

ARTICLE

Narrative Policy Framework

Presidential Threshold Policy Toward the 2024 Election

Akhdiva Elfi Istiqoh ¹, Zuly Qodir ², Zakly Hanafi Ahmad ³

^{1,2}Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

³Master of Political Science, Universitas Diponegoro

 akhdivaelfistiqoh@gmail.com

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Abstract: General elections are interpreted as a concrete manifestation of the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. However, the use of the Presidential Threshold is a matter of debate ahead of the 2024 General Election. The issue related to the Presidential Threshold has become a hot issue reported by the Indonesian media. The media have an essential role in shaping public narratives related to policymaking. The part of public records can create collective awareness by providing information about actors' choices in making a policy decision. This study aims to analyze how policymaking actors in Indonesia make decisions regarding using the Presidential Threshold in the 2024 General Election seen from the public narrative formed in the media. A Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) study will be conducted to describe and explain the structure of political narratives in policymaking. This study uses a qualitative research method with a QDAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software) approach. The data sources in this study came from reputable online media in Indonesia. Research findings show that the government's attitude toward the House of People's Representatives (DPR) as policymakers does not waver towards implementing the 20% Presidential Threshold in the upcoming 2024 elections. However, the narrative built on the media regarding implementing the Presidential Threshold is more dominated by the contrast. This is inseparable from the political interest ahead of the 2024 general election. Namely, to carry and win presidential and vice-presidential candidates who are supported by each political actor involved.

Keywords: narrative policy framework; presidential threshold; election; policy.

1. Introduction

General elections are interpreted as implementing popular sovereignty or as a concrete manifestation of democracy in Indonesia. Article 1 point 1 of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections states that General Elections, hereinafter referred to as Elections are a means of people's sovereignty. The shape of the overall election to decide on contributors of the House of People's Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), Regional Legislative Council (DPRD), and the President/Vice President is direct so that the conserving of elections in Indonesia is different from conserving popular elections that practice in various nations. Others include the USA. In the United States, the pairs of candidates for President and Vice President are elected through the electoral college (Coleman et al., 2001). Where the people cannot directly vote for the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs, but in Indonesia, each citizen has direct voting rights, or each people has the right to one vote (one man, one vote).

The concept of general election is a political policy that combines the holding of general elections and executive elections in one voting day (Arrsa, 2014). Theoretically, simultaneous general elections apply to countries that follow a presidential system. This contrasts with a parliamentary system where executive officers are elected automatically through general elections. The political party or coalition that wins the general election has a majority of seats and can form a government (Labolo & Ilham, 2015).

Based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD RI), after the amendments, the submission of pairs of candidates for President and Vice President can only be submitted by political parties or a combination of political parties participating in the general election (Gobel, 2019). Article 6A (2) states that pairs of candidates for President and Vice President must be proposed by political parties or coalitions participating in the general election before the general election is held. The problem is, in the simultaneous general elections in Indonesia (PEMILU), the party presidential threshold decision is used to nominate pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates (Ansori, 2017). That is as stated in Article 222, which reads: "The Candidate Pair is proposed via a political party or coalition of political parties collaborating inside the General Election who meets the necessities for obtaining seats of at the least 20% of the entire seats in the House of Representatives (DPR) or obtaining 25% of the legitimate votes legally. Within the preceding standard election for members of the House of Representatives (DPR) (Mukhtarrija et al., 2017).

