

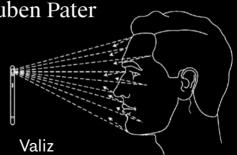
HOW TO ESCAPE FROM IT







Ruben Pater





HOW CAPITALISM TOOK HOLD OF GRAPHIC DESIGN, AND HOW TO ESCAPE FROM IT

Ruben Pater

They say it is love. We say it is unwaged work.

SILVIA FEDERICI

There is no document of civilisation which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.

WALTER BENJAMIN



THE DESIGNER AS AMATEUR

I like democracy as much as the next person, but because of new technologies, the definition of 'amateur' in fields like graphic design, photography, film and music, is being redefined with everything so democratic, we can lose the elite status that gives us credibility.

STEVEN HELLER

We might be better off if we jettison the idea of a singular definition of what design should be, and perhaps a single

organization for all graphic designers.

MICHAEL ROCK



WHO IS A DESIGNER?

What makes someone a graphic designer? Is it the quality of the work, is it about having a design degree, or is it just what you call yourself? And who decides what a designer is? This third chapter on the working conditions of designers, is about the difference between amateur and professional designers. It looks at how professional standards and trade organizations came into being, and how professionalism has led to the exclusion of people from graphic design.

Compared to architecture, engineering, and law, you don't need a license to practice graphic design. The title 'designer' isn't protected, it doesn't require an educational background, or a formal code of conduct. Some even say that everyone is a designer, and design is 'basic to all human activity', as Victor Papanek put forward.¹ Just like the majority of houses in the world are not designed by architects, most visual communication is probably not designed by professional graphic designers.

If we look at the graphic design work that is featured in the design press and conferences, it almost exclusively features work for well-known cultural or commercial clients by professional graphic designers. Awards and conferences are sponsored by multinationals and foster tight connections with the industry. At these events, non-professional or amateur designers are hardly featured. To understand why some people get the credits and payment for doing design, and others don't, we look back and find out how the distinction between the professional and the amateur came into being.

For the Love of Design

The word amateur is often used pejoratively in design. For instance, when design work lacks a certain quality or longevity. The

← An office paper supplier in Makati City, Metro Manila, the Philippines, 2014.

word amateur comes from the Latin *amator*, which means lover. These passionate roots reveal that amateurs are individuals who enjoy what they do, whether they are being paid or not.

Most design historians agree that humans have always practiced some form of design. Design theory books start with showing cave paintings and stone tools as examples of the earliest forms of design. 'We are all designers', says design theorist Tony Fry. Design theorist and writer Anne-Marie Willis calls design 'fundamental to being human—we design, that is to say, we deliberate, plan and scheme in ways which prefigure our actions and makings.'2 The interest in design for everyday use is as relevant in urban societies, as it is for hunter-gatherers. As Papanek explains, 'design is also cleaning and reorganizing a desk drawer, pulling an impacted tooth, baking an apple pie, choosing sides for a back-lot baseball game, and educating a child.'3

If design is done by everyone, then why are only some rewarded for it? Writer Sasha Costanza-Chock points at 'the political economy of design', and the fact that the 'access to design work is deeply unequal and is shaped by the matrix of domination'. In other words, the access to paid design work is only granted to those in privileged positions, which relies on ties with industry, education, and the design institutions. Professional design organizations have a firm hand in deciding what design is, by maintaining quality standards for membership using norms derived from industrial production. The matrix of domination that Costanza-Chock describes, leads to a situation where positions of power in the professional design world aren't as accessible as design makes it seem. We will see how the notion of the professional designer is in large part based on a capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy.

The Rise of Professionalism

It wasn't until the sixteenth century that the first professionals emerged in the fields of law, medicine, and theology. A 'profession' was the name of the vow that had to be taken before entering these occupations.⁶ Only the upper classes could enter these professions, after they had received education in the first universities, which were founded by the Catholic Church. Fields like engineering and pharmacy followed suit, and the first contours of



Christine Owney from the Jawoyn tribe weaving a basket from tree roots, Australia, 2006.

professionalism were a few highly protected disciplines, restricted to a small elite.

