

“Reconstituting Community: The Contribution of Social Capital and Social Organization to Disaster Recovery.” Community Recovery in Greater New Orleans since Hurricane Katrina. *Social and Organizational Surveys*.
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PROJECT SUMMARY

Intellectual Merits

Eighty percent of New Orleans was flooded in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005; and recovery from the damage and disruption has been an enormous task. The recovery rests on three legs: (1) the degree of physical destruction (negatively), (2) the material and economic resources that people can bring to reconstruction, and (3) the contributions of social networks, community organizations, and leaders. While government, insurance, and other large businesses provide many of the resources for physical reconstruction, people’s well-being and their decision to return and rebuild are heavily influenced by social factors. We especially focus on the contribution of the nonprofit sector – faith-based organizations, neighborhood associations, community or relief organizations, and others. We attempt to isolate the importance of specific actions and strategies, and thereby identify a number of best practices that social actors can and have adopted. Building on intellectual traditions that go back to theories of civil society, culminating in Tocqueville’s descriptions of the workings of democracy and community, we draw on recent work on social capital and civic participation to explain how different communities have attempted to recover. We conduct surveys of Greater New Orleans residents who have, or have not, returned. Because polling in present-day New Orleans is so difficult, we conduct surveys by a variety of – often innovative – methods, which are described. In particular, besides standard random digit dial telephone and face-to-face methods, we also conduct surveys partly through organizations of which respondents are members, congregants, or clients. In related research, we assess the physical damage and recovery of respondents’ residences and surrounding neighborhoods. Also in related research, we survey leaders of the organizations to which respondents belong. We enter all these data, and other geographical and spatial characteristics into a Geographic Information System (GIS). We assess three aspects of disaster recovery, (a) the material, (b) the emotional and spiritual, and (c) the community elements. Our approach is multi-disciplinary and multi-level, integrating multiple elements at all points.

Broader Impacts

This research aims to contribute to the theoretical and empirical literature on social capital, social organization, civic engagement, civil society, the role of the nonprofit sector, community studies, and disaster recovery, as well as make methodological contributions in the areas of innovations in data collection, multi-level and geospatial-social modeling and analysis, and scientific-community interaction and partnership. More broadly, in our larger research project, we attempt to knit together disparate fields of social, organizational, geographic, and engineering sciences in a unified approach that we hope will yield fruitful insights and methods for further research. The research will also help train and educate junior faculty, instructors, graduate students, and undergraduates who participate, and thus increase scientific capacity. The research will also be valuable to policy makers, community leaders, and community members in learning about and applying best practices for protecting communities from disasters and helping them recover. (We believe that there will not be a single set of “best practices” that apply to all communities, but rather, that different communities may have different successful strategies.) The research team is working closely with government, civic, and community leaders, service providers, and community members, and believes that researchers and practitioners each learn a great deal from each other and greatly help each other in their respective goals and tasks. Such partnerships help break down barriers between “experts” and “lay-people” and help spread scientific knowledge – and also help scientists more fully understand and appreciate relevant lay knowledge and expertise.

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PROJECT DESCRIPTION

RESULTS OF PRIOR NSF-SUPPORTED RESEARCH

Frederick Weil (NSF 0554572: "The Social Fabric Under Stress. Baton Rouge's Explosive Growth after Hurricane Katrina") found that: (a) Half of Baton Rouge households housed evacuees, and 60% of Baton Rougeans did volunteer relief work, most more than once, and most with faith-based organizations. (b) Attitudes toward evacuees, including those living in FEMA trailer parks, is affected by proximity, contact, status, race, belief that one could be in the same position, and inter-group trust – all in structured fashions. (c) Ordinarily, people with higher Social Capital handle stress better. However, after Katrina, people with higher Social Capital were initially stressed because they were most involved in relief work. As time went on, they recovered more quickly than did socially isolated people. Weil has two articles in press, one in draft, and two in preparation, all for refereed journals; five papers presented at professional conferences; plus a website describing the research and findings. Troy Blanchard (NSF 0617538-Collaborative Research on Inter-firm Job Mobility, Local Labor Markets, and Organizational Dynamics: Insights from a New U.S. Longitudinal Employer-Employee Data Resource) began on September 1, 2006 and expires on August 31, 2009. This is still an active proposal. Dr. Blanchard has performed a literature review for project publications and submitted an application to the U.S. Census Bureau to gain access to the Longitudinal Employer Household Data. Dr. Blanchard anticipates approval by the U.S. Census Bureau in Fall 2007.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research aims to assess the contribution of social capital and social organizations – community – to Greater New Orleans' recovery from Hurricane Katrina. It attempts to look beyond basic population, damage, and economic numbers and find out what people's intentions are to stay or leave, their reasons, what they have gone through, how they feel about it emotionally and spiritually, whom they praise or blame – and to relate these subjective factors with the process of physical recovery. The research also investigates what community strategies and actions have been most effective in promoting recovery. The proposed research is part of a larger research project, and while the proposed research can stand autonomously, we indicate throughout how it fits into the larger research program.

At present writing, two years after the event, assessments of the pace of recovery remain mixed: "The city of New Orleans and its metro area has bounced back, recovering most of its population and economic base. Yet, progress in the past year has slowed, basic services and infrastructure remain thin, and stark disparities loom between the recovery of Orleans and St. Bernard parishes and the rest of the region" (GNOCDC and Brookings 2007). What seems indisputable, however, is the widespread frustration felt by New Orleans residents, especially those in damaged neighborhoods, at the slow pace of recovery, and their negative assessments of government efforts, at all levels – but their mostly warm feelings about their own community leaders (Schwartz 2006). Indeed, observers since the beginning have stressed the importance and effectiveness of private, nonprofit, and community efforts – especially those of the faith-based community – and the slowness and ineffectiveness of government actions and managerial approaches (LANO 2006). The present research focuses on these "bottom-up" efforts.

Importance of Social Factors. We posit that the recovery from the disaster rests on three legs: (1) the degree of physical destruction (negatively), (2) the material and economic resources that people can bring to reconstruction, and (3) the contributions of social networks, community organizations, and leaders. Our research proposes to examine the contribution of social factors to the recovery, against the backdrop (provided by our larger research program) of physical damage and repair, economic factors, and taking into account a geographical spatial perspective.

Importance of the Nonprofit Sector. A subsidiary proposition is that, while government, insurance, and other large businesses provide many of the resources for physical reconstruction, people's well-being and their decision to return and rebuild are heavily influenced by social factors. Observers have often commented on the importance of the nonprofit sector – faith-based organizations, neighborhood associations, community or relief organizations, and others. We propose to examine empirically the contribution of the nonprofit sector.

Best Practices. By approaching the question in this fashion, we hope to isolate the importance of specific actions and strategies, and thereby identify a number of best practices that social actors can adopt. In doing so, we do not expect that a single set will apply to all communities or all situations. On the contrary, we suspect that we will find a number of different routes to recovery. Some practices may be more or less useful for different communities or organizations, while others may be more universally applicable. We hope to identify a range of practices and strategies that diverse leaders can adopt for their communities.

Theoretical Perspective. Much research on disasters and disaster recovery is done from an expert, managerial, policy, and planning perspective. However, observers recognize that there have been many delays and shortcomings in government and expert response, and that the rates of recovery vary widely among different communities (Brinkley 2006; Horne 2006). Indeed, top-down perspectives acknowledge that intangible factors like social “resilience” play a major role, but they often find them difficult to explain.

