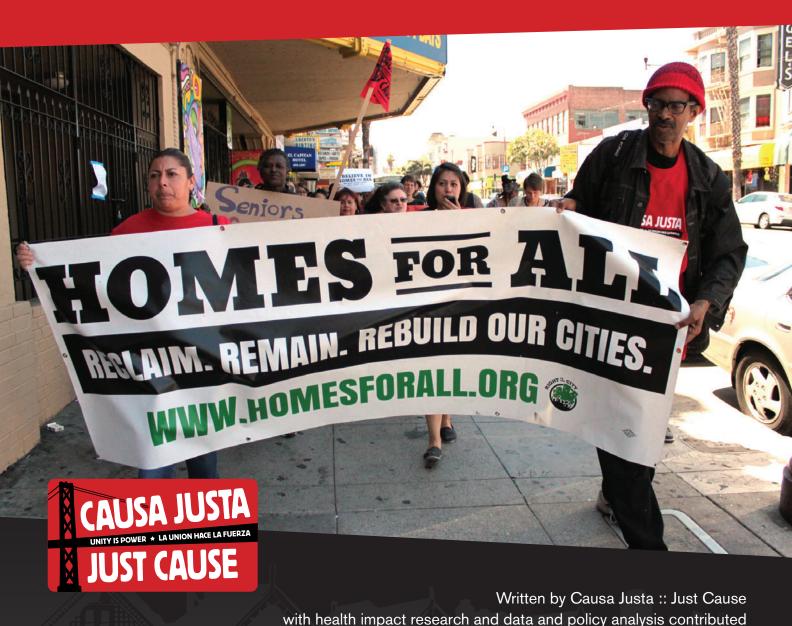
Development without Displacement

Summary of Research on Gentrification and Displacement in San Francisco and Oakland, Prepared for the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) and Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG)



by the Alameda County Public Health Department, Place Matters Team

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Causa Justa:: Just Cause (CJJC): A multiracial, grassroots organization building community leadership to achieve justice for low-income San Francisco and Oakland residents.

Alameda County Public Health Department (ACPHD), Place Matters Team: Place Matters is a local partner of the national initiative of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Health Policy Institute (HPI). It is designed to improve the health of participating communities by addressing the social conditions that lead to poor health.

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Introduction

This document is a summary of research – including data and policy analysis – produced by Causa Justa::Just Cause (CJJC) and the Alameda County Public Health Department (ACPHD). This research was supported by a Housing the Workforce grant from the Metropolitan Transportation Commission and Association of Bay Area Governments, as part of the Bay Area Regional Prosperity Project, which is funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Sustainable Communities Partnership Program. The overall purpose of this research was to better understand the extent and progression of gentrification in San Francisco and Oakland, to explore the relationship between gentrification and housing and health conditions at the neighborhood level, and to identify possible solutions for preventing displacement that can be targeted to a neighborhood's specific stage of gentrification.



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Research Methodology

Gentrification Typologies Methodology

For this report, we conducted an analysis of gentrification between 1990 and 2011 in San Francisco and Oakland, based on the methods used in the Portland study, Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification by Lisa K. Bates, 2013. This methodology uses demographic, socioeconomic, and property data to quantify how much gentrification-related change has occurred at the census tract level over a specified period of time, and to categorize census tracts into neighborhood types that correlate to different stages in the process of gentrification. This analysis is illustrated in map form in the report Introduction in the section entitled "What is Gentrification?"

This methodology is compelling for a number of reasons. It is based on a definition of gentrification which takes into account a complex interaction of factors - including historic increases in property value, central location within cities, proximity to other neighborhoods with high property values, the initial presence and decline of "vulnerable populations" (specifically renters, people of color, low-income residents, and residents with less than a college degree), and demographic change (specifically, an increase in residents who are highly educated, high income, and white). It also based on a theory of change which recognizes that neighborhoods progress through different stages of gentrification and have distinct needs and characteristics along the way. The resulting "typology" allows

neighborhoods to be categorized into different types based on the amount and kind of change that has occurred, and it also allows solutions to be developed based on the distinct needs of neighborhoods.

It is important to note that some neighborhoods do not fall anywhere along the spectrum of gentrification, either because they started out as an affluent neighborhood (as defined by racial and socio-economic characteristics and/ or property values) in 1990 or because property values have remained relatively low and population change has been minimal. Furthermore, not all neighborhoods will progress through all stages of gentrification, and it is not inevitable that susceptible neighborhoods will "gentrify," particularly if appropriate policy responses are put in place. However, this typology is based on a nuanced understanding of gentrification as a dynamic process, and it allows policies and other solutions to be targeted strategically and in a timely manner based on local needs of neighborhoods, so as to most effectively intervene in the process of change.

Three major categories of data are used to define neighborhood types. These include: presence of vulnerable population, gentrification-related demographic change, and housing market conditions. The data thresholds used for each category are illustrated in Table 1. Based on this data, neighborhoods were categorized into one of seven types: Susceptible, Early type 1, Early type 2, Middle stage, Late stage, Ongoing gentrification, or N/A (for neighborhoods which did not indicate gentrification-related change). A summary of characteristics used to define each neighborhood type are included in Table 2.