Graphic design wasn't a separate discipline yet and early design activities such as printing, etching, and typesetting were practiced on workshop floors and considered working class jobs.⁷

Workshops were often family-owned, and usually led by the head of the household. Guilds united workshops in one town or region, and exerted control over who could carry out the craft to protect the interests of the local trade, as Richard Sennett explains in *The Craftsman*.⁸ They had their own mechanism of exclusion, and were not very accessible for outsiders without family connections, or a without a journeymen's license.

Industrialization brought about the necessity for professionalization in design. The workshop model could not meet the requirements of the scale of mass production, which required specialized tasks. Advertising became one the earliest professionalized disciplines, with the Outdoor Advertising Association lobbying group being founded in 1891. Advertising journal *Printers Ink* was launched in 1888.9 In the UK, the first design associations and specialized design schools appeared by the end of the nineteenth century, born from the Arts and Crafts movement. This vibrant birth of the design discipline saw the foundation of many



The Guild of Handicraft, 1906.

professional organizations such as the Art Workers' Guild, the Guild of Handicraft, and the Century Guild.

Arts & Crafts was a movement that argued for a return to a more craft-based approach to design, in response to the loss of quality in mass produced goods. With its socialist leanings it wished to improve the horrible working conditions of industrial workers. In doing so, it shaped design into the professional practice it is today. Following the Arts & Crafts movement in the UK, similar arts and design organizations sprung up around Europe, such as the German *Werkbund* and the Dutch *De Stijl*, which played an important role in bringing emerging forms of modernism in design to the foreground.

By the 1920s new revolutionary design schools in Europe, in particular the Bauhaus in Germany and VKhUTEMAS in Russia, sought a unity between art and industry, emphasizing the social importance of industrial mass production. The Bauhaus were open to anyone regardless of age or sex, but female students were highly encouraged to focus on so-called women's work like weaving and textiles. The VKhUTEMAS in Moscow aimed to have a representative student body, specifically recruiting students from worker and farmer backgrounds. In the UK, female designers

All men are designers. All that we do, almost all the time, is design, for design is basic to all human activity.

VICTOR PAPANEK, DESIGNER



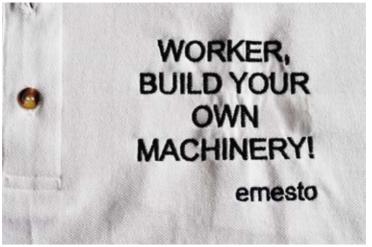
VKhUTEMAS students, 1927.

were encouraged to work in the domestic sphere, and were not welcome in the upper echelons of British design associations until after the 1950s.¹⁰

Within a century, professionalism in design has turned into a complex network of institutions, trade associations, academic degrees, and industry sponsorship. The connections create an infrastructure that legitimizes graphic design by the virtue of certain industry standards of quality and originality. A membership of a professional association can mean a higher chance of winning awards or commissions, or being invited to deliver a keynote at a conference. In design education, some institutions require tutors to have MA or PhD degrees, making it difficult, or even impossible for self-taught designers to enter these institutions. As positions at the top of these institutions are still dominated by privileged groups in society, designers from marginalized backgrounds are underrepresented in both trade organizations and design school faculties.¹¹

If You Don't Get Paid, it's Not Work

What distinguishes a professional from an amateur? A designer



Ernesto Oroza, iObrero, construve tu maguinaria!, 2012.

who doesn't make money with designs, is less likely to be considered a professional. That seems obvious enough, but the capitalist idea of work has led to the exclusion of many activities from the economy. Consider the fact that some of the most vital work is unpaid and not considered work at all. Domestic work and informal house work like raising children, cleaning, cooking, fixing, and taking care of sick or aging family members. Because it is not valued as 'real' work, this predominantly female workforce does not get paid, cannot put it on their CVs, or receive welfare or benefits based on this working history. The fact that one of the highest paid 'creative' jobs is that of marketing consultant, and that parents teaching their children to draw is not considered work at all, says plenty about how creative work is valued in capitalism.