Yet concepts like social resilience have a long history in social theory. Much current work on “social capital” stresses the importance of social networks, reciprocity, and interpersonal trust, which allow individuals and groups to accomplish greater things than they could by their isolated efforts (Coleman 1990; Putnam 2000, 2002, 2003; Lin et al 2001; Paxton 1999; Sampson et al. 2005; McPherson et al. 2006). Earlier, related, work on democracy and political participation stress the importance of community, religion, family, social organizations – namely, civil society – in promoting the self-restraint that makes democratic government and a free-market economy possible (Verba and Nie 1972; Verba et al. 1995; Lipset 1981; Greeley 1997; Norris 1999; Putnam 1993, 2002; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999; Skocpol et al. 2000; Weil 1989, 1993, 1994a,b, 2000). These ideas can be traced back to the Federalist Papers, Adam Smith, John Locke, and earlier (Weil 1987). They probably come together most fully in the first empirical and theoretical accounts of modern democratic society by Alexis de Tocqueville (2000, 2001) (and to an extent, John Stuart Mill [1973]).

Tocqueville’s account of democratic society centers on the concept of liberty, defined as local self-governance, in contrast to despotism, defined as centralized administration. In this view, free citizens who act together in community – using institutions of civil society like churches, voluntary associations, the press, and so on – are able to take immediate action to address issues that face them. They do not wait for a higher authority to solve problems for them, but rather, join together in addressing them themselves. They do not neglect self-interest; rather, it is moderated by a regard for the common good. In contrast, subjects of despotic government are like children clamoring for hand-outs from the authorities, and squabbling with each other. Each person regards only his or her own self-interest and is jealous of what anyone else gets. As a result, they are incapable of cooperating or acting for themselves and must wait for government to help them.

While few observers believe that the contrasts are as stark as Tocqueville paints them, or that a central authority is ever entirely absent or unnecessary, most modern theories of community or collective action accept the basic outlines of this account. In the present proposal, we also build on these concepts to try to account for why some communities have apparently made more progress in their recovery than others, net of physical damage, economic resources, and government assistance. We think this perspective can help us understand what community *strategies* have been most effective, and what we can learn from them in a general sense.

Structure of the Research. The proposed research is part of a larger research program, which is already partly funded, under way, and producing results – but the proposed research also *stands alone*. This proposal describes this core of research, describes the “hooks” that attach it to the larger project, and then briefly indicates how it fits into the larger project.

We propose to conduct surveys of residents of Greater New Orleans, who have returned and are rebuilding, who have moved away, and who are in a state of limbo or cannot yet decide. The surveys ask residents about the damage they sustained, their resources for recovery, and their feelings about the situation. It also investigates aspects of the social networks they are part of, the organizations and churches they belong to, and the neighborhoods they live in. We have been sampling among many different communities, and propose to continue to do so, rounding out gaps in the samples, and monitoring progress over time. We will adjust or weight the sample with pre-storm census information.

The larger research program, of which the proposed research is a central part, investigates the context of individual decisions and feelings more fully, and assesses more macro or “meso” factors. Thus, our colleagues are adding independent measurements of storm damage and future flooding risk, provided

by *civil engineering assessments* of respondents' dwellings and locations. Other colleagues are conducting *surveys of organizations* that represent respondents' communities – especially faith-based, neighborhood associations, service organizations, and the like – with an aim to link best practices with measured outcomes. (This is a multilevel analytical design.) And still other colleagues are doing *geospatial mapping and analysis (GIS)* of all these and additional elements. Our team is also working closely with some of the central planners involved in the city's and region's recovery, in particular, with Steven Bingler, director of Concordia, LLC, and Planning Coordinator of the Unified New Orleans Plan (UNOP). We want our research to simultaneously provide *theoretical advances* and *practical assistance* to residents and communities that are working to recover. A basic *Diagram of our larger Research Design* is shown in **Figure 1**. Additional information about the larger project is available at <http://www.lsu.edu/fweil/KatrinaResearch>.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

We now describe the proposed research in more detail; and we briefly indicate its connections to the other elements afterwards.

Description of the Survey Instrument. Our survey assesses the state of recovery of individual residents, and attempts to locate them in their social networks and organizational environment. The survey contains several “hooks,” or merge variables to link individuals concretely to these higher level variables, so that we can build multi-level and geospatial models.

The survey focuses on a range of objective activities and subjective feelings and views of respondents. These issues include: How much damage did residents sustain? What will it take to recover? Do people consider it worth it? Are they willing? Where did people go if and when they evacuated? Did their own community care for them? Who is staying, who is leaving, and why? Is it jobs? Family connections? Destruction and loss? Is it the strength and vibrancy of members' own community? The general community? Do residents feel safe and protected from future storms? What can leadership do to help people return and rebuild? How much did community members work together, cooperatively, during the aftermath and the recovery? How much cohesion is there within each community? What have the disasters meant to members spiritually? How much stress is there among residents, and what can help mitigate it? Do community members feel supported by their communities outside Greater New Orleans? Whom do residents praise and blame? How do residents differ on these questions among themselves – within families, between people who differ in their religiosity, their education, their economic standing, between age and gender groups, and so on.

The survey instrument draws on previous research on social capital, social networks, community and social support, nonprofit and faith-based organizations, and a variety of other fields. The questionnaire is available online at <http://www.lsu.edu/katrinasyurvey> and <http://www.lsu.edu/katrinasyurvey/lsukatrinasyurvey-nolageneral.pdf>. In particular, we use social capital indicators developed by Robert Putnam in his 2000 “Social Capital Community Benchmark Surveys” (Saguaro 2000). This was a multi-community survey, and Weil directed the Baton Rouge portion, with Blanchard's collaboration, and has replicated the indexes in numerous subsequent Baton Rouge surveys (LSU Sociology 2007). We also replicate several questions used in national surveys in the aftermath of hurricane Katrina, and replicated by Weil, Shihadeh, and Lee in their NSF-supported post-Katrina Baton Rouge surveys (Weil 2006, 2007; Weil, Shihadeh, and Lee 2005, 2006; Lee, Weil, and Shihadeh forthcoming). However, most of the survey instrument was developed by Weil on the basis of months of in-depth, unstructured interviews with community leaders, community members, evacuees, and clients of relief organizations, from a variety of communities and organizations.

Sampling Challenges. Normal telephone and face-to-face surveys remain extremely difficult to conduct in Greater New Orleans since the hurricane (Airriess 2006; American Red Cross 2005; Banks 2006a,b; Collective Strength 2006; Henderson 2006; Howell et al. 2006a,b,c; Herrmann et al. 2006; Kessler 2006a,b; Morin 2005; Patel and Vogenbeck 2006; Prevention Research Center 2006; Texas HHS 2006; Washington Post 2005; Schafer and Singelmann 2007). On the basis of continuing experience in Greater New Orleans since the storm, the LSU Public Policy Research Lab (PPRL: the survey lab) estimates that, after disconnected telephone numbers are purged from a random list, only 52 percent of the numbers are valid, working numbers. This makes ordinary surveys extremely difficult. If it were not so difficult, there would be a flood of high-quality samples – because there is intense interest in the recovery – but there are not.

Given these difficulties, we are pursuing a multi-method approach to sampling and data collection. This includes Random Digit Dialing telephone interviewing, door-to-door interviewing, sampling through membership organizations, including faith-based, sampling through service providers, interviewing at community events, sampling through notices, including on-line notices, and partnering with government and nonprofit agencies. **Table 1** gives examples of some of this sampling, and we describe some of the examples in more detail below.

