## CHAPTER 2

## ENTREPRENEURSHIP RESEARCH IN CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES: IDENTIFYING KEY INGREDIENTS OF A 'HODGEPODGE'

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## **ABSTRACT**

The aim of this chapter is to provide a relevant theoretical contribution to the field of entrepreneurship in cultural and creative industries (CCI) and suggestions for a research agenda. Entrepreneurship research is characterised by an apparent fragmentation, even if scholars advocate the development of a 'stronger paradigm' to strengthen the discipline. Rather than making explicit what is specific to entrepreneurship in CCI, or delineating the boundaries of a new community of scholars, in this chapter, the author attempts to identify certain key ingredients of a 'hodgepodge'. The Schumpeterian entrepreneur, the opportunity seeker, and the everyday entrepreneur are introduced as well as an action model in which the reciprocal agency—structure relationship finds a place. It is highlighted how theories such as the Theory of Planned Behaviour, Social Identity Theory, Institutional Theory, Practice Theory, and Paradox Theory (can) inform research on entrepreneurship in CCI.

**Keywords:** Entrepreneurship; cultural and creative industries; action model; theory; agency; structure; motivation; self-efficacy

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The aim of this chapter is to provide a relevant theoretical contribution to the field of entrepreneurship in CCI and suggestions for a research agenda for entrepreneurship in CCI. While the attempt to formulate a theory of entrepreneurship in the field of cultural activities is far from new (DiMaggio, 1982; Peterson & Berger, 1971) and the parallels between creative and entrepreneurial activities have been highlighted (Barry, 2011; Sexton & Smilor, 1986), the accumulating entrepreneurship research offers opportunities for studying CCI. However, the field of entrepreneurship research is characterised by an apparent fragmentation, even if scholars have long advocated the development of a 'stronger paradigm' to strengthen the discipline (Davidsson et al., 2001). Such fragmentation is the result of the various disciplines of entrepreneurship scholars including psychology, sociology, economics, finance, and strategic management (Gartner et al., 2006). Recently, it was argued that: 'Without a common conceptual core, the ongoing call for increased contextualisation threatens to accelerate the fragmentation of the field and to encumber the progression of knowledge about entrepreneurship' (McMullen et al., 2021, p. 1198).

Rather than making explicit what is specific to entrepreneurship in CCI or delineating the boundaries of a new community of scholars, in this chapter, I attempt to identify certain key ingredients of the 'hodgepodge' (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000) of entrepreneurship research that can advance the (theoretical) understanding of CCI activities. By doing so, I hope to enlighten researchers, educators, students, and practitioners about the promising future of entrepreneurship in CCI.

## 1. THREE TYPES OF ENTREPRENEURS

At least three archetypical entrepreneurs have been distinguished in the literature: the Schumpeterian entrepreneur, the opportunity seeker, and the everyday entrepreneur. All are associated with something new: from radical innovations, through novel opportunities, to the establishment of new companies.

## 1.1. Radical Innovators

According to Joseph Schumpeter, entrepreneurs are unique change agents who are responsible for innovation. In his *theory of economic development*, entrepreneurs carry out new combinations in different ways, for example, by introducing new goods or production methods, opening up new markets, or reorganising an industry (Schumpeter, 1934).

Creativity – a key input in CCI – is considered to be a, if not *the* source of innovation (Amabile, 1996). Artists are sometimes seen as innovators and entrepreneurs who disrupt markets with their new, creative products (Ellmeier, 2003). However, the radical changes in product type, processes, and entire value chains that Schumpeter's theory refers to are observable within CCI as well. A pioneering article by Peterson and Berger (1971), sociologists with an interest in the phenomenon of entrepreneurship, documents entrepreneurial innovation at the industry level. The authors explain how in the turbulent environment of music production

in the 1960s, a new role emerged, which disrupted the traditional value chain. The move towards a more sustainable fashion industry accompanied by the circular fashion and textile movement, or the growing interest in community engagement and participatory models in museums, may serve as contemporary examples of innovations that depend on the entrepreneurial activity of newcomers or incumbent companies to introduce radical change.

