Contemplating the Katrina Whirlwind: From “Apocalypse Now” to Solidarity for the Common Good

Edward B. Arroyo, S.J.

INTRODUCTION

Hurricane Katrina precipitated a variety of faith-based responses. Some viewed the storm as judgment and punishment for sin. Others took the occasion more positively as a challenge to believers’ commitment to works of charity and justice. In this article I explore the role of faith-based responses to the Katrina catastrophe which move beyond traditional charity in the direction of building long-term institutional structures of justice and solidarity. In exploring these themes I also fill a gap in sociological research on disasters which has neglected to recognize the role of faith-based organizations in disaster recovery.

Shortly after the hurricane and the subsequent human crisis caused by multiple levee failures, some religious figures noted the simultaneous convergence of the storm with the annual Southern Decadence festival in New Orleans’s French Quarter. Michael Marcavage, director of the Christian evangelical organization Repent America, evoked apocalyptic themes alluding to God’s final judgment of sinners when he stated, “Although the loss of lives is deeply saddening, this act of God destroyed a wicked city.” He also expressed the hope that “[f]rom the devastation may a city full of righteousness emerge.” In a similar vein, Rev. John Hagee, founder and senior pastor at the Cornerstone Church in San Antonio, Texas, a nondenominational church with over eighteen thousand active members, maintained that God caused Hurricane Katrina to wipe out New Orleans.
In an interview, he blamed the hurricane on the city’s sinfulness. These two recent apocalyptic interpretations of Katrina fit into a long tradition of interpreting disasters as “Acts of God.”

Despite such commentary suggesting otherwise, Hurricane Katrina presumably affected sinners and the virtuous indiscriminately. Katrina was not, in fact, simultaneous with Southern Decadence—the storm actually struck Louisiana on August 29, 2005, several days before the Southern Decadence event scheduled for Labor Day weekend (September 3-5, 2005). Although this event was cancelled in 2005 due to the hurricane, it has returned annually to post-Katrina New Orleans. In fact, one of the least damaged parts of the city was the French Quarter, where much of the event’s presumed decadence would have occurred. Katrina was equally devastating to many other locales along the Gulf Coast that had nothing to do with Southern Decadence or the sins of New Orleans. Moreover, many of the victims of Katrina were likely people of faith who were probably not very inclined to participate in Southern Decadence.

To anyone who witnessed Hurricane Katrina, it was obvious that the storm’s impact, while serious, was greatly exacerbated by the consequences of human disasters, such as the failure of the pumps and levees and government’s inadequate evacuation preparation, that occurred days after the storm’s arrival. These human and natural disasters seem to have been equal opportunity destroyers, far from the hypothesized retribution of an angry deity against a wicked city.

Natural as well as human disasters have sometimes provoked other apocalyptic interpretations in history. But people of faith have also exhibited more rational responses to disaster, as evidenced by the major role religion has played in the recovery of the Gulf Coast from the hurricane’s damage and flooding. Since the storm, innumerable religious-minded volunteers have flooded post-Katrina New Orleans in relief efforts to provide hands-on charitable help, such as clearing rubbish and removing moldy, water-soaked wallboard. An investigation by the Corporation for

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National and Community Service estimated that 1,150,000 volunteers provided fourteen million hours of storm-related service in 2006 and 2007.\textsuperscript{18} According to this report, over half of the twenty-four organizations that contributed volunteer services in 2007 were affiliated with religious organizations. Among these are Catholic Charities USA, Lutheran Disaster Response, Mennonite Disaster Services, and United Jewish Communities.\textsuperscript{19} Additionally, many of the volunteers not affiliated with religious organizations claimed to have been motivated by their faith to provide aid to survivors of the hurricane.\textsuperscript{20}

I. CHARITY, JUSTICE, AND FAITHJUSTICE, IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERPRETIVE SOCIOLOGY

The teaching and practice of most religions encourage both charity and justice.\textsuperscript{21} In this article, by charity, I mean acts that are primarily private, undertaken mainly by an individual or individuals to respond to immediate emergencies rather than addressing long-term needs, and providing direct assistance or services such as food, clothing, or shelter. In the Christian scriptures, the archetypical practices of charity include feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, welcoming the stranger, clothing the naked, caring for the ill, and visiting the prisoner.\textsuperscript{22} Such works of charity often involve repeated actions, do not usually have significant structural impacts such as effecting change in social systems, and are primarily directed to the effects of injustice rather than its causes.

By justice, I mean actions that are primarily public and collective, which attempt to meet long-term needs, promote social change in institutions, advocate for just public policies, empower the victims of injustice, attempt to resolve structural injustices, and are directed to the root causes of injustice.\textsuperscript{23} In this article, I attempt to look beyond the tremendous outpouring of religiously-motivated emergency help—charity, pastoral care, and volunteerism—to examine some faith-based efforts to develop long-
term institutional and justice-oriented structures of solidarity in response to the Katrina disaster.

I contend that a more just society is best institutionalized not simply from above by the just policies and practices of a just State, but also through the middle-range development of intermediate social structures for justice. Thus, I will describe some post-Katrina, faith-based structures of justice that complement traditional religious pastoral and charitable efforts. The Catholic social thought tradition asserts the importance of subsidiarity, the provision of intermediate organizations, such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), that protect and foster basic human rights, social justice, charity, etc. Such subsidiary institutions may focus on many goals, including charity or justice, but are not limited in nature to these particular goals. The point is that they are intermediate institutions between the individual and the State. Along these lines, the Catholic tradition’s principle of subsidiarity asserts that “it is an injustice . . . to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do.” For example, the first social encyclical in the corpus of Catholic social teaching, Rerum Novarum (1891), advocates not only government responsibility but also the need for intermediate groups:

The government should make similarly effective efforts to see that those who are able to work can find employment in keeping with their aptitudes, and that each worker receives a wage in keeping with the laws of justice and equity. It should be equally the concern of civil authorities to ensure that workers be allowed their proper responsibility in the work undertaken in industrial organization, and to facilitate the establishment of intermediate groups which will make social life richer and more effective.

An example of a secular intermediate organization is a labor union, which promotes workers’ rights to earn a just wage. In contrast, the St. Vincent de Paul Society is a faith-based organization (FBO) which establishes soup kitchens to feed the hungry unemployed as part of its charitable practices. Institutionalizing parallelism between charity and...
justice, the social ministries of the Catholic Church in the United States, both nationally and in each regional diocese, are organized into two parallel and complementary structures: Catholic Charities, one of the largest NGO providers of direct social services in the United States, and the Catholic Campaign for Human Development, which seeks to address the root causes of poverty by empowering people to build intermediate organizations for a more just society.

Usage of these terms suggests a range of possibilities on a continuum between charity and justice, as well as an interdependent relationship between the two. I view charity and justice as different but complementary, not a rigid set of contradictory either-or concepts. In this, my use of the terms justice and charity employs the method of ideal types of early sociologist Max Weber’s Verstehende Soziologie. Thus, in contrast to investigating exclusively charitable organizations’ response to the disaster, I am exploring some faith-based responses to the Gulf Coast hurricanes which tend to include more of the elements of justice and emerge as long-term intermediate organizations—institutional structures of solidarity and justice that complement immediate individual acts of charity in response to emergencies.

Before I delve into social science approaches to the question at hand, I also must clarify the theological understanding of faith in relationship to justice. Fred Kammer, in the introduction to his book Doing Faithjustice, clarifies the understanding of faith and justice as interdependent concepts, perhaps more easily understood as points along a continuum than as distinct, either-or polarities. As unusual as this may seem to the logician or the constitutional lawyer, Kammer (a Yale-trained attorney) maintains that some Judeo-Christian faith traditions understand faith and justice as interdependent in a way similar to my discussion of charity and justice above.

