Influence of Graffiti on People's Perceptions of Urban Spaces in Hashemi Shamali, Amman, Jordon

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Abstract

This study explores the growing presence of Graffiti art in Amman, the capital of Jordan, and its impact of the perceptions of urban spaces of the local community. The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) has actively supported the transformation of blank walls into vibrant displays, with Hashemi Shamali becoming a notable hub for this art form. In fact, international artists are drawn to participate in this creative movement.

The research examines the popularity sites of Amman having contemporary graffiti art to understand its significance in the urban landscape. The study employs qualitative methods and semiotics to analyze the aesthetic meanings of graffiti and examines the community perceptions of this art form.

The findings reveal that while not all murals resonate with the participants, those that do contribute to cultural representation, community pride, neighborhood aesthetics, identity, and educational value of the visitors.

Keywords: Graffiti, Urban landscape, Aesthetic values, Street art, Hashemi Shamali, Jordan.

Introduction

Recently, there has been a notable rise in the Graffiti art adorning the walls of narrow passageways in Amman, the capital of Jordan, bringing an element of beauty to the surroundings. The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) has actively encouraged this transformation of once dull walls into vibrant displays. Hashemi Shamali has particularly embraced this art form, with prominent locations including the retaining walls of streets and certain buildings, which have become iconic landmarks. This has attracted artists from various parts of the world who seek to participate in this creative movement.

Street art and graffiti offer several advantages to cities. They serve to bring elements of Nature to the walls of ordinary urban buildings and streets, attracting fans and visitors to enjoy the outdoors. Rather than paying to visit an art gallery, the public can stroll along the streets, breathe fresh air, and appreciate the local artwork free of charge. In general, living in a happier and more vibrant environment, enhanced by colors that give life to spaces, can positively influence human well-being, productivity, and mood (Spiegelman, 2022).

In this context, this research aims to examine the influence of Graffiti on the perception of urban spaces of the locals. It looks particularly at the popularity sites of the city of Amman, Jordan having contemporary graffiti art as it has become an integral aspect of the urban landscape of the city. Overall, this research has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the role that graffiti can play in urban environments and how it is perceived by the local communities. This research has practical implications for the Greater Amman Municipality, which is responsible for managing public spaces in the area.

Theoretical Background Definition of Graffiti

The definition of graffiti can vary depending on different points of view. Here are a few perspectives on the definition of graffiti:

Artistic Perspective: Many artists and art enthusiasts view graffiti as a form of artistic expression. They see it as a way for individuals to show their creativity and convey messages in public spaces. In this context, graffiti is often seen as a form of street art (Ramirez, 2020).

Cultural Perspective: Graffiti can also be seen as a reflection of the cultural landscape and social issues of a particular community. It can serve as a means of cultural expression, protest, or identity formation. In this view, graffiti represents the voice of the marginalized groups and can be seen as a form of resistance against the mainstream norms (Soergel, 2021; Chang, 2018; Hughes, 2009).

Community Perspective: From a community perspective, graffiti can be perceived differently depending on its impact on the local environment (Chang, 2018; Dovey, Wollan & Woodcock, 2012). Some communities may view graffiti as a blight on their neighborhoods, contributing to a sense of disorder and decay. Others may embrace graffiti to beautify and revitalize public spaces.

Historical Perspective: Graffiti has a long history, dating back to ancient times. In this context, graffiti refers to inscriptions or markings made on walls or surfaces throughout history. From cave paintings to ancient Roman graffiti, it can be seen as a way for people to leave their mark and communicate with future generations (Decker & Curry, 2006).

Legal Perspective: graffiti is often defined as unauthorized markings or drawings on public or private property. It is considered vandalism and is subject to legal penalties (Valjakka, 2011).

It is important to recognize that the definition of graffiti is subjective and can vary depending on the context and the point of view of the observer. Different perspectives on graffiti can contribute to a broader understanding of its significance and impact on society.

