

ARTICLES

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF VOTES IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ACCORDING TO SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS - AN EXAMPLE OF US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**AUTHORS****Jelena Lončar, Luka Rendulić**

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ABSTRACT

Spatial Distribution of Votes in United States of America according to Selected Demographic Indicators - An Example of US Presidential Elections

Electoral Geography as part of political geography has not been significantly represented as a subject of research in Croatia and neighboring countries, and there is, in particular, a shortage of papers that deal with the in depth analysis of the spatial components of elections. Therefore, the subject of this paper is an analysis of certain demographic indicators or factors and their impact on the spatial distribution of votes in US presidential elections, in the period from 2004 until the last elections in 2016. The selected include racial structure, emphasized in this paper, age-gender structure and urban-rural differences. Analysis has shown that some of the mentioned factors have a greater impact on spatial distribution of votes, having in mind that the racial structure is the starting point for observing spatial distribution of votes and is hierarchically superior to the other observed factors. People of the same racial origin generally have similar voting preferences, and the other factors mostly depend on that factor.

KEY WORDS

electoral geography, USA, US presidential elections, voting preferences, racial structure, age - gender structure, urban-rural differences in voting

1. Introduction

Elections for political functions are not the object of study for just one scientific discipline; they are of interest for scientists in the fields of political science, sociology and geography. In current geographical analyses and literature, at least as far as Croatia is concerned, there are not enough published scientific papers in the field of electoral geography, and the researches that exist are predominantly political and sociological. Political scientists and sociologists frequently clash when it comes to election issues, since political scientists blame sociologists for their lack of analysis of political processes, while sociologists point out that political scientists do not take into account the social context (Taylor and Johnson, 1979). In relation to the aforementioned, geographical advantage of studying elections is that geography is an interdisciplinary science and therefore geographers are more competent for studying issues that require a broader approach. As a result, a new special sub-discipline - electoral geography or election geography was created within the field of political geography. According to Croatian scientist, an authority in the field of political geography, Radovan Pavić (1992), election geography deals with the connection between electoral and spatial phenomenon, shapes and sizes of the constituencies, and the relationship of voters towards the geographical, economical, demographic and other social issues. It also explores how a particular environment, population characteristics and interests affect election behavior.

The goal of this paper is to explore and explain contemporary demographic processes and factors that influence the spatial distribution of votes in the US presidential elections in the period from 2004 to 2016. This period was chosen because the goal was to study the trends and choosing a single election cycle would not sufficiently clarify all the complexities of elections. United States of America also pose a challenge when it comes to studying certain factors of spatial distribution of votes with regard to their specific election system (which will be explained later).

1.1. Theoretical framework and research methodology

Electoral geography was founded in the 1920s, but according to Taylor and Johnson (1979), scientific research in this period have very little significance because there are so few of them. These studies were based on the research by the French school of electoral sociology (Sanguin, 1985). Andre Siegfried is one of the founders of the electoral geography, and his scientific opus is based on connecting the physical characteristics of a certain geographical location with social phenomena such as elections, not excluding the influence of socio-economic factors on the election results themselves.

Real significant development of the election geography comes in the 1950s, accompanied by the acceptance of quantitative methods, but also the behaviorism in science. Behavioral approach within the electoral geography relies heavily on the data obtained on basis of individual research that relied on a small sample of voters, and based on that sample, drew conclusions for the entire population. Furthermore, such an approach questions a connection between the behavior of voters and their characteristics such as financial income, economic status, education, religious affiliation, nationality and occupation (Johnston et al., 2015).

The most significant development of electoral geography happened in the 1970s when statistical analysis of large amounts of data and their cartographic visualization was emphasized as a result of the quantitative revolution in geography. Based on that, Taylor (1978) points out that elections are a "positivistic dream" because election analysis requires taking into account the implementation of statistical methods for such an important social phenomenon. With the development of GIS technology, the opportunity to visualize a certain issue was offered to a nonacademic community as well. GIS techniques were therefore particularly welcomed by the media, including the US media, who wanted to show the election results in an interesting and appealing way (Forest, 2017).

Until the year 2000, the media showed the results of US presidential elections in various different ways, and since that year, blue color on the charts is a place where voters are more inclined to vote for Democratic Party (Democrats), while red is the space where Republican Party (Republicans) have greater support.

In Europe, a different color representation is used: blue indicates right-oriented, or Demo Christian oriented political parties, while the left is marked with the red color. Visualization of results by creating cartographic representation is inescapable in modern times, because it is the best method of displaying a geographic distribution of a certain phenomenon. For example, in addition to the aforementioned binary cartographic visualization of the results of American presidential elections, cartograms are used as well.

Contemporary day papers on the issues of the US presidential elections are based on statistical and mathematical models, and they cover a variety of topics: geographical analyses that take into account the behavior of voters (Pool and Rosenthal, 1984), investigation into the connection between voting for a specific party candidate and his election success (Mckee and Teigen, 2009), geographical clustering of votes in specific elections (Seabrook, 2009), migration influence on voters (Cho et al., 2012), geographical models of specific elections (Kim and Schofield, 2015), and others.