To clarify, I will apply these concepts to an example. When a person or organization coming out of this understanding of faithjustice undertakes
advocacy for “the least,” as found in the Christian scriptures, or for the “anawim,” as found in the Hebrew scriptures, it is not so much a matter of that person or organization acting either out of a justice motivation or out of a faith orientation. Rather, that person or organization may act out of a motivation based on both faith and justice, or a mixture of the two. Although I use this conceptualization of motivation from a basis in social science, the phenomenon of “mixed motivation” is also recognized in the history of the law. In my opinion, humans rarely act simply on the basis of one pure motive or another; humans often act based on mixed motives, some of which may remain latent or even unknown. In the context of my topic, I assert that faithjustice is one of the motivating values behind the post-Katrina FBO initiatives I selected to investigate. The actors’ and organizations’ motives are probably mixed, but the people and organizations are all primarily faith-based by my selection and judgment. These, then, are my understandings and use of some important terms—charity, faith, and justice—at both the individual and organizational or structural levels of action. I realize that these words may have very different nuances and meanings in different contexts and to different users. To a constitutional lawyer, justice probably does not have much to do with biblical “fidelity to the demands of a relationship.” But to a person of faith, that might be a most apt definition.

II. SOCIAL SCIENCE DISASTER RESEARCH AND FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

I now begin to investigate some of what social science has to contribute to the understanding of FBOs and disasters such as Katrina. One of the few books addressing the role of FBOs in times of disaster notes the outpouring of religious concern following Hurricane Katrina. Harold Keonig equates the response of religious organizations with that of government and secular NGOs:
Within less than a week after the hurricane struck, news reports began appearing about the activities of churches in disaster relief. The websites of virtually every religious group ranging from Muslims to Buddhists to fundamentalist Christians were soliciting donations and asking for volunteers to help in this effort. It will be years before we have objective information on the scope of these activities; however, it is safe to say that the amount of immediate and long-term assistance will rival in volume that provided either by the U.S. government or by secular private relief organizations (i.e., United Way).42

The role of FBOs and NGOs in the post-Katrina disaster response was significant enough that the Homeland Security Institute (hereinafter Institute)43 undertook research to document and study these volunteer efforts in order to enable more effective government collaboration with FBOs in future emergencies.44 The Institute’s study concluded that FBOs and NGOs were effective for three broad reasons: their specific mission and strong motivation to be responsive to whatever people needed, their closeness to and familiarity with the communities they served, and [their] access, either directly or through networks, to unique resources and capabilities directly applicable to the types of services needed following a disaster.45

As the number of FBOs responding to the crisis following Hurricane Katrina increased, some local voices criticized government and secular NGOs’ failure to meet their responsibilities to provide needed services. These critics argued that FBOs alone could never provide all of the services that were needed.46 “Enough with your volunteer charity,” one outspoken critic declaimed at a gathering in New Orleans, “what we need here and now is justice, not your charity.”47 In a similar vein, the organizing philosophy of the Common Ground Collective, founded in New Orleans as a response to the disaster, is “Solidarity Not Charity.”48

Although it had some earlier roots in the study of collective behavior,49 sociological disaster research has developed into a formal subdiscipline, especially in the United States, since its origins in the early 1950s.50 The
founding of the Disaster Research Center (DRC) by Russell Dynes and Enrico Quarantelli at Ohio State University in 1963 centralized the systematic collection and analysis of disaster research information. The DRC, along with its founders, moved to the University of Delaware in 1984. The DRC is generally acknowledged as the leading repository and catalyst of scientific analysis in this field. Its collection is one of the world’s most comprehensive sources of social scientific materials on disaster research. Surprisingly, a search of DRC resources yields very little substantive information in the social scientific literature about the role of FBOs in disaster recovery. A search of the more than forty thousand items in the DRC database resulted in only thirty-three mentions of religion’s role in disaster recovery, and twenty-one of these citations refer to religion’s charitable and pastoral care roles in times of trouble, rather than to any justice-oriented role.

Likewise, a thorough reading of the Handbook of Disaster Research, edited by Havidán Rodríguez, Enrico L. Quarantelli, and Russell R. Dynes, reveals little mention of the role of FBOs or NGOs in disaster recovery. Although “social chaos” is recognized as the central element in the social meaning of disaster, scant attention is paid in this volume’s 611 pages to religion’s role in promoting post-disaster social solidarity as a response to such disruption. While the authors recognize the central role of social structures as key resources for understanding post-disaster problem solving, religion is barely mentioned as one of these resources. The experience, however, of many in post-Katrina New Orleans and the Gulf Coast has been that intermediate organizations, such as churches and FBOs, have been more effective in the region’s recovery than most levels of government. “Faith-based groups have been the true backbone of recovery in New Orleans,” states Annie Clark, the program associate who conducts policy analysis and research studies for PolicyLink’s Louisiana recovery efforts.
One of the central analytical terms used in sociological disaster research is post-disaster emergent behavior.\textsuperscript{64} Using this concept, Havidán Rodríguez, Joseph Trainor, and Enrico L. Quarantelli observe that during the crisis period of disasters, there [is] a great deal of emergent behavior, both at the individual and group levels. The emergent quality [takes] the form of nontraditional or new behavior, different from routine or customary norm-guided actions. This new behavior [is] heavily prosocial, helping immensely in coping with the extreme and unusual demands of a disaster situation.\textsuperscript{65}

Our investigation focuses primarily on such emergent behavior in faith-based responses to Katrina. Rodriguez, Trainor and Quarantelli\textsuperscript{66} developed a typology of groups involved in post-disaster recovery: *established groups*, which continue their regular tasks within old social structures; *expanding groups*, which continue their regular tasks within new social structures; *extending groups*, which undertake nonregular tasks within old social structures; and *emergent groups*, which undertake new tasks within new social structures.\textsuperscript{67}

Typologies such as these can, at times, help social scientists develop more general theories about social behavior.\textsuperscript{68} As I proceed to investigate some faith-based responses to Katrina, I will ask if these categories are helpful (or not) for purposes of developing deeper understanding of the FBO responses to Katrina discussed below.
Rodriguez, Trainor and Quarantelli characterize what happened in post-Katrina New Orleans as more than a mere disaster—they maintain it amounted to a full blown catastrophe. What happened in New Orleans should be termed a catastrophe because it involved (1) massive impact, (2) inability of local officials to undertake their usual roles, (3) assistance coming mainly from distant areas, (4) interruption of everyday community functions, (5) greatest attention given by nonlocal mass media rather than local, and (6) direct involvement of national-level officials and agencies rather than locals. Their expectation is that a catastrophe of this magnitude can generate more varied emergent behaviors and institutions than lesser disasters. These researchers investigated emergent institutions in post-Katrina New Orleans under five classifications: hotels, hospitals, neighborhoods, search and rescue teams, and the Joint Field Office (JFO) established to coordinate disaster responses of all governmental, tribal, and private-sector organizations. They found that, in contrast with the “antisocial imagery” dominating the media’s coverage of Katrina, this typology

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of groups can “illustrate the range of emergent behavior that surfaced,” much of which they found to be “overwhelmingly prosocial.”

These theoretical/heuristic categories taken from the sociology of disaster research suggest some ways of exploring the tasks and social structures people of faith have been developing in post-Katrina New Orleans. Such categories do not provide a comprehensive view of faith-based institutional responses to the catastrophe. Nor do they provide a comprehensive view of other important institutional responses. However, they may provide assistance for exploring some of the ways in which prosocial, faith-related institutional responses emerged after these natural and human disasters. With these concepts as a background, I now proceed to discuss five classes of post-Katrina faith related responses addressing issues of (1) ethical leadership, (2) housing, (3) advocacy for migrants, (4) new forms of collaboration in social service, and (5) new ways of learning solidarity.

III. FILLING CIVIL AND ETHICAL LEADERSHIP GAPS

Political corruption has a long history in Louisiana. The story of Governor, Senator, and presidential-aspirant Huey Long and some members of his family in the 1930s serves as one of the more notorious chapters in Louisiana history. More recently in January 2001, after years of litigation, four-term ex-Governor Edwin Edwards was sentenced to ten years in federal prison for extortion. In this context, I will examine three post-Katrina initiatives addressing issues of civil ethics and the common good with leadership from New Orleans’ two Catholic universities, Xavier and Loyola. My question is the following: how do these three attempts at ethical reform, all finding leadership from Catholic Universities, fit into disaster research’s typology of post-disaster recovery?

