

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required our use of the term RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we now refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color (ACP50).

SECTION FIVE: RACIALLY CONCENTRATED AREAS OF POVERTY IN THE REGION

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required our use of the term RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we now refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color (ACP50).

Section Four presented the race-specific barriers that limit the residential choices of people of color, hindering their ability to leave areas of concentrated poverty. Section Five focuses on how these race-specific barriers historically made and remade Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAPs) as places where the region's racial and ethnic disparities are reproduced.

Section Five begins by comparing areas of concentrated poverty with RCAPs, noting the difference that race makes in shaping the region's geography of poverty. The section goes on to describe the region's RCAPs and discusses how they evolved since the 1990s. It then examines the historical factors that created the region's RCAPs and concludes with detailed profiles of the region's specific RCAP communities.

The geography of the region's RCAPs

This report defines RCAPs as census tracts where 50% or more of the residents are people of color and 40% or more of the residents have family incomes that are less than 185% of the federal poverty threshold.ⁱ

Race makes a difference in shaping the region's geography of poverty. Comparing the region's areas of concentrated poverty with its Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty, for instance, reveals that the former shrank or expanded depending on the changing economic conditions of the last 20 years. Map 5.A illustrates how areas of concentrated poverty in the region changed over time since the 1990s. The map shows that the number of census tracts that qualified as areas of concentrated poverty dropped from 86 in 1990 to 74 in 2000 due to the favorable economic conditions of the 1990s. It also demonstrates that this number bounced up to 106 a decade later as the housing market crash took its toll on the nation's economy.

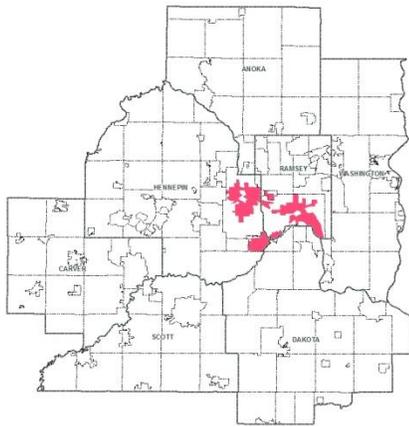
Race differentiates RCAPs from other areas of concentrated poverty and makes them entrenched. By limiting the ability of people of color to leave areas of concentrated poverty, the race-specific barriers to housing choice discussed in Section Four perpetuate RCAPs. In fact, these barriers closely intertwine racial disparities and RCAPs, making RCAPs places that reproduce these disparities. As long as the RCAPs continue to exist and expand, they will reinforce and intensify racial disparities in the region as a whole.

ⁱ In the Twin Cities region, the Metropolitan Council opted for a definition of RCAPs that is different than the one suggested the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). For a discussion of how and why the two definitions differ, see Appendix F. It is also important to note that the RCAP boundaries should not be taken as strict policy intervention geographies because these boundaries are quite sensitive to the poverty and race thresholds used to define the RCAPs. For instance, many of the areas around the RCAPs do not qualify as RCAPs because the share of people of color in these areas falls just short of 50%. If the race threshold used were lowered by a few percentage points, many of these areas would qualify as RCAPs.

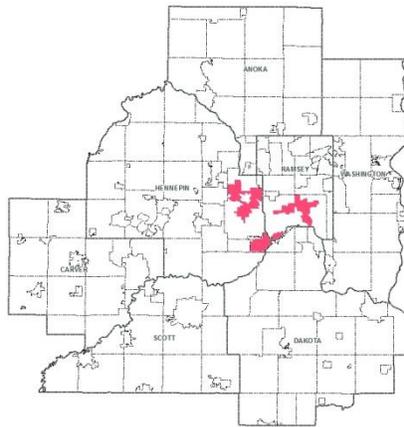
Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Map 5.A Areas of concentrated poverty in 1990, 2000 and 2007-2011

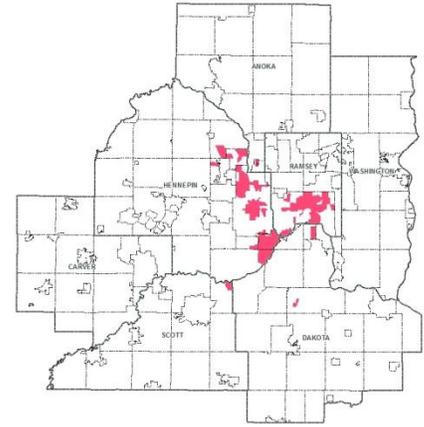
In 1990, 86 census tracts were considered areas of concentrated poverty.



In 2000, 74 census tracts were considered areas of concentrated poverty.



In 2007-2011, 106 census tracts were considered areas of concentrated poverty.

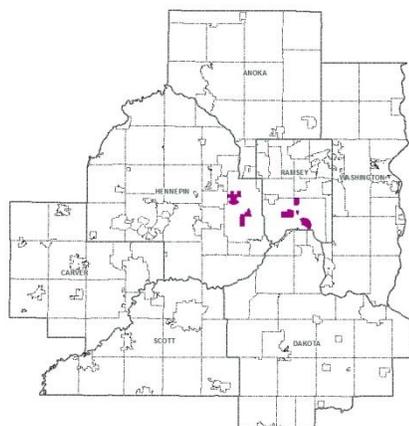


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, 1990, 2000; American Community Survey five-year data, 2007-2011.

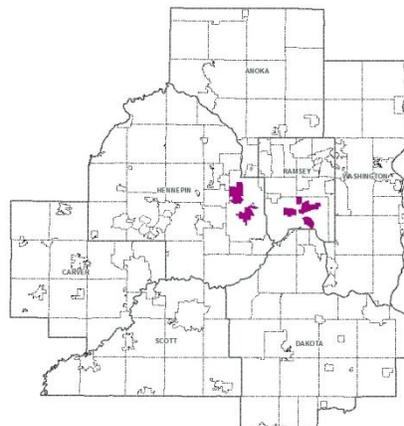
Map 5.B, which illustrates how the RCAPs of the region changed during the same time period, shows that the region’s RCAPs continued to grow regardless of changes in the region’s economic conditions. The number of census tracts that qualified as RCAPs went up from 31 in 1990 to 53 in 2000, even as the growing economy of the 1990s reduced poverty at the regional level and reduced the number of census tracts that qualified as areas of concentrated poverty. During the 2000s, as the ailing economy increased poverty across the region, the number of RCAP tracts in the region continued to increase, reaching 80 by the end of the decade.

Map 5.B Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty in 1990, 2000 and 2007-2011

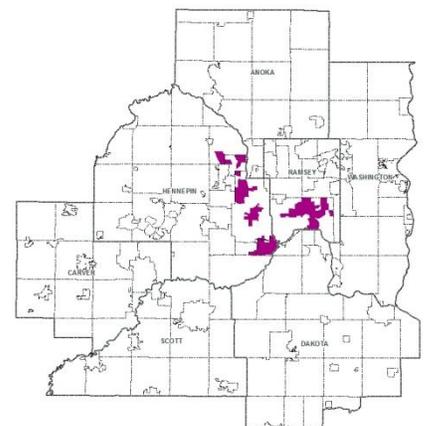
In 1990, 31 census tracts were considered RCAPs. 3% of the region’s residents lived in an RCAP.



In 2000, 53 census tracts were considered RCAPs. 6% of the region’s residents lived in an RCAP.



In 2007-2011, 80 census tracts were considered RCAPs. 9% of the region’s residents lived in an RCAP.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, 1990, 2000; American Community Survey five-year data, 2007-2011.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

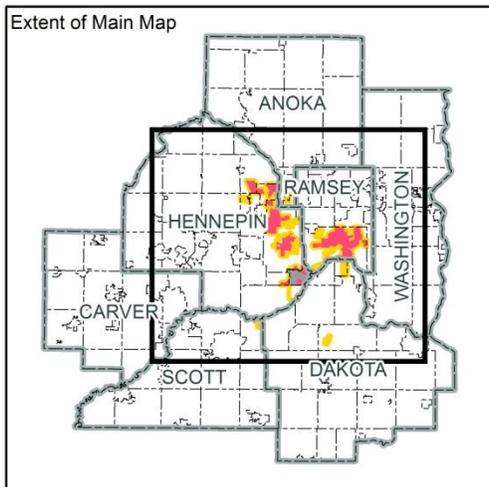
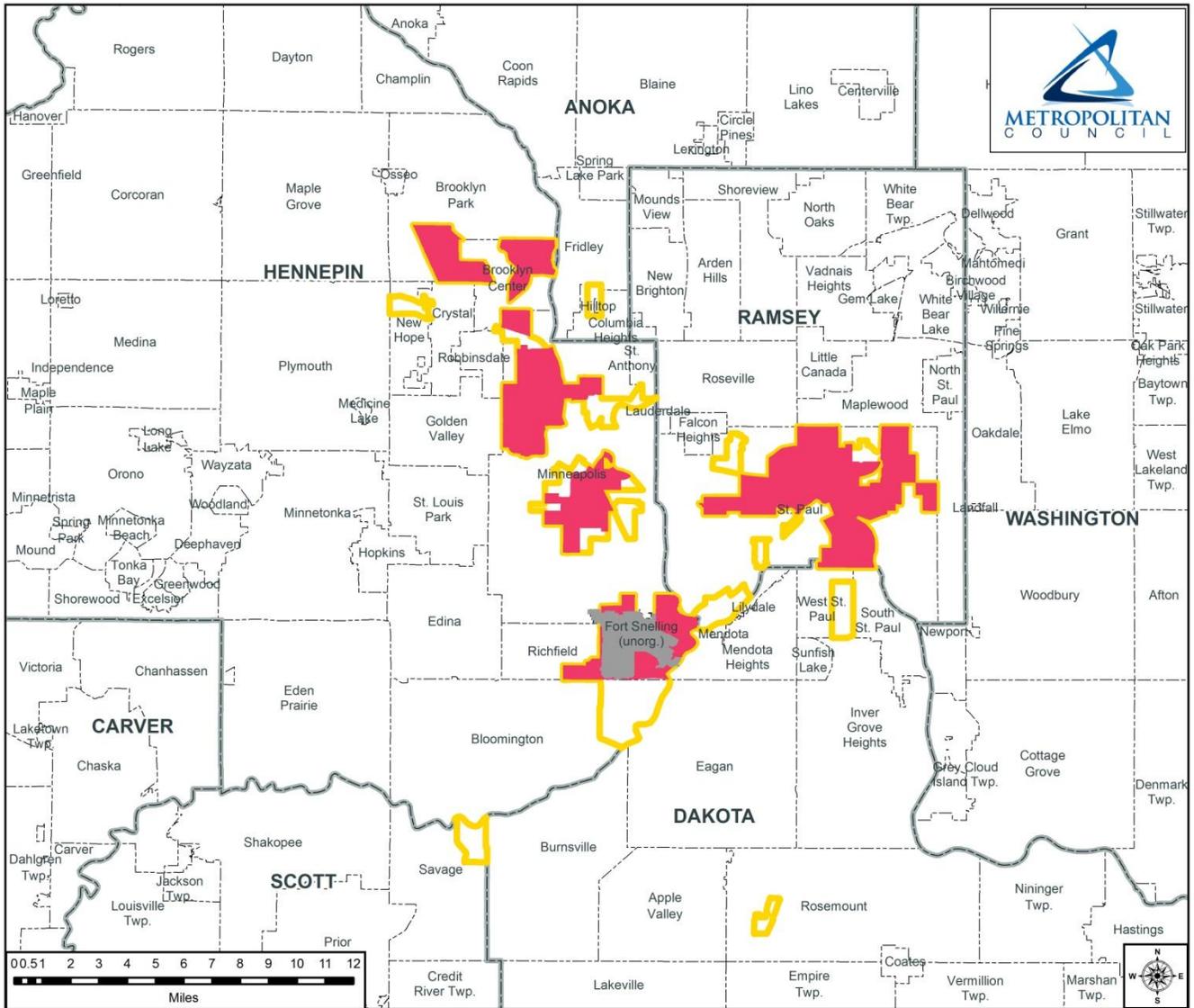
Map 5.C shows where the region's areas of concentrated poverty and RCAPs are currently located. A significant number of the region's areas of concentrated poverty are either contiguous or very close to the RCAPs. Indeed, in those areas of concentrated poverty that are near or contiguous to the RCAPs, residents of color make up almost 50% of the tract population. This suggests that if the barriers to housing choice summarized in Section Four above remain in place, these areas of concentrated poverty are very likely to become RCAPs.

