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Memes: Learning, Bonding, and Emotional Support in Times of COVID-19

VALENTINA VINOKUROVA

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has created various new challenges for language teachers. For instance, the online teaching/learning environment makes it difficult to create peer-to-peer relations in the classroom and to engage students in language learning in or outside of class (Sun 2011). Even worse, many students today have a difficult time focusing on school assignments because they are emotionally affected by the pandemic. In fact, Fruehwirth, Biswas, and Perreira (2021) compared mental health data before and after the beginning of the pandemic in a university in North Carolina and found that cases of anxiety and depression had increased. This paper proposes that memes – used as a pedagogical tool – can help teachers address these issues in the classroom and provide an outlet for students' emotions. Memes are a relatively new internet genre and they typically involve a witty juxtaposition of image and text that expresses their creators' emotions about a widely relatable situation. As such, because memes use image and text in complementary ways, they can be a conduit for teaching and learning about multimodality and developing digital literacy. Furthermore, the analysis of the textual message of memes can be a productive way to engage students in conversations about grammar and vocabulary. Finally, the fact that the purpose of memes is to express a commonly-felt emotion in relation to a current situation makes memes useful for learning about culture, expressing emotions, and bonding with real or imaginary others through these shared emotions (Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar 2019).

Memes have been used in English language classrooms (e.g., Purnama 2017, Dominguez Romero and Bobkina 2017, Harvey and Palese 2018, Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar 2019, Dominguez Romero and Bobkina 2021), but their application in RFL (Russian as a foreign language) classes has not been discussed in previous literature. Therefore, this paper aims to describe a meme-based project implemented in an intermediate Russian language course in Fall 2020. The purpose of the project was to

address the new challenges presented by COVID-19 and distance learning: to relieve coronavirus- and school-related stress, foster a sense of group membership, and increase engagement. As part of the project, students were asked to explore, collect, and create memes in Russian.

The following sections elaborate on the design and the results of this project. Section 2, "Rationale for project design," provides a conceptual-theoretical framework for understanding the affordances of memes for teaching and learning. Section 3, "Project design and implementation procedure," elaborates on the specific instructions written for the project as well as the ways in which classroom discussions were structured to support students throughout the project. Section 4, "Examples of students' work," examines the project's effectiveness in engaging students, creating healthy peer-to-peer relationships, and providing an outlet for COVID-related emotions using examples of student work. Finally, the conclusion revisits the design of this project, making recommendations for improving the project for future courses.

2. Rationale for project design

The decision to use memes to engage students during the pandemic was inspired by two in-depth accounts of the affordances of memes for language, culture, and literacy learning and teaching. First is Harvey and Palese's (2018) article that was among the first to provide detailed instructions for using memes in the classroom. The second paper is Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar's (2019) paper that followed suit in documenting the value of meme humor for ESL learning.

Harvey and Palese (2018) claim that "memes are the building blocks of society and culture" (261). Indeed, memes are imbued with an inherently social function and are packaged with affect: they are concise expressions of widely relatable feelings within or among cultures that people can bond over. Consider, for instance, the function of the Facebook group "grad school memes with relatable themes" (Full of Schist). This group brings together graduate students from all over the world and gives them a place to share their frustration with graduate school through meme-making. In addition to fostering social ties and giving students an emotional outlet, memes can also help develop what Harvey and Palese (2018) call a "critical memetic literacy," or "the ability to engage with and question all parts of the meme (re)production and consumption cycle" (260). In essence, this new type of literacy proposed by Harvey and Palese (2018) is a combination of intercultural and linguistic competencies as well as digital literacy. To clarify, digital literacy refers to the understanding of

multimodality and digital norms of communication, and the ability to use digital tools (Reinhardt and Thorne 2011).