The general election or the 2024 election held simultaneously, has not yet been carried out. However, the stages of organizing the General Elections have already run and have reached a very far point. The implementation of the 2024 standard Election and the stages of its implementation cannot be separated from various issues or polemics. Many polemics have fallen, from the regulatory facet, fashionable implementation, to technical matters. The most violent and prolonged polemic related to the 2024 General Election and the stage of its implementation lies in one big polemic, namely the polemic about the threshold for the presidential nomination. Many parties reject the use of a threshold policy in the 2024 general election. However, not a few still support the use of this threshold. Threshold terminology in elections is commonly heard in countries with democratic systems (Armia et al., 2016). Under modern-day regulation, the felony threshold for an Indonesian presidential candidate is at least a party or coalition of parties proposed by a party or coalition of events with a minimum of 20% of the total famous vote in the preceding trendy election (Moeis & Sutrisno, 2019). This is stated in Article 9 of Law No. 42 of 2008 states, "A pair of candidates are proposed by a political party or coalition of political parties participating in the general election which meets the requirements for obtaining seats of at least 20% (twenty percent) of the total seats in the DPR or obtaining 25% (twenty-five percent) of the valid national votes in the election. The election of members of the House of Representatives, before the implementation of the presidential and vice-presidential

elections". This is then referred to as the threshold for obtaining votes for political parties or coalitions of political parties in carrying out presidential and vice-presidential candidates (Sodikin, 2014). Or what we usually call the Presidential Threshold, which is the minimum requirement for presidential candidacy based on votes in parliament or votes Nationally legal.

The Presidential Threshold is the minimum threshold required for the nomination of the President and vice president based on the wide variety of vote seats in parliament or the variety of legitimate country-wide votes obtained from political parties or a combination of political parties thru elections (Diniyanto, 2018). Another argument that developed from this presidential threshold system is the maximum percentage of support in parliament so that it can strengthen the President's legitimacy in carrying out his policies, as well as make it easy to win the next election (Hutabarat & Affandi, 2020). Presidential Threshold Able to reduce community conflicts because it will make voters not focus on only two political forces (Wilson, 2015).

Towards the 2024 general election, the Presidential Threshold becomes new chaos that appears in the media. It began with a lawsuit by Gatot Nurmantyo, the former Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces, against the 20 percent presidential threshold (TNI) (Saputra, 2021). Lawsuits continue from various parties, such as political observers, political parties, and even the public. The Presidential Threshold is considered to set a limit on the nomination of the President and vice president in every general election. These restrictions will limit the emergence of alternative figures in the contestation of the presidential election in 2024. People's choices are limited, so people become apathetic. The General Election Law or Law should facilitate the emergence of alternative candidate leaders so that electoral competition will increase. Including increasing the participation and quality of its leaders (Sabrina & Saad, 2021).

Research on the Presidential Threshold has been done quite a lot, research by Diniyanto (2018) which measures the impact of implementing the Presidential Threshold on General Elections in Indonesia. The results of this study indicate that the consequences of implementing the Presidential Threshold will be those who are harmed. Political parties that do not have the number of seats according to the Presidential Threshold must first form a coalition to nominate the President and vice president. Newly political parties suffered more losses. Certainly, new political parties cannot nominate president and vice president candidates. New political parties can only campaign for candidates for President and Vice President. The losses experienced by old or new political parties are the impact of implementing the presidential threshold in the 2019 simultaneous elections. However, not a few political parties continue to support the use of the Presidential Threshold in the 2024 General Election. Research conducted by Al-Hamdi (2021) related to Ideological Cleavage under Open-Operation list Proportional Representation: Parties' Position toward the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Threshold. The research findings show that the position of political parties in Indonesia in the 2019 General Election regarding the Presidential Threshold is divided into three camps: those who agree, those who are still in a dilemma, and those who reject the use of this Presidential Threshold. Each of these political party camps has a reason for their respective views that make the three camps formed. Then, a study conducted by Baskoro (2019) looked at the Presidential Threshold problem from the Mursalah Perspective. The results of the study show that the Presidential Threshold can be a boomerang for democracy in Indonesia because of the conditions for the interests of the political community.

Based on the above background, the authors are interested in analyzing how policymaking actors in Indonesia make decisions regarding using the Presidential Threshold in the 2024 General Elections seen from the public narrative built in the media. A study using the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), which may outline and clarify the structure of political narratives in policy formation, will be carried out to see the public narrative. The media plays a role in creating opinions circulating among the public. An opinion is formed from the perception or view of each individual. Usually,

public opinion is very responsive to news coverage of trending issues provided by the news media (Djerf-Pierre & Shehata, 2017). Public opinion that arises from the community and interest groups can influence a policy (Rasmussen et al., 2018).

