

Brothers Sons, Selves offers testimony from African American, Latino and Asian American/ Pacific Islander boys and young men in Los Angeles County and discusses how and why these youth face a health crisis today.

It is informed by a landscape analysis of Los Angeles County commissioned by The California Endowment (TCE) from Liberty Hill Foundation and its partners Acosta Associates and Jemmott Rollins Group. The analysis was conducted to advise the Endowment of strategic opportunities related to eliminating health disparities faced by African American and Latino males between six and 25 years of age (compared to their white counterparts).

The findings and recommendations of that report fueled Liberty Hill's current initiative to invest in the challenge of organizing boys and young men in low income communities of color in Los Angeles—specifically African American, Latino, and Asian American/Pacific Islander—to address these health disparities and realize their economic, civic and creative potential.

Brothers, Sons, Selves focuses on males in order to shine a light on the need to invest in meeting their particular needs, without intending to suggest that girls and young women of color do not face analogous challenges. The case we are making for investing in the future well-being of one group should be considered within the context of empowering entire communities.

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Brothers Sons Selves

YOUNG MEN IN LOS ANGELES ARE READY FOR CHANGE





the coming decades, an increasingly diverse Los Angeles will need its young men-all its young men, not just the most privileged—to take their places in society and work to build the economy, educate the next generations, preserve the environment, and improve the lives of all Angelenos.

As we rebuild our local and national economies, it's essential that we stop squandering our human capital. L.A.'s young men-all its young menare assets to be treasured.

Many Americans are feeling the effects of the crash of the financial system and the resulting years of job losses and cuts to safety-net programs. But hardest hit are low income boys and young men of color.

A comparison of the health and welfare of different groups of people in Los Angeles County (and indeed in California and the nation as a whole) puts boys of color at the bottom of nearly every positive indicator. Low-income and young men of color have the lowest life expectancy rates, highest unemployment rates, fewest high school and college graduates, and most murder victims.

Why are these youths enmeshed in such crisis? Researchers have been studying the problem and have connected the dots. The harsh conditions faced by residents of low income communities and communities of color are well documented, and by nearly every measure, young males in these communities are the hardest hit. Already facing higher unemployment rates than other groups, these boys are caught in a no-man'sland between the "jobless recovery" that leaves them on the fringes of society, and a fear-ridden political climate focused on "security" that has resulted in laws that encourage racial profiling. The result is a web of school, social service, law enforcement and workplace policies that punish rather than nurture African American, Latino,

and Asian American/Pacific Islander boys and young men. It is time to face up to the cost paid by every sector of our society for the continuation of the present, unjust path. Rather than pooling our resources to maximize human potential, we are spending wildly on such harmful practices as mass incarceration. By failing to improve the lives of boys and young men of color, we not only ignore the fate of nearly half of L.A.'s adults of tomorrow, but also diminish everyone's quality of life today.

tragedy of the Columbine school shooting. Such enforcement practices have had unintended consequences. These problematic policies include having large numbers of police on high school campuses, or instantly suspending students for minor infractions. Although supposedly colorblind and intended to increase security and safety, such policies are implemented quite differently in different neighborhoods and are also applied differently to different groups on a single campus



Old thinking: "Minority." New reality: "We the people."

In the past, young Angelenos have faced explicitly racist public policies and practices. Specific historic examples include the forced "conversions" of Native American youth by missionaries, the exclusion of Chinese workers from trade unions, the banning of African American girls from nursing schools, and the routine beatings of Latino youth during police interrogations.

Today, our laws are supposed to be "race neutral" and our practices non-discriminatory. But in recent years, researchers have found that many government policies and practices—i.e., city, county and state laws as well as accepted procedures by agencies such as the Sheriff's Dept., L.A. Unified School District, or the Dept. of Children and Family Services—are hurting boys and young men of color, even though that's not what the policies were designed to do.

Take, for example, the "zero tolerance" policies put into place in schools in the years after the

(for example, when there are magnet programs on campus). These practices drive down school attendance rates while increasing dropout rates for boys of color.

Similarly, law enforcement practices related to the "war on drugs" vary dramatically from neighborhood to neighborhood in Los Angeles. Significantly higher numbers of Latino and Black youth are at risk of being imprisoned than white youth who commit the same level of infraction. At the same time, youth in low income neighborhoods do not receive equal protection by police from violence as youth in high income neighborhoods, and that affects large numbers of boys of color.

