

Australia has most of the world's pub and club poker machines

Discussion paper

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Summary

Most countries do not have poker machines. Australia is unusual in using poker machines as its main form of gaming machine, in having so many of them, and in allowing them in non-gambling venues ("pubs and clubs").

Australia has about 0.3% of the world's population, but 2.5% of its gaming machines. If Japan's pachinko parlours are excluded, Australia has 6% of the world's machines.

Gaming machines come in a variety of styles and "intensities". Of these, poker machines (called "jackpot machines", "fruit machines" or "slot machines" elsewhere in the world) are typically high-intensity because gamblers can lose large amounts of money very quickly – up to \$1,200 an hour on some Australian machines.

Across the world, most gaming machines are not poker machines. Other styles include machines that simulate lotteries or table games, or machines with such low stakes and payouts that they qualify as "amusements with prizes". Unusually, Australia's 196,000 gaming machines are almost all poker machines. Overall, Australia has 18% of the world's poker machines.

About 835,000 of the world's 1,076,000 poker machines are in dedicated gambling venues, such as casinos, race tracks, betting agencies and slot halls. The remaining 241,000 poker machines worldwide are in non-gaming venues, including 183,000 poker machines in Australia's pubs and clubs. This represents 76% of the world's pub and club poker machines.

Introduction

Australians lose more money gambling than anyone else in the world. "Higher risk" gamblers – those that are problem or moderate-risk gamblers – make up 1.9–2.8% of the population, with news.com.au recently reporting that only Norway and Ireland have a higher rate of higher risk gamblers. Problem gambling disproportionately occurs on poker machines. People who live closer to poker machines venues are more likely to be problem gamblers.

The number, variety and distribution of gaming machines in Australia is therefore key to understanding our relationship with gambling.

The foundation of our study is the World Count of Gaming Machines, an annual worldwide survey of gaming machine numbers commissioned by the Australian gaming technology peak body, the Gaming Technologies Association. The most recent survey was published in April 2017, for the year 2016, and it gives a count of machines by type for each of the world's 238 countries,⁶ as well as how many of those machines are "slots" (poker machines), video lottery terminals, video gaming machines, or "other".⁷

Poker machines allow gamblers to bet on the result of three or more reels being "spun" (in practice, most are digital rather than mechanical, and the result of the spins is determined by a random number generator). On poker machines, gamblers can typically choose how many "lines" to bet on with each spin and how much to bet on each line. Betting the maximum amount on the maximum number of lines can increases losses per hour by up to a hundred times compared to the minimum bet,

¹ Toscano (2017) *Australian gamblers lose a record \$24b in a year,*http://www.smh.com.au/business/australian-gamblers-lose-a-record-24b-in-a-year-20171201-gzwr30.html

² Productivity Commission (2010) *Gambling*, p 5.20

³ Reynolds (2017) *The problem Australia just wants to ignore*, http://www.news.com.au/lifestyle/real-life/news-life/the-problem-australia-just-wants-to-ignore/news-story/aaae7b457d21f420d4d5330ef73aa042

⁴ See for example Productivity Commission (2010) Gambling, s 5.4 and throughout

⁵ Young, Doran and Markham (2013) *Too close to home: People who live near pokie venues at risk,* https://theconversation.com/too-close-to-home-people-who-live-near-pokie-venues-at-risk-20771

⁶ The survey includes autonomous regions of sovereign states, such as New Caledonia (a collectivity of France), the Åland Islands (a region of Finland) and Macao (a region of China).

⁷ Ziolkowski (2017) World Count of Gaming Machines 2016

⁸ See for example Ziolkowski (2017) World Count of Gaming Machines 2016

with the potential to lose up to \$1,200 an hour. Problem gamblers are much more likely to bet a dollar or more per button push than recreational gamblers. 10

It is the combination of speed of play and money bet per play that sets poker machines apart. Other forms of gambling, like keno, blackjack or betting on the races, may allow for higher value bets, but many fewer bets per hour.¹¹

Other gaming machines include machines that simulate lotteries or table games, "amusements with prizes" where the sums of money involved are trivial, games that test or purport to test skill, Japanese pachinko or pachislot machines, and unclassified machines. These are typically lower intensity than poker machines, because they have lower stakes, slower play, higher levels of player engagement, or combination of these factors.

