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SELF-EDUCATION MECHANISM AND COMMUNITY STRENGTHENING: UNDERSTANDING DA'WA AS FORMALIZED RITUAL OF TABLIGHI JEMAAT

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Abstract

This article identifies the *da'wa* movement of the Tablighi Jemaat as a formalized ritual performed by the community to strengthen its existence as a transnational Islamic movement. By applying a phenomenological approach to study the members and activists of Tablighi Jemaat in West Java, Indonesia, this article aims to uncover the understanding and experience of the community carrying out da'wa movements. Data was obtained through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and literature study. This data reveals that da'wa means more than just conducting religious obligations for the Tablighi Jemaat community. As part of the formal rituals required, it becomes the collective identity of the community, which distinguishes it from similar transnational Islamic movements. This is demonstrated in two ways. First, da'wah activities summarized in the khuruj ritual are a self-education mechanism meant to improve the good qualities of each member. It is believed that conveying kindness to others directly will reflect positively on the performers of da'wa. Second, the series of da'wa activities conducted in khuruj aims to invite others to join the community so that it will become stronger and more widespread.

Keywords: Tablighi Jemaat; Da'wa; Khuruj; Self-Education Mechanism

摘要 本文將 Tablighi Jemaat 的 da'wa 運動確定為社區為加強其作為跨國伊斯蘭運動的存在而進行的一種正式儀式。通過運用現象學方法研究印度尼西亞西爪哇省 Tablighi Jemaat 的成員和活動家,本文旨在揭示社區開展大瓦運動的理解和經驗。數據是通過參與者的觀察,深入的訪談和文獻研究獲得的。這些數據表明,達瓦不僅僅是為 Tablighi Jemaat 社區履行宗教義務。作為所需的正式儀式的一部分,它成為社區的集體身份,這使它與類似的跨國伊斯蘭運動區分開來。有兩種方式可以證明這一點。首先,khuruj 儀式中總結的 da'wah 活動是一種自我教育機制,旨在提高每個成員的良好素質。人們認為,直接向他人傳達善良將對達瓦的表演者產生積極影響。第二,在

khuruj 進行的一系列 da'wa 活動旨在邀請其他人加入社區, 使之變得更強大, 更廣泛

关键词: Tablighi Jemata; 大娃 胡拉 自我教育機制

I. Introduction

Indonesia is fertile ground for the growth of transnational Islamic movements as the majority of its population are Muslim. Some of the popular transnational movements there include Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wahhabism, Jamaah Islamiyah, Tablighi Jemaat, Ahmadiyya, Shi'ism. Salafism. and Ideologically, transnational Islamic movements have had strong influences in Indonesia and have been perceived as part of the Islamic revivalist movement [1]. The ideas of these movements range from da'wa (Islamic preaching) to political activism. This is not surprising, since these movements were generally motivated by the struggle of Muslim countries over Western colonialism. This is revealed in the spirit of pan-Islamism and Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt, Hizb ut-Tahrir in Lebanon, and additional political movements [2], while other movements developed with a spirit of the purification of Islamic teachings [3].

One of the most popular transnational Islamic movements in Indonesia is Tablighi Jemaat, which originated in India and entered Indonesia through Malaysia [4]. Founded in 1926 by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Kandhalawi in Mewat [2], Tablighi Jemaat has become well known even in rural areas. The followers of this movement are often characterized by wearing Pakistani or Indian fashions, special headgear, and trousers that cover their ankles. In contrast to other transnational Islamic movements, which often identify as political, Tablighi Jemaat is perceived as a *da'wa* movement.

Unlike other movements that are more political, Tablighi Jemaat strives to avoid debates related to religious school differences and does not address political issues. It seems that this makes it more easily accepted and developed, in both Muslim-majority countries and in the rest of the world. Besides, its leaders always advise their members to accept and adjust to the teachings of the majority school (madhhab) of fiqh, regardless of where they live. Members of the TablighiJemaat must always be oriented towards the interests and integrity of the ummah. Related to da'wa activities, they view that da'wa does not only require mastery of religious knowledge but also must be accompanied by practices which

could be achieved by some preparation and knowledge and must be continually improved.