Is it a big problem for society when this one group of people is pushed out of school, pushed out of the economy, and pushed out of the voting booth? Is it a big problem if Black, Latino, and Asian American/Pacific Islander boys are unfairly profiled in ways that limit their future success as college students, job seekers, and the parents of tomorrow?

It's a very big problem. According to the California State Assembly Select Committee on Boys and Young Men of Color, 82.7 percent of youth in Los Angeles identify as people of color. Boys and young men of color now represent 42.2 percent of all youth in Los Angeles.

It's about us. All of us.

The status of boys and young men of color is a clear indicator of our region's health as a society—and it's a not-very-early warning about what we all, as Angelenos, can look forward to. This is not "their" problem—these problems affect every one of us.

Old thinking: "Bootstraps." New reality: "The Village."

Liberty Hill supports these vital members of our communities—our brothers, our sons, our neighbors, and ourselves-in the quest for better opportunities for health, safety, meaningful employment, and a path to responsible adulthood. We believe that a sustained investment in community organizing in targeted neighborhoods of Los Angeles County can have immediate short-term positive results and can result in institutional policy changes that will improve outcomes for boys and young men of color over the course of their entire lives.

Studies show that many obstacles facing young men in their quest for a healthy, productive life are tied to conditions in specific neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are marked by concentrations of low income families and the failure of private and public institutions to provide either equal opportunity or equal protections to the children, especially the boys, who live there.

To achieve long-term change that improves conditions for L.A.'s young men, Liberty Hill is listening to boys who live in neighborhoods where life expectancies are lowest, chances of being a victim of a crime are the highest, and schools are least likely to prepare youth for the challenges of college or employment.

The Foundation has been working with L.A. grassroots community organizations focused on empowering boys and young men to define and work for the change they want to see in their neighborhoods, schools, homes, and workplaces.





2010 and 2011, Liberty Hill and its partners gathered data on the lives of boys and young men in Los Angeles County. The team reviewed existing literature on health disparities facing boys and young men of color, held focus groups with L.A. County service providers and leaders of community organizations, and conducted interviews with individual key informants. In another phase of research, focus groups were held with adolescents and young men to obtain their feedback on findings and recommendations. In addition, a "landscape analysis" assessed the capacity of the Los Angeles County nonprofit infrastructure that works for positive change in the lives of boys and young men.

Following are excerpts of findings on the status of African American, Asian American/Pacific Islander, and Latino boys and young men from recent studies published by nonprofit and government agencies. These telling statistics are juxtaposed with excerpts from transcripts of conversations among focus group participants.

These youth understand the challenges they face. Listening to them helps us understand their condition and find the pathway to change. The young men's comments remind us that each number tells a part of the story of a person—and that these stories are about our brothers, our sons, our neighbors, and ourselves.

We know violence and a culture of incarceration.

- Nationwide, nearly 7% of Black children and 2.5% of Hispanic children have a parent, most often a father, in prison—compared to 0.9% for white children.
- Black men make up less than 9% of L.A. County's population but nearly 33% of its homicide victims.

"I was sent to juvenile hall at the age of 11 for making stupid decisions. I got kicked out of foster homes and then had a roommate who was bringing drugs in and out of our apartment. I chose to go back to the streets instead of waiting for a drug raid to take place where I was living. Ever since I was little, there have always been a lot of bad things that have happened to me."

"A broken home never solves any problem. I met my dad when I was five years old and I haven't seen him since. My older brother used to sell coke and would beat me up until I sold coke, got caught, and served three years."

"One of my mom's friends got shot and was bleeding to death in front of me and I did not care. That's when I knew I didn't care about life and about people."

"My friend didn't really want to bang but because of where he lived he had to bang even though he was very smart and good in school. He ended up getting shot. You can't leave home without worrying about colors you're wearing, the hat you're wearing, and even shoelaces."

We sense that we're being targeted.

- In L.A. County, African American youth have a juvenile felony arrest rate 5.8 times greater than that of white youth; the rate for Latino youth is 2.3 times greater.
- Racial profiling by law enforcement officials was experienced by 39% of the Cambodian male youth surveyed in Long Beach.

