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## Minority Population Distribution Trends in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area

### **CURA RESOURCE COLLECTION**

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# MINORITY POPULATION DISTRIBUTION TRENDS IN THE TWIN CITIES METROPOLITAN AREA

## INTRODUCTION

This paper looks at where the Twin Cities Area's racial minority and Hispanic population lived 1990, and changes in those patterns since 1980. There are two Twin Cities minority population trends that should be considered in analyzing their location patterns. One is their rapid growth rate and the other is their relatively small number.

A rapidly growing population is less likely to concentrate since only a limited amount of housing becomes available during a given time period. This is much more true of owner-occupied single family housing than rental housing. Exceptions could result if massive out-migration from neighborhoods occurs when people of different characteristics begin moving in--the so-called "white flight" evident in the historic minority growth and distribution trends of many U. S. metropolitan areas. Many of the minorities in the region are recent immigrants from outside the region, as a result, they are likely to have less information about different locations within the region. This would seem to favor concentration if these new residents seek out or are steered to existing concentrations.

Given the relatively small numbers of minorities in the region, it is likely that many areas will continue to have very few minorities, especially if many members of a minority group choose locations in some proximity to each other. For the two largest minority groups, African-Americans and Asians, there is not just one area of concentration. Even if these areas become larger and more concentrated, these populations will still be more dispersed than if they were just in one large area. There are single areas of concentration of Indians and Hispanics, but these areas are small and contain a very small percentage of the region's Indians and Hispanics.

## Caution About Analyzing Racial Data

Three points need to be made about analyzing racial data. The first is the connection between racial analysis and racism. Because this is a sensitive issue, the purpose of the analysis should be more than simply satisfying curiosity about interesting trends and patterns. One primary purpose of looking at racial data is to measure conditions which have strong historical links to racism, as one indicator of the success of efforts to eliminate racial disparities.

Current racial population distribution patterns can be tied to past policies and behavior (often implicit) that were racially motivated. These have not disappeared, but are no longer as pervasive or overt. As these factors have diminished, individual choice has had a greater opportunity to be expressed, but this does not automatically lead to geographic dispersal. Many minority persons may prefer to live in close proximity to members of their own race--so they aren't "minorities" where they live. Choice of location is limited for a much higher proportion of minorities than whites because of large income differentials. Historic distribution patterns, apart from any significant forces related to race, are also likely to continue for decades simply due to inertia.

Second, racial analysis is in itself a racist activity. It groups people by race and compares overall statistics that generalize characteristics for the group as a whole. The purposes may be worthwhile, but categorizing, generalizing and analyzing people perpetuates viewing them not as

individuals, but as a member of a group, possessing characteristics one believes apply to that group.

Third, racial definitions are not nearly as clear as the "black" and "white" labels that have been attached to certain groups of people. Many question the validity of race as a way to describe and categorize people. This becomes particularly true where intermarriage has occurred. What makes race a "reality" is that people often act on what they believe are racial distinctions. This may be practiced by either those who identify themselves as being of a certain race or by the society as a whole that categorizes them. Data by race would not merit much attention if it weren't for the legacy of racism, and how it shows up in the data. Whether progress is being made in eliminating various disparities requires measurement.

### REGIONAL MINORITY GROWTH TRENDS

Minority population in the seven county metro area has grown at a very rapid rate for the past several decades. From 15,428 people in 1950, racial minorities<sup>1</sup> increased by 80 percent or more in each of the next four decades, reaching a 192,062 in 1990, according to the U. S. Census. This overall growth of 177,000 people compares to a white population growth over this same 40-year period of 926,000. In the past 20 years, however, minority population growth (including Hispanics), was much closer to white population growth, 158,000 compared to 257,000. The share of the region's growth attributable to minorities since 1970 was 38 percent, a very high percentage considering minorities accounted for only 9.3 percent of the region's population in 1990.

#### Twin Cities Minority Growth in a National Context

Although the region has sustained steady rapid growth of its minority populations, it remains one of the "whitest" major metropolitan areas in the United States. Comparing the 11-county census-defined Twin Cities Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) to other MSAs or CMSAs (consolidated MSAs), the Twin Cities had the lowest percentage of racial minority population (excluding Hispanics unless they identified themselves as a racial minority) among the 25 largest areas in 1990. Among the 39 MSAs/CMSAs with over one-million population, the Twin Cities racial minority percentage was less than all but Providence, Rhode Island and Salt Lake City, Utah.

#### Twin Cities Minority Populations by Racial/Ethnic Group

African-Americans remain the region's largest minority race, while Asian-Pacific Islanders are the fastest growing. Hispanics (an ethnic, not a racial category as defined by the census) have also shown rapid growth. American Indians are the smallest minority population group and also the slowest growing, but their growth rate is still well above that of the majority white population. (See table 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Data for Hispanics was not available in 1950, but would not be very large, since the 1960 census shows just 3,812.

Table 1  
POPULATION BY RACE AND HISPANIC ETHNICITY  
TWIN CITIES METRO AREA, 1970, 1980 AND 1990

RACIAL OR ETHNIC GROUP	1970	1970 TO 1980 PERCENT CHANGE	1980	1980 TO 1990 PERCENT CHANGE	1990
Total Population	1,874,612	5.9%	1,985,873	15.3%	2,288,721
White	1,824,303	3.1%	1,881,225	11.5%	2,096,659
(Hispanic)	*10,439	20.8%	12,611	56.4%	19,721
African-American	32,140	55.5%	49,970	79.0%	89,459
(Hispanic)	*301	140.5%	724	136.9%	1,715
American Indian	9,958	57.3%	15,666	49.0%	23,340
(Hispanic)	n. a.	n. a.	595	103.7%	1,212
Asian & Pacif. Island.	4,953	505.1%	29,970	115.5%	64,583
(Hispanic)	n. a.	n. a.	525	116.9%	1,375
Other nonwhite	3,026	198.8%	9,042	62.4%	14,680
(Hispanic)	n. a.	n. a.	7,411	71.3%	12,693
Total Hispanic	*11,700	86.9%	21,866	67.9%	36,716
Total Racial and Ethnic Minority	61,276	91.4%	117,259	80.7%	211,783

\* Estimate. Hispanic is an ethnic not a racial category. People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.

### SUBREGIONAL TRENDS IN MINORITY POPULATION

One purpose of looking at population distribution by race is to determine the degree to which that population is concentrated (segregated/integrated). The terms "segregation" and "integration" tend to convey values which relate to personal choice and public policy. The law no longer permits people of a particular race who want to live together to do so by restricting others for reasons of race. Should public policies, in addition to the law, be devised to bring about some degree of racial mixing in schools or in residential patterns? Conflicts arise when one group's desire for separation conflict with another group's desire to mix. These conflicts are not simply between racial groups, but reflect differing viewpoints within racial groups. It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with these policy issues, only to provide relevant background information.

Another reason to look at locational patterns is to assist in more effectively meeting the very different needs of various racial groups. This may be in terms of providing public services, helping the private sector in the marketing of various goods and services, or helping churches and other community organizations to more effectively reach out to the needs of the community.

A major concern in such analysis is the geographic scale--patterns can be analyzed from the state or national level, down to the block level. This report emphasizes distributional patterns at the census tract level, although other geographic levels such as central city/suburban, major concentrations and blocks are noted.

### City Level Racial Distribution Patterns

When comparing the central cities to the rest of the region, and looking just at the growth of minority population by city, one generally sees deconcentration over the past several decades. The exception is the Asian population, which has become more concentrated in the central cities due to the influx of Southeast Asians, many of whom have located in public housing (particularly the Hmong population). Although median incomes of minorities are significantly below the overall regional median, there are a growing numbers of middle and upper income minorities. This has made it possible for a number of minorities to find housing they can afford beyond their core area concentrations. Table 2 below shows the percentage of each racial group in Minneapolis, St. Paul and the remainder of the region since 1960. Table 3 shows that actual data for these years where available. Figures 1 and 2 show this trend graphically for all minorities as a group.

One reason for the relative deconcentration of minorities from the central cities is that the central cities' population is stable while the rest of the region is growing. If there were not other forces at work--poverty, housing discrimination, a desire to live with others of the same race--one would expect all of the growth of minority populations to occur in the suburbs, just as it has for whites. If concentration is measured as a percentage of an area's population that is minority, then a pattern of increased concentration is evident in both the central cities (see figure 2). But even with the rapid growth of minorities, whites still account for the overwhelming majority of the population in the central cities as well as the suburbs. Minneapolis has the highest percentage, but minorities (racial or Hispanic) are still less than one-quarter of its population, while St. Paul is just under one fifth. Although minority populations are growing at a rapid rate outside the central cities, they still accounted for only 4.6 percent of the population in 1990.

Minority population percentages are much higher for the population under age 18 throughout the region. The younger age of this population, combined with its higher fertility rates, will lead to continued higher rates of growth of minority population. The percentage of the under-18 population of Minneapolis that is minority was 42 percent in 1990 and in St. Paul it was 35.6 percent. In the remainder of the region it was only 6.9 percent.

### Racial Distributional Patterns In the Core

The Council's recent publication, Trouble at the Core, (Nov. 18, 1992), looks at location patterns below the city level. One particular area it defined and analyzed was the older, urban core. This area is made up of the two downtowns and their surrounding area, and the Midway area, which connects them. The core had 320,000 people in 1990, up 9,000 from 1980, but its racial minority population increased by 42,000. The minority share of the core's population went from 19 percent to 32 percent. Even so, the core's share of the region's minority population dropped slightly, from 57 percent to 53 percent. Poverty is also heavily concentrated in the core area. Nearly half (48%) of the people living below poverty in the region lived in the core area in 1990.

Table 2  
 PERCENT OF REGION'S MINORITIES IN MINNEAPOLIS, ST. PAUL AND THE  
 REMAINDER OF THE REGION, 1960 TO 1990

CITY RACE/ETHNICITY	1960	1970	1980	1990
Minneapolis				
African American	56.9%	59.1%	56.9%	53.6%
Indian	62.7%	58.5%	57.0%	52.8%
Asian and other*	50.6%	39.5%	25.8%	24.7%
Hispanic**	31.3%	23.3%	21.4%	21.5%
St. Paul				
African American	39.8%	34.0%	26.6%	22.7%
Indian	15.8%	19.1%	16.2%	15.9%
Asian and other*	16.1%	17.6%	24.3%	29.4%
Hispanic**	43.0%	38.6%	36.0%	31.3%
Remainder of Region				
African American	3.3%	6.9%	16.5%	23.9%
Indian	21.5%	22.4%	26.8%	31.2%
Asian and other*	33.3%	42.9%	49.9%	45.8%
Hispanic**	25.7%	38.1%	42.6%	47.1%

\*Hispanics have been removed from the "other non-white" category in 1980 and 1990 so that it consists primarily of Asian and Pacific Islanders. In 1990 there were 12,693 Hispanics in this category and 1,987 others (not Asian or Hispanic). In 1980 the respective figures were 7,711 and 1,631. Prior to 1980 no Hispanics were included in the "other" category.

\*\*As noted previously, Hispanic is an ethnic, not a racial category. There is thus some double counting of Hispanics, who are included in the racial categories above, except for "other" Hispanics as noted above. In the geographic splits for the 1970 Hispanic population the Spanish language count was used rather than Hispanic count, which appears to have overestimated the 1970 Hispanic populations through the sample adjustment process. This problem does not occur in 1980 and 1990 because the Hispanic data come from a complete count, not a one-in-six sample.

