

Social Justice Organizing In the U.S. South

The Southern Scan Research Project
March 2009



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Executive Summary

Today, there is an important national debate underway about the South. Political strategists, grassroots organizers, funders and others concerned about issues of social justice are grappling with critical questions: What are prospects for change in the South? Is it worth investing time, energy and resources in the region? Can historic obstacles be overcome and momentum shifted to move a social justice agenda in the South?

To address these questions, the Institute for Southern Studies, in partnership with the Hill-Snowdon Foundation and New World Foundation, undertook an 18-month investigation into the political, economic and social landscape in the South and the state of social justice organizing in the region.

The U.S. South is both rapidly changing in ways favorable to social justice organizing and growing in national importance.

Focusing on six Southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina—the Southern Scan Research Project came to two broad conclusions. First, the U.S. South is both rapidly changing in ways favorable to social justice organizing and growing in national importance, making the South an increasingly important region. Second, the South faces a unique set of challenges and obstacles that must be addressed if

efforts to advance social justice in the region are to be successful.

Specifically, the Southern Scan Research Project found that:

The South's Influence And Clout Is Growing: The South is an increasingly important center of social, economic and political power. In 2007, two-thirds of the nation's 100 fastest-growing counties were in the region. This growth is translating into political clout: After the 2010 Census, Southern states are projected to gain at least seven—and possibly as many as nine—Congressional seats and Electoral College votes. The South is also playing a central role in key international issues, from the military and foreign policy to economic globalization and immigration.

The South Remains A Vital Arena For Racial Justice: The South has long been a crucial battleground in the nation's struggle for racial justice, and the region's centrality to these issues is only growing. The South is home to over 40% of the nation's African-American population, and nine of the 10 states nationally that have seen their Latino communities grow most quickly are in the South.

Katrina Remains A Major Factor in Southern Organizing: Although it's been over three years since Hurricane Katrina struck, the storm and subsequent disasters in the Gulf Coast continue to shape the context of Southern

organizing. These disasters not only devastated hundreds of counties from Texas to Alabama; they have also helped set in motion or accelerate key social and political trends across the region, including the lasting displacement of Gulf residents and political re-alignments in Southern Gulf states.

Immigration And Changing Demographics Are Key: The South’s rapidly-changing demographics—especially the region’s growing Latino communities—are one of the most important realities facing social justice organizers, affecting every aspect of the South’s organizing landscape. In fact, the ability of Southern organizations to effectively engage immigration issues is an increasingly important barometer of their overall organizing success.

Lack Of Social Justice Infrastructure Weakens Southern Organizing: While many groups are doing exemplary work, a key missing element in many Southern states is strong social justice infrastructure: the people, groups and networks that strengthen organizing through funding, training, networking, technical help, policy and research assistance and other support. The social justice infrastructure that does exist often originates outside of the region. A finding of this report is that investment in Southern-based social justice infrastructure could greatly strengthen organizing efforts.

Key Ingredients Of A Southern Strategy For Social Justice Organizing: Finally, the report offers a framework for assessing where and how to best support social justice organizing in the

While many groups are doing exemplary work, a key missing element in many Southern states is strong social justice infrastructure.

South. The report finds three important elements to devising a new “Southern Strategy” for organizing:

- (1) Identifying target areas in the South that have special political, economic and social strategic importance;
- (2) Looking at areas where current conditions and future trends are creating a favorable climate for organizing; and,
- (3) Assessing where strong and/or emerging clusters of organizing have the potential to achieve a critical mass.

Using several criteria within this framework, the report suggests that states like **Mississippi** and **North Carolina**, as well as metro areas like **Atlanta** and **New Orleans**, would be especially fruitful target areas for investment.

This report is by no means exhaustive; it is intended as a snapshot and first step toward understanding the South today. However, we hope that the information, framework and ideas included in this report are a valuable contribution to the national discussion about social justice organizing in the South.

Introduction: A New Moment for Southern Organizing

The Southern Scan Research Project was launched in 2007 by the Hill-Snowdon Foundation, New World Foundation and Institute for Southern Studies to deepen our understanding of social justice organizing in the critical Southern region.

The project grows out of a long and deep involvement in Southern organizing by all three institutions, and a desire to more richly assess current challenges and new opportunities for lasting change in the region.

The Southern Scan looked at six Southern states: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. The project was guided by two key goals:

- To provide an overview and preliminary assessment of organizations engaged in social justice organizing and movement building in the six Southern states; and,
- To provide an overview of the **broader climate for organizing**, including important political, economic and social developments in these states.

While by no means exhaustive, this report is one of the most in-depth investigations into the state of organizing in the South today.

The Southern Scan focused on Southern organizing in four main areas of special interest: Economic Justice, Youth Organizing, New Immigrants and Environmental Justice. In addition, the project also considered other areas and issues where there has been noteworthy organizing in the region, such as Criminal Justice and, especially since the 9/11 terror attacks, Peace issues.

A team of six researchers analyzed thousands of pages of data, including organizational materials and foundation and media reports. Most importantly, institute researchers interviewed and spoke with a diverse group of more than 80 contacts in the South and nationally for information and insight. *(For more background on the personnel and methodology involved in the Southern Scan, please see Appendix II).*

While by no means exhaustive or comprehensive, the Southern Scan is one of the most in-depth investigations into the state of organizing in the South to date. We believe it offers a valuable starting point for understanding the critical opportunities and challenges facing the South and social justice organizing today.

I. The Importance of the South to a National Organizing Strategy

“As the South goes, so goes the nation”
— W.E.B. DuBois

For years, there has been national debate brewing about the South among grassroots organizers, political strategists, funders and others concerned about social justice. Faced with the region’s long history of racial and economic injustice, and a uniquely challenging—and at times, seemingly unyielding—political climate, many have questioned the value of investing time, energy and resources into efforts for change in the South.

The 2008 elections brought this debate into sharp relief. Prominent pundits and progressive strategists argued that Southern states were a waste of time and money. Tom Schaller, a widely-quoted political analyst, argued that candidates like Sen. Barack Obama could “write off” the South.¹ After the elections, a lead story in *The New York Times* claimed the elections illustrated the South’s “waning influence” in national politics and that the region would be “marginalized ... for some time to come.”²

But a key finding of the Southern Scan Research Project is that the South’s influence is far from waning—in fact, on many levels, the South’s strategic importance is rising. Among the reasons why the South is especially critical today:

The South Is Rapidly Growing, Especially in Urban Areas

Our nation’s population continues to shift to the Sunbelt, making it a vital target for social justice organizing. Of the 100 fastest-growing counties in the country in 2007, 66% were in the South,³ and four out of 10 of the states with the highest rate of growth are in the South (Georgia, North Carolina, Texas and South Carolina).⁴

This growth is especially noticeable in the urban South, which is making metro centers an increasingly important terrain for organizing in the region. According to the latest U.S. Census data, “eight out of the top ten fastest growing metro areas [in 2007] were located in the South, and the South also accounted for more than half of the 50 fastest growing [metro] regions.”⁵

The Nation’s Political Gravity Is Shifting South

The South has long been a dominant political force in the country, setting the tone for debate and driving key pieces of the nation’s policy agenda. That influence will only grow thanks to the South’s rapidly expanding population, which will translate into greater political clout—especially after the 2010 Census. As the Associated Press reported in January 2008:

*Fast-growing Southern states could gain nine new congressional seats after the 2010 census, largely at the expense of their neighbors to the north ... Georgia and North Carolina's delegations in the U.S. House would overtake New Jersey's, for example, while Florida would catch up with New York ... Texas would be the biggest gainer.*⁶

The South's Economic Position Makes It a Key Arena for Economic Justice Issues

The South is also becoming a growing economic player, making it a critical place for organizing on a broad range of economic justice issues from worker's rights to corporate accountability. The South's "hospitable business climate"—marked by low taxes, anti-union laws and lax environmental protections—has helped turn the South into a vital center for industries like agribusiness and manufacturing. One illustrative example: This year, Alabama will overtake Detroit as the center of the U.S. auto industry.⁷

The recent economic crisis has also drawn attention to the South's key role in banking and finance. Charlotte, N.C. is the second-largest banking center in the country;⁸ as of February 2009, North Carolina had received the most federal bank bailout funds of any state outside of New York.⁹ Prior to the finance crisis, three of the four biggest payday lending companies were headquartered in the South.¹⁰

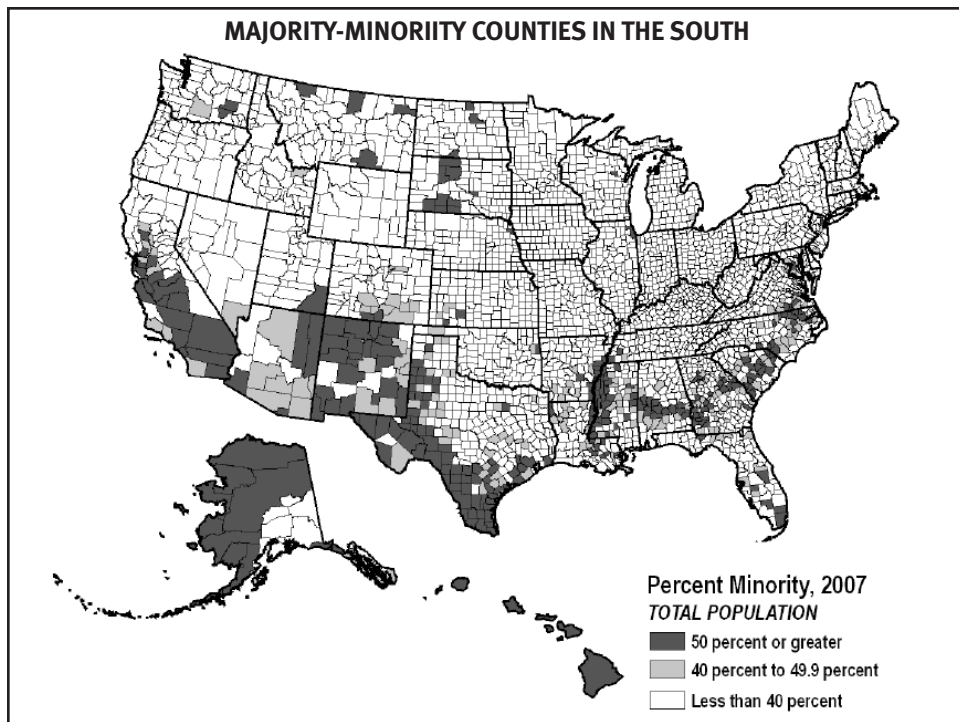
But the South's low standards for workers and a weak social safety net mean that growing economic affluence is not widely shared. Although the South is now home to a record number of Fortune 500 companies, the region also makes up eight of the 10 states with the lowest household income¹¹ and half of the 10 states with the greatest levels of economic inequality between rich and poor¹²—dragging down wages and standards for working families across the country.

