

William H. Frey

Black Movement to the South, and Regional
Concentration of the Races

Report No. 98-412

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Black Movement to the South, and Regional Concentration of the Races

by William H. Frey

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Abstract: The migration of blacks to the South region from other parts of the United States reached record highs in the 1990s. Between 1990 and 1996, and for the first time in any five-year period, the South saw net gains of black migrants from the Northeast, Midwest, and West. Seven of the ten metropolitan areas, gaining the most blacks between 1990 and 1996, were in the South, which is projected to retain over half of the nation's black population for the foreseeable future. This report assembles statistics from recent US Census Bureau sources that document the recent southward surge of the nation's African American population. These include 1990-96 metropolitan area and State-level change estimates for the black population, 1990-95 regional black migration data from the 1995 Current Population Survey, and estimated black net migration for States through the year 2025 based on recent Census Bureau projections. While these trends indicate a greater black consolidation toward the South, they also show different regional concentrations for Hispanics and Asians.

Datasets used: 1990-96 US census postcensal estimates; five-year migration data from the 1995 US Current Population Survey, and from decennial US censuses; and 1995-2025 estimates of black migration from US Census Bureau projections.

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Introduction

The migration of African Americans to the South region from other parts of the United States has increased dramatically in the 1990s as black northerners and westerners continue to make the South their home. The magnetic attraction of still-booming "New South" metropolitan areas are responsible for some but not all of the continued black gain in urban and rural areas, across different parts of the region. Migrants of all ages, education levels and, now, from all other regions are adding to the accelerated inflow. Black exodus from the "Old South" has turned around decisively. The region now houses a rising share of the nation's African American population which is projected to remain well over 50 percent over the next 30 years. The greatest migration gains projected to accrue to Texas and Georgia -- accounting for a million new migrants combined -- has followed by other Southeast States: Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Florida and Tennessee (see Figure 1). This resurgence of new southern growth, among blacks, is bolstered by several recent demographic indicators that we have compiled, below, from Census Bureau sources.

(Figure 1 here)

1990-96 Changes for Metropolitan Areas

An analysis of the Census Bureau's new race estimates shows that the South accounts for a 64 percent share of the nation's black population growth over the first six years of the 1990s, compared with around a 50 percent share for the 1980s and 1970s, and much lower

shares for a succession of earlier decades. During the 1990s, for the first time, Atlanta leads all other US metropolitan areas in total black gains -- 159,830 for the 1990-96 period. In fact, seven of the top ten black gaining metropolitan areas are in the South -- Washington, DC (+129,909), Houston (+97,163), Miami (+86,812), Dallas-Ft. Worth (+ 75,390), Norfolk (+44,933) and Orlando (+43,188). Close behind are Memphis, Raleigh-Durham, Jacksonville, Charlotte, and Tampa-St. Petersburg. All have gained at least 35,000 blacks and, with one exception (Washington, DC), increased their black populations by at least 10 percent in 1990-96. All of these areas are major players in the New South's economic resurgence as centers of corporate headquarters, high-tech development, "knowledge-based" industries, and tourism. These have led to a snowballing of diversified employment and population growth in the Southeast for more than a decade and, with the 1990s, again in Texas. What the new population figures show is that these areas are a major draw for blacks (see Table 1 and Appendixes A and B).

(Table 1 here)

Although the South has attracted the lion's share of the nation's black population gains in the 1990s, several metropolitan areas outside the South have shown high rates of growth -- although these high rates often reflect smaller initial populations. Non-south metropolitan areas showing high black growth rates and significant numeric black growth in the 1990s include: Las Vegas (47 percent, +34,892), Phoenix (35 percent, +28,680), and Minneapolis-St. Paul (33 percent, +29,949).

1990-95 Black Migration Returns to the South

A second indicator comes from analyses of new 1990-95 migration patterns from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. In contrast to the last half of the 1980s, black migration to the South has increased substantially in the 1990s and, for the first time in any five-year period, the South is gaining black migrants from the three other regions: Northeast, Midwest, *and* West (see Figure 1 and Table 2). This represents a full-circle reversal of the wholesale black southern exodus which began in 1910 and was still evident in the late 1960s. During the 1965-70 period, the South lost blacks to all three regions -- 76,000 to the Northeast, 142,000 to the Midwest, and 68,000 to the West. California led the list of mostly Midwest and Northeast States that were gaining significant numbers of black migrants. With the industrial downsizing in the North and an improving racial and economic climate in the South, the 1970s brought the beginning of a reversal for these black migration flows which continued through the 1980s. Both in 1975-80 and 1985-90, the South gained black migrants, largely from the Northeast but also from the Midwest, while still losing to the West. The 1990s represents a watershed for South black migration gains, which increased from the Northeast, more than doubled from the Midwest, and switched from outflow to inflow from the West, when comparing 1990-95 with 1985-90.

(Table 2 here)

To be sure, some of the West's recent black migration reversals stem from California's dismal economy in the early 1990s. Yet, the "pull" of Texas's resurgence was

also important since the State represents the No. 1 destination for California blacks. In the early 1990s, 103,000 California blacks (over half of all black migrants from the State) relocated to the South. This contrasts with white California out-migrants who were more likely to settle in western States surrounding California. Although recent economic shifts are important, there are strong black ties to the South as evidenced by the fact that blue collar and retirement-aged blacks began leaving California in the mid 1980s, before the recent recessions.

On the other side of the country, New York represents the largest exporter of black migrants to the South where the main destinations are: Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, and Maryland. These and out-migration flows from other Northeastern and Midwest States served to fuel the recent gains in States in the Census Bureau's South Atlantic division -- accounting for 41 percent of the nation's black growth (a gain of 1.2 million blacks) over the 1990-96 period. Some of these blacks are moving to the South to retire (7 percent of 1990-95 black in-migrants to the South are over age 65) in order to return to southern roots and renew familial ties. Most are of working age and many (20 percent of recent black in-migrants to the South) are college graduates, increasing the growing black middle class populations in cities like Atlanta, Charlotte, and Washington, DC, shown to be strong "pulls" for black professionals.

