

Factors That Support Successful Transition to Community among Women Leaving Prison in British Columbia: A Prospective Cohort Study

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Abstract:	Background In Canada, the number of women sentenced to prison has almost doubled since 1995. In BC, the rate of re-incarceration is 70% within 2 years. To elucidate factors supporting successful reintegration, we prospectively followed women after discharge from provincial corrections centres in BC. Methods We defined recidivism as committing a crime or violating the terms of probation during the year following release from a provincial corrections

centre. To identify predictive factors we carried out a repeated measures analysis using a logistic mixed-effect model.

Results

Four hundred women completed a baseline interview and 207 completed additional interviews during the subsequent year, contributing 395 interviews in total. Factors significantly associated in univariate analysis with recidivism included not having a family doctor or dentist, depression, not being mothers, less than high school education, index charge of drug offense or theft under \$5,000, poor general health, hepatitis C treatment, poor nutrition or spiritual health, and use of marijuana or cocaine. In multivariate analysis, good nutritional health, odds ratio 0.52 [0.35 to 0.76], positive spiritual health, OR 0.61 [0.44 to 0.83], high school graduation OR 0.44 [0.22 to 0.87], and incarceration for a drug offence vs. other crimes OR 0.30 [0.12 to 0.79] were protective against recidivism.

Interpretation

Our findings emphasize the relevance of health- related strategies to support successful community re-integration. Health assessment on admission followed by treatment for trauma and associated psychiatric disorders, and chronic medical and dental problems deserve consideration as priority approaches to reduce rates of re-incarceration.

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	Item No		Recommendation					
Title and abstract	1	1	(a) Indicate the study's design with a commonly used term in the title or the abstract					
			(b) Provide in the abstract an informative and balanced summary of what was					
			done and what was found					
]	Introduction					
Background/rationale	2	√	Explain the scientific background and rationale for the investigation being					
			reported					
Objectives	3		State specific objectives, including any prespecified hypotheses					
		ľ	Methods					
Study design	4	√	Present key elements of study design early in the paper					
Setting	5		Describe the setting, locations, and relevant dates, including periods of					
-			recruitment, exposure, follow-up, and data collection					
Participants	6	√	(a) Cohort study—Give the eligibility criteria, and the sources and methods of					
			selection of participants. Describe methods of follow-up					
			Case-control study—Give the eligibility criteria, and the sources and methods of					
			case ascertainment and control selection. Give the rationale for the choice of					
			cases and controls					
			Cross-sectional study—Give the eligibility criteria, and the sources and methods					
			of selection of participants					
			(b) Cohort study—For matched studies, give matching criteria and number of					
			exposed and unexposed					
			Case-control study—For matched studies, give matching criteria and the					
			number of controls per case					
Variables	7		Clearly define all outcomes, exposures, predictors, potential confounders, and					
			effect modifiers. Give diagnostic criteria, if applicable					
Data sources/	8*		For each variable of interest, give sources of data and details of methods of					
measurement			assessment (measurement). Describe comparability of assessment methods if					
			there is more than one group					
Bias	9		Describe any efforts to address potential sources of bias					
Study size	10		Explain how the study size was arrived at					
Quantitative variables	11		Explain how quantitative variables were handled in the analyses. If applicable,					
			describe which groupings were chosen and why					
Statistical methods	12		(a) Describe all statistical methods, including those used to control for					
			confounding					
			(b) Describe any methods used to examine subgroups and interactions					
			(c) Explain how missing data were addressed					
			(d) Cohort study—If applicable, explain how loss to follow-up was addressed					
			Case-control study—If applicable, explain how matching of cases and controls					
			was addressed					
			Cross-sectional study—If applicable, describe analytical methods taking					
		_	account of sampling strategy					
			(e) Describe any sensitivity analyses					

