

# The Brookings Institution

Metropolitan Policy Program

Bruce Katz, Director



## Racial Division and Concentrated Poverty in U.S. Cities

Urban Age Conference  
Johannesburg, South Africa  
July 7, 2006



# Racial Division and Concentrated Poverty in U.S. Cities

**I** What is the spatial nature of America's racial divide?

**II** How does racial separation relate to concentrated poverty?

**III** What are the broader societal effects of racial separation and concentrated poverty?

**IV** What public policies have exacerbated these problems?

**V** How can we address these problems today?



I

What is the spatial nature of America's racial divide?

The country is rapidly diversifying

*De facto* racial segregation persists

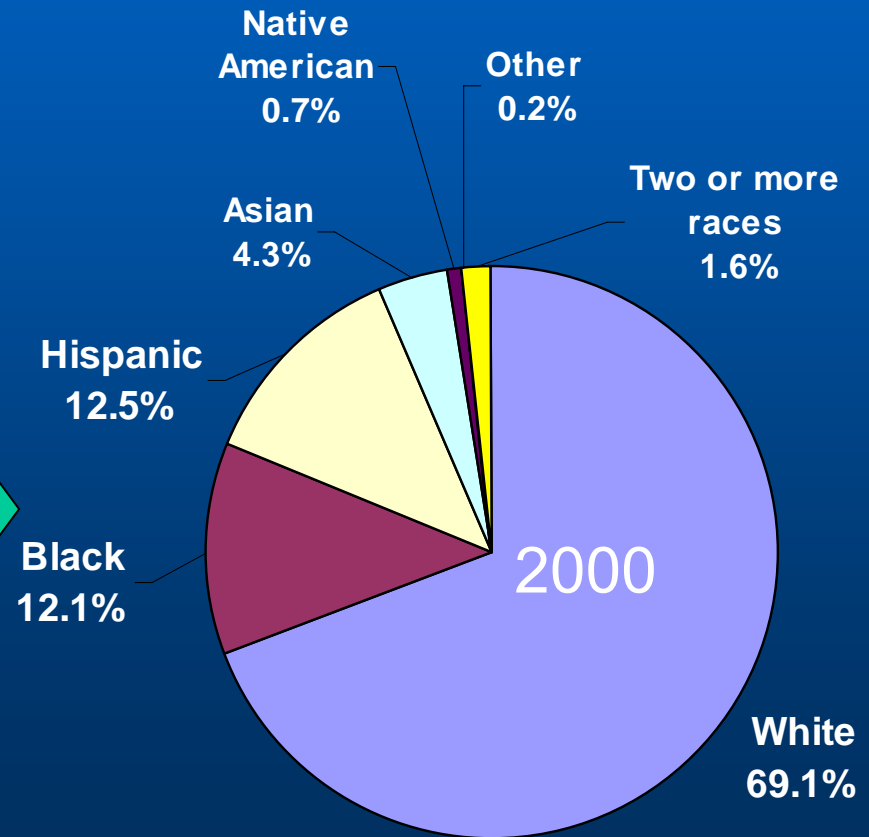
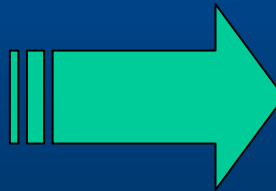
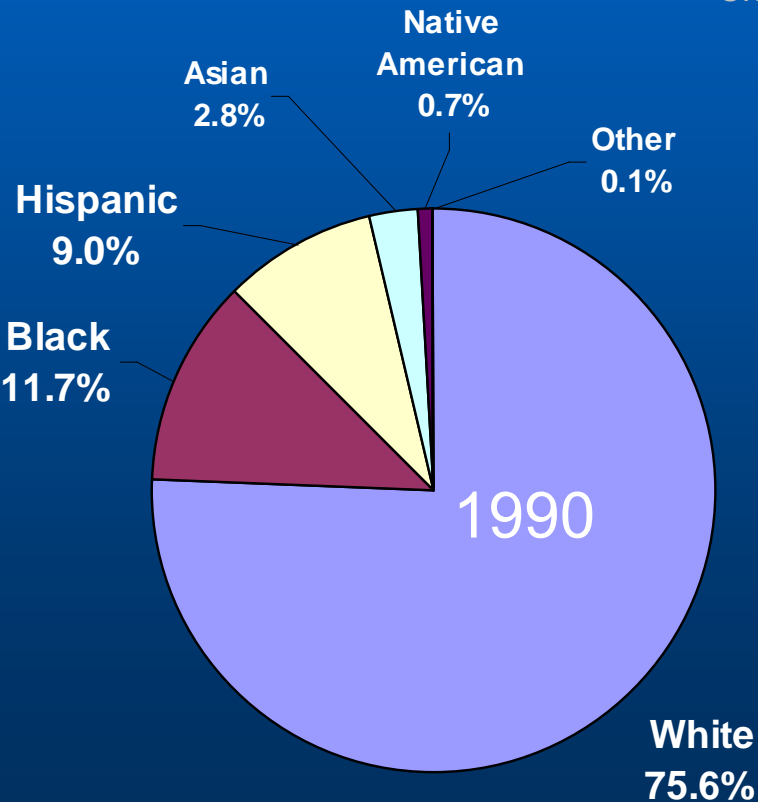
Case studies: Chicago, Washington, and New Orleans



# The United States is becoming an increasingly diverse society

Share of national population by  
race and ethnicity,  
1990 and 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

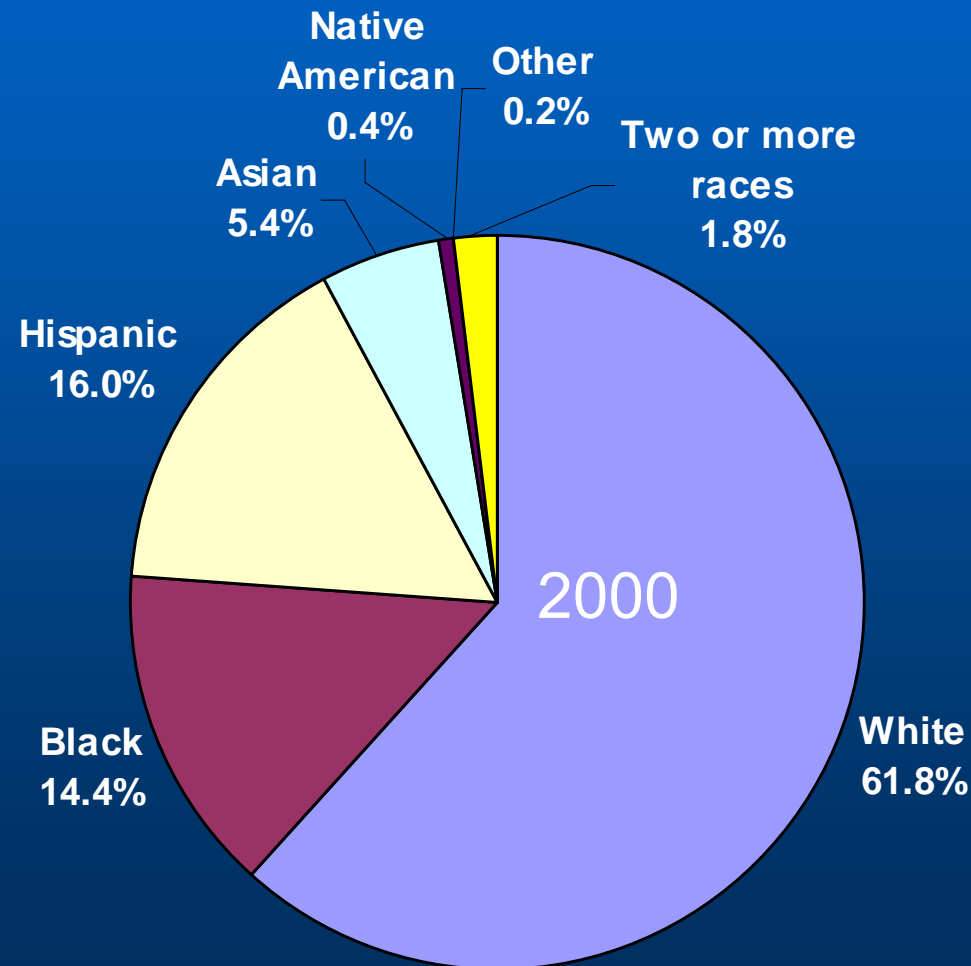




# This diversity is even greater within the largest metropolitan areas...

Share of  
population by race  
and ethnicity in the  
50 largest metros,  
2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

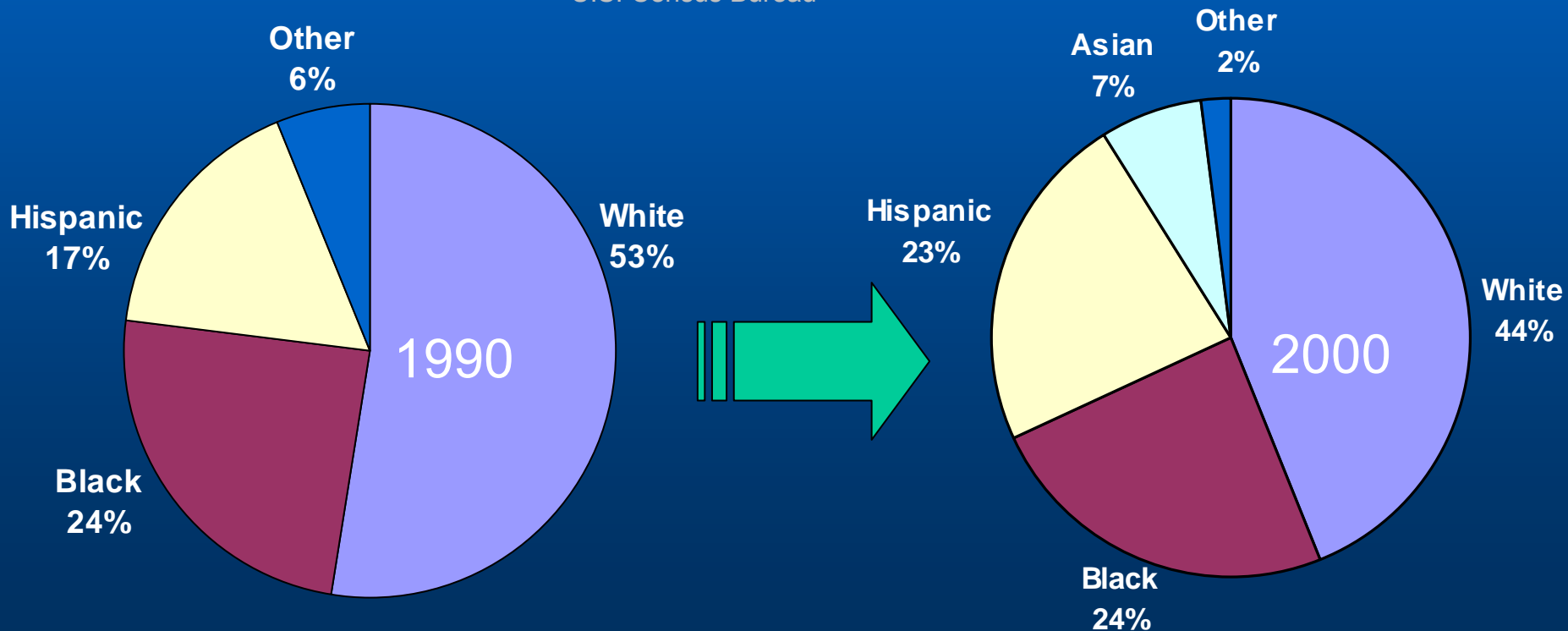




...And it is greater still in the 100 largest cities, which became “majority minority” in 2000

Share of population by race and ethnicity,  
100 largest cities, 1990 and 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau





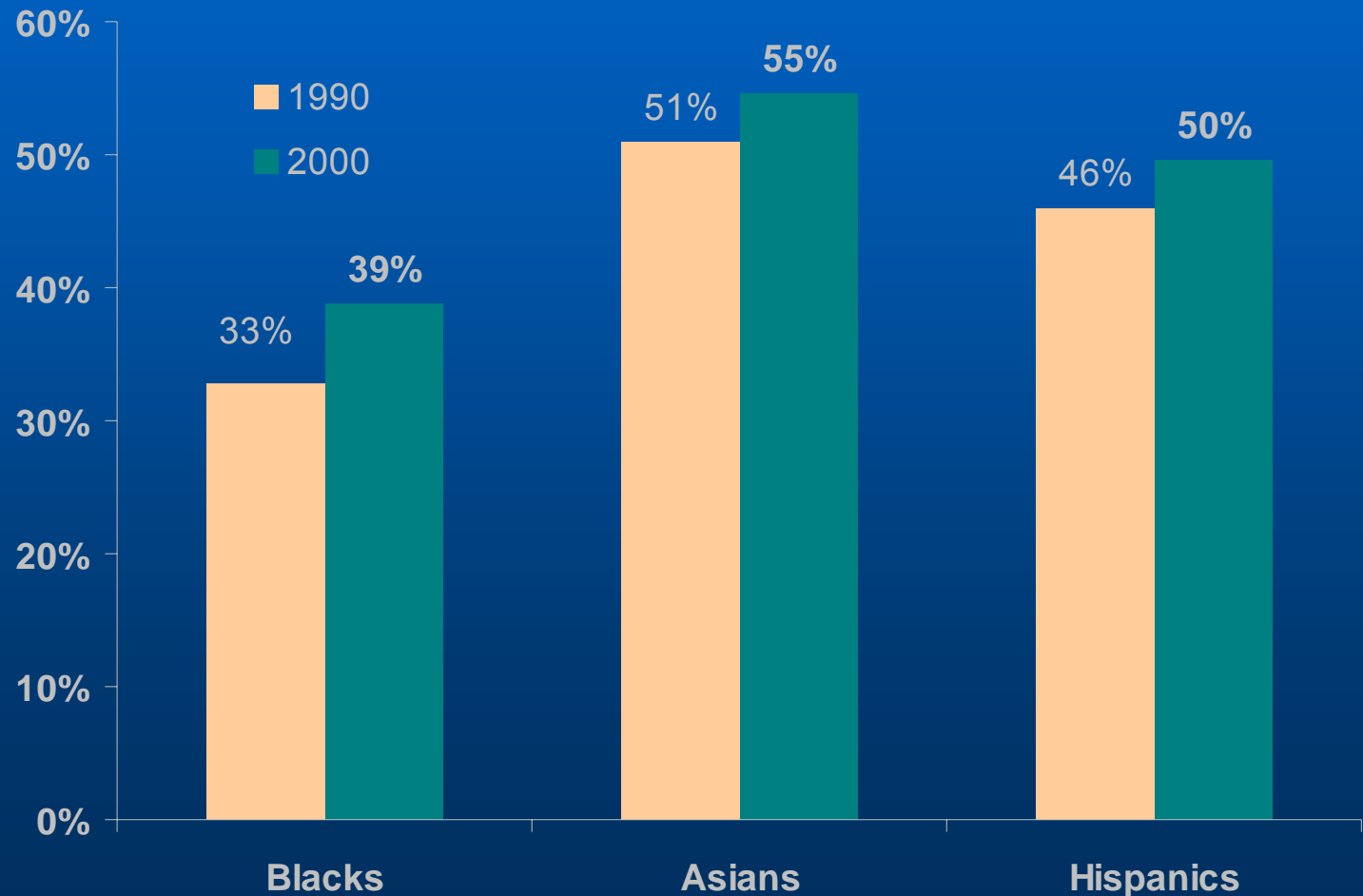
Diversity is also increasing in  
the suburbs



# The share of each racial/ethnic group living in the suburbs increased substantially during the 1990s...

Share of total population living in suburbs by race and ethnicity, 1990 and 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

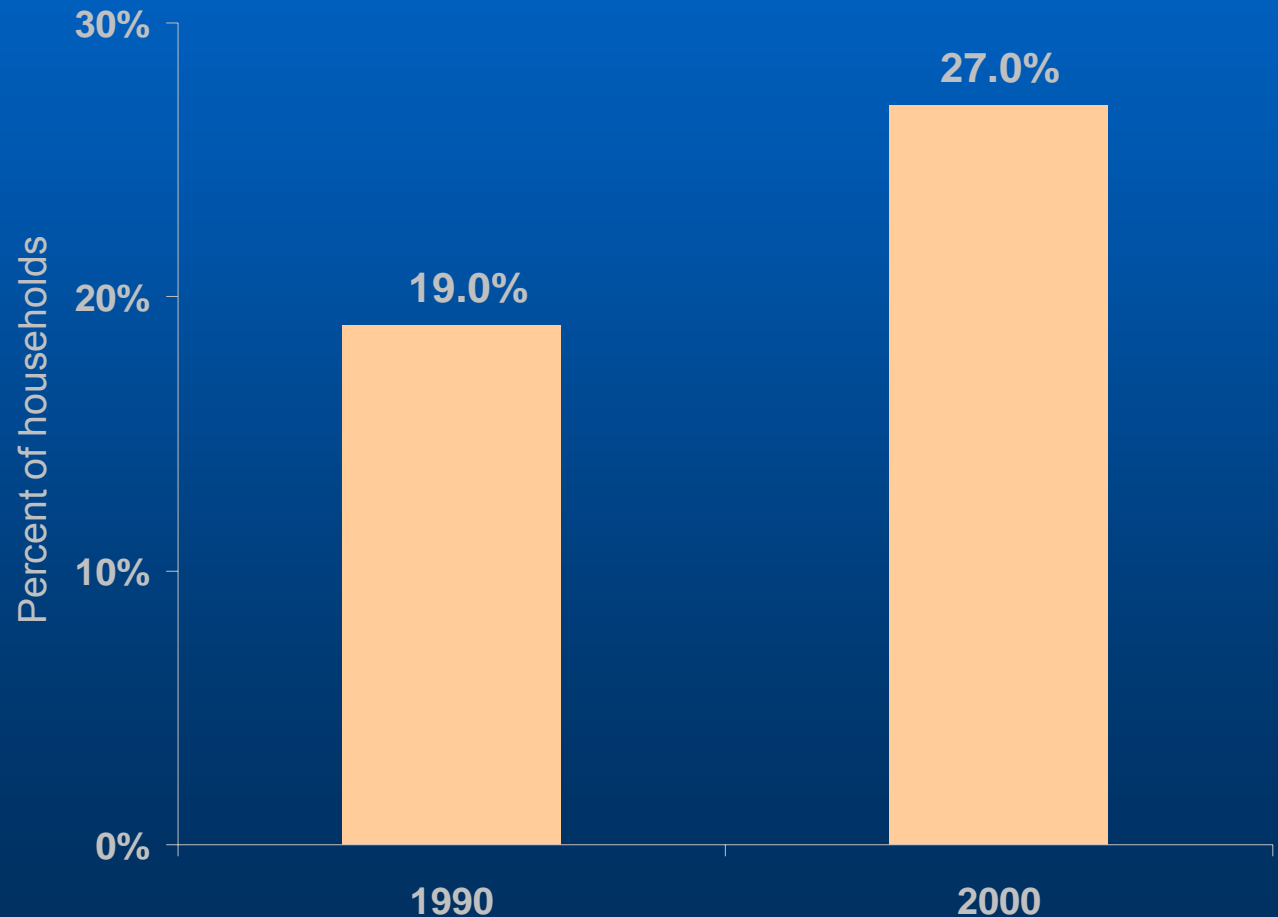




...Such that now more than 1 in 4 suburban households are minority

Minority share of  
suburban  
population,  
1990 and 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau





# I What is the spatial nature of America's racial divide?

The country is rapidly diversifying

*De facto* racial segregation persists

Case studies: Chicago, Washington, and New Orleans



In the United States, as in other countries, racial integration is viewed as a benchmark for social progress






Unfortunately, fifty years after the court-mandated desegregation of schools and public facilities, high levels of residential segregation persist in most metropolitan areas







# What is a “metro”?



“A large population nucleus” plus adjacent communities having a “high degree of social and economic integration” with the core




A metropolitan statistical area (MSA) can be one or more counties. The U.S. Census Bureau figures out which counties to include in each metro by looking at job and commuting patterns




The U.S. has 361 MSAs, which collectively include 83% of the country’s population




## A study of 15 large metros revealed that, in 2000....



63% of whites lived in predominantly white neighborhoods (>90% white)



71% of blacks lived in predominantly black or black-Hispanic neighborhoods (>50% black or black-Hispanic)



61% of Hispanics lived in predominantly Hispanic or black-Hispanic neighborhoods (>50% Hispanic or black-Hispanic)

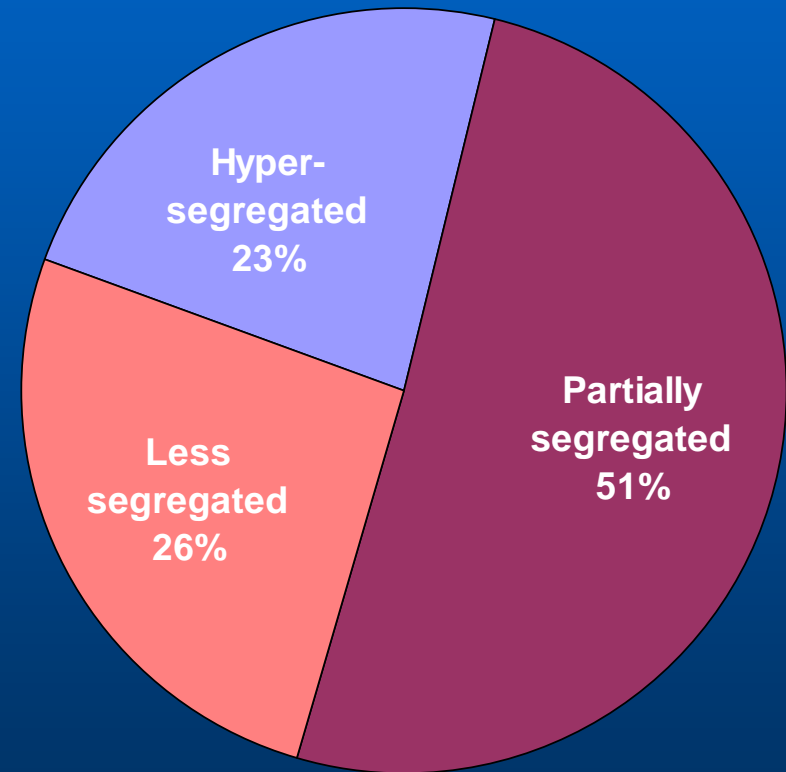
Source:

The Institute on Race and Poverty (Univ. of Minnesota), "Minority Suburbanization, Stable Integration, and Economic Opportunity in Fifteen Metropolitan Regions," February 2006



# Most metropolitan areas still have extremely high levels of segregation


- 74 metros are “hyper-segregated”  
(statistical dissimilarity index above 0.6)
- 160 metros are “partially segregated”  
(statistical dissimilarity index of 0.4 to 0.6)
- Only 83 metros are “less segregated”  
(statistical dissimilarity index below 0.4)




Source:  
Glaeser and Vigdor, “Racial Segregation in the 2000 Census: Promising News”  
(Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2000)



However, from 1990 to 2000, slight improvements have occurred in most areas throughout the country



More than 90% of all U.S. metros were less segregated in 2000 than in 1990



During the 1990s, the overall level of segregation between blacks and non-blacks fell by 6 percent

Source:  
Glaeser and Vigdor, "Racial Segregation in the 2000 Census: Promising News"  
(Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2000)



These improvements have been driven by increases in Hispanic populations rather than by black-white integration

These neighborhood types have become **more common**....

- Predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods (large increase)
- Mixed black-Hispanic neighborhoods (large increase)
- Mixed white-Hispanic neighborhoods (small increase)
- Predominantly black neighborhoods (small increase)

These neighborhood types have become **less common**....

- Predominantly white neighborhoods (large decrease)
- Mixed black-white neighborhoods (small decrease)

Source:  
The Institute on Race and Poverty (Univ. of Minnesota), "Minority Suburbanization, Stable Integration, and Economic Opportunity in Fifteen Metropolitan Regions," February 2006



# I What is the spatial nature of America's racial divide?

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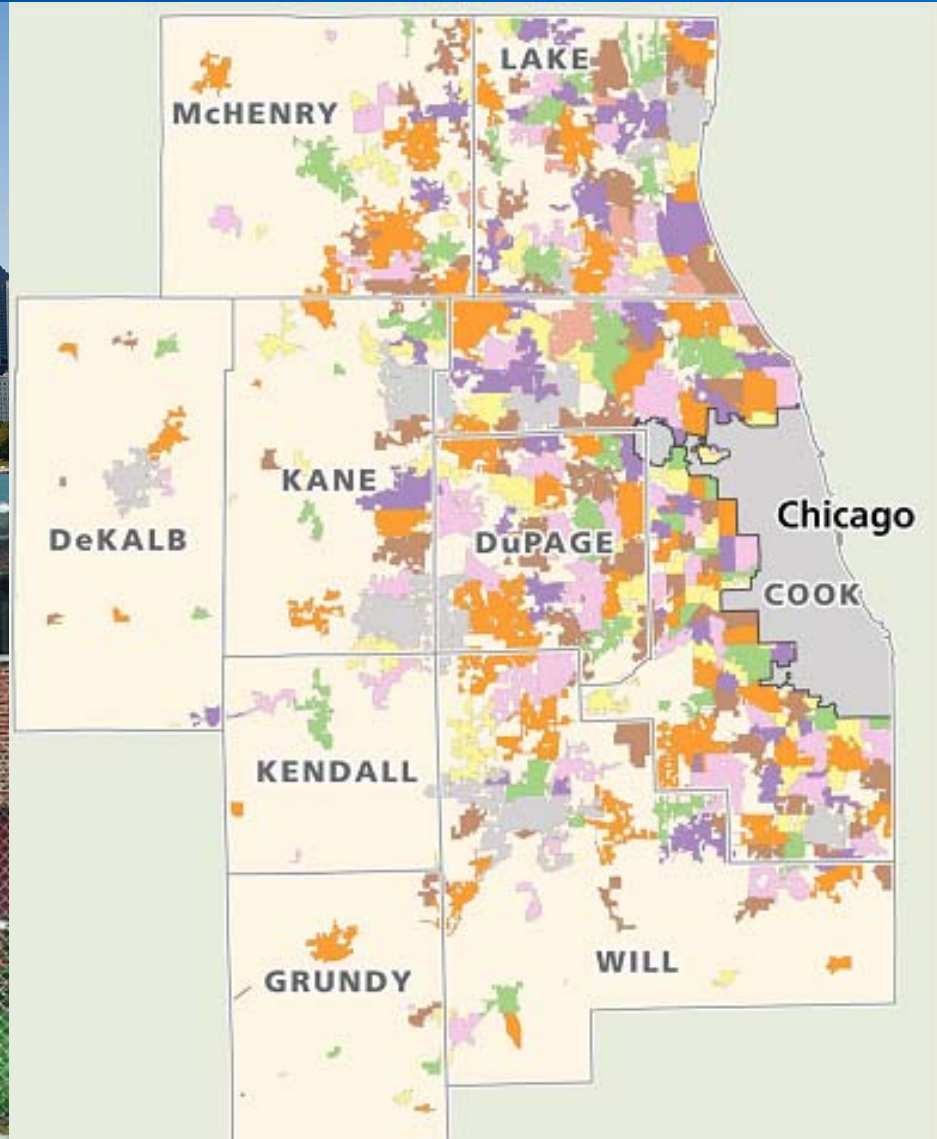


# A tale of three metros





# Chicago, Illinois

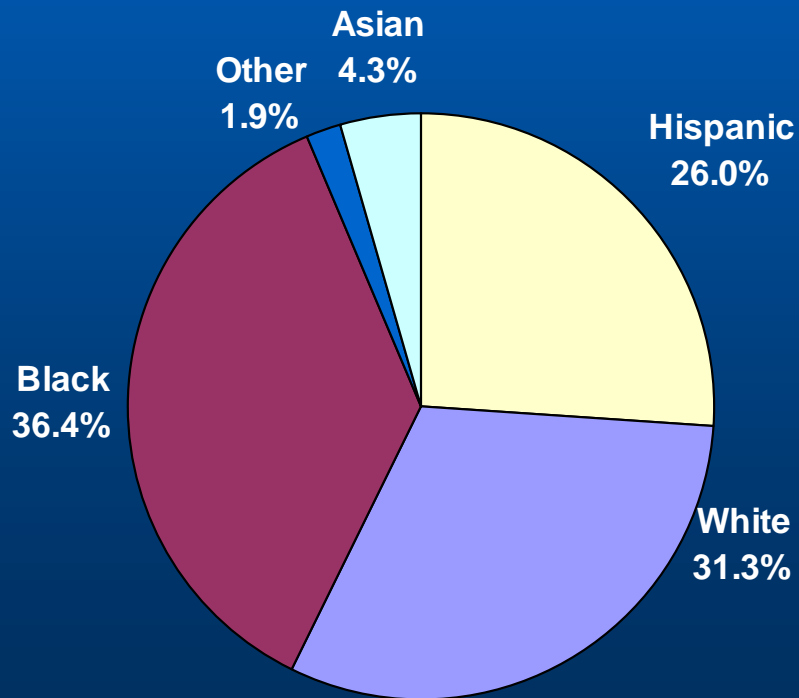




# Chicago contains about 1/3 of the whole metro's population

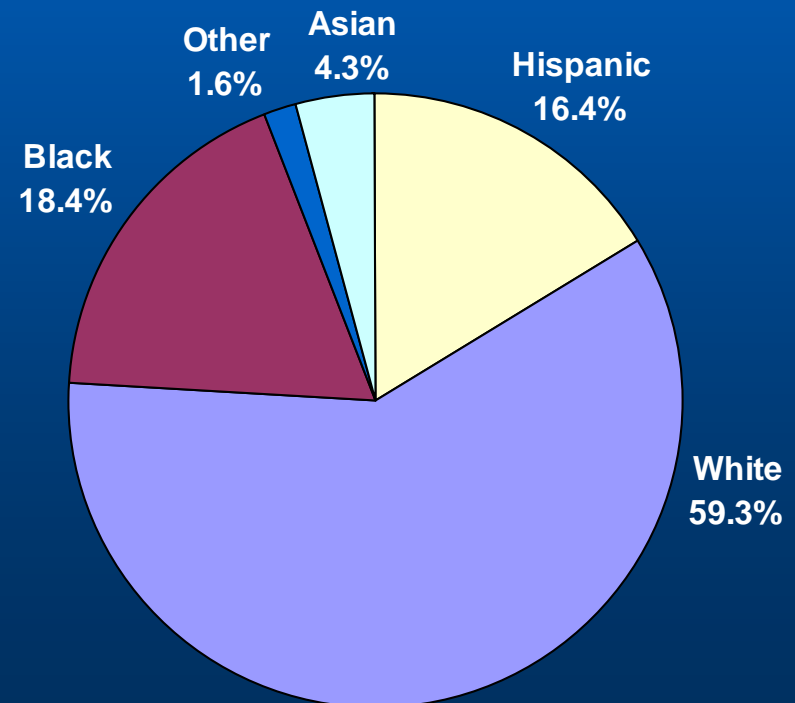
## CITY

Pop. (2000):  
2,896,016



## METRO

Pop. (2000):  
9,098,316



Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

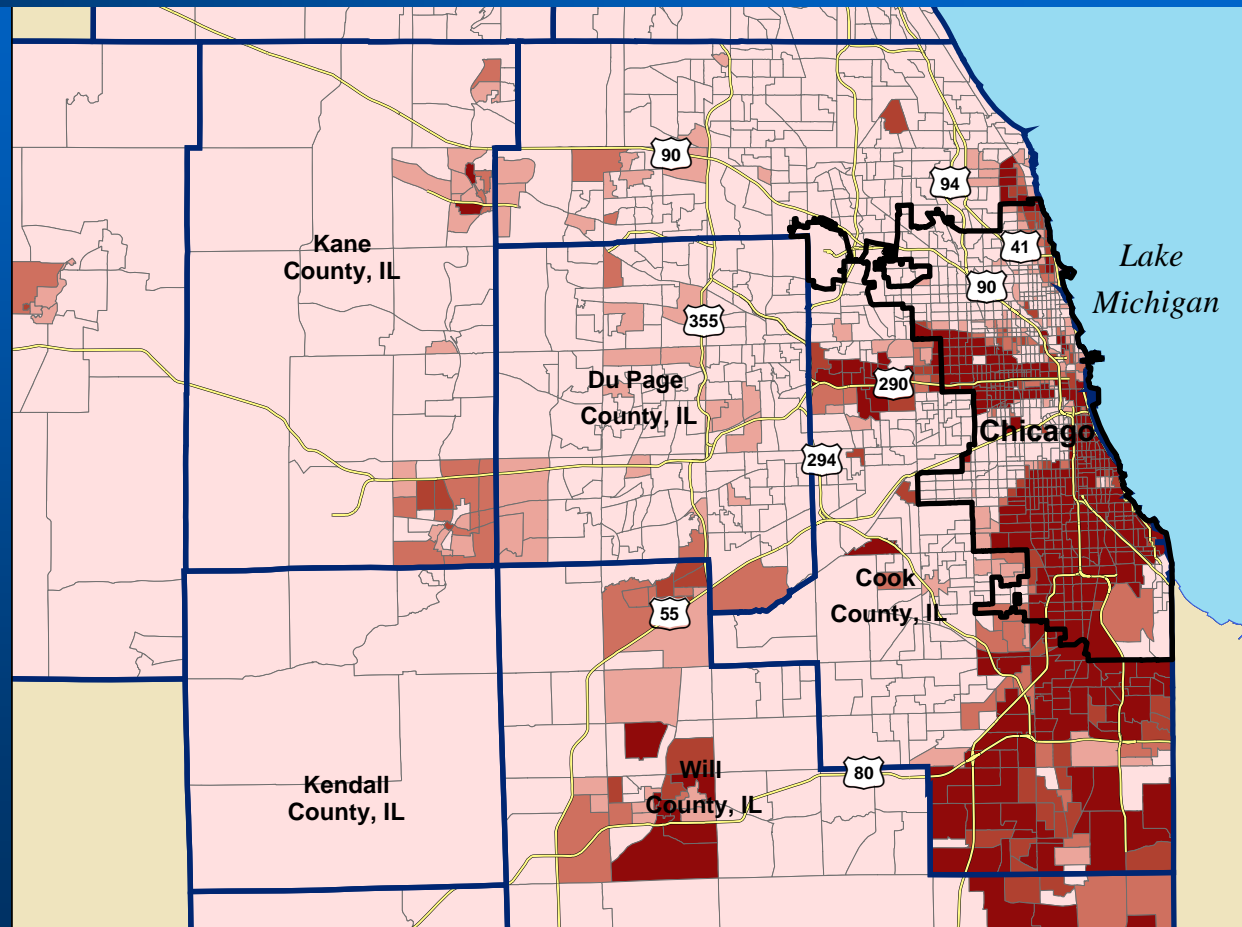
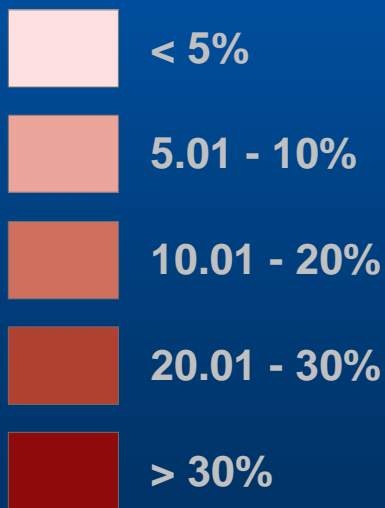
METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM



# The African American population is concentrated on the south side of Chicago and in the southern suburbs

Percent black by  
census tract, 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