Table 1: Data Thresholds and Definitions

		San Francisco	Oakland
Vulnerable population in 2011	Renter households	> 37.1%	>41.9%
Vulnerable tracts are those with 3 out of these 4	Population of color	>58.0%	> 73.5%
	Education <bachelor degree<="" td=""><td>>48.6%</td><td>>62.8%</td></bachelor>	>48.6%	>62.8%
	Households less than 80% HAMFI	> 47.1%	>52.4%
2000-2011 demographic change	Homeowner households	> 2.1 %-pt gain	> 0.4 %-pt gain
Gentrification-related change if 3 out of 4 are true (or last two alone are true)	Household income	> 2.6 % gain	>-1.1 % gain
	White population	>-1.7 %-pt gain	> 3.0 %-pt gain
	Education bachelor+	> 6.4 %-pt gain	> 6.3 %-pt gain
Housing market condition	Adjacent tracts	Low or moderate 2011 value	
		Low or moderate 2000-2011 appreciation	
		Touch boundary of a tract with high 2011 value or high 2000-2011 appreciation	
	Accelerating tracts	Low or moderate 2011 value	
		High 2000-2011 appreciation	
	Appreciated tracts	Low or moderate 1990 value	
		High 2011 value	
		High 1990-2011 appreciation	

Table 2: Neighborhood Typologies Definitions

Neighborhood type	Vulnerable population	Demographic change	Housing market condition
Susceptible	Yes	No	Adjacent
Early phase 1 (property shifts)	Yes	No	Accelerating
Early phase 2 (population shifts)	Yes	Yes	Adjacent
Middle stage	Yes	Yes	Accelerating
Late stage	Yes	Yes	Appreciated
Ongoing gentrification	No	% white and % with bachelor increasing	Appreciated

The following sources were used for each category of data:

Vulnerable population in 2011: Thresholds for the vulnerable populations data that came from the American Community Survey 2011 5-year files (renter households, population of color, education less than bachelor degree) were determined by looking at the city rates' lower margins of error. Thresholds for the households less than 80% HAMFI (HUD-Adjusted Median Family Income) were set by HUD from the city values; data were downloaded from HUD for this portion of the analysis.

2000-2011 demographic change: Demographic change for each census tract between Census 2000 and American Community Survey 2011 5-year files (homeowner households, household income, White population, education bachelor degree or higher) was compared to that of each city. For example, the median household income in San Francisco experienced a real gain of 2.6 percentage points. So those tracts that had more gain than this received a point in the equally weighted demographic change section. However, the median household income in Oakland had a real loss of 1.1 percent. So tracts that lost less than 1.1 percent or had a gain received a point.

Housing market condition: For this analysis, each census tract in each city was compared to all the census tracts of that city. Low and moderate value and appreciation were those tracts that fell in the 60th percentile or less.

The following is a more complete methodology, reprinted from *Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification* courtesy of Lisa K. Bates, PhD, with changes to the data included.

For each dimension of neighborhood change, tracts are assigned as "high" or "low" on the measure based on the relative level of the citywide variable. The dimensions are vulnerability to housing displacement; population changes

indicative of potential displacement; and housing market changes.

1. 2010 Vulnerability

Census tracts were assigned a "vulnerability score" between 0 and 4, with a weight of 1 for each of the following that is true:

- ► For Oakland, greater than 57.2% of households are renters; for San Francisco, greater than 62.3% of households are renters
- ► For Oakland, greater than 72.9% of the population are communities of color; for San Francisco, greater than 58.0%
- For Oakland, greater than 36.6% of the population 25 years and older do not have a bachelor's degree; for San Francisco, 50.9%
- ► For Oakland, greater than 52.4% of households have incomes at or below at or below 80% of the HUD-adjusted median family income (MFI); for San Francisco, 47.1% [Note: The FY 2011 HUD-adjusted MFI for the Oakland was \$73,840; for San Francisco it was \$81,280.]

We defined vulnerable tracts as those with a vulnerability score of at least 3 out of 4.

Data sources

Data for the first three variables was drawn from tract-level 2007-2011 American Community Survey (ACS) estimates. We defined communities of color as all residents except for non-Hispanic whites.

The percentage of households with incomes at or below 80% of the HUD-adjusted MFI was calculated from 2006-2010 HUD Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) data. At this time, the CHAS tract-level data is available only as a very large raw data file containing values for all U.S. census tracts. The values relevant to this calculation come from Table 8 of the census tracts dataset. Tracts

with boundaries in more than one local jurisdiction are split into 60 multiple rows; values for each portion were summed before calculating percentages for the overall tract.

Calculation of thresholds

For the three variables drawn from ACS data, the threshold was defined as the citywide percentage adjusted by the margin of error (MOE) to the lower bound for a more sensitive cutoff.

No MOEs are available for the 2006-2010 CHAS data. The threshold for the last variable was defined as the citywide percentage of households with incomes at or below 80% of the HUD-adjusted MFI (calculated from values in Table 8 of the CHAS census places dataset).

