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Neighborhood Perceptions of Proximal Industries in Progress Village, FL

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Neighborhood Perceptions of Proximal Industries in Progress Village, FL

by

Laura Baum

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Applied Anthropology
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College of Arts and Sciences
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Abstract

Progress Village, a historically Black neighborhood outside of Tampa, FL, encountered structural violence that included construction of an adjacent phosphogypsum stack. Why the neighborhood signed a legal agreement with the stack's operating industry and the impacts of this decision provides a lesson in critical environmental justice. Theories of urban political ecology frame exploration of resident priorities, relationships with industry, risk perceptions, and health concerns. Utilizing activist anthropology, this thesis aims to be mutually beneficial to scholarly and neighborhood development. Ultimately, this research demonstrates how southern gradualism, racism, and a trend towards isolationism created today's striving, yet marginalized and divided community. This thesis encourages scholarship on everyday resident-industry interactions and provides insights to strengthen future Community Benefits Agreements, while questioning if such agreements serve environmental justice.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The old shopping plaza for once was bustling, and it was only 9:00 am. The stores were empty; a neighborhood family was renovating one space to open soon as a New Orleans-themed jazz restaurant, and most of the other units were equally in flux. Even so, the parking lot was filling with groups preparing for the Progress Village Back to School Parade and Festival. A low black trailer attached to a truck slowly assembled into a sound check, where two young men kept up spirits by riffing on keyboard and bass. The largest contingent was from the St. James AME Church (Figure 1), with around 25 youth and advisors ready to pass out beads to bystanders. I was there at the invitation of the two neighborhood development organizations of Progress Village (aka ‘The Village’)-



Figure 1: St. James AME Church contingent at the Back to School Parade, 2014 (Photo by author)

the Civic Council and the Foundation-and lined up to help carry the Foundation’s banner. Being late August and just a week before school started, I was transitioning from a summer of volunteering with the two organizations to a more engaged, researcher role. After spending much of the summer in the organization’s archives, I treasured this moment to be with the present-day community.

After a half hour or so of preparations, the parade stepped off, turning left towards the main street that runs the length of the community. As we turned onto this major north-south street (for years the only way residents traveled the 10 miles to the city), everyone had a brief glimpse at the new sports complex. What 10 years ago was a field now boasted multiple tournament-ready fields for football and baseball, all adjacent to a human-made mountain, 30 years in the making. Since this gypsum stack triggered my research project, I may have been the only one in the parade to give it a second glance. Today, though, was not about the stack, so I paid it as little attention as everyone else and refocused on the parade. Today was about the community and the children closing out their summers with a neighborhood gathering and school supply giveaway.

We turned back into the neighborhood and wound our way through the single-level, concrete block homes. The uniformity of house design hints at how most were built simultaneously, even as houses vary greatly in their levels of care. Many show touches of creative renovations such as stone walls or large gardens, while others fall into disrepair, sitting empty or unkempt. At about a fifth of these houses, most of which



had immaculate lawns, people sat in folding chairs to greet the parade as it passed. Excited youth ran from the parade to give out beads or other goodies to the spectators, with occasional greeting, partying, or even spectators joining the parade (Figure

Figure 2: Celebration at the parade. (Photo by author)

2). While perhaps 70 of us started out in the parade, by the end we'd picked up enough people to almost double our size, including an outfit of people on horseback and youth of another church. After crossing the main street bisecting the neighborhood, we headed back just past our starting point to the school and festival already underway.

This school was one of the first resources in the community. Although just a trailer when the first homes were built, it received multiple upgrades over the intervening 55 years to now be one of the premier middle schools in the county. It is currently a magnet school for the arts, providing an arts-focused public school education accessible via application to anyone in the county. The school still has buildings nearly as old as the neighborhood and in need of tending, but it is also a school of excellence.

Here the parade joined families and other organizations to welcome kids back to a new school year. There were bouncy castles outside and food for purchase, the whole event organized by the First Baptist Church of Progress Village. As families entered, each child received a paper passport to get signed at tables spread around the gym that highlighted various community resources, from health clinics to sports teams to the Girl Scout troop. Once they received a number of signatures, children could turn in the passport for a backpack full of school supplies. With all this activity, there were many attendees not from the neighborhood, yet many of the original families of Progress Village were represented, either with their children or at one of the service booths.

The Progress Village Foundation, Inc. ('Foundation' or 'PVFI') had their own booth this year, greeting each child who came by with their passport to see if they lived in The Village. Those residing in The Village were reminded they are eligible for money

for high school honor roll, graduation, and college scholarships. These funds are provided by The Mosaic Company, Inc. ('Mosaic'), whose gypsum mountain adjacent to the community is a disposal site for their phosphate processing plant approximately 3 miles away. A company representative sits on the Foundation's board of directors, and today this liaison along with the company's head of community relations joined the Foundation's table at the festival, talking with families as they circled the tables. Yet neither table materials nor Foundation or Mosaic representatives made mention of the history behind the funding of this annual sponsorship, even though today the finances behind the Foundation were highlighted by receiving their annual sponsorship check. I was told in advance there would be a check ceremony, and was surprised when Foundation board members simply moved a few feet to the gym wall to take a picture as the check changed hands. In the end, only those directly involved with the Foundation noticed the check ceremony, unheeded as children continued their quest for passport signatures and free backpacks.

Framing the Research

My time in Progress Village arose from my interest in how this historically Black neighborhood relates to the company running the gypsum stack. The phosphogypsum stack next to Progress Village is a byproduct of the major regional industry in mining and processing phosphate. This stack was built in the mid-1980s, a time when communities across the United States were rising up against unwanted industrial expansion primarily into Black and low-income communities. These community uprisings led to recognition that low-income areas and communities of color face disproportionate risks from industrial development, a phenomenon termed

environmental justice and environmental racism. I learned that Progress Village, too, fought gypsum stack construction for a year and a half, putting them in line to be one of the emblematic early environmental justice struggles. Yet they are nowhere in the literature on this topic, their encounter unknown to all but those involved, primarily because they ended the fight. Instead, neighborhood leaders reached an agreement with the industry, and now, years later, calls the company a “good neighbor.” Why did community leadership develop a positive relationship with the company, and what does this mean for residential-industrial relationships elsewhere? What lessons derive from this case left out of the environmental justice movement’s history in the United States?

Guided by these initial interests, this thesis project explores the relationships between residential communities and industry in the Progress Village area. Specifically this thesis answers the following research questions:

1. What is the history of Progress Village’s relationships with industry?
2. How do environmental justice factors, including risk perception, impact residents’ lives?
3. What lessons derive from the Progress Village experience that might be applicable in other residential-industry settings?

Throughout this thesis I chronicle and investigate the story of Progress Village as it relates to industry, showing a community that experiences environmental racism yet works within area power structures to maximize benefits for their kin. This research occurs within a framework of activist anthropology that strives for mutually beneficial outcomes for neighborhood leaders and the academy. With an eye to studying up that addresses industry and governmental policy impacts, it employs participant

observation, semi-structured interviews, and archival research to explore Progress Village residents' impressions of industry and their neighborhood.

This research yields lessons beyond informing history and practical neighborhood organizing activities. This research will show that the situation of environmental injustice and community reactions to such features of oppression are separate issues. This thesis extends theories of power regarding the cooperation of marginalized people with those exercising societal power. Through working alongside regional power, Progress Village residents received visible benefits and unknown risks. What happened in Progress Village should inform the actions of other communities considering agreements with nearby businesses, such as through Community Benefits Agreements. How directly these lessons apply point to the uniqueness of phosphate as an extractive industry, a particularity needing much more research. Phosphate is understudied, but follows many trends in industrialization and globalization. Focusing on how industries relate to the residential communities in their shadow—particularly in seemingly unexceptional circumstances—deepens understandings of environmental injustice in society. By removing the voices of Village residents from struggles against local injustice, there was less pressure for change and slow progress for much of Black Tampa. Studying unnoticed, everyday locations like Progress Village is important in order to understand human society, as humans experience but do not always live in exceptional circumstances of strife. Chapter Six delves into these and other lessons from this thesis.

To answer the research questions, this thesis first examines factors that led to the current dynamics in the research site, then connects these factors to environmental

justice and anthropological theory. The rest of Chapter 1 introduces the unique history of Progress Village, vital to understanding neighborhood politics. Chapter 2 then discusses academic literature relevant to this study, while Chapter 3 presents the methods used to structure the study and gather data. Chapter 4 tells the history of interactions between Progress Village and industries from its founding to modern day, focusing on incidents of particular opposition or harmony to answer research question one. Chapter 5 then answers the second research question, exploring how Progress Village relates to environmental justice studies, including how community history led to a strategy of cooperation with the powerful. Given these data-rich chapters, the sixth and concluding chapter reviews what these discoveries mean to Progress Village, other communities and industries facing similar situations, and academia.

“A Peaceful Community with Pride”: Contextualizing Village History before the 1980s Agreement

Progress Village began as an attempt to avoid racial upheaval as the nation underwent urban renewal and struggles for civil rights. For Florida in the late 1950s, court rulings and race riots elsewhere challenged the current order. Following the lead of Governor Leroy Collins, Whites in power strove to protect the state’s image (and income) as a peaceful tourist destination.

Two projects came together in hopes of revitalizing Tampa: interstate construction and urban renewal. Here, African Americans lived only in a handful of segregated areas, the most desired being government-sponsored housing projects, as they had electricity and indoor plumbing. The City of Tampa characterized the majority of Black housing as slums, and construction of the federal interstate provided a chance

to remove these in-town Black neighborhoods. The story of Progress Village begins with one Black minister seeing the upcoming displacement of his parishioners and seeking a solution.

The Reverend W. S. Banfield approached a prominent Jewish merchant in Tampa, Harold Wolf, in hopes of creating “a joint racial effort to ameliorate the impact of the dislocations” (Alicea 1986). Reverend Banfield was new to Tampa, being assigned to the Mount Calvary Seventh Day Adventist Church in 1956, but took strong interest in the welfare of his parishioners (London 2009). Wolf, owner of Wolf Brothers of Florida, the premier menswear store in Tampa, adopted this cause as his civic duty (Wolf 1959). He recruited a biracial committee of 18 prominent businessmen to form a new nonprofit they termed Progress Village, Inc. (PVI). Led by Cody Fowler, a White lawyer and former president of the American Bar Association, and the White banker and rancher Robert Thomas (Alicea 1986) as president and vice president (respectively), board leadership was rounded out with N.H. Martin, a Black man who was President of the Central Life Insurance Company, as another Vice President and the dynamic Afro-Cuban Aurelio Fernandez as Secretary (Alicea 1986). The full board had nine White and nine Black businessmen: James A. Griffin, Jr., Paul H. Smith, Jr., Ben D. Griffin, Harold Wolf, James Hargrett, Fred C. Billing, Romeo Gibbs, Joseph F. Cornelius, Perry Harvey, Sr., R. Ambler Liggett, M. R. Silas, A. J. Grimaldi, Ray Williams, and C. Blythe Andrews (Thirteenth Judicial Circuit of Florida 1958). By this time, Reverend Banfield was elected President of the local NAACP chapter, whose politics differed strongly from the new PVI board. Rev. Banfield was commended for his work by the mayor (Moseley 1959)

as the new board began its task of establish decent housing for Tampa’s Black residents whose homes were facing destruction.