New black migrants to the South moving to metropolitan areas are more likely to reside in the suburbs than long-term resident blacks. In today's South, 77 percent of the black populations live in metro areas, and 43 percent of those live in the suburbs. Yet, among new black in-migrants from other regions, 86 percent reside in metro areas, and almost three-fifths (59 percent) of those select a suburban residence. Of the 12 of the 32 fastest-growing counties for blacks are located in the suburbs of Atlanta, Washington, DC,

and Dallas (see Table 3). Because the rising tide lifts all boats, the smaller metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas in the South are also gaining blacks in the 1990s. The 1990-96 black growth rates were 12.3 percent for large metropolitan areas, 12.4 percent for metropolitan areas under one million, and 9.9 percent for nonmetropolitan areas. These smaller-sized places are especially attractive as destinations for retirees.

(Table 3 here)

Continued Black Movement to the South is Projected

Still another indicator of the strong black participation in the South's economic resurgence is revealed in our analysis of the Census Bureau's most recent projections for States through the year 2025. While not intended as predictions, these can be used to gauge what current patterns imply for the future (see Figure 1 and Table 4). The "New South" States of Texas and others in the Southeast (Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Florida, and Tennessee) are shown to be the strongest magnets for blacks. At the same time, the greatest black "donor" States -- New York, Illinois, California, Michigan and Massachusetts -- represent primary destinations for the earlier black migration waves. While the States in the nation's Midwest and West will see their black populations grow, the South is expected to attract the largest numbers of African American migrants.

In 1996, the following States had the largest black populations: New York, 3.1 million; California, 2.3 million; Texas, 2.3 million; and Florida, 2.1 million. By 2005, Texas, Florida, and Georgia are expected to rank ahead of California: New York, 3.1 million;

Texas, 2.8 million; Florida, 2.5 million; and Georgia, 2.5 million. California is expected to be in fifth place with 2.5 million black residents.

(Table 4 here)

Regional Concentration of the Races

The US population is becoming increasingly diverse, when viewed from a national perspective. Yet, minority groups are concentrating regionally. While blacks move back to the South, the nation's growing Hispanic and Asian populations are concentrating elsewhere. The new 1996 estimates show that the greatest Hispanic population gains are to non-south immigrant magnets, Los Angeles, New York and San Francisco, and these overwhelm those to any southern metropolitan area (see Table 5). This is also the case for Asians, whose 1990s' gains are primarily directed to the same three metropolitan areas.

(Table 5 here)

The regional concentration of the races is made plain when the new 1996 data are broken down by regions. More than half (53 percent) of the nation's black population resides in the South, compared with 33 percent of non-Hispanic whites, 31 percent of Hispanics, and only 17 percent of Asians. The census projections to the year 2025 do not show much change -- 55 percent of blacks, 36 percent of whites, 30 percent of Hispanics and 16 percent of Asians reside in the South (see Table 6). So immigration-dominated redistribution patterns of Hispanics and Asians and the new domestic migration of blacks are concentrating the races regionally. At the same time, black professionals, blue collar workers, and retirees are

moving to large metro suburbs, small metros and nonmetro areas in a new, more integrated, mostly white-black South -- reversing decades of out-migration exodus.

(Table 6 here)

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Table 1: Top Black Population Gains by Metro Area: 1990-96

Rank	Metropolitan Area*	1990-96 Change
1 .	Atlanta, GA MSA	159,830
2 .	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	154,446
3 .	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	129,909
4 .	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	97,163
5 .	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	86,812
6 .	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	75,390
7 .	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	75,344
8 .	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	56,493
9 .	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	44,933
10 .	Orlando, FL MSA	43,188
11 .	Boston-Worcester-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton, MA-NH NECMA	43,017
12 .	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	40,535
13 .	Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	39,753
14 .	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	38,767
15 .	Jacksonville, FL MSA	38,607
16 .	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	35,974
17 .	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	35,913

*Note: Metropolitan Areas refer to CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, defined by the Office of Management and Budget

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Race Estimates released December 19, 1997.

Table 2: Net Migration Contributions of Blacks to Northeast, Midwest, South, and West Regions, 5 Year Migration Periods, 1965-70 through 1990-95

Gains or Losses from other Regions	Black Net Migration for Period			
	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1990-95
Contributions to Northeast				
<i>Gains/Losses from</i>				
<i>Northeast</i>	*	*	*	*
<i>Midwest</i>	-6,950	-11,202	-26	-609
<i>South</i>	76,079	-124,585	-149,208	-184,355
<i>West</i>	-10,355	-34,579	-13,980	-48,626
<i>Total</i>	58,774	-170,366	-163,214	-233,590
Contributions to Midwest				
<i>Gains/Losses from</i>				
<i>Northeast</i>	6,950	11,202	26	609
<i>Midwest</i>	*	*	*	*
<i>South</i>	142,690	-14,406	-43,381	-120,860
<i>West</i>	-22,625	-44,366	-23,460	13,728
<i>Total</i>	127,015	-47,570	-66,815	-106,523
Contributions to South				
<i>Gains/Losses from</i>				
<i>Northeast</i>	-76,079	124,585	149,208	184,355
<i>Midwest</i>	-142,690	14,406	43,381	120,860
<i>South</i>	*	*	*	*
<i>West</i>	-68,671	-30,113	-12,614	63,550
<i>Total</i>	-287,440	108,878	179,975	368,765
Contributions to West				
<i>Gains/Losses from</i>				
<i>Northeast</i>	10,355	34,579	13,980	48,626
<i>Midwest</i>	22,625	44,366	23,460	-13,728
<i>South</i>	68,671	30,113	12,614	-63,550
<i>West</i>	*	*	*	*
<i>Total</i>	101,651	109,058	50,054	-28,652

Source: Author's analysis of 5 year migration data from Decennial US Censuses and 1995 Current Population Survey.

