

From World Cities to Gateway Cities

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Abstract

In this paper we argue that the focus on world cities has narrowed our understanding of the globalization/city relationship and ignores the processes of globalization occurring in almost all cities. By developing the notion of gateway cities, this paper seeks to widen globalization research. We provide a list of topics that can be explored using this gateway city notion, including reglobalization, rescaling, representation, spectacle and urban regimes.

Globalization has become one of the organizing principles in the social sciences. Like most encompassing terms, globalization is used in many different ways. We can identify at least three. First, it is used in the popular press, magazines, and news reports as a sort of shorthand that the world is becoming more homogenous. The business press, in particular, focuses on the development of economic globalization and promotes the notion that we are moving toward a fully integrated global economy (Kaplan, 1993; 1994 and Friedmann, 1999).

Second, globalization has become a term of criticism. In this populist discourse, globalization is the source of unwanted change, the evil influence of the foreign other. This form of globophobia is found around the world. Criticisms of globalization range from nationalist xenophobia to broader social critiques. The disruption of the World Trade Organization in Seattle in 1999, for example, was undertaken by social critics of globalization who pointed to the social inequalities and environmental disruption occurring because of economic globalization.

Finally, globalization can be theorized as a threefold process involving economic globalization, cultural globalization and political globalization (Short and Kim, 1999). Most of our understanding comes from economic globalization; the other two are less theorized. It is often assumed that the end state of these processes entails a global economy, a global polity, and a global culture.

A global economy has been maturing for some five hundred years. World-wide flows of capital and labor have connected places and integrated them into the world economy since the sixteenth century and the beginnings of colonialism. However, the speed, intensity, amount and reach of capital flows are more pronounced since the 1970s. Capital is less structured by individual state regulations and is freer to operate in a global grid.

A global polity has become more of a possibility with the ending of the Cold War and the increasing importance of international organizations such as NATO and the World Bank which have become prominent actors in organizing political space. However, despite the new forms for political spatial organization the nation-state has shown a tremendous resilience. The end of the nation-state (Ohmae, 1995) as an accurate obituary is premature. The state still provides legitimation services though social spending and states must now mobilize more actively than in the past to keep capital investment within their borders and open up foreign markets for its producers.

The globalization of culture proceeds through the continuous flow of ideas, information, commitment, values and tastes across the world mediated through mobile individuals, signs, symbols and electronic simulations. While the same images and commodities are found around the world, they are interpreted, consumed and used in different ways.

The three processes vary in intensity and depth around the world and can exhibit idiosyncratic interfaces with local phenomena. Cultural globalization does not necessarily follow from economic globalization. In any one place around the world the precise mix of these three processes produces a marked difference with other parts of the world. The 'same yet different' is a more accurate way to describe the results of globalization.

GLOBALIZATION AND THE CITY

The connections between globalization and the city have been the subject of much study and discussion. The role of world cities occupies a pivotal position in the recent literature. Following on from the work of Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991, 1996) and there has been an explosion of interest in world cities (Alger, 1990; Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Knight and Gappert, 1989; Knox and Taylor, 1995; Short et al, 1996; Short and Kim, 1999).

The main emphasis has been on identifying and understanding world cities since it is often assumed that the command functions of the global economy are becoming concentrated in just a few global cities. Cities differ in terms of global competitiveness and global connectivity. There are a number of criteria that can be used for ranking cities around the world. Friedmann (1986) suggests seven indicators: major financial center, headquarters for TNCs, international institutions, rapid growth of business services sector, important manufacturing center, major transportation node and population size. Some other researchers add new criteria such as telecommunications (Hepworth, 1990; Warf, 1989 and 1995), quality of life (Simon, 1995), international affairs and cultural centrality (Knox, 1995; Rubalcaba-Bermejo and Cuadrado-Roura, 1995) and destination of immigration (Friedmann, 1995). In Friedmann's work, as with many other researchers, world cities are very much pre-defined. Data are found to confirm their world-city status rather than their status being defined by criteria. In a comprehensive critique on world cities research, Short et al. (1996) point to the lack of comparable data on cities around the world and refer to this as the 'dirty little secret' of world city research. Attempts at dealing with this secret have been made by Beaverstock et. al. (1999)