We have already collected over 2,200 interviews since June, 2006 – with essentially no funding as yet. The sample is not yet fully representative, but it already gives fairly good coverage of most population segments, and we believe it will become representative soon *with or without funding*. **Figures 2 and 3** give an initial indication of sample composition and geographical coverage so far. We describe the sample further below.

We seek funding in this proposal primarily (a) to make our current sample more representative, and (b) to collect a second survey wave to measure change over time.

Sample Design, Representativeness, and Weighting. Ideally, we would like to have a sample of people who have, and who have not, returned; and we would like people who are closely embedded in social networks and organizations, and those who are relatively isolated socially. Such a sample would enable us to investigate the importance of community on the relative success of rebuilding.

However, as indicated, it is very difficult to draw such a sample in Greater New Orleans at present. It would be hard to sample stayers and leavers under the best of circumstances, but it is much more difficult under present circumstances. Our strategy is to make a virtue of necessity, and consists of four parts: (a) standard Random Digit Dial telephone interviews and face-to-face interviews in representative geographic areas; (b) interviews with church-, organization-, and neighborhood members, in cooperation with their leaders; (c) interviews with people who have evacuated and not yet returned, who will be located by several means; and (d) snowball sampling, with relatives, friends, and neighbors of respondents, especially those who have not returned and are otherwise difficult to locate.

Questions included on the survey instruments will help us evaluate the impact of social embeddedness, and interviews conducted through organizations will give us an additional ability to assess their importance through a multilevel research design (more on this below).

But because sampling still remains difficult, we will also *weight the sample* to improve its representativeness. Indeed, many current multi-stage sampling methods also include weighting. Our quasi-quota approach may not suffer greatly by comparison, but may differ mainly by degree. In order to develop a weighting profile of the Pre-Katrina population in the New Orleans region, we will draw on Public Use Microdata Sample from the 2003 to 2005 American Community Survey (ACS). ACS provides current estimates of population characteristics by drawing on annual samples of the U.S. population. Because the New Orleans Metropolitan area contains a large population concentration, the Census Bureau is able to provide annual estimates of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the population. Using these data we will construct age by sex by race tabulations of the Pre-Katrina population to be used for weighting. We will also explore the use of additional socioeconomic variables to develop a more detailed weighting matrix. To accomplish this, we will examine PUMS data from Census 2000 to create a crosstabulation of the adult population by age (18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 65 and over), race (non-hispanic white, non-hispanic black, non-hispanic Asian, non-hispanic native American, non-hispanic other, Hispanic), sex (male, female), homeownership status (owner, renter), and household income (less than \$25,000; \$25,000-50,000; \$50,000-75,000; \$75,000-100,000; \$100,000 to 200,000; More than \$200,000). We will also explore pooling Census 2000 PUMS with 2000-2005 ACS microdata to obtain appropriate cell sizes for our weighting crosstabulations.

Examples of Sampling, completed and projected. Because our sampling has been so varied, and because we project that sampling will continue to be varied, we give some examples of data collection completed and projected (see **Table 1**).

The Jewish Federation of Greater New Orleans (JFGNO). Weil is a member of the Baton Rouge Jewish community and, shortly after the hurricane, proposed surveying both communities. For the New Orleans portion, the JFGNO sent an email blast to all its members with email addresses (N=ca. 1,800) with a link to an online version of the survey, and notices were given at area synagogues and Jewish Community Centers, and at various gatherings. 713 community members completed the survey during the second half of 2006, mostly online, and 20-25 percent of respondents had moved away from New Orleans and did not plan to return. We are now completing a second survey of the community, by telephone and internet (N=789), partly on different matters, but partly with questions repeated from the 2006 survey.

These are high quality samples of this community, most of whose members are well-educated and have internet access, and set a standard for the other samples.

The Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans. We established good contacts with a number of Catholic parish churches throughout Greater New Orleans and, through them, with Archdiocese leaders. The Archdiocese included a notice in its weekly communication with its parish churches, encouraging them to participate in the survey. Parish churches partnered with us at varying levels, mostly according to their ability, because almost all were sympathetic to the effort. St. Dominic's in Lakeview and Our Lady of Prompt Succor in Chalmette (St. Bernard), two of the hardest-hit areas, allowed us to address their parishioners, distribute surveys after mass, and published encouragement in their bulletins and websites. Our combined efforts yielded over 600 responses. Other parish churches have also provided responses. In addition, *Catholic Charities* is distributing the survey, through their case workers and in their 15 Community Centers, to mostly lower-income residents.

The Broadmoor Improvement Association (BIA). The Broadmoor community, in the center of the city, was badly flooded, and is of great importance because (a) it closely reflects the entire city in its economic and race/ethnic diversity, and (b) its leadership and membership are so active, well-organized, and effective. (Its leader, LaToya Cantrell was featured in a *New York Times* story and was on national television for the second anniversary of the storm.) Its rate of recovery is quite high, considering levels of damage and residents' resources. We have worked closely with the BIA, which has allowed us to address their community meetings and has sent residents emails and posted a notice on their website. They also distributed paper copies of the survey door-to-door to every residence in the neighborhood. All the while, they encouraged neighbors to participate. These efforts have produced over 300 responses so far.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune's website, nola.com. The website of New Orleans' major daily newspaper, www.nola.com, has discussion forums for neighborhoods in the extended region, many of which are very active, some less so. The editors posted a description of, and link to, our online survey in a prominent position on nola.com during May-June, 2007. This notice resulted in about 300 responses from all around Greater New Orleans, including from people who had not returned.

Operation Nehemiah and Delta Service Corps (Americorps). These are organizations that coordinate volunteers who come to New Orleans from around America, often faith-based, to help rebuild. Operation Nehemiah sent its volunteers door-to-door in mostly middle- and lower income African American neighborhoods to conduct the interview face-to-face during the summer of 2007, and completed nearly 200 interviews. The Delta Service Corps, the Louisiana branch of Americorps, will do the same, beginning in fall 2007.

ACORN. The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), the nation's largest community organization of low- and moderate-income families, is very active in Greater New Orleans and has a membership of 2-3,000 residents there, especially in the African American community. While ACORN restricts access to its membership roles strictly to its offices, and under its supervision, they will permit us to send interviewers to their New Orleans and Baton Rouge offices to conduct telephone interviews with their members. We are arranging for volunteer agencies (Hands-On Baton Rouge and New Orleans) to send volunteers, and we will send paid undergraduate students, if funding permits. Over a period of some months, this should produce hundreds of completed interviews.

FEMA Trailer Parks. We have done face-to-face interviewing in FEMA and private trailer parks that house hurricane evacuees, especially in the largest of them, Renaissance Village (RV) in Baker, adjacent to Baton Rouge. Weil chairs the Congregation B'nai Israel Hurricane Relief Committee (BIHRC), and they have worked at many of the evacuee trailer sites since they opened. The BIHRC established a café at RV, which has become a community center with over 600 unique visitors a month, and has established excellent relations with resident leaders, service providers and site management. In partnership with the resident leaders, the BIHRC put on an event at RV, with a jambalaya dinner, snowballs (snow cones), and a New Orleans brass band, which paraded through the site. Seventy volunteers came from Operation Nehemiah, and resident leaders recruited 20-30 resident volunteers. With this volunteer force, our research team was also able to conduct 94 interviews with residents, who generally refuse to be interviewed otherwise, except for payment. On the contrary, some residents, who had not had a snowball or heard New Orleans music for two years, cried with happiness when they were able to eat one and dance in a Second Line parade again (see **Figure 6** for photos of the data collection and the event). We have used a similar method in other trailer sites, and we are now partnering with *Save the Children* in ten other large trailer sites, where they are providing services, to conduct our survey to help them evaluate conditions.