]	Results
Participants	13*		(a) Report numbers of individuals at each stage of study—eg numbers potentially eligible,
			examined for eligibility, confirmed eligible, included in the study, completing follow-up,
			and analysed
			(b) Give reasons for non-participation at each stage
			(c) Consider use of a flow diagram
Descriptive	14*		(a) Give characteristics of study participants (eg demographic, clinical, social) and
data			information on exposures and potential confounders
			(b) Indicate number of participants with missing data for each variable of interest
			(c) Cohort study—Summarise follow-up time (eg, average and total amount)
Outcome data	15*		Cohort study—Report numbers of outcome events or summary measures over time
			Case-control study—Report numbers in each exposure category, or summary measures of
			exposure
			Cross-sectional study—Report numbers of outcome events or summary measures
Main results	16		(a) Give unadjusted estimates and, if applicable, confounder-adjusted estimates and their
			precision (eg, 95% confidence interval). Make clear which confounders were adjusted for
			and why they were included
			(b) Report category boundaries when continuous variables were categorized
			(c) If relevant, consider translating estimates of relative risk into absolute risk for a
			meaningful time period
Other analyses	17		Report other analyses done—eg analyses of subgroups and interactions, and sensitivity
			analyses
]	Discussion
Key results	18		Summarise key results with reference to study objectives
Limitations	19		Discuss limitations of the study, taking into account sources of potential bias or
			imprecision. Discuss both direction and magnitude of any potential bias
Interpretation	20		Give a cautious overall interpretation of results considering objectives, limitations,
			multiplicity of analyses, results from similar studies, and other relevant evidence
Generalisability	21		Discuss the generalisability (external validity) of the study results
		(Other information
Funding	22		Give the source of funding and the role of the funders for the present study and, if
			applicable, for the original study on which the present article is based

^{*}Give information separately for cases and controls in case-control studies and, if applicable, for exposed and unexposed groups in cohort and cross-sectional studies.

Note: An Explanation and Elaboration article discusses each checklist item and gives methodological background and published examples of transparent reporting. The STROBE checklist is best used in conjunction with this article (freely available on the Web sites of PLoS Medicine at http://www.plosmedicine.org/, Annals of Internal Medicine at http://www.annals.org/, and Epidemiology at http://www.epidem.com/). Information on the STROBE Initiative is available at www.strobe-statement.org.

Factors That Support Successful Transition to Community among Women Leaving Prison in British Columbia: A Prospective Cohort Study

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The authors have no competing interests to declare

ABSTRACT

Background

In Canada, the number of women sentenced to prison has almost doubled since 1995. In BC, the rate of reincarceration is 70% within 2 years. To elucidate factors supporting successful reintegration, we prospectively followed women after discharge from provincial corrections centres in BC.

Methods

We defined recidivism as committing a crime or violating the terms of probation during the year following release from a provincial corrections centre. To identify predictive factors we carried out a repeated measures analysis using a logistic mixed-effect model.

Results

Four hundred women completed a baseline interview and 207 completed additional interviews during the subsequent year, contributing 395 interviews in total. Factors significantly associated in univariate analysis with recidivism included not having a family doctor or dentist, depression, not being mothers, less than high school education, index charge of drug offense or theft under \$5,000, poor general health, hepatitis C treatment, poor nutrition or spiritual health, and use of marijuana or cocaine. In multivariate analysis, good nutritional health, odds ratio 0.52 [0.35 to 0.76], positive spiritual health, OR 0.61 [0.44 to 0.83], high school graduation OR 0.44 [0.22 to 0.87], and incarceration for a drug offence vs. other crimes OR 0.30 [0.12 to 0.79] were protective against recidivism.

Interpretation

Our findings emphasize the relevance of health- related strategies to support successful community reintegration. Health assessment on admission followed by treatment for trauma and associated psychiatric disorders, and chronic medical and dental problems deserve consideration as priority approaches to reduce rates of re-incarceration.

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, the number of women sentenced to prison for greater than two years has almost doubled between 1995-2002. Mandatory minimum sentences, zero tolerance legal policies, and the reduction in health and social services across Canada have all contributed to this increase. In the Province of British Columbia, approximately 1500 women are incarcerated annually. The rate of re-incarceration is 40% within one year of release and 70% within 2 years. The majority of women are sentenced to prison for drug-related offences Few studies to date on recidivism have focused on women and among these, and among these examined health-related factors.

