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The Capacity of the Black Protestant Church to Provide Social Ministry in Post-Katrina New Orleans

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The Capacity of the Black Protestant Church
to Provide Social Ministry in Post-Katrina New Orleans

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DEDICATION

To My Beloved Wife

MIRANDA

Cherished Gift from God,

The Love and Joy of My Life

You have stood by my side through thick and thin.

Stayed up with me long hours throughout the night

And helped me do what you knew was in my heart to do.

This is as much yours as it is mine.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This research is an ethnography which investigates the effects of Hurricane Katrina upon the capacity of African American Protestant churches in New Orleans to provide spiritual and social ministry to the city's underprivileged. More than three years after Hurricane Katrina unleashed its fury upon the city, fifty per cent of the churches remain as the hurricane left them.

Pre-Katrina, fifty per cent of the population lived at or below the poverty line and depended upon faith-based programs as part of their support network and ladder toward self-sufficiency. Because of the disaster, there was substantive loss of parishioners, financial resources, and program operational infrastructure that severely limited or destroyed faith-based capacity to serve.

The purpose of the study is to examine what social vulnerabilities and barriers hinder churches' capacity to serve community needs in four particular areas, including providing and advocating for affordable housing, quality health care, strategies for eliminating poverty, and disaster evacuation education, preparedness and response. The researcher hypothesizes that structural and institutional racism were already undermining that capacity pre-Katrina and continues to hinder it more than three years since.

The study investigates the veracity of this hypothesis. It attempts to offer strategies to help mitigate the social vulnerabilities and increase the community's resiliency and sustainability against future disasters. This research is important because it provides increased awareness and understanding of how pre-existing social vulnerabilities in combination with Hurricane Katrina contributed to the lingering diminished capacity of the church and community.   It also provides insight into how the faith community's attitude and action toward handling its vulnerabilities

lead to increased resiliency and sustainability, and suggest a course of action toward the

alleviation of marginalization of both the faith institutions and the people they serve.

Key Words:

African American Faith Community; Black Church; Church; Community; Faith Community;
Local Church; National Church; Para-church Organizations; Racial Discrimination; Racial
Prejudice; Racial Segregation; Racism; Resiliency; Sustainability; Vulnerability

CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM OF STUDYING AND RECOVERING FROM DISASTERS

Introduction

Hurricane Katrina was the worst natural disaster in the history of the United States. While it did not cause as many deaths as other U.S. disasters, it far surpassed every natural or manmade disaster in property damage, economic impact, and length of time for full recovery.

> "Other disasters, of course, have taken a higher toll. But to the media Katrina was the biggest and the most disastrous storm of all time. Worse than Andrew, worse than the 1900 Galveston hurricane, worse than the tsunami of 2004." (Forgues-Roy, 2005, Web Article).

Hurricane Katrina was a first in many ways, but probably the most surprising was the slow, nonchalant manner in which the federal government responded in providing rescue, relief, and recovery for the devastated Gulf Coast communities, especially that of New Orleans in the wake of the hurricane.

In the face of slow moving governmental bureaucracies at all levels, communities of faith from across the nation quickly mobilized to assist hurricane victims' immediate needs for food, clothing, and shelter; and then went into action gutting and repairing homes, houses of worship, and small businesses. At no time did the role played by institutions of faith in ameliorating societal ills become more evident than in the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and her sister storm, Hurricane Rita.

The immediacy, level, and wide array of available assistance to victims of these two devastating natural disasters demonstrated the value of organized people and funding under the banner of faith. What is suggested by the readiness of the faith community to respond in this manner is that the infrastructure, policies, and procedures to make such a response were already existing and in operation before the occurrence of these disasters. Both locally and nationally,

institutions of faith joined forces to make a concerted effort to bring New Orleans' citizens a level of comfort in their distress. This response was made without regard for differences such as race, religion, or socio-economic status that tend to separate, categorize, isolate, and discriminate against people. The larger faith community, working with local congregations across the barriers of race, class and denomination, stepped up and invested time, energy, skills, manpower and money into addressing the needs of a hurting community.

Description of the Project

The project investigates the vulnerability, resiliency and sustainability of African American Protestant churches in New Orleans and the effects of Hurricane Katrina upon their capacity to carry out their mandate and mission to provide spiritual and social ministry to the city's underprivileged. It also examines and correlates the theological, theoretical, and practical underpinnings that resulted in increased resiliency and sustainability of this part of the larger church in America.

Twenty months after powerful Hurricane Katrina unleashed its fury upon the city of New Orleans, over forty percent of the churches remain as the hurricane left them (Day, 2007). Pre-Katrina, fifty per cent of the population of New Orleans lived at or below the poverty line and depended in large part upon the faith community, more specifically the Black church, to assist in a variety of ways as part of their support network. The Black church in New Orleans served this unusually high proportion of the population by providing for its spiritual and social needs through various programs and services.   There was substantive loss of parishioners, financial resources, and program operational infrastructure that severely limited, if not completely destroyed, the churches' capacity to serve as assistants and advocates for nearly half of the population living in poverty. For the purposes of the study, "community" and "population" are

used interchangeably and defined as persons living at or below the poverty line, most of whom live in or around the city's public housing developments, and tend to be African-American females, their dependent children and other household members.

The project investigates what social vulnerabilities and barriers existed pre-Katrina and still exist that hinder the institutions' capacity to serve the needs of the community; and how these institutions are turning pre and post-Katrina vulnerabilities into resiliency and sustainability in the hurricane's aftermath. Five areas of service by the faith community are of particular focus. These include: providing and advocating for fair and affordable housing, addressing mental health needs, designing and implementing strategies for eliminating poverty, promoting disaster preparedness and response, and addressing racial healing and reconciliation in the provision of these services. The study attempts to offer strategies to help mitigate the social vulnerabilities and increase the church's and the community's capacity for resiliency and sustainability against future disasters.

This research is important because it investigates and provides increased awareness and understanding of what factors in combination with Hurricane Katrina contributed to the present condition, how the faith community's attitude and action of handling its vulnerabilities led to increased resiliency and sustainability, and suggests a course of action toward the alleviation of marginalization of both the faith institutions and the people they serve.

Analysis of the Problem

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, much of the African American faith community's infrastructure and capacity to serve the spiritual and social needs of the New Orleans community was severely curtailed. Pre-Katina, New Orleans was a poor city with nearly half of its black citizens living in poverty (Katz, 2006) and depending heavily upon the African American faith

community to assist in a variety of ways as part of their support network. The church's loss of parishioners, financial resources, program operational infrastructure, and physical facilities as a result of the storm, left its dependents lacking a critical piece of their support network. Even those faith institutions whose physical structures sustained minimal damage from hurricane winds and waters are still suffering from decreased congregation sizes and financial resources.

Inadequate and ineffective political leadership and delays in governmental resources reaching the city's residents and businesses have made it difficult for former residents to return to the city, and for local churches to regain sufficient numbers of congregants to return to pre-hurricane operations (Borenstein, 2005). Consequently, the city is suffering the loss of a major manpower and funding resource for assisting with the social and spiritual needs of its citizens.

The following words, phrases, and definitions are integral to an understanding of the scope and intent of this research project:

African American Faith Community: The part of the larger faith community comprised mostly of African American Protestant churches.

Black Church: Colloquial expression referencing African American faith institutions. This reference is used mostly with Protestant churches in America and is often used interchangeably with African American Faith Community.

Church: For the purposes of this dissertation, it is a reference to the larger body of people of faith on the national and international levels.

Community: Community and population are used interchangeably and defined as persons living at or below the poverty line, most of which lived in or around the city's public housing developments, and tended to be African-American females, their dependent children and other household members.

Faith Community: A broad designation of all people of faith, primarily at the local level, including members of all denominations and groups of Christianity, Judaism, and Islamic religions

Local Church: A reference to mostly Christian churches in the New Orleans area.

National Church: A reference to the institutional structures and organizations of the Christian churches at the national level.

Para-Church Organizations: Christian oriented faith-based and non-profit organizations that carry out the same purposes as Christian churches, but have mostly a single and specific ministry focus with no gathering of congregants in a formalized church tradition and setting. Examples include World Vision, Save the Children, and Youth With A Mission, YMCA and YWCA.

Racial Discrimination: Taking aggressive or passive action against a person or group of people based upon that set of preconceived, unquestioned, and uninvestigated ideas.

Racial Prejudice   A set of preconceived ideas about a person or group of people based upon their ethnic or racial background that is generally held to be true and thus believed without question or investigation.

Racial Segregation: The legal separating of people by race or ethnicity in their participation in the corporate and public life of the local community and larger society.

Racism: The combination of racial prejudice, racial discrimination, and racial segregation with the systematic, structural, and institutionalized brokering of power and money to subjugate an entire group of people because of their race or ethnicity.

Resiliency: The ability of an organism or organization to endure, cope with, bounce back, and continue its existence in spite of negative stressors and disasters.

<u>Sustainability</u>: A permanent and elevated state of resiliency derived over time from learned experiences of overcoming vulnerabilities.

<u>Vulnerability</u>: A set of conditions or circumstances that present a weakened state or potential weakness of an organism or organization which threatens its well being and continued existence.

Prior to Hurricane Katrina, the Black Church in New Orleans operated in an urban climate with known and unknown vulnerabilities which contributed to the magnitude of the devastation.   Many of these vulnerabilities went unattended in spite of predictions and warnings from experts (Azulay, 2005; Borenstein, 2005). They existed within all three levels of government, within the churches, and in the personal lives of the people who were most unable to help themselves in a time of disaster. Vulnerabilities within the government could be categorized as geographical and topographical, fiscal, and political in nature. Those within the church resulted from uninsured and underinsured physical facilities, marginal resources with which to carry out social programs, and a human resource base that consisted of the same people in need of services.

New Orleans professionals and laypeople often discussed or expressed concern about the lack of corrective action for some vulnerabilities, the lack of social change for others, and the lack of leadership at all three levels of government. For instance, a weak and sub-standard levee system, for which government had responsibility to assure effectiveness, was vulnerable to failure during a category three or higher hurricane. This was a known vulnerability for which no substantive action was taken. Additionally, the loss of Louisiana Gulf Coast marshes at a rate of 100 yards every 30 minutes for nearly 20 years steadily took away the buffer that minimized the impact of storm surges before 1965. As a civil-engineering magazine put it, "In southeastern

Louisiana a football field worth of wetlands sinks into the sea every 30 minutes." (Brouwer, 2003, p.10). This too was a vulnerability known to government at all levels before Katrina.

On the fiscal side of things, New Orleans had a poor tax base from which to carry out city operations and services, and few or no resources for emergency purposes. In fact, the city's electric, water, and sewer systems were old and in desperate need of repairs and upgrading. New Orleans did not even have a disaster plan in place and had only begun working to create one in 2004 which was not completed before Hurricane Katrina. Adding insult to injury was the estrangement of the New Orleans political structure from those of the State and Federal governments. This became a critical barrier to funding necessary for recovery efforts.

In the church arena, some vulnerabilities existed because church facilities were either uninsured or underinsured, affording no means of rebuilding without substantial donations and help from volunteers. Few African American churches in New Orleans could boast of the fiscal solvency necessary to renovate or rebuild their physical structures. They were marginally fit financially, barely making it with operations and programs. The churches' operations and programs were self funded and staffed. Many of the parishioners were the same people needing the church as part of their network of support and survival.

Finally, the citizens of New Orleans were beset with known and unknown (maybe unrecognized would be a better description) vulnerabilities that put them unnecessarily in harms way when Katrina hit the city. For instance, New Orleans' citizens embraced a long-standing cultural mindset of riding out storms; and the greatest portion of New Orleans' poor lived in the lowest lying areas of the city. Many of the most vulnerable citizens worked for minimum wages and could hardly care for their families' day-to-day needs, much less having viable transportation or the ability to relocate for more than a few days in the event of a disaster. Thus the strike and

aftermath of Hurricane Katrina exacted a heavy toll upon this vulnerable city and its citizens. The devastation, suffering, and losses sustained were worsened because of the numerous vulnerabilities which existed at the time.

The Questions

This research attempts to explore and answer four questions. The first question is, "What social vulnerabilities and barriers existed pre-Katrina that contributed to the magnitude of devastation and suffering experienced by the faith community in New Orleans; which still exist that hinder full recovery; and how are these institutions turning these vulnerabilities into resiliency and sustainability in the hurricane's aftermath?"

The second question is, "In what ways might the social constructs of race and class have contributed to the vulnerabilities of the faith community pre-Katrina; and how are they continuing to present challenges and barriers to the recovery of these institutions and their parishioners?"

The third question is, "What strategies or actions have institutions of faith employed to facilitate their recovery and that of their congregants; and how has the work of local congregations and national institutions of faith helped the recovery of the New Orleans community and aided in fostering decreased vulnerability and increased resiliency and sustainability of the community against the threat of future disasters and devastation?"

The fourth question is, "What actions might faith institutions take to increase their strength, viability, and capacity as an affinity group against future disasters; and what can they do to lobby against the racism, economic disparity and social injustices that contributed to their post- Katrina situation?"

This research project will help policy makers, social service agencies, and faith institutions to understand how long-standing and unaddressed vulnerabilities contributed to the magnitude of the disaster. Members of the New Orleans faith community have learned and can contribute to instituting critical changes necessary to build greater resiliency and sustainability against future Katrina-type disasters.

Feasibility and Limitations

The researcher is uniquely qualified to conduct this study. Having been a life-long resident of New Orleans, a member of the faith community since 1961, and a leader in the faith community locally and abroad since 1973, he is the perfect participant observer for an ethnographic study of the city and its faith community. He has served in a faith-based, social service ministry capacity in public housing communities locally and nationally for more than thirty years, and knows the plight of the poor in the urban centers of the nation.

The researcher knows the city, its people, and its faith community from the inside out, as well as from the outside in. He serves as a pastor with an extensive program of community building, an advocate and activist for the underprivileged, and had an eight year tenure as a member of the New Orleans City Planning Commission. He enjoys an excellent and longstanding rapport, respect, and appreciation of persons involved with faith institutions, social service networks, public housing neighborhoods, and the university community.

Throughout his time of intense involvement in New Orleans and its faith community, the researcher has gained valuable experience working closely with groups of citizens across all of the traditional barriers of race, culture, faith, economic status, and educational achievement. The work of the researcher in public housing communities is widely known locally and nationally in various areas of community service. Among members of the researcher's religious

denomination he is viewed as an expert on matters regarding public housing. He has completed a Doctorate of Ministry degree where his primary focus of study involved problems specific to members of the public housing community. Additionally, the researcher has developed over twenty seminars and has been in demand among his colleagues as a speaker and lecturer on ministry in public housing communities.

Because of his extensive and long-term relationships with public housing residents and officials, and his previous experience with conducting a research study within the public housing community, the researcher does not foresee or anticipate any problems of consequence to the successful completion of this study. Numerous contacts have been established over the years that have afforded the researcher insider status among the target groups.

This research study is manageable. The methodology employed includes a total of eighty interviews with parishioners and pastors who are displaced and whose congregations were decimated, facilities destroyed, and livelihoods halted by the Hurricane and evacuation of the city. The methodology also includes surveys to determine the return and reestablishment of faith institutions in New Orleans, and focus groups with local pastors to gain insight of their pre-K/post-K experiences, lessons learned, changes implemented, and how their delivery of services to the New Orleans community has been affected.

The researcher has already developed an extensive network of informants through his years of involvement with the faith community. The research included two interview schedules, one used with members of each survey group. They are the congregants and the local pastors. These instruments are developed from information gained through the literature search and the researcher's own experiences and knowledge. Volunteer interviewers are utilized while the researcher functions in a project director's role, providing training and guidance to keep the study

on course. The tasks of gathering and analyzing data present little or no difficulty. The cost of the project is minimal since the researcher has access to volunteers, a computer, typist, copy machine, and other incidentals needed for the study.

The units of analysis are the displaced congregants, the local pastors, and assessment tools relating to the pre-K and post-K capacities of selected congregations. Data from the interview schedules are analyzed by determining the frequency of responses from members of each group of informants, and evaluating the degree of frequency in the responses of the two groups. The instrument is designed in such a manner as to elicit both objective and subjective responses from the informants. This allows certain responses to be coded to allow analysis of the degree of frequency in the responses.

The researcher recognized several limitations inherent in doing this study. While the review of the literature was adequate for the purposes of the study, the researcher realized that the focus of the study could not encompass the vast array of ministries provided by institutions of faith in the social services arena. The scope of services is limited to five areas of service which have a direct bearing on the post-Katrina needs of the community. These include provision of housing, elimination of poverty, mental health needs, disaster responsiveness, and undoing racism. Another area of concern is getting a representative sampling of informants due to the extraordinary size and wide displacement of the target group.

CHAPTER 2: PEOPLE, PLACE, AND SPIRIT

Introduction

The literature related to this study is divided into two categories. The first category includes sources which help establish an understanding of the cultural context, i.e., the historical, demographic, and social conditions of the city of New Orleans into which Hurricane Katrina made her debut. It includes literature which identifies and discusses known and unknown vulnerabilities of the city existing pre-Katrina that contributed to the magnitude of the disaster, a review of literature written post-Katrina which gives an analysis of those vulnerabilities to help make sense of the magnitude of the disaster, and presents lessons learned for greater resiliency and sustainability. This section then takes a look at literature which discusses the post-Katrina demographic and social landscape of the city; and projects how the continued displacement of mostly African American and poor citizens via weak political leadership, the changing housing picture, and the "whitening" and "Latinizing" of New Orleans will negatively impact the city's historical and cultural heritage.

The second category includes literature which lends an understanding of the role the African American faith community played traditionally and at the time of the hurricane which helped with the alleviation of adverse social conditions. This part of the review includes literature focused on the biblical and theological underpinnings for social ministry by faith institutions and particularly inner-city faith institutions. Literature related to issue specific social conditions such as housing, poverty reduction, racism, mental health, and the disaster preparedness and response is included in this section.   Also presented is a review of literature which deals with the role faith institutions played in the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Katrina that assisted with the city's recovery. Finally, this section focuses on literature which

helps realize the present state of the African American faith community in New Orleans and its capacity to continue its delivery of spiritual and social services to the city, making a comparison of faith institutions by denomination, race, and national strength toward congregational resiliency and sustainability in post-Katrina New Orleans.

The Lay of the Land before Katrina

Hurricane Katrina was the first and worst disaster of its kind, not only in New Orleans, but in the United States (Forgues-Roy, 2005). Never has anyone, elected officials, emergency personnel, or citizens had to deal with the unimaginable logistics of survival and recovery for a city the size of New Orleans, and affecting nearly a million people in the Metro area. There was no rule book or game plan. The script had to be written on the go. Only a piecemeal understanding from other much smaller disasters, occurring over a shorter period of time, and affecting fewer victims was available to assist all concerned with determining the what and how of personal and family survival, how to care for tens of thousands of special needs individuals, how to establish temporary survival resources for the population of a major city, how to begin to rebuild the infrastructure for an entire city, and how to finance the whole effort.

Many people, from ordinary citizens and governmental officials to media commentators and pundits, have expressed the incomprehensibility of the magnitude of this disaster and its aftermath without actually being there to get the true picture. News stories, even video footage could not do justice in attempting to convey the devastation. Every New Orleanian has a Katrina story. Katrina stories are being told and shall continue to be told for a long time to come across the country by those who were directly affected in one way or another. In addition to getting the truest picture of this one-of-a-kind, history-making event, it is just as necessary to get the truest story of the event as told by as many participants who actually experienced it, and are yet living

in its wake. It is a story with many chapters and of such magnitude that no amount of news coverage could ever convey the horror, the emotions, the personal struggles, mental anguish, or the facial expressions that speak volumes without a word being spoken.

The New Orleans that unsuspectingly went about its daily routines in the summer of 2005 was also unwittingly susceptible as an American city to become the byword for the worst natural disaster in its history. A growing set of factors converged in August 2005 setting the stage in the life of New Orleans for the drama that became the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. During the colorful history of New Orleans, it was once known as the Queen City of the South, suggesting its prominence among American cities. It had been a center of commerce positioned at the mouth of the Mississippi River with a unique character that combined European, African, and Latin American cultures. Its architecture, reflected in its housing stock as well as in its government and commercial buildings, was one of New Orleans' most valuable assets, drawing hundreds of thousands of tourists annually. The city's culture was a blend of world influences in food, music, art, festivals, and dialects which might be called a "gumbo" by some as a way of summarizing this blend of cultural flavors. All of this was "naturally N'awlins," and all of it would soon be at risk in the onslaught and aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

United States Census Bureau records show a steady change in rank by population of the city over the previous 150 years. New Orleans moved from the third largest city in the country in 1840 to twenty-fourth largest by 1990, having fallen behind cities such as, Houston, 4th; San Jose, 11th; Indianapolis, 13th; Jacksonville, 15th; Columbus, 16th; and Milwaukee, 17th (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). Austin and Nashville were right on New Orleans' heels at 25th and 26th and would surpass her in the 2005 census estimate when the decline in population in New Orleans would drop her to 38th behind Austin, 16th and Nashville, 28th (Information Please

Database, 2007). Though raw numbers are not reflected in the data from which these statistics were taken, for such dramatic changes to occur means that New Orleans was growing at a slower rate than other American cities, or its growth had begun to stagnate. Either way, the net effect is New Orleans was losing her prominence among American cities.

Table 1: Top 50 Cities in the U.S. by Population and Rank
The table below lists the largest 50 cities in the United States based on population and rank for the years 1990, 2000, and 2005.

	7/1/2005 population estimate	4/1/2000 census population	4/1/1990 census population	Numeric population change 1990–2000	Percent population change 1990–2000	Size rank 1990	Size rank 2000	Size rank 2005
New York, N.Y.	8,143,197	8,008,278	7,322,564	685,714	9.4	1	1	1
Los Angeles, Calif.	3,844,829	3,694,820	3,485,398	209,422	6.0	2	2	2
Chicago, Ill.	2,842,518	2,896,016	2,783,726	112,290	4.0	3	3	3
Houston, Tex.	2,016,582	1,953,631	1,630,553	323,078	19.8	4	4	4
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,463,281	1,517,550	1,585,577	−68,027	−4.3	5	5	5
Phoenix, Ariz.	1,461,575	1,321,045	983,403	337,642	34.3	10	6	6
San Antonio, Tex.	1,256,509	1,144,646	935,933	208,713	22.3	9	9	7
San Diego, Calif.	1,255,540	1,223,400	1,110,549	112,851	10.2	6	7	8
Dallas, Tex.	1,213,825	1,188,580	1,006,877	181,703	18.0	8	8	9
San Jose, Calif.	912,332	894,943	782,248	112,695	14.4	11	11	10
Detroit, Mich.	886,671	951,270	1,027,974	−76,704	−7.5	7	10	11
Indianapolis, Ind.	784,118	781,870	741,952	49,974	6.7	13	12	12
Jacksonville, Fla.	782,623	735,617	635,230	100,387	15.8	15	14	13
San Francisco, Calif.	739,426	776,733	723,959	52,774	7.3	14	13	14
Columbus, Ohio	730,657	711,470	632,910	78,560	12.4	16	15	15
Austin, Tex.	690,252	656,562	465,622	190,940	41.0	25	16	16
Memphis, Tenn.	672,277	650,100	610,337	39,763	6.5	18	18	17
Baltimore, Md.	635,815	651,154	736,014	−84,860	−11.5	12	17	18
Fort Worth, Tex.	624,067	534,694	447,619	87,075	19.5	29	27	19
Charlotte, N.C.	610,949	540,828	395,934	144,894	36.6	33	26	20
El Paso, Tex.	598,590	563,662	515,342	48,320	9.4	22	23	21
Milwaukee, Wis.	578,887	596,974	628,088	−31,114	−5.0	17	19	22
Seattle, Wash.	573,911	563,374	516,259	47,115	9.1	21	24	23
Boston, Mass.	559,034	589,141	574,283	14,858	2.6	20	20	24
Denver, Colo.	557,917	554,636	467,610	87,026	18.6	28	25	25

Louisville-Jefferson County, Ky.[1]	556,429	256,231	269,063	12,832	–4.8	58	67	26
Washington, DC	550,521	572,059	606,900	–34,841	–5.7	19	21	27
Nashville-Davidson, Tenn.[2]	549,110	545,524	510,784	59,107	11.6	26	22	28
Las Vegas, Nev.	545,147	478,434	258,295	220,139	85.2	63	32	29
Portland, Ore.	533,427	529,121	437,319	91,802	21.0	27	28	30
Oklahoma City, Okla.	531,324	506,132	444,719	61,413	13.8	30	29	31
Tucson, Ariz.	515,526	486,699	405,390	81,309	20.1	34	30	32
Albuquerque, N.M.	494,236	448,607	384,736	63,871	16.6	40	35	33
Long Beach, Calif.	474,014	461,522	429,433	32,089	7.5	32	34	34
Atlanta, Ga.	470,688	416,474	394,017	22,457	5.7	38	39	35
Fresno, Calif.	461,116	427,652	354,202	73,450	20.7	48	37	36
Sacramento, Calif.	456,441	407,018	369,365	37,653	10.2	37	40	37
New Orleans, La.	454,863	484,674	496,938	–12,264	–2.5	24	31	38
Cleveland, Ohio	452,208	478,403	505,616	–27,213	–5.4	23	33	39
Kansas City, Mo.	444,965	441,545	435,146	6,399	1.5	31	36	40
Mesa, Ariz.	442,780	396,375	288,091	108,284	37.6	53	42	41
Virginia Beach, Va.	438,415	425,257	393,069	32,188	8.2	39	38	42
Omaha, Nebr.	414,521	390,007	335,795	54,212	16.1	47	44	43
Oakland, Calif.	395,274	399,484	372,242	27,242	7.3	35	41	44
Miami, Fla.	386,417	362,470	358,548	3,922	1.1	46	47	45
Tulsa, Okla.	382,457	393,049	367,302	25,747	7.0	44	43	46
Honolulu CDP,[3] Hawaii	377,379	371,657	365,272	6,385	1.7	41	46	47
Minneapolis, Minn.	372,811	382,618	368,383	14,235	3.9	43	45	48
Colorado Springs, Colo.	369,815	360,890	281,140	79,750	28.4	54	48	49
Arlington, Tex.	362,805	332,969	261,721	71,248	27.2	62	54	50

The net loss in population in New Orleans that had accumulated by 2000 was due in part to white flight in the 1960's when more affluent whites fled the city, mostly to the suburbs in other parishes, to escape forced integration; and the oil bust of the 1980's which caused nearly 200,000 people to move to other cities along with the vacating oil companies (Greater New Orleans Community Data Center [GNOCDC], 2007). New Orleans would be left

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[1] Louisville and Jefferson County merged in Jan. 2003. Figures prior to 2003 are for Louisville city only.
[2] Nashville-Davidson city is consolidated with Davidson County.
[3] Honolulu Census Designated Place; by agreement with the State of Hawaii, the Census Bureau does not show data separately for the city of Honolulu, which is coextensive with Honolulu County.

with a growing population of African Americans who made up approximately 70% of the

population by the time of Hurricane Katrina, and who tended mostly to be either low wage

earners or on public assistance, renting their dwellings, and contributing little if any property tax

revenue to the city to operate city services and maintain the city's crumbling infrastructure

(neworleans.com, 2007).

"With the oil bust of the late 1980's, New Orleans suffered mightily. The economy
dipped as several oil companies moved operations to Houston in cost-cutting measures. The
population of New Orleans declined as many residents left for other economic opportunities.
Also, crime became an ever-increasing problem, driving many New Orleanians to the suburbs.
Crime was so rampant that New Orleans became one of the murder capitals of the United States"
(New Orleans.Com LLC, 2007, Web Article).

In the aftermath of white flight also came disinterest and disinvestment on the part of

absentee landlords. In 1994 when Marc Morial became mayor of the city, New Orleans had a

60% to 40% ratio of renters to homeowners (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). With 60% of the

housing stock owned by white absentee landlords and occupied by poor African Americans,

there came a sharp decline in the housing stock of the city. Neighborhoods deteriorated

dramatically in a relatively short time; and nearly 40,000 pieces of blighted, adjudicated, and in

many cases, abandoned properties were left in the city's housing stock (University of

Pennsylvania, 2007).

In addition to the flight of the oil companies, New Orleans' economic picture was further

marred and distorted by dramatic changes that came with the decline in the shipping industry

through the Port of New Orleans (Baum, 2007). By 2005, for all intents and purposes, New

Orleans was reduced to a tourist based economy for its economic survival. Only the Michoud

Facility operated by National Aeronautics and Space Administration represented any diversity in

industry or offered high paying jobs (Global Security.org, 2005).

Contributing to the city's inability to attract high tech and higher paying jobs or even a modicum of diversity in industrial productivity was a failing public education system that went into a sharp decline after forced integration of public schools in the mid 1950's. Through the years following and leading up to Katrina, the rhetoric and propaganda about the failure of the school system did nothing to help improve the situation, but was used by opponents of public education to foster greater support for private and parochial education in the city (Caldas & Bankston, 2007).

In the years before integration of the schools, the State of Louisiana funded two public school systems under a "separate but equal" policy (Public Broadcasting System, 2006). The two systems were certainly separate, but in no way equal. African American schools never received funding on a par with Anglo schools, nor was that funding adequate to properly educate the city's poor black children. In the years after the State of Louisiana was forced to consolidate the two systems into one, the mass exodus of whites from the public school system in New Orleans and the failure of the State to adequately fund public education would leave poorer African Americans destined to receive a substandard education (Caldas & Bankston, 2007).

Similar tactics were used to justify a move which began in the 1970's to rid New Orleans of its public housing stock. Katrina would give The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) which had been under HUD control since 2002, and other public housing opponents, both citizens and public officials at all levels of government, the leverage they needed to displace thousands of residents and demolish the neighborhoods those residents called home for four to five generations (Quigley, 2007).

In 2002, New Orleans elected its fourth African American mayor in its history. C. Ray Nagin was a late comer to the mayoral race, but quickly became the favored candidate of the white business community in New Orleans and neighboring Jefferson Parish. Mr. Nagin ran on a platform that touted a "businessman not a politician," and "running city government like a business." It was widely believed that Mr. Nagin also enjoyed the support of the Republican Party even though he was a Democrat. Reports claimed he had supported George W. Bush, the republican candidate for president in 2000 instead of Al Gore the democratic candidate (Tidmore, 2003).

In 2004, Louisiana elected its first woman as governor of the state. Kathleen Babineaux Blanco became governor amid strong opposition from the Bush Administration and the Republican Party, and without the support of Mayor Nagin who had thrown his support behind the republican candidate Bobby Jindal. This caused rifts between Mayor Nagin and Governor Blanco, as well as between the Bush White House and Governor Blanco.   Also by the time of Hurricane Katrina a rift between Mayor Nagin and the Bush Administration had become noticeable. Consequently, at the time of Katrina's strike on the city, all three levels of government were at odds and feuding with each other (Schwaner, 2007).

Even a disaster the magnitude of Hurricane Katrina was not enough to bring the warring factions together for the common good of New Orleans.   The feuding, bickering, and blame-gaming continued for weeks after the city had filled with water and more than 100,000 people were stranded on the highest ground they could find (Schwaner, 2007).

At the time of, and in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, New Orleanians began to see the tapestry of circumstances that had been woven for decades and which put New Orleans in a state of extreme vulnerability to a Katrina-like disaster.   The first and most probable was the

work done by the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers in building a levee system structurally inadequate to withstand the force of rising and rushing storm surges produced by hurricane force winds (CBS/AP News, 2006). More than 125 miles of levees and retaining walls had been built beginning in 1965 to prevent just such flooding of the city. These levees lined the perimeter of the city and the drainage canals which carried pumped rainwater out of the city to Lake Pontchartrain (U.S. GAO, 2005).

While the levees held, except for one incidence of overtopping in New Orleans East, the six inch thick retaining walls did not. The failure was due to the faulty foundation which supported the structures. Reports revealed that the walls were not sufficiently anchored deep enough into a solid base to support them under the pressure of the storm surge. Part of the foundation consisted of a mud and peat moss mixture which might have been adequate to carry rainwater out of the city, but completely inadequate to hold against the reverse flow and pressure of a storm surge driven by winds in excess of 120 miles per hour (CBS/AP News, 2006).

The failure of the levee system was coupled with the long standing problem of the erosion of Louisiana's coastal marshes which served as a natural barrier to storm surges. The disappearance of the marshes was caused in part by the disruption of the ecosystem which gave birth to and sustained them by the installation of hundreds of miles of pipelines that carried petroleum products from the Gulf of Mexico to inland refineries. Pre-Katrina surveys and aerial maps revealed an estimated loss of one hundred yards of coastline every thirty minutes (Boston Herald, 2008). Between Hurricane Betsy in 1965 and Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the Gulf had claimed the most significant first-line of defense which protected New Orleans from previous violent storms. The occurrence of this erosion and loss of valuable storm protection was known

for decades, but went unchecked to become part of the catastrophic tapestry of Hurricane Katrina (Cooper and Block, 2006).

Another part of this tapestry was the cultural mindset of the people of Southeast Louisiana to ride out the storms. New Orleanians spoke about "riding out the storm" and "dodging the bullet" as though it was part of life in New Orleans, and any who evacuated in anticipation of a hurricane was foolishly wasting time and money. Never had any mayor of New Orleans called a mandatory evacuation of the city in the face of an impending hurricane. Throughout the history of New Orleans, people had become anesthetized to the danger posed by these powerful storms, putting themselves in harms way time and time again.

Katrina proved there is always a first time. More than 100,000 people, many of whom voluntarily remained in the city in spite of the called mandatory evacuation by Mayor Nagin; and most of whom were unable to evacuate because of their lack of mobility and resources to sustain them even for a few days away from home, found themselves at the mercy of the long dreaded "Big One". On the morning after Hurricane Katrina made a slight turn eastward of the city, some in certain parts of New Orleans were again saying, "We dodged another bullet." Others had discovered during the night that something radically different had occurred as Katrina passed over the city (Sourcewatch, 2005).

The unsuspecting bullet dodgers would also soon discover, like one who survived and learned after a gun battle that he had in fact taken a bullet, that Katrina was quicker on the draw and more deadly than they imagined (Sourcewatch, 2005). Unfortunately many trying to ride out the storm paid the ultimate price for their indiscretion. Upwards of 1500 people died in the city by drowning or other storm related circumstances (Van Heerden & Bryan, 2006).

The images of the aftermath of Katrina and its victims, overwhelmingly poor, African American, and elderly were viewed in horror by people around the world. "Images of poor and predominately black people crowded into the Superdome and Convention Center supported the impression that Katrina had disproportionately affected poor black neighborhoods" (Logan, 2006, Web Article). These images exposed the extreme poverty, racism, and racially and politically slanted public policy that existed in New Orleans, the State of Louisiana, and unthinkably in the minds of many foreigners, in the United States of America.

Pre-Katrina, the University of New Orleans CHART program completed an analysis of U. S. Census Bureau data in conjunction with Operation Brother's Keeper (OBK), a grassroots effort in partnership with the City of New Orleans Office of Homeland Security, which showed nearly 125,000 citizens at or below the poverty line with no ready means of evacuating in the event of a major hurricane (Sherman & Shapiro, 2005). These people were the likely candidates to be left behind to weather the effects of an impending storm unless OBK could successfully educate them on the importance of evacuating first, and then help garner faith-based groups to assist them with the evacuation. Unfortunately, Hurricane Katrina appeared on the radar scope and hurriedly made her way into New Orleans before OBK's operation could be implemented.

Race and Pre-Katrina Vulnerabilities

An exodus of New Orleans' white population began in the 1950s. In spite of claims made by some, citing more altruistic reasons for the move of the city's white citizens to the suburbs, the truth be told, it was based mostly in racial prejudice. "Many whites moved after desegregation of public schools to ensure that their children would not have to go to school with African Americans" (GNOCDC, 2007, Web Article). "Some historians claim that the movement of white people to the suburbs happened simply because more homes were being built in the

suburbs, new highways like the I-10 loop made the suburbs more accessible, and whites, who historically have had higher incomes than African Americans, moved because they could afford to" (GNOCDC, 2007, Web Article). This explanation does not hold because African Americans of greater means, of whom there were many, did not move to the suburbs along with whites. It is well-known that people of color were denied access to suburban homeownership opportunities by banks and realtors through a process known as "redlining" (GNOCDC, 2007).

"Kenneth T. Jackson, citing a Bureau of Labor Statistics survey for home building in the six largest metropolitan areas for 1946-47, notes that over 62% of all home construction occurred in suburban areas. 'US Census data show that for the period 1950-1960, central city populations in the largest 25 SMSAs (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) increased by just over 3%, while total suburban populations increased by well over 60%' (Jackson, 1985, pg. 238). While the total populations of the nation's largest central cities stagnated, the number of blacks in the central cities increased substantially, implying an urban depopulation by whites who migrated to the suburban fringes. The numbers for the entire nation's metropolitan areas are somewhat less striking. However, even in this broadly based sample, the distribution of the population shifted: the suburbs remained largely white despite tremendous growth and the cities became increasingly nonwhite" (Bickford, 2003, Web Article). White Flight hurt many New Orleans neighborhoods as retail businesses lost customers and many had to close.

Additionally, in the 1950s, manufacturing businesses began moving out of New Orleans neighborhoods where they had once flourished, removing residents' access to middle-income jobs. As the U.S. economy shifted from goods-producing to service-producing, jobs became polarized into low-wage and high-wage employment. Few middle-income jobs were left for

New Orleans job-seekers, and those that did remain often required higher education to gain employment (GNOCDC, 2007).

In recent years, many professional African Americans left inner city neighborhoods not only in New Orleans, but around the country as illegal "redlining" practices were exposed. The racial prejudice of whites became even more evident as they moved further into suburban areas to avoid living in neighborhoods where more affluent African Americans had moved. Perhaps the saddest effect of the departure of professional African Americans on New Orleans neighborhoods was the social isolation in which their less fortunate counterparts were left. When most inner-city residents only come into contact with other people who do not have jobs the chances are slim of improving their life situation (GNOCDC, 2007).

How Does This Literature Help Answer The Research Question?

These factors, whether intentional or coincidental, helped to plunge once healthy, working-class neighborhoods, including many public housing developments, into deeper and longer-lasting poverty. Like spokes in a wheel, urban white flight, maintenance of segregated public schools, redlining, and relocation of production and manufacturing jobs overwhelmingly appear to be bound at the center by the hub of racism. These factors in tandem help explain, at least in part, the answer to the question of this research. The long-lasting and far-reaching effects of racism helped to create vulnerabilities in the social fabric of New Orleans that weakened the personal defensibility, mostly of its poor and African American citizens. The ripple effect was an economically insolvent, weakened, and more vulnerable city government whose responsibility it would be to assist those in harms way of any eventual big storm requiring the evacuation of the city.

Wilson (1987) summarized the situation by saying, "The sources of current problems in the inner city are exceedingly complex and their amelioration calls for imaginative and comprehensive programs of economic and social reform that are in sharp contrast to the current approaches to social policy in America, which are based on short-term political considerations" (Wilson, 1987, pg. 61).

In the weeks and months immediately following Katrina, once the initial shock of seeing the city under as much as twenty feet of water in some places, and peering into the faces of mostly poor African Americans who had been stranded for nearly a week before being airlifted to safety, people around the world as well as in the United States were asking, "How could something like this happen in America" (Hsu, 2005, pg. A01)? This question was not seeking an answer to understand how a hurricane could hit New Orleans and do the damage Katrina did to the city; it was seeking an answer to why the United States government had treated its own citizens like third-world country refugees. How could the United States, which had for so long preached respect for human rights and called upon other nations to honor the human rights of their citizens, fail to practice what it had been preaching to the rest of the world?

Davis, (2005) sharply criticized government at all levels for the unimaginable aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. He notes the ineptness of government as the primary reason the magnitude of the effects of Katrina came to be what they did. He contradicts President Bush's statement in New Orleans that the storm didn't discriminate, and makes the claim that every aspect of the catastrophe was shaped by inequalities of class and race. "Besides unmasking the fraudulent claims of the Department of Homeland Security to make Americans safer, the shock and awe of Katrina also exposed the devastating consequences of federal neglect of majority black and Latino big cities and their vital infrastructures" (Davis, 2005, Web Article).

Probably the starkest social reality revealed by Hurricane Katrina was the deep poverty in which most African Americans lived in New Orleans. It was part of the shock experienced by the nation as people looked at Katrina images on television.   Post-Katrina, the term "concentrated poverty" (Katz, 2006) has become a New Orleans byword, used mostly by politicians, power brokers, and policymakers who were no doubt embarrassed for the whole world to see and learn first hand the dirtiest of New Orleans' little secrets. It is a term not widely remembered in pre-Katrina New Orleans.