The role of media narratives as actors informs public narratives, which could intervene in authorities rules (Suswanta et al., 2021). The media and the political stakeholder create narratives that are widely shared and used to characterize policies and concerns. These narratives can have a significant impact on public opinion and the political agendas of groups and individuals, resulting in the successful implementation of policies (Ardianto et al., 2020). In worldwide politics, it's for the mass media that make maps for choice-makers, for everyone, together with the ones in the government policymaking machine or diplomats, to have direct reveal in of all situations that have occurred in various countries in the world (Zhang, 2022) . The media can be a means to form a narrative that influences policymakers. Policy professionals use the Narrative coverage Framework (NPF) to systematically study policy organization actors' elements and narrative techniques to review a policy. On the coronary heart of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) is the question of the position narratives play within the public coverage manner (McBeth & Lybecker, 2018).

The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) has several elements consisting of (1) setting, in the form of place and time or the context of the problem, and (2) characters related to whom the actors are involved, such as heroes as problem solvers, the villain is the cause of the problem, and the victim is the victim or the aggrieved party. In this study, the actors involved, such as government policy actors, political parties, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the community (3) plot, are essential things that provide the relationship between several components, such as characters and settings that form a plot in public policy making. (4) moral of the story, in the form of an action to solve a problem (Jones & McBeth, 2010). In addition, in the Narrative Policy Framework, there are three levels of analysis, namely: (1) micro, (2) meso, and (3) macro. At the micro level, it explains how the policy narrative influences individual public opinion, while at the meso level, it is how a group influences the policy narrative. The level of macro-analysis centers on policy narratives that permeate institutions, societies and cultural norms. The focus of research for macro-level NPF investigations is to understand how changes or stability in macro policy narratives embedded in cultures and institutions affect public policy (McBeth & Lybecker, 2018).

All contemporary political theory discusses the primary role of the media in determining the timetable and includes the media or other communicative resources as political actors, coalition partners, or coalition assets. However, none of them, without a doubt, discuss the role of narrative in the policy-making process or attempt to describe the subtleties of narrative (Jones & McBeth, 2010). Reconstructing stories actors have spoken about political subjects frequently demonstrates how political concepts and ideas are given meaning in a variety of conflicting ways (Bedsworth et al., 2004). The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) is used by policy experts to carefully examine the narrative elements and methods used by policy organization people to advance the agenda (Crow & Allan, 2014). By using a multi-case study approach, this study examines stakeholder narratives of strategic importance, efficacy, and the framing of winners and losers in environmental policies.

According to Shanahan et al., Narrative Policy Framework NPF is a theoretical framework that establishes preferred assumptions, standards, and hypotheses for the take-a-look coverage narratives (Shanahan et al., 2018) and guides how to conduct empirical research on the role of these narratives in the policy process (Apriliyanti et al., 2022). The Narrative Policy Framework is also used to understand how the narrative is used by stakeholders, both for and against (Bailey et al., 2022). Discovering the function of policy narratives in the public policy process is the goal of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF). The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) does this by accepting the social construction of fact as a guiding presumption (McBeth et al., 2007). As with all frameworks, the additional research has helped a great deal in overcoming its limitations or further developing the Narrative Policy Framework over

time. For example, recent Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) research (Merry, 2016; Schlaufer, 2018; Smith-Walter et al., 2016), indicates using proof as a part of policy narratives and how evidence is frequently used to underpin the creation of man or woman in narratives. To advance the development of the Narrative Policy Framework and to extend it in a theoretically meaningful way, the research suggests the use of elements of the Narrative Policy Framework’s theory in political issues.