Note: Net Migration Contributions from another region equals:
(In-migrants from that region) minus (Out-migrants to that region)

Table 3: Counties With Greatest Black Percent Change, 1990-96
(among counties with greater than 2000 blacks in 1990)

<u>Rank</u>	<u>County and State</u>	<u>Inside Metro Area</u>	<u>1990-96 %Chg(1)</u>	<u>1996 Black Population</u>	<u>1996 BLACK%(2)</u>
1 .	Polk County TX	nonmetropolitan	82.5	7,337	16.3
2 .	Henry County GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	75.4	10,948	12.0
3 .	Flagler County FL	Daytona Beach, FL MSA	68.7	4,112	9.8
4 .	Bryan County GA	Savannah, GA MSA	60.5	3,759	16.9
5 .	Tyler County TX	nonmetropolitan	58.9	3,191	15.7
6 .	Coweta County GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	57.1	19,505	25.6
7 .	Loudoun County VA	Washington-Baltimore, CMSA	57.0	9,860	8.0
8 .	Dakota County MN	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MSA	56.4	5,455	1.7
9 .	Calvert County MD	Washington-Baltimore, CMSA	55.0	12,705	19.0
10 .	Gulf County FL	nonmetropolitan	53.5	3,361	25.2
11 .	Camden County GA	nonmetropolitan	53.5	9,639	22.5
12 .	Fayette County GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	50.9	5,196	6.3
13 .	Williamson Count TX	Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	50.6	10,636	5.4
14 .	Gwinnett County GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	48.4	27,519	5.8
15 .	Santa Rosa Cour FL	Pensacola, FL MSA	48.1	4,939	4.6
16 .	Effingham County GA	Savannah, GA MSA	47.2	5,441	16.3
17 .	Clark County NV	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	47.1	107,702	10.3
18 .	Stafford County VA	Washington-Baltimore, CMSA	46.1	6,446	7.8
19 .	Clark County WA	Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA	46.1	4,489	1.5
20 .	Richmond County VA	nonmetropolitan	45.8	3,209	37.8
21 .	Frederick County MD	Washington-Baltimore, CMSA	45.4	11,857	6.6
22 .	Collin County TX	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	45.1	16,223	4.4
23 .	Fluvanna County VA	Charlottesville, VA MSA	44.8	4,162	24.6
24 .	Columbia County GA	Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC MSA	44.7	10,764	12.5
25 .	Collier County FL	Naples, FL MSA	44.7	10,671	5.7
26 .	St. Johns County FL	Jacksonville, FL MSA	43.9	10,773	10.1
27 .	Washington Cour OR	Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA	43.8	3,134	0.8
28 .	Barrow County GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	43.6	4,938	13.2
29 .	Walton County GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	43.6	10,304	20.9
30 .	Osceola County FL	Orlando, FL MSA	43.4	8,914	6.6
31 .	Union County FL	nonmetropolitan	43.3	3,460	27.8
32 .	Howard County MD	Washington-Baltimore, CMSA	43.2	32,126	14.3

(1) Black % Change = (1996 Black Population minus 1990 Black Population) X 100 / 1990 Black Population

(2) 1996 Black % = (1996 Black Population) X 100 / 1996 Total Population

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Race Estimates released December 19, 1997.

Table 4: Projected Black Net Migration by State: 1995-2025

Rank	State	1995 - 2025 Projected Net Migration
1 .	Texas	584,039
2 .	Georgia	531,815
3 .	Virginia	274,410
4 .	North Carolina	252,858
5 .	Maryland	203,075
6 .	Florida	166,385
7 .	Tennessee	104,451
8 .	Oklahoma	74,338
9 .	Arizona	53,795
10 .	Colorado	53,022
11 .	South Carolina	47,698
12 .	Minnesota	46,462
13 .	Nevada	41,659
14 .	Alabama	29,378
15 .	Wisconsin	22,433
16 .	New Mexico	21,857
17 .	Delaware	21,780
18 .	Washington	20,755
19 .	Oregon	18,551
20 .	Nebraska	12,443
21 .	Kansas	12,216
22 .	Utah	9,800
23 .	Kentucky	7,052
24 .	Idaho	6,751
25 .	West Virginia	5,906
26 .	Iowa	5,455
27 .	Wyoming	2,415
28 .	New Hampshire	2,034
29 .	Vermont	1,807
30 .	Indiana	943
31 .	Montana	800
32 .	South Dakota	47
33 .	Maine	-393
34 .	North Dakota	-1,353
35 .	Alaska	-3,975
36 .	Louisiana	-4,954
37 .	Hawaii	-9,771
38 .	Missouri	-10,894
39 .	Connecticut	-11,133
40 .	Ohio	-11,715
41 .	Arkansas	-18,050
42 .	Rhode Island	-23,472
43 .	New Jersey	-36,200
44 .	Pennsylvania	-39,518
45 .	Mississippi	-72,171
46 .	District of Columbia	-102,377
47 .	Massachusetts	-108,477
48 .	Michigan	-127,858
49 .	California	-288,314
50 .	Illinois	-360,751
51 .	New York	-1,405,031

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau State Projections by Race.

