Economic Gardening

Oldest Entrepreneurial Approach to Economic Development in America

By Don Macke with Chris Gibbons

Over 34 years ago the term **Economic Gardening** was coined by Phil Burgess with the Center for the New West who made the observation that communities should do less economic hunting (recruiting companies from other towns) and focus on growing local companies at home (economic gardening). Economic Gardening introduced the idea that entrepreneurial activity should be a standard part of the economic development portfolio.¹

Introduction

Economic Gardening and its founder, Chris Gibbons has greatly contributed to entrepreneurship-led economic development movement both here in the United States and internationally. This paper provides a companion piece to our <u>Pathways to Rural Prosperity Podcast</u> episode with Chris Gibbons. Our paper is organized into the following sections:

- Philip Burges, Center for the New West
- Development of Economic Gardening
- Chris Gibbons, National Center for Economic Gardening
- What is Economic Gardening?
- Economic Gardening and Entrepreneurial Ecosystem Development
- Why Economic Gardening Works
- Economic Gardening Impact
- Resources

Philip Burges, Center for the New West

Years ago, as I was still getting my feet under me with rural community economic development, I had the opportunity to hear Philip Burges, then CEO of Denver-based think tank, Center for the New West. His talk inspired me, gave me



hope and educated me on what kind of economic development might make sense for rural America



where I was working. Burgess coined the term **Economic Gardening** as a counterpoint to the well-established, traditional, and most common form of economic development known as **business attraction.** By Economic Gardening Burgess evolved an image of a growing garden from within the community with the opportunities and assets well in hand. Business attraction connoted the opposite image of hunting. To this day there continues to be a tug of war within economic development

¹ National Center for Economic Gardening website, <u>https://economicgardening.org/</u>



between **gardening** or **entrepreneurship** and **hunting** or **business attraction**. This debate is justified, and at e2 we believe that we should invest more into entrepreneurship and be smarter and moderate our investments into business attraction.

In so many ways business attraction is a **zero-sum game** in economic development, particularly where we employ public and private funds to create incentives to move ventures and employment from one community in America to another. For some communities, attraction remains a development option and can make sense when the right conditions are employed and incentive packages reasonable. But at e2 we agree that entrepreneurship is the foundation for all economic development. To learn more, check out our paper <u>Why Entrepreneurship? Making the Case for Entrepreneurship!</u>

Economic Gardening traces its roots back to 1987 in Littleton, Colorado, when defense contractor Martin Marietta cut its workforce in half in response to the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the USSR. The resulting 7,000 lost jobs led the city council to rely less on out-of-state corporations and more on local growth companies.²

Development of Economic Gardening

The aforementioned 1987 city council gave a simple direction to the economic developers, "work with *local companies to create good jobs.*" They weren't interested in burger-flipping jobs.

Shortly thereafter, the Littleton staff met Phil Burgess. Phil was convinced that economies could be built by working with local, stage 2, growth companies that sold to external markets. He told the Littleton economic developers that they should shift away from economic hunting (recruiting) and in instead focus on economic gardening (growing your own.)

About Littleton, Colorado

Littleton is now part of the Denver metropolitan area but continues to be a "Home-Rule Municipality" under Colorado law. It is located in the far southwest part of the Denver Metro located along U.S. 85. It is the county seat for Arapahoe County, one of the fastest growing metro counties in the United States. The estimated population for Littleton is just over 48,000 residents in 2019. Littleton's history dates back to 1859 and the Pike's Peak Gold Rush. The first Census population is posted for 1880s with 100 residents.



Littleton, CO



² National Center for Economic Gardening website, <u>https://economicgardening.org/</u>



Map 1 – Denver Metro Area. Littleton is located on US85 in south central Denver.

Over the next several years the Littleton staff met with a number of leading thinkers in the field, including Paul Romer who went on to win a Nobel Prize in economics. They also attended conferences about the new science of Complex Adaptive Systems at the Santa Fe Institute which described the inner workings of biological systems including both business and economies. Adding sophisticated, corporate level tools to these foundational principles and then working out the root problems that prevented companies from growing, Economic Gardening started producing amazing results. The job base in Littleton grew from 15,000 to 30,000 without recruiting a single company.

Within a decade the program started winning national awards and the story of its success spread across the country. Over 800 communities inquired into the details of how it worked.

