

TERTIARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA AS AN INDUSTRY: ONE POSSIBLE VIEW FROM INSIDE

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Abstract: *The paper, from the perspective of a university professor of English and literacy, analyses the role and importance of higher education in Australia's economic development. Since higher education of international students at Australian universities is one of the most important export sectors, the government pays special attention to this sector. The income collected from international students primarily relates to tuition fees, but also to consumption and living expenses that include accommodation, transport and food. Also, a significant number of teaching staff are employed in higher education and the education of international students. This specific composition of the student body has also led to a shift in focus to English as a Foreign Language (TESOL) courses and to the importance of Australia as an immigrant country and an English-speaking country.*

Key words: *Australia, Higher education, International students, Export education*

JEL classification: I23, I21

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. SCENA ONE: "DOWN UNDER" - A DIFFERENT WORLD

Australia, a country-continent, a place "down under", where people drive on the wrong side of the street and, probably, hang upside down while walking. In any case, if we place the Balkans as the centre of the world, it is impossible to find a more distant and more different country on the map than Australia. For people from the Balkans, where every generation experiences at least one war and, consequently, builds life and economy anew, it is difficult to understand how a country that has never had a war on its territory and in which the economy is always moving forward functions. Even in times of world crises, the

Australian economy very quickly gets back on its feet and catches up with what has been missed. Unlike us, who built a house "in the middle of the imperial road" and no army in history has ever bypassed us, Australians live "at the end of the world", sometimes quite lonely, but far from the economic and social upheavals that, due to geographical connections, for example, shake up European countries, including our Balkan ones.

Let us return, for a moment, to the historical beginnings of this interesting continent. For sixty-five thousand years, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders lived in this area, in harmony with nature, orally transmitting their legends about the "time before time" (Dreamtime), developing a perfect economic system in which, first and foremost, nature was respected, where everyone worked according to their abilities and used as many goods as they needed. Linguists claim (and we should believe them) that these are peoples who do not have the word "hate" in their languages (of which there were 250, while today there are barely fifteen left with any speakers). It is easy to assume that in such a system, we cannot talk about the economy we are used to today. And, all this worked for millennia, until January 26, 1788, when the first British ships landed on the soil of this distant island, bringing Western European democracy. The first step was to cleanse the local population. The genocide against the natives, who did not understand why someone hated them because they did not know that feeling, ended not only with physical elimination (the Indigenous population today makes up just under 4% of the population) but also with the erasure of culture and tradition and, as the crowning glory of this difficult historical period, with the abduction of Aboriginal children and their assimilation into white families (Stolen Generations), for which, let's be completely honest, we apologized in the Australian parliament about ten years ago. So, in short, in Australia (almost) everyone is an

immigrant; everyone came to this country once (which is a very important fact for later analysis).

What does all of the above have to do with the economy? In the Balkans, the first Ottoman economic laws were grafted onto the foundations of old, medieval states, then Austro-Hungarian, then socialist and communist, so that in recent decades we have been learning to swim in the turbulent waters of the capitalist/globalist economy. For comparison, the British Crown “walked” into a cleared space and began building a state without the burden of historical heritage, tradition or any national pretensions (except for the British themselves).

2. TERTIARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA AS AN INDUSTRY

2.1. SCENE TWO: A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY

Throughout history, Australia has been home to mostly refugees from unfortunate wars, which, unfortunately, have never been in short supply. In addition to refugees, there has also been a significant number of immigrants who have moved here in search of work and a better life. Even today, so-called skilled migrants are of great importance to the Australian economy, but more on them later.

