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RECENT REGIONAL FERTILITY PATTERNS IN SRI LANKA

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Introduction

The fertility decline in Sri Lanka which became conspicuous in the early 1950's has been the subject of several investigations. (for example, see Jayawardene and Selvaratnam, 1967 ; N.H. Wright, 1968 ; D. F. S. Fernando, 1970 and 1972). The fertility decline between 1953 and 1963 has been attributed to (i) increase in the mean age at marriage, (ii) changes in the population age structure (iii) decline in the proportions of married women and (iv) decline in marital fertility (ESCAP, 1976). Change in the marital composition has been identified as the most significant contributory factor in the fertility decline between 1963 and 1969 (Fernando, 1972). Sixty percent of the decline in the birth rate between 1963 and 1971 has been attributed to changes in the proportions married and age structure, and only 40 percent to the lowering of marital fertility (CICRED, 1974).

Detailed studies of fertility trends and differentials at district level during the period of transition are less numerous. The profile of crude birth rates in the administrative districts more or less retained the same pattern in the years 1963, 1971 and 1980. (Department of Census and Statistics, 1983). The crude birth rate has declined in all districts but not to the same extent. Variations in the crude birth rate result from differences in the population composition and/or age specific fertility. Standardization with respect to age has revealed that the 1971 birth rates in all districts except Batticaloa, Polonnaruwa and Moneragala would have been lower if there had been no change in the age structure (Dept. of Census & Statistics, 1983). Between 1953 and 1963 the total marital fertility rate in most districts actually increased and between 1963 and 1971 showed a rather modest decline (Langford, 1981).

This paper extends the line of research presenting an analysis of fertility levels and trends at district level between 1971 and 1981. The study attempts to decompose the observed fertility decline into the effects of rising age at marriage (malthusian control) and declining marital fertility (neo-malthusian control).

Data

Basically this analysis utilizes data from two sources : the vital registration system and the census. Statistics on births classified by age of mother at childbirth and district were derived from the vital registration system, whereas the female population according to marital status and district were taken from the census reports.

Data on births derived from the registration system generally suffer from under-registration and mis-statements of age of the mother. In the present context, however, the former source of bias if at all would be more important. Under-registration in the years 1971 and 1981 probably was minimal for a survey undertaken as far back as in 1967 revealed that birth registration was 98.7 percent complete.

Statistics on the number of women classified by age and marital status are subject mainly to errors in age reporting. On the basis of evaluation of age, sex reporting using Myer's Index¹ (22.25 in 1971 and 11.00 in 1981) and the U. N. Age-Sex Accuracy Index² (25.6 in 1971 and 17.6 in 1981) age reporting can be regarded as reasonably reliable (Gunasekera, 1984). The same study further reveals that in 1981 the interdistrict variation in the female age-ratio score of the UN Age-Sex Accuracy Index was modest from 3.48 in Puttalam to 7.66 in Amparai. The study therefore is carried through on the presumption that the little misreporting that did occur was less prevalent among women between the ages 15 and 45. It is also assumed that illegitimate fertility was negligible during the period.

Methodology

Fertility rates specific to a time period always reflect the interaction between population structure (age, sex and marital status) and fertility itself. Direct comparison of fertility rates for the same population over time or for the same period across different regions is fraught with problems of confounding. It is possible, however, to separate out the impact of fertility itself from that of population composition by the technique of standardization.³

If population structures are known, even if the births are not classified by the age of mother it is possible to standardize fertility rates indirectly, making use of a reference (or standard) fertility schedule. An interesting extension of the procedure has been developed by Coale (1965) to separate out the impact on period fertility of marriage, legitimate fertility and illegitimate fertility.⁴

(1) Myer's Index measures age heaping at single digits. (Myer R. J. (1940)). "Errors and Bias in the Reporting of Ages in Census Data" Transactions of the Actuarial Society of America, Vol. 41, Part 2, No. 104, pp. 395-415.

(2) The U. N. Age-Sex Accuracy Index evaluates the general age-sex data. It is an average of sex ratio scores and age ratio scores weighted in the proportion 3 : 1 (United Nations, 1955).

(3) Standardization is a technique that can find application in many quantitative areas of study, apart from Demography. In Demography the technique is applicable also to measures of mortality and migration.

(4) Procedural details of the technique in relation to population are given in most standard text books on Demography.