"The power elite of New Orleans, whether they are still in the city or have moved temporarily to enclaves such as Destin, Fla., and Vail, Colo., insist the remade city won't simply restore the old order. New Orleans, before the flood, was burdened by a teeming underclass, substandard schools and a high crime rate. The city has few corporate headquarters. 'The new city must be something very different,' says wealthy New Orleanian, James Reiss, 'with better services and fewer poor people.' "Those who want to see this city rebuilt want to see it done in a completely different way: demographically, geographically and politically," he says. "I'm not just speaking for myself here. The way we've been living is not going to happen again, or we're out" (Byrne, 2005, Web Article). What this amounts to is the permanent dislocation of thousands of African American citizens and, consequently, the black voting strength that once existed in New Orleans.

"On the very day the levees broke, the Census Bureau released a report on poverty in the nation, finding that Orleans Parish had a poverty rate of 23.2 percent, seventh highest among 290 large U.S. counties. Yet the economic hardships were shared unequally. Although African American residents made up 67 percent of the city's total population, they made up 84 percent of its population below the poverty line; and those poor African-American households were highly

concentrated in 47 neighborhoods of extreme poverty, that is, neighborhoods where the poverty rate topped 40 percent" (Katz, 2006, Web Article).

Closer inspection of neighborhoods within New Orleans shows that some affluent white neighborhoods were hard hit, while some poor minority neighborhoods were spared. Yet if the post-Katrina city were limited to the population previously living in areas that were undamaged by the storm – that is, if nobody were able to return to damaged neighborhoods – New Orleans is at risk of losing more than 80% of its black population. This means that policy choices affecting who can return, to which neighborhoods, and with what forms of public and private assistance, will greatly affect the future character of the city (Logan, 2006).

"That isolation of poverty occurred in a region that was rapidly decentralizing. As poverty hardened over the years in the city, middle-class families, including African American households, and jobs moved out, mostly to the surrounding parishes. Between 1970 and 2000, the city population shrank by 18 percent, while neighboring St. Tammany Parish doubled in population. Jobs followed people. New Orleans was home to two-thirds of the region's jobs in 1970; by 2000 that share had dropped to 42 percent" (Katz, 2006, Web Article).

"Hurricane Katrina unveiled these disparities in stark terms. African American and poor people bore the brunt of the devastation because, for the most part, they lived in the lower-lying, more flood-prone sections of the city, such as Mid-City or the Lower Ninth Ward. Incredibly, 38 of the city's 47 extreme-poverty census tracts were flooded. Many people in flooded areas lacked access to a car, a fact that became critical during the evacuation period" (Katz, 2006).

"Briggs (2005), a professor of sociology and urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, focuses on four main questions: What limits housing choice, leading to an uneven "geography of opportunity" by race and class? What are the social and economic

consequences of this geography? What special barriers to housing opportunity confront low-income families? And what political and policy lessons might we learn from efforts to increase housing choice" (Katz, 2006, Web Article)?

"Suburbs with weak central cities also see less appreciation in housing prices and incomes, given the interdependence of economies. One study, for example, found that a 1-percent increase in city employment raises home values by $6,000 in nearby suburbs. The concentration of neighborhood poverty leads inexorably to the concentration of school poverty, undermining almost every other effort by the public, private, and volunteer sectors to educate the children of low-income families" (Katz, 2006, Web Article).

"The bottom line is that America knows how to promote housing choice and build mixed-income communities that work economically and socially. The only question is whether we have the political will to apply the best lessons and innovations not only to the rebuilding of New Orleans but to the housing of Katrina-displaced and other low-income families throughout the country" (Katz, 2006, Web Article).

The Lay of the Land after Katrina

In the growing weeks and months following Hurricane Katrina after enough of the water had been pumped out to allow access to most of the flooded neighborhoods, a number of questions weighed heavily on the minds of people returning and seeing first-hand for the first time just how severely scarred and disfigured Katrina left the city. The reality of the devastation had not yet been reported by the news agencies nor could it be. It was a spectacle to be understood only from personally being there. Several daunting questions lurk in the minds of many New Orleanians. Can New Orleans come back? Will it come back? Should it be brought

back to its pre-K state? What and how long will it take? Would it ever be the grand and lively city it was before the end of August 2005?

The city had dramatically changed. Its face, its complexion, the texture, smell, and taste were something unimaginably different in the worst possible way.   Everything had the countenance of severe depression, heartache, and pain. A ghostly gray hue was the color of mostly everything. Nothing was green, nothing red or blue, even the trunks of trees appeared to be suffering an anemia which presented an eerie paleness to their tough skins. The birds were no longer singing, no barking dogs. The smell of death was in the air, like that of a once vibrant venue that had long lost its vigor and died from lack of patronage, succumbing to the dust and mold of non-use.

Even the air forced the sampling of mildew and mold by nostrils and tongues that made being back in the city an unforgettable, hopefully one-of-a kind experience.   These changes, as pungent as they were, would offer no comparison to the changes that had already occurred in the hearts and minds of some, and in the closed door meetings that took place even before the flood waters stopped pouring into the city.

Nature has a way of restoring itself to normalcy, and she has done and is still doing an admirable job of restoring what was marred to its original beauty.   Two and a half years after the storm the grass is green again; the air is fresh again; the leaves have come and gone, come back again, and are on the way out again in the face of the winter of 2007-2008. Trees that were not uprooted have begun to show signs of health, but some of the questions have yet to be answered, and new more difficult questions have surfaced in the last two years, the answers to which will determine the degree of resiliency in New Orleans to avoid losing the identity that made it world famous as a unique American city.

The question is not whether New Orleans will bounce back again, but when and how. "Much more common in the annals of urban history are cities that have rebounded again and again from even horrific devastation" (Campanella, 2005, Web Article). The reasons why devastated cities rebound are complicated. Various factors including private property rights and insurance are two of the factors that might play a role in fostering high levels of resiliency to rebuild devastated cities. Like other organisms, cities vary widely in capacity for resilience. In the same way that the immune system of one person can fight off a traumatic illness while that of another fails and the person succumbs to the illness, cities are not equally capable of reviving from the shock of a major disaster to the system.

After the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center in New York, the city was able to raise huge sums of money to help with the recovery efforts. New Orleans, on the other hand, was heavily burdened with social and economic problems long before Katrina's arrival. Such pre-existing vulnerabilities played a major role in whether and how long it takes New Orleans to return to pre-Katrina normalcy (Campanella, 2005).

In the aftermath of the great fire of London in 1666, Christopher Wren, John Evelyn and others drafted grand and lofty schemes to rebuild the city. What happened instead was much the same as what the old city looked and felt like before the fires. In the case of the great Chicago fire, in 1871 the story ended a little differently with the city rebuilding using fire proof masonry materials to prevent similar disasters in the future. Building in this manner yielded the massive skyscrapers which have given the city its modern look (Campanella, 2005).

Then there is the concept of regressive resilience which extends also to a city's social order and political culture. Campanella points out that just as the built environment is commonly put back much as before, so can the power structure and social hierarchy of a city quickly

rebound in the aftermath of a disaster. "Divisive pre-disaster inequalities and injustices are resilient too. On the other hand, nothing reveals the fault lines in a society like a major calamity, exposing to public scrutiny long-hidden patterns of power, poverty, race and class. Such exposure can, in the right circumstances, precipitate positive change" (Campanella, 2005, Web Article).

Mexico City following the devastating earthquake of 1985 is a case in point. The quake not only shook up the city's buildings but it brought into question the political structure and the public officials responsible for managing it. "The earthquake exposed a raft of official corruption and abuses, in some cases quite literally: new government buildings pulverized by the earthquake were found to be of substandard construction quality, and the exposed cellars of ruined police stations which contained evidence of the use of torture" (Campanella, 2005). These revelations galvanized the capital's resilient citizens to demand political accountability and a reordering of reconstruction priorities, including a new focus on low-income housing.

It remains to be seen whether New Orleanians will prove as resilient as the people of other similar fated cities around the world. For one thing, a scattered populace is very hard to organize politically. The social action that took place in Mexico City is unlikely in New Orleans if the city's displaced and dispossessed never return. All this underscores the fact that cities are more than the sum of their buildings. A city is a tapestry of human lives and social networks that are essential to the heart and soul of the place. A disaster can tear at this social fabric as terribly as at the physical infrastructure of a city.

With the displacement of so many of its citizens, particularly African Americans who contributed so much to the city's culture, there is also the relocation of much of what is said to be unique to the character of New Orleans. If they do not return, then the Crescent City's lights will

not burn as brightly. What white and affluent New Orleanians fail to realize is much of what tourists come to New Orleans to see, hear, and taste were the products of the creativity and handiwork of its African American and working poor.

Such unique elements of the city's culture as Jazz funerals, second-lining, the Mardi Gras Indian tribes, soul food and music, and youthful street musicians and dancers all came out of the predominately poor, African American neighborhoods of the city, to say nothing of the grossly underpaid workers in the hospitality and service industry, which is the economic lifeblood of New Orleans. With these also will go a rich history of African American Social and Pleasure Clubs, small storefront churches, and traditional black gospel music, all of which have contributed significantly to what is touted as uniquely New Orleans.

"Recovering a wrecked city involves much more than bricks, mortar and asphalt, or bits, bytes and electricity, as pointed out in *The Resilient City*, it also "fundamentally entails reconnecting severed familial, social and religious networks of survivors. Urban recovery occurs network by network, district by district, not just building by building. It is about reconstructing the myriad social relations embedded in schools, workplaces, childcare arrangements, shops, places of worship, and places of play and recreation" (Vale and Campanella, 2005, pg. 347).

Some parts of New Orleans' built environment received priority attention in the first few weeks after Katrina. These included the French Quarter and Jackson Square, the Superdome and Convention Center, and Canal Street and the Garden District. The justification for these areas is that they constitute the tourists attractions which bring in revenues to the city's coffers. Additionally, these areas were part of the 20% of the city that did not flood. As Davis in (Vale and Campanella, 2005, pg. 20) stated in her chapter on Mexico City, post-disaster reconstruction

follows "a logic of money and power," and in New Orleans, tourism is big money, and the backbone of the local economy.

The Black Church: Theology and Theory of Urban Ministry[4]

For African Americans, the black church has always been the center of life. This was true in New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina; it is true today post-Katrina. The researcher recalls as early as 1961 at the age of thirteen hearing his pastor say, "The church is all we [African Americans] have ever had." This statement was often made during a time when some believed the black church was losing it relevance in the community, especially among younger African Americans; so it was voiced to get younger members of the church to recognize the value of the black church in all areas of black life.

From a national perspective, Devore (2007) writes, "The importance of religion and the church in the lives of African Americans has been well documented by scholars and other commentators. In 1897, W.E.B. Dubois noted that the 'Negro church is not simply an organism for the propagation of religion; it is the centre of the social, intellectual, and religious life of an organized group of individuals.'" Devore further indicates that Dubois maintained that belief and continued to write about it for more than fifty years. Other scholars and researchers substantiated Dubois' observations with their own (Devore, 2007, pg. 763). William E. Montgomery is cited by Devore (2007) as saying, "…during Reconstruction the black church became… the most powerful and important social institution in the black community…. It provided leadership in vital areas of development" (Devore, 2007, p.764).

The black church in New Orleans has figured prominently on the national scene in American life, especially in light of the Civil Rights Movement. In March 1957, the Southern

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[4] All scripture references used are from the King James Version of the Bible unless otherwise indicated.

Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was organized at New Zion Baptist Church in Central City, New Orleans where the Rev. A. L. Davis, who later became New Orleans' first black City Councilperson, served as pastor. Black Baptist churches, through SCLC and under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would lead the nation toward the passage of groundbreaking civil rights legislation; and open the door for many other kinds of "rights" movements (Lewis, 2008,).

At the local level, black political organizations and machines of entrenched politicians depended heavily upon the support of the black church for their viability and strength (Liu and Vanderleeuw, 2007). The power structure of the black church rested not only in the churches and congregations, but also in local church associations and ministerial alliances. The associations are affiliated with one or more of the three major black National Baptist Conventions through their state convention chapters; and the ministerial alliances, of which there were several, served as forums for planning and deliberating, and social outlets for pastors.

Some would say the political power of the black church in America has come of age, realizing the forty five year dream of Dr. King; and the forty year prediction of Attorney General Robert Kennedy that an African American could be President of the United States. Eerily, Kennedy's prediction came to pass almost 40 years to the day, when Barack Obama became the 44th president of the United States. Banks (2008) writes, "The black church was on the front lines of the decades-long fight for civil rights. Churches were bombed and martyrs were killed as the battle-scarred church slowly and patiently laid the groundwork for the history-making moment on Tuesday. Put another way: Without the black church, there would be no civil rights movement. Without the civil rights movement, there would be no Obama. And to a large degree, it was in the black church that Obama found his own purpose" (Banks, 2008, Web Article).

"When Katrina made landfall in August 2005, African American churches in New Orleans were both the heirs and contributors to the community-building tradition of the black church" (Devore, 2007, pg 764). Although the black church enjoyed the prominence as a "king maker" in the political arena, as a rule, that status rarely translated into funding to conduct the numerous social ministry programs conducted by the churches. Social programs of every kind to assist the black community with maintenance and self-sufficiency were carried out by black churches in New Orleans, but most of them, as indicated by local pastors in field interviews, used their own members and money, though meager compared with their white counterparts, to conduct those programs.

For nearly two centuries of life in the United States, the descendents of Africans found in the black church their vehicle for religious beliefs, expressions, and practices; and a place where they could exercise leadership, attain status, and earn the respect and admiration of their fellow members. A poorly educated minimum wage worker in the marketplace was transformed into the president of the Deacon Board in the church. Social status, like social life in general, was to be found in the black church; and out of this ecclesiastical social order would eventually come a number of Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, the most recognizable of which is the Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club (White and Cone, 1999).

The church was the center of nearly all life events in the black community. Births, christenings, weddings and funerals had the church as a central figure; but so did those times when a member of the church or community needed supporters and advocates in all-too-often cases of the wrongly arrested. All of this equated to the viability and vibrancy of the African American church in New Orleans pre-Katrina that is not easily explained; except to understand and accept the critical place and function of faith in God in African American life.

Faith in God was the resource and commodity most in plentiful supply among African Americans. As Devore notes, "They were a people of faith, Afro-Christianity fused with the marrow of their bones. They would draw on those religious and church resources after the 100 mph winds ceased and the polluted water that had covered 80 percent of the city receded" (Devore, 2007, p. 764). In a post-Katrina world, much of what the black church had in census tracks, in human, social, and financial capital, in buildings and facilities, and in political power was lost in the flood; and returning at a snail's pace.

Post Katrina, the institutional black church is struggling to resurrect itself from the liquid grave into which Katrina submerged it. Out of this spirit of resiliency, black religious leadership and the institutional black church are inventing new strategies and patterns for the continued survival of the most vital part of the black community, the church. Some churches have reopened their pre-Katrina venues, while many others are meeting in the sanctuaries and facilities of sister churches. In some cases as many as six churches are occupying one church campus, which was rare pre-Katrina. First United Baptist Church, located in the Mid-City area of New Orleans is one such church.

Pre-Katrina, this church was active in the black community serving the needs of public housing residents and helping them to move from dependency to self-sufficiency. It is an example of one of those rare occasions where one church housed five other churches pre-Katrina until they were able to stand on their own. The congregation was small with only 120 on the church roll, about half of which regularly attended Sunday worship, and its annual budget was just over $60,000. Yet, through the inventiveness of the pastor, First United and its partner faith-based community organization, Faith In Action were able to garner the support of other, mostly white, churches to carry out its ministry in the community. Three years after Katrina, First

United is back, holding services on Friday nights in the chapel of Grace Episcopal Church, three blocks from its pre-Katrina venue.

Spirituality and the Urban Fabric

From one perspective cities are mysterious, exciting, inviting, beckoning, and welcoming. This is especially true when one considers the gleaming towers of cement, steel, glass, and chrome reaching toward the heavens and portraying an age of technological strength and power.   A closer look, however, reveals that cities are many people from all walks of life, social classes, and races, speaking numerous languages, seeking satisfaction in countless ways, dreaming millions of dreams, converging as one massive treasury of humankind (Truehill, 1991).

The demographics of cities stagger the imagination. More than 60 per cent of the U.S. population lives on 1.5 percent of the land. Another 25% of the people live in metro areas of 500,000 to 1,000,000, and these percentages are increasing daily. By the year 2000, 95% of the American people lived on 10% of the land.   In the two largest U.S. metro areas, Los Angeles and New York, 30 million people live. This equals roughly the populations of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and South Carolina combined (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 and Truehill, 1991).

Today's city is a microcosm of the world. It is multi-racial, multi-ethnic, international, cross-cultural, inter-religious, and polytheistic. There are more Blacks in Miami-Fort Lauderdale than in Mississippi. There are more American Indians in cities than on reservations. There are more Hispanics in Los Angeles than any city on the North American continent except in Mexico City. There are more Poles in Chicago than in any city outside Warsaw. There are more Asians than Anglos inside the San Francisco city limits. Almost every religious sect in the world can be

found in most of the major cities of the U.S. Places like Germantown, Chinatown, Little Asia, Irish Channel, French Quarter, and Little Italy can all be found in major cities of the U.S.

But an even closer look at cities reveals the under-the-surface reality of another side of cities that some choose to ignore. Here lies the overwhelming, frightening, forbidding, cold, and impersonal character of cities that is exemplified by crime, drug abuse, poverty, injustice, fear, apprehension, and indifference.

Luke 19:41 indicates when Jesus drew near to the city of Jerusalem and beheld it, he wept over it. The city is dear to the heart of God, and God's heart is broken over the city because of its sin, because of its poor, and because of its lostness. If we would know what God is doing in our world today, then we would do well to turn our attention to the cities.   Christians are called to respond to the city in ways that the desire of God's heart for it may be fulfilled (Truehill, 1991). This plays out especially as the church engages itself in the social phenomena of the urban environment.

Several teachings of the Christian church are of particular relevance to the subject of the urban environment and accompanying sociological phenomena, especially those which negatively impact the lives of the urban poor. The primary thrust of scripture is toward the redemption of mankind, and a particular inclination can be seen in Scripture toward those who are poor in urban areas. More than three thousand verses of Scripture directly address the imperative for the Church to offer solutions to the problems of the city and its impoverished (Skinner, 1974).

As God's servants and co-laborers with him in reaching all people with the good news of Jesus Christ, Christians are under obligation to carry the gospel, the good news, to everyone who might be in bad news situations.   Urban bad news comes in many forms, poverty, homelessness,

unemployment, addictions, poor health, and in certain situations, being female, being young, being elderly, being non-white, being gay, etc.

The good news God desires to give the city and make real in the lives of oppressed people includes being able to escape and rise above the social ills that keep them bound. Jesus Christ is the example and embodiment of all that the Church ought to be and do toward the alleviation of the city's spiritual and social problems. He did not separate his concern for our future life and our life here and now. Jesus never made salvation a pie-in-the-sky-by-and-by proposition. He was interested in both breaking the shackles of a person's present slavery and delivering him from eternal damnation (Havlik, 1976). By the year 2000, more than fifty percent of the earth's population was living in cities, and it is estimated by the year 2020 only two of the world's top ten most populated cities will be in the First World. The future of Christian missions is urban (Wilson, 1988).

<center>Jesus the Urban Minister</center>

Jesus was an urban minister. His ministry focused primarily in the urban centers of his day. He came into an urban world and inaugurated God's urban renewal plan (Conn & Ortiz, 2001). At the outset of his work, Jesus entered the Synagogue in Galilee, and using the book of Isaiah, announced the course that defined his ministry efforts over the next and final three years of his life on earth. Luke records in his gospel that when Jesus had found the place in the book of Isaiah, he read, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, *b*ecause be has anointed me *t*o preach the gospel to the poor; *h*e has sent me to heal the brokenhearted, *t*o proclaim liberty to the captives *a*nd recovery of sight to the blind, *t*o set at liberty those who are oppressed; *t*o proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" Luke 4:18-19 (NKJV).

Not only did this announcement outline the purpose of Jesus' ministry on earth, but it also announced the tenor and tone of ministry for all those who would follow him and become his partners in addressing human suffering and restoring human dignity to all people. For Jesus, this is primarily a spiritual problem which manifests itself in physical and social ways through the political and economic infrastructures of human government.

Some Bible readers and theologians see the passage from Isaiah and reiterated in Luke as supporting a social justice model of ministry rather than a social service model of ministry. During the early 1900's an intense debate about whether the Christian church should be promoting a spiritual gospel or a social gospel divided the church in half. Today, the debate has shifted to whether Christian ministry should have a social service focus or a social justice focus. The truth is one is not exclusive of the other, but the two models must be integrated to work to adequately address the type of ministry Jesus demonstrated during his short, three-year tenure of work on the earth.

An integrated or inclusive model might define Christian ministry as a scriptural and spiritual underpinning as the foundation upon which a social justice infrastructure is built and housing a social service component as a necessary but temporary strategy of giving a man a fish while teaching him to fish and helping him establish a fish market.

Harry H Singleton, III (2002) shares his experience of growing up in a church which held to a social service model of ministry in Conway, South Carolina. As the son of Baptist minister, he recalls having to attend Sunday church services regularly, but the more he frequented the services, the more he began to realize something was missing from his faith experience.

"Not surprisingly, as the son of the pastor, I was expected to attend church every Sunday. Yet the more frequently I attended, the more I was put in a serious theological quandary. In what could be termed a Bultmannian "pre-understanding," I "intuited" that something was missing from this expression of faith – something major and crucial! As I began to encounter with

greater frequency the depravity of human relationships, particularly in regard to race and gender, yet encountering a faith community that made it a peripheral issue at best, I came to see the limitations of this expression of faith. In so doing, my intuition evolved into an epiphany – the concern primarily for metaphysical communion and the preoccupation with the religious individual failed to take seriously the theological significance of the sociopolitical liberation of oppressed peoples in history" (Singleton, 2002, pg. vii).

In Jesus' announcement of his ministry focus, he emphasized liberating captives and setting the oppressed free, which, in a nut shell is the kernel out of which a branch of Christian theology known as liberation theology, and particularly black liberation theology sprang. Liberation theology proposes the practice of Christian ministry based on a social justice model and in a way which fosters self-sufficiency and self-determination of oppressed people.

For liberation theologians, such as James Cone (1970); Juan Luis Segundo (1976); Harry H. Singleton (2002) and others, the preaching and practicing the gospel message leads to freedom from oppression of every kind to self-sufficiency and self determination for its adherents (Cone, 1970; Segundo, 1976; Singleton, 2002). "Christian theology is a theology of liberation. It is a rational study of the being of God in the world in light of the existential situation of an oppressed community, relating the forces of liberation to the essence of the gospel, which is Jesus Christ. This means that its sole reason for existence is to put into ordered speech the meaning of God's activity in the world, so that the community of the oppressed will recognize that its inner thrust for liberation is not only consistent with the gospel, but is the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Cone, 1970, pg. 1).

Jesus' ministry to the city had liberation from every form of oppression at its core. He did not avoid the cities; he frequented them with the intent of making them places where all people could live in peace and get fair, equitable, and just treatment regardless of race, creed, or social standing. He preached against injustice and promoted equality and inclusion for all. Ironically, the focuses of his preaching against sin, and the most scathing rebukes from him were

directed at the religious people of his day who were primarily responsible for much of the oppression of the people. It was harder dealing with the religious people of that day than sinners.

Social justice and social action were very much a part of the ministry of Jesus to the city. Injustice and inaction ought to invoke a righteous indignation in people of faith that moves them to action in the world's urban mission fields. It is hardly imaginable that in modern-day America, nearly twenty-four months post-Katrina, a gross injustice is yet being perpetrated against poor and working class people in New Orleans, without an outcry from the religious or political leaders of the city.

<div align="center">The Biblical Requirement of Social Justice</div>

The theme of social justice runs through the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. It is implied in God's creation of mankind in his own image (Genesis 1:26-27; Psalm 13:13-14) and thereby assigning each person a value greater than any other part of the creation. Human beings were created for community, or a common unity, i.e., sharing equally, fairly, and justly in the fruits of the earth (Genesis 2:18); and given the special and lofty task of stewardship over the resources of the earth, to work, and to prosper (Genesis 1:28-30). The Bible narrative soon shows the entrance of evil into the world which marred the creation by violence, selfishness, greed, and corruption (Genesis 3:1-11:32). The effects were far reaching, evident not only in personal conduct, but in the economic, political, and religious structures under mankind's purview (Ezekiel 22).

The Bible consistently connects the issues of poverty and injustice to sin which became inherently a part of human nature (Isaiah 59:9-16). The response of God to eventually bring justice back into the human experience was to call out and raise up a people that would be his

people, exemplify his character, and demonstrate justice to all peoples of the earth. This was presented to Abraham as an unconditional promise by God. (Genesis 12:3).

In the giving of the Law through Moses (Exodus 20), which was later expanded to include numerous, literally hundreds of sub-sections and interpretations of it by Moses, Judges, Scribes, and Prophets (Leviticus, Deuteronomy), there was the institution of the Law of the Jubilee (Leviticus 25; Deuteronomy 15). This law required that every seven years would be a Jubilee Year in which all debts were cancelled; and every fiftieth year land must be returned to its original owners.   Special laws were enacted to protect widows and orphans (Deuteronomy 24:19).

Later in the historical record of God's dealings with his people through the prophets, there is a recurring theme of displeasure with practices of social injustice by the people of God (Amos 5:11-15; Jeremiah 22:13-17; Isaiah 3:13-15; Habakkuk 2:9-14; Micah 2:1-2). The familiar excerpt from Dr. M. L. King's speech (King, 1963), "…Let justice run down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream" was first penned by the Prophet Amos (Amos 5:24) in a sermon to the nation of Israel to express the passion and requirement of God for justice.

During the period of the monarchs, the priority was set that a king must rule justly (Deuteronomy 17:14-17; Proverbs 31:8-9). David, the most well known king of Israel, wrote of God's passion for justice in the Psalms (Psalm 45:6-7).   When Christ, the Preferred King of Israel, entered the earth scene, he inaugurated his life's work in a Galilean synagogue with the announcement of his pursuit of justice for the impoverished, the despised, and rejected. This pursuit of justice would become the goal of ministry for all those who would come after Jesus (Luke 4:14-30). During his short three-year ministry on earth, Jesus often found himself in conflict with the religious and political structures as he challenged the injustice of the powerful

to bring wholeness and healing to the marginalized (Luke 11:42). Putting him to death to silence his opposition and challenges to the system only multiplied and intensified his mission in the hearts of those who espoused his social justice agenda (Matthew 28:16-20).

Following the resurrection and ascension, New Testament believers took up the mission and ministry of Jesus and were transformed into a radical community which began living out the Jubilee and sharing their resources (Acts 4:32-35). This passion for justice was further propagated in the teachings of Paul (Galatians 2:10); Peter (1 Peter 2:12); John (1 John 3:16-18); and James (James 1:27), and has become the goal and objective for modern Christian ministry today.

Many Christians believe that in the not too distant future, the coming judgment of God will set this world's system and structures aright so that justice will be the order of the day (Revelation 20:12). The fulfillment of the promise of new heavens and a new earth will be the consummation of a restored community of social justice, peace, and wholeness. Until then, Christian individuals and institutions are to seek the peace and justice of the city in which they find ourselves living, working, and building a community that resembles the coming kingdom of God to the earth (Jeremiah 29:7).

<div align="center">Social Service vs. Social Justice</div>

Much has been witnessed, written, and heralded about the activities of faith-based institutions aiding the poor through social programs of various kinds. Two models of social ministry are evident among faith-based institutions (Parks, 2008). Though both focus on meeting unmet and often recurring needs of the poor and indigent, the two are quite different with respect to the outcomes of their work.

Chicago's Midwest Academy, a national training institute with a focus on advancing the struggle for social, economic, and racial justice, outlines five methods of organizing for social change. These include direct service, education, self help, advocacy and direct action. While there are several ways to categorize activism, there are basically two different approaches; social service or charity, and social justice. Charity collects from those that have and redistributes to those that do not have. Looking at the issue of poverty and hunger, food banks are classic examples of the charity approach. The social justice approach is more human rights based and focuses on structural change, which is changing the conditions that result in the need for food banks. Community gardens and collective bulk buying groups, even skills upgrading, employment counseling or advocacy on welfare rates would be a social justice response to poverty (Parks, 2008).

Many faith-based organizations, or FBOs, provide emergency and developmental assistance to individuals and families. Some of these social services represent short term immediate assistance. Examples of these social services include emergency food, financial, and clothing assistance. Other social services represent more long term developmental assistance. Examples of this form of social service include child care, long term homeless shelters, individual and family counseling, employment assistance and training, youth mentoring, and after school programs. The literature has generally focused on those FBOs that provide social services beyond their immediate congregation or institutional membership base (Smith & Sosin, 2001).

The literature on this topic reveals a number of interesting findings. First, the majority of the literature dealing with FBO involvement in social services has focused on congregations as the unit of analysis. Second, social services provided by FBOs tend to represent short term

emergency assistance as opposed to long term developmental aid. Finally, denominational affiliation, FBO size, and FBO location are dominant factors determining the selection of social services provided by FBOs (Scott, 2003).

Congregations are predominantly involved in providing emergency assistance to individuals and families (Ammerman, 2001). This assistance includes financial, food, clothing, or housing assistance. This finding is consistent with the historic and traditional mission of religious congregations and is not surprising given their smaller size compared to the size of other FBOs. Congregations appear to be less involved in directly providing long-term assistance to individuals or families. For example, results from the National Congregations Study indicate that fewer than 10 percent of congregations participate in education, substance abuse, tutoring, or employment assistance activities (Chaves and Tsitsos, 2001).

For the recipients of services under the charity model, and for the people of faith who provide those services, there is a great degree of satisfaction that the will of God as expressed by Jesus in inaugurating his earthly ministry is being fulfilled. Other socially oriented ministers would say the social service paradigm misses the crux of what Jesus intended to convey. One might rightly question how the provision of social services actually liberates captives and helps the oppressed to become self-sufficient, self-determined, and self-actualized? The truth is, of and by itself, it does not and cannot accomplish the goals Jesus set forth in his inaugural speech.

Now more than ever, people as worldwide citizens need to focus on root causes and prevention of new problems. Advocacy is part and parcel of influencing policies and decisions that will address the complicated issues facing mankind. Certainly the needs addressed by direct services are impossible to ignore and such services are important to continue; but what questions, principles, challenges and resolve does Christian ministry as a profession need to deal with as it

engages parishioner and volunteer resources to go to the next level of activism? There are a number of issues to consider.

<p style="text-align:center">The Urban Refuge</p>

One might succinctly define the efforts of urban ministries in the city as making the city a haven, or in the terms of the Bible, making the city a holy place. Though what is often seen of the city is its evil and wickedness, God had other intentions when he instructed the people of Israel to establish cities of refuge (Numbers 35:25).   Many people go to the city today, but rarely find the haven for which they are looking. People of faith must introduce city dwellers to God, the true refuge for all who seek it (Carney, 1990).   The word refuge suggests a place of rest, safety, and consolation from the threat of danger or harm against life and limb. The word refugee tends to bring to mind people fleeing or evacuating from one place that is potentially threatening to their well being to another place where they can rest from the burden of flight and settle to recoup and regroup to move on with life.

In Joshua 20:1-9, one finds the concept of cities as places of refuge. Six cities were to be designated as places of refuge in the promised land of the Old Testament. The original intent of the six cities of refuge in the Old Testament was to provide safe haven for people who had inadvertently or accidentally taken the life of another (Vs. 3,). The Law of Moses prescribed the death penalty for anyone who took the life of another, without regard for the circumstances of the incident (Leviticus 24:17).   "By establishing the cities of refuge the Israelites would avoid potential blood feuds by families seeking retribution for a murder" (Carney, 1990, pg. 36).

There were, however, strict regulations regarding entering and staying in the cities of refuge. The cities belonged to the tribe of Levi, the tribe of the priests, who otherwise were forbidden to own land except for this ministry as the priest of God among his people (Numbers

35:6). "The Levites were specifically chosen by God to tend to the religious affairs of Israel. They were so dedicated to this duty that God described them as having no possessions but the Lord. Once again, it is the religious leaders who are called to care for the needs of the cities' people" (Carney, 1990, pg. 36).

The fleeing offender, upon entering the gate of one of the cities, had to confess his offense and plead his case to the elders of the city, who in turn were obligated to give him a place of refuge and allow him to live among them (Vs. 4). Such a scenario has been played out in more modern times when people, in the wake of an inadvertent crime, and sometime for an actual crime they knowingly committed have gone to the church and to the priest seeking refuge, which has often been granted.

The law required that the Levite priests were not to hand over the slayer to an avenging family member of the deceased because the murder was the result of an un-premeditated act against the slain victim (Vs. 5). The refugee was allowed to live in the city of refuge until he could be judged by the congregation or until the death of the priest who gave him refuge. Afterwards, the refugee would have to return to the city from which he fled, and to his own house (Vs. 6).

It must be emphasized that the law specifically stated the purpose of the cities was to give safe haven only for offenders, who through ignorance and without forethought, intent, or malice committed the act of taking the life of another (Deuteronomy 19:4). The cities then would serve as a holding place until the offender could receive a just and fair trial of his peers, and to avoid shedding innocent blood by an angry member of the slain one's family (Deuteronomy 19:6).

The cities were tangible and visible manifestations of the principle of "innocent until proven guilty". They were established specifically to prevent the shedding of innocent blood in

the land (Deuteronomy 19:10). As one presumed innocent, the slayer was free to move about throughout the city, but not free to leave the city, lest he would be killed by an avenging family member.

The provision of these cities of refuge is indicative of God's grace and justice which people of faith today have a divine mandate to promote, protect, and preserve throughout the land.   Churches, mosques, and synagogues, the religious leaders who have stewardship over them, and the people who look up to and follow their leadership must work to ensure that all people living in the city of their ministry may find the peace, comfort, safety, and prosperity cities can offer when crime, greed, political corruption, separatist practices, and economic deprivation are alleviated or minimized.

"One additional doctrine of the church that is of particular importance to a theology of urban planning in ministry is the concept of the city as the ultimate hope of the masses. Crying, death, injustice, and pain are all characteristics of the world's cities. These evils are the result of sin. God has promised, however, that one day the earth and its cities will pass away, along with the suffering found in them. God cares about the suffering in the cities and longs to bring their inhabitants to a new or renewed city. As stated earlier in this discussion, people of faith are called to be salt and light, demonstrating the values of a holy city while inviting others to become citizens of that city" (Carney, 1990, pg 39).

Theological and Biblical Answers to the Research Question

A review of the literature on theological and biblical theory reveals strong Judeo-Christian traditions of identifying vulnerabilities and barriers in urban settings that need to be addressed in order to promote healthy, viable, resilient and sustainable cities and people. What is seen in the biblical literature is an affinity by God toward urban centers because of his concern

for the people who inhabit them. The people of the Bible who believed in God and answered his call to enter into a partnership with him were challenged to embrace a different philosophical perspective of themselves, their fellows, and their world, and sent to live out the concern of God for the people and their places of habitation in tangible ways.

In the biblical and theological literature there is inspiration that becomes the motivation to help make the places of human habitation more livable, especially those places that become centers of business, commerce, government, and social pluralism. In such places, there tends to be a plethora of human problems, that if left unattended will weaken the social fabric and structures that are supposed to foster their continuity or sustainability.   What begins with inspiration and escalates into motivation, then becomes the means of gratification as those who are sent on their mission from God allow that work to penetrate and permeate their hearts, minds, and souls so that they begin to experience great joy in being and doing what they have come to accept as their purpose in life.

Biblical and theological writings show a divine mandate to alleviate suffering resulting from any adverse condition so that recovery, restoration, and redemption are the result. The recovered, restored, and redeemed are expected to then become part of the solutions to human problems, doing for others as was done for them. Not everyone is expected, nor indeed can be involved in every recovery effort, but can, should, and is expected to assist in whatever ways they can to build up the people and the city.

The literature also discusses the urban problems of biblical times were not unlike urban problems of modern times. Racism, poverty, social injustices, and economic disparities were as real and common then as they are now. For centuries, people of faith have followed a call to be resilient people and builders of the lives of others as they help them overcome personal

vulnerabilities.   For every human vulnerability and resultant social problems, there are groups of

the faithful working to assist the vulnerable to become whole and more resilient as they work

toward the alleviation of social ills. The practice is not without an underlying philosophical

foundation, but theory is only valid when it has been practiced, tested and proven so over time.

The church has demonstrated a long track record of working to alleviate social vulnerabilities

and helping people and communities become more resilient and sustainable.

Given the strong biblical and theological foundation for the combining and applying

urban planning principles to urban ministry, it is fitting to discuss the church's capacity to apply

human and financial resources to help alleviate societal ills.   In one regard, the church, aside

from its character as a living organism of born again believers, is also a massive sociological

resource of manpower, mental prowess, skills, abilities, and money.   It has been suggested in

religious circles that if the financial resources of the entire faith community world wide were

aggregated, it would far surpass the wealth of every government including the United States

government.   This amounts to the staggering potential of the faith community to address the

world's sociological and economic needs.

Four of the more pressing urban social ills requiring the attention of people of faith to

help make society a better place for all to live are the alleviation of poverty, the provision of

decent housing options, the addressing of mental health needs, and the undoing of racism. The

literature shows a plethora of examples of the faith community living up to its mandate and

purpose to stand up, step up, speak up, and mobilize its vast resources of manpower and money

to work to address these major social ills.

Two paradigms of social ministry exist among people and institutions of faith. Both are

designed to relieve the poor and their communities of vulnerabilities and resultant consequences

to help them become more resilient and sustainable. Faith groups differ based on how they understand and implement Jesus' stated ministry purpose in the biblical record of Isaiah and Luke.   The first and more prevalent model in which some faith groups engage is a social service paradigm of ministry. Some practitioners refer to this model as a charitable or case management model which serves to perpetuate the status quo and maintain vulnerability; thus falling short of Jesus' true ministry intention for his followers.

The other paradigm is a social justice model which is designed to challenge and correct the structures and institutions that hold people in vulnerable situations, and thus perpetuate a system of oppression though there might be the appearance of helping to relieve suffering. The social justice model better addresses freeing people from oppression or setting captives free; to use the language of Jesus in his inaugural speech.

The most likely reason there are more faith institutions using the social service model is the lower cost, and less time it takes to get it going.   Though more costly, time-consuming, and labor intensive, the social justice paradigm fosters greater resiliency and sustainability. These facts considered, an even better model or paradigm would be a combination of the two that meets needs on an emergency basis or as a means of sustenance while the target group engages in the longer term process of removing themselves from the rolls of the needy. A simple way to understand this is giving people fish while teaching them to fish and sell fish for a living.

Social Justice Praxis

Alleviating Poverty

Poverty is one of the most destructive social phenomena in our society. It undermines the fulfillment of the basic needs that are inherent in all human beings. Abraham Maslow arranged a list of human needs in a hierarchical format (Boeree, 1998). His basic premise is that needs on

the lower rungs of the ladder must be fulfilled before an individual can concern him or herself with needs on the higher rungs of the ladder. On the bottom rung of the ladder are physiological needs which include food, clothing, and shelter. On the top rung of the ladder is self-actualization, or the ability of an individual to exhibit a high degree of self-reliance, self-motivation, and self-determinism in satisfying personal needs and attaining personal goals. Poverty acts like a chainsaw applied to the rungs of this ladder from the bottom up so that persons are stymied in what has come to be called a permanent underclass from which people find it more and more difficult to rise to the rung of self actualization. Membership in this group is increasing daily.

Through the years, our affluent society has grappled with finding viable strategies and effective means to eradicate, or at least manage the problem of poverty. Though many solutions have been tried, the problem not only remains, but is worse today than at any other time in our history. Few communities, if any in America, can boast of a zero poverty rate. Public housing communities, Native American reservations, and some communities in Appalachia are among those having the highest concentrations of poverty, in many cases resembling communities in third world countries rather than communities in the most affluent nation on the planet.

Despite 1999 headlines that boasted of a twenty year low in the number of people living below the poverty line in America, Rod Sider, President of Evangelicals for Social Action suggested although the news was cause for shouting, the celebration could only be short-lived because, America, the richest nation in history, still had by far the highest levels of poverty of any industrialized nation with 34.5 million people living at or below the poverty line, which at that time was only $16,660 annually for a family of four. Of that number, forty percent lived on half as much, and almost a fifth of all children in the country lived in poverty (Sider, 1999).

One may wonder, "Is that the best the most affluent nation on the planet can do?" During the two decades from the 70's to the 90's, times of economic growth and low unemployment nationwide, the upper twenty percent of the socio-economic ladder saw their incomes increase by a whopping thirty-nine percent while the lowest twenty percent suffered a ten percent loss in real dollars (Sider, 1999). What Sider does consider worthy of celebration is a new vision and trend by government policy makers toward recognizing and embracing the role faith institutions have played in reducing poverty in the country. During the decade of 2000, this trend gained particular prominence from the Bush Administration which pushed from its beginning for an expanded role of faith-based institutions toward the alleviation of poverty.