In their article, Harvey and Palese (2018) also develop a sample framework for introducing memes in the classroom that is reminiscent of Reinhardt and Thorne's (2011) "bridging activities," which consist of "observation and collection, exploration and analysis, and creation and participation, of Internet texts and practices" (15). First, Harvey and Palese (2018) propose that class time can be utilized for modeling how to analyze memes using a set of guiding questions (265). Second, teachers can optionally assign additional meme analysis for students to complete at home. This step can be supplemented with a flowchart that guides students through a series of questions, enabling them to understand memes more deeply (Harvey and Palese 2018, 266). These activities then culminate with an in-class meme creation task. Students can be divided into groups and presented with 10 uncaptioned meme templates. They then have to work as a group to caption these templates to fit a series of themes announced by the instructor. According to Harvey and Palese (2018), such activities can help students become critical consumers and producers of this highly relevant contemporary genre. Moreover, these scholars argue that being able to create successful memes can grant language learners entry into various communities of practice, many of which today utilize memes to communicate or bond (e.g., Full of Schist).

Thearticleby Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar (2019) corroborates Harvey and Palese's (2018) argument: the authors propose that humor is an invaluable tool for language teaching. Given that digital technology has made learners more autonomous, less patient for lectures and drills, and less prone to note-taking, the teachers have no other choice but to adapt their teaching strategies to this new reality (Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar 2019, 42). Citing a wealth of previous literature, Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar (2019) argue that humor has great educational value, that it can motivate and engage learners, create and sustain good teacher-student and student-student relationships, reduce stress levels, and create trust (44). However, to sustain students' interest, teachers must seek humor in the same place as their students, i.e., in internet memes.

In terms of memes' teaching value, Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar (2019) point out that memes sometimes contain puns, intentional misspellings, slang, and baby talk for humorous effect (49-50). This can be valuable for teaching students about language itself as well as its phonetic system, spelling, vocabulary, and grammar. Besides, the conciseness of meme language may be especially helpful for teaching gendered and pro-

drop languages: students may be forced to pay attention to the grammatical form to fully understand the elliptical constructions often used in memes. Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar (2019) also believe that "[t]he sharing of internet memes is considered as a sharing of the culture that is infused in those memes" (45). Thus, meme collection and analysis can present plentiful opportunities for developing intercultural competence: learning what is and is not humorous in the L2 (second language) culture(s) as opposed to students' L1 (first language) culture(s), tracing multimodal intertextual references contained in the memes (references to popular TV shows, cuisines, cities, literary characters, etc.), and deciphering the text itself which may contain names of culture-specific concepts.

Harvey and Palese's (2018) and Harshavardhan, Wilson, and Kumar's (2019) powerful papers inspired the pedagogical innovation described below. The following section lays out the structure of the meme activity (final project) designed for an intermediate Russian language course. This design largely follows Harvey and Palese's (2018) proposed instructional sequence.

3. Project design and implementation procedure

The following meme project instructions, presented in full in Appendix A, were heavily influenced by Harvey and Palese's (2018) recommendations for teaching with memes. The project was implemented at the end of the semester in an intermediate (third semester) Russian language course. It consisted of three out-of-class assignments that students completed individually. However, each of the project activities was supplemented with an in-class discussion that typically took place a week before the activities were due. A summary of the sequence of project activities is presented in Figure 1.

It is important to note that as per the instructors' judgment, this specific group of students was not linguistically prepared to engage in in-depth discussions of memes in Russian. As such, much of the in-class discussions took place in English. While many CLT (communicative language teaching) language instructors – including the author of this paper – will disapprove of such use of L1 in the classroom, there were two reasons to do so. First, L1 was used to provide genuine emotional support to students at the close of a difficult semester during the pandemic. Second, L1 allowed in-depth discussions of cultural similarities and differences, redressing a popular criticism of the CLT approach: for instance, Paesani, Allen, and Dupuy (2016) validly note that there are "two main limitations

of CLT in its current form: (1) its heavy focus on oral, functional language use; and (2) its superficial treatment of cultural and textual content" (8). Ideally, for Paesani et al. (2016), instructors could address these limitations by revising their curricula to provide opportunities – and tools – for critical analyses of texts in the target language. However, given that this meme project was introduced in a traditional CLT classroom and that the design of the project was rushed due to the pandemic, the instructor did not have space in her curriculum to prepare students to discuss memes in Russian.