2. 2000-2010 Demographic Change

We defined census tracts with gentrification-related demographic change from 2000 to 2011 as those that experienced *either* at least 3 of the following 4:

- ► For Oakland, the share of homeowners increased more than 0.4 percentage points; for San Francisco, 2.1 percentage points
- For Oakland, The white population share increased more 3.0 percentage points; for San Francisco, it either increased or decreased less than 1.7 percentage points
- ► For Oakland, the share of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree increased more than 6.3 percentage points; for San Francisco, more than 6.4 percentage points
- ► For Oakland, the median household income either increased or it decreased less than 1.1%; for San Francisco, is increased more than 2.6%
- or experienced only 2 out of 4, which were:
- ► For Oakland, The white population share increased more 3.0 percentage points; for

- San Francisco, it either increased or decreased less than 1.7 percentage points
- For Oakland, the share of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree increased more than 6.3 percentage points; for San Francisco, more than 6.4 percentage points

Data sources

Data for 2000 and 2011 was drawn from the 2000 Decennial Census and 2007-2011 ACS estimates, respectively. We converted 2000 median household income values to 2011 dollars before calculating the percent change.

Census tract boundary changes

There were a few instances where tract boundaries changed between 2000 and 2011; one tract was split into two, or two tracts were combined into one. In either case, we averaged the values for the two resulting tracts or the two original tracts before calculating the percentage-point difference or percent change.

Some tract boundary lines were redrawn slightly without significantly changing the tract geography; we did not alter our calculation method for these cases.

3. Housing Market Conditions

All census tracts were assigned a home value for 1990, 2000, and 2011 equal to the ratio of the tract median home value to the citywide median home value. We defined tracts with low or moderate values as those with ratios in the bottom three quintiles; tracts with high values were defined as those with ratios in the top two quintiles.

Home value appreciation rates (i.e., the percent change in median home value) from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2011, and 1990 to 2011 were also calculated for each tract. We defined tracts that experienced low or moderate appreciation

as those with appreciation values in the bottom three quintiles; tracts with high appreciation were defined as those with appreciation values in the top two quintiles.

Using this data, we identified three gentrification related housing market typologies:

Adjacent tracts:

- Had a low or moderate 2011 value
- Experienced low or moderate 2000-2011 appreciation
- Touch the boundary of at least one tract with a high 2011 value and/or high 2000-2011 appreciation
- ► Accelerating tracts:
- ► Had a low or moderate 2011 value
- Experienced high 2000-2011 appreciation
- Appreciated tracts:
- Had a low or moderate 1990 value
- ► Had a high 2011 value
- Experienced high 1990-2011 appreciation

The adjacent typology attempts to capture the spillover effects of gentrification, whereby neighborhoods next to gentrifying areas are at-risk of gentrifying as housing pressures and commercial investment expand outward. The accelerating and accelerated typologies capture housing market changes associated with gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods, respectively.

Data sources

Tract median and citywide median home values for 1990, 2000, and 2011 were drawn from the 1990 Decennial Census, the 2000 Decennial Census, and 2007-2011 ACS estimates, respectively. Median home values for 1990 and 2000 were converted to 2011 dollars prior to calculating appreciation rates.

Gentrification and Neighborhood Housing and Health Conditions Analysis

Based on the above typologies analysis, ACPHD analyzed changes in socioeconomic, housing, and health conditions between 1990 and 2011 by neighborhood type. The purpose of this analysis was to help us better understand the changes taking place in specific neighborhoods and also to explore the relationship between the progression of gentrification and changes in housing and health conditions for different populations at the neighborhood level.

This analysis was conducted using data from Census 1990 and American Community Survey 2007-2011. For the health specific analyses (including the analysis of mortality and life expectancy), data came from Alameda County Vital Statistics files, 2008-2012, for Oakland and from California Death Statistical Master Files, 2009-2011, for San Francisco.

Neighborhood Tenure Analysis

Based on the results of the gentrification typologies analysis, ACPHD conducted analysis to better understand changes in housing tenure by population, between 1990 and 2011, for specific gentrifying neighborhoods.

For this analysis, the American Community Survey data for 2007-2011 and the Geolytics equivalents of 2010-vintage Census tract data from the 1990 decennial Census were used. These data were aggregated to neighborhoods. For San Francisco, the neighborhood aggregations from the planning department were used. For Oakland, the neighborhood aggregations from the Alameda County Public Health Department were used. Since mutually exclusive categories of non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic African American, non-Hispanic API, and Hispanic heads of households were not

available, mutually exclusive groups were developed using the neighborhood breakdowns of Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups for the two time periods. For simplification, households with non-Hispanic American Indian/Alaskan Native, non-Hispanic Some Other Race, and non-Hispanic Multirace heads of households are not shown; in each neighborhood these made up at most 4.7% of households.

Policy Analysis

Purpose

To inform the recommendations for this report, ACPHD researched and analyzed several policies and strategies for preventing displacement. Our goals for this analysis include:

- Analyze policy design and function from a tenants' rights and public health perspective;
- Identify strengths, weaknesses, key considerations, and best practices for each policy;
- Reveal new policies and practices needed to address gaps and strengthen existing policies;
- Organize policies within a framework based on key principles for preventing displacement;
- Recommend ways to maximize impact, including design, implementation, and enforcement features.