For generations Christian churches in America followed the long tradition of their Jewish forerunners and conducted poverty programs as part and parcel of their reason for existence. For Christians, this was based upon the life of their founder, Jesus Christ, by whose own declaration of the purpose for his life was to bring good news to the poor (Luke 4:18). Additionally, in many of his sermons, especially the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus gave commands to his followers to house the homeless, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, attend to the sick, widows and orphans, treat workers and servants kindly, pay fair wages for work performed, and not to withhold from those who needed to borrow. Jesus' ministry undoubtedly had a bi-directional focus joined together at the apex of human suffering, encompassing both spiritual and social needs.

The underlying corollary to all social problems tends to be poverty, both spiritual and social. The success of churches historically in dealing with poverty can be attributed to their belief in and practice of treating both the spiritual and socials ills as causes of manifested poverty in the lives of people. This the researcher believes is the major difference between faith-based

poverty programs, which have shown a higher rate of success than their secular and governmental counterparts' programs which tended to treat only the social ills without treating the spiritual ills.

Lawndale Community Church of Chicago, Illinois is a case in point. During the 60's, the community of Lawndale near Chicago was one of America's twenty most impoverished communities. It was characterized by a nearly non-existent college bound population of high school graduates and infant mortality rates rivaling those of Third World countries to say nothing of high crime, broken and dysfunctional families and other effects of poverty ridden communities. Thirty years later, through the efforts of the church, the community saw a dramatic change through an annual $10 million dollar infusion of tangible faith from the faithful which provided various community wide ministries, a health clinic, and a large college preparatory program. The infant mortality rate declined sixty percent. The church's response to questions about its phenomenal success is that it ministers to both the material and spiritual needs of persons at the same time (Sider, 1999).

Another example on the international front, Polanyi (2007) notes the challenge presented to Canadian churches at their March 2006 Street Level Conference to seek a deeper response to poverty by working for justice and in solidarity with the impoverished. He highlights some actions currently taken by Canadian Christians seeking to engage, listen to, and act in solidarity with low-income people. Several pertinent self imposed questions became the basis for these actions. The questions asked were, "What responsibility do people of faith, and Christians in particular, have toward those who live in poverty in our communities?" "How should we respond to the fact that one in six Canadians lives on a low income?" The following November, a group of seventy individuals wrestled with these questions around the theme of "building a

faith-based movement for a Canada without poverty" (Polanyi, 2007, Web Article). Answers and beginning solutions were calls for advocacy for policy changes, grassroots mobilization, theological reflection, and creation of new relationships of solidarity with low income people at the local level. Of particular importance emerging from their grappling was the decision to support actions led by low-income people themselves, rather than initiating action on their behalf.

Already, many of the food banks in Canada were operated out of churches. The Salvation Army alone is reported to provide 2.5 million meals annually to the country's hungry. Nevertheless, the push was on to better advocate for action to address the root causes of poverty which they identified as lack of decent affordable housing, inadequate wages and social assistance, inaccessible child care, lack of access to employment insurance and training. Their declaration was that "the time had come to add to material action a clear, creative and challenging public voice" (Polanyi, 2007, Web Article).

Polanyi notes that one group, the Interfaith Social Assistance Reform Coalition had been advocating for these issues for decades, but now, he implies, the push had gained greater momentum as the broader faith community came together to make intentional positive changes across the board.   As stated by Father Joseph Wresinski, founder of Canada's Fourth World Movement, "churches cannot help but stand with the poor.   Just as Jesus lived among and ministered to the poor in his time, the church exists to do the same." Additionally, Christopher Winship writes, "only by understanding those in the Fourth World as our moral equivalents and by embracing them as full members of society, neighbors, friends, can we possibly begin to deal with the problems of extreme poverty" (Polanyi, 2007, Web Article).

Providing Decent and Affordable Housing Options

Some have argued that historically, FBOs have been predominantly involved in the delivery of social services. Increasingly, FBOs are also playing an important role in community economic and housing development (Pickman et al., 2001; Scheie et al., 1994; Vidal, 2001). Compared to service delivery, the activities falling under this category tend to be more broad-based and target larger aggregates of individuals (i.e. neighborhoods and regions). These activities are designed to make more long-term changes in blocks, neighborhoods, and regions.

Specific community economic and housing development activities include small business development, housing renovation, the provision of low-income housing loans through community credit unions, and wide-scale employment training. Therefore, community economic and housing development represents a direct intervention into housing, lending, and employment activity at the local or regional level. Within the secular field, these activities are commonly carried out by community development corporations (CDCs). FBO involvement in community economic and housing development has typically involved the creation of congregation sponsored organizations. Commonly referred to as faith-based CDCs, these organizations typically utilize the human capital contained within congregations and engage in the same activities as their secular counterparts (Scott, 2003).

Addressing Mental Health Needs

The mental health needs of a community are not usually viewed as being addressed by churches and clergy people. To the contrary, churches and clergy are probably the largest group of mental health providers in the country, far more numerous and active in the field of mental health than all of the college trained medical professionals combined. Too often, the church has been viewed more for its theological and ecclesiastical functions than for its sociological

function to the disadvantage of communities struggling to provide resources to address myriad omplicated mental health concerns.

In the area of early identification of emotional distress the clergy are in the most strategic position in the community. Clergy are the most numerous of professionals with over 350,000 in the United States. They are widely scattered into the most distant geographic areas where no other professionals may be, they are easy to contact at any time, and are less expensive than traditional mental health professionals. Their role and function in the community are usually well known so that people know what to expect when they seek help, and they often have had ongoing contacts already established with potential seekers of mental health services so that in a time of emotional crisis it is natural to turn to them (Clinebell & Clinebell, 1970).

The church has long been one of the major social institutions that have defined how people see themselves and direct their behavior. Thus, the teachings of the church regarding human nature and human relationships may foster either mentally healthy attitudes or destructive, neurotic attitudes in its members. Inevitably a church teaches its members, either directly or indirectly, how to deal with aggression, anger, pride, sexuality, competition, social relations, child-rearing, and marital relations. The paramount current challenge to the church today is to re-examine its implicit and explicit teachings in these areas of human concern. The church can be a major constructive force for mental health in the community if its' preaching, church school curricula, and formal and informal social gatherings provide a cohesive and coherent sense of healthy human relationships that will guide, sustain, and encourage healthy emotional attitudes in its members.

Two of many biblically sound principles give impetus to faith institutions to purposefully engage in the provision of mental health services to the community. First, mental health deals

with that which is of central importance to churches and temples, the wholeness and fulfillment of people, and secondly, mental health and spiritual health are inseparable. These concerns were reflected in the life style of Jesus who said, "I have come that men may have life in all its fullness" (John 10:10 NEB). Every clergyperson is deeply involved in mental health concerns whether he knows it or not. As members of one of the oldest counseling, caring professions, clergymen can affirm their heritage by increased involvement in mental-spiritual health ministries within both religious and wider communities.

Undoing Racism

The final segment of this discussion of the role institutions of faith have played in the amelioration of social ills deals with what has probably contributed more than any other single issue to the historic and contemporary rips, runs, snags and discolorations in the fabric of American society. People of faith and churches have been at the forefront of the battle against racist oppression in the United States from its beginnings in colonial times with the Abolitionist Movement to modern times with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's.

Exclusionism, segregation, discrimination and the like have always been a part of human existence and experience. Humans tend to have a basic and innate need and desire for distinction among the masses of people who live on the earth at any given time. This tendency manifests itself in various ways and means and to differing degrees to satisfy the peoples' self esteem needs and give them personal and group individuality. It is not necessarily a bad thing that people would want to stand out from the crowd and possibly leave their mark on society because of some noble purpose. Yet, humans appear to have been unable to allow and appreciate individuality and ingenuity without it degenerating into a systematic way of creating hierarchies among themselves based upon complexion ideologies.

The movement to end slavery and racist oppression in the United States began with people of faith soon after European colonists landed on these shores, bringing with them the practice of indentured slavery which later evolved into full Chattel slavery where human beings were bought and sold as property. During the mid to late 1700's before Americans gained independence from Britain, Quakers, most black Christians, and other religious groups argued that slavery was incompatible with Christ's teaching. A number of revolutionaries saw the glaring contradiction between demanding freedom for themselves while holding slaves.

Jonathan Edwards, Jr., (1745-1801), as his more famous father, was a Congregationalist minister. He served at the White Haven Church in New Haven, Connecticut, and later became president of Union College in Schenectady, New York. In one of his sermons, Edwards presented forceful arguments against ten common pro-slavery positions. His sermon demonstrates the existence of strong anti-slavery feeling in the early days of the republic (Marsden, 2003).

Although there was opposition to slavery from the beginning of American colonization, the movement did not really get started until the mid 1800's. From the 1830s until 1870, the abolitionist movement attempted to achieve immediate emancipation of all slaves and the ending of racial segregation and discrimination. The American abolitionist movement emerged in the early 1830s as a by-product of religious revivalism popularly known as the Second Great Awakening (Finseth, 1995). Religious tenets led abolitionists to see slavery as the product of personal sin and to demand emancipation as the price of repentance. By stressing the moral imperative to end sinful practices and each person's responsibility to uphold God's will in society, preachers like Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel Taylor, and Charles G. Finney led massive religious revivals in the 1820s that gave a major impetus to the later emergence of abolitionism

as well as to such other reforming crusades as temperance, pacifism, and women's rights. By the early 1830s, Theodore D. Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and Elizur Wright, Jr., all spiritually nourished by revivalism, had taken up the cause of "immediate emancipation" (Stewart, 1986).

Although historians debate the extent of the abolitionists' influence on the nation's political life after 1840, their impact on northern culture and society is undeniable.   Orators such as Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, and Lucy Stone in particular became extremely well known. In popular literature the poetry of John Greenleaf Whittier and James Russell Lowell circulated widely, as did the autobiographies of fugitive slaves such as Douglass, William and Ellen Craft, and Solomon Northrup.

Abolitionists exercised a particularly strong influence on religious life, contributing heavily to schisms that separated the Methodists (1844) and Baptists (1845), while founding numerous independent antislavery "free churches." In higher education abolitionists founded Oberlin College, the nation's first experiment in racially integrated coeducation, the Oneida Institute, which graduated an impressive group of African-American leaders, and Illinois's Knox College, a western center of abolitionism (Stewart, 1986).

Abolitionists continued to lobby religious institutions, and gained valuable allies in the early 1840s, namely the well-organized Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian antislavery movements. Their agitation helped bring about sectional schisms in the Methodist and Baptist churches in the mid-1840's, during which time white Baptists split into two groups, Northern or American Baptist as they are called today and the Southern Baptists. The New School Presbyterians also underwent a schism in 1857. Even after those divisions, however,

abolitionists were still dissatisfied, protesting that the Northern church branches continued to tolerate thousands of border state slave owners in their fellowships (Stewart, 1986)

Until the Civil War, abolitionists continued to lobby the religious institutions, agitating the fellowship issue inside the nation's network of missionary and religious publication societies. When those bodies resisted, abolitionists created a parallel network of religious benevolent enterprises, such as the American Missionary Society. The work of the Abolitionist movement helped to lay part of the foundation upon which the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King would be built. King would also get much of his inspiration from the work of Gandhi's non-violent peace movement in his native India.

Some scholars and historians say the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's was the most significant movement to end racism in the United States since the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. A major reason for the movement's success was its religious leadership. The Reverends Martin Luther King, Jr., Andrew Young, Fred Shuttlesworth, Wyatt T. Walker, Joseph Lowery, and Jesse Jackson were just a few of the gifted religious figures who played a national leadership role in the movement. In many instances black clergy became the spokespeople for campaigns articulating the grievances of black people, and they became the strategists who shaped the objectives and methods of the movement that sought to redress those grievances. Furthermore, they were able to win the allegiance of a large number of people, both black and white, and convince them to make great sacrifices for racial justice (Williams, 1987).

One trait that helped black ministers win movement support was their charismatic style of oratory, which was used both to convey meaning and to inspire people involved in the struggle for racial equality. The rhetoric that the ministers used explained that the civil rights participants were engaged in a religious as well as an historical mission. Ministers spoke of the holy crusade

to force America to live up to its promise of democracy. For example, in a 1963 campaign to force the state of New York and the building-trade unions to hire black and Hispanic construction workers at the Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn, ministers involved in the struggle told their congregations that they were part of a "moral and patriotic movement" to make the United States more democratic. "There will be no turning back until people in high places correct the wrongs of the nation," the Reverend Gardner C. Taylor of Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn declared in a speech to a crowd of 6,000. Ministers like Taylor were able to use a certain rapidity, tempo, and reiteration in their sermons and speeches that evoked an emotional response from their audience. These performances convinced followers that their cause was right and that their pastors were called to a divine task by God. Many participants in the Birmingham, Alabama bus boycott noted that they became involved in the campaign because they were inspired by their charismatic pastors (Williams, 1987).

Ministers became the spokespeople that a predominantly white media presented as leaders of the movement. However the religious leadership of the civil rights movement was not limited to these ministers but encompassed non-clerical church leaders, many of whom had still deeper roots in the black community than the ministers. Besides nurturing charismatic ministers, most of whom were men, black churches also helped instill cooperative values in non-clerical leaders, emphasizing democracy, equality, and caring for others. The process of cultivating cooperative values usually took place outside of conventional avenues of ministerial training such as seminaries, ministerial alliances, and denominational conventions, which emphasized a hierarchical approach to leadership. Instead, the institutions responsible for inculcating cooperative values in church members, clubs, choirs, missionary societies, and other church auxiliaries, were both created and operated by lay members of churches (Tuttle, 1999).

In church auxiliaries, most of which were created and run by women of the church, members learned to handle money, speak in public, and work on behalf of the less fortunate. Auxiliaries provided a space in which members socialized, developed strong bonds, and worked on tasks in a supportive atmosphere. Although the role of laity in the civil rights movement is still an unwritten history, there is evidence that auxiliaries played a pivotal role in what happened. For instance, the laity of black churches organized the carpools used during the bus boycotts in Louisiana and Alabama. In the North, the auxiliaries of Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn created a schedule designating a specific day that members of a particular auxiliary would participate in the protest at the Brooklyn construction site. Many of the church members from Siloam and other churches that participated became "jailbirds for freedom," volunteering to be arrested at the construction site. This willingness to make a sacrifice for the struggle was encouraged by the collective sentiment fostered in these church's auxiliaries. Most of the black women active in the Birmingham, Alabama bus boycott belonged to Baptist churches and were members of those churches' choirs, missionary societies, usher boards, pastor aid societies, and other auxiliaries. Although many asserted that they became involved in the movement because of their pastors' leadership, others attributed their involvement to their belief in a religion that dedicated itself to addressing the social conditions of the oppressed (Marable & Mullins, 2002).

Perhaps the best-known leader in the civil rights movement who expressed the cooperative values of the church was Fannie Lou Hamer. Born in poverty in rural Mississippi, Hamer finished only the sixth grade and picked cotton to survive in the Jim-Crow South. She was deeply religious, and the Baptist church that she attended, where she read and studied the Bible, was a central part of her life. Hamer's religious convictions informed her politics. After she joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), she dedicated herself to

improving the lives of black families. Bob Moses, head of the Mississippi Freedom Summer Campaign, noted that Hamer sang the spirituals that she had learned in the church at civil rights gatherings to help foster a feeling of community among the young SNCC activists (Williams, 1987).

It was through a coordinated effort between the clerical and non-clerical leadership at the national and local levels that victories were achieved. It is important to pay attention to the contributions that individual religious leaders made to the civil rights movement. However, to more fully understand the role black churches played in the movement, it is equally important to examine the cooperative values that these churches fostered in leaders outside of the clergy. Since the death of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., many in African American Christian circles lamented the need for another King-like leader to give the movement its pre 1968 momentum. Others who recognize the invaluable contributions of laypeople like Fannie Lou Hamer say what is needed is an army of people like her (Williams, 1987).

Doing Social Justice after Katrina

The literature gives evidence of a vibrant and enthusiastic faith community with the capacity to adequately deliver spiritual and social services to the New Orleans community before Hurricane Katrina. The faith community filled the gaps in the secular community's capacity to provide programs designed to reduce poverty, make possible decent and affordable housing, assist the medical profession with treatment of mental health issues, and to mitigate and alleviate incidences of racism. In many instances, the provision of these services by the church was the primary, and sometimes the only source for the poor to get those needs met.

The literature and the data also give evidence of a critical curtailment of services of the faith community in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The church's heavy

reliance upon the membership, the tithes and offerings they gave, and the church's physical facilities necessary to provide services to the community were decimated by the storm. This drastically reduced capacity of the church is attributable to the hurricane as the direct precipitating event, but also attributable to the construct of race and the practice of racism as the indirect cause of the demise of the faith community's once adequate capacity to fulfill its mandate for the provision of spiritual and social services to the community.

<center>Many Hands Made Light Work</center>

The preceding sections discussed how over hundreds of years of biblical, theological, theoretical, and philosophical underpinnings provided the faith community with the inspiration, motivation, and gratification to mobilize people and resources following a divine mandate to work toward the alleviation of societal ills. Practice followed theory over the same amount of time to yield a modern-day army of the faithful around the world, but particularly in the United States, and more specifically, here in New Orleans at a critical point in time marked by a destructive and killer storm named Hurricane Katrina.

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina the faith community demonstrated its prowess to alleviate social suffering. Although the faith community is separated into factions that have different belief systems, different worship practices, and even different theo-political ideologies, as is the case with proponents of Judaism and Islamic faiths, in the face of need, the entire community holds the alleviation of suffering in common. In the aftermath of 9/11, Christians, Muslims, and Jews joined together to call for level-headedness and worked beside political leaders and emergency workers to assist in addressing the needs of the victims. Institutions of faith have the ability, and have been known to mobilize large numbers and massive amounts of

<center>66</center>

money without the bureaucratic red tape that hinder or slow down similar responses by government agencies (NAMB/SBC, 2008).

New Orleans' black churches demonstrated a tremendous level of resiliency in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Aided by its national counterparts, the New Orleans faith community was able to provide food, clothing, shelter, and money to local victims and national volunteers. This aid crossed denominational lines such as was the case with The Baptist Association of Greater New Orleans whose disaster ministry served hundreds of meals a day in the Chalmette area of the city. These meals were served to volunteers who were often from other denominational groups as well as victims who had returned to clean up and rebuild their homes and businesses (Arnold, 2007, personal interview).

Hundreds of volunteers were mobilized under the command of local religious leadership which directed the rebuild effort. Local faith groups participated in debris removal, cutting and hauling of fallen trees, gutting of homes and businesses to the studs, rewiring of electrical systems, and replacing sheetrock and wall boards. Other than street clean-ups, which tended to be done by large industrial contractors hired by the federal government, nearly all of the clean-up and gutting of homes and businesses was performed by members of the faith community under the leadership and direction of local faith leaders (McKeever, 2007, informal interview).

Peoples' lives were as much the focus of the rebuild effort as physical structures. Parts of the faith community offered funds and furnishings to help put individuals and families on their feet again. Parts of the faith community became mobile centers for spiritual and psychological counseling, offering answers to tough questions and hope for a rebuilt and better life after the storm. Many local churches, mosques, and synagogues that were undamaged, slightly damaged, or which rebuilt quickly shared their buildings with as many other local congregations as they

could accommodate in a week. Some of these shared buildings were in use everyday of the week for the first time in their history (Smith, 2007, informal interview).

Operation NOAH, a ministry started and funded by the North American Missions Board of the Southern Baptist Convention but run by local religious leadership, rented several floors of the New Orleans World Trade Center and turned them into dormitory housing for any workers coming to the city to help with the rebuild effort. Accommodations included three meals a day, a place to sleep, and hot showers for $20.00 a day. The cost of accommodations was often paid by groups and churches which sent volunteers to the city to help (Pitman, 2007, informal interview).

The Adopt-A-Church Program of a large denomination systematically assigned several congregations from other parts of the country with local congregations needing assistance. Rev. Willie Breaux, pastor of Little Woods Baptist Church reported having his entire church structure rebuild by such partnerships, including putting on a new roof, refurnishing of the sanctuary, and even the donation of new choir robes (Breaux, 2007, personal interview).

The National Office of the Unitarian Universalists Church raised millions of dollars in aid to re-establish local grassroots community activist organizations which worked for social justice, racial healing and reconciliation, as well as to rebuild their churches in the area (Christos-Rogers, 2007, personal interview)

The efforts of local and national faith community groups demonstrated that communities can rebuild quickly and responsibly without the delays and red tape of government bureaucracy. This was the case with nearly all of the large national denominations in their rapid response and mobilization of manpower and money in New Orleans.

The Greater New Orleans Disaster Response Partnership (GNODRP) Volunteer Connection is a program of Volunteers of America in conjunction with United Way, Points of

Light Foundation and numerous other community partners united in an effort to make the

Greater New Orleans area whole again (Ambrose, 2007, personal interview)

Local and national groups have gained valuable experience of how to go about dealing

with large natural or manmade disasters. New systems and organizations have come into

existence to better deal with the aftermath of disasters. Operation NOAH and Adopt-A-Church

Programs are now permanent national organizations or operations to serve communities in the

aftermath of disasters (Pitman, 2007; Arnold, 2007).

Interdenominational cooperatives have been formed for the purpose of concentrating

manpower and money to an affected area in the aftermath of a disaster. VOAD (Voluntary

Organizations Active in Disasters) is a national faith-based organization of various

denominations that come together to work with offices of emergency preparedness to assist

victims of disasters. There is also a Louisiana Chapter of VOAD (Cayton, 2006, Personal

Interview).

Turning Vulnerability into Resiliency and Sustainability

The University of Pennsylvania's, Robert A. Fox Leadership Program, Provost's Ideas in

Action Seminar entitled, "Have Faith In the Big Easy: A Survey of Faith-Based Initiatives and

Leadership in Post-Katrina New Orleans (University of Pennsylvania, 2007) sums up the nature

and capacity of the faith community's response to Hurricane Katrina, and offers an analysis of

lessons learned and suggestions for increased capacity, greater resiliency, and planned

sustainability for responding to future disasters.

For the most part, the readiness of the faith community to mobilize quickly and

efficiently in response to major disasters went relatively untested and unknown before Hurricane

Katrina. As a collective, people of faith were a sleeping giant of potential resources and human

capital to address critical needs in the time of a major disaster. There had always been displays on a much smaller scale of faith community activity in addressing social needs, but never had there been an occasion to test the strength of that resource before Katrina presented the opportunity. Faith-based organizations, on the other hand, were able to mobilize quickly and provide services to address the needs of displaced citizens (University of Pennsylvania, 2007). According to a report commissioned by the Bush Administration, "the federal government did not coordinate all its departments and agencies, or integrate them with private partners and other levels of government. It was either unable or unwilling to make saving lives and property in New Orleans a priority" (University of Pennsylvania, 2007, pg. 6).

By no means are the foregoing statements intended to give the impression that the faith community was without problems, obstacles, or challenges as it attempted to serve the needs of New Orleans and the victims of Hurricane Katrina. The capacity of the local faith community in New Orleans suffered near annihilation as it lost physical plants, leadership, congregants, and financial resources by which it was able pre-Katrina to honor its divine mandate to seek the peace of the city wherein its Lord had planted it (Jeremiah 29:7). Eighty percent of that capacity drowned or nearly drowned in Katrina's flood waters. Two and a half years post-Katrina, black church leadership, congregational, and financial capacity and physical plants are still in a state of loss due to the hurricane.

Where the local faith community lost capacity, its national counterpart made up for some of the loss, including providing a path to recovery for local members of their respective denominations. Although there were numerous incidences of cross denominational support to local faith institutions, for the most part that aspect of the recovery was given along denominational lines. In the Mid-City neighborhood in New Orleans with Canal Street and

Jefferson Davis Parkway as a focal point, there exists one of almost every denominational expression of faith. Sacred Heart Catholic Church, First Grace United Methodist Church, First United (Southern) Baptist Church, Bibleway Missionary (National) Baptist Church, Grace Episcopal Church, Canal Street Presbyterian Church, Carrollton Avenue Church of Christ, St. John Lutheran Church, Light City (Non Denominational) Church, and First Pentecostal Church are all within blocks of each other. All but one of these churches was quickly rebuilt and made operational within a year of the hurricane through the labor and donations of their national affiliates.

This suggest the capacity of the faith community to deliver spiritual and social services to the city of its operation is not solely dependent upon the strength of local expressions of faith. There exists a built in safety net for the continuity of ministry by local faith institutions through a basic common theology and by denominational affiliation that compels the collective national faith community to be their local brothers' keepers.

Summary

Pre-Katrina New Orleans

Pre-Katrina New Orleans was a culturally diverse city in decline and failing to keep pace with the growth taking place in other U. S. cities. Several circumstances contributed to the city's vulnerable state at the time of Katrina. Pre-Katrina census statistics showed New Orleans to be suffering from a decreasing white and more affluent population and becoming one that was increasingly black and impoverished. By the time of Hurricane Katrina, the city had become, for the most part, a one industry town with tourism as its primary economic engine. The literature exposes the failure of government to be proactive about geographical and topographical, fiscal, and political conditions that increased the city's vulnerability pre-Katrina. Additionally, New

Orleans had an old and crumbling infrastructure desperately in need of repairs and upgrading. With regards to the church, the literature revealed marginal fiscal capacity for operations and running social programs; as well as personal and corporate weaknesses of the parishioners and pastors in the faith community. Appendix D gives a more complete list of pre-Katrina vulnerabilities.

<p style="text-align:center">The Role of Race and Class in the City's State of Vulnerability</p>

New Orleans was a city mired in antebellum social and political policies that marginalized its African American population. White flight during the 1960's due to federally forced school desegregation had a significantly negative social impact upon the city, leaving the city's population predominantly African American and impoverished, and the city's tax base dwindling (Bickford, 2003). The racial divide in New Orleans was reflected in the rise in absentee-landlordism in black communities, and consequently a higher incidence sub-standard and blighted housing. Other race related factors included maintenance of a segregated educational system through private and parochial schools and redlining (Caldas and Bankston, 2007). More than thirty thousand blighted and adjudicated properties marred the landscape before Katrina. The exodus of the oil industry from New Orleans and sharp declines in activity at the Port of New Orleans had a profoundly negative economic impact upon the city. The loss of the higher paying jobs from these two industries coupled with the loss of nearly 200,000 people who left with the oil industry helped to make the city economically vulnerable (GNOCDC, 2007).

<p style="text-align:center">Post- Katrina New Orleans</p>

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, 80% of New Orleans neighborhoods were inundated with flood waters. With few exceptions, these were predominantly African American

neighborhoods. The 20% of the city that remained "dry" were the more affluent neighborhoods which lay along the naturally higher land near the river.   The immediate aftermath of the hurricane left the poorest and mostly African American population stuck with no means of getting out. Within little more than a week, the left behind part of the citizenry was relocated in forty-nine of fifty states in the union with no idea of when or how, if ever, they might return. This would ultimately prove to be disadvantageous to the unique culture of New Orleans as much of the cultural make-up of the city was contributed by its poorer African Americans.

Most African American neighborhoods were left in their Katrina-induced state, rents soared by forty percent, and little or no affordable housing was made available for the Diaspora to return. The political jockeying that started before the storm escalated, causing unnecessary and unethical delays in providing for recovery. Nearly 100,000 citizens are still displaced, homelessness rose to epidemic proportions, and salvageable public housing units were demolished *en mass*.

<div align="center">The Faithful: Knights in Shining Armor</div>

The church has a long history of helping to meet social needs, especially in times of disaster. This helping attitude is built upon and driven by a combination of theological and theoretical underpinnings. The practice of responding to social need by the church over the centuries has become specialized, with cooperation across denominational lines, and an ample supply of human power and funding; especially at the national level. Churches responded to victims of Katrina with greater speed, greater organization, and more positive results than did their governmental counterpart. Numerous examples of churches' skill and expertise in responding to social needs fill the literature, substantiating the value of faith-based institutions into which the government would do well to align its forces. The literature highlights two types

of faith-based social programs; social ministry which tend to be shorter term and addressing emergency situations of those they serve, and social justice which is longer term and more costly, addressing self-sufficiency and sustainability of those they serve. A combination of the two is shown to be the most effective way of delivering social ministry.

CHAPTER 3: WHAT'S RACE GOT TO DO WITH IT?

Introduction

The ultimate goal of Critical Race Theory may be the formulation of theories about society which help to understand, explain, and in some cases transform the underpinnings of social and systemic relationships that structure society. Critical Theory/Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Creswell, 2007 p.27) researchers studying through the interpretive lens of CRT focus upon assisting human beings to transcend the constraints placed upon them by race, class, and gender (Fay, 1987). This methodology calls for the researcher to recognize his own power to exacerbate the participants' victimization unless care is taken to engage in dialogue with them, and use theory to illuminate and interpret social action.

Themes that might be exploited by the CRT inquirer include the scientific study of social institutions and their transformations through interpreting the meaning of social life, problems historically associated with domination, subjugation, alienation, and social struggles, and an analysis and critique of society as a whole to envision new possibilities. Some of the goals of CRT research might be to study, ethnographically, changes in participant thinking about particular societal phenomena, or to encourage people to interact, form networks, become activists, and function as action-oriented groups, or to help them examine the conditions of their lives.

When race comes into focus through this interpretive lens, it highlights how racism is deeply embedded within the fabric and framework of American society. It seeks to expose the covert racism that takes residence in the structures, systems, and institutions of society, effectively becoming invisible to most members of society including the victims and the victimizers.

There appears to be three main goals of Race Theory (Parker and Lynn, 2002). First is to discover and present the stories of discrimination from victims, usually people of color, from their personal perspectives. Second is to argue for the eradication of racial subjugation while at the same time recognizing that race is a social construct. As such, race is seen as a continually fluid phenomenon shaped by political pressures and informed by individual lived experiences. The third addresses other differences such as gender, class, and inequities experienced by participants.

CRT researchers attempt to bring race to the foreground in all aspects of their research work. In so doing, they challenge traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories that have been used to explain the experiences of people of color, and offer solutions to help eliminate racial, gender, and class subjugation (Creswell, 2007). To this end, this researcher theorizes, and will attempt to bring to the forefront, the underlying role race has played in the Katrina experiences, and consequently in the Katrina stories of African American ministers and people of faith in New Orleans.

Racism: Setting the Stage for Katrina

This researcher theorizes that racism was a major factor in Pre-Karina New Orleans that exacerbated the suffering experienced by the poor and people of color as a result of Hurricane Katrina. There was a time in the history of this country when racism was easily identifiable, out in the open, up front and in your face. Its own face was clearly exposed, even if wearing a sheet over one's head with cut out eye holes, and its complexion and character were without equivocation. Today, however, racism is not so easily identifiable, but is hiding in the secret places of the systems, structures, and institutions of society, and thus is practically invisible to all

but the critically scrutinizing eye. The difference is denoted as overt and covert racism (Coates, 2007).

During the eras of Slavery, the Black Codes (Smedley, 2007), and Jim Crow (Oshinsky, 1996) in America, overt racism was vicious, violent, and venomous. No one had to guess if race was "the issue" because the dead body of a young, or old, African American male or female could be seen swinging from trees across the South. Signs of "For Whites Only" and "For Colored Only" signified the inequality of the races. Open discrimination was practiced and upheld by the institutions of government and law.   In more recent times, attempts to equalize all people simply by their humanity, has not eradicated racism from life in the United States. Racism simply went underground to hide behind smiling faces and three-piece-suit clad bodies of rich and powerful xenophobes (Coates, 2007).

Such was the nature of racism in New Orleans on August 29, 2005 that shocked the nation and the world after Katrina pulled the cover off.   New Orleans was a city that often boasted of the relative lack of racial incidences during the turbulent times of forced integration in the United States. Whites and blacks appeared to get along, or at least tolerate each other well enough to keep the violence and overt acts of racism down. There certainly were all the signs of legalized oppression of black people in New Orleans, which everyone, whites and blacks, tended to accept, but there weren't very many incidences of demonstrations and clashes between white and black New Orleanians who had become good at hiding their true thoughts and feelings about one another based upon a construct of race.

The depth of racism in New Orleans was revealed in August, 2005 because New Orleans never really owned up to its racist tendencies, or put race on the table as a destructive issue, or topic of discussion for which it was imperative to address, but continued to live, harmoniously in

denial of reality. Racism has never been an easy subject of conversation, especially in mixed company (Singleton and Linton, 2006), but it is a necessary conversation that must be had if humans are ever to lay to rest this monster that continually terrorizes and threatens society's peace and tranquility.

An examination of some of the major systems and structures of the city causes one to conclude the existence of systemic racism in pre-Katrina New Orleans. The population of the city was between 65% and 70% African American, of which 84% was impoverished (Katz, 2006). If this examination holds true, then the explanation for what the world witnessed in the aftermath of Katrina, (mostly African Americans waiting for days in sweltering heat with no food or water while government officials bickered) structural and institutional racism lay at the core.

Based upon this theory, the reason Census Bureau statistics showed nearly 50% of the population of New Orleans lived at or below the poverty line in August, 2005 (Information Please Database, 2007) was because racial stereotyping and profiling were used in the hiring practices, wage calculations, and opportunities for advancement on the job. Decades of deterioration and failure of the public school system in New Orleans were the result of white flight from the system during the late fifties and early sixties, and a state government that did not think it important to put sufficient funds into a public system that was overwhelmingly African American (PBS, 2006).

White flight to the suburbs of New Orleans in the 1960's left the inner-city with whole neighborhoods of renters and few, if any, homeowners. Blight in those neighborhoods also resulted from the disinvestment of absentee landlords who would not make repairs to keep up their rental property (Bickford, 2003; GNOCDC, 2007). Pockets of poverty turned into sacks as

more of the city became impoverished. Even the New Orleans East community, which in the

1970's had become a new suburb-of-a-sort to which marginally middle class blacks had escaped

the inner-city, had become a community of Section 8 apartment complexes. Ten of the largest

conventional public housing developments in the country called New Orleans home. Those,

coupled with the newly created poor neighborhoods resulting from white flight set up a situation

where too many of the citizens, living in the most flood prone areas of the city, did not have the

means of evacuation should one be called. Of course a mandatory evacuation was called and

approximately 200,000 mostly poor African Americans were stranded in New Orleans by the

flood waters.

From Stagehand to a Leading Actor

Racism in New Orleans didn't just set the stage for a drama of world wide implications,

but was also a major actor on that stage during and after the storm. Katrina survivors tell stories

Figure 1: Aerial Photo of 8.31.05 Evacuation of People from Algiers Ferry Landing.

of being stranded on rooftops, on bridges, and wading in chest-deep water and seeing rescuers in
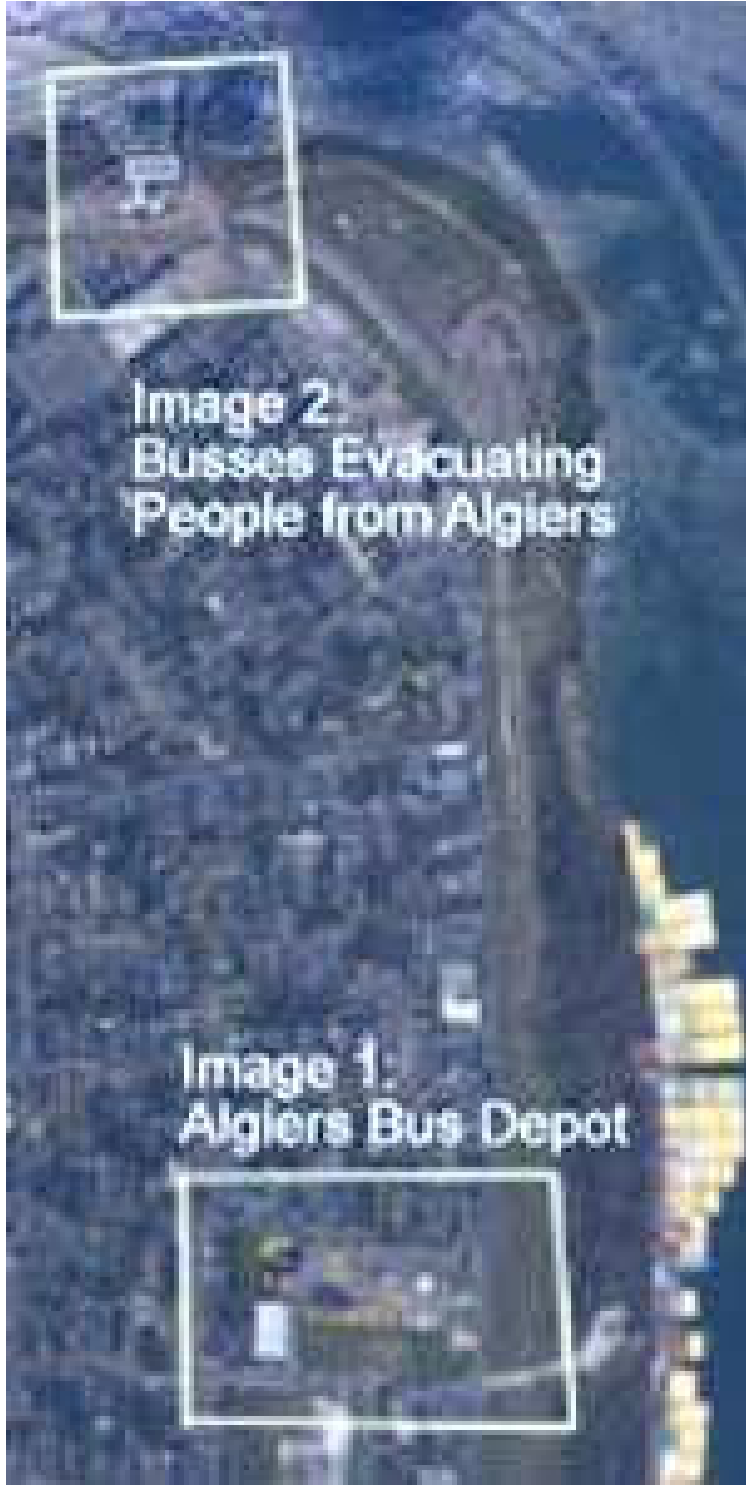
helicopters flying overhead that would not rescue them. Aerial photographs taken on August 31, 2005 show rows of Orleans Parish School Board buses at its Algiers Bus Depot on the Westbank of the city which were used to evacuate people from the Algiers Ferry Landing. The people boarding these busses are not residents of Algiers, since that part of New Orleans did not receive major damage from the hurricane. Yet, the photos show people being unloaded from a barge to board the buses. The photos (Figures 3 and 4) of the bus depot first shows the busses neatly aligned at the depot, and then give evidence that the buses were moving out, escorted by three New Orleans Police Department squad cars, to the

Figure 2: Algiers Bus Depot and Ferry Landing.

Algiers Ferry Landing where people were waiting to board them.   The final photo, Figure 5,

shows the buses being boarded. These images were the result of an internet seardh.

The overwhelming number of survivors and evacuees crowed into the Superdome and

Morial Convention Center was African American. Photographs from news sources of the

crowds show only a few white citizens at either location. Residents from predominantly white

St. Bernard Parish, which sustained 30 foot storm surges, were not brought to the Dome or the Convention Center, but were put on buses almost directly across the river from the Convention Center for transport to places of safety. Some evacuees, upon becoming aware of the chaos and danger at the Superdome and the Convention Center, decided to try to walk to safety across the Mississippi River Bridge and to points beyond in whatever

Figure 3: OPSB Buses Parked at Depot.

direction they could do to get out of the trouble. Once on the bridge and under its superstructure,

the walkers, who were mostly African American, were met by armed Gretna Sheriff Deputies

who prevented them from crossing to safety (Ruder, 2005).

Figure 4: Buses leaving Depot with Police Escort.

Figure 5: People Boarding Buses at Algiers Ferry Landing.

The Mississippi River Bridge is wholly contained within the City of New Orleans and Orleans Parish which are co-terminus. This means the Gretna police officers had no legal jurisdiction on the bridge, or to stop residents of New Orleans from walking from one part of their city to another part of their city. Not only did they violate the law in stopping the walkers, threatening to shoot them if they persisted in crossing, but they got away with it, citing their fear that evacuees would loot the town of Gretna if allowed to cross the bridge (Brown, 2005).

When transportation out of New Orleans from the Dome and Convention Center was finally arranged after nearly a week, care was not taken to keep families together during the exodus to safety. Unthinkably, mothers were put on one bus headed to an unknown destination while their minor children, in some cases, were placed on another bus headed to a different unknown location. This resulted in family members' ignorance of the whereabouts of loved ones, even children, elderly and sickly grandmothers and grandfathers, and husbands and wives (McKinnis, 2006, Personal Interview). Careless and callous actions as this is reminiscent of what was done to African slaves in the South when families were separated and resold, leaving other members of the family ignorant of the welfare and whereabouts of their loved ones.