Since this analysis attempts to decompose fertility into its two primary components: the roles of marital fertility and of age at marriage, use was made of the fertility indices developed by Coale.

The index of general fertility, I_f , is the ratio of the observed number of births to the number that would occur if women in every age interval had experienced the reference (standard) fertility schedule. The reference or standard fertility schedule recommended for use is the highest fertility experience on record (Appendix Table 1). The index of marital fertility, I_g , is the ratio of the number of births occurring to married women to the number that would occur if married women experienced the standard fertility schedule. It could also be interpreted as a weighted index of the fertility achieved in the study population as a proportion of the maximum fertility on record, the weights being higher for age groups where more women are married.

The index of the proportion married, I_m , is the ratio of the number of children married women would bear if they experienced the standard fertility pattern to the number all women would bear if they experienced the same rates. It is a weighted index of proportion married, where women in the more fertile age groups are given a larger weight.

The three indices are interrelated as follows:

$$I_f = I_g \times I_m \quad \text{where, } f_i \text{ is the age specific fertility rate.}$$

$$I_f = \frac{\sum f_i w_i}{\sum F_i w_i} \quad w_i \text{ is the number of all women in each age group.}$$

$$I_g = \frac{\sum g_i m_i}{\sum F_i m_i} \quad m_i \text{ is the number of married women in each age group.}$$

$$I_m = \frac{\sum F_i m_i}{\sum F_i w_i} \quad F_i \text{ is the age specific fertility rate in the standard schedule.}$$

There are several advantages in the use of these indices over direct calculations of general fertility, marital fertility and proportions married. First the indices incorporate an indirect standardization for age distribution. Second, the indices can be interpreted in relation to the maximum level of fertility recorded in history. Third, in an analysis involving several time periods and/or population groups the indices are convenient to use since they reveal, in a succinct manner, trends and differentials in the components of fertility.

Obviously, selection of the standard fertility schedule is extremely important. By no means is it limited to the Hutterite population. In theory any fertility schedule could serve as the reference schedule or standard. The exact value of the indices, but not their relative magnitude would depend on the standard

used. The intuitive meaning of the indices when fertility is stated in relation to the maximum on record is considered sufficient reason by the author for use of the Hutterite fertility schedule as the standard in this paper. If, in a population all women were married and experienced marital fertility identical to that of the Hutterites, I_m , I_g and I_f would be 1.0. Among the Hutterites themselves where only about 70 per cent of women in the childbearing ages were married I_m , I_g and I_f would be 0.7, 1.0 and 0.7 respectively. Though an I_f of 1.0 is theoretically possible, the highest values on record are about 0.7.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the indices I_f , I_g , I_m and their percent change between 1971 and 1981 calculated for each district on the basis of data in Appendix Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Two features stand out at first glance in the I_f series: there is considerable variation among districts in the level of general fertility and it has declined in every district between 1971 and 1981. In 1971, Vavuniya had the highest level of general fertility ($I_f = .486$) and Kegalle, the lowest level ($I_f = .245$). Ten years later, Moneragala ranked highest in the scale ($I_f = .425$) and Kegalle retained its lowest position ($I_f = .223$).

The decline in general fertility of the country has accompanied a modest convergence of the districts towards the mean (s. d. (1971) = .068, s.d. (1981) = .057). However, the magnitude of the decline differs markedly from one district to another.⁵ Amparai shows an exceptionally sharp decline of 32.8% in its I_f value (Map 1). The districts of Colombo, Kurunegala, Matale, Polonnaruwa, Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and Vavuniya have experienced declines between 20 and 27 percent whereas the districts of Trincomalee, Kegalle, Kandy, Kalutara, Galle, Ratnapura and Moneragala have experienced rather modest declines of less than 10 percent.