Common Good, founded at the initiative of and based at Loyola University New Orleans, is an inter-religious collaborative emerging from many faith-based organizations to address some of the challenges and opportunities created by the Katrina catastrophe. Common Good
currently claims sixty-two member institutions, approximately half of which are FBOs. After founding executive director Michael A. Cowan developed the idea for Common Good during the months immediately following Katrina, Loyola University’s president designated him to work full-time in developing the organization from a base within the University. Common Good’s mission is “to build consensus across the lines of ethnicity, religion and class on how to provide for the common goods—housing, schools, jobs, safe streets—that together constitute the good of all.” Since its founding, Common Good has developed this mission by promoting constructive and respectful collaboration among elected, business, and civic leaders on issues affecting the well being of the city. Cowan’s psychological, organizational, and theological expertise, as well as his background in local faith-based, interracial community organizing, (the Industrial Areas Foundation-affiliated Jeremiah Group) proved to be helpful resources in developing Common Good. When queried whether religious motivation stood behind Common Good’s foundation, Cowan replied, “Absolutely.”

In his report on Common Good’s first years of operation, Cowan describes many aspects of this emerging institution:

The strategic focus of Common Good was inspired by lessons from pre-Katrina interracial community organizing efforts and by research demonstrating that people generally will only begin to trust each other when members of all groups see corruption, waste and abuse eliminated from public institutions like police departments, school boards and city halls. When those institutions serve all citizens effectively and ethically—without regard for ethnicity, creed, financial resources or political connections—trust in the system breeds trust of other people in the community. When public institutions do not serve all citizens effectively and ethically, mistrust blocks and fractures relationships among people, reinforcing histories of division and damaging the economic climate. The most important implication of this line of thought for leaders working to re-build New Orleans is that racial divisions are

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best overcome not by talking about race or trying somehow to “undo racism” directly, but rather by creating interracial coalitions aimed at making public institutions . . . work well for all citizens, as bodies affecting the well-being of all.93

In terms of our typology of disaster recovery groups in Table 1, Common Good fulfills the criteria as an emergent group. It is a new social structure, innovating nonregular tasks in civil society, from a foundation within FBO Loyola University New Orleans. Further, Common Good has gathered many additional institutions—FBOs as well as NGOs—into its membership.

The presidents of New Orleans’ two Catholic universities have also led important efforts to develop new social structures that foster a more ethical climate in civil society. Dr. Norman C. Francis, president of the nation’s only historically black Catholic university, Xavier University of Louisiana, was the founding board chair of the Louisiana Recovery Authority (LRA).94 The LRA was established immediately after the hurricane to foster a fair and equitable recovery for the state.95 Dr. Francis has served as Xavier’s president since 1968.96 He accepted former Louisiana governor Kathleen Blanco’s appointment to chair the State’s major umbrella organization for post-Katrina recovery because of her repeated insistence that Louisiana needed a man of his integrity and experience at the helm of the LRA if it was to be credible and successful.97 While the mission of the LRA is purely secular, it advocates a more just political order, consistent with the justice demands of Dr. Francis’s Catholic faith,98 the type of faith-based justice he has struggled for since his early days in the civil rights movement.99 The presence of leadership from a faith-based university at the top of the LRA reinforces the credibility of LRA’s mission to ensure that Louisiana rebuilds safer, stronger and smarter than before. There are five areas of focus: securing funding and other resources needed for the recovery, establishing principles and policies for redevelopment, leading long-term community and regional planning efforts, ensuring transparency and accountability.
in the investment of recovery funds, and communicating progress, status and needs of the recovery to officials, community advocates and the public. Throughout its initiatives, the LRA is committed to a recovery and rebuilding process that is fair and equitable to everyone.\textsuperscript{100}

Dr. Francis’s life-long commitment to a “faith that does justice”\textsuperscript{101} enriches his chairmanship of the LRA because of his history of risking his life for human rights and racial equality.\textsuperscript{102} His leadership provides an example of a secular postdisaster emergent institution with roots in leadership from faith-based higher education.

Secondly, Rev. Kevin William Wildes, S.J., president of Loyola University New Orleans, is the founding chair of the Ethics Review Board for the City of New Orleans.\textsuperscript{103} The Board was established to improve the accountability of government agencies and employees.\textsuperscript{104} The Board established the first office of Inspector General for the City of New Orleans in 2007.\textsuperscript{105} The mission of the Ethics Review Board is to establish recommendations for the Code of Ethics and . . . oversee the appointment of the Inspector General. . . . The Board [also has] the power to disseminate rules regarding the interpretation and enforcement of the Code of Ethics. Moreover, it may refer cases for investigation on referral or complaint, retain counsel, and impose fines.\textsuperscript{106}

After the Board selected the city’s first inspector general, Robert Cerasoli, in early June 2007,\textsuperscript{107} the city failed to provide him with a budget, office space, and equipment for many months.\textsuperscript{108} In response to this failure, Loyola University stepped in to provide the needed office space and equipment during the delay.\textsuperscript{109}

Filling in for civil society’s shortcomings in times of disaster is beyond the typical university’s role. These two examples of Catholic university presidents’ leading roles in establishing important ethical structures for civil society serve as instances of a FBO’s contribution to the development of needed emerging institutions in civil society after a disaster. This type of

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religious leadership provides guidance for the adoption of just civic ethics and fosters the development of innovative disaster recovery institutions.

While it is uncertain if these initiatives would have succeeded or failed without these leaders, the simple fact is that the presidents of two faith-based universities, both of whom are committed to their faith traditions, proved themselves to be committed leaders working for the public common good. They provided the initial leadership for two important initiatives for ethical reform in civil society. Dr. Francis and Rev. Wildes are acknowledged as instrumental in establishing the LRA and the Ethics Review Board as secular, emergent groups (i.e., new structures undertaking non-regular tasks) to address the need for ethical reform in building a more just civil society. These newly emergent social structures are helping to fill the lacunae of ethical leadership left by the storm and floods, advocating a more just political order. This suggests that the typology of disaster responses (Table 1) might be developed further to include multiple roots of leadership and new groups in emergent disaster responses.

IV. FAITH-BASED HOUSING INITIATIVES

The hurricanes damaged over 70 percent of New Orleans residences, including thousands of public housing units. Of special concern to many advocates for the poor was the decision to raze thousands of public housing units and the difficulty that this would create in finding affordable housing when evacuees returned to New Orleans. Numerous initiatives for housing repair, reconstruction, and financing are emerging from religious (and other) organizations in response to the public housing crisis. Many of these housing initiatives involve new interreligious collaborations. The following six collaborative interfaith enterprises addressing the post-Katrina housing crisis exemplify the many economic development projects emerging out of FBOs in response to the catastrophe.

The Isaiah Funds are two investment funds that help faith-based institutional investors supply the capital needed for recovery. They provide
investors and donors with permanent opportunities to leverage community resources in response to natural and human-made disasters.  

The Isaiah Funds consist of two separate funds: the Isaiah Redevelopment Loan Fund and the Isaiah Access to Capital Grants Fund. The former fund is “a permanent facility for faith-based institutional investors seeking to aid economically disadvantaged and underserved populations in the wake of natural and human-made disasters.”  

The latter is a “$1 million grants pool intended to rebuild low and moderate wealth communities and to increase their capital assets.”

“The initiative for this partnership emerged from the Katrina Investment Response Team of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR).” Since the ICCR was founded long before the storm, the Isaiah Funds can be classified as an expanding group within the typology of disaster responses (See Table 1). Interreligious constituent sponsors of the Isaiah Funds include the following: Christus Health (Catholic); the Jewish Funds for Justice; MMA Community Development Investments (Mennonite); the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province (Catholic); and Highland Good Steward Management. By 2009, the Isaiah Funds intend to invest ten million dollars and grant one million dollars for housing.

The Jericho Road Episcopal Housing Initiative was founded after Katrina by the Episcopal Church. Jericho Road is “a faith-based nonprofit organization, providing working families and individuals affordable housing opportunities in New Orleans.” “With the guidance and support of the community, Jericho Road is working with other non-profits, private businesses, governmental agencies and faith-based groups to create long-term housing strategies including new construction and rehabilitation of existing homes.” Jericho Road’s mission includes “obtaining land, ensuring quality construction, requiring and providing access to high quality home buyer training, continuing to work with community residents and institutional partners to support a community based approach to redevelopment, and establishing organizational longevity through

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fundraising and selling affordable homes.” As of October 2008, Jericho Road acquired forty-nine lots, constructed seventeen houses, and sold fourteen of these. Since Jericho Road emerged out of the pre-existent Episcopal Relief and Development agency, it is classified as an expansion of an established group in response to Katrina.