The World Count only counts known, legal gaming machines, and only classifies them as poker machines if they are known to be poker machines. Some countries may have poker machines that are illegal, unregulated, unreported, unclassified, or otherwise not included in the World Count (and therefore in this analysis).

The World Count observes that Australia has about 2.5% of the world's legally installed gaming machines, and the survey data shows that Australia has 18% of the world's legally installed poker machines.

The survey also provides data on gaming machines per capita by country. Australia has 123 people per gaming machine, giving it the eleventh highest concentration of gaming machines in the world. Apart from Japan, the nine countries with higher concentrations are all tourist-focused and with very small populations. Most are resort islands.

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⁹ In some jurisdictions, depending on regulation. The "player return", the average amount paid back in the dollar after each bet, also affects how long it takes the average gambler to lose an amount of money. Productivity Commission (2010) *Gambling*, table 11.1

¹⁰ Productivity Commission (2010) *Gambling*, s 11.2, table 11.3

¹¹ Productivity Commission (2010) *Gambling,* figure 11.2

Table 1: Top 11 countries by prevalence of gaming machines

Rank	Country	People per gaming machine	People per poker machine
1	Sint Maarten	13	N/A
2	Åland Islands	16	449
3	Japan	28	N/A
4	Monaco	31	31
5	Aruba (Netherlands)	32	N/A
6	Macao (China)	43	43
7	Curacao	64	N/A
8	United States Virgin Islands	79	N/A
9	Antigua and Barbuda	115	N/A
10	St Kitts and Nevis	118	N/A
11	Australia	123	124

Source: Ziolkowski (2017) World Count of Gaming Machines 2016, p 10, 13

This report expands upon the findings of the World Count by considering the locations in which poker machines are available to determine which share of poker machines in each country are found in dedicated gaming venues (like casinos and gambling halls) versus all non-dedicated gaming venues, which can include pubs, sport or social clubs, restaurants, convenience stores, bars and taverns (collectively referred to "pubs and clubs" in this report).

Poker machines are not normally the main gaming machine

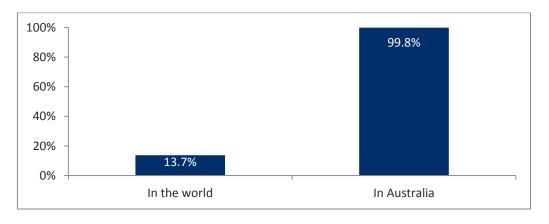
138 countries have gaming machines of some form. However, poker machines are much rarer – having been identified in only 50 countries. 188 countries, about 79%, do not have poker machines. 12

Among the 50 countries that do have poker machines, in many cases these machines represent a minority of all gaming machines in those countries. People would be much more likely to encounter a video lottery machine, an "amusement with prizes" or another lower intensity machine than a poker machine. By contrast, poker machines represent about 99.8% of all gaming machines in Australia.

250
200
150
100
50
All countries ... with gaming machines ... where poker machines are the main machine

Figure 1: Countries of the world and their gaming machine laws





¹² Ziolkowski (2017) *World Count of Gaming Machines 2016*

Gaming machines per capita

Australia has an unusually high share of gaming machines – and especially poker machines – given its population. Australia has 0.3% of the world's population, but 2.5% of the world's gaming machines.

These figures are distorted by Japan's pachinko and pachislot machines, which make up 58% of the world's gaming machines. In a pachinko machine, many little metal balls are fed into a pinball-like structure. Depending on where they bounce, the player may win more balls or trigger a bonus award, and at the same time an anime video may play. The rate of play is relatively slow: 100 balls may cost 500 yen (\$6) and take a minute to filter through the machine. The balls can be traded in for prizes, which must be taken off-premises to be traded for money.

Excluding Japan's machines from the world count (and Japan's population from world population), Australia has 6.0% of the world's gaming machines, or twenty times more machines per person than average.

Most of the world's gaming machines are not the high-intensity poker machines that make up almost all of Australia's gaming machines.

Australia has 196,054 of the world's 1,076,321 poker machines, or 18%.