Table 3  
 MINORITY POPULATIONS IN MINNEAPOLIS, ST. PAUL AND THE REMAINDER OF  
 THE REGION, 1960 TO 1990

CITY	1960	1970	1980	1990
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>				
Minneapolis				
African American	11,785	19,005	28,433	47,948
Indian	2,077	5,829	8,933	12,335
Asian and other*	n.a.	n.a.	8,162	16,447
Hispanic	n.a.	n.a.	4,684	7,900
St. Paul				
African American	8,240	10,930	13,305	20,083
Indian	524	1,906	2,358	3,697
Asian and other*	n.a.	n.a.	7,689	19,603
Hispanic**	n.a.	n.a.	7,864	11,746
Remainder of Region				
African American	886	2,205	8,232	21,428
Indian	710	2,223	4,195	7,308
Asian and other*	n.a.	n.a.	15,750	28,533
Hispanic**	n.a.	n.a.	9,318	17,070

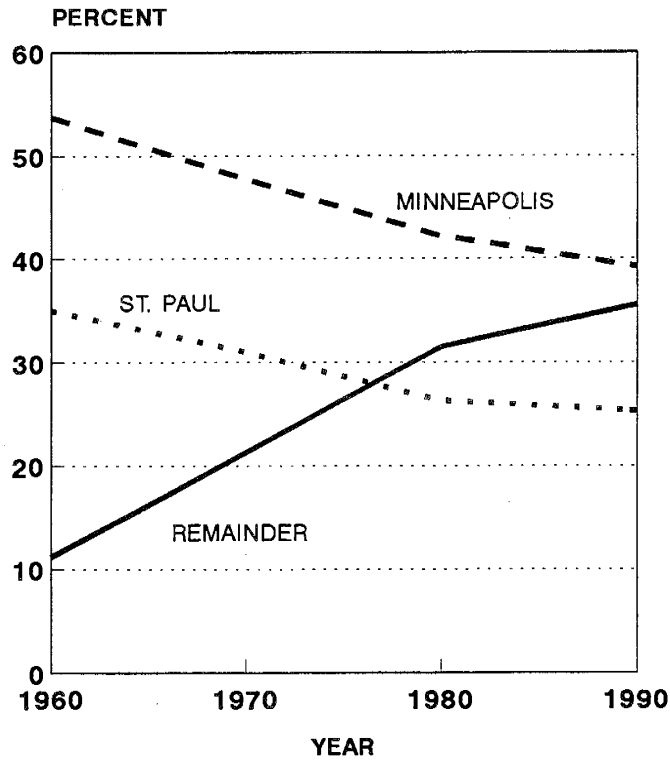
\*Hispanics have been removed from the "other non-white" category in 1980 and 1990 so that it consists primarily of Asian and Pacific Islanders.

### RACIAL DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS BY CENSUS TRACT

The generalized area-wide descriptions of racial patterns, as discussed previously, are limited in what they show. Data for small areas better depicts racial distribution. The U. S. census provides a useful set of areas with its census tracts. These are roughly equal in population (mostly between 3,000 and 6,000), regular in shape and to the extent practical, homogeneous in population characteristics. These areas also serve as the unit of collection for the vast array of data collected in the decennial census. One such data item is race by place of residence, for which no other source exists. There are just over 600 tracts in the Twin Cities seven-county area.

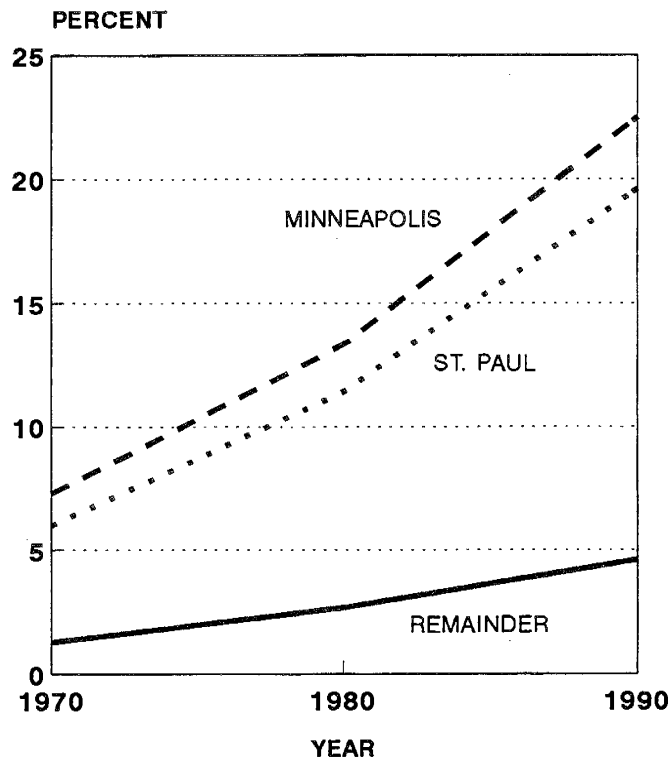
The series of race distribution maps which follow uses census tract areas and data. Because so little minority population is located in the sparsely populated rural portions of the region, the maps show mostly the central cities and first ring of suburbs. The distribution of minority population by tract for the entire region is shown on Map 1. Only a few census tracts outside

Figure 1  
 SHARE OF REGION'S MINORITIES:  
 MINNEAPOLIS, ST. PAUL & REMAINDER, 1960-1990



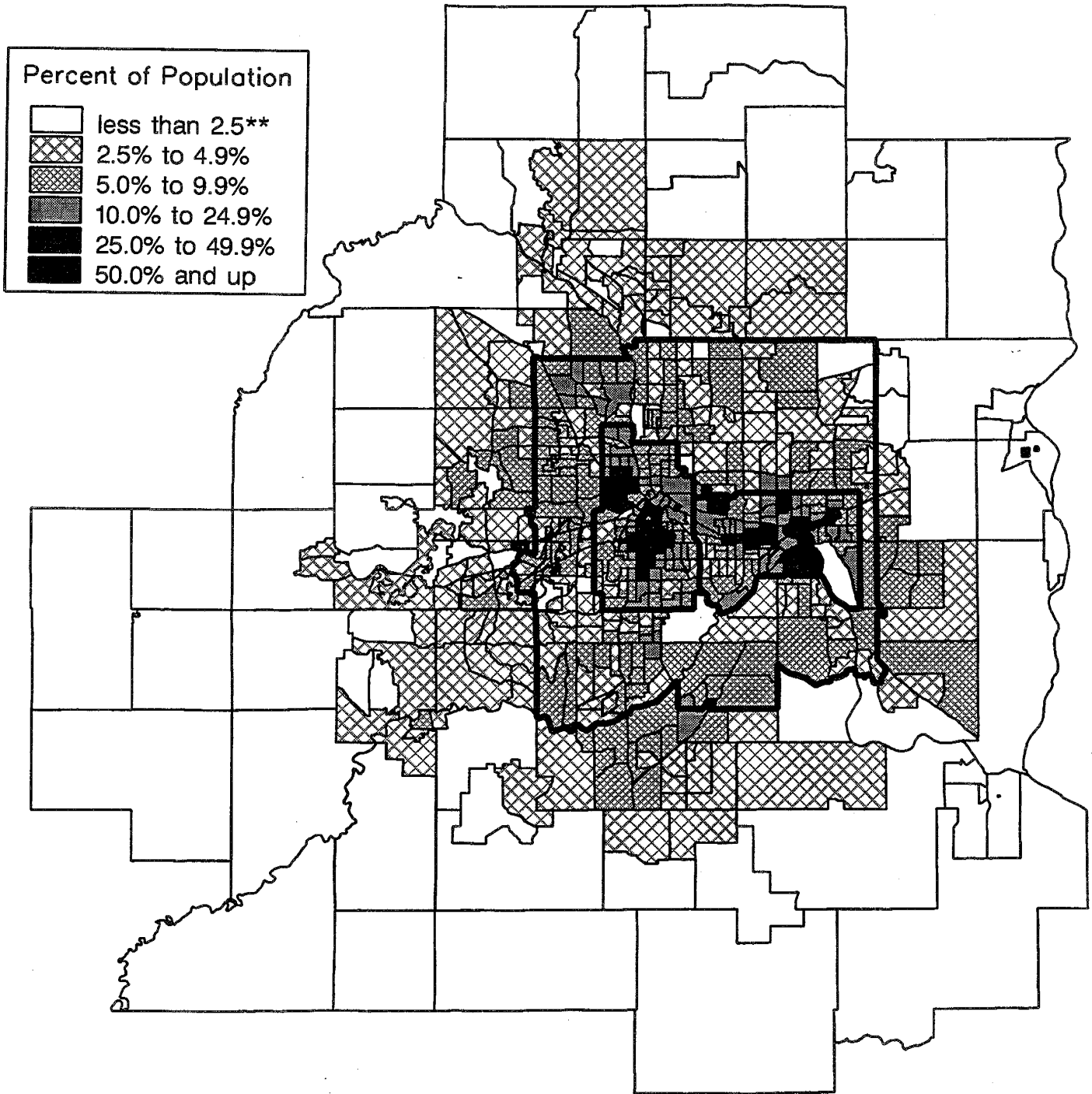
Source: U.S. Census

Figure 2  
 MINORITIES AS A PERCENT OF POPULATION:  
 MINNEAPOLIS, ST. PAUL & REMAINDER, 1970-1990



Source: U.S. Census

Map 1  
 Minneapolis – St. Paul Metropolitan Area  
**Distribution of Minority\* Population, 1990**  
 as a percent of total census tract population



\*Includes racial minorities (African Americans, American Indians, Asian and Pacific Islanders) and white Hispanics  
 \*\*includes tracts with less than 250 persons  
 Note: The map shows the central cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and the central urbanized portion of the region where most minority concentrations are located. This area is used in subsequent maps.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

the central cities and inner ring suburbs have more than five percent minority population. The Metropolitan Council also has a more detailed map showing each of the minority groups throughout the region (Population Distribution of Minorities 1990). Data was also analyzed for the "block group", which subdivides tracts into subareas, usually 3 to 5 in a tract. In most census tracts, the block groups within them tended to be very similar in racial composition.

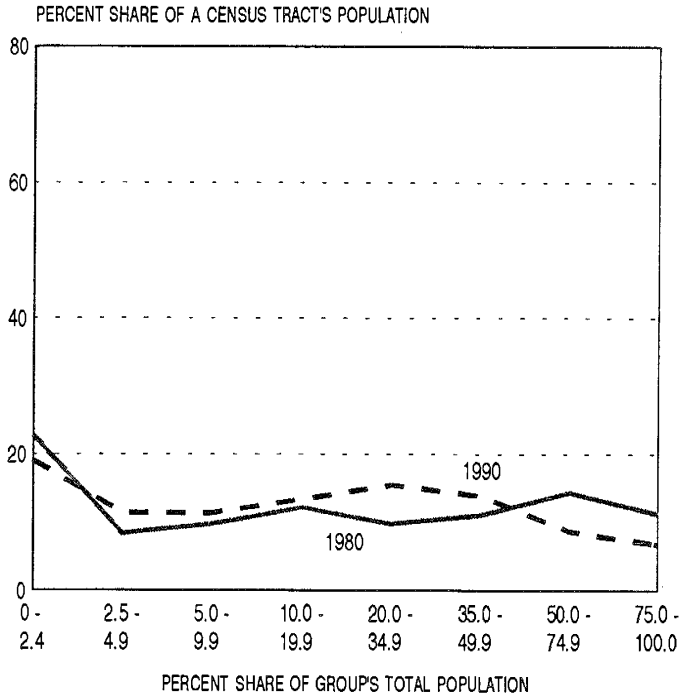
Three different measures are mapped by census tract for four different racial/ethnic groups-- African Americans, American Indians, Asian-Pacific Islanders and Hispanics. For each of the four groups there is a map that shows: 1) the percentage that group was of the total population in a tract in 1980, 2) the same data for 1990, and 3) the absolute change in population between 1980 and 1990 for that group in a tract. Table 4 shows concentration of each of the four racial/ethnic groups at the census tract level for 1980 and 1990. The easiest way to understand the table is by example. In the table below the highlighted value indicates that 11.7 percent of Indians in the Twin Cities live in census tracts where they constitute 5 to 9.9 percent of that tracts total population. This same information is shown graphically in Figure 3.