- Children from low income families are four times as likely as privately insured children to be labeled as having a mental disorder and receive antipsychotic medicines.
- In a 2007 survey, a quarter of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) students who were African American/Black and Asian American/Pacific Islander and about 30% of those who were Latino or multiracial had missed classes or days of school in the past month because they felt unsafe. In 2009, 84.6% of LGBT students overall reported being verbally harassed, 40.1% reported being physically harassed and 18.8% reported being physically assaulted at school in the past year.

"One day I was walking down the street in a suit and police officers pulled me over saying that I fit a description. Just looking Latino gives you a higher chance of getting pulled over. Black guys too."

"What affects me more is people who see me as a bad influence more than as a male or a Salvadoran."

"I remember being in fourth grade and being put in special education because we were a little badass."

"It depends on the area, the way you dress. The way you walk. The police will stop you, depending on the way you're walking, if you're walking like a Mexican."



"If my friends in gangs had jobs, I know for a fact they would not be living the gang lifestyle."



We feel like we're being pushed out of school.

- In L.A. County, just 25% of African American and Latino children are reading at or above proficiency at grade 4. By grade 11, just 20% of African American and Latino youth are proficient at reading
- In L.A. Unified School District, an African American boy attending middle school faces a 32% chance of suspension, versus a rate of 3% for a white girl.
- 41% of Cambodian American youth leave school without a high school diploma (compared to 16% of the overall U.S. population).
- "You don't understand how easy it is to get suspended. I watched someone get suspended for spilling juice on the floor in class at Crenshaw."
- "My brother and I take two buses to get to school. We were late. We were wearing our football jerseys and they stopped us outside of school from the bus stop and they handcuffed me and my brother and two other

students and they stuffed us in a police car and we had to sit there for an hour or so. Then they took us to the tardy detention center and my mom wasn't able to leave work to pick us up until two. To play a game you have to attend four classes and so I couldn't play. I wasn't trying to miss that game because they really needed me. And Fridays at my school are days where they give tests and I missed all that because I was stopped by a cop on my way trying to get to school."

"Teachers are not available after school. My mother and father didn't get an education so they can't help me, the material is too new for my grandmother so she can't help me and the tutoring system is not great—tutors are not that smart and the good tutors that I do need I cannot afford. Then when I don't do well on the test, my teachers just say I should have studied harder."

"I have gotten two tickets for being late. Both times I was right near the entrance of the school. The reason I was late is because I couldn't afford the 605 bus and I had to walk."

We want jobs.

- Of the 10 metropolitan areas nationwide with the highest Hispanic unemployment rates, five are in California: Fresno, Bakersfield, Riverside, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.
- Over the next 40 years, Latinos will account for more than two-thirds of the U.S. population growth. Yet in November 2011, Hispanic youth unemployment stood at 31.8%.
- In 2011, the unemployment rate for African American youth rose to over 45% and remains above 40%, compared to 23% for overall teenage unemployment.
- "If my friends in gangs had jobs, I know for a fact they would not be living the gang lifestyle."
- "I didn't have any positive Black males I could pattern my life after. It was clear at a young age that you don't pattern your life behind athletes because you don't know them. Only my grandparents were not connected to a gang. Growing up I was exposed to the underground economy of selling drugs."

- "When it comes down to looking for work I feel, depending on the type of work you want to do, being Hispanic makes finding office work very difficult. I went to school for business... I have a felony on my record from drugs. Having a record is the number one setback in finding a job."
- "It has to do with drugs. You could be going to school or selling drugs. I dropped out of school and started selling drugs in 11th grade. Now I realize that unless you're a king pin, it doesn't stay forever. I realize unless you have a GED or high school diploma, you can't get no kind of job."
- "A lot of our families grow up in poverty. A lot of my friends have parents that don't have jobs. As hard as it is for a Black male to get a job in L.A., these are the things that play a big role in the breakdown of Black families."
- "My brother Christopher used to take me everywhere. Every time he came home, he came home with a new bike and would tell my mom he was fixing it for someone else."



Our neighborhoods are killing us.