In the current study, we followed a cohort of women for one year after discharge from incarceration in a provincial corrections centre in order to understand factors that supported their successful re-entry into society, that is, without reported re-engagement in criminal activity.

METHODS

We undertook a prospective longitudinal cohort study to examine the impact of health and social factors on reincarceration among women after release from provincial corrections centres. Our model was participatory action research (PAR). PAR mobilizes people who stand to benefit from the research to inform, develop or create social action to improve the quality of their lives and of those in their community.¹²

Setting

We recruited women leaving provincial correctional or remand centres in BC from 2008-2010. Women in provincial facilities have received sentences less than two years. The majority are held in Alouette Correctional Centre for Women (ACCW), a medium security prison located in Maple Ridge, 30 miles from Vancouver. ACCW houses up to 150 women in seven cottages. Length of stay averages three months and ranges from a few days to 24 months. Similar numbers were housed at Surrey Pre-Trial Centre and Prince George Correctional Centre.

Participants

Women were eligible to participate if they had been discharged from a provincial correctional centre in BC within the previous year.

Protocol Development

The study protocol was conceived at forums held within the ACCW that had been initiated by incarcerated women to present personal stories, including circumstances preceding incarceration, trajectories following previous releases, and issues that had contributed to re-incarceration. During a series of 10 forums, focus groups and in surveys conducted by a peer research team in ACCW¹³, women identified health and social goals they believed would contribute to successful transition to the community: 1) improved relationships with children, family and partners; 2) improved peer and community support; 3) safe and stable housing; 4) improved access to primary health care; 5) increased job skills and relevant employment; 6) more exercise and better nutrition; 7) improved dentition oral health; 8) improved access to health education; and 9) increased ability to contribute to society. ¹⁴ For the current study we developed survey tools designed to explore factors that could facilitate or present barriers to achievement of these goals and to determine whether or not these factors were associated with successful re-integration into the community.

A team of peer researchers, themselves formerly incarcerated, were recruited by word of mouth. They were hired to recruit and conduct interviews with participants. Each peer researcher attended a workshop on interviewing skills, guided by a manual and supported by a video entitled *Women in the Shadows.*¹⁵

Recruitment

Women were made aware of the study prior to discharge through posters and by word of mouth. At the Surrey and Prince-George centres women were contacted by the peer researchers at the time of release or shortly thereafter. At discharge from ACCW women are routinely given a taxi voucher to go to the nearest major bus terminal and a bus ticket to return to where they were arrested. Our peer researcher waited at the bus terminal to invite women arriving by taxi to participate in the study. Women were given a study brochure and a verbal explanation. After written consent, responses to survey questions were recorded on paper forms, a process which took about 20 minutes. Participants received a \$20 gift card for a local pharmacy at the conclusion of the interview. Participants then provided detailed contact information for future interviews. Surveys were conducted in six urban (Vancouver, Surrey, Kelowna, Victoria, Nanaimo, Prince George), and three rural (Abbotsford, Chilliwack, and Maple Ridge) settings. We chose these sites because they were the home communities of our peer researchers. Peer researchers initiated follow up interviews at three, six, nine, and twelve months following the initial interview. They maintained contact with participants through cell phone, Facebook, word of mouth and frequenting popular hangouts and shelters. Interviews took place in cafes, on the street, and in women's shelters and drop in centres.

Analysis

To identify associations between achievement of the health and social goals identified in the ACCW forums in the year following release and the probability of committing a criminal act in the three months prior to each interview, we undertook a repeated measures analysis using a logistic mixed-effects model with each participant's unique study number as a random nesting effect. Mixed-effects models allow for unbalanced and incomplete sample sizes at each follow up point. This results in the inclusion of participants with different numbers of follow up interviews, while controlling for correlation among the responses from each individual at different time points. We defined recidivism as participation in criminal activity as disclosed by participants. We elected not to designate re-incarceration as our outcome of interest as participants told us that incarceration depended on circumstances beyond their control, i.e. "luck," their skill at shoplifting, and whether their associates could afford legal counsel and advocacy. We therefore chose to measure behaviour which could have resulted in arrest had it been detected. We denoted statistical significance at p<0.05, using a Wald test.