The in-class discussions were designed to engage students in a deeper analysis of memes and to address any questions that students might have about the project. During the first in-class discussion, students were asked to examine several memes, in English and Russian, and to answer guiding questions for meme interpretation designed by Harvey and Palese (2018, 265). The discussion focused on the interplay of image and text, the cultural knowledge required to understand some memes, and the language that is used in memes. The instructor also provided examples of commentary, modeling the first task of the project for the students. After this in-class discussion, students had a week to find and post four memes with commentary on a Padlet board, with each of the four memes addressing a topic assigned by the instructor. Specifically, students were directed to look at memes related to four specific topics: Russian language, School/university, COVID-19, and New Year's. These topics were selected for two reasons. The first was that these topics would inevitably lead to discussions of similarities and differences between American and Russian cultures. The second reason was that many of these topics were related to students' pent-up frustration with having to study during the pandemic. The topics Russian language and COVID-19 were anticipated to elicit discussions of cultural similarities and were a major source of frustration for students. The topics University and New Year's, on the other hand, were expected to elicit discussions of cultural differences and were selected based on their relevance to students' lives (students completed the project in late November – early December, close to the end of the year).

The additional task of writing commentary for collected memes was intended to foster critical and digital literacy: as proposed by Chun et al. (2016), L2 learners "should be able to critique, analyze, and evaluate both the meanings they want to convey as well as the meanings produced by others" (71). Thus, by commenting, students engaged more deeply with the content of their collected memes and had to think about the cultural and vocabulary knowledge that other students might need in order to understand the memes that they posted.

The second in-class discussion took place after all memes had been collected and shared by students. This discussion focused on cultural similarities and differences as well as on student strategies for interpreting collected memes. After the discussion, students had several days to go back to the original Padlet board and comment on the memes collected by their peers. The purpose of this portion of the project was to expose students to more examples of memes and to give them an idea of their peers' interests and sense of humor – to foster bonding among students. For this reason, it was important for the instructor to provide the students with a platform and an opportunity to exchange ideas and review each other's work. The design of Padlet allows the instructor to create a semblance of a social network: one can enable the 'liking' function so that students can leave likes under each other's posts, and enable commenting, thereby giving students the means to express group membership and build social bonds.

Finally, students were asked to create and post two of their own memes on a separate Padlet board (with accompanying commentary). This step of the project was followed by an in-class discussion of the meme creation process. The instructor prompted students to talk about conceiving and designing a meme: what difficulties students experienced while creating their own memes and what cultural or linguistic knowledge would be necessary from the audience to understand the memes they had created. This sequence of activities allowed the instructor to engage students in a deeper analysis of memes as a genre, to foster critical and multimodal literacies, to allow students to expand their intercultural competence by analyzing memes produced by representatives of another culture, and to give them an opportunity to develop their digital (meme-making) skills.

The outcomes of the project are discussed below, on the basis of students' collected and created memes, the commentary that they wrote, as well as their reflections about the project shared in informal in-class discussions of the project. Overall, the topics that were used for the project – in tandem with the requirement to comment on each other's work – facilitated bonding as well as a sense of group membership and allowed students to express their emotions about living and learning during the pandemic.

4. Examples of students' work

This section presents several examples of discussions around memes as well as several memes created by students. Based on these examples, I examine the affordances of such meme projects for language and culture learning, expressing emotion, and developing a sense of group membership.

Overall, in class discussions, students reported spending vastly different amounts of time working on the project. Some students stated that they spent around 20 minutes looking for memes online (the first task of the project), while others reported spending over 5 hours trying to find a meme that represented them and their sense of humor. One student reported being pleasantly surprised about finding a Russian dark humor meme page on a social network. This student noted that this discovery was instrumental in motivating them for continued engagement with Russian memes – the student followed this page intending to continue monitoring the memes that are posted there every day. Quite a few students also stated that they spent time Googling various Russian vocabulary items, traditions, and cultural artifacts mentioned in their collected memes to understand them better and to be able to write good commentary for others. Many mentioned researching Russian New Year traditions and the foods that are associated with them. Several students also expressed feeling excited about understanding some of the cultural references in memes about school/ university, as we had discussed the differences between the schooling system in the U.S. and Russia in class at the beginning of the semester. Overall, student reactions and comments demonstrated good engagement with the project – they went above and beyond the requirements to post something interesting and meaningful to them. It can be proposed that this level of engagement was fostered by the use of memes – which are highly entertaining – for an educational purpose, as well as by the requirement stated in the project instructions that in their commentary, students had to address why their chosen memes are relevant to their own lives.

