NIGERIA'S GROWTH CHALLENGES: A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE BRITISH COLONIAL RULE

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Abstract

Nigeria's growth challenges are rooted in the economic exploitations and social distortion orchestrated by the British colonial administration in the 19th century. Over the years, scholars in the field of Political Science, History and International Relations have emphasized much on the impacts of colonialism with less reference to how the British colonial legacies are continuing to deepen the underdevelopment crisis in Nigeria. This paper seeks to highlight some of the British colonial antecedents that are currently hampering Nigeria's growth and development. A critique of British sinister activities during and after colonialism is offered here to foster new discussion that will provoke a rethink of the approaches to the growth challenges. Also, the paper adds that, while international cooperations are necessary for growth, however, Nigeria requires indigenous solutions that are carefully crafted to deal with the overdependence issues that are crippling the economy. It argues that although slave trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism and internal problems such as corruption among other factors contributed to the underdevelopment in Nigeria, nevertheless, it is the lack of innovative ideas and inability of successive regimes to articulate national development plans and strictly follow them that acerbated the growth crisis. The paper concludes that the British imperial activities are still impacting negatively on Nigeria as well as influencing the behavior of leaders who adopted many of the colonial legacies. Data was collected using the qualitative approach, relying majorly on secondary and primary sources. Secondary materials were drawn from books and journal articles, while the primary sources came from official memos, videos, archival documents, pictures etc. Analyses were anchored on thematic technique, which is in sync with the Theory of Imperialism used to explain the underdevelopment challenges in Nigeria.

Key Words: Nigeria's Growth, Challenges of Underdevelopment, Consequences of Colonialism

Introduction

In this paper, attempt was made to re-examine the Nigeria's growth challenges and critically evaluated the significance and impacts of the amalgamation of the north and southern protectorate

to understand the role of the British colonial policies in undermining the country's growth and development. It also examined the British motives for amalgamation in Nigeria and how the unification changed the social structure of the society. The aim here is to highlight the consequences of colonial administration in Nigeria and to debunk the popular Eurocentric notion, which suggests that colonialism left Africa better than it was met by the British. An attempt in deconstructing the old perceptions about Africa will not only contribute to the already existing body of literature, but as well foster a new perspective and conceptual construct of Africa's realities. In this, the Eurocentric stand point on the development of Western world are challenged. This provides alternative historical construct about Nigeria's economy before, during and after colonialism.

This alternative brings clarity to what Sing C. Chew and Pat Lauderdale in "The Theory and Methodology of World Development" called the conflicting assumptions and conclusions of the West about the source of the wealth and poverty of nations.¹ It was argued through the dependency theorists' view that, Nigeria as a nation-state was a creation of imperial capitalism and that the country was built on a faulty foundation, in that, the consent of Nigerian citizens were not sought or considered by the British before the unification that brought the country into existence.² The false unification created ethnic tension right from the inception, which led to instabilities that have undermined the progress of the country.³ In addition, colonialism placed Nigeria's economy under the global capitalist system from a subjugated position, thereby stifling its growth.⁴

Emerging discourse in the politics of development and underdevelopment of the nations of the world suggest that there were two circumstances that created poverty in the developing nations, namely, the external and internal factors.⁵ The former are the activities of the Imperial Western nations who through slave trade, colonialism and agents of neo-colonialism exploited African human capital and mineral resources to develop their country.⁶ While the latter are the local issues undermining development and growth of most African states, there include, civil wars that often stimulate political and economic instabilities, bad leadership, corruption to mention but a few.⁷ It is also important to note that the internal factors are the offshoot of the external influences.

Western scholars such as W. W. Rostow one of the proponents of Modernization, often do not acknowledge the contributions of the African continent in the development of the Western nations.⁸ Indeed, their assumptions that Africa would have not experienced civilization without colonialism is a fallacy that conflicts historical records. For instance, Africa is known to be the cradle of civilization, in fact, Egypt is reputed to have developed the act of writing before any other nation could do same.⁹ These assumptions are not in tandem with the realities and identity of Africa, which need to be reconstructed. It is against these backdrops that the paragraphs below critically examined the significance of Nigeria's 1914 unification under the British colonial rule to understand its impact on the growth of the country.