Variables tested univariately included age at incarceration, education, Aboriginal status, marital status, number of children, criminal charge, health conditions, general health, intention to find a family doctor, desire to learn more about health and nutrition, quality of diet, spiritual health, dental care needs, hopes for relationships with partners, children, parents, or friends, living circumstances, substance use, injection drug use, methadone use, exposure to violence and abuse, employment status, and support from peers or community.

Factors associated with recidivism univariately were analyzed in a predictive multivariable model. The full model was reduced by sequentially removing each variable and then assessing the change in log-likelihood of the model. At each step, the variable with the highest p-value for the likelihood-ratio test was removed followed by another round of model fitting until all variables in the model caused significant reductions in log-likelihood. P-values were calculated from likelihood-ratio tests comparing the fit of the model (deviance) with the variable included vs. the fit with the variable removed. Analyses were conducted with R statistical software, version 3.1.¹⁶

RESULTS

Among 405 women meeting eligibility criteria, 400 consented to participation and completed a baseline interview. Among these, 207 women completed one or more follow-up interviews during the subsequent year. These women together contributed 395 interviews. (Figure 1)

Study participants were on average 34 years of age. Over 50% reported Aboriginal ancestry. The majority were single (67%) and 74.9% were mothers. Most (70%) were not educated beyond high school. The

average duration of incarceration was 82 days. Women who were lost to follow up were not different than those who remained in the study except there were fewer Aboriginal women in the group lost to follow up. (Table 1)

Fourteen variables were associated univariately with recidivism. (Table 2) Variables documented at recruitment included intention to find a family doctor; depression, not having children, less than high school education, and incarceration for theft under \$5,000 or for a drug offence. Variables associated with recidivism measured at follow-up included: poor general health; treatment for hepatitis C; lack of opportunity to learn about health, poor nutrition, poor spiritual health, not having a dentist; and use of marijuana or cocaine as drug of choice.

These variables were included in a multivariable mixed effects logistic regression nested within unique identifiers for participants. After excluding women without complete data on the 14 variables of interest, 127 women remained in the analysis, contributing 198 interviews in total. Seventy two women had one follow-up interview; 34 had two follow-up interviews, 17 had three interviews and one had four interviews. Of these 198 follow-up interviews, 106 indicated that women had not undertaken a criminal act during the three months prior to the interview. Among the variables associated with criminal activity, four emerged as being statistically significantly independently associated with the probability of committing a criminal act within the prior three months in the multivariable model: nutritional health, spiritual health, education, and incarceration for a drug offence. (Table 2). The results suggest that for every one point increase in nutritional health (on a scale of 1-5), the odds of committing a criminal act in the past 3 months are reduced by approximately 50%, holding all other variables in the model constant. Similarly, for every point increase in spiritual health, odds are reduced by about 40%. High school vs. less than high school decreased the odds by about 56%, and post-secondary vs. less than high school decreased the odds by about 56%, and post-secondary vs. other offences decreased the odds by 70%.

INTERPRETATION

Among 207 women, we determined that successful transition to the community was associated with factors related to health and access to health care, education, drug of choice and the nature of the charge. Independent predictors included nutritional and spiritual health, education, and drug-related charges. These findings suggest that opportunities to foster successful reintegration to the community reside within health and education sectors of government as opposed to justice alone.