Table 4  
CONCENTRATION OF RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS BY CENSUS TRACT  
TWIN CITIES METRO AREA, 1980 AND 1990

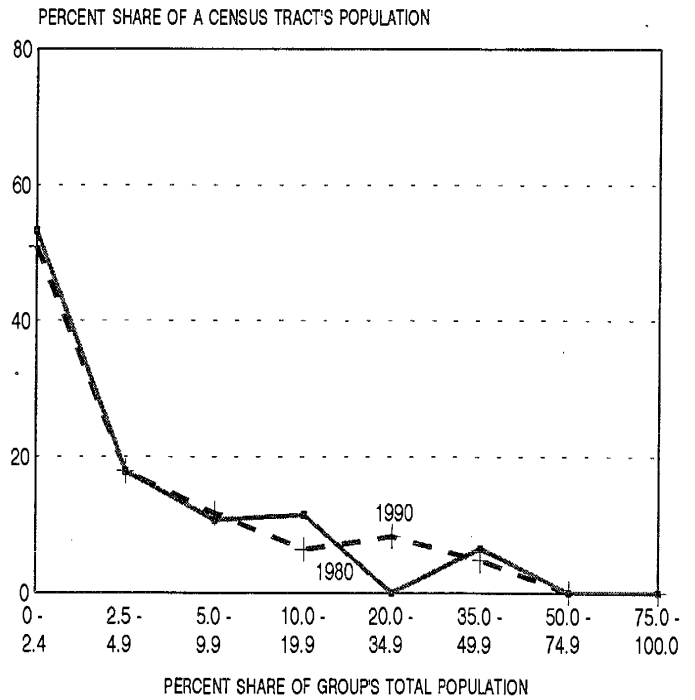
Percent Share of a Racial/Ethnic Group's Population Living in Census Tracts where that Group Comprises the Following Share of the Population								
Racial Group's Share of a Census Tract's Population	Percent Share of Racial/Ethnic Groups Total Population							
	African American		American Indian		Asian and Other		Hispanic	
	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980
0 - 2.4%	19.1%	22.8%	50.9%	53.3%	32.8%	61.9%	57.9%	70.3%
2.5% - 4.9%	11.4%	8.4%	17.9%	17.9%	24.4%	16.5%	22.0%	12.6%
5.0% - 9.9%	11.4%	9.8%	11.7%	10.7%	11.0%	11.5%	11.5%	6.1%
10.0% - 19.9%	13.4%	12.2%	6.4%	11.5%	13.4%	6.9%	0	7.9%
20.0% - 34.9%	15.5%	9.8%	8.3%	0	8.4%	3.1%	6.8%	0
35.0% - 49.9%	13.9%	11.1%	4.8%	6.6%	5.9%	0	1.7%	3.0%
50.0% - 74.9%	8.7%	14.4%	0	0	4.0%	0	0	0
75.0% +	6.8%	11.3%	0	0	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 3  
 PERCENT SHARE OF A GROUP'S POPULATION  
 LIVING IN CENSUS TRACTS WHERE THAT GROUP  
 ACCOUNTS FOR SPECIFIED SHARES OF THE POPULATION

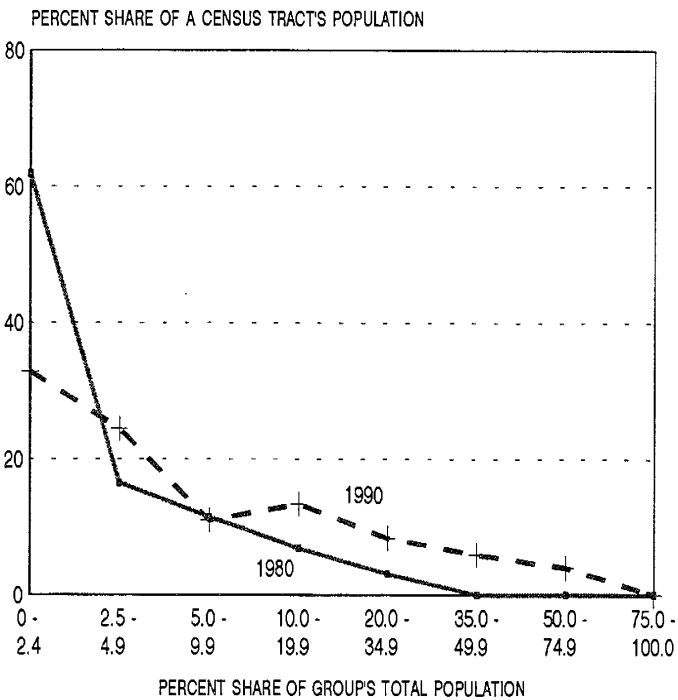
AFRICAN AMERICAN



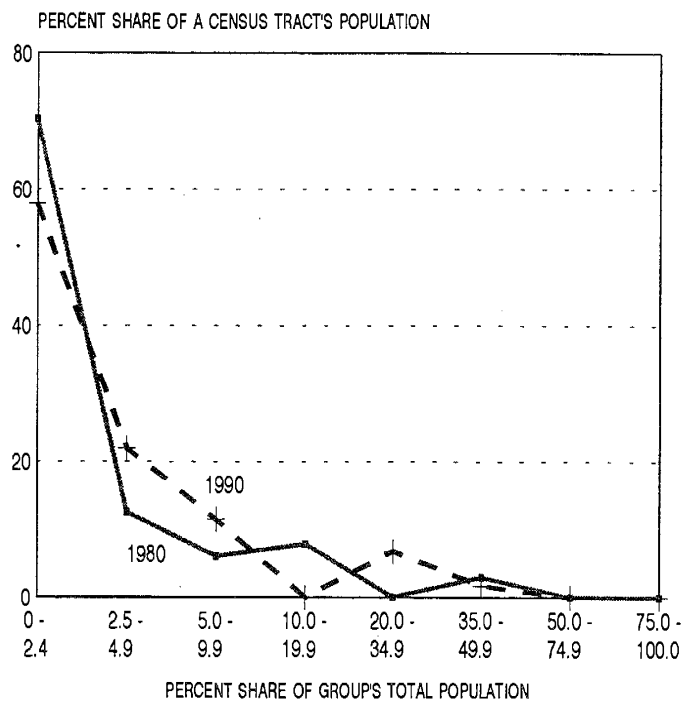
AMERICAN INDIAN



ASIAN AND OTHER



HISPANIC



## Racial Distribution Patterns of African-Americans

African-Americans are the region's most concentrated group regardless of which geographic units are considered (Maps 2-4). By most measures they became significantly less concentrated in the 1980s. In 1980 over 25 percent of African-Americans lived in census tracts where they accounted for at least half of the population. By 1990 this percentage had declined to about 15 percent.

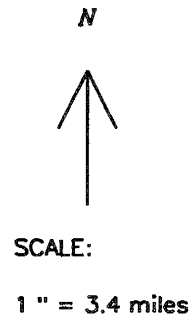
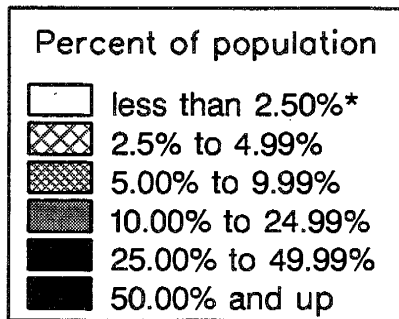
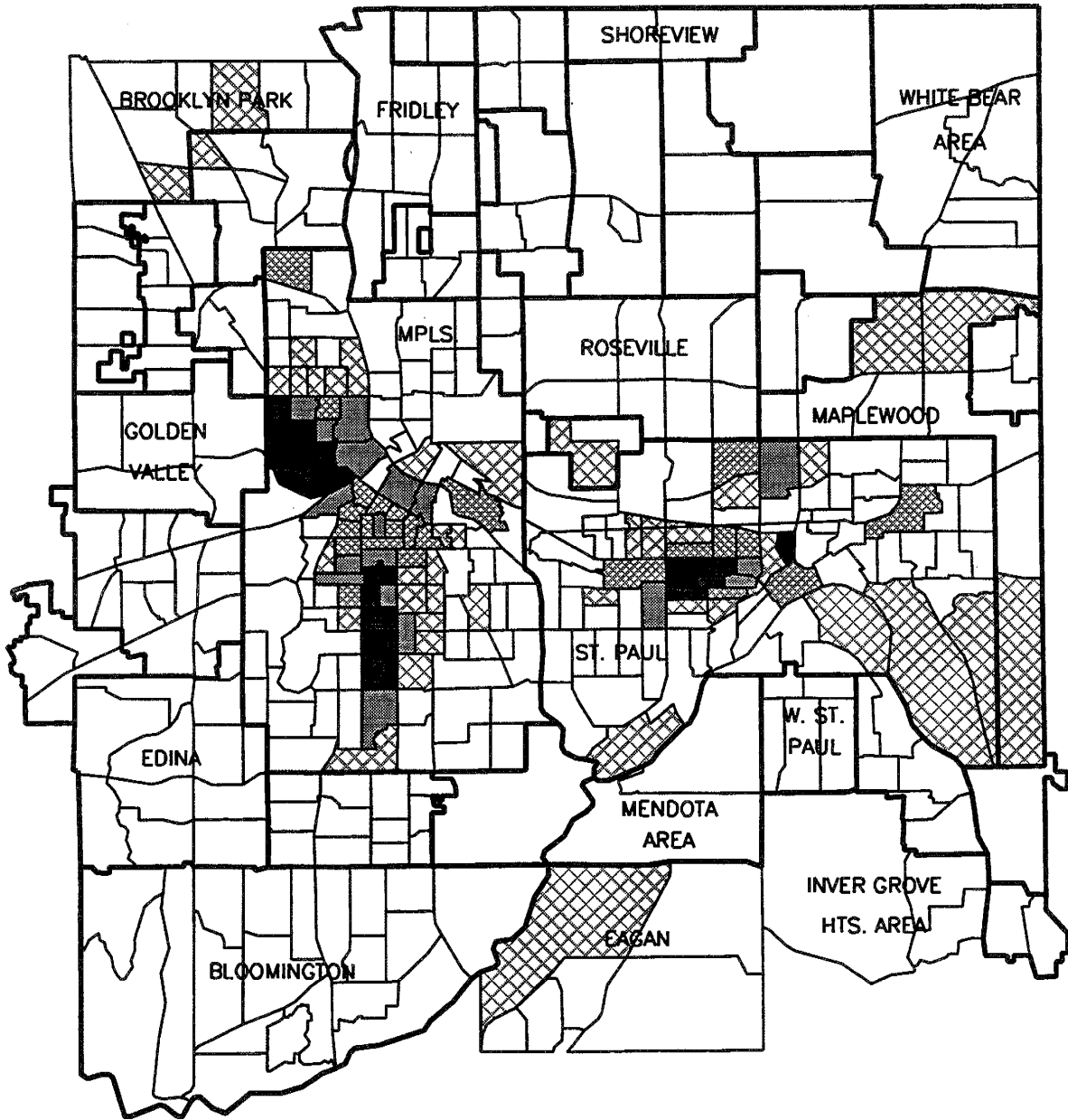
A comparison of the 1980 and 1990 percentage distribution maps illustrates this pattern of dispersal. The pattern shows growth radiating from the current core areas, although these core areas themselves have not expanded in size or increased in population. The new areas of growth cover a large area and most are less than 25 percent African-American. These patterns are more evident in Minneapolis than St. Paul, where the African-American population growth has been slower.

