

deated ways, resulting in a growing sense of social competence and increased capacities in emotional regulation.

THE MIDDLE GROUND

In response to persistent concerns about a lack of generalization of trained skills, which was "noted time and time again" in the behavioral literature (Schreibman & Pierce, 1993, p. 184), behaviorally oriented researchers introduced teaching strategies in the 1980s that diverged significantly from earlier DT-TB approaches (Charlop & Haymes, 1994). Among the better known strategies discussed in the contemporary ABA literature are "incidental language teaching" (Hart, 1985); the "Natural Language Paradigm" (NLP), including "pivotal response training" (Koegel, O'Dell, & Koegel, 1989; Schreibman & Pierce, 1993); and "enhanced milieu approaches" (Kaiser et al., 1992). These approaches were developed as methods for achieving a more naturalistic approach of enhancing the language and communication development of children with autism/PDD and other childhood communication disabilities. All were based, in part, on principles and interactive processes drawn from the literature on caregiver-child interaction (Snow & Ferguson, 1977), developmental pragmatics (Bates, 1979; Bates et al., 1987), and applied behavior analysis.

There are a number of striking and significant distinctions between these contemporary ABA approaches and traditional DT approaches. First, "control" of the teaching interaction is either shared (Schreibman & Pierce, 1993) or shifted from "trainers" to children. Teachers are encouraged to "follow the child's lead" to encourage initiation and spontaneity in communication. Second, child-preferred and -selected activities provide the primary contexts and topics for communicative exchange (Schreibman & Pierce, 1993). Choice-making and decision-making opportunities are provided, rather than the trainer selecting and imposing teaching tasks. Third, because a child's attentional focus and preferences are fol-

lowed, natural reinforcers are utilized and interactions are more natural and "loosely structured" than the proscribed training protocols followed in a contrived 1:1 teaching setting. A fourth major distinction involves the specifics of how adults interact with children. As noted earlier, many interactive-facilitative strategies (Prizant & Bailey, 1992) used by "middle-ground" approaches are shared by SP-D approaches, which are based on the normal language and communication development literature (Bates et al., 1987). Adults play more of a role as communicative partner in supporting successful communicative exchanges and interactions, regardless of whether responses are correct or even contingent to the trainer's "topic." In incidental teaching, the NLP, or milieu teaching, it is preferable for communicative exchanges to be initiated by the child, with the adult being highly responsive to children's spontaneous communication (whether verbal, vocal, or gestural). For example, in the NLP, any goal-directed attempt at communication is reinforced (i.e., accepted); thus, there is no requirement that the child produce a predetermined, targeted behavior to receive reinforcement. Similar to SP-D approaches, the focus and ultimate goal of contemporary ABA approaches is to facilitate spontaneous communication and interaction. Incidental teaching, the NLP, and milieu strategies have been found to enhance generalization of language and communicative skills that are taught to children with disabilities, including those with autism (see Hart, 1985; Kaiser & Hester, 1994; and Schreibman & Pierce, 1993, for reviews).

Numerous strategies are described in the literature for designing the environment to encourage the initiation of communication (Wetherby & Prizant, 1993). The developmental literature emphasizes the importance of "engineering" the environment to enhance a child's motivation (i.e., internal drive) to communicate by providing opportunities and reasons for the child to initiate communication. The contemporary behavioral literature also describes specific strategies for encouraging language

use, such as pausing at critical moments in natural routines and interrupting chains of behavior by removing an object needed to complete the task (Halle, 1987; Kaiser et al., 1992). By making the initiation of communication a priority, natural opportunities for communicating can be seized in all settings.

Despite these shared characteristics, contemporary ABA and SP-D approaches differ in a number of important ways. First, some hybrid approaches do not draw as much from the research on sequences of language development in normally developing children and in children with autism/PDD as do SP-D approaches. Second, in SP-D approaches, there is less emphasis on eliciting and measuring discrete behavioral responses as primary measures of success and more emphasis on children's successful participation in extended interactive sequences and episodes. Third, in hybrid approaches, more intensive online data collection of frequency counts of isolated behaviors (e.g., words, vocalizations) is used to measure behavioral change, which is consistent with their behavioral tradition. In contrast, SP-D approaches place greater emphasis on multimodal communication and more natural teaching so that multiple goals are often targeted within a particular activity (e.g., communication, social-affective signaling, and play goals), and multilevel analyses of functional communicative acts involving verbal, vocal, and nonverbal components are often performed (Prizant & Duchan, 1981; Prizant & Rydell, 1984; Wetherby et al., 1998). Such analyses may be more informative of developmental progress and more reflective of true communicative behavior in daily activities; however, they clearly are more challenging to perform than are counts of specific behaviors. As a result, online data collection tends to be less intensive in SP-D approaches, with the goal of allowing clinicians to be free to participate more fully in and support a child's success in social interactions. Often videotaping is used for data collection and time-sampling procedures to measure change over time. Other methods for measuring developmental progress and