4.1. Student-collected memes

As mentioned above, several activities revolved around finding existing memes. First, students had to select the memes to which they could relate; second, they had to post these memes with commentary; and third, they had to comment on each others' memes. One example of what Steps 1 and 2 of the project looked like when they were completed is presented in Figure 2.

The student who found and posted the meme in Figure 2 approached the topic of University from the perspective of COVID-19. Readers might find the idea presented in the meme to be very relatable as well: indeed, many of us have developed a certain paranoia in the times of Zoom – what if we left our mics and cameras on by mistake? The student's commentary highlights three "acts" that are performed by posting this meme. First, the student acknowledges that there may be similarities between Russian

and American cultures, because distance learning has been an experience that we share: "This meme does not really require you to know anything about russian [sic] culture, as American students can also relate to the experience." Second, the student relates to others through the content of the meme (which refers to a common real-life situation): "I think most students have had the experience at least once of thinking they muted theirself [sic] and turned off their camera before talking to someone in real life and then realizing their camera or mic was still on." Third, the student shares their own experience and thereby expresses their own anxiety in relation to this situation: "I thought this was funny because it happened to me last Tuesday because I accidentally hit the spacebar which is apparently the push to talk button on zoom." In this way, even in a short comment, a student was able to reflect on cultural issues, relate to other students, and express their own frustration.

The relatability of this meme (Figure 2) allows other students to express their own Zoom-related anxieties. Their comments both allow them to experience relief (as they are not the only ones going through such a situation), and to offer support to the student who posted the meme in the first place. Note the abundance of first-person pronouns in these comments – instead of being abstract or distant, students' comments are very personal, offering their own feelings on the matter and even providing examples ("my roommate...," "I have witnessed...").

Figure 3 presents another example of a meme that students found relatable (judging by the number of comments). Notably, in addition to taking a stance on a relatable issue and proposing a similarity between Russian and American cultures, the student who posted this meme demonstrated an active engagement with Russian grammar: "To understand this meme you need to understand verb conjugation, and use of the accusative case." This student is highlighting the fact that the second-person singular pronoun 'you' requires a different conjugation from the third-person singular pronoun and that an understanding of verb conjugation is this crucial to understanding the text of this meme. In addition, the student points out that the use of the accusative case enables the reader to know who is the subject that 'sees' and who is the object that 'is being seen.' The rest of the student's commentary to the meme establishes the student's point of view and acknowledges that people's perspectives on COVID-19 vary ("In Russia as in most places, there's a range of opinion on the matter"). Other students' responses are personal, as was the case with the meme analyzed above. However, in this case, most students express their agreement with

the student who posted the meme by distancing themselves from the "people who would wear their mask that way." In this particular case, group-building is both a matter of holding a shared belief and of standing in opposition to another group of people.

4.2. Student-created memes

The opportunity to create their own memes (Step 3 of the project) allowed students to express frustration with various realities of their lives and to build a sense of community (specifically, a Russian learner community) to an even greater extent. Of the four topics, the most popular for creating memes were COVID-19 and Russian language. Some representative examples are presented in Figure 4.

The memes presented in Figure 4 all evoke a sense of community, small and large. The first is an example of a student-created meme narrates student experiences in their current Russian language course. This meme refers to the instructor of the course by name, drawing on common experiences in our specific Russian language course and it thereby establishes the existence of a community of Russian language learners that is restricted to one course. The second meme in Figure 4 is similarly personal and its intended audience is limited. In this meme, a student comments on their peers' behavior, specifically, on the unwillingness of most students to use any vocabulary except for the word 'good' to answer the question 'how are you?' in class. The intended audience of this meme includes all learners and teachers of the Russian language. The third is an example of a of meme that focused on the general experience of being a student during COVID-19 pandemic. The experience narrated here will be relevant to most students, although the cultural reference to the movie will be lost on them. Finally, the fourth meme in Figure 4 enacts the identity of a person living in quarantine. People outside our Russian language course and even outside the university context should be able to relate to this meme. It is by evoking all of these different experiences and identities through their memes that students were able to claim their membership in these various communities. References to people, places, and situations as well as students' use of pronouns (e.g., 'we') brings communities into being and simultaneously enacts their membership in them.