**Table 5: Metro Areas With Greatest Population Gains,
1990-96 for Hispanics, Asians, and Whites***

Rank	Metropolitan Area	1990-96 Change
<i>Hispanics</i>		
1 .	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	1,028,141
2 .	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	447,867
3 .	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	250,747
4 .	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	222,144
5 .	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	221,308
<i>Asians</i>		
1 .	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	305,860
2 .	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	294,485
3 .	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	240,969
4 .	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	87,208
5 .	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	70,966
<i>Whites</i>		
1 .	Atlanta, GA MSA	320,841
2 .	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	301,505
3 .	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	245,672
4 .	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	202,944
5 .	Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA	198,702

*Non-Hispanic Whites

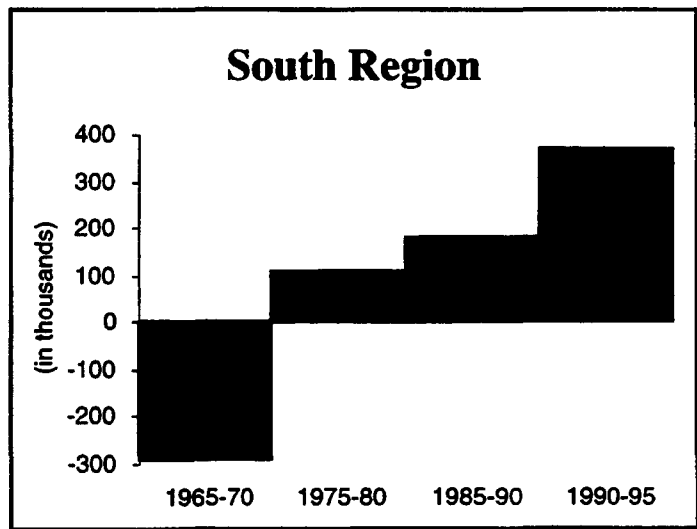
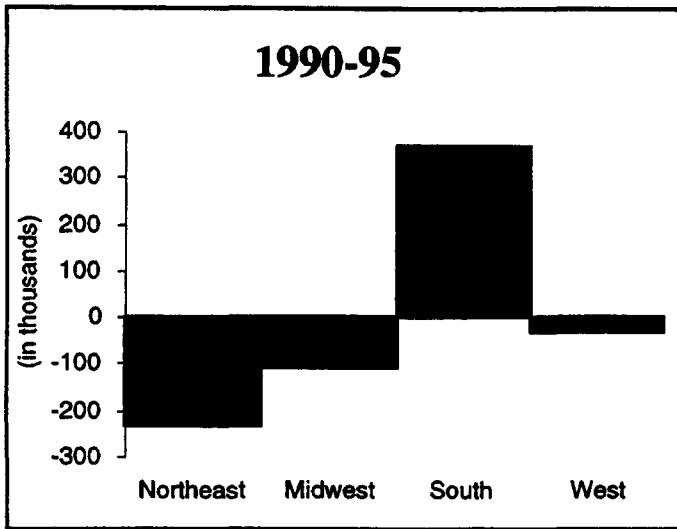
Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Race Estimates released December 19, 1997.

Table 6: Shares of Total Black, Hispanic, Asian, and White Populations in US Regions: 1996 and Projected 2025

Region	Blacks		Share of Group's Population in Region				Whites	
	1996	2025	Hispanics		Asians		1996	2025
			1996	2025	1996	2025	1996	2025
<i>Northeast</i>	18.7	18.0	15.7	14.5	18.7	18.7	20.5	18.1
<i>Midwest</i>	18.5	17.3	7.8	7.4	10.6	9.8	27.0	25.9
<i>South</i>	53.3	54.5	31.0	30.2	17.1	16.1	33.4	35.8
<i>West</i>	9.5	10.2	45.5	47.9	53.6	55.4	19.1	20.2
<i>US</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Race Estimates and State Population Projections.

Figure 1 Black Net Migration for US Regions



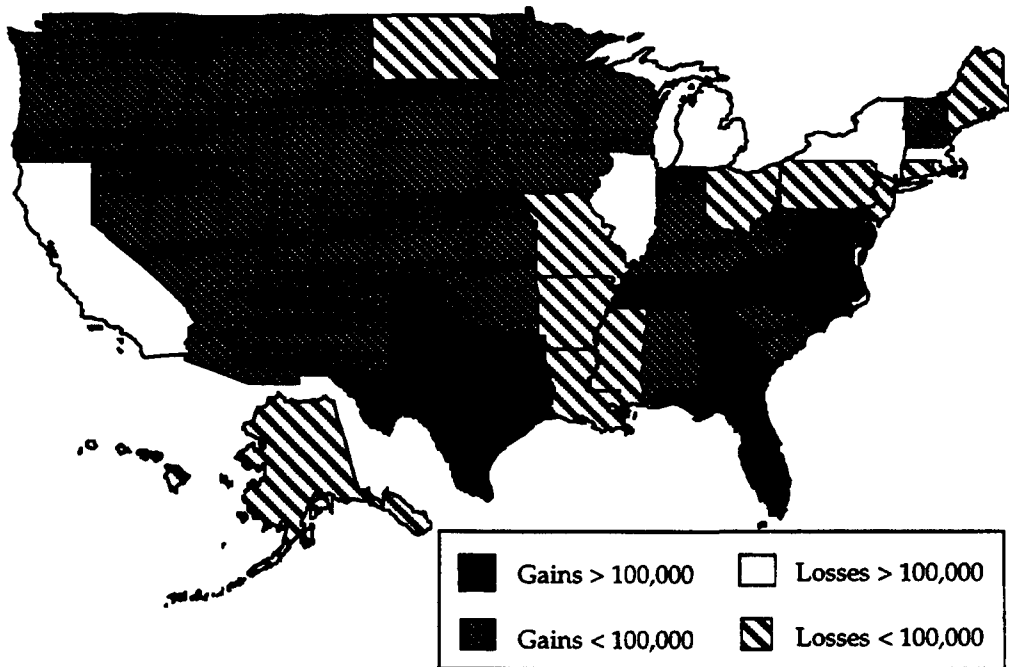
Projected Black Net Migration 1995-2025

Greatest Gains

1. Texas +584, 039
2. Georgia +531, 815
3. Virginia +274, 410
4. North Carolina +252, 858
5. Maryland +203, 075

Greatest Losses

1. New York -1, 405, 031
2. Illinois -360, 751
3. California -288, 314
4. Michigan -127, 858
5. Massachusetts -108, 477



Source: William H. Frey analysis of data from US Censuses, 1995 CPS and Census Bureau Projections