2. Methods

In this study, the method used is a qualitative research method by describing the findings through online media. The method in this study is intended to describe the data obtained in a systematic, factual, and accurate manner regarding the facts contained in a news text by the media. Online media and earlier studies on Indonesia’s presidential threshold were used as data sources for this study. The Ncapture feature on the Nvivo 12 plus, a web browser extension designed to capture web content in the form of the website content, social media content, scientific content, and articles, was used to collect the data. Nvivo 12 plus analysis uses the cross-tab query analysis feature, allowing you to see how much data was manually coded using Nvivo 12 Plus. Furthermore, to see and collect frequently appearing data, the author employs word cloud analysis to see words or concepts that frequently exist in the study file. Here, we can see the internet sources used to gather data.

Table 1. Online Media

No.	Online Media Name	Website	Amount
1	Detik	https://www.detik.com/	27
2	Kompas	https://www.kompas.com/	18
3	Kumparan	https://www.kumparan.com/	26
4	Sindonews	https://www.sindonews.com/	21

Source: Processed by Researchers (2022)

From Table 1, it can be seen that the author analyzed four online media. The reason for choosing these four online media is research reference material because these four online media are included in the top 15 best online media in Indonesia based on a survey conducted by (Alexa.com). Alexa.com or often referred to as Alexa, is a provider of information, metrics, and web traffic analytics. Alexa.com collects many traffic data from direct sources. Web rankings are monitored for three months; rankings are calculated using a proprietary methodology that incorporates estimates of the site’s average daily unique visitors. Of the 15 best online media, it was found that four online media discussed the Presidential Threshold the most in Indonesia in the period (1 July 2021 – 04 January 2022). The data analysis process begins with capturing data or capturing data using the Capture feature found on the Nvivo 12 Plus. Next, the author imports the data that has been collected into Nvivo 12 Plus, then does the coding of the data. After the data is coded, then displays the data and analyzes the data in the form of Crosstab Query, Word Cloud, and various other data that the author can display in this study.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Presidential Threshold in Indonesia

The issue of the presidential threshold in Indonesia is getting stronger. The issue of the presidential threshold has emerged recently after many political figures in Indonesia have filed a lawsuit to the constitutional courtroom to review the Election Law on this issue, the Presidential threshold. The exchange of arguments and opinions is carried out by political figures interested in the issue of the presidential threshold. The role of political actors is always seen to appear in the period leading up to the General Election (Nugroho & Pandiangan, 2019). The arguments that emerged from these

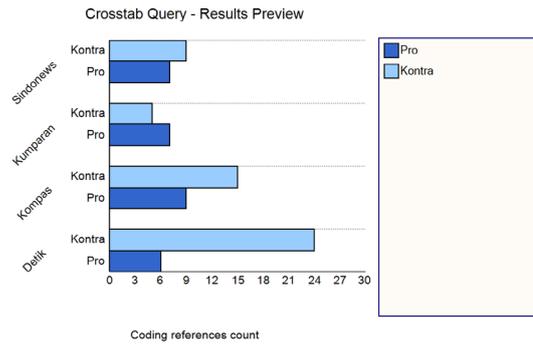


Figure 1. Media Coverage Regarding Presidential Threshold

Source: Author Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2022)

political actors were put to good use by the media in Indonesia. Online media are also busy providing information on the development of the presidential threshold.

The data above shows that in the last six months, the four online media are Detik.com, Kompas.com, Kumparan.com, and Sindonews.com. It can be seen from the four media that the issues of pros and cons are the main topics in the implementation of the presidential threshold in the 2024 General Election (Baskoro, 2019). There is an apparent difference between the pros and cons. Towards the 2024 general election, the discourse on the abolition of the Presidential Threshold towards the 2024 General Election continues to increase in online media.

Thresholds for presidential and vice-presidential candidacy were first formulated in the 2004 elections when Indonesians first elected their president directly. The reason for making the presidential threshold is the assumption that the president must get support in parliament. However, through the narrative that appears in the media, the public puts pressure on the government to abolish the policy on the use of the Presidential Threshold in the 2024 general election (BBC News Indonesia, 2022). As stated by McBeth and Lybecker (2018) in their research narrative is used by a group of people to try and influence public policy decisions. It can be seen from the data above that many narratives support the use of the presidential threshold in the 2024 general election. Conflicts of interest among the political elite in Indonesia also cause the pros and cons that occur in the media.



