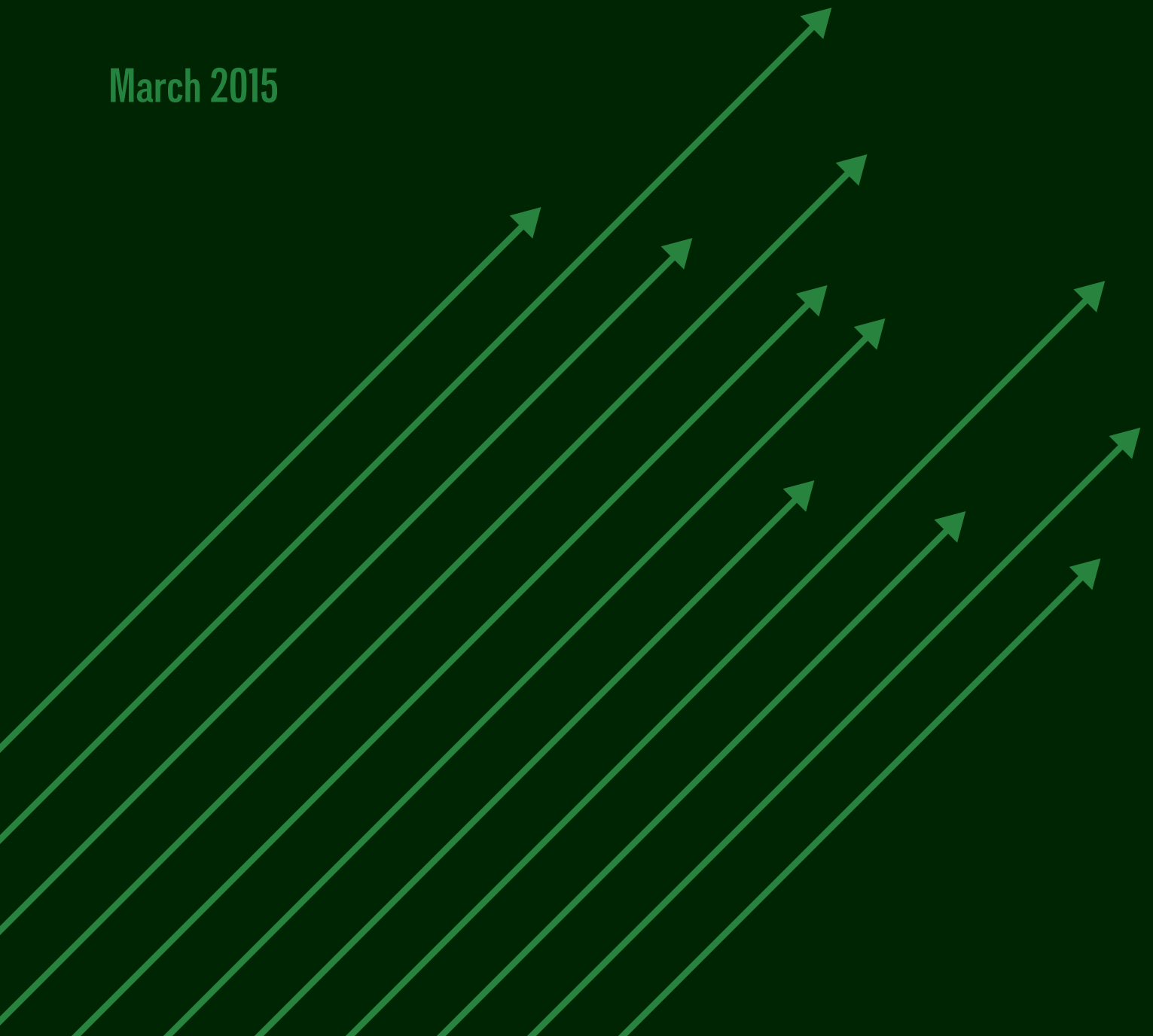


Wall Street, Main Street, and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard: Why African Americans Must Not Be Left Out of the Federal Reserve's Full-Employment Mandate

March 2015



This report was authored by Connie M. Razza of the Center for Popular Democracy. The Economic Policy Institute provided technical assistance in the development of this report. EPI economist Valerie Wilson provided the wage, unemployment data by race for particular geographic areas. EPI partners with CPD on the Fed Up campaign.

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March 5, 2015

Executive Summary

The story of the economic recovery varies dramatically depending on where it is being told. On Wall Street, big banks look stronger, bigger, and healthier than ever. Large companies are making record profits. But, the labor market remains weak. Although the economy has added more jobs in recent months, job growth on Main Street is not nearly as robust as during previous recoveries.¹ Unemployment rates in nearly every state remain above pre-recession levels. Wages have been stagnant or falling for most workers and the quality of jobs has decreased significantly. Main Street still has no clear route to prosperity.

Many communities are disproportionately struggling in this economy. The Latino unemployment rate is more than 2 percent higher than the rate for whites, and Latino wages and wealth are considerably lower than whites. Women continue to earn substantially less than men. This paper focuses on the economic disparities facing the African-American community in particular because the economic crisis is most acute there: African-American unemployment rates continue to exceed the national unemployment rates at the height of the recession, Black workers' wages have dropped \$0.44 over the past 15 years, though Latino and white wages have risen by \$0.48 and \$0.45, respectively; unemployment rates among African Americans are higher than those of other racial or ethnic groups; and, though Latino and white wealth has stabilized since the Great Recession, Black wealth continues to shrink. So, while Main Street may be stabilizing (albeit at a lower standard), the recovery has yet to reach Martin Luther King Boulevard. Creating a strong American economy must include prioritizing a genuine recovery for the African American community.

This report examines the current state of the American economy and labor market, with particular attention to racial inequality and its contours before, during, and in aftermath of the Great Recession. It describes the role that federal monetary policy has played in exacerbating economic disparities over recent decades—the shrinking national income share for working America and the exploding income and wealth gaps between the top 1 percent and the rest of us. The paper further explores the consequences of the major policy decision currently facing the Federal Reserve (or the Fed): whether to prioritize genuine full employment or to avoid inflation at the cost of robust employment and wage gains. Only by pursuing genuine full employment will the Fed ensure that the recovery reaches Main Street and Martin Luther King Boulevard—and communities of working people throughout the country. As the Fed makes crucial monetary policy decisions in the months and years to come, it must ensure that all communities can share in the prosperity of a functional economy.

The report also studies the decision-making processes and bodies of the Federal Reserve. Although the Board members that govern the regional Federal Reserve banks are legally required to represent the broad interests of the public, they are, in fact, predominantly representatives of the financial sector or large corporations. Without governance that represents the full diversity of the public, Fed decisions risk remaining uninformed by the full economic reality they create, as experienced in communities throughout the country. The Federal Reserve's focus over the past 35 years has been on price stability, or tamping down inflation. While this focus is good for Wall Street, it has resulted in wage stagnation for most workers on Main Street. The cost of this focus has been slow recoveries in labor markets after each downturn. America needs the Federal Reserve to concentrate on labor market stability and ensure that wages are rising with productivity, so that workers reap the benefits from their efficiencies and hard work; that means prioritizing a wage growth target, rather than inflation. A Federal Reserve dominated by banks and major corporations will produce an economy that works for them, at the risk of leaving tens of millions of working families—particularly Black working families—with little hope of a better life.

The report recommends that the Fed:

Create a Strong & Fair Economy

- **Stimulate Good Jobs for All:** The Federal Reserve should commit to building a full employment economy. It should keep interest rates low so that the numbers of job openings and job seekers are balanced and everybody who wants to can find a good job.
- **Invest in the Real Economy:** The Fed should use its existing legal authority to provide low- and zero-interest loans so that cities and states can invest in public works projects like renewable energy generation, public transit, and affordable housing that will create good new jobs.
- **Research for the Public Good:** The Fed should study the harmful effects of inequality and examine how policies like raising the minimum wage and guaranteeing a fair workweek can strengthen the economy and expand the middle class.

Create a More Transparent & Democratic Federal Reserve

- **Ensure That Working Families' Voices Are Heard:** Fed officials should regularly meet with working families and community leaders, not just business executives, in order to get a more accurate picture of how the economy is working.
- **Represent the Public:** In regional banks around the country, Fed leaders come overwhelmingly from financial institutions and major corporations. The Fed should appoint genuine representatives of the public interest to these governance positions.
- **Create a Legitimate Process for Selecting Fed Presidents:** In late 2015 and early 2016, the regional Fed banks will select their next presidents, who will serve five year terms. Currently, the process for selecting those presidents is completely opaque and involves no public input. That needs to change, so that the public has a real role in the selection process.

Introduction

Although the Great Recession officially ended nearly 6 years ago, the American economy is still far from healthy. Wall Street has had a robust recovery. Large corporations are making record profits. But the labor market remains weak.² Although the economy has added more jobs in recent months, job growth is not nearly as robust as during previous recoveries.³ Unemployment rates in nearly every state are above pre-recession levels. Workers and small businesses on Main Street are still struggling.

The particular cartography of the conversation, though, has neglected the corner of Main Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. Hundreds of US cities have streets named for Martin Luther King Jr., often located in persistently lower-income Black neighborhoods.⁴ As Main Street has borne the weight of a slow labor market recovery, at the corner of Main and MLK, African-American unemployment rates still exceed the national unemployment rates at the height of the recession,⁵ wages have fallen over the past 15 years, and relative wealth continues to shrink—even well into the recovery. In 2014, the Black unemployment rate was 11.3 percent, compared to 5.3 percent for whites.

Main Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, like Wall Street, are directly affected by the policy decisions of the Federal Reserve, the United States' central bank. The Federal Reserve (or the Fed) is responsible for keeping inflation stable, regulating the financial system, and ensuring full employment. These mandates reflect the tension between the interests of Wall Street on the one hand and Main Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard on the other. As a general matter, corporate and finance executives want to limit wage growth—or, as they call it, “wage inflation”—and to maximize their future profits from lending money. But most people in America earn their living from wages, not capital income, and it is in their interest to see full employment whereby wages grow faster than prices in order to lift working and middle-class families' living standards. In past decades, the Fed resolved this tension in favor of banks and corporations: intentionally limiting wage growth and keeping unemployment excessively high. The Fed's policy choices over the past 35 years have led to increased inequality, stagnant or falling wages, and an American Dream that is inaccessible to tens of millions of families—particularly Black families.

Certainly, other groups are disproportionately struggling in this economy. Latino unemployment is more than 2 percent higher than the rate for whites, and Latino wages and wealth are considerably lower than whites'. Women continue to earn substantially less than men. This paper focuses on the economic disparities facing Blacks in particular because it is the group that continues to see losses: wages for African-American workers have dropped \$0.44 since 2000, while Latino wages have risen \$0.48; unemployment rates are higher than those of Latinos; and, while Latino wealth has stabilized since the Great Recession, Black wealth is still declining. Policies that help move Black America into economic recovery will have tremendous benefits for everybody.

To this end, as the Federal Reserve maps a path forward for the US economy, it must prioritize genuine full employment and a truly robust recovery for the nation. Some economists are claiming that the economy is rapidly approaching full employment. Putting the brakes on the recovery now will prevent many



Reggie Rounds of Ferguson, Missouri, has been an advocate against racist policing and for genuine full-employment. Emerson Electric, one of the most prominent businesses in the city, is trading above its 2010 stock price, the people of Ferguson have not seen an economic recovery.

Reggie has always worked heavy-labor jobs. He went to school, graduated from college, and earned certifications in green technology, first aid, and lead remediation. But no matter how many classes, certificates, or degrees he gets, Reggie still can't find a job. There just aren't jobs in his community. The trouble is not training. He is unemployed right now—and hasn't had regular work for years—because the economy is failing his community.

communities, especially Black communities, from ever benefiting from the recovery. It will prevent any sustained improvement in wages for the broad swath of American families. Indeed, it will lead to more inequality, more wage stagnation, more unemployment, and a deepening persistence of racial disparities.

This report examines the uneven economic recovery, the role the Federal Reserve has played in that recovery so far, and the need for the Fed to prioritize achieving a genuine full-employment economy. While Wall Street has experienced a robust economic recovery, the recovery has been tentative on Main Street. Wages have been stagnant or falling for most workers and the quality of jobs has decreased significantly. This report focuses most on the part of the country that has not yet come out of recession. Among African Americans, unemployment rates are still above the national rates during the recession, losses to Black wealth continue to grow, and wages are falling. The recovery has not yet reached Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. The report goes on to explore how the Fed's policy choices have created and exacerbated these disparities and the policy path—prioritizing full employment—that could both ensure a solid economic recovery for all and purposefully include African Americans in the shared prosperity.

In order for the American economy to return to genuine health, the Federal Reserve must prioritize the needs of Main Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, and recognize that genuine “full employment is the bedrock of shared prosperity.”⁶ For too long, the governance and decision-making of the Federal Reserve has been dominated by the financial industry and corporate America. Changing Fed policy to reflect the public interest requires changing the practices and structures of the Federal Reserve System, so that the voices of consumers and working families can be heard. To this end, we call on the Fed to:

Create a Strong & Fair Economy

- **Stimulate Good Jobs for All:** The Federal Reserve should commit to building a full-employment economy. It should keep interest rates low so that the numbers of job openings and job seekers are balanced and everybody who wants to can find a good job.
- **Invest in the Real Economy:** The Fed should use its existing legal authority to provide low- and zero-interest loans so that cities and states can invest in public works projects like renewable energy generation, public transit, and affordable housing that will create good new jobs.
- **Research for the Public Good:** The Fed should study the harmful effects of inequality and examine how policies like raising the minimum wage and guaranteeing a fair workweek can strengthen the economy and expand the middle class.

Create a More Transparent & Democratic Federal Reserve

- **Ensure That Working Families' Voices Are Heard:** Fed officials should regularly meet with working families and community leaders, not just business executives, in order to get a more accurate picture of how the economy is working.
- **Represent the Public:** In regional banks around the country, Fed leaders come overwhelmingly from financial institutions and major corporations. The Fed should appoint genuine representatives of the public interest to these governance positions.
- **Create a Legitimate Process for Selecting Fed Presidents:** In late 2015 and early 2016, the regional Fed banks will select their next presidents, who will serve five-year terms. Currently, the process for selecting those presidents is completely opaque and involves no public input. That needs to change, so that the public has a real role in the selection process.

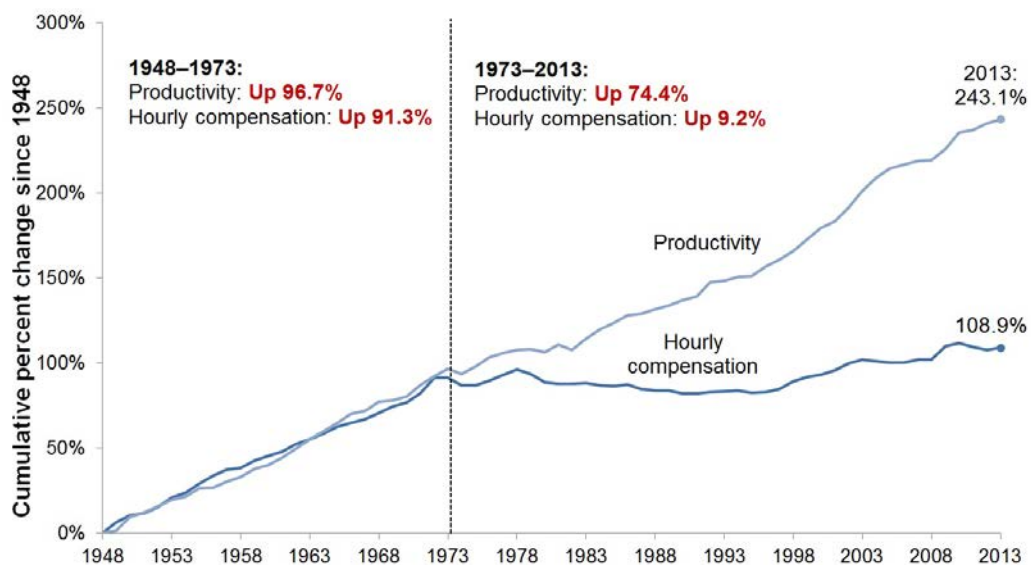
Our Current Economy

The recovery has been far too weak

The story of the recovery varies dramatically depending on where it is being told. On Wall Street, which recklessly created and exacerbated the housing bubble and the financial crisis, the big banks look stronger, bigger, and healthier than ever. At the height of the crisis, the Fed acted aggressively and largely in secret to shore up the banks. Between the 2007 crash and March 2009, the Fed committed \$7.8 trillion to financial institutions and the financial system. For context, that is 100 times larger than the Treasury Department's controversial bank bailout (the Troubled Asset Relief Program) and roughly half of the country's GDP. Big bankers did not tell shareholders about the Fed's infusions when they touted the strength of their institutions.⁷

Meanwhile, on Main Street the recovery has been tentative. Despite a year of strong job growth, the 2014 unemployment rate in nearly every state was still above its 2007 pre-recession rate and even further from its 2000 rate, which was much closer to what could be considered full employment. Americans lost significant wealth in the Great Recession, which they have yet to regain. Between 2000 and 2014, wages have been stagnant or falling for the vast majority of workers, including those with college degrees. Although the nation officially recovered the jobs lost in the Great Recession as of June 2014,⁸ the quality of those jobs has decreased significantly.

The Growing Split between Productivity and Hourly Compensation, 1948–2013



Source: EPI analysis of Bureau of Labor Statistics and Bureau of Economic Analysis data

Private-sector jobs lost in higher-wage industries are being replaced by jobs in low-wage industries. According to an April 2014 National Employment Law Project report:

Lower-wage industries accounted for 22 percent of job losses during the recession, but 44 percent of employment growth over the past four years. Today, lower-wage industries employ 1.85 million more workers than at the start of the recession.

Mid-wage industries accounted for 37 percent of job losses, but 26 percent of recent employment growth. There are now 958,000 fewer jobs in mid-wage industries than at the start of the recession.

Higher-wage industries accounted for 41 percent of job losses, but 30 percent of recent employment growth. There are now 976,000 fewer jobs in higher-wage industries than at the start of the recession.⁹

And the recovery has yet to arrive on Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.

Unemployment. In January 2015, the national African-American unemployment rate was 10.3 percent, more than twice the current white unemployment rate¹⁰ and higher than the 10.0-percent US unemployment rate reached in October 2010, at the height of the recession. At the state level, the 2014 African-American unemployment rate ranged from a low of 8 percent in Virginia to a high of 19.9 percent in Wisconsin. Yet even with such wide variation in Black unemployment rates across the country, the lowest state-level African-American unemployment rate in the country (Virginia at 8 percent) still exceeds the highest state-level rate for whites (Nevada at 7 percent). While historically the national Black unemployment rate has typically been double the white unemployment rate, in some states the disparity is even larger. For example, in 2014 unemployment disparities between African Americans and whites were greatest in the District of Columbia (5.6 times the white rate), Wisconsin (4.6 times the white rate), and Minnesota (3.7 times the white rate).



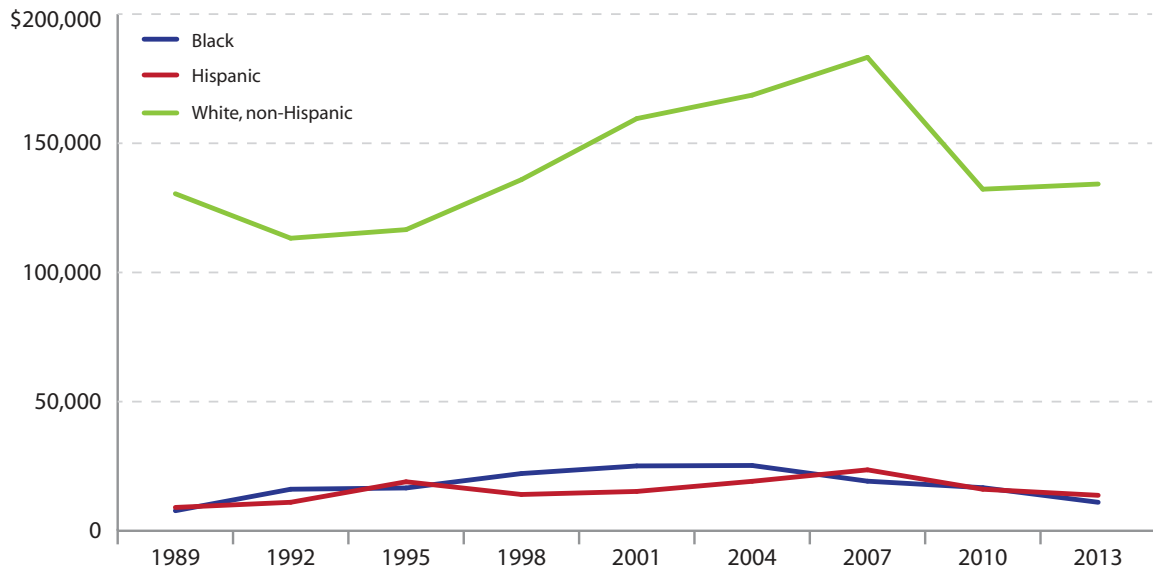
Tyrone Raino, 23 years old, has been working since he was 14. He takes classes 20 hours a week and works 40 hours a week. He maintains a grade-point average near 4.0, while working from 3:30 PM to midnight. He is earning the highest wages he ever has: \$11.50 an hour. But, still, Tyrone is hanging on by a thread. His job—the only full-time position he was able to find—is 40 minutes outside of Minneapolis, Minnesota, where he lives. So, to earn \$1300 a month he pays \$240 a month for work-related transportation. That means when Tyrone got a flat tire, he had to put off paying his utilities; his electricity and gas got shut off.

In most states, the differences between pre-Great Recession and current unemployment rates are greatest for African Americans. The case of the contraction in public-sector jobs—which are disproportionately held by Blacks and women—offers a window into one of the mechanisms by which the African-American workforce has been disproportionately impacted by the recession. Budget shortfalls during the recession led to a significant contraction in public-sector jobs; however, the recovery has not stemmed the tide. In 2011, the number of African Americans who were unemployed and had most recently been employed in state or local government was higher than their share in the decline of state and local government job loss, suggesting that they were disproportionately laid off and faced more barriers to finding work after losing their public-sector jobs.¹¹ The loss of public-sector jobs also has potential implications for wage inequality since African Americans and women who are employed in public service have historically suffered significantly less wage inequality than their peers in the private sector.¹²

Wages. Wages have been stagnant or falling for the vast majority of workers since 2000. While at the median, wages for white workers have risen only 2.5 percent in 14 years, African-American workers have seen a wage cut of 3.1 percent over the same period. In fact, in two-thirds of the states for which data are available, the median real wages of African-American workers declined between 2000 and 2014. The fastest declines were in Michigan (down 15.8 percent), Ohio (down 13.7 percent), and South Carolina (down 11.6 percent). Some of the largest median wage gaps between whites and African Americans were found in the District of Columbia (\$0.51 on the dollar), Louisiana (\$0.65 on the dollar), and Connecticut and New Jersey (\$0.67 on the dollar).

Wealth. Wealth is measured in net worth, or the difference between the total value of assets (for instance, cash, investments, real estate) and total debts. Between 1989 and 2001—a period of comparatively robust job growth and a tight labor market during the late 1990s—the wealth gap between whites and African Americans narrowed.¹³ In 2001, Black households had roughly 16 percent the wealth of white households, compared with 6 percent in 1989. By 2013, median African-American household wealth was only 8 percent that of whites.

The Wealth Gap Between African-American and White Households, 1989-2013.



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Survey of Consumer Finances.

This wealth disparity began growing during the hottest years for the housing market. White households received the largest boost in household wealth between 2004 and 2007. During this time, white household wealth increased 23 percent, while African-American household wealth declined by 24 percent. The convergence of wage stagnation and banks' preying on African-American communities with risky mortgage products (which banks backed with overvaluations of collateral property), led to African-American borrowers being more likely to receive subprime loans than white borrowers.¹⁴ These loans were frequently made as second mortgages, drawing down equity that homeowners had built up. Discriminatory subprime lending practices drained wealth from African-American homeowners before the recession and certainly made Black wealth significantly more vulnerable during the housing crisis.

Between 2007 and 2013, during the Great Recession and its aftermath, median household wealth declined an additional 43 percent for African Americans, compared to 27 percent for whites. Ultimately, the wealth of all American families has been eroded to roughly its 1989 value; however, since 2010, African-American families have continued to lose wealth, while the decline has stabilized for whites. A number of factors contribute to this phenomenon:

- A 9-percent drop in income that African Americans, Latinos, and other people of color experienced during the recovery, compared to the 1-percent income decrease experienced by non-Latino white households.

- A higher propensity among white households to have stocks and, therefore, to be better positioned to benefit from the stronger recovery in financial markets.
- A 3-times greater drop in homeownership among households of color (down 6.5 percent) than among white households (down 2 percent).¹⁵
- A continued sharp decline in home values for African-American homeowners since 2010 (-18.4 percent, compared with -4.6 percent for whites).¹⁶

The Fed at the Crossroads

The Fed stands at a crossroads. Just as the nation's job creation is getting in gear, the Federal Reserve is being pushed to raise interest rates, which would slow job growth and put downward pressure on wages. The rationale for raising interest rates is to prevent inflation; however, there is little indication that inflation—1.6 percent in 2014—is about to exceed the Fed's already low target of 2 percent. Raising interest rates makes expanding businesses, buying a car, shopping for necessities, buying a house, renting an apartment, and going to college more expensive. It would slow down the economic recovery, lessen the fall in unemployment, perpetuate wage stagnation, and ultimately delay or prevent the achievement of robust full employment.

The Federal Reserve's Job

As the nation's central bank, the Fed is responsible for "influencing monetary and credit conditions in the economy in pursuit of maximum employment, stable prices, and moderate long-term interest rates;" regulating banks and other financial institutions; preserving stability in the financial system as a whole; and serving as the bank to banks and governments.¹⁷ All these duties can protect the public interest, but they are sometimes in tension with one another.

The Fed's current approach—which articulates an inflation target, but neither an employment nor a wage target—prioritizes inflation concerns over the achievement of genuine full employment. Indeed, as the Fed announced its 2-percent inflation goal in 2012, then-Fed Chair Ben Bernanke acknowledged this tension, saying that a fixed employment target would be in conflict with the inflation target because lower unemployment might trigger inflation above 2 percent.¹⁸ Simply put, in the Fed's ideal conditions, the goods and services that cost \$1 last year would cost about \$1.02 this year. Keeping inflation low depends in some measure on keeping wages fairly constant—because an increase to labor costs factors into inflation. Maintaining a low inflation rate stabilizes prices for borrowers and consumers, but the costs can include stunted wage growth and excessive unemployment.¹⁹ On the other hand, an employment-led monetary policy would recognize that wage growth is a necessary ingredient of a healthy economy, rather than simply a cost to the economy.²⁰ Wage growth enables workers to put more money into their local economies, invest in assets that further drive the economy, and save for future health, educational, and other care needs. In truly full-employment conditions, wherein all workers are able to work the hours they need while earning wages that reflect their productivity, a healthy economy could bear wages growing between 3 and 5 percent (instead of the current 2 percent).

Genuine Full Employment

Consistently, the Federal Reserve has had a fairly unambitious goal of 5.2–5.6 percent unemployment among people currently in the labor force. This goal does not amount to full employment on Main Street and, because the Black



Beverly Brice, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has 25 years of experience working in insurance for AIG and Kemper. But, she was downsized about 5 years ago, just before reaching retirement age. She has been on unemployment, temped, and worked various part-time jobs to try to make ends meet. Her daily routine consists of internet job searches, job clubs, and impromptu meetings with jobs leads from networking. But Beverly is barely making it: her partially vested pension payments, irregular wages, and family support are not enough to ensure she can keep her home. Beverly has exhausted her 401k and will not qualify for a loan modification unless she uses her retirement savings. After a long career, she did not expect to sacrifice her security for her survival.

unemployment rate is typically about twice the white or national rate, it amounts to a genuine crisis on Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. A more complete definition of full employment would include low unemployment rates, sufficient job vacancies so workers can find jobs, increases in real wages that match productivity growth, and an inflation rate of about 3 percent, which workers' rising incomes would be able to sustain.²¹

In pursuit of full employment, the Fed should examine both the traditional unemployment rate—the ratio of employed people to those people actively seeking work—as well as the ratio of job-holders to the adult population, the number of part-time workers who want full-time jobs, and the number of discouraged workers. These additional measures are currently absent from the unemployment rate and are crucial to understanding the true level of slack in the labor market. Genuine full employment is achieved when job vacancies equal the number of unemployed workers; it means that people who want work are able to find it.²²

The Fed currently targets an unemployment rate based on the belief that a certain rate is associated with modest wage growth and therefore modest inflation. In fact, the unemployment rate is currently a very uncertain measure of slack in the economy because millions of workers have dropped out of the labor market and millions more are employed part-time but desire full-time work (and are not counted as unemployed or partially unemployed).

A better approach would be to directly focus on wage growth and judge when wage growth accelerates and is likely to generate inflation above the target. Wage growth of 3.5 to 4.0 percent is consistent with the Fed's target of 2 percent inflation. This is because trend productivity growth (producing more goods and services per hour worked) is roughly 1.5 to 2.0 percent each year, meaning that there is no upward pressure on costs if wages rise 1.5 to 2.0 percent (producing more per hour offsets the higher wage costs per hour).

Nominal Wage Growth Has Been Far Below Target in the Recovery

Year-over-year change in private-sector nominal average hourly earnings, 2007–2015



**Nominal wage growth consistent with the Federal Reserve Board's 2 percent inflation target, 1.5 percent productivity growth, and a stable labor share of income.*

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Bureau of Labor Statistics Current Employment Statistics public data series

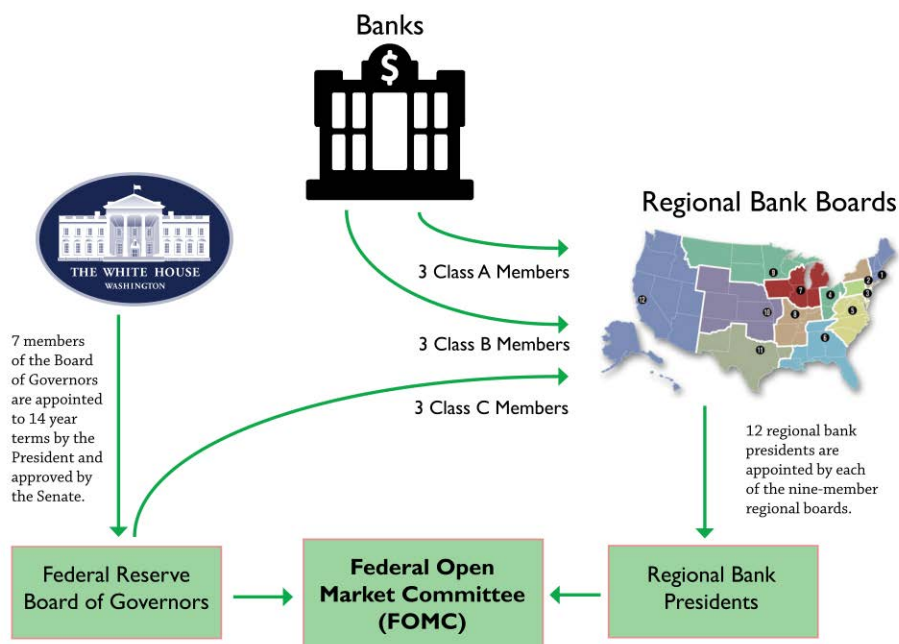
Thus, wages could grow an additional 2 percent and be consistent with 2 percent inflation. In fact, given that the profits share of the economy has risen in recent years (and labor's share has correspondingly shrunk) it would be in the public interest for wages to grow even faster than this 3.5 to 4 percent range for a period of time in order to restore working families' share of national income.²³ Thus, the current wage growth of roughly 2 percent is far below a reasonable target and presents no danger of causing inflation that exceeds the Fed's 2-percent target. More than the unemployment rate—which leaves out workers who have left the labor market because of poor job prospects—wage growth indicates a tightening labor market in which workers are better able to bargain for their needs.²⁴ Pre-empting wage growth in order to forestall asymptomatic inflationary fears will only hurt our economy and cause real misery for tens of millions of families.

Given that unemployment rates remain above pre-recession levels and nominal wage growth has been flat during the recovery, the Federal Reserve needs to craft monetary policy that tightens the labor market sufficiently so that all Americans, and African Americans in particular, have an opportunity to benefit from the shared prosperity that a full-employment economy provides. For too long, African Americans have faced policies and practices that have kept their employment levels in a recessionary state, their wages low relative to white workers, and their opportunity to build wealth impaired. The Fed can make policy choices that contribute to ending these disparities.

The focus of Fed Chair Janet Yellen on achieving full employment—by a broader definition than what the Fed has previously used²⁵—is encouraging, particularly as past statements have suggested that she understands the importance of full employment on the job prospects of African Americans and other workers who face systemic hurdles to full employment and sufficient wages. However, the Chair does not make decisions alone.

The Federal Reserve's Decision-Making Process

The Federal Reserve is dominated by the interests of the financial sector (which it regulates) and corporations. Although two-thirds of the regional board seats are reserved by federal law for representatives of "the public," those seats are almost entirely filled by business executives. These regional boards carry significant power and influence in the Federal Reserve System.