Providence Community Housing was also founded in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Providence brought together representatives from local faith-based organizations “to address the critical need for affordable and supportive housing in southern Louisiana.” Providence is an independent, nonprofit organization whose mission is “to foster healthy, diverse and vibrant communities by developing, operating and advocating for affordable, mixed-income housing, supportive services and employment opportunities for individuals, families, seniors and people with special needs.” Its five-year goal is to provide seven thousand housing units for twenty thousand residents. Providence’s sponsors and partners include the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans; Sisters of the Holy Family; MQVN Community Development Corporation (based at Mary Queen of Viet Nam Catholic parish); and Puentes New Orleans, a Hispanic community organization sponsored by the Hispanic Apostolate of the Catholic Archdiocese. Since Providence finds its roots in multiple preexistent organizations, it fits into the typology as an emergent group (Table 1). On the other hand, since all of the constituent groups are in one way or another affiliated with the Catholic Church, Providence also can be identified as an expanding group. This suggests that more work is needed to develop subtypes and refine the typology in Table 1.

Enterprise Corporation of the Delta (Enterprise) and its partner, Hope Community Credit Union (Hope), exemplify pre-Katrina institutions with roots in FBOs. Supported partially by FBO funding, both provide financial services promoting small business and housing in the central Gulf South region. Secular partners and FBOs alike participate in the underwriting of Enterprise and Hope. They serve as examples of established groups in
terms of Table 1’s typology because both are partnerships between FBOs and NGOs that existed before Katrina. Partnership across religious and secular lines is another nuance to consider in the typology of FBOs and disaster recovery. In the future, researchers might investigate the process of coalition building between FBOs and secular organizations in response to disasters.

Café Reconcile was founded in 1996 by the Jesuit-sponsored Immaculate Conception Catholic Church. Café Reconcile is an outreach project that originally taught culinary skills to New Orleans’s youth. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Café Reconcile expanded its programming beyond culinary training to instructing youth in the construction trades. Café Reconcile has partnered with Jericho Road and CrossRoads Missions to develop more affordable housing in New Orleans. Café Reconcile’s programs, emanating from its religious foundation, provide marginalized youth with technical skills necessary for them to find affordable work and housing in New Orleans. As such, Café Reconcile is categorized as an expanding group, founded by a FBO and engaged in a new outreach program in response to the storm.

CrossRoads Missions is a nondenominational Evangelical Christian organization based in Kentucky. CrossRoads Missions is helping to rebuild New Orleans neighborhoods with staff trained in the construction field. Thus, CrossRoads Missions is a faith-based, established group according to the typology (Table 1).

While such faith-based organizations can hardly meet all of the housing needs of post-Katrina New Orleans, these six organizations illustrate the variety of ways in which FBOs can address the need for affordable housing in post-Katrina New Orleans.
V. NEW VOICES FOR PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: FAITH-BASED RESPONSES TO POST-KATRINA MIGRATION

The need for post-Katrina clean-up and reconstruction attracted an influx of new workers into the Gulf Coast. FBOs are responding to issues raised by this immigration. The size and origins of this migration currently cannot be accurately documented. Some, perhaps many, of these workers migrated from outside of the United States. While some foreign workers hold green cards or other documents permitting them to work in the United States, others are working in the United States without documentation. Therefore, they probably are not accounted for in official census counts. Verifying the number and status of undocumented migrant workers in post-Katrina New Orleans is a major challenge for immigration specialists and demographers. Often, available estimates are little more than guesses.

Although the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2006 American Community Survey did not reveal a significant increase in the numbers of Latino/Latina immigrants into the New Orleans region, a glance at the local streets, construction sites, gardens, building supplies outlets, marketplaces, and churches provides ample evidence of such workers in the city. At this time, hard demographic figures are impossible to establish. The Greater New Orleans Community Data Center simply states, “It is difficult to determine the number of Latinos who have arrived in New Orleans since Katrina. Ever since the storm, we see large numbers of Latinos in our midst every day.” Despite lack of accurate documentation, Spanish and Brazilian accents now echo in the work places of New Orleans, an occurrence that was uncommon before the storm. On city streets where one is more accustomed to seeing Cajun and Creole delicacies, the number of mobile taco stands has increased so rapidly that some local jurisdictions are attempting to discourage these taquerias by requiring each wagon to provide its own bathroom facilities.

Sociologist Elizabeth Fussell, formerly of Tulane University and now at Washington State University, undertook research on post-Katrina
immigration in 2006, but her research is limited to a small selection of interviews, rather than a statistically significant sample. Her survey yielded findings that half of the sampled workers were Latino, 30 percent were foreign-born, and 25 percent were undocumented. Two-thirds of these undocumented workers said they arrived in the city after Hurricane Katrina.\footnote{151}

This immigration presents a challenge as well as an opportunity for local FBOs. “Welcoming the stranger”\footnote{152} is one of the major faith practices in the Judeo-Christian tradition.\footnote{153} Responding to the recent arrival of numerous Latinos, FBOs have taken the opportunity to establish several emergent institutions.

LATINOLA\footnote{154} is a resource for information and advocacy for the growing Latino population in New Orleans. LATINOLA is a project of Puentes New Orleans,\footnote{155} whose mission is “to encourage, promote, and advance full community integration of Hispanic families in the Greater Metropolitan New Orleans area through housing, economic and cultural and educational growth, as well as research and advocacy activities.”\footnote{156} Puentes is one of the activist organizations of the Hispanic Apostolate\footnote{157} of the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans.\footnote{158}

As part of its mission of applying academic research to grassroots social justice issues,\footnote{159} the Jesuit Social Research Institute (JSRI), established in 2007 at Loyola University in the aftermath of Katrina, undertook migration as one of its core issues for research, education, and advocacy.\footnote{160} JSRI research fellows\footnote{161} submitted reports\footnote{162} and gave testimony before the United States Congress and the Louisiana legislature on immigration issues.\footnote{163} JSRI Research Fellow Thomas P. Greene, S.J., served as a primary advocate for a newly formed advocacy coalition addressing immigration issues. Greene testified in opposition to the numerous anti-immigrant bills proposed in the Louisiana legislature.\footnote{164} As of July 2008, this coalition has successfully deterred the passage of several anti-immigration bills that would criminalize aid to immigrants.\footnote{165} This
coalition of faith-based advocates for immigrant rights is developing into an ongoing collaborative institution, addressing similar issues in other venues. JSRI, along with several other coalition organizations, continues to monitor the Louisiana legislature’s attempts to reintroduce anti-immigrant legislation and expects to continue this work as part of its mission in the future.

These two post-Katrina initiatives serve as examples of extending groups in the typology (Table 1) because they are extensions of social structures which existed before the storm that are undertaking nonregular tasks to address some of the challenges of post-Katrina immigration.

VII. A NEW FAITH-BASED SOCIAL SERVICE COLLABORATIVE

Katrina also presented a challenge to social service agencies whose functions are primarily charitable. While some prestorm charitable agencies evolved to meet post-Katrina needs, other organizations inaugurated new agencies to meet these needs.

The Louisiana Interchurch Disaster Recovery Network is a membership organization of twenty-three faith-based groups founded in 2005 to “holistically address current and emerging spiritual issues in disaster recovery with concern for social, political, environmental, and economic structures that have been affected by disasters.” The specific goal of this network is to provide a collaborative forum for people of various faith traditions to “organize together in order to respond better and share in the too rare benefits of mutual support, renewal, evaluation, consultation and training in the middle of dealing with this difficult, demanding recovery process.” This new organization facilitates broad reflection on the disaster recovery response, looking at the work that FBOs have undertaken from a statewide perspective. It is an emergent group (see Table 1), undertaking the important but often neglected task of analysis and reflection on the disaster ministries of its constituent members, while facilitating new learning.
The St. Joseph Rebuild Center, based at St. Joseph Catholic Church, is a newly organized coalition of FBOs responding to the storm. The Rebuild Center offers direct social services to the needy residents in the Canal Street corridor in New Orleans, near the Claiborne Avenue elevated highway where thousands of homeless persons camped after Katrina.173