Figure 2. Most Talked About Topic Narration

Source: Author Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2022)

Based on the Word Cloud image above, the word Presidential is seen. It shows that the Presidential Threshold is the topic that is most often discussed in the news that discusses the topic of the presidential threshold in Indonesia. However, it is also seen that the words are sufficient to compensate for the size of the presidential threshold, namely the words 0 and percent. This shows that the issue of the presidential threshold of 0 percent is also a topic that is often discussed. This is in line with the content of online media coverage of the discourse on implementing the 0 percent presidential in the upcoming 2024 general election. Approaching the next general election, the issue of the Presidential Threshold will continue to grow in society (Rahmanto et al., 2021). Therefore, there must be a clear position regarding the implementation of this Presidential Threshold, whether it will continue to be used in the next general election

or will be abolished. The long debate regarding the presidential threshold among the Indonesian political elite is also feared to cause chaos in the community.

3.2. Pros and Cons of Presidential Threshold in Indonesia

The narrative developed by four national media outlets, Detik.com, Kompas.com, Kumparan.com, and Sindonews.com, shows that the Presidential Threshold issue discusses the pros and cons. As in previous years, the pros and cons of implementing the Presidential threshold will always occur before the moment of the next general election. The cause of differences in views of the pros and cons of a policy cannot be separated from the interests that are in it (Noor, 2017). This interest has become prolonged chaos, and it is not uncommon for this chaos to fall into the realm of law.

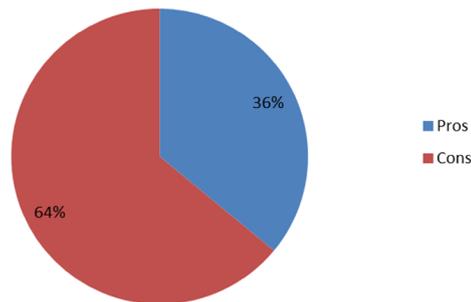


Figure 3. Percentage of Pros and Cons of Presidential Threshold

Source: Author Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2022)

The results of the author's data processing above show that of the four online media used as research references, issues related to the pros and cons of the presidential threshold have a significant comparison of the percentages of pros and cons. Pro 36% and Cons 64%. This data shows that related to the presidential threshold policy towards the 2024 General Election, in the narrative built by the media, some more people or parties reject the Presidential Threshold than those who agree with the implementation of the Presidential Threshold. The existence of a coalition government and opposition among political parties in Indonesia causes this comparison. Coalition and opposition are a natural dynamic in the middle of a democratic country (Munadi, 2019).

It is clear from the narrative that has appeared in the media lately that the party that supports the implementation of the Presidential Threshold is the Government Coalition and rejects the implementation of the Presidential Threshold in the next general election as the government opposition party. Still, there is an oddity here, namely, if the government coalition agrees to use the Presidential Threshold. This Presidential Threshold data should display a chart that shows a more significant percentage of the pros. However, it can be seen from the data above that the percentage of data

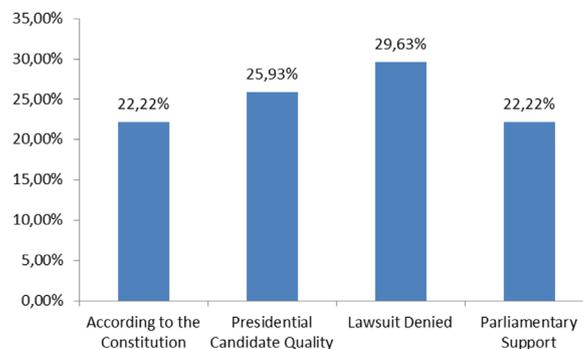


Figure 4. Narrative Pro Presidential Threshold

Source: Author Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2022)

against the implementation of the Presidential Threshold is more significant. This shows that ahead of the 2024 general election, there are even differences in views from the government opposition regarding the implementation of this Presidential Threshold. Towards the next general election, a new coalition of political parties will soon be formed (Yuristianti & Fitriyah, 2018).