The Federal Reserve Board of Governors is a governmental agency that shares responsibility with 12 regional reserve banks for managing the costs and conditions of credit for the country (monetary policy) and stabilizing and regulating financial markets and institutions. The 7 members of the Board of Governors join the president of the Regional Federal Reserve Bank of New York and 4 of the other presidents of regional (or district) Federal Reserve Banks on the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC), which meets every 6 weeks to determine what steps to take to influence monetary and credit conditions.²⁶ While the Board of Governors and FOMC are responsible for setting national policy and agendas, they are structured to be very responsive to the district banks.

Commercial banks are members and stock owners of the regional reserve banks. Each regional bank is governed by a 9-member board of directors, which comprises 3 classes of directors:²⁷

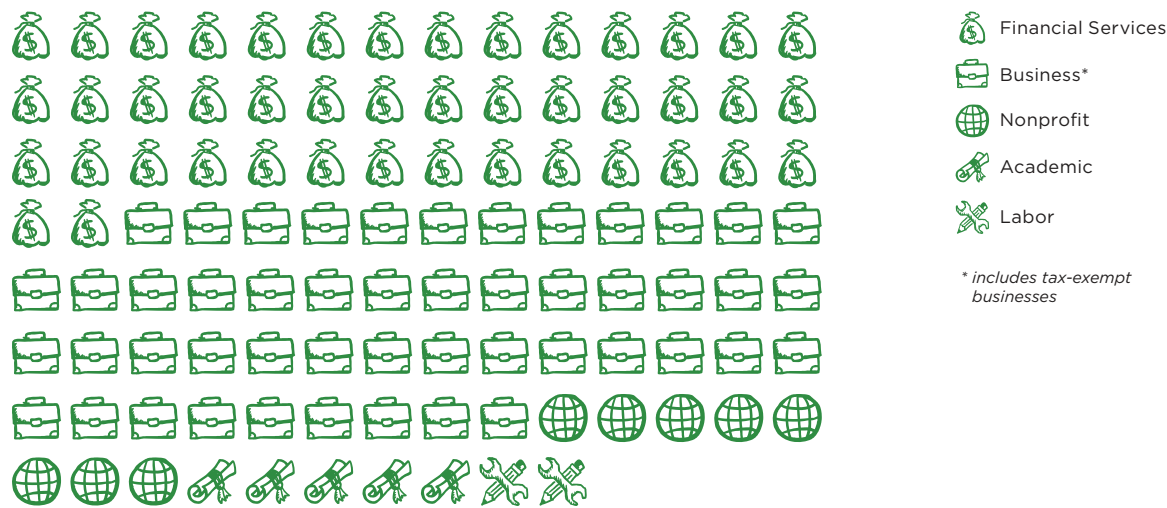
Class	Represents	Selection Process
A	Commercial banks in the district (most of these directors are bankers)	Elected by member banks in the district
B	The public , “with due consideration to the interests of agriculture, commerce, industry, services, labor, and consumers”	Elected by member banks in the district
C	The public , “with due consideration to the interests of agriculture, commerce, industry, services, labor, and consumers”	Appointed by the Federal Reserve System’s Board of Governors

Although the Federal Reserve Act requires that the Class B and Class C directors represent “the public,” they are overwhelmingly white male corporate executives and few of them can fairly be described as representatives of labor, consumers, or the broader public. These boards wield tremendous power because they appoint the presidents of the district banks.²⁸ Those presidents, in turn, sit on the FOMC that sets the nation’s monetary policy. This governance system has skewed the regional decision-making bodies of the Federal Reserve System in favor of corporate and financial sector interests.

The Members of Regional Federal Reserve Banks’ Boards of Directors (by sector)

This governance structure means that the decisions of the Federal Reserve have long been heavily influenced by the banking industry that the Fed is supposed to regulate. With few exceptions, the purported representatives of the public reflect moneyed interests. Representatives of business may be able to convey the concerns facing agriculture, industry, commerce, and services, but they are poorly positioned to represent the interests of workers or consumers. Even career Federal Reserve employees who serve on the boards or, more often, as district presidents may be unduly aligned with the interests of banks because of the strange relationship between banks and the Fed. Representatives of labor organizations, community foundations, and charities that sit on the boards are better positioned to represent these concerns, but they are dramatically outnumbered. The structure and composition of the governing bodies of the regional banks has directly influenced the monetary policies that have, since 1979, favored Wall Street and corporate America at the expense of Main Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.

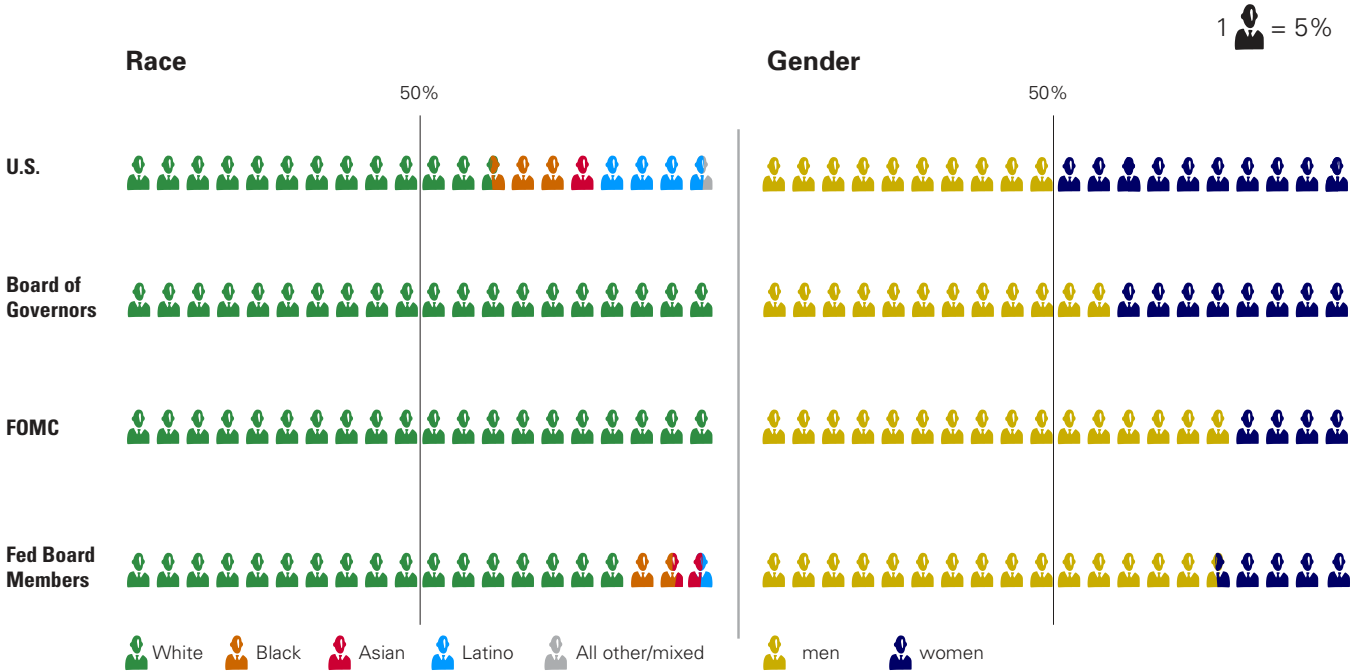
Professional Affiliations of the Regional Fed Board Members



Source: Federal Reserve System, Regional Boards of Directors

Representation in the Federal Reserve System’s Decision-Making Bodies

Currently, these decision-making bodies do not reflect the diversity of America. The Board of Governors and the current FOMC both have only white members. The regional banks have more racial and ethnic diversity, but lag dramatically behind the nation. The Board of Governors, which is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, comes close to mirroring the gender balance of the nation. However, the district banks have significantly fewer women directors and 10 of the 12 regional presidents are men.



A New Direction?

Janet Yellen became the Chair of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors early in 2014. She immediately raised the profile of the Fed's full-employment mandate. At a press conference following the first FOMC meeting of her tenure, Chair Yellen said that the Fed would be looking at a fuller complement of indicators to measure slack in the labor market, including underemployment and wage growth. However, she also reiterated the Fed's commitment to maintain the excessively low 2-percent inflation goal.²⁹

Both the structure and composition of the Federal Reserve's decision-making bodies disadvantage the majority of Americans who need the Fed to exert its power to ensure that there are enough good jobs to sustain a growing economy. After a groundbreaking meeting in November 2014 with leaders from community-based organizations around the country (including the Center for Popular Democracy and the Economic Policy Institute, authors of this report), the Federal Reserve announced the creation of a new Consumer Advisory Committee, "to offer diverse perspectives on the economic circumstances and financial services needs of consumers and communities, with a particular focus on the concerns of low- and moderate-income populations."³⁰ The creation of this committee is a vital first step to opening up the Fed's decision-making processes to the people they affect.

In early 2016, the terms of office of all 12 regional bank presidents will end. They will either be reappointed by their regional bank boards or replaced with new presidents. Currently, the process for selecting the regional presidents is opaque and lacks any mechanism for public input. These presidents will be key decision-makers in setting national monetary policy for the coming five years. The public, then, should have a significant role in the process of selecting the next set of bank presidents. If the Federal Reserve is to fulfill its promise as a bank that serves the public interest, it must adopt governance practices that meaningfully engage members of the communities that have too often been left out of the discussions that set our nation's macroeconomic policy.

Conclusion

In order for Main Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard to share fully in the recovery, the Federal Reserve must prioritize achieving genuine full employment. The Federal Reserve's decisions over the coming months and years will have a profound impact on this country. The availability of good jobs is the cornerstone for almost everything else that millions of working Americans aspire to: good health, safe and comfortable housing, vibrant communities, and greater, more equitable opportunities today and into the future.

Until the board members, governors, and presidents throughout the Federal Reserve System truly reflect the diversity of interests affected by Fed policy—business and banks, but also workers and consumers—Fed decisions will remain largely uninformed by the full economic reality as it is experienced in communities throughout the country.

To this end, we call on the Fed to:

Create a Strong & Fair Economy

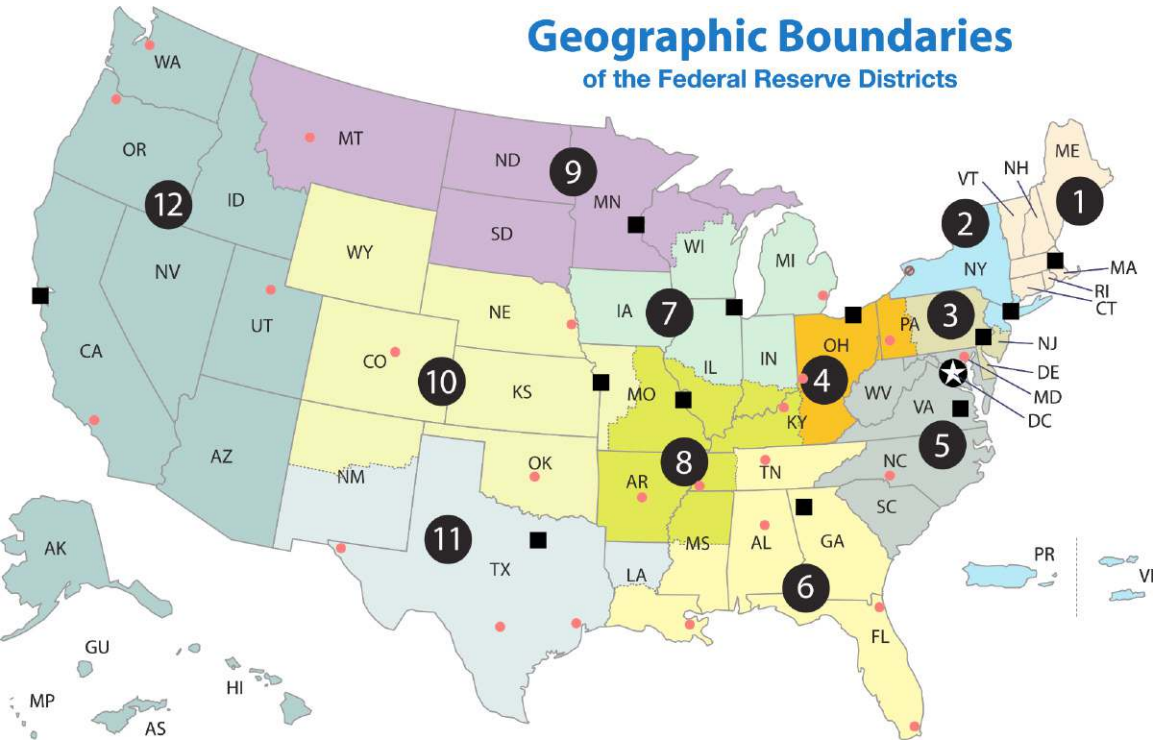
- **Stimulate Good Jobs for All:** The Federal Reserve should commit to building a full-employment economy. It should keep interest rates low so that the numbers of job openings and job seekers are balanced and everybody who wants to can find a good job.
- **Invest in the Real Economy:** The Fed should use its existing legal authority to provide low- and zero-interest loans so that cities and states can invest in public works projects like renewable energy generation, public transit, and affordable housing that will create good new jobs.
- **Research for the Public Good:** The Fed should study the harmful effects of inequality and examine how policies like raising the minimum wage and guaranteeing a fair workweek can strengthen the economy and expand the middle class.

Create a More Transparent & Democratic Federal Reserve

- **Ensure That Working Families' Voices Are Heard:** Fed officials should regularly meet with working families and community leaders, not just business executives, in order to get a more accurate picture of how the economy is working.
- **Represent the Public:** In regional banks around the country, Fed leaders come overwhelmingly from financial institutions and major corporations. The Fed should appoint genuine representatives of the public interest to these governance positions.
- **Create a Legitimate Process for Selecting Fed Presidents:** In late 2015 and early 2016, the regional Fed banks will select their next presidents, who will serve five-year terms. Currently, the process for selecting those presidents is completely opaque and involves no public input. That needs to change, so that the public has a real role in the selection process.

Appendix:

Regional Fact Sheets



Map by ChrisHouston, Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons

Each Reserve Bank implements Fed policy in its region and brings regional economic perspectives to national decision-making. The boards of directors comprise 9 members, 6 of whom are designated representatives of the public.

The following fact sheets lay out the economic conditions and the composition of the board of directors in each region.

District	City	District	City
1	Boston	7	Chicago
2	New York	8	St. Louis
3	Philadelphia	9	Minneapolis
4	Cleveland	10	Kansas City
5	Richmond	11	Dallas
6	Atlanta	12	San Francisco

District 1: Federal Reserve Bank of Boston

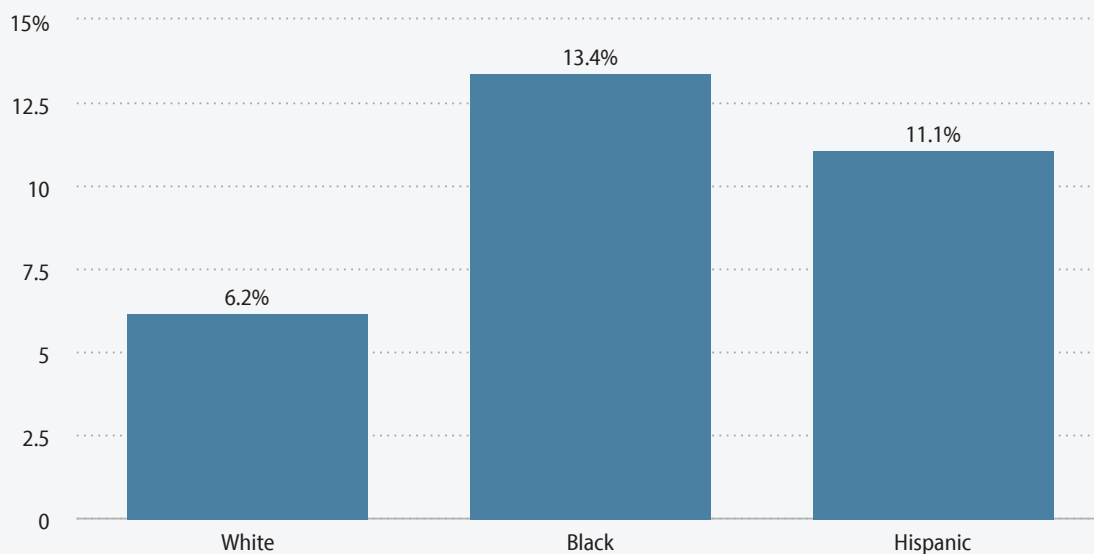
Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Boston Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment			Median Wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000–2014
<i>Connecticut</i>	2.2%	4.5%	6.6%	\$19.98	-3.0%
<i>Maine</i>	3.5%	4.7%	5.7%	\$16.05	5.6%
<i>Massachusetts</i>	2.6%	4.6%	5.8%	\$20.19	4.2%
<i>New Hampshire</i>	2.8%	3.6%	4.2%	\$18.23	0.9%
<i>Rhode Island</i>	4.1%	4.9%	7.7%	\$18.24	0.9%
<i>Vermont</i>	2.9%	4.0%	4.2%	\$17.77	10.5%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Boston metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2013

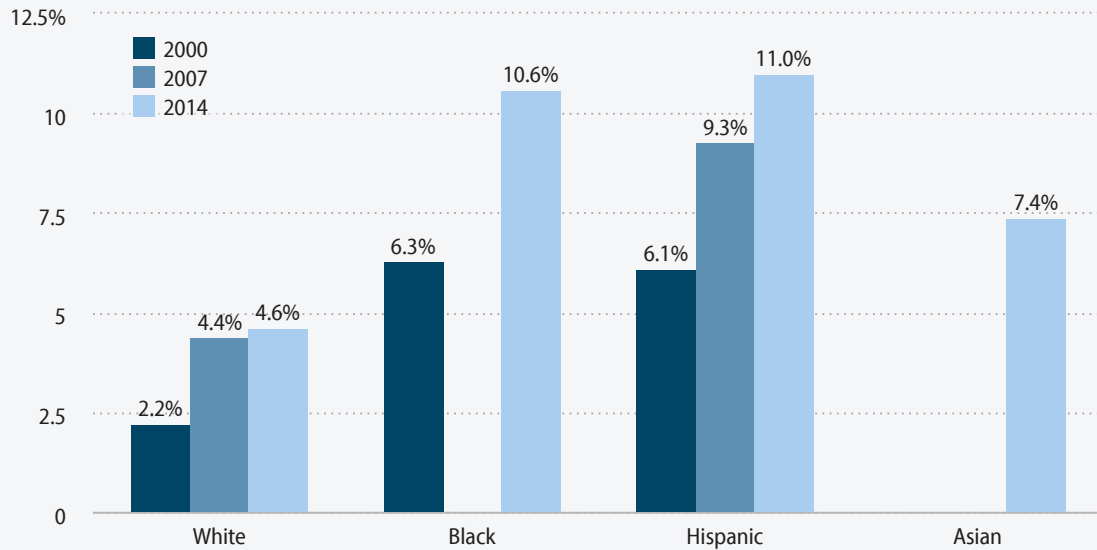


Note: Since the Current Population Survey sample size was too small to estimate a black unemployment rate in certain metropolitan statistical areas in 2014, the 2013 unemployment rates for all races and ethnicities are instead from the 2013 American Community Survey.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey and American Community Survey data

Regional Economic Data (By State)

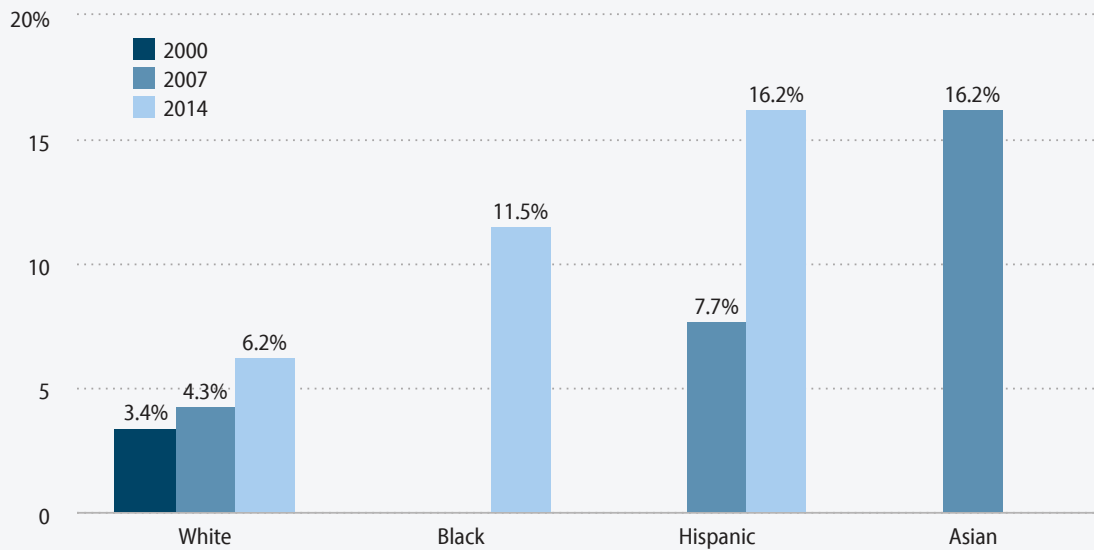
Massachusetts unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

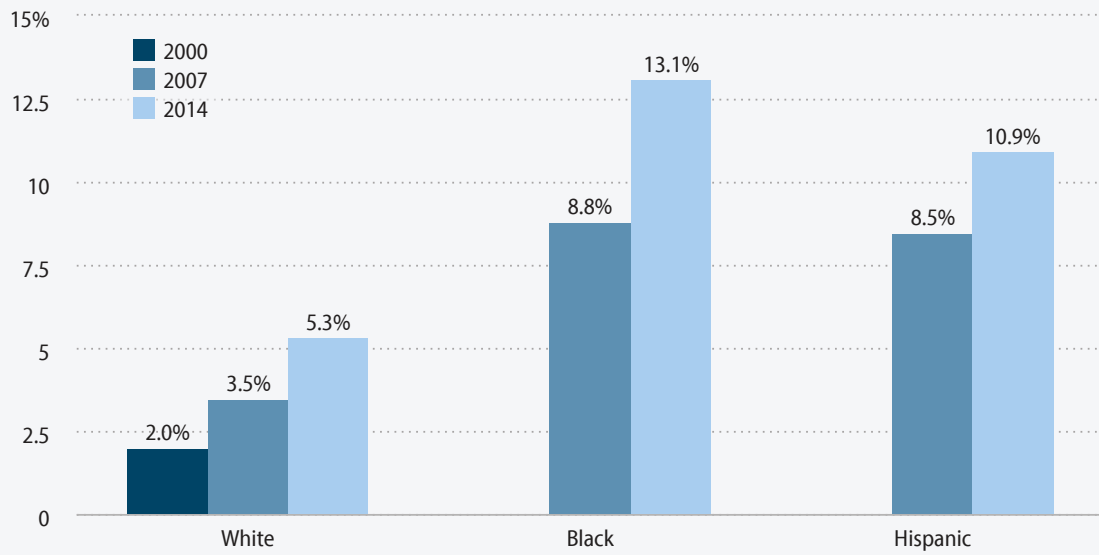
Rhode Island unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Connecticut unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

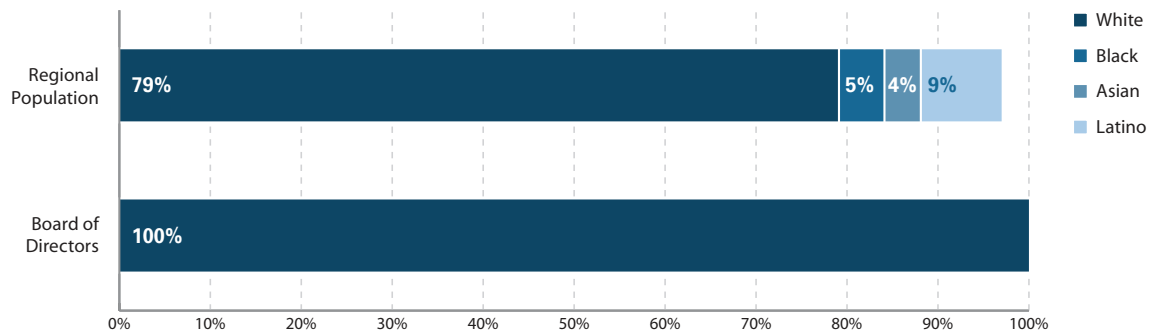
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Board Members

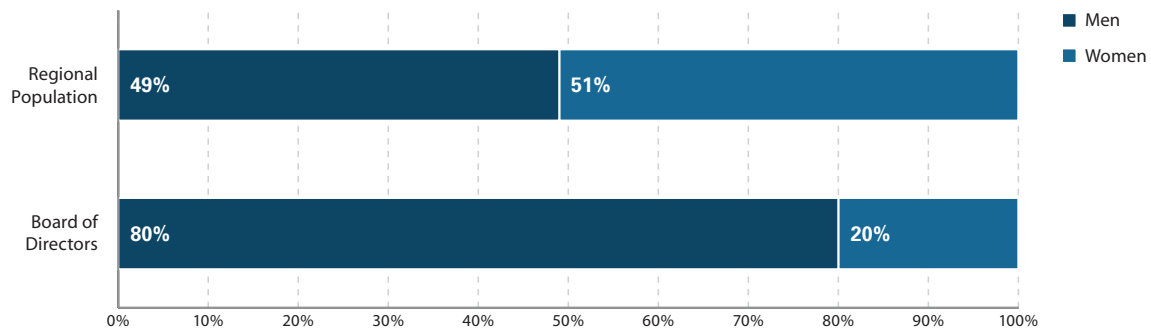
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Eric Rosengren	President	
William Nordhaus	C <i>Chair</i>	Professor, Yale University
John Fish	C <i>Deputy Chair</i>	Chair and CEO, Suffolk Construction
Roger Berkowitz	B	President and CEO, Legal Sea Foods
Catherine D'Amato	C	President and CEO, The Greater Boston Food Bank
Gary Gottlieb	B	CEO and President, Partners Healthcare System
Joseph Hooley	A	Chair and CEO, State Street
Peter Judkins	A	President and CEO, Franklin Savings Bank
Laura Sen	B	CEO, BJ's Wholesale
Michael Tucker	A	President, CEO, and Director, Greenfield Co-operative Bank

Demographics

Boston Regional Fed, By Race



Boston Regional Fed, By Gender



District 2: Federal Reserve Bank of New York

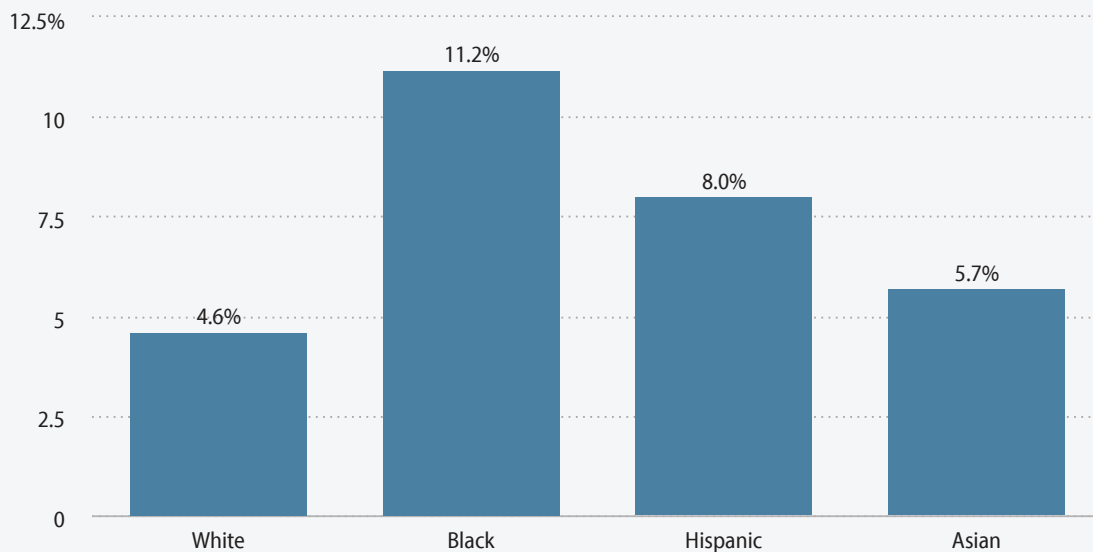
New York and some counties of New Jersey, Connecticut, Puerto Rico, US Virgin Islands

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, New York Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
<i>New York</i>	4.6%	4.6%	6.4%	\$18.79	5.0%
<i>New Jersey</i>	3.7%	4.2%	6.7%	\$19.11	-3.9%
<i>Connecticut</i>	2.2%	4.5%	6.6%	\$19.98	-3.0%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

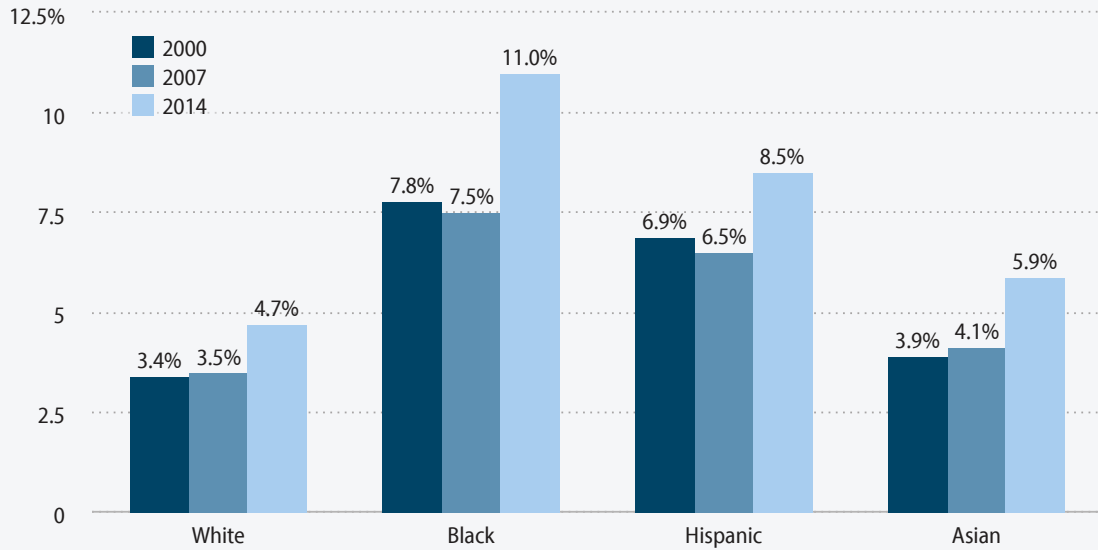
New York metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

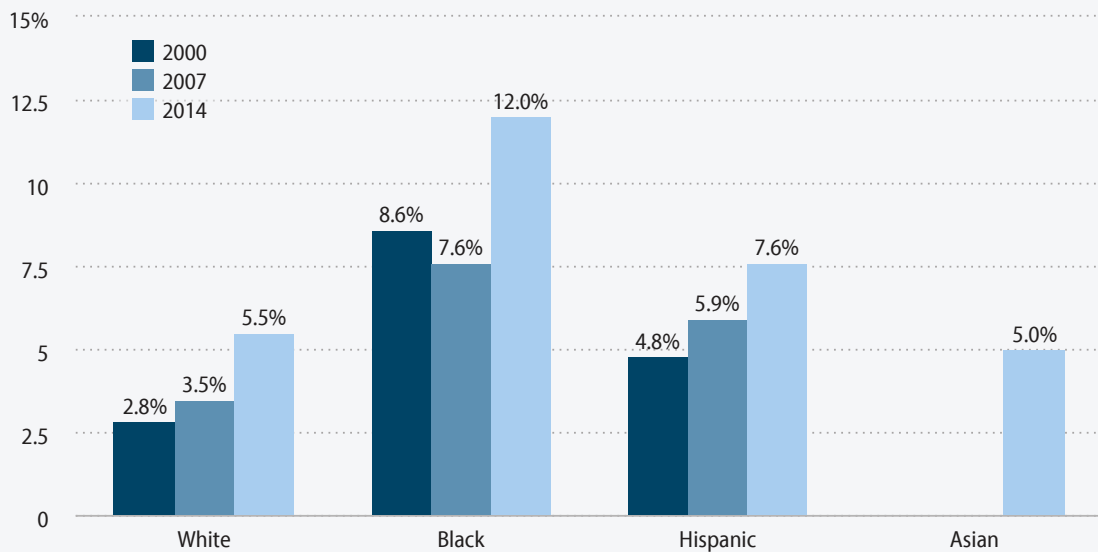
Regional Economic Data (By State)