## 1.2. Opportunity Seekers

Entrepreneurship can be associated with novel opportunities. Indeed, 'opportunity' is the keyword in one of the most cited papers in entrepreneurship research. According to Shane and Venkataraman (2000, p. 218), entrepreneurship relates to the opportunities to create future goods and services that can be 'discovered, evaluated, and exploited'. A stream of literature has illustrated this approach, for example, by distinguishing between the processes of discovering and exploiting opportunities and relating each to business success. An important insight is that individuals make different estimations of the potential success of an opportunity. For example, new and experienced entrepreneurs value opportunities differently (Baron & Ensley, 2006). This resonates with the comparison between the 'business' opportunities that young geniuses (such as Picasso) and old masters (Cézanne) typically identify in the arts, as shown by Galenson (2011).

The definition of entrepreneurship in CCI used by Chang et al. (2021) articulates entrepreneurial discovery in line with Shane and Venkataraman (2000):

Cultural entrepreneurs are therefore not necessarily artists, but those who discover opportunities by observing and creating connections between the subjective meanings of the cultural production and the intersubjectivity developed across consumer networks, groups, and markets.

## 1.3. The Self-employed as Founders of New Businesses

Entrepreneurship may also refer to the mere act of starting a new business. Welter et al. (2017, p. 314) coin the notion of 'everyday entrepreneurship' as an alternative to entrepreneurship that 'valorizes economic outcomes of wealth accumulation and job creation as the supreme and often the only goal'. In CCI, making a living out of someone's creativity is a potentially attractive career path. Individuals who are self-employed establish a 'new' business. Scholars engaged in critical labour studies have discussed the risks, precariousness, inequalities, and injustices (e.g. Banks, 2017; de Peuter, 2011) that arise from the current organisation of CCI including its strong focus on freelancing and 'gigging'. Cultural economists identify creative individuals' preference for this type of work as the cause of low incomes (e.g. Throsby, 2007). In this context, many studies suggest the need for a more appropriate entrepreneurial education. These studies seek to identify the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are needed to increase the chances of success of entrants to CCI and the survival rates of micro-businesses.

These three entrepreneurial types are depicted at the centre of Fig. 1. Next, the precursors of such entrepreneurship are explored, followed by structure, in a CCI context.

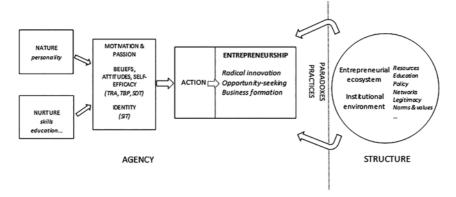


Fig. 1. A Theoretical Foundation Model for Entrepreneurship Research (in CCIs).

## 2. NATURE, NURTURE

The nature versus nurture debate in the entrepreneurship realm, which is grounded in psychology, involves the question whether someone's preferences and behaviour are the results of either inherited or acquired influences. Entrepreneurial behaviour has been explained by properties of individuals such as personality, knowledge, attitudes, motivation, and preferences (see, e.g., Frese & Gielnik, 2014). The baseline in various theoretical angles is that individuals possess specific features to a greater or lesser extent, which lead to preferences and attitudes that form the basis for *action* in the realm of entrepreneurship. There is no entrepreneurship without action, but what leads to (appropriate) action (and if this is the result of nature or nurture) is still unclear.

#### 2.1. Action and Its Antecedents

Several scholars theorise that action is at the heart of entrepreneurship. Without action, features such as personality, motivation, education, and knowledge will not affect any phase in the entrepreneurial process – be it identifying opportunities, acquiring resources, survival, or growth.

#### 2.1.1. Motivation and Passion

First, in the *action characteristics model*, Frese and Gielnik (2014) argue that different action characteristics lead to different outcomes in different phases of the entrepreneurship process. The more specific the construct, the more likely it will influence entrepreneurial outcomes. For example, motivation is more specific compared with someone's personality. In the model, cognitive and social preconditions such as education and family examples (nurture) and personality traits such as the need for achievement and risk-taking (nature) co-exist and are positioned at an equal distance from entrepreneurial outcomes. This means that nature and nurture characteristics jointly feed into the passion and motivational

antecedents that lead to the actions (searching for opportunities, planning, processing feedback, and seeking resources) required for entrepreneurship (Frese & Gielnik, 2014).