The South Is a Key Battleground for Racial Justice

The South also remains a critical battleground for civil rights and racial justice. More than 41% of the nation's African-American population lives in 13 Southern states; nine Southern states have black populations of over 1 million people.¹³

Over the last two decades, the face of the South has rapidly changed with a burgeoning new immigrant population, led by an especially fast-growing Latino community. Nine of the 10 states nationally with the most rapidly expanding Latino population are in the South: South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Arkansas and Louisiana.¹⁴ After Hurricane Katrina, rebuilding jobs accelerated this growth in the Gulf Coast: Census data found that over 100,000 new immigrants moved to the Gulf Coast after Katrina, joining over 1 million immigrants already in the region—and that was only documented workers.¹⁵

MAJORITY-MINORITY COUNTIES IN THE SOUTH



Fast-Changing Demographics

The South's large African-American and fast-growing Latino populations are giving rise to many "majority-minority" counties. The number is expected to double in a generation.

Source: Population Reference Bureau, 2008

These demographic realities have made the South ground zero for key racial justice issues, including stark inequalities in jobs, education, health care and the criminal justice system.

These trends have also created a critical new racial and political dynamic in the South: the growth of what that the Census calls "majority-minority" counties, or places that are majority people of color. The entire state of Texas is now "majority-minority," and Georgia and Mississippi will soon reach that status. This is the future of the South: According to one estimate, the number of

"majority-minority" counties in the South is projected to double over the next 20 years.¹⁶

The South Is Central to Debates Over the U.S. Role in the World

The South's influence and importance is not limited to our nation's borders. The Southern U.S. is increasingly a focal point for debates over global policy and our country's role in the world. For example:

- **Foreign Policy:** The South is largely the political, economic and cultural base of the nation's military, making

it uniquely tied to debates over peace and national security. As the Institute reported in a 2005 study, over 40% of active duty soldiers come from Southern states, and more than 55% are based in the region. A disproportionate share of defense contracts also go to Southern states, highlighting the region's dependence on military dollars.¹⁷

■ **Economic Globalization:** The South is at the heart of issues of “free trade” and economic globalization. Southern states have been decimated by massive layoffs in manufacturing and other vulnerable industries; four of the 10 states with the biggest job losses from NAFTA were in the South. At the same time, multinational corporations have flooded into Southern states, drawn by large tax breaks and promises of union-free workplaces. The South consistently has one of the highest rates of foreign capital

investment; in many states, over 20% of manufacturing employees work for affiliates of overseas companies.¹⁸

■ **Immigration:** The South's large and growing new immigrant communities have made the region a flash-point for the national immigration debate, including access to education and social services, workplace raids, and policies like the Immigration and Custom's Enforcement 287(g) program to heighten cooperation with local law enforcement. Nativist groups have also targeted Southern states as a laboratory for testing anti-immigration legislation.¹⁹

Put together, these realities paint a clear picture: Neglecting the South is not an option. The region's growing dominance and critical importance mean that the South must remain a top priority for social justice organizing.



II. Key Issues, Trends and Themes in Southern Organizing

The South, of course, isn't monolithic: Across the region, one finds rich diversity in the South's history, politics and culture. But in the six states analyzed in the Southern Scan, we identified a set of cross-cutting issues, trends and themes that have resonance across the region. Following are three key factors that are especially influential in shaping Southern organizing today:

Katrina: An Ongoing Disaster in the South

It's difficult to overstate the impact of Hurricane Katrina on the South, which many Southern organizers say is the most significant event to unfold in the region in over a generation. The 2005 storms directly affected much of the South: 90,000 square miles—an area the size of the United Kingdom—in the Gulf Coast region were declared a federal disaster area.²⁰ Over 1.5 million people were directly impacted, 800,000 were displaced²¹ and more than 1,800 were killed.²²

Katrina not only forced organizers to address the needs of storm victims and communities, it also set in motion deep social, economic and political shifts that have changed the organizing landscape.

Addressing the needs of those reeling from Katrina's devastation quickly became a focal point of organizing across Gulf Coast states, as well as places where Katrina evacuees were displaced such as Atlanta, Houston and other parts of the "Katrina Diaspora." As one grassroots organizer in Louisiana said, "The country has moved on, but Katrina continues to shape everything we do."

Katrina not only forced organizers to address the needs of storm victims and communities; it also set in motion deep social, economic and political shifts that have changed the organizing landscape. For example:

- **Katrina changed the region's political climate:** Black voters made up nearly 70% of the New Orleans electorate before Katrina, now they're just over half. This displacement has created a historic political realignment; for example, the City Council—which for years was majority-black—is now majority-white.²³ Many fear a long-term consequence of displacement after Katrina will be the dilution of political representation and power for the state's black residents.
- **Katrina highlighted the changing role of government:** The Katrina recovery brought into sharp relief issues such as privatization and the resulting challenges for organizers. The scandal-plagued rebuilding process—like Louisiana's contracted-out "Road Home" program—has underscored

the growing trend of government privatization and the way it invites abuse and limits the ability of the public to influence decision-making. “The Katrina recovery hasn’t failed—it’s succeeded on its terms, as a privatization scheme,” says Monique Harden of Advocates for Environmental Human Rights in New Orleans. “This has been valuable political education not only for us, but for communities everywhere.”

■ **Katrina has also made the Gulf Coast a case study for immigration policy.**

The massive influx of immigrant workers, creating a new bottom tier in the regional economy, spurred the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance and New Orleans Workers’ Center for Racial Justice to confront the inherent inequalities of guest-worker programs, as well as develop models for alliances between immigrants and African-American and white workers. There are national implications: “The immigration policies being carried out here are seen as a model for the entire country,” says Saket Soni of the New Orleans center, pointing to the guest worker program that mirrors national proposals. “We’re showing people what’s coming, and how to address it.”

Katrina has also dramatically changed the landscape of organizations across Gulf Coast states. Groups active before the storms saw their offices destroyed and members scattered across the country. Many concede that Katrina also revealed the weaknesses and challenges facing Gulf organizing before the storms.

“The reason [groups in the Gulf Coast] were playing defense for so many months [after Katrina] is because there weren’t many well-organized groups before Katrina, with a real base and the power to influence decision-makers,” admitted one Louisiana organizer.

While older organizations re-grouped, Katrina threw dozens of new and newly-energized people, groups and networks into action. Facing terrific odds, community-based groups like the Holy Cross Neighborhood Association in the Lower Ninth Ward, Mary Queen of Vietnam Church in New Orleans East, and Coastal Women for Change in Biloxi, MS delivered sorely needed services, won key policy concessions and changed the course of the Katrina recovery.

Many Gulf Coast organizers say a silver lining of Katrina was that it forced groups and communities to work together that had little history of collaboration. In some cases, like with the STEPS Coalition in coastal Mississippi, these alliances built a critical mass that was able to change the direction of the post-storm recovery, such as expanding affordable housing. “We didn’t work closely with the African-American and Latino community before Katrina,” admitted Thao Vu of Boat People SOS, whose Biloxi group works in the coast’s large Vietnamese community and is part of STEPS. “To change policy you need to become one voice.”

Nearly four years after Katrina, the tragedy is still deeply felt across the Gulf Coast, and communities face complex and daunting obstacles to renewal. National attention has faded and the flurry of post-storm activism and organizing has subsided, offering a clearer picture of which groups have the capacity and staying power to carry on. But the fate of the Gulf Coast remains one of the most important organizing challenges facing the South and those concerned about social justice in the country today.

Engaging the Changing Face of the South

“Directly or indirectly, every group is struggling with the issue of immigration,” says a longtime organizer in North Carolina. Indeed, a key finding of the Southern Scan is that not only is the fast pace of demographic change one of the most important issues facing the South, but that the ability of groups to effectively engage issues of immigration is a useful barometer for gauging the overall effectiveness of their organizing.

Immigration and demographic change is a national story; what is unique about the South is how *fast* the change is happening. As noted earlier, each of the six states looked at in the Southern Scan are among the top 10 nationally in rate of increase of its Latino population.²⁴ In North Carolina, for example, Latino immigrants have accounted for nearly 30% of the state’s overall population growth since 1990.²⁵

The fast pace of demographic change is one of the most important issues facing the South, and the ability of groups to engage immigration issues is a useful barometer for gauging the overall effectiveness of their organizing.

Fast demographic change is creating a unique climate for organizing in the South. Politically, it has spurred a well-funded backlash movement which uses immigration as a potent political wedge issue. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the South houses the majority of the nation’s 144 “nativist extremist” groups and 300 anti-immigrant groups.²⁶ Their ability to stoke fears and capitalize on frustrations in a time of rapid demographic change and declining economic fortunes has been a centerpiece in shoring up a broader right-wing agenda in many Southern states.

The terrain of economic justice organizing has also been transformed. New immigrants make up a growing share of the Southern working class; in North Carolina alone, new immigrants have filled one-third of new jobs created since 1995.²⁷ The shift of entire Southern industries once dominated by African-American and white workers—for example, agribusiness and manufacturing—has opened the door for widespread anti-immigrant scapegoating and quickly added new complexity to organizing efforts.

The new demographic realities have created challenges at every level. For groups that are *not* largely comprised of or led by immigrants, these issues have included:

- **Building internal capacity** to engage multi-lingual and multi-national constituencies, including interpretation and multi-language publications—requiring additional staff and resources;
- **Effectively educating members and constituencies** about immigration issues, including dispelling cultural stereotypes and developing awareness of root causes, to neutralize scapegoating and foster unity;
- **Re-framing issues and strategies**—for example, youth organizers in North Carolina concerned about financial aid for higher education have had to shift gears and respond to new state policies aimed at preventing children of undocumented families from attending college at all.