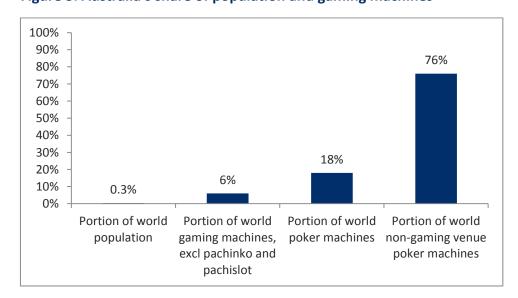


Figure 3: Australia's share of population and gaming machines

¹³ Tang (2012) *The big business of Japan's pachinko parlours,* http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20120815-the-big-business-of-japans-pachinko-parlours

To put these figures a different way, there are 7,056 people per poker machine across the world – or 2,150 people per poker machine if you look only at countries with poker machines. In Australia, there are 123 people per poker machine. In the ACT, there are 86 people per poker machine. In NSW there are 82 people per poker machine.

Poker machines in pubs and clubs

Australia is abnormal in allowing poker machines in non-gaming venues like pubs and clubs, instead of limiting them to casinos, race tracks, gambling halls, and the like. By our count, only 12 countries – representing 5% of all countries and 24% of countries with poker machines – allow poker machines in non-gaming venues.

Many of these countries still only have a small portion of their poker machines in non-gaming venues. For example, in the USA only about one in twenty poker machines are in pubs and clubs, and in Denmark it is fewer than one in four.

Australia and New Zealand are among just a handful of countries that have more poker machines in pubs and clubs than in casinos. Australia has 93% in pubs and clubs; New Zealand has 82%.

Western Australia is an anomaly in Australia for restricting its poker machines to casinos. By global standards, however, this is normal. It is the other Australian states and territories that are abnormal.

Conclusion

Australia's disproportionate number of gaming machines, and the choice to use high-intensity poker machines almost exclusively over other, lower-intensity machines, sets us apart from the practice of most of the rest of the world.

What makes us unusual even among countries with poker machines is that we permit poker machines in pubs and clubs in all states and territories bar Western Australia, and we place the majority of our poker machines in these venues. Australia's pub and club poker machines account for 76% of the world's pub and club poker machines, although we only have 0.3% of the world's population.

Appendix 1: Notes

Other machines

Countries without poker machines can also be affected by problem gambling, and identify their own devices – like video lottery terminals, pachinko machines and "amusement with prizes" – as problematic. In some cases, these devices are legally and technically distinct from poker machines, but have been specifically designed to look and feel like poker machines (some are called "slot-style" machines). ¹⁴

Overall, gaming machines that are not poker machines are usually lower-intensity machines. They may involve lower sums of money, be slower to operate, only award prizes and not cash, have interruptions or involve interaction, or otherwise be less likely to create the conditions where problem gambling arises.

Dedicated gaming venues

Casinos and other gaming venues also create the conditions for problem gambling, and in some cases are widely available and easily accessible. A dedicated gambling hall with a bar is not necessarily very different to some pubs and clubs in Australia. In addition, a "casino" can be anything from a physically, visually and legally distinct institution to the gambling wing of a hotel.

Overall, a venue that has an accepted accommodation, social, dining or entertainment role unrelated to gambling is distinct from a venue that exists exclusively or primarily for gambling.

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¹⁴ Kapralos (2008) Why tribes' games aren't slot machines, http://www.heraldnet.com/news/why-tribes-games-arent-slot-machines/

Appendix 2: Table of countries

The Australia Institute wanted to determine what share of the world's poker machines are in casinos and other dedicated gambling venues versus what share are in pubs, clubs and other venues where gambling is a secondary activity.

To do this, we recorded the 50 countries identified in the World Count of Gaming Machines 2016 as having poker machines ("slots", in the World Count's terminology), and how many machines they were estimated to have.

The Australia Institute went through each country and tried to determine if their known, legal poker machines, as reported by the World Count, were accounted for in casinos, gambling halls and other gaming venues, or if some may be in pubs and clubs.

In most cases, this was clear from one of the available methods:

- Legislation that addressed all gaming machines
- Legislation that addressed poker machines specifically
- Comparing the number of poker machines in dedicated gaming venues as reported by regulators or other credible organisations to the number of poker machines in the country (as reported by the World Count)

For example, Cyprus has 4,133 poker machines. Poker machines are prohibited outside of casinos. Therefore 0% of its machines are in pubs and clubs. The Isle of Man has 160 poker machines in the most recent World Count. Its casino has 120 poker machines. We have assumed that the remaining 40 poker machines (25%) are in pubs and clubs.