Methodology for Analysis

In order to come up with a list of policies to analyze, we started with the policies recommended in ABAG's "Development without Displacement" report, released in December 2009. This list represented a pool of policies which were both viable and "on the table" for regional implementation. In order to meet our capacity for analysis, we narrowed this list by

factoring in two additional criteria. These include policies that build on the knowledge/work of ACPHD and CJJC, and policies which focus on housing. Our final list is below:

- "Just Cause" eviction protections
- Right of first refusal policies
- Relocation policies
- Right of return policies
- "No Net Loss" policies
- Incentives and contract renewal to preserve affordable housing
- Homeowner protection policies
- Homebuyer assistance programs
- ► Pro-active models of code enforcement
- Condominium conversion regulations
- Rent control policies
- Limited Equity Housing Co-ops (LEHC's)
- Community Land Trusts (CLT's)
- Real Estate Transfer Taxes (RETT's)
- Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) policies

We used recent literature to analyze the above policies, including both secondary literature –reports, studies, news articles, and toolkits focused on displacement – as well as primary literature – actual policies and ordinances. In a few cases, we interviewed experts and practitioners in the field.

To analyze the policies, ACPHD and CJJC came up with a set of criteria to assess policy design and function from a public health and tenants' rights perspective. Each policy was analyzed based on the best / strongest example of the policy that we could find in the literature or the field. We used a matrix to assess how strong each policy performed against our criteria, using a key of green, yellow, and red. A more detailed explanation of our policy matrix is below.

The criteria we used for the matrix analysis include:

- Community Ownership and Power To what extent does this policy increase low-income residents' access to decision-making power, ownership over neighborhood resources, and/or legal protections in relation to landlords, developers, and government agencies?
- Affordability and Housing Stability To what extent does this policy maintain neighborhood level affordability and/or increase ability of existing residents to stay in their homes and neighborhoods?
- Housing Quality and Habitability To what extent does this policy improve environmental health and other healthy housing conditions for existing, low-income residents?
- ► Permanence and Enforceability How likely is this policy to last once implemented (including funding and political support), and how many loopholes does it have?
- Unintended Consequences Does this policy have the potential to introduce new, harmful consequences (related to displacement, affordability, and health), even in its strongest form?

In addition to the above criteria, we gathered information in the following categories to inform our recommendations for design, implementation, and enforcement of each policy:

- Resident focus Does the policy primarily benefit tenants, homeowners, existing or incoming residents?
- Scale of impact Is the impact usually city-level, neighborhood, or project-specific?
- Key players What kinds of agencies, organizations, or individuals are critical for this policy to be implemented and enforced effectively?

- Stage of gentrification most effective -Is this policy most relevant/effective in early, middle, or late stages of gentrification?
- Political climate considerations Is this policy more or less controversial? Is there strong opposition among certain groups? Does it require passage of new legislation?
- Housing market considerations Does this policy require certain housing market conditions to be effective?
- Costs How costly is the policy, and what are some of the typical funding sources?
- ▶ How well documented is this policy? Is it recommended in 3+ anti-displacement
 toolkits? For the purposes of our review,
 we referred to anti-displacement toolkits/
 reports produced by PolicyLink, Center
 for Transit-Oriented Development, Dukakis
 Center, and Urban Institute.

Limitations

This analysis represents our qualitative assessment of policy design and function from a public health and tenants' rights perspective. However, we were unable to assess policy effectiveness based on impact at the neighborhood level. We found very few sources in the literature which evaluate policy impact, and our time and staff capacity did not allow us to undertake an original analysis of policy impact. This research - in particular, a comparative analysis of policy effectiveness in stopping or slowing displacement at the neighborhood level - will be essential for the advancement of effective and timely solutions to the pressing issue of gentrification. The list of policies analyzed for this report was based on a number of factors, including the interests and issue areas of the author organization. This means that our policy analysis is focused on housing and excludes issues of business and cultural impacts. While these aspects of gentrification and displacement are significant and merit their own analysis, we were not able to address these issues in the scope of this report.

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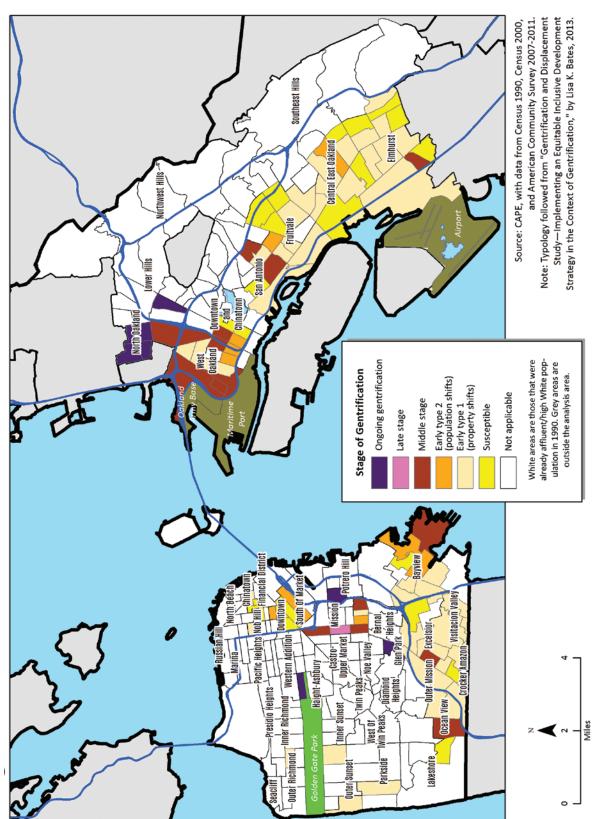
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Policy Analysis Matrix: Color Key by Criteria