While this world city work is interesting it limits our understanding to one of identifying world and non-world cities as if globalization was restricted to only a few urban centers. In this paper we argue for extending the globalization/city research nexus beyond the narrowing focus of which cities are world cities. By shifting attention away from the empirical measurement of degree of 'world cityness' we want to focus on asking what happens in all cities because of globalization. By looking at cities below the top echelon we seek to broaden the understanding of the globalization/city connection. We want to build upon the notion of gateway city. This term has been developed by Grant (1999) and Grant and Nijman (2000) through their work in Africa and India. We use the term gateway city to refer to the fact that almost all cities can act as a gateway for the transmission of economic, political and cultural globalization.

The focus on gateway as opposed to world city shifts our attention away from which cities dominate to how cities are affected by globalization. We suggest a provisional list of topics that can be considered in this new perspective.

RESEARCH THEMES FOR THE GLOBALIZATION/CITY NEXUS

This list is neither complete nor exhaustive. We have simply presented some of the important topics whose fuller elaboration will take us beyond the narrow rut of identifying world cities.

. *Cities and Reglobalization.* Globalization is often presented in the literature as a wave of change sweeping away local distinctiveness. In this scenario, more often assumed than articulated, globalization is a tsunami of change wiping out the uniqueness of localities. However, a more critical view of globalization would acknowledge not only more complex relationships between the global and the local, but also a series of reglobalizations that vary in form and intensity. The local is not simply a passive recipient of single, unitary global processes. Processes flow from the local to the global as much as from the global to the local (good examples are the growth in ethnic cuisines throughout the world and the blending of hybrid cuisines. And processes of globalization occur in pulses. Take economic globalization. The past five hundred years has seen the growth of a functioning global economy. There have been a series of globalizations involving incorporation into imperial systems, attempts at economic decolonization and movement into and out of various global trading arrangements. While the latest round of economic globalization is particularly intense, marked by the creation of global markets, rapid capital movements, global shift in manufacturing, long and complex production chains and interlocking consumer marketization, it is the only the most recent in a series of processes that have been occurring since 1500.

Reglobalization is at times built into the form of the city itself. The built environment of any city arises out of a process of "conflict, negotiation, and tension between sets of agents working with different principles, goals, and strategies" (Short, 1996: 463). Over the centuries and throughout the many different political regimes, the layers of the city embody attempts by the controlling groups of the time to redefine or repackage the city according to some set of ideals or goals. During this latest phase of globalization, when tourist attractions are highly prized, many cities are repackaging the old with new accommodations or accessibilities to re-present themselves as living history and to take advantage of the global tourism economy. This new packaging reglobalizes cities that have often been world cities for centuries.

Cities are not so much becoming globalized, as being reglobalized. The simple picture of globalization incorporating cities previously untouched by global connections needs to be replaced with a more sophisticated picture of economies and cities being subject to differing degrees and forms of reglobalization. Globalization is not a recent phenomenon and cities are not so much being globalized as they are constantly being reglobalized.

. *Competition for Primary Status.* Many countries have a stable urban hierarchy in which one city has dominated for years. In countries with a primate city, the pattern is clear. However, in countries where there is not such a clear and overwhelming dominance there is opportunity for change and competition. The city that is most globally connected in any one country can change

over time. For example, it can be suggested that in Australia the primary city has shifted over the past thirty years from Melbourne to Sydney. In Germany, Berlin is rapidly emerging as the global city. Examples of stable and changing gateway cities can be noted and theorized. Taking the Australia case once again, the shift from Melbourne to Sydney can be seen as embodying the shift from the importance of primary to tertiary goods and services in the Australian national economy's integration into the global economy. Melbourne was the center for corporations involved in primary goods production, while Sydney has emerged as a major financial center. Another example is Toronto and Montreal in Canada. It is also possible that in the European Community there will be growing competition between Paris, Berlin and London for the role of primary city connecting a fully integrated Europe with the rest of the world.

. *Representing The City*. Selling the city has become an important part of urban promotion campaigns. Urban imagineering in the the present era is dominated by selling the global connection (Short and Kim, 1998; Short, 1999). Further work is needed at identifying this strategy for lower order cities, explaining its evolution and answering such basic questions as where and when did it occur, how has it changed, what cities are most involved. Second, and much more difficult, how effective has this strategy? This is a more speculative element, as we can never be sure how successful advertising campaigns really are.