## 2.1.2. Attitudes, Beliefs, and Self-efficacy

A second theory that acknowledges the important role of action comes from social psychology. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) theorise action in their *Theory of Reasoned* Action (TRA). This theory posits that behavioural intentions are the immediate antecedents to behaviour and a function of someone's beliefs that a particular behaviour will lead to a particular outcome. These beliefs, in turn, underlie someone's attitude towards performing the behaviour as well as the person's subjective norms related to doing this. TRA postulates that other variables can influence someone's behaviour as long as they affect either someone's attitude or subjective norms. In other words, innate traits, as well as external influences such as education, could affect someone's behavioural intentions and behaviour as long as they affect a person's attitude or norms. In a much-cited follow-up article, Ajzen (1985) extends the theory by including 'perceived behavioural control' as an exogenous variable with a direct and indirect effect on behaviour. The Theory of Planned Behavior identifies 'perceived behavioural control' as a construct that captures (the magnitude of) someone's beliefs of owning the resources and opportunities for performing a specific behaviour. The interest of entrepreneurship scholars in Ajzen's (1985) theory can be traced back to the articulation of this belief – the confidence that someone has in their opportunities – as an important precursor to entrepreneurial behaviour. It strongly resonates with a very prominent notion in entrepreneurship research, namely self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977).

### 2.1.3. Social Identity

Third, Social Identity Theory assesses a person's identity as an important predictor of behavioural choices and actions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Someone's social identity increases their sensitivity and receptivity to certain cues for behaviour. On the other hand, individuals tend to display behaviours and actions consistent with their identity. Underlying someone's identity are their social interactions and identification with particular social groups. Membership in specific social categories serves as a frame of reference for self-evaluation and establishing self-worth (Turner et al., 1987). Two identity studies related to entrepreneurship are worth noting, First, Cardon et al. (2009) distinguish three entrepreneurial identities that stir the passion for starting a venture: an inventor role identity sets in motion a passion for activities such as exploring opportunities, a founder role identity underlies a passion for activities such as exploiting opportunities, and a developer role identity epitomises a passion for activities related to growing a business. Second, Fauchart and Gruber (2011) distinguish between Darwinians who possess a social identity type suited to becoming a successful founder of a company in regular competitive market systems, *communitarians* who view their companies as social objects, and *missionaries* who see their companies as political objects.

Taken together, someone's motivation and self-belief – and the identity that someone most strongly identifies with – are important precursors to the entrepreneurial activity of any sort: founding, running, or growing a business. As such, the question with which this section started (nature or nurture) has over the years been refined by entrepreneurship scholars, inviting researchers to consider action and the various aspects that lead to action.

#### 2.2. Nature and Nurture in CCI

The nature/nurture debate has been less explicit in a CCI context. There is considerable support within society for the view that artists are born with a vocation or calling, an innate talent. There is also the understanding that artists create out of a passion, regardless of market demand. Self-efficacy and passion have been identified as prominent precursors to entrepreneurial activity in CCI (Bhansing et al., 2018; Cardon & Kirk, 2015; Shaw et al., 2021). At the same time, abundant literature articulates how challenging it is to merge artistic and entrepreneurial aspects within a single person, career, organisation, education programme, or policy (Bhansing et al., 2012; Bilton et al., 2020; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Schediwy et al., 2018).

Studies have started to explore the psychological traits and deep motives of individuals wishing to start or pursue an artistic career (Hofmann et al., 2021), and how these differ among creatives and across groups (Caniëls et al., 2014). The *Theory of Planned Behavior* (Ajzen, 1985) has served as a frame of reference (Chen et al., 2017) as well as the motivational *Self Determination Theory* developed by Ryan and Deci (2000) (Cnossen et al., 2019). In addition, the skills and capabilities that young artists need after graduating are explored in arts entrepreneurship education research. The notion of 'identity' has been applied to emerging musicians: bohemian and entrepreneurial career identities are conceptualised and related to career development choices (Schediwy et al., 2018).