Chris Gibbons, National Center for Economic Gardening

I have known Chris Gibbons for a long time dating back to his pioneering and innovative work with Economic Gardening in Littleton, and now through his work with the National Center for Economic Gardening. At e2 we consider Chris to be among the top 10 entrepreneurship thought leaders today in the United States. His work has inspired and informed an entire generation of economic developers embracing entrepreneurship-led development. I still remember one of the first international Economic Gardening gatherings during the summer in beautiful Steamboat Springs, Colorado. Chris was inspiring and truly committed to



Chris Gibbons



entrepreneurship as a foundational economic development strategy. Chris and the Economic Gardening movement has energized and educated us over the years. To hear Chris talk, his early childhood in rural north central Oklahoma was so formative. He knew we could do better, and that entrepreneurship was a more optimal development path to community competitiveness and prosperity. To learn more about Chris and his personal development journey, check out his book in the Resources section at the end of this paper.

Chris on His Childhood Home and Entrepreneurship

In Chapter 1 – *Saving Wakita*, of Chris' book, he shares his early years as a child and young man in Wakita, Oklahoma. Wakita is located near the 100th meridian, the longitude identified as the boundary between the humid eastern United States and the arid Western plains. Without irrigation wheat was grown in the west of line and corn to the east creating very different farm cultures.³ Like so many rural communities in the Great Plains, Wakita peaked in population in 1970 with 545 residents and today houses 326 residents. Chris' love of community and desire to see it prosper is on ample display in the book. In so many ways Chris has been on a life mission to do good and create opportunities for people and their communities.



³ <u>www.columbia.edu</u>, April 2018



What is Economic Gardening?⁴

The National Center for Economic Gardening was established to do the following:

- 1. Create a training program to certify professionals and programs in Economic Gardening.
- 2. Establish a national team to help local communities and regions run a pilot program to evaluate it as a permanent program.
- 3. Build an infrastructure to support the national rollout of the program.
- 4. Today the program operates in 25 states and has been cited for its consistent and predictable results in creating jobs and wealth for a community at a very modest cost.

The national team consists of a **team leader**, specialists in the areas of **database research**, **geographical information systems** and **digital marketing**, plus a **quality control** person and an **administrative support** person. The team is ready to go as soon as engagement dates can be set.

Putting an Economic Gardening program into place is easy. It begins with a pilot project to evaluate the program as to whether it makes sense for a long-term commitment to an entrepreneurial approach to economic development. The National Center for Economic Gardening provides both certification for Program Administrators, and a national team to run a 5-company pilot.

Program administrator responsibilities include getting oriented to the software, arranging for one-hour training for frontline staff people, and then finding/marketing/vetting/enrolling growth companies in the program. The program administrator re-engages with the companies on the back end to help them with implementation. Program administrators commit to collecting job, income, and investment data at the end of the year.

At the end of the pilot program, the program administrator sits down with the NCEG to evaluate the experience. Did the PA understand the process and the deliverables? Did they talk to the CEO for their evaluation? Did the engagement produce jobs and is the program an appropriate vehicle to meet the economic development's entrepreneurial element of their portfolio? Does the economic development agency wish to pursue a full-time program?

In short, the entire process is designed to be simple, easy to try, and a good way to evaluate the nation's premier entrepreneurial program without major investment or risk.

Economic Gardening and Entrepreneurial Ecosystem Development

When Economic Gardening was getting started in Littleton in the late 1980s, the field was not employing the term **entrepreneurial ecosystems**. But we were employing **entrepreneurial development systems** (**EDS**). Economic Gardening and its provision of high quality and sophisticated market intelligence

⁴ National Center for Economic Gardening website, <u>https://economicgardening.org/</u>

research is foundational in all EDSs and entrepreneurial ecosystem building, but particularly relevant and impactful with respect to growth-oriented and high-growth entrepreneurs and their ventures. Figure 1 provides e2's view of the component parts of a robust entrepreneurial ecosystem:

Appropriate Capital Access	Market Intelligence Research and Analysis	SourceLink Web-Based Information System
General & Customized Relevant Resources and Technical Assistance	Community as a Networker Between Entrepreneurial Talent and Resources	Community Culture & Leadership
Human Talent Teams and Workforce	Peer Groups Mentors and Advisors	<u>Quality of Life</u> Places, Spaces and Smart Technology