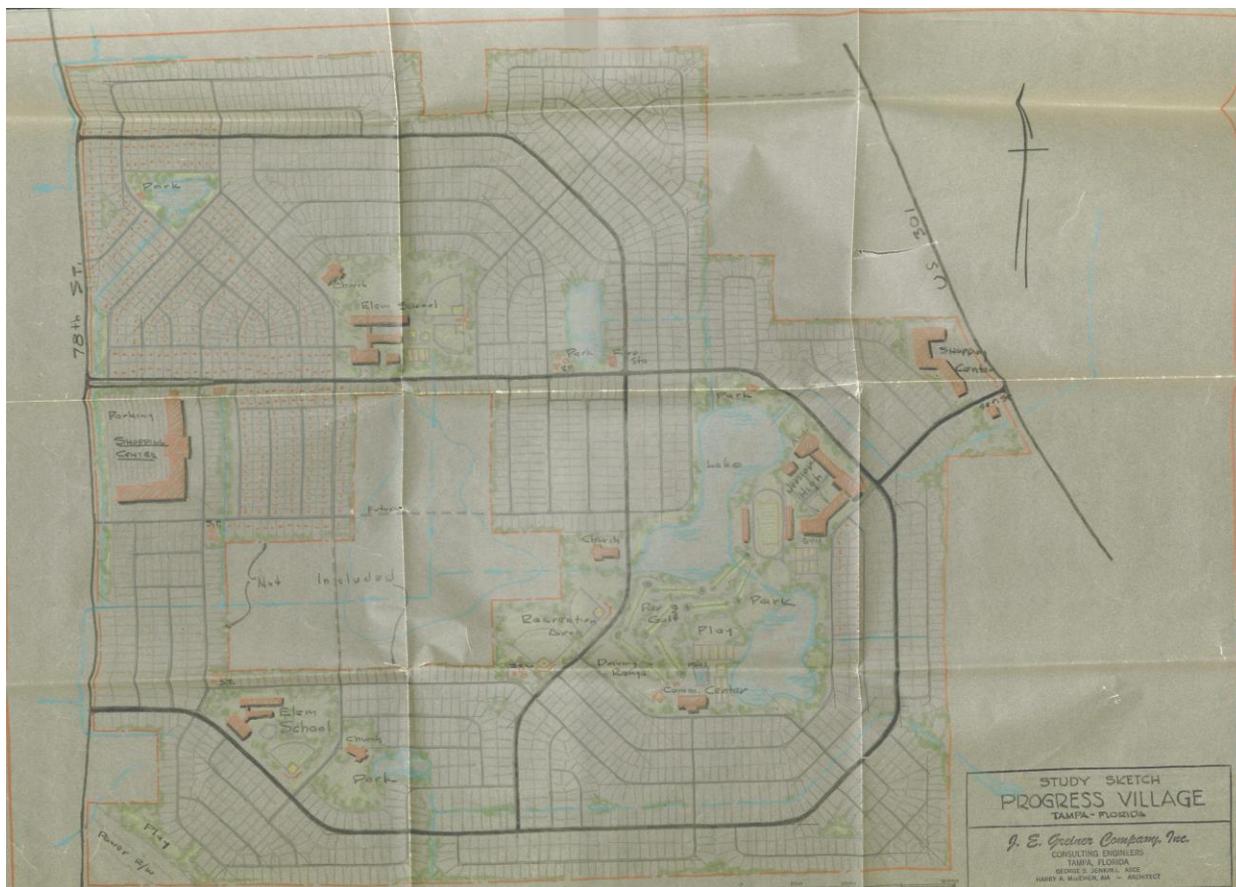


Figure 3: Diagram of intended Progress Village construction (Jenkins & MacEwen 1958, photo by author)

PVI believed their purpose was “to create a community where our Negro citizens could, with dignity, live and rear their families with all the advantages that any section of our City enjoys” (PFI 1960). To this end, they optioned land southeast of the city and hired a firm to draft plans for an all-inclusive suburban area for Black citizens of the city. Diagrams of this large planned development included a golf course, multiple shopping areas, and a full set of schools (See Figure 3). To enable such large construction plans with little up-front capitol, the nonprofit enlisted 13 different builders to construct the homes, consolidated under the umbrella of Progress Sales,

Inc. The idea was resisted on all sides, with White residents of the area claiming the city was trying to dump their problems, and Black leadership resistant to a segregated community away from city resources (Alicea 1986). This was, after all, over five years after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled school segregation illegal, and buying in Progress Village meant opting into continued residential segregation. Yet this group of private businessmen moved ahead and were soon commended for their work by winning the 1959 Lane Bryant Award. This national award of \$1000 went annually to one individual and one group “to encourage voluntary participation in efforts designed to benefit American home and community life” (Lane Bryant Annual Awards 1959). After receiving a citation from the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University for achieving the award’s five criteria, the project was chosen as the national winning group by a panel of five judges including U.S. Senator Keating, author James A. Michener, the editor of “Modern Age”, and presidents of Time, International Rescue Committee, and the National Foundation (Lane Bryant Annual Awards 1959). Archival documents from the founders show a strong moral impetus to provide good housing Black families could own (Wolf 1959). Construction setbacks slightly delayed its start, but by 1960 families began living in their own brand new homes.

This modern neighborhood was to be a Black-owned community of affordable houses; a place where families could purchase a well-made and attractive house with

a yard, enabling them to achieve the American Dream (as pictured in the early advertisement seen in Figure 4). Sold in 1960 for approximately \$200 down and about \$75 a month, these houses were still unaffordable to over three quarters of the city's Black residents (Hammer Maryland Avenue Study 1959). This created a neighborhood of structurally selected Black elites isolated in a rural section of the county 10 miles from the city. These Black elites worked with area power structures to develop Progress Village,



Figure 4: Original advertisement for Progress Village, from a book compiled for the neighborhood's 2006 family reunion (PVCC 2006)

and the first residents accepted continued segregation, all for the change to improve the lives of their families. These elites were not challenging the system, but striving for betterment within the system as it stood.

Early Residents

When residents started moving into Progress Village, they aimed to create the “peaceful community with pride” promised in promotional sales materials (PVCC 2006, McCall 1977). To do so, they made many concessions, including accepting the isolation described by Cynthia, a long-time resident, as “basically once you got home, you were here”. A common neighborhood origin story goes that one of the first residents, Emmanuel P. Johnson, would climb up on his roof at night to see which houses now had

lights. When he spotted a newly-lit house, he would go by the next day to welcome them to what became affectionately called “The Village.”

The only nearby neighborhood, Gibsonton, was a mile south, just across the river from the phosphate plant. A combination of country Whites and wintering circus performers, this area in the opposite direction of Tampa had only a few stores, generally not considered available to Village residents due to racial divisions

In April 1960, the first residents formed the Progress Village Civic Council (‘PVCC’ or ‘Civic Council’) to be the voice of the community. Through the assistance of A.D. Gaither, leader of the Black schools of Hillsborough County (Alicea 1986, 27), this group of residents met in a tool shed on 79th and Flower Avenue. There A.D. Gaither was elected president, with George Lowden as vice president, Alma Randolph as secretary, and Hiawatha Davis as treasurer. As the voice of this new community, the Civic Council fought for basic amenities for the neighborhood. Many of the new residents were young families in which at least one parent held a steady job. The common age of residents helped with community unity, and clubs such as Girl Scouts and a Men’s Club gave more chances for residents to join together. The remaining original residents now talk of the strong sense of community they have from families knowing each other for years. Children would play on the streets without supervision because everyone knew the kids and would tell parents if their kids acted up. Being at a distance from the city solidified this community, because when people came home all they had was each other. Many early documents refer to the residents as pioneers, blazing a new path in unknown and distant lands (McCall 1977, PVCC 1982-4).

Residents still had to contend with the strong and visible racism of the time, and their distance from the city was exacerbated by surrounding residents' opposition to Black people being dumped on their rural countryside. The Alicea (1986) thesis provides many details on the resistance of area residents to the Progress Village plan, including vehement rallies at government meetings opposed to the neighborhood's construction. Progress Village residents of this time continually recount the Klan-controlled area about a mile north of the neighborhood, along with rural, wooded roads going south that seemed intimidating to tread. Only one well-worn route from The Village to Tampa was viable, and even on that road violent outbursts occurred. Villager Stanley Turner got a flat tire headed home on this route in 1964, and was beaten and shot by four White men. He survived and refused to leave the house he purchased (St. Pete Times 2006). Others recall crosses burning in their yards or things being thrown at their cars as they drove past the White neighborhood of Clair-Mel, a planned community for Whites built shortly after Progress Village. The Black families of Progress Village lived with a fear of racially motivated violence intensified by their isolation, yet once within the isolated community there was a general sense of safety and community.

Transitions and Structural Violence

The planned new development of Progress Village was built with conflicting priorities. Outwardly the development desired to increase minority ownership of quality homes, particularly for people displaced by urban renewal, yet leaders also pushed to preserve the city's segregation. Segregation proved the more powerful goal. With less than 21% of Tampa's non-White residents able to afford a house in Progress Village (Hammer Maryland Avenue Study 1959), it is not clear how residents displaced by urban

renewal and interstate construction would afford this relocation. The Hammer study (1959) does not specify a program for providing displacees free or subsidized housing, and this project found no documentation of displacees being relocated to Progress Village. A 1980s study on the early years of Progress Village confirms this finding, stating that none of these displaced residents moved into the Village (Alicea 1986). With so few of Tampa's Black residents able to afford the houses, there were minimal programs to help the rest purchase a home. The Federal Housing Administration 221 certificate program provided home loans, yet these were not promoted to displaced families in an attempt to preserve segregation (Alicea 1986, 35-36). The makers of Progress Village, Inc. applied for 221 loans to be associated only with the development (Thomas & Sullivan 1958), abating White fears the government loans would help Blacks move to White neighborhoods (Alicea 1986). These conditional loans were not enough to bring in displaced Black residents, many of whom did not have steady employment, earned too little as domestic workers, or did not have equity in their homes slated for destruction.

With so few of the target demographic able to afford Progress Village, it became difficult to fill the new houses. In late 1959, Robert Thomas voiced concern at filling even half the 600 houses projected for construction annually (Alecia 1986, 24). For those who moved in, many were unable to maintain ownership. Early residents now attribute this initial stream of foreclosures to many first-time homeowners' lack of experience with traditional loans or home payments. Many missed a monthly payment and were not able to catch up, due in part to a predatory late payment policy. As documented in a letter from a Veterans' Administration representative (David 1961).

homeowners who “were a few days late in submitting” saw their monthly payment “always returned with the request for two payments, which many of them were not able to forward and consequently they became in arrears two, three or four months, and finally had to move” (David 1961, 1). Alicea (1986) also credits unexpectedly high electric bills with pushing owners to leave The Village, along with the Federal government tightening its loan policies for the Section 221 program. These compounding difficulties pushed Progress Village, Inc. into debt from unoccupied houses.

In an attempt to save the project, Progress Village, Inc. handed over authority to Progress Village Sales (the builder consortium) in spring 1961 (Alecia 1986). Unable to fill the houses already constructed and with homes continually in foreclosure, PVI could not pay back its debts. The builder consortium was unable to fill the necessary

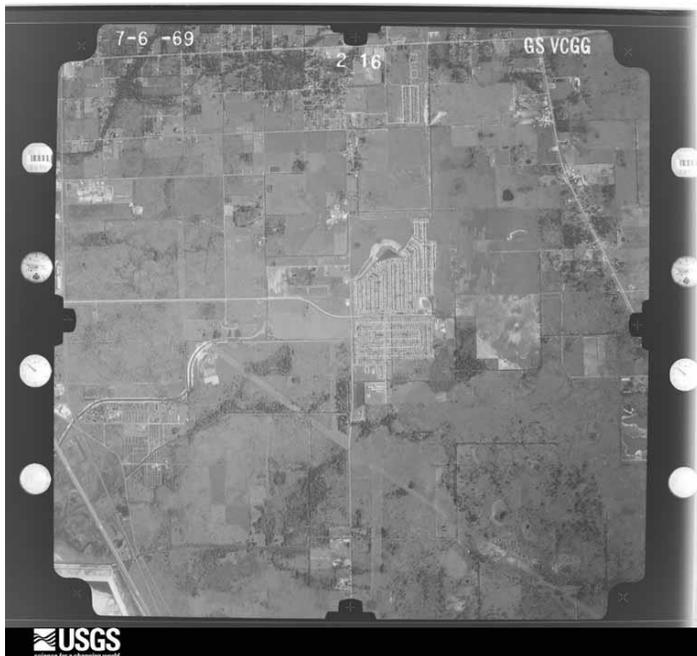


Figure 5: 1969 aerial photograph of Progress Village taken by the U.S. Geological Service. The white square in the lower left corner is an edge of the original gypsum stack. Contrast the neighborhood in this photograph with the plan in Figure 3 (USGS 1969).

300 houses per year, and in spring 1962 decided to stop building new houses. August 1963 saw 248 of the 800 constructed homes vacant (Alicea 1986, 36). In late 1968, PVI president Cody Fowler confirmed to an initial investor their promissory note had no value, stating “the venture was a failure” (Alicea 1986, 37). This failure of infrastructure and support left the residents alone

10 miles from the city, surrounded by hostile neighbors and without promised amenities (see Figure 5).

This was not the end of Progress Village, as the aforementioned Civic Council and other neighborhood organizations fought for community unity and resources. Empty houses were resold to newcomers, and without expansion they began to fill. Some rental houses were filled by military families from the nearby MacDill Air Force Base, as Black servicemen in the 1960s were not allowed to live on base. Other houses were rented for migrant farmworkers, a use opposed by many in the community as the mostly male farmworkers were jammed into houses without basics such as curtains, leading to views considered inappropriate for the family neighborhood. Many of these rental homes were backed by U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) loans, and the community was successful in getting HUD to prohibit rentals at their properties. This temporary provision halted discontent at using this supposedly prosperous neighborhood for farmworkers. Fluctuations in resident density continued, as did struggles for various resources. As the neighborhood approached its third decade, such fluctuations compounded into major change.