New York unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

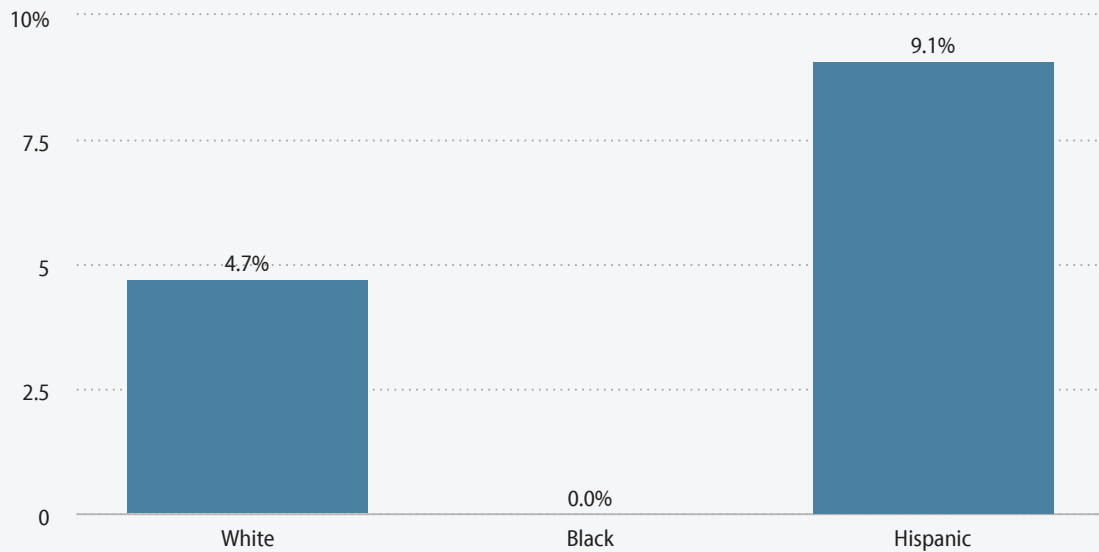
New Jersey unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

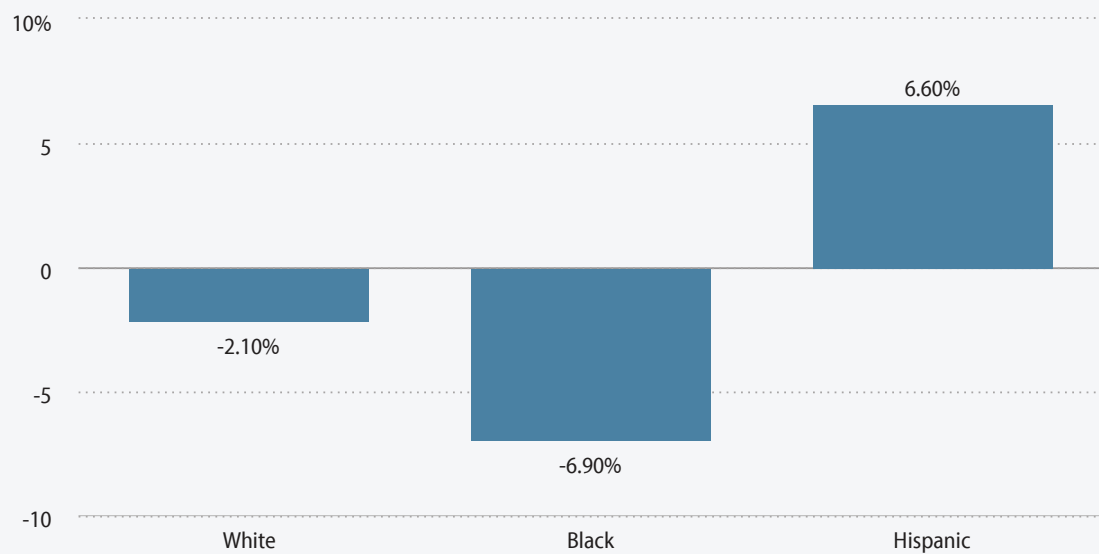
New York percent change in real median hourly wage by race and ethnicity, 2000–2014



Note: There was a 0.0 percent change in wages for African Americans (\$15.69 in 2000 and 2014)

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Survey of Current Population Survey data

New Jersey percent change in real median hourly wage by race and ethnicity, 2000–2014



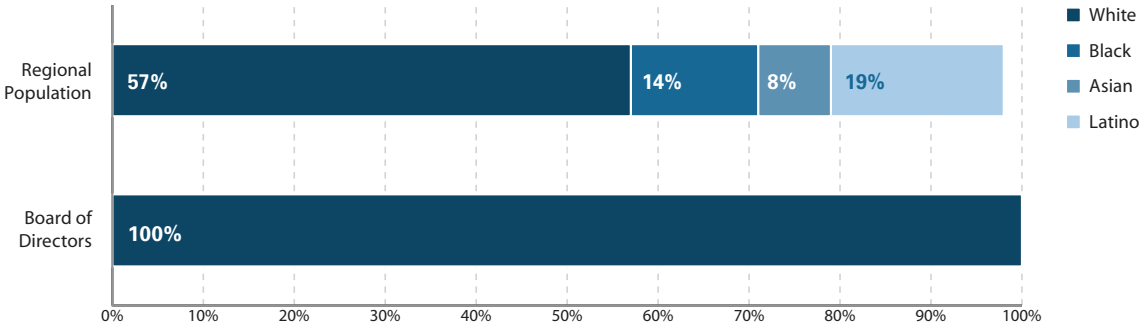
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Board Members

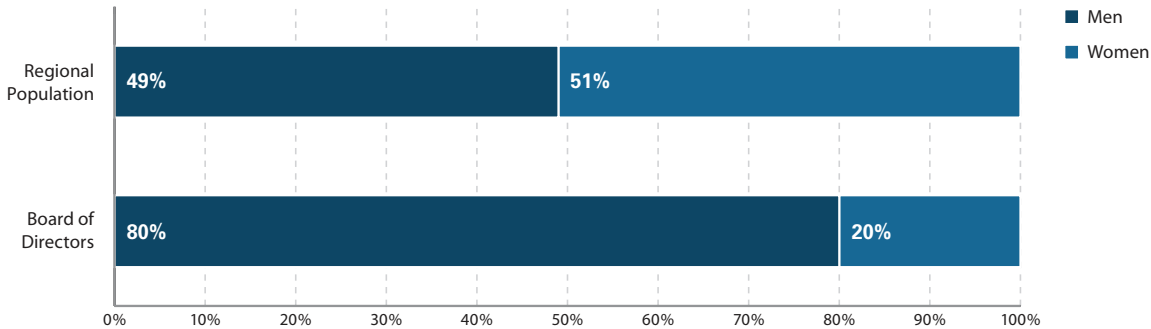
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
William Dudley	President	
Emily Rafferty	C Chair	President, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Sara Horowitz	C Deputy Chair	Founder and CEO, Freelancers Union
Richard Carrión	A	CEO and President, Banco Popular de Puerto Rico
David Cote	B	Chair and CEO, Honeywell
Glenn Hutchins	B	Co-Founder and Co-CEO, Silver Lake
Gerald Lipkin	A	Chair, President & CEO, Valley National Bank
Paul Mello	A	President and CEO, Solvay Bank
Terry J. Lundgren	B	Chair and CEO, Macy's
Marc Tessier-Lavigne	C	President, Rockefeller University

Demographics

New York Regional Fed, By Race



New York Regional Fed, By Gender



District 3: Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia

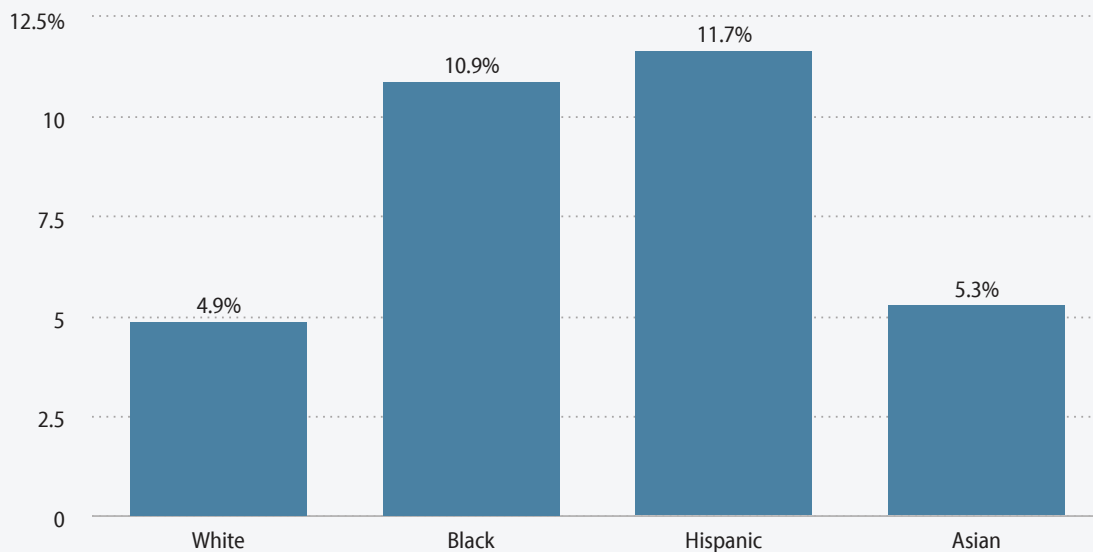
Eastern Pennsylvania, Southern New Jersey, Delaware

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages,
Philadelphia Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	4.1%	4.3%	5.7%	\$17.19	1.6%
<i>New Jersey</i>	3.7%	4.2%	6.7%	\$19.11	-3.9%
<i>Delaware</i>	3.9%	3.5%	5.8%	\$17.29	-3.4%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

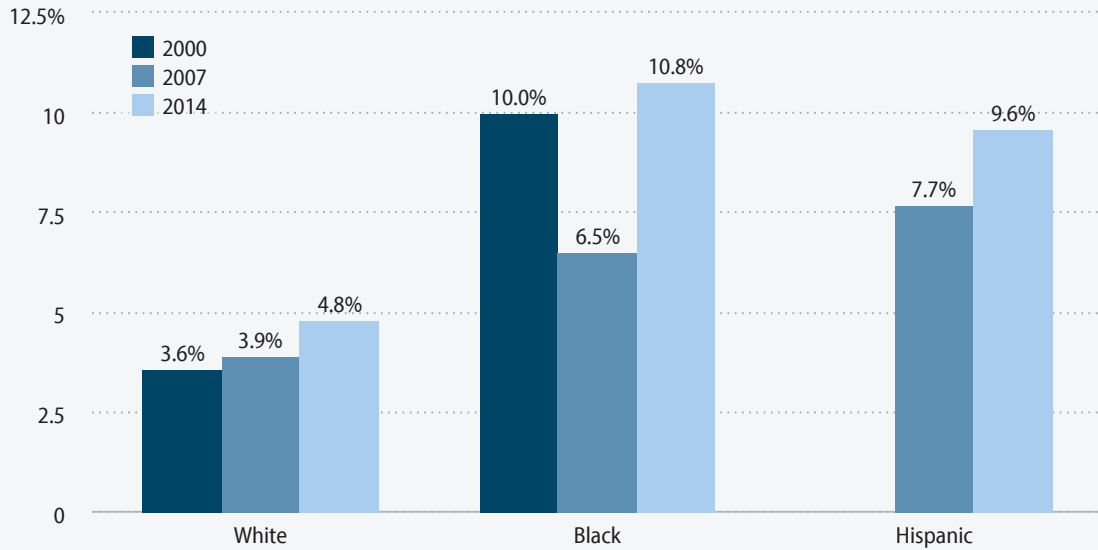
Philadelphia metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity,
2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

Regional Economic Data (By State)

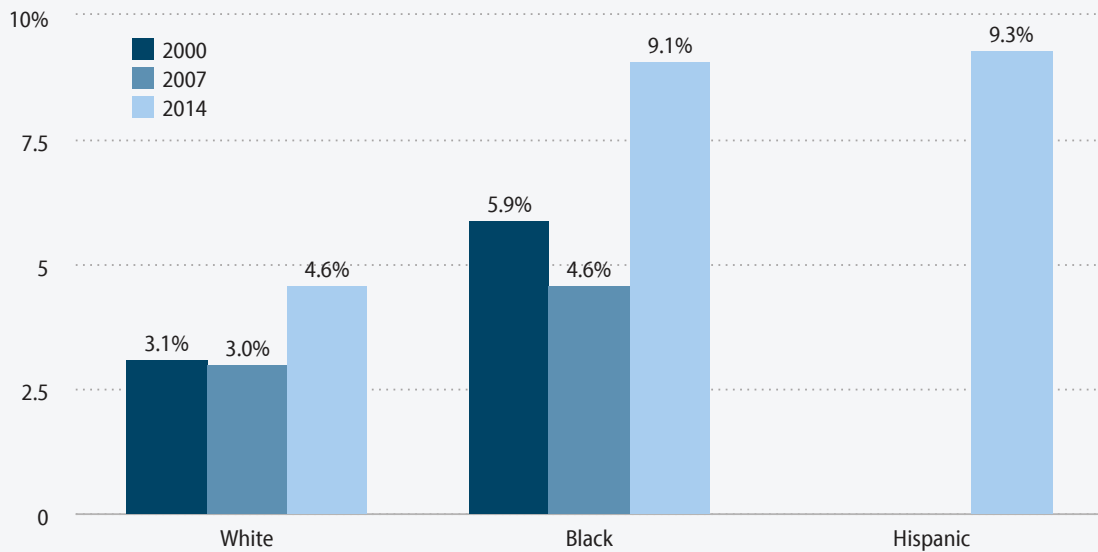
Pennsylvania unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bar indicates that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

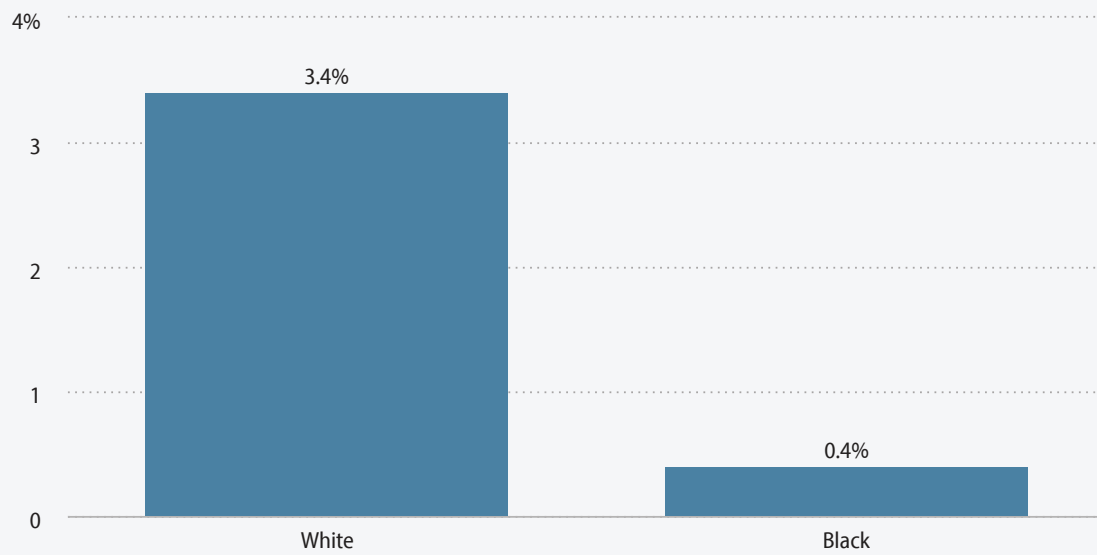
Delaware unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

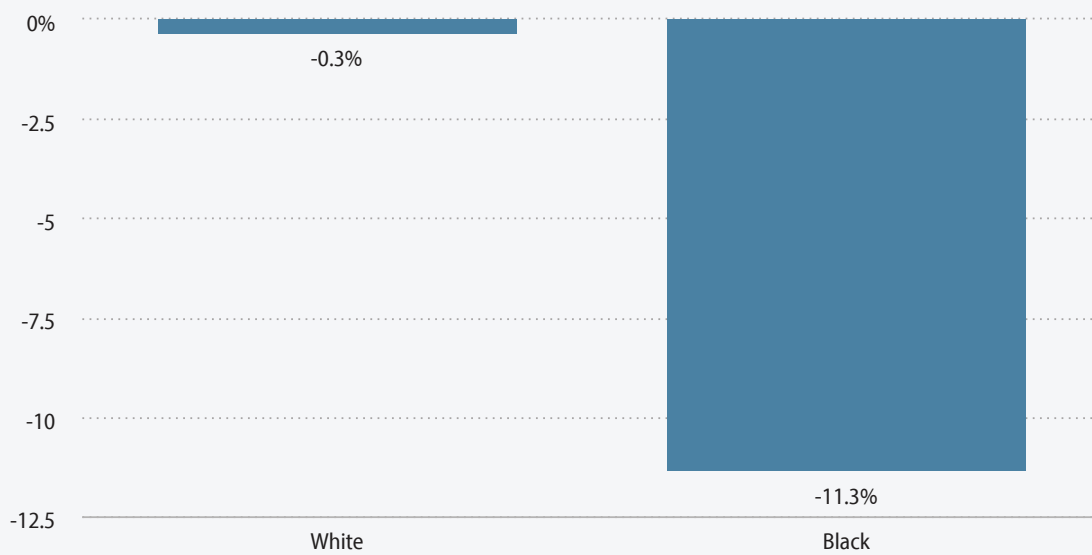
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Pennsylvania percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Delaware percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



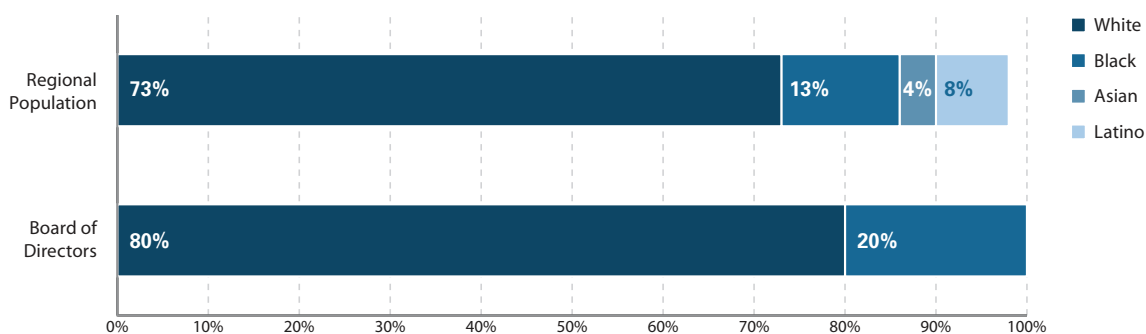
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Board Members

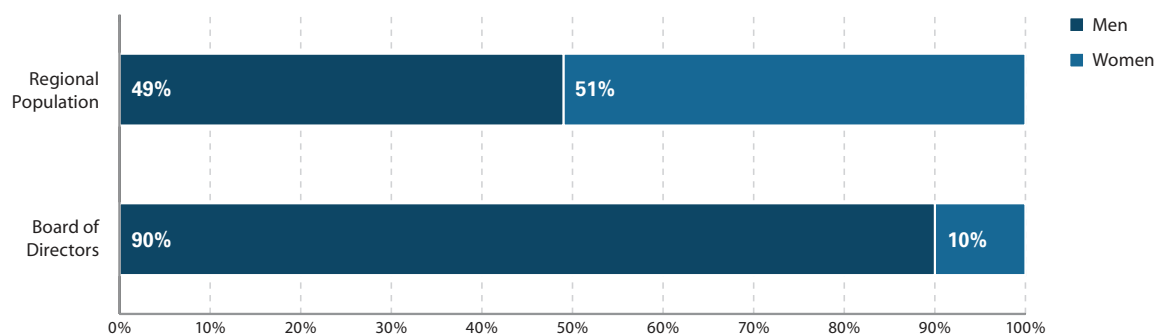
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Charles Plosser	President	
James Nevels	C Chair	Chair, The Swarthmore Group
Michael Angelakis	C Deputy Chair	CFO and Vice Chair, Comcast
William Aichele	A	Chair and Director, Uninvest Corp of Pennsylvania
Jon Evans	A	President and CEO, Atlantic Community Bankers Bank
Edward Graham	B	Chair and CEO, South Jersey Industries
Patrick Harker	B	President, University of Delaware
David R. Hunsicker	A	CEO and President, New Tripoli Bank
Carol J. Johnson	B	President and COO, AlliedBarton Security Services
Brian McNeill	C	President and CEO, Southco

Demographics

Philadelphia Regional Fed, By Race



Philadelphia Regional Fed, By Gender



District 4: Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland

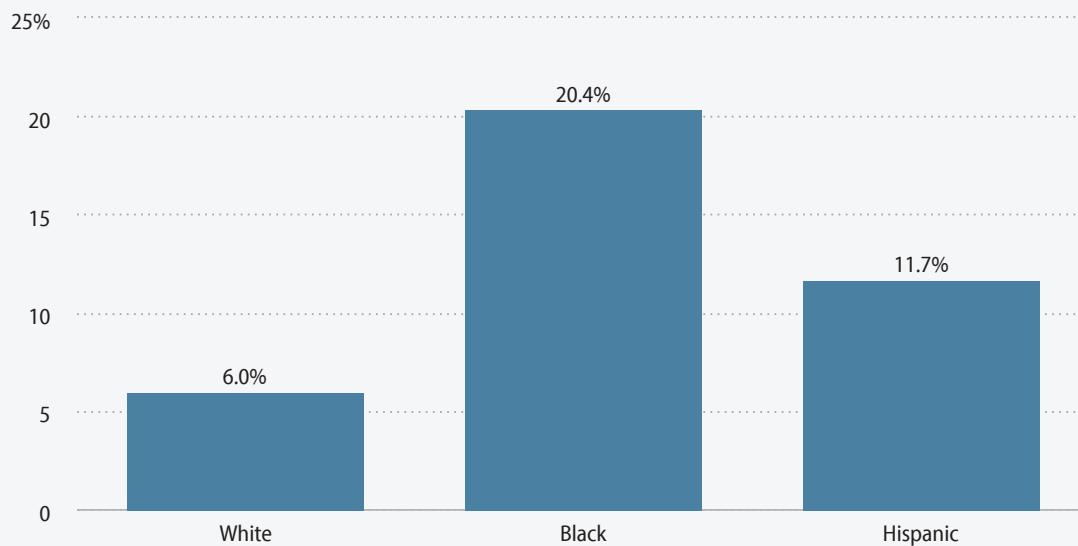
Ohio, western Pennsylvania, northern panhandle of West Virginia, and eastern Kentucky

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Cleveland Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
<i>Ohio</i>	4.0%	5.6%	5.6%	\$16.05	-7.7%
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	4.1%	4.3%	5.7%	\$17.19	1.6%
<i>West Virginia</i>	5.5%	4.6%	6.6%	\$15.25	2.5%
<i>Kentucky</i>	4.1%	5.4%	6.5%	\$15.04	-2.5%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Cleveland metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2013

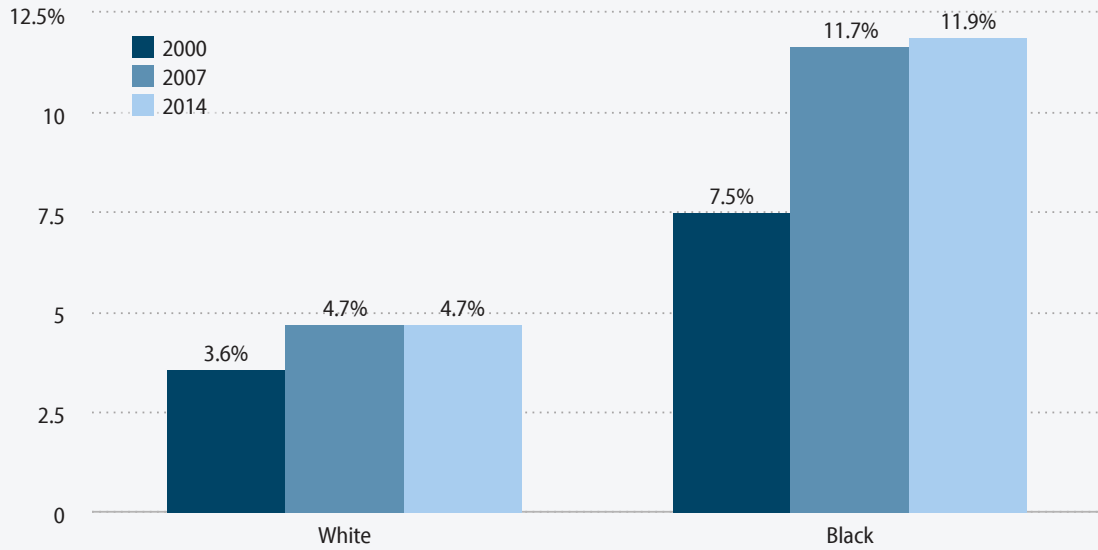


Note: Since the Current Population Survey sample size was too small to estimate a black unemployment rate in certain metropolitan statistical areas in 2014, the 2013 unemployment rates for all races and ethnicities are instead from the 2013 American Community Survey.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey and American Community Survey

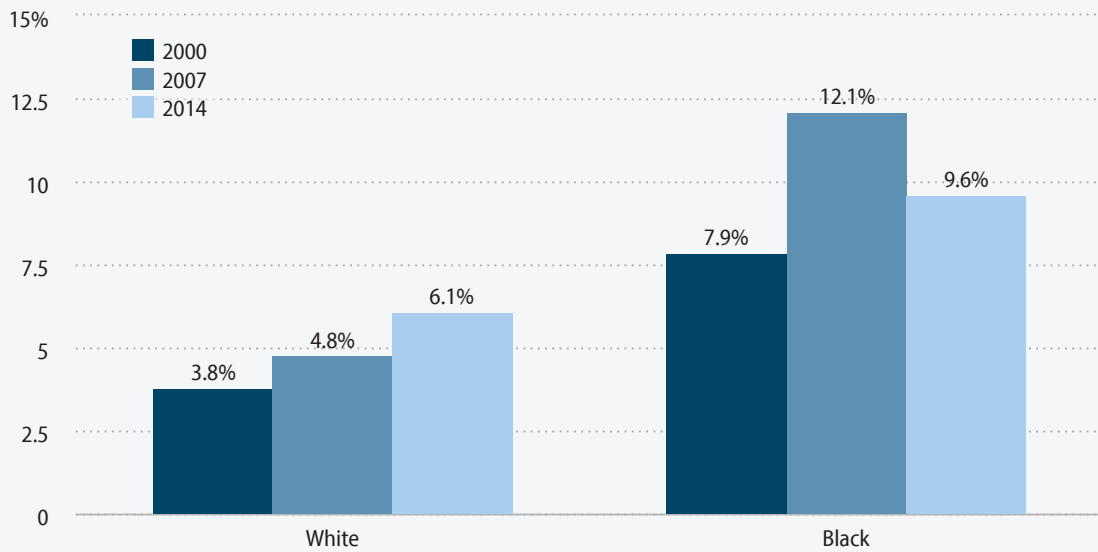
Regional Economic Data (By State)

Ohio unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014

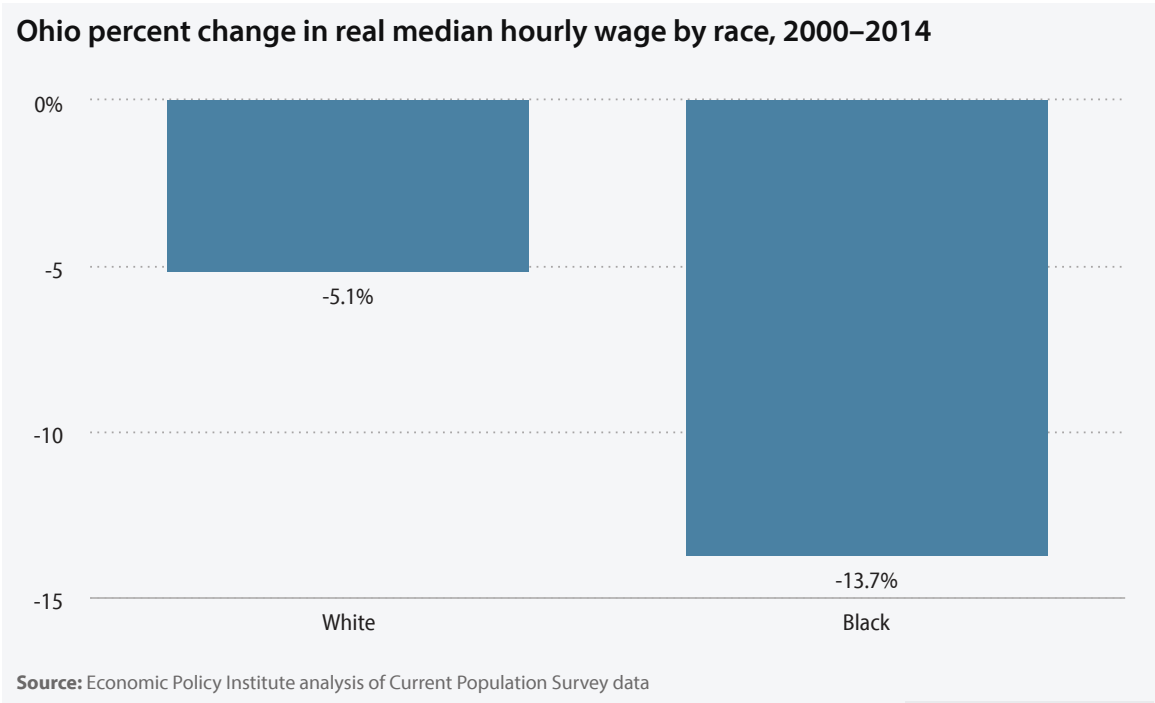


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Kentucky unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

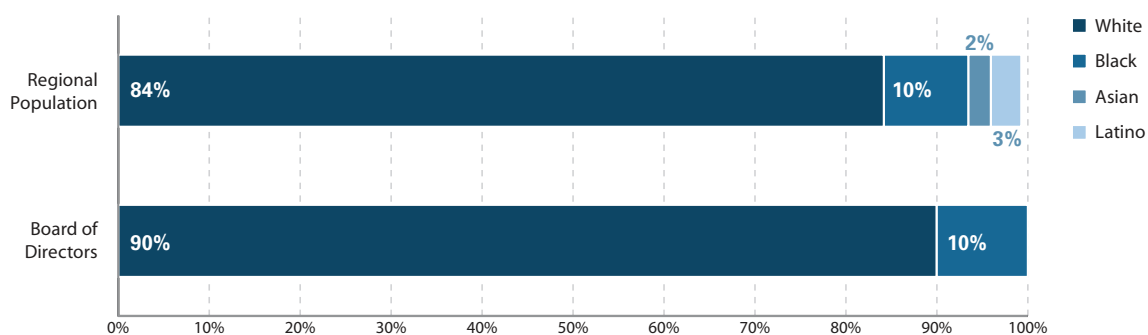


Board Members

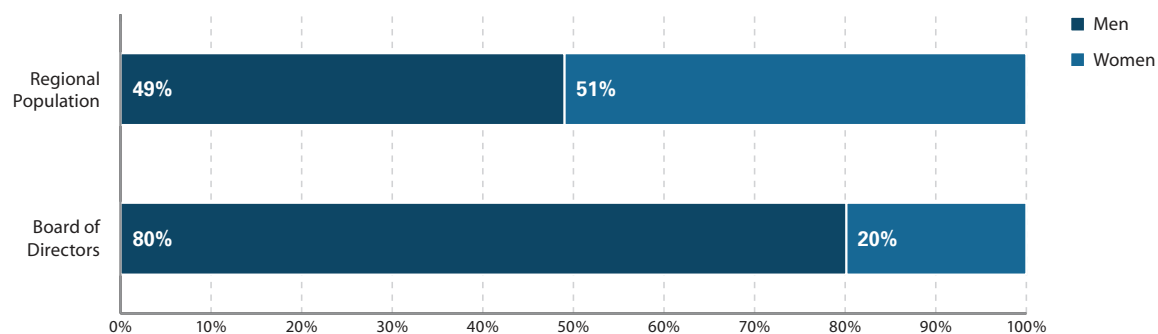
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Loretta J. Mester	President	
Christopher M. Connor	C Chair	Chair and CEO, Sherwin-Williams Company
John Surma	C Deputy Chair	Retired Chair and CEO, United States Steel
Charles H. Brown	B	Vice President and Secretary, Toyota Motor Engineering & Manufacturing, North America
Claude Davis	A	Chair, President, and CEO, First Financial Bancorp
Kevin Kabat	A	CEO and Director, Fifth Third Bancorp
Harold Keller	B	President, Ohio Capital Corporation for Housing
Todd Mason	A	President, First National Bank of Pandora
Richard Smucker	C	CEO and Director, The JM Smucker Company
Susan Tomasky	B	Energy Consultant and Former President, AEP Transmission