Significance and Impact of Nigeria's 1914 Unification

After Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, many African and non-African scholars (Walter Rodney, Ionel Bostan, Eric Teniola, Tony Falola etc.) assessed the import of the unification of the south and northern Nigeria by the British colonial administrators. They also tried to understand the impact of the unification in the light of the political and economic challenges that confronted the country in the post-independent years. Beginning from 1914, nationalists such as Nnamdi Azukiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Anthony Enahoro etc. were the first to criticize the unification and protested against the British amalgamation idea on the ground that Nigerians were not consulted. They did that through newspaper publications, civil disobedience (such as labor strikes and boycott of public services), books, memos and public disorder that were tended towards sensitizing and educating the masses on the need for self-rule.

At independence, the nationalists encouraged and promoted national unity and inter-cultural connection, but regrettably, majority of the ethnic groups preferred having their own separate state, rather than uniting with other groups to form a nation-state.¹² In fact, as Gambo Dori would argue, the British unification of Nigeria brought divisive tendencies in the country in that each ethnic group promoted their own regional interest instead of national interest.¹³ It was this ethnic chauvinism among Nigerians that gave rise to tribal clashes, political divisions and civil wars that followed after independence¹⁴, which worsened and widened the ethnic differences.

Larry Diamond notes that, the divisiveness of the country reflected prominently in the formation of political parties even among the nationalists that fought for independence. For instance, by 1964 when the first post-independence general elections in Nigeria were conducted, the exercise was marred by tribal, religious and regional differences. The differences hindered the formation of a truly national party in Nigeria and has remained so to the present day. According to the Nations Encyclopedia, political parties in Nigeria from independence had ethnic coloration; parties such as the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was dominantly popular in the Northern Region, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was dominant in the Eastern Region, while the Action Group (AG), was dominant in the Western Region. Political arrangements made meaning to the people only from their ethnic and regional point, which suggests that Nigerians preferred to build their own separate states by themselves. With this, the British amalgamation is considered to be one of the major issues hindering development in Nigeria.

On the other hand, Ikenna Ifeobi differed when he argued that the British unification of Nigeria in 1914 was not all doom as it is perceived, because according to him, amalgamation gave a geopolitical template to the entire Africa. Although the process cannot be adjudged perfect, however, that initial slate provided the foundation for nation building for many countries. As Ifeobi would put it, without colonialism, most regions of Africa would have taken centuries of warfare to arrive at where they are today. This assertion conflicts the realities of Africa, Ethiopia for example was never colonized, yet they have built a state without centuries of warfare. Also, the likes of Sokoto Caliphate, Kano Emirate or Benin Kingdom of the pre-colonial

Nigeria would have transformed into nation-states if not for the forceful unification by the British.¹⁹

Siriru Lanre Nuruden, Yakubu I. Salaah et al, Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton among many scholars argue that Nigeria and indeed Africa had a leadership and state structure that had semblance of modern state,²⁰ which implies that modern states would have emerged from the kingdoms and emirates just as it happened elsewhere in old Ottoman or Roman empire. For example, the Igbo people of Nigeria had a philosophy of *onyeaghananwanneya* an ideology that promoted good neighborliness, peace, unity and progress of the Igbo society.²¹ Also, scholars of Igbo history, (e.g., Axel Harneit-Sievers, Elizabeth Isieche etc.) acknowledged that Igbo philosophies suited and conformed with the egalitarian, decentralized and republican structure of the Igbo society at the time. However, as Joshua Dwayne Settles and Ferlin McGaskey would note, colonialism came and disorganized that exiting structures and established foreign ones, which are considered problematic and inimical to the growth of the African society.²²

Consequences of Colonial Administration in Nigeria

Washington Alcott highlighted some of the consequences of colonial activities in Africa and argued that it affected virtually every sector of the society, namely political social and economy. In the views of Joshua Dwayne Settles and Ferlin McGaskey, colonialism altered the history of Africa forever and the consequences are too numerous to the extent that the damages it caused have continued to undermine growth in the continent of Africa. Duke, added that colonialism has arguably informed the fundamental culture of modern Nigerian organizations—especially in the way they are organized and operated, and also how the human elements within such settings behave in the process of achieving organizational objectives. At the end of colonialism, Nigerian leaders were in a dilemma over whether to continue with the British structures or return to the African way of organizing their society which was destroyed. The dilemma exposed the unpreparedness of the British to hand over power to Nigerians. If they had plans for transition of power, they would have groomed the natives and prepared them for leadership.