For better understanding of the electoral geography development, it should be noted that within this contemporary sub discipline three (3) main scientific methods are used: voting geography, geographic influence on voting, and representation geography (Johnston et al., 2015). Archer and Shelley (1986) also cite an approach that focuses on the dynamic electoral changes and historical changes in the electoral geography. In voting geography, the object of the study is the interpretation of the spatial pattern of voting in the elections with an emphasis on cartographic visualization. This approach that takes into account the geographic influence on voting based on an explanation of the decision making in the geographical context. The representation geography within the elections geography analyzes the election systems and the territorial division based on which elected representatives are elected to a particular parliament or congress/assembly (Forest, 2017).

This paper uses a method of analyzing a number of selected factors influencing the spatial distribution of votes and statistical methods for the interpretation of certain spatial phenomena. The factors that have to be considered as the basis for this research are as follows: racial structure, age and gender structure, and differences between voters in urban and rural areas.

These factors were chosen because of the extraordinary significance they have in the voting process for the presidential candidate and the additional ability to analyze demographic features as a primary source in analyses of this type. In addition to the baseline analysis of the influence of the defined indicators on the spatial distribution of votes, an effort was made to explain their interconnectedness. Everything is visualized using cartographic views created in the ArcGIS Info ArcMap software.

2. The US Presidential Election Process

The President of the United States is elected every four years, and at the same time the Vice President (VP) is elected. It should be noted that the elections are not held directly, but through members of the Electoral College, where the elected members decide on the new President. Sometimes the president becomes a candidate who does not necessarily have to win the largest number of votes (popular vote), which is the consequence of the electoral methodology. The number of members which a particular state gives to the Electoral College depends on their representation in the US Congress. The candidate who receives the highest number of votes in a given state receives all electoral votes for that state, with the exception of the state of Maine and Nebraska. A person who wants to become the President of the United States of America must win at least 270 out of a total of 538 electoral votes.

This election system was introduced to disable direct democracy because there was a lack of confidence in voters in the mid-19th century. Presidential elections were new at that point and nobody wanted to risk it. Although frequent criticisms of this electoral system can be heard in the American public, from a geographical point of view, it can be said that the system is fair because it takes into account the preferences of voters from different areas of the state, especially from rural areas. Otherwise, the impact from extremely densely populated areas and cities would be considerably higher on the vote, and therefore, on the outcome of elections.

The 2004 elections were different from the previous ones because there was a change in the number of electoral votes in some states. In these elections, 8 states received additional 1 or 2 electoral votes, while 10 states lost 1 or 2 votes. This is a result of the new census of 2000, according to which the number of Congress members is based. Last presidential elections were held two years ago, and the Republican Party candidate Donald Trump won, defeating Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton (Table 1). The key to Trump's victory were winning the states in the Midwest and Florida (Figure 1). Trump even won in Pennsylvania, in spite of the fact that his is a state in which the Republican candidate has not won since 1988.

Table 1: 2016 US presidential elections results.

Candidate	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton
Party	Republican	Democrat
Number of electoral votes	304	227
Number of States Won	30 + Maine (2nd district)	21
Number of votes	62.984.825	65.853.516
Percentage	46,1	48,2

Source: US election atlas, 2016.

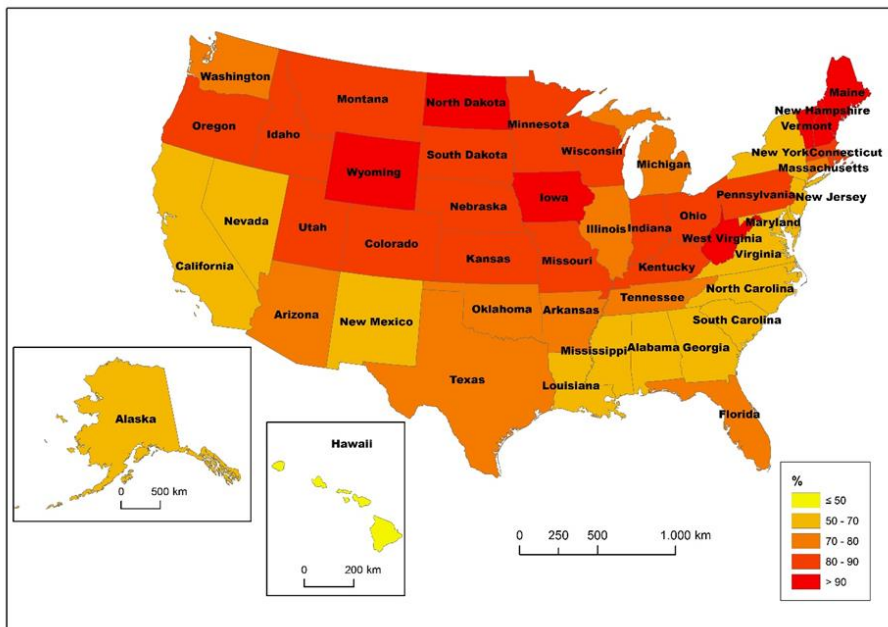


Figure 2: Spatial Distribution of Caucasian Population in US in 2010 (%).
 Source: US Census, 2010

Caucasian population, as already mentioned, mostly vote for Republican candidates because they primarily agree on ideological issues (Friedman, 2016). In the observed period (2004-2016), support for Republican candidates varied from 55% to 59%. Given the current trends, one should not expect a drastic change in the near future.

