## National Poll

## EMBARGOED UNTIL 4 A.M. EDT, Wednesday, MARch 22, 2023

Study \#2266
1,004 U.S. adults ages 18 and over,
Margin of error: $\pm 3.1$ percentage points

SElZER \& Company
March 14-19, 2023
Weighted by sex, age, and race

Shading in gray indicates tracking from previous polls.

## Percentages may not add to $\mathbf{1 0 0 \%}$ due to rounding.

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling: (Rotate list, but A must always come first.)

|  |  |  | Approve | Disapprove | Not Sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A. | His job as president | Mar-23 | 39 | 51 | 10 |
|  |  | Sep-22 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
|  |  | Mar-22 | 34 | 52 | 14 |
|  |  | Oct-21 | 37 | 50 | 12 |
| $B$. | Immigration | Mar-23 | 31 | 54 | 15 |
|  |  | Oct-21 | 27 | 58 | 16 |
| C. | The economy | Mar-23 | 35 | 56 | 8 |
|  |  | Mar-22 | 31 | 57 | 13 |
|  |  | Oct-21 | 36 | 53 | 11 |
| D. | The war in Ukraine | Mar-23 | 43 | 45 | 12 |
|  | (Not directly comparable:) |  |  |  |  |
|  | The Russian invasion of Ukraine | Mar-22 | 37 | 48 | 14 |

2. I'm going to mention some people in the news. For each, please tell me if your feelings are very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable. If you don't know enough about the person to answer, just say so. (Record "don't know" as "not sure." Rotate list.)

| A. | Joe Biden, president of the U.S. |  | Fav | Unf | Very Favorable | Mostly Favorable | Mostly Unfavorable | Very Unfavorable | Not Sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Mar-23 | 44 | 52 | 15 | 30 | 16 | 36 | 4 |
|  |  | Mar-21 | 49 | 43 | 23 | 26 | 12 | 31 | 8 |
|  | Joe Biden, Democratic nominee for president of the U.S. | Aug-20 | 43 | 48 | 20 | 23 | 16 | 32 | 9 |
|  | Joe Biden, former vice president of the U.S. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mar-20 } \\ & \text { Oct-19 } \end{aligned}$ | $46$ | $\begin{aligned} & 42 \\ & 44 \end{aligned}$ | $18$ | $\begin{aligned} & 27 \\ & 32 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 17 \\ & 10 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 25 \\ & 24 \end{aligned}$ | 12 9 |
| B. | Kamala Harris, vice president of the U.S. | Mar-23 | 39 | 50 | 13 | 26 | 15 | 35 | 10 |
|  |  | Mar-21 | 44 | 41 | 21 | 22 | 10 | 31 | 15 |
| C. | The governor of your state | Mar-23 | 54 | 36 | 23 | 30 | 16 | 20 | 10 |
|  |  | Mar-21 | 55 | 34 | 21 | 34 | 15 | 19 | 11 |
|  |  | Aug-20 | 56 | 29 | 22 | 34 | 12 | 17 | 15 |
| D. | Mike Pence, former vice president of the U.S. | Mar-23 | 35 | 51 | 8 | 27 | 29 | 23 | 14 |
|  |  | Mar-21 | 43 | 41 | 18 | 26 | 19 | 22 | 16 |
|  | Mike Pence, vice president of the U.S. | Oct-19 | 44 | 44 | 24 | 21 | 16 | 28 | 12 |