Providence Community Housing. Providence has a contract with the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) and Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to evaluate public housing in a large part of New Orleans. They have seen our survey and our related work, and want to contract with our team to provide GIS maps and to conduct our survey with 400-500 respondents in mostly moderate to low income, mostly African American neighborhoods.

Schools. We have partnered with Our Lady of Prompt Succor School in Chalmette (St. Bernard) and are in discussion with many other schools in the region. We provide questionnaires (that also give the web address of the online version), which students take home to their parents. The parents fill in the survey, and the students return them to the schools, where we collect them. We collected about 100 interviews in Chalmette in this fashion.

Sampling Deficiencies and Funds Sought to Address them. The funding we seek in this proposal will primarily pay (a) to conduct standard Random Digit Dial telephone interviews, and (b) to conduct face-to-face interviews in situations like those described above. It will also be used (a) to round out the present sample, making it more representative, and (b) to collect a second wave of interviews to measure change over time. Although sampling difficulties make it hard to contemplate a true panel design, 400-500 of our respondents have already given us contact information and permission to contact them again. Thus, some panel sampling should be possible.

The data collection we have done so far has been extremely labor-intensive, and with virtually no funding, it has required a great deal of organization and persuasion. We have always offered to provide the groups we partner with the survey results as an incentive to assist us. This cooperation has, we believe, resulted in much better data collection than might have been possible under current circumstances, even if the research had been fully funded – both because of respondent cooperation, but also because we want to evaluate the impact that faith, community, and nonprofit organizations have on the recovery.

With funding, we do not intend to take a fundamentally different approach – because the present approach is appropriate and successful. Rather, we propose to pay interviewers to survey groups that are willing to participate, but have not been successful so far in doing so. Two examples illustrate:

The Vietnamese Community. Weil has engaged in close discussions since April 2006 with Fr. Nguyen The Vien and other leaders of the Vietnamese community of New Orleans East. This community is very well organized and quickly recovered from storm damage, and is now resuming its future-oriented planning and development. Fr. Vien has been enthusiastic about doing the survey, and we had it translated into Vietnamese. However, community members feel “interviewed out,” and have not been enthusiastic about filling it in themselves. We would like to hire students and Vietnamese community members to conduct interviews. With the endorsement of leadership, we feel this would be successful.

African American organizations, congregations, and communities. The African American community has also been difficult to sample. Respondents are generally happy to participate – indeed, they tell our volunteers how much the survey is needed – but we have had little success in distributing the survey for self-administration. Leaders are also heavily burdened by recovery efforts and are hard pressed to assist us, although, again, those we have spoken with would very much welcome the survey in their communities. We would like to hire students and community members, and with leadership endorsement, we predict strong response.

Preliminary Results. Although we still need to round out our sample to make it more representative, the sample size (N=2,200 and counting) is sufficient for preliminary analysis. Thus, we already have the basis for positing and testing a large range of causal models and hypotheses. **Figure 4** shows an overall *Causal Model* for the level of analysis that can be addressed with the survey. Examples of specific hypotheses are shown in Panel A of **Table 2**.

- A.1 Those with higher damage experience more stress.
- A.2 Social support mitigates/reduces stress, even among those with higher damage. Thus, for example, stress rises steeply with damage for non-church-attenders, but is flatter for church-attenders.
- A.3 People express greater confidence in, and satisfaction with, their own community leaders (esp. religious, neighborhood, nonprofit) than with government officials.

Figure 5 indicates support for hypotheses A.1 and A.2; and other preliminary analysis also supports hypothesis A.3 (Schwartz 2006; Weil 2007b). These offer good, clear evidence of the importance of social capital and social organizations, and they set the stage for deeper analysis of data in the larger project we are conducting.

Place of the Surveys in the Larger Research Project. The larger research project in which the proposed research is embedded – *and for which no funds are sought here* – includes direct measurement of the role of organizations and direct measurement of physical recovery of residential units. The first wave of organizational and residential surveys *have already been funded* (with Weil as PI¹) and will go into the field in Fall of 2007. When these data have been collected, we will merge them with our surveys of individuals, and conduct multi-level and geospatial analysis of the combined data sets. Blanchard has particular expertise in these forms of analysis (Irwin, Blanchard, Tolbert, Lyson, and Nucci 2004; Blanchard and Matthews 2006). We now indicate briefly how the proposed research fits into this larger project.

Surveys of Organizations. Our collaborators, Daphne Cain and Juan Barthelemy, are conducting surveys of churches (and perhaps later, other organizations) to which respondents belong or which serve them as clients. We plan to investigate what strategies, actions, and forms of organization leaders employ, and how effective they are, net of other factors. Cain and Barthelemy (under review) already surveyed churches in the Baton Rouge metropolitan area in the first half of 2006. In structured interviews, and unstructured follow-ups, church representatives were asked to describe the tangible and spiritual relief efforts provided to evacuees following Katrina. Cain and Barthelemy have revised and expanded their survey, in collaboration with Weil (see <http://www.lsu.edu/katrinasyurvey/CainBarthelemy-NOLAChurchSurvey.pdf>). We will interview leaders of the same churches that distribute the survey to their members or clients, and we will seek to interview congregation members of new churches in the sample (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002; Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, and Congdon 2004). We expect to find variation in recovery rates among community members that can be compared with variation in strategies and practices among community leaders. By pursuing this form of analysis, we aim to identify and isolate, not the most successful communities, but rather, the *best practices*: particular courses of action that work in certain circumstances or in most circumstances. Examples of hypotheses are given in row E of Table 2.

Damage Assessments, Georeferencing and Spatial Analysis (GIS). Our surveys of individuals include questions that locate respondents geographically: street address, neighborhood, zip code, and parish (county). Simultaneously, our collaborators, John Pine and Barrett Kennedy, are conducting damage assessments of residential units (see the questionnaire at <http://www.lsu.edu/katrinasyurvey/LSUPost-KatrinaGISHousingSurvey.pdf>) and putting the data into a Geographic Information System (GIS). They will focus on the addresses of our survey respondents and their surrounding neighborhoods. Surveyors will evaluate the selected residences and surrounding streets, with the questionnaire loaded in a PDA, which is linked by Bluetooth to a GPS device. They fill in the questionnaire and photograph the structure, and the photos are also transferred to the PDA by Bluetooth and linked to the record. GIS will be used to input, store, analyze and visualize all georeferenced data collected in this study. The resulting data can also be combined with information about flood risks and other geospatial data. Together with Blanchard, Pine and Kennedy will conduct geospatial analysis of the combined data.

Georeferencing is an important part of this project for two main reasons: (a) because it gives us independent measurement of physical recovery and continued risk, besides that reported by respondents, and (b) because it merges contextual data to individual-level information. Our research hypotheses are multilevel in nature and interface importantly with geographical location. For instance, GIS will be used to investigate how the proximity of resources or problem factors affect rebuilding efforts, or how the proximity of physical gathering places affect social-network, leadership, or organizational outcomes. Examples of such hypotheses are shown in rows C and F of Table 2:

- C.1 The more proximate resources are – e.g., groceries, pharmacies, schools – the faster and more complete the rebuilding.
- C.2 The more proximate problems are – e.g., crime, devastation in other neighborhoods – the slower and less complete the rebuilding.
- F.1 The proximity of physical gathering-places – e.g., undamaged or repaired schools, restaurants, places of worship, community centers – may “explain away” the effects of social-network, leadership, or organizational factors. That is, social support may only become possible when physical structures are available where people can gather.

