, high control for student behavior, isolation of students from teachers	valuing content over process, valuing convergent thinking over divergent thinking, valuing answering questions over asking questions

THE WAYS TO COPE WITH THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Martin (1976) asked what to do with the hidden curriculum when it is found. This is a very relevant question given that the influences described so far seem to be detrimental for pupils. Even if it is not, unconscious learning as a result of the hidden curriculum appears to be educationally immoral due to the violation of learners' autonomous decision making (Gordon, 1980). Considering that there is no way to avoid hidden curriculum, the mere solution becomes to execute activities to raise consciousness of students and teachers regarding the hidden curriculum (Martin, 1976). Nonetheless, Gordon (1980) argued that developing awareness to sensitize students and teachers toward the hidden curriculum is not a strategy without problems because it requires substantial maturity and experience on the part of students and teachers, all teachers to accept to fight with it, and allocation of considerable time for sensitization process despite delay in the explicit curriculum. Moreover, several students who are out of the system of schools may not have the chance to benefit from this process (Gordon, 1980). Rather than the development of consciousness, schools might be protected from the authoritarian effects of the hidden curriculum by means of educational reform transforming them into democratic places by eliminating tracking of the students, grading for disciplining, unequal power distribution, and obedience to authority but welcoming dialogue, group work, social action, and self-pace education (Giroux & Penna, 1979).

These so called effects of the hidden curriculum on students' learning may, on the other hand, have been overestimated in the literature. Dreeben (1976) stated that there was a dearth of empirical evidence concerning the impact of the hidden curriculum and its underlying dynamics. Moreover, it might be misleading to consider students as the mere recipients of the hidden curriculum because students by educational action can resist to this reproductive hidden agenda of the schools (Apple, 1980-81; Willis, 1977). Though hidden curriculum is experienced by students many times in the same way, making it highly redundant and look very effective, it is still true that its effects can be reduced or even eliminated as a result of cognitive processing of individuals (Assor & Gordon, 1987). Students may simply mediate the influences of the hidden curriculum because school is just one of the influences along with numerous others on them and may not be that powerful; that is, as schools play with students, students can play with it (Cornbleth, 1984).

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