It is not clear whether this reflects a trend toward dispersal that will continue, or is largely the result of this group's rapid population growth. The recent Twin Cities' trends do not follow the distribution patterns of African-Americans that occurred a generation or two ago in other northern metro areas, where segregation and white flight resulted in growth radiating outward more tightly from the existing concentration.

Subsequent decades are not likely to see a continued near-doubling of the Twin Cities' African-American population. Although there is likely to be as much or more absolute growth, it will not be as great in relative terms (relative to what is already there). There are large areas with moderate concentrations of African-Americans, created in the past decade, which could absorb most of the future African-American population growth. The effect would be to create larger, more intensive concentrations of African-American population. This will mostly be determined by their preferences and incomes. Another factor affecting concentration/dispersal of African-Americans in the Twin Cities is that unlike many metro areas there is not just one major area of concentration. There are three geographically distinct areas of African-American population concentration in the Twin Cities, and perhaps a fourth emerging in Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center. This structure increases the likelihood of continued dispersion.

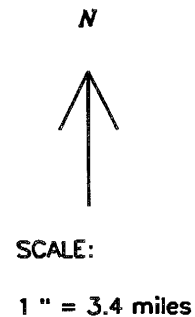
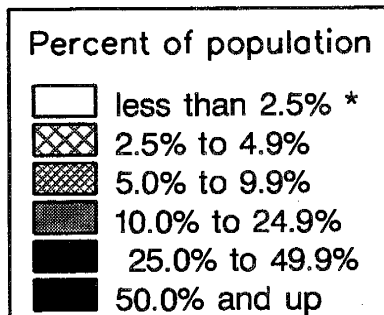
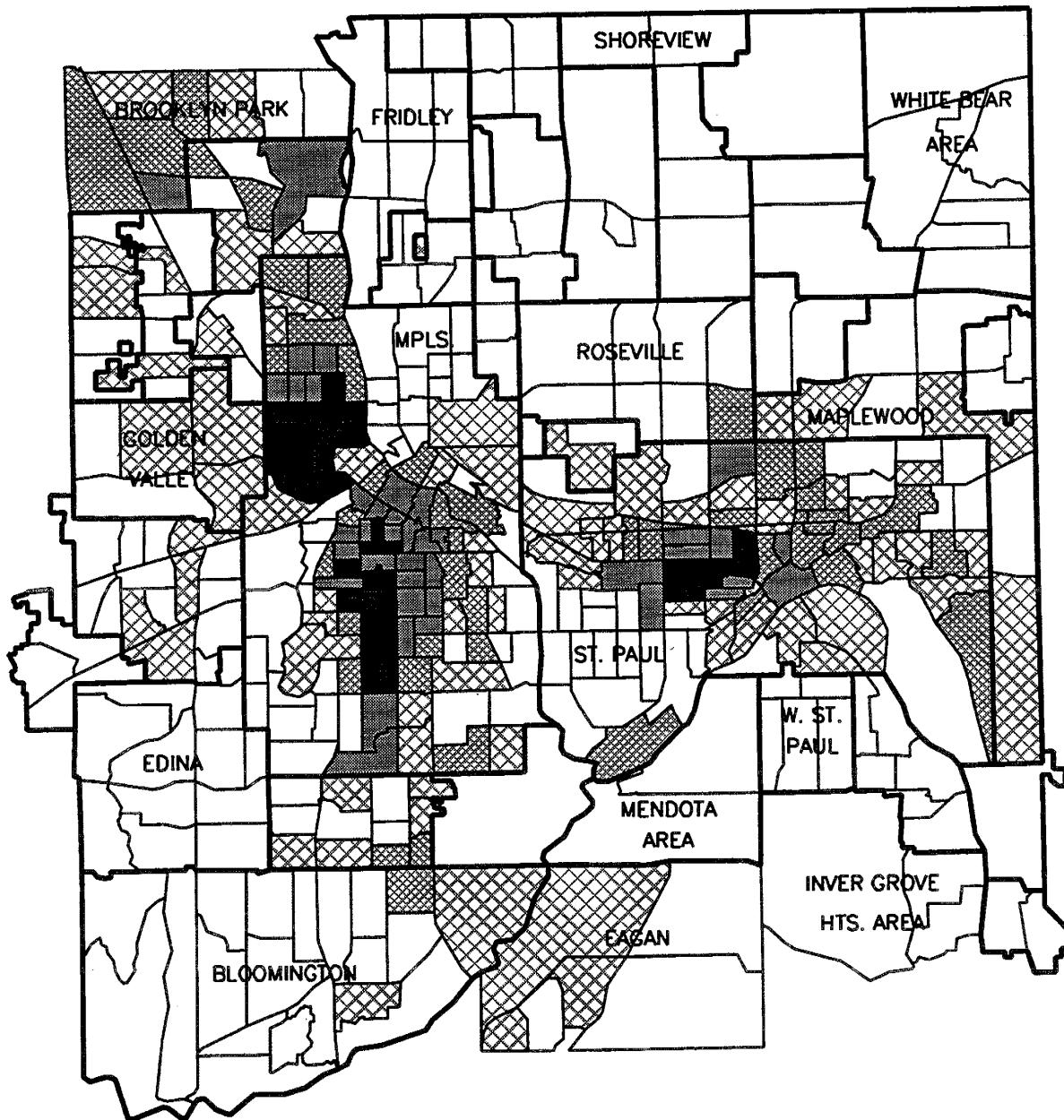
Despite the rapid growth of African-American population overall, there were census tracts in the north Minneapolis and St. Paul African-American concentrations that lost population, and there was only modest growth in the South Minneapolis core area. The greatest numeric gains from 1980 to 1990 were in: 1) the north and especially eastern edge of the north Minneapolis concentration, a movement outward; 2) Brooklyn Park (four tracts with gains of more than 250 African-Americans) and Brooklyn Center (one tract gaining over 250); 3) south and central Minneapolis, moving inward toward the downtown more than outward; and, 4) to a lesser degree, near the St. Paul concentration north of University Ave. Declines were small and scattered, but tended to be in most areas where public housing is concentrated. This shift correlates with sharp increases in Asian population in these areas.

Map 2  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**African American Population Distribution, 1980**  
 as a percent of total census tract population



\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

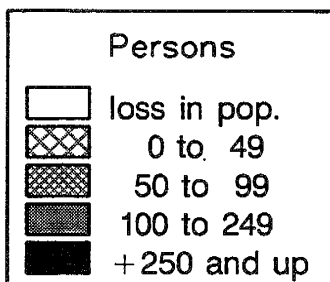
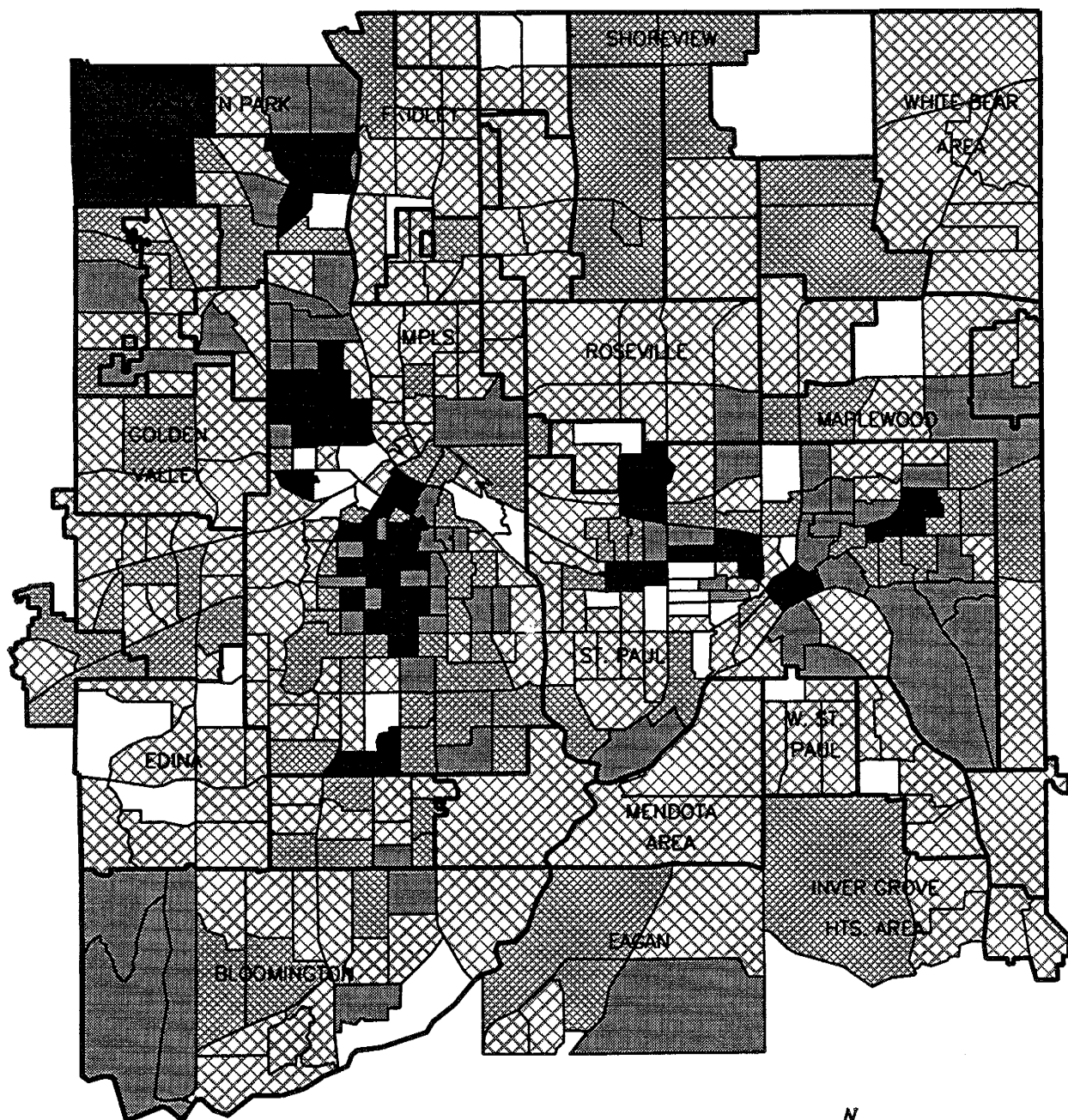
Map 3  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**African American Population Distribution, 1990**  
 as a percent of total census tract population