Before examining the historical origins of the region's RCAPs, this section will first take a closer look at present-day RCAPs and their evolution since the 1990s. In 1990, the region's RCAP census tracts were limited to Minneapolis and Saint Paul; by the end of the 2000s, they expanded to the region's suburbs. The region's present-day RCAPs are located in Minneapolis, Saint Paul and four suburban areas—Brooklyn Center, Brooklyn Park, Richfield and federal lands constituting Fort Snelling.

Just over half of the RCAP tracts in Minneapolis are in North Minneapolis while the rest are in South Minneapolis. Saint Paul has the region's largest contiguous RCAP, covering neighborhoods such as Dayton's Bluff, Payne-Phalen, Greater East Side, North End, West Side, Frogtown and Summit-University. The area around Fort Snelling has an RCAP area, additionally encompassing parts of Richfield and Minneapolis. Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park each have RCAP areas.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Map 5.C Areas of concentrated poverty and RCAPs in 2007-2011



- Area of Concentrated Poverty (40% Poverty)
- RCAP (40% Poverty and 50% People of Color)
- County Boundaries
- City and Township Boundaries
- Minneapolis-St. Paul Int'l Airport

Source: RCAPs and Areas of Concentrated Poverty as defined by Metropolitan Council on March 6, 2013 using U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey data, 2007-2011.

3/10/2014

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Figure 5.1 shows the racial and ethnic composition of the RCAP tracts in 1990, 2000 and 2010. In each decade, whites were about a third of residents living in RCAP tracts. The racial breakdown of RCAP tracts did not change substantially in the last two decades with the exception of Latino residents. The number of Latino residents living in RCAP tracts increased from 3,210 to 44,462, pulling up the share of Latinos among RCAP tract residents from 4% in 1990 to 17% in 2007-2011. In the same period, the number of Latino residents in the region increased from 36,716 to 167,558, bringing up the share of Latinos in the region’s population from 2% to 6%. This means that the share of Latino residents living in RCAP tracts tripled from 9% in 1990 to 27% two decades later.

5.1 Race and ethnicity of residents living in Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty in 1990, 2000 and 2010

	1990		2000		2010	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
White, non-Latino	24,896	33%	45,722	29%	81,033	31%
Black, non-Latino	27,784	37%	50,913	32%	79,482	30%
Latino	3,210	4%	20,946	13%	44,462	17%
Asian, non-Latino	13,898	19%	29,281	18%	42,988	16%
Native American, non-Latino	4,811	6%	4,435	3%	4,636	2%
A race not listed above, or multiracial, non-Latino	244	<1%	8,844	6%	10,866	4%
People of color	49,947	67%	114,419	71%	182,434	69%
Total population in RCAPs	74,843	-	160,141	-	263,467	-

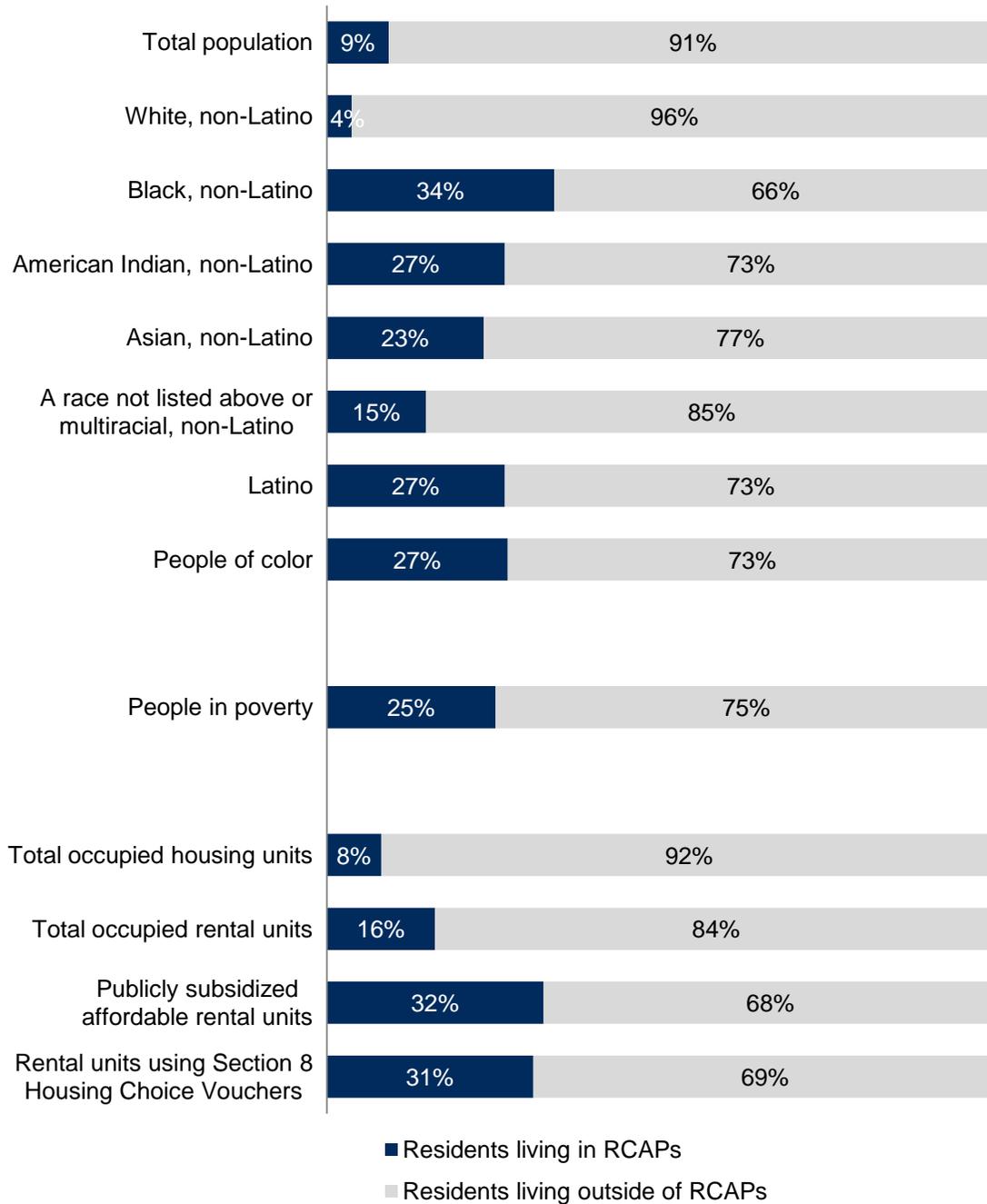
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, 1990, 2000, 2010; American Community Survey five-year data, 2007-2011.

Note: Numbers represent the population living in census tracts where at least half the residents are people of color and at least 40% or more of the residents have family incomes that are less than 185% of the federal poverty threshold.

The most recent data show that 9% of the region’s total population currently lives in an RCAP tract—up from 3% in 1990. As Figure 5.2 shows, this rate varies considerably across racial and ethnic groups. About 34% of blacks and 27% of Latinos live in an RCAP tract, compared with just 4% of whites. While RCAPs contain only 16% of the region’s supply of rental units, they contain 32% of the region’s publicly subsidized affordable housing units and 31% of the units where Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers are used.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

5.2 Selected population and housing characteristics by place of residence



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, 2010; American Community Survey five-year data, 2007-2011; HousingLink, 2012; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Picture of Subsidized Households (2012).

Notes: 1) Poverty refers to residents whose family income is below 185% of the federal poverty threshold. 2) The affordability threshold for publicly subsidized affordable rental units is 60% of Area Median Income.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

A regional retrospective

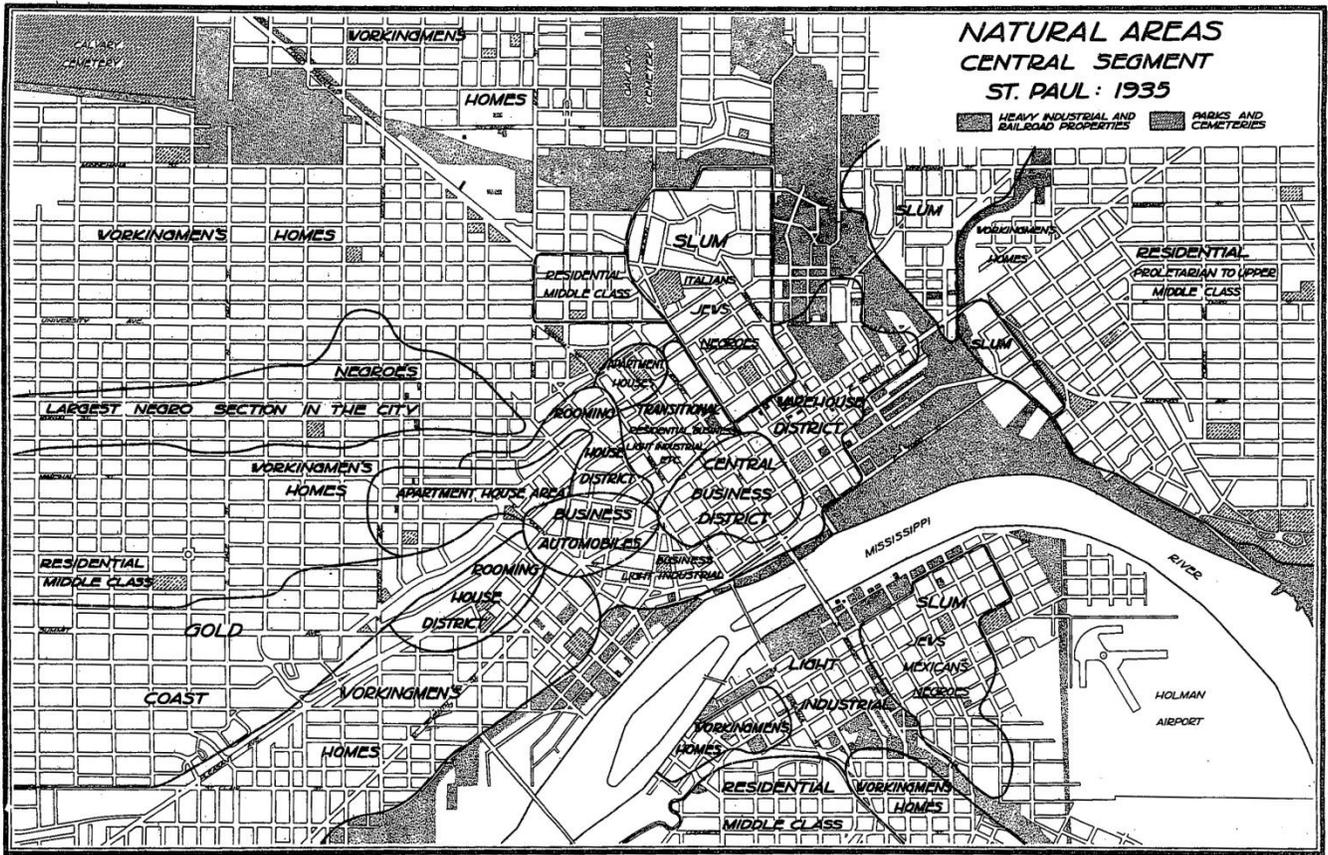
While previous sections of this report describe the regional racial and economic trends that contributed to the formation of RCAPs, this section explains how and why specific communities emerged as RCAPs. This section will focus on three important factors that shaped the historical context of the RCAPs: large-scale public housing and highway investments, the region's built environment and historic immigration patterns.