Types of Graffiti

Graffiti can encompass various styles and forms of expressions. Here are some common types of graffiti:

Tags: Tags are simple, stylized signatures or initials created by graffiti writers. They are often quick and repetitive in nature, serving as a way for the artists to mark their presence or establish their identity (Bandaranaike, 2003; Valjakka, 2011).

Throw-ups: Throw-ups are larger, more elaborate versions of tags. They typically consist of bubble letters filled with solid colors and often incorporate shadows or 3D effects. Throw-ups are quicker to create than more detailed pieces (Bandaranaike, 2003; Valjakka, 2011).

Pieces (Masterpieces): Pieces, short for 'masterpieces' are highly detailed and intricate graffiti artworks. They often involve complex lettering styles, vibrant colors, shading, and various effects. Pieces can be large-scale and may include characters, symbols, or additional elements (Bandaranaike, 2003; Valjakka, 2011).

Murals: Graffiti murals are large-scale artworks that cover entire walls or buildings. They are often more planned and thought out, combining multiple artistic elements such as characters, landscapes, or narratives. Murals can convey social or political messages, celebrate cultural heritage, or beautify urban spaces (Bandaranaike, 2003; Valjakka, 2011).

Stencils: Stencil graffiti involves using pre-cut stencils to create repeated images or patterns. Artists spray paint over the stencil, allowing for precise and consistent designs. Stencils can be used to convey intricate details or produce multilayered compositions (Artetrama, 2019).

Wildstyle: Wildstyle graffiti is characterized by complex and highly stylized lettering, often making it challenging to read for those unfamiliar with the style. Wild style incorporates various shapes, arrows, and connections between letters, creating a visually intricate and

abstract composition (McMahon, 2023).

Street Art: While graffiti is often associated with illegal or unauthorized markings, street art has emerged as a broader term encompassing various art forms in public spaces. Street art can include graffiti-style artworks, stencils, wheatpaste posters, installations, sculptures, and other artistic interventions in urban environments (Hughes, 2009, Daichendt, 2013).

These are just a few examples of the types of graffiti that exist. The diversity and creativity within the graffiti world continue to evolve as artists experiment with new techniques, styles, and concepts.

Graffiti and Spatial Cognition

Local communities perceive graffiti through the lens of spatial cognition, which involves the mental processes that individuals use to navigate, interpret, and understand their physical surroundings. Spatial cognition influences how people perceive and interpret the images of graffiti within their community (Montello,2001). Here are some ways in which local communities may perceive graffiti based on spatial cognition.

Location and Context: The placement of graffiti within the local environment plays a significant role in perception. Local communities use spatial cues to interpret and understand the context in which graffiti appears. For example, graffiti on public buildings or landmarks may be perceived differently than graffiti in secluded or abandoned areas (Tokuda, Silva & Cesar-Jr, 2019).

Landmark Recognition: Local communities rely on spatial cognition to recognize and remember landmarks within their neighborhood or city. Graffiti that becomes a prominent feature of a specific location or landmark may influence how it is perceived and remembered by the community. It can contribute to the identification and distinctiveness of a place (Freij, 2018).

Navigation and Wayfinding: Spatial cognition also affects how local communities navigate their surroundings. Graffiti can serve as visual markers or cues for wayfinding, helping individuals to orient themselves in urban spaces. It may aid in identifying specific routes, paths, or points of interest within the community (Ozyavuz, 2013).

Emotional and Cultural Associations: Graffiti can evoke emotional and cultural responses from the local community. Spatial cognition influences how individuals interpret and attribute meaning to graffiti based on their personal experiences, cultural background, and community values. It can elicit a sense of belonging, cultural identity, or even controversy within the community (Shaw & Noa, 2021).

Social Interaction and Community Engagement: Graffiti may impact social interactions within the community. Spatial cognition plays a role in how individuals engage with graffiti as a form of visual communication. It can spark conversations, elicit opinions, and foster a sense of community identity and expression (Bhatt, 2021).

Understanding how spatial cognition influences the perception of graffiti helps in considering the perspectives and experiences of the local community. By incorporating this knowledge into urban design and policy-making processes, communities can create inclusive and engaging environments that acknowledge the role of graffiti within the spatial context.