When designer Michel Rock visited his first national design conference in 1994, he wrote: 'Ray Gun is hobnobbing with Emigre, Aldus is eyeing Adobe across the room, a Benetton magazine is whispering in the corner with a corporate annual report, Yale disses Cranbrook over cocktails. With that many graphic designers in a single room, you cannot help pondering issues of professional association.'¹²

Design professionalism thrives on a cosy mingling of design celebrities and industry. Design conferences and awards will devote little attention to handwritten signs for a corner bodega or quilts made by domestic workers, unless they are curated by a design professional and officially selected as 'design'. Costanza-Chock explains that many designers thus appropriate and build on the unpaid design work done by amateurs.¹³

The emphasis on industry involvement and monetary value does not suggest that design can be judged regardless of its economic and social context. Some design is simply more impactful or useful for a wider audience. Like any creative work, it is important to reward those who excel, which is after all at the heart of learning, sharing, and enjoying creativity. One of the better qualities of the design industry is that it is still acceptable for graphic designers to be self-taught.

A Matter of Taste

Amateur or vernacular design is all about taste. What is beautiful or not has been the subject of many philosophical debates. For centuries aesthetics was discussed as something pure, with an inherent personal or natural quality. In the 1960s the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu took a different approach to aesthetics, and surveyed the cultural preferences of various French households. From his detailed findings, he concluded that 'good taste' is often the taste of the ruling class, and each social group is recognizable by their own aesthetic codes, separating one class from another. The status of each class depends on social capital, which consists

There is so much incredible, insanely beautiful design in South America, made by people that Design would not call designers. Historically, it has not been considered Design; it was labeled as craft or some other elitist term Designers came up with to denigrate and devalue many peoples' traditions and narratives.

RAMON TEJADA, DESIGNER

of social qualities passed on through education and upbringing. Bourdieu showed that taste is not merely a qualitative matter, but a social orientation that is decided by social factors such as family, education, and wealth.¹⁴

The awareness of different cultural codes between classes started to appear in graphic design in the 1980s. Tibor Kalman, a self-taught graphic designer, saw an emancipatory potential in work made by non-designers; roadside sign paintings, shopfront lettering, and shop sale posters. His studio M&Co became well-known with work inspired by vernacular designs. 'I guess I got sick of beauty. And then I got very interested in what is mundane and ordinary and things like that, and then even more interested in like, what a shack looks like in the Caribbean." Kalman favoured this 'anti-design' because of its cultural diversity and authenticity, which inspired his later work for Benetton's magazine *Colors*.

Years later the vernacular style had become trendy among designers in the US. Design writer Rick Poynor suggested that its success had to do with its nostalgic quality, which 'triggers reassuring emotion in consumers'.¹6 Celebrating vernacular design was perhaps once motivated by class consciousness, but it was easily appropriated by capitalism's search for new aesthetics. Others disliked low-brow aesthetics, and believed designers should be the harbingers of good taste, as Mr. Keedy's wrote in an essay in *Emigre* in 2004: 'Although they are unlikely to admit it, designers are implicit stylists and tastemakers. ... Culture is expressed and understood through style, which is mostly created and evaluated by designers.'17

Today, the appropriations of vernacular and non-professional aesthetics are plentiful, but graphic design still harbours a sense of entitlement as the sole proprietors of 'good taste'. Professionalism can have its blind spots, as Pentagram's 2015 identity for Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign demonstrates. The design featured the capital letter 'H' with a rightward pointing arrow. The design for Trump's campaign was a red baseball cap with a plagiarized slogan, typeset in all caps serifs. Despite its amateurism, the baseball cap design ended up being one of the most famous and most copied US election items ever. After the election, designer Michael Bierut from Pentagram admitted that the professionalism

Isn't style too important to be left in the hands of amateurs?

MR. KEEDY, DESIGNER



Penelope De Bozzi and Ernesto Oroza, Repair shop in Cuba, 1999.

of the design could have 'reinforced the establishment status' that Hillary Clinton was criticized for.

There is much less of a clear divide between vernacular and professional design today, but that doesn't mean class divisions have disappeared. A Dutch government report from 2014 mentioned that after decades of diminished differences between social groups, the gap is widening again. The highest educated in society rarely socialize with the lowest educated. Visual languages are still coded to appeal to certain social groups, which are increasingly divided along the lines of education and income. Graphic designers have to master the visual language that speaks to their respective audiences, which means that the majority of professional graphic designers are fluent in addressing those who have the most money to spend; the higher educated, the urban situated, and privileged classes. When other groups in society are addressed, designers can be confronted with the shortcomings of their own educational and social background.



Mark Perry, Sniffin' Glue, March 1977.