Appendix A: State Black Population Data: 1990-96

State	1990-96 Black Change		1996 Black Population	1996 Black%(3)
	Number(1)	%CHG(2)		
Alabama	80,579	7.9	1,103,986	25.8
Alaska	334	1.5	23,325	3.8
Arizona	38,177	33.0	153,888	3.5
Arkansas	28,120	7.5	403,466	16.1
California	68,654	3.0	2,371,293	7.4
Colorado	27,641	20.2	164,343	4.3
Connecticut	15,365	5.4	297,984	9.1
Delaware	21,925	19.2	136,062	18.8
District of Columbia	-58,260	-14.6	340,837	62.7
Florida	379,337	21.2	2,172,252	15.1
Georgia	313,045	17.8	2,074,548	28.2
Hawaii	7,647	27.4	35,514	3.0
Idaho	2,898	81.9	6,438	0.5
Illinois	96,206	5.6	1,806,901	15.3
Indiana	42,619	9.8	477,928	8.2
Iowa	6,516	13.4	55,047	1.9
Kansas	7,058	4.9	152,166	5.9
Kentucky	15,138	5.7	279,930	7.2
Louisiana	92,965	7.1	1,393,678	32.0
Maine	523	10.0	5,729	0.5
Maryland	171,059	14.2	1,373,129	27.1
Massachusetts	49,573	15.1	377,715	6.2
Michigan	66,423	5.1	1,368,804	14.3
Minnesota	31,424	32.5	128,056	2.7
Mississippi	69,874	7.6	986,895	36.3
Missouri	46,002	8.3	597,565	11.2
Montana	791	32.6	3,216	0.4
Nebraska	6,920	11.9	64,953	3.9
Nevada	36,982	45.4	118,440	7.4
New Hampshire	692	9.4	8,066	0.7
New Jersey	87,705	8.2	1,157,171	14.5
New Mexico	11,242	35.4	43,001	2.5
New York	127,173	4.1	3,198,235	17.6
North Carolina	154,672	10.5	1,624,259	22.2
North Dakota	568	16.0	4,111	0.6
Ohio	102,018	8.8	1,264,493	11.3
Oklahoma	17,057	7.2	253,319	7.7
Oregon	10,293	21.7	57,752	1.8
Pennsylvania	54,489	4.9	1,162,462	9.6
Rhode Island	3,604	8.3	47,050	4.8
South Carolina	70,058	6.7	1,115,869	30.2
South Dakota	1,248	37.9	4,542	0.6
Tennessee	92,241	11.8	874,592	16.4
Texas	279,363	13.6	2,336,165	12.2
Utah	4,608	38.0	16,747	0.8
Vermont	1,523	77.0	3,500	0.6
Virginia	148,247	12.6	1,322,722	19.8
Washington	35,089	22.8	189,241	3.4
West Virginia	1,177	2.1	57,600	3.2
Wisconsin	36,363	14.7	284,368	5.5
Wyoming	361	9.7	4,082	0.8

(1) 1990-96 Black Numeric Change = 7/1/96 Black Population minus 7/1/90 Black Population

(2) Black % Change = (1996 Black Population minus 1990 Black Population) X 100 / 1990 Black Population

(3) 1996 Black % = (1996 Black Population) X 100 / 1996 Total Population

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Race Estimates released December 19, 1997.