The Rebuild Center provides meals, financial help, showers, laundry services, toiletries, restroom facilities, a seniors’ program, legal services, medical care, a food pantry, training in financial literacy, education about housing and mortgages, language, and legal aid services to Hispanic clients, and access to information about affordable housing.174 Notably, the Rebuild Center was formed by several religious groups who normally would have operated independently to provide these social services. The Rebuild Center joins diverse groups together, yet operates without a strong central administration. While the Rebuild Center remains a work in progress, it is firmly established as an emergent institution serving the needs of the poorest survivors of the storm, as well as newly arrived migrants to New Orleans.175

The Rebuild Center’s major partners are the Congregation of the Mission (Southern Province Vincentians), the Hispanic Apostolate Community Services of Catholic Charities, the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans, the Father Harry Tompson Center of Immaculate Conception Parish, the Presentation Sisters Collaborative Ministry, and the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province.176 Although all Catholic, each of these partners is a unique religious order or organization that normally operates in its own separate sphere. Joining in this collaboration, the Detroit Collaborative Design Center177 at the Jesuit-sponsored University of Detroit Mercy designed the facilities for the Rebuild Center, supervised its construction, and continues to develop new facilities at the Rebuild Center’s growing campus on the grounds of St. Joseph Church.178

The Rebuild Center provides client services at its central location that were previously provided at multiple locations. An example of this is the

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Tompson Center’s daytime drop-in center for the homeless. The Rebuild Center also provides services that were previously unavailable. An example of this is the Latin American Apostolate office, serving Latino workers who recently arrived in the New Orleans area. Prior to Katrina, there was no such office.

In terms of the typology, the Rebuild Center is a complex mixture of agencies of all four types of groups and is impossible to classify under one heading alone. This suggests that social scientists should conduct more analysis about the potential collaboration among different types of FBOs and NGOs in disaster response.

In summary, some of the FBOs described seem to fit fairly well in Table 1, while others do not. Perhaps catastrophic realities such as Katrina may require more complex analysis than simple disasters. Even though some of the FBOs described do not fit easily within the typology, its categories at least provide a framework for a better understanding of the human responses to such disasters in the future.

VI. DISASTER RECOVERY VOLUNTEERS: NEW WAYS OF LEARNING SOLIDARITY.

The Catholic social tradition encourages a methodology of “see, judge, and act.” Following this tradition, some FBOs have attempted to delve deeply into the cultural and social factors revealed by Hurricane Katrina in order to help volunteers develop tools for social action. This action/reflection methodology is one of the foundational methods used for building enduring solidarity in response to disaster. To encourage this enduring solidarity, some FBOs are providing volunteers with opportunities for deeper analysis and reflection than normally happens among volunteers in disaster recovery situations. This analysis and reflection helps build enduring ties of solidarity that bind the volunteers to the people whom they served, long after the volunteers return to their homes. Three of these efforts are described below.
Sister Mary Pat helped found Philippine Duchesne House, a new religious center in New Orleans’s Gentilly area. Philippine Duchesne House offers hospitality and education to its volunteers working in hurricane recovery.182 “We want to make sure it’s more than a service project, but also an immersion (by the volunteers),” Mary Pat said, “an opportunity to educate about environmental issues, the social and economic problems in the city and a chance for community building, faith and reflection.”183 Initiated in 2007 by the Religious of the Sacred Heart, Philippine Duchesne House welcomes and educates Katrina volunteers from all over the country,184 offering programs of social analysis and theological reflection on the disaster, in addition to offering hospitality and service opportunities for the volunteers.185

Following Katrina, the Jesuit-affiliated Ignatian Solidarity Network, which was originally focused on international issues such as the School of the Americas, also began to hold teach-ins focused on domestic issues such as Katrina.186 The first of these teach-ins took place in New Orleans in March 2007.187 Several hundred Jesuit-affiliated volunteers set aside time to reflect on the issues of racism and poverty that contributed to the human disaster of Katrina.188 The teach-in was intended to help volunteers understand some of the social inequalities that Katrina exposed189 and analyze the root causes of poverty and racism.190

Shortly after the storm, the local Jesuit province established and funded its own Katrina Relief Coordinating Office to support the Jesuit-sponsored volunteers that came to the New Orleans area.191 By July 2008, the office had facilitated 164 social analysis and theological reflection sessions for thousands of volunteers.192 In addition, some of many Jesuit universities and high schools in the United States that sent their students to assist in the relief effort integrated the action/reflection methodology into their curriculum.193
In his social encyclical letter *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, Pope John Paul II expanded the notion of solidarity far beyond simple emotional identification with victims, linking solidarity to the trans-personal institutional order:

Solidarity is not a feeling of vague compassion or shallow distress at the misfortunes of so many people, both near and far. On the contrary, it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good; that is to say to the good of all and of each individual, because we are all really responsible for all.194

A commitment to solidarity involves an ongoing process of experience, reflection, decision, and action for the common good. The thousands of volunteers who learned the tools of social analysis and theological reflection during their hurricane recovery experiences will hopefully develop new *Habits of the Heart*,195 and become more active citizens of *The Good Society*196 where solidarity thrives. This solidarity builds a more just society, counters insensitivity to the suffering of others, displaces ignorance, and inspires social and political action for justice.197

VII. POST-KATRINA NEW ORLEANS: AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN AND REBUILD BETTER

The recovery after Hurricane Katrina confronts faith communities with ample challenges for the future: building enduring structures for solidarity, continuing faith-based collaborations, and developing more adequate postdisaster institutions. Some of these recovery efforts have allowed faith-based organizations to expand and extend their roles in civil society, develop a stronger institutional presence, and realize their plans to develop more social services for the marginalized.

However, like hospitals, schools, and other social institutions, religious organizations were not exempt from Katrina’s impact. Following Katrina, some religious groups had to downsize and even compete for parishioners due to New Orleans’ reduced population and damaged infrastructure. For example, the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans, one of the major
institutional actors in post-Katrina recovery, has reduced its extensive parish system due to declining numbers of clergy and parishioners, millions of dollars of uninsured damage, and new demographic realities.\textsuperscript{198}

Some sociologists bisect religion’s societal role as “to comfort and to challenge.”\textsuperscript{199} Two nineteenth century founders of the sociological tradition attributed these important roles to religion in society. In his \textit{Elementary Forms of Religious Life},\textsuperscript{200} Emile Durkheim emphasized religion’s comfort role. He associated religion with the conscience collective, the foundation for social solidarity. On the other hand, Max Weber stressed religion’s challenge role as a potential source for building new institutions.\textsuperscript{201} In his most famous work, \textit{The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism},\textsuperscript{202} Weber identified this-worldly activism as a major stimulus to positive social change.\textsuperscript{203} The recovery after Hurricane Katrina gave religious volunteers an opportunity both to comfort and to challenge. Future disaster research should attend systematically to the FBOs’ role to comfort and challenge in times of social disorientation and disaster.

Disasters such as Katrina can pose serious threats to people’s faith. One may doubt the benevolence of an all-powerful God; an individual’s faith community, as well as his or her societal community, may break apart. Support networks may disappear. Following a major disaster, people may become so preoccupied with rebuilding their homes and lives that they neglect their faith. A damaged physical church structure may discourage the revival of a faith community and a neighborhood after disaster.

\textbf{VIII. FROM APOCALYPSE TO SOLIDARITY}

In this article, I have explored how some faith-based communities, institutions, and coalitions strove to build a more humane, just, and ethical social order following Hurricane Katrina. Through the efforts of individuals and religious organizations, faith communities participated significantly in post-Katrina disaster recovery. These contributions have

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extended far beyond the traditional spiritual and pastoral social functions of religious organizations.

The apocalyptic oracles, which began this article, reflect regressive religious reactions in times of catastrophe. But the subject of this article illustrates the positive social role that religion can play in the aftermath of disaster. When the traditional New Orleans jazz funeral progresses to the gravesite, it moves at the pace of a slow, mournful dirge of death. But once the entombment takes place, the mourners dance away from the gravesite to the lively pace of “When the Saints Go Marching In,” expressing the hope of new life after death. Similarly, the participation of faith-based groups and institutions in post-Katrina recovery expresses the hope of new life for New Orleans. From this devastation, may a city and culture full of solidarity emerge!

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1 Caveat lector: let the reader beware. This article is a sociotheological work in progress. It is an exploratory sociological and theological commentary, an essay in the author’s expertise in social science, theology, and Catholic social thought, not legal scholarship. Much of what is stated here is the considered, informed opinion of the author.