Poor health among incarcerated women in Canada has been documented, with higher rates of mortality, mental health disorders, substance use, communicable disease, and injury. ^{7,17} Our surveys and those of others ^{7,18} have indicated that many have not had access to appropriate health care services prior to incarceration due to use of substances and lack of resources (transportation, medical insurance, night-time work). As well, disproportionately high rates of childhood and adult exposure to sexual and physical abuse and associated trajectories in the sex and drug trades contribute to trauma-associated mental health disorders. ¹⁹ An early Canadian study of incarcerated women reported a 12% rate of psychiatric diagnosis. ²⁰ Canadian studies of recidivism among women have noted the importance of family relationships, academic/vocational skills, employment, financial management, and behavioural/emotional stability but have not reported on health status. ⁴ In our study, health status and post incarceration access to health services proved more important than either employment status or relationships.

Similar to a recent report, ²¹ lack of access to dental care was associated with recidivism. Women reported pain from damage to teeth after use of crack pipes. Pain in turn predisposed them to use of opiods post-release and a return to criminal activity. They also indicated that missing or damaged teeth made finding work or housing nearly impossible.

Spirituality has been reported to be an important factor supporting women's transition to community.²² This was a particularly important for Aboriginal participants. At ACCW, an Aboriginal Elder describes Aboriginal

women seeking to learn about their people then finding the courage to return their community with dignity.²³ Fifty two percent of our sample was comprised of Aboriginal women in stark contrast to 4% of the Canadian population.²⁴ Incorporation of culturally competent and trauma-informed approaches to address the ongoing legacy of colonization and the residential school system in this population may facilitate transition success.^{25,26}

The protective effect of having a child at home has been documented ²⁷as concern about appropriate childcare ²⁸ and a sense of inadequacy and loss ^{29,30} are strong deterrents to recommencing criminal activity. The number of children whose mothers are incarcerated in Canada is unknown.

Lack of education has been denoted as an independent predictor of recidivism in US studies, similar to ours.³¹ In Canada, 35% of women in provincial prisons and 48% In federal prisons have a Grade 10 or lower education.⁵ This underscores the need to offer education programs in jail that can be continued post-release.

The finding that incarceration for a drug offence was associated with successful integration appears at first to be counter-intuitive. However, in this study, other charges included breaking and entering, assault or theft. Drug related charges, in contrast, were not aimed at others or property and may have represented a lower level of criminality.

Qualitative studies of incarcerated women have identified health education as a priority need.²¹ In our study, knowledge of nutrition was independently associated with avoidance of criminal activity. A recent study of Canadian women's post-incarceration health literacy revealed limited ability to assess and make meaning of different sources of health information, particularly online health information.³² This highlights the potential benefit of teaching online health literacy skills during incarceration, however at present women are not permitted to access the Internet. Other opportunities to improve health literacy identified by women in our study involved accessing community services that were actively assisting women to connect to health resources including women's shelters, support groups and community outreach workers.

A strength of our study was access to a representative sample. We recruited from all correction centres for women in our province and socio-demographic characteristics of our sample are similar to those of the incarcerated population in Canada. The longitudinal design of our study allowed us to follow women to one year of post-incarceration. We were also able to measure the risk of criminal activity as opposed to reincarceration which is subject to factors separate from criminal activity. We feel that respondent bias was limited by our use of peer-researchers. Our study is limited by high rates of attrition. Given the nature of our study sample, and the fact that we were only able to support peer researchers in nine communities in the province, this loss was not unexpected. With the exception of Aboriginal status, women who were not located during the year post-incarceration did not differ in socio-demographic characteristics to those who were retained in the study.

Our findings emphasize the relevance of health related strategies to support successful re-integration to community for women leaving prison. Health assessment on admission followed by treatment for trauma and associated psychiatric disorders, as well as for chronic medical and dental problems, deserve consideration as priority approaches. Post-release re-instatement of medical insurance coverage, referral to a primary care health provider, access to a dentist, and funds to cover essential prescription needs, according to our data, would be critical components of re-integration. Limited personal resources dictate the need for low barrier health care clinics open 24/7. A US study evaluating introduction of primary medical care and social work in prison and continuing post discharge was associated with a 15% reduction In recidivism over one year.³⁴ In Canada the average annual cost of incarcerating a woman is \$150,897 per year and the cost of supervising a women on parole is \$19,755.³ The cost effectiveness of partnerships between the health, education and justice systems in Canada to improve the health of incarcerated women needs to be evaluated in future studies.