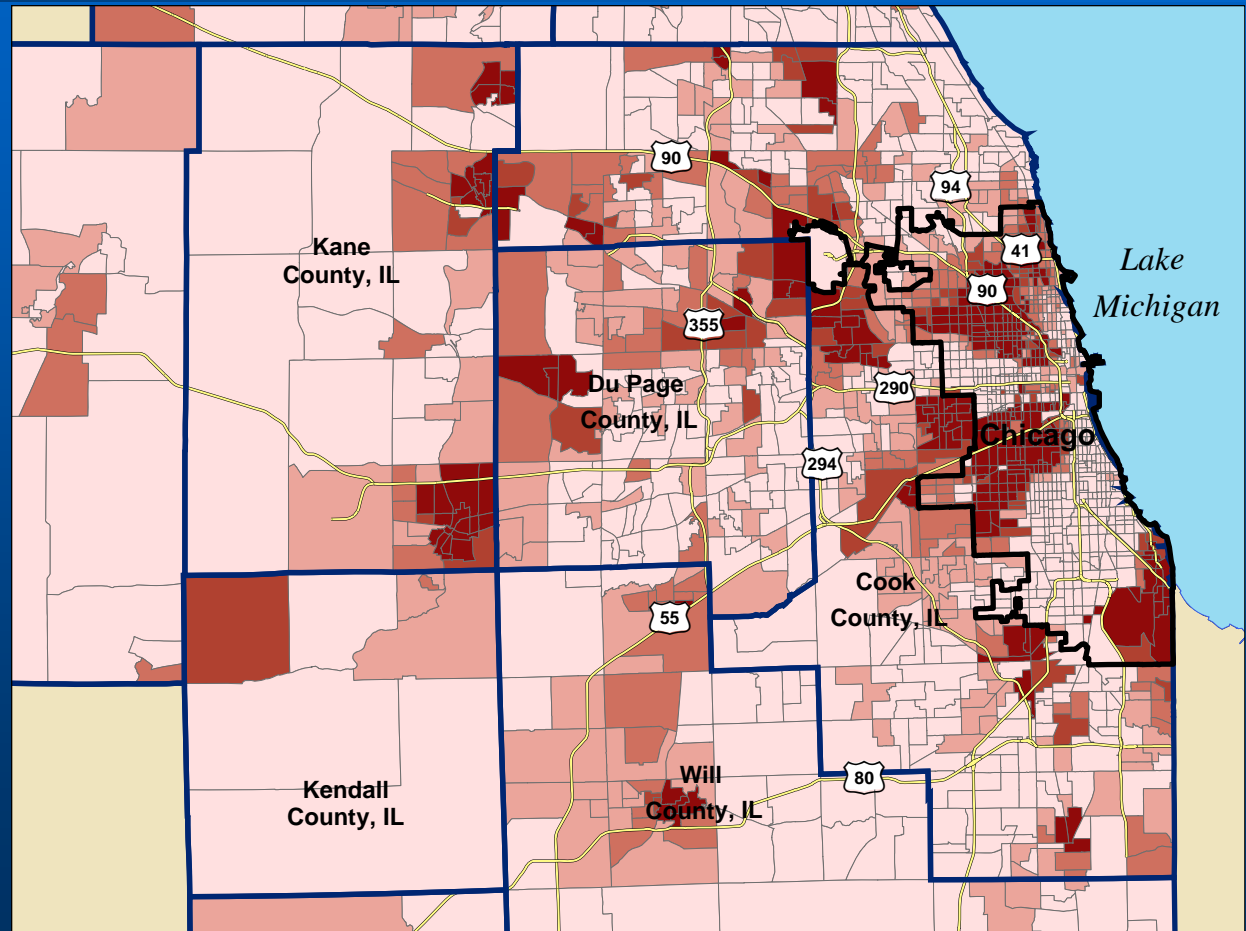
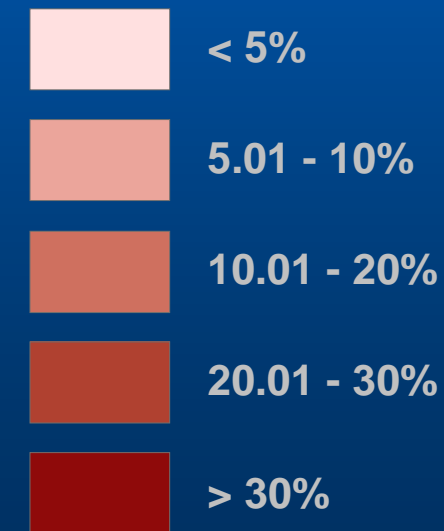




# Hispanics are concentrated in the north and west sides of Chicago

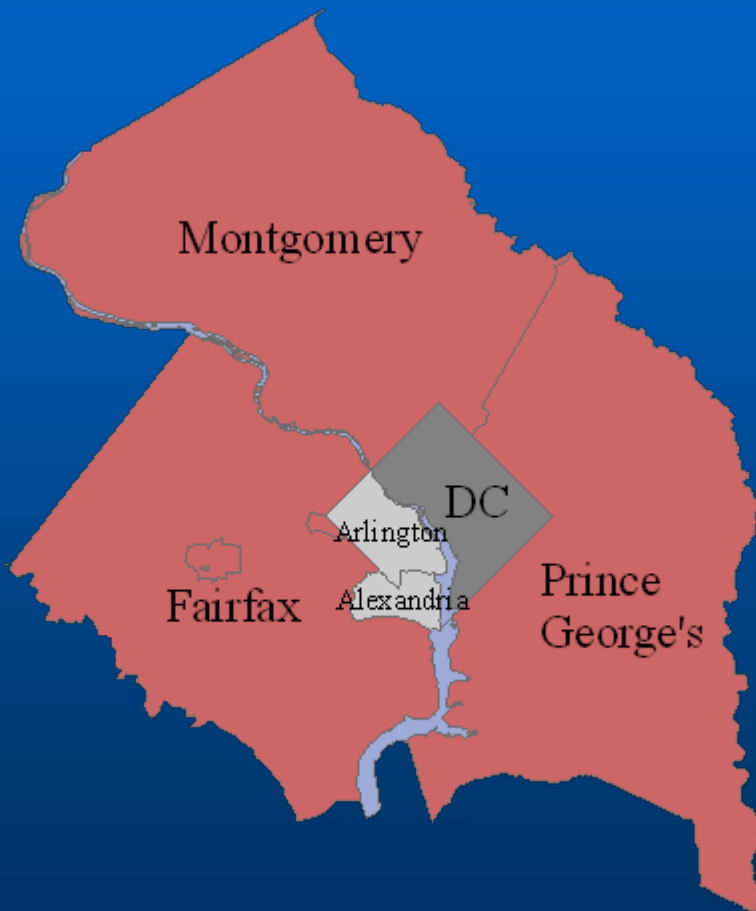
Percent Hispanic or Latino by census tract, 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau





# Washington, DC

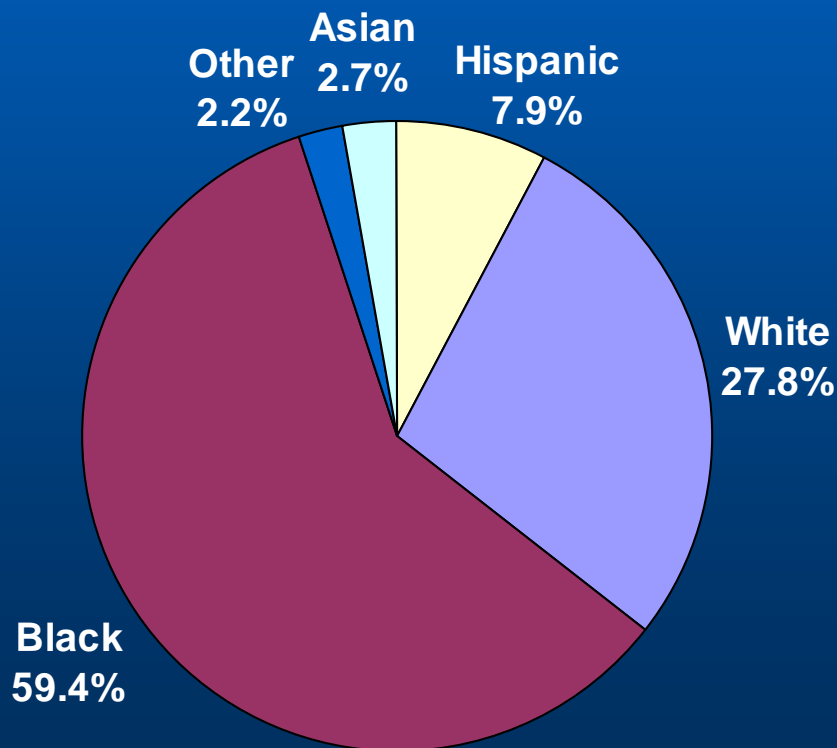




# The District contains little more than 10% of the metro population

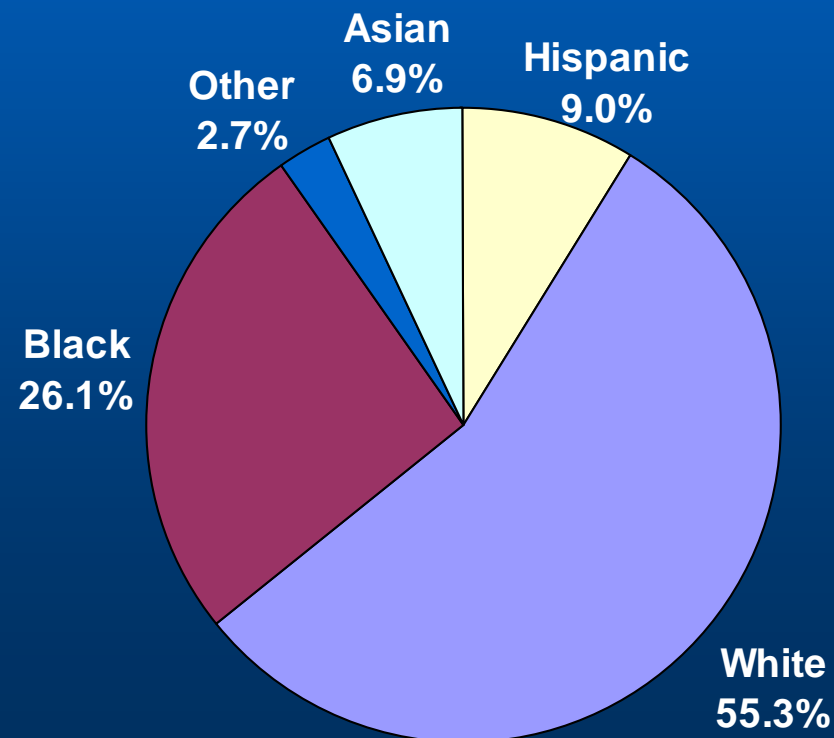
## CITY

Pop. (2000):  
572,059



## METRO

Pop. (2000):  
4,796,183



Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

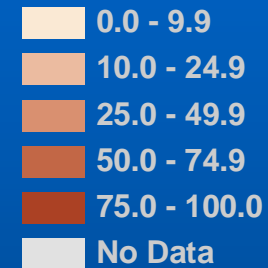


# In Washington, blacks are clustered on the east side of the region, away from whites and Hispanics

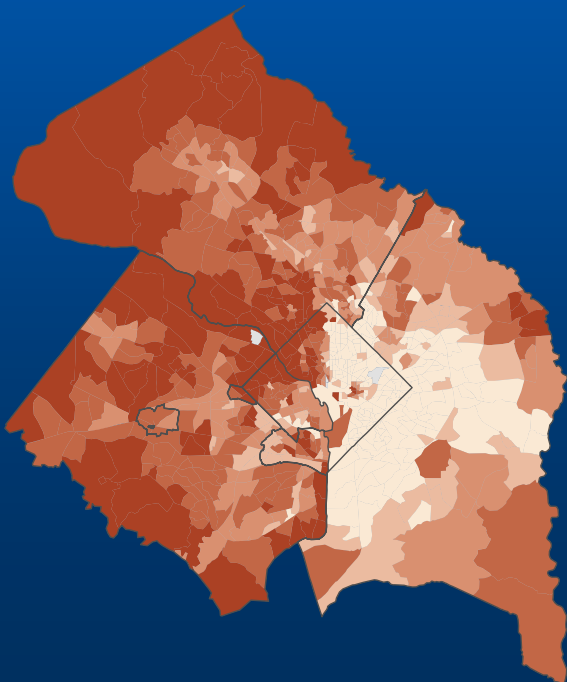
Race/ethnicity of youth  
by census tract, 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

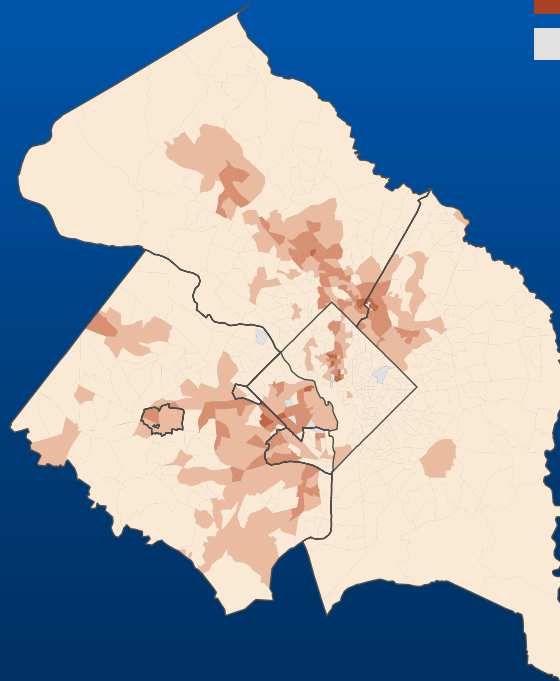
Percent



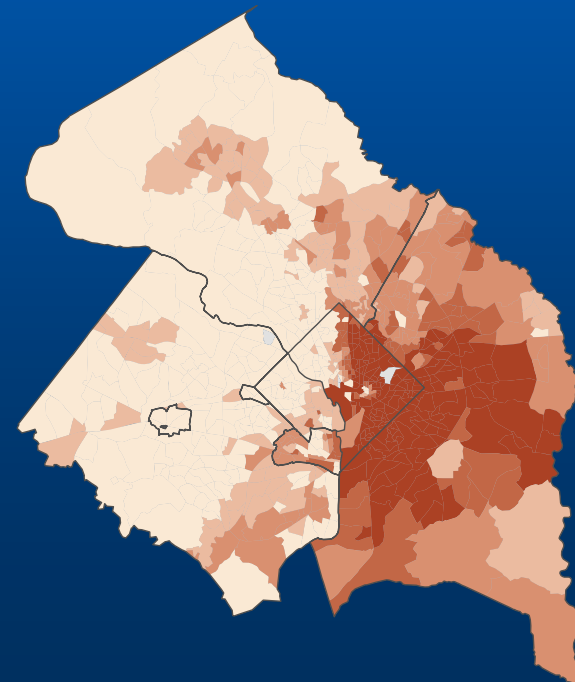
White



Hispanic



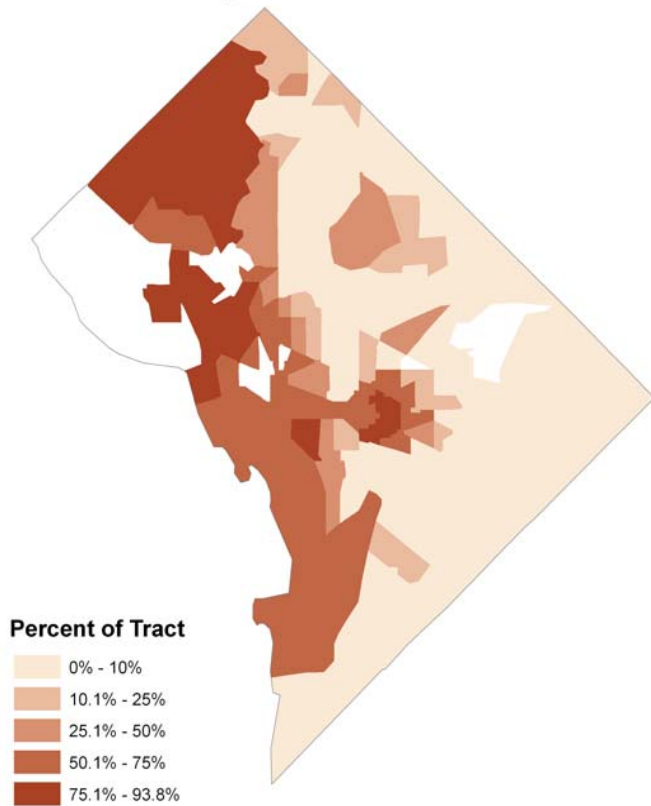
Black



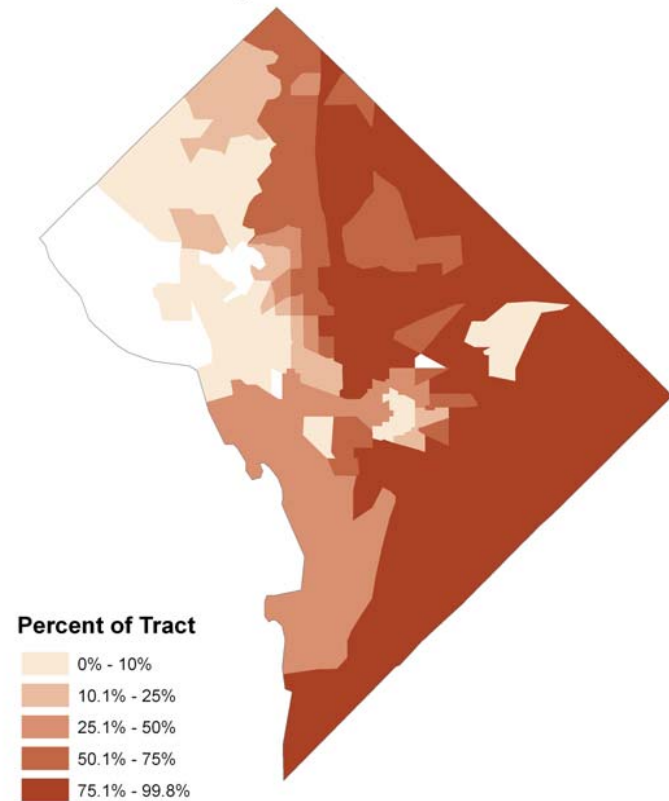


This east-west divide is mirrored within the District itself, with whites mainly living in the west, blacks in the east...