Theoretically, transnational religious movement is usually referred to as certain religious ideological movements across national boundaries [2]. For major religions such as Islam and Christianity, one of the determinant factors of transnationalism nature is the missionary doctrine they have [5]. Thus, discussions related to religious teachings that cross national boundaries are not new since the idea of religious transnationalism is not just about how religion is widespread and practiced worldwide, but rather focuses on ideological movements that are often different from the mainstream religious practices in the local context of the region.

Almost all religions have a transnational nature in the sense of having the potential to have adherents globally, especially the major religions, both as a political and cultural phenomenon. For instance, Jelen and Tamandofar outlined the between comparison Islam and Roman Catholicism transnational as a "transcivilizational" political phenomenon. Both are monotheistic teachings, offered theology universally, and have played an important political role in the historical context in both national and international contexts. comparison of these two major religions provides an additional view about the role of "the sacred" matters in politics at various levels, even in transnational contexts [6].

In the context of Islam, Olivier Roy stated that transnationalism is the implication of the migration wave of Muslims throughout the world so they are no longer concentrated in specific regions such as Arab countries and the Middle East. Roy even mentioned that transnationalism is one of the fundamental natures of Islamic teachings through the ummah doctrine, a basic concept with long historical roots [7]. The idea of Islamic transnationalism gained stronger support in the era of globalization where Muslims used the internet to continue to study Islamic teachings and maintain networking with fellow Muslims in a global context [8], [9]. A genius example of transnational activities can also be seen from the life of the Muslim diaspora, for example when Turks Muslims in Germany, Switzerland, and France raise funds to build a mosque for their Muslim brothers in Italy [10].

Furthermore, the idea of transnational Islam can be traced from the *hijra* event when the Prophet Muhammad and his companions traveled from Mecca to Medina. This historical fact explains that transnational plot and practice is a normal thing in the Islamic world. Also, the study and tradition of transmitting knowledge in Islam are one of the motivations which make it a kind of network that connects students with their teachers [11] and Islamic religious institutions have played the role of nodes in extensive networks of communication for a long time [12].

Therefore, it is not surprising that previous studies on transnational Islam have focused more on how Islamic movements based on religious education institutions spread beyond national borders. For instance, Borchgrevink analyzes the transnational dimensions of madrassas Afghanistan by identifying the various transnational flows, including the movement of people, ideas, and resources and the importance of transnational relations between madrassas in Afghanistan and Pakistan for development in Afghanistan. including radicalization militants' recruitment in Afghanistan [13]. He suggested that religious education in Afghanistan must be understood as a part of the transnational dimension of South Asian tradition which has implications for the success of religious education within national borders.

It is important to note that in addition to playing a role as a center for religious learning and guardians of tradition, madrassas are also playing an important role in improving the education level of the Muslim community. Another aspect is that madrasas have played a role as nodes in extensive networks of communication for a long time ago. In other words, there are almost no madrassas that stand alone. They are always intertwined with other madrasas through student or teacher exchanges and this has been going on since pre-modern times. In the contemporary modern era, the number of madrasas is increasing communication patterns are increasingly complex so that madrasas have the opportunity to provide a diverse infrastructure of religious and political movements: reformists. anti-colonials. nationalists [12].

Education models with transnational characteristics have also influenced the education models of a country, including the education model of *pesantren* in Indonesia [14]. This can be seen in a study conducted by Suharto who argued that the emergence of transnational Islam with a global network has changed the face of Indonesian Islam [15]. Salafism ideology, for

example, was spread through the realm of education and gave rise to what he called transnational Islamic education. Although Suharto's observations imply the fact that global democracy is fighting against the transnational Islamic education model, it seems that he escaped analyzing that the different models and emerging political interests are caused by these different ideological interests.

Especially in Islam, one of the basic motivations that drive transnational religious movements is the doctrine of da'wa. In daily use, the word da'wa is often used as a generic term referred to specific activities; *tabligh* (to convey), irshad (to guide), tadbir (to manage), and tamkin (to empower) [16]. Even as preaching, the term tabligh has several different contexts such as khithabah or tawsiyah [17], [18]. Besides, the practice of da'wa has also connected the tradition of religious education in South Asia as outlined by Borchgrevink as a factor that fosters the idea of transnationalism Islam because, in certain perspectives, religious education is one part of the da'wa effort for Muslim's knowledge improvement [13].