Review of Literature

Urban design focuses on enhancing the quality of the built environment in urban areas and takes a particular interest in graffiti as an urban phenomenon. This interest extends to understanding the impact of graffiti on the visual appeal of the urban surroundings and how it influences people's perceptions and experiences within the cityscape. As a visual form of expression, graffiti holds significant importance in shaping the character and image of a city, contributing to its cultural identity (Serkan & Gülsen; 2006). so that talented graffiti artists whose multi-coloured works can enhance otherwise drab public spaces. Usually applied by spray paint, the works are frequently at height and may carry a social comment.

Graffiti artists, or graffitists, typically operate within familiar territories, often within

a radius of 3-4 kilometers. This spatial aspect of graffiti sustains its unique identity and establishes a distinct presence within the urban landscapes worldwide. By asserting itself in the urban fabric, graffiti adds a layer of self-expression, forming a meaningful connection between the art, the artists, and the places they choose to adorn (Serkan & Gülsen; 2006).

Cultural Identity and Community Expression: Graffiti often reflects the cultural identity of a community and serves as a means of self-expression for individuals. It can convey social, political, and cultural messages, providing a visual narrative of the community's values, concerns, and aspirations. In this way, graffiti becomes an integral part of the urban fabric and contributes to the collective identity of a place (Cercleux, 2022).

Artistic Enhancement: Graffiti, in certain instances, is embraced as a legitimate form of street art, contributing a unique artistic flair to the urban landscape. When executed skillfully, graffiti murals and street art installations have the power to transform ordinary walls and spaces into visually captivating and thought-provoking experiences, elevating the overall aesthetics of the built environment (Nandrea, 1991).

Over the past few decades, graffiti has increasingly become integrated into mainstream culture. Some locations actively promote graffiti and encourage artists to showcase their talent in public spaces. Conversely, places like Bogota in Colombia have implemented legislation aimed at fostering responsible and legal graffiti practices. In Singapore, specific surfaces have been designated by the state to accommodate graffiti art (Parker, 2019).

Challenges to Urban Design: On the other hand, unsanctioned graffiti and tags can also pose challenges to urban design and city aesthetics. Illegally sprayed graffiti on buildings, infrastructure, and public spaces may be perceived as vandalism and can lead to a sense of disorder in the city, impacting the quality of the built environment (Shillington, 2016).

In Amman, the main hub for graffiti, there has been a lack of comprehensive research investigating the relationship between graffiti and spatial cognition. Despite the vibrant presence of graffiti within the city, little attention has been given to understanding how individuals perceive and interact with these artistic expressions in their spatial environment. The existing body of research in this field is limited and fails to provide a comprehensive understanding of the impact of graffiti on spatial cognition in Amman. Therefore, there is a pressing need for further investigation to bridge this research gap and shed light on the intricate connection between graffiti and the way individuals perceive and navigate urban spaces in Amman.

Research Setting

The research took place in Amman, Jordan, a city divided into twenty-seven districts, with Basman being one of them. Basman is further divided into multiple neighborhoods, including Al Hashmi Al Shamali, which is characterized as a densely populated residential area (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Al Hashmi Al Shamali region. Source: Amman City GIS edited by the author, 2022.

Hashemi Shamali, a low-income neighborhood has witnessed a significant influx of refugees over the past 15 years due to its combination of affordable living costs and access to various services (Perosa, 2018). The study focuses on the Naifeh neighborhood, a small area that can be reached through the main street known as 'Al-Bathaa Street'. In this neighborhood, buildings are irregularly arranged, belonging to a single plot of land, and predominantly constructed using brick as the primary material (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Map of focus area in Naifeh neighborhood. Source: Amman City GIS edited by the Author.

Several projects have been implemented in this specific area to infuse colors and enrich the local culture. The initiatives commenced in 2017 with the annual Baladk Urban Arts Festivals, which involved the collaboration of international and local artists, as well as a few civil society organizations. As a result, numerous murals now adorn the walls of this area in Amman (Wolfang, 2022).