¹ Co-PIs are John Pine, Professor of Geography and Director of LSU’s new Department of Disaster Science and Management, Barrett Kennedy, Associate Dean of the College of Design and Director of CADGIS Lab (computer design and mapping), and Daphne Cain and Juan Barthelemy, Professors in the LSU School of Social Work. Pine and Kennedy will lead the GIS component, and Cain and Barthelemy will lead the survey of organizations.

STRATEGY OF ANALYSIS: COMBINING THE SOCIAL, PHYSICAL, AND GEOGRAPHIC COMPONENTS

At the outset, we indicated that New Orleans' recovery from Hurricane Katrina rests on three legs, physical damage (negatively), economic resources, and social factors. Our larger research project attempts to assess all three factors, and we indicated briefly in the previous section how it would do so. We now describe more fully how the elements, for which we now seek funding, fit in the larger picture. **Figure 7** shows the overall model of our larger project. In the center oval is a representation of our basic model.

The left panel of Figure 7 shows how we operationalize the *independent variables*.

Physical Damage is measured in the proposed surveys by respondent reporting. In the larger project, this will be augmented by physical assessments of residential units and application of data from flood maps to assess both the water depth and future risks at each location point. And we consider geographical factors like proximity to needed resources. We combine these factors in a GIS analysis.

Economic Assets are measured mainly by individual survey responses, where we ask respondents about their employment status, income, and access to capital for rebuilding.

Social Factors are conceived in two parts, each measured by our individual and organizational surveys. First, Social Capital is measured by embeddedness in networks of social support and the effectiveness of communal organizations. Second, we attempt to assess Social Dynamics. For instance, individuals may be unwilling to return and rebuild if they believe they would be isolated; and impressions of isolation or a "critical mass" may produce self-fulfilling prophecies. We measure respondents' impressions in the surveys.

The right panel of Figure 7 shows how we operationalize the *dependent variables*.

Material Recovery consists of housing recovery, neighborhood revival, and economic recovery. We measure these factors with individual surveys, as well as the assessments of residential structures. Neighborhood revival will be measured by our and external measures of repopulation, and the re-emergence and accessibility of neighborhood resources like grocery stores, pharmacies, schools, other retail outlets, and the like. Using GIS, we will spatially analyze these factors and will be able to draw associations between housing recovery and neighborhood revival. And economic recovery will be measured by our survey questions about employment, income, access to capital, as well as economic elements of the above factors.

Emotional and Spiritual Recovery will be measured by our individual surveys. Our survey includes measures of emotional stress, manifested in physical symptoms like sleeplessness or trouble concentrating; spiritual feelings; comfort and satisfaction with family, friends, and community; as well as various subjective evaluations of respondents' communities and leaders. Because we link material and organizational indicators to individual records, we can analyze the influence of these factors from a spatial (GIS) and multi-level perspective. Thus, for instance, we should be able to evaluate whether successful leadership strategies, or geographical proximity to resources, result in greater individual emotional and spiritual recovery.

Community Recovery is perhaps the subtlest element to evaluate. Some elements can be measured simply by aggregating individual-level responses. For instance, we could gauge community recovery by the extent of social support people feel, their embedded in social networks, their degree of trust or satisfaction with their leaders and communities, and similar factors. However, more sophisticated indicators can be developed, with varying degrees of difficulty. For instance, research on democracy suggests that polarized polities have more trouble resolving problems and conflicts (Weil 1989, 1994b). We can assess community polarization by measuring the dispersal of community members' evaluations of their leaders (e.g., a standard deviation), and compare communities with each other on this polarization indicator. The more polarized a community, perhaps, the lower the emotional/spiritual or even material recovery (Hypothesis E.4 in Table 2). This is a multi-level research design. Likewise, certain leadership strategies, or organizational networks may indicate a better-functioning community environment. We can analyze their effects on individual-level outcomes, again in a multi-level analysis – but it may also prove possible to evaluate the relative success of different trajectories of these macro-level developments. This would be more uncharted territory and would probably have to be exploratory in the present research.

IMPACT ON SCHOLARSHIP AND COMMUNITY

This research aims to contribute to the theoretical and empirical literature on social capital, social organization, civic engagement, civil society, the role of the nonprofit sector, community studies, and

disaster recovery, as well as make methodological contributions in the areas of innovations in data collection, multi-level and geospatial-social modeling and analysis, and scientific-community interaction and partnership. More broadly, in our larger research project, we attempt to knit together disparate fields of social, organizational, geographic, and engineering sciences in a unified approach that we hope will yield fruitful insights and methods for further research. In addition, our research attempts to bring immediate benefits to the communities we study. At a minimum, we will pass on our findings to communities as soon as we have them. But more than this, we are actively working and consulting with a wide range of communities in their recovery efforts, including the Catholic Archdiocese, the Jewish Federation, the Episcopal Diocese, other faith-based organizations, and individual churches; organizations like ACORN and Providence Community Housing that represent mostly lower-income African American residents of the Ninth Ward, New Orleans East, and Central City; the Vietnamese community of New Orleans East; the community of Chalmette in St. Bernard Parish; the Broadmoor Improvement Association and other neighborhood associations; social service organizations like the Red Cross, the United Way, and Catholic Charities; advocates for displaced musicians like public radio station WWOZ; and resident leaders of FEMA trailer villages. In all cases, we try to help groups use the information we develop for their own recovery efforts.

Incidentally, we do not believe that these efforts of cooperation and assistance will somehow “contaminate” our research. On the contrary, we expect that (1) there will still be a large amount of variance on relevant variables to be measured and analyzed, and (2) active involvement will aid our understanding of the dynamic processes we are investigating. Furthermore, the “Tuskegee Experiments” long ago discredited the failure to help where possible, and current ethics of drug-trial experiments affirm the practice of helping where possible, or at least of doing no harm if it becomes clear that harm is being done.

MANAGEMENT PLAN

The proposed research will be organized under one PI (Weil) and one co-PI (Blanchard). Both are faculty in the Department of Sociology at LSU and can meet, telephone and email – and do so – at frequent intervals. Weil, who specializes in survey research, political and community sociology, and social theory, will supervise data collection of the individual social surveys. The survey data will be collected partly by the LSU Public Policy Research Lab (PPRL: the LSU Survey Lab), partly by undergraduate students in the field, and possibly also by members of communities being surveyed. Weil has worked directly with the PPRL for many years on Baton Rouge area surveys and has an effective and comfortable working relationships with them. Blanchard specializes in multilevel- and GIS/spatial modeling of community dynamics, and will supervise the analysis and help coordinate the surveys with other areas of the larger project. Blanchard and Weil worked together on the Baton Rouge portion of the 2000 “Social Capital Community Benchmark Surveys” (Saguaro 2000), directed by Robert Putnam, and work easily together.

One graduate student from the Sociology Department will be available to assist the research with data collection, management, analysis, and coordination. Part of the budget for the PPRL also includes supervision by graduate students of undergraduate interviewers. Graduate and undergraduate students, interns, and volunteers will be included in all aspects and levels of the research, to the extent that they are qualified and interested. This research will provide many opportunities for scientific training and many opportunities for scientific-community interaction.