Table 2: Electoral preference of Caucasian people from 2004 to 2016.

Election Year	Democratic candidate (%)	Republican candidate (%)
2004	41	58
2008	43	55
2012	39	59
2016	37	57

Source: Roper Center, Cornell University, 2016.

Except for their numbers, Caucasian people, as a racial group, are important in political terms, because of their traditional belonging to the working class. Jacobs (2012) says there is a gradual proportion increase of Caucasian people with a college degree who are considered members of the working class, while the percentage of Caucasian people without a diploma who consider themselves part of the working class is gradually decreasing.

Furthermore, Caucasian people with lower and medium income will more likely say that they are members of the working class than rich white people. According to the same research, the white working class is becoming more liberal in matters of economy.

However, as far as social issues (abortion, minority rights, the role of women in society), it is becoming more and more conservative. Nevertheless, economic issues are a more important indicator through which the white working class creates political preferences, and are mostly inclined to Republican candidates. As for **Hispanic Americans**, they are considered to be a special group of American population because they can be members of several races. The spatial distribution of the Hispanic population is not uniform across the United States (Figure 3).

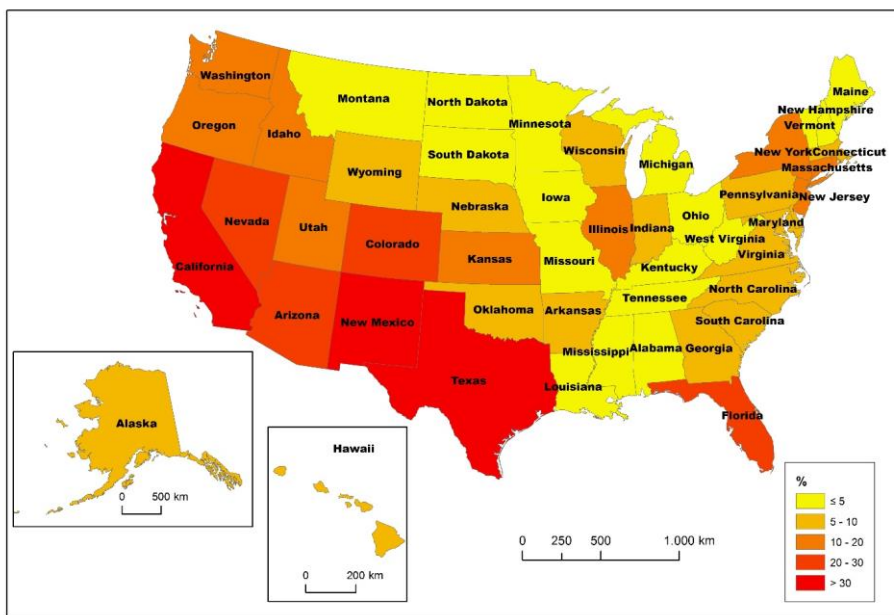


Figure 3: Spatial Distribution of Hispanic Americans in US in 2010 (%).
Source: US Census, 2010

In the presidential elections, Hispanic Americans primarily vote for Democratic Party candidates (Democrats). As much as 54% of Hispanic Americans believe that Democrats are more interested in their problems than the Republicans, while only 11% believe that the Republicans are more in touch with their problems (Lopez et al., 2016). Other surveyed Hispanic Americans believe that none of the two largest parties have any interest in the problems of their population.

According to the same survey, from 2002 until 2016, Hispanic American support for the Democrats increased by 9%, while support for the Republicans increased by only 1%. In addition, 32% of Hispanic Americans are considered conservative, but only a third of those conservatives voted for Hillary Clinton in the last elections. Moderate and liberal Hispanic Americans mostly vote for a Democratic candidate. It is counterproductive for the Republicans that the younger voters are not inclined to them. For Hispanic American voters solving economic problems, i.e. employment, is a priority (Abrajano et al., 2007).

The US Bureau for statistics predicts (2009) that the number of Hispanic Americans will increase by about 80 million by the year 2050. This means that their percentage will increase from 17.1% to 28%, which is more than a significant increase, and must be taken into account for election projections. Hispanic American percentage increase could have a major effect in Texas, as it is a state in which the Republicans have traditionally been victorious (since 1980). In addition to that, Texas is place of residence for the largest number of illegal immigrants in the United States (around 1.5 million), so any legalization of their residence status could affect election results, particularly in favor of the Democrats. The further growth of the Hispanic American population is a challenge for the Republican Party, i.e. how to win over the Hispanic Americans, especially the younger ones.