An examination of the spatial distribution of residents of color over time reveals a striking continuity in the location of communities of color that goes as far back as the 1930s. For instance, Maps 5.D and 5.E, respectively, show the racial and socioeconomic status of neighborhoods in Saint Paul and Minneapolis in 1935. Remarkably, present-day RCAPs are located in the black communities and racially and ethnically diverse immigrant neighborhoods of the 1930s.

Historically, the Near North neighborhood in North Minneapolis, the Phillips and Central neighborhoods in South Minneapolis and the Rondo neighborhood in the Dale-Summit-University area were home to the region's black residents. Similarly, South Minneapolis, West Side and North End were home to a mix of immigrants and blacks. The region's racially and ethnically diverse immigrant hubs and black communities were often designated 'slums' by city officials. Over the years, white immigrants of the region, such as Swedes, Germans, Russians, Irish, Italians and Jews, came and went through these immigrant hubs, subsequently locating in other white areas as they moved up the social ladder. Immigrants of color, in contrast, remained in these communities for decades, often along with black residents.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term *Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP)*. This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to *Areas of Concentrated Poverty* where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

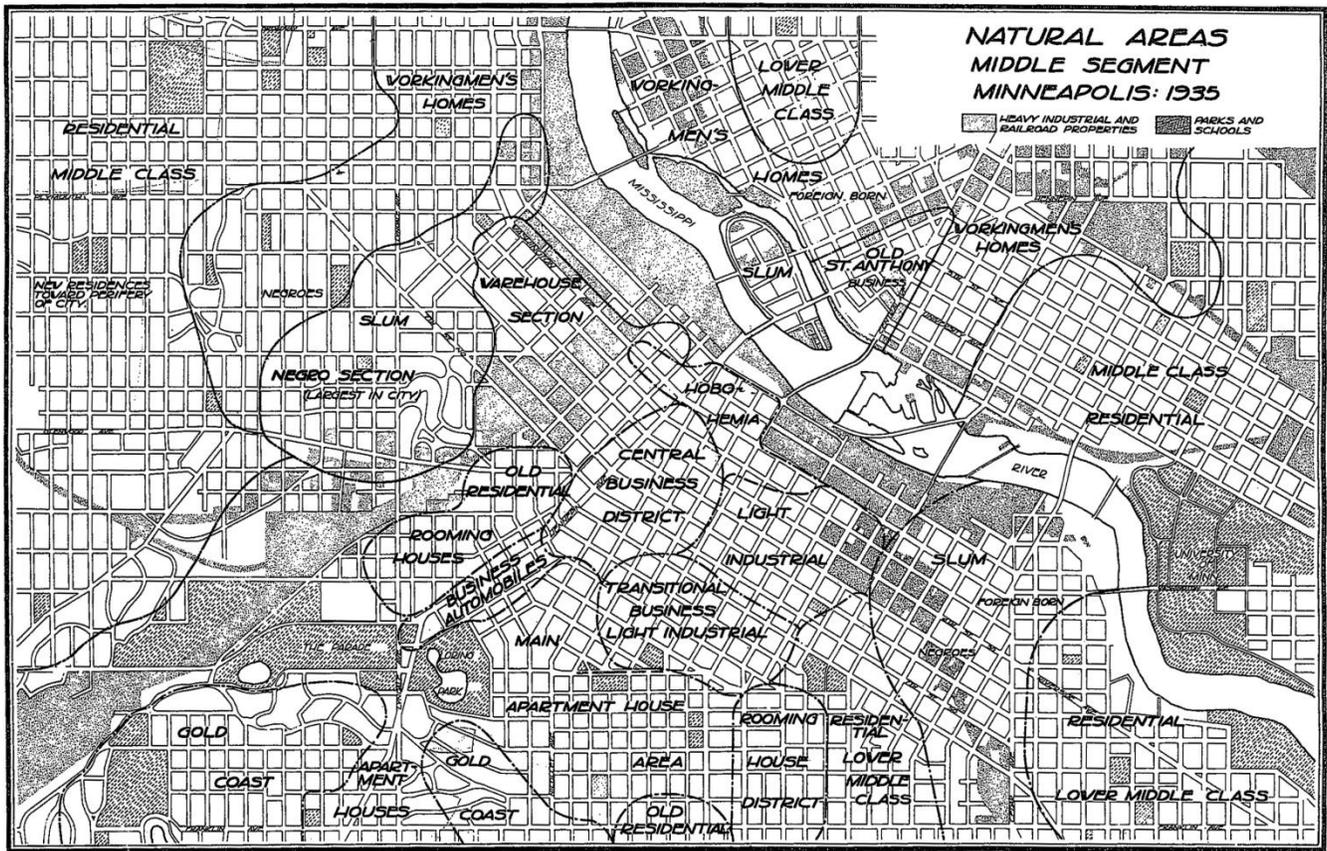
Map 5.D Characterizations of Saint Paul neighborhoods based on race and socioeconomic status, 1935



Source: Calvin F. Schmid, "Social Saga of Two Cities: An Ecological and Statistical Study of Social Trends in Minneapolis and Saint Paul," (Minneapolis, MN: The Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Bureau of Social Research, 1937), p. 181.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Map 5.E Characterizations of Minneapolis neighborhoods based on race and socioeconomic status, 1935



Source: Calvin F. Schmid, "Social Saga of Two Cities: An Ecological and Statistical Study of Social Trends in Minneapolis and Saint Paul," (Minneapolis, MN: The Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Bureau of Social Research, 1937), p. 38.

The region's immigrant and black communities were often located near manufacturing sites and railroads as most immigrants usually lived in areas closer to their jobs. During the 1940s, as the region lost its prominence in the flour milling industry, former mill sites and warehouse sites served by railroads declined rapidly, leaving nearby immigrant communities and communities of color impoverished. Some of these immigrant communities and communities of color, which were razed to the ground during the slum clearance programs of the 1940s and 1950s, were displaced out of existence. For instance, the Bohemian Flats neighborhood on the western bank of the Mississippi River and the Gateway District around the intersection of Hennepin and Nicollet Avenues to the west of the Mississippi River were among the casualties of these programs. Others communities that were disrupted by the slum clearance programs were rebuilt through the urban revitalization programs of the 1950s and 1960s. Near North, Harrison, and Cedar-Riverside neighborhoods, for instance, were among the revitalized communities.

The large-scale public investments of the 1950s and 1960s that transformed the region's geography affected immigrant and black communities significantly. The construction of public housing projects, which started as early as the 1940s and continued through the 1970s, shaped these communities more than anything else. From early on, these large public housing projects were disproportionately located in immigrant and black communities. Map 5.F, which displays the location and construction dates of the

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

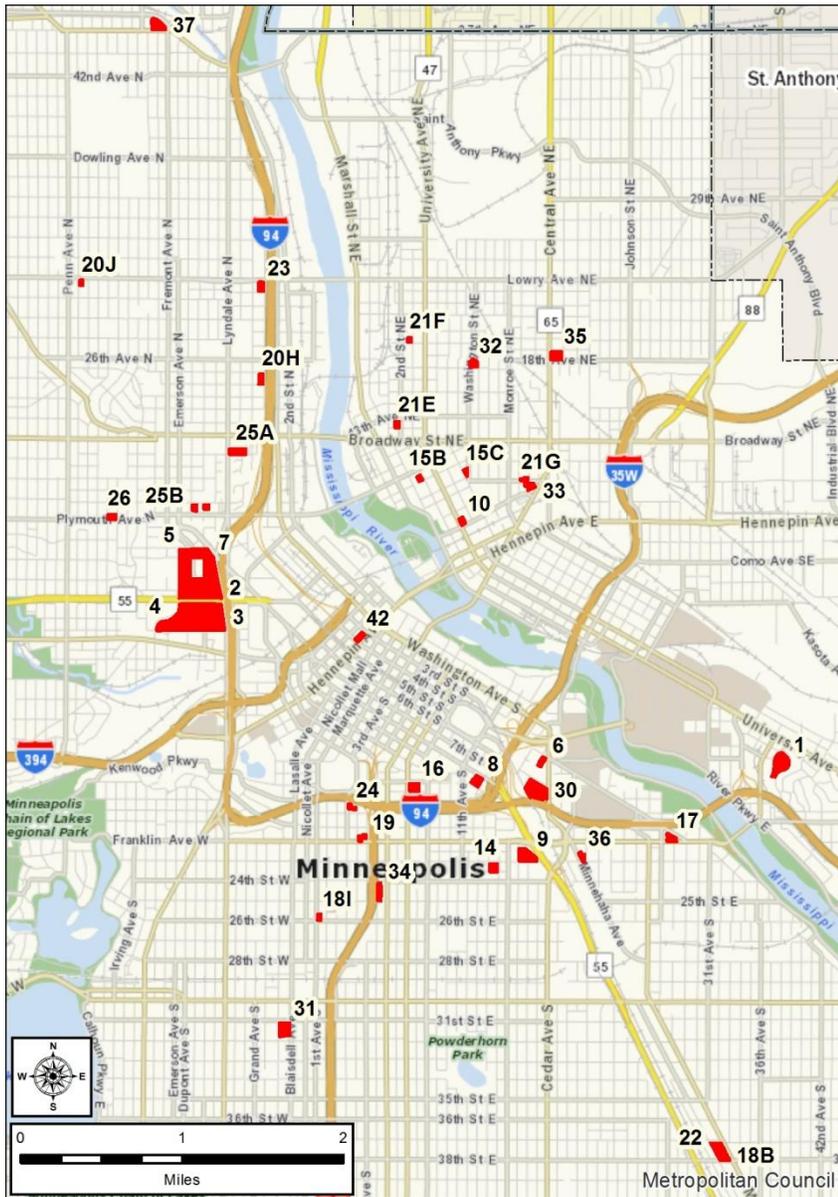
public housing projects that existed in Minneapolis as of 1974, confirms the concentration of public housing projects in various communities of color.