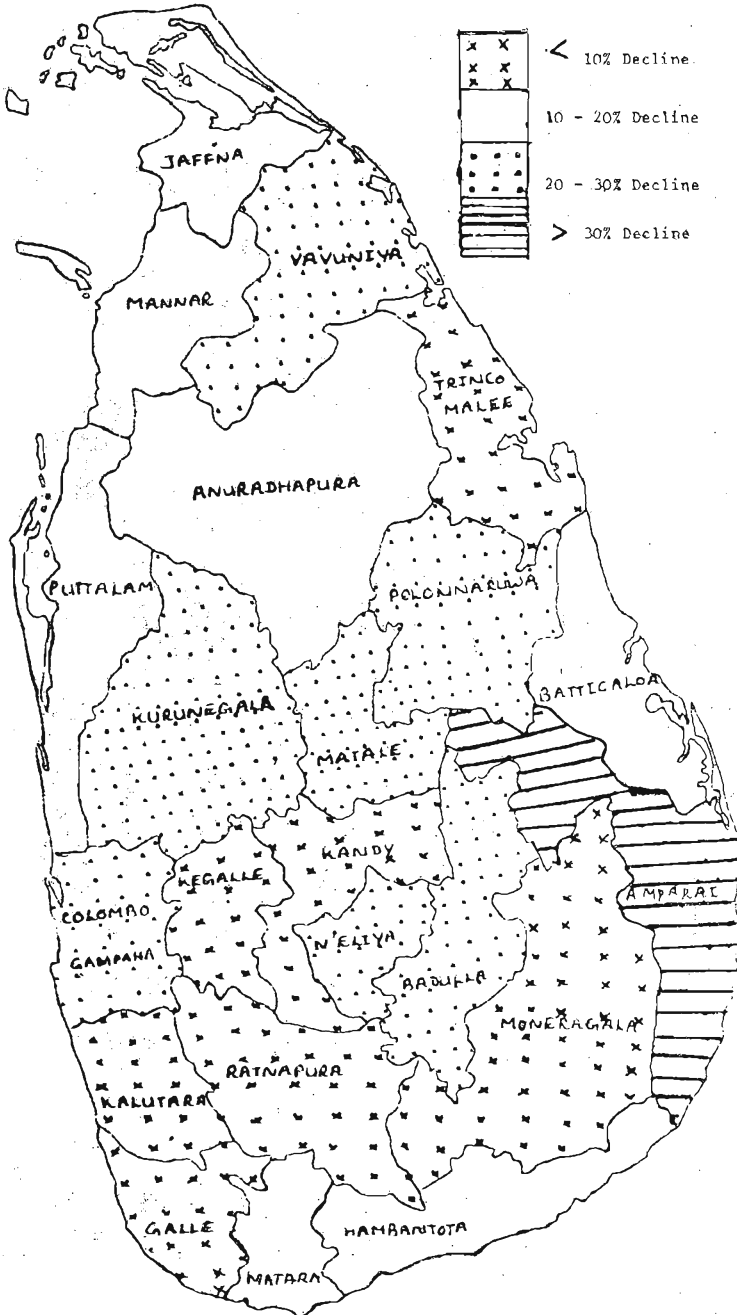
The picture of a fertility decline in all districts, however, changes somewhat when attention is shifted to changes in marital fertility (Map 2). The index of marital fertility, I_g , has declined in the country as a whole while it has actually increased in a few districts. As a result, the districts are even more divergent in this respect than they were in 1971 (s. d. (1971) = .052, s.d. (1981) = .073). In the year 1981 Moneragala experienced the highest marital,

(5) The 1981 indexes for Jaffna, Mannar and Vavuniya have been estimated after proportionately redistributing among them the relevant number of births and women recorded as having occurred in Mullativu.