shifts, such as the collection and analysis of language and communication samples, also may be used in lieu of frequency counts of behavior.

Fourth, SP-D approaches are driven by an understanding of the interdependency of different aspects of development, such as the interrelations between communication and socioemotional development (Prizant & Wetherby, 1990a; Greenspan & Weider, 1998) and between language and play development (Westby, 1988). Thus, in addition to measuring developmental progress based on a child's acquisition of new communicative skills (e.g., words, gestures), progress is also conceptualized in reference to developmental shifts and a progression through developmental stages, thereby informing future goal setting. Fifth, SP-D interventions place greater emphasis on enhancing a child's communication abilities within meaningful events and routines, with clear beginnings, a sequence of logical steps, and a sense of completion, in order to enhance the child's cognitive grasp of the structure of events that occur in everyday life (Duchan, 1995; Quill, 1995). Finally, with few exceptions (e.g., Schreibman et al., 1991), SP-D approaches give more emphasis, compared with most contemporary ABA approaches, to addressing a child's communication development within the context of developing relationships and socioemotional growth. Such goals include understanding and expressing emotions and mastering increasingly complex stages of emotional and social-cognitive development (Greenspan & Weider, 1998; MacDonald, 1989; Prizant & Wetherby, 1990b). Prizant and Wetherby (1990a, 1990b) and Wetherby and Prizant (1992) argue that children's ability to share emotions with others and express positive affect has a central role in understanding the interrelationships between their communication and socioemotional development and in targeting goals and measuring their treatment outcomes. In contrast, the role of affect and emotional expression in children's motivation and learning is minimized in both the contemporary behavioral and the DT-TB literature. For example, Green

(1996a), in her argument for using DT-TB approaches as the treatment of choice, stated, "Might we also arrange for the child to have as many enjoyable experiences as possible? . . . Sure. But if any of these adjunct therapies jeopardized the chances for the main treatment to work, even if only by taking time away from it, would we subject the child to the adjunct therapy? Hopefully not" (p. 27). If given any attention in the literature, the role of positive affect and spontaneous emotional expression in ABA approaches is relegated to the labeling of emotions of others in repetitive practice drills or as a strategy for providing positive reinforcement for correct child responses by caregivers (Lovaas, 1981). This position contrasts with the central role of shared positive affect and emotional expression by children and caregivers in the naturalistic approaches derived from SP-D traditions. Table 1 contrasts the characteristics of the extreme ends of the DT-TB and social-pragmatic continuum (adapted from Prizant, 1994; Wetherby et al., 1997). It should be remembered, however, that many current approaches for improving the development of language and social-communicative abilities of children with communication and socioemotional difficulties borrow from both traditions and may be thought of as falling somewhere along the middle ground of this continuum.

DIRECT RESEARCH COMPARISONS OF DIFFERENT APPROACHES

There are few comparisons between different approaches falling along the continuum of DT-TB to SP-D approaches. Elliott et al. (1991) compared characteristics of analog (i.e., discrete trial) versus "naturalistic" approaches in language training. They noted that analog approaches to language training emphasize discrimination and labeling of materials, with typical tasks involving the naming of stimulus items or identifying items from alternatives. Natural language approaches involve "language teaching as an incidental part of interactions . . . in functional tasks and contexts . . .

based on student interests" (p. 435). Elliott et al. noted that instructors serve a modeling function in natural language approaches, in contrast to the directive function in analog approaches. Based on the results of their study, which compared the use of analog versus natural language procedures in the acquisition of vocabulary among 23 adults with autism and mental retardation, they concluded that "natural language teaching is strongly supported as preferable for people with autism and mental retardation" (p. 444). Although there was no significant difference in learning and retention between the two approaches for this older group of individuals, the many advantages and few disadvantages of natural language procedures led the authors to recommend more naturalistic approaches.