1980s: A Decade of Change

The 1980s brought a number of developments that changed the neighborhood's character. In the early 1980s, home values were high and employment opportunities increasing for Tampa's Black residents. With desegregation finally taking root, many residents used such advantages to move to a more prosperous neighborhood. This movement contributed to the loss of the more affluent residents of The Village,

although a number of financially secure residents felt a strong commitment and connection to the neighborhood and would not move away.

Many of the initial residents moved to Progress Village to raise young children, so 20 years since the first arrivals, this first generation of children began leaving for college. Many of them did not return. This follows the community mentality for each generation to progress to an easier and more affluent life. One of these second-generation Villagers, Robert voices this philosophy as follows:

It was always taught to us that I have to do better than my mother and father. It is embedded in us. And my children have to do better than me. So I have to prepare the way for them to be more successful than I am in life. And then it continues to go up hill and then eventually we'll BE. Because we all come from grandparents that were uneducated. You know? But they had... the will that they needed to educate their children.

Many Progress Village children followed this motto by pursuing higher education and finding good jobs and housing in better neighborhoods. Such initial resident relocation left houses empty and threatened community unity.

Another threat to community unity was the drug epidemic that swept the country in the 1980s. This, Robert again describes well:

...when that epidemic came through the community ...we lost a lot. We lost families, families that been staying next to each other for the longest. You lost siblings. And so people kind of started venturing out and going other places. ... The kids [of the original families were] going to college and going to school and leaving, and then that next generation, you had

to think: they send us from the ones that came along and went through the bad times. So now you have everything and that's the way of life, just to get out and hang-out on the corners...

Between the abandonment of the neighborhood by many of the more affluent residents, the original children leaving for college, and those remaining dealing with the impact of the drug epidemic, Progress Village was in a precarious situation in the 1980s.

It was around this time the neighborhood learned a gypsum waste pile was slated for construction across the street from the community. Community leaders, already concerned with the neighborhood's changes, feared this would further lower the value of their property and pose health risks to residents (PVCC 1982-4). The proposed stack was part of the major phosphate industry in Central Florida, bringing with it possibilities of essential economic benefits. In the chapters that follow, this thesis focuses on the community's reaction to this event, eventually signing a legal agreement with the company, and the impacts of this agreement on today's Progress Village.

Untangling and Learning from this Experience

Today Progress Village still stands just east of Tampa, FL with over 800 houses and many more neighboring residences and industry. The 2010 census reports 5,392 people living in the Census-Designated Place (CDP) of Progress Village, FL, including recent upscale housing developments outside Progress Village proper for a total of 2,135 housing units (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). Within this larger designation, just over 50% of residents identify as Black or African American only (ibid.). Compared to Statewide averages, residents have a comparable income, lower poverty levels (11.1% compared to 15.6%), and slightly higher levels of homeownership (ibid.), yet housing prices are

considerably lower than in neighboring areas, currently selling for around \$60,000 while newly built neighboring houses sell for over \$150,000 (Zillow 2016).

To understand Progress Village in context, this project sought out voices from other neighborhoods in the shadow of the same industry. Two representatives from each of three residential groups near Progress Village were interviewed: a mobile home park, the new upper-middle class developments, and historic Gibsonton. Each has an interesting history with strong demographic contrasts to Progress Village. Gibsonton was a rural White frontier neighborhood and a winter home for circus performers long before Progress Village's construction. Today the population of Gibsonton swells with bedroom communities newly constructed along with many migrant farmworkers. Closer to Progress Village, multiple mobile home parks abut the phosphogypsum stack, most noticeably Madison Lane Estates. A long-term resident described this as once the best mobile home park in Tampa, yet no longer in high demand. Finally, during the housing boom at the turn of the 21st century, vacant land surrounding Progress Village was developed into upper-middle class housing developments, placing large new homes less than a mile from the stack. A cursory inquiry into how these three communities view and interact with the industry and Progress Village provides interesting comparisons to the treatment and community context of Progress Village as a historic community of color.

Progress Village offers a unique study of a prosperous Black community facing the structural violence of racism. This can be seen throughout the community's history, from politics at its founding to the community's reputation today. The chapters that follow establish a theoretical base, then tell the story of Progress Village, its

relationship to industry, and what this can teach Progress Village, society, and academia about the relationships between industrial facilities and nearby residential areas.

Chapter 2: Relevance to the Literature

This thesis looks not only inside the community, but also at the individuals and society that created the system in which Progress Village operates. Such multilevel approaches exist in many theoretical frameworks, voiced inclusively through political ecology. Using this frame, this thesis “studies through” the relationship between Progress Village and its major industrial neighbor, Mosaic (Wedel, Shore, Feldman & Lathrop 2005). Typically such relationships are examined through an environmental justice frame, and this thesis continues and critiques this standard analysis. This study would be incomplete without also taking a look at the literature on globalization/industrialization and how this relates to Mosaic’s operations. This chapter examines information from previous studies important in exploring these connections.

Political Ecology and Examining Ecological Levels

Political ecology uses chains of explanation, marginalization, and broadly defined political economy as a framework to explore human-environment interactions (Robbins 2004, 72). Chains of explanation look at the multiple levels that interact in decisions. For instance, determining if an industry will be constructed in an area depends on an individual’s employment and health needs, family status, local support, and the politics and economics underlying business development. Political ecology also takes a broad view of political economy, moving beyond labor and ownership to “encompass a range of spheres in which power is exerted” (Robbins 2004, 80). For Progress Village this includes, decisions of neighborhood placement, resource

allocation, racial segregation, and prioritization of industry. Robbins (2004) also notes the insistence of political ecology in paying attention to marginalization, not only of peoples, but also how combining marginalized groups, land, and economics compounds limited opportunities, leading to “a cycle of social and environmental degradation,” (77). Using political ecology as a guide for this work associates complex and interrelated concepts with a theoretical grounding and history.

There is increasing agreement that societal processes can be understood best by acknowledging and examining the different levels of effects impacting a situation. Within political ecology, chains of explanation (Robbins 2004, 72) examine interactions at various levels show the variety of forces acting upon Progress Village to make it the community it is today. . Multilevel approaches such as the social ecology of health model common in public health (Coreil 2010) direct researchers to consider the individual, interpersonal, regional, state, and global levels to show the interrelated forces impacting one issue. Anthropology often focuses on the interpersonal level, looking at family structures and how this creates relationships between communities. Laura Nader (1972) encouraged anthropologists to instead look at the state and global levels, which she termed “studying up”, to understand the forces exerting power on global operations. Increasingly there are efforts to focus not on one level, but on how one issue is constructed and viewed through multiple ecological levels. This led anthropology of policy to the concept of “studying through” in which the researcher follows a policy from its sources to those it impacts. Taken out of the policy context, such studying through “can illuminate how organizational and everyday worlds are intertwined—and their relationships of power and resources—across time and space”

(Wedel, et al. 2005). While political ecology theory contextualizes societal issues with a broad lens, one key element of this is present in many forms throughout the literature as multi-level models. Understanding how these different theories relate enriches our study and helps bridge disciplinary boundaries. This thesis incorporates the social ecology of health into my political ecology frame, as well as contextualizes how studying-up/studying through is another version of this multi-level model.

Concepts of Power

Theories of power are key to anthropology's understanding of how human society came to be and what dictates current inequities and future changes in societal structure. Hegel and Feuerbach helped initial conceptions of change through articulating the dialectic. This philosophy approaches unitary levels of change, how what *is* constantly presses against what *might be* (Tucker 1978, 106-125). Outside influences pressure the current state of being, leaving a person in a constant yet imperceptible state of change. While Hegel placed emphasis on the mind as the primary reality, Feuerbach and Marx pushed back, insisting on a material world as the reality perceived through the mind of man (ibid). This materialist conception of history is a key tenant of Marxist philosophy, putting importance on a reality outside of human perception that each mind then works to perceive.

Such conceptions continued to be expressed, debated and built upon by later theorists. Bourdieu described habitus as the current way of being that often goes unperceived by the individual or group living within its constructs, only becoming present when challenged (“embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history”, Bourdieu 1990). From this viewpoint, people are most likely to

stay in the worldview into which they were born, with “economic competence... a power tacitly conferred on those who have power over the economy or ... an attribute of status” (Bourdieu 1990, 64). This limits the individual to those activities that are familiar, as they are given disproportionate weight as appropriate behavior in the individual’s mind. From concern with these structures, Bourdieu and the similarly focused Anthony Giddens separately brought these concepts of change to the societal level with practice theory (or to use Giddens’ term, “theory of structuration”) (Giddens 1984). These concepts posit the creation of society using a similar dialectic, with individual human agency pushing against structures, which were initially created through human agency. It is this tightrope between structure and agency that creates and recreates society, but it is power that dictates which structures and agencies will succeed in societal dominance.

Concepts of power have been key to anthropological theory since the 1970s, proposing explanations for how a dominant narrative of society comes about and a process for how agency and structure act upon each other to replicate and change social structures. As defined by Foucault (1982), power is “a way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions.” The philosopher continues that there is no power without struggle by those not in power; in fact this agonism of groups is power’s essence. More recently Paul Farmer popularized the concept of structural violence as societal structures that “constrict the agency of the victims” (Farmer 2004). This manifestation of power shows how the actions of those exerting power limit the options of those without a similar advantageous position.

Yelvington (1995) not only analyzes these power structures, but posits how they are created. In bringing readers back to Marxian political economy, Yelvington asserts that control of the means of production dictate whom in society asserts the most power on societal structure. Those in power, as noted in Bourdieu's habitus discussion, are most likely to remain in power due to their experiencing power as a normative reality. Yelvington mirrors Sacks' (1989) assertion that identity categories such as race, class, and gender are all part of the same system, yet he better articulates how such identities interact with each other and relate to the power to change society. Such identity categories are seen as constructed identities, with those currently dominating society able to project an identity construction into other groups. Each identity has an internal and an external reality, and societal power dictates if your internal identity mirrors its representation at the societal level. In other words, the powerful in society can dictate an identity for those with less power. Unable to refute this subordinate position at a societal level, structural prejudice limits their individual agency.

This functions through the lens of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991). Seen through the positions of women, Europeans, Blacks, and East Indians in Yelvington's discussion of Trinidadian history, marginalized status as a woman can be supplemented by being White or brought back down by being poor or of color. This intersectional approach to identity and power demonstrates how racist/sexist constructs determine an individual's ability to determine the structure of society as seen through their grasp of societal power.

Within this study, the phosphate industry's regional economic contribution allows it to exert power on governmental approvals and against community protests,

enabling it to pursue its desired development plans. Simultaneously, the historically White leadership of Tampa also structures the possibilities for the marginalized Black community. Studying similar trends, Laura Pulido (2000) examines the role of White supremacy in constraining Los Angeles housing patterns, impacting communities' relationships to structures of power. These play into a broader discussion of race relations in the United States, exploring how such concepts of power interact with the agency of the individual in being able to determine the future for their community and themselves.

Environmental Justice

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA 2011) defines environmental justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies.” Fighting for such fair development and environmental protections led to the development of an environmental justice movement, where communities, scholars, and other interested parties strove to achieve this equitable ideal. The neighborhoods within this movement typically consist of local residents from a poor or minority neighborhood that organize against a perceived health threat from local industrial pollution. Called environmental justice communities, these neighborhoods fight because “no group of people should bear a disproportionate burden of environmental harms and risks, including those resulting from the negative environmental consequences of industrial, governmental, and commercial operations or programs and policies” (EPA 2011). Such struggles often highlight an adversarial relationship between

local residents and industry (Bullard 1990; Checker 2005; UCC 1987). This thesis highlights how the conditions of environmental justice exist separately from the community's reaction, as Progress Village possesses elements of environmental injustice but does not choose this as a community organizing focus.

The modern environmental justice movement originated in the southern United States when people in Warren County, North Carolina abandoned not in my backyard (NIMBY) resistance to a hazardous waste disposal site placement and adopted a social justice frame of disproportionate harm to low-income and minority communities (McGurty 2000). After years of studies that demonstrated environmental justice was a systemic problem (UCC 1987, USGAO 1983), Bill Clinton signed Executive Order 12898 (Executive Office of the President 1994) requiring the Federal Government to consider environmental justice in all its operations. The environmental justice call for equity spread around the world, making environmental justice an established and tested framework to examine global health disparities faced by poor and minority communities (Brulle and Pellow 2006; Szasz and Meuser 1997). While not a common topic in today's anthropology, there are many anthropologists who find a way to engage these discussions (see, c.f., Johnston 2001). In the 30 years since the first environmental justice studies, methods of investigation moved beyond spatial proximity to investigate topics such as risk perception and plume analysis based on specific chemicals and weather patterns (Nweke et al. 2011, Chakraborty & Armstrong 1997). Beyond the academy, community organizations continue to lead the environmental justice struggles, now with increased use of lay scientific monitoring and ground-truthing (Public Lab 2014, Sadd et al. 2013).