| E. | Donald Trump, former president of the U.S. <br> Donald Trump, president of the U.S. |  | Fav | Unf | Favoryble | Mostly Favorable | Mostly Unfavorable | Unfavorable | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Not } \\ & \text { Sure } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Mar-23 | 38 | 58 | 20 | 18 | 13 | 45 | 4 |
|  |  | Mar-21 | 43 | 52 | 28 | 15 | 13 | 39 | 5 |
|  |  | Aug-20 | 42 | 52 | 26 | 16 | 10 | 42 | 6 |
|  |  | Mar-20 | 43 | 51 | 25 | 18 | 12 | 39 | 6 |
|  |  | Oct-19 | 42 | 54 | 27 | 15 | 10 | 44 | 4 |
|  |  | Nov-18 | 47 | 49 | 26 | 21 | 14 | 35 | 4 |
|  |  | Sep-18 | 42 | 50 | 25 | 17 | 12 | 38 | 8 |
| F. | Ron DeSantis, governor of Florida | Mar-23 | 38 | 41 | 20 | 18 | 11 | 29 | 21 |
| G. | Kevin McCarthy, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives | Mar-23 | 29 | 40 | 7 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 31 |
| H. | Nikki Haley, former governor of South Carolina | Mar-23 | 25 | 28 | 7 | 17 | 18 | 10 | 48 |

3. As you look forward to the presidential contest next year, which type of candidate appeals to you more: (Read list. Rotate.)
A candidate who
will compromise
with the other
party

| A candidate who <br> will fight for your | Not |
| :--- | :---: |
| party's priorities | sure |

Mar-23
44
48
8
4. Which of the following best describes your interest in American politics: (Read list. Do not rotate.)

|  | Paying a lot/ <br> Fair amount <br> of attention <br> to political <br> news | Glancing at/ <br> deliberately <br> avoiding <br> political <br> news | Paying a lot <br> of attention <br> to political <br> news | Paying a fair <br> amount of <br> attention to <br> political <br> news | Just glancing <br> at political <br> news once in <br> a while | Deliberately <br> avoiding <br> political <br> news | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 67 | 31 | 28 | 39 | 21 | 10 | 2 |

5. For each of the following statements, please tell me if you strongly agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree. (Rotate list.)

|  |  | Agree | Disagree | Strongly <br> Agree | Mostly <br> Agree | Mostly <br> Disagree | Strongly <br> Disagree | Not <br> Sure |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| People with high <br> levels of education <br> and expertise do not | Mar-23 | $\mathbf{4 9}$ | $\mathbf{4 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 9}$ | $\mathbf{3 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 6}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ |
| understand the <br> problems of ordinary <br> people | Oct-21 | 47 | 49 | 20 | 27 | 29 | 20 | 4 |
| B.Ordinary people | Mar- 23 | $\mathbf{6 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 9}$ | $\mathbf{3 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{7}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ |
| elected to office will <br> do a better job of | Oct- 21 | 64 | 27 | 37 | 27 | 19 | 8 | 9 |


|  |  | Agree | Disagree | Strongly <br> Agree | Mostly <br> Agree | Mostly <br> Disagree | Strongly <br> Disagree | Not <br> Sure |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| C. $\quad$There are too many <br> immigrants coming to | Mar-23 | $\mathbf{4 7}$ | $\mathbf{4 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ |
| One U.S. | Oct-21 | 45 | 50 | 30 | 15 | 23 | 27 | 5 |

6. I'm going to mention some recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions. For each, please tell me if you favor or oppose. (Rotate list.)

|  |  | Favor | Oppose | Not <br> Sure |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A. | There is no constitutional right to abortion | Mar-23 | 33 | 60 | 7 |
| B. | A public high school must allow a football coach <br> to pray with the team after games | Mar-23 | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| C.Most gun owners must be granted concealed- <br> carry licenses for their guns | Mar-23 | 60 | 36 | 4 |  |

7. The Supreme Court has not yet decided whether the Constitution allows business owners to refuse service to gay or lesbian customers because of religious objections to homosexuality. Do you favor or oppose allowing businesses to refuse service?

|  | Favor | Oppose | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 27 | 68 | 5 |

8. Some states have proposed legislation that would ban transgender children from receiving gender-affirming medical care before they turn 18 even with the approval of their parents or guardians and their doctors. Do you favor or oppose proposed legislation like this? (Follow with:) Do you strongly [FAVOR/OPPOSE] or mostly [FAVOR/OPPOSE]?

|  | Favor | Oppose | Strongly <br> favor | Mostly <br> favor | Mostly <br> oppose | Strongly <br> oppose | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 41 | 53 | 30 | 11 | 17 | 37 | 5 |