Figure 4 shows that the pro narratives in online media related to the Presidential Threshold are According to the Constitution, Quality of Presidential Candidates, Lawsuits Rejected, and Parliamentary Support. In accordance with the constitution the implementation of the Presidential Threshold in the Indonesian general election is in accordance with the existing constitution. Then the quality of presidential candidates here means that implementing the Presidential Threshold in the General Election will maintain the quality of presidential candidates who the people will elect. Because if the Presidential Threshold is removed or abolished, it will allow all existing political parties to nominate a president or vice president. This will make many presidential candidates appear, and the quality of presidential candidates will not be maintained (Al-Hamdi, 2021).

The reason the lawsuit was rejected was the efforts of several parties, including politicians, political parties, and even the public, to challenge the implementation of the Presidential Threshold through the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court always rejects the results of the lawsuit for various reasons stated in the decision. Then the parliamentary support referred to here is the Presidential Threshold, which can assist the President in making programs or policies later. Since Parliamentary support has been obtained in advance when the presidential nomination period begins, this will undoubtedly help the President in his future work (Slater, 2018).

It can also be seen from the data above that the comparison of the narratives of reasons that emerge is with the percentage of According to the Constitution 22.22%, Quality of Presidential Candidates 25.93%, lawsuit Rejected 29.63%, and Parliamentary Support 22.22%. The narrative of the lawsuit being rejected is the reason for the pros in supporting the Presidential Threshold. This is because the lawsuit related to the Presidential Threshold has been rejected 13 times by the Constitutional Court. This refusal made by the Constitutional Court becomes the basis or basis for those who are pro that the Presidential threshold is following the constitution.

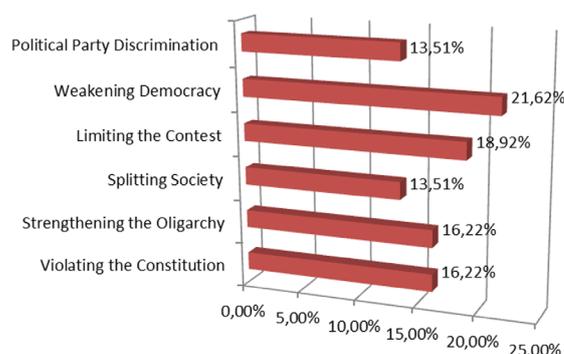


Figure 5. Presidential Threshold Counter Narrative

Source: Author Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2022)

In Figure 5, it can be seen that the counter-narratives that appear in the Rejection of the Presidential Threshold are Discrimination of Political Parties (Ghoffar, 2018), Weakening Democracy, Limiting Contestation, Dividing Society, Strengthening Oligarchy, and Violating the Constitution. The data shows that Weakening democracy is the reason that most appear in the Contra attitude towards the Presidential Threshold, with a percentage of 21.62%, followed by Limiting contestation at 18.92%, Strengthening Oligarchy and Violating the Constitution at 16.22%, and Discrimination of Political Parties and reasons to divide. Community 13.51%. The reason for weakening democracy is the most common because the Presidential Threshold is considered to rob the people of democratic rights (Ghoffar, 2018).

3.3. Political Actors in the Presidential Threshold

Political interest in every policy can be seen from the actors involved. The Presidential Threshold is an issue that is often discussed in the end, and it looks very closely related to the political interests of the country's political elites. Debates, arguments, and legal efforts are carried out so the current interests can be implemented. Presidential elections are considered closely related to political interests because the 2024 general election will soon be held.