Already in their pioneering work on identity, Fauchart and Gruber (2011) advance the view that the identity types of the 'communitarians' and 'mission-aries' could be recognised in entrepreneurship in CCI. Hence, communitarians tend to rely on personal capabilities, deploy 'highly individualized and artisanal production methods (products often considered works of art)' (p. 947), and oppose using intellectual property rights protection as that runs counter to their values of sharing and community. Missionaries wish to address society as their audience, make use of new social (consumption) practices, and deploy new or socially responsible production methods (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). So far, evidence of the micro-foundations of creative work is too limited and scattered to enable drawing general conclusions. In other words, there are plenty of avenues for future research.

## 3. AGENCY, STRUCTURE

In the above, the entrepreneur is seen as an innovator, opportunity seeker, or business owner, whose agency was highly likely to depend on their social identity,

action, and specific features such as self-efficacy, passion, and creativity. However, what has been largely ignored until now is the role of the environment in which an entrepreneur operates. A great deal has been written about the relationship between agency and structure. In social theories, structures are considered to be constituted by 'rules' (Giddens, 1979) or 'schemas' such as 'conventions, recipes, scenarios, principles of action, and habits of speech and gesture' (Sewell, 1992, p. 8). Structures shape people's practices and imply agency, which arises from an actor's knowledge of schemas and control of resources. Sewell's (1992, p. 20) observation that 'a capacity for agency – for desiring, for forming intentions, and for acting creatively – is inherent in all humans' is the perfect bridge to entrepreneurship. Indeed, the mere desire to set up an enterprise is a clear manifestation of agency.

## 3.1. The Impact of the Environment on Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs can experience constraints as well as enablers that originate in their environment. These may include the availability or lack of resources, regulation, supportive governments, and societal norms related to entrepreneurship. Jointly and separately, constraints and enablers affect the rate and size of new venture creation, the nature of the entrepreneurial agency of individuals and groups as well as the entrepreneurial climate of an area. Approaches such as that of the entrepreneurial ecosystem and institutional theory provide useful lenses to look more closely at the structural features of the environment for entrepreneurship.

## 3.1.1. The Entrepreneurial Ecosystem

An entrepreneurial ecosystem (EE) has been conceived of as the entirety of 'benefits and resources produced by a cohesive, typically regional, community of entrepreneurs and their supporters that help new high-growth ventures form, survive, and expand' (Spigel & Harrison, 2018, p. 152). The strength and functionality of EE are a result of the continuous 'development and flow of entrepreneurial resources such as human and financial capital, entrepreneurial know-how, market knowledge, and cultural attitudes' (Spigel & Harrison, 2018, p. 152). This notion, which has long been embraced by policy-makers, has in recent years been approached by scholarship with increasing conceptual rigour, with the wish to make its theoretical underpinnings more explicit (Wurth et al., 2021).

Similar to Cluster Theories (Porter, 2000) and (Entrepreneurial) Regional innovation systems arguments (Cooke, 2001), the developing EE theory relies on a neo-Schumpeterian view of regional innovative capacity and a neo-Marshallian view of the advantages of clustering. It embraces the processes that drive clusters and regional innovation systems: economies of scale, economies of scope, and knowledge spill overs. Concretely, EE studies scrutinise the localised economic and social contexts and the role in those contexts of various elements – the stickiness of workers and knowledge, cognitive proximity and networks, education, policy, and the availability of other resources – in stimulating the entrepreneurship process over time (Mack & Mayer, 2016).

## 3.1.2. Institutional Theory

The influential *institutional theory* also explains how structure affects agency. It is preoccupied with the regulatory, social, and cultural influences (Scott, 1987) that have an impact on the legitimacy and survival of organisations (Bruton et al., 2010). Rather than downplaying social forces as motives of action, institutional theorists emphasise the roles of contextual structures and processes (rules, norms, beliefs) that are taken for granted (institutionalised) and affect organisational behaviour, with entrepreneurship as a case in point (Bruton et al., 2010). Numerous case studies have elicited how entrepreneurial organisations need to behave in accordance with the explicit and implicit norms and values in their environment and understand what is appropriate and important to gain the legitimacy necessary to deploy their activities (Bruton et al., 2010; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Suchman, 1995). The social environment encourages particular strategies and behaviours that will lead to the legitimacy of (new) companies (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994), which confers on them the right to exist and develop.