Percent of population that is White (non Hispanic)  
by census tract 2000

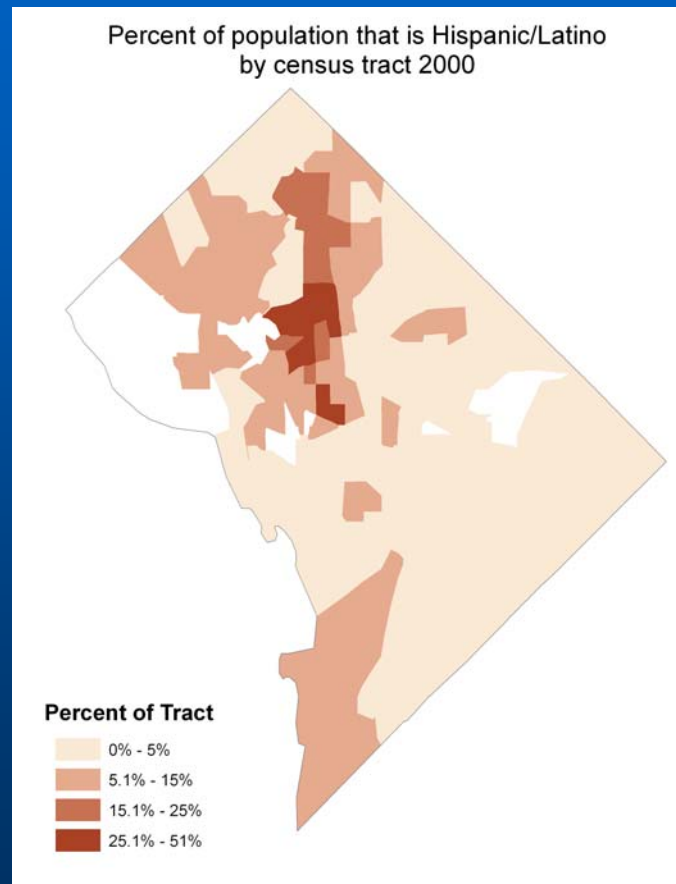


Percent of population that is Black (non Hispanic)  
by census tract 2000





## ...and Hispanics in the middle



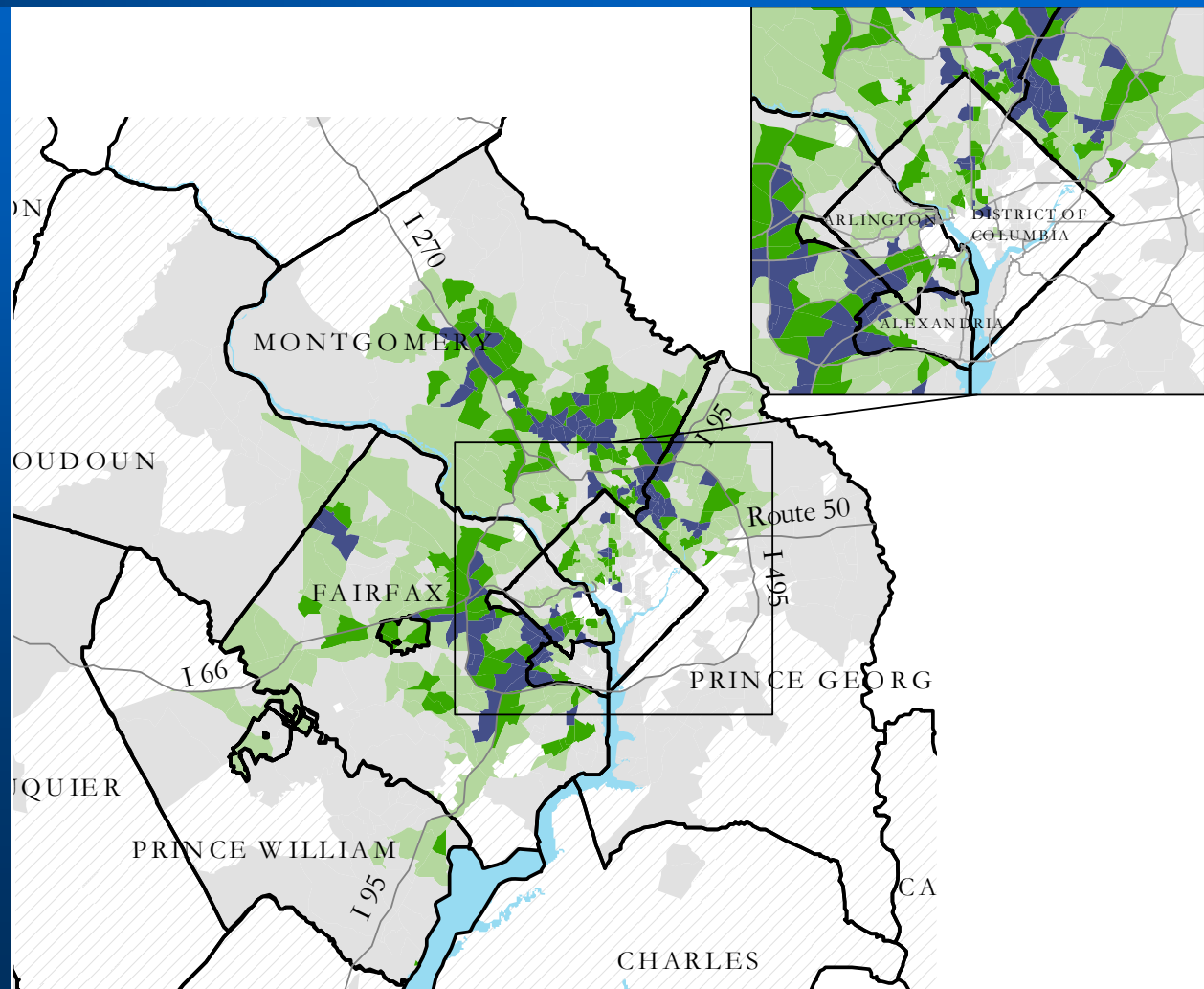
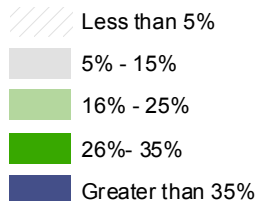


# In Washington, as in many other metros, the locus of immigration is shifting to the suburbs

Foreign-born  
population as share  
of total population  
by census tract,  
2000

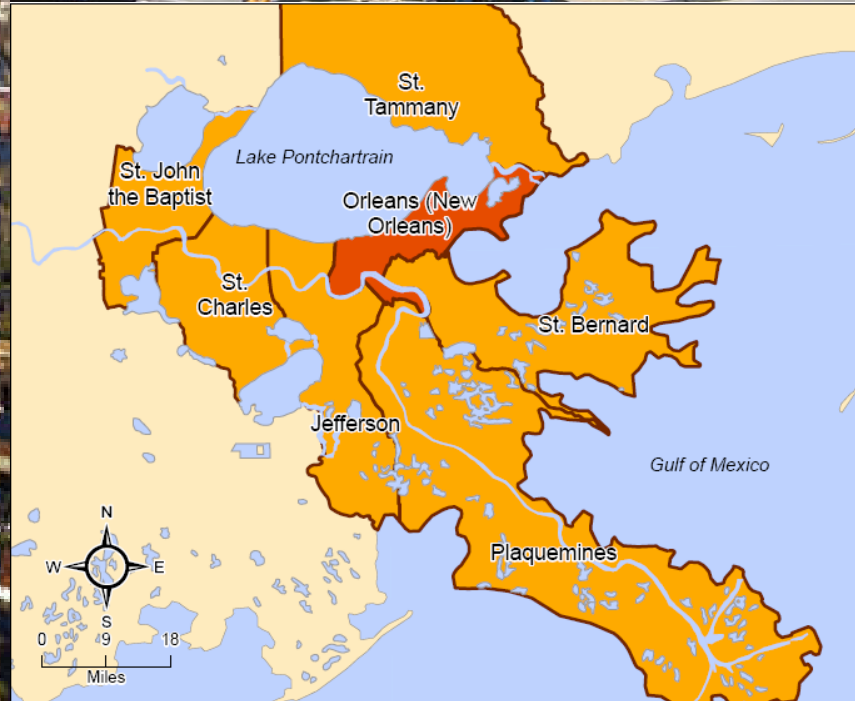
Source:  
Singer, "At Home in the Nation's Capital"  
(Washington: The Brookings Institution,  
2003)

## Percent Foreign Born (by Census Tract)





# New Orleans

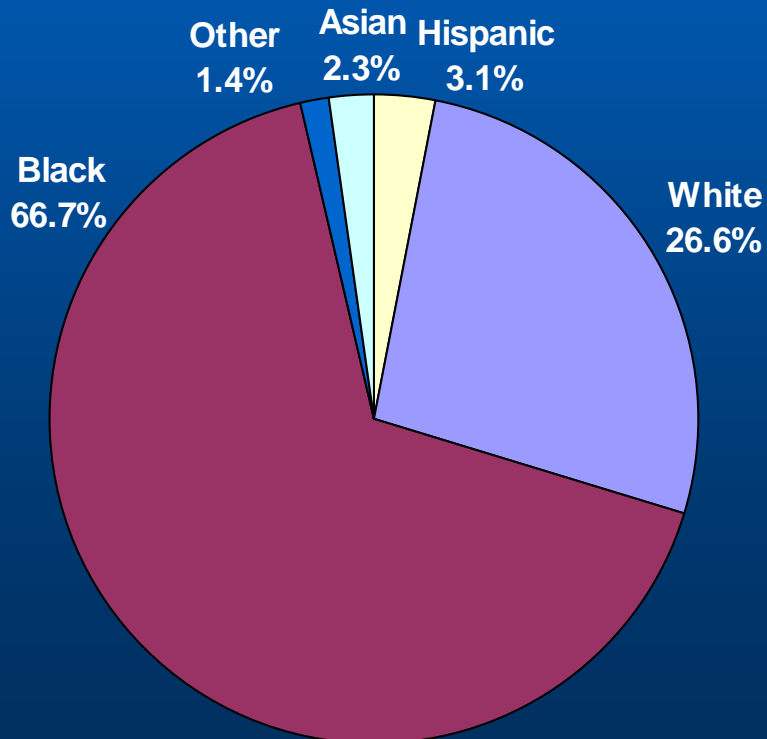




# New Orleans contains a little over 1/3 of the metro's population

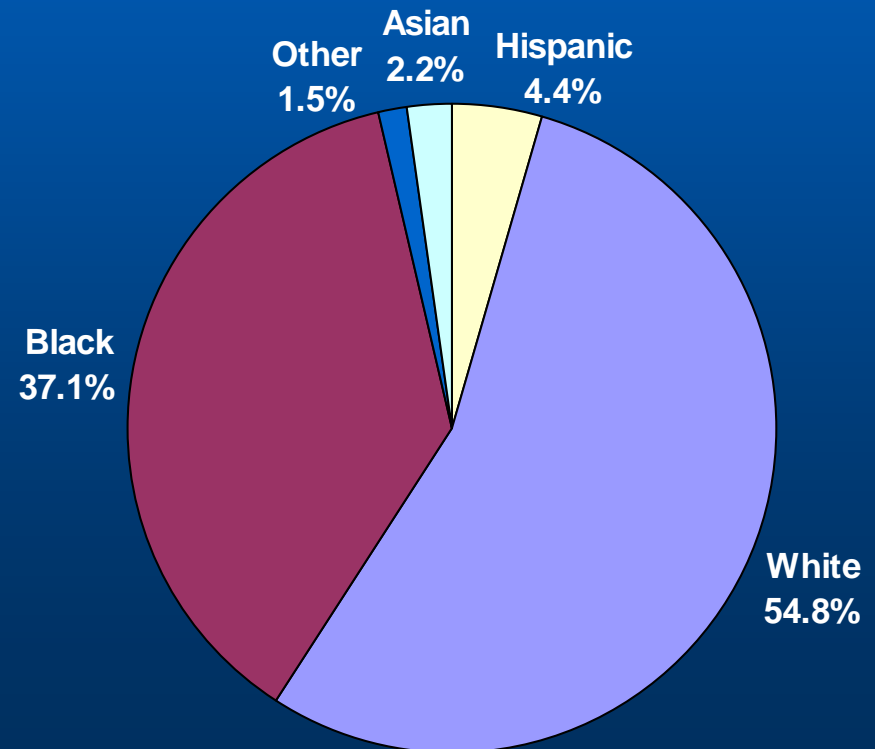
## CITY

Pop. (2000):  
484,674



## METRO

Pop. (2000):  
1,316,510



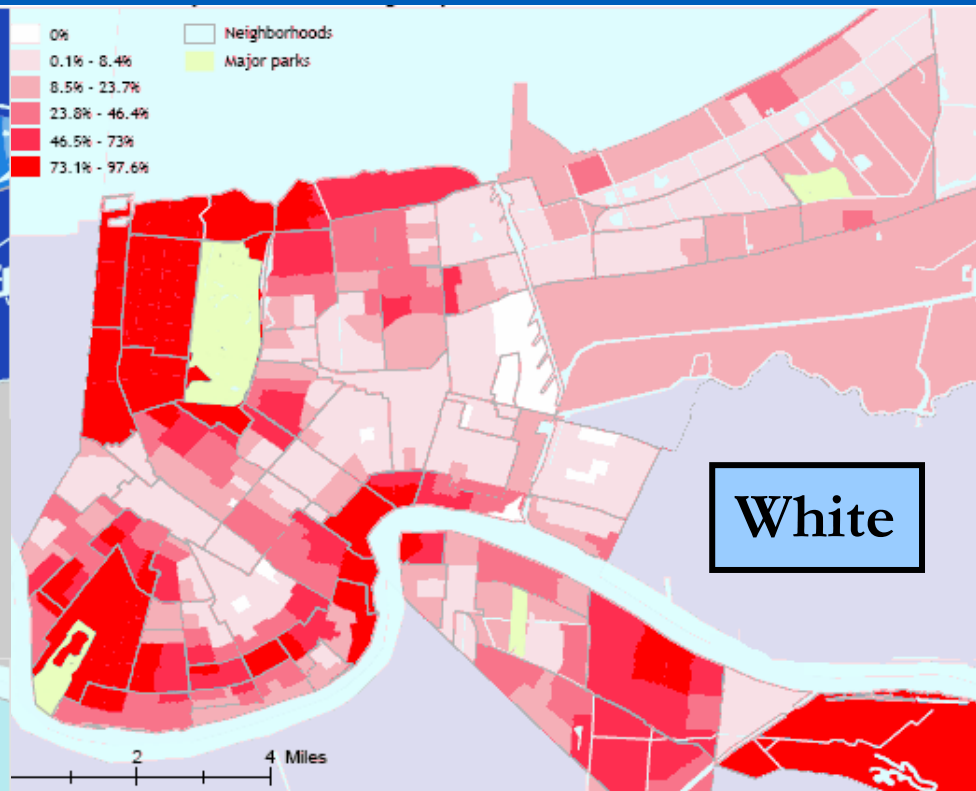
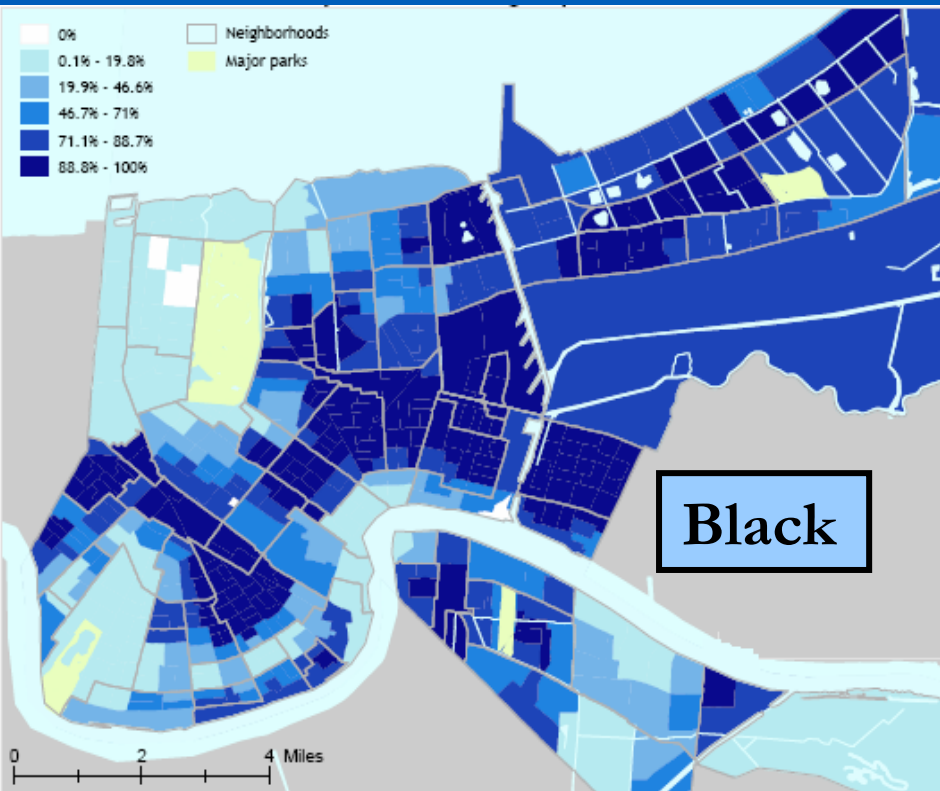
Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau



# New Orleans

Share of black and white population by block group, 2000

Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center

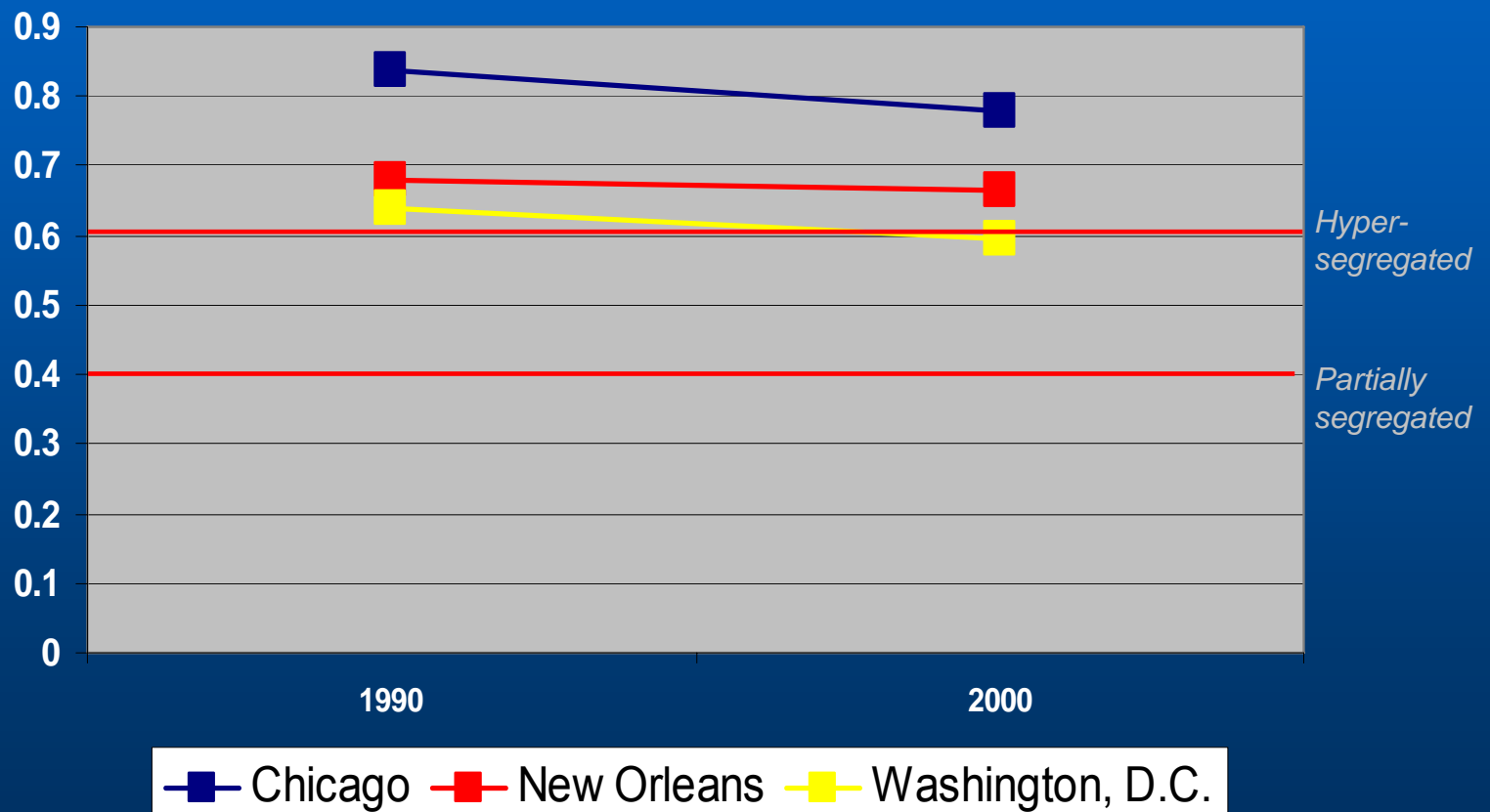




# Despite slight improvements, the Chicago, New Orleans, and Washington DC metros remain “hyper-segregated”

Dissimilarity  
Index, 1990-  
2000

Source:  
Glaeser and  
Vigdor, “Racial  
Segregation in  
the 2000 Census:  
Promising News”  
(Washington:  
The Brookings  
Institution, 2000)