Before independence in 1960, the British administrative style had permeated the society and became the main influence for organizing the politics, social and economy of the country.²⁷ It is the economic structure of the society that determines and forms the superstructure upon which the social, political, educational and other institutions that support class structure of the society are developed, including ideas and style of doing things.²⁸ Indeed, colonialism disrupted the fundamental principles of growth and development in Nigeria by setting bad precedence such as the discouragement of traditional institutions, local industrialization, and instead promoted western culture etc. It is against this backdrop therefore, that this section examines the consequences of British colonial administration, which are categorized into three major sectors of the society, namely, the social, political and economy.

Economic Consequences

Over the years, the focus of many historians has been on examining the economic impact of colonialism. Out of their works have emerged good literature providing conceptual framework for analyzing colonialism especially as it relates to the continent of Africa. One would wonder why Africa is often the focus even though other parts of the world such as Asia and South America also experienced colonialism. Studies show that Africa's colonial experience was more intense, aggressive, rootless and damaging compared to Asia and South America. For instance, no other continent in the world that went through colonialism that experienced the high level of exploitation as Africa.²⁹ James Robinson and Leander Heldring opine that Africa would have been richer and more developed without the invasion of Europeans and they hold that African economic recovery is taking longer time than the other former colonies because the level of economic losses they encountered during colonialism were not the same.³⁰

A typical example was the land losses to the British colonial administrators in most part of Africa. On arrival, they needed massive expanse of land for plantation. Many Africans lost their lands, both as individuals and communities.³¹ Economically, and in all societies, land is an essential capital and fundamental for growth and development. Yet, the British colonial officials ceased community and individual lands. According to Mark Armao, the land losses resulted to poverty, hunger and economic hardship for the communities affected³² because, at that time, the economy of Africans revolved around agriculture and farming. In Nigeria for instance, Steven Pierce observed that many who lost their lands were converted to laborers in the British plantations under deplorable labor conditions.³³ Earnings and wages of the native laborers were nothing compared to the amount of labor output.³⁴ Under this condition, savings and investment was impossible, which is the bedrock for growth and development.

Produce from the British plantations were not used to meet the immediate needs of the host communities in Nigeria, rather there were shipped to feed the factories in Europe. ³⁵ Colonialism crippled all internal economic development activities including industrialization and in turn made the entire country dependent on the British for every need ³⁶ and have remained a producer of raw materials that are shipped abroad. It is against this basis that M'Bemba Kabinet Koita in the *Straight Talk* interview program with the VOA Africa opined that 'Africa produce what they do not consume and consume what they do not produce'. ³⁷ Koita's statement implies that Africa is a producer of primary goods, which are not used in the continent for lack of the technology to transform them, but exported to Europe and in return relied heavily on importation of finished goods back to Africa. It suffices to state that the dependency syndrome that is hindering the growth of Nigeria's economy today and indeed that of Africa was the creation of the British economic policies, which encouraged mainly the production of cash crops like cocoa, groundnut, cotton³⁸ etc. that were in high demand and are still needed in European factories.

In a different strand of the colonization argument, there are scholars who insist that European colonization brought some benefits. Such benefits include organized economic planning, taxation,

diversification policy, proper and effective accounting system, and access to global market.³⁹ Other suggested benefits were the introduction of legal tender, market economy, construction of social amenities etc. Henrique Bertulino, Chinedu Igwubor, Andre Gunder Frank etc. also agree that colonialism brought some measure of benefits to Africans, however, they note that the disadvantages of colonialism far outweigh its benefits.⁴⁰ The point is that Nigeria as a country would have developed their indigenous economic plans, growth and development strategies that were already in place before colonialism came and disrupted it.