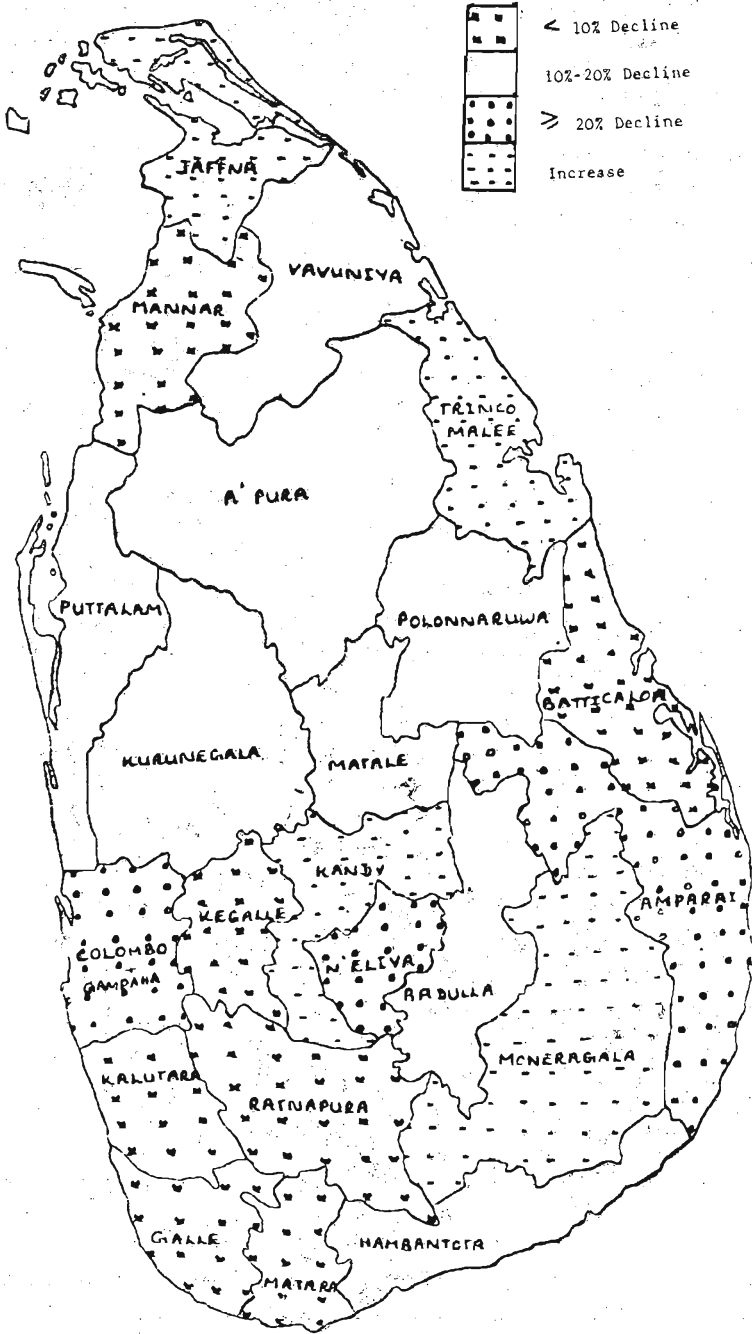
TABLE 1
Fertility indexes by district for the years 1971 and 1981

District	I _f			I _g			I _m		
	1971	1981	% change	1971	1981	% change	1971	1981	% change
Sri Lanka .. .. .	.331	.285	-13.9	.567	.500	-11.8	.584	.570	- 2.4
Colombo + Gampaha .. .. .	.308	.241	-21.7	.563	.449	-20.2	.548	.536	- 2.2
Kalutara .. .. .	.274	.262	- 4.4	.503	.465	- 7.5	.544	.562	+ 3.3
Kandy .. .. .	.330	.319	- 3.3	.587	.601	+ 2.4	.562	.531	- 5.5
Matale .. .. .	.373	.297	-20.4	.602	.518	-13.9	.619	.573	- 7.4
Nuwara Eliya .. .. .	.325	.249	-23.4	.543	.420	-22.6	.598	.593	- 0.8
Galle .. .. .	.274	.252	- 8.0	.545	.493	- 9.5	.502	.512	+ 2.0
Matara .. .. .	.342	.301	-12.0	.692	.625	- 9.7	.494	.481	- 2.6
Hambantota .. .. .	.366	.298	-18.6	.646	.558	-13.6	.566	.533	- 5.8
Jaffna .. .. .	.357	.310	-13.2	.545	.567	+ 4.0	.655	.546	-16.6
Mannar .. .. .	.441	.371	-15.9	.595	.557	- 6.4	.741	.666	-10.1
Vavuniya .. .. .	.486	.375	-22.8	.664	.564	-15.1	.731	.664	- 9.2
Batticaloa .. .. .	.484	.415	-14.3	.645	.601	- 6.8	.750	.690	- 8.0
Amparai .. .. .	.445	.299	-32.8	.602	.449	-25.4	.739	.666	- 9.9
Trincomalee .. .. .	.463	.420	- 9.3	.619	.631	+ 1.9	.747	.666	-10.8
Kurunegala .. .. .	.321	.251	-21.8	.524	.425	-18.9	.612	.590	- 3.6
Puttalam .. .. .	.372	.317	-14.8	.571	.467	-18.2	.651	.677	+ 4.0
Anuradhapura .. .. .	.423	.340	-19.6	.616	.511	-17.0	.687	.666	- 3.0
Polonnaruwa .. .. .	.405	.298	-26.4	.566	.456	-19.4	.716	.653	- 8.8
Badulla .. .. .	.364	.288	-20.9	.599	.516	-13.9	.608	.559	- 8.0
Moneragala .. .. .	.449	.425	- 2.4	.636	.670	+ 5.3	.706	.634	-10.2
Ratnapura .. .. .	.331	.314	- 5.1	.560	.528	- 5.7	.591	.595	+ 0.6
Kegalle .. .. .	.245	.223	- 9.0	.447	.419	- 6.3	.548	.532	- 2.9