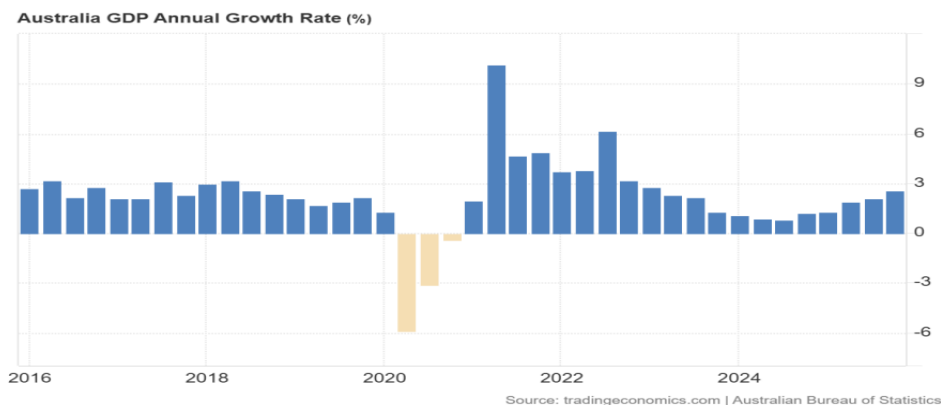
If we first look at natural resources, Australia is distinguished by the high quality of easily accessible, strategically important minerals, such as, for example, lithium. However, analysing the idea of a “social license”, researchers note that, through the mobilisation of public opinion, NGOs can stop mining or even sue and prosecute

companies whose activities may threaten the natural environment (Mason et al., 2014).

Although this possibility is not given enough attention in Australia, it is clear that in the Balkans, there is no possibility for a “social license” to emerge, even as an idea. Surface mines, easy and cheap exploitation (<https://minerals.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Advantage-Australia.pdf>), cheap maritime transport, proximity to China and India as huge markets - all this contributes greatly to the development and progress of the Australian economy.

One curiosity is that even on its coat of arms, Australia has two animals; they are a kangaroo and an emu, but not only because they are authentic to this country (for example, the koala is much more famous than the emu) but also because they are animals that cannot move backwards, symbolising the Australian economy that is always moving forward. Also, while in our anthems we sing about a turbulent (and glorious) history, suffering and wars, while we pray to God to save us from injustice and ruin, Australians, with their hands on their chests, sing about unity and progress, a golden land and joint efforts that lead them forward into a bright future. So, the idea of progress and opportunities that this country offers is woven into its foundations, if not already in the DNA of its people, since it is made up of immigrants from all over the world. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2025, the Australian economy was ranked 15th in the world by nominal gross national income, and 22nd by national income adjusted for the cost of living. In the last quarter of 2025, growth of 0.8% was observed, while the average annual growth for the previous year was 2.6% (ABS, 2025).

Graph 1: Annual GDP growth rate of Australia, 2016-2025.



Source: Trading Economics, Australia GDP annual growth rate, available at: <https://tradingeconomics.com/australia/gdp-growth-annual> (8.4.2026)

2.2. SCENE THREE: “NOT IN EVIL, IN KNOWLEDGE LIES POWER” (VLADAN DOKIĆ, RECTOR OF BU)

What we in the mountainous Balkans have to learn through our own mistakes and biblical martyrdoms, while building our states on “children’s bones” (Danko Popović, *The book about Milutin*, 1985), Australia has understood a long time ago: investing in education means investing in development, progress, the economy, and the future. It is well known that investing in human resources results in economic development (Matsushita et al., 2006). Human resources and social innovations driven by universities have been of critical importance for the Australian economy in the last 30 years (Deloitte Access Economics, 2020).

In the Australian education system, students do not receive the “broad education” that we (rightly)

pride ourselves on, but rather narrow specialisation in accordance with their preferences and abilities, in order to become as productive members of society as possible in the shortest possible time. However, the idea of connecting education and the economy does not end only with the education of the domestic population. Being a peaceful country with relatively stable economic development and an English-speaking area, Australia has established itself as an attractive destination for higher education for international students. However, the Australian government has not left this to chance and individual students who express a desire to study at one of the Australian universities. On the contrary, this possibility has been turned into a national strategy. Education is the fourth (sometimes the fifth, depending on the global movement of gold) export branch of the Australian economy.