Edward Arroyo, S.J. directs the newly-established Jesuit Social Research Institute (JSRI) in the College of Social Sciences at Loyola University New Orleans. A sociologist with special interests in social justice, sociology of religion, and issues of migration, poverty and racism. In the past he has served as Associate Academic Dean of the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, Senior Fellow at Georgetown’s Woodstock Theological Center, editor of Blueprint for Social Justice, provincial superior of the New Orleans Jesuits, and professor of sociology at Loyola University New Orleans. His academic degrees include the A.B. in Sociology (Spring Hill College), A.M. and Ph.D in Sociology (Duke University), and M. Div and S.T.M. (Woodstock College at Union Theological Seminary, NYC).

3 In this article, when I refer to “Hurricane Katrina” (landfall: August 29, 2005), I intend this reference to apply in general not only to Katrina, but also the ensuing damage caused by failures of man-made structures such as levees, pumps, etc. and the subsequent flooding, as well as additional harm done to the same area a month later by Hurricane Rita (landfall: September 24, 2005). RICHARD D. KNABB ET AL., NATIONAL HURRICANE CENTER, TROPICAL CYCLONE REPORT: HURRICANE KATRINA 3 (2005) available at http://www.nhc.noaa.gov/pdf/TCR-AL122005_Katrina.pdf (stating that Hurricane Katrina made its final landfall on August 29, 2005); RICHARD D. KNABB ET AL.,

4 From the Greek Ἀποκάλυψις ("revelation"), this term literally means “lifting of the veil” to reveal what has been hidden, often alluding to the end-time judgment of evil and vindication of the saved, for example, the New Testament Book of “Revelation.” See JOHN L. MCKENZIE, DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE 38–41 (1965).

5 Press Release, Repent America, Hurricane Katrina Destroys New Orleans Days Before “Southern Decadence.” (Aug. 31, 2005), http://www.repentamerica.com/pr_hurricanekatrina.html. Marcavage attributed the hurricane’s devastation to a perceived sinfulness within New Orleans: “[f]rom ‘Girls Gone Wild’ to ‘Southern Decadence,’ New Orleans was a city that had its doors wide open to the public celebration of sin. From the devastation may a city full of righteousness emerge . . . . We must help and pray for those ravaged by this disaster, but let us not forget that the citizens of New Orleans tolerated and welcomed the wickedness in their city for so long . . . . May this act of God cause us all to think about what we tolerate in our city limits, and bring us trembling before the throne of Almighty God.” Id.

6 Id.


8 Id. ("All hurricanes are acts of God, because God controls the heavens. I believe that New Orleans had a level of sin that was offensive to God, and they were recipients of the judgment of God for that . . . . I believe that the Hurricane Katrina was, in fact, the judgment of God against the city of New Orleans.").


13 A very effective graphical presentation of the flood’s spread to many parts of New Orleans shows that the flooding never reached anywhere near the French Quarter, which is one of the highest parts of the city. See Dan Swenson, Times-Picayune Interactive Graphics, Flash Flood: Hurricane Katrina’s Inundation of New Orleans, http://www.nola.com/katrina/graphics/flashflood.swf (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).

14 There is no current data giving the faith orientation of Katrina’s victims.

15 Social scientists who study disasters regularly make the distinction between natural disasters and the human disasters consequent from these natural disasters. Natural

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disasters are such events as hurricanes or earthquakes. Human disaster consequences are the failures of human constructions such as levees, bridges, etc. because of natural disasters. See e.g., Thomas E. Drabek, Disaster Management, in 2 INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, at Vol. 2, 381, 381–85 (William A. Darity, Jr., ed., 2d ed. 2007); David Alexander, Natural Disasters, in 5 INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, 432, 432–34 (William A. Darity, Jr., Macmillan Reference 2d ed. Nov. 2007).


17 For instance, in first century literature such as the Gospel of Matthew 24, apocalyptic images and themes describe the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in the year 70 A.D. Likewise, in the fourteenth century, when the Black Death devastated Europe, and during the many apocalyptic millennial movements at critical turns in history, the suffering of others has been explained in terms of God’s judgment. See SYLVIA THIRUPP, MILLENNIAL DREAMS IN ACTION: STUDIES IN REVOLUTIONARY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS (1962); see also MILLENNIAL VISIONS: ESSAYS ON TWENTIETH CENTURY MILLENIANISM (Martha F. Lee ed., 2000) (providing examples of some American apocalyptic movements).


19 Id. at 2.


22 Matthew 25: 36–37 (New American Bible), available at http://www.usccb.org/nab/bible/matthew/matthew25.htm (“For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, a stranger and you welcomed me, naked and you clothed me, ill and you cared for me, in prison and you visited me.”).

23 See Office for Social Justice, Charity and Justice Chart, http://www.osjspm.org/charity_and_justice_chart.aspx (last visited Nov. 6, 2008) (providing an example of the use of these distinct characteristics of charity and justice and a basic chart to help clarify this).

24 Within the tradition of Catholic Social Thought, the fullest development of this concept can be found in John Paul II’s Solicitude Rei Socialis. Pope John Paul II, Solicitude Rei Socialis, ¶38 (1987), available at http://www.vatican.va/edocs/ENG0223/P6.HTM.


27 Id.
30 See David Hollenbach, Claims in Conflict: Retrieving and Renewing the Catholic Human Rights Tradition 68 (1979) (interpreting Pacem in Terris as implying three levels of rights: personal, social, and instrumental).
35 “The struggle of various religious teachers to articulate the connection between faith and economic justice has given rise to a variety of terms and forms of expression: economic justice for all, Christian faith and economic justice, faith and justice, the faith that does justice, and justice as the acid test of preaching the gospel. The essence of all these efforts is captured in the striking usage of my Jesuit friend Bill Watters, pastor of St. Ignatius Church in downtown Baltimore. ‘Faithjustice,’ Bill says, driving home the intimate connection of justice and faith in the Judaico-Christian tradition by using a single word: Faithjustice. The single word forged of the two concepts undercut those who would elevate one concept over the other, render one instrumental to the other, separate the two, or otherwise downplay the importance of one . . . usually justice. As we will see, however, this unitary understanding is actually as old as the Hebrew prophets, was intimately familiar to Jesus of Nazareth, and is critically important to understanding the gospel in today’s world. Using a single word, in fact, may even help us better grasp the sense of Hebrew words like mishpat or sedaqah, both of which actually reflect a rich range of meaning but are often translated simply by “righteousness” or “justice.” Sometimes old insights get lost in the midst of new ways of living and have to be rediscovered and even renamed to grab hold of them again. Faithjustice is just such an effort: to claim for contemporary Christians an ancient tradition without which the seas of modern social, economic, and political concerns would be harsh sailing or even utterly abandoned to the scientists, economists, and secularists, however well meaning they may be.” Fred Kammer, Doing Faith Justice: An Introduction to Catholic Social Thought 4–5 (Paulist Press 2004) (1991).
36 Id.
38 “Anawim” is the plural form of a word in the Hebrew scriptures, which is variously translated as “poor,” “afflicted,” “humble,” or “meek.” See McKenzie, supra note 4, at 682–83; Albert Gelin, The Poor of Yahweh (1964).
39 My understanding of human motivation depends largely on the work of humanistic psychologist Abraham Maslow’s A Theory of Human Motivation. See generally Abraham H. Maslow, A Theory of Human Motivation, 50 Psychol. Rev. 370 (1943). In my opinion, Maslow conceives of motivation as based on a multiple leveled hierarchy of needs which must be contextualized to the human situation and cannot be rigidly attributed to the deterministic calculus of behaviorism nor to the psychic roots of the psychoanalytic school of thought. In this view, not even the “social actor” motivated toward one decision or another may be completely aware of the all of the personal motives that lead to the decision. Of course, as in most of social science, not everyone agrees with this theory.
42 Harold G. Koenig, In the Wake of Disaster: Religious Responses to Terrorism and Disaster 50 (2006) (referencing Jeff Seidel, Katrina’s Aftermath: Churches Take Charge and Care for Survivors (2005)).
43 Homeland Security Institute, About Us, http://www.homelandsecurity.org/content.asp x?mid=231 (last visited Nov. 5, 2008) (“The Homeland Security Institute (HSI) is a Congressionally chartered Federally Funded Research and Development Center (FFRDC). We are dedicated solely to supporting the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the homeland security mission.”).
45 Id.
46 Naomi Klein, Address at the Loyola University New Orleans College of Law: Katrina Disaster Capitalism (Aug. 25, 2007).
47 Id. (comment from the audience).
49 See generally Thomas E. Drabek & David A. McEntire, Emergent Phenomena and the Sociology of Disaster: Lessons, Trends and Opportunities from the Research Literature, 12 Disaster Prevention & Mgmt. 98 (2003).
50 Havidán Rodríguez, Joseph Trainor & Enrico L. Quarantelli, Rising to the Challenges of a Catastrophe: The Emergent and Prosocial Behavior following Hurricane Katrina, in

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604 ANNALS AM. ACAD. POL. & SOC. SCI. 82, 85 (2006) [hereinafter Rising to the Challenges of a Catastrophe].