MAP-1 Percent change in I, between 1971 and 1981



MAP - 2 Percent change in I_2 between 1971 and 1981



fertility ($I_g = .670$) and Kegalle the lowest ($I_g = .419$). The districts showing an upward trend in marital fertility are: Jaffna, Trincomalee, Kandy and Moneragala. The sharpest decline has occurred in the district of Ampara (25.4%) and the lowest in Ratnapura (5.7%).

On an islandwide basis the index of proportions married, I_m , has remained relatively stable during this period, indicating that age at marriage has not increased drastically (Map 3). The index of proportions married is relatively high and shows a wider variation among districts in 1971 than in 1981 (s.d. (1971) = .082; s.d. (1981) = .062). However, not all districts have experienced a change in the same direction. Kalutara, Galle, Puttalam and Ratnapura have seen a modest increase whereas all other districts have seen a decline in proportions married within the more fertile age groups. Jaffna shows the largest decline (16.6%). Trincomalee, Moneragala and Mannar show declines between 10 and 11%.

The increase in the index I_m for a district could arise not only from a lowering of the age at marriage but also from selective outmigration of unmarried women and/or selective immigration of married women in the prime childbearing ages. Similarly a decrease in the index for a district could arise from a rise in the age at marriage, selective immigration of unmarried women and/or selective out migration of married women in the fertile age groups. The data currently available, however, do not permit a finer analysis of these factors at district level. At country level, a reasonable speculation would be that the exodus of young females for employment in the Middle East has contributed to the modest lowering of I_m .

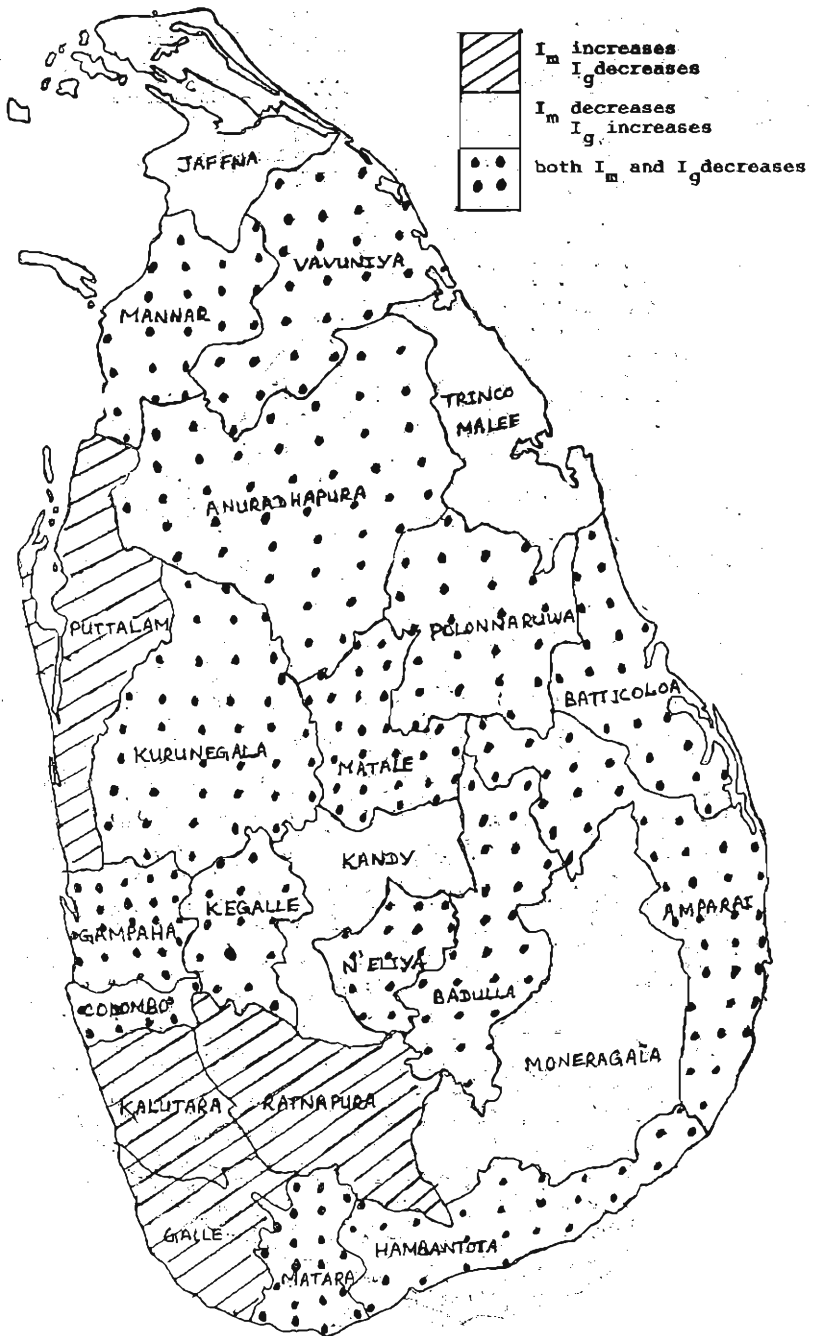
A point to note in this context is that all districts that show a rise in proportions married show a concomitant decline in marital fertility (map 4). Also, all districts that show a rise in marital fertility show a decline in proportions married. In all these districts therefore, the decline in general fertility appears modest because the two components—proportion married and marital fertility—are changing in opposite directions. Among the districts that show a decline in proportions married as well as marital fertility the change in both components is not equal. In a large majority a reduction in marital fertility stands out as the principal factor underlying the observed decline in general fertility (Table 2).