Scholarly environmental justice research developed concepts to illustrate various impacts of environmental justice on the affected community. For instance, people facing developments may already have risk perceptions shadows from previous experience, making them “predispos[ed] to distrust projects involving potential adverse health or social impacts and to doubt agency or company statements regarding the potential dangers associated with these projects” (Stoffle et al. 1988). If the project goes through, the community is likely to experience “toxic frustration” (Singer 2011): when residents believe the environment is unhealthy and that nearby businesses are the cause, “but also believe there is not much they can do about it given their socioeconomic status and the unresponsiveness of the local or state government” (Singer 2011). This relates to power imbalances between marginalized communities and the government. As environmental justice concerns often impact communities facing other institutional barriers, community members must find the time and motivation to fight through such disillusionment. If they fight, they must then learn the scientific language of health risks and how to navigate governmental systems (Checker 2007). Research in environmental justice helps illustrate the plethora of barriers faced by a marginalized community when combating nearby industrial development.

While much was learned and achieved from such strong environmental justice struggles, critical environmental justice studies investigate the range of reactions to unjust and unsafe development, often more complicated than uniform grassroots opposition. Johnson and Niemeyer (2008) profile a community on the U.S.-Mexico borderlands where a landscape with clear environmental justice implications contains residents who view the land as making them prosperous and proud. Mark Moberg’s

(2002) study in a low-income Alabama community provides an example of residents viewing industry positively and avoiding confrontation. As the area's main source of income, community members who spoke-out against the chemical processing plant were shunned, and most residents ignored health risks. These join other critical environmental justice papers that use frames of sustainability or productive justice (Agyeman, Bullard, & Evans 2003; Pellow & Brulle 2005). Productive justice explores "the links between rampant consumption in the North [i.e., powerful centers] and environmental degradation and economic devastation in the South [i.e., marginalized communities], [which] ensures a regional spatial perspective, and would allow residents... to align with a wide range of other movements committed to global justice." (Johnson & Neimeyer 2008) This thesis documents another approach to a situation of environmental injustice that supplements the nuanced critical environmental justice literature, this time examining the impacts of cooperation with the major industry.

Risk

Key to the environmental justice literature is the scholarly research on risk, including risk perception (Slovic 1987) and risk communication (e.g., Aven & Renn 2010). This prolific area of research looks at how a person identifies and contextualizes what around them may be harmful, including the weight they give to the potential harm. Scholarship on risk communication examines how to best talk about dangers to not incite panic (e.g., the risk of a terror attack) or to inspire positive action (e.g., inspiring a change in diet to prevent diabetes). One specific framework that focuses on the many social factors that increase or lessen the perception of certain hazards is the Social Amplification and Attenuation of Risk Framework (SARF) (Kasperson & Kasperson

1996). This framework not only identifies the social factors that influence a person's risk perception, but also the consequences of such perceptions such as how perceived contamination can lower home values and stigmatize an area. Risk is notoriously difficult to accurately conceptualize, with people more likely to accept risk if they feel they have control over the situation, while situations where they have little power to change the outcome are seen as high risk (Slovic 1987). Perceptions of risk have little to do with the actual risk present, making proper communication of risk essential to not inciting undue worry.

Social Determinants of Health and Health Equity

Emerging recently in health fields is the concept of social determinants of health, which refers to the social and environmental factors that influence health status and quality of life. They “include the cumulative effects of current, or even a lifetime of exposure to conditions of living that combine to influence health status; many of these conditions of living are beyond the control of the individual.” Some determinants are a person's “history and culture, levels and distribution of employment and education, housing, the availability and cost of health insurance, and the safety of neighborhoods.” (Green & Kreuter 2005) Such social determinants “broadly include both societal conditions and psychosocial factors, such as opportunities for employment, access to health care, hopefulness, and freedom from racism.” (Brennan Ramirez, Baker, & Metzler, 2008)

The fact that social factors beyond an individual's control impact a person's health is well known in anthropology, but this acknowledgement by the health fields presents an opportunity to contextualize such social findings to benefit the treatment

of minorities in the healthcare system. Showing that such determinants lead to different health outcomes (i.e., health disparities) that result in lower health status for minority communities has led to a call for health equity, in which “everyone has the opportunity to attain their full health potential and no one is disadvantaged from achieving this potential because of their social position or other socially determined circumstance,” (Brennan Ramirez, Baker, & Metzler, 2008, 6) Calls for health equity come from scholarly and community sources, again connecting impacted communities to academia. The health equity movement can serve classic environmental justice communities, as they are minority communities exposed to an adverse social determinant outside their control that cause health disparities. Less dramatic situations also call for health equity. For example, place studies demonstrates how safe space to exercise and other seemingly superficial changes affect human biology (Cummins, Curtis, Diez-Roux, & Macintyre 2007). Recent research in epigenetics also shows how factors of racism like segregation and stress manifest in health outcomes (Combs-Orme 2012). Such concepts show that many factors lead to the disparity in health outcomes in this country, including subtle and systematic circumstances that prevent communities from attaining the levels of health experienced by those in the majority or those with wealth. Read this way, the adverse social determinants of health experienced by minority communities are the structural violence that lessens community member health.

Global Industrialization Trends

So far in examining community-industry relations we have examined the theory of community health as well as relations between community and industry, but it is also

important to examine the dictates of industry operations. This speaks to Nader's (1972) call to study-up as we strive to understand the social forces motivating industrial relations, even as this thesis itself looks to study through the relations leading to and deriving from one legal agreement. Modern industry occurs at a global stage, drawing resources and fending competition from across the world. While such globalization is not new, technology allows such flows of information to happen at a pace that changes global relations (Cooper 2001). The major industry near Progress Village differs from many of the theoretical literature on corporations and extractive industries due to its unique place-based and hazardous nature, yet still conforms to many of the criticisms of capitalism.

Marx explains that capitalism follows a chain of money becoming a commodity to become more money (Tucker 1978, 329-336), which requires continual reinvestment of this profit in operation in order to continue company growth. Finding places to invest this profit requires ever-expanding markets and appropriation of new capital (Klein 2010). Neoliberalism paves the way for such expansion by removing regulatory constraints on businesses, "hold[ing] that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and [this] seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market" (Harvey 2005, 3). Such expansion arguments do not address if it is possible to have continual growth, what happens when markets are fully saturated, or the implications of powerful companies moving into foreign markets.

Operating within the system's need to continually expand, the major industry by Progress Village—a phosphate business named The Mosaic Company, Inc.—began as a

merger and continues its global alliances, mergers, and growth. Such mergers mean consolidation of the industry and lessening of competition, which goes against the stated goals of capitalism. Yet following the reasoning of Robert McChesney (2000), such consolidation of the industry, first nationally and now globally, is to be expected. Although free market rhetoric espouses competition as the driving factor behind capitalism's success, in reality companies resist competition at all costs. Coming from unequal power relations, there is not equal access for anyone entering the market, and those who are in power use their advanced resources to marginalize the competition. After all, "the less competition a firm has, the less risk it faces and the more profitable it tends to be" (McChesney 2000, 9). Thus if a small company enters the market with an idea whose profit infringes on the profit of an established company, the large company will likely attempt to integrate the competitor through a buy-out, a merger, or simply finding a way to replicate the successful product. Thus most markets in the U.S. are oligarchies, meaning "a small handful of firms—ranging from two or three to as many as a dozen or so—thoroughly dominate the market's output and maintain barriers to entry that effectively keep new market entrants at bay" (McChesney 2000). As the dominant phosphate and potash company in the United States, Mosaic only faces competition at a global level.

For local plants, Mosaic ensures they can access phosphate deposits through intensive public relations and branding efforts to ingratiate the company to residents and politicians. Such branding of businesses was brought academic and popular attention by Naomi Klein (2002), who found branding efforts go beyond advertising to encompass an image that became added value. Focusing on this "value added" that

could create large profits, many businesses lightened-up by no longer producing tangible products. By contracting-out the actual production, they could focus on creating demand for their brand image, enabling higher prices and consumer loyalty. This pushes a trend among capitalists to devalue labor in order to boost profits (Harvey 1989) to an extreme, divorcing the labor of producing a product from the product's end value. Corporate branding thus is a means to increase the value added on a product divorced from the product's use or inherent value.

Such devaluing of labor power has led to an increasing trend towards temporary labor (Klein 2002), especially in the creative fields (Deuze 2007). The contemporary workstyles described by Deuze highlight a reliance on the individual to secure his or her own well-being and forgoing the workplace-based or government/union backed job security more common in Fordist labor practices (Harvey 1989). Quoting Beck, Deuze (2007) describes a current workstyle "marked by uncertainty, paradox, and risk." This applies to Deuze's 'creative class' that includes educated tech employees (Rodino-Colocino 2006) as well as offshore manufacturing workers described by Klein. Both processes divorce the multinational corporation from the production of tangible goods, be it by producing mainly ideas and services (e.g., scientists, artists, designers, educators, media) or by buying the goods from a cheap outside source.

Mosaic itself still produces a tangible product, although it reduces costs by not marketing directly to customers. The biological importance of phosphate and its impact on increased crop production (to both be discussed in Chapter 4) create a significant secondary market. As in phosphate's tie to place, this field bucks industrialization trends by having a business based on physical on-site production. Even so Mosaic still

participates in the business trend towards temporary labor by hiring contractors for tangential jobs including conducting environmental impact assessments, hiring personnel, large equipment repair, and leading community-based initiatives such as Community Advisory Panels (CAPs). In fact for 2014, Mosaic honored 134 companies for their safety records while contracting for Mosaic in its 4 counties of operation in Central Florida (Mosaic 2015a). This reflects the broader trend of workforce flexibility in the creative class, as the contracted engineers, mechanics, and community organizers are only loosely tied to the production process. They lend their intellectual expertise, then move on to other contracted jobs. The engineers are typically employed by an outside firm, which must secure a continual series of contracts to keep moving, and engineers may be paid by the job but more likely on salary with benefits. Using an outside agency to hire plant staff creates another layer of impersonalization and removal between the corporation and the employee. The person running the CAPs is a fully independent contractor, subscribing to the “portfolio lifestyle” described by Deuze (2007), in which jobs must be continually earned with no security for future work or support in case of a change in life circumstance. Mosaic can justify hiring such outside contractors for intellectual or creative work, yet they still maintain a workforce on-site to manage day-to-day operations.

Physical demands of running a heavy industry like phosphate mining and processing yields another reason besides local approval to hire long-time employees for plant operations. The most immediate reason for not engaging fully in temporary labor practices is the specialized knowledge required for phosphate operations, and the dangerous consequences of failure. Phosphate processing involves huge amounts of

heated sulfuric acid, phosphoric acid, and large processing and transportation machinery creating a dangerous work environment. For instance, on April 22, 2015, a 12-year employee fell into a vat of phosphoric acid and received severe burns (Silcox & Maloney 2015). With such potential for harm, Mosaic can minimize injuries by maintaining a well-trained and experienced workforce for day-to-day operations.

Phosphate is rarely covered outside of industrial hygiene literature or chemistry, yet other extractive industries are a common theme in anthropology. Most focus on energy production such as oil or natural gas extraction that are more visible than phosphate, with extraction sites spread across more locales including places with political power. This is especially true of recent activism against fracking, where privileged communities not often impacted by extraction now see the negative impacts on their community (Willow & Wylie 2014). Many narratives address local struggles, in particular cases in which indigenous groups fight against intrusion by international corporations that spoils pristine land and endangers health. As with environmental justice, these narratives tend to follow an embittered and wronged minority community. While such stories of resistance are important and lend elements to broader theoretical discussions, this is not the case of Mosaic in Central Florida.

As the major business near Progress Village, phosphate processing contradicts many of the trends of modern industrialization while maintaining a capitalist logic of temporary labor and expansion through mergers. The unique nature of phosphate extraction and processing ties Mosaic to limited locations, transferring power to the locality. The company's aggressive marketing campaign proactively creates a feeling of

indebtedness for regional residents, making them welcome the industry. This thesis further explores the execution of these efforts and its impact on local communities.