Table 1: Australia's top five export sectors, 2019-2025 (in AUD million)

Commodity	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22	2022-23	2023-24	2024-25
Coal	\$54620	\$39195	\$113844	\$127422	\$91396	\$71306
Iron Ore	\$102877	\$152974	\$132487	\$124131	\$137856	\$116379
Natural Gas	\$47524	\$30476	\$70571	\$92237	\$68587	\$64626
Education-related	\$37338	\$27554	\$20776	\$36342	\$51032	\$53571
Gold	\$24394	\$26104	\$23203	\$24416	\$32938	\$46906

Australia’s top five export, goods and services (A\$ million)

Source: <https://www.education.gov.au/international-education-data-and-research/education-export-income-financial-year>

Although the COVID-19 pandemic has significantly disrupted, in fact completely stopped, the arrival of international students and immigrants in general, which has been felt in the labor shortage, Australia has shown a steady increase in the total number of international students once the pandemic was over (<https://www.education.gov.au/international-education-data-and-research/international-student-monthly-summary-and-data-tables>).

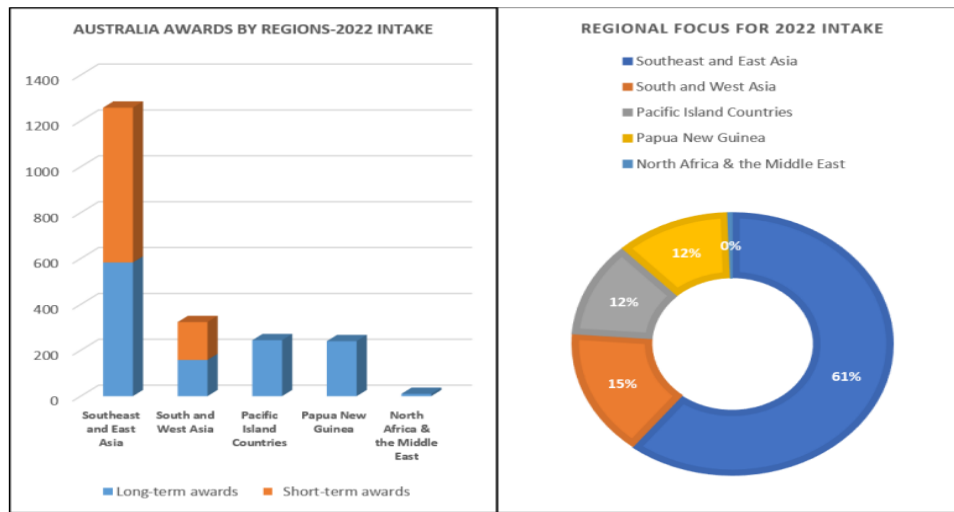
Official reports show that at the end of 2025, over 833,000 international students were studying in Australia, with a total enrollment of almost 1.06 million.

The list of countries that are the largest source of these students almost coincides with the list of

countries with which Australia (primarily due to geographical proximity) has economic cooperation: China (23% of all foreign students), India (17%), Philippines (4%) and Vietnam (4%) (<https://www.education.gov.au/international-education-data-and-research/international-student-monthly-summary-and-data-tables>).

Approximately 2000 to 4500 international students receive one of the Australian scholarships (such as Australia Awards). It is clear from the previous analysis that Balkan countries are not on the list of eligible students for these scholarships at all, because Australia's economic interests are focused mainly on the Indo-Pacific region.

Graph 2: Overview of regions from which students can apply for Australian student scholarships



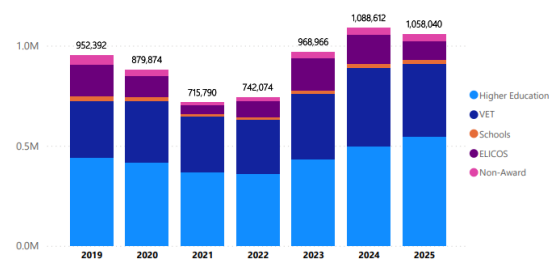
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To make the analysis more understandable, two important components should first be explained: linguistic ambiguities in the translation from English to Serbian and an overview of the sectors in which foreign students study. The Serbian language distinguishes between the word *učenik*, which refers to children aged 6-15 who attend primary and secondary school, and *student*, which means studying at one of the higher education institutions (universities, colleges of vocational studies, colleges and academies of vocational studies). The Australian education system consists of primary school, which includes a preparatory class (preschool), kindergarten, and 6 grades of primary school (children officially start preschool at the age of 5, some even younger than 5) and secondary school (6 grades), which can be completed after the 10th or after the 12th grade. The last two years of secondary school are usually chosen by students who plan to continue their education at university, while those who leave school in Year 10 (our second year of high school) continue their education in vocational studies, courses and trades (VET/TAFE). In the period 2019-2024, the number of young people (25-34 years) without completed upper secondary school fell from 9% to 8%, which shows that young people understand that education allows them to be competitive in the market (OECD, 2025). Although the English language knows the word *pupil*, in the meaning of a person who is taught by someone else and which mainly refers to school age, the word *student* is used to refer to anyone who is currently in the educational process, from 4 to 104 years old (in Australia, the attitude is adopted that people learn throughout their lives, so it is