In the districts of Colombo and Nuwara Eliya the decline in general fertility in almost entirely brought about by a reduction in fertility. In the exceptional districts of Mannar and Batticaloa the lowering of fertility is largely brought about by a decrease in the proportions married which taken by themselves appear to be quite modest. The last two districts however, have not experienced an exceptionally high rise in the age at marriage. The singulate age at marriage in Mannar has changed from 20.2 in 1971 to 21.5 years in 1981

MAP - 3 Percent change in I_m between 1971 and 1981



MAP - 4 Patterns of change in the proportion married and marital fertility



whereas in Batticaloa it has increased from 20.1 to 20.9 during the same period. Compared to the countrywide change from 23.5 to 24.4 these changes are minimal.¹ The inference that could be drawn from this observation is that fertility control is minimal in these districts.

TABLE 2
Classification of districts according to the major transitional factor in the fertility decline between 1971 and 1981

<i>Marital Fertility</i>	<i>Proportion Married</i>
Colombo - Gampaha	Mannar
Kalutara	Batticaloa
Matale	Jaffna
Nuwara Eliya	Trincomalee
Galle	Moneragala
Matara	Kandy
Hambantota	
Vavuniya	
Amparai	
Kurunegala	
Puttalam	
Anuradhapura	
Polonnaruwa	
Badulla	
Kagalle	
Ratnapura	

By international standards Sri Lanka has yet to go a long way towards fertility transition (Table 3). For example, the index of marital fertility of Sri Lanka for 1981 is comparable to those of U.S.A. for 1900 and Japan for 1930. By 1960 both these countries had lowered their fertility to a level far below that of Sri Lanka in 1981.

The foregoing analysis thus reveals that behind a low level of general fertility exists a considerably high level of marital fertility which quantified in terms of I_2 shows a wide variation among the districts. The study also demonstrates that the major factor responsible for the fertility decline in most districts is a reduction in marital fertility rather than a reduction in proportion married. However, there are a few districts which, for yet unidentified reason/s, show an increase in marital fertility or proportion married. Finally this analysis suggests that it would not be prudent to be complacent about the apparently advanced position we occupy in the path of fertility transition for we have a long way ahead judging by the performance of countries that have completed the process.

(1) *Source*: Dept. of census and Statistics. Socio-economic development and fertility decline in Sri Lanka. 1983, Page 110, Table 5.5.