Place promotion is a dominant enterprise of entrepreneurial cities hoping to attract global capital. The shift from a welfare-oriented, inwardly focused city to a city focused on drawing in investment or tourism from outside signals what urban regime theorists have characterized as a new phase or model of city structure (Short and Kim, 1999: 117). This model is built around the changes in economic, cultural and political forms that come with globalization. According to theorists, "place promotion involves the re-evaluation and re-presentation of place to create and market a new image for localities to enhance their competitive position in attracting or retaining resources" (Young and Kaczmarek, 1999; Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Ward, 1998).

The element of competition is central to place promotion and can be directly linked to the 'footloose' nature of capital and investments in a global economy. Paddison claims that "competition between places for new investment is a natural corollary of capitalist space-economies, as is local entrepreneurialism to which such competition acts as a stimulant" (1993: 339). This statement emphasizes the market aspects of place promotion, although in fact place promotion deals with facets of a city other than those usually considered in market or economic analyses. A place promotion strategy can include the marketing or selling of image or culture as well as the marketing of the location, labor or resources of a city. This expansion of the place promotion framework signals the extent of city activities that are within the purview of city marketing strategies. A city's attempts to market itself necessarily reflect its economic environment, but also an acceptance of marketeering strategies as suitable to the role and purposes of the civic government. Marketing techniques suggest assessing the product, the targeted audience, and the existing reputation of the product (Fretter, 1993). The specific promotional strategy of any one city depends on its product, or its existing resources. These include its culture and the potential for aspects of its culture to attract tourism as well as its locational resources such as low taxes, 'right to work' laws and favorable geography for trade relations. The targeted audience of promotional efforts can be tourists, businesses or residents. Assessing the nature of these audiences requires local governments to keep abreast of

opportunities and trends within a range of scales, from regional to global. The reputation of a city, its image, is perhaps the most visible sign of promotional efforts. So important is the element of image to place promotion that Briavel Holcomb states, "the primary goal of the place marketer is to construct a new image of the place to replace either vague or negative images" (1993: 133). Images are presented to the world in TV ads geared toward potential tourists, in trade or industry magazines promoting business parks, or, increasingly, on web sites intended for travelers, possible new residents or potential investors. It is not just world cities that are selling themselves in difficult times. Indeed cities below the top echelon have a greater need to reposition themselves in the discursive space of urban imagery. The promotion of international competitiveness has come to be the hegemonic economic project for many cities around the world. A neoliberalism now dominates the discourse of urban economic development and urban imagineering around the world (Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Harvey, 1989; Peck and Tickell, 1995; Short, 1999; Short and Kim, 1998; Young and Lever, 1997).

. *The City and Global Spectacle*. In the 1960s, Guy DeBord coined the phrase "society of the spectacle," asserting that "the spectacle is the chief product of present-day society," which is increasingly capitalist and global (DeBord, 1994, 16). The commodification of actual experience creates impersonal spectacles which are witnessed rather than experienced (Debray, 1995). Arguably, some of the most important global spectacles are sports mega-events such as the Olympic Games which reach a worldwide television audience and offer perhaps the best stage upon which a city can make the claim to global status. Presenting the host city with a unique opportunity to display itself to the world, such events, particularly the Olympics, provide an unsurpassed media spectacle focused on a distinct urban setting. The promise of worldwide exposure and economic gain has made hosting these major and regularly scheduled sporting affairs a lucrative goal for aspiring cities around the world. Despite the continuing internationalization of sports and the global nature of the Olympics and other such events, in-depth analysis of their urban impact has been largely neglected in globalization literature.

Some scholars, however, have attempted to examine the many facets of the Olympics relevant to globalization, especially concerning the role of the Games as a global media spectacle, a catalyst for urban change, and a vessel for conveying and enhancing the host's cultural identity. The competition of and for the Olympics attests to "the intensifying symbiosis of top-level performance sport and television" (Tomlinson, 1996, 585). Even the International Olympic Committee stated after the 1992 Games' spectacular ratings success that "'it is through television that the world experiences the Olympics'" (Tomlinson, 1996, 583). Yet the made-for-TV Olympic spectacle, epitomized by the opening ceremonies of each Olympiad, is a relatively recent phenomenon beginning in 1984 with the Los Angeles Summer Olympics (Tomlinson, 1996, 585). In attempting to represent the global Olympic ideal via the opening ceremonies, the host city presents its own version of that ideal coating the global spectacle with the cultural flavor of the local host. Thus the Games' urban backdrop comes to the forefront of the spectacle's presentation and the host city serves as the nexus for the global and the local.