Weeks, and even months, went by before families learned where their loved ones had been taken. This researcher's niece and her minor daughter were separated in like fashion. The child, unable to care for herself and alone on a bus with total strangers, ended up in one state and her mother in another. They reported that the guards who were responsible for placement of evacuees on the buses ordered them to get on whatever bus they were told to or else they would be left behind. If the bus was filled and part of a family was put on the bus, but other family members were unable to board the same bus, they were indiscriminately put on a different bus,

even though it would end up in a different state from the bus on which a child was placed (McKinnis, 2006).

One of the more blatant acts of racism was perpetrated by HUD, HANO, and the Mayor and City Council of New Orleans upon the residents of public housing communities after the city was reopened for citizens to return home. Once the water had been pumped out and things were dry enough for residents to return to their domiciles to survey and begin putting their home lives back together, the residents of four of the public housing development, all of them African Americans and mostly females with children, returned to find that their communities in entirety had been fenced off with locked gates and no trespassing signs posted on the fences. HUD and HANO had taken advantage of the mandatory evacuation to rid themselves of the clients they were charged to serve by federal law, but had been trying to find a way to empty the projects with a minimum of public outcry. Katrina gave them the means and the opportunity (Quigley, 2007).

Summary

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is the lens through which this research is conducted. This theoretical perspective helps bring into focus the plight of marginalized, and oppressed people and attempts to inform and change public opinion, and more importantly public policy so people who are constrained by race, class, gender and other discriminating characterizations may transcend such constraints (Fay, 1987). This study focuses on African Americans living in New Orleans before, during and after the catastrophe of Hurricane Katrina.

Pre-Katrina, life in New Orleans for the majority of African Americans was characterized by minimum wage jobs, relegation to live in deteriorating and underserved neighborhoods in the lowest lying areas of a city positioned below sea level, and a racially motivated and underfunded

educational system, all of which were the outcomes of a system of structural and institutionalized policies and practices that discriminated according to racial make-up.

The job market in New Orleans had little to offer potential employees from the black community. These were the employees of a tourism based economy with little or no opportunity for advancement who made hotel beds, flipped burgers, cleaned rooms, and whatever else it took to make tourists comfortable and feel at home; and generate a dollar for the city's coffers. The tourist industry in New Orleans had successfully fought attempts to unionize the workforce or raise the pay scale. This industry practice kept African Americans struggling to make ends meet in an increasingly inflationary economy. There was hardly enough money to live from day to day, and no room for little emergencies which regularly come up unexpectedly; to say nothing of a major disaster that forced people out of their homes for weeks and months at a time.

Accompanying fleeing people out of the city was the tax base and spending power that once helped provide critical funding for operations and maintenance of city infrastructure and services. People, who once lived and worked in the city, now only worked in the city and spent their money in the municipality where they lived. African Americans were left with the burden of maintaining a crumbling infrastructure and underfunded city services of New Orleans with a significantly reduced pot of tax monies since there was no local income tax to cause those who worked in the city to share the burden of maintaining the infrastructure and city services.

African American people and the congregations of which they were members existed in a heightened state of vulnerability due to being socially and financially marginalized by a political and economic system that did not dispense justice equitably. Post-Katrina, race continues to be a contributing factor victimizing African Americans; and in the protracted time it is taking to bring full recovery to New Orleans.

In the immediate aftermath of the hurricane, nearly all 450,000 citizens of New Orleans were required to evacuate the city. Once the city reopened, over 200,000 people, mostly African Americans who were poor and renting their dwellings were not able to return. This inability to return existed because state policies did not allow for any indemnification for landlords to replace rental units in which most of those unable to return lived. Rents soared post-Katrina by more than forty per cent, effectively keeping poorer blacks out of the city. Pre-Katrina, New Orleans had a 60/40 percent ration of renters to homeowners. Most renters were not financially strong or creditworthy enough to purchase a house in spite of available homeownership programs.

In the ways discussed above, CRT helps to inform the research by answering parts a and b of question 1, and question 2, by identifying race and class as the social vulnerabilities and barriers that existed pre-Katrina, which present continuing challenges post-Katrina that heightened the devastation, and is prolonging the recovery of the city and its people. These constructs do so via structural and institutionalized policies and practices which marginalized African Americans in housing and educational opportunities, and in the job market.

In answering question four regarding what the black church can do to increase its capacity as an affinity group against future disasters, and what they can do to combat the effects of racism, economic disparity and social injustice; the African American faith community post-Katrina is benefiting from two particular emerging patterns that represent significant changes in the culture-sharing group. These are increased awareness of and participation in disaster response and relief activities. Disaster response has not been a traditional undertaking or ministry of African American churches. This pattern has only begun to emerge within the culture-sharing group since Katrina. Traditionally, disaster response and relief has been a white

faith-based effort. This new interest on the part of African Americans brings black churches into greater contact with their white counterparts around a common helping cause opening the churches to new resources for mitigating future vulnerabilities and fostering greater resiliency and sustainability. These new activities are also the basis for new partnerships across racial and economic barriers that foster effective alliances in fighting racial prejudices and racial injustice. This is the second emerging pattern moving the black church toward greater strength in numbers and money as these partnerships strengthen into viable relationships.

Credit must be given to white people of faith who came to the aid of many African American churches in devastated New Orleans across the racial divide and reached out a helping hand. The literature and the interviews tell of the extent to which many white churches went to help fellow Christians regardless of their skin color. These acts of love begat in-kind acts that have the potential to help alleviate long-standing and destructive social constructs.

Some of these new partnerships were started intentionally by groups of white and black clergy of New Orleans who recognized the need to put these particular differences aside to live like brothers and sisters. The efforts are ongoing now for more than three years, when before Katrina, hardly was there an imagination that this would ever happen in New Orleans.

CHAPTER 4: THE METHOD TO THE MADNESS

Introduction

The methodology of this investigation will be first and foremost qualitative. It will take the form of ethnography which incorporates the advocacy/participatory and pragmatist paradigms. Further, it will be framed by critical theory and critical race theory perspectives. The researcher will conduct this investigation by observing and interviewing participants in their particular settings of the church and community, collecting a variety of data from multiple sources, and using member checking, triangulation, and peer auditors to validate the findings.

The following discussion on the methodology of the study moves from the general to the specific by first presenting an overview, particularly that of J.W. Creswell (2007) of what is involved in qualitative research. Discussed are the five philosophical assumptions inherent in all qualitative research, the two world views or paradigms that guide the study, and the two "interpretive lenses," which form a frame of reference or perspective through which the study will be understood. The discussion will then focus on ethnography as the approach taken to conduct the study, presenting a general overview of the approach then moving more specifically to how the study will employ this approach to accomplish the task at hand.

Also discussed in this section are the use of participant observation and qualitative interviewing as the primary data collection methods. Other less important methods are touched upon briefly. The discussion will briefly highlight two supporting methodologies used to augment the ethnographical study and conclude with a brief discussion of three validation strategies that will be employed in the study.

Creswell (2007) lists and defines five philosophical assumptions inherent in qualitative research, all of which combine to give qualitative research its distinctiveness from quantitative research. Each of these exerts a particular affect upon the research process.

The <u>Ontological Assumption</u> (p. 16) deals with the nature of reality. Reality is subjective and multifaceted as viewed by the participants or targets of the research. This assumption calls for the researcher to use direct quotes, themes, and perspectives of the participants.

The <u>Epistemological Assumption</u> (p.18) deals with the relationship of the researcher to his research. It calls upon the researcher to lessen as much as possible the distance between herself and that being researched. To accomplish this, the researcher must spend many hours in the field collaborating with the participants and becoming an "insider" to the participant group.

The <u>Axiological Assumption</u> (p. 18) deals with the role that personal values play in the findings of the research. The researcher must acknowledge that his research is value laden and contains inherent biases. The researcher must avoid, as much as possible, skewing the research findings with those inherent biases. He does this by openly discussing and interpreting the biases, his own as well as those of the participants, which may potentially shape the research narrative.

The <u>Rhetorical Assumption</u> (p. 18) deals with the language and terminology of the research. This philosophical assumption calls upon the researcher to write in an informal literary style using personal voice and qualitative terms and definitions to present the research narrative.

The <u>Methodological Assumption</u> (p. 19) deals with the process of qualitative research. It calls for the researcher to use inductive logic, to study the subjects and subject matter within their natural setting and context, and to allow the design of the research to emerge from the collection of the data. The researcher works with the particulars before generalizing the

research to larger contexts, describing in detail the specific context of the research. Questions may need to be continually revised.

Creswell (2007) defines a paradigm or worldview as a basic set of beliefs that guide action. These worldviews vary with the beliefs qualitative researchers bring to their research. Researchers may use multiple and compatible paradigms in a single research project. Each of the four paradigms informs and directs the practice of research differently. This research makes use of the Advocacy/Participatory paradigm.

The Advocacy/Participatory (p. 21) worldview recognizes the limitations of the postpositivist and constructivist worldviews to adequately address the needs of marginalized people and to call for action to address those needs. For the researcher using this worldview, there must be a call for action or reform to help change the life situations of the participants. The advocacy/participatory world view tends to focus on issues related to oppression, domination, suppression, alienation, and hegemony, thus making the researcher a voice for the participants. This world view may rely upon participants to help frame questions, collect and analyze data, and shape the final report.

Kemmis and Wilkinson, (1998) list four characteristics of this worldview including its focus on bringing about social change for marginalized people; its aim to help participants free themselves from constraints found in the media, language, work procedures, and power structures; its quest to create a political debate and discussion that allows change to occur; and its practicality and collaborative methodology to conduct the research with the participants rather than on or to them (Fay 1987, and Heron and Reason, 1997).

Pragmatism (p. 22) takes on many forms, but adherents focus more on outcomes of the research, i.e., the actions, situations, and consequences of the research rather than antecedent

conditions and methods. The focus is more on the problem of study and the questions asked or needing to be asked about the problem. This worldview is not committed to any one system or philosophy of reality, giving researchers a freedom of choice based on their needs and the purpose of their research.

The pragmatist researcher does not see the world as an absolute unity. Truth for him is what works at the time. She tends also to focus on the "what" and "how" of research based on its intended consequences.   Therefore pragmatist researchers would agree that research always occurs within social, historical, political and other contexts. A researcher holding this worldview may use multiple methods of data collection to best answer his research questions. She would employ both quantitative and qualitative sources of data collection and will focus on the practical implications of the research (Rossman and Wilson 1985; Cherryholmes, 1992; and Murphy, 1990).

Working from a less philosophical level are a number of interpretive communities, each having their own particular jargon, distinct body of literature, and unique issues of debate that Creswell (2007) refers to as conducting research through an interpretive lens.   These communities tend to be the marginalized, victimized or underrepresented groups, identified by race, gender, class, religion, sexuality or geography, struggling to have their voices heard, to gain a rightfully higher position on the social ladder, or have equal access and opportunities as all other human beings within society. Research problems and questions of these groups aim to provide understanding of their issues and the conditions and circumstances that serve to disadvantage their members.   They seek to expose the irrationality of social structures of hierarchies, hegemony, racism, sexism, and the like that place them at a disadvantage. Researchers attempting to conduct inquiry through the lenses of these groups need to exercise

care to respect and not further marginalize or victimize the participants by referring to them in aggregate terms such as men, women, Blacks, Hispanics, etc. They should respect and reference individual differences within larger context of the social groupings. The theoretical lens though which this research is framed is the Critical Theorist/Critical Race Theorist perspective, a discussion of which can be found in Chapter 3.

Ethnography

A wide array of ethnographic methodologies has emerged since the work of the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920's and 1930's, and anthropologists, such as Malinowski, (1922, 1926, 1929); Evans-Pritchard, (1937); Mead (1928, 1930, 1932) and others of the same time reference (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Three major methods of conducting ethnographic research have been used extensively. These are participant observation, interviews, and collecting artifacts, each of which has very specific purposes for their use.

The first and most prominent of these methods is participant observation. This method requires the researcher to gain acceptance by the participant group into their cultural setting in order to closely study the group from an insider's perspective. As a participant observer, the researcher engages members of the participant group individually, or in small groups in the field of study. This engagement may take the form of casual conversations and informal chats, listening as participants discuss day-to-day life happenings, or formal one-on-one interviews with them. Being in the field, the researcher may attend social events, work beside participants as a volunteer or even a hired employee. The point is to actually become a participant for some extended period of time, the longer the better, and to collect data from every available source for analysis and reporting to give a true to life picture of the participant culture (Creswell, 2007).

One of the strengths of observation and interaction over long periods of time is that researchers can discover discrepancies between what participants say, and often believe should happen (the formal system) and what actually does happen. They may also discover discrepancies between different aspects of the formal system whereas a one-time survey of people's answers to a set of questions, although they might be quite consistent, are less likely to show conflicts between different aspects of the social system or between conscious representations and behavior (DeWalt, DeWalt, and Wayland, 1998).

Although interviews and surveys are used extensively in quantitative research, the qualitative researcher often uses them in an unstructured and un-predefined way. The qualitative methodologist allows the questions and the answers to emerge from casual chats to formal one-on-one conversations with participants. These conversations are facilitated by the researcher's learning and using the language and dialects of the participants (Creswell, 2007).

Open-ended questions are preferable to carefully structured questions that a quantitative researcher might ask to validate a pre-conceived theory or hypothesis. The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to capture data that a survey instrument cannot due to the rigidity of its structure. The qualitative interview is more open and free flowing, and thus able to capture facial expressions, emotions, and voice intonations, as well as have the capability of clarifying what a participant means by the words and phrases used in conversing with the participant observer (Creswell, 2007).

The use of interviews as a data collection method begins with the assumption that the participants' perspectives are meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit, and that their perspectives are important to an understanding of the social phenomena under study. An interview, rather than a paper and pencil survey, is preferable when interpersonal contact is

important and when opportunities for follow-up of interesting comments are desired (Creswell, 2007)

Again, participant observation is a concept whereby the researcher must become a member of the group that is the subject of his study. To become a member of the group, the researcher must gain access into the culture, learn to use the language of that cultural setting, and become intimately involved in the daily activities and processes through which the full participants go. From this insider's vantage point, the methodology suggests the researcher will be able to gather and understand data that cannot otherwise be gathered or understood (Jorgensen, 1989). The free flowing, situation-directed study looks to find the questions as well as the answers to complex human life phenomena rather than employ pre-suppositions about what has or is happening in that social context (Wolcott, 1994b).

Participant observation may be considered as an oxymoron in one sense. The participant observer brings personal biases and conditionings to an often previously unknown way of life, with people whose lifestyles, language, and knowledge base varies widely from his own which makes it almost impossible to become a true participant and more of an observer on a critical learning curve. The definitions of the terms "participant" and "observer" exposes the opposing dichotomy and struggle to combine the two into a valid research methodology (Kvale, 1996).

Interviewing may take various forms of verbal interaction with full participants in the field of study. Interviews may range from opportunistic chats, spur of the moment questions, one-on-one in-depth inquiry, group interviews, and various ways of asking questions and learning about people. The idea is for the researcher to become as inconspicuous as possible and so resemble the full participants as to minimize the projection of herself as a nosy outsider. Interviewing becomes easier based upon the extent to which the researcher has effectively

infiltrated the culture, so that an interview does not appear to be so, but just another conversation with an accepted participant of the community (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This is not to suggest the researcher surreptitiously gather information, but to intimate that more informal conversation tends to get to the real heart of what is desired to be known from an ethnographic study. Formal interviewing tends to get answers that are often not true to life, and more of what the interviewee thinks the inquirer wants to hear (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Validation

Three strategies have been chosen to validate the study. These are peer review, member checking, and triangulation. Peer review or debriefing provides an external check of the research process (Ely et al., 1991; Erlandson; et al., 1993; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam 1988), much in the same spirit as interrater reliability in quantitative research. Lincoln & Guba (1985) define the role of the peer debriefer as a devil's advocate, an individual who keeps the researcher honest, asks hard questions about methods, meanings, and interpretations; and provides the researcher with the opportunity for catharsis by sympathetically listening to the researcher's feelings. This reviewer may be a peer, and both the peer and the researcher might keep written accounts of the sessions, called peer debriefing sessions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Peer reviews were conducted throughout the three years of data collection and analysis. The researcher was part of the OBK roundtable which had been heavily involved in designing and implementing a disaster response model with member churches and congregations beginning in 2003 and up until and after Hurricane Katrina. The collection process and the data were subject to peer scrutiny on a monthly, bi-weekly, or a weekly basis depending upon how close was the advent of hurricane season, or if the season had actually begun. The peer review group

was made up of ten professionals engaged in faith-based disaster preparedness and response work. All members of the peer review group were members of participating institutions or organizations of the OBK collaborative roundtable. Group meetings were sometimes held at the office of the American Red Cross, or at a local church that had reopened after Katrina.

In member checking, the researcher solicits participants' views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations (Ely et al., 1991; Erlandson et al., 1994; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This technique is considered by Lincoln & Guba (1985) to be "the most critical technique for establishing credibility" (p. 314). This approach, used largely in most qualitative studies, involves taking data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account.

According to Stake (1995), participants should "play a major role directing as well as acting in case study" research. They should be asked to examine rough drafts of the researcher's work and to provide alternative language, "critical observations or interpretations" (p. 115). For this validation strategy, the researcher might convene a focus group composed of participants in the study and ask them to reflect on the accuracy of the account. It is not necessary to take back to participants the transcripts or the raw data, but the researcher may take them his preliminary analyses consisting of description or themes. The researcher might want to get their views of these written analyses as well as what might be missing.

Not all narrators participated in the member-checking phase of the validation process. Transcripts were delivered to twenty percent or ten members of the participant group engaged in the formal interviews. These persons were asked to check for accuracy of what was contained in

the transcriptions. In all cases the members affirmed that the transcriptions were true to what they attempted to convey in the interviews.

Triangulation is a term borrowed from the field of navigation which can prove useful in establishing validity and reliability (Sapsford & Abbott 1992). It describes the process of looking at the same phenomena by using different methods. An example of triangulation would be to use participant interviews, observations, and peer checking to get three different perspectives of the same phenomena. In establishing validity, researchers generally use all or a combination of the following types of triangulation:

Data triangulation – using multiple data sources

Investigator triangulation – using multiple forms of observations

Theory triangulation – viewing from multiple theoretical perspectives

Methodological triangulation – utilizing multiple research methods

This research sought to validate the data using triangulation as a method.   Analysis of the formal and informal interviews, observation, and focus groups were used as one means of triangulating for validity of the data by cross checking the data against each collection method, i.e., surveys, interviews, focus groups and observations. Another form of triangulation was the use of peer reviewers and members of the participant group to check for credibility of the data.

In the instance of validating the data on the number of churches and which specific churches had returned to the city and resumed operations, through six different surveys, the data showed different findings. Through the focus groups and interviews with pastors and laity of various churches, errors in the data collected through the surveys were identified and corrected. Through the process of peer checking and focus groups, the data was determined to be missing a significant number of churches that fit the criterion upon which the data was being gathered.

This generated an awareness of what the researcher and his peer group came to call "invisible churches." In this example, triangulation helped to validate the data by exposing discrepancies in the data collection. Triangulation can be a valuable methodological tool to validate data findings, as was done here, and to validate other aspects of the research such as analysis and conclusions.

On the other hand, Triangulation as a form of validation has been criticized as not necessarily giving a full picture of the phenomena being studied (Silverman, 1993). This view is held by some primarily because the aggregation of data or data sources can be problematic (Schwandt, 2001), and will not necessarily produce a complete or accurate picture of what is being studied. Different sets or types of data may be just as important and illuminating as observing the same data from various perspectives (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

Research Questions

The African American faith community was a vital part of the support network of thousands of poor, African Americans living in New Orleans pre-Katrina. As a whole the Black Church in New Orleans had marginal strength to deliver social services to those depending upon it to help sustain them. The literature revealed, pre-Katrina, New Orleans had a population that was predominantly African American living at or below the poverty line. New Orleans was a poor city which the membership of African American churches reflected. A set of circumstances dating back to the 1950's, beginning with school desegregation, left the city economically deprived and nearly 70% black in August 2005.

The importance of a viable faith-based network to help meet the needs of poor African Americans in New Orleans is a concern in this study. Therefore question one is, "What social vulnerabilities and barriers contributed to the magnitude of devastation and suffering

experienced by the faith community in New Orleans during and after Hurricane Katrina, which still exists, and how is the church turning these vulnerabilities into resiliency and sustainability? The second question is, "How did the social constructs of race and class contribute to these vulnerabilities; and are they continuing to present challenges and barriers? The third question is, "What strategies has the Church employed to facilitate its recovery; how have local and national institutions of faith helped the recovery of the city; and how have they helped decrease vulnerabilities and increase resiliency and sustainability? The fourth question is "What might the churches do to increase their capacity as an affinity group against future disasters?; and what can the churches do to combat the effects of racism, economic disparity, and social injustice?"

Role of the Researcher

The use of qualitative methodology as a research tool can be complex for the researcher because there is the tendency to interject one's personal biases, values, and judgments into the research process (Creswell, 2003). Part of his role as the researcher is to be aware of, state, and guard against interjecting his personal biases, values, and judgments into the research process. This is particularly important since the researcher is a member of the participant group as well as an observer. It is important to address researcher subjectivity in all phases of the research in order to provide a reader with pertinent information to help determine the credibility of the findings (Miles and Hubermann, 1994). As a participant observer, the researcher is aware of the biases, values, and judgments that he brings to this research project, most of which are shared with the target group under study.

The researcher is an African American. As such, his upbringing and experiences have formulated patterns of observation and thinking that are keen to recognize and abhor evidences of racism. He was born at a time when Jim Crow laws were still in effect, and racial

desegregation of public schools was making its debut on the American landscape. He experienced having to sit at the back of the bus, moving "For Colored Passengers Only" signs and taking a seat behind a screen that was little more than 4 inches by 15 inches. He drank from separate water fountains, patronized establishments through the back door, and was forbidden to patronize some public places entirely because of his skin tone. He was made to believe there were some professions into which black people could not enter or for which they were not suited. Because of the racist ideologies and practices that worked throughout his life, his values, biases, and judgments as an African American would likely be viewed through a critical race lens; and his tendency would likely be to sympathize and empathize with African Americans whose lives are still victimized by racism in 2008.

Like most African Americans, the researcher was born into a poor family and systemically victimized and relegated to an economically meager existence most of his life. He knows what it is to be poor, and what it feels like to be in need of basic necessities and live in inadequate housing. The researcher knows the humiliation of standing in long lines, having to give one's life history to get just enough food stamps to last three weeks out of the month, and make it the best way one can the rest of the month. He knows the struggles of the Black church; the struggles his black church and para-church organization have had with trying to keep their institutional noses above the waterline to keep from drowning economically while their white counterparts were able to raise enough money in one year to completely fund their ministries, salaries included, for two years. The researcher knows what it is like to be called upon for ministry expertise and expected to give it as a volunteer while he and the ministry suffered financially.

The researcher's religious and theological bent was shaped early in his life, beginning at age ten, by the black Protestant church, in which, at the age of thirteen, he began a lifetime of service as a Sunday school teacher, a Baptist Training Union leader, an usher, a junior deacon, a street evangelist, an ordained minister, and a pastor. The church in which he serves as senior pastor has been a part of the Southern Baptist Convention almost since its inception. As an African American pastor of a church in a predominately white denomination, the researcher has experienced what he is certain were racist inspired policies and practices, though such incidences are in decline and intentional efforts have been made to eliminate race-based discrimination. The church the researcher serves is the only African American church, and the only Southern Baptist Church in his Mid-city neighborhood; and it is the only church in the area that has not been restored and reopened since Katrina. His congregation is about one fourth the size it was pre-Katrina. His experience is that of approximately 50 percent of African American churches in New Orleans still struggling to rebuild their facilities and congregations over three years after the storm, and having to hold services in another church's building.

The researcher is also a Katrina evacuee and survivor. He evacuated early before the hurricane struck the city. His experiences are similar to those expressed in the interviews of many of the participant group. He and his family have moved a total of nine times since the Hurricane. Some of those times he and his family lived with people who were not family or close personal friends. He even moved back into one of the public housing developments at the gracious invitation of the resident manager who learned of his need in March 2006 until a FEMA trailer arrived in May. For the next two years the researcher learned to use every inch of space in the small living quarters provided by the FEMA trailer. Finally, he experienced having to pack up and leave the trailer for more than a week under the threat of another killer storm. To

say it's been an ordeal would be an understatement.   His inclination as a participant observer would be to read ahead of, and into the experiences being reported by other participants.

To avoid the intrusion of researcher biases into the research process, the researcher consciously divorced himself from his experiences as a participant, and focused more on being an observer. He adhered closely to the interview script, asking only the open-ended questions and avoiding entering into a conversation with his own experience in order to avoid leading the narrator into a direction they would not have otherwise taken. The researcher focused on listening and taking field notes as the tape captured the details of the responses.

Ethical Considerations

Throughout all phases of the research process, the researcher must be sensitive to ethical considerations (Creswell, 2007). This is important when attempting to gain access into the field of study. Rubin and Rubin (1995) caution and strongly suggest that investigators continue to consider and assess their ethical obligations throughout the study. Members of the target group must be allowed to make informed decisions about their participation in the research study and be free to withdraw from it at any time.   They must also be given the right to refuse the use of any data gathered from them about which they are uncomfortable after divulging such information. This is done to protect them from unnecessary risks (Creswell, 2007, Patton, 2002).

During all phases of this study, the researcher was careful to protect the rights of the participants under study in several ways. Each participant was given a verbal introduction to the study and what their role in it would entail. They were told that the interviews would be taped and transcribed and kept confidential. They were informed that they could receive a copy of the tape and transcription if they desired, and could object to the use of any material contained therein that they later judged they did not want to be used in the study. Generally, interview

tapes were not labeled until after the transcription, and only initials were used to identify

participants in the transcriptions. Participant initials rather than their names were used in tables

and charts, and never used in writing of the report to ensure anonymity.

Data Collection

The data collection process was conducted over a three year period beginning in early

September 2005 and lasting until October 2008. Various methods were used to gather the data

including formal and informal interviews, focus groups, surveys, and interviews.   Data

collection began with surveying post-Katrina church facilities to determine which congregations

had returned to the city and begun operations. At least six surveys were conducted throughout

the community. Survey instruments attempted to gather such information about the congregation

as the post-Katrina location and phone numbers of the church, the pastor's name and contact

information, whether the congregation was operating out of its pre-Katrina facility or using that

of another congregation, and with which denomination they were affiliated.

Two efforts were made by Total Community Action Faith Collaborative (TCA), two

were done by Operation Brother's Keeper (OBK), and two were completed by the New Orleans

Baptist Theological Seminary (NOBTS). Tables 2 and 3 show statistical data on operating and

non-operating churches in the New Orleans area by parishes at 12 and 20 months after Katrina

respectively. Table 3 shows operating and non-operating churches by denomination 20 months

after Katrina.

Table 2

WORSHIP CENTERS
IN THE GREATER NEW ORLEANS AREA
August 31, 2006 (12 months after Katrina)

Parish	Operating + Not Operating	Operating	Non-Operating
Jefferson	389	314 80.7%	75 19.3%
Orleans	786	370 47.1%	416 52.9%
Plaquemines	49	25 51.0%	24 49.0%
St Bernard	56	26 46.4%	30 53.6%
St Tammany	222	192 86.5%	30 13.5%
TOTAL	1502	927 61.7%	575 38.3%

(Day, 2006 – Table 2)

Table 3

WORSHIP CENTERS IN THE GREATER NEW ORLEANS AREA

April 30, 2007 (20 months after Katrina)

Parish	Operating + Not Operating	Operating	Not Operating
Jefferson	389	349 89.7%	40 10.3%
Orleans	786	447 56.9%	339 43.1%
Plaquemines	49	29 59.2%	20 40.8%
St Bernard	56	28 50.0%	28 50.0%
St Tammany	222	205 92.3%	17 7.7%
TOTAL	1502	1058 70.4%	444 29.6%

(Day, 2007a – Table 3)

Table 4: Worship Centers by Denomination in the Greater New Orleans Area – April 30, 2007 (20 months after Katrina

Denomination	Total Congregations	Previous Operating	Newly Operating	Not Operating
Baptist	654	344	63	247
Catholic	155	147	0	8
Non-denominational	129	74	11	44
Methodist	66	48	6	12
Church of God in Christ	54	14	12	28
Lutheran	38	34	3	1
Pentecostal	37	22	5	10
Presbyterian	35	30	0	5
Church of Christ	29	22	2	5
Assemblies of God	28	21	0	7
Full Gospel	27	14	2	11
Episcopal	24	21	0	3
Church of God	21	12	6	3
Jehovah's Witness	20	11	4	5
African Methodist Episcopal	17	9	3	5
Christian	13	9	0	4
Seventh Day Adventist	12	9	2	1
Holiness	12	5	1	6
Apostolic	10	4	2	4
Spiritualist	9	2	2	5
Jewish	8	7	1	0
Other	104	68	6	30
TOTAL	1502	927	131	444

(Day, 2007b – Table 4)

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Mapping Survey Data

The data was overlaid on a map of the city of New Orleans using Geographic Information System (GIS) software through the University of New Orleans Center for Hazard Assessment, Response and Technology (UNO CHART).   Renderings of the mapped data show the churches that were open and operating as of June 2008. Map 1 is a rendering of the data which was superimposed on a map of New Orleans to show locations of churches in flooded areas of the city.
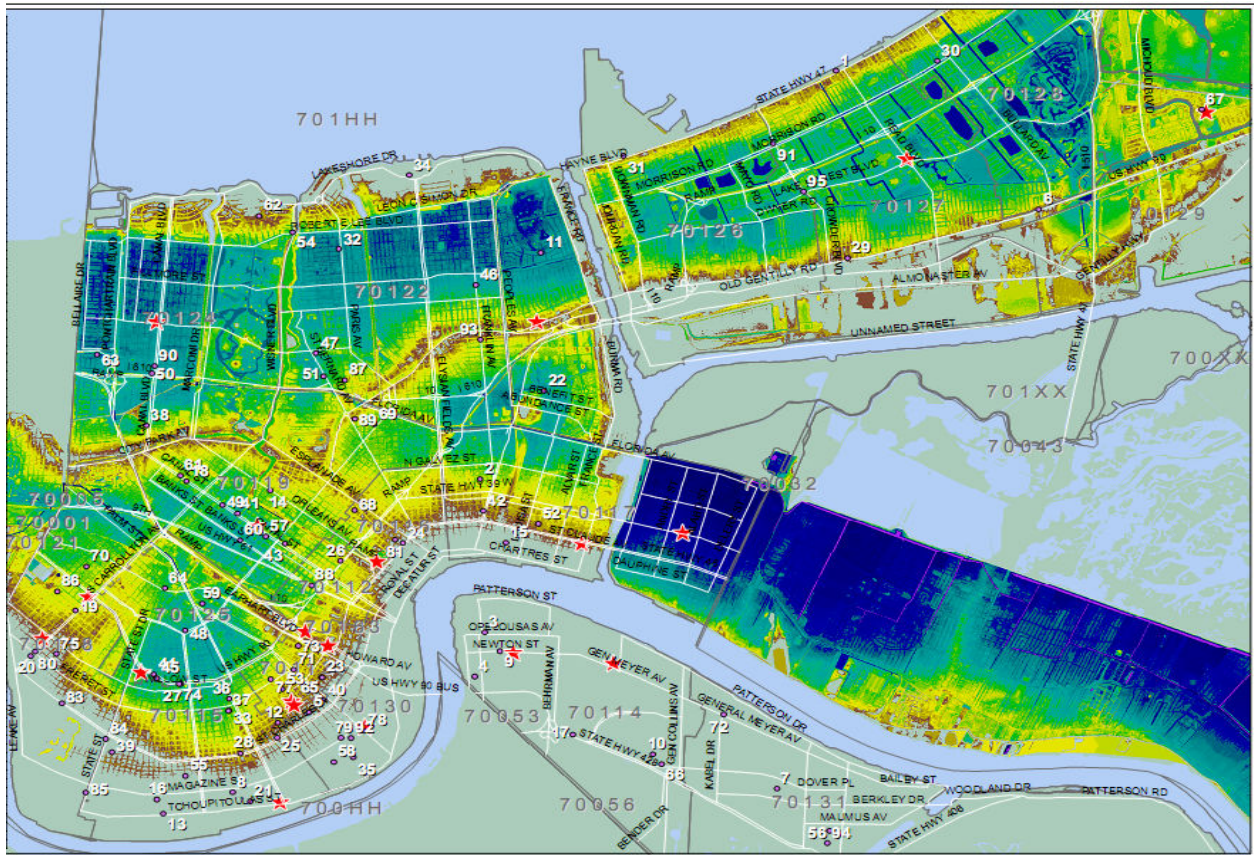
Map 1: Working Churches in Flooded Areas of New Orleans as of 10.20.06

Map 2 is the same rendering of the data showing the location of open churches by zip codes.
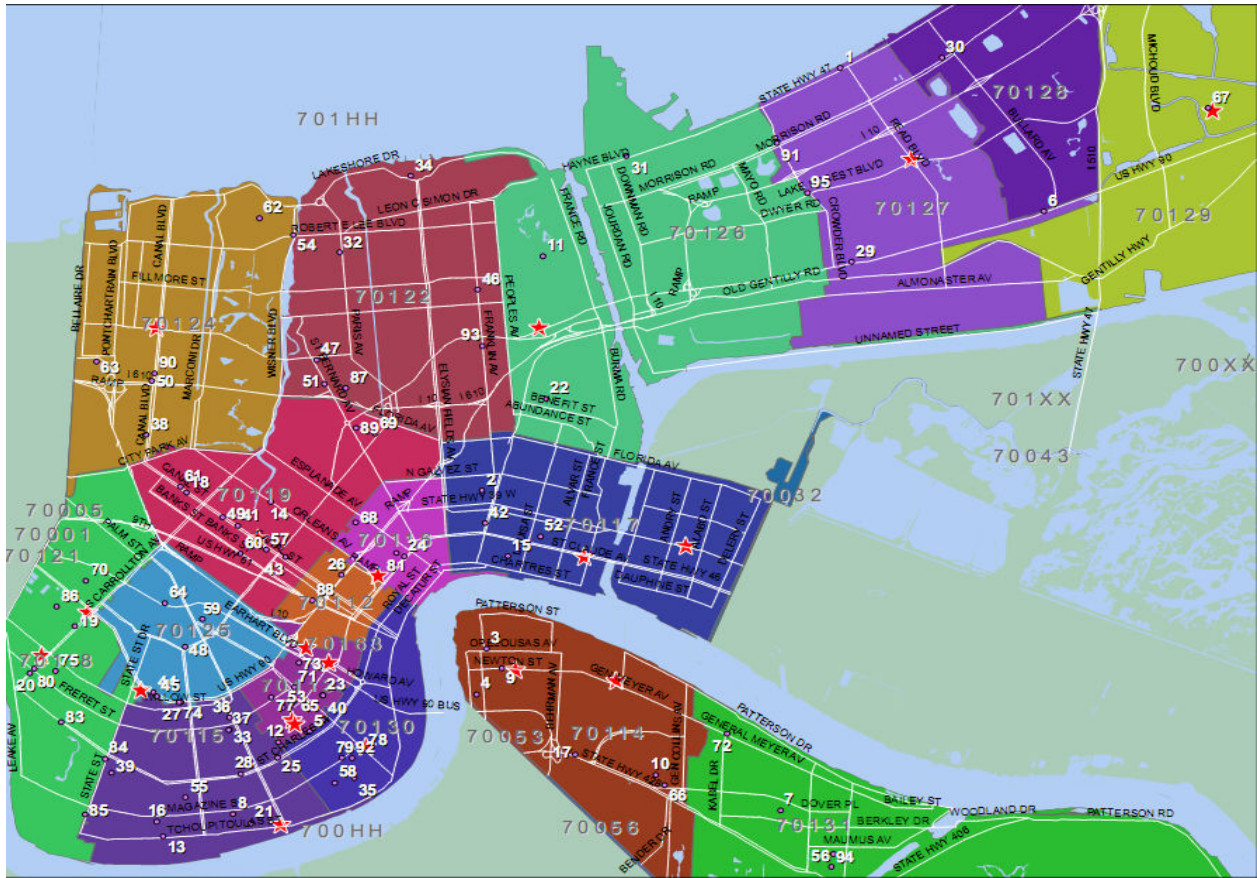
Map 2: Working Churches by Zip Codes in New Orleans as of 10.20.06

The maps reflect the first attempt to show graphically which churches were operating in the city. Use of the map led to the discovery of what the research team began calling, "invisible churches". These were churches that were back in the city and in operation but were missed in all the data gathering activities because they were not operating in their pre-Katrina venue.

Maps 3 through 7 show clustering of the churches by neighborhoods and in close proximity to planned evacuation pick up points for people needing assistance with transportation out of New Orleans in the event of future hurricanes. During the 2008 hurricane season the city had the opportunity to utilize and test the pick up point strategy when Hurricane Gustav threatened the area.

Map 3: Working Churches in Multiple Areas of New Orleans as of 10.20.06

Map 4: Working Churches in Central City as of 10.20.06

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Evacuation Pick-Up Locations

SENIOR CENTER LOCATIONS

1. Arthur Mondy Center
1111 Newton Avenue, Algiers

2. Kingsley House
1600 Constance Street,
Lower Garden District

3. Central City Senior Center
2020 Philip Street, Central City

4. Carrollton United Methodist Church
(Uptown Shepherd Center Senior Center)
921 South Carrollton Avenue, Carrollton

GENERAL POPULATION

5. O. Perry Walker High School
2832 General Meyer, Algiers

6. Stallings Community Center
4300 St. Claude, Bywater

7. Municipal Auditorium
801 N. Rampart, 7th Ward

8. Warren Easton High School
3019 Canal Street, Treme

9. Lyons Community Center
624 Louisiana Ave, Irish Channel

10. McMain High School
5712 S. Claiborne Ave, Broadmoor

11. Palmer Park
S. Claiborne and S. Carrollton,
West Carrollton

12. Mary Queen of Vietnam
14001 Dwyer, New Orleans East

13. Dryades YMCA
1924 Philip Street, Central City

Churches
SENIOR CENTER
GENERAL POPULATION

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS

Churches – New Orleans East

Map 5: Working Churches in New Orleans East as of 10.20.06

Evacuation Pick-Up Locations

SENIOR CENTER LOCATIONS

1. Arthur Mondy Center
1111 Newton Avenue, Algiers

2. Kingsley House
1600 Constance Street,
Lower Garden District

3. Central City Senior Center
2020 Philip Street, Central City

4. Carrollton United Methodist Church
(Uptown Shepherd Center Senior Center)
921 South Carrollton Avenue, Carrollton

GENERAL POPULATION

5. O. Perry Walker High School
2832 General Meyer, Algiers

6. Stallings Community Center
4300 St. Claude, Bywater

7. Municipal Auditorium
801 N. Rampart, 7th Ward

8. Warren Easton High School
3019 Canal Street, Treme

9. Lyons Community Center
624 Louisiana Ave, Irish Channel

10. McMain High School
5712 S. Claiborne Ave, Broadmoor

11. Palmer Park
S. Claiborne and S. Carrollton,
West Carrollton

12. Mary Queen of Vietnam
14001 Dwyer, New Orleans East

13. Dryades YMCA
1924 Philip Street, Central City

Churches
SENIOR CENTER
GENERAL POPULATION

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS

Churches – Uptown

Map 6: Working Churches in Uptown New Orleans as of 10.20.06

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Evacuation Pick-Up Locations

SENIOR CENTER LOCATIONS

1. Arthur Mondy Center
1111 Newton Avenue, Algiers

2. Kingsley House
1600 Constance Street,
Lower Garden District

3. Central City Senior Center
2020 Philip Street, Central City

4. Carrollton United Methodist Church
(Uptown Shepherd Center Senior Center)
921 South Carrollton Avenue, Carrollton

GENERAL POPULATION

5. O. Perry Walker High School
2832 General Meyer, Algiers

6. Stallings Community Center
4300 St. Claude, Bywater

7. Municipal Auditorium
801 N. Rampart, 7th Ward

8. Warren Easton High School
3019 Canal Street, Treme

9. Lyons Community Center
624 Louisiana Ave, Irish Channel

10. McMain High School
5712 S. Claiborne Ave, Broadmoor

11. Palmer Park
S. Claiborne and S. Carrollton,
West Carrollton

12. Mary Queen of Vietnam
14001 Dwyer, New Orleans East

13. Dryades YMCA
1924 Philip Street, Central City

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS   **Churches – Westbank**

Map 7: Working Churches on Westbank, New Orleans as of 10.20.06

The data collection revealed the difficulty in determining an accurate accounting of the number of congregations actually operating in the city. It also found that the surveys to document the existing churches turned up new emerging patterns within the black church community. These will be discussed as part of the findings in the last chapter.