For Southern groups that *are* largely made up of immigrants or focus on this constituency, there are a different set of challenges:

- **Building alliances with non-immigrant organizations**, which often are afraid to embrace or engage this political “hot potato” issue;
- Having the capacity to not only organize but also **defend their constituencies** against immigration raids, employer abuse, racial profiling, and other attacks;

- **Struggling to build an influential presence** in city and state politics to defend against anti-immigrant legislation and promote just policy—especially difficult for immigrant communities given their mixed legal status and relatively small numbers in many Southern states.

Mississippi is a valuable case study. The state has long had the largest African-American population in the nation (37%). Latino immigration grew after a 1991 bill allowing casinos drew workers to the coastal construction industry. Katrina accelerated the transition; by one estimate, Latinos will be 10% of Mississippi’s population in 10 years, making Mississippi a majority people of color state. The state’s demographic shift fueled a swift backlash; groups from local extremist groups to leaders in the state legislature—backed by the Mississippi Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement, itself tied to national anti-immigrant groups—built a groundswell of opposition to immigration.

In the fall of 2000, a coalition of labor, church and civil rights activists—drawing on a base of unionized state employees and the legislative black caucus—came together around a state driver’s license bill of concern to immigrants. The coalition became the nucleus of the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance (MIRA), which became one of the most effective immigrant rights groups in the South.

Up until 2008, MIRA had a near-perfect record in defeating anti-immigrant legislation. In 2007, for example, Mississippi legislators introduced 21 bills aimed at immigrants, including English-

only policies for driver's licenses and prohibitions on undocumented students at state universities. MIRA defeated every bill, in large part thanks to their early alliances with labor and civil rights groups, which headed off inter-group divisions and made it difficult for legislators to dismiss or isolate immigrant groups. "The Black Caucus stood behind [MIRA] every time," said Rep. Jim Evans, a prominent civil rights and labor leader who also chairs MIRA's board.²⁸

These alliances have proved successful outside of the policy arena as well: After unscrupulous contractors began abusing the rights of immigrants workers in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, MIRA—with the backing and support of African-American and white organizational allies —was able to recover over \$1 million in wages illegally taken from immigrant workers.²⁹

Organizing and Social Justice Infrastructure

While there are dozens of promising organizing efforts underway in the South, many have struggled to reach sufficient strength and scale in part because of a low level of social justice infrastructure to support them.

With notable exceptions, the South's social justice infrastructure remains underdeveloped.

In terms of organizing, social justice infrastructure can describe the array of organizations and initiatives that support, assist and strengthen organizing groups in their efforts to build power

and win victories. Key supportive infrastructure for social justice organizing includes funders, research and policy centers, convening and networking structures, and providers of technical assistance and training.

With notable exceptions, the South's social justice infrastructure remains underdeveloped. Relative to other parts of the country, the six states looked at in the Southern Scan had smaller social justice funding streams, fewer supportive organizations, and less robust efforts and institutions to create clusters of social justice organizing. Some examples of the low level of social justice infrastructure in the South include:

■ Policy and Research Assistance:

Several organizers interviewed for this study mentioned the challenges in finding good research and policy help that would be useful in educating their members and the broader public on issues. For example, five of the six states in the Southern Scan have a policy research group in the national Economic Analysis and Research Network, but only one of these (Alabama Arise) sees strengthening organizing as central to its mission.³⁰

■ **Alliances and Anchors:** Despite widespread agreement that collaboration is valuable and can help create a critical mass for change, many groups described the difficulty of maintaining stable coalitions and alliances beyond specific issue campaigns. Where there has been success, key ingredients have been (1) dedicated funding to build the coalition, and (2) a strong "anchor" organization.

The 2010 Census: An Important Challenge for Organizers

In 2010, the political impact of the South's fast growth and changing demographics will become especially clear as a result of the U.S. Census. Every 10 years, the Census Bureau conducts a population count in each state. The results have enormous implications—from how much federal funding states receive to the number of Electoral College votes each state has for choosing the next President.

The Census will also impact how the South is represented in Congress. After the Census Bureau releases its new population estimates to the states, it will be used to redraw Congressional and state legislative districts in 2011. With so much at stake, it's no wonder that redistricting has led to pitched political battles and years of litigation in states like Mississippi, North Carolina and Texas.

The 2010 Census will be especially important in the South because the region has a disproportionate share of groups that are historically under-counted in the Census, including African-Americans, new immigrants, low-income residents and military families. According to the U.S. Census Monitoring Board, all of the 13 Southern states were undercounted, for a combined undercount of 1.3 million people. As a result, each Southern state received less than its deserved share of federal funding.¹

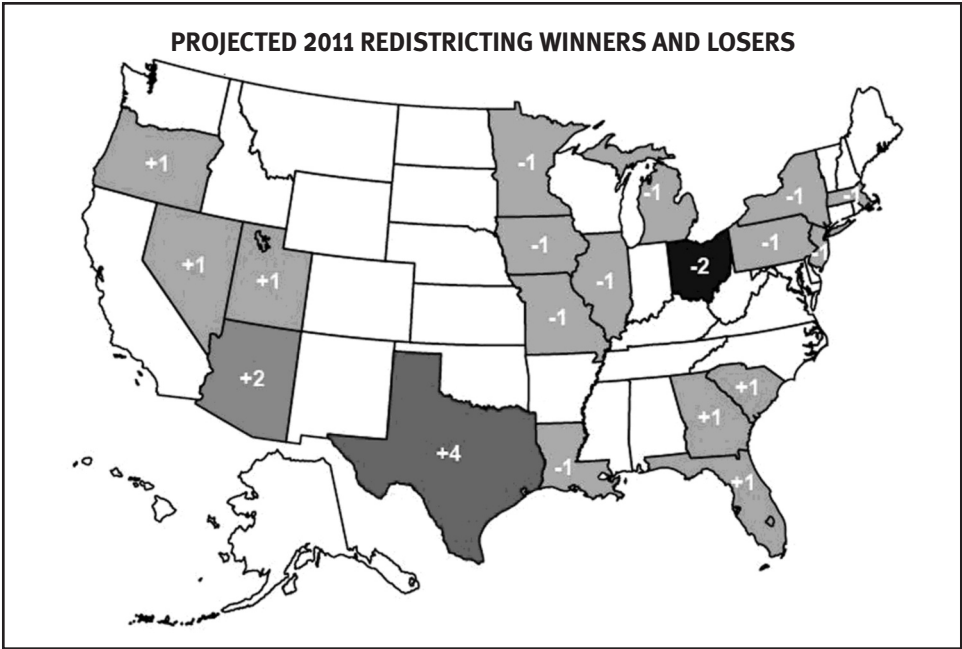
Equally critical for social justice organizers is the issue of redistricting. As noted elsewhere in this report, Southern states are projected to gain at least seven additional Congressional seats and Electoral College votes.² Equally important, Louisiana is poised to lose a seat/vote due to ongoing displacement from Hurricanes Katrina, Rita and Gustav—which could further jeopardize the state's ability to secure needed federal support.

At the state level, who sits in governor's offices and state legislatures in 2011 will play a big role in influencing how Congressional districts get re-drawn.³ In 2010, seven

Southern states will have gubernatorial elections which – combined with state legislative elections in 2009 and 2010 – will be critical to determining the outcome of post-Census redistricting: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

Southern Echo organizing in Mississippi around the Census and redistricting shows the impact that grassroots organizations can have on the process. The group's efforts to ensure an accurate Census count in African-American communities and influence how districts were drawn helped maximize the number of districts with black representation. This in turn boosted the Legislative Black Caucus, which grew from 21 elected members in 1991 to 47 in 1999, and has become a central force in Mississippi politics. In 2008, Southern Echo launched a five-year campaign focused on training community members about the implications of the Census and organizing to ensure redistricting reflects the needs and interests of historically disenfranchised communities.

- 1 "Effect of Census 2000 Undercount on Federal Funding to States and Selected Counties, 2002-2012," U.S. Census Monitoring Board Final Report, September 2001
- 2 States projected to gain Congressional seats and Electoral College votes are Florida (+1), Georgia (+1), South Carolina (+1) and Texas (+4). Depending on population changes over the next two years, North Carolina could also gain one seat/vote, and South Carolina and Texas could add another seat/vote each.
- 3 Seven states use non-partisan or bi-partisan redistricting processes, but none of these are in the South.



Electoral Power Shifting South

After the 2010 Census, fast-growing Southern states are projected to gain at least seven Congressional seats and Electoral College votes, mostly at the expense of states in the Midwest and Northeast.

Source: PoliData, 2008

Mississippi now has three overlapping, ongoing coalitions centered around the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, the post-Katrina STEPS Coalition, and a network of groups connected to Southern Echo.

- Funding and Resources:** There is little support for organizing among Southern foundations. In the six states looked at for the Southern Scan, there are only four foundations with annual giving of \$1 million or more that devote significant resources to social justice organizing.³¹ While community foundations play a growing role—especially in fast-growing Southern cities and those that received help after Hurricane Katrina—support for organizing is at best inconsistent.

A significant share of the social justice infrastructure that does exist in the South can be traced back to institutions that originate outside the region. While groups find this outside support—especially from funders—welcome and necessary, it can also create serious problems if insufficient efforts are made to understand the region and develop local capacity. “The South is in a bind: We need and depend on support from New York, D.C., California,” said one organizer. “But these funders and groups are often out of touch with the South’s unique political history. So they are often in a position of deciding which groups make it and which don’t—even if they don’t know what they’re doing.”

In the absence of strong infrastructure, Southern groups have often turned to informal alternatives. For example, groups that lack the capacity to staff, convene and develop a formal coalition often rely on a web of informal personal relationships to work together. Another example: If there's not a progressive research and policy center nearby, groups may depend on friendly scholars at a local college for help.

These informal personal relationships and organic networks have a long history in the South, where they have been, and always will be, essential to success. But their lack of structure and support can also make them unstable and unsustainable. What's more, the lack of avenues for accountability can make these informal networks insular and unresponsive, exacerbating divisions between who's "in" and who's "out."

In the absence of strong infrastructure, Southern groups have often turned to informal alternatives. These personal relationships and organic networks have a long history in the South and will always be essential to success. But their lack of structure and support can also make them unstable and unsustainable.