Specifically, studies of the TablighiJemaat movement in Indonesia also give a similar impression in the sense that the movement is more focused on da'wa activities rather than political activism. For instance, a study was conducted by Adlin Sila in South Sulawesi and East Java [19]. He concluded that one of the factors of the emergence of TablighiJemaat in Indonesia was the dissatisfaction of the existing religious practices, even though its development had gone beyond that aspect. TablighiJemaat aims at making over religious practices by preaching and expending wealth as shown in the khuruj doctrine, namely leaving family and work predetermined amount of Complementing the previous studies, Rusdiana also noted that the pattern of the TablighiJemaat is contrasting from other transnational Islamic movements as it emphasizes direct da'wa [4].

Although *tabligh* is not the only approach in da'wa, the *khuruj* and related practices show that this movement emphasizes the da'wa activities, especially in the context of *tabligh*. The practice conducted by TablighiJemaat makes *da'wa* more than a religious obligation, but also it has become a unique ritual of their community which led to the construction of their religious identity. As emphasized by Shoemaker that there is no entity without identity [20] and in this case the *khuruj*—and several other stages that accompany it—*da'wa* practices are both entities and identities of the TablighiJemaat at the same time.

Theoretically, identity is entirely a social product and cannot exist outside of cultural and social representation. Identity is the essence that can be shown through signs, tastes, beliefs, attitudes, and lifestyles. In other words, identity is the evolutionary production of collective actions that occur continuously. Thus, religious identity can be characterized through certain similarities among fellow members of the religious group so religious identity cannot be separated from the group context. Abrams & Hogg described that social identity is an individual's self-concept based on their perceived membership of one or several social groups, and individuals in organizations can hold various social identities [21]. Nevertheless, identity is not something that arises suddenly but through a process. As Weedonas cited by Fakhruroji emphasized that identity formation is an active process of explicit identification, for example by joining religious groups, they will be involved simultaneously in the counter-identification process to clarify their identities through cultural values and practices that they display [22].

However, it is important to note that group identity is often related to traditions built within the community which is later seen as organizational norms. In this context, group identity can also be seen from the formal rituals of a community. As a tradition of a community, the term ritual is defined as unique behavior and maintained by the community since it is seen as related to "the sacred." Therefore, it is not surprising that a ritual is often associated with the strict rules accompanied by prohibitions that must not be violated. Not only that, but ritual sacredness is also related to the sacred time, places, and objects. Therefore, the power of a ritual is caused by sacred meanings which Durkheim called "the serious side of life," or something that can't be played with [23]. Thus, the ritual is always contained sacred meanings and this element makes a ritual maintained, preserved, and passed down over generations.

Practically, a ritual is often determined by the tradition of the community, especially the religious ones. Rituals are real expressions of traditions or expressions of certain habits because of specific actions. Rappaport and Valeri as cited in Bell stated that ritualization has established certain traditions in a community to provide a sense of continuity with the past and to practice formally established traditions [24]. According to Bloch, formalization not only produces and maintains traditions but also resulted in the construction of certain ritual traditions. This ritual construction is the result of a collective

tradition that is formed and is always carried out simultaneously and continuously by groups to create a strong structure [24].

II. METHOD

In the present study, phenomenological methods were adopted, as this allows establishing how the religious identity of the TablighiJemaat as a transnational Islamic movement is manifested in the practice of da'wa. The investigation focused on the members and leaders of TablighiJemaat in Indonesia, especially those in West Java, as one of its most populous provinces. Data required meeting the study objectives were primarily gained through indepth interviews with several key informants. Further information was obtained by observing and participating in various TablighiJemaat activities and events relevant to the study. This information was supplemented by a review of pertinent literature.

All gathered data were subjected to analyses, while adhering to the triangulation techniques, thus ensuring that the data sources, methods, and theories adopted in the study were valid and sufficient to answer the research questions.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Self-Education Mechanism: *Da'wa* as Ritual Discipline of TablighiJemaat

As mentioned earlier, da'wa is a basic obligation of every Muslim. However, for Tablighi Jemaat, da'wa has become a formal practice that functions as the hallmark and identity of the movement. This can be seen from the formal structure that must be respected by its members. In general, this ritual is implemented in the form of khuruj fi sabilillah, commonly known as khuruj [25]. As Sikand emphasized, all other rituals, such as shadaha or kalima (creed), namaz (prayer) or prayer with khsushu' and khudu' (knowledge ilm-o-zikr (devote). remembering God), ikram-i-Muslim (respect for fellow Muslims) and ikhlas-i-niyyat (sincerity of intention) are framed by the da'wa.