Because of differences in terminology and incompleteness in reporting, these figures are provisional. Details of our sources and reasoning are given below. We found evidence to justify drawing conclusions for 44 of the 50 countries with poker machines.

For the remaining six countries, we allocated 50% of poker machines to gaming venues and 50% to pubs and clubs for three of the countries (Moldova, Austria and Spain), and we allocated 100% of poker machines to pubs and clubs for the remaining three (Rwanda, Ireland and The Netherlands). For each country, the decision was based on how much evidence we could find of casino poker machines. In any case, poker machines in these countries represent less than 2% of the world's poker machines.

Table 2: World's poker machines (PMs)

Country	Total PMs	Pub and club PMs	Population (millions)	People per PM (per pub and club PM)	Notes
Åland Islands	65	0	0.03	449	Casino and cruises. One company holds the gambling monopoly (PAF).
Albania	240	0	3.0	12,661	The Regency Casino accounts for all 240 poker machines.
Armenia	345	0	3.1	8,844	Casinos and gaming parlours. ⁱⁱ
Australia	196,768	184,537	24.2	124 <i>(133)</i>	Detailed breakdown in Table 4 below. Our figure matches those reported elsewhere. iii
Austria	3,231	1,616	8.7	2,696 <i>(5,393)</i>	Inconclusive. A conservative approximation of 50% in pubs and clubs has been used. Casino Austria's venues account for 1,900 slot machines. $^{\rm iv}$ Up to three poker machines are permitted in non-casino, non-gaming hall venues, with a maximum bet of EUR 1. $^{\rm v}$
Belarus	921	0	9.6	10,391	Casinos and gambling houses. ^{vi}
Belgium	1,705	0	11.4	6,692	Casinos and gaming arcades. Other gaming machines permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. vii
Bulgaria	23,545	0	7.1	303	Casinos and gambling halls. viii
Cambodia	3,326	0	16.0	4,798	Banned outside of casinos in 2009. ix
Canada	42,263	0	36.3	859	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. x
Croatia	10,660	0	4.3	405	Casinos and slot clubs.
Cyprus	4,133	0	1.2	292	Banned outside of casinos. ^{xi}
Denmark	26,000	5,980	5.6	215 <i>(935)</i>	Estimate based on the ratio of restaurant and gaming arcade revenue from poker machines. xii
Estonia	2,179	0	1.3	578	Separate gambling locations. ^{xiii}
France	21,706	0	66.8	3,079	Casinos. ^{xiv}
Germany	7,840	0	80.7	10,296	Casino poker machines account for all those reported in the World Count. Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. xv
Greece	3,551	0	10.8	3,034	Banned outside of casinos. Other gaming machines permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. xvi
Hungary	1,702	0	9.9	5,802	Banned outside of casinos. Ban criticised, but re-legalisation does not appear to have occurred. xvii
India	478	0	1,266.9	2,650,384	Casinos.
Ireland	5,661	5,661	5.0	875 (875)	Members' clubs and casino-like bodies. The distribution is unclear. A conservative approximation of 100% in members' clubs has been used. xviii
Isle of Man	160	40	0.1	551 <i>(2,205)</i>	Palace Hotel Casino accounts for 120 poker machines. xix