For example, young African-American organizers noted how informal infrastructure excluded a new generation: "There's still a civil rights establishment, folks who know each other from 'back in the day,' who run a lot of what happens in the black community, and they don't want to let go," said one organizer in Georgia. "We go to the meetings but it's like the decisions have already been made, behind closed doors."

In New Orleans, another organizer noted the way lack of formal coalition-building set back organizing before Katrina: "We found ourselves completely disorganized. A lot of the community leadership had moved into positions of power, were working back channels. Those of us organizing on the ground were scattered, the connections were gone."

III. A Southern Strategy for Social Justice Organizing

If it's clear that the South should be a high priority for organizing—and investment in organizing—the question remains: How can funders make decisions about where to direct scarce resources that will have the most impact in the South? There are many ways to approach this question; for this report, we have identified three key elements we believe are critical to developing an effective strategy to strengthen Southern social justice organizing:

Key target areas are places that social justice organizing is especially needed to be relevant and have impact.

- **Where are the Key Strategic Target Areas?** The Institute first looked at the key areas—both metro areas and states—that play a strategic political, economic and social role in the South. These are places that social justice organizing is especially needed to be relevant and have impact.
- **Where is there a Favorable Climate for Organizing?** Next, the Institute identified places where current conditions and future trends are creating major new opportunities for social justice organizing. The Institute examined a number of factors that affect the organizing climate, including demographic shifts, political realignments and the strength of supportive social justice infrastructure.

- **Where are the Strong and/or Emerging Clusters of Organizing?** Finally, the Institute looked at areas with strong existing and/or emerging social justice organizations, and where density and relationships between organizations have created clusters or a critical mass for change. The strength of organizations and clusters were measured by a range of criteria, including their social justice orientation and success in having impact on key issues.

Using this framework, the Southern Scan Research Project combined these three criteria to identify areas that presented some of the most fruitful opportunities overall for investment in social justice organizing in the South.

Key Strategic Target Areas

In the six states looked at for the Southern Scan Research Project, the Institute found that three areas—one state and two metro regions—stood out as being especially important political, economic and social targets:

- **North Carolina** is undergoing a major political transformation and growing in national importance. The third-fastest growing state in the country, its burgeoning immigrant population and economic clout make it a critical state that cannot be ignored.
- **Atlanta** is one of the most important metro regions in the country. The

city's exploding size has made it the key political engine for the state, and the area's fast-changing demographics are pushing the state towards "majority-minority" status and a long-term political realignment. "The Capitol of the South" is also critical economic center, ranking fifth nationally for number of Fortune 500 headquarters (13).³² A strong organizing presence in Atlanta is critical to influence the direction of this clout and power.

- **New Orleans** is important not only because of the harsh and devastating conditions still plaguing the city. New Orleans also has regional and national significance: Similar to Atlanta's role in Georgia, New Orleans is key to shaping the political and economic direction of Louisiana. New Orleans also remains a critical testing ground for important national issues of immigration, economics and environmental justice.

Areas with a Favorable Climate for Organizing

The South as a region is rapidly changing—and these changes are creating a climate that, in many cases, is increasingly favorable for social justice organizing. In the Institute's analysis of the six Southern states, we found several areas where conditions have created potentially ripe opportunities for organizing if organizers are positioned to take advantage of them:

The South as a region is rapidly changing—and these changes are creating a climate that, in many cases, is increasingly favorable for social justice organizing.

- **North Carolina** stands out for its especially favorable organizing climate. As the 2008 elections signaled, the state is undergoing a major political shift, with growing cities and a rising new immigrant population creating a new organizing landscape. North Carolina also has a strong social justice infrastructure, including funders like The Babcock Foundation and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation and a diverse group of supportive research and policy centers.
- **Atlanta** leads a second tier of areas where changing conditions—especially the city's dramatic demographic shift—and a city political structure open to pressure have created opportunities for change if organizers can take advantage of them.
- **Mississippi** is also in this second tier. The state is still dominated by a deeply conservative political establishment, and Mississippi ranks low in terms of indigenous infrastructure—especially funding resources—available for organizing. However, the success of multi-racial coalitions on several issues demonstrates the potential power represented in the state's move towards "majority-minority" status.

Areas With Strong and/or Emerging Clusters of Organizing

Finally, the Institute looked at areas in the six Southern states where there are especially promising clusters of social justice organizing—either already existing or in formation. While the work of individual organizations is critical, for this part of the report we used a wider lens to assess places where the relationships and connections between various groups show potential for creating critical mass—a density of organizing strength that can result in real change.

Mississippi leads among the six states in the Southern Scan. The state has three overlapping clusters of organizing: Groups connected to Southern Echo, which since its founding in 1989 has focused on majority-black counties in the Delta; groups working with the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, which has focused its efforts in Jackson and the coast, linking to the AFL-CIO and Mississippi Worker Center for Human Rights; and the newer STEPS Coalition, which has brought together some 50 groups to address post-Katrina issues.

Three areas form a second tier when it comes to organizing clusters and density:

While the work of individual organizations is critical, we used a wider lens to assess places where the relationships and connections between various groups shows potential for creating critical mass.

- **Alabama** has a set of groups including the state-wide umbrella Alabama Arise, as well as Greater Birmingham Ministries and the Federation of Child Care Centers of Alabama, that have had an important impact on state policy, including a historic revision to the state tax code in 2006 and a campaign to amend the state’s antiquated constitution.
- **North Carolina** has two key clusters of organizing: In the mountain west, the Center for Participatory Change is a center of gravity for vital groups like the Coalition for Latino American Organizations and the Western North Carolina Worker’s Center. In eastern N.C., the Black Workers for Justice, Farm Labor Organizing Committee and the organizing campaign at Smithfield Foods have formed the nucleus of multi-racial alliances that have had success in creating mutual support for worker-led campaigns.
- **New Orleans** has seen a dramatic growth in organizing since Hurricane Katrina, with a mixture of old and new groups creating a shifting set of alliances to help shape the city’s renewal. Organizations like the New Orleans Workers’ Center for Racial Justice and Safe Streets/Strong Communities have brought new energy to the city’s organizing landscape, complementing the inspired neighborhood-based organizing of groups like the Holy Cross Neighborhood Association in the Lower Ninth Ward and the Vietnamese community in New Orleans East.



Possible Target Areas: While good work is being done throughout the region, this study identifies four areas where a combination of strategic importance, a changing climate for organizing and growing clusters of organizing groups make them especially important areas to watch: the states of Mississippi and North Carolina, and the metro areas of Atlanta and New Orleans.

The Big Picture: Key Targets for a Southern Strategy

Bringing these three criteria together, a picture emerges of places where thoughtful investment in social justice organizing could have an especially important impact. Looking at places where one finds a high level of strategic importance, favorable conditions for organizing and strong clusters of organizing, four places stand out as especially promising:

- The states of **Mississippi** and **North Carolina**
- The metro areas of **Atlanta** and **New Orleans**

Of course, there are many critical organizing projects and groups in other places deserving of support, and investments in organizing in these four areas will not necessarily succeed.

But it is a key finding of the Southern Scan Research Project that using such an integrated, comprehensive and targeted framework is increasingly important if support of social justice organizing in the South is to prove successful.

IV. Conclusion:

Seizing the Moment in the South

As we hope this report has demonstrated, major social, economic and political shifts underway in the South are creating enormous opportunities for social justice organizing. In the six states analyzed by the Southern Scan alone, we identified at least four places—the states of Mississippi and North Carolina, and the metro areas of Atlanta and New Orleans—where thoughtful, strategic and sustained investments of resources could tip the balance and accelerate momentum for change.

This report offers only a broad framework for understanding the opportunities and challenges for organizing in the South. It will be up to organizers, funders and other allies to continually refine and update this analysis in deciding how best to capitalize on these opportunities in any given place and time.

This report offers only a broad framework for understanding the opportunities and challenges for organizing in the South. It will be up to organizers, funders and other allies to continually refine and update this analysis in deciding how best to capitalize on these opportunities.

But two things are clear: First, those concerned about social justice cannot ignore the South, a region of historic significance whose importance and clout is only growing. And second, with a thoughtful, informed and long-term approach, a successful Southern Strategy for social justice organizing can become a reality.

Post-Script: The 2008 Elections and the South

On Monday, Nov. 3 2008, the day before Election Day—that final moment when candidates decide where it’s most important to make their last case to voters—Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama chose to visit three key battleground states: Florida, North Carolina and Virginia.

Urban areas are where the votes are. In 2008, 50 percent of the nation’s voters came from just 237 counties. Over 35% of those counties are in the South.

Since 1968, these Southern states had voted Democratic for president only six times between them. And president-elect Obama was about to ask voters in these states—all members of the old Confederacy—to vote for the first African-American president in history.

The Southern Strategy worked: The states went blue, Obama won a third of the South’s Electoral College votes, and history was made.

Obama’s success in these Southern states not only dealt a blow to the pundits and strategists who thought Democrats should write off the South. The 2008 elections also confirmed many of the findings of the Southern Scan Research Project about key changes underway in the South and their lessons for organizing and politics in the region:

Rise Of Urban Politics: The South’s growing metro areas are expanding centers of political power. As noted in the Southern Scan, eight of the 10 metro areas in the country with the fastest rate of growth are in the South, including Raleigh-Cary in North Carolina, the Palm Coast of Florida, and Austin, Texas.

These urban areas are also where the voters are. In 2008, 50 percent of the nation’s voters came from just 237 counties with a density of 500 people per square mile or more. Over 35 percent of those counties are in the South—and in 2008, 58 percent of them voted for Democrat Barack Obama.³³

In eight Southern states, Obama won over 50 percent of voters who identified as “urban” in exit polls; in Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia, he garnered over 60 percent.³⁴ Even more striking, out of the 111 urban areas nationally that flipped from Republican to Democrat in their votes for president between 2004 and 2008, 32 were in the South.³⁵

The 2008 elections also showed the growing political power of African-Americans, Latinos and other voters of color in the South.

Black Political Power: The 2008 elections also showed the growing political power of African-Americans, Latinos and other voters of color in the South.