The first wave of public housing projects created a number of large public housing projects in Near North, turning this historically African American neighborhood to one with the highest concentration of public housing in the region.¹ The city's siting decisions also concentrated large-scale public housing projects in what is presently the South Minneapolis RCAP. During the 1960s and 1970s, the city approved the construction of a number of public housing projects along corridors on each side of Interstate 35W on the south side.² Concurrently, some of the largest public housing projects in the region, including Riverside Plaza and the Seward Towers, were constructed in the Cedar-Riverside and Seward neighborhoods of the present-day South Minneapolis RCAP.

The concentration of public housing projects in communities of color was a pattern that was present in Saint Paul as well. For instance, the city's oldest public housing project, McDonough Homes, is located in the present-day North End RCAP along with three other large-scale housing projects. The construction of high-rise housing projects such as Skyline Towers and Mt. Airy Homes in the present-day Dale-Summit-University RCAP no doubt contributed to the emergence of this RCAP. To this day, this RCAP has the highest concentration of public housing projects in Saint Paul.

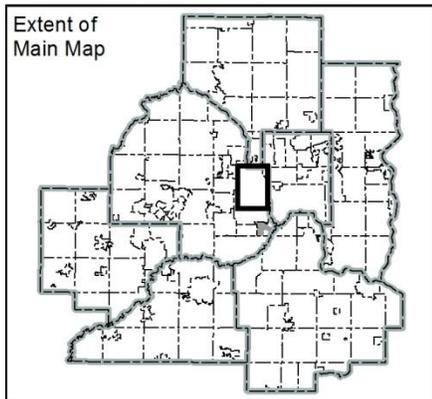
Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Map 5.F Public housing projects in Minneapolis, 1974



- 1 - Glendale Apartments
- 2 - Olson Apartments
- 3 - Lyndale Apartments
- 4 - Glenwood Apartments
- 5 - Sunner Field Apartments
- 6 - Cedar Hi Apartments
- 7 - Golden Age Apartments
- 8 - Elliot Twins Apartments
- 9 - Hiawatha Towers Apartments
- 10 - St. Anthony Apartments
- 13 - Scattered Site Housing, Citywide*
- 14 - Pentagon Apartments
- 15B - Dickman Park Apartments
- 15C - Sibley Triangle Apartments
- 16 - 1515 Park Avenue
- 17 - 2728 East Franklin Avenue
- 18B - 3755 Snelling Avenue S.
- 18I - 2533 1st Avenue S.
- 19 - 1940 4th Avenue S.
- 20H - 2415 3rd Avenue N.
- 20J - 3116 Oliver Avenue N.
- 21E - 1206 2nd Street N.E.
- 21F - 1900 3rd Street N.E.
- 21G - 800 Spring Street N.E.
- 22 - 3205 East 37th Street
- 23 - 315 Lowry Avenue N.
- 24 - 1707 3rd Avenue S.
- 25A - 600 18th Avenue N.
- 25B - 14th & Aldrich, Dupont N.
- 26 - 1710 Plymouth Avenue N.
- 29 - Leased Housing Program, Citywide*
- 30 - 630 Cedar Avenue S.
- 31 - Charles L. Horn Towers
- 32 - 1717 Washington Street N.E.
- 33 - 828 Spring Street N.E.
- 34 - 2419 & 2433 5th Avenue S.
- 35 - 1815 Central Avenue N.E.
- 36 - 2121 Minnehaha Avenue
- 37 - 1314 44th Avenue N.
- 38 - Scattered Site Housing, Citywide*
- 39 - Model City, Scattered Site Family Housing, Citywide*
- 40A - Scattered Site Family Housing, Citywide*
- 42 - 314 Hennepin Avenue
- 43 - Scattered Site Family Housing, Citywide*

* Not represented on map



■ Minneapolis Public Housing, 1974

Source: Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority, "Public Housing in Minneapolis, 1974" (Hennepin County Library, James K. Hosmer Special Collections Library).



Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

In addition to these public housing investments, the federal highway investments of the 1950s and 1960s also put their imprint on communities of color. Highways often passed through or by neighborhoods of color, disrupting the social fabric of these communities and reducing property values in these areas. For instance, the section of Interstate 94 that was constructed in the 1960s through the region's urban core split the historically vibrant African American community of Rondo in two. The largest African American community in Saint Paul until then, Rondo was the only African American community that was not designated a slum. The construction decimated the neighborhood and reduced property values in the area. It dramatically changed the area's housing stock, contributing to the proliferation of rental properties in the neighborhood. The area rapidly became the core of the region's first RCAP around the Dale-Summit-University area.

The construction of Interstate 94 and Interstate 394 in the 1980s affected the Near North neighborhood in a similar fashion. These two highways effectively severed the neighborhood from downtown Minneapolis, reducing the access of the area's population to surrounding communities. Similarly, Interstate 35W was routed through communities of color living in Central and Lyndale neighborhoods, which reduced property values in these neighborhoods and turned them into rental communities. These communities, which are presently part of the South Minneapolis RCAP, still have the lowest share of owner-occupied housing units among all RCAPs.

Detailed profiles of RCAP communities

Collectively, most of the RCAPs share similar historical narratives—they are longstanding communities of color or immigrant communities, which are shaped in part by public investments and policies as well as discriminatory practices that result in limited housing choice.ⁱⁱ The region's RCAPs displayed similar demographic trajectories throughout the 1990s and the 2000s. They all experienced losses in their white populations while gaining more residents of color and immigrants between 1990 and 2010. In 1990, all of the region's urban RCAPs were already areas of concentrated poverty. In contrast, the current suburban RCAPs were neither racially concentrated nor impoverished in 1990 or 2000. During the 2000s, however, growing poverty and increasing racial diversity in the suburbs transformed these communities substantially, resulting in a rapid transition into RCAPs by 2007-2011.

Despite these common threads, the region's RCAPs cannot and should not be viewed as a monolithic entity or a singular embodiment of the disparities described at the outset of this report. Rather, the census tracts identified as RCAPs are situated in communities with unique histories and built environments. The rest of Section Five presents individual profiles of eight different RCAP communities based on the census tracts identified in the most recent time period (2007-2011).ⁱⁱⁱ Most of these groupings are self-evident—they are adjacent census tracts within the same city or neighborhood. The largest RCAP, located in Saint Paul, was subdivided into four smaller sections based on physical and neighborhood boundaries (such as Interstate 35E and the Mississippi River).

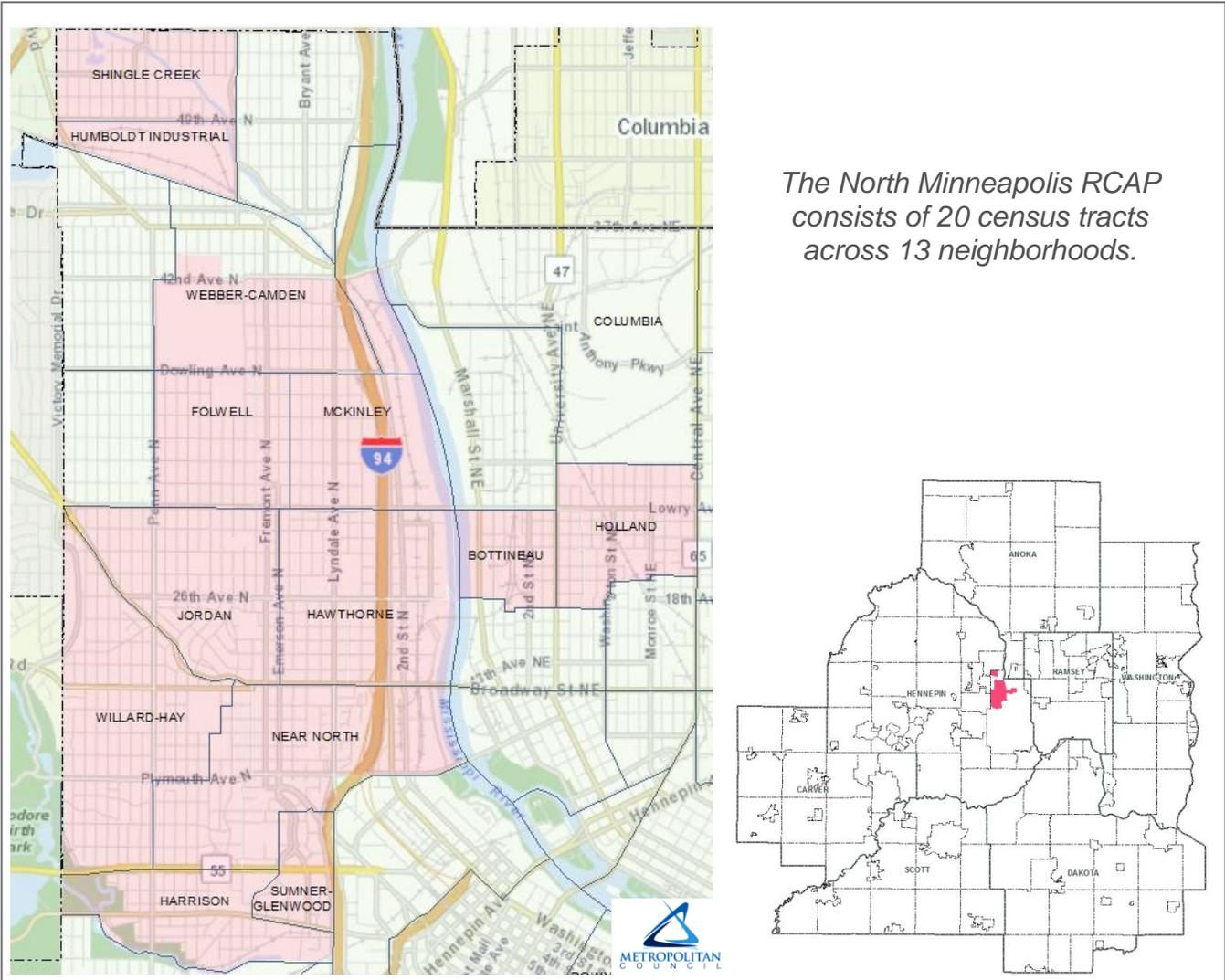
ⁱⁱ Note that the geographic boundaries used in examining the detailed profiles of RCAP communities differ from those used to describe the growth and expansion of RCAPs earlier in this section. For instance, the demographic characteristics of RCAPs summarized in Figure 5.1 refer to areas that qualified as RCAPs in each individual year. In contrast, RCAPs in the remainder of this section refer to areas that qualified as RCAPs in 2010, whether or not they were RCAPs in 1990 and 2000. In order to examine the changes that took place within RCAPs over time, the characteristics of RCAPs were examined by using the 2010 footprint of each RCAP in 1990, 2000 and 2010.