Figure 1.	e2's B	Basic Entr	epreneurial	Ecosystem	n Components

Market Intelligence Papers

e2 has curated a collection of papers related to Economic Gardening based on our work with Christine Hamilton-Pennell in Missoula, Montana. Missoula is a small metro located in a vast rural region (2019 population of 73,710). Historically, Missoula was once rooted in forest products, serving as a hub community in a very large rural region in Western Montana's Rocky Mountains and home to the University of Montana. As the forest products industries contracted, Missoula was discovered as a neat college town with beautiful mountains and valleys. Up and until the Great Recession (2007-2009), Missoula was growing fast with the inmigration of people from urban America. These new residents fueled residential and commercial growth. When the Great Recession hit, Missoula's housing and commercial industries contracted by over 50%. The mayor, county board and a collection of development groups came together to explore entrepreneur-led development. <u>Our collection of market intelligence papers</u> was generated as part of this work. These papers can help your community better understand the important role of market intelligence research and analysis within a robust entrepreneurial ecosystem.

Growth Entrepreneurs -The sweet spot of entrepreneur-led development. For a number of years, e2 has made two important points with respect to the sweet spot for entrepreneur-focused development. First, in rural America there are fewer Stage 2 growth entrepreneurs, but there are far more Stage 1 and smaller Stage 2 growth-oriented entrepreneurs. Both high-growth and growth-oriented entrepreneurs need high quality and sophisticated market intelligence research as provided by Economic Gardening. Our second insight aligns with what Chris and Economic Gardening has found – most economic development comes from these growth-oriented and high-growth entrepreneurial ventures. To learn more about growth entrepreneurs, check out the following papers:

- Help Your Community Become Growth-Obsessed by Penny Lewandowski
- <u>Growth-Oriented Entrepreneurs</u> by Christine Hamilton-Pennell and Don Macke Note. Hamilton-Pennell worked with Chris Gibbons in Littleton.



To learn more about e2's entrepreneurial ecosystem building models, check out:

- Entrepreneurial Ecosystem Building in Rural America, Four Decades of Learning
- Entrepreneurial Ecosystem Building 101 Lessons from Northwestern Missouri

Economic gardening is an entrepreneurial approach to **economic** development that seeks to grow the local **economy** from within. Its premise is that local entrepreneurs create the companies that bring new wealth and **economic** growth to a region in the form of jobs, increased revenues, and a vibrant local business sector.⁵

Why Economic Gardening Works

Over the years we have had two reactions to Economic Gardening. First, professionals comment that it has more depth, richness, complexity, and unexpected elements than one might have guessed on the front end. Many people come into the program thinking it will be a simple business assistance operation (business plans, financial ratios, etc.) to grow local businesses, and they have no idea they will be introduced to complex adaptive systems, commodity traps, Stage 2 companies, temperament, mechanical v. biological systems, public signals of volatility, sales windows, unconsolidated markets and the sophisticated tools like database research, GIS mapping, digital marketing competitor charts, listening posts and network mapping.

The second reaction is the appreciation of how consistently the program produces good outcomes at a very low cost. This is no accident. The high success rate of the program comes from a deep understanding of the economic forces at three scales in our economy: the nation, the community, and the company. The program is based on these beliefs⁶:

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Free enterprise is a complex adaptive system...

- Free enterprise was not designed; it is an emergent complex adaptive (biological) system with characteristic signatures.
- Among these are increasing returns and lock in (winners continue to win) and power laws (80/20 rules where a few account for much and many account for a little bit).
- The practical outcome of these signatures is that wealth tends to concentrate. It is a system characteristic, independent of people.
- Capital moves easily from one opportunity to another, and thus gets first call on value created.

Commoditization is the cause of poverty...

- If products or services are identical (commoditized), then the only differentiator is price.
- If lowest price wins, then management focus is on reducing costs.