Besides that, most of the developmental programs of the British colonial officials were designed to aid their exploitation of the native people. For instance, the introduction of taxation was to help raise fund that was used in running the colonies. To show that taxation was a new idea in Nigeria, even women resisted it, which resulted to the Aba Women Riot of 1929 in the province of Calabar and Owerri. Also, the warrant chiefs that were used in the collection of the taxes became corrupt and exploitative, hence the British introduced an accounting system that checkmated the tax collectors. A few years after the warrant chiefs and tax agents were exposed to public fund, they became overbearing, powerful and too corrupt to the extent that they started oppressing citizens and as far as the chiefs protected British interest, they were almost untouchable.

An example of this can be found with Chief Nwiboko Obodo in Izzi, Nigeria, who rose to prominence for collecting taxes for the British colonial officials. He was later tried and executed for killing his own village people for not paying taxes after many years of invading arrest. While obodo was so corrupt and untouchable because he had the protection of the colonial masters. His social status was greatly envied and many wanted to be like him. Other warrant chiefs such as Chief NwanchorOginyi also toed the same line and amassed great wealth. While both Nwiboko Obodo and NwanchorOginyi were later killed for one controversy or the other, however, the seed of corruption they sowed still manifests in Nigerian society today. Benson O. Igboin, found that the British tolerance for corrupt practices, however, destroyed the value system and morals. That promoted integrity, accountability and public conduct in Nigeria.

Political

Colonial history changed the political landscape of Nigeria. The transformation started from the unification of the south and northern protectorate in 1914. Since then, the former empires, emirates, kingdoms and princedoms became a single entity with modern style of leadership and governance system different from their Traditional approach. Native laws, norms and traditions governed the African society prior to European invasion, though unwritten, but were effective. ⁴⁸ Colonialism introduced written constitution, democratic institutions such as the legislature and judiciary, as well as party politics in the country. ⁴⁹ However, many argue that amalgamation was a forced a mistake – a perception that have continued to hinder citizen from demonstrating the spirit of patriotism. ⁵⁰ Ola Lagos revealed a lot about how Nigerian feel on a random interview he organized on the street, a particular respondent argued that there is nothing like Nigeria, in fact, Nigeria does not exist and has never existed. ⁵¹ Such responses attest to the fact that many

Nigerians are unhappy with the British colonial legacies particularly the amalgamation of different entities into one country.

As the awareness of the forced amalgamation grows due to increase in literacy level, the more groups are agitating for separation from Nigeria to form a new state.⁵² Examples of such separatist movements include the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Niger Delta Avengers, Oduduwa Peoples' Congress (OPC) and Arewa Republic.⁵³ Cletus Ukpong in an interview with a popular Nigerian senator, Enyinnaya Abaribe, revealed that there are currently over 30 separatist groups in Nigeria including the dreaded Boko Haram terrorist group that emerged to challenge the government over alleged injustices meted on the minority groups in the country.⁵⁴ Their agitations have led to the disruption of political and economic activities, violence and killings in most parts of the country.⁵⁵

Edeh Samuel Chukwuemeka blamed colonialism for breeding the crisis and nurturing a mindset of violence among the peoples of Nigeria. During colonialism, the British rather than negotiate, used force, which militarized and radicalized the people. Manipulation, corruption, inequality and social injustice characterized the colonial administration, hence Nigerian leaders imbibed it in the administration of the country after independence. Aside these, other British colonial legacies include, political rigging, human rights violations and domination mindset have featured prominently in Nigerian politics. In Nigeria for instance, by 1922, the Arthur Richard's constitution introduced the elective principle that for the first time allowed only 3 Nigerians to be elected into the Legislative Council, the rest of the remaining 25 members were all Europeans. Such high level of inequality, deprivation and political exclusion set a bad precedence that later became a political culture in Nigeria.

Social

Before colonialism, every society had its own uniqueness in their social style and development, although the level of development was not equal since the beginning of human existence. And so was the circumstance in Nigeria prior to colonialism. Nigeria had a growing and evolving social lifestyle to suit their culture, philosophy and worldview, which distinguished them. However, the British arrived and tagged the Nigerian social life and everything about them inferior and used that as an excuse to introduce their own culture and social life. This destroyed the native social structures and created chaos, confusion and loss of identity. Legit.ng posit that the adoption of Western social life such as the use of English Language and Christian worship was by fear of the British force and not necessarily because they believed in it. 62

Colonial rule lasted for 46 years in Nigeria, from 1914 – 1960. Within these years, Nigeria experienced deluge of social transformations, some of which are considered negative. First, the Kingdoms of Benin, Oyo Empire, and Sokoto Emirate etc. were brought under one state that was christened Nigeria.⁶³ The unification was perhaps done in ignorance of the ethnic differences and complex cultural diversities prevalent in the country. It was these differences that led to the

outbreaks of internal ethnic crisis and civil wars that further deepened the development challenges in the country. A typical example was the 1967 – 1970 Nigeria/Biafran Civil War⁶⁴, which further polarized the country and widened the religious and ethnic divided.

