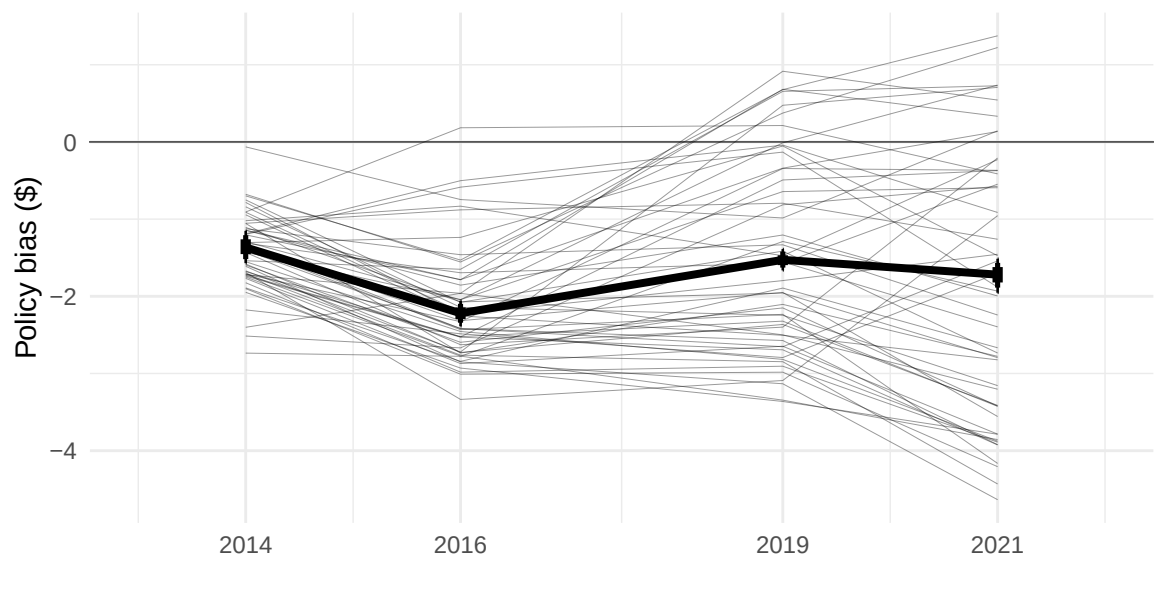
0
−2
−4
Policy bias ($)
2014
2016
2019
2021