Appendix B: METRO AREA BLACK POPULATION DATA -- 1990-96

METRO AREA*	1990-96 BLACK CHANGE		1996 BLACK POP	1996 Black%(3)
	Number(1)	%CHG(2)		
Abilene, TX MSA	562	7.3	8,289	6.8
Albany, GA MSA	4,720	9.1	56,428	48.1
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	4,184	10.4	44,513	5.1
Albuquerque, NM MSA	6,365	41.0	21,905	3.3
Alexandria, LA MSA	904	2.5	37,755	29.9
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	2,045	15.3	15,386	2.5
Altoona, PA MSA	165	15.3	1,244	0.9
Amarillo, TX MSA	2,072	20.7	12,066	5.9
Anchorage, AK MSA	714	4.8	15,635	6.2
Anniston, AL MSA	8	0.0	21,677	19.1
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah, WI MSA	574	60.7	1,519	0.4
Asheville, NC MSA	1,779	12.2	16,371	7.8
Athens, GA MSA	4,921	18.7	31,279	22.8
Atlanta, GA MSA	159,830	21.2	913,943	25.8
Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC MSA	15,803	11.8	149,234	32.9
Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	21,775	26.4	104,218	10.0
Bakersfield, CA MSA	6,889	21.0	39,650	6.4
Bangor, ME NECMA	67	12.5	605	0.4
Barnstable-Yarmouth, MA NECMA	892	30.5	3,819	1.9
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	19,317	12.3	176,361	31.1
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX MSA	7,342	8.6	92,500	24.6
Bellingham, WA MSA	227	34.2	891	0.6
Benton Harbor, MI MSA	1,739	6.9	26,814	16.6
Billings, MT MSA	175	33.1	704	0.6
Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula, MS MSA	9,538	16.3	68,201	19.9
Binghamton, NY MSA	282	5.9	5,066	2.0
Birmingham, AL MSA	17,034	7.0	258,937	28.9
Bismarck, ND MSA	32	37.6	117	0.1
Bloomington, IN MSA	502	17.6	3,360	2.9
Bloomington-Normal, IL MSA	924	16.4	6,547	4.7
Boise City, ID MSA	854	72.7	2,029	0.5
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton,	43,017	15.0	330,651	5.7
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX MSA	300	31.6	1,250	0.4
Bryan-College Station, TX MSA	1,944	14.0	15,819	12.0
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	10,173	8.2	134,100	11.4
Burlington, VT NECMA	761	84.0	1,667	0.9
Canton-Massillon, OH MSA	2,884	11.4	28,229	7.0
Casper, WY MSA	51	10.8	523	0.8
Cedar Rapids, IA MSA	534	15.9	3,891	2.2
Champaign-Urbana, IL MSA	1,162	7.0	17,807	10.6
Charleston, WV MSA	42	0.3	13,996	5.5
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	-302	-0.2	154,031	31.1
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	35,974	15.4	269,929	20.4
Charlottesville, VA MSA	3,982	20.9	23,079	15.9
Chattanooga, TN-GA MSA	5,818	10.0	64,265	14.4
Cheyenne, WY MSA	152	6.6	2,438	3.1
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	75,390	4.8	1,655,501	19.3
Chico-Paradise, CA MSA	256	10.5	2,698	1.4
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN CMSA	16,516	8.0	221,699	11.5
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY MSA	3,357	9.5	38,783	20.8
Cleveland-Akron, OH CMSA	33,179	7.4	480,887	16.5
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	7,040	24.0	36,338	7.7
Columbia, MO MSA	2,290	26.9	10,788	8.6
Columbia, SC MSA	8,334	6.0	147,355	30.2
Columbus, GA-AL MSA	10,717	11.0	107,734	39.6
Columbus, OH MSA	24,180	14.7	189,062	13.1
Corpus Christi, TX MSA	1,720	12.3	15,728	4.1
Cumberland, MD-WV MSA	321	14.1	2,592	2.6
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	75,344	13.1	650,691	14.2
Danville, VA MSA	2,556	7.4	37,124	34.0
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL MSA	2,105	10.9	21,458	6.0
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	9,101	7.2	136,092	14.3

Appendix B: METRO AREA BLACK POPULATION DATA -- 1990-96

METRO AREA*	1990-96 BLACK CHANGE		1996	1996
	Number(1)	%CHG(2)	BLACK POP	Black%(3)
Daytona Beach, FL MSA	11,144	30.4	47,769	10.5
Decatur, AL MSA	1,820	12.2	16,781	12.0
Decatur, IL MSA	982	6.9	15,185	13.2
Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	18,409	18.2	119,346	5.2
Des Moines, IA MSA	2,636	17.5	17,724	4.1
Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	40,535	3.8	1,107,856	21.0
Dothan, AL MSA	1,712	6.1	29,655	22.3
Dover, DE MSA	4,102	19.6	25,073	20.5
Dubuque, IA MSA	40	11.2	397	0.5
Duluth-Superior, MN-WI MSA	300	23.3	1,586	0.7
Eau Claire, WI MSA	67	24.5	340	0.2
El Paso, TX MSA	1,765	7.7	24,681	3.6
Elkhart-Goshen, IN MSA	1,261	17.7	8,401	5.0
Elmira, NY MSA	276	5.1	5,722	6.1
Enid, OK MSA	61	3.0	2,101	3.7
Erie, PA MSA	2,386	16.4	16,952	6.0
Eugene-Springfield, OR MSA	469	21.8	2,620	0.9
Evansville-Henderson, IN-KY MSA	1,570	9.7	17,754	6.1
Fargo-Moorhead, ND-MN MSA	166	36.4	622	0.4
Fayetteville, NC MSA	1,882	2.1	90,947	31.9
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR MSA	591	32.6	2,404	0.9
Flagstaff, AZ-UT MSA	489	33.3	1,957	1.7
Florence, AL MSA	1,400	8.6	17,755	13.0
Florence, SC MSA	4,392	9.9	48,883	39.6
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO MSA	326	28.0	1,489	0.7
Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL MSA	6,793	29.7	29,652	7.8
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL MSA	9,282	29.3	41,005	14.3
Fort Smith, AR-OK MSA	1,212	17.6	8,092	4.2
Fort Walton Beach, FL MSA	3,858	29.2	17,085	10.3
Fort Wayne, IN MSA	3,707	12.0	34,497	7.3
Fresno, CA MSA	4,716	12.3	42,938	5.0
Gadsden, AL MSA	1,012	7.3	14,841	14.5
Gainesville, FL MSA	7,983	22.8	42,940	21.8
Glens Falls, NY MSA	10	0.4	2,466	2.0
Goldensboro, NC MSA	2,889	8.5	36,893	33.1
Grand Forks, ND-MN MSA	213	14.0	1,736	1.7
Grand Junction, CO MSA	98	24.0	506	0.5
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	9,679	14.6	75,801	7.5
Great Falls, MT MSA	239	22.3	1,309	1.6
Green Bay, WI MSA	316	30.8	1,343	0.6
Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC MSA	19,508	9.5	223,983	19.6
Greenville, NC MSA	4,560	12.6	40,835	34.3
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	15,255	10.5	160,801	17.9
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	6,202	15.3	46,682	7.6
Hartford, CT NECMA	4,450	4.5	104,214	9.4
Hattiesburg, MS MSA	3,586	14.6	28,216	26.2
Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir, NC MSA	2,576	11.9	24,149	7.7
Honolulu, HI MSA	6,408	24.2	32,909	3.8
Houma, LA MSA	3,495	13.0	30,306	16.0
Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	97,163	14.3	777,628	18.3
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH MSA	331	4.9	7,085	2.2
Huntsville, AL MSA	9,796	17.6	65,497	19.8
Indianapolis, IN MSA	19,136	10.4	202,510	13.6
Iowa City, IA MSA	436	21.7	2,443	2.4
Jackson, MI MSA	908	7.5	13,024	8.4
Jackson, MS MSA	13,928	8.3	182,152	43.3
Jackson, TN MSA	3,129	12.9	27,442	32.5
Jacksonville, FL MSA	38,607	21.0	222,712	22.1
Jacksonville, NC MSA	-2,047	-6.7	28,477	19.7
Jamestown, NY MSA	531	20.8	3,078	2.2
Janesville-Beloit, WI MSA	2,110	31.4	8,822	5.9
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA MSA	1,224	13.6	10,197	2.2