ⁱⁱⁱ Appendix G provides detailed characteristics of each RCAP for 1990, 2000 and 2010.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

North Minneapolis

Map 5.G Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in North Minneapolis, 2007-2011



Starting in the 1930s, North Minneapolis was home to a significant number of black and Jewish residents. The Near North neighborhood had a large black community in the 1930s and the number of black residents in nearby neighborhoods such as Sumner-Glenwood and Harrison grew continuously throughout the 1940s and the 1950s. During the 1960s, the area experienced a significant increase in its black population as a result of immigration from the South and North Central states. Until the 1960s, the area also had a significant Eastern European Jewish community—the largest one in Minneapolis. Starting with the suburbanization wave of the 1950s and continuing throughout the 1960s, Jewish residents of the area gradually moved to neighborhoods in Saint Louis Park and Minnetonka. Racial tensions that culminated in the Plymouth Avenue riot of 1967 accelerated the departure of Jewish residents, and transformed Near North and Willard-Hay neighborhoods into primarily black communities. The black population of the area continued to grow throughout the 1970s and the 1980s.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

During the 1990s, a loss of white residents paired with an influx of immigrants transformed the racial composition of North Minneapolis. In this decade, North Minneapolis experienced the largest white population decline among all RCAPs. The area lost over 13,000 white residents—around 44% of its total white population. Whites, who constituted a majority of the area in 1990, made up only 29% of the area's population in 2000.

Meanwhile, the number of people of color in the area climbed significantly, primarily due to the increase in the number of black residents. By 2000, 62% of the area's residents of color were black. During the immigration wave of the 1990s, the share of foreign-born population in the area more than doubled from 7% to 15%, and the number of Asian and Latino residents in the area increased. While Asian and Latino residents still made up only small shares of the area's population in 2000—15% and 5%, respectively—the numbers of Asian and Latino residents more than doubled during this decade.

The picture in the 2000s was very different. In contrast to the 1990s when North Minneapolis was still growing, during the 2000s the area lost over a tenth of its population—the largest population loss among all RCAP areas. Population loss was across the board, with the significant exception of Latinos. The numbers of white and Asian residents dropped by over 20%, and the number of black residents dropped by almost 10%. In contrast, the number of Latino residents increased by 62%. By 2010, 45% of the area's residents were black while only 25% were white. Latinos and Asian made up 10% and 13% of the area's population, respectively.

During the 1990s, the area experienced a considerable erosion of its housing stock, losing around 12% of its housing units. Part of this loss was due to a lawsuit brought by Legal Aid and the NAACP, which alleged that public housing and Section 8 programs in Minneapolis were operated in a manner that created and perpetuated racial segregation.³ The lawsuit ended with a settlement, and the resulting Hollman consent decree authorized the demolition of 900 public housing units during the second half of the 1990s.⁴ Despite the housing project demolitions of the 1990s, in 2012 the area still had the third-highest ratio of publicly subsidized housing—17%—in its housing stock among RCAPs. The growing economy of the 1990s did not mitigate poverty in the area. The area's poverty rate stayed high, barely changing from 47% in 1990 to 48% in 2000.

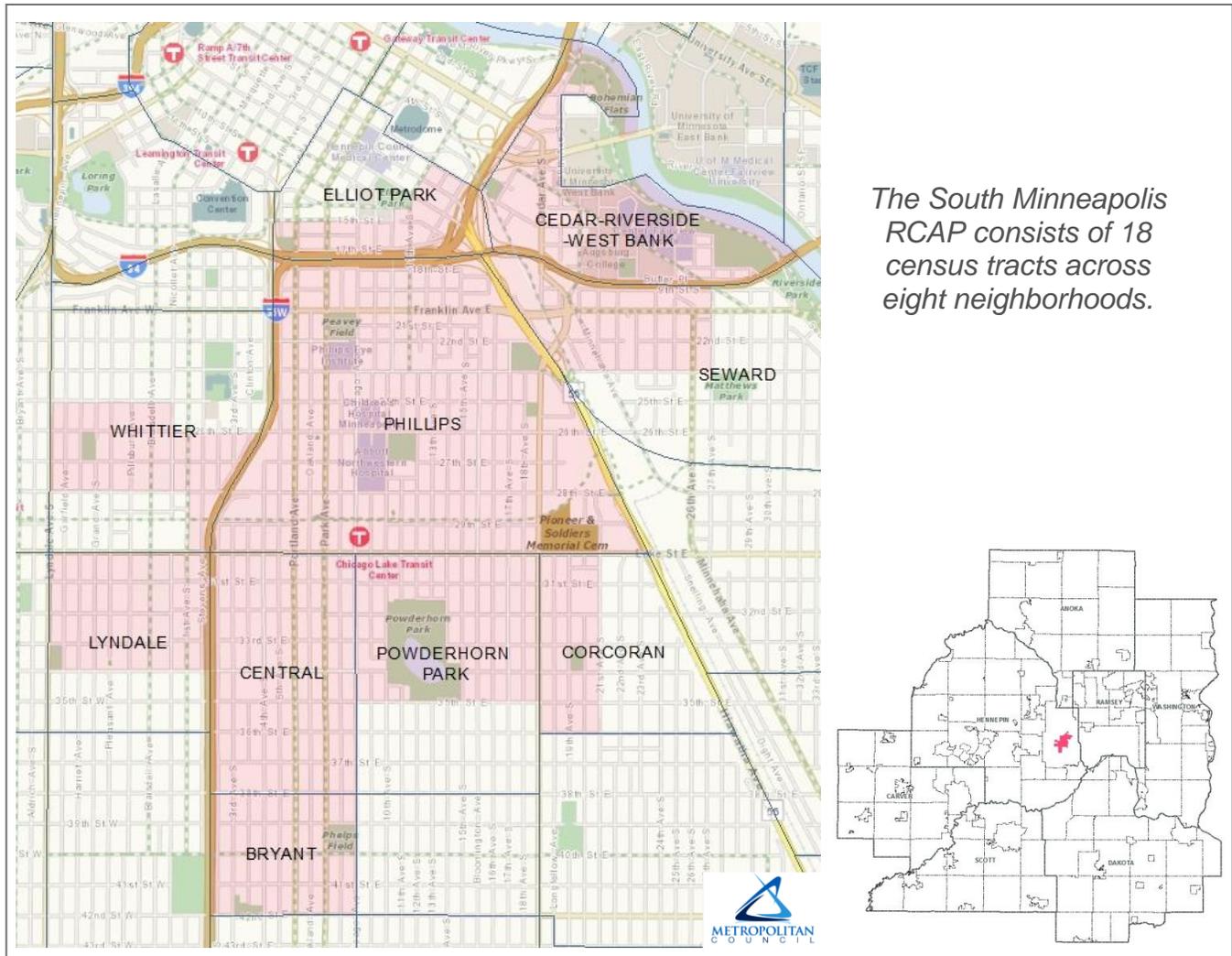
During the housing crisis of the mid-2000s, North Minneapolis suffered extreme losses. The area emerged as one of the prominent foreclosure hotspots in the region because of the prevalence of targeted predatory marketing of high-cost subprime loans to prospective homeowners of color. As foreclosures mounted, vacancies more than doubled from 6% in 2000 to 13% in 2010—the highest among all RCAPs. The concentration of foreclosures in North Minneapolis tilted the area's rental/owner balance significantly. The share of owner-occupied housing in the area dropped from 55% in 2000 to 42% in 2010, while the share of renter-occupied properties climbed from 39% to 44% during the same period.^{iv} The economic challenges of the 2000s further deepened poverty in the area, pulling the area's poverty rate up to 59% in 2010.

^{iv} These numbers do not add up to 100% because of vacant housing units at any given time.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

South Minneapolis

Map 5.H Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in South Minneapolis, 2007-2011



South Minneapolis has long been a racially and ethnically diverse section of Minneapolis. Railroads and industry attracted many immigrants to the eastern parts of what is now the Phillips neighborhood. During the 1930s, the area stretching from East Phillips to Seward was home to African Americans and many immigrants of European origin.⁵ Along with Near North, South Minneapolis was one of two popular destinations for Jewish residents for decades. During the 1940s and 1950s, Central neighborhood emerged as an established African American community. The construction of I-35W during the 1960s disrupted many communities of color in South Minneapolis and destabilized residential areas, especially around the Central and Phillips neighborhoods. The highway emerged as a social and economic barrier separating whites from people of color.⁶

Starting with the relocation of Native Americans from reservations to urban areas during the 1950s but especially during the 1970s, Phillips neighborhood became home to a growing Native American community.⁷ By the 1980s, it was home to one of the largest Native American communities in the Twin Cities. The area also had a stable Asian community for decades; early Asian residents of the area were mostly from China, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea. By the 1990s, a new wave of Asian immigrants

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand expanded the presence of Asians in the area. Mexicans, although small in number, were present in neighborhoods to the north of Lake Street as early as the 1950s.

During the 1990s, South Minneapolis was the fastest-growing RCAP in the region. Its population grew 17% during this decade, mostly due to an influx of Latino and Somali immigrants. Immigration, accompanied by a decline in white population, changed the neighborhood from a majority-white neighborhood to one where a majority of residents were people of color. The area's white population shrank by 30% during the 1990s as the area lost more than 8,000 white residents. By 2000, only a third of the area residents were white. In contrast, the foreign-born share of the population tripled from 10% to 31% during the decade.

The area became a hub for Latino and Somali immigrants mostly because of the abundance of rental units. In 1990, 69% of the housing units in the area were renter-occupied. The area gained nearly 11,000 Latino residents—a nearly sevenfold increase—in this decade. Phillips and Central neighborhoods were among the most popular destinations for Latino immigrants. By 2000, one in five area residents was Latino.

Starting with the mid-1990s, the area became a magnet for Somali refugees fleeing the Somali Civil War. Somalis settled in and around the Cedar-Riverside and Seward neighborhoods, most visibly in publicly subsidized high-rise projects such as Riverside Plaza, which was dubbed “Little Somalia.” During this decade, the number of black residents in the area increased by one-third, sealing their status as the second-largest racial group in the area after whites. By 2000, 3 out of 10 South Minneapolis residents were black.

The area also has a considerable Native American community in the Phillips area. Established in the mid-1970s, the Little Earth Community—the only Native American targeted affordable housing project funded by HUD in the nation—by itself is home to nearly 1,000 residents in a multi-block area. In 1990, South Minneapolis had nearly 5,800 Native American residents, making up 10% of the area population. However, during the 1990s and 2000s, the area lost nearly 60% of its Native American residents. By 2010 Native Americans constituted only 4% of the area population.