At the same time, the last two memes in Figure 4 allow students to release their frustration with the coronavirus pandemic. Students utilize pronouns 'we' and 'you' in their commentary because of how relatable they perceive these memes to be. The experience of sharing emotions through

memes not only enables them to evoke a sense of community in others but also allows them to feel like part of that community themselves: their feelings and experiences are justified because they are shared by others.

5. Conclusion

Overall, this meme project has been successful: student commentary and memes showed some evidence of increased engagement with the Russian language and culture, development of intercultural competence and digital literacy, and an increasing sense of belonging to a community. Besides, the project allowed students to express their frustration with distance learning as well as the difficulties of learning the Russian language specifically.

However, several improvements can be made in future implementations of this project. First, instructors can foster a deeper engagement with genre, multimodality, and the cultural and linguistic information contained in memes by asking students to submit longer reflective papers alongside Tasks 1 and 3 of the project. While the 50-70-word commentary was instrumental in helping students review and comment on their peers' memes, it did not provide sufficient space for in-depth reflection. The reader of this piece may have noticed that while students' commentary presented above provided some indication of reflection and thought, this reflection could be much deeper. According to Paesani, Allen, and Dupuy (2016), reflection is an integral component of learning that is often ignored in CLT approaches (37). However, it is through reflection that students can assess their learning, think about areas for improvement, and envision ways of applying new knowledge outside of the classroom. For example, after creating their own memes, students can be asked to 1) explain their linguistic choices and to discuss how text and image work together in their meme; 2) reflect on their intended message: whether that message was understood, how it was received, and why; 3) reflect on what did not work as intended and what changes could be made; 4) think about the skills that they had learned in the project and where these skills could be applied outside of the Russian language course.

Furthermore, to continue building a sense of membership, students can be asked to like and comment on their peers' created memes (and not only on their collected memes). Given that memes are inherently a social genre, their creation needs to be legitimized through sharing and commenting. For this reason, a follow-up activity in which students can express appreciation for each other's memes should be an integral part of the project.

Overall, through this project, students gained an opportunity to express pent-up frustration and to explain, in detail, how COVID-19 had affected their lives both during in-class discussions of memes and through their memes and comments. This opportunity was invaluable for students who are rarely allowed to complain about their ever-increasing workloads. It was even more important for the instructor who could now better understand her students and see how the demanding structure of her course was contributing to their anxiety during the pandemic. It is through humor that students were able to bring up truly important issues in the classroom. In times of isolation (in its strictest sense), we as teachers need to be mindful of our students' well-being. This practice is important to maintain in post-COVID times as well, as even when we are physically co-present, we may still be emotionally isolated from others.

In-class Discussion 1.

What are memes? What do they typically look like? How do we interpret memes? What is multimodality? Examples of memes and commentary.

Project Task 1.

Collect 4 memes and post them with commentary: Russian language, school/university, covid, New Year

In-class Discussion 2.

Was it difficult to find memes? Was it difficult to understand them? Why or why not? Did you notice any cultural similarities or differences?

Project Task 2.

Comment on 3 memes found by peers

Project Task 3.

Create 2 memes on any of the following topics: Russian language, school/university, covid, New Year and post them with commentary

In-class Discussion 3.

Was it difficult to create memes in Russian?
Was it difficult to word the text for your memes?
What kind of cultural similarities or differences did you play on when creating your memes?

Figure 1. The Sequence of In- and Out-of-class Meme Activities

This meme does not really require you to know anything about russian culture as American students can also relate to the experience. The meme is saying they don't trust the mute or camera button on calls. I think most students have had the experience at least once of thinking they muted theirself and turned off their camera before talking to someone in real life and then realizing their camera or mic was still on. I thought this was funny because it happened to me last Tuesday because I accidentally hit the spacebar which is apparently the push to talk button on zoom.

больше всего в жизни я не доверяю вот этим двоим



Figure 2. Student's collected meme, topic: university

Note: The text in the meme reads: "I don't trust these two the most in my life"

Coronavirus Meme

To understand this meme you need to understand verb conjugation, and use of the accusative case. It's funny because it plays on peoples ignorance surrounding coronavirus. In Russia as in most places, there's a range of opinion on the matter. This pretty well sums up the absurdity with which some people have responded.