Other social consequences of colonial rule in Nigeria include social segregation in schools, churches, hospitals, bars and other public spaces. Nigerians were denied access to places considered to be white areas. In fact, there was racism in the church, where the natives were denied positions of leadership. This resulted to the emergence of indigenous churches such as Celestial Church of Nigeria, The Redeemed Christian Church of God and so many more. In the civil service, Nigerians were discriminated against by the Europeans. No Nigerian at that time could rise to a management position. The highest office held by a Nigerian was the position of clerk in any establishment. Many educated Nigerians were without jobs, some of whom established private enterprises. This, however, affected the earnings of citizens and destroyed their self-confidence as the British officials looked down on them and encouraged social segregation.

Social segregation worsened the entire colonial experience, because it denied both Nigerians and the Europeans the opportunity for intimate social interaction that would have helped the parties to learn of each other more profitably. Such experiences of segregation promoted ethnic rivalry, racism and discrimination amongst the indigenous people of Nigeria. For instance, the colonial legacy of social segregation left every ethnic group with the feeling of disunity. With this feeling, came the popular notion of ethnic dominance, each of the ethnic groups struggled to dominate the other, rather than working together to build the nation, they competed and destroyed the fabrics of national unity. Also, the British segregation policy introduced nepotism, favoritism and popularized class difference in Nigeria. These were not characteristics that defined the people prior to colonialism.

Generally, the British concentrated the construction of schools, hospitals and other social amenities in the cities where they resided such as the one established in the palace of the Oba of Benin 1885. They had little or no consideration for the rural dwellers. This idea created inequality and rural-to-urban migration. For instance, many rural people migrated to the city in search of better living standard because the rural areas were neglected. This same legacy still continues. Politicians pay little or no attention to rural development, thereby forcing millions of people to migrate to the cities. While migration in its conceptual meaning is not bad, in the context of rural to urban migration in Nigeria, it underscores the existing inequalities and uneven distribution of national resources.

Elsewhere in the world, such as the United Kingdom, internal migrations are somewhat minimal, because development has reached virtually every part of the country. Same facilities (e.g., good road network, telecommunication services, water supply, electricity, etc.) enjoyed by someone living in London are the same for farmers in villages. Having stated this, therefore, it is crucial to note, that the inequalities of London compared with other areas, particularly the rural north, are a

major source of political argument in the UK. The situation is not the same in Nigeria; there are still hundreds of communities without schools, electricity, water supply, hospitals and other public social amenities such as the Inyimegu Community in Ikwo Local Government Area.

The Conflicting Assumptions and the Realities of African Growth

Debates have emerged over the real cause of Africa's growth and development challenges. In the debates are assumptions and conflicting ideas which requires attention to help position Africa's realities in the right context and proper perspective. The modernists assume that the best way to develop Africa is to adopt westernization or western cultures and values.⁷¹ On the other hand, the dependency theorists who are majorly Africans object the modernists' idea of adopting western values, but suggest delinking of Africa's economies from the global capitalist system as a way to solve the many challenges facing the continent.⁷²

For more than four decades now, the debates over the best approach to lift Africa from poverty and underdevelopment have lingered and none of the school of thoughts aforementioned have been able to proffer lasting solution. Rather, the underdevelopment crisis has continued to exacerbate in virtually all the countries of Africa. It is regrettable that for a long time now, African nations, Nigeria inclusive have continued to make excuses for their underdevelopment, rather than take responsibility. Also, African leaders have not stopped blaming colonialism and slavery many years after independence. They failed to design indigenous plans for growth and development. Given that there are numerous former colonies like the Asian Tiger that have achieved certain level of development after colonialism, serves as a pointer to the fact that Africa can overcome its past history and reposition the economy of the continent.