\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 4  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and adjacent suburban areas  
 Change in the African American Population, 1980–1990  
 (areal units are consolidated census tracts)



1" = 3.2 miles

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

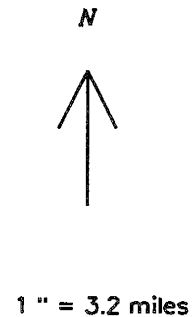
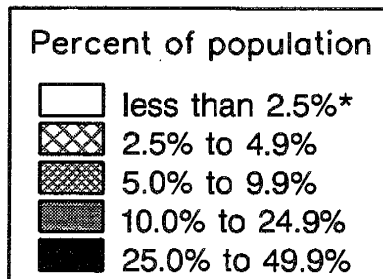
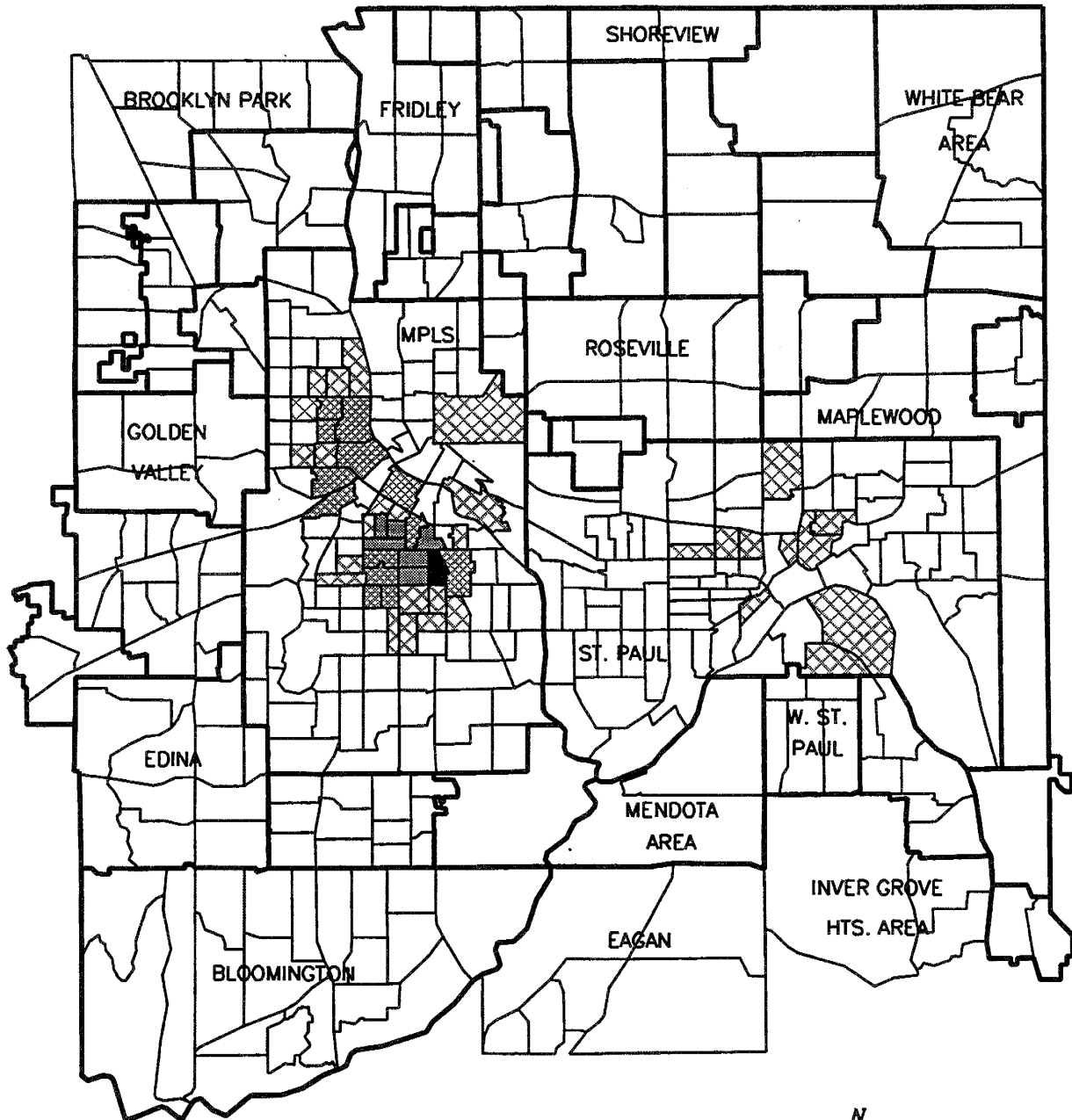
## Racial Distribution Patterns of American Indians

The American Indian population of the Twin Cities remained relatively dispersed between 1980 and 1990 (Maps 5-7). Over half of that population in both years lived in census tracts where they accounted for less than two and one-half percent of the population. Between 1980 and 1990 the overwhelming majority of census tracts experienced some growth in Indian population.

Only one tract was near 50 percent Indian residents, the area in south Minneapolis containing the Little Earth Community. Three adjacent tracts also rose to the 25 percent category, one of these tracts went from 10 to 30 percent Indian and another from 12 to 28 percent. There were losses of American Indians in some the region's wealthier communities--Edina, Golden Valley and Shoreview, but there were also losses in the region's poorest areas in the core of the central cities.

Although the Indian concentrations throughout the region were low, there was one notable shift between 1980 and 1990. There were population losses in a number of tracts on Minneapolis' near north side, while the area just north, near West Broadway St., and most of the tracts in northeast Minneapolis, gained population. There was also more growth in the tracts near, but generally not adjacent to the existing concentration in south Minneapolis, than in the adjacent tracts. The concentration of Indians in St. Paul was less than in Minneapolis, and the modest growth occurred mostly in areas where the concentrations were highest. Only one tract exceeded five percent of the population in St. Paul. The changes in St. Paul were not very great. The greatest suburban growth of the American Indian population was in Brooklyn Park, where two tracts added more than 50 people.

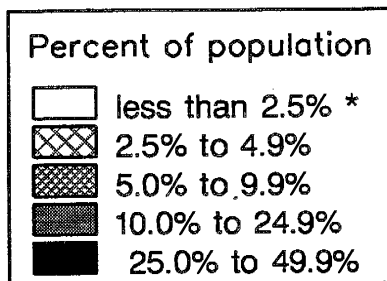
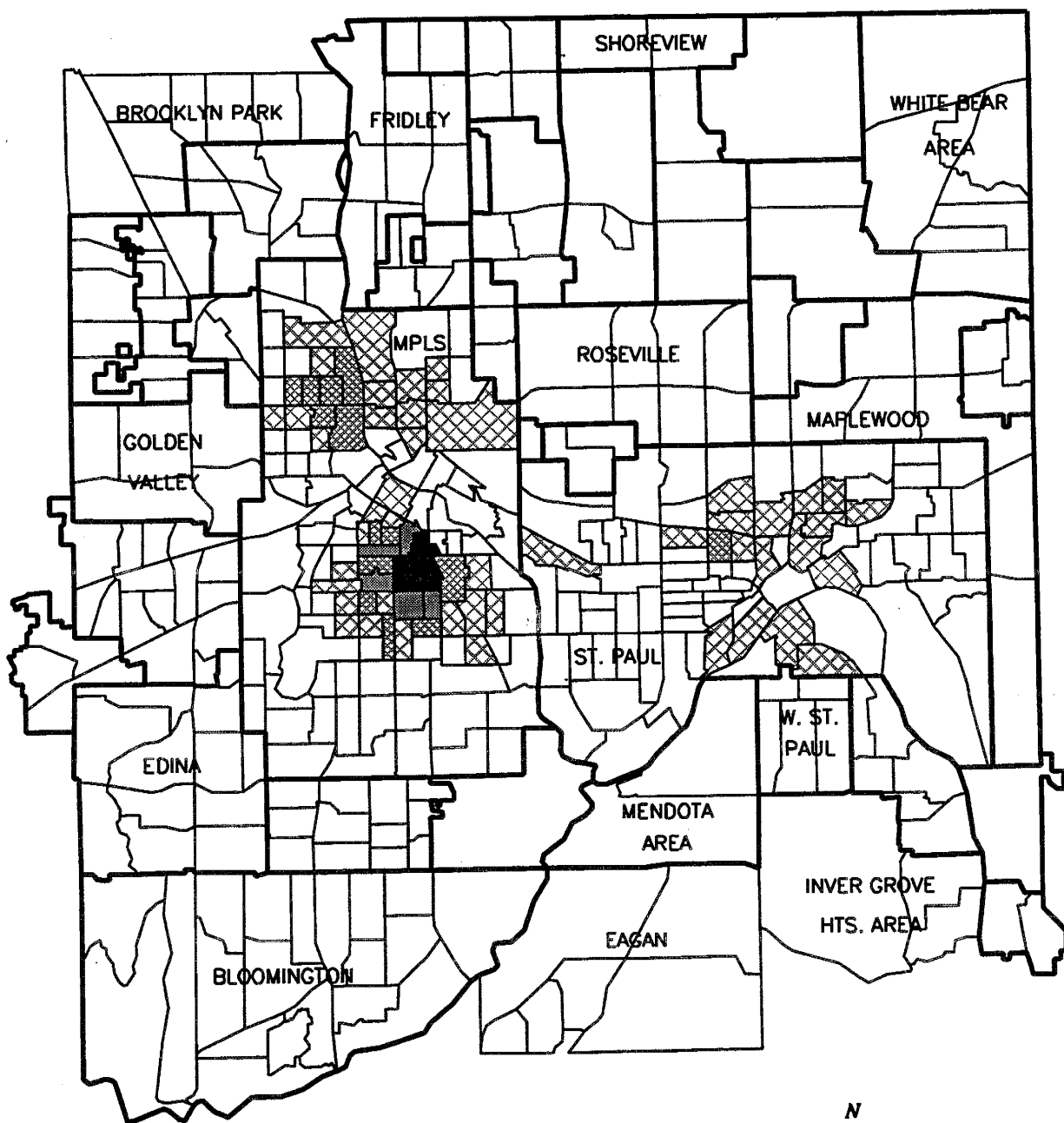
Map 5  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**American Indian Population Distribution, 1980**  
 as a percent of total census tract population



\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 6  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**American Indian Population Distribution, 1990**  
 as a percent of total census tract population