Research Methodology

This research uses qualitative methods and semiotics to analyze the aesthetic meanings of graffiti and understand the perceptions of the local community towards this art form. It involved conducting open-ended interviews with 20 participants from the local community, including men and women of different age groups. This is to help provide a more comprehensive understanding of the perceptions and attitudes towards graffiti in the area and ensure that a diverse range of perspectives are represented in the research.

The research began with several visits to the research site to conduct on-site observations at different times. These visits allowed the researcher to closely examine the graffiti artworks and their surroundings, gaining a comprehensive understanding of their physical characteristics, context, and visual impact. During these visits, the locations of the mural sites were carefully marked on a map, ensuring accurate documentation and reference for further analysis (Figs 3, 4, 5 & 6). It then applied semiotics, which delved deeper into the symbols and meanings behind the graffiti and understood the ways in which they contribute to the visual landscape of the area. Subsequently, a chronological timeline of the murals was created to identify potential connections between murals from the same year or discern any recurring patterns.

In order to understand the meanings of the murals, extensive research was conducted, consulting existing resources and literature. This information helped to return to the site and engage with local residents to gather their interpretations of the murals' meanings. These interpretations were collated and presented in a tabular format, highlighting the diversity of perspectives regarding the murals.

To delve deeper into the impact of the graffiti on the local community, interviews were conducted with 20 randomly selected locals. These interviews aimed to uncover how the murals affected the participants, exploring their perceptions, perspectives, and whether the presence

of graffiti enhanced their connection to the area or enriched its aesthetic value.

Throughout the entire research process, ethics were considered, involving obtaining informed consent from the participants and safeguarding their privacy. This methodological approach yielded valuable insights into graffiti, its meanings, and its significance to the local community in Jordan.



Fig. 3: Map of Locations of the Murals. Source: Amman City GIS Edited by the Researcher.



Fig. 4: The Images of Murals Locations. Source: Researcher.



Fig. 5: The Images of Murals Locations. Source: Researcher.



Fig. 6: The Images of Murals Locations. Source: Researcher.

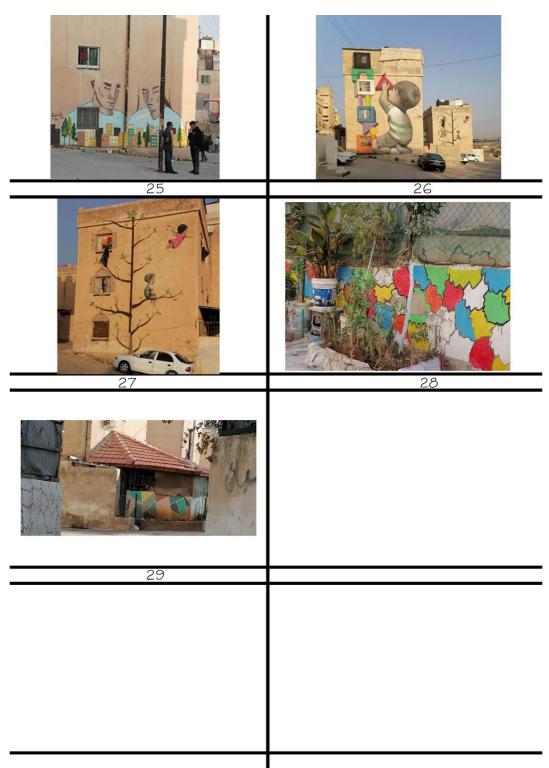


Fig. 7: The Images of Murals Locations. Source: Researcher.

To delve deeper into the meaning and significance of the mural images, an extensive literature review was conducted. This involved researching and studying various sources to gain insights into the cultural, historical, and artistic contexts that might inform the interpretation of the graffiti and make a timeline for all the murals (Fig. 7).



Fig. 8: The Timeline of the Murals Locations. Source: Researcher.

Upon analyzing the timeline map of the murals, it was observed that there were no discernible connections or thematic similarities between the images of the murals created in the same year. Each mural appeared to be unique and distinct, with no apparent visual or conceptual links to the other murals from the same period. This suggests that the creation and selection of mural designs in each year were independent of one another, reflecting diverse artistic expressions and individual artistic visions rather than a cohesive narrative or thematic progression.