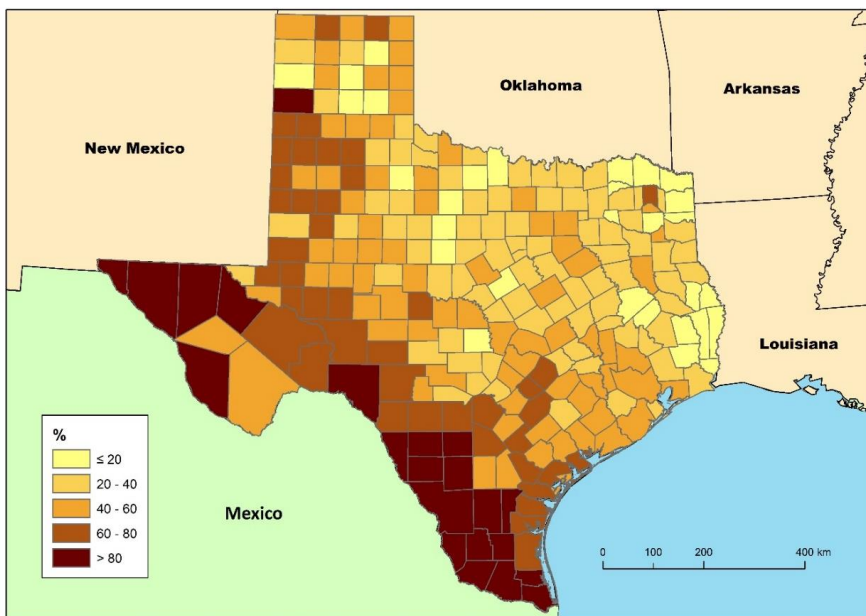
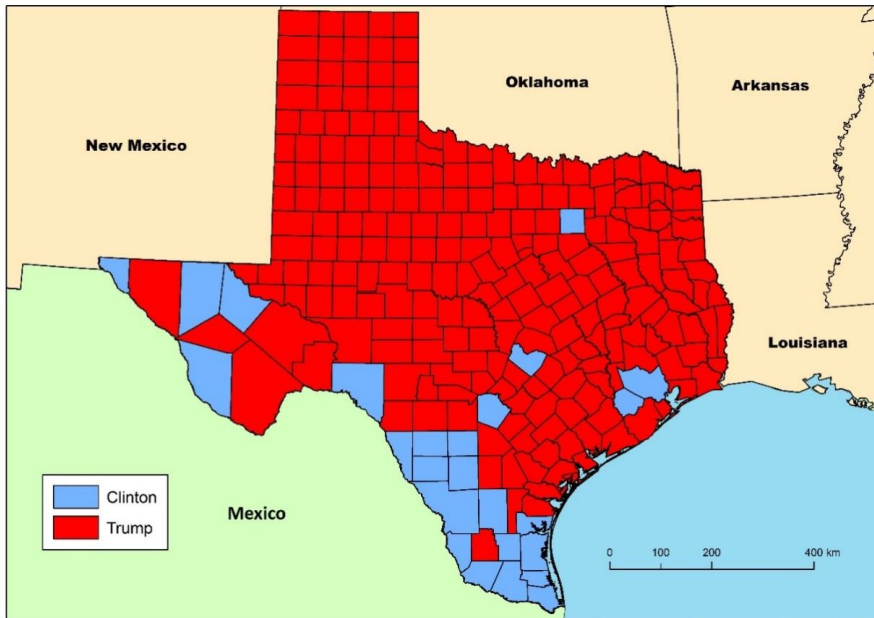


Figure 4: Estimated percentage of Hispanic American population in counties in the State of Texas, in the year 2050.
Source: Texas Demographic Center, 2014



*Figure5: Texas Election preferences by counties in 2016 elections.
Source: Politico, 2016*

Florida is also home to many members of the Hispanic American community. According to the latest census in 2010, Florida has 5.1 million Hispanic Americans, which makes up 24.9% of the total population. Hispanic Americans in Florida do not vote exclusively for Democratic candidates. 31% of Hispanic Americans favor Republicans, while 38% support Democrats (Motel and Patten, 2012).

An explanation of such a significant support for Republicans can be found in the fact that Cubans from Florida mostly prefer Republican candidates. American Cubans are largely descendants of immigrants who, due to the political disagreement with Fidel Castro, had to leave Cuba in the middle of the last century. Therefore, their traditional support for the right wing political option is not surprising. In 2008 elections, McCain won 53% of Florida's Cuban votes, and Obama won 47% (Wolgin and Garcia, 2013).

However, the demographic potential of Hispanic Americans needs to be taken with reservations. The reason for this lies in the fact that only a smaller number of Hispanic Americans have the right to actually vote. For example, in Texas, out of 10.4 million Hispanic Americans only 4.8 million have the right to vote (Lopez and Stepler, 2016). More than half of them are not allowed to vote because among Hispanic Americans there are many who do not have American citizenship, and there are many minors who cannot vote (Ratcliffe, 2017).