Two studies have addressed differences in the expression of positive affect between DT-TB and more naturalistic paradigms. Koegel et al. (1988) found that children expressed more positive affect using the NLP compared with DT-TB procedures. They also found that children exhibited fewer avoidance and off-task behaviors and more positive behaviors, presumably due to greater motivation to engage in learning activities. Schreibman et al. (1991) looked for differences in positive affect between two groups of parents; one group was trained to use DT-TB procedures, the other group, pivotal response training, which is based on more child-centered, naturalistic teaching strategies. The results of this study indicated that parents using the more naturalistic procedures demonstrated significantly more positive affect than did those using DT-TB procedures. Schreibman et al. (1991) noted that these results support the hypothesis that pivotal response training procedures "may represent more naturalistic parent-child interactions and may be more pleasant for parents to conduct as compared to the more highly structured interactions associated with the more traditional discrete trial form of treatment" (p. 488). They added that "it is tempting to believe that there is a direct causal relationship between positive affect and more child improvement re-

TABLE 1. Comparison of DT-TB and SP-D Approaches for Enhancing Social Communication

<i>Degree of Prescription versus Flexibility in Teaching</i>	
DT-TB:	Highly prescribed—content and procedures determined on an a priori basis as part of program; variation must be minimal
SP-D:	Strategies applied systematically but flexibly; capitalize on opportunities as they appear or are created
<i>Adult versus Child Centered Procedures</i>	
DT-TB:	Adult initiates "topic," determines/maintains focus of attention; adult control reduced over time
SP-D:	Content influenced by child's level of development; whenever possible, follow child's lead and attentional focus
<i>Child Role—Initiate versus Respond</i>	
DT-TB:	Initially train responding; train "spontaneity" later
SP-D:	Priority placed on child initiation, in appropriate balance to responding
<i>Response to Child's Behavior</i>	
DT-TB:	Consequences depend on predetermined procedures of program
SP-D:	Consequences depend on predetermined procedures with some flexibility depending on circumstances and situation
<i>Naturalness of Learning Context</i>	
DT-TB:	Initially contrived, discrete trial training in isolated context; eventual movement to "embedded trials" in more natural situations
SP-D:	Learning contexts reflect naturalistic but "engineered" interactions and events
<i>Relevance of Information on Child Development</i>	
DT-TB:	Not a primary relevance; goals and procedures based on predetermined program or child's perceived needs
SP-D:	Information used to select goals and teaching procedures. Child's learning needs also a factor
<i>Social Context of Intervention</i>	
DT-TB:	Primarily one-to-one, especially in early stages; movement to more complex social groupings
SP-D:	Groups of different social complexity depending on child's ability, one-to-one and in groups
<i>Carryover and Generalization to Other Environments</i>	
DT-TB:	Generalization programmed for after child reaches criterion in initial training context
SP-D:	Skills taught across environments and persons from early in program
<i>Intensity—Extent and Frequency of Direct Teaching</i>	
DT-TB:	Intensity is determined by nature of specific program; focus on one-to-one direct teaching
SP-D:	Varies greatly according to child-staff ratio; skill of staff in programming learning opportunities in natural environments
<i>Utilization of Child Strengths</i>	
DT-TB:	Reinforcers selected on basis of child preferences; activities may not be when curriculum is used
SP-D:	Activities based on child preferences and strengths; to the extent possible, follow child's interests
<i>Type of Reinforcement</i>	
DT-TB:	Initial use of artificial reinforcers, with pairing of social, and movement to social
SP-D:	Focus on natural reinforcers including responding to child's intent, social reinforcement
<i>Treatment of Challenging Behavior</i>	
DT-TB:	Understand behavior from identifying maintaining variables; ignore (extinguish) or punish challenging behavior; if functional analysis is performed, replace with socially acceptable form
SP-D:	Understand behavior from developmental perspective and child's intent; if communicative intent can be determined, modify environment/task and/or replace with socially acceptable form; if preintentional, reaction to sensory "overload" or aversive conditions, provide strategies for emotional regulation/calming
<i>Type and Intensity of Data Collection—Documentation of Progress</i>	
DT-TB:	Typically intensive, ongoing, online data collection, or time sampling; focus on frequency counts of discrete behaviors; looking for increases or decreases in target behaviors
SP-D:	Varies greatly, from informal impressions to on-line time-sampling; may use language-communication sampling/analysis to determine changes in level of functioning; looking for changes in developmental patterns in documenting progress
<i>Recognition and Utilization of Individual Differences in Learning</i>	
DT-TB:	Individual differences taken into account in selecting reinforcers; however, program and child needs determine program content and procedures
SP-D:	Attempts made to determine differences in learning style, with program modifications made according to differences
<i>Role of Typical or Developmentally Advanced Peers</i>	
DT-TB:	Initially peers play minimal if any role; eventually peers may be trained to play role in structured teaching
SP-D:	Peers seen as positive developmental influence; more focus on natural or semi-structured play