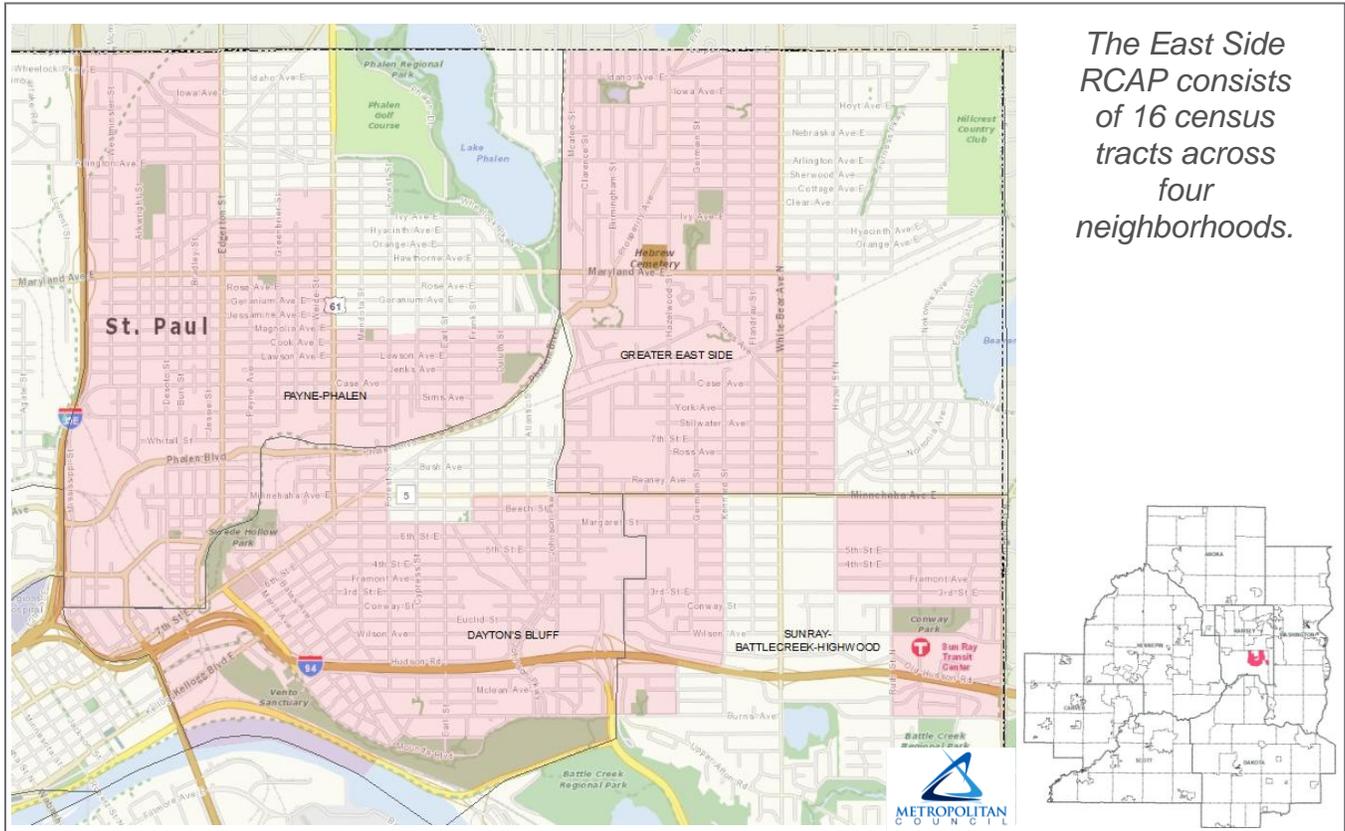
Latino immigration was the main source of demographic change during the 2000s. The area's Latino population continued to expand in this decade, although not as fast as it did in the 1990s. The decline in the number of whites and the increase in the number of blacks were negligible, and the share of both populations hovered around 30% during this decade. By 2010, there were almost as many Latinos as blacks in the area, and the share of Latinos in the area's population had gone up to 27%. The area lost nearly half of its small population of Asian residents in the 2000s, bringing their share of the area's population down from 7% to 4%.

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, South Minneapolis led the region's RCAPs in poverty rates. In 1990, 59% of area residents lived in families who had incomes less than 185% of the federal poverty threshold. High poverty rates were somewhat related to the area's housing stock. Publicly subsidized housing units, home to the region's low-income residents, constituted around 28.5% of the area's housing stock—the second highest ratio among all RCAPs in 2012. The area has a significant number of high-density housing projects, such as Riverside Plaza, Seward Tower West, Midtown Exchange Apartments, Cedar High Apartments and Riverside Homes. Poverty remained high during the 1990s even as it was declining in most parts of the region. The area's poverty rate, which declined slightly from 59% in 1990 to 57% in 2000, increased to 64% in 2007-2011 in response to the dire economic conditions of the 2000s.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

East Side

Map 5.I Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in Saint Paul's East Side, 2007-2011



Historically, Saint Paul's East Side has been a hub for generations of immigrants. Over the years, many Europeans, including Swedes, Irish, and Italians came and went through the area. The area known as Swede Hollow, for instance, was a popular entry point for immigrants due to its proximity to industrial sites and its affordable housing stock. The area boasted the presence of many manufacturing companies including 3M, Whirlpool and Hamm's Brewing. Many neighborhoods in the area, including Greater East Side, Hillcrest, Hazel Park, and Hayden Heights were middle-class residential communities that were home to the employees of these companies. The move of 3M's headquarters from Saint Paul to Maplewood in 1962 and the departure of Whirlpool from the region in 1985 impacted the area residents considerably. Despite these changes, the community remained a popular destination for immigrants, becoming home to many Hmong refugees starting with the 1980s.

During the 1990s and 2000s, the East Side was the region's second-fastest-growing RCAP after South Minneapolis. The area's population grew despite a considerable decline in its white population. In 2010, the white population in the East Side was less than half of what it was in 1990. In fact, the East Side experienced the largest numeric decline in white population among all RCAPs, losing more than 22,000 white residents in two decades. In contrast to 1990, when 80% of East Side residents were white, by 2010 only 35% of residents were white.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Along with South Minneapolis, the East Side was one of the fastest-growing immigrant hubs in the Twin Cities region. Asian immigration was the main driver of this rapid growth. From 1990 to 2000, the number of Asians, primarily Hmong, more than tripled, raising the Asian share of the area's population from 8% to 22%. Meanwhile, Latinos and blacks, who each made up 5% of the area's population in 1990, also rapidly grew in number. By 2000, Latinos constituted 11% of the area's population while blacks were 12%. One-quarter of the area's nearly 63,000 residents in 2000 were foreign-born. During this decade, the East Side lost 29% of its nearly 44,000 white residents.

The rapid population growth of the 1990s came to a halt during the 2000s, as the area's white population continued to decline. While the white population shrank by almost a third during the 2000s, the immigrant population of the area continued to grow, albeit at a slower rate. By 2010, 26% of area residents were foreign-born. The number of residents of color increased during the 2000s. In 2010, Asians were the largest group among residents of color, constituting 28% of the area population. Meanwhile, blacks and Hispanics made up 17% and 15% of the population, respectively.

The housing tenure of the area changed considerably during the 1990s and the 2000s. In 1990, owner-occupied housing units were half of the East Side's housing stock while 44% of the properties were rental. Up until 2000, the area had more owner-occupied housing units than rental units. This changed during the 2000s as a result of the housing crisis. The prevalence of targeted predatory lending in the area resulted in a disproportionate concentration of foreclosures in the area.⁸ The area's vacancy rate soared from 3% in 2000 to 10% in 2010—the second-highest among all RCAPs. Meanwhile, the number of owner-occupied housing units plummeted by 16%, pulling down the area's share of owner-occupied housing units from 53% in 2000 to 44% in 2010. In contrast, rental units edged up from 43% in 2000 to 46% in 2010. By 2010, the number of rental properties in East Side exceeded the number of owner-occupied units.

Among all RCAPs, the East Side had the lowest ratio of publicly subsidized housing units in its housing stock. In 2012, publicly subsidized housing units constituted only 11% of the area's housing stock. In 1990, the area had a poverty rate of 37%—the lowest among the urban RCAPs. However, the area experienced an increase in poverty rates even during the 1990s. The share of East Side residents living in poverty went up from 37% in 1990 to 42% in 2000. The economic conditions of the 2000s further intensified poverty. By 2010, 55% of the East Side residents lived in poverty.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

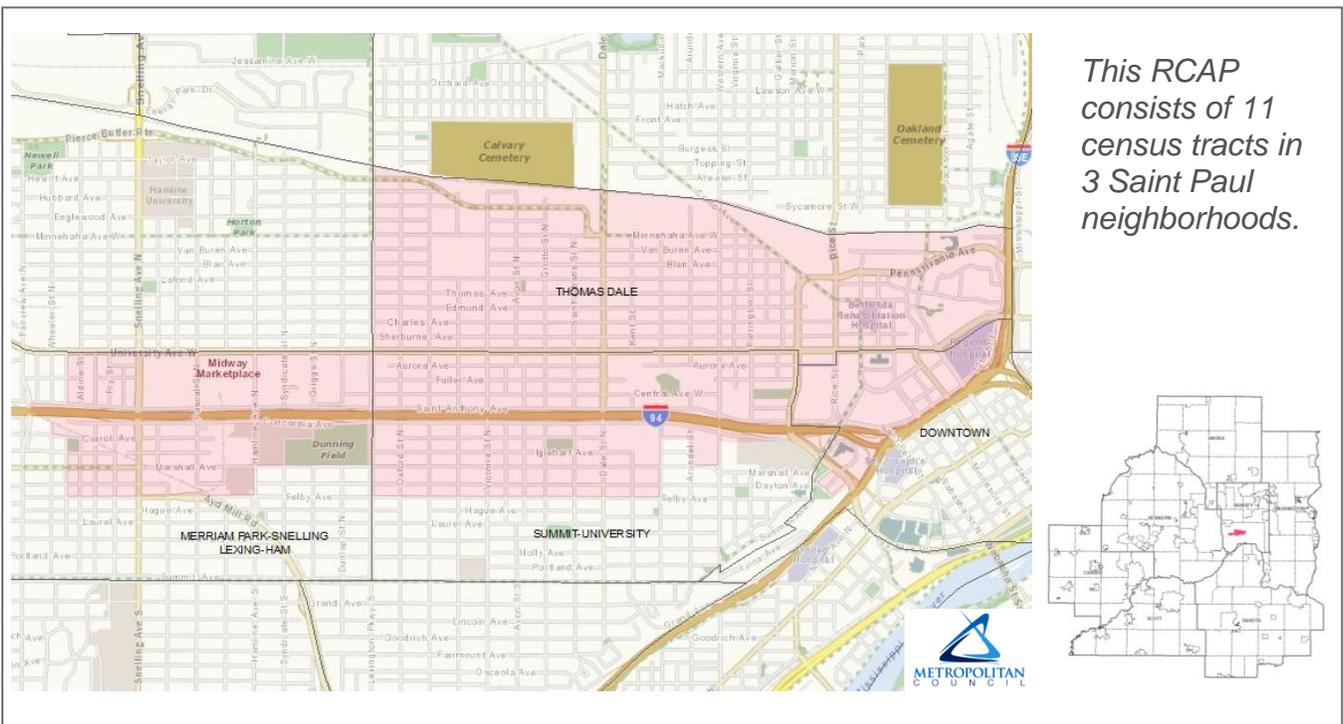
throughout the 1990s and 2000s, hovering around 10%. The share of the area's black population remained in single digits in 1990 and 2000. Overall, the 1990s served the West Side well; the poverty rate declined from 43% in 1990 to 36% in 2000.

The profile of the West Side during the 2000s looked very different from what it was in the 1990s. In contrast to the 1990s, when the area population grew by one-tenth, the West Side lost 7% of its population during the 2000s. The white population in the area shrank by 19%, and the Latino population dropped by 13%. Despite this decline in the number of Latino residents, nearly 6 out of 10 residents of color were Latino in 2010. In contrast to whites and Latinos, the number of black residents in the West Side nearly doubled, bringing the share of black residents up from 7% in 2000 to 14% in 2010.

The economic downturn of the 2000s had a significant impact on the well-being of West Side residents; the area's poverty rate jumped from 36% in 2000 to 55% in 2010. The foreclosure crisis of the late 2000s affected the neighborhood to some extent. The number of owner-occupied housing units in the West Side's housing stock went down by about 10% while the area's vacancy rate climbed from 3% to 10% during the 2000s. In contrast to 2000, when only one-quarter of the households were cost-burdened (i.e., spent more than 30% of their income on housing costs), the share of cost-burdened households increased considerably to 43% in 2010.