Demographics

Cleveland Regional Fed, By Race



Cleveland Regional Fed, By Gender



District 5: Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond

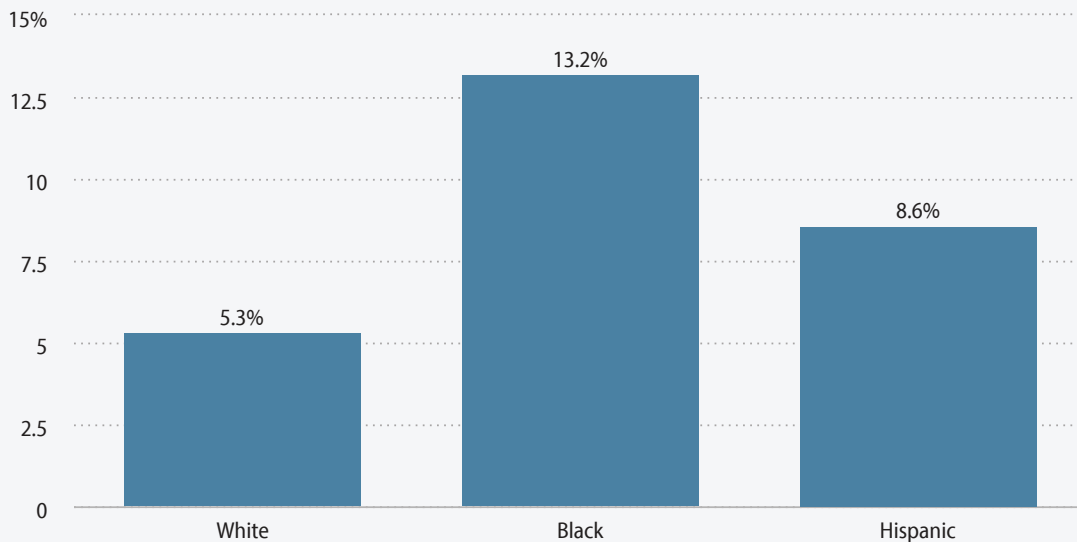
The District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, most of West Virginia

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages,
Richmond Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
<i>Virginia</i>	2.2%	3.1%	5.2%	\$19.00	4.5%
<i>Maryland</i>	3.8%	3.6%	5.8%	\$19.90	4.0%
<i>North Carolina</i>	3.6%	4.5%	6.2%	\$15.18	-4.2%
<i>South Carolina</i>	3.8%	5.6%	6.4%	\$15.18	-7.7%
<i>District of Columbia</i>	5.7%	5.5%	7.8%	\$24.20	18.3%
<i>West Virginia</i>	5.5%	4.6%	6.6%	\$15.25	2.5%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Richmond metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2013

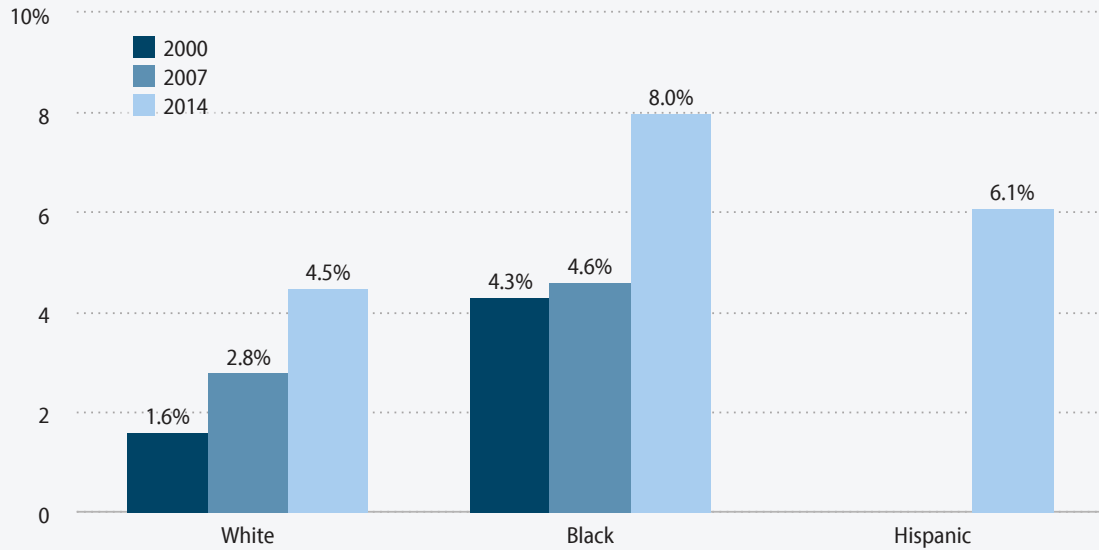


Note: Since the Current Population Survey sample size was too small to estimate a black unemployment rate in certain metropolitan statistical areas in 2014, the 2013 unemployment rates for all races and ethnicities are instead from the 2013 American Community Survey.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey and American Community Survey

Regional Economic Data (By State)

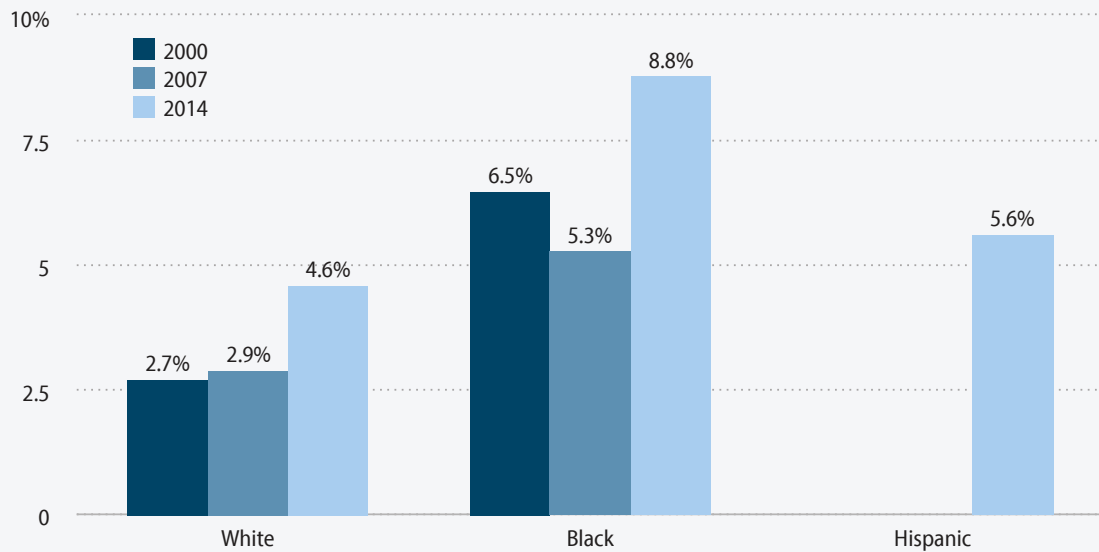
Virginia unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

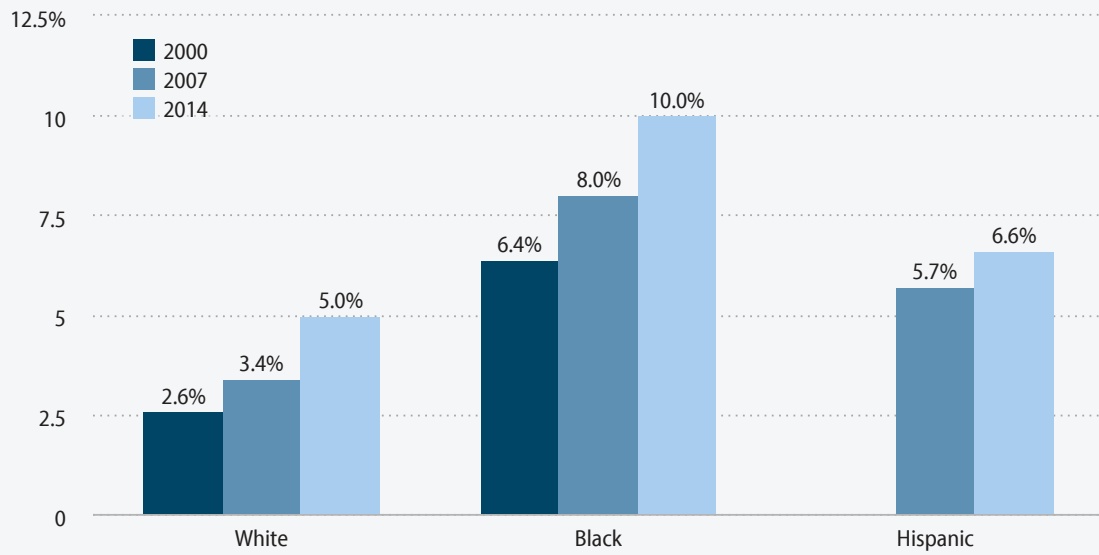
Maryland unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

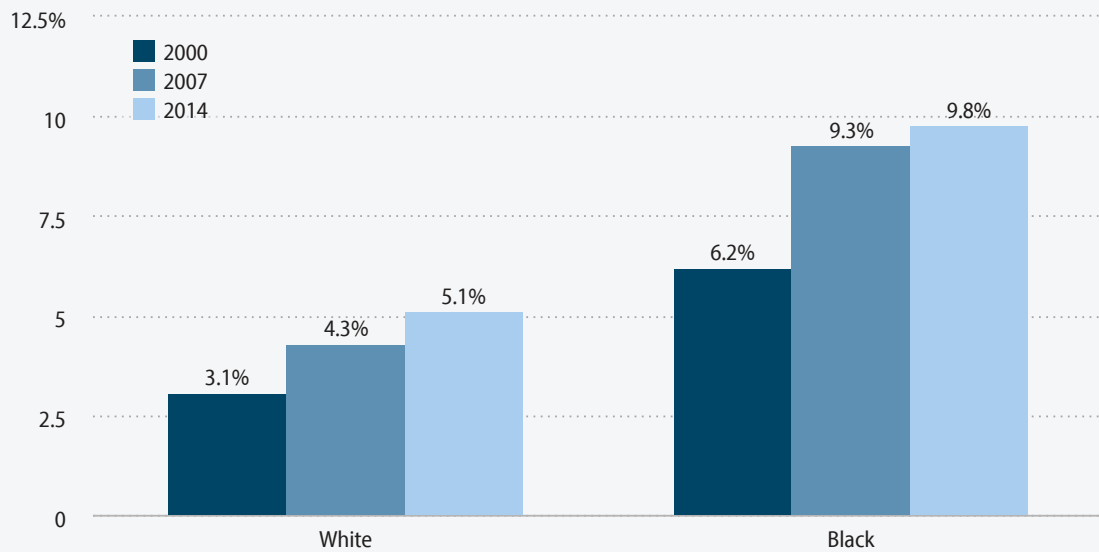
North Carolina unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bar indicates that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

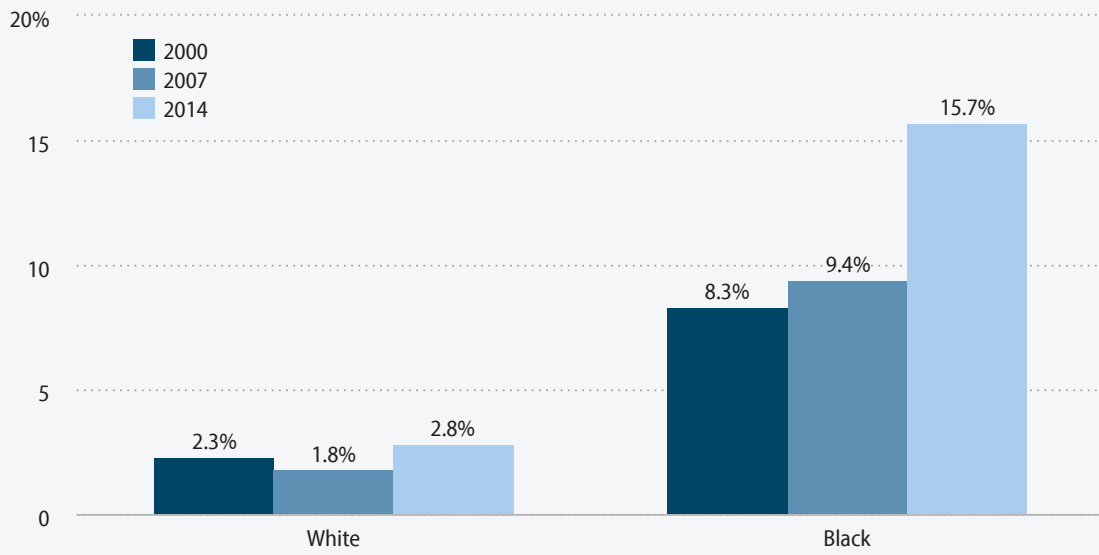
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

South Carolina unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



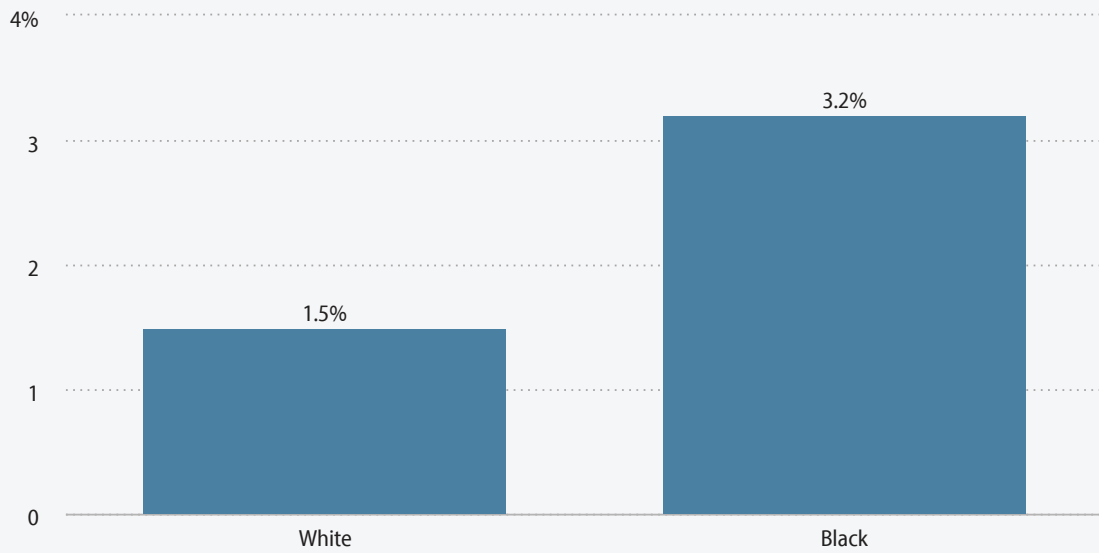
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

District of Columbia unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



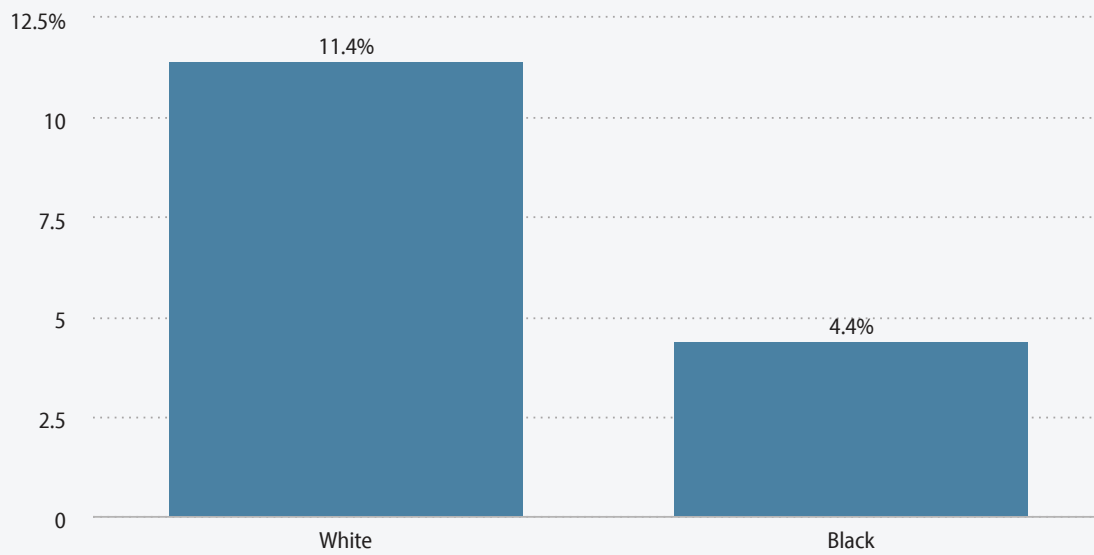
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Virginia percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



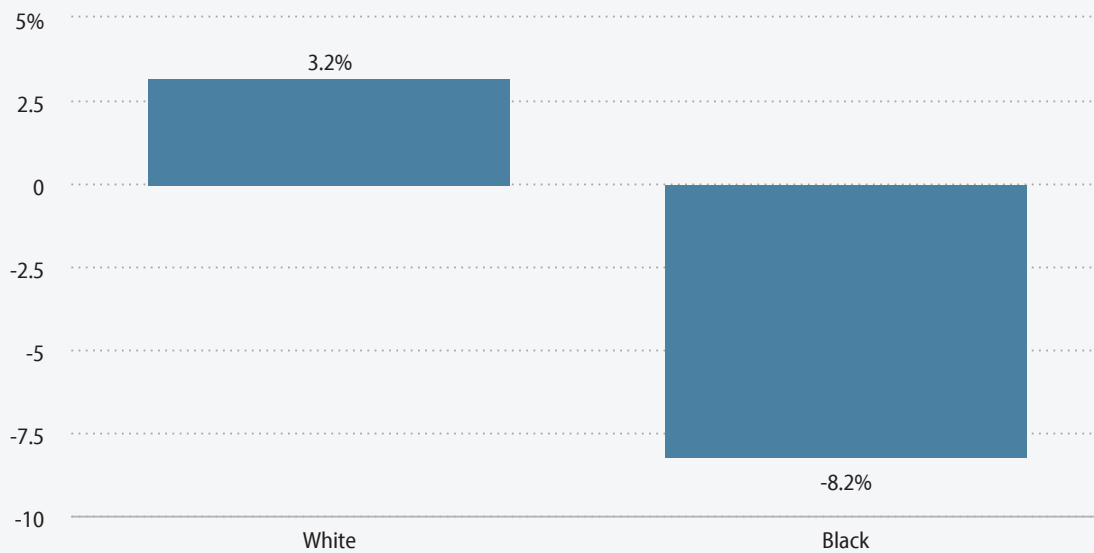
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Maryland percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014

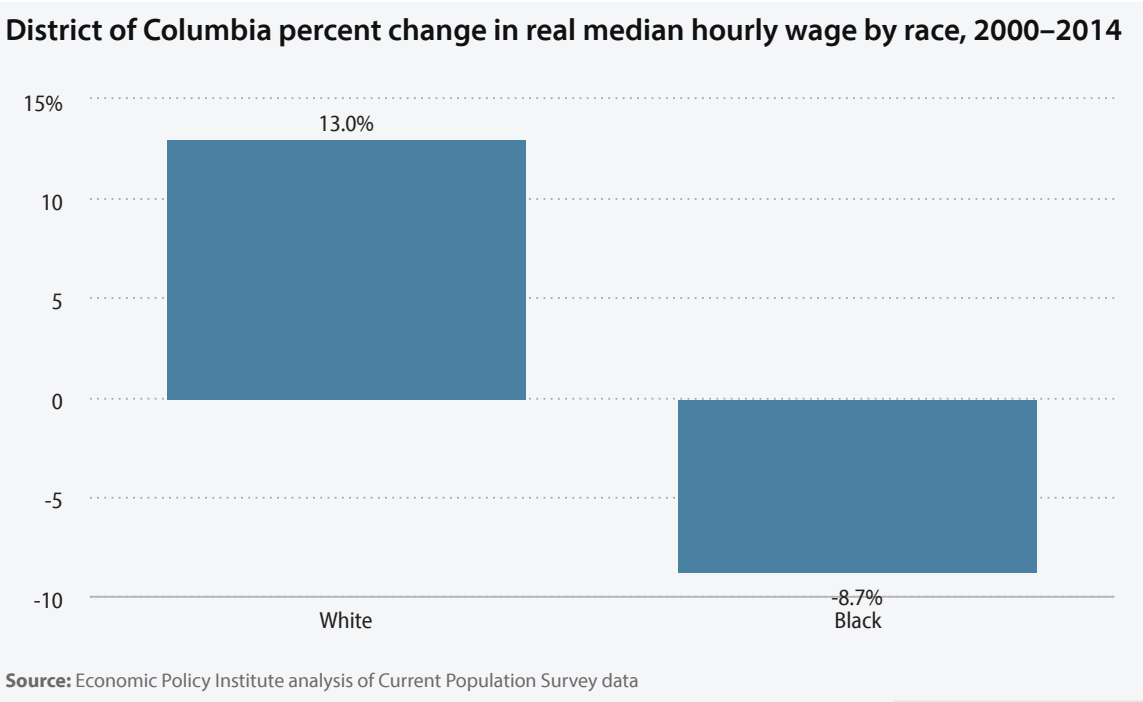
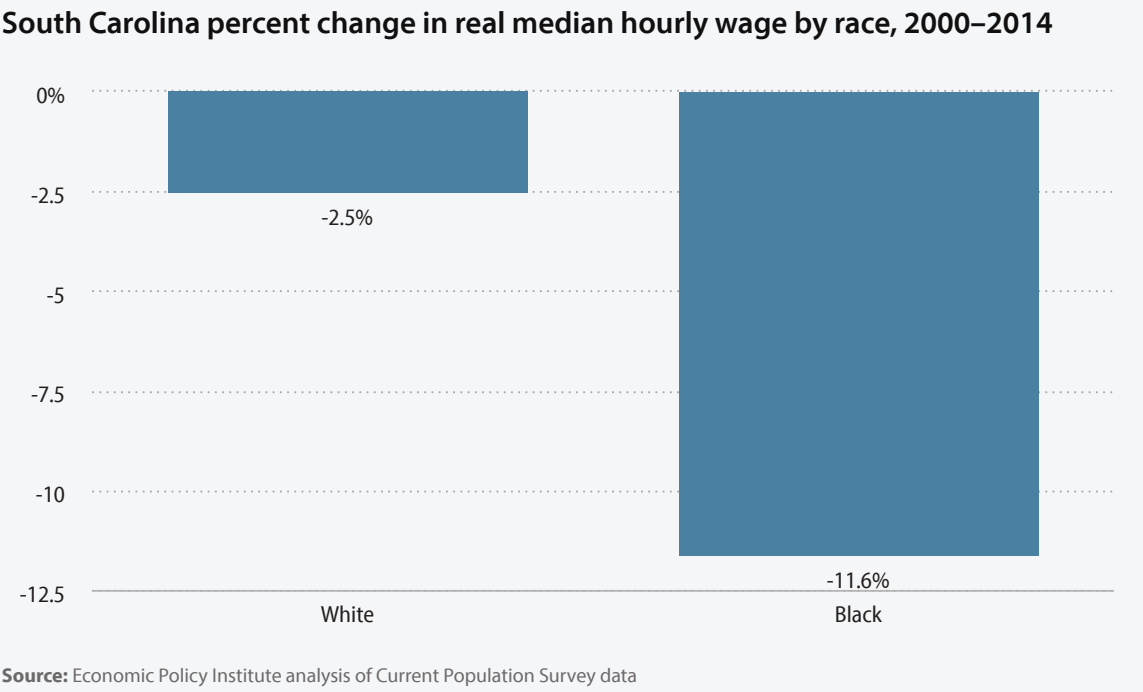


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

North Carolina percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

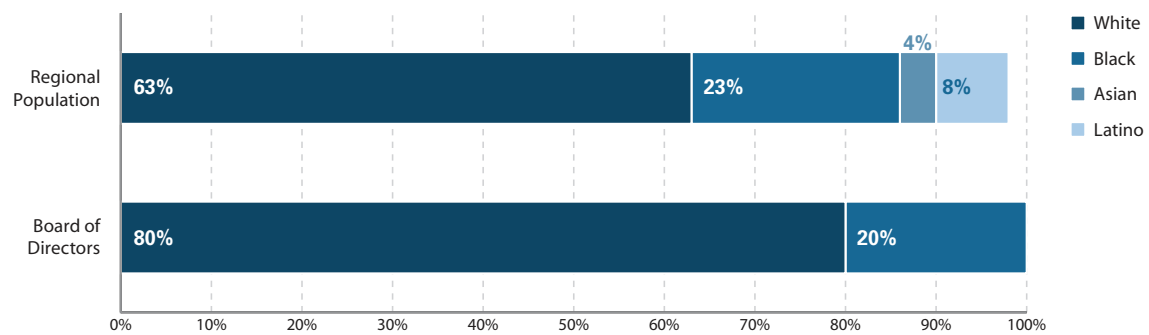


Board Members

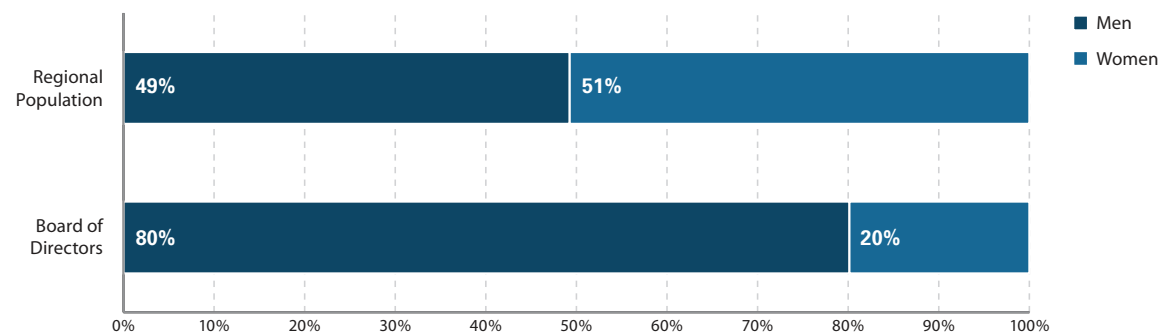
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Jeffrey Lacker	President	
Russell Linder	C Chair	Chair and CEO, The Forge Company
Margaret Lewis	C Deputy Chair	Director, Flower Foods Inc
Wilbur Johnson	B	Managing Partner, Young Clement Rivers
Robert R. Hill Jr.	A	CEO, South State Corporation and South State Bank
Marshall Larsen	B	Chair and CEO, Goodrich Corporation
C. Richard Miller	A	CEO, Woodsboro Bank
Charles Patton	B	President and COO, Appalachian Power
Brad Schwartz	A	CEO and Director, Monarch Bank
Kathy J. Warden	C	Corporate Vice President and President, Information Systems, Northrop Grumman Corporation

Demographics

Richmond Regional Fed, By Race



Richmond Regional Fed, By Gender



District 6: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

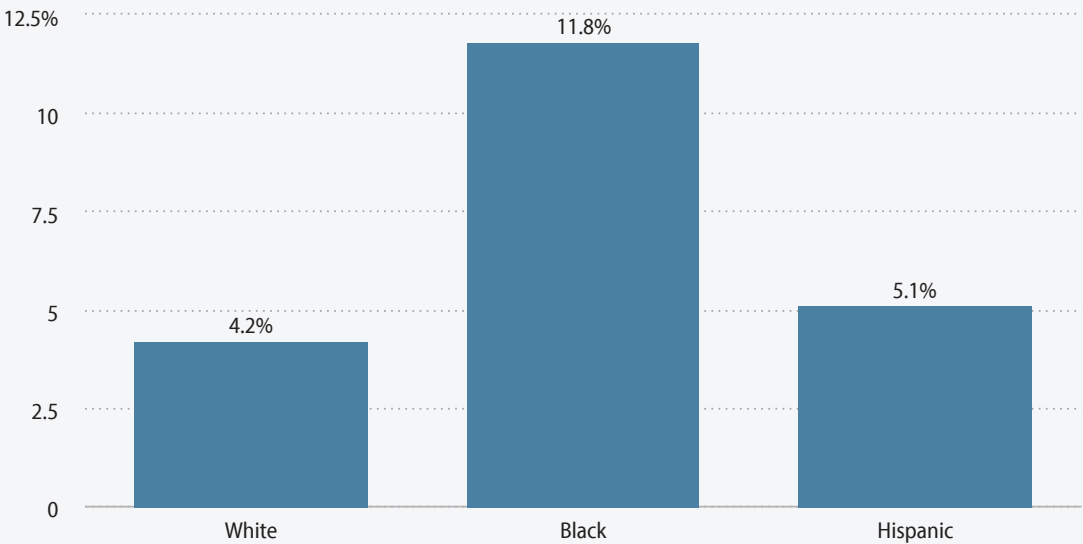
Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and portions of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Atlanta Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000–2014
Alabama	4.5%	4.0%	7.1%	\$15.24	2.1%
Florida	3.6%	4.1%	6.3%	\$15.91	4.6%
Georgia	3.7%	4.3%	7.2%	\$15.49	-2.1%
Louisiana	5.4%	4.3%	6.4%	\$15.63	5.3%
Mississippi	5.6%	6.1%	7.7%	\$14.93	4.7%
Tennessee	3.9%	4.6%	6.6%	\$14.94	-5.3%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

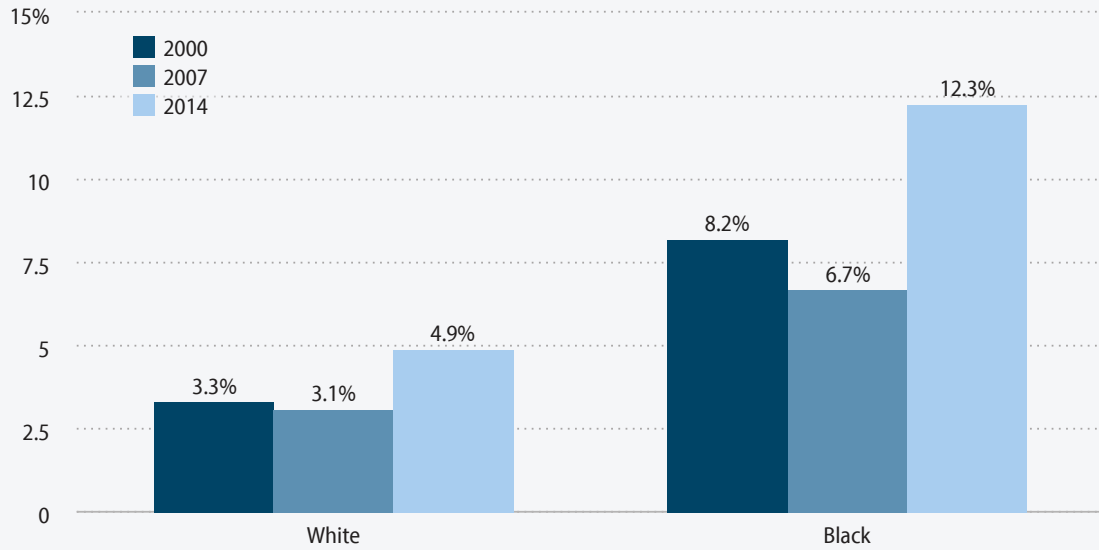
Atlanta metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

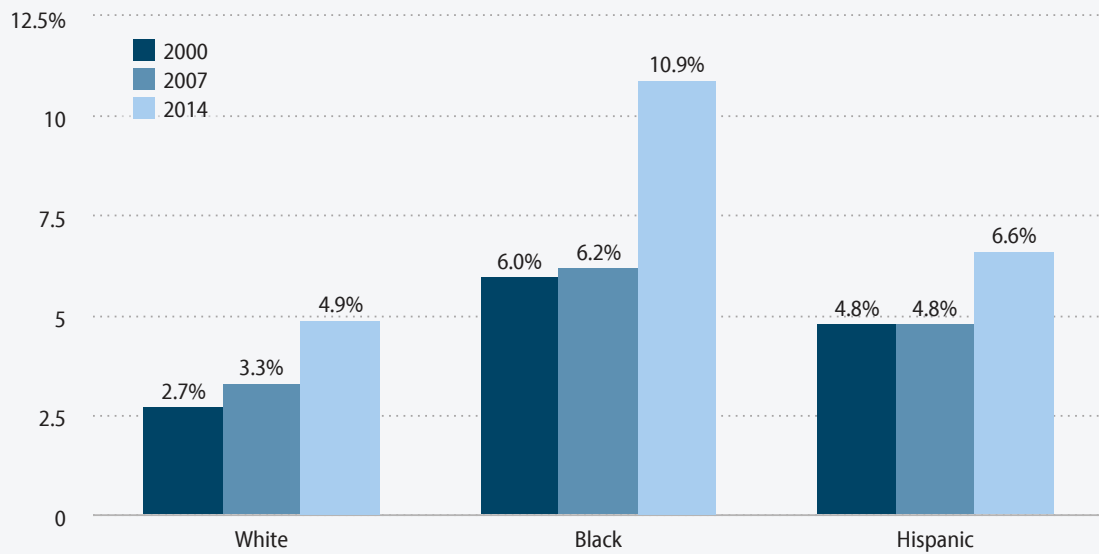
Regional Economic Data (By State)