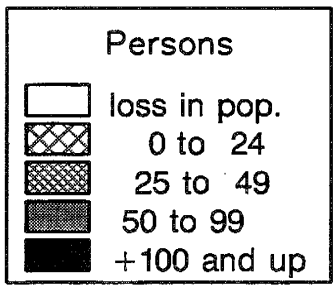
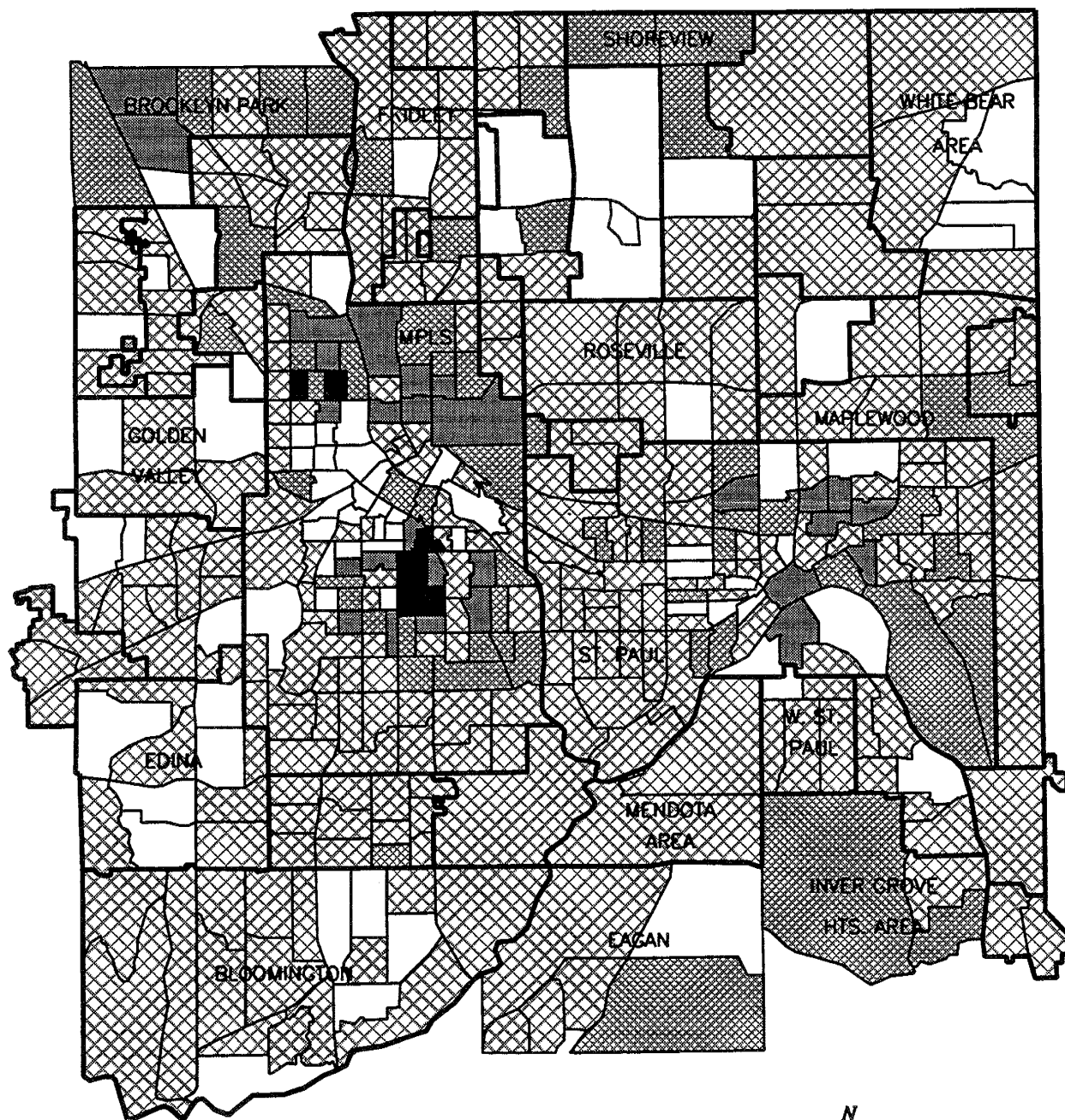


1" = 3.2 miles

\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 7  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and adjacent suburban areas  
 Change in the American Indian Population, 1980–1990  
 (areal units are consolidated census tracts)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

## Racial Distribution Patterns of Asian-Pacific Islanders

The Asian-Pacific Islander group shows both dispersal and concentration between 1980 and 1990 (Maps 8-11).<sup>2</sup> There is growth evident in the most parts of the region, continuing the trends of the past several decades. At the same time there has been concentration in the core. This was a result of in-migration of Southeast Asians who located in core areas of the two central cities. In 1980 no tracts in the region exceeded 25 percent of the population, and only a handful of suburban tracts were more than 2.5 percent Asian. In 1990, two tracts, one in Minneapolis and one in St. Paul exceeded 50 percent Asian. Seven others rose above 25 percent. Much of this population was located in public housing projects.

Although most tracts had some growth in Asian population, there were some tracts which lost Asian population. These were in the Summit-University Area of St. Paul and in a number of tracts in or scattered south of downtown Minneapolis. These areas of loss do not show any consistent relationship to changes in other racial groups in those areas.

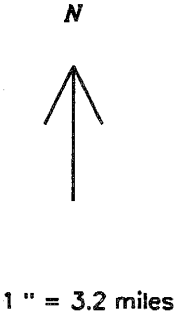
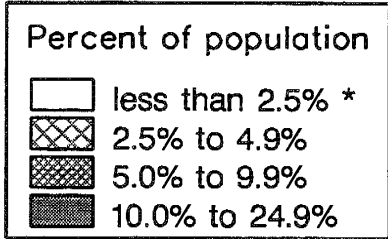
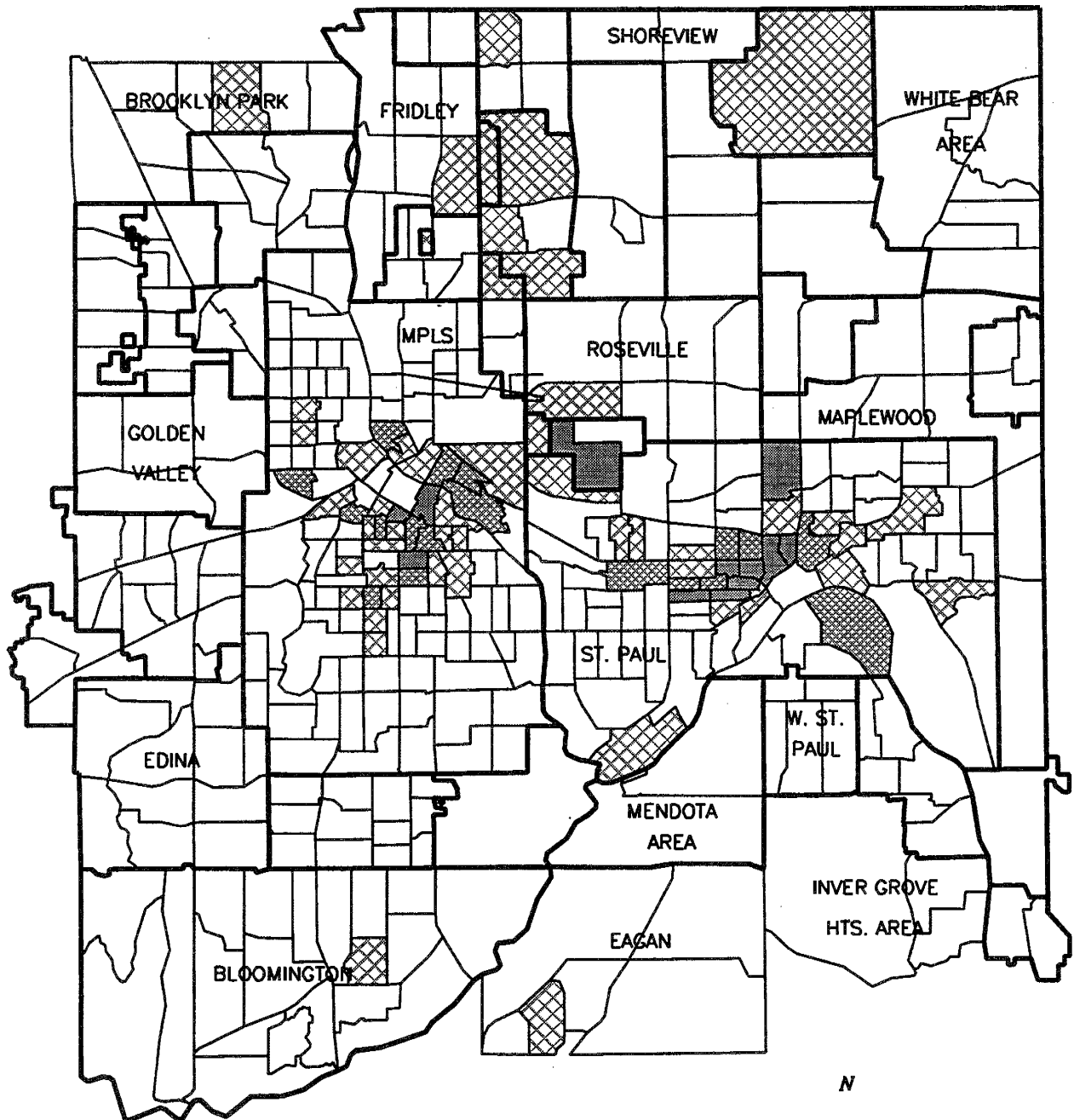
The greatest suburban growth of Asians was in Brooklyn Park (which also had the greatest gains in African Americans and Indians) and west Bloomington. Seven tracts in these two cities had gains of more than 250 in Asian population in the 1980s.

The Asian population is a diverse mixture of ethnic groups. If the different groups were looked at individually, it is likely that more complex patterns of concentration would be evident.

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<sup>2</sup>The Asian-Pacific Islander population was initially defined differently in the 1980 census than in the 1990 censuses. These differences have been accounted for in this report so that a consistent and complete count of Asian and Pacific Islanders was used. To the extent possible complete-count rather than sample census data was used.

Map 8  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**Asian/Pac. Is. Population Distribution, 1980**  
 as a percent of total census tract population