- When people in Los Angeles and other cities moved from a poor neighborhood to a richer one (but weren't themselves richer), ten years later they had 19% lower rates of obesity and 22% lower rates of diabetes than those who didn't move.
- Black men's life expectancy is the lowest of any demographic group in Los Angeles by about eight years. Residents of low income communities in Los Angeles County die at a younger age than residents of wealthier communities.
- Nationally, Latino boys and young men are more than four times more likely to suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) than their white peers.
- Compared to nearly all other ethnic groups in the U.S., Pacific Islanders are more likely to suffer from leading health disparity indicators including hypertension, obesity, diabetes, tuberculosis, hepatitis B, asthma, and cigarette smoking.
- Just 8% of African Americans live in a census tract with a supermarket, compared to 31% of whites.
- New HIV cases among young Black gay and bisexual men rose an estimated 48% between 2006 and 2009. Blacks account for 44% of all HIV infections.
- "You can drive anywhere around Crenshaw and you won't find any healthy food growing out of the ground."
- "When I moved to 63rd and 10th, I went on a jog around 8 pm with some friends. The police rolled up and put a gun to us saying that we were running from them, when we were just getting some exercise."
- "You can't even get our folks to go out and get a flu shot. It goes back to that stigma, how we feel about things. They're saying 'What's in this, what's it going to do to me? How's it going to affect me?' We don't want to go and get something that's going to end up hurting us, because a whole bunch of us, especially poor folks who've had to go to King Hospital, they've heard the stories, 'I went in with gangrene and I came out with gunshot wounds and a heart attack.'"

"I see more McDonald's and fast food places than hospitals. I see new shopping centers without any places to walk around. There are not enough hospitals in my neighborhood." "I see more McDonald's and fast food places than hospitals. I see new shopping centers without any places to walk around. There are not enough hospitals in my neighborhood."





V does California continue to for public education even though businesses here bemoan the lack of trained workers? Why has the U.S. Department of Justice found that after four years of monitoring. many L.A. County probation camps still have no rehabilitation programs and so are not treating mental illness or substance abuse—when the defined function of the camps is rehabilitation, not punishment? Why does L.A. Unified School District provide autism aides to elementary school students on the Westside of Los Angeles at more than 10 times the rate that it does on the Eastside? Why is there no pilot period for voter initiatives that do the opposite of what backers said they'd do? A 2011 study of the supposed "anti-gang" initiative Proposition 21 that eased prosecution of minors as adults, for example, revealed that the 28 counties that used the law at lower than average rates showed a significant reduction in youth crimes, as compared to the 30 counties that used it at higher than average rates.

In the past year, the awareness of inequality between the "99%" and the "1%" brought people into the streets by the thousands. But there remains a lack of political will to address the mounting unhappiness with inequity. We find ourselves facing certain givens and conditions that vary dramatically depending on factors including our skin color, economic status, geographic location, national origin, and gender.

And in Los Angeles County, boys and young men of color face greater odds and worsening conditions for developing a healthful, happy life than any other group of people.

The Indifference Gap

In a recent demographic analysis, Angela Glover Blackwell, CEO of Policylink, seeks to explain the seeming indifference of many Americans to the needs of future generations. This indifference is demonstrated by the support for cutbacks to

programs benefiting youth and education in the face of high rates of joblessness and increasing disparity between rich and poor.

Blackwell focuses on the fact that by 2042, people of color will be the majority in America, while at the present time, many people of color are youth—but older, voting Americans are predominantly white.

In an essay, author John Hope Bryant compares our era with Martin Luther King's era and suggests that today, "mainstream white America" does not hate young Black men and boys, but is, rather, indifferent. Why do Americans call for reductions in desperately needed social services for children, rehabilitation for juvenile offenders. teachers in public schools, and healthy-life facilities such as parks and playgrounds? Bryant says it's because of what he calls "radical indifference" in America today. This is, he says, "a place and space where, in the minds of those with resources, you simply do not matter."

Says Blackwell: "For the first time, America's seniors, business leaders, and elected officials simply do not see themselves in the faces of today's young people. For many this signals less obligation and commitment to the kinds of programs and resources that would help provide a boost to the next generation." She further notes that "the places where this divide is most pronounced—like Arizona—have become ground zero for racial tension and antiimmigrant sentiment."