Neither institutional approaches nor ecosystem approaches are ignorant of the reciprocal relationship between agency and structure. As an example, the concept of *institutional entrepreneurship* refers to the efforts of individual actors or groups that establish or change their institutional context by infusing new norms and values into social structures (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Also, the ecosystem perspective focuses on the agency-structure interaction by acknowledging the socially embedded nature of the entrepreneurship process as well as the involvement of various actors, resources, and capabilities (Spigel & Harrison, 2018).

## 3.2. Agency and Structure in CCI

The reciprocal agency-structure relationship has regularly been considered in research on CCI, mainly in terms of the theoretical perspective of the externalities and feedback dynamics that result from geographic clustering and Marshallian external economies in urban contexts (e.g. Chapain et al., 2010; Potts, Hartley et al., 2008a). On the other hand, the location decisions of many creative workers (employed, self-employed, and business owners) are theorised as being informed by the quality of a place in terms of its economic advantages, social aspects, and aesthetic and cultural properties (Florida, 2005; Scott, 2006). The lenses of clustering practices and agglomeration economies have been applied to study the motives of creative workers that make use of coworking spaces as appealing working environments (Wijngaarden, 2019). Studies combine a micro/agency perspective and a macro/structure perspective to examine how the interplay between individual properties and the qualities of an environment (structural features) affects localised entrepreneurship. Specifically, for the development of a workforce capable of maintaining or lifting an EE-specific knowledge base, individuals need to acquire skills, but equally a 'cultural normalization' of career goals and work habits among considerable numbers of workers must take place. Whereas the application of the EE framework to CCI has been limited, for example, in a case study of Porto (Loots et al., 2021), the institutional perspective on CCI has had broader applications (Lindkvist & Hjorth, 2015; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2019). The enforcement of intellectual property rights and the consequences for

investment in innovations is a manifestation of institutional entrepreneurship that is relevant to CCI as well as the case of governments that affect the operations of museums and other cultural organisations by requiring business planning (Bruton et al., 2010; Oakes et al., 1998).

## 4. PROMISING APPROACHES: PARADOXES, PRACTICES

As suggested, there is a need for more research in the various aspects of agency regarding entrepreneurship in CCI, for example, through a (social) psychology lens with a focus on motives, self-perceptions, and identities. Also, studies of how the interplay between agency and structure affects entrepreneurship in a place, possibly by combining institutional, clustering, and ecosystem perspectives, are welcomed. Whereas the above focus on entrepreneurs (micro) and their environment (macro), there are plenty of opportunities to study the 'meso-level' of entrepreneurship. *Paradoxes* and *practices* in entrepreneurship and CCI go beyond the individual level but are still more controllable features compared with the structural characteristics of an environment.

## 4.1. Paradoxes

CCI is characterised by a challenging relationship between arts and commerce (Caves, 2000). There are theories that explain how the cultural value of creative production is connected to the realisation of economic value (Potts, Cunningham et al., 2008). One example is the *core-periphery spill-over model* (Throsby, 2008), which suggests that labour and capital investments in the core arts (e.g. visual and performing arts and literature) eventually spill over to the more commercial outputs of sectors such as design, advertising, and film. However, pertinent in entrepreneurship are the issues of how creative companies experience a tension between creativity and money, and how they commonly deal with conflicting interests.

Paradox theory assumes that organisations could be confronted with paradoxes. Paradoxical in the operations of companies in CCI is, first, that 'their capacity to generate profits and sustain their business operations depends on the willingness and ability of the employees to be constantly creative and generate novel solutions' (Rozentale & van Baalen, 2021). Second, being able to continuously engage in such creative efforts depends on the resources and the efficiency of the company (Lampel et al., 2000). According to this theory, entrepreneurs who face paradoxes must adopt a 'both/and' mindset and be prepared to recognise and deal with the duality of two or more poles in their operations (Rozentale & van Baalen, 2021). Integration is a strategy by which conflicting goals can be addressed simultaneously. A design agency, for example, could rely on 'in-house resourcing' for offering design solutions; creative and production activities are then both executed internally. As such, the paradox perspective focuses on individual level characteristics as key to overcoming paradoxes, including mindsets and leadership styles (Smith et al., 2012), yet also on company-level features, such as decision-making, business models, and strategies (Rozentale & van Baalen, 2021).