TABLE 1. *Continued*

<i>Role of Affect and Emotional Expression in Teaching Interactions, and in Measuring Progress</i>	
DT-TB:	Trainer's expression of positive affect seen as strategy for providing positive reinforcement; no significant role given in children's learning or in goal setting (other than labeling emotions)
SP-D:	Viewed as central in organizing and motivating children's social participation and learning, in developing relationships with caregivers, and in measuring progress and the quality of interactions
<i>Parent Involvement</i>	
DT-TB:	Parents taught principles of behavior modification and may be encouraged to carry out prescribed teaching program
SP-D:	Parents taught to understand child's developmental patterns and to use natural routines and developmentally based, facilitative strategies

ported in the literature" (p. 488). These findings may be viewed as supporting Greenspan's (1997) contention that affect plays a major organizational role in the cognitive and social development of children both with and without disabilities.

CLAIMS OF EFFECTIVENESS WHEN COMPARING APPROACHES: WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT WHAT WORKS?

Although not a primary goal of this article, we decided to explore claims of effectiveness of DT-TB and SP-D approaches in light of the recent claims of superiority of DT-TB approaches in published reviews (Green, 1996b; Smith, 1996). We believe it is premature and misleading to claim that one approach is more effective than other approaches for a number of reasons:

1. *Research has supported the effectiveness of a range of approaches that differ in both underlying philosophy and practice along the continuum of DT-TB to SP-D* (see Dawson & Osterling, 1997; Rogers, 1996, for reviews). Long-term outcome studies (McEachin et al., 1993; Greenspan & Wieder, 1997b), as well as shorter term treatment efficacy research (Ozonoff & Cathcart, 1998; Rogers & Lewis, 1989; Sheinkopf & Siegel, 1998), demonstrate the effectiveness of approaches along the full continuum. Of course, outcome measures and research procedures vary greatly across studies, which is partially an artifact of the differences between behavioral and developmental research traditions.

2. *There is no evidence that any one approach is more effective than others* (Dawson & Osterling, 1997; Sheinkopf & Siegel, 1998).

There are no studies that have directly compared the effectiveness of two or more approaches using randomly assigned, matched control samples. However, research that compares specific aspects of different approaches has found greater positive affect among the parents and young children enrolled in more naturalistic than those in DT-TB approaches (Schreibman et al., 1991), and no differences were found in the acquisition of vocabulary of adolescents in a DT-TB (analog) approach and those in the NLP (Elliott et al., 1991).

3. *No one approach is equally effective for all children.* Children in outcome studies do not benefit to the same degree (see Dawson & Osterling, 1997; Rogers, 1996). The two studies receiving the greatest attention in recent years (i.e., Greenspan & Wieder, 1997b; McEachin et al., 1993) have reported the most positive outcomes, 58% and 47% of children, respectively.

4. *Available research suffers from methodologic shortcomings.* Studies in this area have been criticized for significant problems in such areas as experimental design, subject selection, outcome measures, treatment fidelity measures, and interpretation of results (Green, 1996b; Greenspan & Wieder, 1997; Gresham & MacMillan, 1997, 1998).

5. *Studies have focused solely on child variables and child outcome.* Family variables, often considered to be critical in early intervention outcome research, have not been addressed in studies of intervention outcome in this area (Gresham & MacMillan, 1997). Seminal research on the efficacy of early intervention for children with a range of disabilities (Shonkoff et al., 1992) has demonstrated that family variables are the

best predictors of outcome, yet such variables have not been examined in research on children with autism/PDD (McEachin et al., 1993; Greenspan & Wieder, 1997b).