For Tablighi Jemaat, da'wa is the mother of all practices (umm-al-amaal), since it is believed to make an individual's life more Islamic, given that it originates from Qur'an, which was transmitted to the Prophet as a perfect human being (insan-ul-kamal) who is free from all mistakes (ma'soom). Thus, every action of the Prophet is Islamic ritual, and His path (rasoolkatariga) carries the secrets of virtue that

cannot be easily recognized by ordinary people. To gain insight into those secrets, they must go through the practice of *da'wa* which is believed to strengthen their character. Consequently, the stages of *da'wa* practice as a ritual are taught and maintained as traditions that strengthen Tablighi Jemaat's existence as a transnational Islamic movement.

According to Tablighi Jemaat, da'wa is a means of purifying the heart, which is achieved by abandoning one's everyday life and spending a period in the mosque. As a ritual discipline, da'wa is an effort to present the preaching patterns of the time of the Messenger of Allah and his companions. Bell aptly described the da'wa as a formalized religious ritual based on the communally endorsed rules [24]. For the members of the TablighiJemaat, this also includes surrendering all their material possessions.

As a formalized ritual, da'wa must be continuously practiced by all members of the TablighiJemaat, as this gives them the satisfaction of serving God. Da'wa is believed to have a positive effect on all involved, especially the preachers. Members of the TablighiJemaat recognize da'wa as the first and foremost change any individual can undergo. Although they believe that religious knowledge can be obtained elsewhere, da'wa also strengthens beliefs and encourages participation in collective rituals. On this topic, one of the informants shared the following:

We believe that da'wa can encourage someone to wish to carry out Islamic ritual practices as practiced by the Prophet... Although one can obtain Islamic knowledge through various media, including printed literature and audio lectures and training sessions, this knowledge does not fully encourage them to desires to practice Islam. Such da'wa models are not felt and do not seep into the heart so that they remain far from the path of the Prophet... (Interview with Informant 3)

They believed that life nowadays has been filled with "negligence" (ghaflah) so this has motivated them to develop da'wa as a discipline for their religious rituals. As a discipline, they believe that when someone conveys virtue in the practice of da'wa, at the same time, this will "bounce back" to the person who conveys so da'wa is also an effort to giving awareness to themself. Da'wa as a discipline of ritual practice is believed to give birth to affective dispositions such as humility and godliness. Practically, da'wa carried out in the context of face-to-face

communication is believed to be able to evoke a feeling called by Eisenlohr as "closeness" and "candor" [26]. In addition, the privilege of oral communication in the practice of *da'wa* ritual is a kind of basic premise in the Islamic tradition[27]–[30]. According to them, the practice of *da'wa* can create a "heart to heart" relationship because spoken words move "directly" into the heart of the listener and also the heart of the speaker [26].

However, this spiritual relationship is considered to be effective when the preachers do provide three important aspects of life; physical (*jaan*), wealth (*maal*), and time (*waqt*). Each member must give himself and the resources he had during the *da'wa*, and this sacrifice of material resources will bring the pleasure (*ridha*) of God. Thus for Tablighi Jemaat, *da'wa* requires sacrifice and also requires greater body discipline. The importance of discourse about bodily discipline in the Tablighi Jemaat is not excessive as expressed by informants below,

"Islam is absorbed by the senses, mouth, ears, eyes, and skin, but then must be put into the heart. Someone who knows in his mind may not necessarily have fallen into his heart..." (Interview with Informant 5).

"When I first keep my beard, friends made a joke of me by saying that girls would stay away from me. I thought it was funny at first, but I soon realized that, yes, that's the point! Any girl who looks at me with a beard will think this person is "religious" so she can be reluctant or even reject me naturally. Beards apparently help me focus on good deeds, and when people see me doing good deeds, they will also follow me" (Interview with Informant 2).