Everyone Can be a Designer

Printers maintained a monopoly on mass-produced visual communication for centuries. This made it easier for authorities to control the distribution of information. In the nineteenth century, cheaper printing presses gave rise to an amateur printing culture. In the US

at the time, 50,000 different newspapers were made by amateur printers, much to the outrage of the trade press, as Lisa Gitelman notes.²⁰ The mimeograph became available in the 1900s, making it somewhat easier and less expensive to own printing equipment. Mimeography was known as stencil printing or Risograph, a technique favoured by political groups to print political leaflets or underground newspapers that needed fast and cheap reproduction.

Do-it-vourself (DIY) culture emerged from home improvement in the 1950s, when construction materials became available to common households. The first appearance of ready-mixed paint was resisted by the oil and colour business that feared the end of their monopoly.²¹ The invention of the commercial photocopier in 1959 opened up mass media production for a larger audience, and created a new wave of DIY graphic design. Handmade magazines in punk culture created an underground culture of media circulation made by fans with access to photocopiers in the late 1970s. These were no minor operations, for instance the punk zine *Sniffin'* Glue (1976-1977) by Mark Perry was produced in a print run of 10.000 copies.²² The punk DIY culture valued self-sufficiency and challenged communication monopolies by media companies. Design theorist Paul Atkinson calls DIY therefore a 'leveller of class' and a 'political force' by which personal messages could reach a wider audience 23

Desktop computers and graphic design software changed the access to graphic design production completely in the 1990s. Even though computers and printers were expensive at first, soon every person with a computer and (bootlegged) graphic software could achieve the same technical quality as professionals, much to the dismay of many designers who feared to lose their status and livelihood. 'By making our work so easy to do, we are devaluing our profession', warned design historian Steven Heller. 'With everything so democratic, we can lose the elite status that gives us credibility.'²⁴ That hasn't been the case, as Ellen Lupton points out in her book on DIY design, seeing that 'the field got bigger rather than smaller'.²⁵The democratization of graphic design, print production, and online publishing has allowed people without prior access to media to claim their space in the production of knowledge and culture. These examples of DIY culture are from

Europe and the US, but DIY culture should be understood as culturally diverse as other cultural forms, and each region has its own DIY with its cultural specificities.

The broader accessibility of graphic design tools is a positive development, but that doesn't mean there aren't any risks. Websites such as Fiverr and TaskRabbit facilitate a new online gig economy for cultural services like graphic design.²⁶ Anyone can simply post a job, for example the design of a logo or an infographic, and designers are set to pit against each other to deliver the best results for the lowest price. If graphic designers aren't able to organize themselves in solidarity, tech companies can easily monopolize the link between client and designers as they have done in other sectors. A new interpretation of trade organizations should not exclude people from design, or exist to merely protect professional standards but to establish bargaining power for designers, for more collectively organized and less toxic design work

Professional Neutrality

As the chapter 'The Designer as a Scribe' demonstrated, graphic designers possess technical skills that are needed to prevent counterfeiting, and guarantee the authenticity of valuable graphic documents such as currencies, birth certificates, drivers licenses, degrees, and so forth.²⁷ Professionality goes hand in hand with accountability. Having knowledge of how to reproduce documents gives graphic designers a position of 'document power'. An unwritten rule in graphic design ethics is that these powers are not abused in any way.

Gitelman recounts the early days of job printers in the late 1800s, when job printers provided businesses with basic administrative documents: ledgers, bill-books, chequebooks, cash books, orders, worker's time schedules, etc. Printer Oscar Harpel, famous for his sample book *Typograph* (1871), was arrested in Cincinnati for counterfeiting meal tickets and using them at a local restaurant.²⁸ Today, security measures against counterfeiting are even hardcoded in programmes such as Adobe Photoshop, as anyone who has tried to scan or edit an image of a banknote will quickly learn.

We believe that everyone is an expert based on their own lived experience, and that we all have unique and brilliant contributions to bring to a design process.