53 Id.

54 University of Delaware, Disaster Research Center, Publications, http://www.udel.edu/DRC/publications.html (last visited Nov. 7, 2008) (“The Disaster Research Center’s Resource Collection contains the world’s most complete collection of materials on the social and behavioral aspects of disasters—now numbering about 40,000 items.”).

55 Id.


57 See generally HANDBOOK OF DISASTER RESEARCH (Havidán Rodríguez, Enrico L. Quarantelli & Russell R. Dynes eds., 2006) (providing an authoritative and current guide to disaster research).

58 Id. at xvii.

59 See generally HANDBOOK OF DISASTER RESEARCH, supra note 56.

60 See generally id.

61 E-mail from Annie Clark, Program Associate, PolicyLink, to Edward B. Arroyo, Executive Director, Jesuit Social Research Institute, Loyola University New Orleans (May 15, 2008, 11:21:05 CST) (on file with author).

62 Id.


64 See Drabek & McEntire, supra note 48, at 97–112 (discussing “emergent phenomena”).

65 Rising to the Challenges of a Catastrophe, supra note 49, at 85.

66 Id.

67 Id.

68 See generally JOHN C. MCKINNEY, CONSTRUCTIVE TYPOLOGY AND SOCIAL THEORY (1966) (discussing the use of typologies in sociology).

69 See E.L. Quarantelli, Catastrophes are Different from Disasters: Some Implications for Crisis Planning and Managing Drawn from Katrina, in UNDERSTANDING KATRINA: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (2006), http://understandingkatrina.ssrc.org/Quarantelli/ (discussing this distinction more fully).

70 See Rising to the Challenges of a Catastrophe supra note 49, at 86–87.

71 Id. at 87.

72 DEPT. OF DEFENSE DICTIONARY OF MILITARY AND ASSOCIATED TERMS, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict/data/j/02864.html (last visited Nov. 4, 2008) (“joint field office: (DOD) A temporary multiagency coordination center established at the incident site to provide a central location for coordination of federal, state, local, tribal, nongovernmental, and private-sector organizations with primary responsibility for

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incident oversight, direction, and/or assistance to effectively coordinate protection, prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery actions. Also called JFO.”)

73 Rising to the Challenges of a Catastrophe supra note 49, at 87 (“However, this article limits its systematic analyses to five groupings . . . . The groupings are hotels, hospitals, neighborhood groups, rescue teams, and the JFO.”).

74 See Rising to the Challenges of a Catastrophe, supra note 49, at 97–99.

75 Id. at 99.

76 Id. at 100.

77 Given the current lack of a thorough inventory of faith-related responses to the catastrophe, I selected a few institutional responses for “exploratory research” in the expectation that as more accurate comprehensive information becomes available, more detailed conclusions may be drawn. See, e.g., EVANS ET AL., supra note 19 (providing the most comprehensive inventory currently available).

78 The utility of these types may best be judged by the reader as we see if or how they apply. For the social scientist, use of such typologies can become the foundation stones for constructing more adequate social theories. See MCKINNEY, supra note 68.

79 See generally HARNETT KANE, LOUISIANA HAYRIDE: THE AMERICAN REHEARSAL FOR DICTATORSHIP (1941) (providing a journalist’s view of this history).


81 Initiated and housed at Loyola University New Orleans, some of the funding for Common Good was awarded to Loyola University New Orleans as a “social grant” funded by another faith-based organization, the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits).

82 While intentionally not restricted to religious organizations, membership includes representatives from a variety of Christian, Jewish and non-Judeo Christian religious backgrounds as well as others not identified with any particular religious tradition. See Common Good NOLA, Member Institutions, http://www.commongoodnola.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15&Itemid=29 (last visited Nov. 7, 2008). By the author’s count at least 26 of these “member institutions” are faith-based organizations. Id. When queried about whether the founding of Common Good was based on religious grounds, Executive Director Michael Cowan said “absolutely.” Interview with Michael A. Cowan, Executive Dir., Common Good, Loyola University, New Orleans (October 6, 2008).

83 Common Good NOLA, http://www.commongoodnola.org/index.php (last visited Oct. 26, 2008) (“Founded in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Common Good is a partnership of religious, nonprofit, neighborhood and higher-education organizations dedicated to building consensus and promoting action for the rebuilding of New Orleans across the lines of religion, ethnicity and class. Government, business and civil society organizations all have critical roles to play in the life of our city, and Common Good promotes constructive, respectful engagement among leaders of those three sectors.”). Because of the confidential nature of Common Good’s ongoing dialog and reflection on ethical issues, the names of individual participants are kept private. They come from a wide variety of religious, political, ethnic, economic and ideological backgrounds.
Since its founding, Common Good has matured into a network of more than 30 institutions including religious, non-profit, higher education, philanthropic, cultural and neighborhood organizations and representing all the major ethnic groups that make up New Orleans. The Common Good network has contributed to institutional reform in city hall and the criminal justice system by convening and facilitating working partnerships among leaders from the government, business and civic sectors. It has also actively engaged new leaders from New Orleans’ ethnic communities in the work of institutional reform through participation in collaborations among elected, business and civic leaders. In what follows I will describe the composition, strength and limitations of the Common Good network; progress and challenges in our institutional reform efforts; the government-business-civic partnerships that Common Good has initiated or helped to initiate and further steps needed along those lines; and the status of our effort to involve new leaders from our ethnic communities in rebuilding the city.


Michael A. Cowan, Executive Dir., Common Good Narrative Report to Leaders (May 2008), http://www.commongoodnola.org/index.php?option=com_content &task=view&id=14&Itemid=28 (“Since its founding, Common Good has matured into a network of more than 30 institutions including religious, non-profit, higher education, philanthropic, cultural and neighborhood organizations and representing all the major ethnic groups that make up New Orleans. The Common Good network has contributed to institutional reform in city hall and the criminal justice system by convening and facilitating working partnerships among leaders from the government, business and civic sectors. It has also actively engaged new leaders from New Orleans’ ethnic communities in the work of institutional reform through participation in collaborations among elected, business and civic leaders. In what follows I will describe the composition, strength and limitations of the Common Good network; progress and challenges in our institutional reform efforts; the government-business-civic partnerships that Common Good has initiated or helped to initiate and further steps needed along those lines; and the status of our effort to involve new leaders from our ethnic communities in rebuilding the city.”).


See Michael A. Cowan, Curriculum Vitae (on file with the author) (indicating multiple degrees in Theology and Psychology and experience as head of Loyola University’s Lindy Boggs National Center for Community Literacy).


Interview with Michael Cowan, Executive Director, Common Good, in New Orleans, La. (Oct. 6, 2008).

Id.

Cowan, supra note 82.

Xavier University of Louisiana, President Norman C. Francis’ Profile & Resume, http://www.xula.edu/president/resume.php (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).

Louisiana Recovery Authority, State of Louisiana, http://lra.louisiana.gov/index.cfm?md=pagebuilder&tmp=home&nid=17&puid=13&pid=1&fmid=0&catid=0&eid=0 (last visited Nov. 4, 2008) (“The mission of the Louisiana Recovery Authority is to ensure that Louisiana rebuilds safer, stronger and smarter than before. There are five areas of focus: securing funding and other resources needed for the recovery, establishing principles and policies for redevelopment, leading long-term community and regional planning efforts, ensuring transparency and accountability in the investment of recovery funds, and communicating progress, status and needs of the recovery to officials, community leaders and the public.”).
advocates and the public. Throughout its initiatives, the LRA is committed to a recovery and rebuilding process that is fair and equitable to everyone.”).