Alabama unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



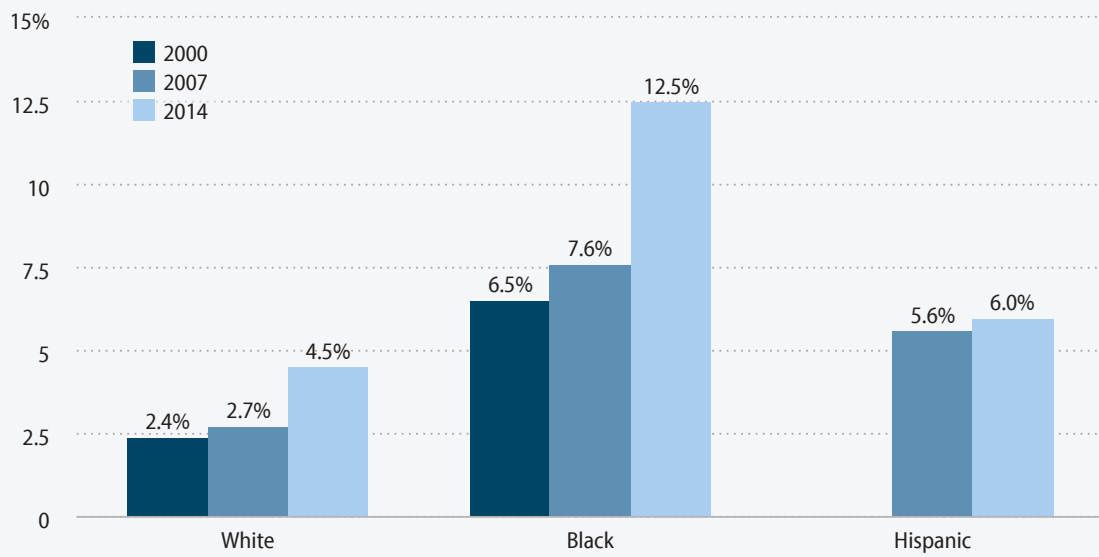
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Florida unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

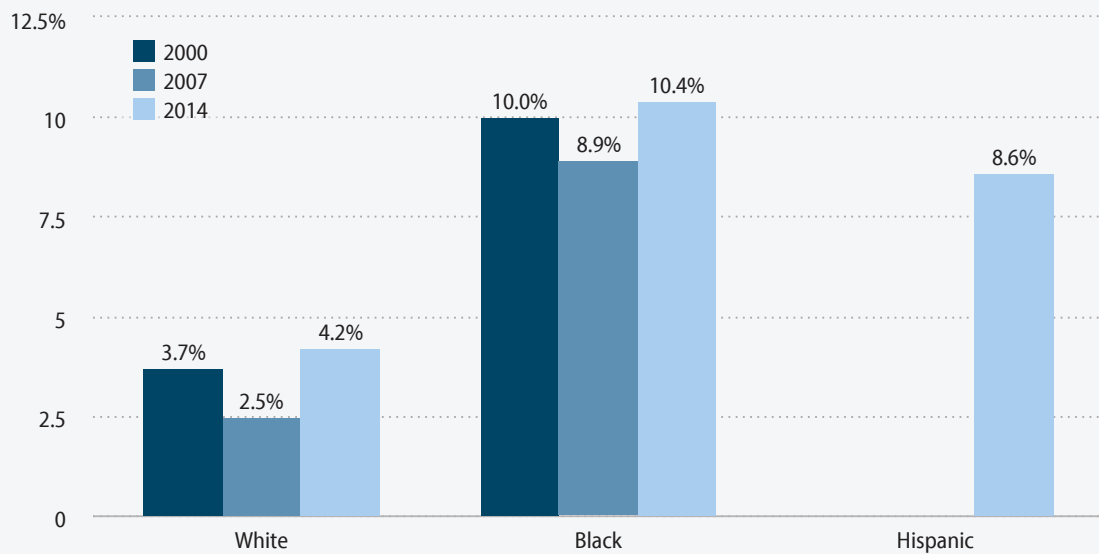
Georgia unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bar indicates that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

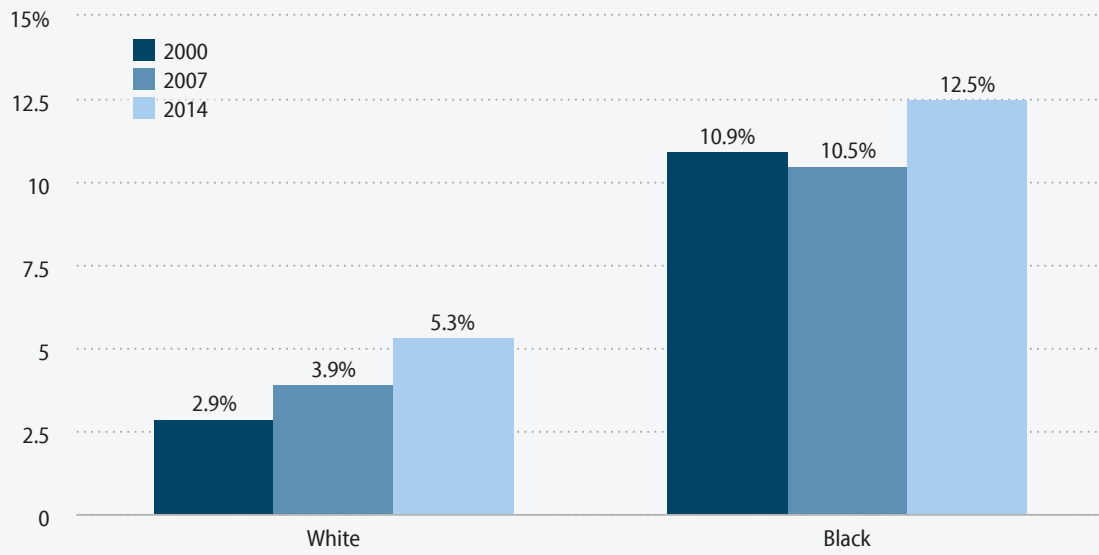
Louisiana unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

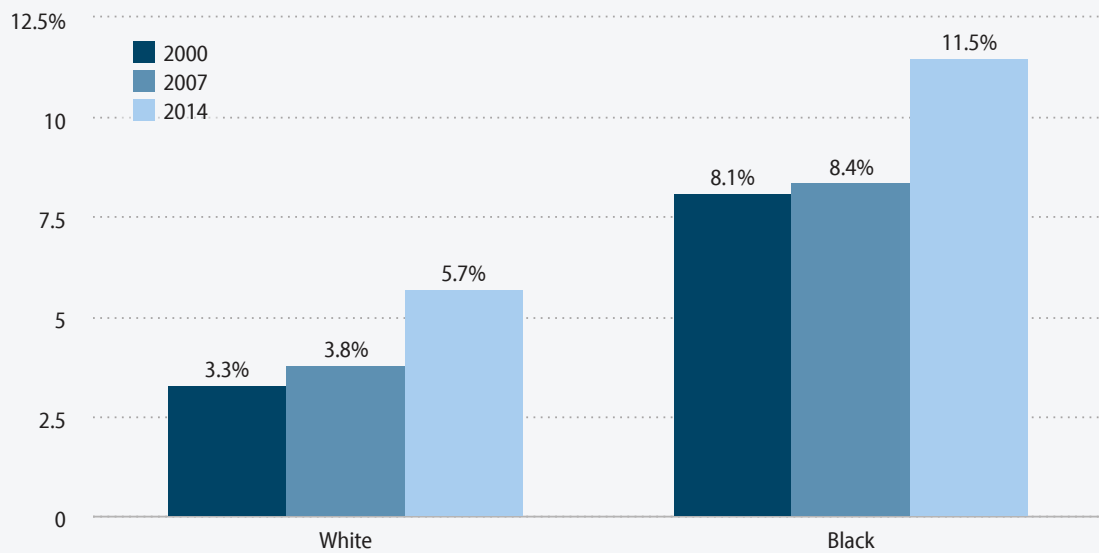
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Mississippi unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



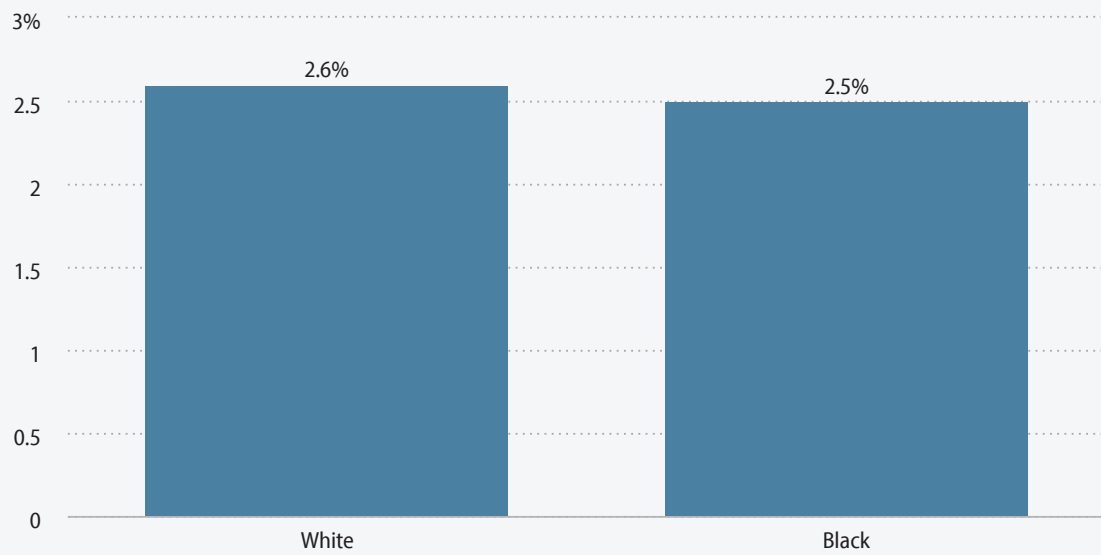
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Tennessee unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



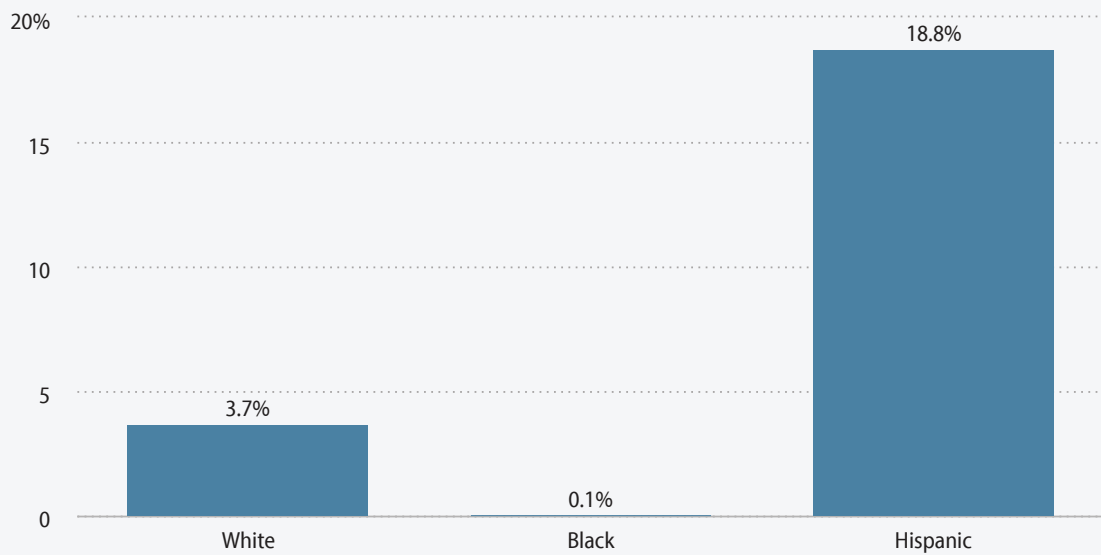
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Alabama percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

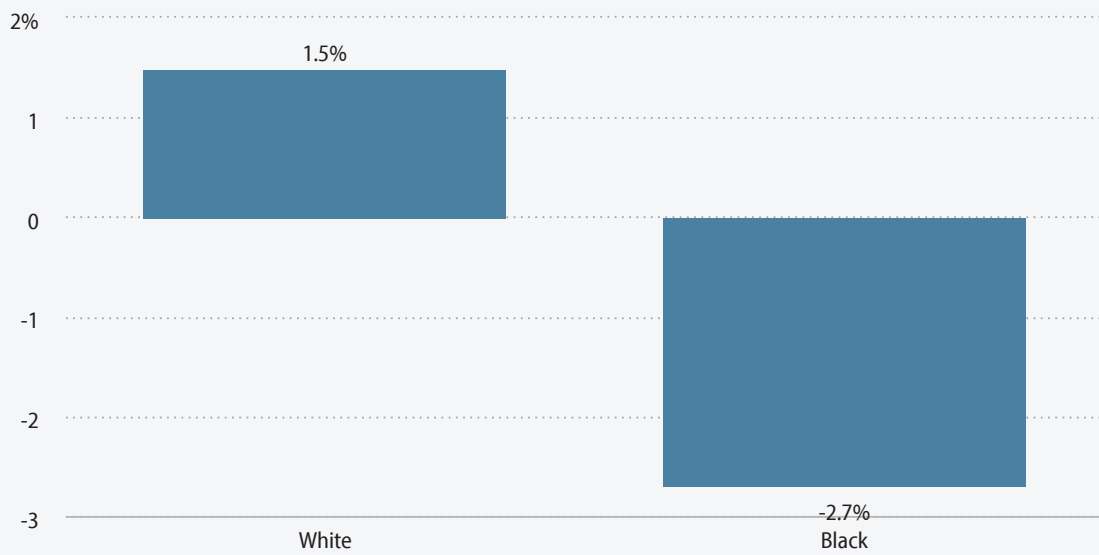
Florida percent change in real median hourly wage by race and ethnicity, 2000–2014



Note: African Americans experienced a 0.1 percent change in real median hourly wages

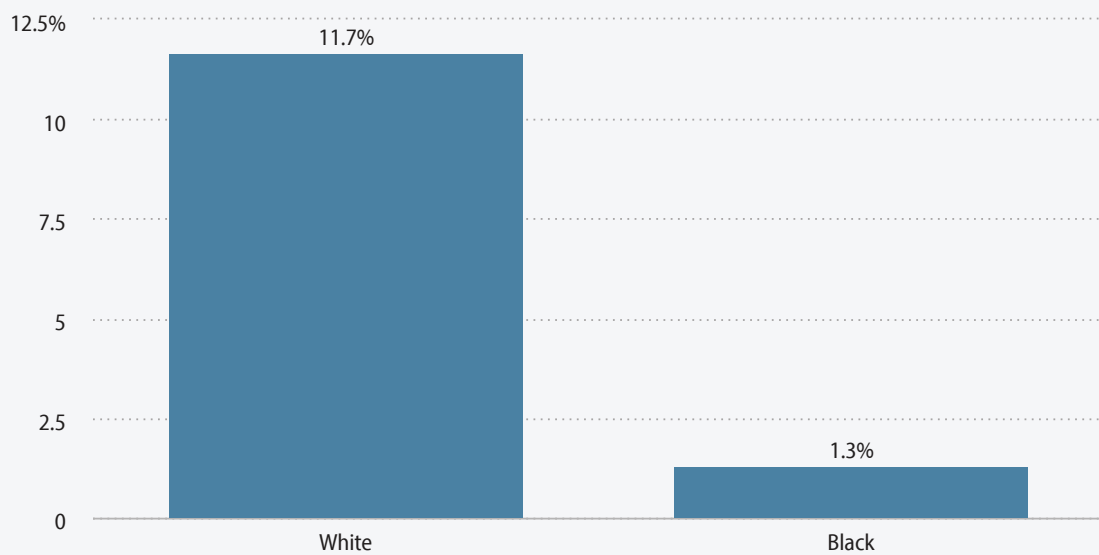
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Georgia percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014

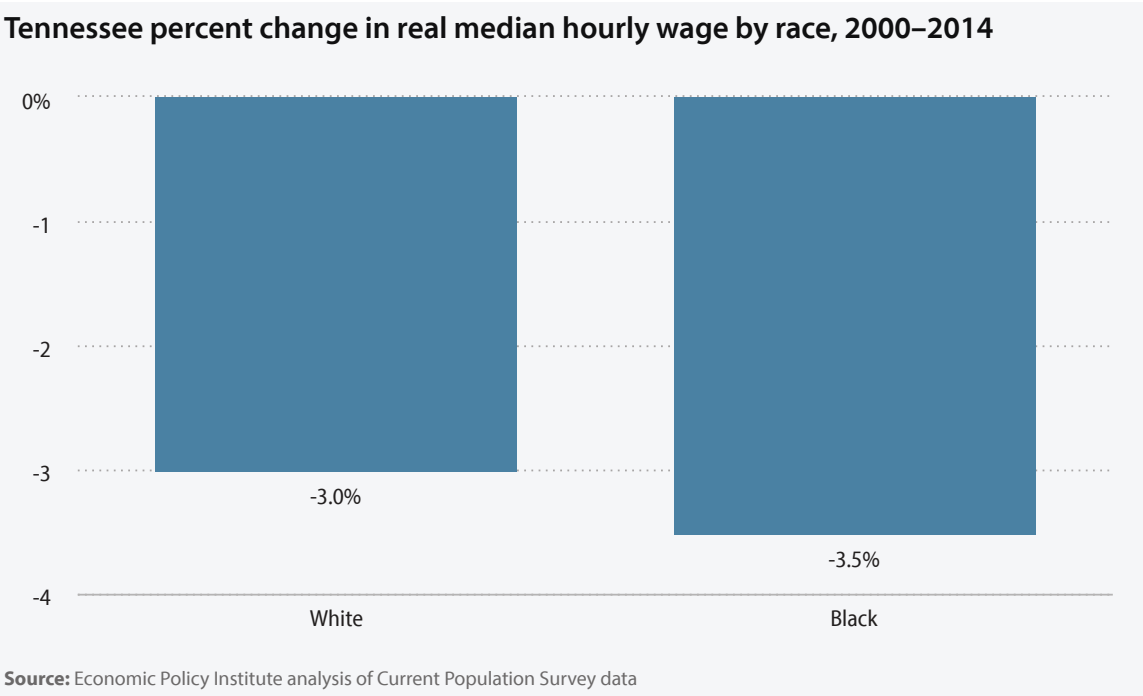
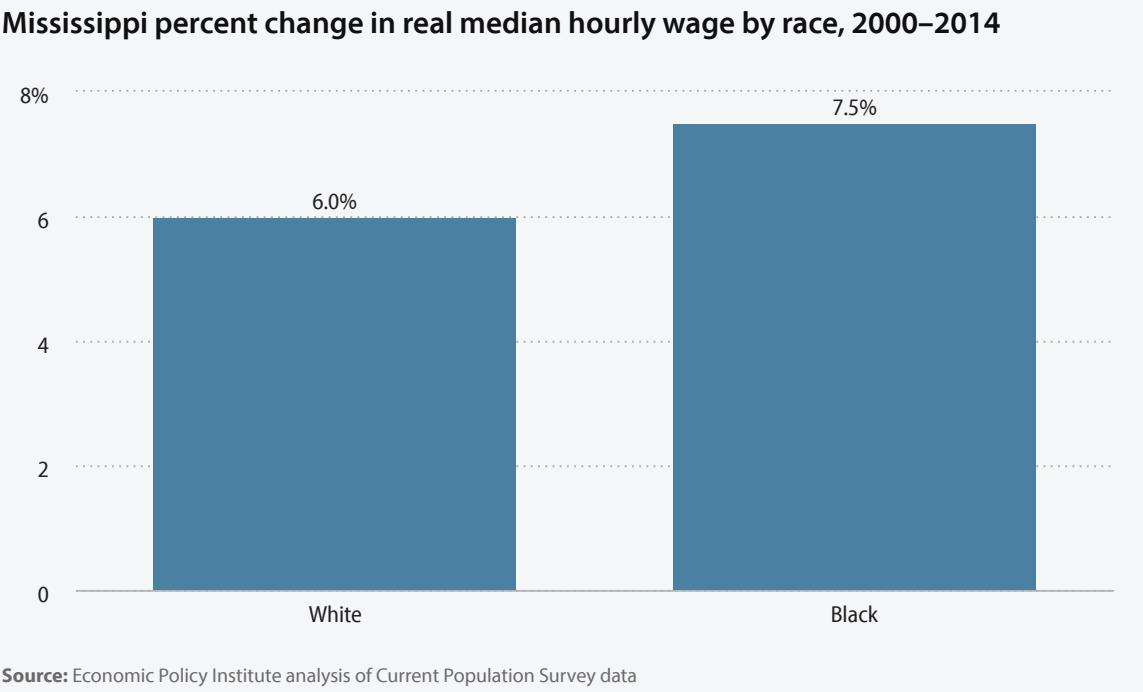


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Louisiana percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

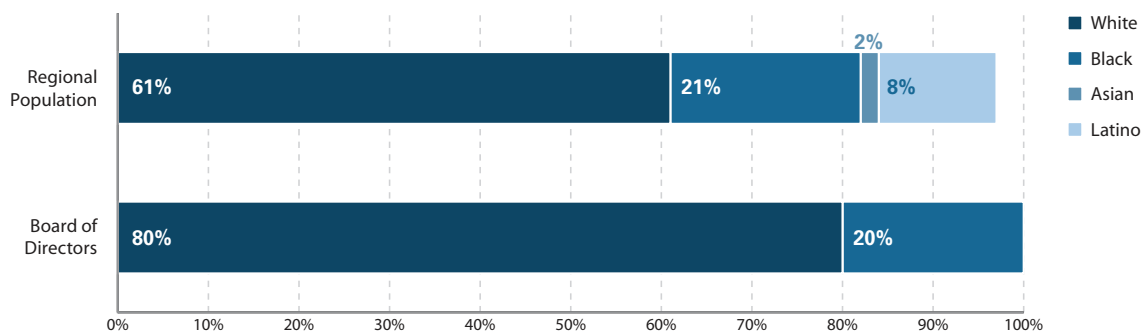


Board Members

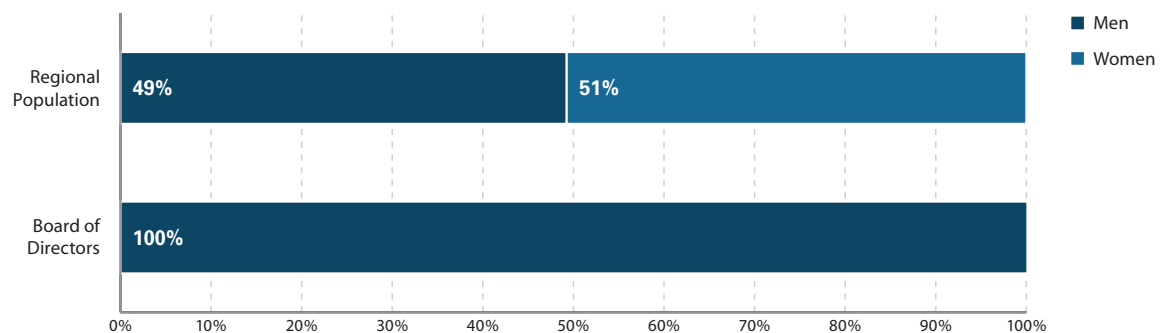
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Dennis Lockhart	President	Federal reserve bank of Atlanta
Thomas Fanning	C Chair	Chair, President and CEO, Southern Company
Michael Jackson	C Deputy Chair	Chair and CEO, AutoNation
Myron A. Gray	C	President, US Operations, United Parcel Service
Gerard Host	A	President and CEO, Trustmark Corporation
T. Anthony Humphries	A	President and CEO, NobleBank and Trust
Clarence Otis	B	Former Chair and CEO, Darden Restaurants
Jonathan T. M. Reckford	B	CEO, Habitat for Humanity International
William Rogers	A	Chair and CEO, SunTrust Banks
José Suquet	B	Chair, President and CEO, Pan-American Life Insurance

Demographics

Atlanta Regional Fed, By Race



Atlanta Regional Fed, By Gender



District 6: Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

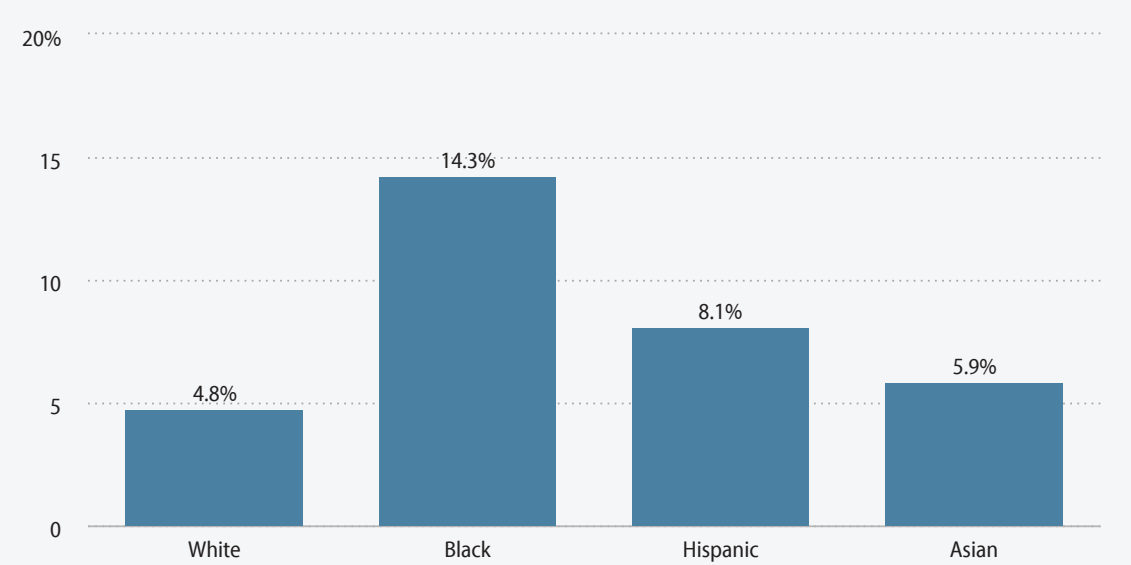
Iowa and most of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Chicago Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
Iowa	2.6%	3.7%	4.6%	\$15.98	-2.3%
Illinois	4.3%	5.1%	7.0%	\$17.24	-3.8%
Indiana	3.2%	4.6%	6.1%	\$15.78	-4.0%
Michigan	3.5%	7.1%	7.2%	\$16.66	-7.5%
Wisconsin	3.6%	5.0%	5.6%	\$17.38	3.3%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

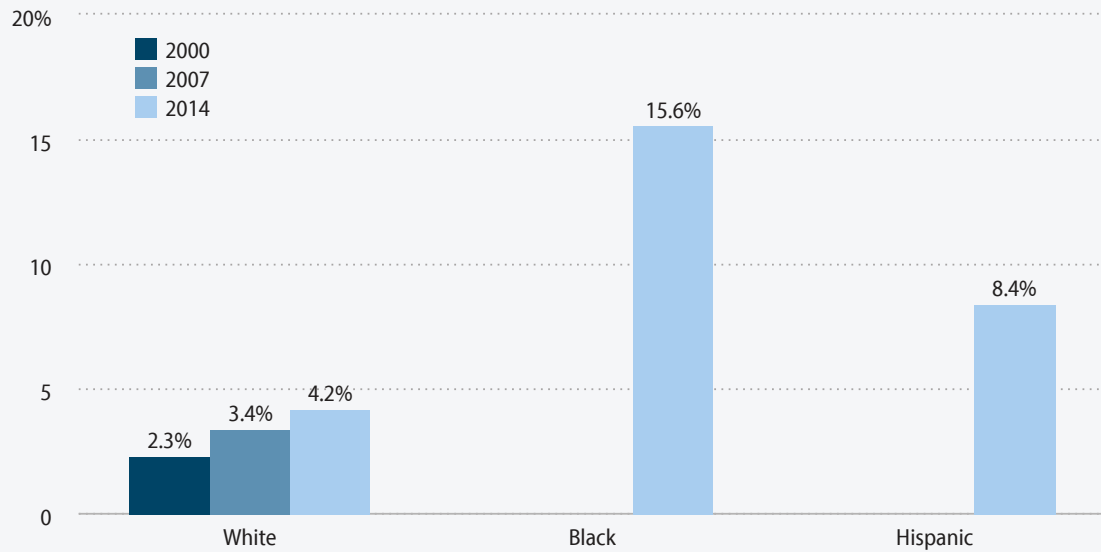
Chicago metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

Regional Economic Data (By State)

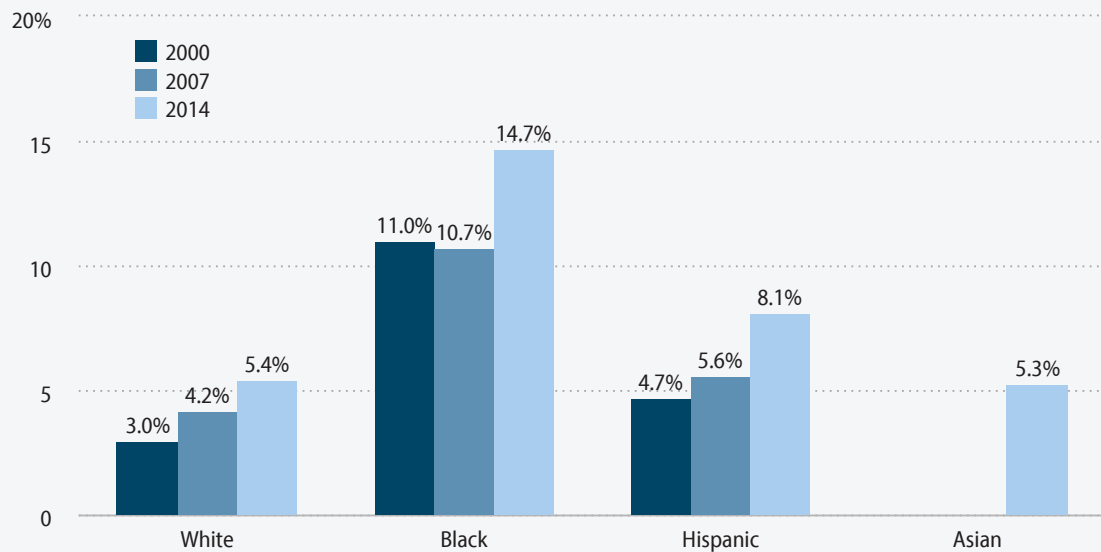
Iowa unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

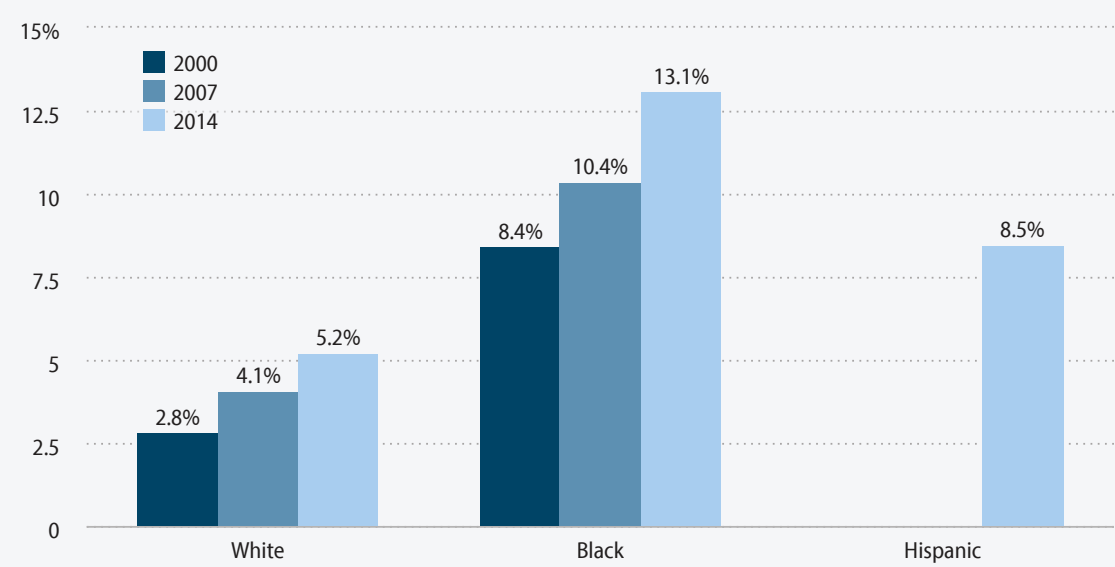
Illinois unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

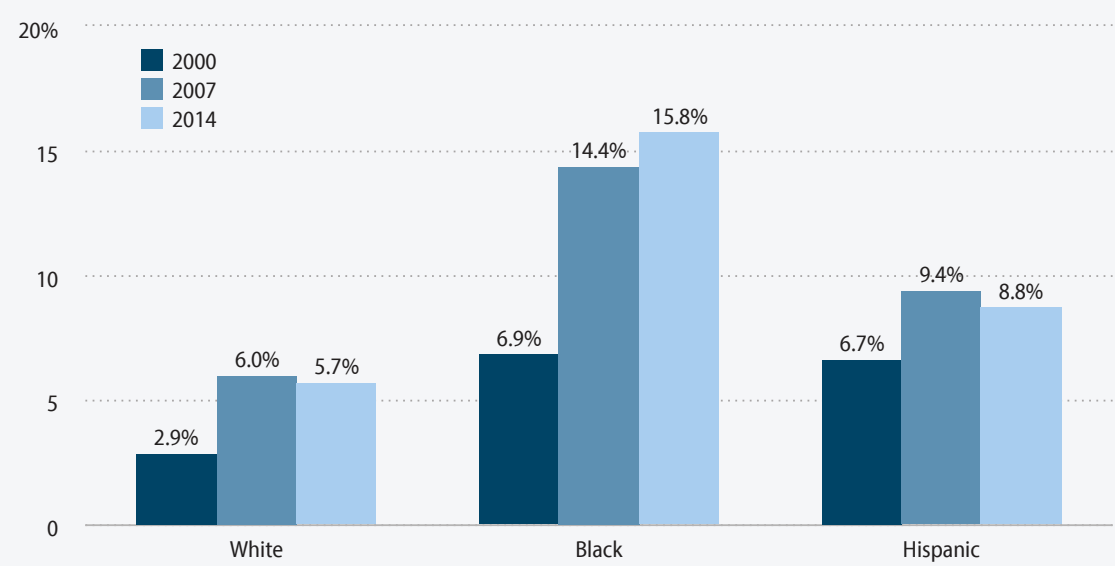
Indiana unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