⁶ Chris Gibbons, founder, Economic Gardening



⁵ National Center for Economic Gardening website, <u>https://economicgardening.org/</u>

April 6, 2021 Economic Gardening Story

- Labor is a major cost item in most companies. Managers look for ways to lower labor cost by finding cheaper labor (non-union, abroad, rural areas) or robots.
- People are poor because they are a commoditized expense in commoditized industries. Innovation is the source of wealth...
- Creating a new value with few or no competitors creates a temporary monopoly.
- Profit margins are temporarily higher because there are no other options.
- New products require the creation of new labor skills which command higher salaries and wages.
- Competitors will try to commoditize the new innovation by replicating it and then making it cheaper.
- To maintain a high income over the long run requires constant innovation.
- The national economy has bursts of innovation, followed by consolidating commoditization.

THE COMMUNITY

In any community, the faucet has to run faster than the drain...

- A bathtub is an analogy for a local economy, where the water is like the money.
- People in a community buy things from each other, moving water between various compartments (businesses) in the tub.
- The amount of water, however, is constant in the tub (the local market).
- A local market business is always limited by the size of the tub.
- However, some things are sold outside the community, bringing new money in (faucet)
- And some things are purchased from the outside world (e.g., autos), sending money out of the community (drain)
- If the wealth of a community is to grow, the faucet has to run faster than the drain.

Growing a community's jobs and wealth requires selling innovation to external markets...

- Selling to external markets, brings in new money to the community.
- Selling innovation to external markets brings in more money than selling commodities
- Trying to compete by being the lowest cost place to do business drives down the standard of living.
- If other communities have even lower costs, then the cost of labor, land, power, taxes, etc. must be reduced, meaning salaries and wages are driven down. The tax base for essential public services like police, fire and streets is reduced.
- The community gets caught in a race to the bottom and a downward spiral of decreasing returns.

Stage 2 companies play an outsized role...

- Stage 2 companies have proof of market (\$1 million in sales) and proof of management (10 employees).
- Stage 2 companies are beyond survival; they are focused on scaling.
- Stage 2 companies are about 15% of the total and yet account for about 40% of the jobs.
- Stage 2 companies need sophisticated information to make strategic decisions.



THE COMPANY

Increased sales are at the heart of job and income growth...

- Economic development is about creating good jobs and new wealth, which in turn depends on local companies increasing sales.
- Increasing sales requires finding ripe markets and customers that are in volatile environments where change is going on.

Marketing and selling have changed from "creating motivation" to "finding motivation"...

- Old economy selling was based on cold calling a targeted company profile. The salesperson tried to create a motivation and then convince the prospect his solution was best.
- New economy selling works on the assumption that sales are difficult in stable environments and higher probability in volatile environments. In stable environments, people are happy with their product and their vendor. Proposing change introduces uncertainty that could go wrong and maybe even damage your career.
- In volatile environments, something has changed to create a motivation to make a purchase. It might be that the company was acquired by another, or a new CEO was hired, or a lawsuit was filed, or a new product was introduced by the competitors, or the existing product/service was getting too expensive to operate or maintain. Some change has motivated the prospective company to start the information search for a better product.
- New economy sales, then, are based on finding those who already have motivation (created by some change). The sales window has opened, and the clock is running.
- Economic Gardening looks for the public signals of volatility, which indicate the potential for higher probability sales calls.

IN A NUTSHELL

- Economic Gardening gets consistent results because it understands and works within all three economic scales that affect economic development: the nation, the community, and the company. The program can be summed up in a single sentence: Provide strategic information and frameworks to help local, Stage 2 companies export innovation to customers in volatile environments. That sentence does the following:
- Focuses on wealth creating innovation, not poverty creating commoditization
- Focuses on the community faucet running faster than the drain
- Focuses on Stage 2 companies which are outsized producers of jobs
- Targets ripe markets (growth, disruption, unconsolidated)
- Identifies customers that are in the market, by looking for public signals of volatility
- Uses five strategic frameworks to identify and resolve root problems that prohibit growth

This is why Economic Gardening works!

Chris Gibbons, Founder of Economic Gardening



Economic Gardening Impact

The Economic Gardening movement has done an exceptional job in capturing its impact through testimonials, program outcomes and recognition through awards and citations. Testimonials are a powerful way to connect the dots between the success an entrepreneur is realizing and how your community's entrepreneurial ecosystem is materially helping. Economic Gardening captures testimonials that are powerful endorsements of the value of what it does and how its analysis makes a real difference in venture success. Drawing from the Economic Gardening website we have pulled selected impact information below.⁷



40% about 40% of jobs are created by stage 2 companies

Following are some of the entrepreneur client testimonials...