## Our examination of these case studies reveals that:

- ➔ Most U.S. metropolitan areas have a **strong racial divide**. In Chicago it is a north-south divide, while in New Orleans and Washington DC it is an east-west divide
- ➔ Both **blacks** and **Hispanics** are moving outward into the suburbs in increasing numbers
- ➔ **Immigrants** are skipping central cities and heading straight to the suburbs



# Racial Division and Concentrated Poverty in U.S. Cities

**I** What is the spatial nature of America's racial divide?

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Households in poverty are those whose incomes fall at or below a certain threshold set by the federal government

→ The 2000 federal “poverty line” for a family of four was **\$17,463**, roughly R129,000

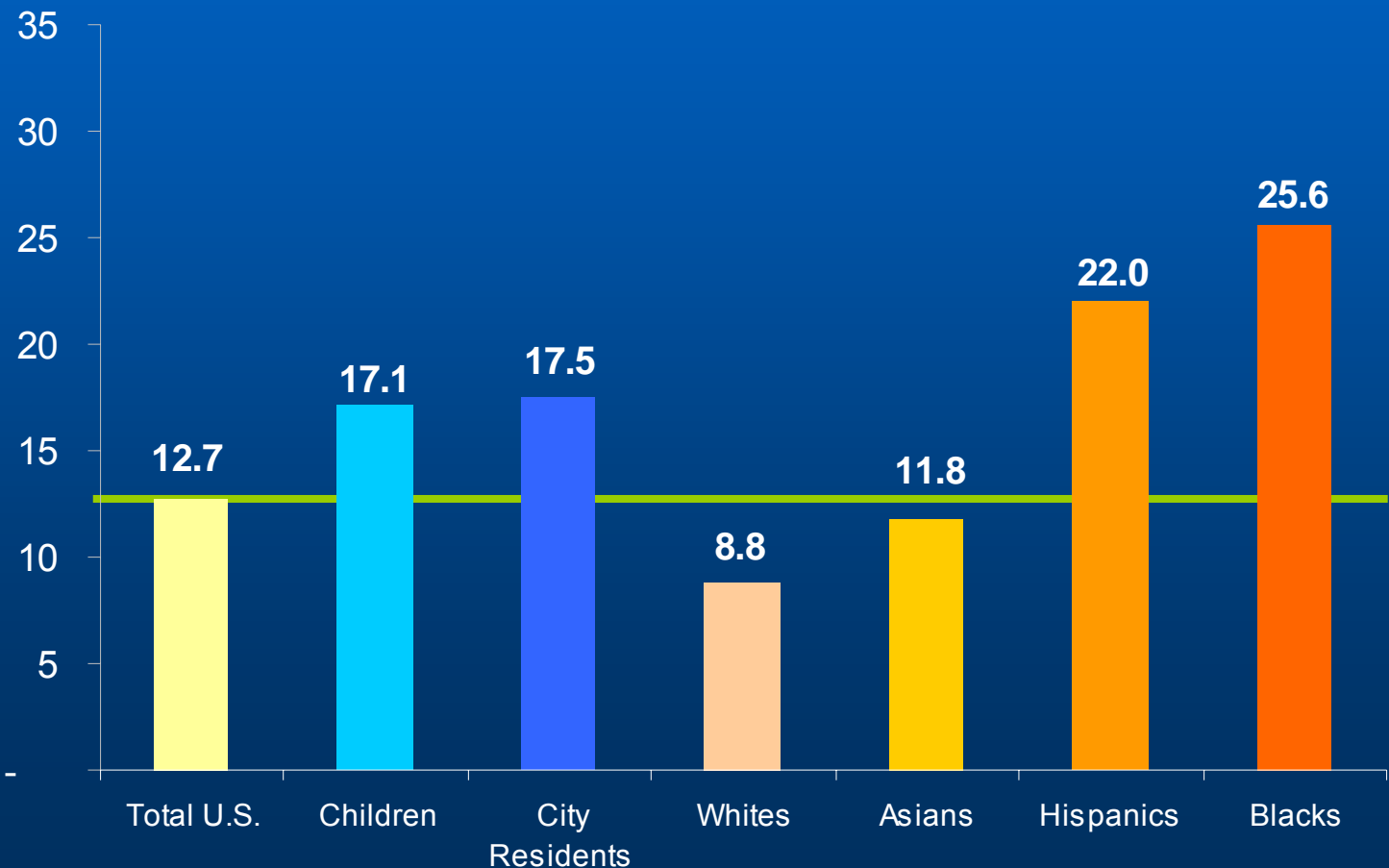
→ By way of comparison, median household income in 2000 was **\$41,994**, roughly R307,000



# Poverty rates are higher than average for certain groups, including blacks, Hispanics, children, and city dwellers

Percentage of people in poverty nationwide, various groups, 2004

Source:  
2004 American  
Community Survey,  
U.S. Census Bureau

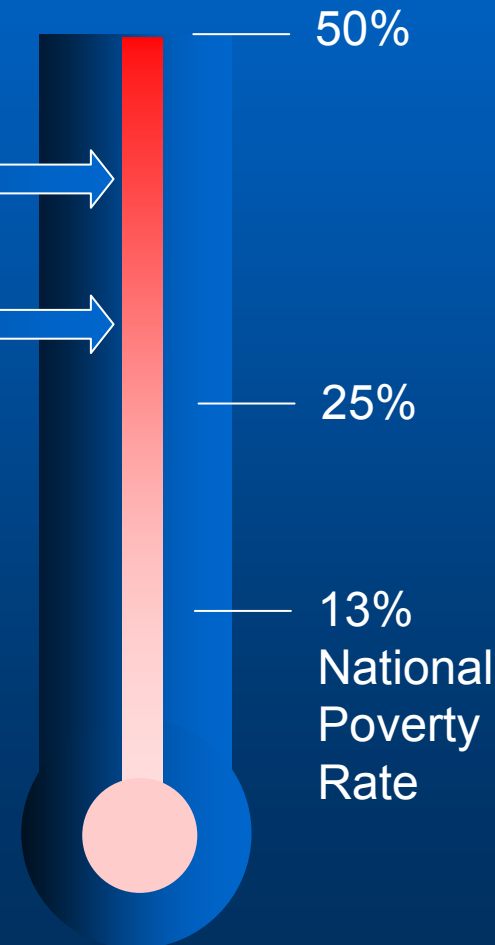




# Concentrated poverty is a common standard used to indicate areas of economic deprivation

**Extreme-poverty neighborhoods** have a rate greater than **40 percent**

**High-poverty neighborhoods** are defined here as those neighborhoods with a poverty rate greater than **30 percent**



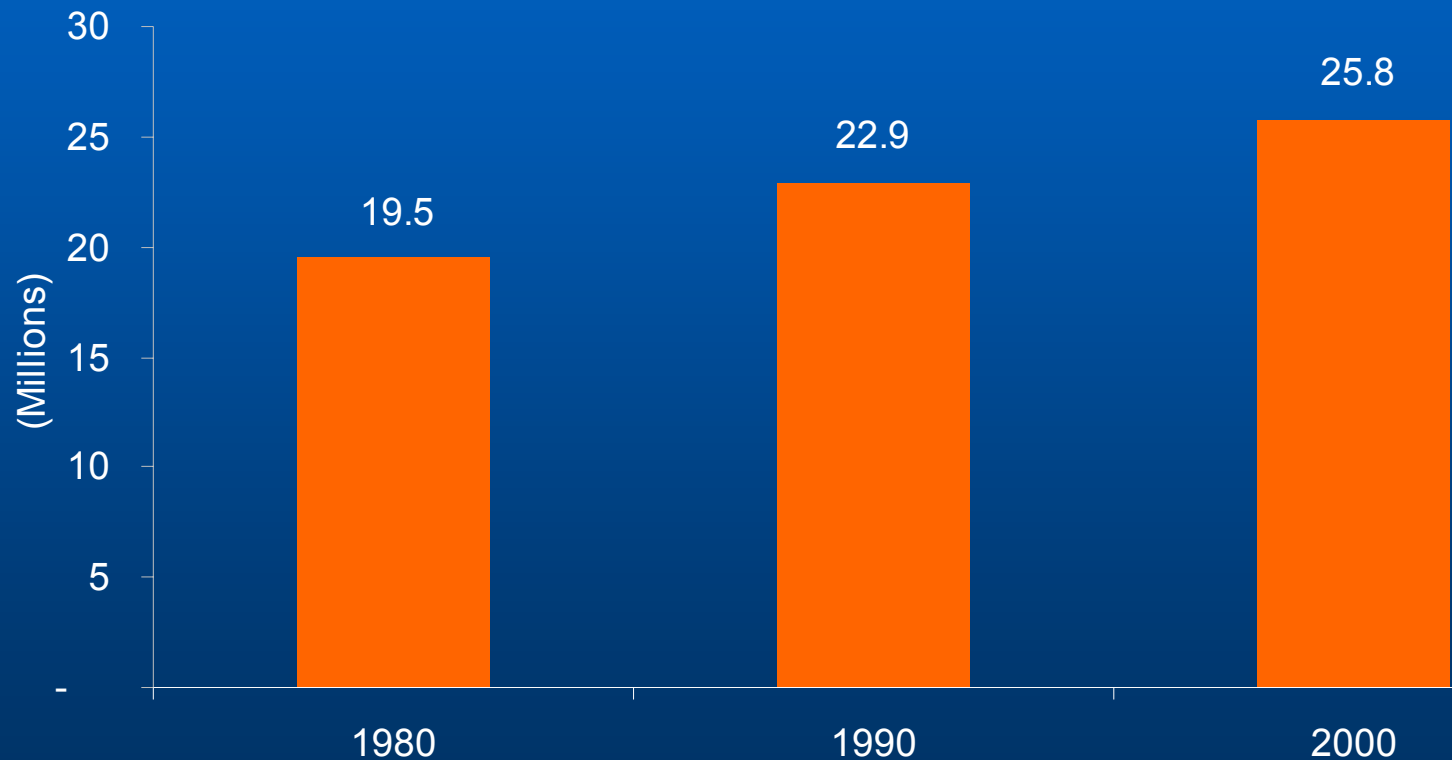
Source:  
Berube and Katz, "Katrina's Window"  
(Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2005)



While the total number of poor people in U.S. metropolitan areas is large, and has been increasing for the past two decades...

Number of individuals in poverty within metro areas, 1980-2000

Source:  
Kingsley and Pettit,  
"Concentrated Poverty:  
A Change in Course"  
(Washington: Urban  
Institute, 2003)

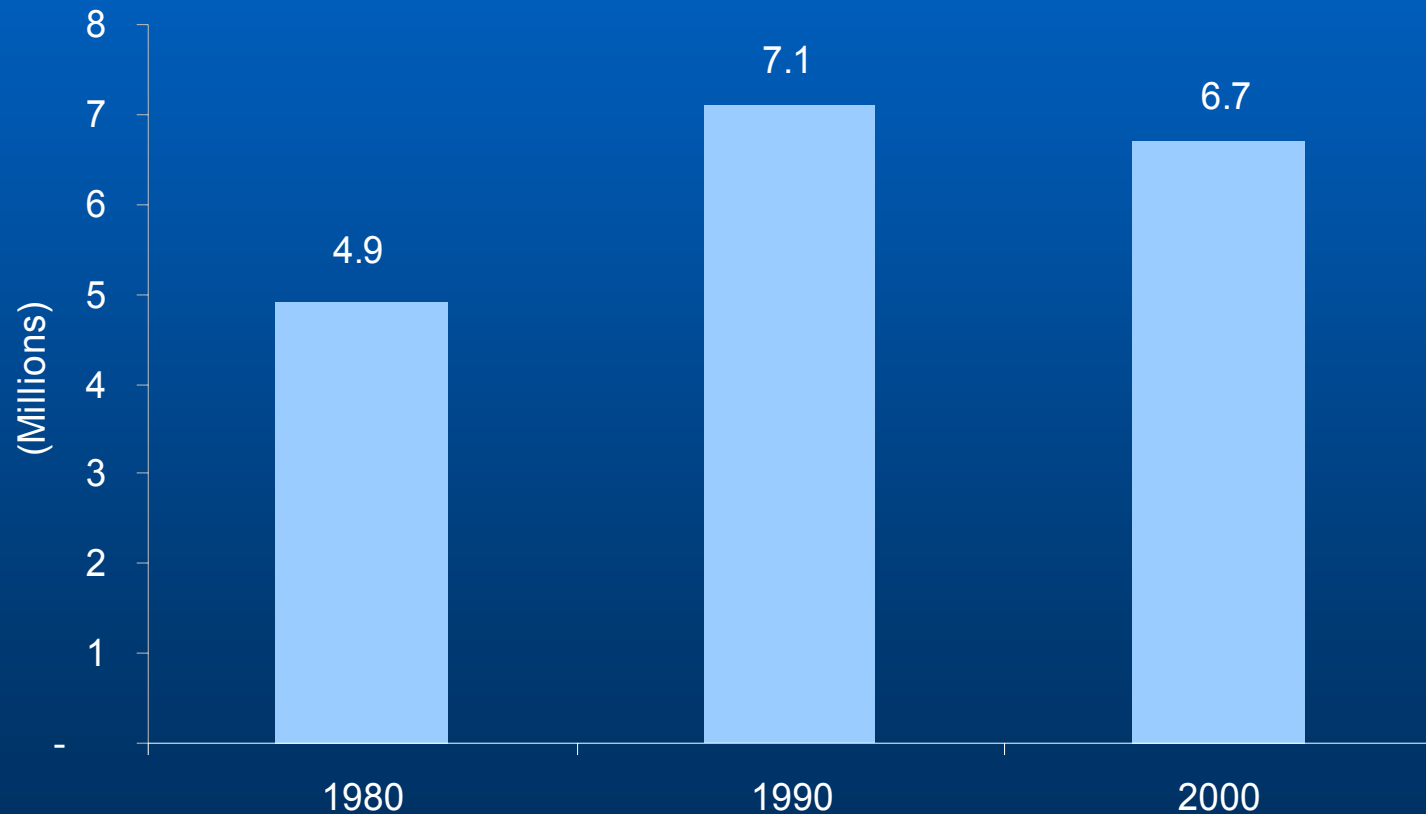




...The total number of poor people living in **high-poverty neighborhoods** actually declined slightly during the 1990s

Number of poor residents of high-poverty (>30%) neighborhoods within metropolitan areas, 1980-2000

Source:  
Kingsley and Pettit,  
"Concentrated Poverty:  
A Change in Course"  
(Washington: Urban  
Institute, 2003)






# In ten large cities, at least 1 in 4 poor individuals live in extreme-poverty neighborhoods, with even higher rates among minorities

Percentage of poor living in extreme-poverty (>40%) neighborhoods, by city and race/ethnicity, 2000

Source: Brookings calculations of U.S. Census data

City		Total	Blacks	Latinos
1	Fresno, CA	43.5%	44.9%	49.6%
2	New Orleans, LA	37.7%	42.6%	18.0%
3	Louisville, KY	36.7%	53.2%	24.3%
4	Miami, FL	36.4%	67.6%	18.0%
5	Atlanta, GA	35.8%	41.0%	14.2%
6	Long Beach, CA	30.7%	26.8%	36.8%
7	Cleveland, OH	29.8%	35.6%	24.6%
8	Philadelphia, PA	27.9%	27.1%	61.6%
9	Milwaukee, WI	27.0%	39.3%	5.9%
10	New York, NY	25.9%	33.7%	33.5%
11	Washington, DC	23.8%	29.2%	1.7%
17	Chicago, IL	19.9%	32.0%	6.8%
	U.S. Total	10.3%	18.6%	13.8%

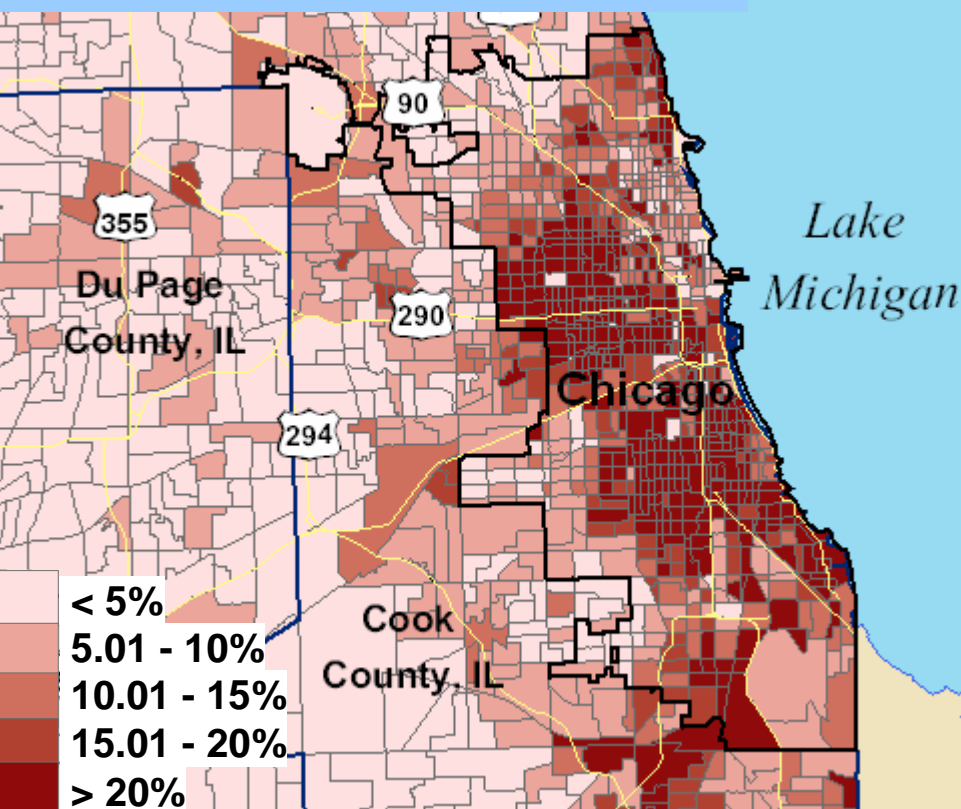


How does concentrated poverty relate to racial stratification in Chicago, Washington, and New Orleans?