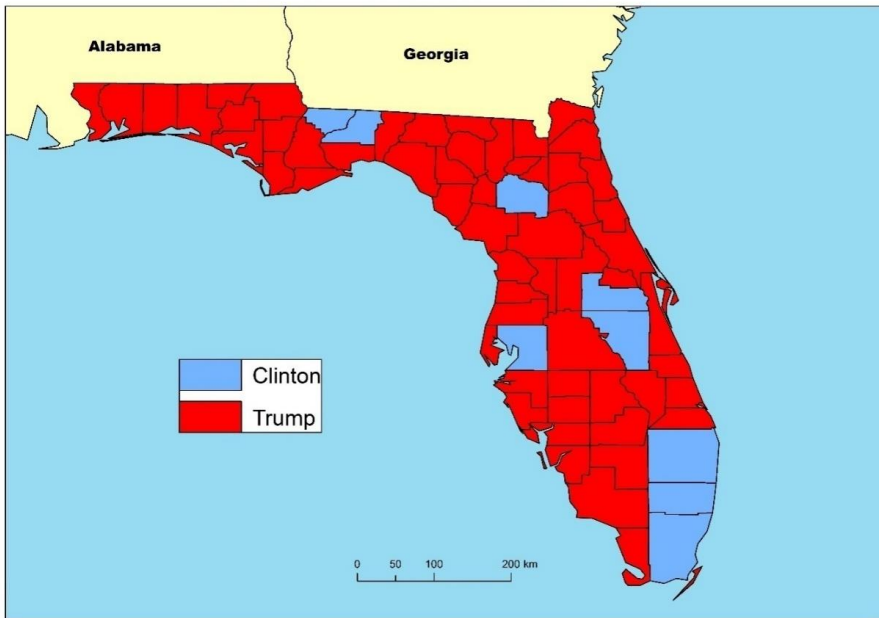


Figure 6: Florida Election preferences by counties in 2016 elections.
Source: Politico, 2016

At the end of the 19th century, **African Americans** began to leave their traditional areas of settlements in the southern parts of the United States and began to move north. This lasted until the 1970s, when this trend changed and more African Americans moved south (Brunner, 2005). Regardless of the major historical migrations towards the northern and eastern parts of the United States, African Americans are most geographically concentrated in the southeastern part of the United States (Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia).

According to the latest census in 2010, they represent 12.6% of the total population. Unlike the Hispanic Americans whose number will increase significantly by 2050, it is estimated that that same year there will be 14.4% African Americans. If we observe United States as a whole, such a minimal increase of African Americans (Figure 7) does not provide great electoral potential.

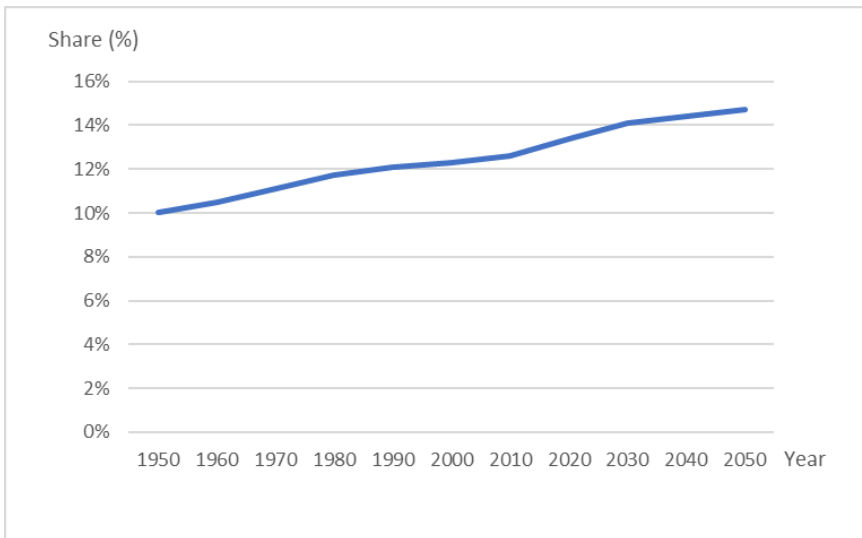


Figure 7: The percentage of African Americans in the United States from 1950 to 2050. Source: US Census Bureau, 2009

Unlike the states in the northern part of the United States, African American in southeastern states live primarily in rural areas, and the results of 2008 presidential elections in Alabama shows that the districts where Obama got the majority of votes are identical to those in which African Americans constitute majority of the population. But why do African Americans vote primarily for Democrats? Dawson (1995) argues that African Americans view political processes as a mechanism to protect the interests of their race and feel that the Democrats are the best option for this, regardless of the political platforms of other candidates. Many African Americans will support Democratic candidates, although many of them are very conservative themselves. According to American National Election Studies (2012), 90% of African Americans generally sympathize Democratic Party, and as many as 55% of African Americans strongly support the Democrats.

Table 3: African American Election preferences from 2004 to 2016

Election year	Democratic Party candidate (%)	Republican Party candidate(%)
2004	88	11
2008	95	4
2012	93	6
2016	89	8

Source: Roper Center, Cornell University, 2004 - 2016.

African American population is also concentrated in the Midwest. The geographic distribution of African Americans in the state of Ohio differs from the one present in the American South. African Americans in the Midwest mostly live in densely populated areas. Donald Trump won in the majority of Ohio state districts, but lost or got lower support in the counties with greater number of African Americans and more populated counties (counties with more African Americans are counties with larger number of people as well). Luks and Elms (2005) conclude that younger African Americans are less tied to the Democratic Party, and such a conclusion raises the question on their future preferences.

Americans of Asian descent are a very heterogeneous group, and according to the 2010 census there are about 17.3 million people of Asian descent living in the United States, which is 5.6% of the total population. Asian Americans have different cultural heritage and different ethnic backgrounds. The Pew Research Center (2012) examined religious affiliations of Asian Americans, with the lower graph showing the religious heterogeneity of Asian Americans.