TABLE 3
Fertility indexes for selected populations

<i>Population</i>	I_f			I_g			I_m		
	1900	1930	1960	1900	1930	1960	1900	1930	1960
England and Wales ..	0.27	0.15	0.22	0.54	0.29	0.29	0.48	0.50	0.71
France ..	0.24	0.19	0.22	0.38	0.30	0.31	0.57	0.58	0.67
European Russia ..	0.55	0.42	0.24	0.77	0.65	0.35	0.70	0.63	0.62
United States ..	0.29	0.20	0.28	0.49	0.31	0.36	0.58	0.63	0.75
Japan ..	—	0.37	0.17	—	0.51	0.29	—	0.68	0.58

Source : Coale (1965), page 209, Table 3.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Standard schedule of births per woman in each age group

Age group	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Births per woman	0.300	0.550	0.502	0.447	0.406	0.222	0.061

Source : Coale (1965), page 209, Table 1.

TABLE 2

Number of currently married females according to age, district and period

District	1971 ^(a)						1981 ^(b)					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Sri Lanka	69850	289389	348753	302110	318909	236192	80387	331310	433769	448781	356232	289540
Colombo	10131	51666	70811	65016	65248	53132	6780	32494	44565	52257	41406	32725
Gampaha	2792	13466	18911	18485	19311	15544	6039	26973	40258	44857	35343	28708
Kalutara	4504	26346	35923	29770	29803	20504	4044	21596	31299	35752	28948	22589
Kandy	2001	8013	8989	7387	7839	5364	2079	9075	10883	10687	7808	6767
Matale	1872	11496	15665	12030	11458	7105	1967	12138	17452	18358	15412	11377
Nuwara Eliya	2161	11304	16963	17658	18736	16189	2907	14354	19225	22836	20624	17278
Galle	1586	9092	13296	12742	14848	12225	1650	9926	15193	18248	14836	13275
Matara	1696	7442	7596	6623	8590	6509	2031	8901	12429	11740	8271	7568
Hambantota	3756	16604	18504	17404	18065	15132	3386	14890	23178	27089	20656	17473
Jaffna(c)	1109	2625	2094	1651	1701	1244	1335	3675	4142	3655	2391	1837
Mannar(c)	1073	3016	2632	1990	2133	1485	952	4228	4322	3849	2763	2228
Vavuniya(c)	4822	8318	7026	5843	6203	4222	5046	11800	10462	8716	6823	5312
Batticaloa	3739	8767	8425	6235	6173	4000	4261	12110	12695	10371	8403	5951
Amparai	2938	6262	5497	4089	4074	2755	3175	7477	8087	6752	5125	3940
Trincomalee	6594	26848	27518	23482	26516	19330	6972	30075	39698	37695	29241	23759
Kurunegala	3454	11649	11146	8556	9573	7151	4909	15362	17071	15820	11262	9244
Puttalam	4108	11931	10048	8387	9274	6095	6049	19387	20325	16230	11024	9163
Anuradhapura	1496	4923	4825	3699	3826	2272	2009	7771	8660	7195	5311	4272
Polonnaruwa	3040	14315	19457	15673	15698	9543	3412	15076	18298	18501	16166	13047
Badulla	1834	5713	5693	4034	4758	2611	1879	6959	7898	6790	5065	3870
Moneragala	3052	16044	19539	15710	17847	11465	4064	18873	25283	24823	20183	15295
Ratnapura	2092	13549	18195	15646	17235	12315	2044	12396	19754	21572	17483	15003
Kegalle												

Source: (a) Unpublished data of the 1971 census (b) Department of Census and Statistics, 1982 Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka 1981. Preliminary Release No. 2. (c) Figures for 1981 estimated on the basis of area composition of Mullativu District.