Table 1: The Meanings of the Murals and Expression of the Locals Source : The Interviews.

	Source : The Interviews.			
No.	Images	Actual Meaning	expressions of locals	
		The child from Za'atari refugee camp	The child from Za'atari refugee camp	
		Bedouin bride in 1935	Bedouin bride in 1935	
			textile	

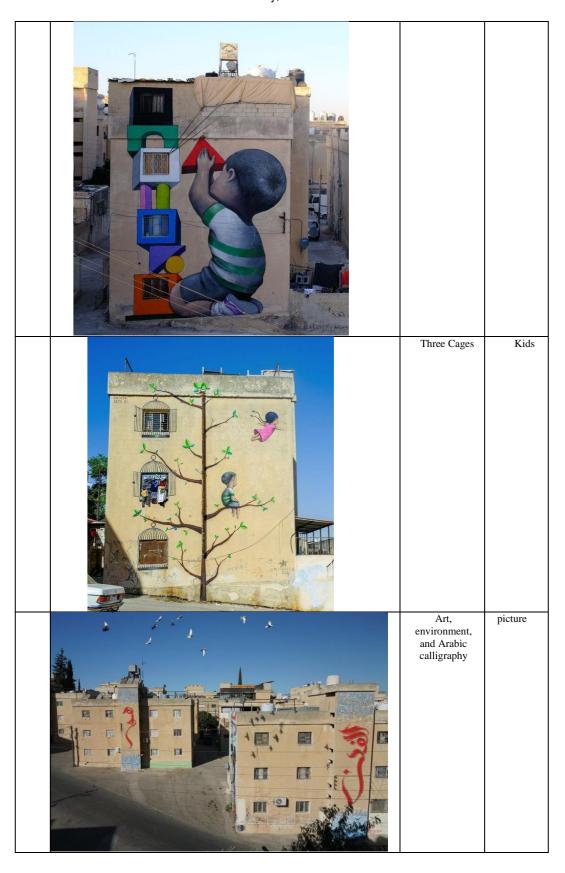


O CACAL	She seems to have a hole where her heart should be.	picture
	Covering the piece	Picture
	A blue haired woman	picture
		Individual effort to imitate graffiti

	A man, a woman, and a cat all with their heads sticking out of the roof of their own little house	picture
	IMAGINE believing in yourself and following your dreams, children of Hashmi Shamali. Imagine to step beyond limitations and try something new	Kashish birds the man who flying the birds to bring more for yourself
13: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3: 3	The mural shows life through a water vase and palm trees in the background, shown with a strong woman that is holding the vase.	Iron Women

	An abstract composition that hints a fountain and plays with the building's simple architecture.	Just colors
		Smuggling weed
The state of the s		Individual efforts to imitate graffiti

	The way to life	Picture
Stage Burkey	The Cube is an imitation of life itself - or even an improvement on life	The Struggle of the Powerful
	The Last Piece	Just colors Lago





Individual effort to imitate graffiti

Based on the responses from the locals regarding the meanings of the murals, the locals' perceptions were particularly interesting to understanding how people's daily memories shape their perception and utilization of familiar places, both in terms of their visual appearances and the variations they experience over time. I wanted to explore how these memories act as a filter through which individuals perceive and interpret their current surroundings. It became apparent that when people discuss the pictures they have taken of these places, the conversation often veers away from the actual image itself. Instead, it delves into the personal meanings attached to the place, the memories associated with it, and the stories rooted in their backgrounds. These aspects play a significant role in how individuals perceive and relate to the place.

The memories associated with a place and the stories rooted in its background play a significant role in shaping how individuals perceive and connect with that location. For instance, when I inquire about the Bedouin bride mural from local residents, they often share captivating stories about Palestine, the migration to this area, the traditional bridal attire, and the unique wedding customs. These narratives are deeply personal and hold sentimental value, even though they might not directly relate to the mural itself.