Dale-Summit-University

Map 5.K Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in Dale-Summit-University, 2007-2011



Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Historically, the Dale-Summit-University RCAP has been a vibrant, mixed-income African American community (see Map 5.D). During the 1950s, 85% of Saint Paul's African American community lived in the Rondo neighborhood, which covered the southern portion of this RCAP.⁹ The construction of Interstate 94 during the 1960s, however, dissected the area. The highway divided the Rondo community in two, displacing a significant number of African American residents. Of the homes that were demolished, 72% belonged to African Americans, and one in eight African Americans in Saint Paul lost a home as a result of the I-94 construction.¹⁰

I-94 changed the fabric of the community quite dramatically. Prior to the highway construction, Rondo was the only African American community in Saint Paul that was not considered a 'slum.' After construction, property values in the neighborhood rapidly declined as rental properties proliferated along the highway.

By 1990, the residents of Dale-Summit-University were racially diverse. Even in 1990, when people of color were only 9% of the region's population, the majority of this area's residents were persons of color. Whites made up 42% of the residents, while blacks and Asians constituted 32% and 19%, respectively. The number of white residents dropped by 31% from 1990 to 2000. By 2000, only one-quarter of the area residents were white.

As in most other RCAPs, the immigration wave of the 1990s boosted the area's population despite the significant decline in the area's white population. The area's share of foreign-born residents jumped from 16% to 27% in this decade, as Asians and Latinos moved in. The Asian population, primarily Hmong and Vietnamese residents, expanded by three-quarters in this decade. The Frogtown neighborhood was a popular destination for Asian residents, whose share in the area went up from 19% in 1990 to 28% in 2000. While the area's Latino share of the population remained in single digits, the number of Latinos almost doubled during the 1990s. Somali immigration of the mid-1990s contributed to the growth of the area's black residents; the number of black residents in the area grew by 15% during the 1990s. Black residents constituted around one-third of the area's residents in both 1990 and 2000.

In contrast to the Twin Cities region, which grew by 8% between 2000 and 2010, the Dale-Summit-University RCAP lost 10% of its population in this decade. Blacks were the only racial group who experienced population growth in the area, in part because of an influx of African immigrants to Skyline Towers. By 2010, they constituted 38% of the residents. Meanwhile, the Asian population declined by 21%, and the white population shrank by 13%, during the same decade.

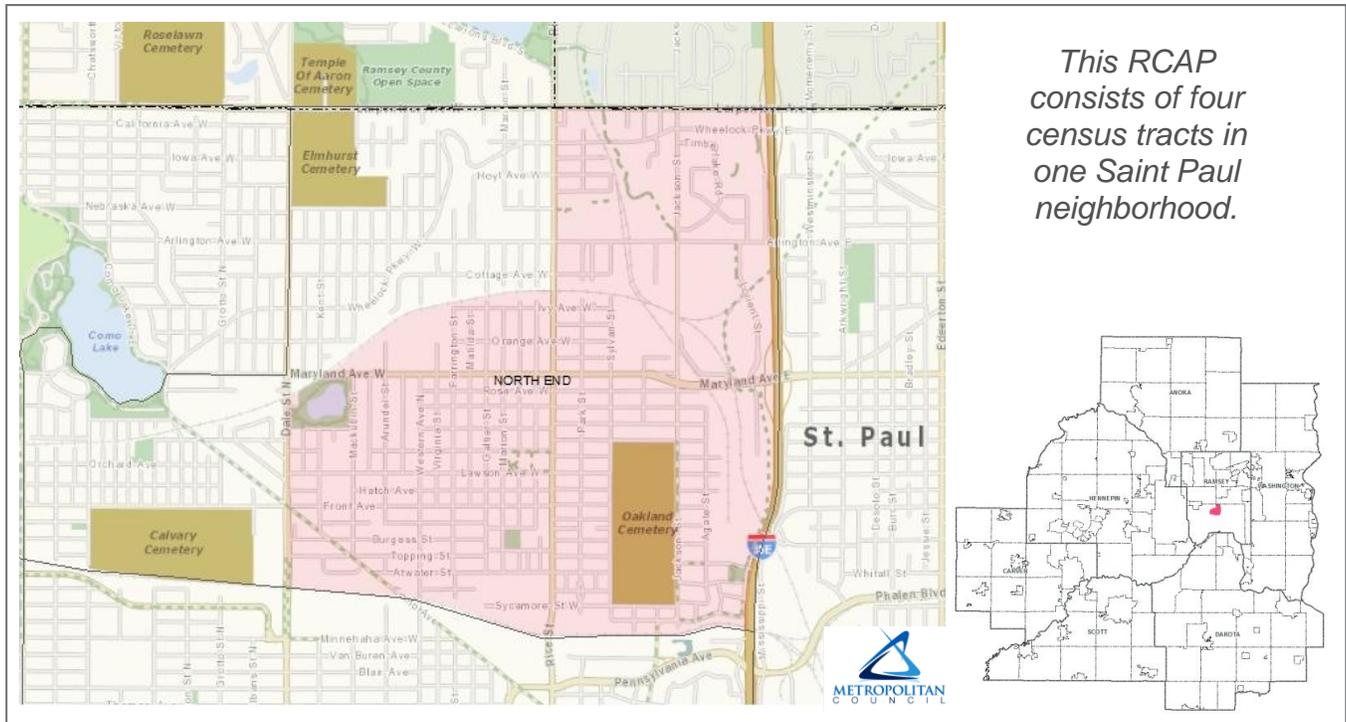
Rental properties constituted the majority of the area's occupied housing stock throughout the 1990s and the 2000s. By 2010, 59% of the community's housing stock was rental. The share of owner-occupied housing declined from 38% in 2000 to 31% in 2010 due to the foreclosures triggered by the housing crisis of the mid-2000s. This was the second-lowest share of owner-occupied housing among all RCAPs. In contrast, the area had the highest ratio of publicly subsidized housing units in its housing stock. Of the area's housing stock, 28.7% was publicly subsidized in 2012.

In 1990, Dale-Summit-University had the second-highest poverty rate among all RCAPs. While the growing economy of the 1990s lowered poverty rates, in 2000 more than half of all area residents still lived in poverty. Poverty in the area deepened quite dramatically as the economy deteriorated during the 2000s. Nearly two-thirds of the area residents were in poverty by 2010—tied with South Minneapolis for the highest poverty rate among all RCAPs.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

North End

Map 5.L Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in Saint Paul's North End, 2007-2011



Like all other RCAPs, Saint Paul's North End became a far more diverse neighborhood during the 1990s and the 2000s. In 1990, white and Asian residents were the predominant groups in the area. Whites made up two-thirds of the area's population, while Asians comprised around of one-fifth. Over the next two decades, the number of white residents in the North End dropped noticeably. Whites, who made up half of the population in 2000, constituted only one-third of the residents in 2010.

In contrast, Asian population in the area grew steadily during the next two decades, especially during the 2000s. The North End started receiving a significant number of Karen refugees from Burma around 2003, and the area's Hmong population continued to grow. By 2010, nearly one-third of area residents were Asian. The black population of the area also expanded considerably, increasing fivefold between 1990 and 2010. By 2010, around one-fifth of North End residents were black. Latinos had a small yet growing presence in the area. While the North End's Latino population nearly tripled between 1990 and 2010, Latinos still constituted only 12% of the area population in 2010. Much of this transition between racial groups was visible in the changing demographic profile of Saint Paul's largest family public housing site, McDonough Homes. Asians gradually replaced the African-American residents of McDonough Homes during this period.

The foreclosure crisis of the 2000s destabilized the community quite dramatically. Along with the East Side, the area had disproportionately high numbers of high-cost subprime loans in the first half of the 2000s. The number and share of renter-occupied properties in the North End's housing stock increased between 1990 and 2010. While the area had more owner-occupied housing units than renter-occupied properties in 1990, the opposite was the case in 2010. The area lost one-fifth of its owner-occupied housing units during this period while the number of renter-occupied properties grew by 13%. The

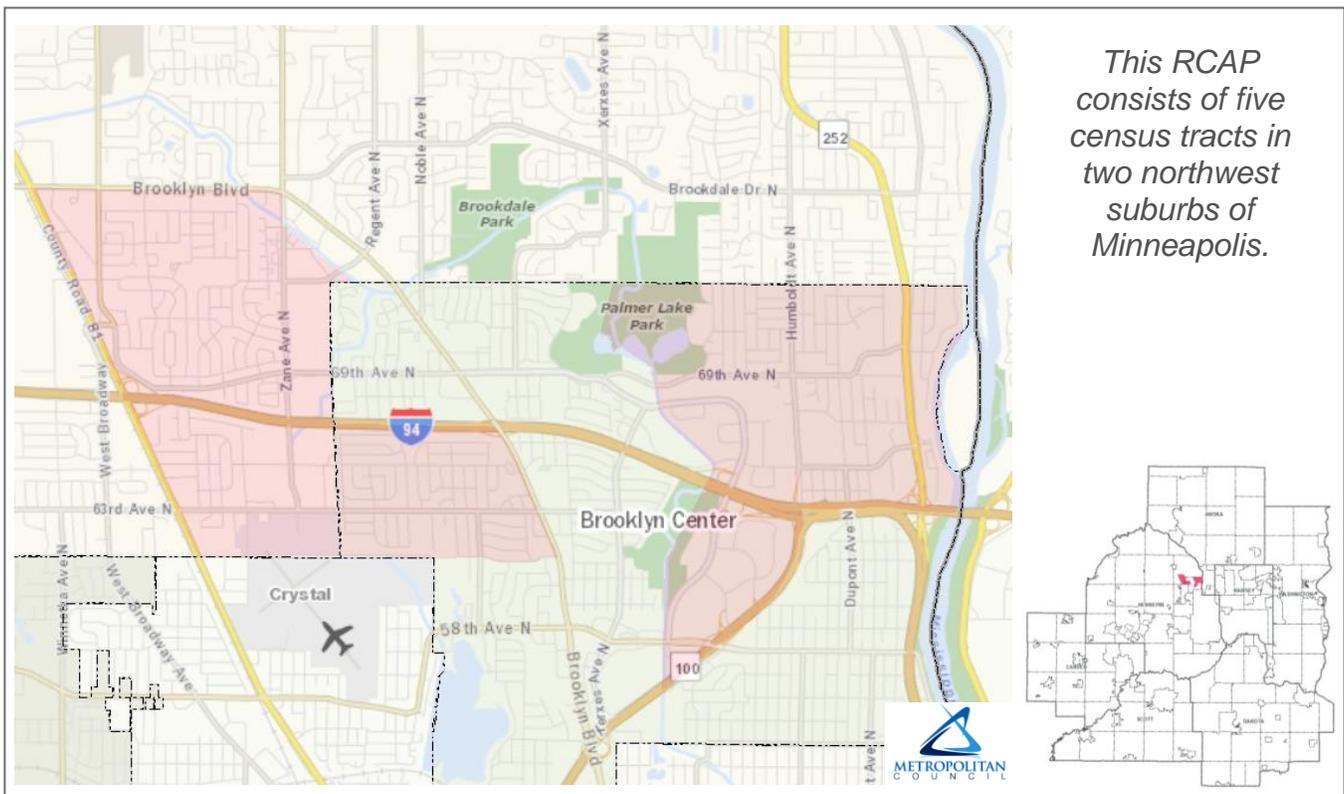
Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

share of owner-occupied housing units went down from 50% in 1990 to 40% in 2010, while the share of rental properties increased from 44% to 50% during the same period.