TABLE 3

Number of all female according to age, district and period

District	1971 ^(a)						1981 ^(b)					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Sri Lanka	671248	631115	475188	352034	358567	271876	792365	756490	635837	553334	415721	337587
Colombo } Gampaha }	134509	133876	104191	77423	74709	61659	88478	88868	74544	66183	49124	38751
Kalutara	36915	35737	29169	22791	22049	17949	71186	69701	61639	55849	41007	33098
Kandy	64757	63323	49217	34832	33743	23927	40932	38849	34056	31892	25975	21886
Matale	17302	15241	11237	8270	8640	6106	62514	58770	48953	45291	34552	26815
Nuwara Eliya	23902	24654	19980	13708	12885	8225	27425	27513	24419	22439	17513	13119
Galle	38262	35179	28770	22883	22037	18823	42181	39728	33013	30672	25610	20664
Matara	33186	28604	21949	15900	16939	13965	34308	32431	27192	25265	18104	15543
Hambantota	20308	16131	9873	7499	9559	7405	23288	22786	19197	14357	9451	8558
Jaffna(c)	37400	35154	24345	19787	20001	17287	48679	40497	34546	32656	23472	20109
Mannar(c)	3949	3502	2308	1776	1830	1413	6763	6153	4972	4053	2713	2056
Vavuniya(c)	4506	4159	2938	2133	2288	1670	6843	7016	5208	4232	3045	2543
Batticaloa	13329	10925	7979	6414	6946	5095	18772	17269	12563	10022	7910	6578
Amparai	13380	11826	9425	6756	6903	4827	22843	19149	15109	11668	9408	7111
Trincomalee	9008	8396	6198	4474	4500	3180	14395	11510	10195	7855	5837	4664
Kurunegala	58727	51885	34083	26337	29096	21913	66149	64597	55191	44827	33543	27637
Puttalam	20256	19795	13662	9602	10705	8219	24908	24222	21631	18330	13127	10601
Anuradhapura	20801	18029	11568	9046	10003	6795	31683	31143	25140	18429	12165	10271
Polonnaruwa	7731	7177	5441	3952	4094	2474	13805	13101	10690	8168	5852	4737
Badulla	32546	30048	24656	17625	17439	10962	38581	34533	26158	22612	18596	15352
Moneragala	9724	8389	6383	4336	5143	2918	13274	12405	10025	7674	5561	4605
Ratnapura	34733	34484	26210	18127	19728	12955	38563	40753	35564	30527	23434	17811
Kegalle	36017	34601	25606	18363	19330	14109	36282	35746	30463	27346	20816	17376

Source : (a) Unpublished data of the 1971 census (b) Department of Census and Statistics, 1982. Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka 1981. Preliminary Release No. 2. (c) Figures for 1981 estimated on the basis of area composition of Mullativu District.

TABLE 4
Number of births, according to age, district and period

District	1971						1981					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Sri Lanka	26834	116297	110253	70108	46988	10768	29748	130531	128345	82022	37691	8775
Colombo	4809	22437	23417	14660	8227	1973	3456	14454	14870	10610	4112	891
Gampaha	978	5067	5469	3944	2584	701	2011	8226	8581	5597	2169	179
Kalutara	1826	11089	11723	7146	4614	1106	1211	5835	6496	4617	2313	566
Kandy	799	3305	2893	1769	1301	285	1707	10868	12033	7989	3590	789
Matale	680	4394	4672	2476	1772	313	809	3652	3262	1895	845	167
Nuwara Eliya	756	4399	5396	4272	3045	916	593	4355	4669	2605	1347	300
Galle	673	4515	5224	4051	3069	862	998	5259	5853	4745	2525	740
Matara	680	3334	2610	1862	1631	413	820	5010	5835	4472	2421	652
Hambantota	1405	6245	6018	4028	2411	598	684	3777	4045	2340	1155	294
Jaffna	374	946	654	399	266	58	1310	6335	8114	6164	2582	655
Mannar	434	1210	876	554	405	101	339	1267	1089	618	255	78
Vavuniya	1723	3232	2347	1535	1022	195	336	1180	997	546	247	66
Batticaloa	1508	3366	2673	1281	872	139	1857	4464	3293	1842	1000	232
Amparai	1148	2323	1735	988	612	117	1316	3825	2945	1586	807	163
Trincomalee	2258	10128	7770	4890	3625	756	1189	3271	2584	1506	801	181
Kurunegala	1376	4688	3412	1860	1172	237	2397	10597	9543	5362	2331	583
Puttalam	1294	4653	3266	2122	1648	320	1741	5559	4364	2272	929	181
Anuradhapura	489	1815	1394	834	592	117	1862	7003	5286	2765	1410	291
Polonnaruwa	1123	6079	6303	3752	2530	518	647	2445	2138	1194	525	135
Badulla	688	2296	1780	1112	889	133	1137	6590	5966	3127	1517	344
Moneragala	1125	6242	5959	3699	2753	501	877	3574	2777	1361	783	215
Ratnapura	684	4525	4644	2871	1946	409	1513	7647	7755	5040	2353	498
Kegalle							756	4602	5205	3362	1467	286

Source : Unpublished data from the Department of Registrar General.

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