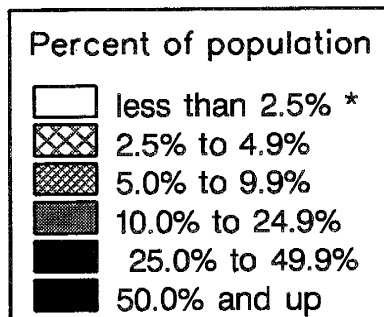
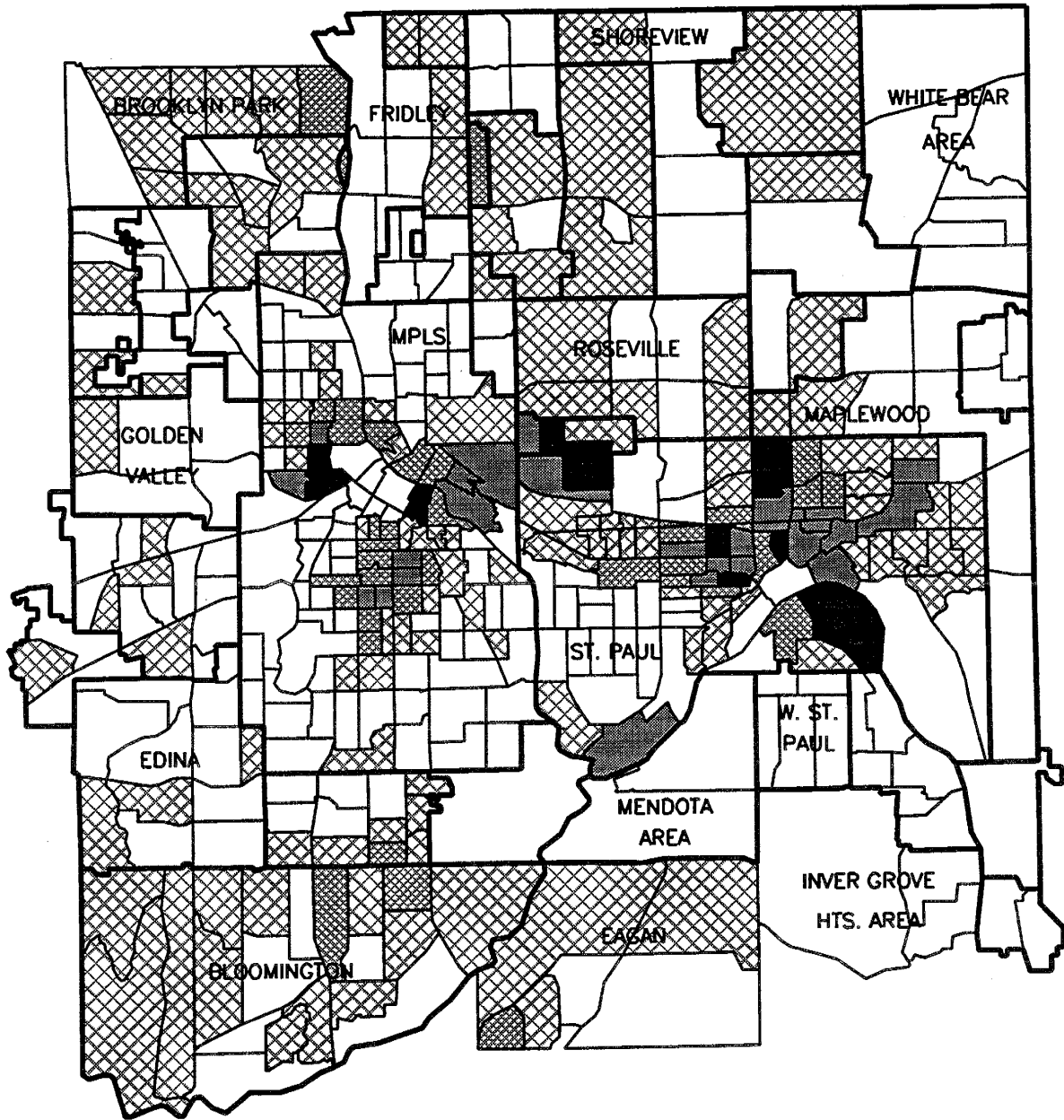


\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 9

Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**Asian/Pac. Is. Population Distribution, 1990**  
 as a percent of total census tract population



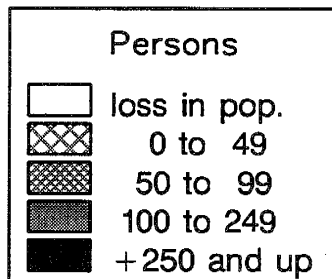
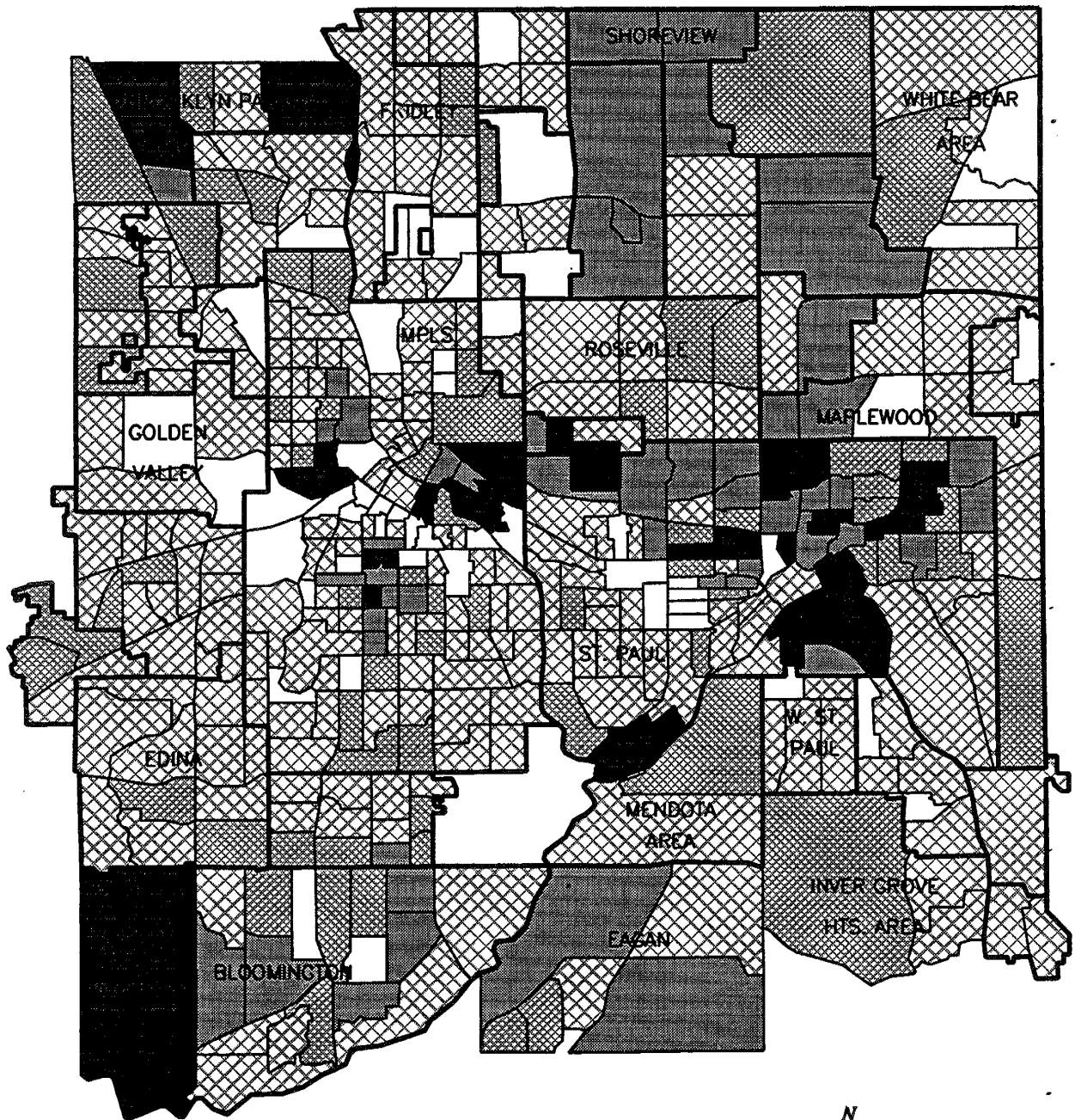
SCALE:

1" = 3.4 miles

\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 10  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and adjacent suburban areas  
 Change in the Asian/Pac. Is. Population, 1980–1990  
 (areal units are consolidated census tracts)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

### Racial Distribution Patterns of Hispanics

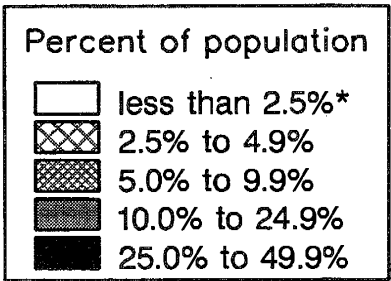
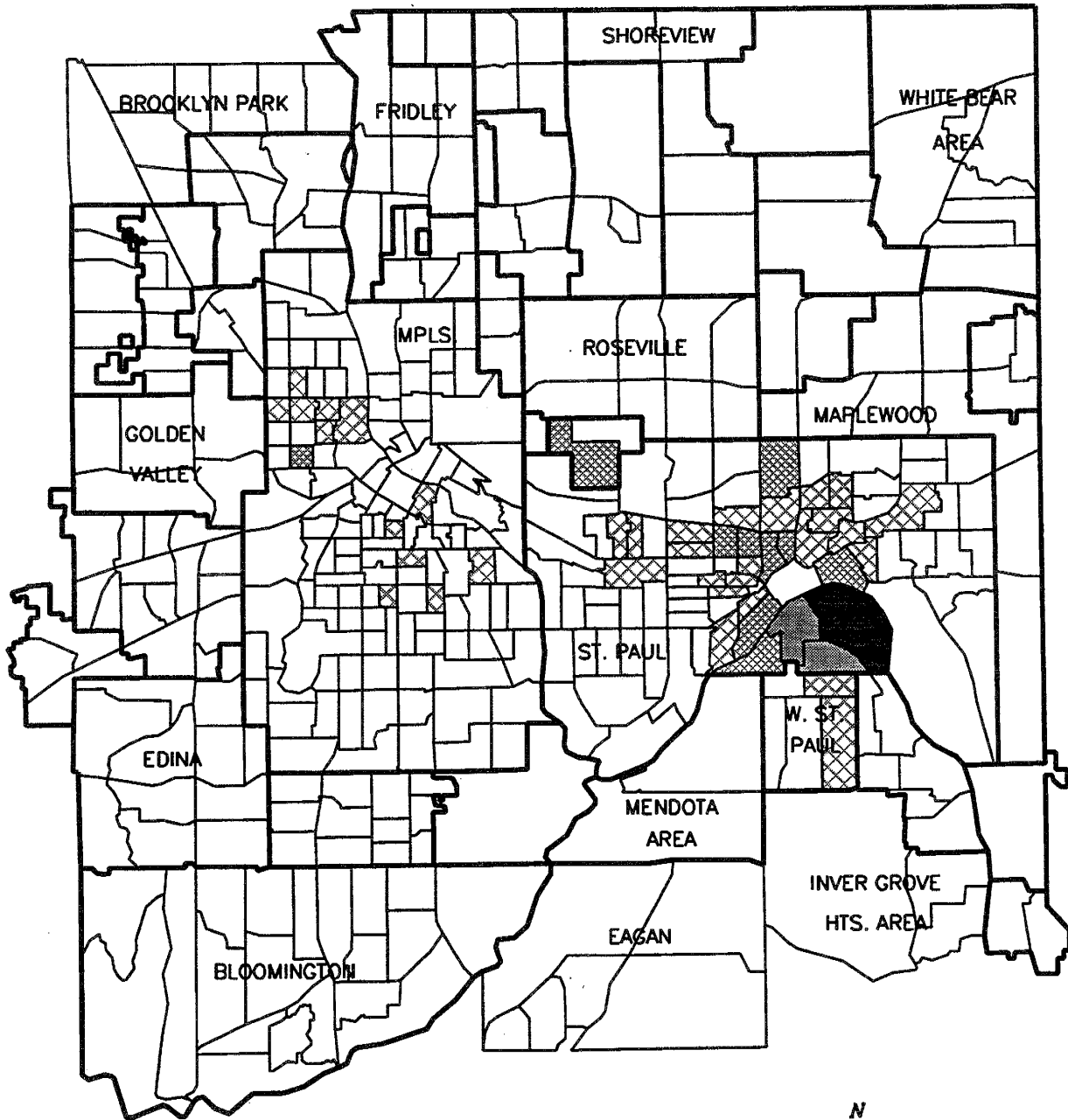
The Twin Cities Hispanic population remained the least concentrated minority group in the Twin Cities (Maps 11-13). Although the percentage living in tracts where less than two and one-half percent of the population was Hispanic dropped from 70 percent to 58 percent in the 1980s, most of the gain was in tracts where Hispanics made-up less than ten percent of the population. Less than a tenth of Hispanics in the Twin Cities lived in census tracts where Hispanics were more than ten percent of the population in 1990.