Francis was the first African American graduate of the College of Law at New Orleans’ Loyola University.  Press Release, The White House, President Bush Honors Medal of Freedom Recipients (Dec. 15, 2006), available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/12/20061215-1.html (“Dr. Norman C. Francis has dedicated his life to education. He achieved early distinction as the first African-American to graduate from the Loyola University College of Law.”).

Norman C. Francis, President, Xavier University of Louisiana, Acceptance Speech of the 2007 Vision Award at Catholic Charities USA’s Annual Gathering (Sept. 13, 2007) (mentioning Governor Blanco’s repeated pleas and Francis’s own repeated declining to take the position).


Louisiana Recovery Authority, supra note 94.

See generally Anderson, supra note 98 (discussing Dr. Francis’s involvement with these issues).


Ethics Review Board Holds First Meeting and Elects Officers, supra note 102.


Bruce Eggler, Inspector General Puts Feet to Grindstone; Cerasoli Begins Work in N.O. with No Office, No Staff, No Car, TIMES-PICAYUNE, Sept. 6, 2007, at 1.


Bruce Eggler, supra note 106 (“For now, Loyola University President Kevin Wildes, chairman of the city’s Ethics Review Board, is providing Cerasoli a temporary office at the university.”).

Rev. Wildes, president of Loyola University New Orleans, has been a Jesuit since 1976 and a Catholic priest since 1986. The Society of Jesus in the United States, 2008 Catalog of the Provinces of the Society of Jesus in the United States of America 421 (on file with author); Office of the President, Loyola University New Orleans, http://www.loyno.edu/presidentsoffice/wildes_bio.html (last visited Nov. 5, 2008). For many years Dr. Norman Francis, president of Xavier University of Louisiana, has been

111 See, e.g., Marc H. Morial, Xavier University’s Dr. Norman Francis: In Selfless Pursuit of a Better Society, CHICAGO DEFENDER, Dec, 18, 2006, at 8.


115 Id.


120 The Isaiah Funds, supra note 114.

121 Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, http://www.iccr.org/ (last visited Nov. 5, 2008) (“For thirty-seven years the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) has been a leader of the corporate social responsibility movement.”).

122 The Isaiah Funds, Founding Institutions, http://isaiahfunds.org/about/founding-institutions/ (last visited Nov. 5, 2008).

123 Redevelopment Loan Fund, supra note 117; Access to Capital Grants, supra note 116.


125 Id.

126 Id.

127 Id.

128 Id.


HURRICANE KATRINA
The terms “Hispanic Apostolate” and “Latin American Apostolate” of the Archdiocese of New Orleans seem to be used interchangeably in various documents and websites. They refer to the same ministry of the church.


Hope Community Credit Union, All about Hope, http://www.hopecu.org/AboutHOPE/index.htm (last visited Nov. 6, 2008) (“Hope Community Credit Union is not your ordinary credit union. Started in 1995 as a small church project with big dreams, HOPE is a community development credit union that helps low-income people build a solid financial foundation for a better future.”).

See id.; ECD Funders, supra note 134; Enterprise Corporation of the Delta, About Us, http://www.ecd.org/About/index.htm (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).

See ECD Funders, supra note 134; Enterprise Corporation of the Delta, Partners, http://www.ecd.org/About/Partners.aspx (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).


Id.; ECD Funders, supra note 134; Enterprise Corporation of the Delta, Partners, http://www.ecd.org/About/Partners.aspx (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).


Undocumented workers, by definition, do not have official status and, therefore, cannot be “documented” without being detected, identified, and facing the risk of detention and exportation.
This is my opinion based on my personal experience through volunteer work with some of these migrant workers at local churches and social service agencies.


Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, How Many Latinos are in New Orleans?, http://www.gnocdc.org/FAQ/latinos.html (last visited Nov. 6, 2008); see also FREY ET AL., supra note 146 (“To the extent that Latino workers moved to New Orleans after the storm and lived in hastily arranged housing, it is very likely, that that the transitory nature of temporary working conditions of primarily Hispanic construction and service workers has eluded traditional estimation and survey techniques.”).

It would seem to be impossible to prove that these accents were not heard in the past, but it is my experience, and that of many others, that these accents are heard more today than ever before.


See supra note 132. [Hispanic Apostolate]


Several immigration bills and one resolution that were proposed in the Louisiana legislature in spring of 2008, but all eventually failed to pass into law. See H.B. 24, 2008 Leg., Reg. Sess. (La. 2008), http://www.legis.state.la.us/billdata/streamdocument.asp?did
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166 For example, the coalition has also been active in advocacy concerning immigration reform in the Mississippi State Legislature, as well as at the municipal level in New Orleans.

167 This is the projection of the author, who is JSRI’s executive director.

168 Latin American Apostolate of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and Loyola University New Orleans.

169 Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, for example, developed many charitable responses to the storm.

170 For example, New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) established a new Katrina Relief Office to accommodate thousands of volunteers coming to help clean up New Orleans. Hurricane Katrina Relief, http://norprov.org/katrinarelief/index.htm (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).


173 Unity of Greater New Orleans, Post-Katrina Homeless Camps in New Orleans (July 29, 2008), http://unitygno.org/documents/Post-Katrina_Homeless_Camps.ppt (showing photos of the camp under Claiborne Avenue, two blocks from the Rebuild Center).

175 Id.


178 Id.

179 Harry Tompson Center, Our Story, http://harrytompsoncenter.org/about.php (last visited Nov. 6, 2008) (tracing the history of the founding of this center and its post-Katrina move to the Rebuild Center).

180 Pope John XXIII, Encyclical Letter, Mater et Magistra ¶ 236 (May 15, 1961), available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_15051961_mater_en.html (“There are three stages which should normally be followed in the reduction of social principles into practice. First, one reviews the concrete situation; secondly, one forms a judgment on it in the light of these same principles; thirdly, one decides what in the circumstances can and should be done to implement these principles. These are the three stages that are usually expressed in the three terms: look, judge, act.”).

181 Interview with Rev. Douglas Doussan and Sister Kathleen Pitman, Pastoral Administrators, St. Gabriel Parish, in New Orleans, La. (June 11, 2008). Long after volunteers who have gone through these reflection sessions and return home, Doussan and Pitman find that they continue interest and involvement in the parish, even at great distances, i.e., through donations, suggestions about available grants, etc. Id. Doussan and Pitman attribute this enduring involvement, at least in part, to the reflection done upon the volunteer experience. Id.


183 Id.

184 Id.

185 See id.

186 See Ignation Solidarity Network (ISN) Programs, http://www.ignatiansolidarity.net/programs/isn.html (last visited Nov. 6, 2008) (“The Spring Ignatian Family Teach-In gathers members of the network for two days each spring to examine a single specific justice issue that is of serious concern for the Ignatian family. The purpose of the spring event is two-fold. First, the teach-in provides education and social analysis on a specific justice issue by inviting a range of speakers to share their personal experience, theological reflections, community organizing strategies, and develop advocacy efforts relevant to that issue. Secondly, the Spring Teach-In empowers participants with the skills, education, and experience needed to engage others in discussion, reflection, and social action. The theme of the Spring Teach-In varies annually and is determined by ISN’s Program Committee, which is made up of 15 leaders from Jesuit schools, parishes,
retreat centers, and sponsored ministries across the United States. Committee members identify potential justice concerns by engaging in one-on-one conversations with their students, faculty, parish leaders, and community members about what justice issues are of most concern to them. They then share that feedback with the full committee.


Id.

See Bill Quigley, College of Law, Loyola University New Orleans, Katrina and Human & Civil Rights, http://law.loyno.edu/~quigley/katrina_racism_and_catholic_social_teaching/ (last visited Nov. 6, 2008).

Id.


Data sheet provided by Ms. Mary Baudouin and Ms. Jocelyn Sideco of the New Orleans Province Society of Jesus’ Katrina Relief Office (on file with author); see also New Orleans Province Jesuits, Thank You, Volunteers!, http://www.norprov.org/katrina_relief/volunteer.htm (last visited Nov. 5, 2008).

Id.

Pope John Paul II, supra note 23.


Charles Y. Glock, Benjamin B. Ringer & Earl R. Babbie, To Comfort and to Challenge: A Dilemma of the Contemporary Church (1967).