As many as six congregations were discovered to be using the same facility at different times of the worship day. This discovery led to an attempt to get local radio and television stations to assist with obtaining more accurate information by requesting that they air an announcement informing the general public of this research project and asking for

representatives of operating congregations to call a designated number housed at UNO CHART. This strategy did not yield the results the researcher hoped it would.

Using the data already in hand and the researcher's professional contacts with minister colleagues, a list was compiled of about ten pre-Katrina churches that had established post-Katrina satellite churches in other cities as a means of keeping track and serving the spiritual needs of their congregants who had evacuated to those cities. Letters were sent to the pastors of these transplanted New Orleans churches requesting to speak at worship and Bible study services to solicit church members to participate in field interviews. Two satellite churches were visited in Baton Rouge.

This researcher helped facilitate and participate in three focus groups which yielded important information for this research. The first involved fifteen pastors of Katrina affected churches held at Xavier University in the early Fall of 2007. Each pastor was asked to talk about their pre-Katrina church situations, how the Hurricane affected their ministries, and what problems they were experiencing post-Katrina in trying to reestablish their congregations.

Two focus groups were conducted in conjunction with Operation Brothers Keeper (OBK). Participation in these focus groups included pastors and lay members. The first of these was held at True Vine Baptist Church in the seventh ward of the city and had fifteen in attendance. The second OBK focus group was held at St. John Baptist Church and had only eight in attendance. It was at the first OBK focus group that the discovery of the invisible churches was made.

Because of the researcher's status as a member of the target population, access was smooth. Letters were sent to pastors of targeted churches and congregations (See Appendix A) introducing the study and asking for their participation in the study and for permission to speak

to the congregation to solicit participants. The researcher made visits during church services of

targeted congregations where evacuees were known to be present. Permission was granted by

the pastors and announcements were made concerning the research study. Names and contact

information of individuals who were interested in participating in the study were recorded, and

the prospective participants were contacted and scheduled for interviews. Participating

congregants and pastors were asked for the names and contact information of others who might

be interested in being part of the study. These persons were contacted and scheduled for an

interview after an initial contact was made by the referring participant.

Forty-nine formal interviews and thirty-one informal interviews were conducted across a

seven month period with clergy and laity in Baton Rouge, New Orleans, and Houston. The

formal interviews were taped, transcribed, and the responses put into a matrix for ease of

ascertaining findings and doing analysis. Field notes were made from the informal interviews

and incorporated into the matrix. Two lists of interview questions were formulated; one for

pastors and one for congregants though there were only slight variations in the two lists of

questions. The interview questions attempted to ascertain the experiences of evacuees from the

time they became aware of Katrina to the state of their lives and ministries after the water

subsided.

"The format of the interviews was open-ended and nearly always began with the

evacuation story. We have found that beginning with the evacuation experience provided the

touchstone for the rest of the interview, the chronology of the experience that leads to the

present" (Jenkins, 2008). They were conducted in a variety of sites from church corporate office

facilities on weekday evenings after work, to church sanctuaries after Bible study, restaurants,

coffee shops and participants' homes. The site selection was the choice of the participants. All

of the interviewees were African American except one white pastor of an African American congregation in the Central City area of New Orleans. There were thirty-one formal and nineteen informal interviews with male informants and eighteen formal and twelve informal interviews with female informants ranging in age from nineteen to eighty-two.

This was a snowball sample which included eighty participants. Any participant who was African American, an evacuee from New Orleans due to Hurricane Katrina, and a pastor or congregant of a New Orleans congregation was eligible to be selected to participate in the study. All but two interviewees fit these criteria. One was an eighty-two year old officer of a church in Baton Rouge that was selected because of the extraordinary work performed in assisting evacuees and providing transportation for medical personnel daily using the church bus.   The other was a white pastor of a black congregation in Central City who has a long history of pastoral service to the black community. No intent or attempt was made to select a certain number of participants with respect to gender, age or social status. After the data gathering phase was completed, the number of formal interviews totaled forty-nine and included twenty-two congregants, of which eight were males and fourteen were females; and twenty-seven pastors, twenty-three of which were males and four were females. The selection sample for informal interviews totaled thirty-one; nineteen of which were males and twelve were females.

Observation of the participant group was carried out in a wide field of local, state, national, and one international setting. Specific settings included additional settings including amusement venues; local community meeting venues; and local, state and national Baptist convention venues. Besides New Orleans, the field extended into several other cities including Baton Rouge, Lafayette, New Iberia, Houma, and Mandeville, Louisiana; Houston, The Woodlands, and Spring, Texas; Atlanta and Smyrna, Georgia; Louisville, Kentucky; and

Montego Bay, Jamaica.   The specific events at which observations were done included twice

weekly church services, gatherings of family and friends, a couple of weddings and receptions,

several funerals, local pastor's coalition meetings, local community meetings and events, local

Baptist Association meetings, state and national Baptist Convention meetings, business

meetings, phone conversations, and email exchanges. Field notes were taken during or at the end

of each event and files were created for the events.

Each interview was recorded on cassette tapes for later transcription and analysis.   The

formal interview tapes were transcribed verbatim to capture as much of the thoughts of the

narrator as possible. Transcripts were checked for accuracy by reading and listening to the tapes

simultaneously. Field notes were taken during the interview process and in other participant

observations to gather qualitative data that could only be obtained through sensory perceptions

and which a tape recording could not capture. These types of data included the mood of the

participants, non-verbal language such as body mannerisms and facial expressions, tone of voice,

and expressed emotions. Field notes tend also to be analytical as well as descriptive because

they are useful in helping to determine patterns emerging from the data (Glesne, 1999).

Summary of Data Collection

Data collection varied widely through the review of six surveys, forty-nine formal and thirty-one

informal interviews, observations, and three focus groups. With few exceptions, the participants

who were the subjects of the data gathering phase included persons who were African American

evacuees from New Orleans due to Hurricane Katrina, and who were people of faith and

members of Protestant churches and congregations in New Orleans pre-Katrina. Verbatim

transcriptions were made of audio tape recordings and the transcripts checked for accuracy by

reading them and listening to the tapes simultaneously. The following section describes how the data were analyzed.

Data analysis in qualitative research is a tedious, cognitive process of organizing and reviewing the data multiple times to ascertain recurring patterns and themes to interpret the data (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The data from this study was analyzed by means of an iterative process utilizing audio taped interviews, typed transcripts, and field notes and journaling. After transcription of all audio tapes was completed, the transcripts were read while listening to the audio tapes to verify the correctness of the transcripts. The transcripts were read again to identify patterns of thinking and topics.

Key words and phrases were written in the right margins of the transcripts to help with formulating coding categories. Coding is an analytical process where labels for assigning units of meaning to the interview text are compiled and given meaning (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The data was then organized by responses to interview questions and put into a matrix with all participant responses to the same question in separate matrices (See Appendix B). This process generated 24 matrices of congregant responses and 16 matrices of pastor responses.

Field notes were added to the matrices in the same manner as transcribed responses. Since the matrices were in a form similar to a computer spreadsheet, finding key words and phrases, recurring themes, and emerging patterns was simplified using the search command. The data were coded based on Creswell's (2007) Template for Coding and Ethnography (See Figure 1).

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │ Cultural Portrait of │
                        │         the         │
                        │    Black Church     │
                        └─────────────────────┘
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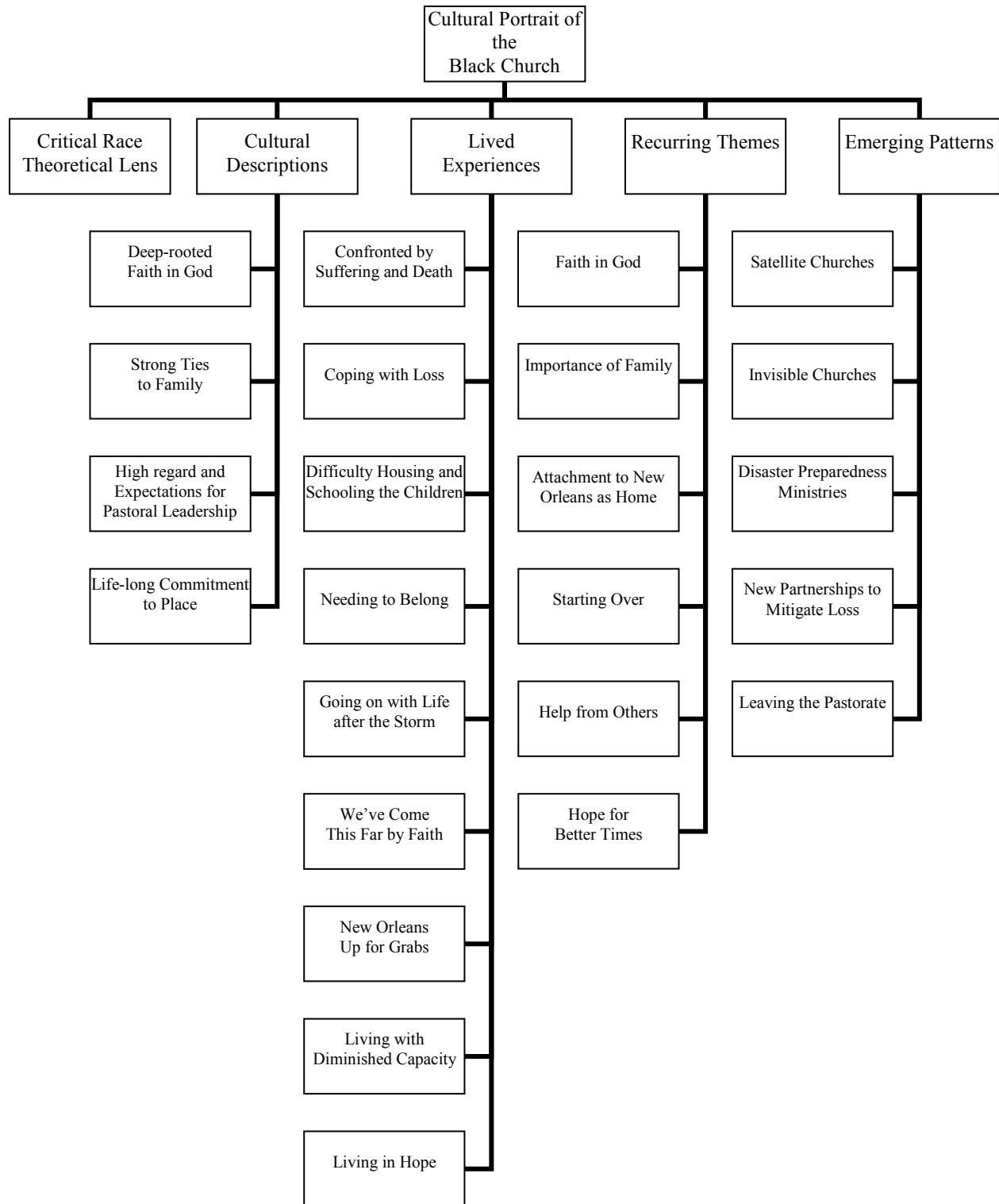| Critical Race Theoretical Lens	Cultural Descriptions	Lived Experiences	Recurring Themes	Emerging Patterns
Deep-rooted Faith in God	Confronted by Suffering and Death	Faith in God	Satellite Churches	
Strong Ties to Family	Coping with Loss	Importance of Family	Invisible Churches	
High regard and Expectations for Pastoral Leadership	Difficulty Housing and Schooling the Children	Attachment to New Orleans as Home	Disaster Preparedness Ministries	
Life-long Commitment to Place	Needing to Belong	Starting Over	New Partnerships to Mitigate Loss	
	Going on with Life after the Storm	Help from Others	Leaving the Pastorate	
	We've Come This Far by Faith	Hope for Better Times		
	New Orleans Up for Grabs			
	Living with Diminished Capacity			
	Living in Hope			

Figure 6: Template for Coding an Ethnography. (Creswell, 2007)

Whenever a response was identified which reflected the critical race theoretical lens in a

search, the code CRT was assigned in the left margin of the chart. The same was done for

descriptions of the culture (code DC), emerging patterns (code EP), recurring themes (code RT), field issues (code FI), and interpretation or meaning (code IM) were assigned. These codes helped to facilitate discovery of frequently recurring responses in the data that might provide answers to the research questions.

As part of the iterative data analysis process, answers to each interview question were grouped together so that all responses to individual interview questions could be analyzed. This process was used to compare the codes developed with each data set and to ensure that all data were included in the analysis process. For each interview question, participants were assigned a different color which enabled easy distinction between individual participant responses. The codes from both interview formats, the congregants and the pastors, were developed or expanded, and refined or combined throughout the data analysis process. Following the development of coded data, similar chunks of data were combined, condensed, and examined to further identify emergent patterns and recurring themes.

<div align="center">Trustworthiness</div>

Trustworthiness refers to the degree to which the findings are accurate, valid and believable. Patton (2002) suggests replacing the quantitative imperative to be objective with an emphasis on authenticity or trustworthiness by being "balanced, fair, and conscientious in taking account of multiple perspectives, multiple interests, and multiple realities" (p. 575). Lincoln and Guba (1985) identified four criteria that can be used to judge the trustworthiness of a qualitative study: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Trustworthiness was offered as a substitute concept for validity and reliability by Lincoln and Guba (1985). They developed specific procedures, which they considered more appropriate in qualitative studies

than traditional methods of validation.   Trustworthiness refers to the quality of an investigation as judged by these four criteria.

Credibility in qualitative inquiry is parallel to internal validity in quantitative studies. This criterion can be met by providing assurances of the fit between participants' views of their experiences and the researcher's reconstructions and representations of those views (Schwandt, 2001). Often the iterative and inductive-deductive nature of any given qualitative research strategy can provide assurances of the fit between the raw data and what emerges as the research findings. Credibility requires that the researcher adopt a neutral stance and remain true to the multiple perspectives, interests, and realities as they emerge (Patton, 2002). Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe credibility as "truth value" (p. 95). Patton further notes that credibility depends on the richness of the information gathered and the analytical abilities of the researcher.

Credibility can be enhanced through multiple data collection and triangulation procedures. Triangulation refers to the multiple crossed references of the data that the researcher employs to increase the trustworthiness of the conclusions. In this study the researcher attempted to ensure credibility by staying as neutral in the review and analysis of the interview transcripts, in his field notes, by acknowledging researcher biases, and through feedback from the peer reviewers.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the researcher explore whether the research conclusions make sense, whether the conclusions adequately describe the research participants' perspectives and perceptions, and whether the conclusions authentically represent the phenomena being studied. As stated above, to increase the credibility of this study, interview transcripts, field notes, and peer debriefing were used in an effort to triangulate the data.

Transferability is parallel to external validity in quantitative studies and describes the extent to which the research findings can be applied to other situations or settings (Field and Morse, 1985). To allow readers to evaluate the transferability of a study the researcher must provide a thorough and detailed description of the research findings. Transferability is the ability of findings from one setting to be applicable to another setting (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). In the naturalistic paradigm, transferability depends on similarity of contexts. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that the researcher cannot determine transferability, but that transferability is the responsibility of the reader to determine if the findings are applicable to a new situation. Transferability is enhanced when results are connected to theoretical frameworks and when the participants represent diverse perspectives and experiences (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Transferability is also strengthened by the contribution of peer debriefing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Transferability was enhanced in this study through the analysis and presentation of details of participant responses that reflect the experiences of oppressed people in other circumstances and conditions. The interpretive lens of critical race theory lends itself very well to themes of oppression of any kind

Dependability refers to the researcher's responsibility for ensuring the research process was logical, traceable and documented, while confirmability is concerned with establishing that the data and subsequent interpretations are not merely figments of the inquirer's imagination (Schwandt, 2001). Dependability promotes consistency in both the research process and product (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Attention to the relationship between the conceptual framework, interview protocol, data collection and analysis facilitated the dependability of the study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The researcher used the conceptual framework throughout the study to give

direction and focus. Additionally, he clearly described his role and position in the research process.

Confirmability is evident if the conclusions of the study exist due to the quality of the inquiry as opposed to the researcher. Confirmability both determines how well the findings are a reflection of the data collected and involves a level of objectivity (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Patton (2002) suggests "empathic neutrality" whereby the researcher is "interested and cares about the people in the study, but neutral about the content of what they reveal" (p.569). In an effort to increase confirmability, the researcher recorded his thoughts, feelings, ideas, perceptions, biases, assumptions, and judgments that emerged during the interviews, transcribing, data coding and analysis, and peer debriefing.

Auditing is another useful procedure for establishing both dependability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In all research an audit trail of the research process should be established. An audit trail consists of tools for data collection, the raw data, personal notes, memos, and documented procedures for analyzing the data and generating theory. The researcher maintained as much as possible all tools used in the data collection process. However, he suspects some audit tools were lost or misplaced as a result of moving his residence nine times post-Katrina.

Another process called 'reflexivity' can assist in establishing an audit trail. Reflexivity is concerned with the researcher's responses to the various stages of the research process (Sapsford and Abbott, 1992). Reflexivity is a form of self-monitoring, a form of data analysis, and a further method of establishing credibility by showing others that the researcher's interpretations of the data are reasonable. Qualitative researchers often keep a field diary and file any notes,

hunches and ideas that arise during data collection. These activities contribute to the establishment of the audit trail and were part of the journaling activities.

Finally, the iterative debate between the data and the researcher's interpretations ensures overall trustworthiness in the final analysis. The researcher is in the powerful position of interpreting the data in whatever way he wants and in accordance with what matters to him. It is therefore important for the researcher to provide an explicit account of data collection, analysis and presentation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

In conclusion, efforts were made to address the trustworthiness of the data analysis for this study. The data analysis process was iterative, that is, coding was continually reviewed in light of the themes that emerged. Themes were identified and clarified throughout the analysis of the transcripts, field notes, journaling and discussions with the peer reviewers. Data collection and analysis were thoughtfully executed to ensure the experiences of the participants were accurately described. The next section will discuss the delimitations of this study.

Delimitations

Delimitations are used to narrow the scope of the study (Creswell, 2007). This qualitative study included interviews, focus groups, and observations to collect the data. It was delimited to persons who were African American pastors and congregants of black Protestant churches who evacuated from New Orleans due to Hurricane Katrina with two exceptions.

Summary

This chapter presented the qualitative research methodology for exploring the experiences of African American people of faith who were members of black Protestant churches in New Orleans and who evacuated from the city due to Hurricane Katrina. The chapter discussed ethnography as the method and outlined strategies for validating the data. The

role of the researcher and research plan, including methods of data collection and analysis, and a

brief discussion on trustworthiness of the date were also presented.

CHAPTER 5: NEW TYPES OF RESILIENCE AND RESPONSE

Introduction

Just before the 2005 Labor Day weekend, hundreds of thousands of New Orleans and Gulf Coast residents were uprooted in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Unfortunately, many of those evacuating from the impending danger, devastation, death, and destruction of the killer storm lived with several risk factors including poverty, poor health and limited education which made them more vulnerable to short and long term adjustment problems.

Hurricane Katrina was the proverbial "perfect storm" both literally and metaphorically. The magnitude of the disaster was produced by the convergence of pre-existing vulnerabilities in non-weather related circumstances and conditions of a political, social, racial and economic nature that combined with the meteorological conditions that magnified the devastation so severely. Three plus years hence, many families, institutions, and neighborhoods remain broken, fragile, and more vulnerable.

People and institutions are adjusting to a different way of life and discovering how to be more resilient in the long-lasting wake of a hurricane that passed years ago, but whose effects are still causing disruption in countless lives and churches, particularly in the African American community. The data uncovered many of these adjustments in the lived experiences of Katrina survivors as they struggle to overcome old and new vulnerabilities to become more resilient. Each of these lived experiences represents the state of vulnerability, the result of a vulnerable state, or a means of trying to turn vulnerability toward resiliency, thus helping to provide answers to the research questions.

This chapter discusses the findings from the data. The data sources included observation, formal and informal interviews, focus groups, field notes and a journal, and surveys. The

findings are clustered and presented in four categories to help make sense of the data and to offer answers to the research questions. The categories are (1) descriptions of the culture-sharing group, (2) lived experiences of the culture-sharing group, (3) recurring themes in the data, and (4) emerging patterns in the data.

The descriptions of the culture-sharing group were based upon the researcher's personal knowledge and experiences as a member of the group as well as observations and responses from the data sources. The lived experiences of the culture-sharing group are a representative sampling of the personal thoughts, feelings, and meanings about life after Katrina which occurred with relative frequency in the data.

Recurring themes were identified from varying responses of participants that were indicative of a commonly or widely experienced phenomenon of the culture-sharing group. An example of a recurring theme in the data is faith in God as a coping strategy.

Emerging patterns were defined as new trends occurring within the culture-sharing group that represent a major change from what was considered normal for the group pre-Katrina. An example of an emerging pattern in the data is the establishment of satellite congregations by New Orleans churches to address the needs of parishioners in evacuee cities. Each of these will be discussed next.

Descriptions of the Culture-Sharing Group

This is by no means the beginning of the story of African American people of faith in New Orleans, around whom this study is focused, but it is the beginning of a new chapter in the historical record of this intelligent, and resourceful people, whose struggles have long been discounted and whose contributions minimized. Unlike other immigrant groups whose entrance

into this country is documented and celebrated in the halls of Lady Liberty on Ellis Island, Africans entered the country against their will chained in the holds of slave ships.

The Atlantic slave trade was one of the largest and most elaborate maritime and commercial ventures in all history. Between 1492 and about 1870, approximately eleven million black slaves were carried from Africa to one port or another of the Americas. They were taken to work on sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton plantations, in gold and silver mines, in rice fields, or in houses as servants (Thomas, 1997). There can never be a celebration of such an ignominious episode in African or American history; there can only be a commemoration of the truth that cannot be denied. Celebrations of Africans in America center on the Emancipation Proclamation (Guelzo, 2006) and Juneteenth (Barrett, 1999). Through hundreds of years of slavery and decades of Black Codes (Smedley, 2007) and Jim Crow Laws (Oshinsky, 1996), African Americans have survived, and in some, yet too few instances, they have thrived.

This narrative has its setting in New Orleans during the summer of 2005. The city, by this time, had lost much of its prominence among America's urban centers, having declined economically and technologically, and losing population and industry to cities like Houston, Atlanta, and Memphis.

Deep-rooted Faith in God

The New Orleans that went unsuspectingly about its daily routines in the summer of 2005 was also unwittingly susceptible as an American city to become the byword for the worst natural disaster in its history. Also unsuspectingly going about its perceived God-inspired call and commission to service the needs of the nearly 50% of the city's population that lived at or below the poverty line was, by some estimates, nearly 500 African American churches made up of and supported by the very people they were trying to serve (Day, 2007a).

Religious and faith-based organizations have historically made up an important part of the social and cultural infrastructure of New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina. The numerous congregations represented a critical touchstone in the everyday life of most citizens. Local churches had a long history of supporting the community by addressing non-disaster related problems such as housing and poverty. In the year before the storm, predominantly African-American congregations through the Total Community Action Faith Collaborate added disaster preparedness to their educational plans (Phillips and Jenkins, 2008)

These were the people who lived in communities of concentrated poverty, working sometimes two and three jobs, earning minimum wages to make ends meet to care for their families. They were the servants at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in a tourist-based economy supporting those three and four rungs higher than they were on the ladder. They were too often the silent majority, loosely organized as a political body that had never realized their full potential. Surprisingly, they had, and still have little or no idea of the extent to which systemic and institutional racism has victimized them.

On any given Sunday, members of the African American faith community crisscrossed the city to get to churches in which generations of their family sang, prayed, read scripture, listened to sermons, shouted, and tried to live out their faith in the concentric circles of their influence. Phillips and Jenkins (2008) note,

> "People attended worship services routinely in New Orleans. People would drive to the congregation of their youth, a reflection of deep loyalty. Now, after the storm, people are driving from Baton Rouge, Houston, or Jackson to attend their home congregation in New Orleans" (pg. 1).

These churches were not only gathering places to give spiritual nourishment to people's souls, but they were social outlets, service centers, political forums, and community outposts to address all the other needs people might have. Although economically marginalized compared to

other denominations of Christian churches, the black church survived, thrived, and took care of its less fortunate flocks with its own resources, i.e. with money collected from its membership, and the time, energy, and effort of its own people.

What they had most of was faith in God, which black parishioners will readily tell inquirers, and even those who do not ask, "We've come this far by faith." Faith permeates black culture. It is how nearly all African American celebrities got their start, whether in music, sports, drama, or politics, the church played a significant role. White and Cone (1999) wrote:

> "The Black church is the flagship institution in the African-American community. Next to the extended family, it is the oldest continuous Black institution, addressing both spiritual and social needs. As a carry-over from their African origins, and also from slavery, Black Americans do not make rigid distinctions between secular and sacred. While not all African-Americans are active members, the Black church, with its overlapping extended families, touches every area of the community. From slavery forward, the Black church has promoted values of improvisation, resilience and redemptive suffering, connectedness to others, direct experience, and spirituality as the basic forces that connect events in this life and the world beyond. It is the Black church that has provided the spiritual beacon to help Blacks survive the strains of living in a racist society that attempts to keep them in legal, economic, political, and psychological bondage. The church has sustained African-Americans individually and collectively and has given them the strength to keep on pushing, to find meaning, and to creatively transform negative energy into positive accomplishments. Major Black businesses, educational institutions, and political movements had their beginning sin the basements and meeting rooms of Black churches. Prominent Black entertainers, among them Duke Ellington, Little Richard, Sam Cooke, Lou Rawls, and Aretha Franklin, began their careers in the church. Young people and adults learned public speaking, how to conduct a meeting, and how to initiate fund-raising drives in church" (pg. 53).

Three years past the harsh reality now known to the whole world as Katrina, survivors are telling their stories. Common experiences, common themes, new lifestyles, and never before imagined patterns emerge from their stories, but the one thing every storyteller has in common is that they are all survivors. Faith was one theme continually recurring in the narratives without asking a question about it. The answer to their ability to make decisions was rooted in their faith in God. The narrators all mentioned their faith and God in the interviews, but references to faith

were rarely separated from the rest of their lives, and only as one aspect of giving meaning to their experience. This reference to faith is embedded in their conversations, but does not diminish the other dimensions in their life such as family, friends, and work (Jenkins, 2008).

In this quote, the narrator (a 52 year old African-American) man talks about his decision to be in Baton Rouge—naming God and his job.

> but I…I trust in God you know and I believe in God. And I believe that you know that He was going to provide for us and deliver us out of what we had experienced you know. After we done lost everything and I was…and the only thing that you had was just the two or three outfits that we took with us. You know and I told her [his wife] I said, "I believe that the Lord going to deliver us, everything will be ok." You know -- and she just thought that it was it'd be a great opportunity to go to another state. I wasn't led to go anywhere else, plus my job was here. I wouldn't have to you know, pack up and find another job I told her.

Expressions such as the one above and that below of the respondent were almost always tied to a belief that God was in control and would ultimately work things out for the better. He continued…

> "Yeah I have high expectations. I'm always looking for a bright light ahead you know. I do not know where…where it's gonna come from but I try to keep a positive attitude on life and where we're going from here you know."

Faith in God has been and still is foundational to any strategy for survival, resiliency, and sustainability of African Americans. Dyson (2001) noted:

> "This truth is captured in a favorite scripture of black Christians, recorded in the book of Genesis in the Hebrew Bible, which in the Revised Standard Version states: "You meant evil against me; but God meant it for good." Besides reflecting a strong doctrine of providence, this scripture reflects a grass-roots strategy used by millions of black Christians to interpret suffering and evil. It is clear from such a strategy that black religious beliefs sustain black survival. A crucial function of the black preacher is to retell powerful stories of the oppressed who overcame opposition through belief in God (pg. 128)."

The characteristic of faith in God is foundational to the black church's ability to bounce back from the harshest of realities with which this population has had to contend throughout the years

of its existence in the United States. It is the first resource to which members of the participant group turn for resiliency and sustainability. The recovery of these churches, their pastors, and parishioners rests first upon a belief that God is greater than themselves and their circumstances, is in control of all things, and will exercise his authority and might to restore things to normalcy, if not make them better than before.

<center>Strong Ties to Family</center>

This connection to family surfaced throughout the interviews. Accounts tell of how Katrina induced changes in cherished ties to family and friends. Pre-Katrina, family units often included many extended family members. It was not uncommon to find three to four generations of a family living together in one house. Such was the norm for most of those interviewed. After the flood, these structures and relationships changed as family members were displaced in different directions, and made different choices about whether or not to return to New Orleans. One of the interviewees is living by herself for the first time in the fifty-five years of her life without having daily, face to face contact with her mother, daughters, or nieces. She lamented, "This is so different for me – to live alone." She would like her mother to come live with her in Baton Rouge, but her mom will not leave her New Orleans neighborhood. Consequently, she drives to New Orleans every week-end to pick up her mom and bring her to Baton Rouge for church (Jenkins, 2008).

In another typical story, family members are fighting about the Road Home monies for the family home. In this case, the family has gone to civil court to settle the matter. The rifts that might have been hidden or taken care of pre-Katrina are now played out in a much more public arena (Jenkins, 2008).

> But yet he [her brother] has been manipulating her [her mother] for 20 years and has never done anything. They say once you get another one [power of attorney] then that

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terminates the other. So we what we had to do get my other brother an attorney because my brother was not doing right by my momma. So we wound up having to get a lawyer. The judge had to give him temporary curatorship until we go to court. So now my brother who got the power of attorney underhandedly no longer has it as of two weeks ago. It took a year. Finally got a judge to hear it.

Because a multigenerational family structure is in fact the cultural norm in the black community, few African Americans put elderly members of the family into nursing homes. Katrina forced a change in black family composition where it became necessary to make the hard decision to institutionalize cherished elderly and infirmed members of the family. "Several narrators talked about having to put family members in nursing homes in Baton Rouge, where in New Orleans they had cared for them at home" (Jenkins, 2008, pg. 13).

Family ties and composition were affected in other ways as people moved in with family, extended family, or friends in an evacuee city. Often conflicts arose as a result of these new family constructs. One young female evacuee with two teenage children confided…

> I said it was convenient for me to be in my grandmother's house, but it was inconvenient in another way because I had two male cousins that are grown men but was used to having a woman come to the house to clean, and because I'm the woman living in the house, I told the woman that was coming which was another female cousin, you do not have to do this anymore because I'm here. Well I wasn't going to continue that because I was becoming little slave girl (laughs), so it was time for me to get my own space. Plus, I didn't want the influences [my children] that was around them to take my control from them, and that was another reason that caused me to veer out of my grandmother's house within the first 8 months after the hurricane and find my own home.

Although Katrina has forced some significant changes in family composition and relationships in the lives of its African American victims, strong family ties as an active and viable plank in the resiliency and sustainability platform of this culture-sharing group still remains, and will remain a highly valued and vital part of the culture. Another characteristic amply defining the African American life and culture is that of the lofty place the pastor enjoys in the community.

High Regard and Expectations for Pastoral Leadership

In the Black church historically and culturally, the pastor or minister is viewed by the congregation in high regard. Most black pastors work long, hard hours serving their congregations and meeting personal needs as well as spiritual needs that pastors of other races and ethnic groups do not have to because of the educational and economic status of their memberships.

The researcher's own experience as a black pastor is typical. He was often called upon to read and interpret official letters from government agencies, accompany parishioners' family members to court, and help handle the personal business of some members. He once served as power-of-attorney for an elderly member of the congregation. In his service, he went far beyond the duties of the normal power-of-attorney. The researcher managed her budget, paid the bills, took her grocery shopping, went to school functions for her two elementary and middle school aged granddaughters for which she was the legal guardian, and did odd jobs around her house.

Unfortunately, and even though it sounds unreasonable and irrational, many congregants do not like to know their pastors have problems and struggles like everyone else does. Were he to react or respond to struggles as other members of the congregation might, it would be viewed as a lack of faith on his part. He is viewed as the representative of God, and some congregants want him to act as though he is. If a pastor would openly admit to a sin or fault, it is highly likely he will be asked to leave the pastorate of that church. Pastors are somehow perceived as having strength that other humans do not have, and any display of weakness is viewed both by some ministers and parishioners as a lack of faith in God and moral failure. One well respected local pastor was asked to leave his pastorate after his wife shared a private matter to an assumed trusted friend who was a member of the church. Her confidence was broken when the friend told

someone else, who told someone else, and eventually she and her husband were

excommunicated. A local fellowship of pastors in Toronto, Canada occasionally gets together

for lunch to talk about issues peculiar to pastors. The following excerpt addresses how pastors

deal with the demand upon them to be superhuman rather than just human.

> "Today, we met in Markham and talked about sexual issues and pastors. One pastor talked about his experience in this area, and gave some suggestions about how to deal with the issue. One guy cut to the heart of the issue. If a pastor is struggling in this area, who does he turn to? In most situations, admitting failure means automatic dismissal. Where is the line? What is safe to admit? I don't want to reopen the debate from a month ago, but this seems to be the heart of the issue, at least in practical terms. There's not enough room to admit failure. Personally, I'm encouraged that more pastors are discussing this, especially in a conservative circle like mine. I hope we can make more room for pastors to admit not just struggling but also failure. Although many of you disagreed with me, I think that failure in some areas should be handled differently. Some failures will have a greater effect. Some failures will lead to a loss of employment, and that's not always wrong. Other failures will have a smaller effect. I hope we can get to the point in which a pastor can admit, for example, to having viewed Internet pornography, and be counseled and restored without necessarily being fired. We're not there yet, at least in the Fellowship, but I can dream" (Dash, 2004 Web Article).

During some interviews, as a local New Orleans pastor, the researcher` could tell when a

minister was masking feelings of hurt, grief, and doubt.   This is a learned response and defense

mechanism to keep others from knowing he is weak in some area of his life. Some pastors might

confide in another pastor who is a close personal friend, but for the most part, they just keep it to

themselves. Uneasiness appeared to come over some pastors when asked certain questions, the

answers to which would have revealed the ordinary human side of a perceived superhuman. The

quote below from a prominent middle-aged pastor began slowly and with pause before he began

to speak freely, but the conversation quickly moved from his hurt to his faith as would be the

expectation of his parishioners.

> "A lot of this can take a mental toll, you know sleep, a lot of things of that nature. For about 2 years…it took me 2 years to re…re…revamp my faith and strong senses and physical and my physical man was torn down…to shreds. I was emotionally whooped, I

was uh…I was restrained by not being able to do what I actually wanted to do and I was hurt. There was a lot of hurt, and I cried a lot because my emotions was twisted and I had to cry because crying was the most normal thing that anybody would do, looking at all that you worked so hard for was gone to ruin, knowing God's gon do it but still, you still human, and the human side of me came out. I felt like Jesus when Jesus cried because of the people uh…uh somebody died yeah Lazarus died and…and they wanted Lazarus to come back and they said, "Jesus this, Jesus that." So Jesus said, "Not that I do not believe but that you may believe." See he raised Lazarus for the people's faith to be lifted up and he brought em out of what they were into. He just wanted folks to believe, and I've learned through the years that if you just believe God and take Him to His Word, God'll bring you through stuff, He'll bring you through. And I found out that the more I think about it, the more it brings my mind back to where God brought me from, it just add to my buffer of faith knowing that God can make it, you can make it through the storm, that's what I'm saying."

Although many parishioners' expectations of their pastors are often high, the esteem and prominence afforded him in the community cannot be undervalued. His role as the leader among black slaves was even legitimized by white slave owners who wanted to use him to help keep the slaves in line through the teachings of the Bible. He was one slave taught and allowed to read so he could help ensure the docility of slaves and thus prevent any possible uprisings. Perhaps the practice of bestowing great honor upon black pastors and preachers by the congregation began because whites during slavery times gave it to him by default when they decided to use him as a role model and encourager of Christ-like humility.

Kirk Byron Jones (1989) gives us a clue in true black hermeneutical style as he expounds on the prominence of African American preachers and pastors.

> The roots of black preachers' prerogative and power are in the soils of African religion and American racism. The African reality of a holistic as opposed to a secular and a sacred life, the place of the Black church as sole as well as "soul" refuge during slavery, and the gift of oratory made the preacher the symbolic head and heart of his people. To understand the black preachers' lofty status among their own people and how they nurtured authentic participation with the majority on matters of public interest, one must understand how the black preacher has played the role of double agent or dual interpreter. Simply put, black preachers are socially bilingual. Their ability to communicate across racial lines and the cultural expectation that they do so has given them social and political clout disproportionate to their numbers (Jones, 1989. pg. 817)

In similar style, C. Eric Lincoln (1960) offers another clue to the prominence of African

American preachers in his criticism. He writes,

> The black Christian preacher is the white man's most effective tool for keeping the so-
> called Negroes pacified and controlled, for he tells convincing lies against nature as well
> as against God. The black preacher has taught his people to stand still and turn the other
> cheek. He urges them to fight on foreign battlefields to save the white man from his
> enemies; but once home again, they must patiently present themselves to be murdered by
> those they have saved. Thus, in an unholy and unnatural way, the "Negro clergy class is
> the white man's right hand over the so-called Negroes," and the black preacher is the
> greatest hindrance to their progress and equality (Lincoln, 1960. pg. 74)

The minister's role as leader of his people through centuries of political, social, and

economic struggles cannot be devalued. Undertakings, accomplishments, and advancements, of

African Americans as a people and their strength and viability of their institutions have not been

realized apart from the leadership, encouragement, and direction of black pastors and preachers.

He and the leadership he provides to the community is part of the answer to the questions this

study seeks to answer.

The final aspect of the culture-sharing group, linked with their relationships to God,

family, and pastoral leadership is their propensity to put down roots and "stay put". Ever since

the failed promise of "forty acres"; the mule was not that important; people of African descent

have sought to own land in America. The affinity and affection for the land was brought to this

country through the "Middle Passage" (Feelings and Clarke, 1995) en route to a soil with a

different look, feel, and smell than the soil of the mother-land. In the last segment, African

American propensity to stay where their roots are planted will be explored.

<div align="center">Life-long Commitment to Place</div>

Another of the more prominent cultural aspects of New Orleans, and especially that of its

African American citizens, is that native born New Orleanians tend to stay put; that is, they have

strong ties to the land, the neighborhood in which they were born, and the city itself. One of the

overall themes that emerged is the continued connection to New Orleans in the participants' understanding of place and home.

Strong ties to land are not apart from or without strong ties to family, extended family and friends. What makes the tie to the land so significant is that it is the place where the family roots are grounded. Their deceased relatives and friends are buried there, and the memories of the good times of life are in the air, the trees, and water there. Many evacuees have family and friends who returned to New Orleans and are involved in rebuilding.   We heard consistently about the difference between "living" in New Orleans and "staying" in Baton Rouge (Jenkins, 2008). This response from a pre-Katrina New Orleans tour guide gives his job as the reason he cannot settle in Baton Rouge, but travels back and forth to New Orleans.

> Well I had no other choice (laughing) for to make it work for me. Actually, as we speak, I'm still going back and forth from New Orleans to Hammond to work. I was working here in Baton Rouge but there's no job security here. And I was just talking to Johnny about jobs here doing different things here, and a lot of the time, people tell you that you are overqualified or they do not want to pay you what you make. And whereas also, in New Orleans they were paying $10 or $12 an hour in Baton Rouge they're still paying $6.

Responses such as this were prevalent among the interviewees. This attachment to place is part of the researcher's own experience. It plays out and is evident first in the neighborhood and then in city. The researcher was born in the Central City area of town near the Calliope Housing development into which his family moved when he was about five years old. He vividly remembers, even at that young age, of never wanting to move from his neighborhood. It was what was familiar to him, and that is where he wanted to stay. When his mother moved his brothers and him just three blocks away into the "Calliope", he was relieved that it was so close to the block where the family had lived when he was born; because he could still have contact with friends back in the 3300 block of Jackson Avenue.

The Calliope would be where the researcher would stay until he was seventeen years old, and even then he reminisces he could have stayed longer. While some were questioning why anybody wanted to stay in public housing projects, the researcher understood that it was home. His life's experiences were there. His friends were there. His memories of growing up were there, and his roots were there. After moving out, going to college and getting a degree, which most of his friends would never accomplish; and after graduation from Xavier in December, 1972, the researcher returned to the projects with a goal of doing what he could to make it a better place to live forthose who might never have the choice of getting out if they wanted to. Until its demolition in 2008, the researcher still frequented that neighborhood trying to help old neighbors to become more self sufficient.

Commitment to place is played out in the same way within the black church. It seems to matter little that the parishioners grow up, become better educated and more economically capable, they will hardly change churches. They will even remain in the family church if they become more educated than the pastor, whose sermons might not be grammatically and semantically sound, but whose wisdom they tend not to question.