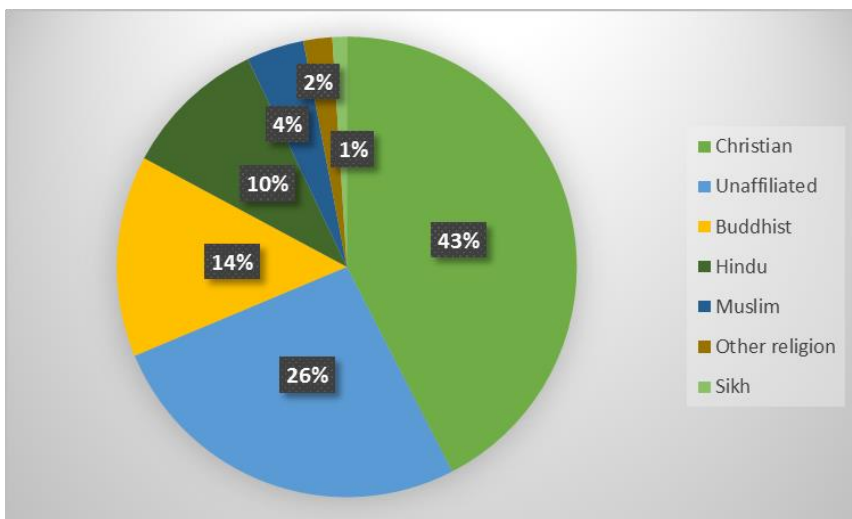


Figure 8: Asian American Religious Structure in 2012.
Source: Pew Research Center, 2012

As many as 42% of Asian Americans are Christian, indicating their strong integration into the American society. Asian American population is very urban and as many as three-quarters of this population live in metropolitan areas (Lott, 2004). The states with the largest number of Asian Americans are California, New York, Texas, New Jersey, and Hawaii.

It has already been pointed out that Asian Americans are a heterogeneous group, indicating that their spatial distribution is not uniformed, so each ethnic group should be observed separately. Between 2000 and 2010, the Asian American population increased from 10.2 to 14.7 million. Their population in Florida increased by 71% in the above mentioned period, while at a national level their increase was 43%. Asian Americans tend to spatially concentrate in certain counties, each ethnic group for itself. For instance, Filipinos are concentrated in Florida, Duval County; Vietnamese are in Orange County, Indians in Broward, and Chinese in Miami-Dade. It is important to point out that 47% of Asian Americans do not support any political party, even though they mostly vote for Democratic Party candidates (Table 4)

Table 4: Asian American preferences since 2004 to 2016.

Election year	Democrat Party Candidate (%)	Republican party Candidate (%)
2004	56	43
2008	62	35
2012	73	26
2016	65	27

Source: Roper Center, Cornell University, 2004 - 2016

Trump caused concern for numerous Asian Americans in the last election (because of his anti-immigrant attitudes), but neither Hillary Clinton got support from a significant number of these voters. Economic policies and employment are the most important political issues for the Asian American community, while other issues such as racial problems, education, immigration, terrorism are less important (Huang, 2017).

The importance of anti-immigrant rhetoric on the political preferences of Asian Americans should not be ignored. As much as 40% of Asian Americans would not vote for a candidate who has anti-immigrant attitudes, even if they agree on other issues. For Koreans this percentage is even higher (50%), and young people as well (51%). Also, Asian Americans under the age of 40 are unlikely to vote for a Republican, but neither Obama received strong support from Asian Americans from the southern states in 2012. Out of all Asian ethnic groups in the United States, the Chinese are least likely to have opinions and views on presidential candidates; this includes candidates from previous elections This population feels least affected by anti-immigration rhetoric.

3.2. Gender-age structure influence

Voters in the elections have a certain tendency to vote for candidates who are closer to their own age (Caprara et al., 2007; Webster and Pierce, 2017), which should be taken into account in election campaigns. Younger Americans often do not exercise their right to vote as shown by File (2013) in the report for the US Bureau of Statistics. According to this report, in 2012, younger voters (18-29 years of age) constituted 21.2% of registered voters and only 15.4% of these voters actually voted. There were no such inconsistencies with other age groups.

The younger population had a turnout of 17.1% in 2008 from the total number of those who can actually vote, which was the highest turnout of young people. Since 1996, the percentage of young voters has steadily increased until 2008, when it was at its peak, and in 2012 there was a sharp fall. Unlike younger voters, older Americans (65+) have a greater percentage in the voting structure compared to their percentage in the overall population with the right to vote. The disparity between the turnout of the younger and older population can be showed by data which indicates that in 2012 the total structure had 2% more registered younger than older voters, but the older voters had 6.9% higher turnout compared to younger voters.

There are numerous reasons why older citizens are very active, and turn out to the elections, and Binstock (2006) explains the background of this trend. First of all, social status, gender, ethnic origin, level of education, family status, political attitudes, party affiliation, religious affiliation and many other characteristics did not suddenly appear when a person entered a certain older age. Older people have a lot more to lose because by choosing a particular candidate, they stand to lose certain benefits, such as social security or pension (Binstock, 2006).

When gender structure is analyzed, the gap between the preferences of men and women frequently appears during election processes. Thus, women in the 2012 elections were voting 11% more for Obama (Table 5). In addition, gender gaps also appear when it comes to support and relating to certain political parties. According to the 2014 survey (ABC / Washington Post Poll, 2014), women are 9% more sympathetic to the Democratic Party, and will more often praise the work of the President who is a Democrat. In a conducted survey, women were 8% more satisfied with Barack Obama's work. Men, on the other hand, preferred Republican candidates and voted for them, except in 2008.