Если ты не видишь вирус, вирус не видит тебя



- Anonymous 3mo
 Ah yes, the ignorance is so very widespread. I think this is funny because I was on a hike with my best friend the other day and the people walking nearest to us definitely seemed like they would be like this
- Anonymous 3mo
 I like this meme a lot because people really walk around with a mask not properly worn, like at that point just don't wear the mask at all.
- Anonymous 3mo

 This meme is great because it is playing off of the fact that there are a lot of people who are ignorant or else simply don't care about the virus. I agree that the absurdity of the meme is pretty much level with the way some handle the virus.
- Anonymous 3mo
 My girlfriend wants to make a video of me walking into a pharmacy wearing a mask like that.
 Its a funny visual, you would not see someone wearing a mask like this, but you do often times see people not wear masks properly and only because its a requirement.

Figure 3. Student's collected meme, topic: COVID-19

Note: The text in the meme reads: "If you cannot see the coronavirus, the coronavirus cannot see you."

Sometimes conversations about my daily routines in 2020 get a little awkward. My breakfast habits certainly don't always qualify as nutritious and complete.



This meme is about how often when asked "Как дела?" students will reply with "good" instead of any more expressive words. To understand this meme, you would need a basic understanding of Russian and Russian greetings.



отлично супер нормально плохо ужасно

хорошо

This meme doesn't follow an established format but I think it works. The text says "there are two types of Zoom rooms" because I wasn't sure how "breakout room" translated into Russian. This semester I've had the type on the left where you actually talk for the most part but every once in a while I get into one of those rooms where you can just innately tell that nobody wants you to talk, which is the type on the right. This meme requires you to have seen the cinematic masterpiece $\mathbf{5pat}$ in order to fully get the reference.

Есть два типа Зум-комнат:



In order to understand this meme you need to know the word "которые" and what form of the word is used in which situations. This meme is relevant to me because I've done the most online shopping that I've ever done during quarantine and this semester since we can't go out though I'd usually never want material stuff. I'm sure I'm not the only one and it seriously hurts the wallet.



Figure 4. Students' created memes

Note: The text in the memes reads as follows: 1) "<Professor's name>: what do you usually eat for breakfast? Me: Usually not too much;" 2) "Great, super, normal, bad, horrible --- Good;" 3) "There are 2 types of Zoom rooms;" 4) "We stay home due to Covid -> Buy stuff we don't need -> No more money -> No more money."

Appendices

Appendix A. Project Instructions

For our final project, we will be putting together a collection of memes. This will be a collaborative endeavor – each of you will contribute several memes, which you will post on a Padlet board.

Step 1: Collect memes. You will collect memes from the Russian segment of the internet (in Russian). You will need to select one meme that you like and understand for each of the following topics: *School/university*, *Russian language*, *Coronavirus*, *New year*.

Places to look for memes: Google; Facebook group Мемы; Instagram: thischarmingcatt, luchmgz; VK.com (Russian social network): https://vk.com/fckbrain.

You will post your found memes on Padlet with comments in English (50-70 words):

- What cultural/linguistic components does one need to know to understand this meme?
- Why do you find it funny and relevant to your life?

Step 2. Analyze memes collected by others. You will go back to Padlet and look at the memes found by your peers. You will identify three memes that you relate to and add to their descriptions.

Step 3: Create your own memes. You will select any of the four topics (school/university, Russian language, coronavirus, and new year) and create two memes of your own (in Russian). They do not have to be funny; they just have to make sense and be relevant to your life.

Easy-to-use online meme creator: https://imgflip.com/memegenerator (has most meme templates).

You will post them on Padlet with commentary in English (50-70 words):

- What cultural/linguistic components does one need to know to understand this meme?
- Why are these memes relevant to your life?

Due Dates:

• Step 1: Monday, November 30

- Step 2: Thursday, December 3
- Step 3: Monday, December 7

Grading Rubric

Критерии оценки	Максимум	Ваши баллы	Замечания
Checklist (6 memes in total)	50		All components are completed.
Creativity and quality of reflections	50		Reflections satisfy the length and content requirements. Created memes are creative/ meaningful.
Overall grade	100		

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