Table 1. Characteristics of Participants according to Retention for Follow-up

Characteristic	Participants	Lost to Follow-up	p-value	
	n=207	n=193		
	n (%)	n (%)		
Age, years, mean (SD)	34.2 (9.0)	33.2 (9.5)	0.34	
Aboriginal status	109 (52.6)	67 (36.5)	<.001	
Marital Status			0.39	
Single	132 (67.3)	118 (69.8)		
Married/Commonlaw	39 (14.8)	24 (13.2)		
Girlfriend/boyfriend	21 (10.7)	31 (17)		
Separated/divorced	11 (5.6)	6 (3.3)		
Widowed	3 (1.5)	3 (1.6)		
Has children	152 (74.9)	127 (67.9)	0.13	
nas criliuren	152 (74.9)	127 (67.9)	0.13	
First Language English	191(99.0)	175 (98.3)	0.67	
Education			0.77	
Less than high school	101 (37,8)	84 (45.9)	0.77	
High School	66 (33.8)	67 (36.6)		
Trade certificate/diploma	6 (3.1)	8 (4.4)		
Some college/university	16 (8.2)	19 (10.4)		
Completed college/university	6 (3.1)	5 (2.7)		
Employed	19 (10.1)	11 (6.0)	0.15	
5 ()				
Reason for Incarceration	CE (24.4)	54 (2C 4)	0.55	
Theft under \$5000	65 (31.4)	51 (26.4)	0.55	
Theft over \$5000	7 (3.4)	13 (6.7)	0.32	
Assault	44 (21.3)	17 (8.8)	.002	
Breaking and entering	11 (5.3)	12 (6.2)	0.92	
Drug-related offence	48 (22.2)	63 (32.6)	.06	
Driving-related offence	5 (2.4)	5 (2.6)	0.98	
Breach of conditions	65 (31.4)	70 (36.3)	0.56	
Injection drug use	75 (43.9)	55 (41.7)	0.70	
Duration in prison last time, days mean (SD)	81.6 (94.2)	78.6 (84.5)	0.74	

Table 2. Characteristics and Conditions associated with Committing a Criminal Act

	Criminal Act N = 168		No Criminal Act N = 202		OR [95%CI] ¹	p- value ²
Condition or Behaviour	n	%	n	%		
General health 1-5; median, (IQR),	138	3 (2 to 3)	171	3 (3 to 4)	0.47 [0.34 to 0.67]	<.001
Received Treatment for Hepatitis C	43	27	28	15	2.21 [1.21 to 4.01]	<.001
Had an opportunity to learn about health	38	23	79	39	0.47 [0.29 to 0.75]	0.002
Nutritional health 1-5; median, (IQR),	164	3 (2 to 4)	197	3 (3 to 4)	0.52 [0.40 to 0.67]	<.001
Spiritual health 1-5; median, (IQR),	155	4 (2 to 4)	173	3 (3 to 5)	0.54 [0.43 to 0.68]	<.001
Has a dentist	26	15	50	26	0.54 [0.31 to 0.92]	0.02
Use of Marijuana past 3 mo	102	65	97	50	1.90 [1.20 to 2.98]	0.005
Use of Cocaine past 3 mo	103	66	90	47	2.19 [1.38 to 3.48]	<.001
Thought about finding a family doctor						0.002
No	40	24	27	14	1.00	
Yes	23	14	53	26	0.28 [0.14 to 0.59]	
Already has one	104	62	120	60	0.58 [0.32 to 1.04]	
Has depression	36	22	65	34	0.57 [0.34 to 0.93]	0.03
Has children	112	68	157	80	0.50 [0.30 to 0.85]	0.009
Education						<.001
Less than high school	93	60	81	42	1.00	
High school	55	35	73	38	0.65 [0.41 to 1.04]	
Post-secondary	8	5	37	19	0.19 [0.08 to 0.43]	
Incarceration for theft under \$5000	64	39	56	29	1.65 [1.01 to 2.70]	0.04
Incarceration for drug offence	15	9	48	25	0.30 [0.16 to 0.58]	<.001

¹ Reference is "no" unless otherwise specified

² P-values are derived from Likelihood-ratio tests.