The Persistence of History

Experts talk about the persistence of racism but to everyday people, the long litany of historic injustices sounds like just that—history. When the reasons are given for why one group of people is hurt more than another—by, for example, cruelly higher incarceration rates or depressingly lower job prospects—the explanations sometimes seem hard to connect with present conditions.

So we can acknowledge or remember vivid images of explicitly racist laws and policies while not understanding what those past laws might have to do with people in L.A. County in 2012.

We can be angered by awareness that Native American children were forced to stop speaking their birth language, that Americans of Japanese descent were sent to internment camps, and that African Americans were forbidden by real estate "covenant" laws from purchasing houses in certain L.A. neighborhoods or, by "redlining" practices, from obtaining mortgages or auto insurance.

We might think that the outlawing of such overtly

GOVERNMENT -AGENCIES AND INDIVIDUALS TODAY MAY HAVE GOOD INTENTIONS, BUT THERE ARE LINGERING STRUCTURES IN **SOCIETY THAT WERE CREATED BY** INJUSTICES OF THE PAST.



discriminatory practices means Angelenos have overcome injustice and inequality. And yet, unequal outcomes persist. We face renewed attempts to legalize discrimination (such as Arizona's SB1070 immigration law), residual impacts of past racist policies, and an erosion of civil rights because of new policies that have results similar to overtly racist practices.

When scholars talk about institutional racism, they're not talking about explicitly discriminatory or xenophobic laws of the past. They're pointing to current evidence, and looking at the consequences of our failure to specifically examine and address the potential racial, economic, and gendered impact of existing and proposed policies and laws.

Government agencies and individuals today may have good intentions, but there are lingering structures in society that were created by injustices of the past. So unless policies and procedures are carefully reviewed for racial, economic, and gendered impacts, those good intentions can be twisted toward injustice. Some recent analyses offer illuminating explanations of why discriminatory practices are so persistent.

For example, the *L.A. Times* reported that public spending on treating children with autism in California "varies significantly by racial or ethnic group and socioeconomic status." Why the disparity? Officials cite language and cultural barriers, and the reporters describe "warrior parents" who only get services if they are persistent. But the state hasn't researched the reasons, so workers say they don't know how to make access to treatment fairer. The result? By failing to investigate, the State Department of Development Services is effectively withholding services from children of color that might help them overcome their disabilities.

Author Michelle Alexander's book, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, marshals evidence to illustrate that "the arguments and rationalizations that have been trotted out in support of racial exclusion and discrimination in its various forms have changed and evolved, but the outcome has remained largely the same." Among the outcomes Alexander points to is the loss of the vote (and consequent political powerlessness), and she traces five generations of African American men disenfranchised successively by slavery, murderous violence, violent intimidation, poll taxes and voter literacy tests, and by being labeled as felons.

Other examples abound. In the 1920s and 1930s, Southern rural black teenagers were imprisoned on trumped-up charges and then "leased" as "convict labor" to turpentine

manufacturers. Similarly, today, discrimination provides a pretext for incarceration. Latino youth, although they use marijuana at rates lower than their white counterparts, are disproportionately affected by the astronomical increase in arrests and imprisonments for possession of less than an ounce—because they are arrested and convicted at much higher rates than white youth.

Says Alexander: "Rather than rely on race, we use our criminal justice system to label people of color "criminals." And, she says, "Today it is perfectly legal to discriminate against criminals in nearly all the ways that it was once legal to discriminate against African Americans."

Different Intentions, Similar Results

The Burns Institute cites the devastating consequences of recent policies focused on school security and anti-gang law enforcement. It lists the war on drugs, "quality of life" policing, and zero-tolerance school discipline policies, among others, as practices that not only fail to protect youth of color but result in "disproportionate minority confinement."

In essence, low income communities of color experience more of the negative consequences of police presence—the escalation of punitive punishments for behaviors that escape notice elsewhere—and less of the positive results such as protection from violent crime.

In an essay, "Our 'Broken System' of Criminal Justice," former Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens states that "the twin problems that pervade American criminal justice today" are "its overall severity and its disparate treatment of African Americans," and he states that low-income communities of color are denied equal protection under the law because, with political influence, "police protection against violent felonies has disproportionately extended to suburban neighborhoods rather than urban centers."