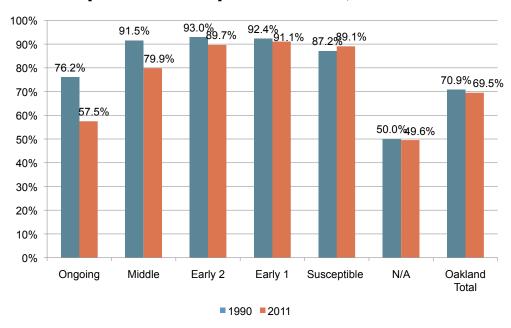
Color	Community Ownership and Power	Affordability and Housing Stability	Housing Quality / Habitability	Permanence and Loopholes	Unintended Consequences
	If adequately enforced, policy would directly improve one of the following for low-income tenants and existing residents: access to decision-making power, ownership over housing and neighborhood conditions, legal rights in relation to landlords, developers, and government.	If adequately enforced, policy would maintain or improve affordability and/or increase ability of existing residents to stay in their homes/ neighborhoods.	If adequately enforced, policy would directly improve environmental health / habitability of housing.	Policy is strong in multiple areas: few loopholes, tends to last once implemented.	Policy has no potential unintended consequences related to displacement, affordability, and health. (At worst, it would be ineffective).
	If adequately enforced, policy could improve access, ownership, and legal rights, but only indirectly and/or if coupled with other efforts.	If adequately enforced, policy could maintain or improve affordability or stability for existing residents but only if coupled with other efforts.	If adequately enforced, policy could improve housing quality / habitability, but only indirectly and/ or if coupled with other efforts.	Policy may be strong in one area but weak in others.	Policy has some potential unintended consequences, but none of them are major or related to displacement, affordability, and health.
	Even if adequately enforced, policy would not improve (or may even worsen) access, ownership, and legal rights.	Even if adequately enforced, policy would not maintain or improve (and may even worsen) housing affordability or stability.	Even if adequately enforced, policy would not improve (and may even worsen) housing quality / habitability.	Policy tends to be weak in multiple areas: many loopholes, vulnerable to repeal, requires advocacy on project-by- project basis.	Policy has major potential unintended consequences related to displacement, affordability, and health.
N/A	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.

Gentrification Typologies Analysis



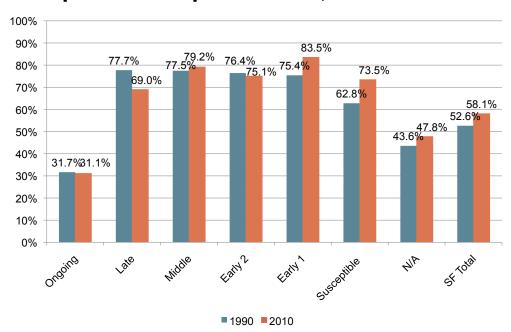
Summary of Data Analysis

Proportion People of Color, Oakland

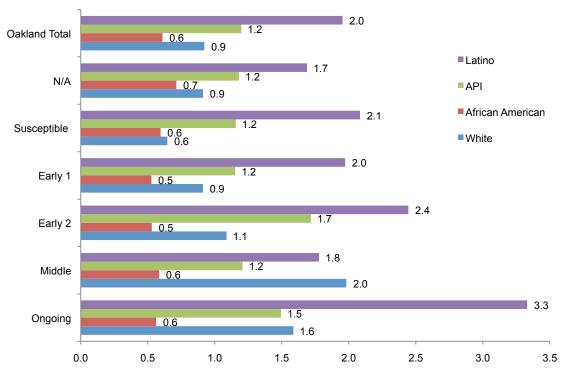


Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and 2010.

Proportion People of Color, San Francisco

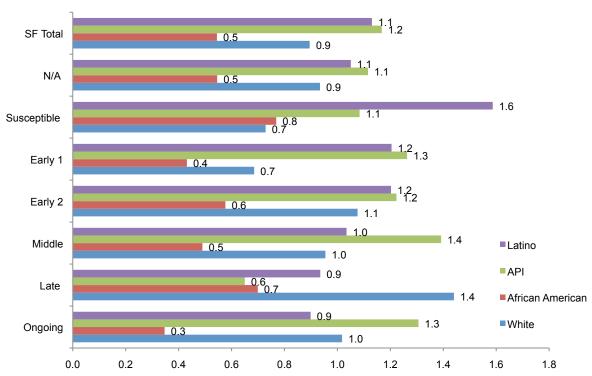


Ratio of Population Change by Race/Ethnicity, Oakland, 2011/1990



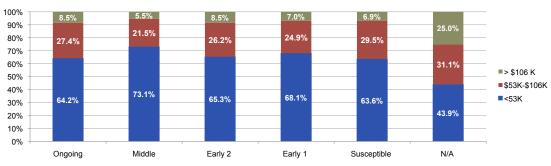
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and 2010.