Conclusion

Few people know of Progress Village, and many in the Tampa area questioned why I would focus on this unknown neighborhood. For example, while the community organization's filing cabinets are bursting with records including a community directory, reunion booklet, and a decade-old needs assessment, there exist very limited published information on the community (Alicea 1986, Briscoe & McClain 2000). Even in its anonymity, understanding this community requires extensive theoretical groundings encompassing political ecology, risk, social determinants of health, and global industrialization trends. Throughout these discussions lie interactions of power, particularly as examined by the environmental justice movement.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Over two years have passed since 2014 when I first began work in Progress Village. In this time, my relationships and participation have gone through many phases, refining my understanding of the key issues and workings of this neighborhood. In order to build from initial inquiries into a community-based project, I spent consistent time in the neighborhood for the first year and a half of this research, averaging at least a day a week for much of this time. After a formative research period, including conducting a variety of class research projects, I began thesis research (see Appendix A for letters approving both phases of research by the institutional review board and community partners), with semi-structured interviews providing tangible records of resident perceptions. Recordings and transcripts of these interviews combined with field notes from my participant observation and archival research provide the documentation for this thesis. Such community engagement came from a desire for my research to contribute meaningfully to the neighborhood. To this end I followed the guidance of activist anthropology, although this proved difficult as this neighborhood is not “organized in struggle” (Hale 2008) on environmental justice issues. This chapter examines approaches taken in this research, including specifying the information gathered and ethical concerns engaged.

Developing Community-based Research

As I chose to attend a graduate school program focused on applied anthropology, it is important to me that my thesis research engage community-based approaches. These encompass a number of named models and theories, including community-based participatory research, participatory action research, action research, community-based prevention marketing, and activist anthropology (Faridi, Grunbaum, Gray, Franks, & Simoes 2007; Holt et al. 2014; Monaghan et al 2008; Nabudere 2008; Williamson & Brown 2014). While each variant credits different originations and emphasizes different aspects, each respects the knowledge of local communities and prioritizes community member engagement in the research project. These initiatives seek to avoid one-sided knowledge extraction for academic benefit and to encourage local impact. Coming from my work in human rights organizing, my hope was to use the variant of activist anthropology, which I discuss in depth in the next section.

While I knew community engagement would ground my approach, my path into a research site built slowly. Upon entering graduate school I believed environmental justice was a cross-cutting topic needing more attention from the academic community, addressing such issues as race relations in the United States, health, power, and community organization. This fit within my dual degree Masters' program, in which I also study public health, in regards to community health. Both public health and anthropology literature, highlight the importance of not just looking at the most egregious violations, but paying attention to how issues impact communities not raising active opposition.

Through discussing my interests, I heard of a community near my University that fit this motif, possessing the landmarks of an “environmental justice community” but without opposing the nearby industries. This became part of a broader story, one of a nation that many now call postindustrial, yet with much still being produced and initiatives to bring back currently outsourced production. If the U.S. pushes an industrial revival, will it increase the incidence of environmental injustice? Will Black, Brown communities continue to bear a disproportionate portion of industrial risks? Will the industries be adversaries to the local communities, or can they be assets? The community recommended to me, Progress Village, offered an intriguing relationship where resistance turned to a partnership with the main local industry. I began this thesis work to see if their story held lessons that could aid or warn in our country’s future industrial development.

Believing this community could work for my research, I then tried to get to know what I could about the area. After reading the scant news stories I could find and conducting a mostly fruitless academic search, I went to see it myself. I was struck by the amount of large, possibly harmful businesses I encountered in the areas west of the neighborhood. The community’s websites did not have contact information and I did not have a campus connection to make the introduction, so again I went to the community. Stopping in a business I was given a phone number and from there snowballed referrals until I met many of the neighborhood’s leaders. This was done as part of my graduate course on anthropological research methods, for which I interviewed a number of these leaders and other recommended contacts about a key

moment in the community's history regarding industries, the time they signed a legal benefits agreement with the phosphate company (discussed in depth in Chapter 4).

After these initial conversations, the presidents of the local organizations agreed I could volunteer with the community as I worked towards conducting my thesis. For nearly a year before I began my official thesis research, I conducted a series of class research projects in the neighborhood, as well as an internship with the community organizations. This initial research provided information on the 1980s agreement, neighborhood structure and history, and perspectives from industry and government representatives. I interviewed government regulators at the national and local level, two sets of employees at the company, and took a tour of a phosphate processing plant. I also constructed GIS maps of the area, including zoning divisions, poverty levels, and a historical progression of area development. Approved under IRB# Pro00019967, this formative research was presented at the 2014 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, in a report for the USF Office of Community Engagement, at the 2015 North Carolina Environmental Justice Network Summit, and in class papers. Conducting this work was essential to both building connections and trust within the community, helping facilitate thesis interviews and increasing my understanding of the area. Without such formative work, I doubt the interviews would be as insightful or my research questions and methods as targeted. As a previously unknown White academic in a majority Black neighborhood, such comfort and trust with my participants was invaluable.

Lessons from Attempting Activist Anthropology

Activist anthropology is part of a long history of anthropologists applying their research to social change. It posits that explicitly allying with the community under study can benefit academic rigor, theoretical knowledge, and social progress. This is similar to other community-based research approaches, in particular participatory action research, but it stands out for its emphasis on social justice and its growing use within anthropology. While there is debate on the exact meaning of “activist research” (Pulido 2008, Craven & Davis 2013, Sanford & Angel-Ajani 2006), the academic most responsible for championing this theoretical approach, Charles R. Hale, states that the researcher needs to “ally themselves with an organized group in struggle” (Hale 2008, 20). This is an ideal that proved difficult to achieve in this thesis, yet such challenges of implementation inform the benefits and limitations of such an approach.

Activist anthropology works best in situations of activism. While the leadership and residents of Progress Village fight for the betterment of their community, they display little interest in this thesis’s concern with resident-industry relations. While much can be learned working within the self-identified struggles of a community, such aspects of struggle are only one component of human reality. If activist researchers *are* to study only areas of articulated resistance, then academia would miss the complicated realities of daily life. This thesis takes many of the lessons learned from working with communities in struggle and applies them within an everyday setting. Not all activist anthropology research designs held, yet incorporating community-based ideals such as allyship, positionality, and respecting local knowledge guided and strengthened this research.

Academics who ally with a marginalized community must first address the history of exploitation and oppression that leads many groups to mistrust academics and outsiders that “swoop in, collect what [they] need from a community, and then move on” (Pulido 2008, 351). Many communities will only trust and communicate freely if a researcher demonstrates their political commitment to the fight at hand (Vargas 2008, Speed 2008, Stuesse 2016), thus if the community understands and trusts the researcher’s intents it often leads to greater access.

By grappling with their role, history, and impacts on the community, a research improves research quality, depth, and direct community benefits. To do so a researcher must understand and make known why they are involved in this research, their political commitments, and plans for the study’s impacts and outcomes. When done with the community, this often increases trust and thus researcher access. Questioning their own motivations and receiving feedback from community members also increases scholarly rigor. Anthropology’s critical turn in the 1970s and incorporating insights such as strong objectivity and standpoint theory from feminist ethnographers like Haraway (1988) and Harding (1993) led anthropology to recognize how acknowledgement of a researcher’s positioning strengthens an argument. As “knowledge production cannot be value free” (Gordon 1991, 153) and “our representations of others [are] products of our own social positioning” (Speed 2008, 3), it becomes increasingly clear that such researcher acknowledgement of their positioning best presents results that can be compared with the work of others and lead to a composite picture of society.

There is much to learn outside of academia, and anthropologists recognize our form of academic knowledge is not knowledge’s only valid form. Nabudere (2008)

describes an arbitrary division of knowledge, with “bourgeois science” or “luxury knowledge production” valued to the detriment of common people’s knowledge. Since the critical turn there have been numerous theorists giving voice to lay knowledge, from the “spontaneous philosophy” of the working class described by Gramsci to “common people’s science” described by Fals-Borda (in Nabudere 2008). Activist Anthropology approaches locals as collaborators with special skills, particularly their “unique knowledge of the immediate conditions of their struggles” (Hale 2008, 21) that make “social contradictions and political struggles... generative sources of knowledge” (Hale 2008, 23). This is also an aim of this research, learning from residents who best know the community. Such inclusion of practical critiques and other forms of knowledge strengthens academic theories by ensuring their validity in the real world.

Ensuring research is useful to the community begins in designing what questions to ask. Irrelevant questions will be difficult for locals to internalize and fight for application of results. At worst, conducting research not of interest to the community simply extracts their knowledge to benefit the researcher and distant others without returning value to research participants. Developing questions for this thesis used insights from the year of formative research to fine-tune an approach acceptable to the community and cognizant of current political lines. Community leaders were open to my interest in relationships with nearby industries, yet they did not feel this as a pressing concern. They were open to knowing if environmental dangers are present so they could make informed decisions, yet my skill and timing did not allow for a full epidemiological study. Often “recogniz[ing] difference and different forms of oppression, yet form[ing] our politics around common overlapping goals” (Speed 2008,

6) can lead to strong, collaborative research questions and a product more likely continue after conclusion of the formal research. Such collaborative development of the research project was an aim of action anthropology in the 1950s (Tax 1952), yet funding structures and traditional academic programs often frowned on entering the field without concrete research questions. For a while I considered changing the research questions to the community's interest in simple community development: how to increase participation in community organizations and help the youth avoid drugs and violence. This included preserving and building reverence to the community's unique history. Yet the community was supportive of my pursuit of the other questions, and with encouragement from my advisor I went ahead with research questions approved by but not developed with the community. Such an approach would not work for participatory action research (Freire 1982, Benmayor 1991) or action research (Tax 1952), as these require working from the desires of the community. Following activist anthropology, this research defined areas of mutual interest to both the organized community and the researcher.

While the community and I have different research interests, we found common ground in research questions that explored community development related to area development, answers to which help community leaders in their work as well as fitting my research interests. My research and interview questions were written to gather the information desired by the community about organizing for community improvements, made available at the study's conclusion in de-identified form for community use. Residents who were not involved in community leadership also heard during the interviews of the neighborhood's organizations and initiatives, and if requested I helped

them get in touch with community leaders. Many of the new residents voiced interest and surprise at some of the community initiatives and appreciated my getting them in contact with community leaders to become involved, although I have no evidence of these connections leading to long-term involvement with community organizations. Thus, although the community and I had different interests, the interviews still provided mutually beneficial information on the current state of the neighborhood and its organizing, which will be provided to the community to use in planning future organizing efforts.

Not all writing is for all audiences. It is important first choose the audience for a piece and then craft a corresponding style and format. As acknowledged in the ethical guidelines of the Society for Applied Anthropology (2015), researchers have responsibilities to various communities (i.e., the people we study, the communities ultimately affected, our social colleagues, our students, our employers, and society as a whole). As with the various ecological levels of political ecology, researchers should consider the audience to effectively target our products.

Formatting the knowledge gained from my research in a way useful to the community is primary to my research philosophy. In acknowledging the different types of knowledge, the history of Western knowledge extraction, and devaluation of local knowledge, it is ethically essential to ensure information gained from the community is returned in a form beneficial to the community. In this spirit of reciprocity, publications and other documents requested by community leaders are a priority, attempting formats for easy community consumption. This includes the anonymized interview responses mentioned earlier to be shared with community leadership. Such new

products join work created during the exploratory research phase, including a new website for the Foundation, website updates for the Civic Council, providing photographs for community events, and digitizing most of the Foundation's archives. This thesis itself is also a public document accessible to community members, although I am conscious few will likely feel compelled to read the full document. This is why other documents shall be developed in forms more likely to be absorbed by community members. Such community engagement throughout this thesis continues the reciprocal relationship desired in the activist anthropology framework.

Anthropology is quick to point out the lack of a unified perspective within social groups, and Progress Village is no exception. While there is a clear division between new and long-time residents, serious divisions remain among the long-time residents. This often relates to historical conflicts of personality or life perspective, and makes receiving a unified opinion from leaders rife with politics. This extends to a difference of opinion on how to handle the distribution of information from this thesis to the neighborhood. The full document will be publically accessible and an electronic copy will be sent to participants who provided an email address. A hard copy will also be printed and given to the community for their records. This lengthy document is not the best format for inspiring use of this data in the community, yet community-based research teaches results are best absorbed in the community when community members are involved in their formation and distribution. Therefore, what segments to parse out and emphasize for community dissemination and use will receive feedback from community members, including from my presentations of this thesis at community meetings. Due to divisions within the community, these targeted documents may not

emphasize what I see as my project's main conclusions. This balance between sharing results and honoring the knowledge and varying concerns of community leaders takes finesse not often discussed in graduate school.