JACAPPS... "It was a flyer for me. I had no idea how useful it would be. I wanted to get smarter about what we were doing. I was skeptical at the beginning. It felt wonky, but then I watched the videos and it got me thinking differently about the business. I saw that smart people were accessing resources that are difficult for me to access and providing great information. As things posted I realized how helpful and meaningful the information was. I enjoyed the process, and it gave us good information that has gotten us thinking in new ways."

Brown Eagle... "The digital information provided has changed the way we market. We are going to do less tradeshows and will be utilizing social media and other digital networks for marketing. We are changing the way we are messaging and communicating. We have email addresses of prospects we can directly market to. We would not have been able to make these changes without the insight we learned in the program."

G.T. Michelli... "You have an outstanding, solid, organized approach to doing this work. It was tremendously insightful and helpful. I am very excited about this information which has given us an idea of action steps we can take to grow our business."

A Pass Educational Group... "We're very impressed with the program. It is extremely comprehensive in its approach. Market research opened our eyes to a classification system for higher education that we weren't aware of prior to entering the program. They also pointed us to some existing research reports that have been extremely valuable for us. We are averaging between 200 – 300 PPC contacts per month,

⁷ For complete information check out: <u>https://economicgardening.org/testimonials-outcomes/</u>.

and our daily website traffic has significantly increased Year-over-Year. We are getting more face-to-face meetings with the right people – the decision makers. We definitely will recommend this program to other businesses."

Florida... "GrowFL, the country's first statewide Economic Gardening network, launched in late 2009. Between 2009 and 2015 fiscal years, participating GrowFL companies created 10,942 net new jobs (4,067 direct new jobs and 6,875 indirect new jobs). Participants also increased state and local tax revenues by more than \$81 million (above and beyond the cost of the program), and net return on investment translated into \$9.10 for every dollar of funding."

Kansas... "From 2010 to 2015, 58 companies have participated in the Kansas Economic Gardening Network and increased their net employment by 344 full-time positions and 88 part-time positions (an average annual growth rate of 11 percent). In addition, these companies increased annual revenues by \$55 million (an average annual growth rate of 23 percent). In contrast, other second-stage companies in Kansas reported a 6 percent average annual increase in jobs and a 4 percent average annual increase in revenues for the same period."

We were one of Chris's first rural Economic Gardening (EG) Pilots and have had tremendous success with the program. We've done 93 EG Engagements and 95% of the businesses who participated were in rural communities. For businesses moving out of the startup stage to growth, EG has been a tremendous resource with actionable information that gets to the businesses quickly. That is the essence of an entrepreneurial approach.

Steve Radley, President & CEO, NetWork Kansas

Louisiana... "Louisiana Economic Development launched its statewide Economic Gardening program in July 2011. Since then, 195 companies have created 1,952 new FTE jobs with a \$338 Million Increase in gross annual revenue and a ROI = \$9.19 for every \$1 invested."

Lessons from Fond du Lac, Wisconsin

Fond du Lac is located between Milwaukee and Green Bay in east central Wisconsin. A community of over 40,000 residents and home to large and small manufacturers including Mercury Marine. When the Janesville, Wisconsin GM manufacturing plant closed, important lessons were learned around the fragility of depending on a single major economic sector for a community's economic well-being. Fond du Lac dodged a bullet when Mercury Marine, which had actively been considering moving to Mexico decided to stay. This decision both scared and relieved the hundreds of small and large supply chain goods and services dependent upon Mercury Marine's operation. Before all this happened the **Envision Greater Fond du Lac** (Fond du Lac's economic development corporation) was embracing Economic Gardening and entrepreneur-led development. Check out Envision's <u>website</u> for more information on their entrepreneurship initiatives. We, at e2, were working with them while this was all happening and witnessed first-hand the impactful role of Economic Gardening in helping area ventures pivot to find new markets and products/services.



Massive case studies are not necessary but tracking economic development impacts in terms communities and states understand (e.g., new investment, venture growth and particularly job creation) is powerful as illustrated by these short outcome presentations. In economic development, there is always the demand for **return-on-investment** information. Instead of fighting this desire by policymakers and economic development funders, Economic Gardening has adapted to it empowering adoption throughout the world.