Barack Obama was uniquely positioned to prove that mobilizing this multi-racial base could tip the scales toward victory. A McClatchy Newspaper analysis found that a 20 percent rise nationally among minority voters—5.8 million total—was critical to Obama’s victories in several key states.³⁶

The voting surge was especially clear among African-American voters in the South, for whom the 2008 elections held a special importance. African-Americans flexed their political muscle like never before, and it was critical in states like North Carolina, where over 300,000 black voters registered in 2008, and turnout among African-Americans soared from 59 percent in 2004 to 74 percent in 2008.³⁷

The 2008 U.S. Senate contest in Georgia also offers a cautionary tale for candidates who think they can take the Southern black vote for granted. Democrat Jim Martin was able to force a run-off against incumbent Sen. Saxby Chambliss on Nov. 4, despite only winning 30 percent of the white vote. When African-American turnout dropped in the runoff race with Obama no longer on the ballot, Martin was trounced by a 14-point margin.³⁸

Changing Demographics: The surge in black political participation was coupled with other changes in the South’s demographic landscape. Voting among Latinos and other voters of color also grew. A new generation of white voters also showed they are departing from the political allegiances of their elders: For example, in North Carolina 56% of white voters under the age of 30 voted



Aside from affirming the strategic importance of the South, the 2008 elections also pointed to key elements of a successful Southern Strategy for political change.

for Obama, one of the highest rates in the nation.³⁹

One can see the political impact of the South’s changing demographics in a place like Gwinnet County, Ga., a burgeoning Atlanta suburb. As George Campbell wrote in *USA Today*:

Just 18 years ago, in the 1990 Census, Gwinnett was 90% white, rock-ribbed Republican and Exhibit A in the pantheon of suburban Sun Belt counties that supposedly would mold and sustain realignment to a permanent Republican majority.

Today, it is on the verge of becoming majority-minority, with Latinos, African Americans and Asians in near equal proportions, and the GOP vote is shriveling. Twenty years ago, George H.W. Bush got 75% of the presidential vote. Four years ago, George W. Bush got 66%. On Nov. 4, John McCain drew just 55%.⁴⁰

A Winning Strategy for Southern Politics

Aside from affirming the changes underway in the South and the region's strategic importance, the 2008 elections also pointed to key elements of a successful Southern Strategy for political change. A few of the lessons revealed this election year:

Mobilize the New Majority: Barack Obama's campaign was successful in key Southern states because of its unique ability to mobilize the core elements of the new majority in the South: a growing coalition of African-American, Latino, urban and young white voters. Other demographic groupings, like single women and Asian-American voters, are also part of a changing electorate that is realigning Southern politics.

Build at the Base: At a time when political parties have moved from neighborhood-based institutions to high-tech operations focused on TV ads and direct mail, the Obama campaign revived a bottom-up style of grassroots mobilization reminiscent of the civil rights movement and the Christian Coalition. In North Carolina, Obama had 50 field offices and some 21,000 volunteers and staff fanned out across the state. But these efforts also revealed a crucial weakness: Despite the efforts of activists in places like Durham, N.C. and Atlanta to sustain the campaign's energy, the organizing infrastructure created by Obama has largely collapsed in the aftermath of the elections.

Voting reforms played an important and under-reported role in helping progressive candidates in 2008.

The Power of the Pocketbook: The economy was the big issue in 2008, and showed how economic populism can resonate with a diverse range of Southern voters. In a state like North Carolina, with everything from banks to manufacturing in crisis and the unemployment rate edging above 8 percent, the ability of Obama to speak to "Main Street" pocketbook issues was critical to victory. It also helped win over a share of working-class and poor whites: While only 35 percent of N.C. white voters overall picked Obama, the number jumped to 42 percent for whites making under \$50,000 a year.

Defend Voting Rights and Promote Electoral Reform: Voting reforms played an important and under-reported role in helping progressive candidates in 2008. Millions of voters used no-excuse early voting in eight Southern states, and activists successfully used early voting to ensure voters got to the polls. In Florida and Virginia, bi-partisan reforms of draconian felon disenfranchisement laws restored the voting rights of tens of thousands of voters—especially African-Americans. North Carolina's new law allowing same-day registration and voting during the early voting period was used by 92,000 new voters, especially African-American and young voters.

You Win When You Try: Obama's last-minute stumping in Florida, North Carolina and Virginia capped dozens of visits to these states by campaign surrogates. He targeted the South with tens of millions of dollars in TV ads, set up hundreds of campaign offices

and mobilized hundreds of thousands of volunteers. The pay-off of 55 Electoral College votes showed what happens when candidates ignore the conventional wisdom and show the will and resources to fight for Southern states.

Appendix I: State Profiles

ALABAMA



Key State Facts and Trends

Demographic Shift: Alabama's Latino population grew 28.6% from 2000 to 2005, fifth-fastest among the six states. The 2005 Latino population was officially 2.3% of total population, 2nd-smallest among the six states.

Auto Capitol of The South (And Country): Alabama has led the shift in automobile production to the South; since Mercedes opened plant in 1993, auto industry has added 67,800 jobs in Alabama. In 2009, Alabama will pass Detroit as biggest builder of automobiles in North America.

“Old Line” Economy: More than any other state, dominated by “old line” industries, led by durable goods manufacturing: iron and steel; paper, lumber and wood products; mining (coal); plastics; cars and trucks; apparel.

Poverty and Economic Insecurity: Alabama ranks near the bottom on many social indicators. For example, over

one-third—35%—of the state's children live within 150% of the poverty line.

Relatively High Union Density: 9.5% of workers are members of unions and 10.6% of workers are represented by unions. Both are highest among the six states in this study and 3rd-highest in the South. The largest is U.S. Steelworkers of America (over 24,000 members). Other big unions are UFCW (10,000+), PACE (9,000+), UAW (7,000+) and IBEW (7,000+).

State Politics

State Offices: Republicans hold Governorship. Democrats control Senate (19D/13R) and House (62D/43R).

National Offices: State voted for John McCain for President and has 2 Republican Senators. The state has 9 Congressional districts; 6 are held by Republicans and 3 by Democrats.

Black Elected Leadership: As of spring 2009, 25% of Alabama legislators are African-American, #1 among the six states. With 26% of the state population being African-American, there is a one-point disparity, one of the lowest in the South.

Voter Participation

Turnout: In 2008, turnout was 62% of the eligible voting population—a 7.6-point increase over 2004, the 6th-highest growth in the country.

Philanthropic Base

Moderate Foundation Base: Alabama has 672 foundations—582 independent; 29 corporate; 9 community; and 52 operating (2005 data). This is 3rd-highest among the six states. These foundations gave \$134 million in 2005.

Social Justice Funders: Community foundations.

Social Justice Infrastructure

Moderate Level of Intermediary Organizations: Arise Citizen's Policy Project (policy, research)

Weak Network of Supportive Academic Institutions: University of Alabama—Tuscaloosa.

Recent Key Organizing Campaigns

Ongoing—State-Wide—Constitution Reform: Active groups include Alabama Arise, Greater Birmingham Ministries, good government groups.

2006—State-Wide—Tax Reform (Won): Active groups included Alabama Arise and member groups.

Key Clusters of Social Justice Organizing Groups

Coastal

Boat People SOS (Bayou LaBatre)
Mobile Baykeeper (Prichard and Bayou LaBatre)
South Bay Communities Alliance (Coden)

Mid-State

Concerned Citizens of Montgomery (Montgomery)
Greater Birmingham Ministries (Birmingham)

Lowndes Citizens United for Action (Hayneville)
Ordinary People Society (Dothan)

State-Wide Organizations/ Networks/Coalitions

Alabama Arise/Arise Citizen Policy Project
Alabama Citizens for Constitutional Reform
Alabama New South Coalition
Federation of Child Care Centers of Alabama (FOCAL)
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
Sierra Club
Southern Black Women's Initiative—
State contact is FOCAL

GEORGIA



Key State Facts and Trends

Fast-Growing: 9th-fastest growing state in the country, tied with South Carolina as 2nd-fastest growing in the South. Driven by Atlanta: the fastest-growing metro area nationally since 2000.

Demographic Shift: Georgia's Latino population grew almost one-third—32.8%—between 2000-2005, fastest among the six states. State is now officially 6.5% Latino. Black population has also grown slightly since 2000;

now almost 30% of total population.

Atlanta Drives State: Atlanta's 5.1 million people are 55% of state's population. City is 10th-largest urban economy in the U.S. Growth and sprawl have made issues of transportation equity and support for urban core critical.

Center of Economic Power: The state is home to headquarters for 16 Fortune 500 companies, the most in the South.

National Political Dominance: State has been springboard for several key political individuals and movements on the right, such as Newt Gingrich "New Right" movement (Cobb County/Atlanta suburbs) and Ralph Reed/Christian Coalition.

Low Union Density: 4.4% of workers are members of unions and 5.4% of workers are represented by unions (both 4th-lowest in country).

State Politics

State Offices: Republicans hold Governorship. Republicans also control Senate (34R/22D) and House (105R/75D).

National Offices: State voted for John McCain for President and has 2 Republican Senators. Georgia has 13 Congressional districts; 7 are held by Republicans and 6 by Democrats.

Black Elected Leadership: As of spring 2009, 22% of Georgia legislators are African-American. With 30% of the state population African-American, there is an 9-point disparity.

Voter Participation

Turnout: In 2008 was 61.8% of the eligible voting population, a 7.1% increase over 2004, the 7th-highest growth in the country.

Voting Legislation: Voter ID bill passed, was overturned and then upheld by the courts. Big controversy over use of "voter matches;" Georgia submitted highest number of checks in country.

Philanthropic Base

Strong Foundation Base: Georgia has 1,354 foundations – 1,204 independent; 49 corporate; 10 community; and 91 operating (2005 data). This is 2nd-highest among the six states, and 4th-highest in South. These foundations gave \$718 million in 2005, 2nd-highest among the six states.

Social Justice Funders: Turner Foundation (\$10.3 million in grants in 2006); Sapelo Foundation (\$1.1 million in 2006); Southern Partners Fund (\$1 million in 2006); Fund for Southern Communities; Atlanta Women's Foundation.

Social Justice Infrastructure

Moderate Level of Intermediary Organizations: Project South (popular education, organizing support); Georgia Budget and Policy Institute (research)

Strong Network of Supportive Academic Institutions: Clustered in Atlanta: Emory University; Clark Atlanta University (Environmental Justice Resource Center); Georgia State University; Georgia Tech (STAND UP); Morehouse College (Brisbane Institute); University of Georgia–Athens (living wage).