9. I have some questions about freedom of speech. For each of the following situations, please tell me if you think it is appropriate or is not appropriate for the groups of people mentioned to speak their minds about politics. (Read list. Rotate.)

|  |  | Is Appropriate | Is not <br> Appropriate | Not <br> Sure |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| A. | Public school teachers in their classrooms | Mar-23 | 41 | 57 | 2 |
| B. | Public school students in their classrooms | Mar-23 | 73 | 25 | 2 |
| C. | Clergy in places of worship | Mar-23 | 51 | 45 | 4 |
| D. | Professional athletes after games | Mar-23 | 68 | 30 | 2 |
| E. | Members of the public at lawful protest <br> gatherings | Mar-23 | 92 | 6 | 1 |
| F. | College professors in their classrooms | Mar-23 | 58 | 39 | 3 |
| G.Members of Congress in government <br> buildings | Mar-23 | 88 | 11 | 1 |  |

10. For each of the following books or topics, please tell me if this is generally the kind of material you think should or should not be part of a library in a public middle school. (Rotate list.)

Should Not
Should Not Sure

| A. | Sexual orientation | Mar-23 | 56 | 42 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| B. | Racism in American society | Mar-23 | 76 | 22 | 2 |
| C. | Gender identity | Mar-23 | 57 | 41 | 2 |
| D. | The Bible | Mar-23 | 84 | 15 | 1 |
| E. | Creationism | Mar-23 | 67 | 22 | 10 |
| F. | The Quran | Mar-23 | 67 | 25 | 8 |

11. For each of the following, please tell me how much of a role you think the group should play in making decisions about what materials are available in school libraries-should each play a big part, a small part, or no part? (Read list. Rotate.)

|  |  | Big part | Small part | No part | Not <br> Sure |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A. | Families of students | Mar-23 | 53 | 36 | 10 | 1 |
| B. | The local elected school board | Mar-23 | 44 | 42 | 13 | 1 |
| C. | School librarians | Mar-23 | 57 | 30 | 12 | 1 |
| D. | Elected officials at the state <br> level | Mar-23 | 17 | 39 | 43 | 1 |
| E. | Students | Mar-23 | 55 | 32 | 12 | 1 |

12. Which of the following two options better fits your view about current discussions about the kinds of materials that should be allowed in school libraries? (Rotate.)

| Worried that materials that could <br> be harmful to students will remain <br> available in school libraries | Worried that materials that could <br> be valuable to students will be <br> removed from school libraries | Neither <br> (VOL) | Both <br> (VOL) | Not <br> sure |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 30 | 62 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

13. As you think about the next 12 months, do you expect the overall strength of the U.S. economy to be better or worse as compared to the way you see it now?

|  | Better | Worse | About the <br> same (VOL) | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | $\mathbf{3 6}$ | $\mathbf{5 8}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ |
| Mar-22 | 27 | 58 | 9 | 6 |
| Oct-21 | 36 | 52 | 7 | 5 |
| Mar-21 | 47 | 45 | 3 | 5 |
| Aug-20 | 54 | 27 | 6 | 13 |
| Mar-20 | 59 | 34 | 1 | 6 |
| Oct-19 | 47 | 41 | 5 | 8 |

14. How confident are you that, across the country, the votes in the $\mathbf{2 0 2 4}$ general election next year will be counted as voters intended-very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

|  | Very/smwt <br> confident | Not tool <br> at all <br> confident | Very <br> confident | Somewhat <br> confident | Not too <br> confident | Not at all <br> confident | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 63 | 35 | 33 | 30 | 19 | 15 | 3 |