Appendix B: METRO AREA BLACK POPULATION DATA -- 1990-96

METRO AREA*	1990-96 BLACK CHANGE		1996	1996
	Number(1)	%CHG(2)	BLACK POP	Black%(3)
Johnstown, PA MSA	663	17.1	4,530	1.9
Joplin, MO MSA	327	24.6	1,657	1.1
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek, MI MSA	4,645	11.7	44,187	9.9
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	21,834	10.8	224,502	13.3
Killeen-Temple, TX MSA	7,919	15.6	58,532	19.7
Knoxville, TN MSA	5,659	15.7	41,662	6.4
Kokomo, IN MSA	623	14.1	5,057	5.0
La Crosse, WI-MN MSA	134	28.5	605	0.5
Lafayette, IN MSA	415	15.3	3,121	1.8
Lafayette, LA MSA	12,907	13.7	107,164	29.1
Lake Charles, LA MSA	5,564	14.4	44,189	24.7
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL MSA	12,613	22.8	67,981	15.4
Lancaster, PA MSA	2,196	19.4	13,505	3.0
Lansing-East Lansing, MI MSA	3,175	9.9	35,215	7.9
Laredo, TX MSA	131	64.9	333	0.2
Las Cruces, NM MSA	854	38.3	3,081	1.9
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	34,892	47.3	108,709	9.1
Lawrence, KS MSA	535	15.9	3,898	4.3
Lawton, OK MSA	-435	-2.1	19,845	17.9
Lewiston-Auburn, ME NECMA	81	16.5	572	0.6
Lexington, KY MSA	4,175	10.3	44,606	10.1
Lima, OH MSA	1,115	9.0	13,563	8.7
Lincoln, NE MSA	829	17.5	5,558	2.4
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	11,882	11.6	114,320	20.8
Longview-Marshall, TX MSA	4,697	11.7	44,787	21.7
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CM	15,690	1.2	1,305,764	8.4
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	6,084	5.0	128,898	13.0
Lubbock, TX MSA	1,577	9.0	19,159	8.3
Lynchburg, VA MSA	4,818	13.6	40,121	19.5
Macon, GA MSA	16,353	16.0	118,860	38.0
Madison, WI MSA	3,148	29.4	13,864	3.5
Mansfield, OH MSA	1,656	16.1	11,960	6.8
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	444	46.1	1,408	0.3
Medford-Ashland, OR MSA	118	33.2	473	0.3
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL MSA	9,765	30.4	41,932	9.2
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	39,753	9.6	452,067	41.9
Merced, CA MSA	327	3.7	9,213	4.8
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	86,812	14.4	688,225	19.6
Milwaukee-Racine, WI CMSA	26,355	12.1	243,475	14.8
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	29,949	32.7	121,612	4.4
Mobile, AL MSA	14,177	10.8	145,140	28.0
Modesto, CA MSA	877	12.9	7,680	1.8
Monroe, LA MSA	4,419	10.0	48,547	33.0
Montgomery, AL MSA	10,167	9.6	115,694	36.7
Muncie, IN MSA	667	9.2	7,885	6.6
Myrtle Beach, SC MSA	4,091	16.1	29,468	18.0
Naples, FL MSA	3,294	44.7	10,671	5.7
Nashville, TN MSA	22,564	14.7	175,915	15.7
New London-Norwich, CT NECMA	723	5.8	13,281	5.3
New Orleans, LA MSA	12,348	2.8	459,408	35.0
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, N	154,446	4.2	3,838,950	19.3
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	44,933	10.9	458,209	29.7
Ocala, FL MSA	8,183	32.2	33,586	14.6
Odessa-Midland, TX MSA	1,611	11.4	15,773	6.6
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	9,075	8.9	111,201	10.8
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	5,842	11.2	57,828	8.5
Orlando, FL MSA	43,188	28.4	195,005	13.8
Owensboro, KY MSA	278	7.6	3,920	4.3
Panama City, FL MSA	3,975	28.6	17,868	12.4
Parkersburg-Marietta, WV-OH MSA	124	7.9	1,695	1.1
Pensacola, FL MSA	11,441	20.2	68,004	17.6
Peoria-Pekin, IL MSA	2,299	9.1	27,639	8.0