Finally, like a sports team with all those trophies, realizing recognitions by outside groups is a form of powerful endorsement. Economic Gardening has not only received justly deserved recognition, but it is also effective in sharing to provide support to those working to start an Economic Gardening program in their corner of world and gain support to do so:

National and International Awards and Citations for Innovation in Economic Development⁸:

International Economic Development Council **National League of Cities** U.S. Economic Development Administration SBA Report to the President (Chapter 6: Economic Gardening) fDi Intelligence / Financial Times of London **University of Minnesota** Harvard Innovation in Government Awards (finalist) Invited three times to conduct seminars at Harvard University Presented at North/Central/South America's Competitiveness Conference Presented at European Innovation Council Conference Hosted four delegations from Japan Invited to speak in 7 foreign countries Radio interview with National Public Radio (NPR) **Radio interview with ABC Australia** Articles in Governing magazine, BusinessWeek, Nation's Weekly, Business Expansion Journal, Stanford Social Innovations Review, ICMA and Forbes Japan Inquiries from over 800 communities Over 50,000 articles in Google 4,500 media articles about Economic Gardening from 1987 through February 2021

Competitive Niches Versus Commodity Traps

One of the greatest insights and gifts Chris has given to the field of entrepreneurship is the difference between **competitive niches** and **commodity traps.** I suspect that Chris' insight on these points is rooted in growing up in a farming region where agricultural producers are **price takers** and often rooted in the commodity trap. Unless you can get big, really big... like Walmart, Amazon, or Google... chances are good that venture success is to be found in competitive niches with more stable and thicker margins. My Dad understood this point as an entrepreneur running gas stations and garages. He could not compete

⁸ National Center for Economic Gardening website, <u>https://economicgardening.org/</u>

and make a living selling commodity gasoline, but he could compete through provision of customerfocused and relationship-based services.

Conclusion

For years, entrepreneurship and capital access has tended to dominate entrepreneurial ecosystem conversations. When we talk with federal and state policymakers the theme is always the same, '...if we could just pump more capital into rural America, we could grow a more entrepreneurial and successful economy.' There is no question that access to the right capital at the right time and with the right terms and conditions is hugely important in rural entrepreneurial development. But based on our field experience with growth-oriented and especially high-growth entrepreneurs, we would argue that access to high quality and sophisticated market research is possibly as important, and in some cases more important to empowering entrepreneurs and their ventures.

Figure 2 provides a simplified illustration of sources of market intelligence research.

Least SophisticatedMarket Intelligence SophisticationMost Sophisticated					
Entrepreneur Research	Small Business	University Classroom	Economic Gardening		
and Analysis*	Development Centers	Programs**			

*For smaller scale entrepreneurs who are doing business planning they are expected to provide market research within their venture plans. Often the supporting research is tied to what they and a few friends know to be true.

**Some Universities, through various business classes, offer market intelligence research. Unfortunately, these kinds of resources are not widely available, available at scale or available when an entrepreneur needs the help.

Having a better understanding of one's markets, competitors, supply, distribution chain providers, and so much more can mean the difference between growth and potential failure. Making mistakes during growth have massive implications. Being lean and smart are foundational to achieving successful growth.

Questions and Additional Information

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Resources

Economic Gardening Book

Economic Gardening covers the history and background of the original **grow your own** economic development program in Littleton, Colorado. The book also includes chapters on the program as it is run today by the National Center for Economic Gardening, as well as a complete listing of the principles, tools and analytical techniques used in high fidelity programs. Part II of the book is called *"An Amateur's Observations on the Economy"* and includes a collection of unusual insights into the economy derived from 30 years of work in Economic Gardening. Chris' book is available free at www.economicgardening.org/economic-gardening-book/.

Other Economic Gardening Resources...

As is the case with SourceLink (<u>www.joinsourcelink.com</u>), Economic Gardening is a first-in-class entrepreneurial resource. Can your community, region or state create market intelligence research and analysis services? Of course you can. But why would you? Before you seriously consider investing in your own game plan, we strongly recommend that you explore the services of the National Center for Economic Gardening first. Following are some additional resources where you can learn more.

Webinar: https://economicgardening.org/training-and-certification/

Sample Deliverables: <u>https://economicgardening.org/nceg-sample-deliverables/</u>

Online Certification Class: <u>https://economicgardening.org/training-and-certification/</u>