Examples of Recent Organizing Campaigns

Atlanta—Beltline Project (Ongoing):
Leading group is Georgia STAND-UP.

Atlanta—Grady Hospital Privatization (Ongoing): Active groups include Jobs with Justice, New Grady Coalition.

2007—State-Wide—Increase Minimum Wage to \$7.25 (Lost): Active groups include Georgia Citizen's Coalition on Hunger, labor.

Key Clusters of Social Justice Organizing Groups

Atlanta-focused

9 to 5: Atlanta Working Women
ABLE—Industrial Areas Foundation affiliate
Atlanta Central Labor Council
Concerned Black Clergy
Georgia Citizen's Coalition on Hunger
Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda
Georgia STAND UP
Jobs with Justice
People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (post-Katrina)
Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide
S.O.S. after Katrina

Groups working outside Atlanta

Economic Justice Coalition (Athens)
Federation of Southern Cooperatives (East Point/Atlanta)
Georgia Poultry Justice Alliance (Atlanta)
Latinos for Education and Justice (Calhoun)
SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health Collective (Atlanta)
Southern Center for Human Rights (Atlanta)

SouthWest Georgia Project for Community Education (Albany)
Women's Action for New Directions (Atlanta)

State-Wide Organizations/ Networks/Coalitions

Georgia Living Wage Coalition—Active groups include Georgia Citizen's Coalition on Hunger, Project South, Atlanta Central Labor Council and 9 to 5: Atlanta Working Women
Federation of Southern Cooperatives (East Point/Atlanta)

LOUISIANA



Key State Facts and Trends

Post-Katrina Realities: The state continues to be defined by the devastating impact of the 2005 storms. As of fall 2008, more than 84,000 residential addresses were unoccupied in Orleans and St. Bernard Parishes. Many are still struggling with basic needs. Homelessness is twice what it was pre-Katrina.

Demographic Shift: Louisiana was already home to a growing new immigrant community, approximately 10% of the city of New Orleans was Latino pre-Katrina. That number has rapidly grown in the wake of Katrina rebuilding: by

March 2006, half the reconstruction workforce was Latino. The New Orleans new immigrant population is estimated to have grown by a third.

Energy Industry Dominance: Louisiana is the number 1 producer of crude oil and the #2 producer of natural gas in the country. Energy politics heavily define the state's politics and economics, as well as issues such as coastal protection.

Low Union Density—Especially after Katrina: In 2008, 4.6% of workers are members of unions and 5.6% of workers are represented by unions. Both are nearly 2 points lower than pre-Katrina.

State Politics

State Offices: Republicans hold Governorship. Democrats control the Senate (22D/15R) and Democrats control the House (52D/50R).

National Offices: State voted for John McCain for President and has 1 Democratic and 1 Republican Senators. Louisiana has 7 Congressional districts; 6 are held by Republicans and 1 by a Democrat.

Black Elected Leadership: As of Spring 2009, 18% of Louisiana legislators are African-American. 33% of the state's population was African-American pre-Katrina.

Voter Participation

Turnout: In 2008, turnout was 64% of the eligible voting population, a 5.1-point increase over 2004.

Philanthropic Base

Pre-Katrina: Lower Level Foundation Base: Pre-Katrina, Louisiana had 444 foundations—399 independent; 16 corporate; 4 community; and 25 operating (2005 data). This ranked 4th among the six states. These foundations gave \$118 million in 2005.

Social Justice Funders: Post-Katrina entities such as the Louisiana Disaster Recovery Fund; Foundation for the Mid-South; community foundations.

Impact Of Katrina: Hurricane Katrina led to a massive infusion of giving to the state. By mid-2006, some \$5.3 billion had made its way to the Gulf Coast. Much of the initial funding was for immediate disaster relief and was channeled through the Red Cross and religious institutions. However, ongoing formations such as Gulf Coast Funders for Equity, as well as larger groups like Global Green and Oxfam America, continue to invest in advocacy, organizing and rebuilding.

Social Justice Infrastructure

Lower Level of Intermediary Organizations: People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (anti-racism training); New Orleans Network (convening, media—folded in fall 2007)

Strong Network of Supportive Academic Institutions: Loyola University (Justice for New Orleans/Poverty Law Center); Xavier University (Deep South Center for Environmental Justice); Tulane University (Southern Institute).

Recent Key Organizing Campaigns

New Orleans/Katrina-Impacted Areas—Katrina Recovery Issues (Ongoing): Particularly around housing, rebuilding and environmental protection. Wide array of organizations below.

Key Clusters of Social Justice Organizing Groups

New Orleans-focused

ACORN

Advocates for Environmental Human Rights

All Congregations Together (ACT)—PICO affiliate

Family and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children

FYRE Youth Squad

Jeremiah Project—IAF affiliate

Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana

Neighborhood-based groups, especially

Holy Cross Neighborhood Association and New Orleans East, centered around Mary Queen of Vietnam Church/Vietnamese Initiatives in Economic Training

New Orleans Worker Center for Racial Justice

People's Hurricane Relief Fund and Oversight Coalition

Safe Streets/Strong Communities

Groups working outside New Orleans

Bayou Interfaith Shared Community Organizing (Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes)

Louisiana Environmental Action Network (Baton Rouge)

Moving Forward Gulf Coast (Slidell)

MISSISSIPPI



Key State Facts and Trends

“Majority-Minority” State: Hurricane Katrina accelerated growth of Latino population; the Latino population in six Gulf Coast counties jumped from 30,000 to 70,000 post-Katrina. Combined with the high African-American population, Mississippi will be one of next states that is majority people of color.

The Katrina Effect: Coastal counties from the West—where Hurricane Katrina made landfall—eastward to Biloxi were devastated by the storms.

Shifting Economy: Like Alabama, Mississippi has aggressively lured international companies, including automakers (Nissan). The coastal economy, which has always relied on tourism, increasingly revolves around casinos, which were quickest to rebuild after Katrina.

Entrenched Politics: Governor Haley Barbour (R), elected in 2003, is politically powerful nationally, having served as a leading lobbyist in the 1990s and chairman of the National Republican Committee from 1993-1997.

Low Union Density: A right-to-work state, 5.3% of workers are members of unions and 7.3% of workers are represented by unions (both 9th-lowest in country).

State Politics

State Offices: Republicans hold Governorship. Democrats narrowly control the Senate (27D/25R) and strongly control the House (74D/48R).

National Offices: State voted for John McCain for president and has 2 Republican Senators. Mississippi has 4 Congressional districts; 2 are held by Democrats and 2 by Republicans.

Black Elected Leadership: As of spring 2009, 29% of Mississippi legislators are African-American. While this is a significant increase, with 37% of the state population African-American, there is an 11-point disparity.

Voter Participation

Turnout: In 2008, turnout was 61.9% of the eligible voting population, a 9.3-point increase over 2004—the 4th-highest growth in the country.

Philanthropic Base

Lower-Level Foundation Base: Mississippi has 237 foundations—201 independent; 1 corporate; 5 community; and 20 operating (2005 data). This ranks last among the six states and the South overall.

Social Justice Funders: Foundation for the Mid-South; community foundations.

Impact Of Katrina: Hurricane Katrina led to a massive infusion of giving to the state. By mid-2006, some \$5.3 billion had made its way to the Gulf Coast. Much of the initial funding was for immediate disaster relief and was channeled through the Red Cross and religious institutions. However, ongoing formations such as Gulf Coast Funders for Equity, as well as larger groups like Oxfam America, continue to invest in advocacy, organizing and rebuilding.

Social Justice Infrastructure

Strong Intermediary Organizations: Mississippi ACLU (Jackson, with state-wide presence); Mississippi Center for Justice (state-wide); Southern Echo (focus on Delta); STEPS Coalition (coast).

Moderate Network of Supportive Academic Institutions: Jackson State (HBCU); University of Mississippi (including Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation)

Recent Key Organizing Campaigns

State-Wide—Anti-Immigrant Legislation (2006/2007; Won)—40 pieces of legislation): Active groups include Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mississippi Workers' Center.

Coast—Just Recovery (Ongoing; Won/Lost): Active groups include STEPS Coalition, including Coastal Women for Change, Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, Boat People SOS, Turkey Creek Initiatives.

Key Clusters of Social Justice Organizing Groups

Mississippi Delta/Upstate

Action Communication and Education

Reform (Duck Hill/Montgomery County)

Activists with a Purpose (Grenada County)

Citizens for a Better Greenville

(Greenville/Washington County)

Citizens for Educational Awareness

(Montgomery County)

Concerned Citizens for a Better Tunica

County (Tunica County)

Nollie Citizens for Quality Education

(Holmes County)

Parents and Youth United for a Better

Webster County (Webster County)

Sunflower County Parents and Students

Association (Sunflower County)

Youth Innovative Movement Solutions

(Tupelo/Lee County)

Southern Echo

Jackson/Mid-state

ACLU

AFL-CIO

Mississippi Alliance of State Employee

Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance

NAACP

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Coast

Boat People SOS (Biloxi)

Center for Environmental and Economic

Justice (Biloxi)

Coastal Women for Change (Biloxi)

Gulf Coast Latin American Association

(Biloxi)

Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance

Mississippi Low Income Child Care

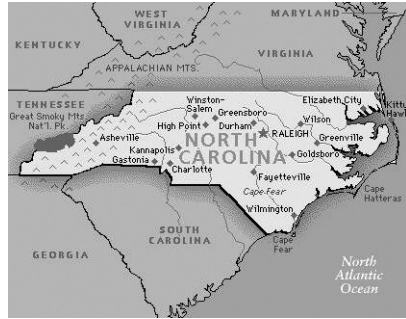
Initiative (Biloxi)

Sierra Club—MS Chapter

Turkey Creek Community Initiative

(Gulfport)

NORTH CAROLINA



Key State Facts and Trends

Fast-Growing: 3rd-fastest growing state in the country in 2008.

Demographic Shift: In 1990s, NC had fastest-growing Latino population in the country (394% growth). Between 2000-2005, doubled again; now over 600,000. A third of state's growth between 1990-2004 driven by Latino population growth.