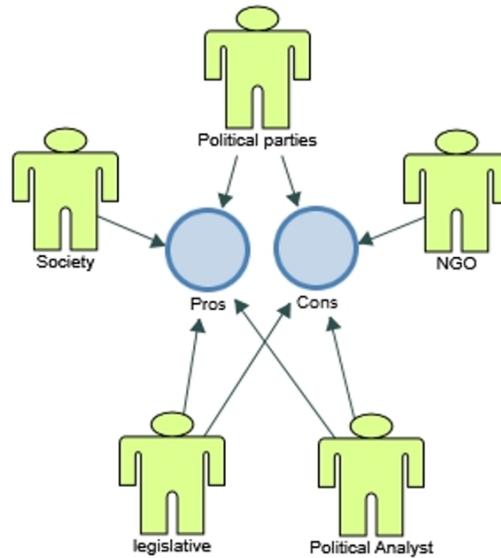


Figure 6. The Project Map of Actor's Narrative Relationships in the Policy of Presidential Threshold

Source: Author Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2022)

In Figure 6, it can be seen that there are five categories of actors involved in compiling narratives through the media, namely, Political Parties, NGOs, Political Observers, Legislatures, and Society. From these five classifications, it was found that despite the number of parties in coalition with the government, the Contra narrative still dominates when discussing the Presidential Threshold. On average, political parties that present arguments against the Presidential Threshold come from government opposition parties such as the Democratic Party, the Ummat Party, Pks, and even Gerindra, which today is a government coalition party. This confirms that the chaos that occurs regarding the Presidential threshold in Indonesia is inseparable from political interests in the 2024 General Election (Muslimin et al., 2021).

However, with the dominance of the counter-narratives that emerged, the government, together with the House of People's Representatives (DPR), still did not attempt to accommodate the emerging counter-narratives. The firmness of the government and the House of People's Representatives (DPR) as policymakers and makers was strengthened by a statement by the Chairperson of the House of Representatives (DPR), Puan Maharani, who said that "The Presidential Threshold is the final decision" (Utama, 2021). Political parties and the legislature are the actors who are most aggressively discussing the pros and cons of this Presidential Threshold. The picture above shows that political parties have pro parties which are government coalition parties such as Golkar, Nasdem, and PPP. At the same time, the contra consists of the Democratic party, PKS, and Ummat.

4. Conclusion

Policy narratives related to the Presidential Threshold implementation policy re-emerged in 2021, which generated various opinions from various actors. Researchers classify actors into several groups to see the narrative delivered. There are narratives of pros and cons to policy discourse seen through online news media. The results

show that the contra is more dominant in rejecting the application of the Presidential Threshold in the 2024 General Election. The highest counter-narrative is found in the Weaken Democracy indicator. Implementing the Presidential Threshold is inappropriate because it will hurt democratic values and violate the state constitution. While the highest narrative on the pro side is on the indicator that the lawsuit is rejected, this is because the lawsuit related to the presidential threshold has been rejected 13 times by the Constitutional Court. Looking at the actors who talk the most are political parties. The author concludes that the chaos that occurred today was caused by political interests leading to the upcoming 2024 general election.

Researchers in this study also found that the policy narrative created by the media cannot always impact policymakers, in this case, the President as the executive and the House of People's Representatives (DPR) as the legislature. The failure of the public narrative built up in the media to influence the policy of abolishing the Presidential Threshold is due to the political interests contained within it. Opposition groups dominate this counter-narrative that appears in the media. The government and the House of People's Representatives (DPR), which incumbent groups dominate, will certainly not accommodate these demands because this is already related to the strategies and efforts of each group toward the upcoming 2024 general election. This is evidenced by the researcher's findings, namely by the dominance of the counter-narrative on the presidential threshold of the government together with the House of People's Representatives (DPR) still has no intention to change the presidential threshold rule, as has been conveyed by the speaker of the House of Representatives (DPR) Puan Maharani that today's Presidential Threshold is final and will still be used in the upcoming 2024 General Election. It can be known that Puan Maharani is the speaker of the House of Representatives (DPR) from the PDIP Party, where the PDIP party is also part of the incumbent group. This form of response from policymakers at the same time breaks previous research that said that the invention of the policy narrative built by the media could influence a policy.

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