6. *There is no consensus on how "intensity of treatment" is to be defined.* Better outcomes are associated with earlier and more "intensive" interventions (Greenspan & Wieder, 1997a; Green, 1996b); however, there is no consensus and there has been little discussion on how intensity is to be defined, or whether there is a "critical period" for onset of intervention. Regarding efficacy of treatment, researchers have questioned whether "intensity" of services is the crucial variable that accounts for more positive outcomes regardless of the type of intervention provided (Dawson & Osterling, 1997; Greenspan & Wieder, 1997b). It is our contention that defining intensity solely in terms of hours per week of treatment, without examining the quality and nature of "teaching" interactions, will provide little further insight regarding the crucial variables likely to account for the different treatment effects in different children.

7. *There is much overlap in approaches that are identified as having different underlying philosophies and practical applications.* Although there have been attempts to analyze the elements distinguishing DT-TB and SP-D approaches (Duchan, 1995; Prizant, 1994; Wetherby et al., 1997; Koegel, 1995) (Table 1), there has been more "lumping" of ABA approaches in claims of their superiority, even though many contemporary ABA procedures are closer on the continuum to SP-D approaches than to DT-TB approaches when their critical elements are analyzed.

8. *The fidelity of treatment has typically not been measured.* When comparing two or more approaches, it is essential to define the specific characteristics and procedures of each approach, the percentage of treatment time used for critical treatment procedures, and whether these procedures are followed faithfully and reliably (i.e., the fidelity of treatment). The latter is especially crucial because attributing meaningful change to specific aspects of treatment and not to other variables is central to discussions of

the efficacy of treatment. Furthermore, treatment fidelity is a highly complicated issue. For example, in recent presentations of the most current versions of the Lovaas method," McEachin (1997) and Leaf (1998), both of whom are long-time collaborators of Lovaas, discussed new goals and elements of this approach, which supplement the use of discrete trials. A review of these new elements clearly reveals the influence of SP-D approaches. They include the use of "communicative temptations" (Wetherby & Prizant, 1989) to entice spontaneous communication, working on reciprocal turn-taking, teaching the "power of communication," using play as an important treatment modality rather than just as "breaks" from discrete trials, making therapy "natural and fun," and placing a priority on reducing structure as much as possible (Leaf, 1998; McEachin, 1997). However, DT-TB approaches that rely strictly on Lovaas' early work and are also referred to as the Lovaas method remain quite prevalent, even though practitioners of both the earlier and later Lovaas approaches may refer to their treatment as Lovaas therapy or the Lovaas method. The complication caused by this lack of definition was captured recently by Leaf (1998) in his statement that some current research programs claiming to be studying the efficacy of Lovaas therapy are using procedures that have been abandoned by Lovaas and his colleagues. According to Leaf, "Dr. Lovaas doesn't do Lovaas therapy any more." It is our observation that attributing a particular label to an approach (e.g., ABA versus developmental) may be more reflective of the "school of thought" or influence that a program administrator, researcher, or clinician affiliates him- or herself with, than what goes on in treatment with children. Thus, the issue of treatment fidelity becomes extremely complex, both conceptually and methodologically, as approaches become more eclectic and individualized, a trend that we and others have advocated (Greenspan & Wieder, 1997b; Prizant & Wetherby, 1989).

9. *Studies have not documented or accounted for other variables outside of the treat-*

ment package that is the object of study. Outcome research must document, rather than ignore, the quality and nature of learning experiences that occur outside the "treatment package" being studied, as well as their possible role in accounting for developmental change. For example, we speak to families from around the country who attribute their child's progress to a particular therapy (e.g., traditional Lovaas [1981] therapy), yet their child is also participating in regularly scheduled activities such as play-based, social-pragmatic language therapy groups, sensory integration therapy, swimming, play dates, play with siblings, and so forth. In fact, it is our impression that it is more common for these children to receive multiple treatments and activities that reflect a variety of approaches and offer a variety of learning opportunities and social partners than for them to be receiving only one type of treatment. In these circumstances, it is not possible to determine whether change is due to a specific treatment, to other life events, or to the interactions among these possible influences. This problem is a major shortcoming of available outcome research and needs to be addressed in future studies.