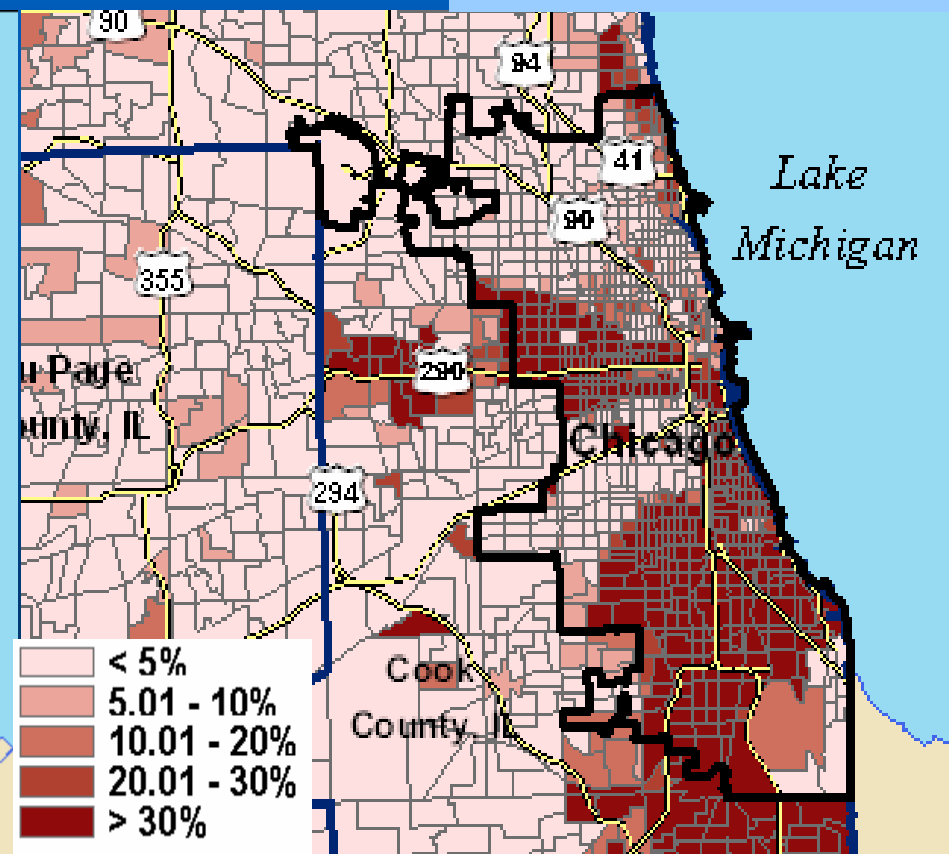


In Chicago, poor neighborhoods are concentrated in the central city and the south suburbs, the same places where blacks live in disproportionate numbers

Share of persons living below the federal poverty line, 2000



Percent black, 2000

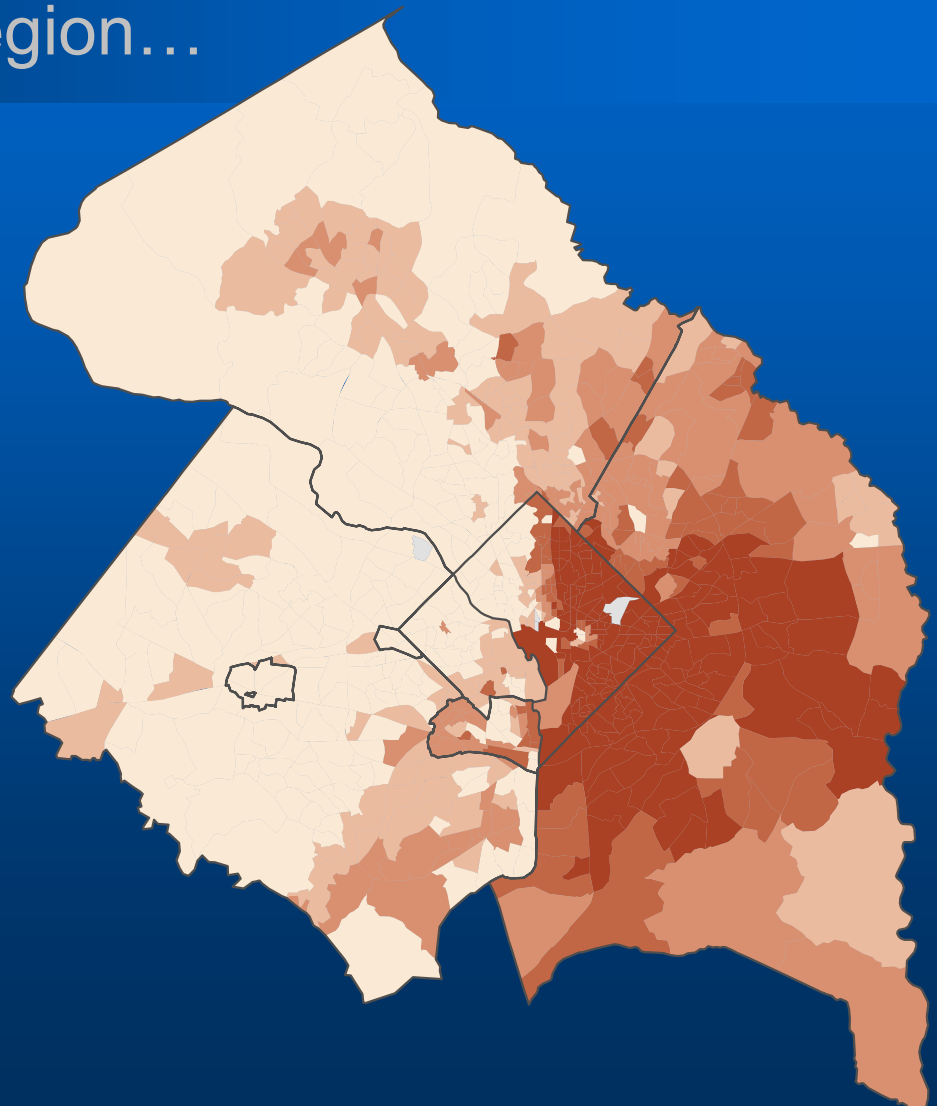
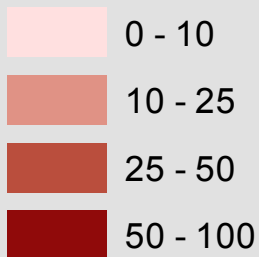




In Washington, D.C., black residents are clustered on the eastern side of the region...

Percent Black  
By Census Tract, 2000

**Percent of  
Population**

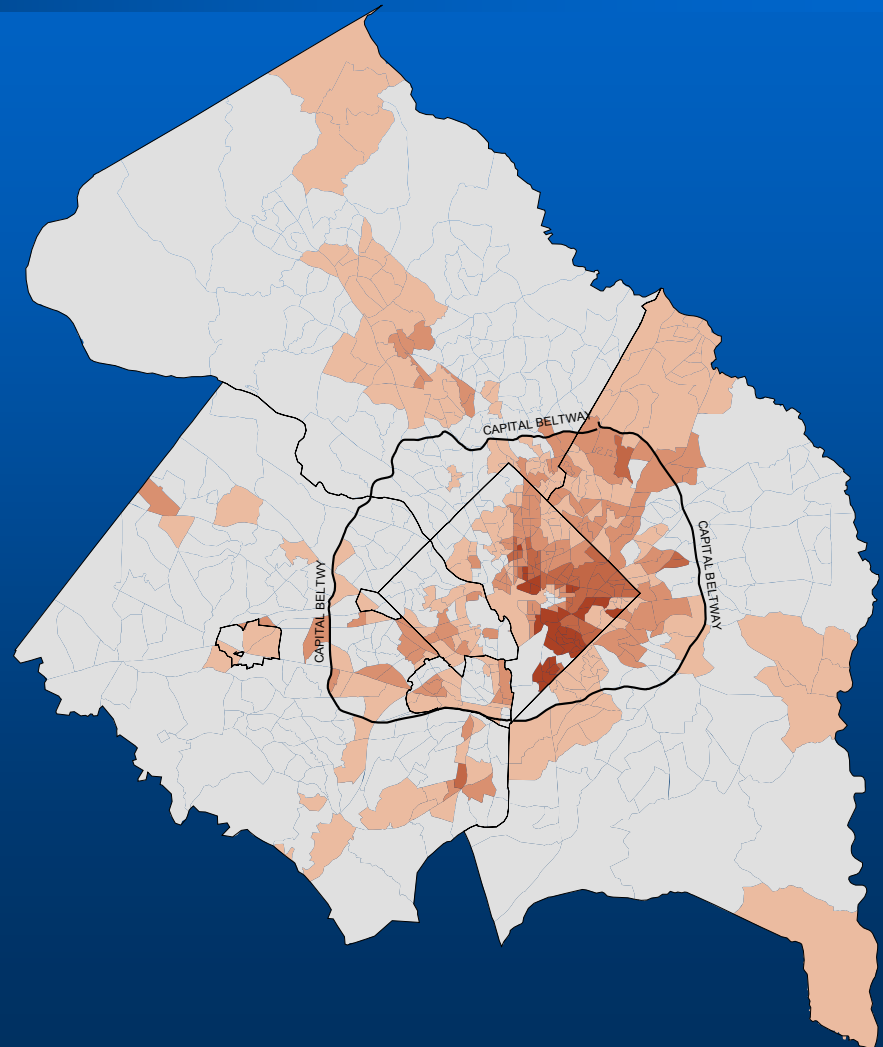
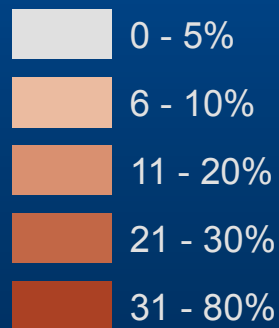


...And so are neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, although outer Prince George's County contains a large black middle class

Percent of the population under  
100% of FPL by tract, 2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau

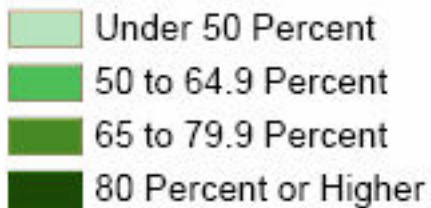
### Percent of Population





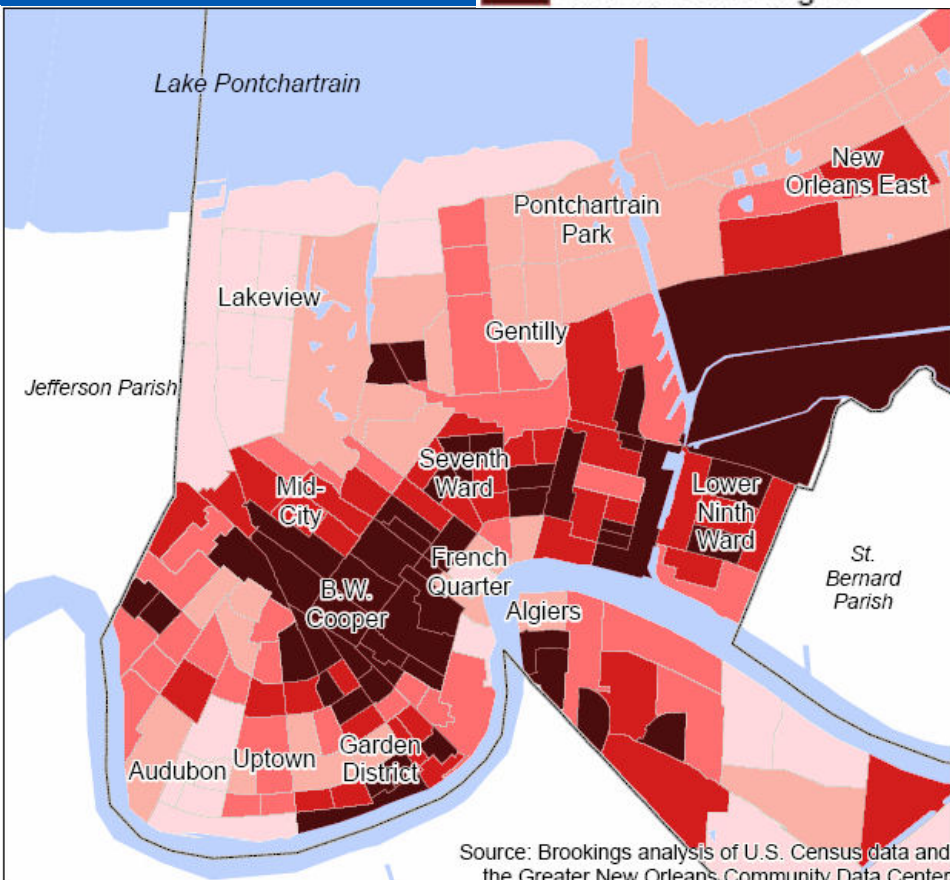
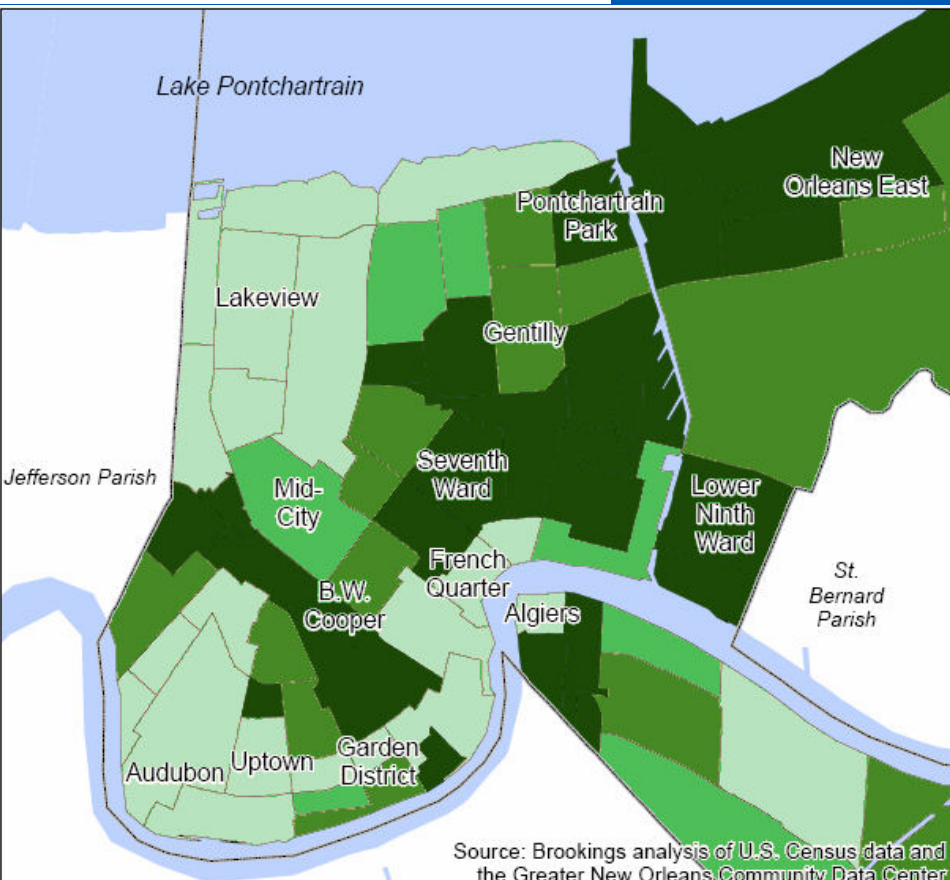
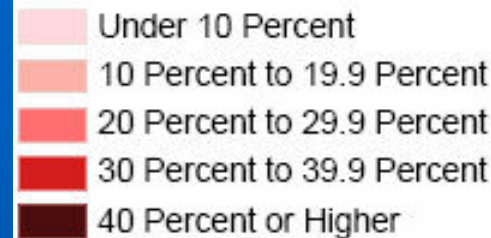
# In New Orleans, poor areas and black areas overlap considerably


## Percent African American Population



Sources:  
U.S. Census Bureau and Greater New Orleans Community Data Center

## Poverty Rate by Census Tract





...In short, the problems of **racial separation** and **concentrated poverty** go hand in hand. Extremely poor neighborhoods are disproportionately inhabited by **racial and ethnic minorities**

Sources:

John Yinger, "Housing Discrimination and Residential Segregation as Causes of Poverty" (Syracuse University, August 2000); Patrick Bayer and Robert McMillan, "Racial Sorting and Neighborhood Quality" (November 2005)



# Racial Division and Concentrated Poverty in U.S. Cities

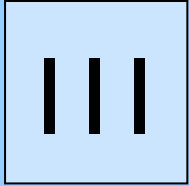
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What are the broader societal effects of racial separation and concentrated poverty?

Job Access

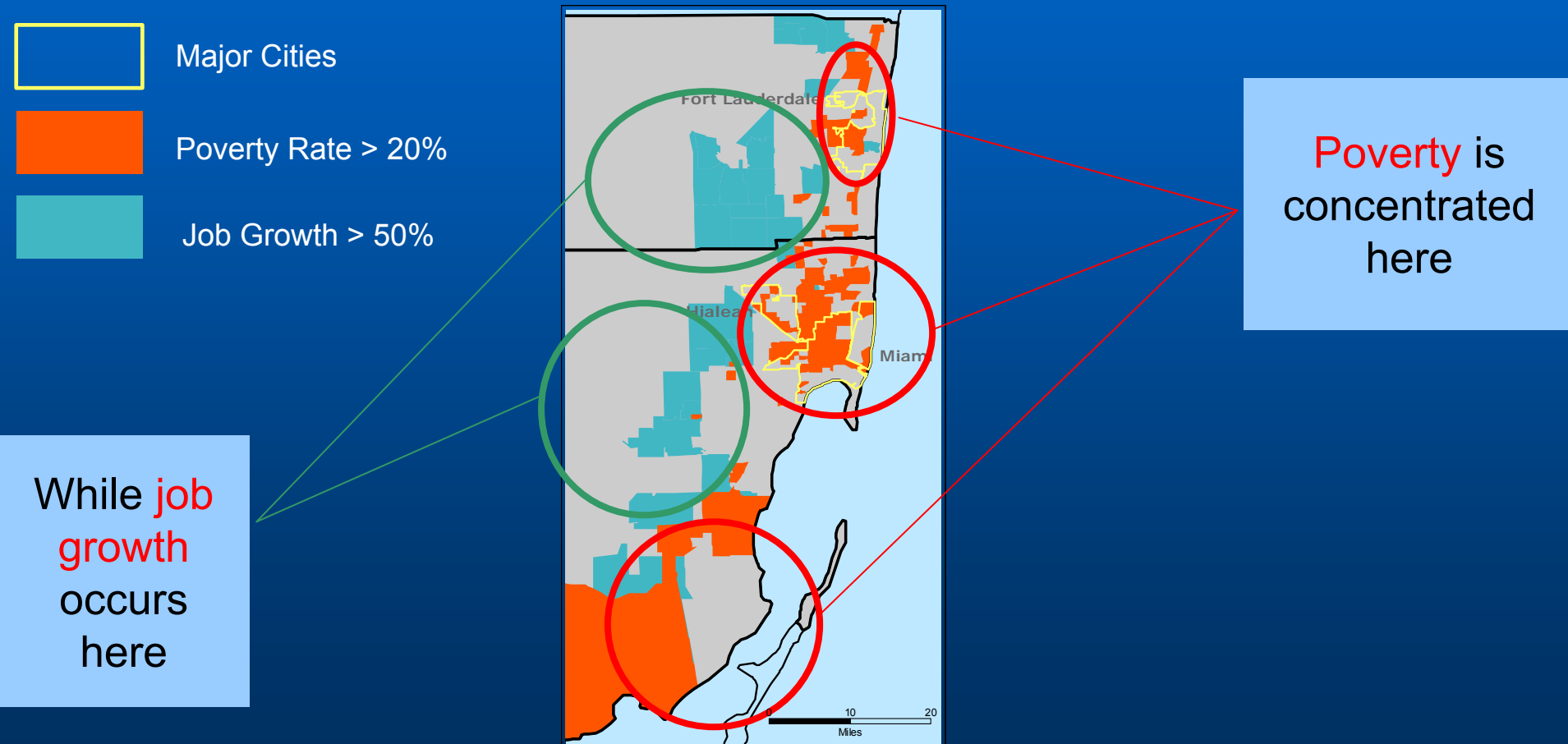
Child Education

Individual Health

Neighborhood Vitality



In Miami, a spatial mismatch has arisen between high-poverty neighborhoods and areas of high job growth



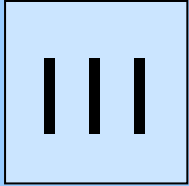


# High-poverty urban neighborhoods are especially detrimental to the labor market prospects of young black men

Number and % of young black men (aged 16-24) not in school and not in employment, 2000

Source:  
Brookings calculations  
of Census 2000 data

Metro Area		Number	%
1	Chicago, IL	29,373	58.4
2	Philadelphia, PA	15,923	52.0
3	Detroit, MI	15,322	50.7
4	New York, NY	14,548	56.5
5	Atlanta, GA	14,524	38.8
6	Washington, DC	14,138	43.8
7	Los Angeles, CA	12,523	56.9
8	Baltimore, MD	11,785	54.6
9	Houston, TX	11,262	50.2
10	New Orleans, LA	10,550	55.5



What are the broader societal effects of racial separation and concentrated poverty?