not uncommon to see students who are much older than professors sitting in university benches.

The existence of several cross-country rankings of universities as well as the popularity of studies and internships abroad at the university level seem to confirm that not just experts but even the wider audience understand and appreciate the significance of the quality of tertiary education (Gotzek et al., 2021). Furthermore, to understand the true contribution of foreign students to the economy, it is worth taking a look at the sectors in which these students study.

Graph 3: Distribution of foreign students by sector (2019-2025)



Source: <https://www.education.gov.au/download/20217/international-student-data-year-date-ytd-december-2025/44302/summary-infographic/pdf>

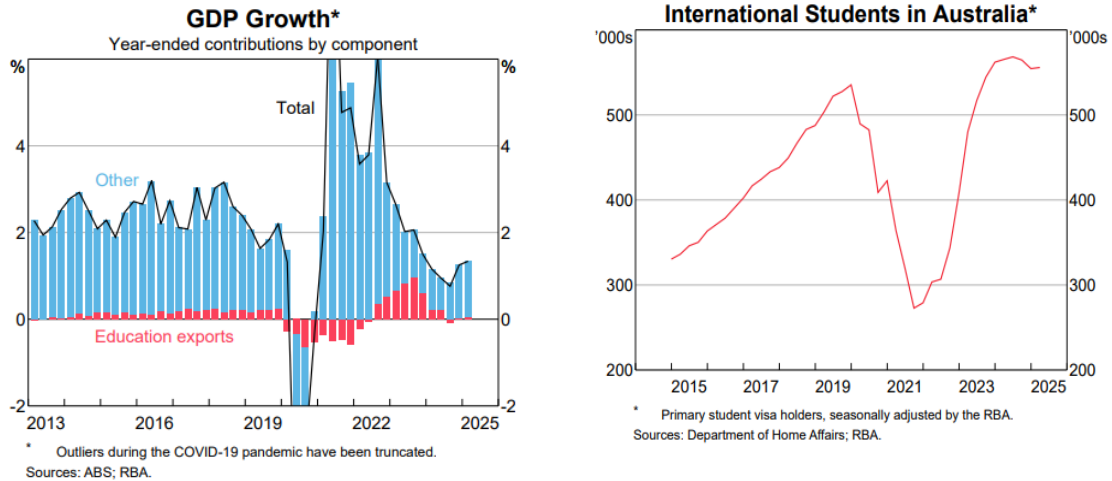
In the chart above, *higher education* refers to higher education (universities), *VET* refers to vocational training, *schools* refer to secondary schools, and *ELICOS* refers to English courses.

2.3. SCENE FOUR: THE CONTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS TO THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY

As McCowage and colleagues (2025) note, “international students play a significant role in the

Australian economy by spending on goods and services and providing labour for Australian businesses” (p. 2). This can be confirmed by a simple comparison of graphs showing the movement of gross national income and the number of international students.

Graph 4: GDP Growth/International Students in Australia



Source: McCowage et al. (2025)

But let’s start from the beginning.