To answer the above questions satisfactorily, it becomes imperative to highlight and address some of the conflicting assumptions and treat them according to their merits. In the Nigeria's circumstance for example, where western influence is seen in every section of the society, such as in the mode of dressing, language, religion, political structure and institutions etc., yet the country is still struggling to develop. This however, suggests that the adoption of western culture and values as proposed by the modernists perhaps may not hold the solution to the challenges of development.⁷³ In the same vein, the dependency proponents argued that Africa is under subjugation, and for development to occur, the continent of Africa has to delink its economies from the western controlled global capitalist system. 74 Now, with the increase in globalization, which promotes interdependence and interconnectedness of states, the dependency theorist's argument to delink Africa's economy from the rest of the world seems irrelevant. Any state that will grow and sustain development in the contemporary world economy, needs to be an effective player at the global scene, using diplomatic tools such as negotiation and cooperation to interact with other states in order to attract Foreign Direct Investments and profitable trade relations.⁷⁵ Delinking Africa's economy implies to isolate the continent, which will be catastrophic and selfdestructive.

The reality is that Africa is growing, however, the growth is relatively slow and the factors hindering development are multiplying by the day to an extent that the leaders are almost been overwhelmed. Unfortunately, the residue of the colonial legacies is still very much in place in Nigeria. Cases like corruption, wars, bribery, ethnic chauvinism, political violence and manipulation that characterized colonialism are still traceable in the social, political and economic sector of the country. While colonialism and slavery to a large extent undermined and distorted growth in Nigeria, however, the above-named internal issues contribute maximally to the underdevelopment crisis in Nigeria. Example, from 1960s, subsequent regimes in Nigeria both military and civilian have borrowed billions of dollars from either International Monetary Fund or World Bank. The funds are in turn looted by the leaders as the country continue to service the loans. This act has perpetually crippled Nigeria's growth. Recently, about \$130 USD stolen by General Sani Abacha during his tenure as the military head of state was returned to the Nigerian government by the United States. Many African leaders are reported to have laundered public funds as well, which are yet to be discovered.

Under this condition, it is highly unlikely that the country will develop sustainably as recommended by the Sustainable Development Goals initiative. Solution therefore would be to deal with corruption and other internal issues first before addressing the external forces such as neo-colonialism. Kwame Nkrumah defined neo-colonialism as the highest level of imperialism – a system of subtle exploitation of African resources through multinational and transnational corporations scattered in different parts of the world. The activities of these multinational institutions will be discussed in detail in chapter 3 of this work.

Conclusion

Nigeria's development challenges have gotten to a critical point and it would appear that the problems are getting more complex by the day. The factors hindering growth and development in Nigeria have been categorized into two, namely, the external factors such as the effects of slavery, colonialism, economic exploitation and the activities of multinational corporations. On the other hand, are the internal factors, which include bad leadership, corruption, internal conflicts, and wrong application of liberal economic policies such as the 1986 Structural Adjustment Programs that further sank the country's economy.

Here, the chapter highlighted some of the significance and impacts of the 1914 amalgamation, the consequences of colonial administration in Nigeria and attempted to discuss the conflicting assumptions, debates and the realities of African development issues. Also, it argued that the combined impact of colonialism, slave trade, poor leadership decisions in Africa and the challenges of neo-colonialism may continue to undermine development in Africa until homegrown solutions are articulated and institutions adequately strengthened to deal with the internal issues such as corruption, insecurity and inequalities. Once the internal issues are addressed, the government can systematically build a policy and legislations that will minimize the exploitation necessitated by neo-colonialism. One of the ways to do this is by increasing capacity as a state, which will enable for a balanced trade negotiation with developed economies that are taking

advantage of the weakness of the underdeveloped societies to exploit them. The exploitation happens in form of capital flight from the multinationals who remit huge funds to their home countries instead of reinvesting the surpluses back into the economy of the host country, unfair and unbalanced trade relations between the core and the peripheral states, foreign debts and loans from World Bank and International Monetary Fund which comes to African nations with stringent conditions etc. Some of the strategies used by the Western world to exploit Africa in this era of neo-colonialism will be discussed the next chapter.

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