Similarly, when discussing the significance of the Palestinian flag, locals emphasize its role as a symbol of identity and remembrance for themselves, their descendants, and visitors. It serves as a constant reminder of their Palestinian heritage and cultural heritage.

Moreover, there are individuals with memories tied to specific aspects of the neighborhood. For instance, the 17th mural is associated with the discovery of drugs for some. This connection highlights how individual experiences and perceptions are intricately linked to the artwork and its surroundings.

Overall, these diverse memories and stories intertwine with the physical elements of the place, creating a rich tapestry of meanings and emotions that shape people's relationships with the location beyond the mere presence of the murals themselves.

Furthermore, to capture the perceptions and understanding of the local community of the mural images and their role in spatial cognition, open-ended interviews were conducted with residents and individuals familiar with the area. These interviews provided an opportunity to gather qualitative data and firsthand accounts regarding the locals' personal interpretations, experiences, and associations with the graffiti. By engaging in dialogue with the participants, valuable insights into the impact of the graffiti on spatial cognition and the broader community perception were obtained.

Participants: The study involved 20 local residents randomly selected, ensuring a diverse representation of women, men, children, and the elderly. These participants were interviewed to collect their impressions regarding the 30 graffiti murals in the neighborhood.

Data Collection: Data was collected through a series of semi-structured interviews

conducted in person. Participants were presented with a display of all 30 murals, printed out one by one, and were asked to provide their impressions about each one. Question one asked participants what each mural meant to them. Question two asked if they had ever used any of the murals to make the place known. Question three asked if they thought any of the murals had changed the neighborhood's appearance. Question four asked if they believed any of the murals provided benefits to the locals and visitors.

Data Analysis: The responses to the interview questions were recorded and transcribed. The data was then analyzed using thematic analysis to identify common themes and patterns in participants' responses. The themes were coded and organized into categories to help identify trends in the data.

Limitations: Limitations of this study include the small sample size and the fact that it focused on a single small neighborhood. The results may not be generalizable to other neighborhoods or cities.

Overall, the methodology employed a combination of on-site observations of graffiti store reviews, and open-ended interviews to gather a comprehensive understanding of the graffiti's meaning, its impact on spatial cognition, and the perspectives of the local community.

Dissection

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim to ensure accurate representation of the participants' responses. These transcriptions served as the primary data for the analysis process.

Next, the researcher thoroughly read through the transcriptions multiple times to gain familiarity with the content and to identify any initial patterns, recurring ideas or key points within the data. This initial reading helped in developing a comprehensive understanding of the interview material.

Following the initial reading, a coding process was implemented. The researcher assigned codes to different segments of the data based on the research questions and the information provided by the participants. Codes were applied to capture meaningful concepts, themes, or ideas discussed during the interviews.

Generate initial codes: Based on the highlighted phrases, generate a list of initial codes that represent each theme or concept as follows.

- Community history and culture
- Diversity and inclusivity
- Hope and unity
- Social media sharing
- Landmark
- Tourist attraction
- Color and character
- Positive neighborhood image
- Recognizable symbol
- Business benefits
- Welcoming and vibrant
- Pride and connection

The codes were then reviewed, and similar codes were grouped together into broader categories or themes. This process involved organizing the codes into clusters that shared common characteristics or represented similar topics.

Theme 1 emerged as 'Refugee resilience and cultural representation', which included codes related to the resilience and struggles of refugees as well as the representation of their culture and traditions.

Theme 2 revolved around 'Neighborhood character and depth', encompassing codes related to the distinct character and depth of the neighborhood as perceived by the participants.

Lastly, Theme 3 highlighted the 'Educational value for visitors', which included codes relating to the educational aspects and value that the graffiti held for the visitors.

By categorizing and grouping the codes into themes, a clear and organized framework for analyzing the data was established. This thematic analysis approach helped identify significant patterns, recurring ideas, and key themes that emerged from the interviews, providing valuable insights into the participants' perceptions and experiences.

The data was refining the themes by reviewing the data again and making sure each theme is supported by the data.