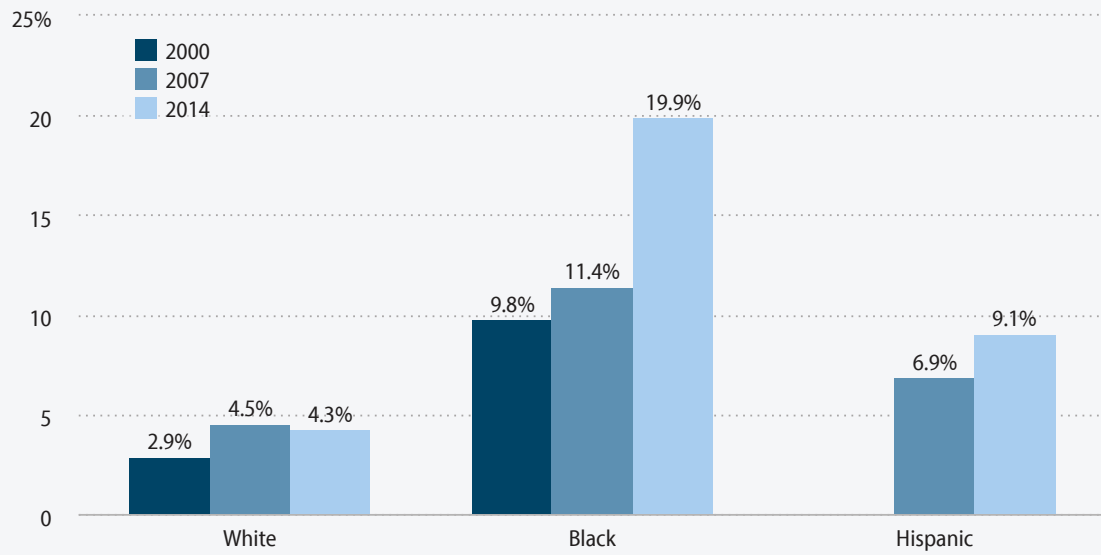
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Michigan unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

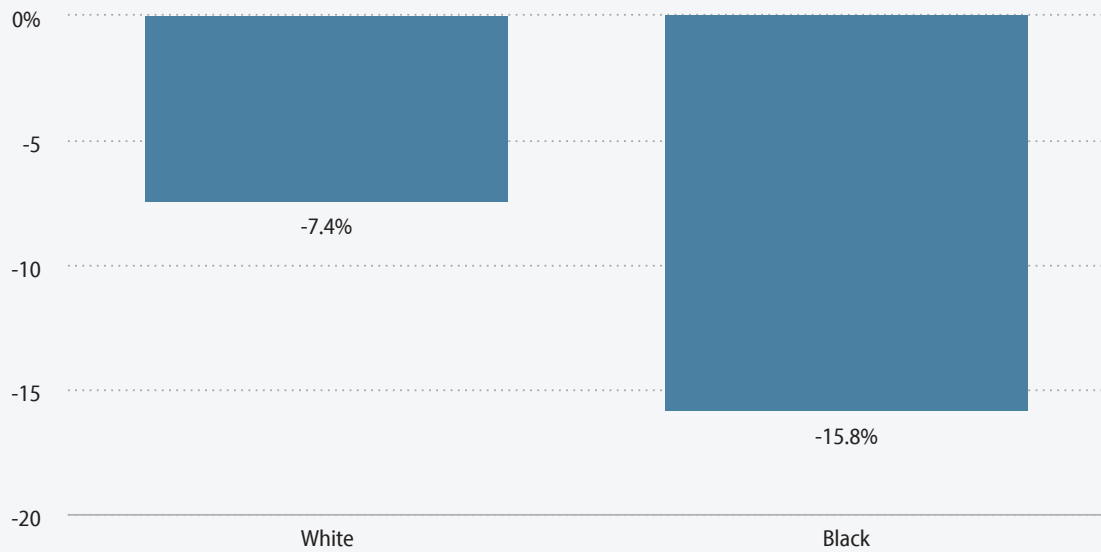
Wisconsin unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



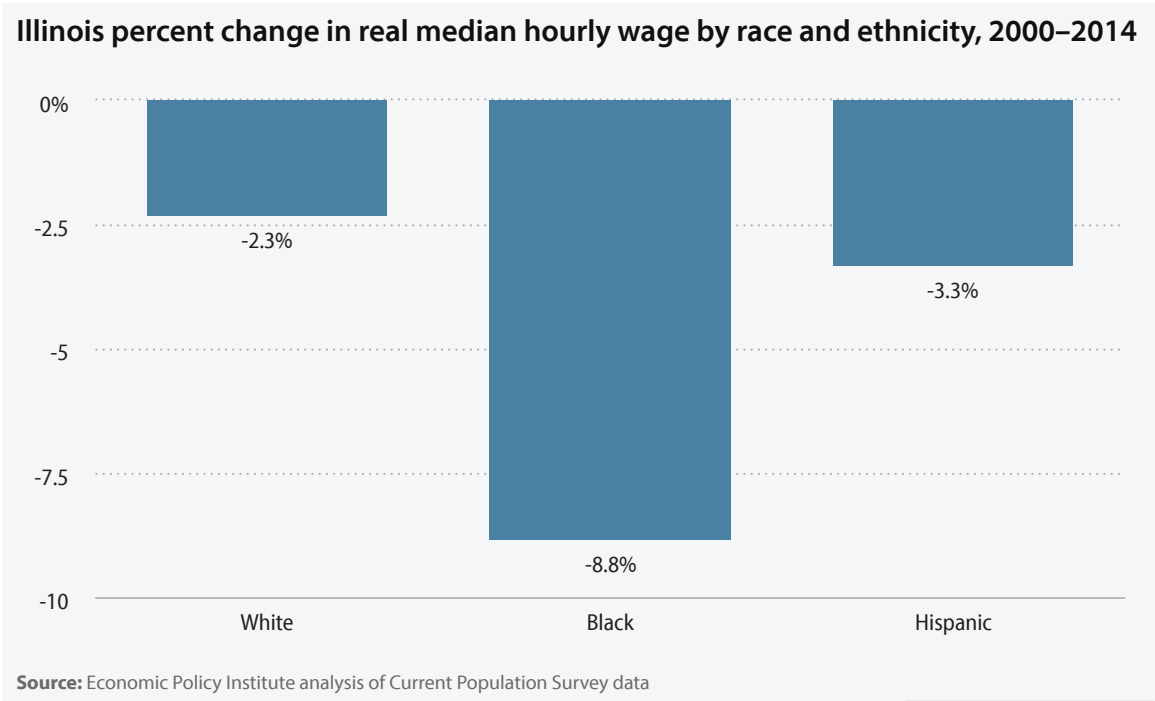
Note: The missing bar indicates that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Michigan percent change in real median hourly wage by race, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

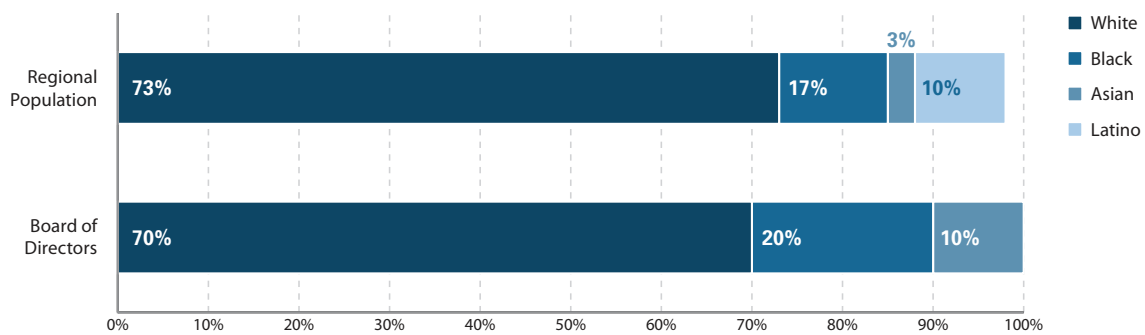


Board Members

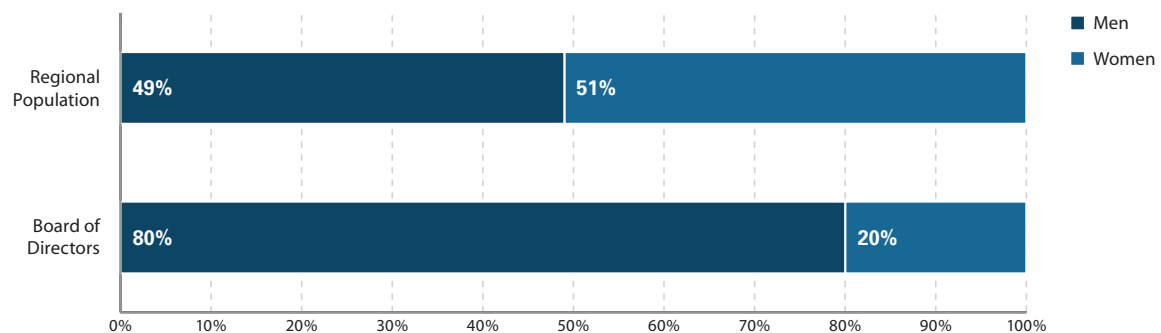
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Charles Evans	President	
Greg Brown	C Chair	Chair and CEO, Motorola Solutions
Anne Pramaggiore	C Deputy Chair	CEO, Commonwealth Edison
Nelda Connors	B	Chair and CEO, Pine Grove Holdings
William Farrow	A	CEO, President, and Director, Urban Partnership Bank
Jeffrey Joerres	C	Executive Chair, Manpower
Terry Mazany	B	CEO and President, The Chicago Community Trust
David W. Nelms	A	Chair and CEO, Discover Financial Services
Jorge Ramirez	B	President, Chicago Federation of Labor
Abram Tubbs	A	Chair and CEO, Ohnward Bank and Trust

Demographics

Chicago Regional Fed, By Race



Chicago Regional Fed, By Gender



District 8: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis

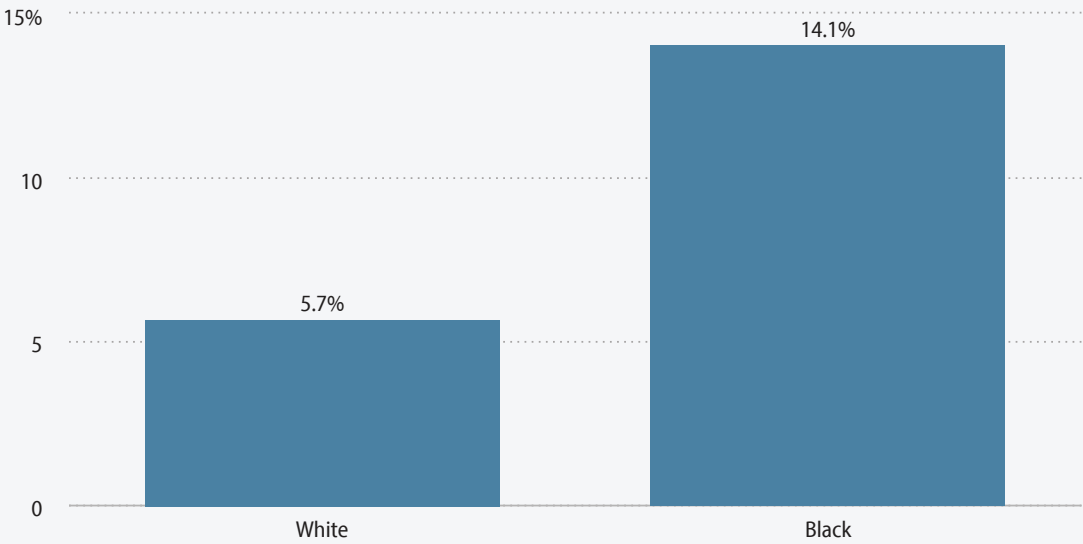
Arkansas and portions of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, St. Louis Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
Arkansas	4.4%	5.6%	6.0%	\$14.69	6.4%
Missouri	3.4%	5.0%	6.4%	\$16.69	-2.5%
Mississippi	5.6%	6.1%	7.7%	\$14.93	4.7%
Tennessee	3.9%	4.6%	6.6%	\$14.94	-5.3%
Kentucky	4.1%	5.4%	6.5%	\$15.04	-2.5%
Indiana	3.2%	4.6%	6.1%	\$15.78	-4.0%
Illinois	4.3%	5.1%	7.0%	\$17.24	-3.8%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

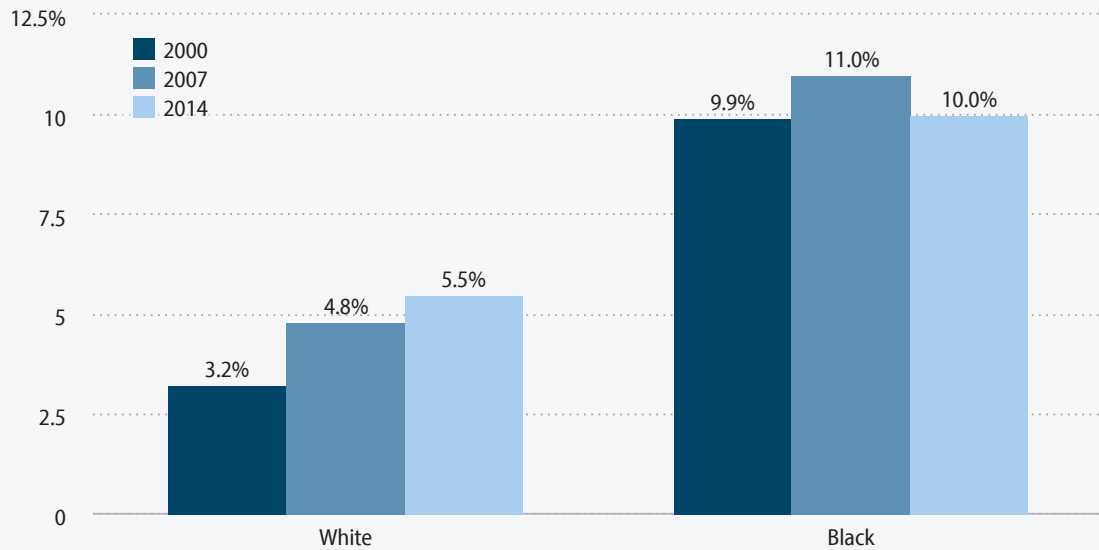
St. Louis metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

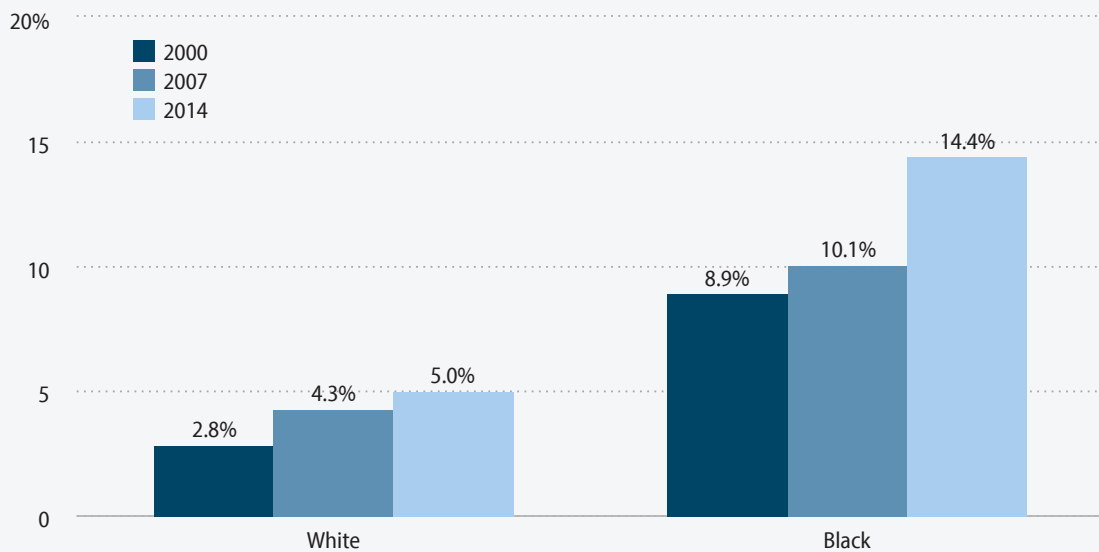
Regional Economic Data (By State)

Arkansas unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014

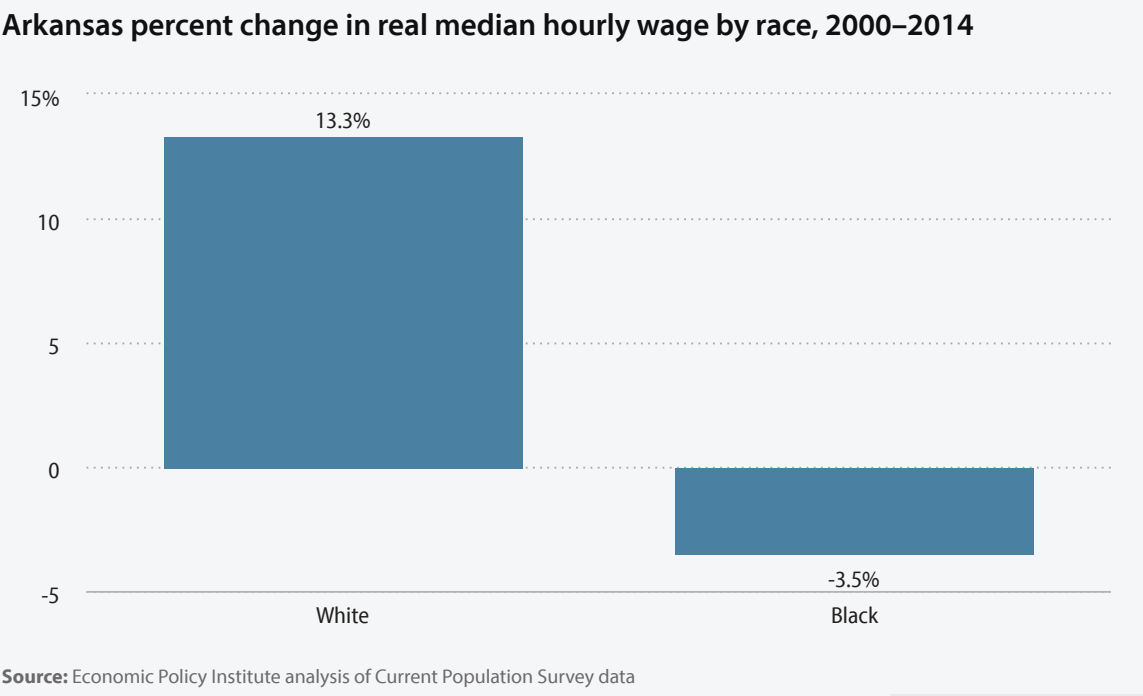


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Missouri unemployment rates by race, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

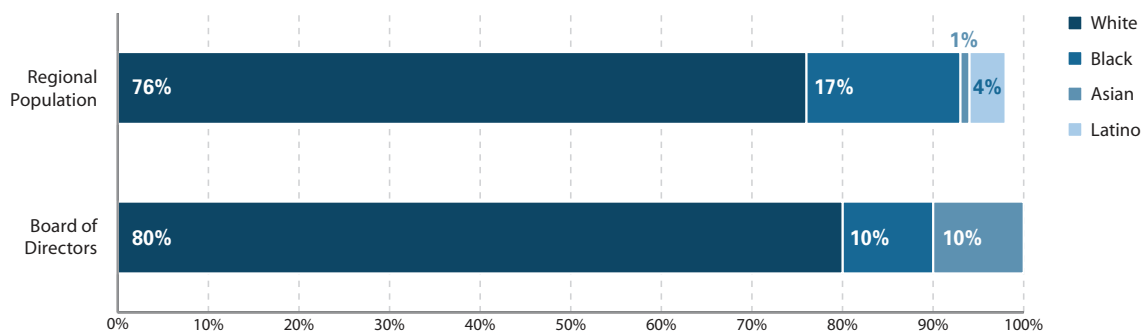


Board Members

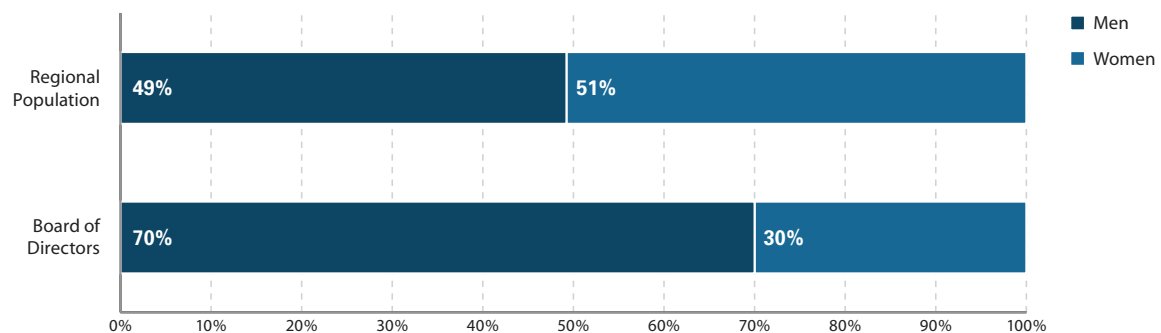
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
James Bullard	President	
George Paz	C Chair	Chair and CEO, Express Scripts
Rakesh Sachdev	C Deputy Chair	President and CEO, Sigma-Aldrich
William Chappel	A	President and CEO, The First National Bank
Sonja Yates Hubbard	B	CEO, E-Z Mart Stores
D. Bryan Jordan	A	Chair, President and CEO, First Horizon National Corporation
Kathleen M. Mazzarella	C	Chair, President and CEO, Graybar Electric Company
Cal McCastlain	B	Partner, Dover Dixon Horne
John N. Roberts	B	President and CEO, JB Hunt Transportation Services
Susan Stephenson	A	Co-Chair and President, Independent Bank

Demographics

St. Louis Regional Fed, By Race



St. Louis Regional Fed, By Gender



District 9: Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

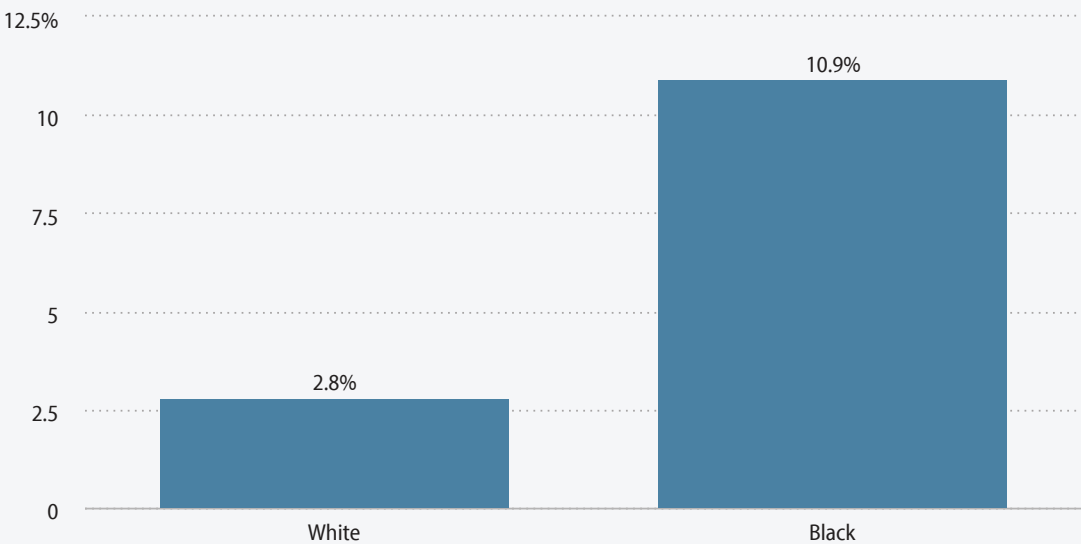
Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and portions of Wisconsin and Michigan

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Minneapolis Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
Minnesota	3.3%	4.6%	4.0%	\$18.85	-4.5%
Montana	5.0%	3.6%	4.6%	\$14.99	8.9%
North Dakota	3.0%	3.2%	2.8%	\$16.85	21.5%
South Dakota	2.3%	2.9%	3.5%	\$15.33	3.0%
Wisconsin	3.6%	5.0%	5.6%	\$17.38	3.3%
Michigan	3.5%	7.1%	7.2%	\$16.66	-7.5%

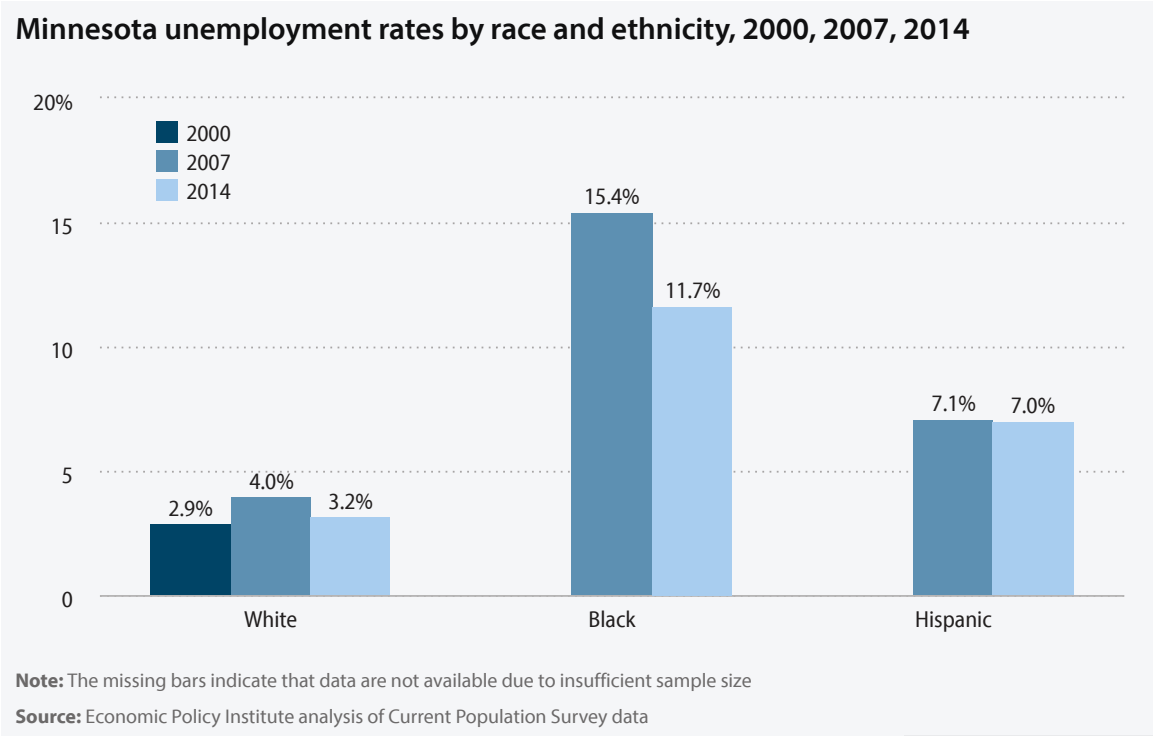
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Minneapolis metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

Regional Economic Data (By State)

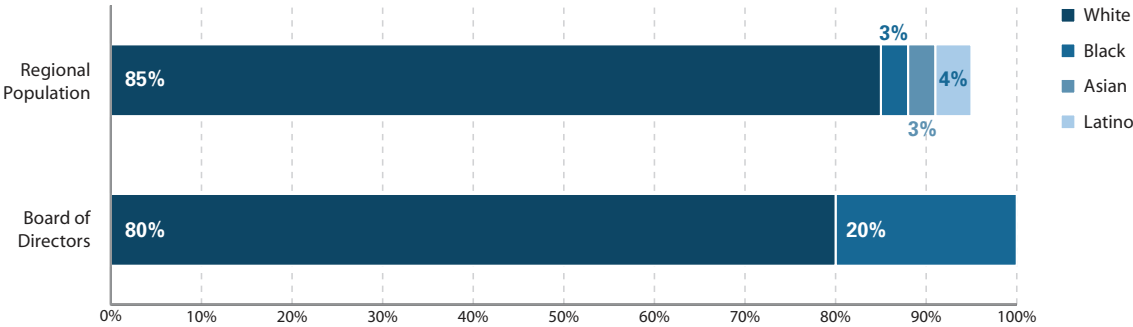


Board Members

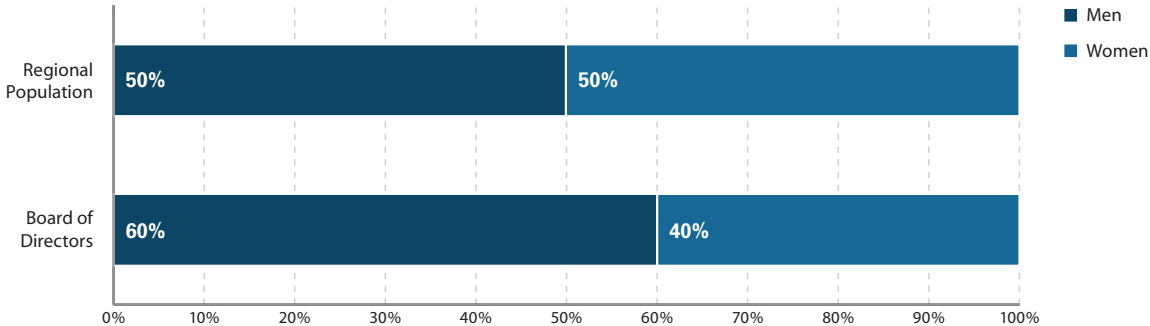
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Narayana Kocherlakota	President	
Randall Hogan	C Chair	Chair and CEO, Pentair
MayKao Hang	C Deputy Chair	President and CEO, Amherst H. Wilder Foundation
Thomas Armstrong	A	President, The First National Bank of Park Falls
Christine Hamilton	B	Managing Partner, Christiansen Land and Cattle, Ltd
Catherine T. Kelly	A	President and CEO, Minnesota Bank and Trust
Kathleen Neset	B	President, Neset Consulting Service
Randy Newman	A	Chair and CEO, Alerus Financial
Kendall Powell	C	Chair and CEO, General Mills
Lawrence Simkins	B	Chair, CEO, and President, The Washington Companies

Demographics

Minneapolis Regional Fed, By Race



Minneapolis Regional Fed, By Gender



District 10: Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City

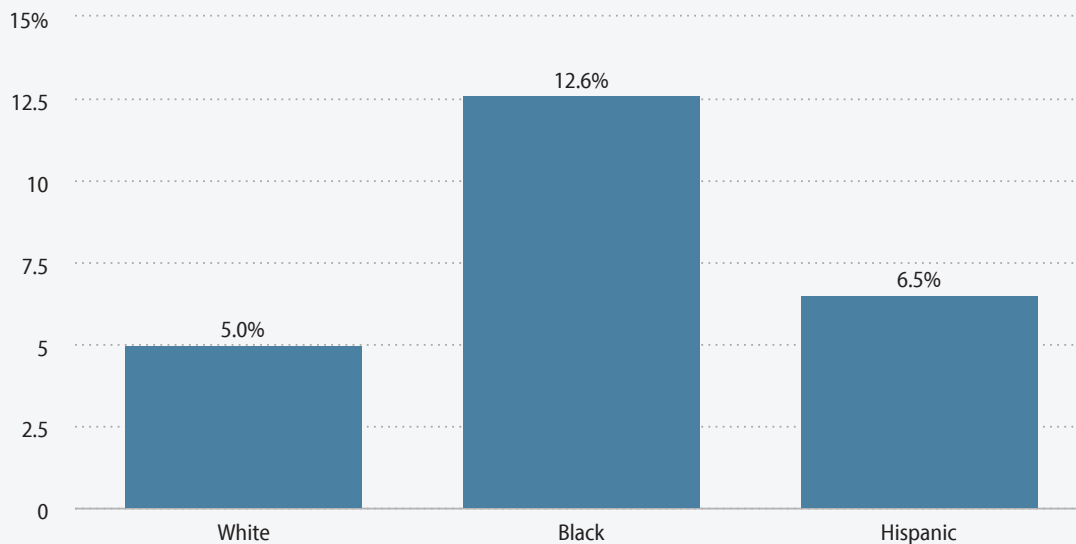
Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Wyoming, western Missouri, northern New Mexico

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Kansas City Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
<i>Colorado</i>	2.8%	3.7%	4.9%	\$18.64	-1.4%
<i>Kansas</i>	3.7%	4.1%	4.6%	\$16.12	0.8%
<i>Nebraska</i>	3.0%	3.1%	3.3%	\$15.95	9.1%
<i>Oklahoma</i>	3.1%	4.4%	4.5%	\$15.42	6.1%
<i>Wyoming</i>	3.9%	2.9%	4.4%	\$17.84	19.3%
<i>New Mexico</i>	5.0%	3.7%	7.0%	\$14.99	1.5%
<i>Missouri</i>	3.4%	5.0%	6.4%	\$16.69	-2.5%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Kansas City metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2013