As the researcher grew up in New Hope Baptist Church, which he loved dearly, he was proud that there were school principals, nurses, lawyers, and other professionals in the membership which were shepherded by a man whom he knew had less education than many of those he served. The researcher often wondered why they stayed, never questioned the pastor's theology, or the correctness of his biblical oratories. He later learned it was more the place than the person. Some families in the church boasted of as many as five generations; and one or two had six generations represented in the church with the oldest member being almost 100 years old.

One thing that was preached often, not as a sermon, but as a means of embedding into the psyche of the membership was the importance of owning land. "It's the basis of true wealth," the beloved pastor would always tell his congregants. It is a fact of life with African American churches to buy land for the continued expansion of the ministry. They buy as much of it around the church as they can possibly acquire; and because of the inordinate emphasis placed upon it, often at the expense of what the researcher perceived as deserving more of the churches energy and resources. The researcher remembers a time when he looked critically upon the practice as empire-building. Nevertheless, it is an important part of the strategy for long term sustainability of the church and the people it attempts to serve.

One local pastor in the Central City area of town shared that his church began acquiring land and houses around the church in order to help solve the problem of homelessness and the lack of low income and affordable housing for his members. Today they own more than forty pieces of property and a transitional housing shelter, all in the immediate vicinity of the church.

A pastor serving a lower ninth ward church, more than twenty years ago, began purchasing land around his church and eventually renamed the area Light City after the name of his church. In an informal conversation with the researcher, he shared that his intention was to provide housing ownership opportunities for his members to keep them close to the church building. Once this project started, he encouraged his members to buy in Light City.

The researcher concludes from these experiences and the cultural attachment to land or place that it is not simply based upon sentiment alone, but the desire to stay long enough to become the owners of it. Even public housing residents, with whom the researcher has worked all of his adult life, for years talked about owning the apartments in which they lived. The land then becomes a critical economic tool in the participants' ability to be resilient and sustainable.

Their attitude of attachment whether for sentimental reasons or as an economic development strategy, helps to answer the questions this study poses. With land there is always a foundation upon which to build, and even start over if that becomes necessary.

In this segment I have listed four prominent descriptors of the culture-sharing group, their deep rooted faith in God, their strong family ties, their high regard and expectations of pastoral leadership, and their life-long commitment to place. The four descriptors discussed in the data were those foremost in the minds of the people that told their stories after Katrina.

In the next section, the researcher explores eight lived experiences which frequently surfaced in the stories of the narrators. These experiences which have become prevalent in the lives of many narrators in a post-Katrina world are presented in a logical progression from their evacuation out of New Orleans to settling in new places and trying to start life over.

Lived Experiences of the Culture-Sharing Group

To say life after Katrina has changed would be a gross understatement. An African-American evacuee couple in their early fifties had lived in New Orleans all their lives. They worked three jobs between the two of them, and life was a struggle. Somehow, though, they managed to make ends meet. That was before Hurricane Katrina. An African-American single mother of four, also lived in New Orleans, had earned a General Equivalency Diploma (GED), and found a job as a deputy in the criminal justice system. She reminisces about it being the best job she ever had. That, too, was before Hurricane Katrina.

This section discusses the lived experiences of many congregants and pastors. The first of these lived experiences, being confronted with suffering and death, was a home (New Orleans) experience of those who did not evacuate in advance of Katrina's landfall, but who had to wade through the flood waters, wait on rooftops and bridges, and witness multiplied suffering

in the Superdome and Convention Center. This experience for many members of the participant group is directly the result of some of the convergent political, social, and economic vulnerabilities unaddressed in pre-Katrina New Orleans and which contribute to the high level disaster that it was.

<center>Confronted by Suffering and Death</center>

A common experience among participants was seeing suffering and death in ways not normally experienced in ordinary life. Most people's experience with suffering and death results from a sick or dying loved one or friend; and depending upon the neighborhood in which one lived, there might have been the sight or knowledge of some one who was the victim of a homicide. Katrina related suffering and death was different.

As those who remained in the city, either by choice or by constraint of circumstances, narrators reported when the water began to rise, there was the real thought of possible death especially by hydrophobic people or those who could not swim. In the immediate aftermath of the flooding, the sight of dead bloated bodies became tragically and frighteningly common, and many talked about neighbors or friends who had died during the storm. The researcher remembers coming back into the city to check on the church and parsonage, and having neighbors who lived across the street from the side entrance of the church tell his wife and him that they had found the young black guy, a suspected drug dealer who used to ride around the area on a bicycle, draped over a fence of the house next door where his body had floated and become lodged after he drowned.

The suffering experienced by participants came in many forms; including anxiety caused by separation, the uncertainty of 'not knowing' what became of friends and loved ones, and the concern over how these experiences would affect their children. A mother of four, who had to

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wade through flood waters on the way to the Superdome with her elementary school aged

children, recounts a part of her experience with suffering and death.

> "Once we got to Booker T. [Washington High School] it [the water] kinda like subsided it didn't…it wasn't low low enough, but it had gotten lower to where you know I felt kinda good about where we could kinda make it to. OK. Now mind you walking through this water we seen dead bodies, animals, all kinds of things, guns, the children even saw guns in the water and I'm trying to deter them from seeing it you know, I'm like "y'all look this way you know look at…you know we about to go to the superdome you know and here they go, "oh look at the dead body, look at the dead body", and I'm oh Lord I do not want them to see this, you know I do not want them…that's when I you know I started crying"

A local 44 year old Ninth Ward pastor reported that in hindsight he regrets not having made

better preparation for the safety and cohesiveness of his congregation. He stated…

> "The only thing that I wish I had done different was to have a congregational evacuation plan in place, an evacuation plan for all of my people so that it would not…you know it was stressful having to worry about where they were and how they were doing. I got a call from one of my members on uh Tuesday after Katrina hit saying, "Pastor, this is John. I'm on the roof of my house. Send help" and then the call goes dead. Uh I do not know…I didn't know for weeks what had happened to that brother."

Because of a vulnerable and broken system (See Appendices C and D), many did not get

out in time, and many suffered and died from drowning, dehydration, exacerbated pre-existing

medical conditions, homicides and other crimes committed out of desperation and opportunism

(Brown, 2005).

The New Orleans Agenda (Sylvain, 2008), a local internet news service, has kept a

running list of the Katrina-related deaths of people whose deaths are known or believed to have

been premature as a result of increased and unnecessary mental, emotional, and physical distress

(See Appendix G). New Orleans Health Department statistics show a 47% increase in the

mortality rate and a 50 % increase in the incidence of mental health crises by the end of 2006

(Stephens, 2007).

The suffering and death reported by the study's narrators are evidence of the underlying vulnerabilities in the political, social, and economic infrastructure that was cracked, fractured, and splintered by institutional and structural racism. Also directly and indirectly attributable to the vulnerabilities in the system and consequently in the lives of the most severely impacted is the amount of loss sustained from the Hurricane and the length of time it took to begin a recovery process. The experience of loss and how the participant group coped with it is next in this discussion.

Coping with Loss

The data indicated a wide range of answers and attitudes regarding how victims of Katrina coped with loss. The most common responses usually began by reciting the loss of personal possessions, some of which the respondents considered "just stuff" and others that were considered cherished and irreplaceable. Recitations generally turned to loss of family members and friends through displacement or death, many of whom were not found for weeks and months after separation occurred. Other losses, such as loss of employment, loss of personal health, loss of sleep, or loss of community were not ready responses until interviewers specifically asked about them. Once the definition of loss was expanded in the respondents' minds, loss of community, particularly loss of church family were revealed to be as important as loss of family and irreplaceable personal possessions.

The pastor of a Seventh Ward Baptist church related the following story about his personal and ecclesiastical losses and the means by which he and his immediate family and his church family coped with those losses. As will be seen in the story, the extended national church family came to the rescue providing money, materials and manpower to help put his mid-sized

church back on its feet and enable it to resume several critical programs it conducted in the community before the storm.

"Our home received only minor wind damage and no water damage, except for the lawn and the garden. We sustained the loss of the contents of our refrigerator and our freezer and the appliances themselves. The church did not fare as well. We sustained about three and a half feet of water throughout the church. We lost everything except the drums. We coped with the losses at our house by filing a claim with our homeowner's insurer. Eventually we replaced everything and got the lawn and the garden to come back. The church was not as easy. We received insurance checks for property and flood damage, but most of the money went towards paying off the mortgage on the church and another loan we had with our bank. What enabled us to bring the church all the way back was a phone call I received from the First Baptist Church of Athens, Texas. They called and informed that they had adopted me. They asked me what I needed and I told them that I had lost me car to the flood waters and that I was not receiving any salary. They sent me a check to buy another car and $2,000.00 a month to cover my salary. When I called them to inform them that my salary was restored, they wanted to know what they could do for the church. I told them that we needed a contractor to renovate the church. They asked me if I could obtain sheetrock. I told them that I could. The pastor (Kyle Henderson) called me and told me that he had some business to attend to in New Orleans and he wanted to know if it would be possible for him to take a tour of the church. He arrived on a Friday with two other members from the church, one of whom was a contractor. They surveyed the damage, made measurements and calculated the cost. The pastor told me that he was going to make an appeal to the church during both of Sunday's Worship Services. On Monday morning he called to inform me that 57 people had signed up to come to New Orleans to renovate the church. He divided these people into three groups. Each group arrived on Thursday around noon and left on Saturday around noon. The first group installed sheetrock throughout the entire church. The second group applied tape and mud to all of the sheetrock. The final group painted the entire inside of the church, striped the parking lot and painted the wrought iron fence which surrounds the church.

To some greater or lesser degree the story told above is the story of numerous pastors and congregations whose churches were affiliated with national denominations that were a vital part of the resiliency and sustainability for these victims of Katrina. On the other hand the stories of loss vary greatly and the types of losses surfacing in the data are just as varied. Generally, most losses can be categorized as people-related losses or loss of things. In the following stories and excerpts, clergy and laity alike help us get the sight, feelings, and a better understanding of the loss that is part of the lived experiences of Katrina's abused children.

<div align="center">Losses of Things</div>

Bishop Lamb:
>*Clergy and Overseer of a small number of Spiritualist churches and resident the Upper Ninth Ward whose church was located near the Treme neighborhood*
>*<u>Loss:</u> Irreplaceable Books and Important Papers*

Well one of my greatest losses was like most of my books, uh…uh…religious sermons and tapes. I uh…it was like they was destroyed and um and of course it was devastating to lose years and years of stuff that I had even inherited from ministers that had passed on, and that was the greatest loss that I have. I think most of my books, but books of course…and it taught me something that I needed to have indexed better uh what I have… There were sermons and books that probably I'll never be able to replace because I'll never remember what they were, but…and my and my biggest loss was in that area, but my faith…how I dealt with it is I began saying that God has something better and I began to…you know…go…just lean to my faith and I found myself spending more time meditating and praying and giving myself to God in prayer, and fasting, and then I was trying…and caring about all the other people because I knew that eventually I would be alright.

>*<u>Loss:</u> Equipment Via Vandalism And Theft*

…the loss there was tremendous because we…I would say that that was $70,000/$80,000 loss with office equipment. Computers was taken and monitors was destroyed, and copiers was taken, different things was taken. All of the…some office stuff was strewn all throughout the building

Rev. Katts:
>*49 year old pastor of a Lower Ninth Ward Church of God in Christ (COGIC)*
>*<u>Loss:</u> Vehicles, Building, and Equipment*

After the storm we went back to try to salvage things, uh we was not able to salvage anything, vehicles, we also lost the building, uh instruments, things of that nature were not able to be salvaged.

<div align="center">People Related Losses</div>

Rev. Raff
>*Local pastor in his mid-fifties serving a Central City congregation*
>*<u>Loss:</u> Personal Health & Death of Church Member*

Mentally it was rough, financially it was rough, mentally, physically it was rough, played a toll on my body. Matter of fact I was hospitalized after the storm. Mentally it was rough because I didn't know the whereabouts of the members. Uh mentally I lost a member, one of the members died during the hurricane…

Rev. Dr. Phant
 Mid-thirties pastor of a UCC congregation in the Carrollton Neighborhood
 <u>*Loss:*</u> *Membership*

 Well damages in terms of personal damages, I lost my home, but in terms of the ministry, as relates to the ministry we lost some really great people who were motivated and instrumental in the beginning or developmental stages of our ministry but I believe that they were there for that purpose and that season, and that's the way God intended it. So even though it was a great loss in terms of human resources uh we know that God has His purpose and His timing so…and uh I thank God for all of them who were there in the beginning uh of Freedom Fellowship Ministries United Church of Christ.

Apostle Thomas
 Middle- aged Pastor of two congregations near the site of the Calliope Housing Project
 <u>*Loss:*</u> *Contact with Family and Friends*

 Well I lost of uh contact with a lot of family and friends. Some friends I probably will never see again and if I knew something like that would happen I may have got a little bit more information on em, stay in touch with them. A couple of members I haven't spoken with since the storm and uh do not know where they are unfortunately. Prayerfully they're in God's hand, I mean I would have handled that better, I probably would have gotten more information from friends and members, uh that's what I would have done better but you know of course disasters happen you know, depends on where ya live.

Mr. Major
 Tall slender tour guide in his mid thirties
 <u>*Loss:*</u> *Friends and Family to Death*

 I've lost, I've lost friends, I've lost friends and family since the hurricane. Uh, uh, a good friend of mine, Orin Smith, this is a picture of me standing near his grave…

Ms. Jones
 Single woman in her mid-thirties, caretaker of her invalid mother, and in a committed relationship
 <u>*Loss:*</u> *Both Legs of her fiancé*

and Fred is here, cos you know he lost both his legs so he's moved into a house here with his sister, My heart is really in staying here, and I've been playing the Powerball and playing the lottery and stuff, and hoping that I could rebuild my mom's house and honor her wishes and have enough money cash which sounds so unreal to buy a house here, cos a house is like $150,000 like that you know. That's a lot…if I could win just to get the five numbers that'd be enough right there to buy a house you know. Cos I can't afford to pay no rent, that do not make no sense, to have a house where you could live in it rent free, and then have to pay rent, that do not make no sense, that do not make sense. And I love Fred, so this is so this is really encouraging him also to get better faster and to wanna walk even more so cos he wants to be back with the family, with me too.

The true amount of loss can never be calculated. These narratives show a wide range of various kinds of loss, much of which can be attributed to several factors of personal, political, social, and economic vulnerabilities that exacerbated the devastation and resulting loss. Much of this loss sustained might have been avoided had pre-existing vulnerabilities been mitigated before Katrina's landfall.

Though there are others, one or two coping strategies were identified by narrators of these stories and excerpts from their experiences. For most of the narrators, faith in God was the primary means of coping with loss. This may be expected since this is a prevalent descriptor of the culture-sharing group as already discovered and discussed in previous chapters of this work. A second and more prevalent strategy surfacing in the data was that of receiving significant support from family networks, and national church networks. These are part of the arsenal from which victims of disasters may draw to help them bounce back as much as possible to homeostatic condition.

The ability to cope under extremely adverse conditions and circumstances is a first step toward intentionally working to mitigate vulnerabilities and turn them into resiliency and sustainability. This addresses the inquiries which ask what do members of the target population do to turn vulnerabilities into resiliency. Their ability to cope with loss is closely akin to the drawing upon their faith as the foundation of the target population's resiliency. The examination of the life experiences of the participants has progressed from confrontation with suffering and death in the city of New Orleans in the immediate aftermath of the storm to how the evacuees identified the losses they sustained and their mechanisms for coping with those losses.

The next life experience to be discussed focuses on the difficulty endured with finding housing and getting the children settled into schools to avoid as much disruption of their educational process as possible.

Difficulty with Finding Housing and Schooling the Children

A common experience among respondents regarding going on with life after displacement was the experience of difficulty in finding housing in the cities to which they evacuated. Though evacuees were dispersed to every city in the United States with the exception of Hawaii, the vast majority of evacuees traveled and settled as close to home as possible. The numbers of evacuees making Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Houston, Texas; and all destinations between their final stopping places to try to restore some degree of normalcy to their lives created logistical crises for the city managers of these places as thousands of people were trying to settle into housing and get their children into good schools.

By the time the masses of people, more than a hundred thousand of them who remained to ride out the storm, realized they would need long term living situations in other cities, most of the temporary housing arrangements in hotels, motels, and shelters had been filled by those who left before the storm. This required the opening of large venues like domed stadiums and convention centers in evacuee destination cities to accommodate escaping evacuees until more permanent housing solutions could be made.

A female narrator shared her experience being housed at a large venue in Baton Rouge Speaking of herself and others, she indicated that as people quickly became tired and overwhelmed with these arrangements, they began to leave shelters in search of permanent housing arrangements on their own. Some settled in with relatives and friends rather than be housed in massive dormitories in civic venues. These arrangements were relatively short lived

since by some reports as many as twenty and thirty relatives and friends huddled into small houses and apartments. Suddenly, for the first time in the lives of a mass number of people, they were truly homeless. It wasn't long before the rush was on to rent, and in some cases buy houses to begin life over in a new city.

For those who went further afield to Houston, Dallas, or Shreveport; or east to Jackson, Mississippi, Birmingham, Alabama, Memphis, Tennessee, or Atlanta Georgia, where there were fewer evacuees, there was more space, better accommodations, and greater willingness on the part of city officials and citizens to accommodate evacuees, making the search for housing and good schools less problematic. For those opting to settle closer to home in Louisiana, either by choice or by constraint of circumstances, the search for housing was extremely taxing, and often caused a quandary about whether to stay in the evacuee city or return to New Orleans and deal with the sludge and clean up.

The decision to stay in the new city or return to New Orleans to try to pick up the pieces, rebuild their lives and go on, in spite of the difficulty in finding housing in the new city depended to a great degree on whether the evacuee had school age children whose education was paramount in their decision making process.   A strong sense of needing to ensure that children were able to continue with their education surfaced often in the data. A middle-aged, single, nurse with whom we celebrated her birthday at a Baton Rouge restaurant after she knocked off from work, and was kind enough to give us the interview, expressed her frustration over her inability to secure housing after arriving in the city. She recounted …

> "So then the problem was once I got here was finding my own place. I was about to commit murder. I said, [if] one more person tells me I just missed a house, or it's not available but it's empty… (chuckling)… It's hard because you looking at a month after the storm. People realized they weren't going back. So the ones who came here weren't able to get something. Housing was just tied up. So there was nothing in Baton Rouge at all."

A young mother of four school-aged children with eyes tearing up as she reminisced about her family's situation, in an unbelieving tone of voice said,

> "My children are homeless, I work too hard, I work two jobs, I'm going to school, aint no reason I'm homeless, we homeless, literally, we are homeless."

The mother of an intellectually gifted and artistically talented teenaged daughter recounted the stressful situation with which she endured realizing that her daughter's educational career was in jeopardy.

> "…My daughter she had to relocate and she was a good student and um…tutor, a 3.5 student at McMain Magnet School and she was going to New Orleans Center for Creative Arts, she's a theater student, she was a dancer and she's got 12 years of dancing you know, she's got a really beautiful personality, and then she was very active and involved in church, in our church and I was too at Mt. Zion United Methodist Church. And I'm like, "What are we gonna do?" You know our lives are like totally uprooted."   I had to get her into a school here, you know I have to…"

In an interview with a fifty year old mother and her teenage son (we'll call them the Smith Family) a similar situation surfaced as that of the previous narrator. The decision she and her husband made to relocate permanently to Baton Rouge was based upon ensuring their son's education would not be disrupted even though they preferred to return to New Orleans.

> "Having some stability as John said. We had to be at a place where he can continue and graduate from high school. Even though it may not have been the city he wanted to be in. But after being thrust out the waiting book and losing everything that we had, completely everything that we had, my husband and I decided we would have to dedicate these years to make sure that John had everything he needed and that he was in a good school. He was somewhere where he knew he was going to be, that we wouldn't have to pop up and run anymore with him. We needed stability for him. We definitely needed that."

Fortunately for this family, they were able to purchase rather than rent a house, but finding a good school was the primary objective. Both were easier than finding a community of people into which they would fit and feel welcomed and accepted, and not be stereotyped as were most evacuees, particularly in Baton Rouge.

Consistent with Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1999) (See Figure 2),
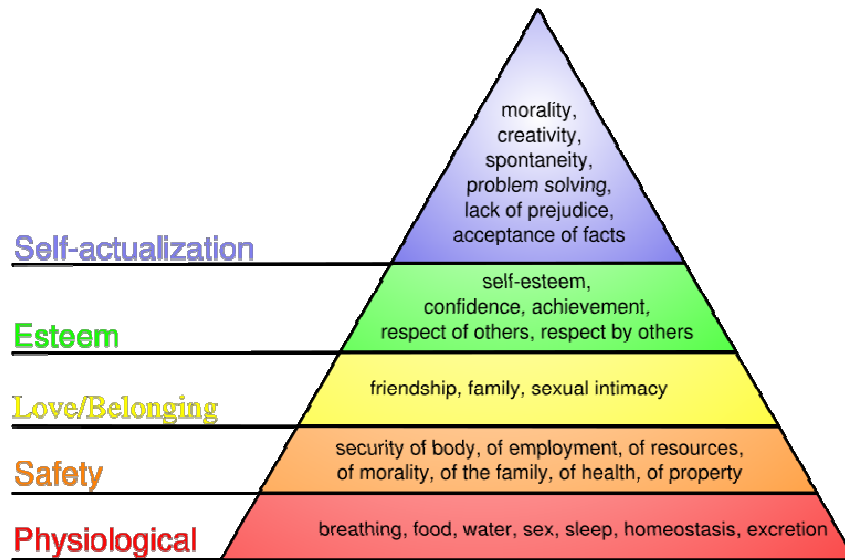
Figure 7: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

after fulfilling their basic physiological need for food, water, and shelter, and meeting their need

for safety, which having a permanent residence helps to ensure, the next thing the family sought

was to fulfill their need to belong, to love and be loved. Reference was made to the lived

experiences by many participants as they felt and perceived a disdain toward them by the people

of Baton Rouge and other cities to which they evacuated. This recurring lived experience will be

discussed in the next segment.

Needing to Belong

The Song of the Exiles
By the river of Baton Rouge, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered N'awlins. We hanged
our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us
a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Jazz. How shall we
sing N'awlins' song in a strange land?
Aberration of Psalms 137:1-4

Some interviewees reported experiencing negative and even hostile responses from

people in the city to which they evacuated, while others experienced a warm and generous

response to their situation and needs. Three respondents recount their respective experiences that

indicated two extremes of attitudes toward evacuees. From opportunities to observe and engage

in regular conversation with members of the Smith family [pseudonym] the researcher learned

about their feeling like intruders into a place where they were not wanted. Mrs. Smith tells part

of her story as follows.…

> "It was very hard. People didn't want us there. When I started looking I was looking by
> myself because my husband was traveling to New Orleans and one time I got so
> overwhelmed I just broke down and cried. And he said, what is wrong with you? And I
> said, "I can't stand it... I wish they would put signs up saying that we do not have any
> more room for you." It's almost like when Jesus was about to come, he also couldn't
> find anywhere to go. The people wouldn't let us sleep there. And my husband was so
> overwhelmed by me that he said, "I do not need you to go anymore. Let me go. Let me
> find a place." But as it turned out together we did find a place and they let us in. But
> before the year was up they told us we had to leave…"

Mr. Smith adds details and understanding not covered in Mrs. Smith's version of those

experiences. He remembers…

> "Uh…we uh…my brother he attends this church uh…I went…we came I think probably
> about a month later after we was here, we started coming to this church and we never
> really told anyone that we was from New Orleans in the Katrina situation because
> we…I…we didn't believe that…we started experiencing uh…hostility from people once
> they knew you was from New Orleans and so I just told my wife that you know we won't
> tell anybody we're from New Orleans because you know people look at you that you
> coming to be poor mouthed, begging for stuff, or you some type of enemy to them or
> somebody that's gonna do them harm and that's what we'd begun to experience here, and
> we experienced it for a long time. You know ah…we would go places out here, and you
> know people talk from a distance you know, "those people from New Orleans", they
> would say bad things and you know I didn't say it as…sometimes I would say, "well
> yeah, I still haven't told people that I'm from New Orleans because they look at you
> different you know, and that's what…that's what my wife tried to get across to me. She
> said, "you see what I'm trying to tell you, the people here do not want to assist you,
> because they feel like either you're almost a criminal or you just looking for a handout".
> I said, "yeah, how they figure we're looking for a handout and we do not have anything?"
> you know, but I understood what she was saying.   And I think that was one of the things
> that I tried to prevent from making me angry because I was beginning to get sort of bitter
> because of the way people were responding to us, so I just wouldn't…I wouldn't tell
> anybody that I was from New Orleans. I just said well you know what, the Lord has
> blessed me to work. I still have a job, the company thank God will continue to pay us
> even you know after we didn't return to work until probably two weeks…two or three
> weeks later. Uh…plus you know I picked up a part-time job driving limos. I said well as

long as the Lord gives me health and strength you know, we're gonna survive. So I went…I returned back to New Orleans to work and I picked up a part-time job driving limos and I still today I drive limos part-time. I drew assistance…you know there's some people who was outside this state who knew us, they sent us stuff, and that's the way we survived you know."

On the other hand, an excerpt from the following female narrator who was in a blended family situation and who evacuated with extended family to Austell, Georgia indicated just the opposite experience from that of the Smith family.

"No we didn't know anyone there, but the people there they were wonderful, they were really wonderful. They brought food, they had trucks that came in for all kinds of different stuff for everybody, just to get whatever they needed and people came and paid for our hotel room. I was sitting on the outside of the hotel room, just sitting out there with my head down, and a man went in the hotel, I seen him when he went in the hotel, and he went in there and was talking to someone in the hotel and he came back out and he asked me, he said "Miss, are you from New Orleans?" I said, "yes". He said, "well here's something to help you with something". So I didn't open up the money then while I was outside, I went to my room and I counted up the money and it was \$200."

Others struggled with tough decisions of staying or "going back" and attempted to maintain what they had left in New Orleans while trying to regain stability in their evacuee city. Some were commuting to conduct or oversee repairs to their homes or church buildings, or were still living and commuting between two cities for employment or to conduct worship services and minister to displaced members. Settling the question of where they wanted to be would not be an easy decision. But the sense of belonging generally meant the place from which they were an evacuee.

Going on with Life after the Storm

Most interviewees, ministers and congregants, expressed personal thoughts and feelings about their loss of irreplaceable items which is still a source of distress. Though the intensity of their grief is waning, the process is slower for older narrators than younger ones. One elderly

pastor reminisced about losing thousands of volumes of books and historical records of a

national organization for which he served as librarian…

> "My home…I live in uh Lake Terrace uh from Mirabeau to Robert E. Lee and uh we had
> 22½ feet of water for…for that duration of that period. I think officially the records say
> it's 22½ days and so uh my home was…I had a 29,000 sq. ft home, 5 bedrooms, 3½
> bathrooms, 2 dens, 1 library, and uh that I specifically built for my house. I had about
> 3000 volumes that was completely destroyed. I had uh a photo library, I had an
> associational library for uh…Ideal and I had a library of Minutes for National Baptist
> Convention of America Incorporated where I served as the Secretary and I had the
> Minutes from 1923 up to 1997."

Another elderly congregant and former member of a New Orleans East congregation shared the

following…

> "Oh man…devastation and things man was…the way the house was ruined as far as we
> had our pretty uh…oak floors on the house like tile floors with that…the insurance
> company where we had a pipe underneath the house from one of these big trucks passing
> and it had messed the floor up, we had just got $22,000 for those floors to get em redone
> cos we had just got em redone - the insurance company had given us the money they had
> that redone, me and my momma had that house fixed up beautiful man. Pretty ***,
> pretty furniture, antiques in there and all my stuff got messed up – icebox laying down on
> the floor, stanking with the food had spoiled up in there you know where it had done laid
> down in the water. When I came before I left that week, I seen the ice box was standing
> up after water got so high that it laid down like it was ready to float you know in the…in
> the kitchen most of the island like that and with the food and stuff being there, that's how
> you door got all messed up and damn near take the insides all the way out to get the ice
> box all the way out. Everything we had all the appliances in the kitchen was brand new.
> We had just got brand new stove, brand new icebox, just bought it man. It was silver and
> black and was like they go with the stove and things in there where we had just finished
> doing the kitchen and things, fixed everything up. It wasn't no big big house here but it
> big enough uh for my mom."

Many perceived that life in New Orleans had changed drastically, but were resigned to

accept things even though they are unsatisfactory. Responses such as this were prevalent among

the interviewees. This, again, is evidence of the cultural tendency of New Orleanians to be

attached to place. Natives of the Crescent City do not move easily, no matter what threats they

have to face from topographical and meteorological circumstances.   One middle-aged minister

spoke of a sense of divine calling to remain in the city no matter what happened.

"I'm also concerned about the fact of being here. If God had not chosen me to be here, I probably be somewhere, but I feel a deep call of God to remain in this area so no matter what happens I'm committed to this area for the long haul you know and so its where God called you and God…God'll often calls you and it…it…sometimes it's some unlikely places. Places that you as a human being may not wanna be, but it's a place where God wants you to be and it's…it's not pleasant and not…it's not comfortable, it's not you know being in the shady rest or in uh plush or you know in comfort it's…sometimes it's in difficult places."

Resiliency may be defined as the capacity to go on with life; that is what survivors do. They are mindful of weaknesses needing to be strengthened and vulnerabilities needing to be mitigated, and with a tenacious attitude for survival, they go on with life. Most of the answers to the research questions centered around faith in God that gave the narrators the inner strength to keep going as they found and worked at survival solutions and strategies until they could activate or build a personal resiliency infrastructure that moves them toward sustainability.

<center>We've Come This Far by Faith…</center>

Virtually all ministers and congregants expressed their belief that despite the difficulties, things would be alright because they believed God was in control. This attitude was expressed by this 53 year old female pastor and evangelist.

"The hope and the future of New Orleans? It's coming back, maybe slowly but it's coming back. But God still trying to get the attention of the peoples, He want us to love more."

A 45 year old COGIC pastor indicated his reason for returning to the city was his strong believe that the future of New Orleans was bright.

"Oh yes uh that's part of the reason I came back. I…I believe I'm optimistic now, understand that this is an opportunity for growth, it's an opportunity for renewal, it's an opportunity to partnership with pastors of like minds that wanna rebuild the city a lot better. Working with local, state and federal government to do just that – rebuild our city, rebuild our community and rebuild the Kingdom of God."

Displacement from home was sometimes compounded by the stress of having to travel extensively between several cities to tend to family or issues with congregants. In the following

quote, a former Lower Ninth Ward pastor recounted how he had relocated to Jackson, MS., was

called to pastor a congregation in LaPlace, LA., and had to travel to Houston to attend to family

issues.

> "It was very strange, very tiresome, very taxing. Uh matter of fact I had some family
> members that was out in Houston, my children were out in Houston and I had to
> commute from Jackson to Houston, from Houston to LaPlace and things of that nature so
> approximately I think I put on my car almost 80,000-90,000 miles uh doing up on the
> time I had bought me a car after the storm."

He further shared that he was able to cope through his prayer life:

> "Prayers, uh prayers of saints, prayers uh…coming back and uh putting my hands on
> rebuilding. That was…I was able to uh get help mentally uh by me coming back and
> helping other people rebuild. I had one elderly lady that I will commute to see about her
> house so that helped me mentally."

Some interviewees bordered on a fatalistic idea that Katrina and subsequent consequences were

meant to happen for a reason, although they may not have known, or came short of expressing

what the reason was. A common response was that God was cleansing New Orleans of its sin

and wickedness. For many, it was no coincidence that the name Katrina connotes cleansing or

purification. This Central City pastor whose church facilities sustained no damage recognized an

opportunity to be of service to fellow pastors and congregations. He opened his doors to allow

six other churches to utilize their building until they could be made whole.

> "…the whole while we were assured of the fact uh that God was in control of this
> situation. We didn't quite understand why God allowed things to happen they way it
> happened, but when we looked at the whole situation and we recognized the meaning of
> Katrina…the purification, and when we got back into the city and saw that God had
> preserved the place where we worship, we knew that God had preserved us for some
> special reason…"

In effect, all interviewees expressed shock over what happened to the city. There was a

general consensus of disbelief among them that so much of the city flooded to the unprecedented

levels to which it did, and for the length of time the water remained before being pumped out

sufficiently to allow residents to return. Once back for a look, the shock was intensified by the sight of the devastation of nearly everything. In spite of all of that, there was also a consensus of hope that God would rebuild what was destroyed. Two pastors of churches at different ends of the city, the first from the Upper Ninth Ward, and the second from Central City expressed it as follows:

> "Well thinking on my part was that it was not be as devastating as it was for Betsy because uh Betsy only flooded to Galvez and we're four blocks on the other side of Galvez and we…and I just figured that if there was floodin it would still be in that lower of the city of our area and not as far as we are concerned. We were never thought of the city being 80% under water."

And…

> "I think that we need to be patient with New Orleans. I think that we will see leadership emerge, I think that we see the resources already in place, uh but the devastation was so large that people can rush through recovery. I believe that you…each time you come into the city, you will see a breath of new life and I think that this is the greatest time to be in ministry. This is the greatest time to lift up the name of Jesus, the greatest time for a spiritual revival."

The findings indicated that to a great extent, part of what helped Katrina victims to have the strength to go on with life after the hurricane was the spiritual, financial, and moral support of other believers, individuals and churches, many from far away cities, and across racial and denominational lines who came and helped them get through difficult times.

The middle-aged pastor of a Lutheran congregation in Central City spoke of the help he received from his denominational partners that helped his church and congregation become more resilient.

> "It was the partners that I had across the country. Folks calling saying, "I'm praying with you. What do you need, what do your people need?" And when I tell you we have had partners…um we have had partners, congregations in Wisconsin, in Minnesota, in San Diego, California, Los Angeles uh in Pennsylvania uh…Baltimore, Chicago, New York. I got a call this very day from a pastor in…a pastor in New York. He said, "We raised this money over a year and a half ago and we gonna come in on Monday, we're flying in Monday, we wanna present you with a check to help your people.""

Not a few respondents related satisfaction and optimism over improved situations as a result of moving out of New Orleans. These tended to be those who had found better paying jobs, were able to move from renting to owning homes, and had found better schools for their children. A mother of four expressed the joy she felt over finding the house of her dreams…

> "…cos it was a house I had always prayed about it, always dreamed, I live on one side and the children live on the other side (laughing) it's like my room is one side of the house, their rooms are on the other side of the house. I was like "I do not need to see nothing else, I'll take it." You know she showed me in the back yard, and the yard is big and free and I'm like "Lord I never had a house with a yard in it", you know aint never had a (?), aint never had nothing like that, I've always lived in the project, and when I lived in the project I lived in an apartment with my husband, at the time, with my husband at the time. You know we lived in an apartment, never lived in a house. So I'm like "ok Lord, if this is for me, you gon make it happen". And within a matter of like hours, we went to the house where she was living at, we signed the papers, she had the keys right there and I'm like "we aint got no money to give you right now", so she said "here the keys baby". She gave me the keys, she said "you can move in whenever you get ready". I was like "Oh Lord thank you, thank you"."

There was often an expressed need to return to their home churches in New Orleans, even by those who had found a better life in an evacuee city. For some this need was fulfilled, adding to their resoluteness to remain in evacuee cities because the pastors of their churches at home had started satellite churches as extensions of their old congregation. Others who were not as fortunate to reconnect with their pastors and a segment of the "old congregation" were able, to varying degrees, to get this need met by joining new churches in their evacuee cities. A young female congregant and mother of four told of her elation upon discovering her pastor had opened a satellite church in Baton Rouge where she and her family had evacuated.

> "And it was a family, it wasn't, it wasn't I mean church…I worship and praise God wherever I am even in my car, but it just wasn't like being around family you know…what happened was I ran into one of my other church member, Felicia, in Wal-Mart, I was in Wal-mart, yeah in Wal-Mart, and she said, "you know Pastor's gonna come to the church, coming to Baton Rouge." When? Where? When? Give me the phone number – I'm calling. Where? When? She was like "they'll be there the fourth Sunday". You know how to get to…she was like, "you know how to get to Martin Luther King". "No but I'll find it. Tell me, give me the address". So she gave me Mekenette's phone

number to get all their information on where they were gonna be, you know, what church they were gonna be at, and when I made it there, I saw faces up there who recognizes me. That was it for me, I must say that's when I broke down, that's when I broke down. When I saw family when I…mind you I was with my family, my family's not like a…it aint like most families dysfunctional…church family was what I needed to see, and to hear my Pastor was enough for me. You know to hear him and I'm like God you know how to help, I gotta get to…I gotta get to my Pastor, I gotta get to him, I gotta get to my church. I mean, aint no church like First Emanuel, you got some churches, they have some good churches, but there is no church like First Emanuel, there is none, none."

This quote from a single mother of two teens expresses the importance of the church and faith in her life.

> "Well I'd say that it was like a puzzle piece that had to be…it was a necessity for me to join a church because my spirit at the point of July or June of '06 even though I was going to church every Sunday, because I never went without going to church, but I had not made a decision of joining…But I definitely needed a place for my spirit to feel at home, because I had my spirit home was destroyed in New Orleans, you know as it relates to church. But I was still affiliated and allowing myself to be in the midst of believers every Sunday, but I did not have a place that I called or felt as my church home."

In almost every instance, the narrators indicated the importance of faith in their lives which was a critical part of their ability to "keep on keeping on," which in the Black church is an expression of encouragement to use one's faith rather than give up.

Living with Diminished Capacity

The data indicated an obvious lack in the capacity of the faith community in post Katrina New Orleans, down from an already marginal capacity, particularly in the area of finances. This was most evident in those ministries with congregations that were predominantly African American, served the poor of the city, and whose programs were carried out by many of the same people they served. Several pastors expressed an awareness of the needs in the community without the resources to improve the conditions of the community. One pastor of a congregation that was located adjacent to a large public housing development and whose

ministry met needs in that impoverished community lamented seeing the hurt of the people, and

his new inability to address those needs.

> "…and the hurt of the people on the news, and not being able to uh come back and do something when you really desired to do something for em."

Another pastor who served two Lower Ninth Ward congregations pre-Katrina and whose

ministries were accustomed to addressing numerous social needs, spoke of the loss of ministry

capacity of his congregations to be of service to that impoverished neighborhood.

> "Feeding the hungry, we had numerous amounts of programs in our church which we are no longer able to have due to Katrina. It set us back but it didn't kill us or knock us out because faith in Christ gave us a more larger and more broader avenue, but now we find it difficult to do, because most of the people we minister are no longer here, and we're striving to make it on what we have."

Many of the local pastors and congregations were found to be still suffering from loss of

parishioners, personal and congregational income, and facilities; and were having a difficult time

reestablishing all three. There is evidence of recovery in specific and isolated cases, but as a

whole, the recovery is expected to take years since congregation members are still displaced, and

little or no affordable housing is being built to accommodate their return. But again, the

narrators, almost always move from complaints and expressions regarding the adverse conditions

and circumstances with which they are now living to faith and its cousin, hope, as their way of

dealing with adversity and viewing their prospects for the future. This brings the discussion to

the final lived experience of the culture-sharing group; that of hoping for better conditions in the

future.

Living in Hope

The data also revealed a deep sense of hope that things were going to improve despite

feelings of powerlessness to make that happen for themselves. Expressions such as that of the

respondent quoted below were almost always tied to a belief that God was in control and would

ultimately work things out for the better. This quote, from a pastor in his mid-forties who often

prided himself and his congregants of "putting their faith into action," expresses hope and

optimism that things will definitely get better, but that it will require the church to lead the effort.

> "Oh yeah, definitely! Bright future yeah you know I mean it got great potential. I mean, certainly the turnaround has begun but now you know your political climate and all of that is changing and uh I hope it change for the best. I just want people who gonna serve us to be…if you can say fair and equitable, if that's at all possible, that's basically I would like to see. But primarily I think it's on the church to do that. We should take the lead in areas where we let the government take the lead."

Virtually all ministers and congregants expressed their belief that despite the difficulties,

things would turn out fine because they believed God was in control. A middle-aged, Lower

Ninth Ward pastor, reflects this attitude when he stated,

> "New Orleans is a come back city and I do see strongly that New Orleans will prevail. We've fallen short, never like this before but I see a comeback. I see a comeback that the eyes have not seen, the ears have not heard. The things that God is getting ready to do through people that love Him."

There is a bit of irony in this statement since in three and a half years, the Lower Ninth Ward has

had the least recovery and redevelopment activity of all neighborhoods in the city, yet his belief

is strongly bent toward a full come back, and rightfully so.

A central city pastor and activist in his late 50's and whose neighborhood was designated

to become green space gave the following response when asked about hopefulness regarding the

future of the city.

> "…not only do we see that there is hope, we're participating in ensuring that there is a reality for the people to grow in New Orleans, it'll probably be a number or 30 years before we see anything worthwhile because of Katrina so why not build one. When the hills of California catch on fire, they rebuild them. In California, when the earthquakes, it's not days before they're rebuilding. When we have a mudslide there's not a week that goes by before they're rebuilding in those areas. Things…things…wherever there's disaster and devastation, when a tornado Kansas or Oklahoma, it's not long before they're rebuilding those areas, so why is it that people would not expect that New Orleans would recover and it's important that we…those who God has shared God's vision be partners in helping that to happen."