Italy	2,342	0	62.0	26,476	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. xx
Kazakhstan	355	0	18.4	51,719	Casinos.
Kosovo	50	0	1.9	37,660	Casinos and slot machine terminals. xxi
Lithuania	701	0	2.9	4,072	"Category A" machines are limited to casinos and account for the poker machines
					reported in the World Count. Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated
					gaming venues. ^{xxii}
Luxembourg	280	0	0.6	2,080	Banned outside of casinos. xxiii
Macao	13,826	0	0.6	43	Casinos. ^{xxiv}
Macedonia	1,929	0	2.1	1,089	Casinos and slot machine halls. Other gaming machines permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. xxv
Malta	988	0	0.4	420	Dedicated gaming venues only. xxvi
Mauritius	1,783	0	1.3	756	Casinos and gaming houses. xxvii
Moldova	3,457	1,729	3.5	1,015	Inconclusive. A conservative approximation of 50% in pubs and clubs has been used.
				(2,031)	
Monaco	992	0	0.03	31	Banned outside of casinos. xxviii
Montenegro	1,644	0	0.6	392	Casinos and slot machine clubs. Note that slot machine clubs can also serve beverages or
					food, but they have a minimum number of slot machines (10). xxix
Netherlands	710	710	17.0	23,968	Inconclusive. A conservative approximation of 100% in pubs and clubs has been used.
					Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues, but it also
					appears that slot machines are permitted in casinos, arcades and cafes/restaurants. xxx
New	156	0	0.3	1,765	Casino Royal and Casino De Noumea account for all poker machines in the World
Caledonia					Count. ^{xxxi}
New Zealand	19,204	15,717	4.5	233	Single- and multi-venue sites and clubs between them account for 15,717 gaming
				(285)	machines.xxxii
Peru	89,874	0	30.7	342	Casinos and slot machine houses. XXXXIII
Philippines	17,476	0	102.6	5,872	Venues not accessible to the general public and three-star hotels and resorts only. xxxiv
Romania	58,197	0	21.6	371	Specialist premises only. Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. xxxv
Rwanda	60	60	13.0	216,474	Inconclusive. A conservative approximation of 100% in pubs and clubs has been used.
Singapore	4,700	2,350	5.8	1,230	Permitted in social clubs, with almost 1,900 machines in "slot club facilities". A
				(2,460)	conservative approximation of 50% in pubs and clubs has been used.xxxvi
Slovakia	5,037	0	5.4	1,081	Casinos and gambling houses. Gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming
					venues, but with a maximum stake of EUR 0.10. Slot machines were banned from bars and pubs in 2013. Vaxviii
Slovenia	8,213	0	2.0	241	·
5.5 JC1110	0,213	<u> </u>	2.0	241	Cusinos and Barrising Hans.

Solomon Islands	20	0	0.6	31,751	Honiara Coral Sea Resort and Casino accounts for all poker machines in the World Count.xl
South Africa	24,070	0	54.3	2,256	Other gaming machines are available outside of dedicated gaming venues. xli
Spain	3,066	1,533	48.6	15,839 <i>(31,679)</i>	Inconclusive. A conservative approximation of 50% in pubs and clubs has been used. xiii
Sweden	1,117	0	9.9	8,846	The four casinos account for all poker machines in the World Count. Aliii Other gaming machines are available outside of dedicated gaming venues.
Switzerland	4,402	0	8.2	1,858	Casinos. Other gaming machines are available outside of dedicated gaming venues. xiv
USA	455,591	22,780	323.1	709 (14,185)	Detailed breakdown in
					Table 3 below.
Vanuatu	316	0	0.3	878	Casinos.
Total	1,076,321	240,865		-	

Table 3: United States of America's poker machines (PMs)

State	Total PMs	Pub and club PMs	Population (millions)	People per PM (per pub and club PM)	Notes
Colorado	14,280	0	5.5	388	Casinos. ^{xlvi}
Connecticut	9,280	0	3.6	385	Casinos.
Florida	8,676	0	20.6	2,376	Pari-mutuel facilities. Push to expand to other dedicated gaming venues rejected in May 2017. xlvii
Georgia	220	0	10.3	46,865	Casino cruises. Other gaming machines are available in licensed locations. xiviii
Indiana	19,298	0	6.6	344	Dedicated gaming venues. ^{xlix}
Iowa	17,418	0	3.1	180	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues.
Maine	1,652	0	1.3	806	
Maryland	11,750	0	6.0	512	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. ii
Michigan	31,750	0	9.9	313	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. iii
Mississippi	31,099	0	3.0	96	Poker machines in casinos account for all of those reported in the World Count. iii
Missouri	17,457	0	6.1	349	Reported casino/casino boat slots account for the figure reported in the World Count. liv
Nevada	169,723	18,657	2.9	17	18,657 machines in restricted (non-casino) venues. Some restricted venues appear to be
				(158)	dedicated gaming venues, but for this report they have all been attributed to "pubs and clubs".
New Jersey	14,125	0	8.9	633	
New Mexico	18,868	686	2.1	110	66 licensed clubs, with a total of 686 machines as of 2015. Wii
				(3,034)	
New York	13,823	0	19.7	1,428	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. Viii
Ohio	7,816	0	11.6	1,486	Poker machines in casinos account for all of those reported in the World Count. lix
Oregon	7,770	0	4.1	527	Poker machines in tribal casinos account for all of those reported in the World Count. Other
					gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. Ix
Pennsylvania	26,074	0	12.8	490	Poker machines in casinos account for all of those reported in the World Count. https://doi.org/10.1001/j.j.com/
					may change to permit other gaming machines in non-dedicated gaming venues. kii
South Carolina	428	0	5.0	11,591	The law may change to permit poker machines in non-dedicated gaming venues. Ixiii
South Dakota	3,209	0	0.9	270	Other gaming machines are permitted in non-dedicated gaming venues. kiv
Washington	30,875	0	7.3	236	Casinos.
Total	455,591	19,343			