The above expression shows that because a beard is a symbol of piety because it is associated with the path of the Prophet (sunnah), then maintaining a beard is understood as an effort to distance themselves from acts that violate religious rules. The beard becomes an appearance that is formalized as an effort to discipline the body. Likewise, the typical style of clothing and headgear they wear when carrying out khuruj. For them, such appearance is believed to prevent them from the slander of adultery, even as an attitude of loyalty to the overall pattern of the Prophet. Da'wa activities and anything related, such as maintaining a beard as expressed by one of the above informants indicates that the da'wa they conducted is a mechanism of self-education to improve their quality. As their beards and clothing are symbols of piety, this will indirectly have an impact on their daily lives.

B. Community Strengthening: Structure as Ritual Practice and Identity of Tablighi Jemaat

Tablighi Jemaat taught that da'wa should always include three things, namely: first, the intention that da'wa is not only to improve others but also to educate and improve the preachers; secondly, da'wa must be intended to assist the community in reviving worship activities in the mosque in the region; and third, inviting people to participate in reviving the religious practices in the mosque. This is referred to as the practice carried out during the time of the Prophet. In addition, another principle of this movement is that each preacher should deliver the good news, instead of frightening audiences (mad'u), and God's rewards rather conveying punishment.

As a ritual, da'wa is a picture of performance in creating communication relationships built on "good things" that create the possibility for members to live an Islamic life. Da'wa is a kind of performance in which a person opens himself up to other people's judgments based on the norm of sincerity and guides someone to live in public commitments that are pledged to the taskeel momentum. Therefore, the structure of the TablighiJemaat can be described through stages that are related to each other.

First, khurujfisabilillah, which is to spend several days leaving the family to carry out the da'wa. The term khuruj itself is based on QS Ali 'Imran verse 110 as described below,

"The word **khuruj** shows the event where the companions of the Prophet came out with him. Some interpret going or going out to bring goodness to humans. In line with the growing interpretation, the motive of the **khuruj** movement's struggle was to build the perception that this practice was a move for the benefit of da'wa as exemplified by the Prophet and his companions" (Interview with Informant 1).

The duration of *khuruj* has determined although it is still flexible, namely four months in a lifetime, forty days in a year, three days in a month, and at least two and a half hours a day[31]. However, this number is only a general standard and does not associate as a limitation or specialization of the time to preach, because the main thing in this ritual is the sacrifice. With these numbers, members can choose the proper time to *khuruj* after previously going through the selection phase through deliberations known as *tafaqudi* to ensure three things have been fulfilled

such as; *amwal* (cost needed), *amal* (employment), and *ahwal* (family at home).

The main purpose of the khuruj is to devote to God through the neighborhood of the mosque they live in temporarily with the permission of the community. This is a form of surrender in which the khuruj participants live their lives simply by leaving family and work for a while. Also, this is believed to be one of the efforts to preserve the traditions of the Companions of the Prophet who preached based on the mosque.

The *second* is *jaulah*, namely activities around the area where the *khuruj* takes place which usually conducted by delivering the *da'wa* messages directly. However, these activities can also be divided based on several approaches. *First*, based on *amal* approach, it is also done as *amalintiqali* (conducted in other areas) and *amalmaqami* (carried out in his area). *Second*, in terms of the approach of the preacher number; *ijtima'i* (conducted by groups) and *imfirodi* (conducted by individuals).

Third, bayan. It is the Islamic lecture delivered after the congregational prayer with materials that are generally concerned with faith and good deeds. Bayan is seen as a real transformation work by placing desires in the hearts of others as well as in the preacher himself. Generally, bayan is carried out while sitting on the floor of a mosque and huddling close together, ideally in a kneeling position with head bowed and with a posture indicating total surrender. The atmosphere of bayan is designed so solemnly with the aim of the listener to focus on words and absorb into the heart. This is as expressed as follows,

"Before the implementation of *bayan*, all participants were directed to be good listeners. We believe that listening to Islamic lectures carefully can "open hearts" and allow "faith" and "passion" to stay in the heart easily" (Interview with Informant 1).