Most of the data collection, including all of the telephone interviewing by the PPRL, will take place in the first year. Field interviewing will take place in both years, as we augment and round out the samples. Conditions remain unsettled in Greater New Orleans, making normal data collection more difficult than usual. We are also coordinating data collection with other portions of the larger project. Data management and analysis has already begun with data already in hand. The weight of activity will shift from data collection, to management, to analysis, to dissemination of results, as the project progresses. We have already begun reporting results of the research at professional conferences and community meetings and already have one article in press in a refereed scholarly journal (Patel, Patterson, and Weil, forthcoming). The pace of these activities will also pick up as the funding period progresses. But since this is part of a larger project that monitors and assesses recovery, we hope to continue the larger research project beyond the proposed funding period, till roughly five years after the disaster. Thus, we project that we will complete the proposed phase within the proposed 24 months; and we will seek further funding separately to continue other portions of the larger project.

Table 1. Partners in Survey Sampling: Examples

Partners	Examples
Faith-Based membership groups	<i>Catholic Archdiocese.</i> Endorsed survey and put a notice in weekly bulletin to parish church leaders. Varying partnership with individual parish churches, including very close with large churches in Lakeview and Chalmette (ca. N=ca. 600 together), and moderate with churches in Metairie and Gentilly.
	<i>Jewish Federation.</i> Active support and assistance by Federation and Synagogues. Rs contacted by email, answered on web. N=713
	Various African-American churches offered cooperation, but it resulted in only a moderate number of interviews. We will pursue this avenue further.
	Other denominations offered cooperation and sent out email notices to their pastors, incl Episcopalian Diocese and United Methodists. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary discussed cooperation.
Other Faith-Based Groups	<i>Operation Nehemiah</i> volunteers went door-to-door, conducting face-to-face interviews. N=100-150.
	<i>Cong. B'nai Israel</i> Hurricane Relief Committee, partnered with resident leaders and volunteers at Renaissance Village and other trailer villages. N=100-150
Service Providers and Nonprofits	<i>Catholic Charities of N.O.</i> , through their 15 Community Centers. Catholic Community Services of Baton Rouge, through their case managers
	<i>Capital Area United Way</i> (Greater Baton Rouge) is distributing the survey through their 52 member service provider organizations.
	<i>The New Orleans Chamber of Commerce</i> will send requests to its members to complete the survey and members will ask their employees to participate.
	<i>Delta Service Corps</i> (Americorps) will have their volunteer coordinators lead volunteers door-to-door, at community meetings, etc., to interview.
	<i>Save the Children</i> will interview in about 10 FEMA trailer parks, where they provide services.
Community Groups and Neighborhood Associations	<i>Broadmoor Improvement Association</i> has distributed survey by email, on website, at neighborhood meetings, and door-to-door.
	<i>Fr. Nguyen The Vien and Mary Queen of Vietnam Catholic Church</i> and Community Development Corp. endorsed and encouraged cooperation, but this has not yet produced many interviews. Questionnaire is translated into Vietnamese. We plan to work with community members to do interviews
Advocacy Groups	<i>ACORN.</i> Hands-On B.R. and N.O. will provide volunteers to conduct telephone interview among the roughly 2-3,000 Acorn members from the Acorn offices.
Rs Reached directly, without Associations	<i>New Orleans Times-Picayune:</i> their nola.com community forums posted a link to the survey. N=ca. 400.
Indirect Assistance	<i>Steven Binger,</i> Concordia LLC and the Unified New Orleans Plan. He also organized the Community Center Consortium, which led to other contacts
Government Agencies and Agency Contracts	<i>Providence Community Housing.</i> Commissioned by HANO (Housing Authority of N.O.) and HUD to conduct a study of public housing. They want to include our survey and project ca 400-500 interviews with lower income, mostly African American residents, mostly in 6 th & 7 th Wards.
	Various <i>Schools</i> are sending the paper questionnaire home with students to their parents to fill in and return. N>100 from our initial efforts.
	<i>FEMA VALs</i> (Voluntary Association Liaisons) have been very helpful.
	<i>New Orleans City Council members</i> have helped us distribute surveys and/or introduced us to community leaders.
	<i>Louisiana Recovery Authority (LRA)</i> may work with us. We are in discussions.

Table 2. Examples of Specific Hypotheses

Data Level	Examples of Specific Hypotheses
A. Social (Individual)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Those with higher damage experience more stress. 2. Social Support mitigates/reduces stress, even among those with higher damage. Thus, for example, Stress rises steeply with damage for non-church-attenders, but is flatter for church-attenders. 3. People will express greater confidence in, and satisfaction with, their own community leaders (esp. religious, neighborhood, nonprofit) than with government officials.
B. Engineering	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The more damage a residence suffered, the slower and less complete the rebuilding.
C. GIS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The more proximate resources are – e.g., groceries, pharmacies, schools – the faster and more complete the rebuilding. 2. The more proximate problems are – e.g., crime, devastation in other neighborhoods – the slower and less complete the rebuilding.
D. Social-Engineering	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The more resources (esp. money) an individual has, the faster and more complete the rebuilding. 2. The more solidarity among community members – e.g., the more embedded individuals are, the more individuals work cooperatively with others, the more effective the leadership – the faster and more complete the rebuilding. 3. The more complete the rebuilding, the lower the individual stress. 4. The more complete the rebuilding, the more social support – social networks, embeddedness, community leadership – will recover.
E. Social-Organizational	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The more effective organizational leadership is, the faster and more complete the recovery, as measured in rebuilding and stress levels. 2. Organizational leadership can be broken down into discrete strategies and actions. Thus, discrete hypotheses become possible: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Communities will differ as to whether collective or individual effort is more effective. b. Communities will differ as to whether decentralized or centralized decision-making is more effective. E.g., congregational denominations may have more effective decentralized decision-making, while hierarchical denominations may have more effective centralized decision-making. 3. The more effective organizational leadership is, the lower the gap will be between (a) individuals' perceptions and (b) engineers assessments of flood risk, recovery chances, etc. The reason for this is that effective leadership disseminates accurate information more effectively. 4. The more polarized a community's membership is – the more internal conflict there is – the slower and less complete the recovery.
F. Social-GIS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The proximity of physical gathering-places – e.g., undamaged or repaired schools, restaurants, places of worship, community centers – may “explain away” the effects of social-network, leadership, or organizational factors. That is, social support may only become possible when physical structures are available where people can gather.