Economic Dislocation: State has lost 20% of its manufacturing jobs since 2001. In last five years, goods-producing sector has declined from 25% to 20%; service sector is up 8%. Laid-off workers make 30% less than did before.

Low Union Density: 3% of workers are members of unions and 3.9% of workers are represented by unions (lowest in country).

Inequality: In 2006, North Carolina ranked 9th nationally in most inequality between richest 10% and poorest 10%; highest among six states in this report.

State Politics

State Offices: Democrats hold Governorship. Democrats control Senate (30D/20R) and House (68D/52R) as of spring 2009.

National Offices: In 2008, state voted for Barack Obama for President; first time state has voted for a Democrat for President since 1976. N.C. has 1 Democratic Senator and 1 Republican Senator. The state has 13 Congressional districts; 7 are held by Democrats and 6 by Republicans.

Black Elected Leadership: As of spring 2009, 19% of North Carolina legislators were African-American. With 22% of population African-American, this means N.C. also has lowest disparity between black population and black elected leadership among six states analyzed in the Southern Scan.

Voter Participation

Turnout: Average turnout from 1984–2004 was 47.8%, ranking 43rd nationally. However, in 2008 turnout rose to 65.8% of the voting-eligible population.

Voting Reform: In 2007, state passed Same Day Registration at early voting sites. In 2008, this was used by 92,000 voters in the primary and general elections, helping boost voter turnout.

Philanthropic Base

Strong Foundation Base: North Carolina has 2,803 foundations – 2,605 independent; 93 corporate; 19 community; and 86 operating (2005 data). This is by far the highest in the six states, and

3rd highest in South. They gave \$887 million in 2005, also by far the highest among the six states.

Social Justice Funders: A.J. Fletcher Foundation, Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, community foundations.

Social Justice Infrastructure

Strong Intermediary Organizations: Blueprint North Carolina (media, messaging, convening, civic engagement), Center for Participatory Change (technical support, convening), Democracy North Carolina (voting/civic engagement), Institute for Southern Studies (research, media, technical support), N.J. Justice Center (advocacy/lobbying, research, litigation), N.C. Policy Watch (media)

Strong Network of Supportive Academic Institutions: Duke University (for example, Student Action with Farmworkers), N.C. Central University, N.C. State University (Triangle Labor Support Group), UNC-Chapel Hill, UNC-Greensboro

Examples of Recent Organizing Campaigns

2008—Eastern NC—Smithfield Foods Union Drive (Won): Successful election in December.

2007—State-Wide—Same-Day Registration (Won): Active groups included Democracy North Carolina, N.C. Fair Share

2006—State-Wide—\$1 Increase In State Minimum Wage (Won): Active groups included AFL-CIO, NAACP,

N.C. Council of Churches, N.C. Justice Center, Working Families Win.

Ongoing—State-Wide—Repeal Ban on Collective Bargaining: Active groups include Black Workers for Justice, UE 150/Public Service Workers Union, HOPE Coalition, Triangle Labor Support Group.

Key Clusters of Social Justice Organizing Groups

East and Coast

African-American/Latino Alliance
Center for Community Action
(Lumberton)
Concerned Citizens of Tillery (Tillery)
—Part of N.C. Environmental Justice Network
Farm Labor Organizing Committee/
Poder Immigrante (Dudley)

Central and Piedmont

ACORN (Durham and Raleigh)
Beloved Community Center (Greensboro)
IAF Affiliates: Durham CAN (Durham),
CHANGE (Winston-Salem)
N.C. Fair Share (Raleigh, east)—Part of
N.C. Environmental Justice Network
N.C. Waste Awareness Reduction Network
(Durham/Piedmont)

West and Mountains

ACORN (Charlotte)
Coalition of Latino Organizations
(COLA) – Connected to Center for
Participatory Change (Asheville)
IAF Affiliate: HELP (Charlotte)
Just Economics of Western NC
(Asheville)
Western NC Worker’s Center (Morgan-
ton)—Connected to Ctr for Part. Change
Working Families Win (Charlotte)

State-Wide Organizations/ Networks/Coalitions

African-American/Latino Alliance—
Connected to Black Workers for Jus-
tice, UE 150, and FLOC
Black Workers for Justice/UE 150 N.C.
Public Services Workers Union/
HOPE Coalition (Charlotte, Triangle,
Greenville)
Blue Ridge Environmental Defense
League
Democracy North Carolina
Industrial Areas Foundation: NC Latino
Coalition (200 chapters state-wide)
NAACP
N.C. Conservation Network
N.C. Environmental Justice Network
NC Council of Churches

SOUTH CAROLINA



Key State Facts and Trends

Demographic Shift: South Carolina was state with 3rd-highest increase in Latino population between 2000-2005.

Growth of Global Industry: South Carolina Has Highest Percentage of workers in South employed by affiliates of international companies, such as BMW in Upstate region. One out of five manufacturing jobs for foreign-owned companies.

High Poverty and Low Social Indicators: Ranks #1 nationally for violent crime rate; #1 for mobile homes as percent of total housing.; #2 for unemployment rate as of February 2009.

Education a Hot Political Issue: 40 of 83 school districts classified as “disadvantaged.” State ranks 49th nationally in SAT scores. Chronic under-funding of education a major target of media and political debate.

Low Union Density: 3.9% of workers are members of unions—3rd-lowest in the country—and 5.8% of workers are represented by unions.

State Politics

State Offices: Republicans hold Governorship. Republicans control Senate (27R/19D) and House (71R/53D). Progressive Caucus (largely led by African-American legislators) represents one-third of Democratic state lawmakers.

National Offices: In 2008, state voted for John McCain for President and has 2 Republican Senators. The state has 6 Congressional districts; 4 are held by Republicans and 2 by Democrats.

Black Elected Leadership: 22% of South Carolina legislators are African-American, ranking 5th among the six states. With 29% of the state population African-American, there is an 7-point disparity.

Voter Participation

Turnout: 58.8% of eligible voters cast ballots in 2008, an increase of 9.8 points over 2004 – the 2nd-highest growth in the country.

Philanthropic Base

Weak Foundation Base: South Carolina has 414 foundations – 338 independent, 28 corporate, 7 community and 41 operating (2005 data, latest available). This is the 2nd-lowest among the six states. They gave \$109 million in 2005 – the lowest among the six states.

Social Justice Funders: Community foundations.

Social Justice Infrastructure

Low Level of Intermediary Organizations: South Carolina Progressive Network (convening, issue support, technical assistance)

Low Level of Network Of Supportive Academic Institutions: University of South Carolina-Columbia

Recent Key Organizing Campaigns

Voting Reform (Ongoing): Active groups include S.C. Progressive Network and member groups.

State-Wide—Anti-Gay Marriage Amendment (2006-Lost): Active groups include Alliance for Full Acceptance (Charleston); South Carolina Equality Coalition (Columbia); S.C. Gay and Lesbian Pride Movement (Columbia).

Key Clusters of Social Justice Organizing Groups

South Carolina Fair Share (Columbia)
—Starting chapters in Upstate
Carolina Alliance for Fair Employment
(Greenville)—Chapters in Upstate
and Coast
South Carolina Fair Share (Columbia)
—Starting chapters in Upstate
Coalition for New South Carolinians
(Columbia)

S.C. Progressive Network (Columbia)—
Chapters in Upstate, Piedmont, Coast
Labor: S.C. AFL-CIO and S.C. Education
Association

Organizing around 2006 marriage
amendment: Alliance for Full Accept-
ance (Charleston); South Carolina
Equality Coalition (Columbia); S.C.
Gay and Lesbian Pride Movement
(Columbia)

Appendix II—Research Scope, Methodology and Participants

The following provides more background on the approach and people who made up the Southern Scan Research Project.

Research Scope and Questions

The Southern Scan Research Project was guided by several key questions concerning (1) The organizations working in the six Southern states, and (2) The organizing climate in which groups operate in those states. These questions outlined the scope of the project:

Questions for assessing organizations:

- Who are the key membership-based/constituent-led organizing groups in the six states?
- What are the key issues they address and what strategies do they employ to address them?
- What is their organizational model and how are they carrying it out—membership base, leadership structure, decision-making, internal democracy, etc.?
- What needs have these groups identified? What have been strengths/weaknesses of their work?
- Who are the key intermediaries, coalitions and networks in these states/the South, and what role do they play for the groups on a local/state/regional level?

- More broadly, what are the opportunities, challenges and good models for a) multigenerational work; b) Black/Brown alliance building and c) multi-ethnic work; d) innovative local/state/regional coalitions?

Questions for assessing the climate for organizing:

- What are key political, economic and social issues and trends that are impacting low-income/poor/working-class and people of color communities in the six states? How are these affecting social justice organizing?
- What are key historical and cultural factors that factor into organizing in the six states and the South?
- What are the relationships among groups? Where have there been barriers to collaboration and what have been the factors involved? What are key issues/organizations/structures that have united, or could unite, people and groups on a state-wide or regional level?
- What is the South's strategic importance to social justice organizing nationally and internationally?
- What is needed to strengthen, sustain and grow social justice organizing in the South and who are the key partners that should be included?

Research Methodology

The Institute for Southern Studies' methodology for conducting research into social justice organizing in six Southern states consisted of several key steps:

Identifying Organizations: The Institute used several sources to develop a universe of organizations to examine in each state, including (1) informant interviews of organizers, funders and others with expertise in each state, (2) grantee directories of funders active in the South; (3) the project team; (4) staff of the Hill-Snowdon Foundation and New World Foundation; (5) organizational directories; and (6) the Institute's extensive relationships across the region.

Developing Research Questions: The Institute project team developed a set of common questions to use in evaluating organizations. These questions were based on the research criteria questions developed by the Institute, Hill-Snowdon Foundation and New World Foundation (*see previous page*).

Primary Research: The Institute drew on a wide range of sources to develop basic profiles of organizing activity and the climate for organizing in each state. This basic research included: (1) collecting and analyzing organizational reports, newsletters, websites and other documentation; (2) analyzing media coverage of organizations; (3) drawing on primary data to collect in-depth research on economic, political and social trends; and (4) following media coverage of key issues in each Southern state.