Ratio of Population Change by Race/Ethnicity, San Francisco, 2010/1990

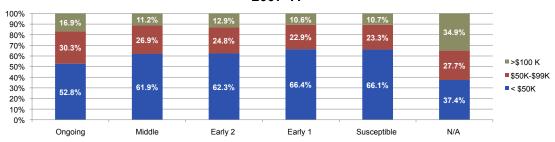


Income Ranges, Oakland





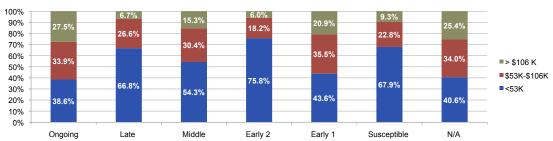
2007-11



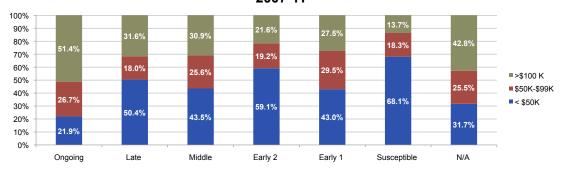
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Income Ranges, San Francisco

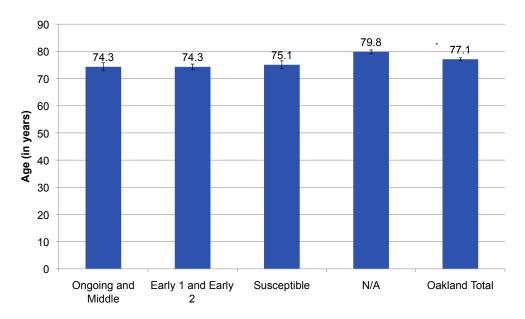
1990



2007-11

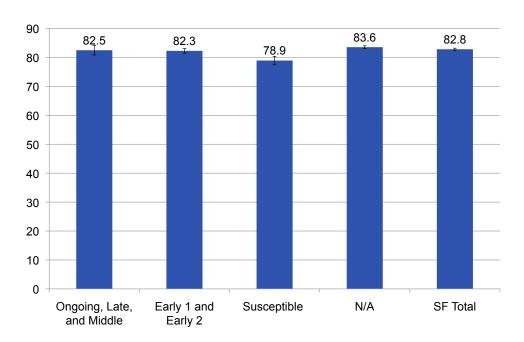


Life expectancy, Oakland 2008-12



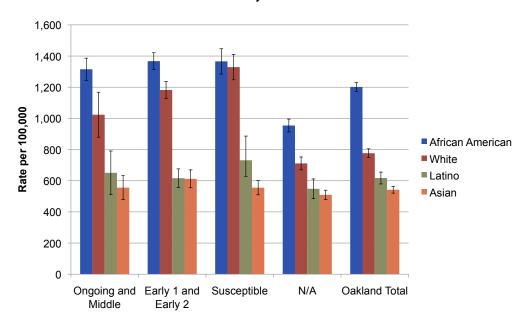
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from AC Vital Statistics, 2008-12

Life expectancy, San Francisco, 2009-11



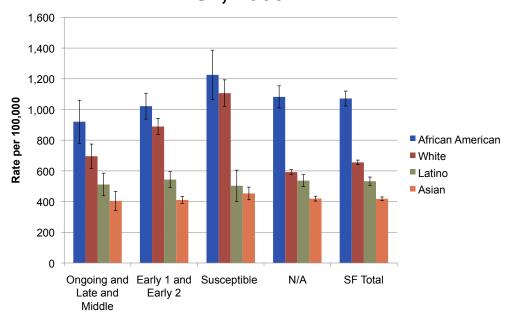
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from California Death Statistical Master Files, 2009-11

Mortality Rate by Race/Ethnicity, Oakland, 2008-12



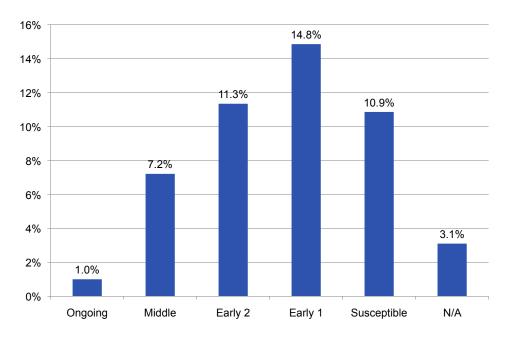
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from AC Vital Statistics, 2008-12

Mortality Rate by Race/Ethnicity, SF, 2009-11



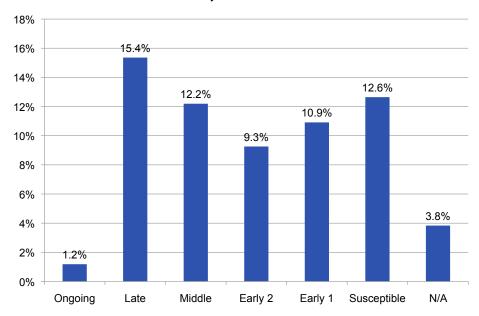
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from California Death Statistical Master Files, 2009-11