SASHA CONSTANZA-CHOCK, DESIGNER

Desperate times call for desperate measures, and under certain circumstances graphic designers will have to choose whether to abide by their professionality or defy authority. Knowledge of documents and reproduction techniques can be reappropriated by graphic designers in times of need. During World War II, printers. artists, and graphic designers in the Netherlands used their skills of reproduction in the resistance against the German occupation. One of the leading figures was Gerrit van der Veen, a sculptor who had previously designed banknotes for the Dutch mint. This acquainted him with technical knowledge on watermarks and banknotes. Van der Veen founded an underground counterfeiting agency that produced illegal documents in large numbers. working together with artists and printers. The agency employed hundreds of people, producing over 65,000 false IDs and 75,000 food stamps. In 1944 he was executed after a failed attack on a iailhouse in Amsterdam, the night after he and other resistance fighters had successfully stolen 10.000 blank IDs from the state printer's offices.

Practicing a profession with certain quality standards is not the same as showing solidarity in times of repression. Dutch graphic designers were asked during World War II by the German authorities to pledge allegiance if they wanted to keep getting commissions. Some refused and went underground to assist in counterfeiting activities, but many also signed the pledge, afraid to lose work or becoming suspect themselves, even though their Jewish colleagues had already been arrested and deported in large numbers. It is under these circumstances that professionality and economic dependency are questioned at its very core.

Informal Economies

The analysis of professional design thus far has been limited to a Western perspective. However, in many countries, studying design, and studying in general, is only available to a few. We should also keep in mind that the informal economy is the still the largest employer worldwide. Informal jobs account for 60 percent of all jobs, and in Sub-Saharan Africa for as much as 75 percent.²⁹ The term 'informal' has a negative connotation, which is why journalist Robert Neuwirth prefers the term 'System D', which comes from the French *débrouillard*, meaning resourceful. The term provides a different way of looking at the informal economy, one that is successful not despite of, but thanks to, the lack of official infrastructures

Design work in the informal economy is relevant because it responds to local demands, rather than being a product of 'global' campaigns directed from afar. The limited availability of materials and a lack of infrastructure has given rise to rich design cultures, often by people who don't call themselves designers at all. Media consumption in the Global South depends on informal channels, because foreign music, books, software, and movies are simple unaffordable for most. For those practicing graphic design, acquiring legal software and font licenses is not always an option. A subscription to Adobe Creative Cloud is \$79 a month, and type-face licenses can run up to a \$100 per weight.

Brazilian author Andrea Bandoni calls System D design a 'survival strategy', an 'expression of a collective improvisational spirit', filling 'a niche in the local non-official economic system'.³¹ Some of this 'unlicensed' creativity was born out of necessity under colonialism, as Neuwirth points out. Slaves and serfs were often excluded from the official economy: 'System D was their system, and potentially their liberation.'³²

In contrast to the Western professional design culture, which is built around institutions and primarily focuses on luxurious products or global campaigns, System D design is small-scale, and responds to local conditions using local production qualities. Global advertising campaigns that try to blend in with local contexts can end up making cultural mistakes that are misguided, or worse, offensive.³³

Many a respectable American citizen of today got his education, and many a legitimate and constructive enterprise got its initial capital, from peddling, piracy, smuggling, and illegality.

JANE JACOBS, SOCIOLOGIST



Member of the Dutch resistance forging identity papers, c. 1942-1945.

Just as the vernacular design of 1980s New York was an inspiration to professional designers, discoloured paper, bad printing, or hand-drawn typefaces produced in the informal economy are sometimes glorified by Western designers. Romanticizing aesthetics that are born from poverty and scarcity should be avoided, as Cuban designer Ernesto Oroza points out.³⁴ Rather than fixating on the aesthetics, System D design can provide more socially aware communication tactics and strategies that are better situated in communities. In *Design Justice* (2020), Sasha Costanza-Chock suggests that keeping design work invisible or hidden from the official economy can even be a strategy to 'avoid incorporation and appropriation'.³⁵ A System D approach to design can be a way to survive for communities that face repression, or those involved in resistance.

Hardworking Goodlooking is a graphic design and publishing collective based in the Philippines, the US, and the Netherlands. Vernacular and DIY from the Philippines is their natural habitat, but rather than appropriating or copying styles, they are 'interested in decolonization of cultural labor, parlance in the vernacular, and the value of what has been invisible'. In other words they explore the edges of unofficial cultural production by carefully documenting vernacular aesthetics, valuing it by producing new work with local producers, and forging collaboration with local artists on equal footing.

Gatekeepers

By questioning the nature of professionalism this chapter has tried to shed a light on the way amateurs operate in the field of graphic design. The themes discussed in this chapter come together in the underlying economic power structures that have shaped the design 'professionals' as we know them today, and keep shaping both education and practice.