Job Access

Education

Individual Health

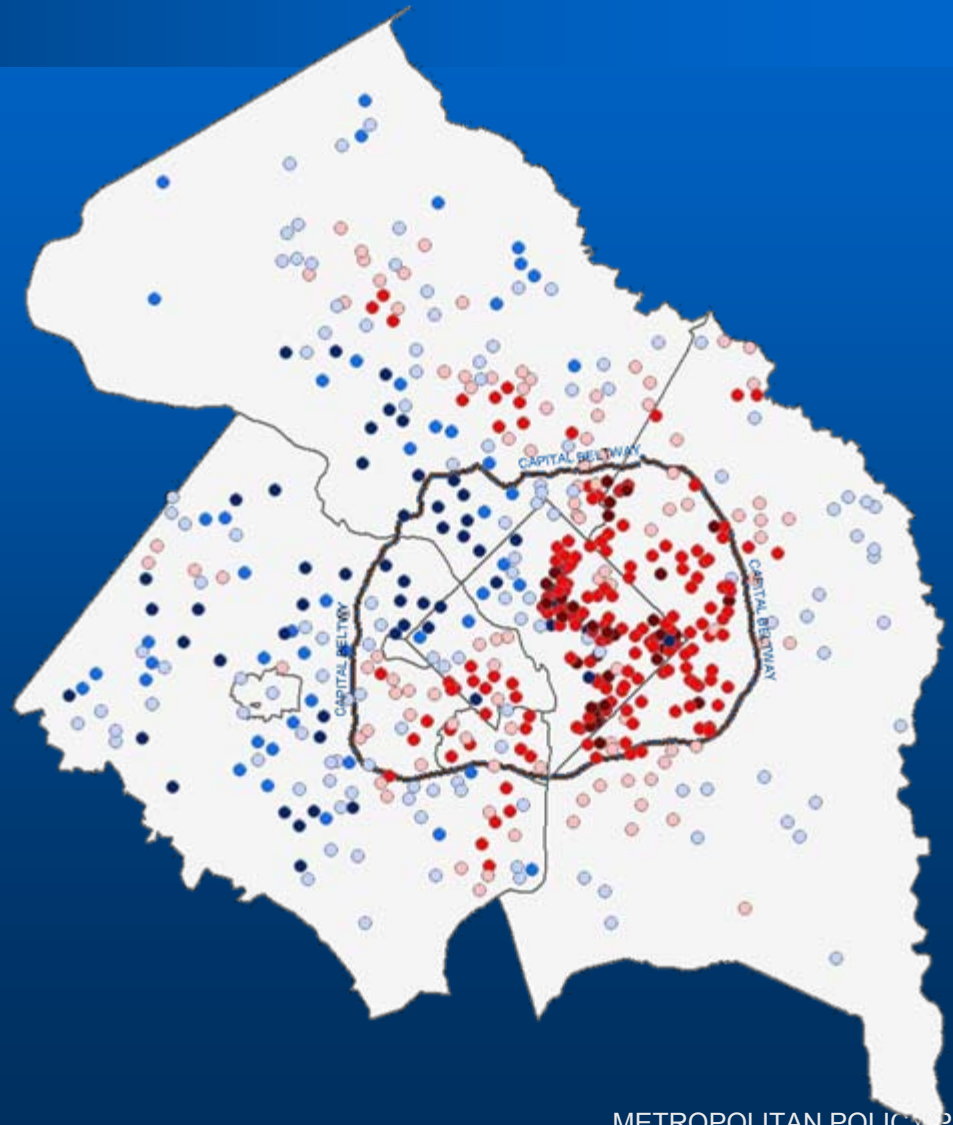
Neighborhood Vitality



# Neighborhoods of concentrated poverty tend to have high-poverty schools

Percent of students eligible for free and reduced price school lunches at public elementary schools, 2003

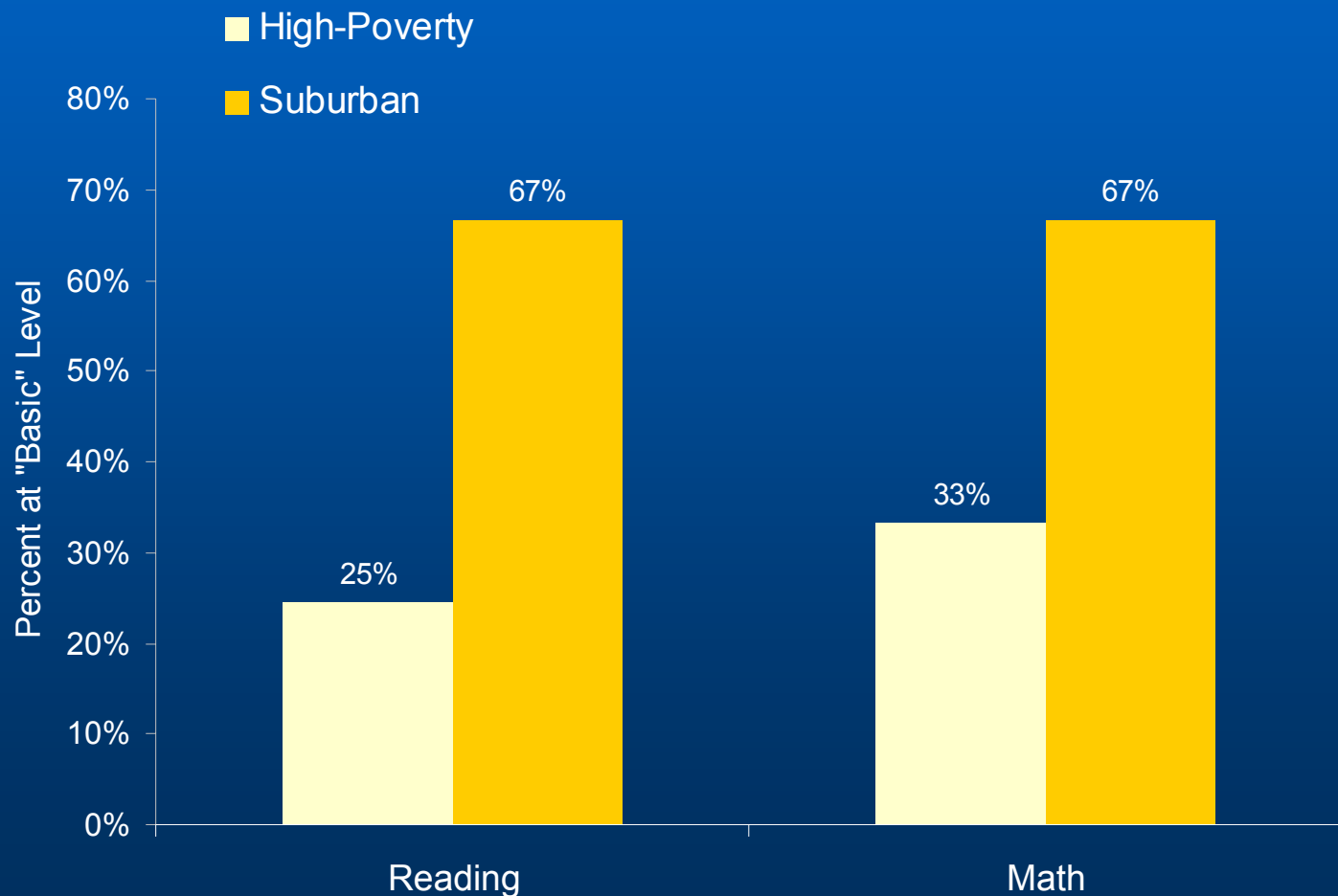
Source:  
National Center for Educational Statistics 2003





Research has shown that children from high-poverty areas are at greater risk of failure than their suburban counterparts

Educational  
achievement rates,  
fourth grade  
students

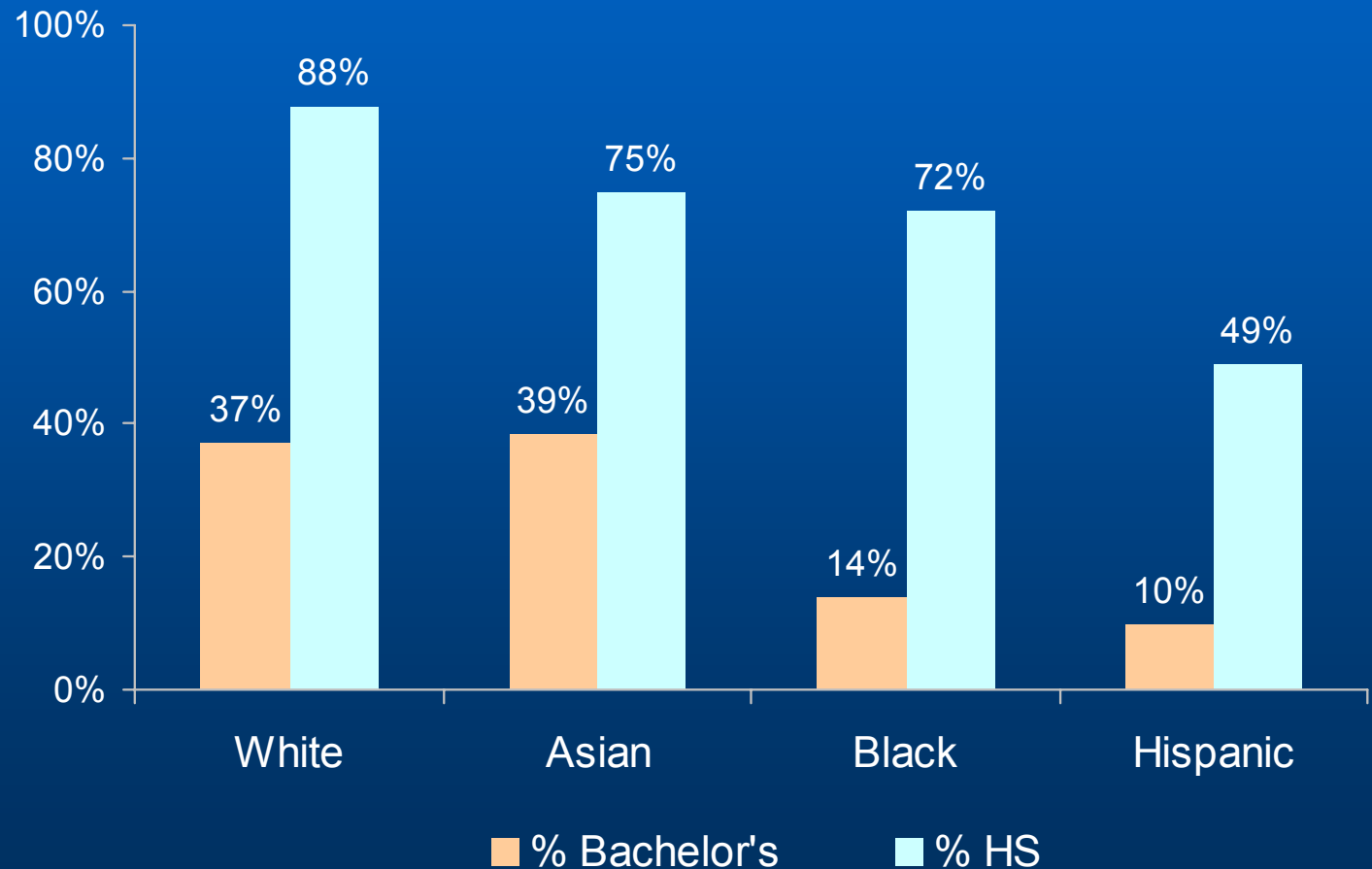


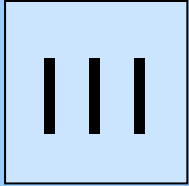


# These achievement gaps have exacerbated the disparities in educational attainment among different racial groups

Share of adults w/  
bachelor's degree,  
100 Largest Cities  
1990-2000

Source:  
U.S. Census Bureau





# What are the broader societal effects of racial separation and concentrated poverty?

Job Access

Child Education

Individual Health

Neighborhood Vitality



Evidence is mounting that living in high-poverty neighborhoods has negative health implications

↑↑ Asthma

↑↑ Diabetes

↑↑ Obesity

↑↑ Heart Ailments

↑↑ Cancer



# Concentrated poverty is correlated with abnormally high teenage birthrates

Rank of top 50 cities on concentrated poverty and % of births to teens, 2000

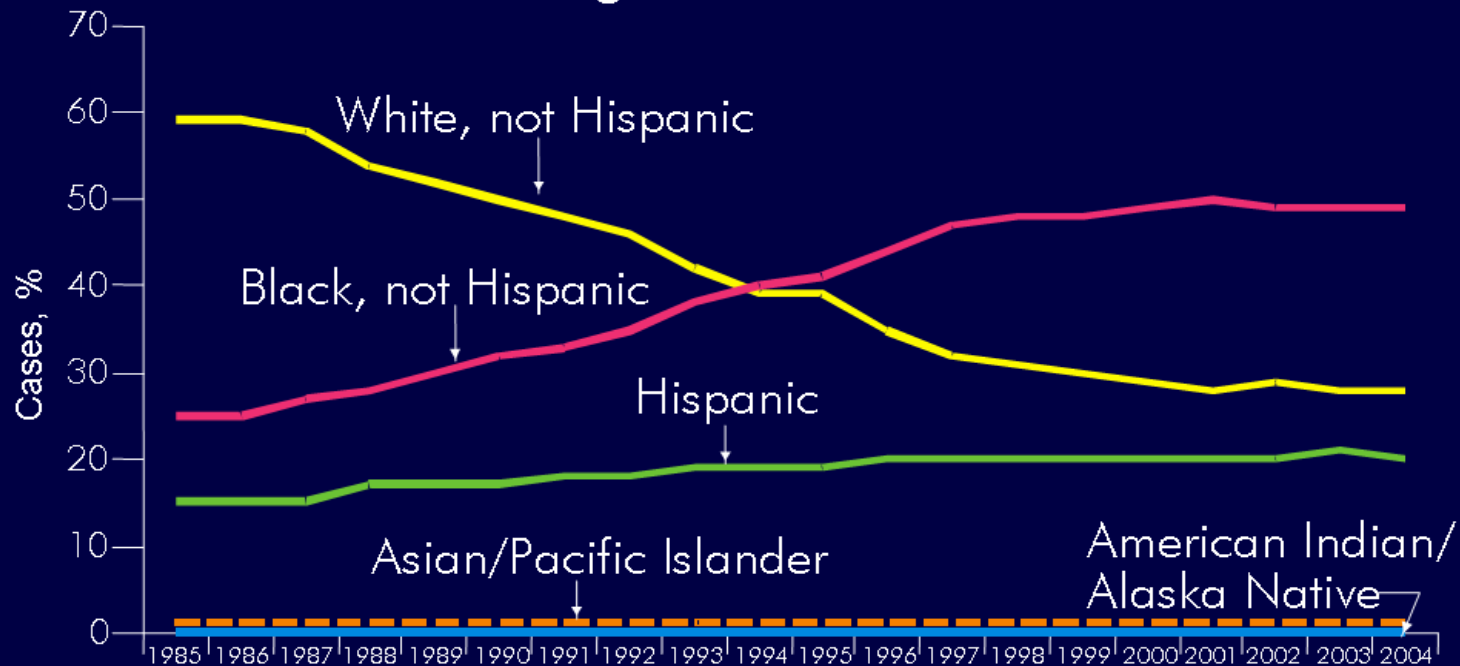
Source:  
Brookings calculations of Census 2000 data;  
Annie E. Casey Foundation

Concentrated Poverty Rate		% of Births to Teens	
1	<b>Fresno, CA</b>	1	<b>Baltimore, MD</b>
2	<b>New Orleans, LA</b>	2	<b>New Orleans, LA</b>
3	Louisville, KY	3	St. Louis, MO
4	Miami, FL	4	<b>Memphis, TN</b>
5	<b>Atlanta, GA</b>	5	<b>Cleveland, OH</b>
6	Long Beach, CA	6	<b>Milwaukee, WI</b>
7	<b>Cleveland, OH</b>	7	<b>Fresno, CA</b>
8	<b>Philadelphia, PA</b>	8	Detroit, MI
9	<b>Milwaukee, WI</b>	9	<b>Philadelphia, PA</b>
10	New York, NY	10	Fort Worth, TX
11	Washington, DC	11	Dallas, TX
12	<b>Memphis, TN</b>	12	San Antonio, TX
13	<b>Baltimore, MD</b>	13	El Paso, TX
14	Los Angeles, CA	14	Phoenix, AZ
15	Minneapolis, MN	15	<b>Atlanta, GA</b>

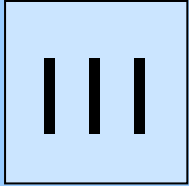


# A large majority of new AIDS diagnoses now occur among blacks and Hispanics

Proportion of AIDS Cases among Adults and Adolescents, by Race/Ethnicity and Year of Diagnosis, 1985–2004



Source:  
U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention



# What are the broader societal effects of racial separation and concentrated poverty?

Job Access

Education

Individual Health

Neighborhood Vitality



# Concentrated poverty affects the broader economic life of the community, depressing private-sector investment





Local government is also burdened, as it faces heavy demands on public services within high-poverty areas

Police

Health care

Fire

Homeless shelters

Courts

Social services

Public maintenance

Source:

Pack, "Poverty and Urban Public Expenditures" (Urban Studies, 1998)

Higher taxes and reduced public spending on key amenities (especially schools) induces further middle-class flight in turn



# Racial Division and Concentrated Poverty in U.S. Cities

**I** What is the spatial nature of America's racial divide?

**II** How does racial separation relate to concentrated poverty?

**III** What are the broader societal effects of racial separation and concentrated poverty?

**IV** What public policies have exacerbated these problems?

**V** How can we address these problems today?



Scholars have pointed to several factors that fueled the emergence of neighborhoods of concentrated poverty...