Table 4: Australia's poker machines (PMs)

State	Total PMs	Pub and club PMs	Population (millions)	People per PM (per pub and club PM)	Notes
ACT	4,635	4,635	0.4	86 <i>(86)</i>	Gaming machines are currently limited to pubs and clubs, but that is set to change. lxv
NSW	94,361	92,861	7.8	82 <i>(84)</i>	Star Casino has 1,500 poker machines. lxvi
NT	2,098	1,176	0.2	117 (209)	Maximum 1,852 pub and club poker machines, but current numbers are below the caps. by ii
Qld	46,873	43,127	4.9	104 (113)	Maximum 19,500 hotel poker machines and 24,705 club poker machines, but current numbers are below the caps. kviii
SA	13,366	12,210	1.7	128 (140)	As of June 2017, clubs have 1,139 machines out of an entitlement of 1,268, hotels 9,997 machines out of an entitlement of 10,287, and "special circumstances" has 1,074 machines out of an entitlement of 1,168. The casino had 964 as of June 2016. The casino had 964 as of June 2016.
Tas	3,596	2,221	0.5	145 <i>(219)</i>	As of October 2017, hotels and clubs have 2,365 machines out of an entitlement of 2,500. There are 1,185 machines in the casinos and 36 on the Spirit of Tasmania vessels. The figure of 2,221 is used to be consistent with others in the <i>Australian gambling statistics</i> report.
Vic	28,935	26,307	6.1	211 (232)	Melbourne Casino is entitled to 2,628 machines. lxxiii
WA	2,190	0	2.6	1,198 (N/A)	Gaming machines are limited to the casino.
Total	196,054	182,691	24.2	124 (133)	

Note: All states' results have been checked against *Australian gambling statistics*, 33rd edition. This source differed substantially from the World Count in only one jurisdiction: the Northern Territory. In that instance, the *Australian gambling statistics* figures have been used.

Regency Casino (n.d.) Slots, http://regencycasino.al/?page_id=43

[&]quot;Grigoryan (2014) Armenia: Gambling taxing the poor, http://www.eurasianet.org/node/68444

See for example Lawson (2016) *Poker machines make twice the profit in casinos: New study,* http://www.canberratimes.com.au/act-news/poker-machines-make-twice-the-profit-in-casinos-new-study-20160317-gnldix.html

Casinos Austria (n.d.) Slot machines, p 6, https://www.casinos.at/downloads/Slots-English.pdf

^v International Comparative Legal Guide (2016) *Austria: Gambling 2017*, https://iclg.com/practice-areas/gambling/gambling-2017/austria; Schwartz (2016) *Gaming in Austria: Overview*, https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/6-635-8293

https://www.law.kuleuven.be/gambling/documents/becker_recent_developments_in_german_gambling_law.ppt; Hofmann, Spitz and Maier (2016) *Gaming in Germany: Overview,* https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/1-635-3486

Reuters (2011) *Key facts on Greek gaming market,* https://www.reuters.com/article/greece-betting/factbox-key-facts-on-greek-gaming-market-idUKLDE6510IL20110126; note that a more recent source describes poker machines simply as "permitted", but only identifies licences for video lottery terminals: Couccoullis (2016) *Gaming in Greece: Overview,* https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/8-635-8678

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