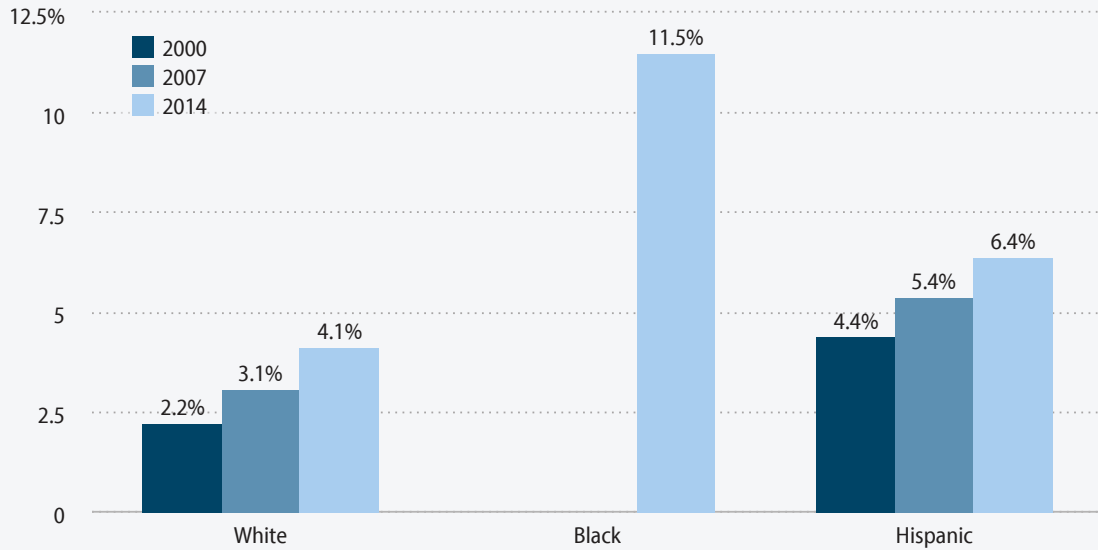


Note: Since the Current Population Survey sample size was too small to estimate a black unemployment rate in certain metropolitan statistical areas in 2014, the 2013 unemployment rates for all races and ethnicities are instead from the 2013 American Community Survey.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey and American Community Survey data

Regional Economic Data (By State)

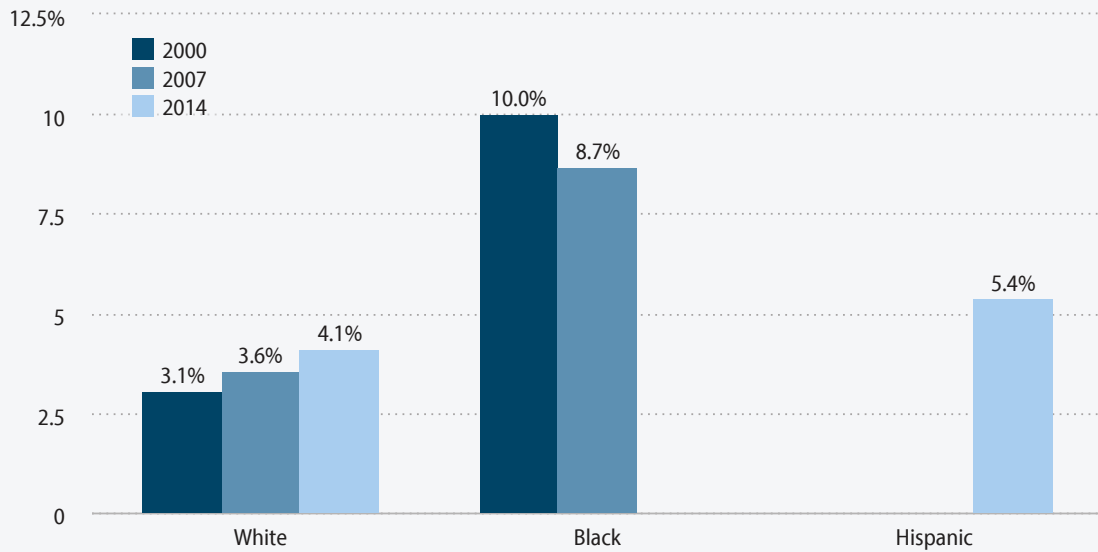
Colorado unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

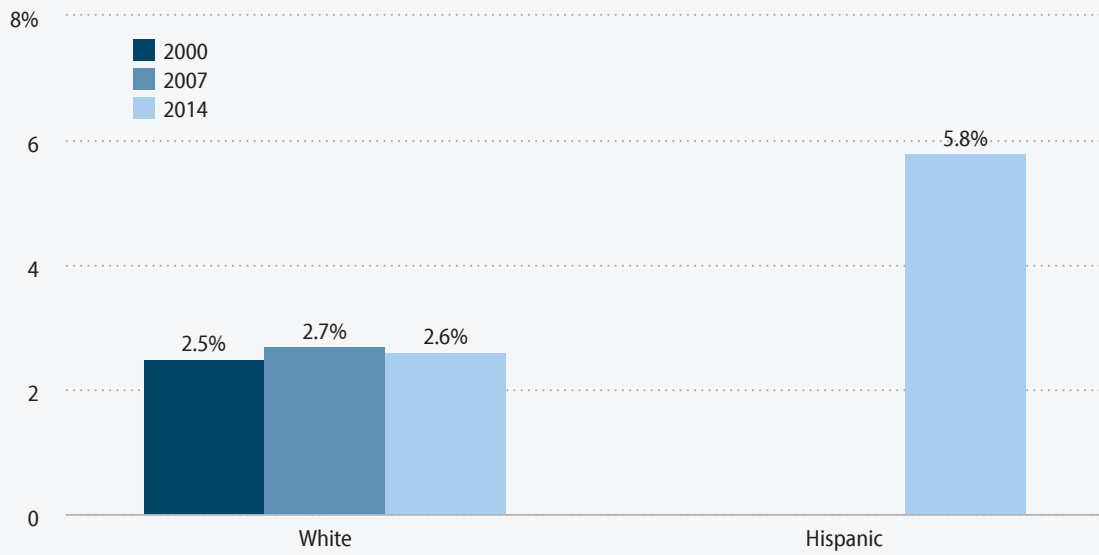
Kansas unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

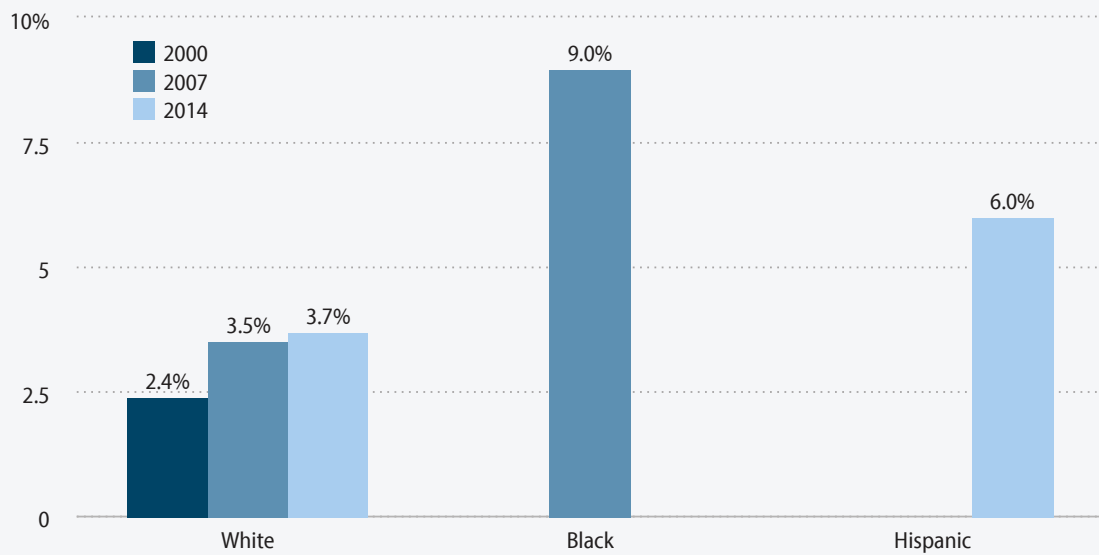
Nebraska unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

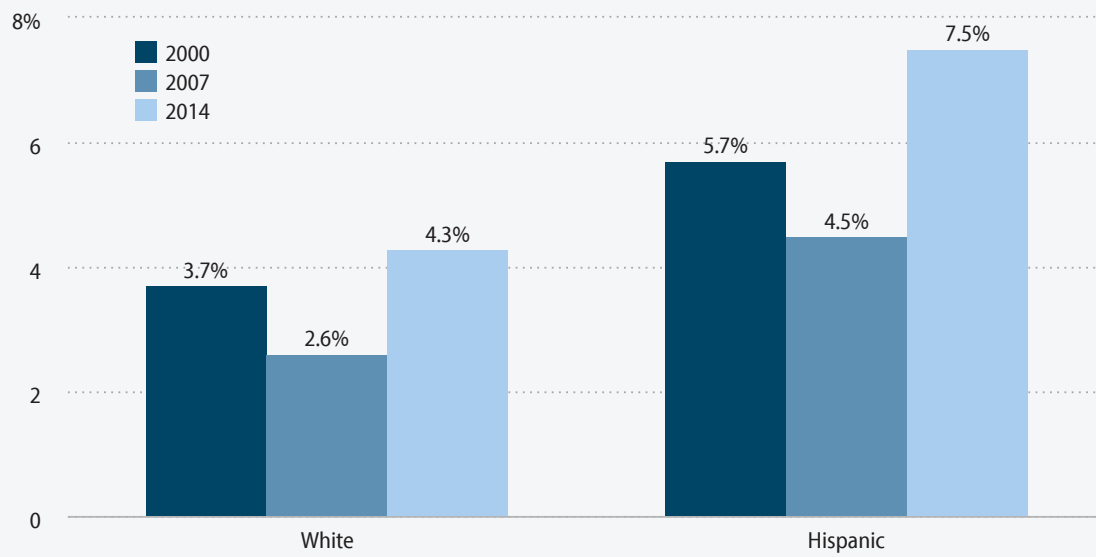
Oklahoma unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

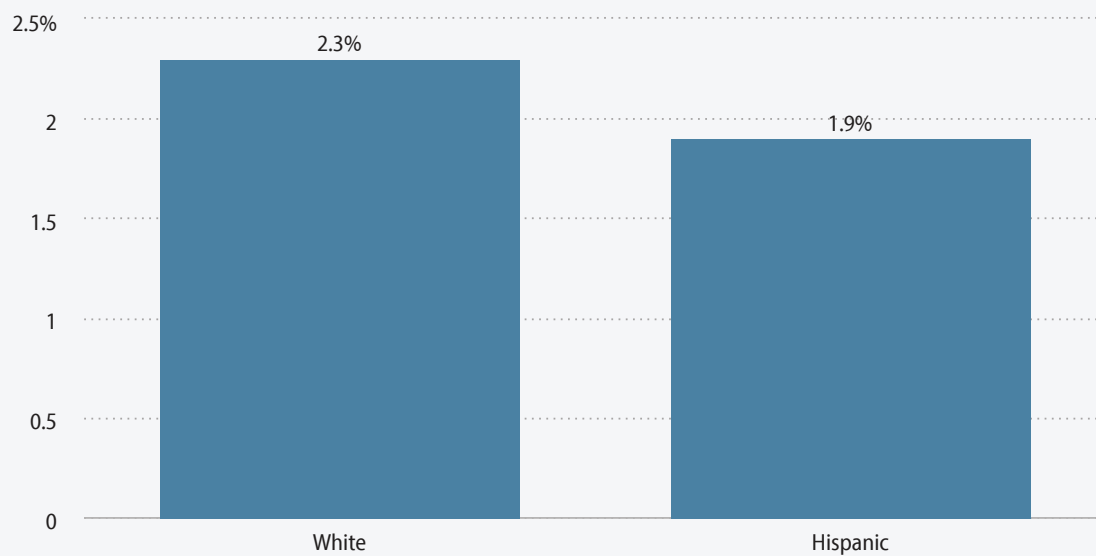
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

New Mexico unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



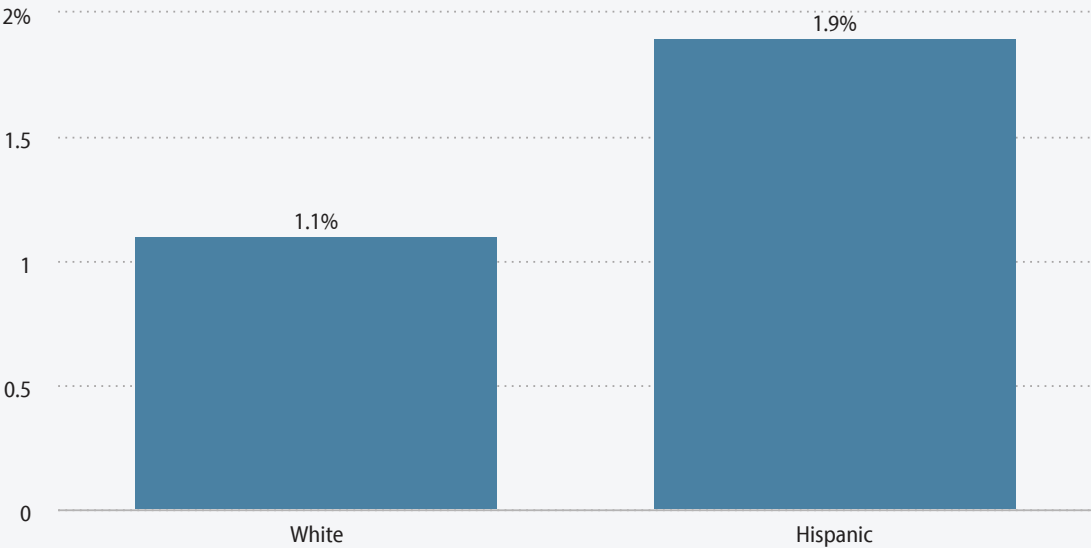
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

New Mexico percent change in real median hourly wage by race and ethnicity, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Colorado percent change in real median hourly wage by race and ethnicity, 2000–2014

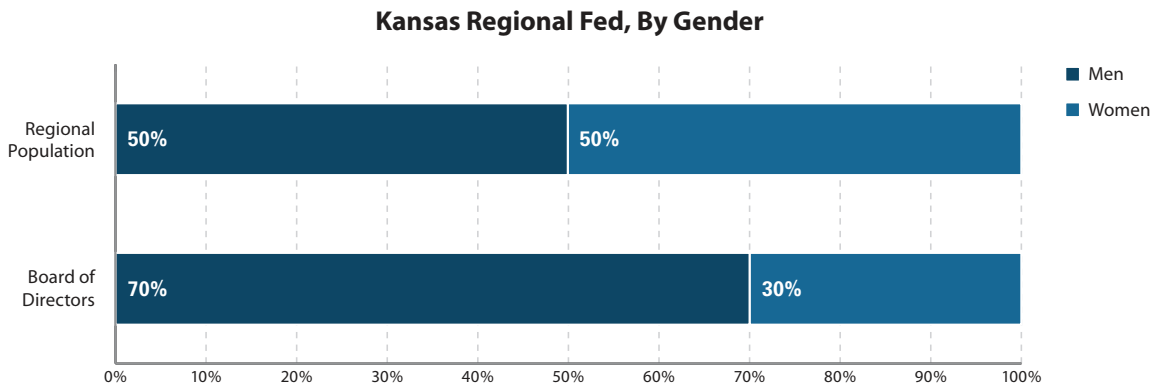
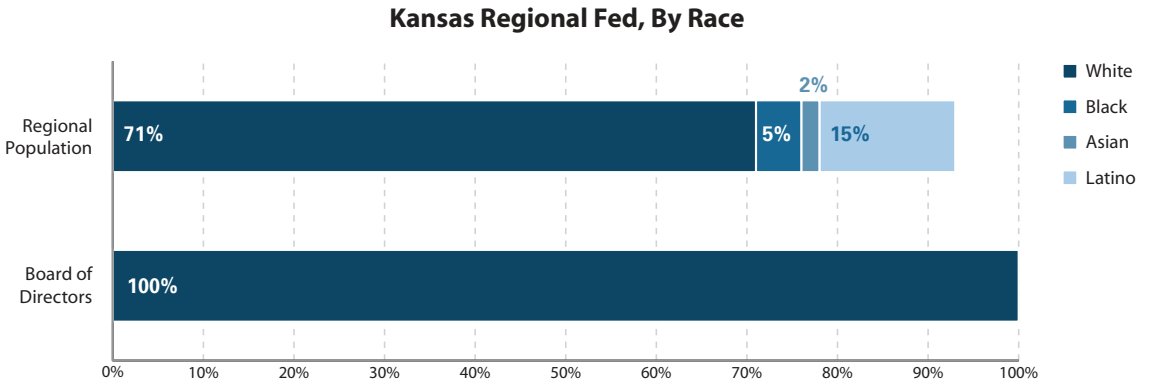


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Board Members

Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Esther George	President	
Steve Maestas	C Chair	CEO, Maestas Development Group
Rose Washington	C Deputy Chair	Executive Director, Tulsa Economic Development Corp
David Brownback	A	President and CEO, Citizens State Bank & Trust
James Farrell	C	President and CEO, Farmers National Company
Lilly Marks	B	Vice President for Health Affairs, University of Colorado; Executive Vice Chancellor, Anschutz Medical Campus, University of Colorado
Len Rodman	B	Retired Chair, President and CEO, Black & Veatch
John Stout	B	CEO, Plaza Belmont Management
Paul Thompson	A	President and CEO, Country Club Bank
Max Wake	A	President, Jones National Bank & Trust

Demographics



District 11: Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas

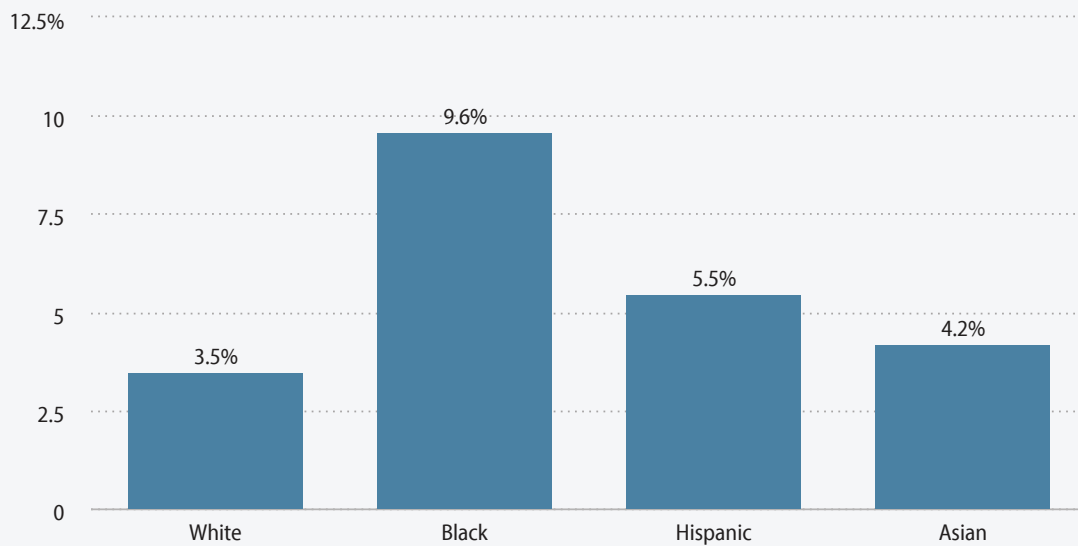
Texas, northern Louisiana, southern New Mexico

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, Dallas Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
<i>Texas</i>	4.2%	4.3%	5.0%	\$15.80	3.9%
<i>Louisiana</i>	5.4%	4.3%	6.4%	\$15.63	5.3%
<i>New Mexico</i>	5.0%	3.7%	7.0%	\$14.99	1.5%

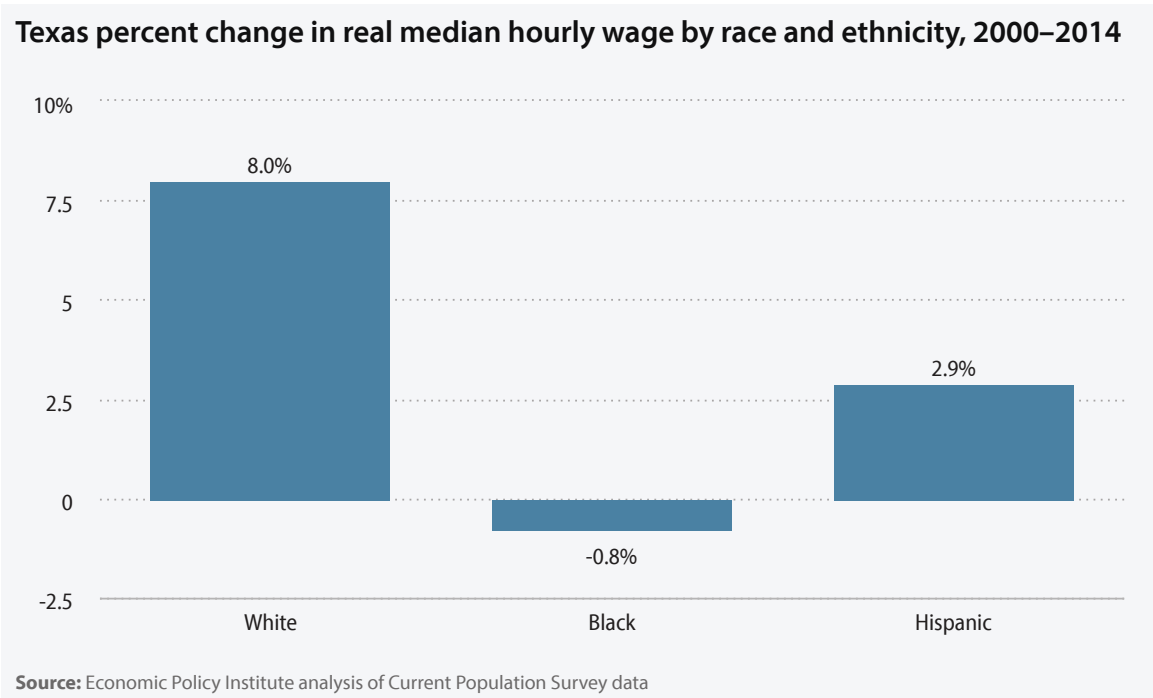
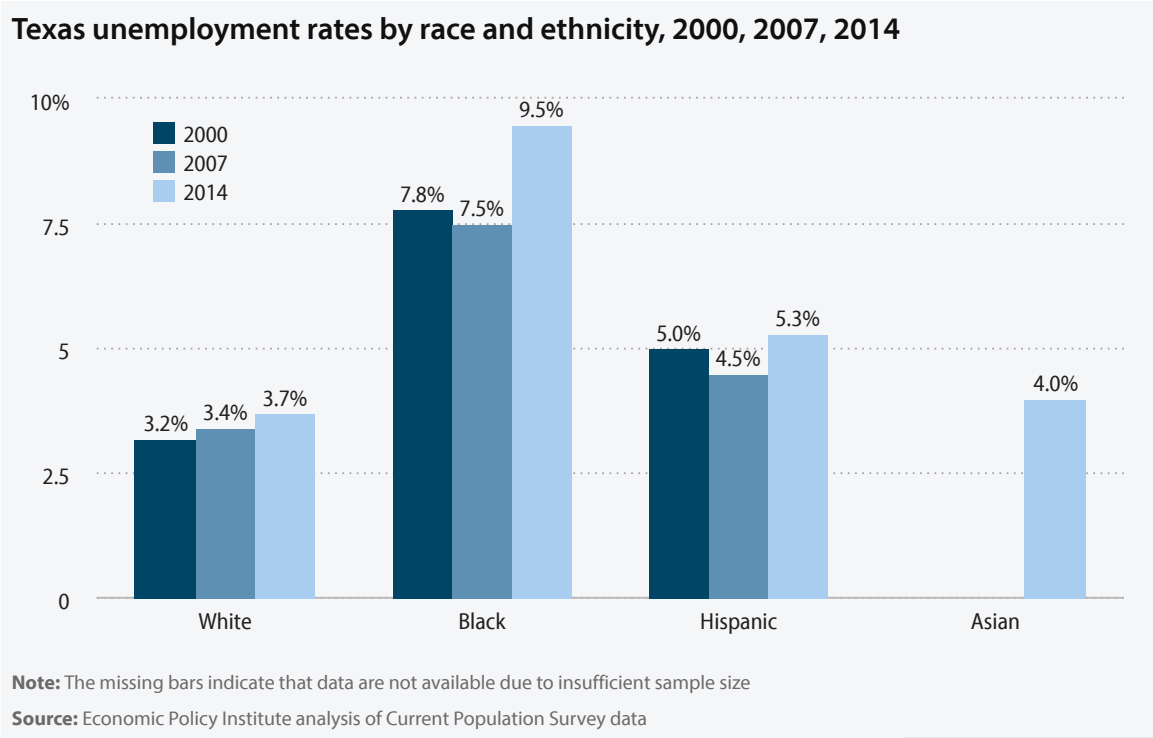
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Dallas metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey.

Regional Economic Data (By State)

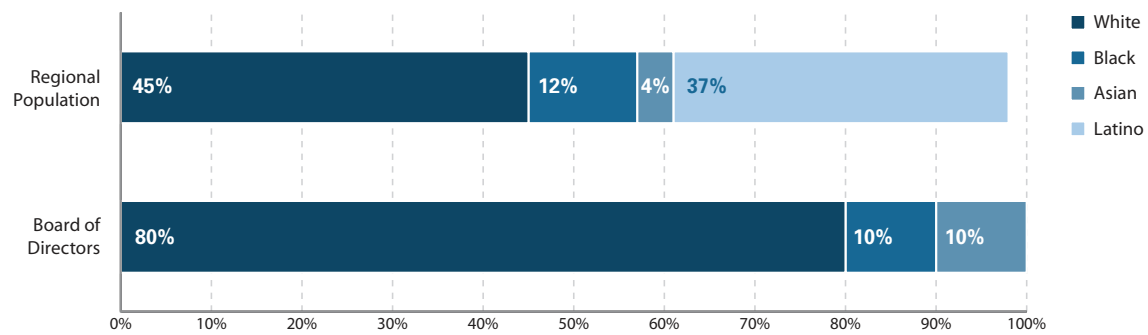


Board Members

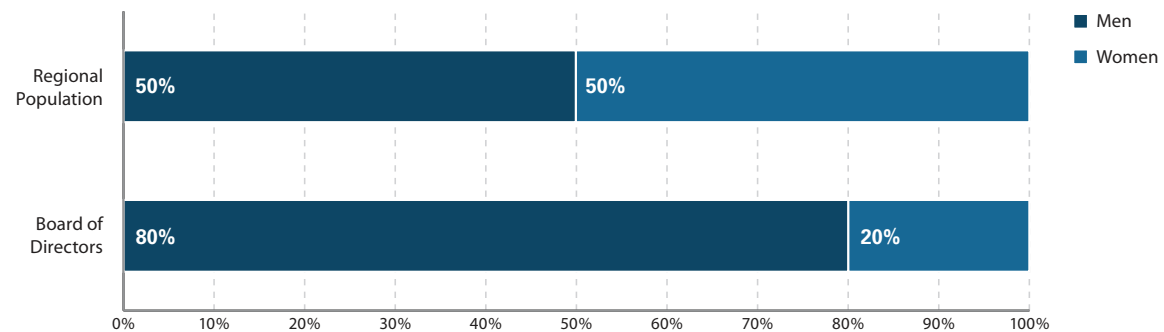
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
Richard Fisher	President	
Renu Kantor	C Chair	Chancellor, University of Houston System; President, University of Houston
Matthew Rose	C Deputy Chair	Executive Chair, BNSF Railway Co
Curt Anastasio	B	Retired President and CEO, NuStar Energy LP and NuStar GP Holdings LLC
Greg L. Armstrong	C	Chair and CEO, Plains All American
Jorge Bermudez	B	President and CEO, Byebrook Group
Christopher C. Doyle	A	President, CEO and Board Member, Texas First Bank
Jimmy Rasmussen	A	President and CEO, HomeTown Bank
Ann B. Stern	B	President and CEO, Houston Endowment
J. Russell Shannon	A	Chair, President and CEO, National Bank of Andres

Demographics

Dallas Regional Fed, By Race



Dallas Regional Fed, By Gender



District 12: Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco

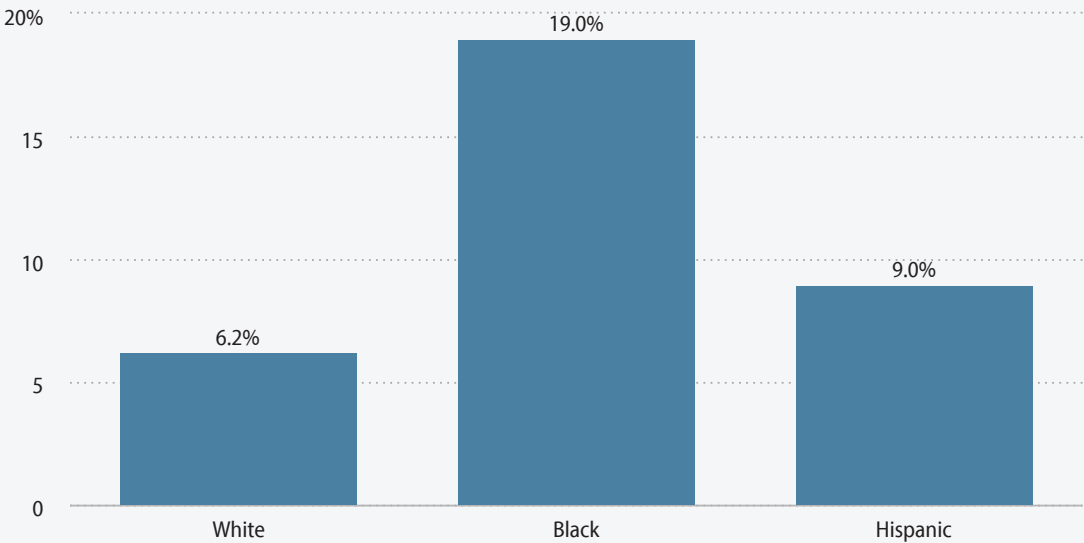
Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, plus American Samoa, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Overall unemployment rate, median hourly wages, and change in median hourly wages, San Francisco Fed region, 2000–2014

	Unemployment rate			Median wage	Change in median wage
	2000	2007	2014	2014	2000-2014
Alaska	6.7%	6.2%	7.1%	\$19.18	-4.1%
Arizona	4.0%	3.9%	7.0%	\$15.78	-3.0%
California	4.9%	5.3%	7.5%	\$17.22	-3.2%
Hawaii	4.3%	2.9%	4.4%	\$16.87	3.9%
Idaho	4.9%	3.0%	4.7%	\$15.08	-0.3%
Nevada	4.0%	4.6%	7.7%	\$14.99	-5.1%
Oregon	4.9%	5.2%	7.1%	\$17.02	1.9%
Utah	3.3%	2.6%	3.9%	\$16.42	1.0%
Washington	5.2%	4.6%	6.3%	\$19.06	2.7%

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

San Francisco metropolitan statistical area unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2013

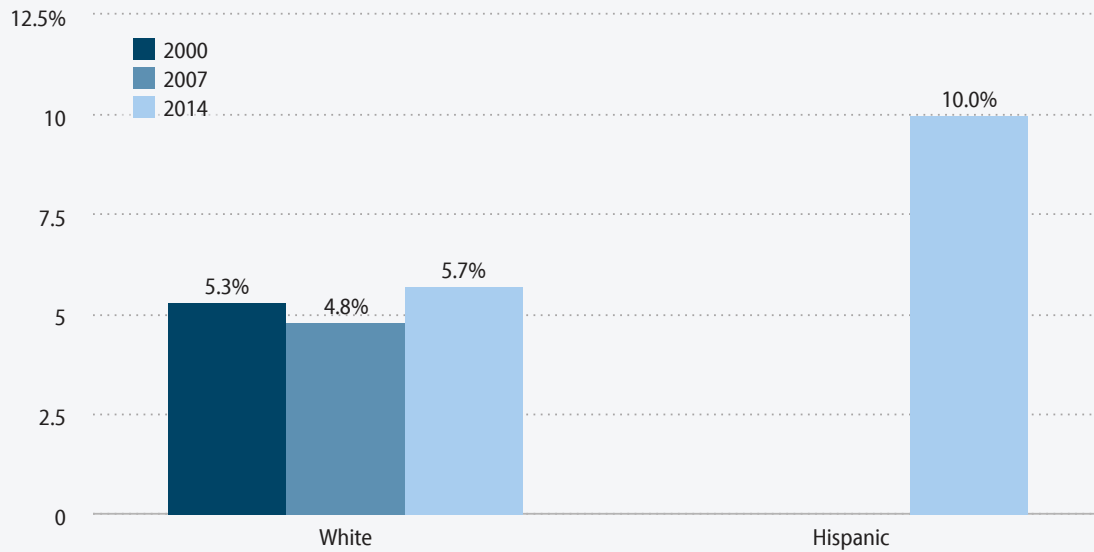


Note: Since the Current Population Survey sample size was too small to estimate a black unemployment rate in certain metropolitan statistical areas in 2014, the 2013 unemployment rates for all races and ethnicities are instead from the 2013 American Community Survey.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey and American Community Survey data