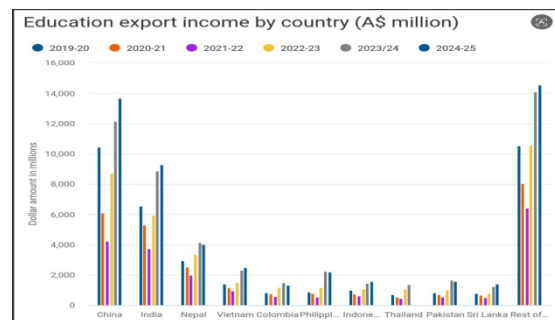
According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2025), international education, as the largest export sector of services, contributed around AUD 56 billion in the 2024-2025 financial year, a significant increase from the previous year, 2023-2024, when around AUD 50 billion was recorded (McCowage et al., 2015).

For comparison, in 2018 this figure was AUD 18 billion (Deloitte Access Economics, 2020, p. 14). Of the AUD 56 billion generated in the 2024-2025 financial year, AUD 23.5 billion was collected directly from tuition fees.

The remaining AUD 29.9 billion is spent on living expenses, such as accommodation, transport, products and services.

It is interesting to note that foreign students, in addition to paying up to three times higher tuition fees than local students (who also have the opportunity to obtain student loans because higher education, even for the best, is not free), do not have any benefits, such as discounts on public transport, or tickets for cultural and sporting events, payments for the use of recreational centers, and the like. Viewed from this perspective, the role of foreign students in the development of the Australian economy begins to take on much clearer contours.

Graph 5: Education export income by country (A\$ million)



Source:

<https://www.education.gov.au/international-education-data-and-research/education-export-income-financial-year>

The chart above includes the amount spent by international students in Australia, as well as the earnings from various education-related services. When referring to these earnings, the Australian Bureau of Statistics uses the term “education-related personal travel”. Also, the data refers to students who are residing and studying in Australia on a student visa, but does not include earnings from campuses that Australian universities have in other countries (offshore). “All spending by international students in Australia on tuition fees and all other goods and services is recorded as an education export in Australia’s Balance of Payments” (McCowage et al., 2025, p. 12). In his

analysis, Margison (2012) notes that the international education sector is the leading sector in Australia, with “almost 30 percent of all students in higher education are international students” (p. 11). In the post-COVID period, almost half of the number of immigrants was accounted for by foreign students (McCowage et al., 2025).

When it comes to international student work during their studies, previously, 40 hours per fortnight were allowed during semesters and unlimited hours during university holidays. From 2023, the number of hours allowed has increased to 48 per fortnight (McCowage et al., 2025), which is equal to the average observed in the entire Australian population, or 75% of the working hours of the working population. Taxes are levied on the reported earnings in accordance with the Australian tax system. These payments are recorded as primary earnings, as compensation of foreign workers employed, and, for example, during 2023-2024, the share of international student earnings in this balance was 90% (McCowage et al., 2025). This does not include funds received from abroad or sent abroad by international students. Also, a particular problem is the fact that a large proportion of foreign students receive less than the minimum wage, and the difference is paid in cash, so that part of the funds remains unregistered. In addition to all of the above, foreign students can apply for and receive a temporary graduate visa for one to five years after graduation, which increases the number of available, qualified labour force (skilled migrants). According to Margison (2015), more than a third of international graduate students migrate to Australia, so we can talk about an education “industry”. It should be borne in mind that the largest number of students who work during their studies are students from India and Nepal, while Chinese students record the fewest working hours. The largest number of jobs for foreign students is found in the hotel and restaurant industry, but increasingly also in healthcare, i.e. home care for the elderly and sick (McCowage et al., 2025), which, in recent years, has been an expanding sector.

Further research shows that international students spend almost twice as much as domestic students during their studies. It should be noted that around 40% of these costs are spent on tuition fees. Tuition fees collected from international students play a major role in financing scientific research as well as salaries of employees at leading Australian universities (McCowage et al., 2025). A particularly interesting feature of international student spending is savings, starting with the fact that, upon enrollment in university, every international

student must provide evidence of having at least 30,000 Australian dollars (in 2023, this amount was \$25,000). This amount is much higher than the savings that most Australians have in their bank accounts (McCowage et al., 2025).