Fourth, ta'limwata'allum, which is a teaching and preaching activity that is continuously carried out at any time khuruj anywhere. This process illustrates that preaching is an effort that is carried out continuously and knows no time because preaching is teaching environment and self to continue to make changes for the better. Ta'limwata'allum is also an activity to enliven the practice at the house at fostering a perfect religious enthusiasm. Ta'lim is usually done by discussing an Islamic discourse from the Quran and preaching the glory of the nature of the Prophet's companion and is usually done at home or in the mosque.

Fifth, khidmat (solemnity) namely glorifying attitudes and behavior consisting of solemnity towards the leaders of the congregation; solemn respect for fellow members; solemn devotion to oneself by guarding oneself against useless words, protecting oneself from sin, and increasing good deeds; reverence for certain places such as mosques; and solemn beings by preserving plants and the environment. Solemn is an important part that focuses on improving the moral quality of the members.

Sixth, taskeel, a kind of public commitment to and ioin the **TablighiJemaat** participate This movement. stage aims at bearing responsibility in practicing the discipline of da'wa and other ritual practices according to the pattern practiced by the Prophet. This stage is the endpoint of the whole da'wa ritual. According to TablighiJemaat, taskeel serves to approve religious orders and rules by making public commitments which will make a person responsible for his own words and beliefs. Borrowing Keane's analysis, taskeel is a kind of "paradigmatic creed" that not only serves to complex theological beliefs something real but also attaches to "agreements or deed agreements."

Generally, the typical ritual structure of the TablighiJemaat summarized in this da'wa has become their religious identity as well as a distinction with other transnational Islamic The da'wa structure of the movements. TablighiJemaat is believed to be a form of ritual determined by the ethical relationship between fellow creatures and between creatures and their Lord, an ideal model of the relationship between the Prophet and his companions. Thus, da'wa is a means of self-development in maintaining ethical relations through Islamic symbols. Da'wa is a means by which the signs of Islam are circulated and create the basis for ethical self-formation. TablighiJemaat believes that the key to realizing piety is to live in a godly space with other righteous people. In other words, piety is not an individual achievement but something that a person gets through relationships with others and this can only be done through da'wa.

Nevertheless, *tashkeel* is an attempt by the *Tablighi Jemaat* to become stronger by increasing its membership. The stages of *da'wa* are used to raise awareness, in both the membership and society in general, of the piety of the members. Through this *tashkeel*, they recruit members to strengthen the community of the *Tablighi Jemaat*, implementing its agenda in both local and global contexts.

IV. CONCLUSION

Da'wa is the formal identifying ritual of the Tablighi Jemaat movement. There are several dimensions relating to the da'wa context of Tablighi Jemaat, which include:

First, the historical dimension in which da'wa has been passed down through the generations since its birth in India to become a global movement, while maintaining similar characteristics to that of the earlier generation.

Second, dimensions of locality and timescale, which include activities with daily, weekly, monthly, and annual cycles and involve groups from local, national, and global locations.

Third, the organizational dimension in which ritual experts are involved in the formalization and standardization of the *da'wa* ritual. Through *da'wa* ritual, *da'wa* has come to identify *Tablighi Jemaat* as a transnational Islamic movement.

Da'wa uses various religious symbols and expressions, as described by Asad ritual, in routine behaviors.[32] In this context, da'wa is a ritual based on monastic discipline and requires a unique set of adjustment skills. The disciplinary practices of the rituals vary, aiming at developing morals and responsibilities. Although da'wa is theoretically a fundamental doctrine, da'wa in the context of the Tablighi Jemaat is a specific ritual created by the community as a shared identity, which also functions as a specific behavior that distinguishes it from other Islamic groups.

The ritual discipline of da'wa in the Tablighi Jemaat is a transitional rite since it marks the transition of an individual to becoming a better person according to the teachings, da'wa becoming a part of the self-education mechanism for members. This transition is demonstrated not only physically, through dress and appearance, but also through *khuruj* activities. In the *khuruj*, members visit communities to deliver da'wa directly and invite community members to attend their local mosques. This is seen by the Tablighi Jemaat as an effort to become a true Muslim. People who are accustomed to coming to the mosque are then trained and guided in certain activities that lead to joining the part of the Tablighi Jemaat called tashkeel, the purpose of which is to strengthen the community of Tablighi Jemaat.

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