Regional Economic Data (By State)

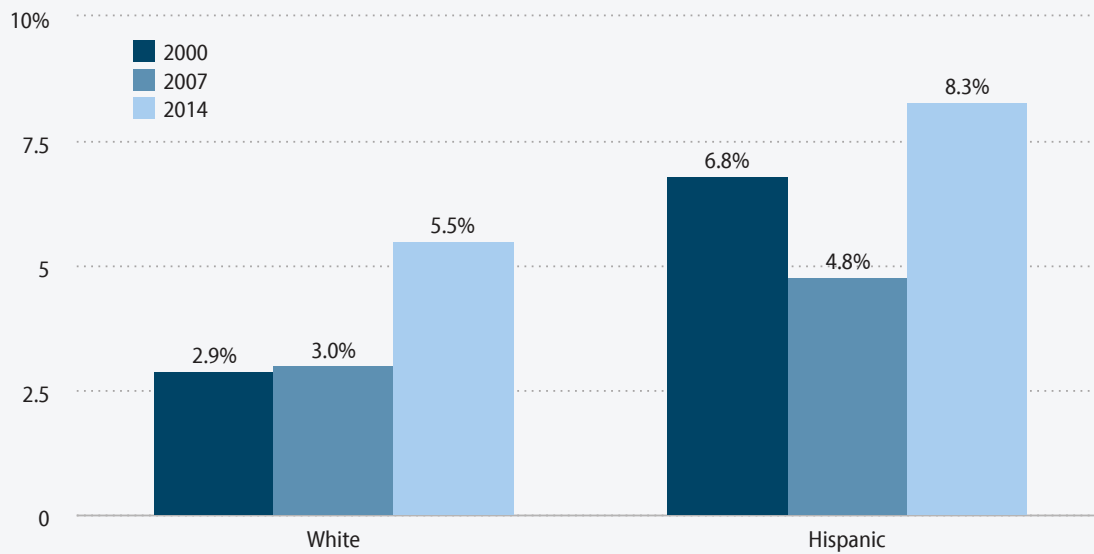
Alaska unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

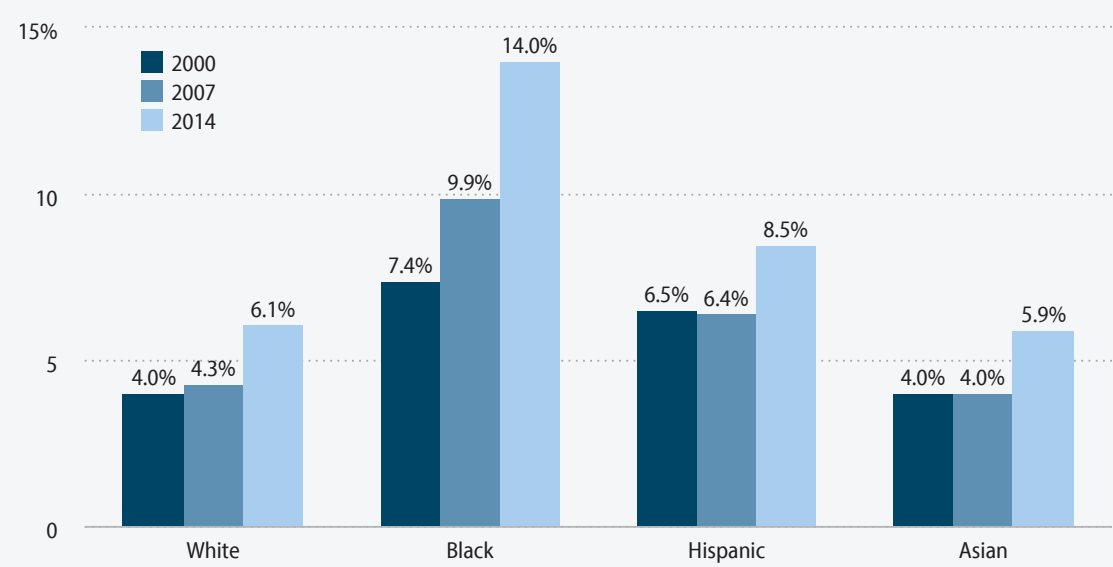
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Arizona unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



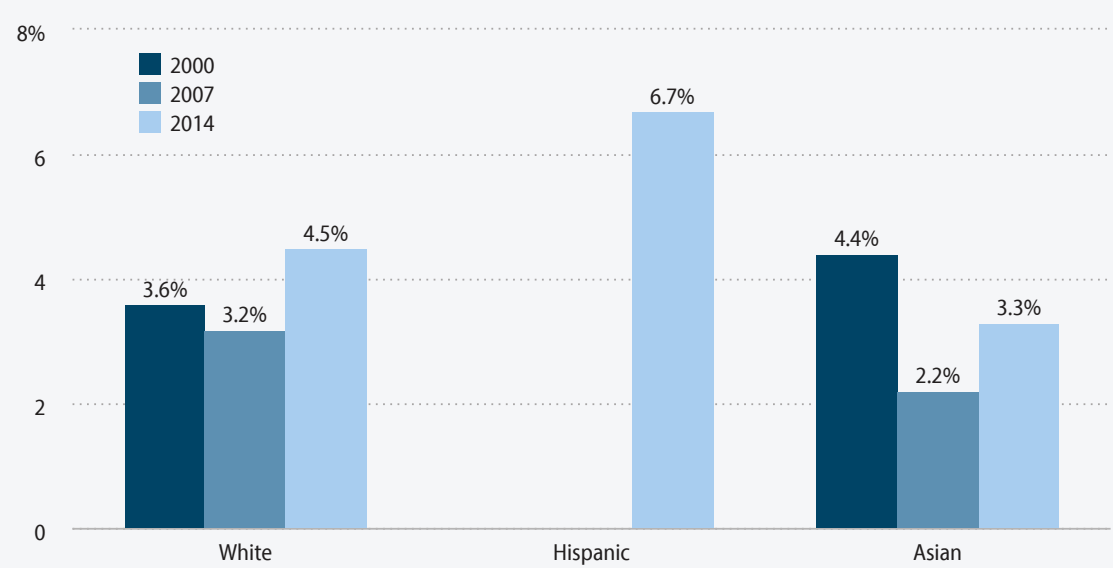
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

California unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

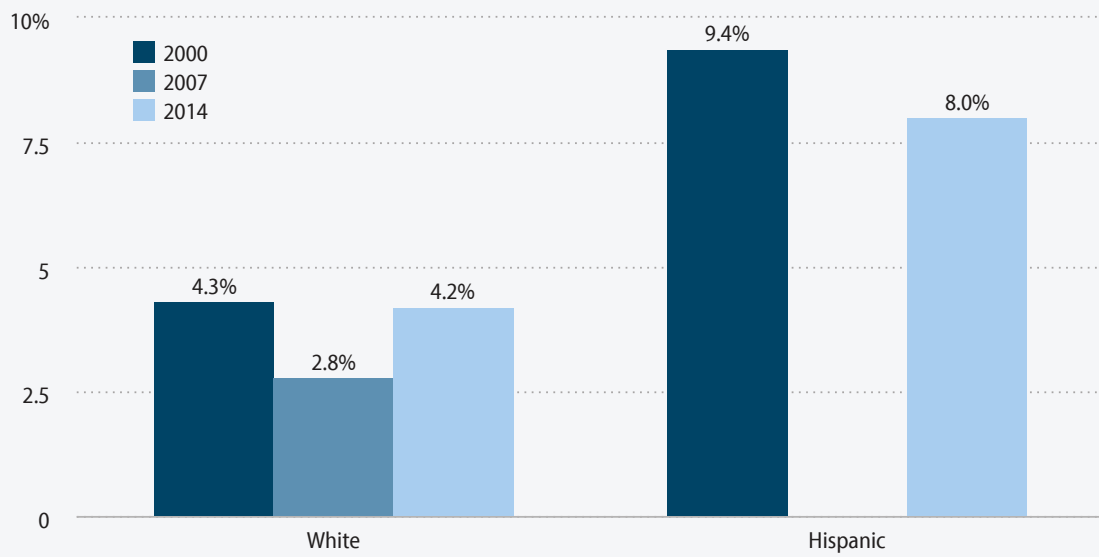
Hawaii unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

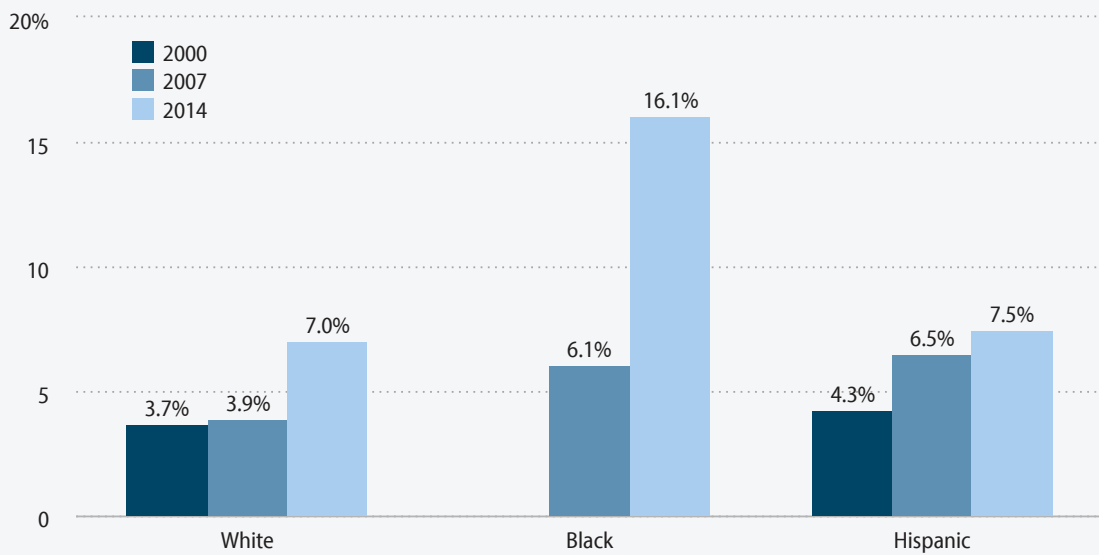
Idaho unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bar indicates that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

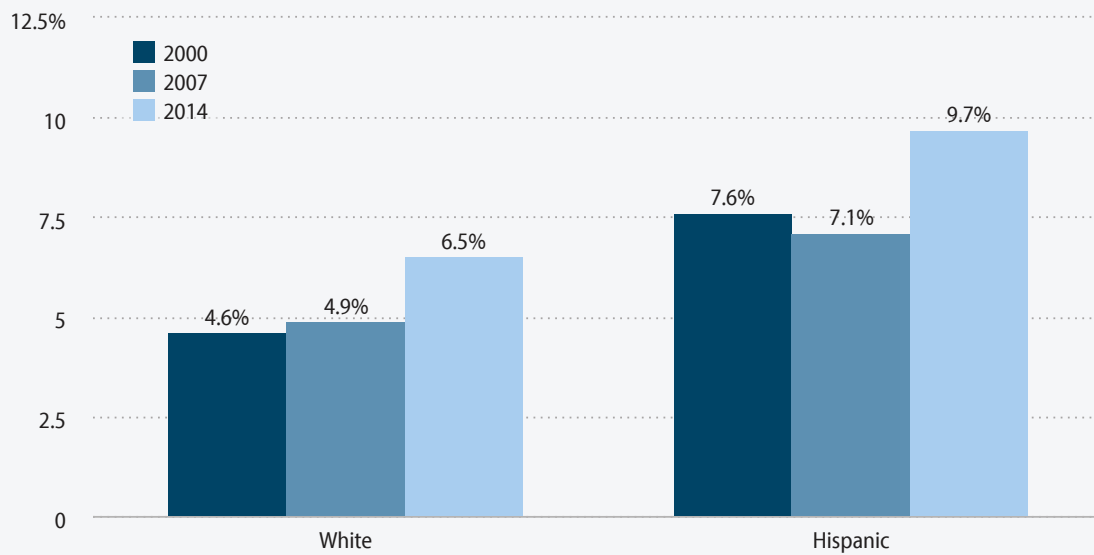
Nevada unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bar indicates that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

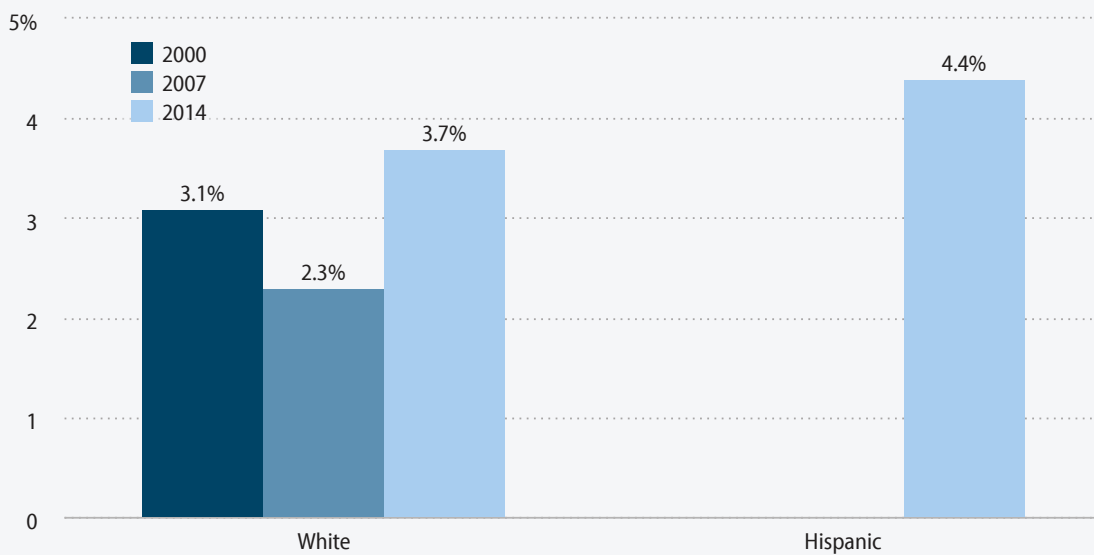
Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Oregon unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

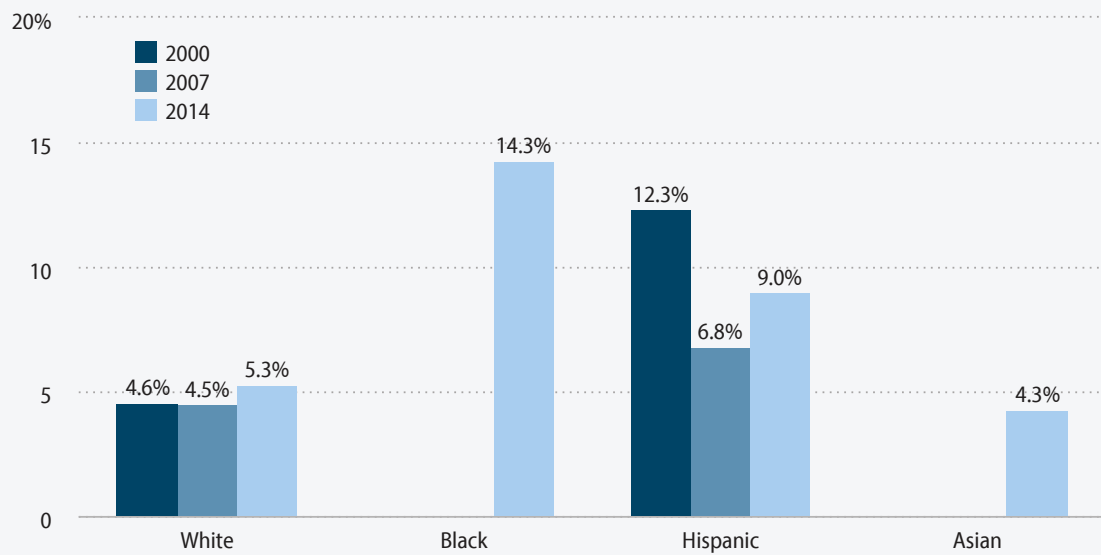
Utah unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

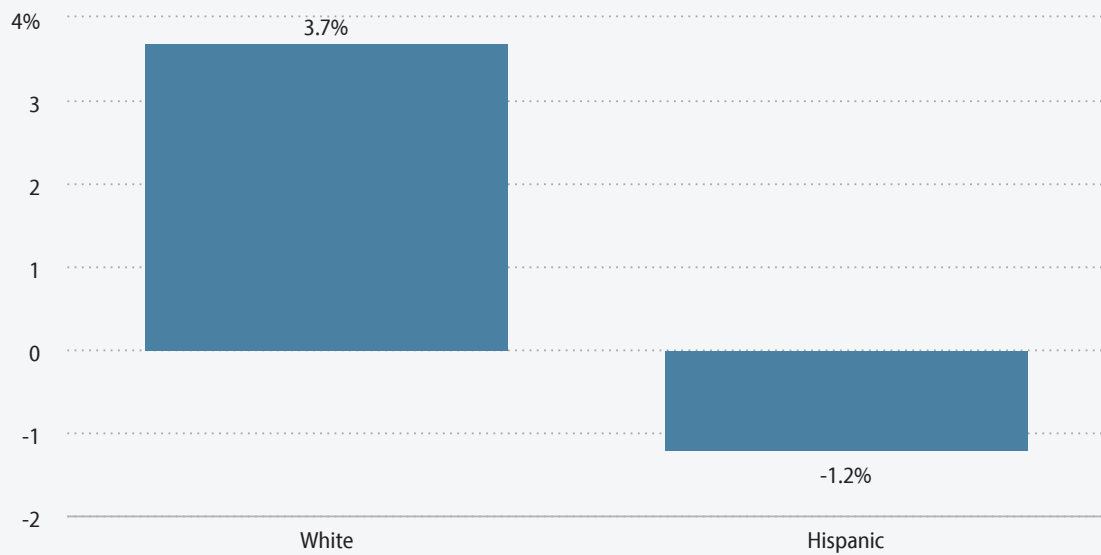
Washington unemployment rates by race and ethnicity, 2000, 2007, 2014



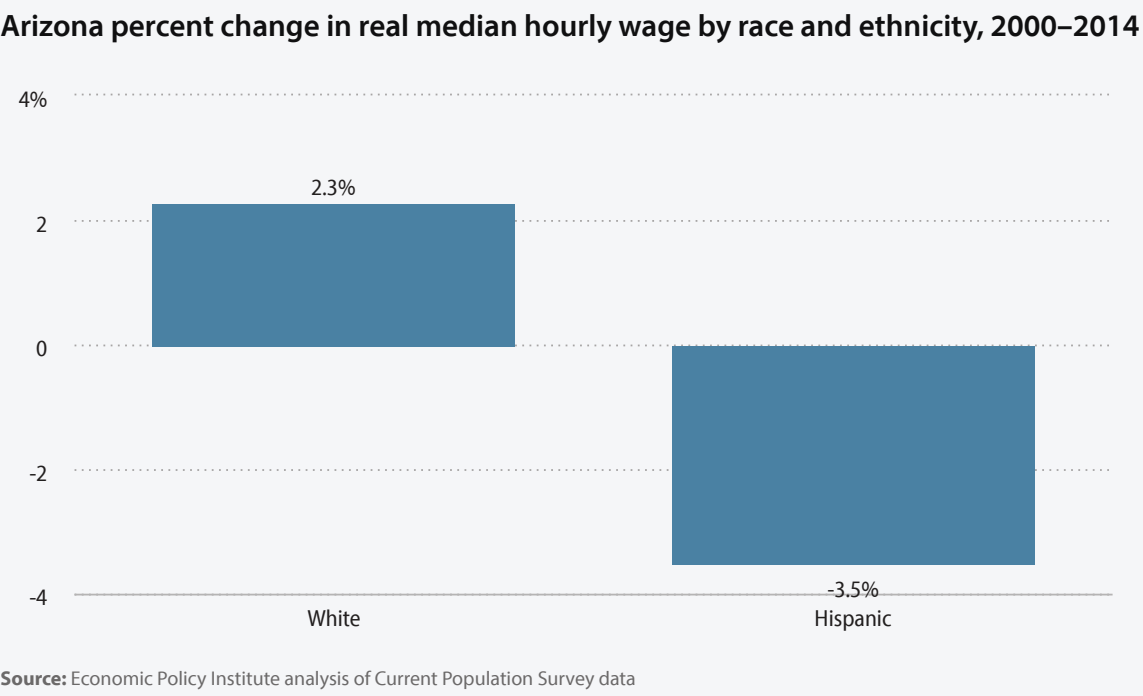
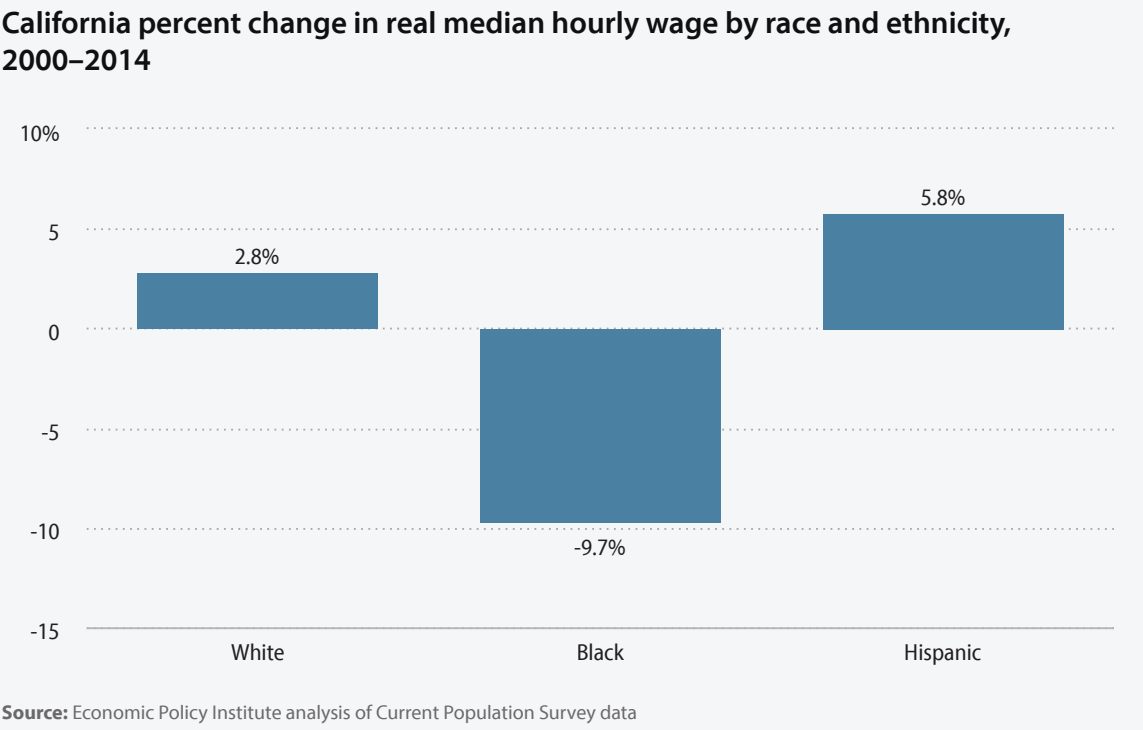
Note: The missing bars indicate that data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Nevada percent change in real median hourly wage by race and ethnicity, 2000–2014



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

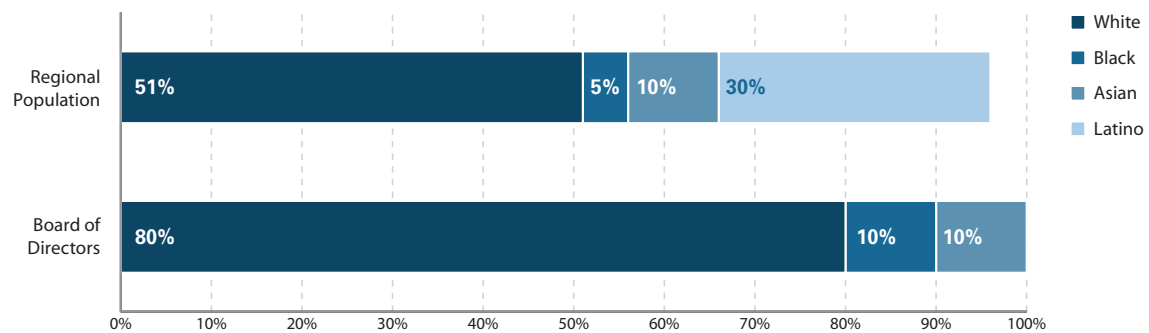


Board Members

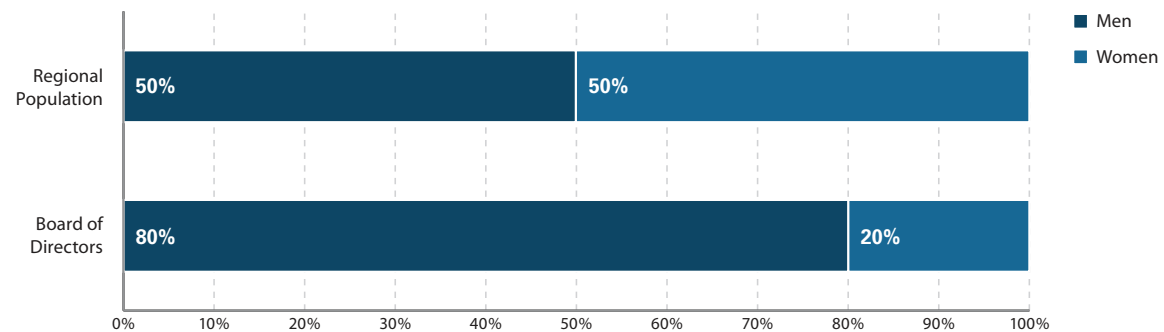
Name	Class/Role	Professional Affiliation
John Williams	President	
Roy Vallee	C Chair	Retired Executive Chair and CEO, Avnet
Alexander Mehran	C Deputy Chair	Chair and CEO, Sunset Development Company
Steven Bochner	B	Partner, Wilson, Sonsini, Goodrich, & Rosati
Megan Clubb	A	CEO and Chair, Baker Boyer National Bank
Richard Galanti	B	Executive Vice President and CFO, Costco Wholesale Corporation
Steven Gardner	A	President and CEO, Pacific Premier Bank
Peter Ho	A	Chair, President, and CEO, Bank of Hawaii
Barry M. Meyer	C	Founder and Chair, North Ten Mile Associates
Nicole Taylor	B	President and CEO, Thrive Foundation for Youth

Demographics

San Francisco Regional Fed, By Race



San Francisco Regional Fed, By Gender



Median hourly wages by race and ethnicity, by state, 2000, 2007, 2014

	White			Black			Hispanic		
	2000	2007	2014	2000	2007	2014	2000	2007	2014
<i>United States</i>	\$18.22	\$19.00	\$18.67	\$14.41	\$14.49	\$13.97	\$12.53	\$13.44	\$13.01
<i>Alabama</i>	\$16.35	\$17.17	\$16.78	\$12.56	\$12.70	\$12.87	*	*	*
<i>Alaska</i>	\$20.74	\$21.45	\$20.77	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Arizona</i>	\$18.59	\$19.93	\$19.02	*	*	*	\$12.69	\$13.29	\$12.25
<i>Arkansas</i>	\$14.11	\$15.83	\$15.99	\$12.34	\$11.40	\$11.91	*	*	*
<i>California</i>	\$21.95	\$23.36	\$22.56	\$17.47	\$18.25	\$15.78	\$12.41	\$13.71	\$13.13
<i>Colorado</i>	\$20.35	\$21.13	\$20.57	*	*	*	\$14.09	\$13.84	\$14.36
<i>Connecticut</i>	\$22.46	\$22.78	\$21.72	*	\$16.49	\$14.46	*	\$13.92	\$13.66
<i>Delaware</i>	\$19.11	\$20.78	\$19.06	\$16.32	\$15.44	\$14.48	*	*	*
<i>District of Columbia</i>	\$28.48	\$30.55	\$32.18	\$18.07	\$17.12	\$16.49	*	\$14.35	\$16.45
<i>Florida</i>	\$17.22	\$18.48	\$17.86	\$13.37	\$14.17	\$13.39	\$12.28	\$14.15	\$14.59
<i>Georgia</i>	\$17.83	\$19.26	\$18.10	\$13.82	\$14.53	\$13.44	*	\$12.51	\$11.16
<i>Hawaii</i>	\$17.58	\$20.90	\$21.18	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Idaho</i>	\$15.94	\$17.04	\$15.99	*	*	*	*	*	\$11.02
<i>Illinois</i>	\$19.44	\$18.91	\$19.00	\$15.15	\$14.98	\$13.82	\$13.46	\$12.81	\$13.02
<i>Indiana</i>	\$16.70	\$17.32	\$16.78	*	\$14.38	*	*	*	*
<i>Iowa</i>	\$16.57	\$16.83	\$16.75	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Kansas</i>	\$16.52	\$17.17	\$17.38	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Kentucky</i>	\$15.78	\$16.02	\$15.42	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Louisiana</i>	\$16.47	\$17.52	\$18.39	\$11.76	\$12.36	\$11.91	*	*	*
<i>Maine</i>	\$15.24	\$16.45	\$16.11	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Maryland</i>	\$20.71	\$22.83	\$23.07	\$17.34	\$18.54	\$18.11	*	\$16.60	\$13.35
<i>Massachusetts</i>	\$20.56	\$22.16	\$22.01	*	*	*	\$12.67	*	*
<i>Michigan</i>	\$18.90	\$17.96	\$17.50	\$15.21	\$15.87	\$12.81	*	*	*
<i>Minnesota</i>	\$20.48	\$19.52	\$19.76	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Mississippi</i>	\$16.40	\$16.73	\$17.39	\$11.27	\$12.34	\$12.12	*	*	*
<i>Missouri</i>	\$17.27	\$17.20	\$17.33	*	\$13.69	\$13.93	*	*	*
<i>Montana</i>	\$13.94	\$15.52	\$15.11	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Nebraska</i>	\$15.03	\$16.76	\$16.96	*	*	*	*	*	\$13.13

	White			Black			Hispanic		
	2000	2007	2014	2000	2007	2014	2000	2007	2014
<i>Nevada</i>	\$17.12	\$19.03	\$17.76	*	*	*	\$12.90	\$14.43	\$12.75
<i>New Hampshire</i>	\$18.09	\$19.63	\$18.24	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>New Jersey</i>	\$22.57	\$24.25	\$22.10	\$15.98	\$16.40	\$14.88	\$13.96	\$13.97	\$14.88
<i>New Mexico</i>	\$17.94	\$19.41	\$18.36	*	*	*	\$13.45	\$15.26	\$13.70
<i>New York</i>	\$20.04	\$20.96	\$20.99	\$15.69	\$15.78	\$15.69	\$13.50	\$13.95	\$14.73
<i>North Carolina</i>	\$17.00	\$17.44	\$17.55	\$13.93	\$13.17	\$12.79	*	\$11.45	\$10.11
<i>North Dakota</i>	\$13.94	\$15.40	\$17.18	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Ohio</i>	\$17.78	\$17.23	\$16.87	\$14.84	\$13.75	\$12.81	*	*	*
<i>Oklahoma</i>	\$15.24	\$16.29	\$16.20	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Oregon</i>	\$17.70	\$18.02	\$18.05	*	*	*	*	\$11.31	\$11.78
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	\$17.43	\$17.88	\$18.03	\$14.20	\$13.92	\$14.25	*	*	\$13.46
<i>Rhode Island</i>	\$19.06	\$19.02	\$19.99	*	*	*	*	\$12.09	\$12.45
<i>South Carolina</i>	\$17.41	\$17.25	\$16.98	\$14.00	\$13.56	\$12.38	*	*	*
<i>South Dakota</i>	\$15.04	\$15.35	\$15.76	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Tennessee</i>	\$16.34	\$16.18	\$15.85	\$13.58	\$13.45	\$13.10	*	*	*
<i>Texas</i>	\$18.46	\$19.32	\$19.93	\$14.53	\$13.94	\$14.41	\$12.09	\$12.38	\$12.44
<i>Utah</i>	\$16.89	\$17.21	\$17.53	*	*	*	*	\$13.68	\$13.09
<i>Vermont</i>	\$16.14	\$17.57	\$17.76	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Virginia</i>	\$19.94	\$20.36	\$20.23	\$14.56	\$15.38	\$15.03	*	\$14.84	\$14.02
<i>Washington</i>	\$19.35	\$20.89	\$20.20	*	*	*	*	\$14.70	\$13.03
<i>West Virginia</i>	\$14.99	\$16.14	\$15.69	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Wisconsin</i>	\$17.39	\$18.06	\$18.18	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Wyoming</i>	\$15.20	\$17.23	\$18.50	*	*	*	*	*	*

* Data are not available due to insufficient sample size

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data

Notes

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