How confident are you that, across the country, the votes in the $\mathbf{2 0 2 2}$ general election this year will be counted as voters intended-very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

|  | Very/smwt <br> confident | Not too/ <br> at all <br> confident | Very <br> confident | Somewhat <br> confident | Not too <br> confident | Not at all <br> confident | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep-22 | 64 | 31 | 30 | 34 | 19 | 12 | 5 |
| Mar-22 | 60 | 35 | 29 | 31 | 20 | 16 | 5 |
| Oct-21 | 58 | 38 | 30 | 28 | 20 | 18 | 4 |
| Mar-21 | 53 | 44 | 24 | 29 | 23 | 21 | 3 |
| Aug-20 | 62 | 34 | 20 | 42 | 22 | 12 | 4 |
| Mar-20 | 69 | 28 | 27 | 42 | 20 | 8 | 4 |
| Oct-19 | 68 | 28 | 25 | 43 | 18 | 10 | 4 |

## 15. (Code) Q. 16 split form: Record the form the respondent hears.

50 Form A
50 Form B
[FORM A]
16a. Public school teachers sometimes learn information about their students that a student's parents or guardians may or may not need to know. If a teacher learns that a middle school student has been reading a book on sex education in the school library, how important is it to you that the teacher informs the student's parents or guardians-very important, somewhat important, not important? (Form A, n=501. Margin of error: $\mathbf{\pm 4 . 4}$ percentage points.)

|  | Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not <br> important | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 29 | 27 | 42 | 1 |

## [FORM B]

16b. Public school teachers sometimes learn information about their students that a student's parents or guardians may or may not need to know. If a teacher learns that a middle school student has adopted a gender identity different than the one assigned to them at birth, how important is it to you that the teacher informs the student's parents or guardians-very important, somewhat important, not important? (Form B, n=503. Margin of error: $\pm 4.4$ percentage points.)

|  | Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not <br> important | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 43 | 23 | 31 | 3 |

These final questions are asked just to see what cross-section of U.S. residents we are interviewing.

100a. What is your age? (RECORD ACTUAL AGE AND CODE WITH APPROPRIATE AGE GROUP. IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, OFFER AGE GROUPS.)

## b. (CODE PROPER CATEGORY :)

|  | Under <br> 25 | $\mathbf{2 5}$ to 29 | $\mathbf{3 0}$ to $\mathbf{3 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 5}$ to $\mathbf{3 9}$ | $\mathbf{4 0}$ to $\mathbf{4 4}$ | $\mathbf{4 5}$ to $\mathbf{4 9}$ | 50 | to 54 | 55 | to 59 | $\mathbf{6 0}$ to $\mathbf{6 4}$ | 65 <br> over |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 24 | 1 |  |

101a. In the 2020 presidential election, did you vote for [Donald Trump] or [Joe Biden], for someone else, or did you not vote? [Rotate candidate names.]

|  | Donald <br> Trump | Joe <br> Biden | Someone <br> else | Did not <br> vote | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 32 | 38 | 5 | 20 | 4 |

101b. How likely is it you will vote in the November 2024 election for president and other offices-do you think you would definitely vote, probably vote, might or might not vote, or probably not vote?

|  | Definitely <br> vote | Probably <br> vote | Might or <br> might not <br> vote | Probably <br> not vote | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 76 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 1 |

How likely is it you will vote in the 2022 general election-will you definitely vote, probably vote, might or might not vote, or probably not vote?

|  | Definitely <br> vote | Probably <br> vote | Might or <br> might not <br> vote | Probably <br> not vote | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| Sep-22 | 71 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 1 |

How likely is it you will vote in the November 2020 election for president and other offices-do you think you would definitely vote, probably vote, might or might not vote, or probably not vote?

|  | Definitely <br> vote | Probably <br> vote | Might or <br> might not <br> vote | Probably <br> not vote | Not <br> sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug-20 | 77 | 9 | 3 | 9 | 2 |
| Mar-20 | 71 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 1 |
| Oct-19 | 78 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| Nov-18 | 79 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

102. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?
(If Republican or Democrat, ask:) Do you consider yourself a strong [REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRAT]?
(If independent, ask:) Do you lean more toward the Republicans or more toward the Democrats, or are you totally independent?

|  | Strong <br> Republican | Republican | Lean <br> Republican | Totally <br> independent | Lean <br> Democrat | Democrat | Strong <br> Democrat | Other <br> (VOL) | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 26 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 5 | 1 |