Theme 1: Refugee resilience and cultural representation

- Codes: Refugee resilience and struggles, Cultural representation, and tradition
- Description: This theme represents the ways in which the murals depicting the child from Za'atari refugee camp, and the traditional Palestinian bride serve as symbols of resilience and cultural representation for the community.

Theme 2: Neighborhood character and depth

- Codes: Neighborhood character and depth
- Description: This theme represents the ways in which the murals add character and depth to the neighborhood's appearance and identity.

Theme 3: Educational value for visitors

- Codes: Educational value for visitors
- Description: This theme represents the ways in which the murals can help educate visitors about the community's culture and history.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore local residents' impressions of 30 murals in the community. Participants were asked four open-ended questions, including what each mural meant to them, whether they had used the mural to make the place identified, whether they believed the mural changed the neighborhood's appearance, and whether they believed the mural provided benefits to the locals and visitors.

Thematic analysis was used to identify the patterns and the themes in the data related to the murals that participants felt a connection to. The analysis revealed three main themes: Refugee resilience and cultural representation, neighborhood character and depth, and educational value for visitors.

The first theme: refugee resilience and cultural representation, represented the ways in which the murals depicting the child from Za'atari refugee camp, and the traditional Palestinian bride served as symbols of resilience and cultural representation for the community. Participants expressed a sense of connection and pride in these murals, highlighting their cultural significance and the representation of the community's history and traditions.

The second theme: neighborhood character and depth, represented the ways in which the murals added character and depth to the neighborhood's appearance and identity. Participants appreciated the aesthetic value of the murals and felt that they enhanced the overall appearance and the feel of the neighborhood.

The third theme: educational value for visitors, represented the ways in which the murals could help educate visitors about the community's culture and history. Participants recognized the potential of the murals to inform the visitors and promote understanding and appreciation of the community's diversity.

Overall, the study found that while not all murals resonated with the participants, those that did provided a sense of cultural representation and community pride, enhanced the neighborhood's appearance and identity, and had potential for educational value for visitors.

In other words, this research emphasized the importance of the Municipality of Amman considering the perception of locals while selecting graffiti murals and carefully choosing their locations to be culturally relevant to the neighborhood, rather than distributing them randomly. Taking into account Cultural Identity and Community Expression is crucial, as neglecting this aspect could lead to challenges such as vandalism by locals or gentrification within these neighborhoods when promoting street art initiatives.

Recommendations

To create a cohesive and meaningful image for the neighborhood, the selection of graffiti murals should go beyond mere coloring and focus on establishing a connected theme or narrative. By considering the following elements, the murals can contribute to a harmonious and visually appealing urban environment:

Cultural Heritage and History: Incorporate themes that celebrate the rich cultural heritage and history of the neighborhood. Depicting iconic historical figures, events, or traditional symbols can establish a strong sense of identity and pride among the locals.

Community Stories and Personal Narratives: Involve the community in the creation process by collecting their personal stories, memories, and experiences. These narratives can be translated into artistic expressions, making the murals deeply relatable and relevant to the residents.

Local Artistic Collaboration: Engage local artists to collaboratively design and create murals. Encouraging diverse styles and perspectives will foster a vibrant and unique artistic language that represents the neighborhood's creative spirit.

Environmental and Social Awareness: Use the murals as a platform to raise awareness about environmental issues, social challenges, and community aspirations. Addressing relevant topics can foster a sense of responsibility and unity within the neighborhood.

Visual Continuity and Aesthetics: Establish a visual thread that connects the murals cohesively. Consistent color palettes, complementary styles, or recurring motifs can create a harmonious visual language throughout the neighborhood.

Interactive and Inclusive Design: Integrate interactive elements into the murals, encouraging community engagement and participation. This could include spaces for community events, storytelling, or interactive installations that invite residents to leave their mark.

Location Relevance: Strategically place the murals in locations that hold significance to the community. Aligning the artworks with community hubs, landmarks, or public spaces can enhance the murals' relevance and impact.

By incorporating these elements, the graffiti murals can transcend simple coloring and become a powerful storytelling medium, weaving a compelling image of the neighborhood that resonates with both residents and visitors alike.

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