In an integral way, the urban setting becomes more than a passive scene for the world's athletes and television cameras. Particular Olympics are remembered as much for where they occur as for what occurred and thus "may be significantly inflected with local meanings of place" (Wilson, 1996, 603). The Olympic city operates in the dual function of representing its nation (however

that may be defined) and playing host to the world, "theatricalizing" the city and making it a media spectacle unto itself (Wilson, 1996, 603). As a vehicle for urban representation and landscape alteration, the Olympics and similar events contribute in various ways "to a profound shift in our relations to our urban spaces, spectacularizing them in the interests of global flows," often to the detriment of local communities (Wilson, 1996, 617).

As a factor in globalization, then, the Olympics and other global and regional media spectacles (i.e. the World Cup) have an immense impact on the urban image, form, and networks of the host. They function simultaneously as an object of competition between cities, as catalysts for local change, and as venues for establishing cultural identity through the "willful nostalgia" of a history created specifically for a global television audience (Maguire, 1994, 422).

. *The City and Cultural Globalization*. While the command functions of economic globalization have been used extensively in the literature, rather less work has been done on measures of cultural globalization. However, the notion of gateway cities provides us with a fertile ground for studies of cultural globalization from empirically noting the changing level of 'foreign' films in the city's cinemas and the number of McDonald's fast food outlets, to examining the role of cultural industries to the urban economy.

Theoretically, Arjun Appadurai (1996) proposes a way to conceptualize cultural globalization. He charts the global flows of culture as continually shaping and reshaping the world. He identifies five sites or realms in which these flows can be identified: ethnoscapescapes, technoscapescapes, financescapescapes, mediascapescapes and ideoscapescapes. These realms signify, respectively, the changes in the 'landscapes of persons', technologies, finances or capital flows, the media, and the political configurations of such ideas as 'freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and democracy'. Together, they represent a tentative 'model of global cultural flow' within which local practices and the movements of ideas can be positioned. Migration and media introduce and mobilize elements of culture, so that they circulate globally and become re-expressed through local contexts. Appadurai recognizes that locality itself is a historical product. The processes that shape localities are not one-way interactions, but are rather dynamic and multifaceted, so that hybrids of the 'newly arrived' and the 'previously there' are constantly reconfigured and remobilized through global flows. Locality is produced through cultural practices. Appadurai gives the example of cricket in India, "no more an instrument for socializing black and brown men into the public etiquette of empire, it is now an instrument for mobilizing national sentiment in the service of transnational spectacles and commoditization" (109). Thus the sport that is firmly embedded in India's colonial past is now a symbol of its independent national pride.

Hybridity, is a feature of globalized culture. For example, multinational corporations such as McDonald's, Guinness, and Coca-Cola are adopting practices of hybridization to make their global staples local favorites. Guinness hires locals in its factory in Accra, Ghana, McDonald's includes vegetarian menu items in India, and Coca-Cola features commercials from around the world, "set to the music of each locale" at its museum in Las Vegas (Rosenfeld, 2000: 196). One of the guiding directives of presentation to these commercial giants is that "great brands are personal. They become an integral part of people's lives by forging emotional connections"

(Rosenfeld, 2000: 193). Emotional connections are forged by engaging with local cultures and hybridizing global brands.

There is a connection between cultural and economic globalization. Behrman and Rondinelli (1992) argue that globalization puts pressure on cities to develop their specific cultures in ways that attract business, investment and high-tech professionals and that convince their own residents and entrepreneurs to remain. The co-presence of homogenizing and heterogenizing trends might be a better phrase to describe the processes of cultural globalization rather than a binary classification of globalizing/non-globalizing.