Due to the large number of immigrants and the fact that, due to the long distances and heavy traffic in cities with millions of people, people often move to be closer to work or school, the real estate market has a significant place in the Australian economy. When it comes to international students, they also make their contribution to this sector. According to a 2023 survey, about half of international students rented accommodation in the private sector, while only about 1/3 of the local population paid rent. The same study showed that 24% of international students live with relatives or friends, 15% in student dormitories (student villages), 3% are placed with families through student exchange programs, and 2% reported other accommodation arrangements (McCowage et al., 2025). It is clear that the demand for accommodation is higher in larger cities and near university centres, so it is not evenly distributed across Australia. A simple calculation can be made that for every 100,000 new international students (of whom 50,000 will seek accommodation), private sector rents will increase by around 0.5%.

Indirectly, a large number of foreign students also has a positive impact on tourism, as their families and relatives visit them while they are studying, and students themselves go home during school holidays. This adds an additional \$369 million to the aforementioned income from foreign students (Deloitte Access Economics, 2020).

Research (Deloitte Access Economics, 2020) clearly shows that investing in university education pays off, as for every dollar invested in this sector, \$4 is generated in profit, of which the government directly receives \$3 through the tax system. After all, according to data from the beginning of 2026, over 143,000 people are employed at Australian universities (Deloitte Access Economics, 2020), who pay high taxes and contributions.

While the positive aspects of this education/economic policy undoubtedly outweigh the negatives, it is worth noting that Australia remains overly dependent on international students, which can easily become a double-edged sword and has been particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Australia is made up of six states and two territories, but the number of international students is not evenly distributed. Of the over one million new

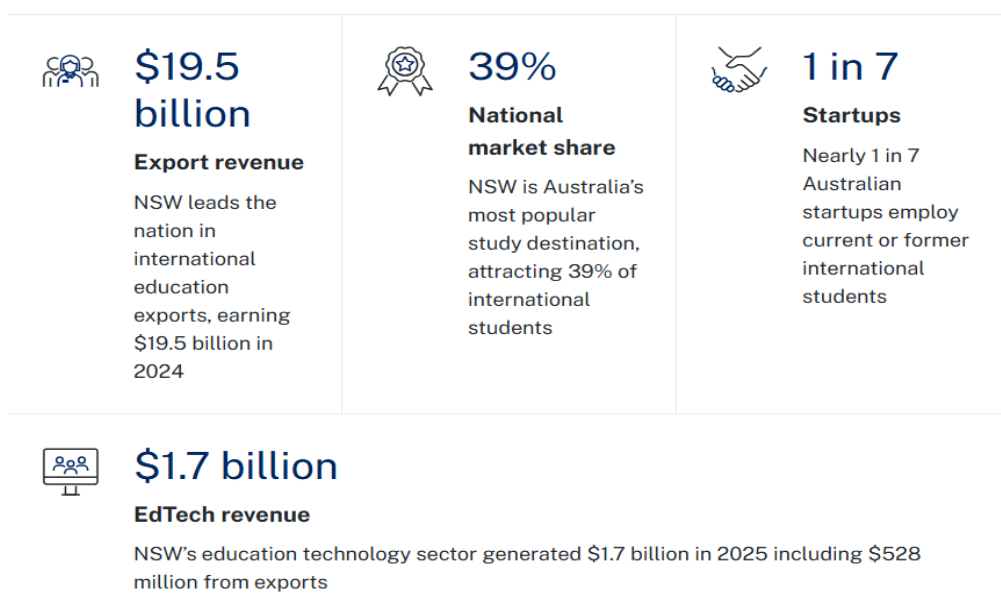
international students each year, the majority are concentrated in New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria (VIC). New South Wales, with Sydney as its capital (and Australia's most important tourist destination), is a leader in attracting international students.

According to the New South Wales Government, international student education is the state's most important service export sector. The presence of international students stimulates innovation,

creates international connections, and contributes to economic and social development. 39% of all international students in Australia study at a university in New South Wales. The multicultural nature of New South Wales has helped position the region as the third most popular study abroad destination, behind the US and the UK. This infographic best summarises the importance of international students to the New South Wales economy.