Other analysts describe how the results of today's supposedly colorblind immigration laws mimic the purposefully segregationist and xenophobic laws of the past. Recent anti-immigrant laws in Arizona, Georgia, and Alabama recall the wave of new state constitutions created in Southern states between 1890 and 1908 that erected barriers to voting (including poll taxes and residency tests) and also recall policies like those targeting Chinese nationals, who were blocked from immigration to the U.S. between 1882 and 1965.



















its three decades of social justice work in Los Angeles, Liberty Hill has been witness and responder to several historic times of crisis, dislocation or predation that threatened specific population groups.

- In 1980, Liberty Hill learned that dockworkers exposed to asbestos were suffering from White Lung disease, and in response gave early support that sparked the national movement to regulate asbestos and win compensation for millions of workers.
- In 1994, Liberty Hill learned that the seemingly dynamic growth of tourism, grocery, and garment industries in L.A. was happening on the backs of poverty-wage workers. The Foundation was first to fund a movement for living wages that won new standards for thousands.
- In the late 1990s, Liberty Hill was the first to fund environmental justice organizers in longtime residential neighborhoods of L.A. County that were being turned into wasteland concentrations of polluting facilities. These grassroots groups banded together to fight against policies and industries that turned their communities into "toxic hot spots."
- In 2001, student organizers and reformers we funded succeeded in reversing a policy that had allowed schools to offer few or limited college prep courses, effectively segregating

low income students of color from advancement opportunities.

Because of this experience, Liberty Hill has a network of community advisors and allies who are constantly assessing programs and policies designed to increase positive outcomes in communities affected by social injustice. including communities that are home to large numbers of boys and young men of color.

Converging Strategies and an Effective Network

In California, foundation strategies to address the issue are converging and the state legislature is examining some of these programs and listening to constituents on the subject through hearings in 2012 by the California State Assembly Select Committee on the Status of Boys and Men of Color in California.

Liberty Hill Foundation will support a cohort of Los Angeles nonprofits to work with these core populations to improve the health and welfare of the boys who will be among the doctors, technicians, farmers, small business owners, healthcare workers, service providers, and teachers we will all depend upon in the future.

Liberty Hill is bringing together an alliance of community organizations in Los Angeles County to work toward a common agenda to improve the lives of young men. These groups are made up of

activist youth and community leaders, including a majority, or significant cohort, of boys and young men of color. These young men understand the conditions thwarting their quest for a better life and many, with organizer-mentors who share their lived experiences, are already working to address targeted issues.

Through community-based participatory research and community organizing, these organizations will identify priorities—discovering what policy changes to fight for, what new practices to support, and how to be heard by elected officials, government agencies, and voters. Community organizing is the process of bringing people together and helping them realize their power. Through organizing, people transform their own lives and learn the power of collective action, laying the foundation for lasting social change.

Liberty Hill will support these organizations through grantmaking, leadership development, technical training and support, and network building.

Liberty Hill will promote:

- greater understanding of the challenges facing boys and men of color and the assets they bring to our communities
- increased community power among boys and men of color
- stronger philanthropic support for organizations

targeting boys and men of color

Through this process, Liberty Hill will act as a nonprofit accelerator for these organizations, increasing capacity and effectiveness exponentially.

Join Us

Our initiative to bring material support to the fight for equality for boys and young men of color in Los Angeles is the current stage of a decades-long struggle to protect and expand their human rights, often against overwhelming odds.

Today's community organizers are building on the work of our region's many progressive activists and organizations of the past. Those historic fights against destructive policies have made much progress possible, and with your support we can continue to provide frontline leaders with the tools they need to continue to secure a promising future for our brothers, our sons, and ourselves.

To make a donation and get involved in the Liberty Hill community, please visit our website at www.LibertyHill.org.

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Reference Notes

The comments in this booklet from young men and boys are drawn from January–February 2011 focus group sessions organized by Liberty Hill in conjunction with Los Angeles Urban League, Community Coalition, and Legacy L.A., and Jovenes, Inc., and from a November 2011 interview with a member of Labor Community Strategy Center's Community Rights Campaign.

For a bibliography of sources, please see the online version at www.libertyhill.org/BrothersSonsSelves.

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