Many interviewees reminisced about how difficult it was living under the most extreme circumstances in bad situations, displaced from their homes, in FEMA trailers, in strange cities, having financial problems, but they showed a resilience in still being able to function and enjoy life, even laugh, despite the radical difference their lives had taken post-Katrina. The following quote was taken from an interview with a local pastor serving his congregation in two locations.

> "…it was a struggle, it was hard, cos I was commuting back and forth from Arkansas, cos we had 70 people that stayed up there so, you know I…then we had church down here starting in November, so I would leave on Saturdays, preach here on Sunday and then minister to the folks that were here and coordinate relief efforts that were going on here and then Wednesday I get back on a plane and fly to Arkansas and then I teach the people and community there. Catch up – I've got 4 kids, I'd catch up with them, and try to help my wife out and then Saturday get back on a plane and come back again. So it was a grueling time because we had…basically we had…had a congregation in two locations in trying to help people through it in both places so it got taxing… Yeah, yeah I mean it…your called and then people…you know…and man you know…I had folks saying, people I love and care for, Christians, "You're crazy, don't go back, what are you doing to your family?" I think God's got this figured. I think I'll mess up my family more by not doing what God wants me to do. So no there wasn't you know, but that doesn't mean that we knew how to do it, that doesn't mean we had it figured out so we stayed in Arkansas, I commuted back and forth for 4 months and then we moved into a trailer, there was 6 of us in a 30 foot travel trailer for 3 months and (laughing) that was a trip – my kids will never go camping again!"

Ironically, in the midst of near consensus by the respondents, some ministers were reticent about admitting and expressing they are still struggling spiritually or emotionally. This tended to be a common attitude particularly among clergy respondents. It is viewed by both ministers and parishioners as a lack of faith in God. During some interviews, it appeared as though some ministers were masking hurt, grief, and doubt, as indicated in the response below from a young Carrollton area pastor.

> "I think in terms of…my physical health has been fine. Um my spiritual health has been uh enriched, my mental health however uh has been up and down and on a rollercoaster, and the reason why I say that um and it's only through the spirit that I'm able to keep composed and stuff but uh when you see the conditions of the city and you see the conditions that people are livin in and working with the homeless, sometimes it can be

overbearing, and uh if I would not be connected to the spirit of God I would not be able to endure some of the things that I endure on a daily basis. So you know there…there's obviously some change, but God is in control."

A local bishop and overseer, one of a very few African Americans who are affiliated with the Republican Party also expressed similar thoughts as his younger counterpart.

"Well…you know and I…people think I'm in defense of the government but the government…the…FEMA I talk about FEMA, you had the information and I found out when I helped people, people that had that information that FEMA asked for had no problem. But most people did not have the information that FEMA was asking for, so that caused a delay to process."

Many respondents, like the thirty-something congregant quoted below, expressed anger, disappointment, or frustration to varying degrees with the government, particularly FEMA, for failing to respond adequately and timely to the devastation Katrina brought.

"It's like they want you to be needy. They do not want you to try to help yourself and then they help you in the process. I used to tell FEMA, you do not really help me because you say I do not have any kids and I took it upon myself to get me a decent job as opposed to sit home and wait on FEMA. That's the bottom line. FEMA does not want to help those that want to help themselves. They want to help those that relies on the government. They want to give these people all their money. They get $6,000 and $7,000 back in their taxes so that means they not paying any taxes. It got to the point I said FEMA, I'm not going to be calling you anymore. And I didn't call them. People said, your daughter crazy. I do not want to deal with them. I've been prospering ever since."

When asked how she managed if she did not rely upon FEMA or other federal assistance, the reply was, "Just looking to God, look to where he has brought me from to where I am now."

A local pastor implied that frustration with the slowness of government, which was limited to perform an unprecedented and monumental task, be understood and handled through a strong faith and trust in God.

"…they're limited in their ability, they're limited in the magnitude of uh…uh a catastrophe like Katrina and um you…we understood…really understand their limitations in the wake of this um past disaster so I've learned not to really…I mean slow bureaucracy and it can be frustrating, and it can wear you out. If you're not strong in

your faith and trust in God, it can really almost just give you no reason for living anymore.*"*

Responses as those just above sometimes seemed to betray a denial of the truth and the magnitude of suffering tens of thousands of people experienced as a result of the hurricane.

An analysis of the facial expressions, tone of voice, and body language tended to indicate a reticence of some respondents to expose themselves to the emotional upheaval of living in a devastated city where things are so far removed from their pre-Katrina lives. The quote below reflects this attitude.

> "That's what, that's what caused me to really not worry about anything else but stability. And so Baton Rouge was already a place that was not affected, stable, up, running, functionable, stores were working, government was working. So all of this caused me to say, "it's nothing to struggle with"."

Recurring Themes

This section revisits and further explores six of the most frequently occurring thoughts, expressions, and lived experiences found in the data and identifies them as recurring themes. A careful analysis of these themes reveals them as answers, at least in part, to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study. The researcher has already touched on these themes in the descriptions and the lived experiences of the culture-sharing group earlier in these findings, but is presenting them here as major recurring themes found in the data, and as partial answers to the research questions.   The six most frequent themes found in the data are, (1) faith in God, (2) the importance of family, (3) attachment to New Orleans as home, (4) hope for better times, (5) support from others, and (6) starting over. Each of these will be discussed briefly since they have already been addressed previously.

Faith In God

The recurring theme of faith in God answers in part what strategies the participant group employs to aid in their recovery efforts, and how they turn vulnerability into resiliency and sustainability.   Both resiliency and recovery must first begin within the victims of trauma or disaster. If the people can be made whole, or at least begin moving in that direction, then they are better able to deal with recovering and rebuilding their environment.

The biblical book of Hebrews says, "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. For by it the elders obtained a good testimony (Hebrews 11:1-2 NKJV). What is evident from the data sources is faith in God is ingrained in the thoughts, the talk, and the walk of nearly all of the narrators from whom data was gathered. This culture-sharing group is not reticent to speak of their faith, and to speak boldly about it. It has been as much their sustenance for daily life as food and water; and more of their survival and recovery strategy than FEMA.

The tone and inflection of voice accompanying professions of faith in God validate that what is said is what is believed and actually practiced. Undoubtedly, faith in God helps to answer question three, "What strategies has the church used to facilitate its recovery?" It is a large part of the groups' capacity to bounce back, survive, and thrive… to be resilient. The testimony below from a female, middle-aged pastor of a small congregation sums it up well…

> If I had to do it all over again? I would just continue to teach the people… encourage them to keep their faith in Jesus. Now listen at this, outta all the things that God have done for us, and some of us still not grateful… and that's why God… a lot of peoples are running…I said you cannot run from God. A lot of peoples left here, went to Texas, went here, went there. God just sent the last hurricane to Texas and tore up there. You can't run from God so what you need to do is run to Him, and stop running from Him. And so…and…and…and the thing I have to do over again, I keep telling em again, God is real.

Importance of Family

The recurring theme of the importance of family in the data offers insights into another resiliency factor and strategy for recovery of the culture-sharing group, thus giving another part of the answer to question three. Informants consistently listed their family support networks as part of their recovery plan. Family often includes people referred to as aunty, uncle, or cousin, who in fact are not blood relatives or relatives by marriage, but are close, life-long family friends who are accepted as family members (Stack, 1997). This quote from a relocated mother of two who now lives in the city where other family members were already residing is indicative of the importance of family in African American culture as a survival strategy.

> Family, number one, my job number two…uh in that order because when I came here you know, my family directed me to the right schools for my kids, that was even before I went back to work cos that was my first priority is getting them in the proper schools. And I didn't want to just bring them to a school and then find out there's trouble there and then I'd have to worry about that, so I was guided correctly and I was told of different locations that prevented me from wasting a lot of time trying to find stuff, so that was very helpful. And then they were a support to me…family alone, the support of the family I think have pulled us through…but I think to me what a person dealing with Hurricane Katrina, if they do not have the support of their family, it could cause you to go into a depression. And then I guess some people have all their family around them, and they still went through it. But I think family means a whole lot.

Logically, when one speaks of family, thoughts and expressions of home naturally follow. The next recurring theme naturally follows in importance of family.

Attachment to New Orleans as Home

Another frequently recurring theme emerging from the data is that of attachment to New Orleans as home. An analysis of how evacuees refer to the places of their dispersion as opposed to "home" in New Orleans is expressive of this culturally ingrained attachment to place, that is, to the city and the neighborhoods of Greater New Orleans. The data revealed an unusually high number of respondents who commute from as far as Houston and Atlanta weekly to attend to

matters at home. This probably also represents a trend that may well emerge into a pattern in the culture if the recovery of New Orleans is stretched out many more years; or, it will force a change in the culture of African Americans native to New Orleans. The quote below expresses the struggle one young and single black female evacuee feels whenever she returns home.

> "Some of it is disgraceful (laughs) because of the situation and I still do not feel the city should look like it does um…I get a homesick feeling kind of sometimes because when I pass through I'm like, "am I supposed to be here?" and I have a cold chill kind of come over me. I say, "you still adjusting to not being here", even though you been gone over a year."

For many evacuees who are starting life over in other cities for any of the reasons discussed earlier in this discourse, having a strong attachment to New Orleans adds to the difficulty experienced in having to start over.

Starting Over

The theme of having to start over emerged fairly often in the responses of pastors and congregants. Some were optimistic; other mostly elderly informants were daunted by the thought. In the data analysis chapter, attention will be given to former New Orleans pastors who have left the ministry because they judged they lacked the drive, energy, and money to start over in ministry and opted instead to seek new careers in secular employment and business opportunities.

> I will never live in New Orleans again as long as I live. I know that you should never say never, but I can't go back. I can't go through that again. At our age even thinking about, you can imagine being in a store trying to buy mops and brooms. It was the weirdest thing, as my grandmother would say, you just starting to keep house. How do you start all over after you've been doing it for forty-something years? Everything that you accumulated in forty-something years.

> Every pastor and congregant experienced and expressed significant loss of church infrastructure, i.e., in staff, membership, financial support from tithes and offerings, property and programs. Because of these losses, pastors, whose only livelihood was their ministry to the

churches, also suffered the loss of personal income, their place of employment, and for many their careers as professional clergy. During the interviews with some respondents, mention was often made of pastors who were no longer preaching or pastoring, but had resigned themselves to start over in other professions. Having been a participant observer of the phenomena under study, this researcher has personally spoken with at least five pastors now in this situation; and has become aware of several more in recent days. This will be addressed as a separate emerging pattern later in this chapter.

Starting over was more daunting for some than for others. This quote from a twenty-five year old pastor expresses his frustrations with the losses his congregation sustained.

> "When you're that young and you're trying to be the leader and the role model, there's a breaking point where you're at. And I'll tell you something Marshall, the…the…the loss has been so substantial, I do not think I…have recovered even yet, because I have…I've had to rebuild my church as a business from the ground up and then it's squashed because you didn't have the type of bolts, nuts and umbrellas that you need for a fresh start of anything."

Some sanctuaries and ancillary church buildings needed to be completely demolished and rebuilt, or had such extensive damage that renovations amounted to nearly complete makeovers. Long-standing and well established ministries had to start from scratch with new buildings, new members, and staffers. An elderly Baptist pastor talks about having to start over late in life.

> "I knew that we had lost…that we were going to lose a good number of our members and uh my portfolio being that of a Mission Developer, I just didn't imagine that I'd have to be redeveloping a congregation again uh at this stage and point in time in my life. I wasn't looking forward to that…"

A Westbank New Orleans pastor of a small COGIC congregation told of …

> "Extensive damage to the sanctuary…Over $30,000 worth of damage. Well we uh…we had to uh gut it, and we had to replace it with totally new flooring, new sheetrock, new roof and uh we met at uh at the members…different members' houses."

… and this elderly pastor from a Seventh Ward Baptist church tells of the complete destruction

of the facilities and contents, starting over with nothing.

> "Uh the church was completely uh destroyed. Um all of it's contents – the roof, steeple, as a matter of fact the roof caved in uh…but because the building was built of cinder blocks, the uh wall was still standing. I say that now. So everything was destroyed. We had a computer program, we had uh ten computers in here and uh we had that…we had programming for that grades 1 through 7, and all of that was destroyed. We had text books for Grades 1 through 7, that was all destroyed. Uh on the church…that was on the fellowship side where the computer program was in place. Uh the sanctuary everything...the water just uh destroyed…everything. The pews, the furniture, the organ, the piano, everything was completely destroyed."

Other respondents reported having had no damage to their buildings or having gone

through the rebuilding process successfully, opened their doors to those still needing to rebuild.

One respondent, who pastors a medium sized congregation in Central City and whose church

facilities were not damaged, opened the doors to allow six congregations to meet in their

buildings.

> "We didn't have any damage to our buildings, thank the Lord. When I came back to the city, and was the devastation of the city and realized we didn't get no damage at all, I knew God wanted us to do something to help our brothers' and sisters' churches that had loss their building and everything. So we opened our doors… we have two buildings… the one of Felicity street we had just purchased and renovated to be a community center before the storm. When we came back, we decided to turn it into a sanctuary so other churches could meet there. We were able to let six churches besides our congregation to meet in our facilities."

This was not an isolated incident, but rather a common practice among the churches as their

buildings were restored to use. This Lower Ninth Ward pastor who recently reentered their

newly renovated facility joyfully expressed his eagerness to help others who still needed a

helping hand to start over.

> "…and right now we're about to offer our church to a pastor who's in the process of rebuilding, offer it uh so they could meet on a bi-weekly basis until their congregation can get back in their building."

One finding from the data of particular interest was that those churches that were affiliated with large denominational associations generally did better in the rebuild process. This Central City pastor whose congregation is affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church speaks of his gratitude for that affiliation which helped them recover quickly.

> "…and I need to say being a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America that we are blessed to have partners across the country that were reaching out…they were not just praying but they were doing things to uh make sure that we would become whole again and some of that partnership continues to this very day."

In spite of receiving extensive damage, some churches are flourishing. Their re-start was clearly an experience in resiliency.

> "Lets see…our church received 5 feet of water." "This is why I came back because I believed and not only that but uh I believe it so strongly until we uh…not only uh did we do more since we've been back, we expanded the church even…this is why I'm saying I believe it because we took part of our parking lot, this is before one third of our people came back after we came back and rebuilt and everything we left one side of the wall uh open and we put a wing onto the church because our feeling was strong that we would come back and we would be a force. This is what we happening. Since we came back we started a feeding program, and we feed hot food every Wednesday for the entire community."

Help From Others

Question three asks, "How have local and national churches helped the recovery?" There was no shortage of responses reflecting clues to the answer, particularly from repatriated evacuees whose churches and homes have been restored to functionality and usefulness. The quotes below from two pastors indicate that helpers from abroad came into the city to provide aid, from a broad range of places, people, and partnerships and brought varied kinds of help to New Orleans churches in their recovery effort.

> "Saddle back Church in California, you know uh… Pastor Rick Warren's church… they helped us a lot… sent people and money to help us rebuild… even paid to bring pastors to Lake Forest, California for a week to rest and recuperate."

This Carrollton area pastor shared this extensive narration about how he was able to forge new

relationships and partnerships by reaching out to get help from others to build greater resiliency

and sustainability into his New Orleans ministry.

> "Well in terms of Freedom Fellowship Ministries of Greater New Orleans United Church
> of Christ, things we've done in the community are a variety of things. We began our
> efforts with the Covenant House of New Orleans, in reaching out to marginalized youth,
> those who may have been transitioning out incarceration, they have run away from home,
> they have been abused, neglected, abandoned. So we began ministry on the margins with
> that group and that population. Then we took it to the next level in terms of health and
> we partnered with organizations like No-Age Taskforce, Brotherhood Incorporated, In
> Our Peace, and we took on the fight uh with HIV/AIDS within our community. Uh the
> next fight uh was partnering with uh CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocates) where
> we advocated for foster kids in the juvenile justice system. We also partnered with the
> JJPL which is Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana, where we stood and fought against
> the deplorable conditions in the detention centers and we're continuing to partner...we're
> working right now on the national with Meharry Medical College in Nashville as well as
> Vanderbilt where we're working on a research initiative around HIV/AIDS within the
> African American community and that's uh where we are now, and there are several
> other initiatives that we're working on. Uh where we're going now uh...we have a good
> relationship with the VOA so we're working our recovery ministry, our HIV/AIDS
> ministry and our mission outreach projects uh and you know we've worked very closely
> with the homeless as well, with Unity from New Orleans. In fact right now that's what I
> do every day, just providing case management services, housing the homeless. So in
> terms of what we're doing on the large scope and scale of things, it's a variety of things
> um in order to make an impact and a difference within our city and our next fight is
> education."

Hope for Better Times

This recurring theme of hope for better times is linked both to faith in God, and the desire

for a restoration to pre-Katrina normalcy of family and the preferred place to call home. The

quote below captures these hopes and succinctly states the sentiments of a majority of the

respondents. Because of its ties to faith and family, anticipating a better future yields another

part of the answer to question three. A white pastor of a predominantly African American

congregation in Central City, New Orleans offered these sentiments.

> I think it has a hopeful future cos I...cos I serve a hopeful God you know. I mean that's
> where my hope is, so my hope is for...is for family's coming to know Christ and then
> tasting that transformation. Then you can talk about transforming the neighborhood. We

need good schools, we need better roads, we need all that, I'm not saying we do not need those things but man without Christ it does not matter, it does not matter, we can build the best houses, have the best schools but without Christ there is no hope, cos if that was hope, then why is there so much despair when people affluence? Why…why…why are people going through it all over. And so to me that's the hope and so I…I'm a hold out for that, I'm a hold out for that and that…that…that's why I'm hopeful and uh that's what I hold on to.

Summary

In this section the researcher has explored many of the lived experiences of displaced pastors and parishioners after the hurricane. The narrators have allowed a look into their private lives, openly sharing what life is like in a post-Katrina world; away from the place they called home for most of their lives. Their stories provided clues about survival strategies, how they cope with loss, what keeps them going, and an array of painful and joyful lessons learned only through lived experiences. The lived experiences of adversity, hardship, coping and thriving are the stuff of resiliency and sustainability and the beginning of a progressive adapting to new cultural habits and norms that yield stronger character and more resilient beings. Based upon their lived experiences, the researcher then explored six recurring themes which occurred frequently enough to be considered trends in the lives of the evacuees.

 In the next chapter the researcher will present an analysis from the data that reveals several emerging patterns or significant changes in the lived experiences of the culture-sharing group. Additional answers to partially answered questions and the remaining unanswered research questions will be discussed in the next chapter and further addressed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 6: MAKING SENSE OF THINGS

Introduction

An analysis of the data indicates several significant patterns that have emerged in African American churches in post-Katrina New Orleans. These patterns became part and parcel of how many congregations reframed their work as reflected in how churches now operate in a post-Katrina world. Some of them indicate significant deviation in the cultural norm of the church and its people. These patterns reflect an increased awareness and efforts to provide greater resiliency and sustainability of the church in the event of future Katrina-like disasters. They also help answer the primary and secondary research questions about social barriers and vulnerabilities; and the strategies employed to turn vulnerability into resiliency and sustainability. Each of these emerging patterns is discussed in this section.

Emerging Patterns: Satellite Churches

One of the new and emerging phenomena uncovered by the data gathered in Katrina's wake is that of establishing satellite churches in the cities to which congregants from New Orleans churches evacuated. During the data collection phase, the research team discovered a list of ten New Orleans based churches (See Appendix H) that had established church satellites in other cities. The practice grew out of the need of pastors and parishioners to maintain contact with their church families once people were scattered from New Orleans. Some churches that had significant numbers of their membership in multiple cities started a satellite in each city where the number of their membership was high.

Although people were scattered into every state in the union with the exception of Hawaii, the vast majority of them gravitated to relatively near-by cities in Louisiana and Texas. Large churches like Franklin Avenue Baptist Church which boasted of a 7,000 member

congregation pre-Katrina had significant numbers of the membership in Baton Rouge, Houston, and Atlanta. The pastor traveled weekly to these cities to hold services with members who had evacuated to them. He also frequently made trips to other cities to which significant numbers of Franklin Avenue's membership had evacuated (Willoughby, 2008). This was financially costly and physically exhausting for the pastor. Later, he established satellite churches in Baton Rouge and Houston until the home church in New Orleans could be reestablished as members returned to the city. As soon as it was permissible to return to the city, and sufficient numbers of the Franklin Avenue congregation had returned, the church began holding services at First Baptist Church which had sustained only minimal wind damage from the storm. This previously one location church now had become established in three.

Rather than continuing to travel to three locations each week, the pastor and congregation made the decision to maintain the ministry in all three locations by installing an Associate Pastor in the Baton Rouge and Houston locations. The name of the satellite churches would remain as the mother church, adding the name of the city as part of the church name, such as Franklin Avenue Baptist Church-Houston. This arrangement is quite unusual for Southern Baptist or any other sub-group of Baptist churches, and more resembles the long held practice of Pentecostal and other charismatic congregations where an Apostle, Bishop or Overseer supervised multiple churches in multiple cities. This can be considered an emerging pattern however, since all of the satellite churches in the study and established post-Katrina are Baptist churches.

The case of Greater St. Stephens Baptist Church is almost exactly that of Franklin Avenue Baptist Church. "The Greater," as the members affectionately refer to it, has satellite churches in Baton Rouge, Houston, and Atlanta in addition to the mother church in New Orleans, using the same strategy of installing Associate Ministers who serve as under shepherds in the

satellites with the Senior Pastor as overseer of the four locations. First Emanuel Baptist Church, from which a significant number of participants in this study were recruited, is holding services in the mother church in New Orleans and the satellite church in Baton Rouge. The pastor and busloads of members from both locations travel at least twice a week for services at the two sites.

In speaking with the each of the Senior Pastors of these new congregational structures, they would not have it any differently, and though they experienced great inconvenience to get things going, they are satisfied that this was the will of God for their congregations. One of the pluses to which they speak is having a place for future evacuees from either location to have somewhere to go if and when the occasion presents itself again. Having the satellites also provided a means of beginning to receive tithes and offerings to help with the rebuild effort in New Orleans. Each new satellite has attracted a new crop of members in the cities where they are located.

All churches have a continuing focus on growth of the membership. These churches have found that their memberships are expanding in a way that was not imagined pre-Katrina. The establishment of the satellite churches has afforded the original congregations a means of increased resiliency and sustainability and can become a model for church growth to others in the faith community. This pattern demonstrates a meaningful and innovative way some churches have turned vulnerability from loss and disruption into greater capacity for sustainability against future disasters.

Emerging Patterns: Invisible Churches

A second pattern uncovered in the data is that of "invisible churches." The discovery was made as the research team attempted to ascertain an accurate number of churches that were operating in New Orleans after the city reopened and people began returning. This was done as

part of the work of two separate research efforts, and that of Operation Brother's Keeper (OBK), a roundtable of faith-based, non-profit, university, and government entities formed in New Orleans in 2003 which operated right up until the advent of Katrina, and has since been slowly reestablishing that work as churches reopen in the area.

Several attempts were made almost simultaneously after the hurricane by Total Community Action (TCA), the University of New Orleans Center for Hazard Response and Technology (UNO CHART), the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary (NOBTS), and the City of New Orleans to ascertain an accurate number of congregations that had returned to the city and begun operations.

Through a comparison of all data, researchers found churches still not listed. It was shown that there were congregations meeting in the facilities of other churches. "As with the satellite congregations, there are a number of invisible congregations. These are congregations that lost their buildings, but are meeting in other churches. One congregation, located in the Upper Ninth Ward, holds four different services on Sunday, for four different congregations" (Jenkins, 2008, pg 4).

Since learning of the existence of these "invisible churches" new data collection strategies, such as interviews have revealed a large and growing number of these churches in the New Orleans area. As many as four to six churches were often found to be sharing one location as the researcher talked with local pastors whose facilities had reopened. The pattern however, has set a precedent and become a part of the African American church's strategy for resiliency and sustainability of their churches during times of disaster.

Emerging Patterns: Disaster Preparedness Ministries

In October 2002, an African American FEMA worker from the Houston area came to New Orleans with the challenge of getting African American churches involved in disaster preparedness and response activities. She had become alarmed after hearing over and over in FEMA meetings around the country that New Orleans was in danger of being devastated by a major hurricane. The population at the time was predominantly African American, living at or below the poverty line, with nearly 50% of its people without viable means of evacuating in the event of such a disaster; and there was no concerted effort by African Americans to address the need for disaster preparedness.

Compounding the situation was the cultural mindset of New Orleanians to "ride out the storm." This meant that people in New Orleans were not inclined to evacuate for an approaching storm, no matter what the category and level of danger.   This was a recipe for disaster that was certainly avoidable, but word was that no one had been able to find anyone in the black community that would get involved in disaster preparedness work. Her response to that was, "Give me a phone book, I'll find you somebody."

She left Houston and came to New Orleans determined to make something happen in the African American faith community. A meeting was held at Associated Catholic Charities to press the need for a concerted and organized effort that was well attended mostly by whites who were already engaged in Volunteers Organized Against Disasters (VOAD). It was at this meeting that the vision for what became OBK was born; and work began in November 2002 with the Total Community Action Faith Collaborative taking the initiative to learn about and lead the faith community to undertake this important work as a ministry.

After the formation of the OBK Table, between 2003 and 2005 an attempt to educate citizens of New Orleans, and to assist the City in getting the indigent to safety in the event of a disaster progressed slowly with about thirty-eight churches having signed on to cooperate in educating and preparing their congregations and surrounding communities for readiness to respond in the event of a major hurricane.

Before Katrina, few churches and people believed there would ever be a "big one" (hurricane) that would destroy the city. Post Katrina, the new pattern of eagerness to cooperate, educate, and participate in disaster preparedness activities emerged in the churches and in the community. The data disclosed a significant number of respondents who have made personal and congregational disaster plans and are encouraging others to do the same. The evidence of this emerging pattern was seen in the evacuation of New Orleans during the 2008 hurricane season when Hurricane Gustav threatened the city. The most orderly evacuation on record of a major United States city was accomplished by the city officials and citizens of New Orleans.

The result of this emerging pattern can only yield greater resiliency and sustainability as more citizens and churches become better educated and more engaged in disaster preparedness. Each year since Hurricane Katrina, the City Assisted Evacuation Plan has undergone refinement. New Orleans is writing the play book for mass evacuation of a major U.S. city. Most noticeable is the change from the old culture of riding out storms in New Orleans to one of heightened awareness of the need for advance preparation and education of congregations and the communities in which they are located. City policy now includes a partnership with the faith community to accomplish mass evacuations.

The data reflected a pronounced proclivity to having disaster preparedness as part of the churches' total ministry. This includes having an evacuation plan for the congregation and

assisting the surrounding community to be prepared for the threat of an approaching hurricane. A greater willingness to evacuate is evident in the data, even if the evacuation proves to be a false alarm. African American congregations, whose facilities were heavily damaged, and which were likely not to have any or inadequate insurance coverage are in discussions and forming partnerships with other churches to help mitigate losses from future hurricanes and disasters. Additionally, pastors and parishioners having to rebuild destroyed and heavily damaged buildings are taking into account measures that make the new structures more resilient and sustainable by using hurricane proof building materials, relocating critical electrical, air conditioning, and other systems that are prone to be destroyed in the next flood (See Appendix E). These measures constitute a pattern long over due in a city with inherent vulnerabilities to hurricanes, storms and flooding. These measures were drafted at a September 2007 OBK focus group and workshop. Some pastors have expressed they have incorporated some of those measures into their rebuilding efforts.

As with the previous emerging patterns, this pattern helps to foster greater resiliency and sustainability by outlining the measures taken by churches to build stronger and more viable congregations and facilities, and to strengthen themselves as an affinity group of congregations in a post-Katrina world. This pattern of greater involvement in disaster ministry has spread into other cities as pastors have promoted it through their state and national affiliate organizations. At the church in Baton Rouge where the researcher placed his membership as an evacuee from Katrina, he was appointed to head setting up a disaster ministry and drafting a comprehensive disaster plan for the church. The pattern is already having ripple effects in the broader faith community.

Emerging Pattern: New Partnerships To Mitigate Loss

"Then we took it to the next level in terms of health and we partnered with organizations like No-Age Taskforce, Brotherhood Incorporated, In Our Peace, and we took on the fight uh with HIV/AIDS within our community. Uh the next fight uh was partnering with uh CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocates) where we advocated for foster kids in the juvenile justice system. We also partnered with the JJPL which is Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana, where we stood and fought against the deplorable conditions in the detention centers and we're continuing to partner…we're working right now on the national with Meharry Medical College in Nashville as well as Vanderbilt where we're working on a research initiative around HIV/AIDS within the African American community and that's uh where we are now, and there are several other initiatives that we're working on" (Quote from a young pastor in the Carrollton neighborhood).

Katrina taught some hard lessons which were learned by pastors and congregants of African American churches about the need to identify and work toward the alleviation of vulnerabilities in the life and work of the church. An emerging strategy in the data was the forging of new relationships and partnerships to increase capacity and resiliency against future disasters. Some congregations have begun discussions about organizing co-ops to assist fellow churches in their future rebuild efforts should there be a next time. Churches have established new partnerships with other churches outside of the New Orleans area, in many cases across the lines of denomination, race, and class.

Old differences and stereotypes appear to have been washed away in Katrina's flood waters that have fostered greater cooperation after the storm. For the first time in New Orleans, an intentional and seemingly genuine and sustained effort of black and white pastors and congregations has emerged post-Katrina fostering a new spirit of brotherhood, cooperation, and sharing. The New Orleans Pastor's Coalition is one such example.   At a meeting held in March of 2007, black and white pastors that had seemingly great difficulty coming together around common causes pre-Katrina, committed to an intentional effort to increase the strength and capacity of the New Orleans faith community against future disasters large and small. This new

spirit of cooperation to mitigate loss represents another part of the set of answers to the research questions.

Emerging Patterns: Leaving the Pastorate

Another sad and unfortunate pattern that emerged post-Katrina in the African American church and reflected in the data through informal interviews with pastors and congregants is that of displaced pastors leaving the pastorate to go into secular careers and employment. This is a phenomenon that rarely occurred in the Black church pre-Katrina. Like the people of New Orleans with a strong sense of attachment to place, African American pastors, once they have accepted a call to the ministry, stay put. They do not retire; they do not leave to take other churches, and they certainly do not leave the ministry to return to secular employment. Many of them are bi-vocational pastors, having to work secular jobs because their congregations do not take in enough tithes and offerings to support them financially so they do not have to divide their time and energy working a second job in the secular world.

In the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), it is common knowledge that the average tenure of white pastors of SBC churches is one and a half years before they go in view of a call to pastor a larger and more affluent congregation. Black pastors believe if God calls and assigns a pastor to a small struggling church, He expects him or her to stay there and work to build it up. There have been times when congregations have expelled black pastors, but it is extremely rare for a pastor to voluntarily leave the ministry altogether and go into secular employment.

One of the criticisms of black pastors is that they tend not to relinquish the pulpit even when they have become too old and feeble to continue to lead the congregation. Most African American churches will have the occasion to bury the pastors who blessed them as babies,

baptized them, married them, counseled them through marital difficulties, and blessed their babies after they were born (Thomas, 2008).

Consequently the emerging trend of pastors who led flocks of the faithful pre-Katrina leaving the pastorate is an anomaly. In conversations with pastors at denominational gatherings, community meetings, in phone conversations, and in face to face meetings, inevitably one of them would admit, although with deep regret of having to leave the ministry and get secular employment. A sixty year old former New Orleans pastor, now living in a suburb of Atlanta said,

> "I just do not have the energy to start all over again… I mean, we lost everything. The building is gone, the people are gone and it would take too much to come back and start again. Then I had to find work to support me and the family."

Another former pastor fifteen years younger talked of going back to school to get a secular degree. He is now engaged in a small business he owns in Houston, and has no plans to return, even though his father and mother are still in New Orleans. His comments were,

> "I do not have no plans to return… or to ever to go back to New Orleans on into the ministry. I lost my church, my dad lost his church, and he is really too old to start again, so whatcha gonna do. I believe God musta meant it to be, so I am moving on."

The occurrence of this pattern almost always was the experience of pastors of small and marginally solvent pre-Katrina churches. Another twist on this trend involves pastors who have left their ministries and congregations in New Orleans without pastoral leadership to take pastorates in their evacuee cities. Several once prominent New Orleans pastors have left disappointed and angry parishioners who feel abandoned and spiritually abused. One such parishioner who returned to the city after the flood said,

> "He left us and never look back. I am angry with him cos he could have come back to tell us he wasn't gon stay in New Orleans no more. He left us with all that debt on the building which a few of us will still have to pay, and we cant't even use it."

Racism, Race, Class and Prejudice

In the process of data collection, it became clear there are a wide range of opinions about and experiences with racism, race, class and prejudice. However, there seems to be an overall lack of understanding of structural and institutional racism and how it impacts minorities in the United States today. With overt acts such as nooses hanging from trees and burning crosses on lawns becoming a distant memory, racism appears to some to have quietly faded into the background. However, nothing could be further from the truth.

Hurricane Katrina exposed racism in its broadest and most wide reaching forms - institutional and structural racism. Structural and institutional racism has always been around; they were the foundation upon which all forms of racism were built. The majority of pastoral participants believed very strongly that racism was a huge contributing factor to the human suffering experienced during Katrina. Moreover, there was a strong belief that had New Orleans not been a majority black city, that aid would have been received more readily and greater assistance rendered. This 11th Ward pastor expressed his belief that government response would have been quicker had the racial make-up of the city been different.

> "Yes I do believe…I believe it. I…I…I believe and I'm not scared to say it, I believe…if it had not been for certain sections of New Orleans…uh…flooding around the 17th Street Canal, a lot of the assistance we did receive, we probably wouldn't have got it. And I believe…I think part of the reason why it wasn't as timely as it was, was because there was some racism involved."…
> …"It could have played a lot. Not only probably the racism I think a lot of stuff was due to the devastation. We had never experienced anything of that nature and um communication was bad um and I think that what made things even worse, the lack of communication, the devastation you know of that magnitude. I think those things played an important role in how they handled it, but at the same time it may be a possibility because we had a lot of blacks in this area and at the Superdome and stuff, racism you know played a part."

Some saw the racism evident during and after the storm as just an extension of what was already in place in New Orleans before the storm. This Central City Baptist pastor's understanding of

structural and institutional racism is evident in this response about the ways in which he

identified racism as part of the problem in New Orleans post-Katrina.

>"Uh but I saw individuals…individuals who perhaps the attitude of bias and racism prior to the storm continue in that same capacity, so I saw the best and the worst of people and yes racism did play a role in it. I saw early on coming back where those individuals who got in first wanted to downsize the city and most areas they wanted to downsize were areas where minorities or black people lived, and I think that that can only be contributed to racism. I saw areas…I heard news where they wanted to make some areas green spot…green spaces, and all the green spaces normally was in black neighborhoods and I attribute that to racism. I seen the downsizes in schools, I see people coming in who had never been here before, now they become concerned about our kids and our school system and the question I ask was, "Where were all of these people uh pre-Katrina?""

The response above was not the typical response; most participants were able to identify racism

when it was overt and there was obvious behavior which suggested they were the objects of

racial discrimination, or when they observed situations that indicated they were being treated

differently because of their race. This mid-fifties pastor tells of such an experience in the

uptown area of the city.

>"Definitely because when I first returned to New Orleans I was in uptown area, New Orleans predominantly Caucasian area. A guy looked at me like…they was looking at me like, "What you doin here?" You know I was blessed to have that facility that I could go to and basically I was bout the only African American in the area at the time. But uh I mean they actually viewed that as oh we got em outta here now and efforts are in place for that to continue to keep the disenfranchised out. Those that are out we do not want you back."

Others expressed anger or disillusionment over the treatment the city received, and laid the

blame at the door of government; because when it comes down to it, structural and

institutionalized racism must have the support of government policy in order to work as

effectively as it does.

>"I mean and then I…and then I think uh you know and hate to feel this about my country that…that we still dealing with the issue of race and racism uh which shouldn't be that…irregardless of the color of one's skin that somehow we got…we got to be able to be fair with people and uh and uh…I really…I felt that…that…the response of our government should have been a whole lot better. It could have been better had it

been…had it been a…a…had it been an area in…in…in United States where…where a…a where the majority of the constituents were white it may have been better. So I'm just concerned about…about how New Orleans was treated post-Katrina it could have been, especially in the 9th Ward area where uh I mean the...the amount of devastation was very heart wrenching uh and the lives that were affected, people were displaced all that stuff, it's made…it's made this whole process so heart wrenching."

Another pastor remembers a statement made by a black elected city official which suggests the politicized nature of racism.

"Even some of our own leaders [black elected officials], [stated] you know if you're not coming back in here and being productive, we do not want you here. But they end up now…they end up incarcerated themselves. You state…you gotta watch what you say. You know if you corrupt, they always say if you live in a glass house do not throw stones."

When asked if they believed racism played a role before and after the storm, some participants responded as did the following two pastor friends participating in one of the focus groups.

"I feel that it did and I feel that our city would have gotten faster help and greater support if it wasn't a city with the majority of being black."

And
"Yes, yes I…I really do. I…cos I believe that has a great deal to do with it and that's what I believe."

The white pastor of a black congregation in Central City further suggested there was discrimination in the way government responded to New Orleans, which was harder hit and suffered more devastation and lost than other areas along the Gulf Coast whose populations had fewer African Americans.

"Oh yes! I think there's um…the politics of poverty in racism. I do not think there's any way around it. You look at it, you just look at the hard numbers, the amount of money Louisiana got in comparison to Mississippi alright. Let's look at Mississippi had a Republican Governor you know um…you look at the despair that people are still going through. But I think part of that also…so there's systemic racism all around, there's racism by individuals all around. Katrina laid bare New Orleans dirty secrets of poverty and despair and hopelessness based on racism, based on ignorance, based on power, based on all of that. But you know God is the only one that can flip that script"

Responses such as that from the white pastor above, and the response which follows were most likely from those who had had qualified experience in other areas of leadership in secular arenas, or whose analysis of racism had evolved to a greater understanding of the new face on an old culprit. Indicative of such responses is that from one local pastor…

"Well I think racism you know is a…is a…somebody said, "It's as American as apple pie", so racism has a part in everything. I…I said it was never a card, it's always a deck, so I take that as a given in terms of who's at the table, who's represented, um institutional racism is when you have a situation where um institutions act in ways that disproportionately impact people who are not at the table and so yeah you have a lot of decisions made with people who just didn't have the vision or foresight of people who were impacted and so uh you know even if they do not mean any ill harm, harm comes because their interests are not considered, and so from that standpoint yes."

One middle-aged pastor of an uptown congregation stated his recognition that racism is not as overt as previous decades, but that it was still very much alive and still causing great social damage.

"I'm…I'm…I'm more than sure it probably did [play a part]. Unfortunately no matter how we look at it, racism still exists today and comes in all various forms man you know. It may…may not in a lot of cases be as blatant as it was probably in the 50's or 60's but I'm…it still exists and I'm sorry to say that but when…I think if maybe it was somewhere else or maybe a richer economy that it would have been handled faster. Unfortunately that's just the way it is."

Unlike the previous narrators, the majority of narrators seemed not to know the difference between covert and overt racism, or possibly had never considered there was any difference to be recognized. The concept was confusing to some who seemed unsure of how to characterize their experience and seemed conflicted about the actions or attitudes of others. Their comments indicate they believed what they witnessed or experienced was wrong, but they were not sure whether or not they were caused by racism. Others were flat out denials of racism as a major player in the disaster. The comments below reflecting those judgments were all given by male and female pastors all over the age of fifty. This comment was from a 60+ male pastor…

"To be honest I really can't say, but uh so many people had problems but I'm not aware of any uh people *** having problems. I do know in the evacuation now it was strange evacuation I know that they had both black and white at the uh Superdome but the following morning there was more [non-]whites in the Superdome. And we later found out that all the whites was on the…on the uh cruise ship."

One middle-aged female informant simply declined to answer:

"Uh…I do not wanna come on and talk about that. If they did, that's gon be between them and God."

In his experiences, the researcher, has come to notice, even among African Americans, that many consider racism such a controversial subject that they would rather avoid discussing and confronting the issue because of the feelings it may cause to surface, or because its such a monumental issue to tackle.

Some expressed an opinion that the storm was not a respecter of persons, and that everybody suffered equally, while others believed that the aftermath of the storm and the subsequent response of government highlighted the divide between white and black citizens, and the upper and lower classes of people. The white pastor of a black congregation said…

"I saw the storm's effect on rich and poor, black and white alike. It had no respect of persons. I was in the food stamp and the Red Cross line with people from all walks of life. As a result of Hurricane Katrina I saw people, churches, and denominations come together in a way I had never seen before. When you get right down to it, people are people."