Figure 1. Diagram of Research Plan

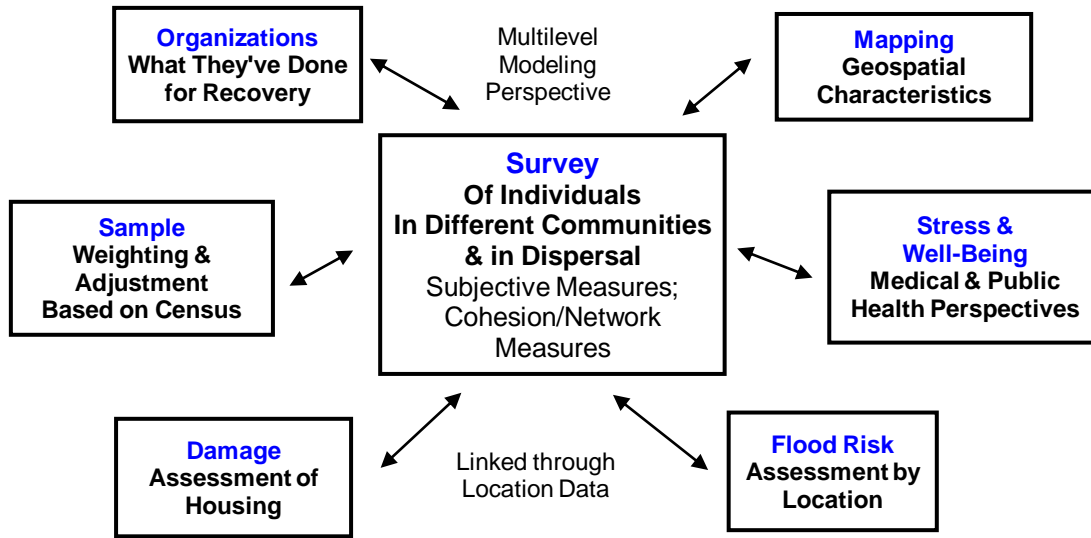


Figure 2. Sample Composition

Parish of Residence Before Katrina	%	Race	%	Income	%
Orleans	53	White	79	Under \$25,000	12
Jefferson	12	Black	17	\$25,000 to \$50,000	24
St. Bernard	25	Asian	1	\$50,000 to \$75,000	21
Plaquemines	2	American Indian	1	\$75,000 to \$100,000	21
St. Tammany	6	Other	2	\$100,000 to \$200,000	18
Other	1			More than \$200,000	4
N = 1318		N = 1322		N = 1193	

Figure 3. Geographical Distribution of Sample

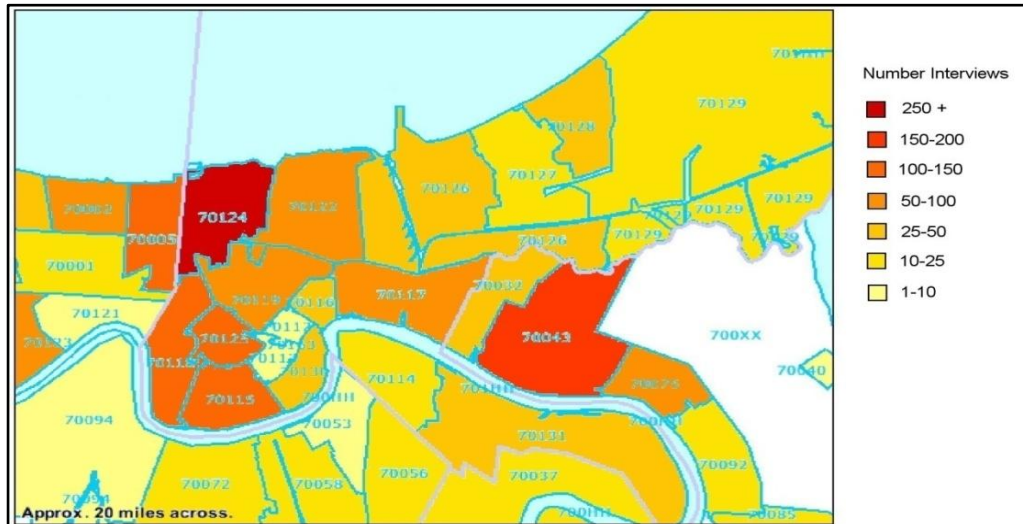
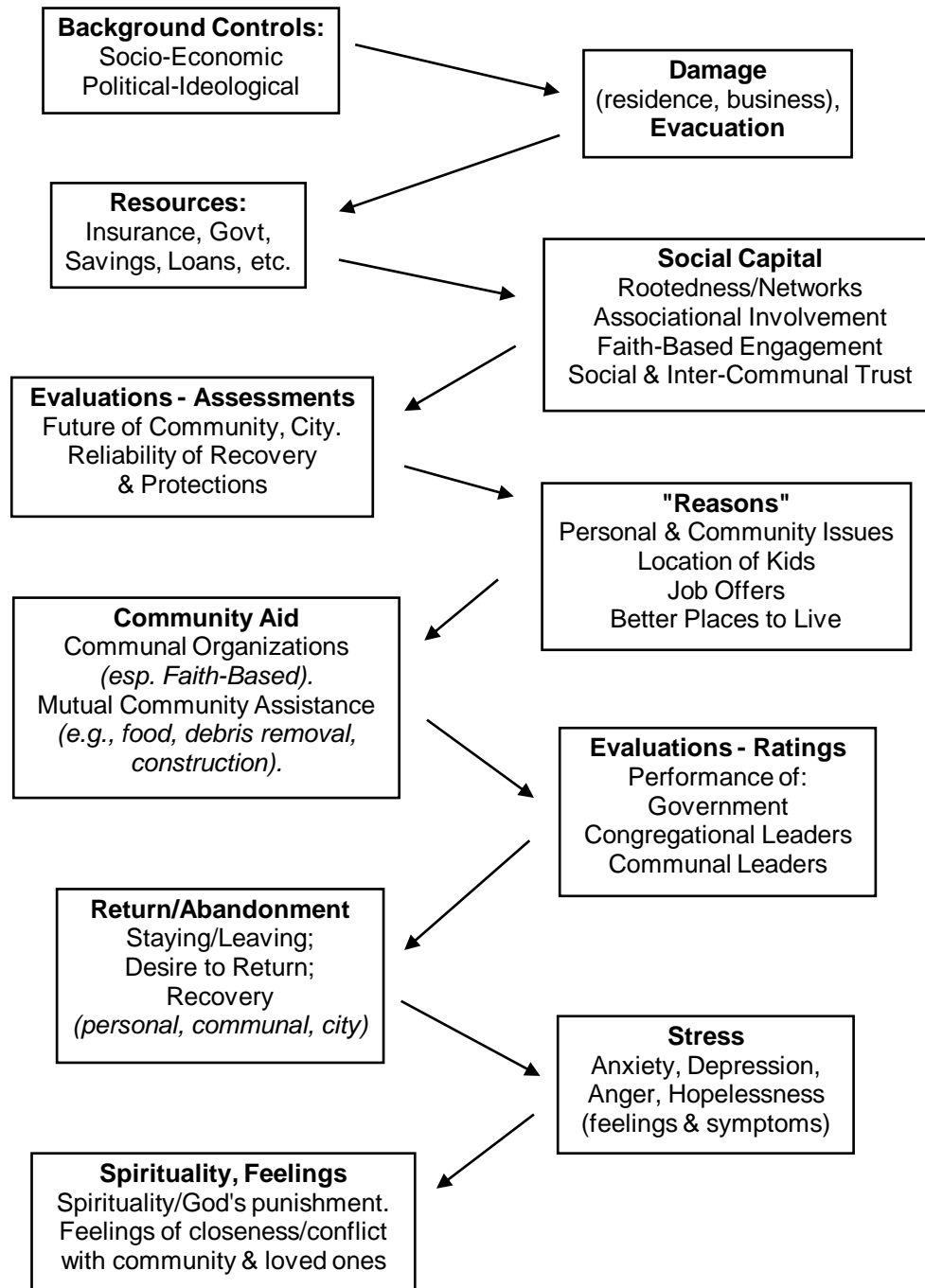


Figure 4

Causal Model* of Recovery from Disaster: Post-Katrina New Orleans
Employing Individual-Level Social Surveys



*Note: Causal order, as shown here, is hypothesized to be plausible, but may differ from this order. Preliminary analysis, using data collected since June 2006 from a variety of communities supports the hypotheses in this model.