Table 5: Female Election preferences in presidential elections from 2004 to 2016.

Election year	Democrat Party Candidate (%)	Republican party Candidate (%)
2004	51	48
2008	56	43
2012	55	44
2016	54	41

Source: Roper Center, Cornell University, 2004 - 2016

Table 6: Male Election preferences in presidential elections from 2004 to 2016.

Election year	Democrat Party Candidate (%)	Republican party Candidate (%)
2004	44	55
2008	49	48
2012	45	52
2016	41	52

Source: Roper Center, Cornell University, 2004 – 2016

Except for the fact that they are different than men according to their political preferences (Table 6), since 1980, women have a higher turnout than men, so in the 2012 elections 71.4 million women voted, while there were only 61.6 million male voters (Dittmar, 2015). Dolan (2008) concludes that women are strongly inclined to female candidates and that such an inclination goes far beyond common sexual identity and that women favor female candidates coming from the Democratic Party, but do not share the same feelings for female Republican candidates. This primarily applies to lower branches of the government. But why is there a difference between male and female voting preferences? The reason for this is that women have their own priorities, a certain role in the family, a different role in the labor market and the community, and have their own views on issues important to them, such as reproductive rights, family policy, environmental protection, education, etc. (Dittmar, 2015). These conclusions might have a significant relevance if more female candidates appear in future presidential elections.

3.3. Urban-rural diversity factor

Political preferences of rural population differ from those in urban areas. Residents of large urban centers, or densely populated areas, are mostly sympathizers of the Democratic Party, have liberal views and mostly vote for Democratic presidential candidates. Democratic candidates have support in the

suburban areas of large cities, as well as in centers of smaller metropolitan areas (Scala and Johnson, 2017). Outside of these areas, support for Democrats is on the decline and support for the Republican is growing; a good example would be the state of New York (Fig. 9; Fig. 10). In the city itself, Democrats are winning convincingly (Figure 11), but when you look at the rest of the state where there are no bigger cities, one can see that in the vast majority of the state Republican candidates outperform those from the Democratic Party. New York's political preferences are not surprising given the diversity of racial and ethnic groups in that city. In the last elections, Hillary Clinton won 57.9% of votes in the state of New York, and 79% of votes in New York City. One should not ignore the fact that the population of New York City is about 40% of the population of the state of New York. That is why Republicans regularly lose in the state of New York.

It is obvious that Democratic candidates are victorious in numerous federal states with large urban centers. Although large urban centers provide Democrats with a large number of votes, the importance of rural areas and smaller urban centers should not be neglected, as evidenced by the results of the recent presidential elections in which Hillary Clinton lost key states such as Florida, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Even though many predicted that the rapid growth of population in urban areas would give the Democrats a certain advantage, the importance of voters from rural areas was neglected.

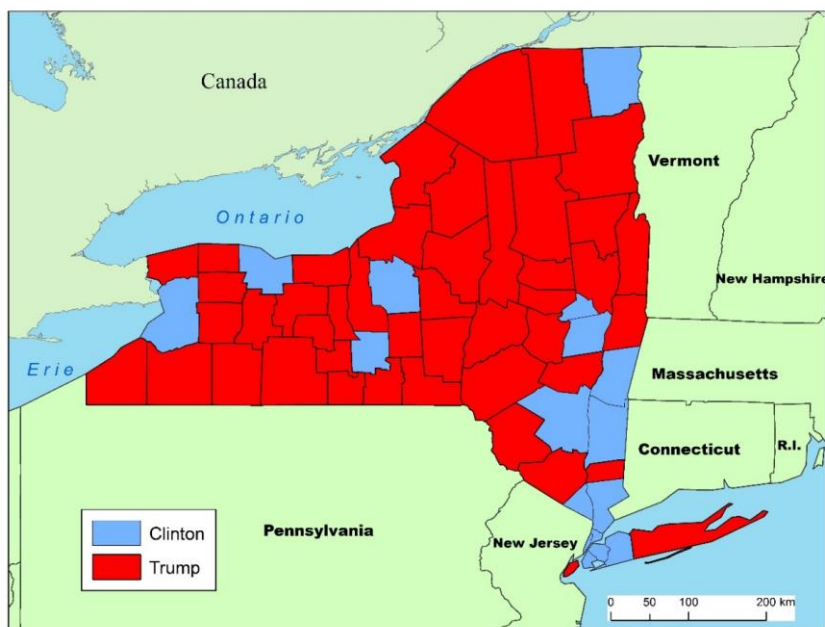


Figure 9: Electoral Preferences in the New York state in the 2016 Presidential Election. Source: Politico, 2016