. *Rescaling and Globalization*. Much of the recent globalization literature has emphasized the apparent decline of the nation-state in the wake of increasingly fluid global capital flows. One common argument is that the state as it is presently formulated is simply unable to regulate or take advantage of globalizing trends. Yet many scholars have addressed the supposed death of the state at the hands of globalization and concluded that such reports are greatly exaggerated. While it may be true that "electronic mass mediation and transnational mobilization have broken the monopoly of autonomous nation-states over the project of modernization," governments of nation-states may be far from ready to hand over control of their citizens to the flows of global influence (Appadurai, 1996: 10). Though international pressures on such issues as human rights and democratic citizenship may be increasingly strong, states still have the necessary sovereignty to make laws regulating their citizens' behavior and civil participation. To varying degrees, according to place and time, states are still significant in the lives of their citizens. And, while some globalization processes may lessen this significance, some may also encourage a reactionary enforcement of state control.

In the growing debate over the role and function of state-level governance within the contexts of globalization, even the term 'globalization' itself demands review. Gordon labels this nomenclature misleading and suggests internationalisation serves as a much better descriptor for the regional, continental, and global-scale processes at work (Gordon, 1999, 1001). Brenner takes this concept a step further by focusing on the reterritorialization and rescaling of governance, identifying the global city as "the interface between multiple, overlapping spatial scales" (Brenner, 1998, 27). In asserting this, Brenner points out several flaws in the existing conception and discourse of globalization. First, this view neglects the "relatively fixed and immobile territorial organisation" of states that allows these processes to occur, and ignores the "major transformations of territorial organisation on multiple geographical scales" (Brenner, 1999, 432). In other words, the nation-state has not wilted in the sun of globalization. Rather, it has in many cases rescaled much of its authority to the local and regional level to take full advantage of globalization's benefits at the scales where the process is most active. The state has been "rearticulated and reterritorialized in relation to both sub- and supra-state scales" (Brenner, 1998, 3). This has translated into the relative gain of cities, especially those claiming world city status. Such a trend implies the "incipient denationalizing of select specialized national institutional orders," particularly where global finance is concerned (Sassen, 1999, 167).

The European Union best illustrates the rescaling trend. The increasing integration of Europe's national markets has increased considerably the importance of Europe's major regional urban centers as competitive nodes in a growing urban hierarchy. The experience of a consolidating

Europe displays the scalar dynamics and dialectic of territorial authority. The bulk of territorial authority is scaled down to the urban region level, a process allowed, facilitated, and encapsulated in the ultimate spatial sovereignty of the national state. Thus, "the success of local territorial competitive policies" becomes a key element in harnessing globalization (Cheshire, 1999, 861). Competition between major functional urban regions, with cities clamoring to grab a bigger piece of the global economic pie and supported by state policy that increasingly makes them the primary actors, marks the current round of globalization in Europe and much of the rest of the world.

. *The City and Political Globalization*. A global polity is a long way off. However, with the move away from the Keynesian to the entrepreneurial state, at both national and local levels, it is possible to discern new connections between political globalization and urban changes. Two broad changes can be noted; the emergence of city states separating from their national economies and the creation of city to city connections across international boundaries. The most dramatic is the rise of urban economies separating from national economies as systems of national equalization are downplayed. Certain cities may emerge as almost separate economies from the national pattern. Regional and urban-rural differentials may be exacerbated. Increasing connections between cities across borders, such as sister city projects, have led to the adoption of similar policies in urban management. Since 1950 11,000 pairs of connections (sister cities) have occurred between 159 countries. (Zelinsky, 1991). Sister cities have been a major ploy used to connect people and business, as the economy seems to do the opposite. According to Zelinsky, sister cities have helped to foster a global village that ties in not only the movement of capital but also the growth of international tourism and sport. "Sister cities bereft of any historical ties can often ground their relationship on some shared social or economic interest". (Zelinsky, 1991: 21). The sister city movement enables gateway and regional cities to become globally competitive as well. It gives the chance for local governments instead of national governments or business to maintain global connections (Harvey, 1996). The transformation of finance, banking, and business services, combined with the availability of new telecommunications technologies, has led not only to a concentration, but also massive decentralization that enables more and more cities and regions to become economic transition spaces in a connected global rather than a national economic system.