The North End had high poverty rates throughout the 1990s and the 2000s. The expanding economy of the 1990s did not make much of a dent in poverty. The share of area residents living in poverty barely declined from 49% in 1990 to 47% in 2000. The first decade of the century, however, deepened poverty considerably in North End, as the area's poverty rate rose to 59% in 2010.

Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park

Map 5.M Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park, 2007-2011



The Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park RCAP is one of two suburban RCAPs in the region that emerged over the 2000s. As the most dynamic among all the RCAPs, the area's socioeconomic make-up changed substantially over the past 20 years. The number of white residents declined 57% between 1990 and 2010. Meanwhile, the area was one of the most popular destinations for black residents; the number of blacks increased fivefold during the 1990s and 2000s. In contrast to 1990, when whites constituted an overwhelming majority of the area residents, blacks were the largest racial group in the area in 2010. Immigration was another factor that transformed the area. The area's foreign-born residents increased more than tenfold in two decades, and their share of the area population soared from 3% in 1990 to 29% in 2010.

The area's profile during the 1990s was fairly different from that of the next decade. The area barely grew during the 1990s as the decline in the number of white residents countered the increase in the number of residents of color. The share of white residents in the area dropped from 86% in 1990 to

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

59% in 2000. In contrast, the share of both black and Asian residents tripled, bringing their shares to 23% and 10%, respectively. The area's small Latino population also increased, bringing the Latino share up to 4% in 2000 from 1% in 1990. While the area still had the lowest poverty rates among RCAPs during this decade, poverty increased slightly from 23% in 1990 to 25% in 2000 even as it was going down in most places.

During the 2000s, this RCAP population grew faster than any other RCAP in the region. In fact, the area grew by 9% while the other RCAPs lost an average of 3% of their population. In the 2000s, the area was the most popular destination for black residents among all RCAPs. As a result, the share of black residents in the area's population jumped from 23% in 2000 to 37% in 2010. While the area was still a majority-white community in 2000, only one-third of the area residents were white in 2010. The population shares of both Asian and Latino residents increased to 13% in 2010.

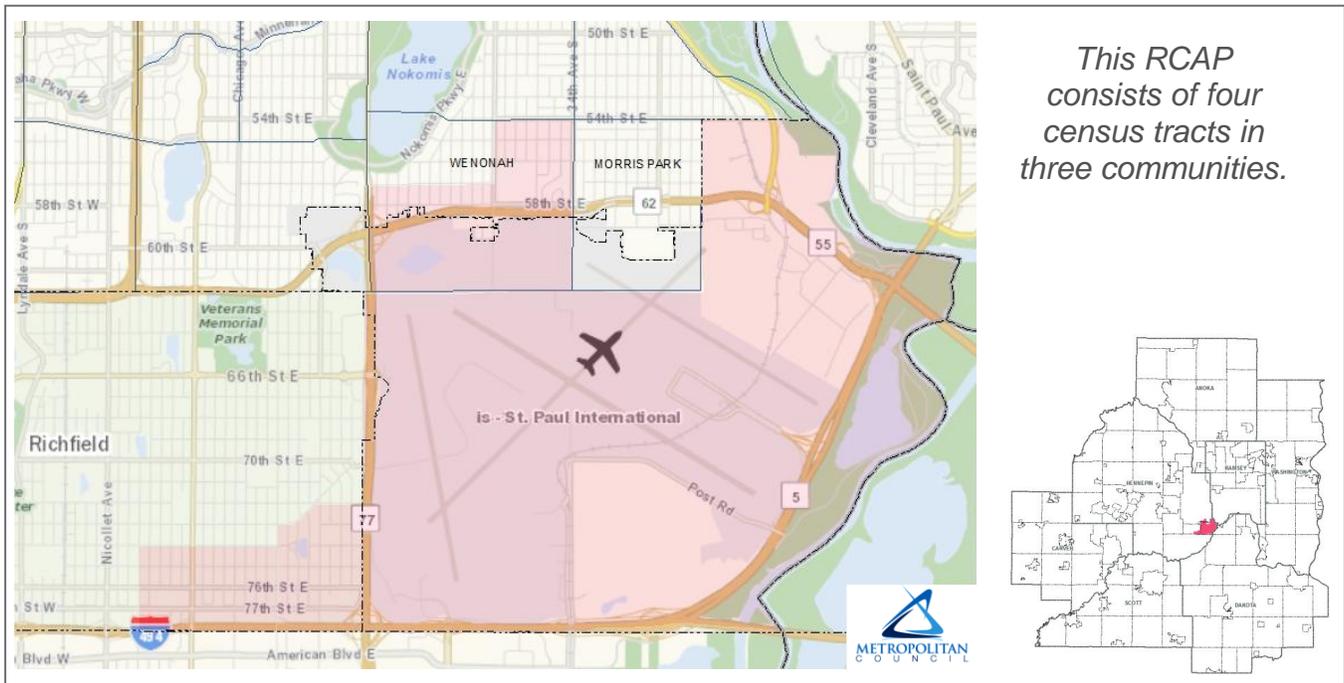
The area had the lowest share of publicly subsidized housing among all RCAPs in 2010, despite a substantial rental housing market. The Zane Avenue Corridor in Brooklyn Park, for instance, had an especially high concentration of apartment complexes with relatively affordable, one-bedroom rental units. The City of Brooklyn Park demolished some of these units in an attempt to redevelop the area during the 2000s. Despite the demolitions, the renter-occupied share of the area's housing stock remained fairly high throughout the 1990s and the 2000s. In 1990, rental properties made up 50% of the area's housing stock while only 44% of the housing units were owner-occupied. By 2010, the share of renter-occupied properties went up to 52% while the corresponding share for owner-occupied properties declined to 42%.

The recession of the 2000s hit the area very hard. In fact, the area, along with Richfield, experienced the most dramatic increase in poverty among all RCAPs. By 2010, one in two residents lived in poverty, compared to one in four in 2000. The noticeably rapid change of the area during the 2000s is evident from the fact that the area emerged as a suburban RCAP only in 2010.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Richfield-Fort Snelling-Minneapolis

Map 5.N Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty tracts in Richfield-Fort Snelling-Minneapolis, 2007-2011



One of two suburban RCAPs in the Twin Cities region, the Richfield-Fort Snelling-Minneapolis RCAP was, in 1990, the whitest community among all RCAPs. Like all other RCAPs, the area experienced a sharp decline in the number of its white residents, losing nearly half (48%) of its white population between 1990 and 2010. While 87% of the area residents were white in 1990, this share declined to 63% in 2000 and to 45% in 2010. The area's population stayed fairly stable during the 1990s and the 2000s, as the expanding number of Latinos and blacks accompanied the sharp decline in the area's white population.

Latino immigration boosted the number of residents of color in the area more than anything else. The area gained 2,600 Latino residents between 1990 and 2010, while it lost over 3,500 white residents. As a result, the share of Latinos in the area's population went up from 2% in 1990 to 31% in 2010. During the same period, the share of foreign-born residents in the area's population soared from 4% to 29%. Meanwhile, the area's black population more than doubled during these decades, increasing the share of black residents from 6% in 1990 to 14% in 2010.

The area's share of publicly subsidized housing units was the second lowest among all RCAPs. The share of rental properties in the area's housing stock increased from 41% in 1990 to 45% in 2000. During the 2000s, the area's housing stock changed significantly. The share of owner-occupied housing units shrank from 53% in 2000 to 46% in 2010 while the share of rental properties went up from 45% to 47% during the same period. By 2010, the number of rental properties in the area exceeded the number of owner-occupied housing units.

This suburban area had some of the lowest poverty rates among all RCAPs in 1990 and 2000. Yet, poverty in the area increased quite rapidly between 1990 and 2010. Even during the 1990s, poverty in the area climbed from 22% to 29%—the largest increase in poverty among all RCAPs in this decade.

Please note that as of January 2015, Metropolitan Council no longer uses the term Racial Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This report, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, required the use of RCAP. In our continued research on poverty in the Twin Cities region, we refer to Areas of Concentrated Poverty where 50% or more of residents are people of color.

Poverty deepened even faster during the 2000s, as the area's poverty rate soared from 29% to 54% in 2010. It was during the 2000s that the area emerged as a new suburban RCAP in the region.

Section Five looked at the historic origins, demographic characteristics, and built environments of the region's RCAPs during the 1990s and 2000s and examined individual RCAP communities to identify commonalities and differences among them. The analysis of RCAP profiles revealed common trends that shaped the trajectories of RCAPs during these two decades. All of these communities experienced a loss of their white residents, an influx of immigrants, and increases in the share of rental properties. The analysis showed that once an area became an RCAP, it not only remained an RCAP but also expanded geographically.

The detailed profiles of RCAP communities also revealed some key differences between the RCAPs in Minneapolis and Saint Paul and those in the suburbs. In 1990, all of the RCAPs in Minneapolis and Saint Paul were already areas of concentrated poverty. In contrast, present-day suburban RCAPs had neither concentrations of people of color nor concentrated poverty in 1990. In fact, unlike the central city RCAPs with their long history in the making, suburban RCAPs popped up suddenly during the 2000s. The areas around these RCAPs are in the middle of rapid and dramatic socioeconomic changes which may make them vulnerable to becoming RCAPs.

Section Five focused on the racial and economic characteristics of the RCAP residents without necessarily examining RCAPs as places. The location of RCAP communities influences both the level of access and the types of opportunities available to the residents of these communities. Section Six will place RCAPs within the larger context of the spatial distribution of opportunities across the region in order to examine the extent to which RCAPs as places perpetuate existing racial and ethnic disparities in the region.

¹ Edward Glenn Goetz, *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. (The Urban Institute, 2003), p. 14.

² Edward Glenn Goetz, *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. (The Urban Institute, 2003), p. 14.

³ For a detailed discussion of this lawsuit—*Hollman v. Cisneros*—see Chapter 6 in Edward Glenn Goetz, *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. (The Urban Institute, 2003).

⁴ Edward Glenn Goetz, *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. (The Urban Institute, 2003), p. 18.

⁵ Wizard Marks, "Early Phillips Area Defined by Railroads and Industry," *The Alley*, May 1990, available at http://www.pnn.org/History/Stories/railroads_and_industry.htm.

⁶ Wizard Marks, "I-35W Disrupted Minority Community, Boxed-in Phillips," *The Alley*, May 1990, available at <http://www.pnn.org/History/Stories/35W.htm>.

⁷ "A History of Minneapolis: 20th Century Growth and Diversity," The Minneapolis Collection, Hennepin County Library, available at <http://www.hclib.org/pub/search/specialcollections/mplshistory/?id=26>.

⁸ ISAIAH, "Lost Homes: How Housing Crisis Has Hit the East Side and North End of Saint Paul," May 2012.

⁹ Minnesota Historical Society, "Rondo Neighborhood," available at <http://saintpaulhistorical.com/items/show/160#.Uqye0ijlP6E>.

¹⁰ Patricia Cavanaugh, "Politics and Freeways: Building the Twin Cities Interstate System," *Center for Transportation Studies and Center for Urban and Regional Affairs at the University of Minnesota*, October 2006, p. 16.