A COGIC pastor of a Lower Ninth Ward congregation also said…

"Racism had a big part, although this storm did not see racial discrimination, but the people that was left here felt racism, they felt like uh a…a place what we say God Bless America had forgotten about that, America had forgotten about the black folk, it was racism. Even to the degree there was some white…white people, Caucasian people that was uh down here, but still they was financial able to evacuate to racism had a part to play in that."

Some responses reflected that classism had as big a part in the Katrina experience as did racism.

Some even referred to the poverty and neglect exposed by Katrina as problems related to class

rather than racism.   The Evangelical Lutheran pastor from whom we have heard earlier had this

to say about the revelation of race and class in the Katrina experience:

> "Well if not racism it certainly was classism, because I've seen Asians, I've seen whites
> but all in the lower-economic stratus that had been affected by it. If you had money you
> would have been negatively affected by it, but not to the point where you couldn't
> recover. But those who were on the low economic stratus have certainly been negatively
> affected so I would not be so inclined to quickly say it was racism, but I'd certainly call it
> classism."

And this elderly pastor of a Seventh Ward congregation had this to say:

> "I do not….phew I can't really say that racism played a part in it or…uh…I think I would
> just…I would believe more or less not racism but I believe more or less social. I think it
> just looked upon New Orleans or this city, this state. I think they have a different outlook
> from the government, upon the people of this state and this city… more in the class [ism]
> than race because of how the situation came down. "

The response below from a middle-aged bishop overseeing Spiritualist congregations in

the region framed the experience as more a class issue than a race issue.

> "…cos there was a lot of racism, a lot of discrimination and I like to look at it and say
> that it was discrimination by class. I do not wanna…because in all fairness if we keep
> beating the drum and saying it was done because of the color of my skin, I would say by
> class. Now if you wanna say that black people is a class, white people, Hispanic, that's
> great. But I wouldn't want to say just because black cos I have friends that are Hispanics
> and Vietnamese and white that had similar problems and the reason I know I speak from
> experience because I help people from all races and denominations, but yeah. I'm sure
> there were some people that's not of color that say, "well it's them'. But so goes the
> black community in New Orleans, so goes New Orleans, so goes the state of Louisiana,
> so goes America. So there was some racism at play, whether it was the only…I wouldn't
> say that everything was racism, but there was…it played it's part and I say…like I say
> discrimination by class and I would hope that it never would happen again in America
> because we are supposed to be the home of the brave, the land of the free and the
> constitution says that we have the pursuit of happiness and I…I think that Katrina did stir
> up something. It show that we need to collaborate and work together to be truly a United
> States of America and um under…with liberty under God."

Except for a few informants who believed racism had no part to play in the unfolding

events during and after Hurricane Katrina, most believed it played a significant part, while others

say a balance between racism and classism was the true culprit. Others would suggest that

classism in America has racism at it core. In any event, the data supported that racism as a social construct in New Orleans was significantly responsible for the level of suffering and the length of time it is taking the city to recover.

Summary: Keep On Keeping On

The legacy of Katrina is not just one of devastation and destruction, and displacement and death, but it is one of faith, and resiliency of a people and a city that refuses to be defeated, refuses to give up, refuses to "lie down and die". Out of the stories of the research participants six recurring themes evolved into five emerging patterns which show a progressive path from vulnerability to resiliency and sustainability. Also witnessed in the emerging patterns are cultural changes which represent an adapting of the culture-sharing group to new situations and circumstances of life. All of the narrations are amazing stories of survival, of picking up broken pieces and going on with life. When asked what they had that helped them get through the severe trial of Katrina, with out exception the answer was immediate as if it was as normal as waking up in the morning. "My faith in God" was the answer most readily given.

Faith In God was the most prevalent of the recurring themes, which enabled the culture-sharing group to invent new strategies and survival techniques never before done within the culture. The emergence of Satellite churches in other cities and states as close as eighty miles in Baton Rouge, and as far as 350 miles in Houston is indicative or resiliency and inventiveness on the part of the New Orleans African American Faith Community.

New outreach strategies to fellow Katrina victimized churches foster new alliances and coalitions for a stronger and more resilient city-wide church in New Orleans. This was evident as formerly disassociated churches welcomed others as boarders into newly renovated facilities until renovations could be completed in the boarding church's facilities. New partnerships

across denominational, racial, and socioeconomic lines represent new opportunities to further increase capacity for resiliency against future disasters as national alliances, partnerships, and relationships are formed.

Faith cannot be seen, but it was demonstrated and articulated in the narratives, attitudes, and actions of the evacuees. These patterns represent the evidence of faith that is not seen. Faith in God was already in the survival kit of the respondents, maybe untested to the degree it was during the ordeal with Katrina, but it is there now in greater measure than many respondents knew they had. It was the driving force for those who braved returning to a devastated city and a shattered life to start all over again. The data supports the equation of faith with resiliency for these respondents. Resiliency leads to more sustainable people and institutions.

Wherever they are, their faith is with them, a ready tool helping them to be more resilient and giving them greater sustainability in their lives. The following quote from an elderly female minister sums it up this way:

> "I thought it was just gonna get worst, nothing could happen to me that was any worse than that. Because of course my children all had their own homes and they all had their own families and everything, and I just said, "well I can't…I can't do this again, I cant' start all over again, I'm too old you know I'm almost 70! You can't do at 70 what you did at 25". You know so you know that was my…that was my worst experience, it was, just to realize that I have to start all over again, I have to be resilient enough to…to kinda pick myself up and do that."

CHAPTER 7: AFTERMATH

Summary and Answers to the Questions

Three and a half years after Hurricane Katrina pounded the Louisiana coastline and its major city, New Orleans, nearly fifty per cent of the churches, mosques, and synagogues remained in a state of devastation (Day, 2007a). Pre-Katrina, fifty per cent of the population of New Orleans lived at or below the poverty line and depended in large part upon African American churches to assist in a variety of ways as part of their support network. The black church in New Orleans served this unusually high proportion of the population by providing for its spiritual and social needs through various programs and services.

The churches performed these ministries using their own members and money to meet critical social needs. Few of the churches had sufficient resources to engage in ministry that worked to mitigate or alleviate the social conditions that produce situations of need in the lives of nearly 50 percent of the per-Katrina New Orleans population. Many of the churches existed in a state of vulnerability due to this lack of resources, causing them to use their monies to meet the operational needs of the congregation and to run the social programs for the community.

The primary questions this research attempted to explore and answer were: (1) What social vulnerabilities and barriers contributed to the magnitude of devastation and suffering experienced by the faith community in New Orleans during and after Hurricane Katrina?; (2) Which, if any, still exist that hinder the institutions' full recovery to pre-Katrina capacity to serve the needs of the community?; and (3) How are these institutions, turning pre and post-Katrina vulnerabilities into resiliency and sustainability in the hurricane's aftermath?

Social vulnerabilities in a community can range broadly from the negligence of government entities to attend to potentially destructive conditions such as a vanishing coastline that historically protected a city from storm surges, to the failure of emergency personnel to be proactive in disaster planning, even though evidence existed that more than 100,000 citizens without transportation or the means to evacuate would be left in harms way. Unfortunately, many communities give serious attention to social vulnerabilities in the aftermath of a disaster. In many communities, traffic lights are only installed at a dangerous intersection after several motorists and pedestrians are killed in accidents at the intersection.

A community may be made vulnerable by the presence of chemical plants, industrial manufacturers, and other operations that produce toxic waste which can and often does pollute the land, water, and air. In such cases, the vulnerabilities are far reaching and indiscriminate about who is affected. Contemplating the radioactive cloud drifting across West Germany from Chernobyl, Ulrick Beck, the German sociologist famously observed that "poverty is hierarchic, smog is democratic" (Beck, 1992, pg. 32). This was another way of saying that the wealthy among us could no longer buy their safety from invisible new dangers (Frickel, 2004).

On the one hand, Hurricane Katrina exposed New Orleans' deep racial and economic disparities which not only made the poor vulnerable to the storm, but also structured who got rescued and evacuated and when. On the other hand, breeches in the city's levee system made neighborhoods, rich and poor, vulnerable to destruction from flood waters. In both instances, the nation along with New Orleans learned valuable lessons about vulnerability issues that affected the city's ability to survive the disaster. Other communities across the country learned at New Orleans' expense to begin finding the vulnerabilities in their communities and to begin working to alleviate or mitigate them to make the communities more resilient.

Resilience refers to the capacity of an entity or system, whether a person or a city, to maintain and renew itself particularly in the presence of stressors, the aftermath of a disaster, or when the existence or viability of the entity or system is challenged or threatened. Resilience is a more dynamic phenomenon than a static one in a variety of systems. Establishing and maintaining resiliency is an ongoing effort to be aware of vulnerabilities and working constantly to alleviate or mitigate risk and potential for destruction due to stressors or disasters. What is the relationship of social vulnerabilities to community resiliency? Unfortunately, the first, once discovered or recognized for its destructive potential in the aftermath of a vulnerability-induced or assisted disaster, leads to the second. Social vulnerabilities, when clearly identified as such, provide a means of informing a community and its leaders about systemic and institutional weaknesses needing to be addressed in order to minimize risk and negative consequences on the community. Action taken to address those vulnerabilities or weaknesses leads a community to a state of increased resiliency and sustainability in the event of a disaster.

The following chart showing the relationship between social vulnerabilities, resiliency, and sustainability demonstrates how post Katrina New Orleans can go from discovery or recognition of social vulnerabilities that contributed to the magnitude of the catastrophe into a period of resiliency where strategies and mechanisms are put in place to give the city greater resistance, hence sustainability against future disasters. The researcher created a diagram of the relationship between vulnerabilities, resiliency, and sustainability that is called the DVRS Diagram. The initials stand for Disaster, Vulnerabilities, Resiliency, and Sustainability (See Figure 3).
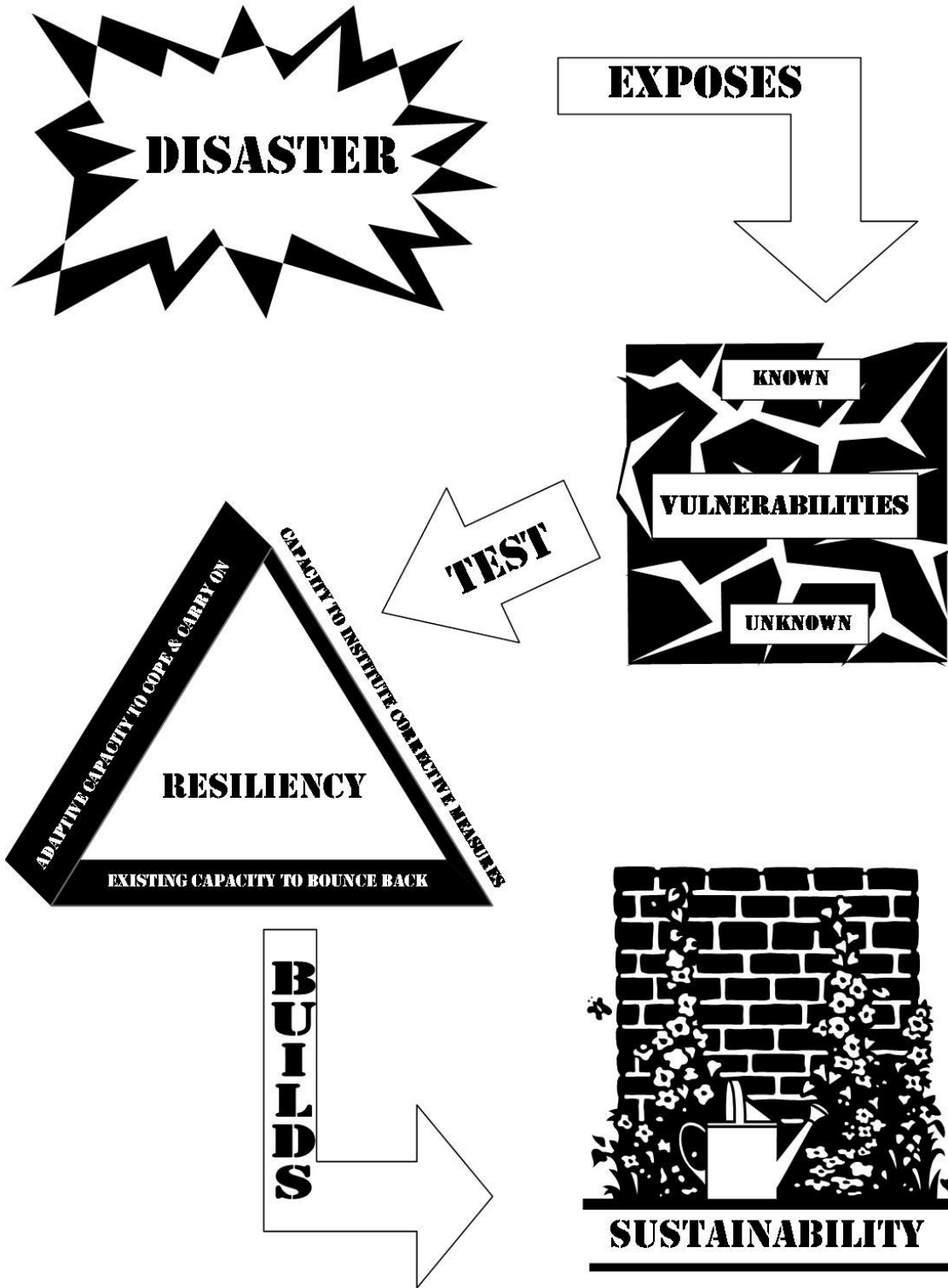
Figure 8: Disaster, Vulnerability, Resiliency & Sustainability Diagram

A superimposition of New Orleans' Katrina experience into the DVRS diagram gives an idea of how the city can move from disaster to sustainability against future disasters (See Appendices C-F).

In answering question one, what social vulnerabilities and barriers contributed to the magnitude of devastation and suffering experienced by the faith community in New Orleans during and after Hurricane Katrina, which still exists, and how is the church turning these vulnerabilities into resiliency and sustainability, the researcher found a list of known and unknown vulnerabilities existing within governmental, ecclesiastical, and community structures that positioned New Orleans and its people in a severely compromised state.

The natural disaster of Hurricane Katrina was made worse by these long-standing, unaddressed vulnerabilities; its effects upon the city, the church, and the people were intensified because of them. Structural and institutional racism were determined by the researcher to be at the base of these vulnerabilities at the time of Katrina, and are still existing and making the rate of recovery slower than normal. Since Katrina, the church has embarked upon a series of new patterns with which to address their vulnerabilities and turn them into resiliency and sustainability.

Question two is, "In what ways did the social constructs of race and class contribute to the vulnerabilities of the faith community pre-Katrina; and how are they continuing to present challenges and barriers to the recovery of faith institutions and their parishioners?"

In addition to a church infrastructure with only marginal resources to perform its ministry, race also played a major part in the financial vulnerability of the churches pre-Katrina as white flight to the suburbs in the 1960's through the 1980's left the city without a sufficient tax base to maintain city services. The city became increasingly African American and

impoverished. This population made up the memberships of the churches which were a part of the target group this study undertook to investigate. Political bickering before the storm also contributed to the vulnerability of the church, and to the community to receive timely assistance from state and federal government agencies to perform rescue operations and relieve suffering of tens of thousands of citizens stranded in a flooded city.

There was substantive loss of parishioners, financial resources, and program operational infrastructure that severely limited, if not completely destroyed, the churches' capacity to serve as assistants and advocates for nearly half of the population living in poverty. Katrina effectively decimated and halted the delivery of the churches' ministry to the poor. Even those faith institutions whose physical structures sustained minimal damage from hurricane winds and waters are still suffering from decreased congregation sizes and financial resources.

Question three is, "What strategies or actions have institutions of faith employed to facilitate their recovery and that of their congregants?" The data revealed the emergence of several patterns that provided a platform of resiliency and recovery for the churches' continuity of existence and move toward sustainability. These included the emergence of satellite churches established by New Orleans churches in the cities to which significant numbers of their parishioners evacuated. A pattern of increased incidences of churches helping other churches with their recovery by allowing multiple churches to use the facility of undamaged or rebuilt and reopened church facilities aided the recovery of those churches, but also created an emerging pattern of "invisible churches".

Another emerging pattern was that of increased awareness, interest, and participation of the churches in the area of disaster preparedness. This pattern resulted in a proactive move of churches to make advanced preparation for people and facilities through disaster education,

preparing evacuation plans, and rebuilding with hurricane proof building materials and taking measures to protect critical systems from future flooding. Finally, an emerging pattern of forming new partnerships locally and abroad with churches across denominational and racial lines helped facilitate the recovery of churches in the New Orleans area.

Question three also asks, "How has the work of local congregations and national institutions of faith helped the recovery of the New Orleans community; and aided in fostering decreased vulnerability and increased resiliency and sustainability of the community against the threat of future disasters and devastation?" The efforts of local and national faith-based groups demonstrated that communities can rebuild quickly and responsibly without the delays and red tape of government bureaucracy. This was the case with nearly all of the large national denominations in their rapid response and mobilization of manpower and money in New Orleans. These groups assisted with the immediate emergency needs to help stand the New Orleans church back upon their feet. Many new relationships have formed that are continuing to give aid toward more resilient and sustainable churches.

Question four is, "What actions might faith institutions take to increase their strength, viability, and capacity as an affinity group against future disasters; and what can they do to lobby against the racism, economic disparity and social injustices that contributed to their post- Katrina situation?" The data substantiated these efforts to already be underway with churches planning together, working together and providing aid to churches still needing to rebuild. The new partnerships across traditional lines of denomination and race have generated new groups of biracial and ethnic ministerial coalitions that are working intentionally to overcome the race barrier among the churches in New Orleans.

Future Outlook

Should there be another potentially Katrina-like disaster threatening the city of New Orleans in the near or distant future, the city and its faith community are already better prepared to handle the disaster. Churches have begun, though on a small but growing scale to educate parishioners about the dangers of riding out future storms. The work of Operation Brothers Keeper should enjoy a surge in participation from the newly emerged pattern of increased awareness, interest and participation with disaster preparedness and response programs. Newly formed satellite churches will make evacuation for the members of the New Orleans mother churches easier and more effective by having members take shelter among their church family in evacuation destinations. These patterns could become models for other churches and ministries for greater growth as well as in accommodating their memberships during times of a disaster. Through hard trials and tribulations, New Orleans has led the way in writing the first play book on how to evacuate a major U. S. city in times of a disaster. As city government, Operation Brothers Keeper, and the African American faith community continue to refine and hone their skills in disaster preparedness and response, the rest of the country will have an increasingly better model from which to design their own disaster playbook.

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APPENDIX A: Letter to Congregations Requesting Participation in Study

June 12, 2008

Dear Fellow Katrina Survivors:

August, 2008 will mark the third year anniversary of this nation's worse disaster in its history.   The eyes of the world focused almost exclusively upon New Orleans and the Mississippi Gulf Coast for a period of time in the immediate aftermath of the storm; and much was written and reported to enlighten the world about the area and its people who most directly suffered as a result of the devastation. On the other hand, not much has been documented on the personal experiences of people of faith, both pastors and parishioners alike, who suffered, endured, and have some how garnered the strength to keep going in Katrina's wake; even though it was the faith community that stepped up without a lot of bureaucratic delays to serve the needs of the victims of Katrina.

Now we are struggling to keep the eyes of our own nation open to the reality that many poor and predominantly African American neighborhoods have yet to return to a modicum of normalcy. This reality is being hidden by a reopened French Quarter, Superdome, Convention Center, and Uptown neighborhoods that are frequented by tourists. Most pronounced is the slow pace of recovery of our houses of worship and the pastors and congregations whose faith helped keep and sustain the city.

In light of these facts, I have committed to researching and documenting the stories of our pastors, congregations, and houses of worship to preserve a side of the story that will otherwise go unrecognized. I am working with Dr. Pamela Jenkins, a sociologist and Chair of my doctoral committee in Urban Studies at The University of New Orleans and the Social Sciences Research Center to gather, report, and publish the stories of pastors and people of faith who survived Hurricane Katrina.

I would like to request your participation with other pastors and people of faith in this worthwhile project. We would like to document your personal story, your church's story, and photographs, if any, for inclusion in our study. The plan is to get 50 groups of two to interview each other. We will furnish interview questions and tapes. Participants are asked to bring cassette tape recorders if available. Turns will be taken interviewing each other. The interviews will take about two hours from 10:00 AM to 12:00 noon with lunch following on Monday, June 30, 2008 at UNO.

Please contact me ASAP to let me know one way or the other of your decision. I can be reached at 504-669-5145, 504-486-0942, or mtruejr@aol.com to give your response. More information will be furnished after you contact me with your decision.

Sincerely,

Rev. Dr. Marshall Truehill, Jr.
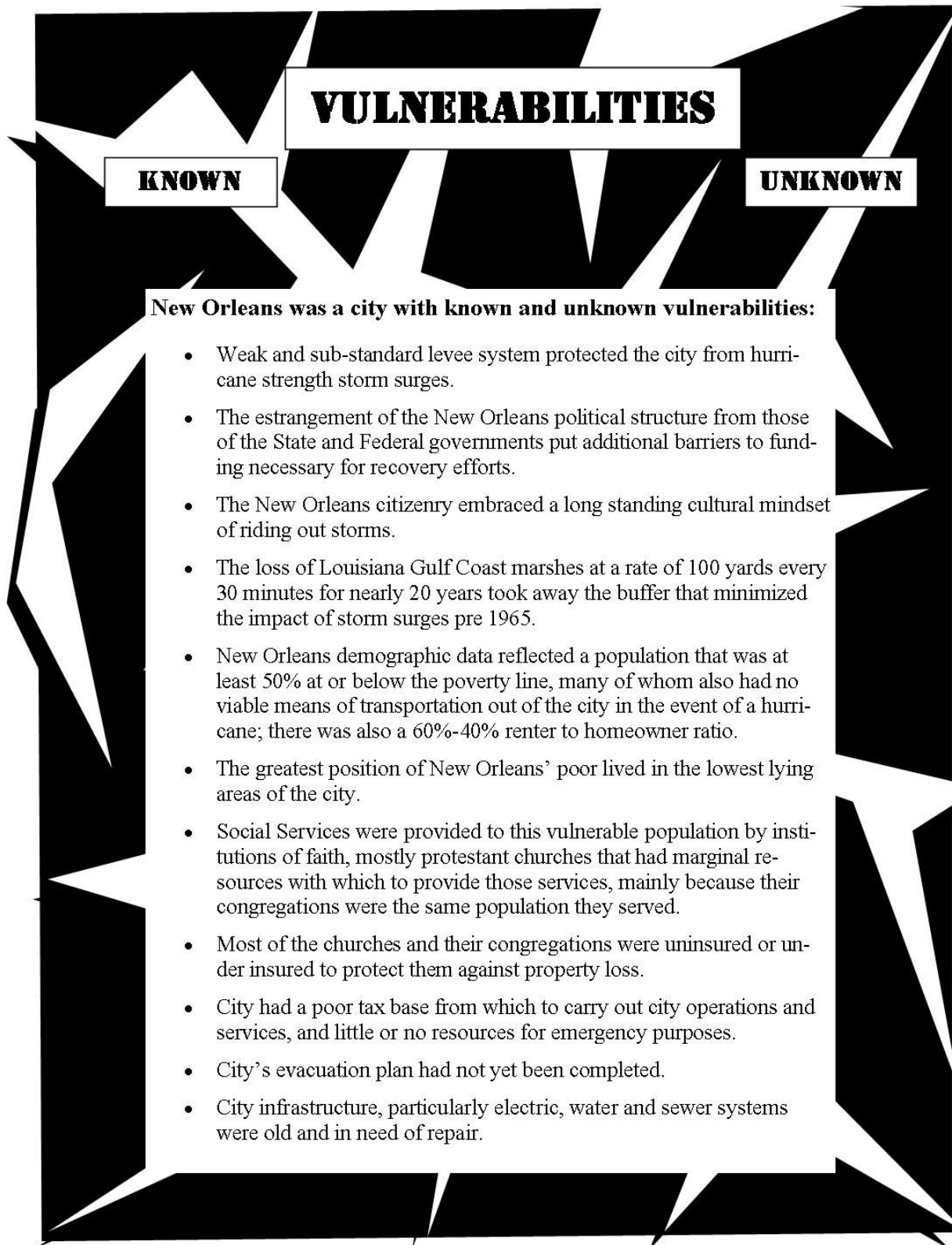
APPENDIX B: Questions and Answer Matrix Sample

CODES	ID	1. Life/Ministry before hurricane
CRT	PK	We were engaged in uh with the youth of the central city community doing uh….uh programs to reduce the violent crime in the city, central city particularly the area where uh the church is located, has been a hotspot for violent crimes in New Orleans and New Orleans has been rated the murder capital of the…of the uh United States and even recently the third uh largest uh murder rate per capita in the world. And so we have been engaged in helping to address that issue here in uh Central City prior to Katrina and even now. Well we have the very visible street ministry where I am engaged in walking the streets, talking with the uh element that might be engaged in uh those activities. We're also working to reduce the number of stores in the community that sell tobacco products and alcohol, places where loitering may happen and uh as a result of the loitering, drug sales and ah violent crime erupting. Before Katrina we had membership about 300 plus. Uh lower…lower-middle class and lower class. Well we um…we have a facility that's over uh 8000 sq. feet, we have classrooms on the upper level, we have uh a sanctuary that can seat 140 and a fellowship hall. No. (re: state/federal funding of programs)
DC	MH	Uh we were a small but uh very productive uh fellowship or church, a family oriented church that consisted of 60 members or membership. We were active in the community uh I had uh church helping neighbors, we passed out baskets during the holidays, we was involved with the uh school that was in our community uh so we were very functional Uh as I just said it was…we was uh approximately 60 members…uh membership No uh we didn't get federal funded, everything came out of the church uh although many people donated to our different functions that we had outside uh…evangelistic things they could come and fund things of that nature. Uh we had a fellowship hall uh where was uh getting ready to put a Christian Daycare Center there uh we had uh a church that would seat almost 200 people. Uh it was a nice size community church.
EP	MC	Well my ministry life was based on community activity, and I communicated in the hospitals and visiting the sick. Feeding the hungry, we had numerous amount of programs in our church which we are no longer able to have due to Katrina. It set us back but it didn't kill us or knock us out because faith in Christ gave us a more larger and more broader avenue, but now we find it difficult to do, because most of the people we minister are no longer here, and we're striving to make it on what we have. Basically we was a church organized programs, well church-based…faith-based programs without financial assistance we operated over two to three hundred people were being ministered to weekly. Well we had…we…we…we had certain educated people. We had politicians, we had policeman, we had doctors, we had nurses, we had a mixed congregation of very professional people.

APPENDIX C: Disaster Diagram

KATRINA

- 80% of city inundated with flood waters for 3 weeks or more

- 80-85% of housing stock flooded.

- 300,000 persons were displaced in 48 of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

- Close to 95% of physical facilities of churches, synagogues and mosques were damaged to varying degrees.

- 2 years later, nearly 75-80% of faith institutions are still in disrepair (53%?)

- Nearly all public housing communities were officially closed by HUD & HANO.

- Over 150,000 people are still displaced from the city.

- Only about 25-30% of eligible applicants for Road Home funds have received relief payments to help mitigate damage.

- Little or no assistance has been made available to restore rental properties in New Orleans.

- Faith leaders were displaced with displaced parishioners.

- Complete loss of income for faith leaders and followers.

- Loss of parishioners homes and houses of worship with no means to replace if there was no insurance.

- Loss of social service network previously provided by faith institutions.

- Current crises in housing, healthcare, parochial education system and programs that service indigent persons.

APPENDIX D: Vulnerabilities Diagram

VULNERABILITIES

KNOWN

UNKNOWN

New Orleans was a city with known and unknown vulnerabilities:

- Weak and sub-standard levee system protected the city from hurricane strength storm surges.

- The estrangement of the New Orleans political structure from those of the State and Federal governments put additional barriers to funding necessary for recovery efforts.

- The New Orleans citizenry embraced a long standing cultural mindset of riding out storms.

- The loss of Louisiana Gulf Coast marshes at a rate of 100 yards every 30 minutes for nearly 20 years took away the buffer that minimized the impact of storm surges pre 1965.

- New Orleans demographic data reflected a population that was at least 50% at or below the poverty line, many of whom also had no viable means of transportation out of the city in the event of a hurricane; there was also a 60%-40% renter to homeowner ratio.

- The greatest position of New Orleans' poor lived in the lowest lying areas of the city.

- Social Services were provided to this vulnerable population by institutions of faith, mostly protestant churches that had marginal resources with which to provide those services, mainly because their congregations were the same population they served.

- Most of the churches and their congregations were uninsured or under insured to protect them against property loss.

- City had a poor tax base from which to carry out city operations and services, and little or no resources for emergency purposes.

- City's evacuation plan had not yet been completed.

- City infrastructure, particularly electric, water and sewer systems were old and in need of repair.

RESILIENCY

CAPACITY TO INSTITUTE CORRECTIVE MEASURES

ADAPTIVE CAPACITY TO COPE & CARRY ON

- Disaster recovery funds.
- OBK ministry year-round.
- Floodable first floor space.
- Church and personal disaster plans.
- Group insurance for church facilities.
- Air Conditioner compressors on roof.
- Disaster preparedness stores in church.
- Rebuild using hurricane proof building materials.
- Partnerships with churches outside of the risk area.
- Employ mitigation solutions, ie. Electrical service above 2nd floor.
- Church disaster education programs for membership and the community.
- Technical trade collaboration / cooperative to assist churches with rebuild.
- Lobby congress and state governments to fund faith-based resiliency projects based on social services track record to communities.
- Large life rafts, vests, oars to accommodate 10-15 people per trip to higher ground.
- Churches to engage in economic development ministries to supplement tithes and offerings.
- Participation of faith-based groups with city government to prepare for more effective evacuation, rescue, relief and rebuild efforts.

EXISTING CAPACITY TO BOUNCE BACK

APPENDIX F: Sustainability Diagram

A STRONGER, MORE SECURE NEW ORLEANS

SUSTAINABILITY

APPENDIX G: Katrina Related Deaths

The New Orleans Agenda

Katrina Related Deaths - Let's Not Forget
Limmie (Linda) Domango, age 67 / Rosemary C Weber, age 74 / Justin Benjamin, age 25 / Ersia G. Henderson / Eliza Shorter, age 81 / Dwight A. Shorter, age 54 / Dorothy E. Signal, age 86 / Andrew "Drew" Cowart, age 53 / Raymond "Timmy" Wilson, age 63 / Loudy Blaise / Prentiss Miller / Joseph Ingraham / Be Be Prout / Tease Williamson / Bertrand Ragas / Sheila Harvey / Stokes Encalade / Doretha Riley / J. U. Riley / Clark Riley / Bunny Lee Henry / Louella Mack / Lawrence A. Dickerson, age 22 / Michael Turner / Lisa Henry / Gracie Williams / Ella Battle / Gugu Battle / John Lewis III / Marline A. Blackmore / Thelma Pinkey / Douglas Price, Jr / Lucy Boudreaux , age 85 / Jacqueline Dase, age 42 / Myra Dugue Bazanac, age 67 / Minister Lofton C. Johnson, age 60 / Julius Peter Carriere / Darlene Jenice Mason, age 43 / Myrtle Kroll Spears, age 94 / Ruby Broyard Beslin, age 94 / Michael "Big Mike" Johnson, age 54 / Harold A. Dede, Sr, age 93 / Emory Williams, age 70 / Eddie Anderson, age 70 / David Mutin, age 49 / Clara Barconey Hymes, age 96 / Vernon Anthony Green, age 58 / Evelyn Louise R. Dusuau / Alfred Joseph Butler Jr., age 69 / Rosetta "Rose" Morant Hubbard, age 67 / Frederick "Shep" Sheppard / Earnest Bunn, Sr., age 79 / Lydia Armstrong / Eugene J. "Coach" Shedrick / Kerry K. Hearns, age 54 / Harold Babbitt, age 52 / Marlon Lanaux, age 28 / Peter Lanaux, age 82 / Mervin Joseph Bachemin, Sr., age 71 / Maurine Hebert, 70's/ Mrs Melba Sylvain, 80's / Mr. Donald Adams, 70's /Mrs. Evelyn Comeaux, age 84 / Ethel Mae Robertson, age 84 / Thelma Jeff, age 89 / Rosa B King, age 95 / Evelyn Geissler Doran Burns, age 97 / Mrs. Jean W. Griffin, age 77 / Edward "Sheby" Kimbrough, age 70's / Mother Estelle Berryman James, age 87 / Charles Jones / Mrs. Swanier Jones / Mildred Hambrick Randolph / Laura Stevenson, age 70's / Anthony Atiim Jones, Sr., age 32 / George "Georgie" Poche, age 89 / Ronald G. Baptist, Sr., age 69 / Octavia T. H. Morrison, age 87 / Austin Leslie, age 71 / Irvin Mayfield, Sr. / Sister Francis, age 67 / Cecile Alexis / Joan Blackwell / Carolyn Blunt / Frank Elijah Caliste / Alfred J Gourrier, Sr., age 92 / Gregory Lucas, age 48 / Eustis Guillement, Sr., age 92 / Louise T. Lewis, age 75 / William S. Porter, age 73 /

APPENDIX H: Chart of Satellite Churches

NEW ORLEANS CHURCHES WITH SATELLITE CONGREGATIONS

Church Name	Pastor	N.O. Location	N.O. Worship Times	Satellite Location(s)	Satellite Worship Times
Bibleway Missionary B.C.	Rev. Dr. Frank Davis, III	3201 Orleans Ave, NOLA 70179 PO Box 19768, NOLA 70179 Ph: 504-486-7876 Fax: 504-488-7661 www.thestudyhour.com	Sunday 8:00am Sun 6:30am @ WHNOTV 20 Sat 8:30am @ 1060AM	Little Bethel Baptist Church 210 W. Palmetto, Amite, LA 70422 Ph: 985-748-6861 Fax: 985-748-8020	Sun 9:30am Sunday School Sun 11:30am Worship Thur 6:30pm Prayer Svc Thur 7:30pm Bible Study
First Emanuel B.C.	Rev. Charles J. Southall	829 Carondelet St. NOLA 70130 504-524-8891 www.firstemanuelbaptistchurch.org	Tue 7:00pm Bible Study Tue 8:00pm Choir Rhrsl Sun 7:30am Worship Svc	1933 Wooddale, B.R. LA 70806 225-218-8891	Wed 6:00pm Worship (kids) Wed 7:00pm Worship (adults) Sun 12:00pm Worship
Franklin Avenue B.C.	Rev. Fred Luter	First Baptist Church New Orleans 5290 Canal Blvd., NOLA 70124 PO Box 3926, NOLA 70117 Ph: 504-488-8488 Fax: 504-488-8489 www.franklinabc.com	Sun 7:30am Worship	Florida Boulevard. Baptist Church 10915 Florida Blvd., BR LA 70814 The Power Center 12401 S. Post Oak Rd. Houston, Texas 77045 6711 Long Point Rd. Houston, Texas 77255 Ph: 713-688-4700 Fax: 713-688-5676	Sun 1:00pm (1st & 3rd Sun.) Sun 9:00am
Good News B.C.	Rev. Oscar Williams	3302 St. Claude Ave, NOLA 70117 nrqnbc1995@yahoo.com		First Baptist Church 11562 River Rd., Destrehan LA 70047 PO Box 731, Destrehan LA 70047 504-944-0086	Sun 12:00pm Worship Wed 7:30pm Bible Study
Korean Presbyterian Church of N.O.	Rev. Jun Park	4439 Canal Street, NOLA 70119		Boradmoore Presbyterian Church 9340 Florida Blvd. BR LA 70815 Ph: 703-963-5283	Sun 11:00am Worship

(Appendix H continued)

Church	Leader	Address / Contact	Service Times	Second Location	Service Times
Christian Faith Temple	Dr. Gregory J. Thomas	8250 I 10 Service Rd, NOLA 70126 (504) 242-6178 drgreggi@gmail.com	Sun 11:00am Worship	Jubilee Church International 7115 Diamond Falls Lane Spring, Texas 77389	Wed 7:00pm Worship
Full Gospel COGIC	Bishop Charles Brown	1031 N Claiborne Ave New Orleans, LA 70116-2202 www.fullgospelcogic.com		1369 Spears Rd. Houston, TX 77067 14405 Walters Rd Suite 468 Houston, TX 77014 Ph: 832-249-7272 Fax : 832-249-7287	Sun 10:00am Prayer Svc Sun 10:30am Worship Wed 7:00pm Bible Study
Beacon Light International Baptist Cathedral	Bishop Darryl Brister	Greater St. Stephen F.G.B.C. 2100 Ames Blvd. New Orleans, LA www.beaconlight.org	Sun 3:00pm Worship Tue 7:00pm Bible Study	501 Murphy Road/FM 1092 Stafford, TX 77477 281-261-1377	Sun 8:30am Prayer Svc Sun 9:00am Worship Wed 7:00pm Bible Study
Greater St. Stephens Full Gospel B.C.	Bishop Paul S. Morton	2240 Simon Bolivar, NOLA 70113 Ph: 504-899-7771 Fax: 504-899-7454 www.changingagenerationministries.org	Sun 9:00am Worship Sun 11:15am Worship Sun 10:30am Sunday School (1st) Sun 6:30pm Comm. Tue 12:00pm Prayer Svc Sat 8:30pm UPN 54 Sun 2:00pm WHNO 20	Changing A Generation F.G.B.C. 4185 Snapfinger Woods Drive Decatur, GA 30035	Sun 8:45am Worship Sun 11:00am Worship Sun 10:15am Sunday School (3rd) Sun 7:00pm Communion (3rd) Sun 5:30pm DTU Tue 12:00pm Prayer Svc Wed 7:30pm Word Explosion Sat 8:30am AIB Sun 6:30am MYATL Sun 11:30pm WATC57 Sat 7:30am 97.5FM
New Home Missionary B.C	Rev. Robert C. Blakes, Jr.	1605 Carondelet St New Orleans, LA 70130 504-529-1302		8650 Ferdinand Street Houston, TX 77051 713-734-2908 3000 Tecumseh, B.R., LA 70805 Ph: 225-358-6780	

VITA

Dr. Marshall Truehill, Jr. is a native New Orleanian and was educated in the public schools of New Orleans. He received the Bachelor of Science Degree in Music Education from Xavier University in 1973. He received the Bachelor of Theology Degree from Christian Bible College in 1979, the Master of Divinity Degree from New Orleans Theological Seminary in 1986, and the Doctor of Ministry from New Orleans Baptist Seminary in May 1990. Dr. Truehill's doctoral project is entitled Reclaiming Young Adult, Urban Black Males into the Life and Work of Faith In Action Baptist Church. He received an Honorary Doctor of Theology from A. P. Clay Theological College June 2005. He is a past Doctoral Fellow at the University of New Orleans in the Department of Urban Studies.

Dr. Truehill is the founder and Executive Director of Faith In Action Evangelistic Team, Inc., and Pastor of First United Baptist Church, both of New Orleans. He is known for his expertise in ministry in public housing projects. Since 1973, he has ardently pursued his vision to improve the quality of life in the projects through the application of biblical principles. Dr. Truehill served as a consultant to the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in the area of Multi-family Housing and led training seminars across the country on Ministering in Public Housing Projects.

He has served since 1997 as the Moderator of the Total Community Action Faith Collaborative in New Orleans which was composed of over thirty judicatories of faith communities from every religious persuasion and denomination. He serves as President of the Board of City-Works, a advocacy and educational group composed of Architects, Urban Planners, and activists committed to the sustainable rebuilding of New Orleans' community, economy, and built environment.

Additionally, Dr. Truehill served as Chairman of the Board of Multi-Family Missions Ministry of Louisiana, of which he is still an active member of the board, Assistant Director of the Institute for Resident Initiatives at Tulane University, Vice-Chairman of the Board of the New Orleans Jobs Initiative, and a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Desire-Florida Public Benefits Corporation appointed by Mayor Marc Morial.

Dr. Truehill also served on the Metro Vision and Ritz Carlton Workforce Development Task Forces, and was appointed by Mayor Morial to the New Orleans City Planning Commission in 1998, where he served as Vice Chairman from 1999 to 2001, and Chairman from 2001 to 2003. In 2004, Dr. Truehill received an honorary Doctorate in Theology from A.P. Clay Bible College.

Dr. Truehill has been honored as a U.S.A.A. All American Scholar, and listed in Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1988; Who's Who in Religion, 1992; Who's Who of Emerging Leaders in America, 1991; Men of Achievement, 1989; and others. He is married to Miranda Farr, and is the proud father of three daughters and two sons.