Figure 5. Effects of Social Capital (Trust and Embeddedness) on Disaster Recovery and Stress Reduction, Net of Damage Sustained (Preliminary Findings)

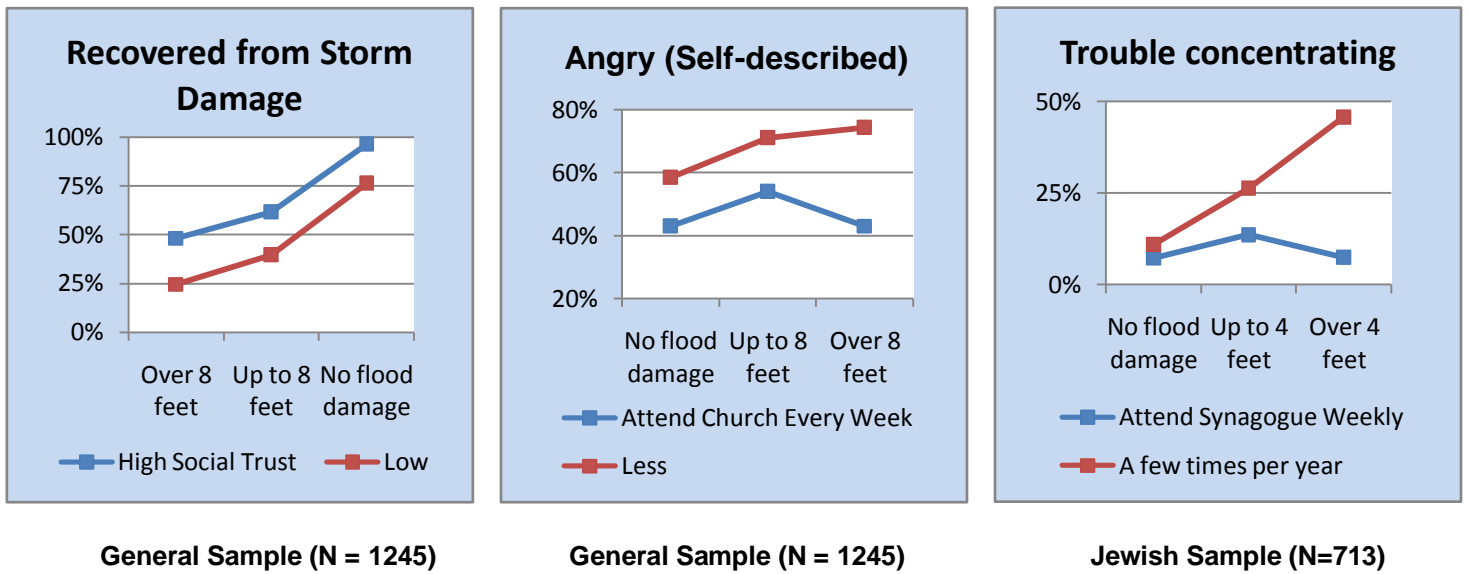
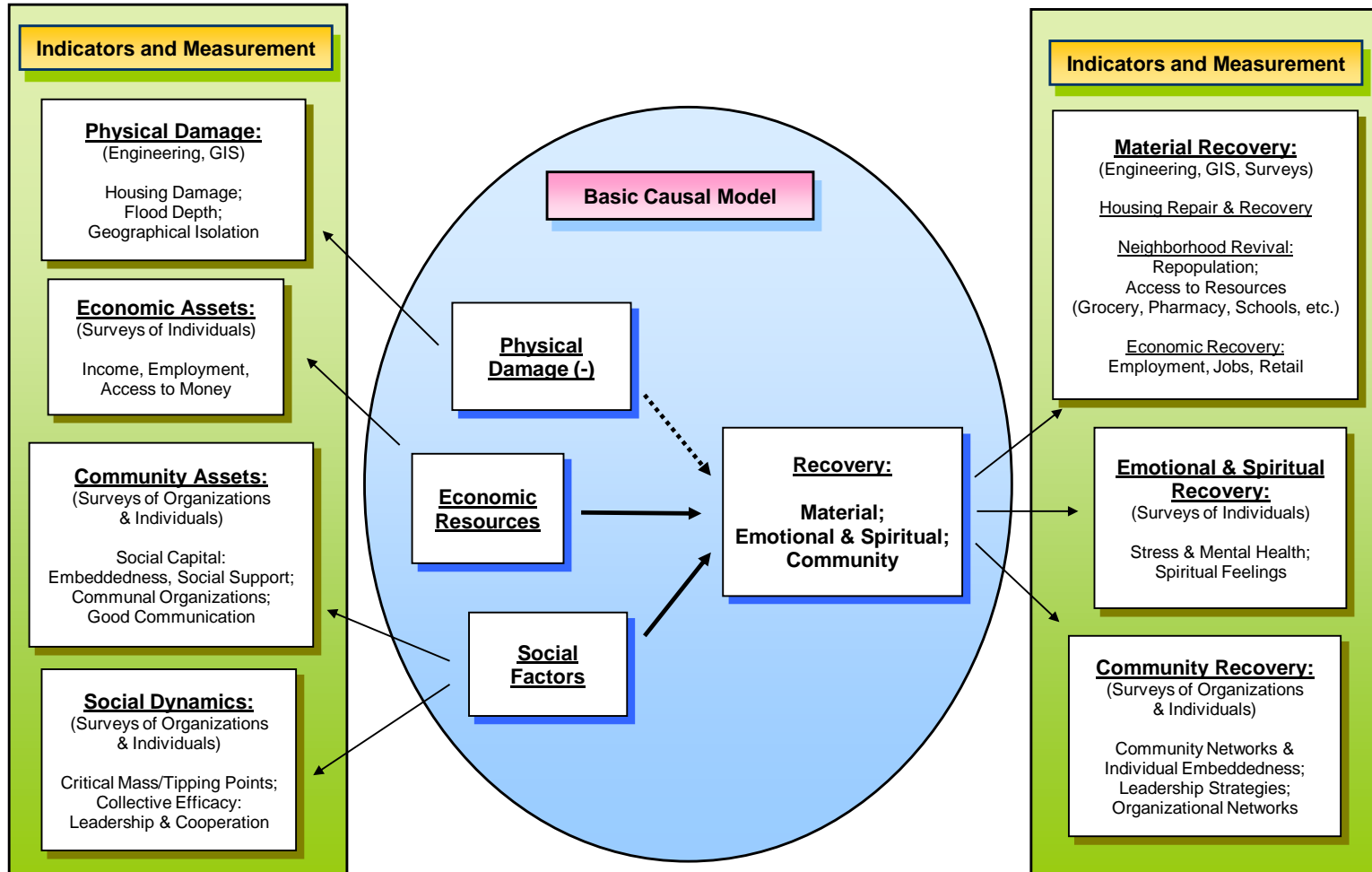


Figure 6. Images of Data Collection: Renaissance Village, FEMA Trailer Park, July 26, 2007 (N=94)



Figure 7

Causal Model of Recovery from Disaster: Post-Katrina New Orleans
A Multi-Method, Multi-Level Model,
Employing Social & Organizational Surveys, Structural Engineering Assessments, and GIS Mapping



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