Appendix B: METRO AREA BLACK POPULATION DATA -- 1990-96

METRO AREA*	1990-96 BLACK CHANGE		1996	1996
	Number(1)	%CHG(2)	BLACK POP	Black%(3)
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-C	56,493	5.1	1,159,594	19.4
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	28,680	35.3	109,922	4.0
Pine Bluff, AR MSA	990	2.7	37,956	45.7
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	15,579	8.6	196,828	8.3
Pittsfield, MA NECMA	418	16.3	2,980	2.2
Portland, ME NECMA	187	11.7	1,779	0.7
Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA	10,262	22.7	55,521	2.7
Providence-Warwick-Pawtucket, RI NECMA	3,712	9.3	43,702	4.8
Provo-Orem, UT MSA	152	38.8	544	0.2
Pueblo, CO MSA	486	20.5	2,853	2.2
Punta Gorda, FL MSA	1,425	32.6	5,800	4.4
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	38,767	18.5	248,388	24.2
Rapid City, SD MSA	485	37.3	1,784	2.0
Reading, PA MSA	1,812	16.8	12,597	3.6
Redding, CA MSA	178	16.2	1,280	0.8
Reno, NV MSA	1,665	28.5	7,498	2.5
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco, WA MSA	878	33.7	3,482	1.9
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	25,698	10.1	279,974	29.9
Roanoke, VA MSA	2,489	8.9	30,343	13.2
Rochester, MN MSA	280	35.3	1,073	0.9
Rochester, NY MSA	10,740	11.0	108,210	9.9
Rockford, IL MSA	3,251	13.7	26,934	7.6
Rocky Mount, NC MSA	3,821	6.8	59,900	41.6
Sacramento-Yolo, CA CMSA	9,296	8.8	114,760	7.0
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland, MI MSA	3,061	7.7	42,618	10.6
Salinas, CA MSA	-3,783	-15.8	20,175	6.0
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	4,132	37.6	15,113	1.2
San Angelo, TX MSA	300	7.1	4,548	4.4
San Antonio, TX MSA	7,881	8.7	98,585	6.6
San Diego, CA MSA	1,833	1.1	168,703	6.4
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	23,051	4.2	572,837	8.7
San Luis Obispo-Atascadero-Paso Robles, CA	582	9.9	6,462	2.8
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA MSA	657	6.0	11,669	3.0
Santa Fe, NM MSA	463	61.2	1,219	0.9
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	6,816	23.4	35,912	6.8
Savannah, GA MSA	14,254	16.0	103,563	36.6
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton, PA MSA	361	6.0	6,356	1.0
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA CMSA	29,011	21.3	164,942	5.0
Sharon, PA MSA	798	13.5	6,726	5.5
Sheboygan, WI MSA	294	67.0	733	0.7
Sherman-Denison, TX MSA	806	12.2	7,399	7.4
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA MSA	7,830	6.0	137,823	36.3
Sioux City, IA-NE MSA	269	13.6	2,250	1.9
Sioux Falls, SD MSA	357	45.5	1,141	0.7
South Bend, IN MSA	3,068	12.6	27,456	10.7
Spokane, WA MSA	1,342	25.8	6,534	1.6
Springfield, IL MSA	2,502	17.3	16,979	8.3
Springfield, MA NECMA	5,469	13.6	45,572	7.7
Springfield, MO MSA	876	21.8	4,902	1.7
St. Cloud, MN MSA	201	41.7	683	0.4
St. Joseph, MO MSA	304	11.2	3,007	3.1
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	22,553	5.3	448,563	17.6
State College, PA MSA	469	16.2	3,366	2.6
Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV MSA	237	4.2	5,842	4.2
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	2,826	10.1	30,746	5.8
Sumter, SC MSA	3,535	8.0	47,794	44.6
Syracuse, NY MSA	3,447	8.0	46,498	6.2
Tallahassee, FL MSA	14,684	20.6	85,876	33.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	35,913	19.1	224,393	10.2
Terre Haute, IN MSA	370	6.1	6,446	4.3
Texarkana, TX-Texarkana, AR MSA	2,349	8.8	28,943	23.4
Toledo, OH MSA	4,030	5.7	74,503	12.2

Appendix B: METRO AREA BLACK POPULATION DATA -- 1990-96

METRO AREA*	1990-96 BLACK CHANGE		1996	1996
	Number(1)	%CHG(2)	BLACK POP	Black%(3)
Topeka, KS MSA	1,197	8.8	14,813	9.0
Tucson, AZ MSA	6,474	29.3	28,543	3.7
Tulsa, OK MSA	5,252	8.9	64,048	8.5
Tuscaloosa, AL MSA	4,202	10.6	43,772	27.6
Tyler, TX MSA	4,369	13.7	36,192	21.9
Utica-Rome, NY MSA	1,211	8.5	15,459	5.1
Victoria, TX MSA	551	11.0	5,544	6.8
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA MSA	551	10.4	5,837	1.7
Waco, TX MSA	3,225	10.8	33,113	16.4
Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	129,909	7.6	1,839,778	25.7
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA MSA	525	6.1	9,086	7.4
Wausau, WI MSA	44	49.4	133	0.1
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	31,960	28.9	142,583	14.4
Wheeling, WV-OH MSA	109	3.4	3,295	2.1
Wichita Falls, TX MSA	1,447	12.7	12,870	9.4
Wichita, KS MSA	3,846	10.2	41,420	8.1
Williamsport, PA MSA	343	12.1	3,181	2.7
Wilmington, NC MSA	7,597	22.6	41,255	20.0
Yakima, WA MSA	859	34.7	3,337	1.5
York, PA MSA	2,569	22.1	14,208	3.9
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	4,010	7.1	60,817	10.2
Yuba City, CA MSA	357	9.7	4,026	2.9
Yuma, AZ MSA	935	27.7	4,307	3.4

Source: William H. Frey, University of Michigan analysis of US Census Bureau county race estimates released December 19, 1997

(1) 1990-96 Black Numeric Change = 7/1/96 Black Population minus 7/1/90 Black Population

(2) Black % Change =
 $(1996 \text{ Black Population} - 1990 \text{ Black Population}) \times 100 / 1990 \text{ Black Population}$

(3) 1996 Black % = $(1996 \text{ Black Population}) \times 100 / 1996 \text{ Total Population}$

*Note: Metropolitan Areas refer to CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, defined by the Office of Management and Budget