→ **De-industrialization** reduced employment opportunities for inner-city, less-skilled workers

→ **Employment deconcentration** widened the distance between inner-city workers and job opportunities

→ **Economic segregation** and “middle-class flight” removed upwardly mobile families from poor neighborhoods and kept poor families rooted there



...And these factors have been aided by government policies facilitating the out-migration of people and jobs

→ Federal mortgage-interest tax deduction

→ Locations of federally subsidized housing

→ Federal highway spending

→ Federal environmental regulation

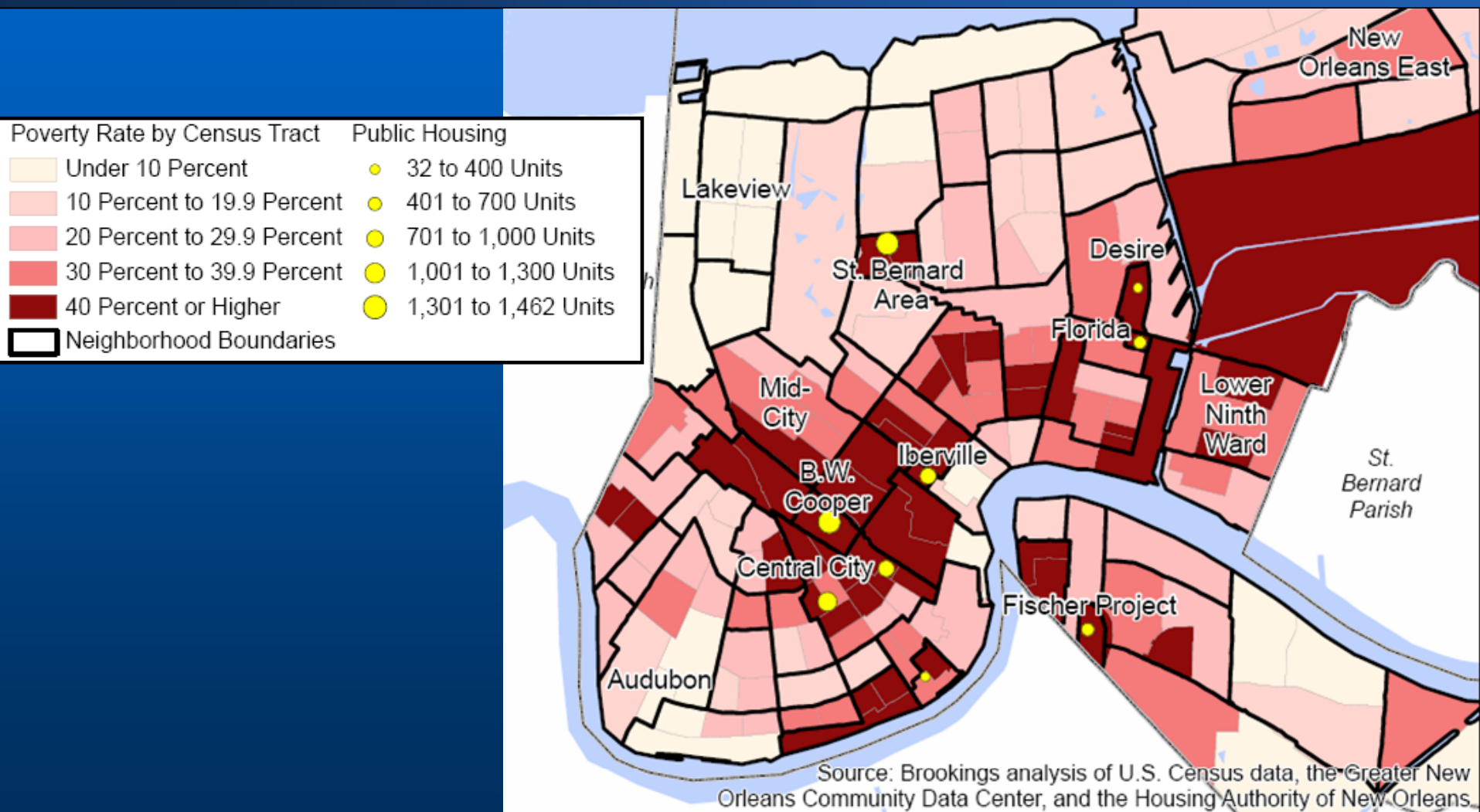
→ State and local tax incentives for new development

→ Local exclusionary zoning laws

→ Local building regulations and codes



# In New Orleans, nearly all public housing is located in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty





Residential segregation has not only been fueled by income disparities but by outright racism. “Redlining” was once official government policy

**Excerpt from 1940s  
underwriting manual, Federal  
Housing Administration:**

*“...If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes.”*





## Despite the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968, racial discrimination in housing still remains

- Discrimination in mortgage lending by banks
- Discrimination in sales and rentals by owners and landlords
- Neighborhood preferences of purchasers and renters
- Steering by realtors
- Insufficient enforcement of the Fair Housing Act by the federal government

Source:

Turner, "Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets" (Washington: Urban Institute, 2002)



# Racial Division and Concentrated Poverty in U.S. Cities

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Patterns of racial division in the U.S. are complex, persistent, and difficult to address politically



However, because **segregation by race** is closely correlated with **segregation by income**, promoting economic integration can help improve racial integration



Two federal policies have been particularly successful at alleviating economic segregation

Housing Vouchers


Public Housing Transformation



# Housing vouchers promote opportunity by investing in people rather than places



Housing vouchers have existed as a federal program since **1974**



Vouchers pay the difference between **30 percent of a recipient's income** and the rent of a moderately priced apartment



Now **2.1 million households** are served by vouchers

# The housing voucher program is a proven success

- Allows residents to choose where they live, giving them greater access to quality jobs and schools
- Has yielded improvements in health, educational attainment, and employment outcomes
- Has been shown to reduce juvenile delinquency and school dropouts

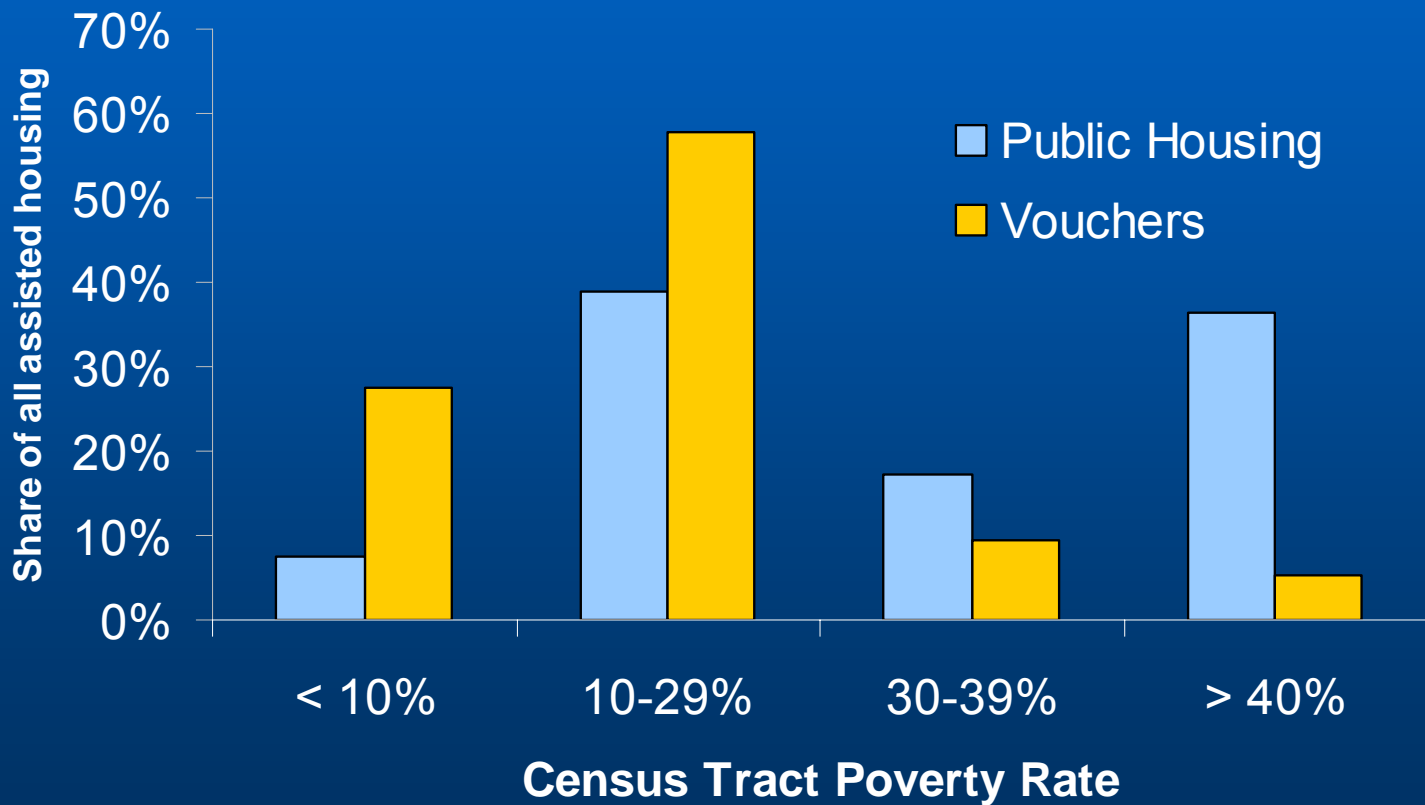




Fewer than 15 percent of voucher recipients live in high-poverty neighborhoods, while over half of public housing tenants do

Distribution of assisted housing units by census tract poverty rate, 1997

Source:  
Newman and Schnare,  
“...And a Suitable  
Living Environment “  
(Housing Policy  
Debate, 1997)







However, the voucher program's potential is limited by several factors



**Racism and exclusionary zoning** limits the housing choices of blacks and Hispanics



Voucher administration is **parochial** while housing and employment markets are **metropolitan**



There are **fewer supportive services and social networks** in the suburbs




Two federal policies have been particularly successful at alleviating economic segregation

Housing Vouchers


Public Housing Transformation



## Public housing transformation is best exemplified by the federal “HOPE VI” program



**10 year, \$6 billion** effort to tear down the worst public housing and replace it with mixed-income neighborhoods



**235 revitalization grants** awarded thus far in 35 states and the District of Columbia



**Housing vouchers** given to relocating tenants



**Support services** offered to returning tenants

In St. Louis, HOPE VI enabled the demolition of the severely distressed Vaughn Public Housing Project...

## Vaughn High Rises

- Four nine-story buildings
- Typical of 1950s-era, urban renewal public housing towers
- 656 units



George L. Vaughn High Rises, 1995



...And the creation of Murphy Park in its place

## Murphy Park Development

- Townhouses, garden apartments and single-family homes
- “New Urbanist” design and “defensible space” technique
- 413 units, serving a range of incomes



Murphy Park, Today


A key part of Murphy Park's transformation is a completely overhauled local school

## Jefferson Elementary School

- \$5 million in corporate and philanthropic money to modernize the school
- One of the most technologically advanced education facilities in the region
- New principal with wider control over teachers and curriculum




# Neighborhood conditions have improved markedly because of the transformation



The **median household income** rose by **18 percent** between 1989 and 1999, compared to 4 percent regionally



**Unemployment fell by 35 percent** from 1989 to 1999, compared to a **3.7 percent city wide increase**

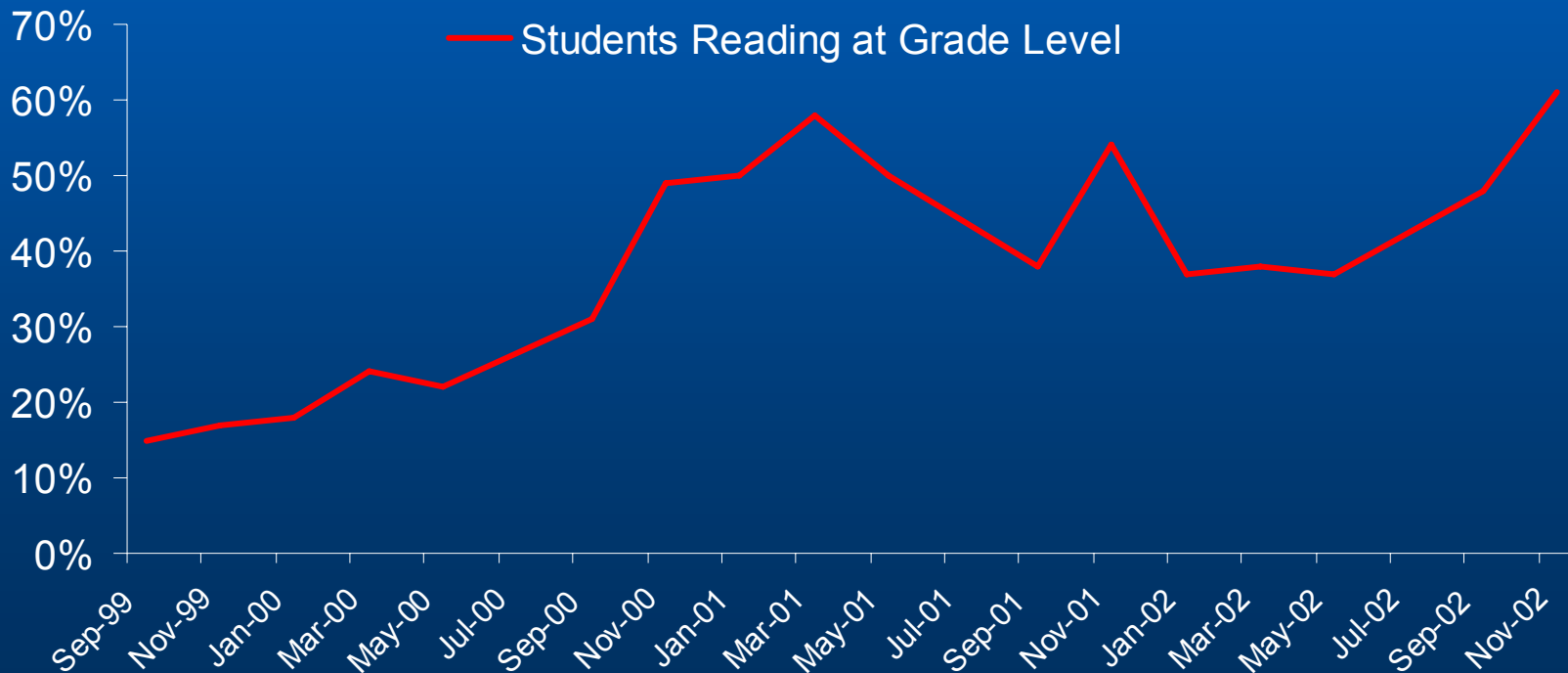


Private investment in the form of **residential and commercial development** has since located in the surrounding area


# The local school, Jefferson Elementary, has witnessed dramatic improvement in student performance

Share of students reading at grade level,  
Jefferson Elementary School,  
1999-2002


Source:  
Richard Baron,  
James W. Rouse  
Lecture on the  
American City  
(2003)




# Concerns remain about neighborhood transformation with regard to the original tenants who become displaced




Many housing authorities **failed to plan adequately for relocation** or provide sufficient support to residents during the process



Studies find that **less than half of the original residents return**, with some estimates as low as 19 percent



Particular concern surrounds the treatment of “**hard-to-house**” **families** that cannot meet the stricter screening criteria of the new developments



Nevertheless, these strategies hold the potential to break the chains of concentrated poverty and thereby promote racial integration



For more information, see...



*"A true rebirth of distressed areas will only occur if we make these places neighborhoods of choice and connection."*



## METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

# Neighborhoods of Choice and Connection: The Evolution of American Neighborhood Policy and What It Means for the United Kingdom

Bruce Katz

*This paper prepared for delivery at the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's Centenary Event in London surveys the contours of American neighborhood policy since the 1960s and proposes a new goal for such work in the U.S. and U.K.: the creation of "neighborhoods of choice and connection." The paper opens with an overview of the nature of American neighborhood distress and how leaders have responded to it in recent decades. This section contends that three distinct sets of neighborhood policies have emerged over time and that there are strengths and limitations to each. Drawing on this analysis of the American experience, the paper then provides a series of observations on how community leaders and policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic can embrace a new neighborhood paradigm that seeks to attract residents of all races while linking them also to good-quality education, training, and other routes to economic opportunity.*

### Introduction

Asual visitors to America's great cities are often struck by the vast areas of deprivation that abut vibrant downtowns, major freeways, urban rail yards, and once-grand commercial corridors.

In a suburban nation that treasures the "new," these places stand out for their visible poverty and often-dilapidated, sometimes-vacant housing and commercial structures. Bearing the mark of a succession of government programs, these communities seem strangely out of place in this prosperous country—a grim reminder of the racial, ethnic, and class distortions that persist beneath celebrations of the American dream.

Since the 1960s, such run-down neighborhoods have held a fascination for scholars and journalists, conservative theorists and liberal thinkers. These products have been the laboratories for a plethora of foundation experiments, government demonstrations, and federal policies and programs. And yet, the impact of these efforts—amounting to tens of billions of dollars over several decades—remains decidedly mixed. To be sure, some neighborhoods can point to real improvements. But many initiatives—despite the best of intentions—have failed to alleviate, and in some cases have exacerbated, the deteriorating economic and social conditions in inner cities.

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### Urban Center Becomes Metropolitan Program

In a major promotion, the Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy this month became the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program—and the first new Brookings department established since 1948. The new status reflects the rising importance of metropolitan issues to the domestic and global challenges Brookings seeks to address.

read an open letter from Brookings President Strobe Talbott

METROPOLITAN GROWTH

### Mechanisms for Market-Based Land Use Control

Using case studies and a national survey, this paper examines transfers of development rights (TDRs) and other market-based land preservation techniques like mitigation banking and density transfer fees.

IMMIGRATION

### Washington Goes Polyglot

Metro Washington's "limited English proficient" (LEP) population

**METROVIEW**  
**Deficits by Design Plague Metro**  
by Robert Puentes  
*The Washington Times*  
June 21, 2004

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