103. Do you consider yourself conservative, moderate, or liberal?

| Conservative | Moderate | Liberal | None of <br> these (VOL) | Refused/ <br> Not sure |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 29 | 38 | 26 | 3 | 4 |

104. What is the last grade of school you completed?

|  | High school <br> graduate or <br> less | Some <br> college | Associate's <br> (two-year) <br> degree | Bachelor's <br> (four-year) <br> degree | Postgraduate <br> work or <br> degree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Refused/ |
| :---: |
| not sure |

105. Do you have children under the age of 18 living at home?

|  | Yes | No | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 26 | 72 | 2 |

105b. Are any of these children in public schools, $K$ through 12 ? ( $\mathrm{n}=\mathbf{2 4 1}$; MoE: $\pm 6.3$ percentage points)

|  | Yes | No | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 76 | 23 | 1 |

106. Would you describe the area where you live as a city, a suburb, a town, or a rural area?

|  | City | Suburb | Town | Rural | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 29 | 28 | 17 | 23 | 3 |

107. Which of the following best describes your religious beliefs-Roman Catholic, Protestant, some other kind of Christian, Jewish, Muslim, other, or none?

|  | Roman <br> Catholic | Some other <br> kind of <br> Christian | Jewish | Muslim | Other | None | Refused/ <br> not sure |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 16 | 20 | 27 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 22 | 7 |

108. (Ask all.) Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

|  | Yes | No | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 26 | 70 | 5 |

109. (Ask all.) How often do you attend religious services: (Read list.)

|  | At least <br> once a <br> week | A couple of <br> times a <br> month | Less <br> A few times <br> a year <br> than once a | year | Never | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 26 | 12 | 16 | 18 | 24 | 4 |

110a. With what racial or ethnic group do you identify most-White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, or some other group?
110b. (If not Hispanic, ask:) Are you from a Latino, Hispanic, or Spanish-speaking background?
(If yes, code $A C=3$ in $b$. Then reclassify all into $c$.)
110c.

|  | White | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Native <br> American | Other | Multi-racial <br> (VOL) | Refused/ <br> not sure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 60 | 12 | 15 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 |

111. Is your total annual household income before taxes above or below $\$ 50,000$ per year?Below ASK b Above ASK c
b. Is it above or below $\$ 25,000$ per year?

12 Below (<\$25,000)
17 Above (\$25,000-\$49,999)
c. Is it above or below $\$ 75,000$ per year?

14 Below (\$50,000-\$74,999)
Above: Ask d
d. Is it above or below $\$ 100,000$ per year?

12 Below (\$75,000-\$99,999)
33 Above (\$100,000 and over)
11 Refused/not sure
112. Phone type
Cell phone

only | Landline or |
| :---: |
| some other |
| type |

113. What is your gender or sex: (Let respondent volunteer. S\&C will recode as appropriate.)

Male Female | Other |
| :---: |
| (specify:) |

| Mar-23 | 48 | 50 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

114. REGN—see attachment for applicable states. Recode from Q.A.

|  | Northeast | Midwest | South | West |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 18 | 22 | 35 | 26 |

119. (Code from Q.A) Respondent lives in a state with a Republican or Democratic governor. (See attached spreadsheet for reference.)

|  | Republican | Democrat |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar-23 | 49 | 51 |

## Methodology

The Grinnell College National Poll, conducted March 14-19, 2023, for Grinnell College by Selzer \& Co. of Des Moines, IA, is based on telephone interviews with 1,004 U.S. adults ages 18 or older.

Interviewers with Quantel Research contacted households with randomly selected landline and cell phone numbers. Interviews were administered in English. Responses were adjusted by sex, age, and race to reflect the general population based on recent census data.

Percentages based on the full probability sample of 1,004 respondents may have a maximum margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points. This means that if this survey were repeated using the same questions and the same methodology, 19 times out of 20 , the findings would not vary from the true population value by more than plus or minus 3.1 percentage points. Results based on smaller samples of respondents-such as by gender or age-have a larger margin of error.

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