By retracing the origin of the design professional to its earliest appearances, we find that the profession is a form of protection and exclusion, limiting the access to knowledge, the access to the means of production, and the influence over discourse. This was the case for the medieval guilds as well as for the design schools and professional organizations that followed. By the 1900s the



Ma'am Ateng of Tito Aquino Noscal Printing Services in Manila, and her daughter, the Philippines, 2015.

role of European design professional was reserved for a privileged class of mostly men, who relied on access to industry and mass production.

For the majority of society, including women, the working class, the uneducated, and the marginalized, design could only be practiced informally as unpaid amateur work. We see the same inequality in access to the professional design world with the overrepresentation of Western designers in international design organizations such as ICOGRADA or AGI today. By measures of equality, these bodies do not represent the variety of design culture in the world, but are dominated by a Eurocentric and capitalist interpretation of design.

It would be a mistake to discount or discredit professional design organizations by their historic power structures alone. A certain degree of 'professionality' in design can safeguard qualities, for example in sustainability, durability, and safety. We should not underestimate the value of designers using accessibility standards like W3C³⁷ so the colour blind can use websites, and designers using durable binding so that books can have long lives. Those standards, even though some are more important than others,³⁸ are well-served to live within design schools and design associations. However, associations and design schools have

gained tremendous influence by judging portfolios and catering to the needs of industry.

How can this change? Design organizations can pivot to play more of a social function, by organizing designers locally, discussing issues in the field in collective ways, and by collective lobbying or bargaining. Trade organizations already help free-lancers in legal conflicts, and make sure employed designers receive better pay.³⁹ The social aspects of professional design that come closest to the role of unions and the organization of intellectual commons, remain urgently needed to achieve better work conditions for designers, and to create alternative economic models.

'We might be better off if we jettison the idea of a singular definition of what design should be, and perhaps a single organization for all graphic designers', said Michael Rock in his essay on professionalism.⁴⁰ How do we keep what is good about professionalism, and improve the parts that are harmful? A more inclusive definition of design can indeed open design to non-professional knowledge, differences in education, and diverse cultural and social backgrounds.

The Design Justice network tries to be an inclusive organization for designers, and lists a series of principles on their website, one of which reads: 'We believe that everyone is an expert based on their own lived experience, and that we all have unique and brilliant contributions to bring to a design process.'41 Sasha Costanza-Chock references feminist standpoint theory in this context which: 'recognizes that all knowledge is situated in a particular embodied experience of the knower'.42 There is much more to learn from this rich insight, but in the case of the amateur and the professional it can help to understand that design knowledge is not limited to professionals, but spread out over many types of people and interests, the majority of which are unrecognized, uncredited or left without compensation for their contributions.

A more ethical sharing of knowledge and resources in design begins with the realization that the majority of design in the world is done by those who do not call themselves designers. Following the principle of situated knowledge, this means that those who harbour design knowledge should be recognized and become part of the value exchange in the professional sphere, by receiving

visibility, recognition, and compensation through a radical redistribution of the benefits of design. Hopefully the distinction between the professional and the amateur will then become something of the past.

We might be better off if we jettison the idea of a singular definition of what design should be, and perhaps a single organization for all graphic designers.

MICHAEL ROCK, DESIGNER



Ernesto Oroza, Two Wall Clocks, 2016.







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- Pick up day for Absolute Humidity at Tito Aquino Noscal Printing Services, Hardworking Goodlooking's preferred Recto printers. This book, edited by Tess Maunder, contains essays and interviews about the cultural and other weathers of the Asia Pacific region. All photos by Hardworking Goodlooking.

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Notes 525

Capitalism could not exist without the coins, banknotes, documents, information graphics, interfaces, branding. and advertising made by graphic designers. Even strategies such as social design and speculative design are easily appropriated to serve economic growth. It seems design is locked in a cycle of exploitation and extraction, furthering inequality and environmental collapse. CAPS LOCK is a reference work that uses clear language and visual examples to show how graphic design and capitalism have come to be inextricably linked. The book features designed objects, but also examines how the professional practice of designers itself supports capitalism. Six radical graphic design collectives are featured that resist capitalist thinking in their own way, inspiring a more sustainable and less exploitative practice of graphic design.

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