Figure 1. Flow Diagram for Participation

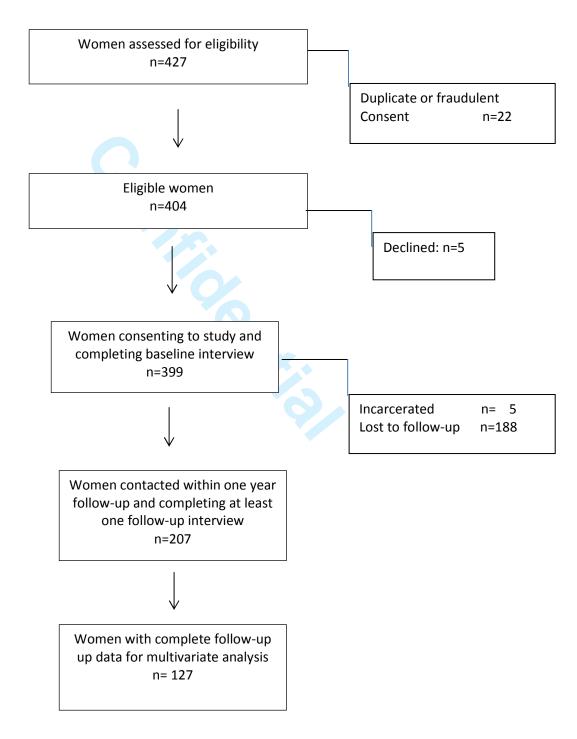


Figure 2. Odds ratios and 95% Confidence Intervals for Conditions and Behaviours associated with Committing a Criminal Act

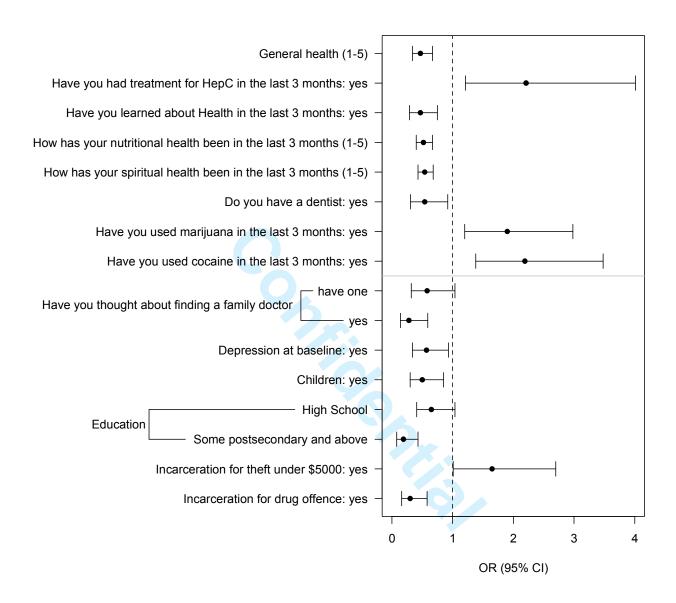


Table 3
Factors significantly and independently associated with committing a criminal act

	OR [95% CI]	Likelihood-ratio test statistic	p-value
Nutritional health	0.52 [0.35 to 0.76]	12.1	<.001
Spiritual health	0.61 [0.44 to 0.83]	9.9	0.002
Education	-	10.3	0.006
Less than high school	1.00		
- High school	0.44 [0.22 to 0.87]	-	-
- Post-secondary	0.20 [0.06 to 0.70]	-	-
In concernation for during offense		6.5	0.01
Incarceration for drug offence	1.00	6.5	0.01
No Yes	1.00 0.30 [0.12 to 0.79]		

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- 1. Canada Corrections Services. *Profile of women offenders: incarcerated and community population.* Ottawa2002.
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