The region's only concentration of Hispanics is on St. Paul's west side. The tract with the highest percentage has a population that is 36 percent Hispanic, down from 41 percent in 1980. Two adjacent tracts did increase, one from 18 to 26 percent and another from 16 to 21 percent.

Like the Asian population, the Hispanic population has a diverse mix of ethnic ancestries. If these groups were analyzed separately it is likely that somewhat greater concentration would be evident for the predominant Mexican-American group.

Map 11

# Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts Hispanic Population Distribution, 1980 as a percent of total census tract population

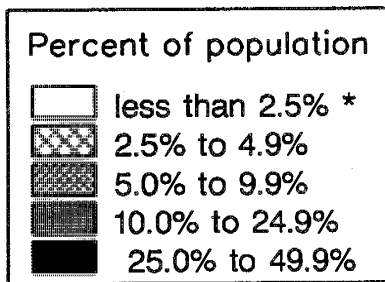
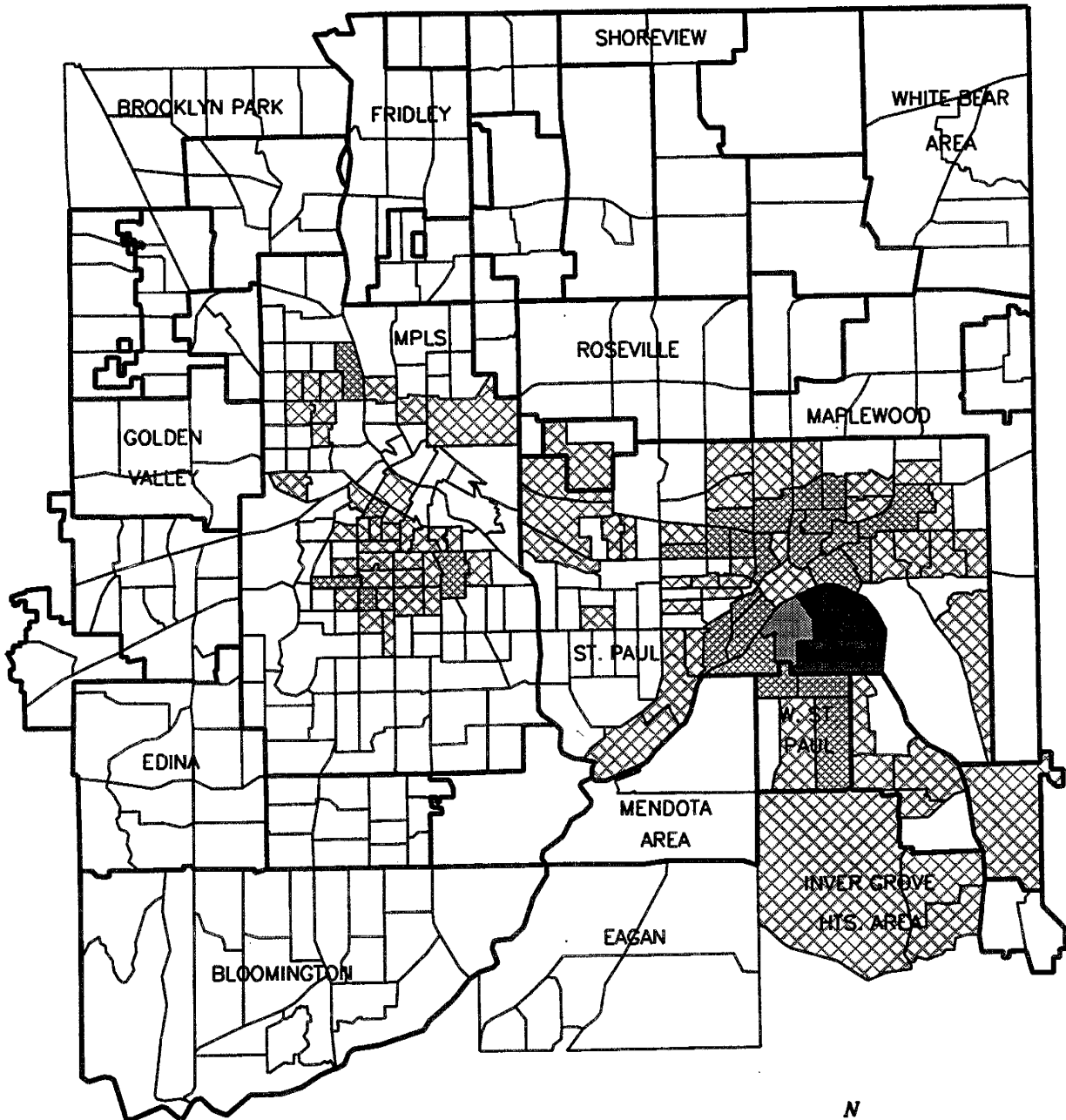


1" = 3.2 miles

\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 12  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and surrounding suburban tracts  
**Hispanic Population Distribution, 1990**  
 as a percent of total census tract population

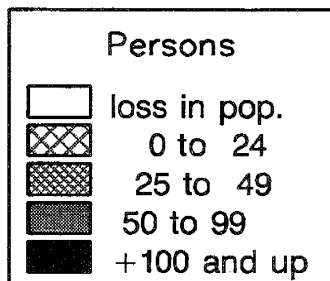
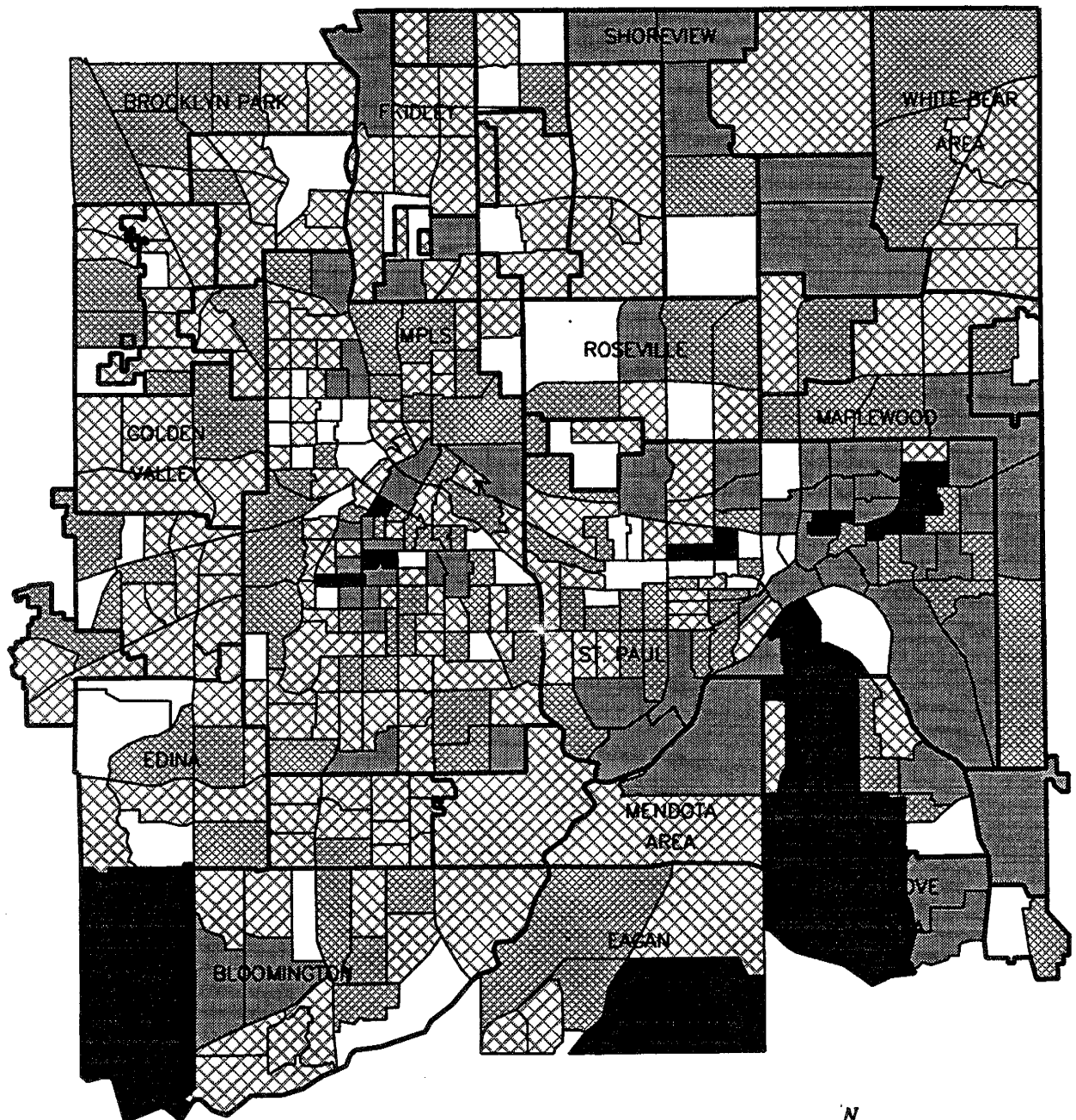


1" = 3.2 miles

\* includes tracts with less than 250 persons

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Map 13  
 Minneapolis–St. Paul and adjacent suburban areas  
 Change in the Hispanic Population, 1980–1990  
 (areal units are consolidated census tracts)



N  
  
 1" = 3.2 miles

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AT THE BLOCK LEVEL

Table 5a gives a very simple measure of racial concentration trends at the city block level. The percentage of each racial/ethnic groups population living in a city block with ten or fewer of their race is shown for the central cities and the remainder of the region. The average population of inhabited blocks is 50 people. The African-American population is most concentrated at the block level, just as it is at the city and tract level. It did not, however, increase in concentration between 1980 and 1990 in the central cities where it is most concentrated. It became more concentrated in the suburbs. That is to be expected given the small population base and rapid growth. The American Indian population is quite dispersed, especially in the suburbs. It is the only group that became slightly more dispersed at the block level. The Asian and "other" group became much more concentrated, especially in the central cities. The recent in-migration of Southeast Asian, many of whom live in public housing, is the primary reason for this trend. The Hispanic population is quite dispersed in both the central cities and suburbs, and became only slightly more concentrated during the 1980s.

Table 5a  
 CONCENTRATION OF RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES BY CITY BLOCK  
 TWIN CITIES METRO AREA, 1980 AND 1990

Race	Percent of Population Living in City Blocks with 10 or Fewer Persons of Their Race/Ethnicity			
	Central Cities		Remainder Region	
	1990	1980	1990	1980
African American	16%	16%	45%	63%
American Indian	53%	49%	87%	85%
Asian and Other	27%	50%	59%	74%
Hispanic	61%	63%	77%	83%

Table 5b

Race	Percent of Population Living in City Blocks with 15 or fewer members of their race/ethnicity			
	Central Cities		Remainder Region	
	1990	1980	1990	1980
African American	22%	22%	55%	79%
American Indian	64%	61%	92%	90%
Asian and Other	36%	61%	71%	85%
Hispanic	73%	74%	89%	92%

After looking at racial/ethnic distribution at varying levels of geographic detail the question still remains as to what is the truest measure of dispersion. There is probably not one best way to look at such data, each way gives useful information. The safest way to avoid drawing simplistic or incorrect inferences from such data is to look at the data in more than one way.