Housing Units in which >1 Occupant per Room, Oakland 2007-11



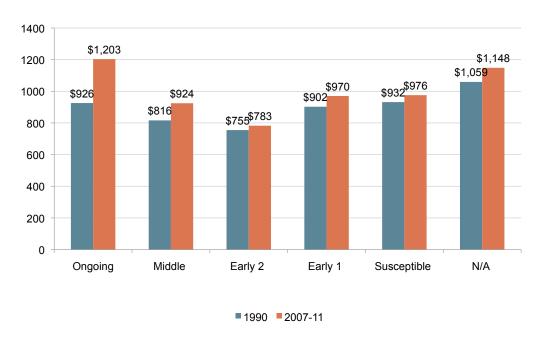
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from ACS 2007-11

Housing Units in which >1 Occupant per Room, SF 2007-11



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from ACS 2007-11

Median Gross Rent, Oakland, 1990 vs. 2007-11



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Median Gross Rent, SF, 1990 vs. 2007-11

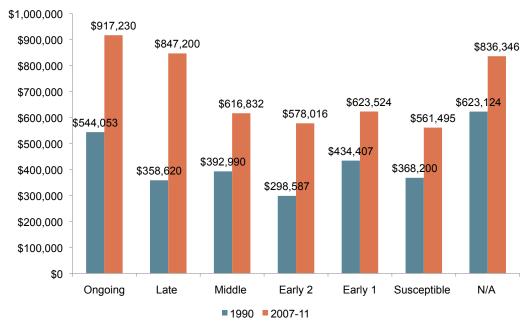


Median Value, Owner-Occupied, Oakland

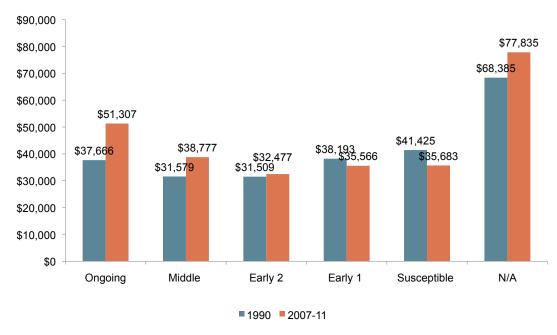


Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Median Value, Owner-Occupied, SF

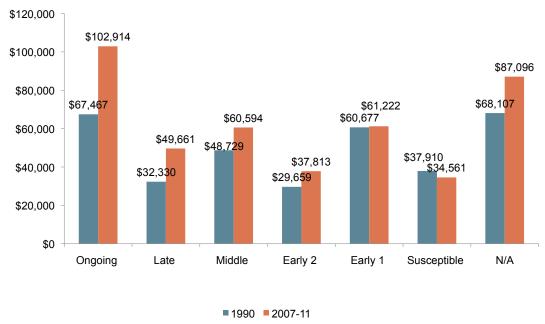


Median Household Income, Oakland



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Median Household Income, SF

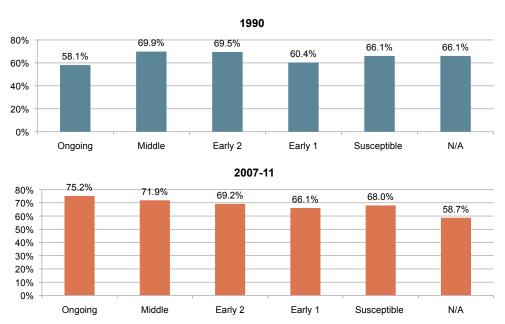


Owning vs. Renting

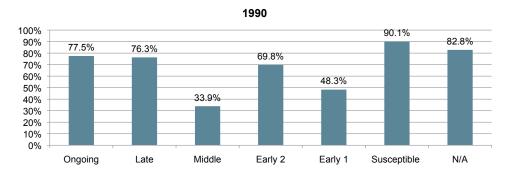


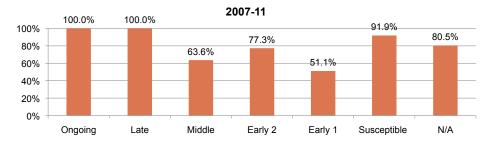
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

% African American Headed Households Who Rent, Oakland



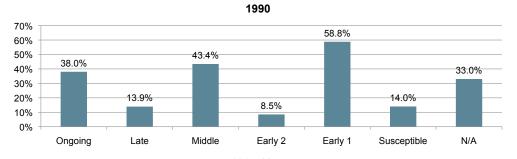
% African American Headed Households Who Rent, SF

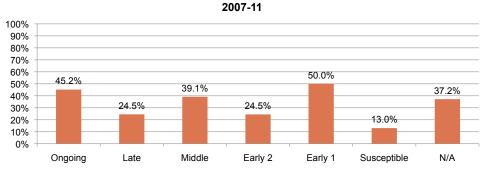




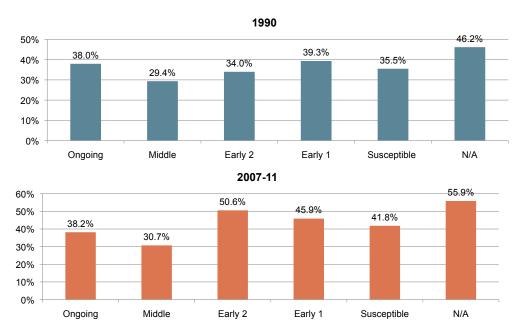
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