Until these issues are resolved in current and future research, claims of superiority for any one approach must be put aside. Realistically, future research may better address such questions as, "Which combinations of treatment elements are most effective in developing individualized approaches for individual children and families?" We have long advocated eclectic and individually designed treatment approaches that are informed by knowledge of developmental as well as behavioral principles (Prizant, 1982; Prizant & Wetherby, 1989), a position that is consistent with both developmentally based clinician/researchers (Greenspan & Wieder, 1997a; MacDonald, 1989) and contemporary behavioral researchers (Strain et al., 1992). Strain et al. (1992) argued for the integration of behavioral approaches as one component of early childhood special education: "Our purpose in coming to the defense of behaviorism is not to assert its supremacy, real or potential over other

conceptualizations . . . we see an integration of perspectives as offering the most promise for research and practice . . ." (p. 136). Strain et al. expressed the belief that only through the integration of different perspectives, including ecological, developmental, systems theory, as well as behavioral approaches, can "new and more robust interventions" be developed for children and families.

DEFINING MEANINGFUL OUTCOME MEASURES

It is illuminating to examine the state of the art of intervention research in autism relative to that in the broader field of early intervention. Early intervention has been grappling for years with questions about the efficacy of intervention programs and their long-term effects on children, families, and communities (Shonkoff, 1996; Shonkoff et al., 1988). Two important themes emerge that have important implications for the field of autism. First, outcome measures need to go beyond child outcomes to include family-oriented outcomes (Shonkoff et al., 1988, 1992). Early intervention research has demonstrated that family characteristics (such as socioeconomic level, stress, and supports available) and parent involvement in a child's development are strong predictors of the child's outcome. Second, research needs to go beyond traditional measures of these children's psychomotor, cognitive, and language skills and include "ecologically compelling child characteristics" in measures of such broader characteristics as emotional development, motivation, social competence, peer relationships, and the child's competence in natural environments (Shonkoff et al., 1988).

Intervention research on children with autism has been negligent in developing a range of meaningful outcome measures. Therefore, extreme caution is advised in drawing conclusions about the efficacy of a particular intervention approach, particularly when making decisions that dramatically affect the cost of services for families

and school districts and the time commitments of young children. Future research should strive to assess meaningful changes (Meyer & Evans, 1993) that reflect the core domains associated with autism as well as measure family functioning. Intervention research is needed to document the relationship between specific treatment procedures and specific outcomes so that consumers can determine what goals are important and select the procedures that best meet these goals.

CONCLUSIONS

Although there are significant differences in schools of thought and practice at the ends of the DT-TB to SP-D continuum, a few points are not in dispute. For example, when possible, learning in the most natural activities, events, and routines is the most desirable approach to working with young children with autism/PDD; spontaneous and initiated language and communicative behavior are of greater value than is cue-dependent responding; and ideally children should learn and live in the most inclusive environments. In comparing DT-TB with SP-D approaches, the major differences in their philosophy and practice concern when children with autism/PDD should be exposed to more natural interactions and learning opportunities; the extent to which adult control is necessary in fostering these chil-

dren's development of social, communicative, and other abilities; and how the major goals of treatment are prioritized.

Is there the potential for integrating these different philosophies and arriving at a "higher middle-ground"? We have argued elsewhere (Prizant, 1982; Prizant & Wetherby, 1989; Wetherby et al., 1997) that different treatment approaches need not be viewed as mutually exclusive and have reviewed treatments in this article that borrow aspects of each approach. In our experience, however, some agencies, educators, clinicians, and parents tend to favor either SP-D or DT-TB approaches to the virtual exclusion of the other, thereby ignoring other best practices from the continuum of approaches, even when it may be helpful to integrate them for a particular child. Nevertheless, we believe it is not only possible but even desirable to be "eclectic." For example, ABA approaches are being guided increasingly by a growing appreciation of social-pragmatic, socioemotional, and developmental aspects of communicative competence. Similarly, SP-D approaches are becoming more interested in obtaining systematic measures of progress and treatment outcomes and the judicious use of behavioral teaching strategies. We are encouraged by these increased efforts and the progress made in incorporating aspects of different intervention practices and traditions, which should result in better individualized treatment approaches for children with autism/PDD and their families.

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