Understanding how to deal with paradoxes is not exclusive to entrepreneurial companies nor does the capability of managing paradoxes guarantee successful entrepreneurship. However, being able to integrate practices that allow a company to 'thrive on paradoxal synergies' (Rozentale & van Baalen, 2021) could challenge companies to develop innovative business models, which may eventually be adopted by other companies within an industry. In this manner, paradoxes have the potential to affect individual entrepreneurs as well as the context in which they operate from the moment critical numbers of entrepreneurs start to adopt new ways in which businesses operate.

#### 4.2. Practices

Practice theory is positioned somewhat in the middle between agentic and structural views of the world. In contrast to the views of entrepreneurship as mere individual cognition and behaviour embedded within institutions or social structures, the practice approach in entrepreneurship research advances the view that all entrepreneurial phenomena are 'taking place within, and are aspects or components of, the nexus of practices' (Thompson et al., 2020). Practices include networking practices, resourcing practices, decision-making practices, strategising practices, hiring practices, selling practices, and so forth. Such practices are organised around a shared practical understanding of how things are supposed to be. In line with Giddens (1984), Thompson et al. (2020) state that practices are phenomena that 'link up to form wider complexes and constellations'. Theories of practice put forward an ontological position in which social phenomena such as organisations, strategy, power, science, meaning, as well as entrepreneurship, are the formative components within a nexus of practices (Hui et al., 2017).

Within their value chains, CCI entail a multitude of practices such as selection, intermediation, and certifying practices (Caves, 2000; Loots, 2019; Wijnberg, 2004), various coworking, co-creation, and collaborative practices as well as practices of production and funding, distribution and selling, and buying and consumption (Bourdieu, 1993). A few examples from within the entrepreneurship realm are the practice of career development through mobilising and converting various forms of capital (financial, social, cultural) in the Do-It-Yourself music scene (Scott, 2012), and the practice of company growth through first getting acquainted with the conventions and later spotting competitive advantages in CCI such as fashion and design (Loots & van Bennekom, 2022). In their case study of how a choreographer redefined the social practice of dance, Bizjak et al. (2017) elicit how practice is constituted by dimensions such as space, embodiment, and aesthetics and lays at the roots of crucial artistic as well as entrepreneurial decisions.

# 5. AN AGENDA FOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP RESEARCH IN CCI

In this chapter, I reviewed entrepreneurship in CCI through a theoretical lens. Research on entrepreneurship in CCI must take stock of the type of entrepreneurship

under scrutiny: ground-breaking innovations by Schumpeterian entrepreneurs that disrupt existing systems, novel opportunities that allow for entrepreneurial initiatives to emerge, or the phenomenon of new business formation by many creative individuals trying to make a living out of their passion.

While different manifestations of entrepreneurship lead to different scholarly approaches, reinforced by the heterogeneity of the disciplines with an interest in the matter, one common ground is *action*. It is crucial that entrepreneurship research in CCI relies on (social) psychology literature to investigate to what extent motivation and passion, self-efficacy, and the identification with specific archetypes (social identities) are precursors to entrepreneurial action. There is no agency without structure, though. Future studies can rely on institutional and ecosystem theories that seek to explain the reciprocal relationship between various aspects within the entrepreneurial environment and entrepreneurial activity at the individual as well as overarching levels. Much scope remains for really *theorising* paradoxes and practices in entrepreneurship and CCI research rather than simply describing them. Paradoxes and practices provide angles to tackle unresolved dualities such as those between nature and nurture, and agency and structure. For example, there is scope for research on how paradoxes pave the way for business model innovation in CCI, and how entrepreneurial artists affect the social practice of an art genre.

This chapter has ignored *capital theories* (Becker, 2009; Bourdieu, 2018) or the *ambidexterity literature* in which the two-fold agenda of strategically combining exploration and exploitation takes centre stage (Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004). *Effectuation theory* and *bricolage theory* are other examples of theories that consider strategic action at the company level as a major precursor to many activities, including entrepreneurship. The *entrepreneurial orientation* construct, which recognises the importance of creativity and innovation at the strategic firm level, has not been discussed (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). However, the suggested avenues for future research, with the recommendation to incorporate practices and paradoxes in studies, open doors for thorough examinations of entrepreneurship in CCI and beyond.

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