This thesis intended an activist approach, yet Progress Village leadership does not see themselves as an organized group in struggle with anything outside common, locally based community problems like property crime, neighborhood cleanliness, and links to public resources. Society most often operates within such normalcy, and it is in such spaces there is much to learn. While many communities organize for basic improvements, only some communities link this organization to an analysis of societal injustice that places them in direct conflict with local and possibly (inter)national power structures. Those not explicitly organizing against power structures such as the government, societal racial prejudice, or a corporation, are still located within a society with these elements that, for better or worse, impact their well-being. Focus by academics and journalists only on the groups organized in opposition appears to acknowledge that these situations only exist when combatted. Paying attention to how such structures impact daily life exposes hereto unacknowledged methods of resistance, acquiescence, or simply differing perspectives of this experience (see Johnson and Niemeyer 2008).

Some activist academics believe work for a community and research in the community do not need to be one and the same (Pulido 2008). Hallmarks of community-based research--including positionality, allyship, accountability, respecting local knowledge, and attention to products--were possible without mutual research questions. Building from community-based research and in particular activist research,

this thesis strives to work with and benefit the local community, the academy, and other communities facing industrial development.

Methods and Analysis

In order to answer the research questions, a variety of methods (commonly referred to as “mixed methods”) were used to gather information. Participant observation, a hallmark of anthropological research, provided an understanding of the community and built relationships that aided in recruiting residents for semi-structured interviews. To these on-the-ground methods, I added government and archival data and unsuccessfully attempted a GIS analysis of area hazards.

Participant observation:

My time in Progress Village included internship and volunteer work, during which I was able to engage in participant observation to learn what it is to be a Villager. By attending events and volunteering at the community organization offices I was able to ethnographically engage with the community and learn from the wealth of history within the office archives. Starting with being onsite one to two times a week over the summer of 2014, I visited the community as possible through the writing of this thesis. Early on this meant scanning the community’s archives, attending events when possible, and joining various community organizations including a food giveaway and a senior program. During thesis research I visited the senior center at least once a month to provide interested seniors training on computers. I also continued occasional volunteer work for the food giveaway and participated in community events such as the MLK talent show, Civic Council meetings, the Back to School Bash, and the neighborhood family reunion, where I often took pictures both for my project and the Civic Council. Such community engagement was at the agreement of community leaders and not only

demonstrates my commitment to the community, but also the traditional anthropological method of participant observation.

Considered the foundation of cultural anthropology (Bernard 2011, 256), participant observation is “establishing rapport and learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up. ... Participant observation involve[s] immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion so you can intellectualize what you’ve seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly” (Bernard 2011, 258). There are many ways to conduct this work, from simply being in the community to more formal engagements with an event where you immediately record the experience (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte 2013). One type of structured participant observation is the go-along method (Kusenbach 2003), where a researcher shadows someone through their day or a distinctive activity, which I often did with my key informants. Another type of participation observation includes informal interviewing (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002), which was key to my understanding the neighborhood as I spoke with people during my walks around the neighborhood and during volunteer activities. This important anthropological method helped me understand Progress Village and know what subjects to tackle or avoid in more formal settings.

Participant observation helped answer the first two research questions on the history and current interactions of Progress Village with industry. Such data was recorded in field notes written up after each engagement, often supplemented by voice notes or archival documents. Voice notes were transcribed verbatim and compiled with written notes to document my interactions and thoughts on how the neighborhood

operates and relations between residents. While I met some people through my work with the community organizations, most of my strongest contacts came from this volunteer work with the community organizations, which helped me stay informed of community happenings. On top of being an entry point and recruitment tool for thesis interviews, participant observation itself helped inform my understanding of the neighborhood and its daily life, and my field notes from each visit document the changes in the neighborhood during my two years present.

Interviews:

Another key component of this thesis work comprised targeted semi-structured interviews with an adult household representative, the best method for when the researcher has only one chance to interview someone (Bernard 2011, 157). I drafted an IRB approved interview guide with prompts for different community groupings (e.g., original residents, those who have since moved), and used this to cover topics of interest while allowing the interviewee to lead conversation in new directions that I probed for more information. Most interviews used a guide for area residents, although a different guide was needed for government and industry representatives. Such interviews are key in answering all three research questions, learning directly from interviewees their experiences with industry. While I intended to interview 30 people, difficulties with recruitment led to my only conducting 23 interviews, using the interview guide to ensure topic consistency that aided analysis. Even in not reaching the target interview number, interviews gained sufficient coherent ideas to draw conclusions, although industry representatives were missing and thus it is not possible to draw conclusions on their perspectives.

Formative research revealed strong divisions between descendants of the founding families and newer residents, many of whom do not have the same social background or community connections. This division held for those in leadership, with all positions held by people with nearly 30 years or more in the community. After conducting the interviews, what I found comparing demographics of short and long-term residents is startling. None of the residents I interviewed who lived in the Village less than 20 years have a college diploma, and most make between \$15,000 and \$35,000 annually. They also have an average of 6 people living in the house, approximately 3 of whom are under 18. In contrast nearly all of the long-time residents went to college, and many obtained a graduate degree, earning an average salary range of \$50,000 to \$90,000. They average only 2.2 people per dwelling with over half having no minors in the house. This serious division in resources, family size, and education create social barriers that complicate community organizing.

This division was one of two quota sampling groups (Bernard 2011, 144) implemented to ensure I received information from important perspectives within Progress Village. In addition to the noted division between new and long-term residents, I also spoke with relevant outsiders, attempting to interview 10 people in each of these 3 groups with only one interview per family. In practice, it was much easier to find and receive referrals to people with long-term neighborhood connections. This further illustrated the separation of newer residents from neighborhood power structures, but meant I was only able to interview 6 newer residents instead of the anticipated 10. As this project aims to study community-industry relations related to Progress Village, it was also important to include perspectives from people outside the community. This

includes two each from three nearby communities that encounter the same industries, and can thus provide insights into the place of Progress Village in area politics. Another key outside group included official representatives of the industries and governments who could contextualize and understand multiple levels of non-residential issues. This influential group was also difficult to recruit. I was able to speak with government representatives, yet the industry refused to comment on record regarding this project for reasons I discuss below, leaving only seven conducted interviews from the group of relevant non-residents. Theoretical saturation was reached in interviews with both groups of Progress Village residents, while the outsider group was too broad to reach saturation. Interviews with these three key groups form the backbone of this research project. In addition to these critical semi-structured interviews with long-term residents, newer residents, and relevant outsiders, I also continued unstructured interviews (Bernard 2011, 157) with neighborhood leaders and volunteers as we interacted in neighborhood settings. Table 1 illustrates the breakdown of the quota categories, providing for a total of 23 new interviews with 10 supplementing formative interviews. This chart reveals another difficulty in these interviews: obtaining interviews with certain groups. Both company officials and newer residents were difficult to reach.

Table 1: Quota Categories for Interviews

Interview Group:	Subcategory Groups (Attempted):	Number of thesis interviews:	Formative interviews:
Original residents & their descendants	Original family now involved in leadership, original family living in PV but not involved in the neighborhood organization, original family now living elsewhere, scholarship recipient, former PVCC and PVFI presidents	10	4: Presidents of PVCC, PVFI, or original residents
Newer residents	New homeowner between 1985 and 2009, scholarship recipient, new homeowner since 2009, renters (including a portion on Section 8) not in PV longer than 5 years	6	0
Relevant non-residents	Industry representatives (including the Mosaic representative to PVFI and Mosaic's community liaison contractor), Government representatives, Madison Lane Estates leaders, Oak Creek leaders, Gibsonton leaders	7	6: 1980s lawyers, Mosaic permitting, Army Corps of Engineers, Hillsborough County Environmental Protection Commission

The division between new and old residents was further confirmed in attempting these interviews, as those involved in community activities were mainly long-term residents who could only provide me referrals to other long-term residents. Most newer residents I found by driving or walking around the neighborhood and approaching people on-site to ask for an interview. This is not only potentially dangerous, but not very effective. For residents approached on the street I did not have the benefit of the time I spent getting to know the neighborhood; I was just an unknown young White lady from the local university. Many people took my contact information and never got in touch.

Even those I was able to interview with no prior personal connection at some point mentioned the strangeness of the approach. After about 3 months I realized the futility of such approaches and tried just to work prior connections, mostly without success.

Given my focus on resident-industry relations, I strongly attempted to hear from the company on how they approach interactions with the neighborhood and implementation of the agreement. This proved impossible. Before beginning this thesis I built multiple relationships with people at the phosphate company and conducted formative research on general company practices. I also met the representatives of the company to the Foundation board and received their verbal commitment to speak with me when the time came. Yet when I formally requested interviews on their relationship to Progress Village, I was stonewalled. First they replied they were too busy to talk, then they simply stopped replying to my emails. When I kept pushing and asking different contacts, I finally received a response from the company's legal department. The lawyer said there was pending litigation on issues related to my topic, and thus while they would love to talk to me, company officials said it is not appropriate to go on record at this time. This was the first I heard of a related legal action, and soon thereafter a large newspaper article appeared on an EPA lawsuit not previously made public (discussed in Chapter 4). Thus this project, while informed by formative research on general company operations and their interactions with the community, lacks the company's rationalizations and perspective on how they uphold the agreement terms.

Archival research:

Archival research can be controversial. Bernard (2011, 335) notes how archived data should be used with caution, as official documents often tell one side of a story. There is an increasing trend in qualitative research that recognizes the multiple truths

of a situation and thus does not try to reconstruct an “objective” history, but focuses on telling the experience of those involved and investigating why discrepancies exist. The 30 intervening years since the signing of the legal agreement and 55 years since the founding of the neighborhood means many of the events are not fresh memories. While I privilege the stated experience of residents, outside sources were important for filling-in major gaps in knowledge. I do not focus on the areas where testimonies conflict, instead trying to create a collaborative picture of the various histories of the area. This project uses archival data to cull details from events recalled in interviews and provide visual connections that further link the present to community history.

Archival data was found in the community archives along with other local sources. Important information was found in the University of South Florida (USF) archives and relevant issues of the local Black newspaper (i.e., The Florida Sentinel-Bulletin) and other local newspapers. During the exploratory phase of this research, I collected a significant amount of data from the archives of the community organizations. Resident leaders agreed that I could use this information, which I initially scanned for their archival purposes, as part of my thesis work. Drawing from these sources I am able to supplement my answers to the first and third research question, documenting historic relations and finding evidence of residents’ successes and conflicts with industry.

Geographic information systems (GIS) analysis:

Early in this project I anticipated conducting a cursory point source GIS analysis of air hazards in the area, yet I found this required further specialization. Intended as a simple comparison of emissions to standard levels, I sought emission reports from the local environmental protection agency. After some difficulty, I was able to obtain

emission levels for all large emitters of criteria air pollutants in the two zip codes near Progress Village: 33619 and 33578 (See Appendix B). Possessing the name, address, and status of all facilities, along with a separate listing of all emissions for 2013, I felt positive about producing a basic analysis for the community to gain an idea of where hazards existed in the area. Then I ran into difficulties in analysis.

The first major difficulty was a discrepancy between measurements of EPA and the available data. The data I received was in tons per year (TPY), while the EPA's standards for criteria pollutants were in various measurements such as microgram per cubic meter, parts per million or parts per billion, all measured over different lengths of time ranging from one hour to one year. In consulting USF professors versed in this kind of analysis, they confirmed there is not a way to convert the TPY into something comparable to the standard measurements without sophisticated modeling. Different sources of data would be needed to conduct even the basic analysis.

Another issue was the pollutants selected for analysis. While I originally selected the six criteria air pollutants (i.e., ozone, particulate matter, carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, and lead), this does not include ground or water pollutants, or a variety of harmful chemicals not included in this short list of six. Any area could have a variety of hazards, yet science can only test for specific pollutants. Thus environmental scientists first select the pollutant of interest along with the possible sources, measurements, and regulations when conducting an environmental assessment (Moore 2007). Even when deciding the pollutant(s) of interest, it is difficult to determine possible synergistic or dampening interactions between hazards.

Such difficulties led me to limit this thesis analysis to qualitative data and forgo a proximity analysis. Formative research produced a GIS time-progression of how the area surrounding Progress Village was developed (See Appendix C), as well as maps to analyze the demographics of the region. These are still available for presentations and use by the community, yet creation of maps on the hazards from local industries did not happen.

Analysis of Qualitative Data

Interviews and field notes from participant observation were transcribed verbatim and uploaded to the online-based software Dedoose for analysis. Archival data was not able to be included, as the PDF functionality within Dedoose did not allow for easy viewing and coding of document segments. Such data was instead compiled into a series of thematic folders for easy recall when working on each theme. The majority of project data emerged from field notes and interviews, analyzed within this qualitative data software.

For this analysis, I transcribed the recordings of all voice notes and interviews with Progress Village residents. Interviews with outsiders were reviewed and indexed for key information. These word documents combined with additional field notes were then loaded into Dedoose for analysis. Initial code families drew from the research question topics, while child codes developed organically from the coding process. With only one coder, inter-coder reliability was not a factor.