. *Urban Regimes*. One of the pioneers of urban regime theory, Clarence Stone, defined an urban regime as "the formal and informal" arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together to be able to make and carry out governing decisions' (Stone, 1989: 6). Urban regimes regulate the relationship between cities and the global economy. In the current era of globalization, many of the governing decisions reflect an atmosphere of competition among cities and thus constitute an entrepreneurial model of regime (Elkin, 1987; Goodwin et al., 1993; Harvey, 1989; Kratke & Schmoll, 1991; Stoker, 1990). An entrepreneurial city seeks to "facilitate privatization and the dismantling of collective services" in order to take advantage of the opportunities of connecting with the global economy (Lauria, 1997: 7). Recent work by scholars stresses the importance of reconstructing urban regime theories to account for larger scale processes and to more accurately reflect the significance of local variations based on social norms or values and the agency of local actors (Lauria, 1997; Clarke and Gaile, 1997). These theorists argue that the work of urban regimes should be understood as arrangements that are constrained and informed by both the large-scale structures of capitalism and by the small-scale

values or preferences of local officials. Developing urban regime theories in studies of globalization, then, is to "note local and national political differences that are capable of exerting significant influence on the way globalization affects city development" (Leo, 1997: 78). Some of the ways globalization affects development are, of course, social. As a two-way regulatory body, or set of bodies, operating between state, national, and international structures on the one hand and local structures or individuals on the other, an urban regime may have a direct role in determining the extent of contact its citizens have in interacting with global society. Lowndes recognizes that "while it is the nation state that ascribes the status of citizenship to the individual, many of the rights and duties of citizenship are exercised at the local level" (1995: 161). The extent to which cultural globalization encourages a more even dispersion of democratic values or to which it encourages controlling governments to further impose regulations on the lives of its citizens has yet to be fully explored. A more complex discernment of the role of urban regimes in regulating local structures will contribute to understanding how local and global forces interact with each other.

. *Global Processes, Local Lives*. Globalization is a renegotiation of the scales and spatial relations of society. Recent geographical scholarship has come to "acknowledge that scales are actually representations of space that are socially produced and politically charged" (Kelly, 1999: 381). Globalization affects the institutions and structures of society, from multi-national corporations to the range of opportunities and lifestyles available to different individuals. Those living in world cities are certainly faced daily with an increasingly 'global' experience, but those living in smaller cities are also finding differences in their everyday lives as globalizing processes occur. Certainly, 'globalization' is not sufficient to explain the many causal factors that contribute to social changes, but the scales and spaces of everyday lives are among the bundle of spheres globalization touches.

As a process, globalization triggers both new opportunities and new problems experienced in local lives. Returning to an analysis of globalization in terms of changes in scales and spaces, we may ask how individuals are at work in reconstructing the spaces of their lives and in turn, how the spaces of their lives are being changed by globalization processes. For disempowered or marginalized people, global technologies may allow for interactions in more broadly defined or more diverse spaces. Globalization may afford previously isolated small town folk the opportunity to work as a part of a large corporation and have access to increased wages and benefits. Also, though, through changing boundaries opportunities may be removed for individuals and new actors with power advantages may have access to what were previously local spaces. The closure of small, locally owned businesses and the inability of family farms to survive may be linked with the incorporation of towns into increasingly globalized markets.

Globalization also effects the degree to which local people or citizens have control over the identity of their places. The shifts in scales and spaces related to globalization are accompanied by shifts in power relations and in economic opportunities, and these may become manifest in individual lives in a rich variety of ways. World cities research as traditionally structured has tended to ignore the connection between global processes and local lives.

GLOCALIZATION

One common model of globalization is as a wave of change sweeping away local distinctiveness. In this scenario, more often assumed than articulated, globalization is a tsunami of change wiping out the uniqueness of localities. However, more critical views of globalization acknowledge more complex relationships between the global and the local. The city is not simply a passive recipient of global processes. Processes flow from the city to the global as much as from the global to the city. We are eager to move away from the view of globalization as an untethered phenomenon towards a theory that grounds it in time and space. The term glocalization refers to this more subtle relationship between the global and the local. In a subsequent paper we will develop this theme by looking at theorized case studies of glocalization. These case studies will help us to lay the basis for a sounder theoretical understanding of the impact of globalization on different cities in the world and for an explanation of the connection between urbanization and globalization.

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NOTE

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