Graph 6: The international education sector at a glance

The international education sector at a glance



Source: <https://www.nsw.gov.au/departments-and-agencies/investment-nsw/focus-sectors/international-education>

It is noteworthy that, in NSW, 60% of all IT graduates, 50% of engineering graduates and 36% of civil engineering and architecture graduates are international students. Also, 42% of researchers at universities and institutes are international citizens. Their tuition fees cover 27% of university research projects (<https://www.nsw.gov.au/departments-and-agencies/investment-nsw/focus-sectors/international-education>).

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While one-third (mostly the best) of international students migrate permanently to Australia, the remaining two-thirds who return to their home countries, after finding employment, are mainly focused on establishing and strengthening business ties between their home country and the country of study.

Australian universities (primarily universities in the territory of New South Wales) are not satisfied with just the number of international students studying in Australia but are actively working to establish joint initiatives and projects with foreign

universities, open campuses abroad and use digital technologies and distance learning platforms to reach as many international students as possible. The New South Wales Government is actively working to develop a new NSW International Education Action Plan. So, education is not just a side sector, but a very important segment that is strategically planned. New South Wales is also a leader in terms of educational technologies. Digital education brings in \$ 1.7 billion annually, of which \$ 528 million is exported. Located in a part of Sydney that is often the first stop for new immigrants and refugees, Western Sydney University is one of Sydney's universities with the highest number of students who are either immigrants or come from immigrant families. Furthermore, of the over 45,000 students from 170 countries around the world, more than 6,000 students are international students (<https://www.westernsydney.edu.au/international/discover/agents/about-western>). Also, a large number of lecturers are not native English speakers. This atmosphere, where most students have experience with English as a non-native language, is conducive to international students.

2.4. SCENE FIVE: DO YOU SPEAK ENGLISH?

Since the beginning of human history, humans have sought to understand one another. The search has been on for a single language that would fulfil this function. While many languages have been, and still are, used to communicate between speakers of different languages (so-called “bridge languages” or *lingua franca*) (Hale & Basides, 2024, p. 4), English is, without a doubt, the first and only global language known to our civilisation (Crystal, 2009). English is not the largest language in terms of the number of native speakers, but it is unrivalled in the number of those who learn it and use it as a non-native or foreign language. Given that Australia does not have an official language, but that English is a “default” language, international students, when applying to higher education institutions, must provide evidence of satisfactory knowledge of the English language. Many students come to Australia to study English on one of the many courses. Because of all this, we can talk about English courses and training (ELICOS, English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students) as an associated branch of international education.

When English is taught in a country where it is not in everyday use, the students' native language is usually used as the language of instruction. In Australia, due to the diversity of foreign students, this is simply impossible. Back in 1966, in America, faced with a large number of immigrants

from different countries and the inability to find teachers who speak all these languages, they came up with the idea of teaching English through English. Thus, TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) was born. Australia quickly adopted this program and, to this day, it is the leading method of teaching English. A large number of international students, as well as a number of domestic students who come from immigrant families, are enrolled in various English courses. All this has influenced the need for the expansion of English courses and training.

CONCLUSION

Blindly transferring models that work in one country has never been possible due to different contexts, mentalities, cultural and social heritage. By simply comparing Australia and the Balkan countries in terms of higher education and attracting foreign students, it is easy to see the advantages that Australia has: an English-speaking area, a strong economy, a stable political situation, a carefully planned educational strategy, educational infrastructure, available technology and services. Our countries cannot attract foreign students in this way. We cannot “copy” the Australian model to our universities, which are, first of all, much smaller in size. However, what we can do is find inspiration in the success of export education in Australia and find those segments where we can be competitive in the market. For something like that, we first need a stable political and economic climate, which, at the moment, no Balkan country can boast of. But, as Gundulić said long ago in his *Osman*, “kolo sreće uokoli/ vrteći se ne pristaje:/ tko bi gori, eto je doli./ a tko doli gori ustaje” (“the wheel of fortune turns around,/ spinning without ever stopping:/ whoever is above will soon be below,/ and whoever is below will rise above”). While waiting for social conditions to change, it is the duty of our academic community to research other successful examples and prepare its strategy so that, one day, it can join the global trend of viewing education as an industry, while retaining, at the same time, a Balkan-style, somewhat romanticised image of the relationship between student and teacher as a mutual giving that cannot be put a price tag on.

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