Informant Interviews: Critical to the success of the Southern Scan was over 80 informant interviews in each of the six Southern states and nationally. These informant interviews brought a broad and deep level of expertise to the project, representing experts from a wide range of fields including:

- Grassroots organizers and community leaders
- Academics and scholars
- Elected officials and policy advocates
- Foundation staff
- Staff of national organizations active in the South

Special care was taken to ensure that informant interviews reflected the diversity of the organizations and issues being examined in the Southern Scan project. Out of the 83 informant interviews, the majority were people of color and women. (*For a full list of the project's informant interviews, please see Appendix II.*)

Researchers and Advisors

The research project was carried out by a diverse and knowledgeable team of researchers and advisors:

Chris Kromm, Project Director and Lead Author—Executive director of the Institute for Southern Studies and Publisher of *Southern Exposure/Facing South*.

Aesha Rasheed—Founder of the Parents Organizing Network and co-founder of the New Orleans Network.

Xochitl Bervera—Former co-director of Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children and Soros Justice Fellow with Grassroots Leadership.

Ajamu Dillahunt—Outreach director for the North Carolina Justice Center and National Steering Committee member of the Black Workers for Justice.

Desiree Evans, Elena Everett, Natalie Murdock and **Sue Sturgis** of the Institute for Southern Studies also contributed valuable research and editing assistance for this report.

Appendix III—Key Informant and Organizational Interviews

Calvin Allen (NC)—Deputy Director, Southern Rural Development Initiative; board of NC Youth for Tomorrow—Raleigh

Julie Andrews (LA)—Organizer, Residents of Public Housing—New Orleans

Joe Atkins (MS)—Prof. of Journalism, University of Mississippi; labor reporter and columnist, Mississippi Clarion-Ledger and Hattiesburg American

Ajamu Baraka (GA)—Director, U.S. Human Rights Network

Colette Pichon Battle (LA)—Founder, Moving Forward Gulf Coast and Gulf Coast Advocate, Oxfam America—Slidell

James Black (MS)—Executive Director, Center for Environmental and Economic Justice—Biloxi

Stephen Bradberry (LA)—Lead Organizer, Louisiana ACORN

Cynthia Brown (NC)—Consultant, Sojourner Consulting; former Executive Director, Southerners for Economic Justice—Durham

LaTosha Brown (MS)—SOS, Mobile, AL/Atlanta

Brett Bursey (SC)—Director, South Carolina Progressive Network

Erin Byrd (NC)—Executive Director, Southerners for Economic Justice—Raleigh

Paul Castelloe (NC)—Founder and Co-Coordinator, Center for Participatory Change—Asheville, NC

Bill Chandler (MS)—Executive Director, Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance

Will Choudry (GA)—Project South

Victoria Cintra (MS)—Gulf Coast Organizer, Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance

Melissa Conrad (GA)—Researcher/Project Organizer, Georgia STAND UP

Brenda Dardar-Robichaux (LA)—Chief, United Houma Nation—Golden Meadow

Pam Dashiell (LA)—Former President, Holy Cross Neighborhood Association—New Orleans

LaToya Davis (MS)—Program Associate, Mississippi Worker's Center for Human Rights

Donna DeWitt (SC)—President, South Carolina AFL-CIO; Board member, Citizens Against Sexual Abuse and SC Fair Share

Scott Douglas (AL)—Executive Director, Greater Birmingham Ministries

Annie Ducmanis (NY)—Gulf Coast Fund Project Manager, Rockefeller Financial Advisors

Ilana Dubester (NC)—Program Coordinator, Funders' Collaborative for Strong LatinoCommunities—Siler City

Derrick Evans (MS)—Director, Turkey Creek Initiatives

Rep. Jim Evans (MS)—Member, Mississippi House of Representatives; President, Mississippi Chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Mississippi Field Director, AFLCIO

Roger Finch (SC)—Organizer, South Carolina Fair Share—upstate

Jordan Flaherty (LA)—Co-coordinator, New Orleans Network; Organizer, SEIU—New Orleans

Kimble Forrester (AL)—State Coordinator, Alabama Arise

Heather Gray (GA)—Director, WUFG 89.3 FM, Atlanta

Kevin Alexander Gray (SC)—President, ACLU South Carolina; lead organizer, Harriet Tubman Freedom House (Columbia); Contributing Editor, Black News; served as 1988 South Carolina coordinator for Presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson.

Alice Gray Gregory (SC)—Producer, “The Connection”/Independent Television—Charleston

Shana Griffin (LA)—Organizer, INCITE Women of Color against Violence/Critical Resistance—New Orleans

Stephanie Guilloud (GA)—Program Director, Project South

Sharon Hanshaw (MS)—Executive Director, Coastal Women for Change—Biloxi

Monique Harden (LA)—Co-Director, Advocates for Environmental Human Rights—New Orleans

Tanya Harris (LA)—Lower 9th Ward Organizer, Louisiana ACORN

Courtney Henry (MS)—Community Organizer, Mississippi Worker’s Center for Human Rights

Jaribu Hill (MS)—Founder and Executive Director, Mississippi Worker’s Center for Human Rights

Dr. Lance Hill (LA)—Executive Director, Southern Institute for Education and Research; former organizer, Louisiana Coalition against Racism—New Orleans

Cathy Howell (NC/South)—Staff, National Organizers Alliance; former Southern field staff, AFLCIO- Wilmington

Aaron Jacobson (NC)—Outreach Coordinator, Farm Labor Organizing Committee—Dudley

Denise Jennings (GA)—Consultant, Center for Social Inclusion; formerly with Southern Partners Fund

Leroy Johnson (MS)—Executive Director, Southern Echo

Nsombi Lambert (MS)—Executive Director, MS ACLU

Socorro Leos (MS)—Gulf Coast organizer, Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance

Tony Macias (NC)—Assistant Director, Student Action with Farmworkers—Durham

Darryl Malek-Wiley (LA)—Environmental Justice Organizer, Sierra Club Southern Office—New Orleans

Libby Manly (NC)—Organizer, Justice for Smithfield—Smithfield, NC

Kamau Marcharia (SC)—former organizer, Grassroots Leadership; City Council member, Jenkensville (Fairfield County)

Dani Martinez-Moore (NC)—Immigrant Project Director, NC Justice Center—Raleigh

Julie Mooney (NC)—Coordinator, Blueprint North Carolina—Raleigh

Damekia Morgan (LA)—New Orleans Organizer, Family and Friends of Louisiana’s Incarcerated Children

Reilly Morse (MS)—Former Coordinator, STEPS Coalition—Biloxi

David Neal (NC)—Founder, Blueprint North Carolina; Trustee, Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation—Durham

Fr. Luke Nguyen (LA)—Vietnamese Initiative for Economic Training; Citizens for New Orleans East

John O'Neal (LA/GA)—Junebug Productions; People's Hurricane Relief Fund—New Orleans and Atlanta

MaryLee Orr (LA)—Louisiana Environmental Action Network—Baton Rouge

Paul Orr (LA)—Communications Director, Louisiana Environmental Action Network—Baton Rouge

Sen. Nan Grogan Orrock (GA)—Senator, Georgia State Legislature; director, Women's Legislative Lobby

Ivan Parra (NC)—Organizer, North Carolina Latino Coalition—Durham

Dr. Charles Price (NC/South)—Prof., UNC School of Anthropology; Consultant, Ford Foundation project on Southern Organizing—Chapel Hill

Jim Price (AL)—Executive Director, Sierra Club Southeast Office

Aesha Rasheed (LA)—Co-coordinator, New Orleans Network; education advocate; former reporter, New Orleans Times-Picayune

Wade Rathke (LA)—Former Chief Organizer, National ACORN—New Orleans

Cynthia Renfro (WA)—Program Officer, Marguerite Casey Foundation

Leonard Riley (SC)—Dockworker and member, International Longshoreman Association; Board Chair, Carolina Alliance for Fair Employment (Charleston)

Banita Rogers (LA)—Organizer, New Orleans Survivor Council

Shana Sassoon (LA)—Co-coordinator, New Orleans Network; former National Chair, League of Young Voters

Deborah Scott (GA)—Executive Director, Georgia STAND UP

Khalil Tian Shahyd (LA)—Organizer, People's Hurricane Relief Fund—New Orleans

Saket Soni (LA)—Organizer, New Orleans Worker Justice Coalition

Ellen Spears (GA)—Emory University; Georgia Forum; former staff, Southern Regional Council

Bill Stallworth (MS)—City Council member, City of Biloxi, Mississippi

Malcolm Suber (LA)—National Organizing Coordinator, People's Hurricane Relief Fund and Oversight Coalition—New Orleans

Gerald Taylor (MS)—Southern Regional Lead Organizer, Industrial Areas Foundation; Organizing Director, AMOS Network, Mississippi

Sandra Taylor (MS)—Program Director, Center for Environmental and Economic Justice—Biloxi

Colette Tippy (LA)—New Orleans Worker Justice Coalition

Tom Turnipseed (SC)—Civil rights lawyer; President, South Carolina Trial Lawyers Association; former SC State Senator (1976-1980), Columbia

Nathalie Walker (LA)—Co-Director, Advocates for Environmental Human Rights—New Orleans

Peter Walz (NC)—Organizing Director, NC Conservative Network—Raleigh

Maya Wiley (NY)—Director, Center for Social Inclusion; conducting research on Gulf Coast organizations; civil rights attorney

Gina Womack (LA)—Co-Director, Family and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children—New Orleans

Thao Vu (MS)—Case Manager, Boat People SOS —Biloxi

Barbara Zelter (NC)—Project Organizer, NC Council of Churches—Raleigh

Endnotes

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The Institute For Southern Studies



Founded in 1970, the Institute for Southern Studies is a non-profit research, media and education center working for lasting change in the South. The Institute publishes Facing South, the largest online magazine on Southern issues, and Southern Exposure, an award-winning journal of politics and culture.

Institute for Southern Studies

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The Hill-Snowdon Foundation



Founded in 1959, the Hill-Snowdon Foundation envisions a fair and just society for low-income families, particularly youth of color and no-

and low-wage workers. The foundation's core strategy is to support community organizing in order to develop the leadership, skills and collective power of marginalized and disenfranchised communities to influence the decisions that impact their lives.

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The New World Foundation



Founded in 1954, the New World Foundation believes global and national social change begins at the local level. The foundation seeks to help progressive community activists in the United States and around the world build stronger alliances for social justice, civil rights, economic and electoral issues.

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