% White Headed Households Who Own, San Francisco

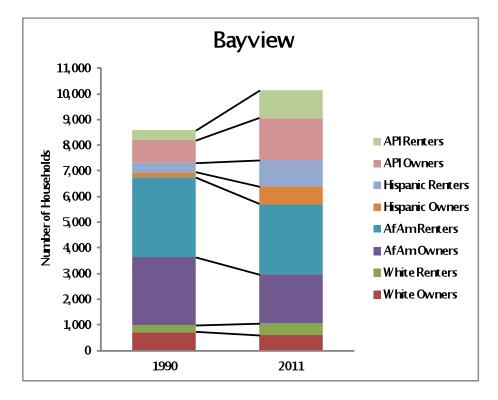


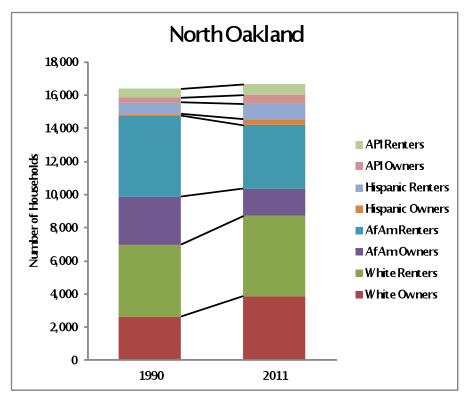


% White Headed Households Who Own, Oakland

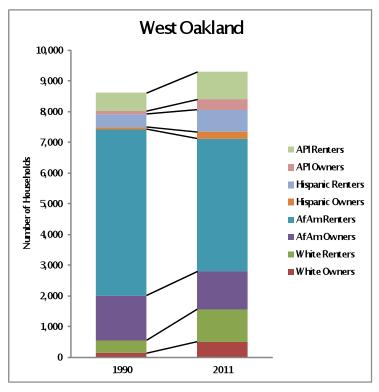


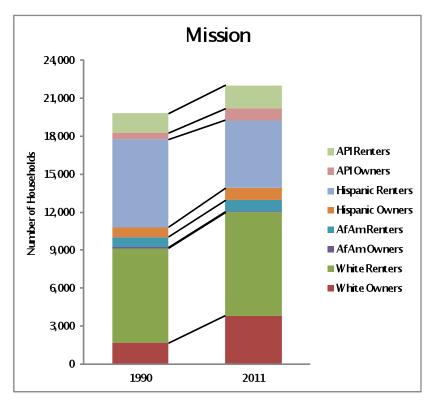
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11



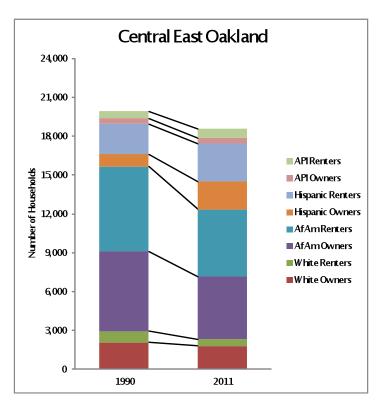


Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

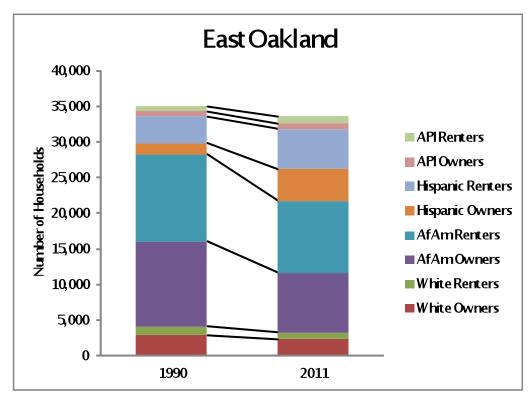




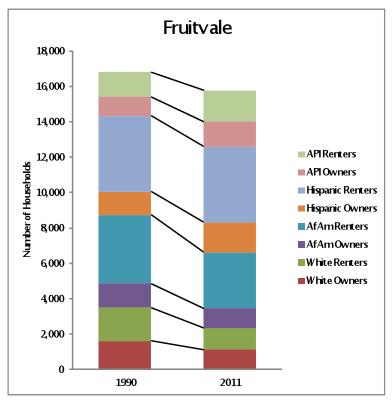
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Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Summary of Policy Research

Full Policy Analysis Matrix

Below is a visual summary of our analysis for all policies, using the policy matrix method described earlier.

Policy / Program	Community Ownership and Power	Affordability and Housing Stability	Housing Quality / Habitability	Permanence and Loopholes	Unintended Consequences
"Just Cause" eviction protections					
Right of first refusal policies					
Relocation policies					
Right of return policies					
"No net loss" policies	N/A				
Incentives and contract renewal efforts to preserve affordable housing					
Rent control policies					
Condominium conversion regulations					
Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) policies					
Pro-active models of code enforcement					
Homeowner protection policies					
Homebuyer assistance policies					
Real Estate Transfer Taxes (RETT's)	N/A		N/A		
Limited Equity Housing Co-ops (LEHC's)					
Community Land Trusts (CLT's)					

Note: All policies are assessed for their performance at the community (rather than individual) level, and in a "best case scenario," based on a real example(s) of the policy.



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