The majority of codes fell within three major themes: industry, Progress Village history, and Progress Village current. Four other top-level themes were also used, although to a much smaller extent: surrounding neighborhoods, government, outside

resources or references, and key quotes. Dedoose uses an unlimited progression of parent and child codes, which was utilized at times down five levels of codes with the goal of always coding a segment at the most specific level. For the major parent code of industry, child codes addressed information on any noted harms and benefits (e.g., support, employment, health impacts), resident knowledge of local industries, and details on the 1980s protests and agreement with industry. This code family also included a section with specific mentions of Mosaic, as it is the major nearby industry. The history code family captures the neighborhood's origin, location, and community organization, as well as references to change, youth historically, themes of family and racism, and early industry. The code family on current aspects of the neighborhood holds the information requested by neighborhood leaders, including interviewees' thoughts on community engagement and the perceived assets and problems of the neighborhood. Other child codes in this current neighborhood code family were added as a new theme appeared during coding. Together these coded passages were printed and fashioned into a binder to facilitate the review of relevant quotes during writing of this thesis.

Ethical Considerations

Attempting activist research that did not meet the initial condition of mutual interests created ethical tensions, mostly regarding to whom I am obligated. I believe the research conducted here benefits the community and provides important information to other neighborhoods facing a possible legal benefits agreement with a major company. Still, it was not possible at the outset to know how this research would impact the community. The main risk derives from revealing the existence of benefits

received from the industry. Industry relations are an afterthought for most residents and thus any new attention may change the status quo of receiving money at will from Mosaic or the perception of the neighborhood by outsiders. For instance, if what was found soured the relationship between the community and the company, it could impact resident finances. If the area is seen as toxic it could lower home values for residents and the surrounding new developments. Exploring these questions also had the potential to reflect poorly on community leaders. Conversely, if this research brings attention to the historic importance of Progress Village, it could increase its status in the region and attract new residents and neighborhood improvement efforts. Thus, I had to balance respecting those whose lives I entered and examined with being open to where the data leads. Hopefully residents find some use in placing neighborhood decisions in societal context. At a minimum, my volunteer activities assisted implementation of services deemed important by community members. Researchers are obligated to consider such impacts of their study, but still must share their research results. Knowing the full impact of gathering new information is not possible, and in this case beyond this ethical balance in thesis construction, I will provide the information to the community so they can determine what risks are worth their engagement.

Another reason to bring attention within the community to the phosphate agreement is the necessity of planning for when such an agreement ends. The phosphate processing plant is only set to operate about 25 more years, at which time the community's contract for annual benefits will expire and they will be left with radioactive refuse and no benefits. Thus while the nature of such changes cannot be

predetermined, the knowledge to be gained both for the neighborhood and for scholarly studies can aid neighborhood organization, temporary benefits, and outside support for later stability.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the challenges and methods of conducting this thesis research. After my slow introduction to the community, I ultimately spent more time learning about the neighborhood than the time spent on many Ph.D. projects. During this time, I engaged with key anthropological methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and archival research. I am strongly committed to community-based research, yet experienced difficulty in using an activist research approach, as the community was not organized fighting on my research topic. Another aim of this thesis is to share its conclusions with the community in a format useful to their work, as well as receiving their input on the conclusions reached to strengthen my analysis. After gathering data from participant observation, interviews, and archival data, the following sections of this thesis use this information to answer the research questions, starting with question one on the history of Progress Village's relationships with industry.

Chapter 4: The History of Progress Village & Industry

Introduction

Progress Village was isolated from industry until the gypsum stack battle, but even in this isolation community leaders fought many times against industrial intrusions and hazards. After the phosphate agreement, residential, industrial, and even commercial building in the area greatly increased. At first this occurred with the involvement and consent of Village leadership, who exercised power in how large businesses entered the area. As leadership changed and memories of the community's strong organization in opposition to the stack faded, companies stopped seeking Progress Village's blessing before building. Today the area hosts many commercial and industrial facilities unknown to Progress Village residents, as well as some acknowledged hazards. Of the 1984 agreement, only the scholarship program continues today. Relationships with the phosphate industry have evolved into a sense of trust by the community, even when recent events demonstrate the company continues to withhold information. This chapter answers research question one by chronicling the history of relationships between Progress Village and nearby industries, focusing on incidents with strong opposition or agreement.

The Community's Founding Relationships with Industry

Building near an industrial area was a conscious choice of Progress Village, Inc., with founding documents stating an intention to "be in the direction of the new

industrial growth to the East of Tampa. Here were the sites of tomorrow's heavy industry; and the future centers of transportation; users of maximum labor forces." (Progress Village, Inc. Board of Trustees 1958/1960). As leading businessmen in the Tampa community, the founding committee of PVI represented some of the major businesses in Tampa at the time such as the exclusive men's store, banks, newspapers, and funeral services (Thirteenth Judicial Circuit of Florida 1958, Alicea 1986), accompanied by many private construction firms working under Progress Village Sales. These men were the entrepreneurs of Tampa and took on this project in part as an example of how profit-seeking businessmen were an asset for bettering their community (Wolf 1959). The original plan (see Figure 5) included many businesses, such as a golf course, churches, and shopping centers. Because this project was underway, the City of Tampa ruled it did not have an obligation to provide resources for individuals and families displaced by the Urban Renewal projects (Alicea 1986). Instead, private business adopted this responsibility. Construction began with a belief in the problem solving capacity of business partnerships, thus it is easy to understand how this belief continues today.

Still, the construction of Progress Village did not go as planned. While the nonprofit PVI built the first sections as planned, they were unable to secure the number of residents anticipated. Why these goals went unmet covers a number of issues in structural violence discussed in the introduction of this thesis, from the aggressive pursuit of double collections of any late payments, to the fact that government assistance to relocate the bulldozed neighborhoods were never fully used, or that Black Tampanians simply rejected the segregated and isolated neighborhood. To this day

there are only 2.5 sections of the initial plan completed, leaving these approximately 850 houses isolated without streetlights, sidewalks, stores, or transportation in an initial betrayal by business of the promises made Village residents.

Early Conflicts

Subsequent years saw the neighborhood leadership working hard to form the desired safe and well-maintained community. As the planned amenities were never built, it was left to residents to ensure they had necessities for safe family life and homeownership. They fought first for transportation, as many in the community did not have a car. Living 10 miles from the city, it was difficult for residents to get to and from work or to their family and friends remaining in the city, especially as the trip required traversing areas hostile to the new Black neighbors (George 2006, Thomas 1961). Residents appealed for protection from the authorities as part of a campaign to stop harassment of Black establishments by the county sheriff. This fight received support from key members of Progress Village, Inc. (Thomas 1961). Eventually Village residents won bus service, so to this day Tampa bus schedules have a unique loop through the neighborhood at the end of otherwise straight route lines. Struggles for other basic amenities continued, as Villagers fought for proper drainage, streetlights, and fencing of a pond where a local child drowned (Progress Village Civic Council 2006).

While community isolation was considered a negative for many residents, they were also concerned about what would be built around the neighborhood. Residents gave-in to continued segregation in order to start a better life for their family, so they were cautious to not allow this new neighborhood to succumb to the vices of the areas they left. Thus when there was a proposal to build a commercial district near the

neighborhood soon after its construction, it faced strong opposition. In a letter to the Florida Sentinel, local civil rights attorney and president of the local chapter of the NAACP Francisco Rodriguez decried the dangers of juke joints moving into the neighborhood, stating that the proposed change “presents a dynamic and potential threat to the tranquility, the decency, the general welfare of Progress Village” (Staff Writer 1961).

Fighting for years for basic services/amenities and against unwanted developments, Progress Village faced another large fight in the 1970s to stop an ammonia pipeline from running down Progress Village Boulevard. This can be seen as the first neighborhood organizing against phosphate development, as the pipeline served to transport ammonia from the port to phosphate processing plants in Bartow. Now a local pastor at St. James AME church of Progress Village, Francisco Rodriguez joined fellow neighborhood pastor Rufus Tweggs of Harris Temple United Methodist Church as spokespeople for the Village against the pipeline. Tweggs delivered about 575 signatures of Village residents, joining with nearby neighborhoods for a total of approximately 1200 area residents against the pipeline (Inglis 1978, Hayes 1978). Reverend Rodriguez recounted how residents were “‘very concerned’ and ‘startled’ by the pipeline project. The only proof of a flaw in the pipeline he said, ‘might be some dead bodies in the future’” (Inglis 1978, Hayes 1978). The pipeline was planned to run on the north side of Progress Village Boulevard only 15 feet from houses, and so residents were concerned that a pipeline break could emit clouds of the hazardous substance and kill residents. Although there was strong and organized opposition from

Village and other nearby residents, the county approved the pipeline as long as concrete was laid on top to stop casual diggers from causing it to rupture.

The county saw this pipeline as a substitute for trucking accidents, another safety and health concern of Village residents. During talk of the pipeline, a truck carrying ammonia to the Bartow area crashed near Progress Village (Causeway Blvd and Maydell Dr), killing one person and evacuating the neighborhood (Inglis 1978). Just a month earlier another truck overturned, requiring the evacuation of 60 residents (Inglis 1978). While the city saw pipelines as a safer alternative to moving ammonia by trucks, the neighborhood still saw risks from ammonia due to the pipeline and continued to worry about tractor trailer trucks speeding through the neighborhood's main road. This fight to at least lower the speed limit when going through the neighborhood was revived again in the 1990s, and I continued to see many trucks traversing these roads during my research.

Phosphate Agreement and its Impact

As detailed above, Progress Village residents were no strangers to fighting as a community to craft the neighborhood they desired. After losing the fight against the ammonia pipeline, the neighborhood soon learned much more about the industry using this ammonia when the phosphate processing plant by the bay attempted to build a stack of refuse adjacent to the neighborhood. For the long-time residents interviewed, this was the first they thought about industries located near the neighborhood.

The chemical plant

The "chemical plant," as it is called by most area residents, was built in 1924 by the U.S. Export Chemical Corporation and began operations the next year. Phosphate rock came by rail from mines in the state's interior to be processed at the plant into

granules for fertilizer and animal feed. As the only large business in the area, this plant was highly regarded, described by Quinn as “one of the best jobs a Black man could work at.” Many residents describe the plant as one of the only options (alongside the port and a roofing tile factory) for Black or rural-resident men in the community to find reliable and well-paying employment. Quinn described the glory of how in the 1940s and 50s Tampa of his youth, a Black neighbor “used to have him a brand new Chevrolet all of the time, and we knew that he worked for the chemical plant.”

Central Florida has one of the largest phosphate deposits in the world, making its extraction and processing a major regional industry since the late 1800s. Phosphate is a natural element found in greatest quantities in underground rock. Considered a main building block of life, this element was first discovered by alchemist Hennig Brandt in 1669 as he sought the legendary Philosopher’s Stone that turns metals into gold (Ashley 2011). From distilling his urine, he discovered a substance that emitted a light green glow. After the wonder of its discovery, later mass production methods began its use as a poison in war, as its volatility caused explosions and was poisonous if ingested. It later became known how phosphate operates as an essential building block of life, helping DNA to replicate. Animals receive this essential element from consuming plants, which similarly require phosphorus for cell growth and forming and ripening fruits and seeds (i.e., replication). Plants receive the nutrition from absorbing phosphate mixed in the soil, formed over centuries by the biodegradation of animal matter. Central Florida’s phosphate deposits come from the fossilization of centuries of animal bones and excrement from what was once the bottom of a low-level sea (Fifer 2012). With

phosphate's necessity in life and relation to death, its patterns of use and current extraction levels have wide implications for the future of humanity.

There are two phases in turning raw phosphate deposits into a marketable commodity: mining and chemical processing. Mining extracts raw rock containing phosphate, relocating as ground stores are exhausted. Extracted rock is filtered and taken to a separate location for processing. Today these processing plants are rarely constructed, using the plethora of existing local facilities. Here workers run the filtered phosphate rock through multiple boilers of sulfuric acid, converting the liquid into phosphoric acid. This phosphoric acid is cooled and converted into granular phosphate, which is mixed into fertilizer composites such as ADP. These form the phosphate part of fertilizers and animal feed, which Mosaic in the U.S. sells wholesale to fertilizer companies. In the States, Mosaic does not directly manufacture fertilizer, producing just the phosphate additives.

Phosphate deposits are limited in the world, and among these the Central Florida deposit is of higher quality than most (Fifer 2012). This provides motivation to phosphate companies to make the community happy so they can continue operations. Thus Mosaic puts great effort into its public relations. They make large donations to civic and government organizations and sponsor youth programs and area sports (Mosaic 2016a). They also promote their commitment to community health and the natural environment, as well as being a party to many international agreements including the UN Global Compact (Mosaic 2014a). Through the number of the people employed, taxes paid, and area philanthropy, phosphate is a major economic power on local politics,

yet companies are limited by their access to these rare deposits, giving those possessing land rights power over the industry.