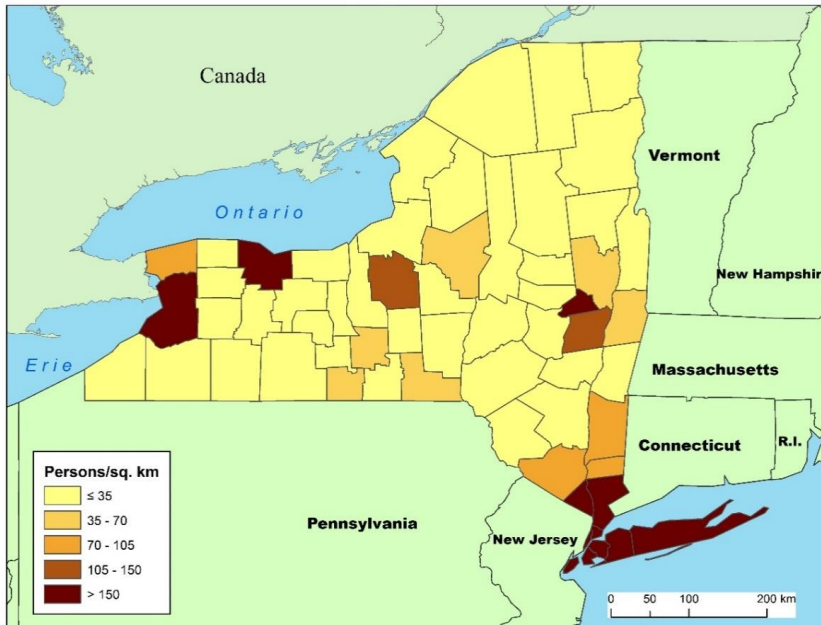


Figure 10: Population density of the New York state according to the 2010 census. Source: US Census, 2010

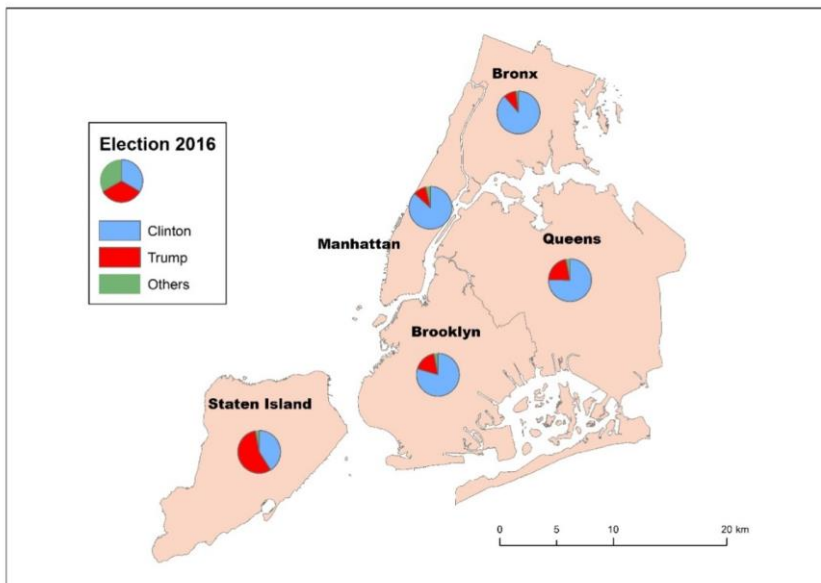


Figure 11: Election preferences of New York City citizens during 2016 presidential election Source: Politico, 2016.

Blankenau and Parker research(2015) shows that the differences between rural and urban area voters are as important in determining political preferences as much as factors such as gender or income. The difference between rural and urban areas remains indicative in domains such as gun control, religious and sexual education in schools, social service, tax policies. These topics are the subject of frequent discussions between Democrats and Republicans, as the rural area population is extremely opposed to gun control and in that respect very different from the urban area population.

In addition to that, instead of rising taxes, rural areas prefer reducing public administration and social security benefits. Gelman et al. (2007) say that income is not an important factor in the above-mentioned issues, but that income is a generally more important issue in areas favoring Republican candidates, which are basically rural areas. This all indicates that rural and urban populations have different views that generate different political preferences.

4. Conclusion

From the previous text, the interdependence and importance of certain factors can be demonstrated. Demographic structure of the population (according to race, age, gender) of the United States as well as its spatial distribution has a very important impact on the results of US presidential elections and this analysis is exceptionally complex.

Regarding the racial structure of the US population and its influence on the US presidential elections, Hispanic Americans have a high growth rate, but this does not necessarily have to be of crucial influence on the spatial distribution of votes. Analysis has shown that Hispanic Americans are very inactive in election processes. In addition to not having a high turnout in elections, a low in percentage of them are even registered to vote. Other racial groups do not have a strong growth rate, and currently Caucasian (white) people, because of their number, have the greatest influence on election results.

The percentage of Caucasian people will decrease, but will likely continue to have a great impact on results due to passiveness or lesser growth rate of other racial groups. The percentage of African Americans and Asian Americans does not increase fast enough for these populations to have a significant impact on election results. Also, voters in the elections have a certain tendency to vote for candidates closer to their own age. The fact is that women are more likely to vote for Democrat and men for Republican candidates. Of course, there are some minor deviations.

When analyzing the differences in the votes that candidates receive in rural or urban areas, as a general principle, the more urbanized the area, the more votes for the Democrat party presidential candidate. There are a few exceptions, for example in the American South, where in rural areas, due to the larger percentage of African Americans, Democrats receive greater support. More rural states such as Wyoming or Montana are traditionally Republican, and voters in states with larger urban centers such as New York or California traditionally vote for Democrats.

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