The phosphate industry has parlayed its economic power into bypassing some local controls. Because of its economic impact on the region, corporations negotiated government permits to be handled at the state level, bypassing most local regulations. This primarily relates to environmental controls, the industry states so there will be consistent requirements across their operating area. While operational permits are still needed, they do not address environmental or justice concerns, leaving those to the state or national level. This weakens the community's negotiating power to ensure the company affecting their land is a responsible steward and welcome contributor to nature and the community.

Central Florida's large phosphate deposits mean the company must be welcome in the region if they are to prosper in the industry. In the terms of power relations discussed earlier, local and state leadership yield significant power over who can access these underground resources. This leads to Mosaic's use of what anthropologists refer to as "the gift," where they build bonds with the local community by giving, which creates a feeling of indebtedness among those on the receiving end (James 2004). Many industries engage in this practice, such as pharmaceutical representatives providing physical gifts to doctors (Petryna 2009, Marco et al. 2006) or described as obtaining a "social license to operate" as in oil company operations in the Niger Delta of Nigeria (Idemudia 2009). While the desire for community support and uninterrupted business is rarely mentioned, companies often adopt a moniker of corporate social responsibility (CSR) to explain their community contributions (Hilson 2012). Projects adopted by

Mosaic in Central Florida focus on crafting an image of a strong community partner that is an asset to the community.

The stack itself was the second for the historic chemical plant on the bay. Bruce, an advocate in the 1980 fight, recounts how the first stack was unlined, with radioactive materials seeping into the Bay. In the early 1980s, the company claimed this stack had only enough space for four more years of storage (Dietz 1984), and proposed building a new 326-acre phosphogypsum disposal stack on 629.9 acres of pasture just northeast of the current plant. Their proposed site was just across 78th Street from Progress Village.

By the time Progress Village became aware of the planned stack in 1982, Phase One of its construction was already approved. Gardinier, the plant owner since the 1970s, filed for increased production at the plant and was granted this request in 1980. This Phase One permit addressed “modification and expansion of the existing chemical plant”, while Phase Two addressed “creation of a new gypsum disposal area” (HBOCC 1980). The county’s documentation states two public hearings were held in late August and mid-September of 1980, the latter being on the day the development of regional impact (DRI) was approved. This approval of Phase One meant the plant could begin increasing production that could not be held in the current stack, creating additional pressure when the time came for Phase Two approval of actual stack construction. It was not until October 1981 that Gardinier filed the Phase Two permit that proposed the new gypsum stack be constructed across the street from Progress Village.

PV fights the stack

The first documentation of community members learning of the planned stack is in 1982, although residents intimately involved in the process recall not hearing of the plans until a year later. On March 4, 1982, Progress Village leader Betty Brown received

a letter from a head planner for Hillsborough County. Seeming to reply to an earlier request, the planner told Brown she requested the phosphate company provide the neighborhood with a complete set of documents regarding their proposed Development of Regional Impact (DRI), and that no hearing had yet been scheduled (Hammer 1982). The community started a petition against the stack a few days later. Residents currently recall first learning about these expansion plans from a Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) member in 1983, just days before the MPO was to grant initial approval to the stack's Development of Regional Impact (DRI) and pass the project to the County Commission for final approval. Until this moment, residents told me they never thought of the plant or considered it nearby, as it is nearly 5 miles across a cow pasture (longer when you take roads). The community now called an emergency meeting to organize and showed-up in protest at the MPO meeting with some reporting 600 residents in attendance (Hearns 2013). A local civil rights lawyer, Warren Dawson, also heard about the planned stack expansion and showed up to the community meetings, eventually becoming the community's lawyer. There was strong opposition to new stack construction from the community. As expressed by William:

We became involved in that, this stack moving this side of US 41, so close to the community, so close to the school, would cause irreparable damage, health damage to our, the health of our residents, the students at the school, and even the value of our properties.

Protests lasted for a year and a half, with Progress Village well organized in its opposition and impossible to ignore. At the first county commission meeting, there were

too many residents to fit into the room, so the meeting was rescheduled for a later date at the convention center (HBOCC 1984). With the strong community interest, the county held a series of public meetings, and ended-up granting official standing to two parties in addition to the company: an environmental group named ManaSota 88 and the Progress Village community (HBOCC 1984). The February 1984 County Commission meeting at Brandon High School attracted around 200 people, including a large Progress Village contingent (Dietz 1984). Bruce recalls one meeting in particular:

We were actually in the old Curtis Hixon Riverfront Arena, and I recall there were probably 2000 people there. And it was pretty much hardhats on one side from Gardinier, and they were basically White, and Progress Village on the other side, and they were basically Black. It was quite controversial.

A speech made by a community representative at one of these meetings remains. In it, a resident expresses the following:

What do you tell people 15 or 20 years from now when someone wants to know who let a company put two mountains of waste within the city limits of Tampa? How do you tell the next generation that we have messed up again? What do I tell my grandkids? Will their mother and father let them visit me? What do I do when I retire? I won't have the funds to move to the mountains or some resort area or take extended vacations in Europe. No, Mr. and Mrs. Commissioners. I'll be stuck with that gypsum pile the rest of my life. So I appeal to you as a God-fearing and law-abiding citizens. Please for one time give us a break. Let the

little people win one. We already have an ammonia pipeline running through Progress Village that could burst anytime. We don't need to be subjugated to another hazard. Vote no against the gypsum pile proposal. (PVCC 1982/4)

Most of actions came before the county commission, which had its first Black commissioner—E. L. Bing—at the time, serving by appointment after three commissioners were forced to resign due to corruption charges (lorio 2013). Jan Platt was also a sympathetic ear on the commission; the only female commissioner, she later became known for environmental issues including Tampa Bay's entry into the National Estuary Program (Hillsborough County, FL 2013). Rounding out the commission at this time were Matt Jetton, Rodney Colson, and John Paulk (lorio 2013).

The other official group in the debate, ManaSota 88, was an environmental nonprofit out of Manatee and Sarasota counties. Fighting environmental pollution throughout Central Florida, ManaSota 88 took particular interest in phosphate projects and was involved separately from community members in opposition to the stack. Community members remember other groups joining in opposition, such as the local ACLU chapter, although no documentation was found on the involvement of other such groups.

In 1984, the commissioners were ready to vote. Those in the know concur that in speaking with the commissioners, it was clear the stack would be approved; Progress Village would lose the vote. Commissioners urged community leaders to make a deal to get something out of the process. Here accounts vary, with some believing the company was required to come to an agreement with the community in order for stack approval,

while others saw it as a side deal. Either way, the community and phosphate company came to an agreement and stack construction was approved by the Hillsborough County Commission on August 20, 1984 with no expiration date and an allowable stack height of 100 feet (HBOCC 1984).

Original agreement and its initial impacts

The company hired Robert J. (Bob) Brown, president of B&C Associates, as their negotiator. A former advisor to President Nixon and prominent Black businessman out of High Point, NC, Mr. Brown is well remembered by the community as a smart and cooperative businessman who helped bridge the gap between the company and the community. After negotiations with community leaders and their attorney, a legal agreement was reached that is crafted to exist as long as the stack is in operation.

Key players recount the hope to secure concessions that would safeguard the community's future, not just receive something good for the moment. Thus, the crux of the agreement was an annual donation of \$25,000 to provide scholarships for young community members. Already a major employer in the community, the plant also agreed that given parity in qualifications, Progress Village residents would be hired first for plant employment openings, and they would also have preferential selection for the plant's consulting jobs. In addition, the plant would work to promote founding of daycare facilities and a medical clinic in the neighborhood, and attempt to use this medical facility for employee physicals. These elements of the agreement—scholarships, preferential hiring contracts, and establishment of community businesses—aimed to increase the economic standing and marketability of community residents for the foreseeable future.

Of the contract's ten provisions, many were short-term or one-time benefits that related mostly to community supplies or beautification. Such provisions included:

- Instillation of a college-competition sized swimming pool
- Landscaping of attractive entrances to the community at five locations
- Planting of trees and shrubs along the Progress Village Boulevard median
- Construction of shelters and benches at three bus stops in the neighborhood
- Purchasing of up to five personal computers, a copy machine, and reference books
- Reimbursement for attorney fees regarding the stock fight and this agreement

Also included was a commitment to partake in an annual neighborhood clean-up campaign by providing trucks to remove rubbish and awards to beautification winners. While many of these short-term improvements happened, some ran into immediate difficulties. The county would not run the swimming pool, and as the agreement only provided for its construction, after much discussion this element was replaced with a small aboveground pool. The annual beautification campaign occurred intermittently, and now none remember this commitment of the company to donate such services and prizes. While many of the initial beautification efforts happened, these benefits of the agreement are only minimally evident today.

The company brought a representative to help found a PV nonprofit to accept the "donated" funds. This turned into the Progress Village Foundation, a nonprofit organization that to this day administers the scholarship to community members who

graduate high school, have lived in the community at least 5 years, and are accepted into a higher education program. The managing board of directors for the Foundation includes a representative of the phosphate company so, as Cynthia puts it, they can maintain “a hand in decision making.”

While the community was unable to halt the construction of the gypsum stack, there is evidence even the fight and imperfect agreement forced the company’s hand. The original gypsum stack was the first ever to be covered and retired, and through the work of ManaSota 88 and resistance from PV residents, the regulations placed on the stack were the strongest to date and served as a model for other stacks (Kleinschmidt 1992, HBOCC 1984). Through the protests led against the gypsum stack, residents succeeded in not only securing benefits for the neighborhood in the short and long term, but also in limiting the hazards they would face from retirement of the old stack and construction of the new.

Subsequent 1980s development agreements

Residents credit the phosphate agreement with increasing their profile for industries coming to the area. Directly after this agreement, the land just south of Progress Village was chosen for development by Robert E. Wooley, a real estate developer and owner of a large plumbing and manufacturing company in the U.S. Southwest. He planned to turn the area into Parkway Center, Inc, a mixed-use industrial development with an amphitheater for live performances. Community leaders believe it was their opposition to the gypsum stack that led Wooley to approach them regarding his planned development. Without protests, the community signed an agreement with the Robert E. Wooley Company to receive \$50,000 towards the scholarship program for

each of the next 3 years (Moore 1985), and Wooley began development of the land in 1986.

Around this time the government was deciding how the newly constructed I-75 would intersect with local roads, and Progress Village was once again invited to provide their input on how the continuation of Progress Village Blvd, called Bloomingdale Blvd at that point, would best intersect with the new highway. The civic council president was also invited to minority community seminars of the local banks.

Perhaps it was this new affinity for working with local businesses that led to community support of a nearby business park. A year after signing the agreement with the phosphate company, the Civic Council registered its support with the Hillsborough County Planning Commission for construction of a new Business Park on Maddison Avenue, the segment of Progress Village Boulevard between 78th Street and US-41. Much of the conversation on this agreement occurred between the PVCC and the attorney for The Franklin Group (project lead for the Madison Ave Business Park), prominent local politician Dick Greco, Jr. (Fort 1985). Taken together with the phosphate and Wooley Corp agreements, the mid-1980s were a time where Progress Village leaders were greatly involved in increasing the business presence in their area.

Consolidation of industry

The phosphate plant has a long history in the area that illustrates the industry's trend towards consolidation. When phosphate was first discovered in the area in 1881, there was an explosion of small mining companies in the region akin to the gold rush in the western U.S.. Many of these small businesses were based on hopes of striking it rich on the area's ample deposits, yet the difficulty in running these businesses led many of these companies to close in just a few years. While in 1895 there were 400 phosphate

mining companies in central Florida, only 81 were still in operation by 1900 (FIPRI 2015). Consolidations continued, with 30 companies in 1911 and only 7 by 1938 (Fifer 2012). This small number of companies continued to change ownership and consolidate, particularly in the 1980s, and by 2010 only 5 companies were listed with active mines in the area (Oberlin 2010).

Following the reasoning of Robert McChesney (2000), such consolidation of the industry, first nationally and now globally, is to be expected. Although free market rhetoric espouses competition as the driving factor behind capitalism's success, in reality companies resist competition at all costs. Coming from unequal power relations, there is unequal access to the market, and those in power use their advanced resources to marginalize the competition. After all, "the less competition a firm has, the less risk it faces and the more profitable it tends to be" (McChesney 2000, 9). Thus if a new company enters the market with an idea whose profit infringes on the profit of an established company, often the large company will try to neutralize the competition through a buy-out, a merger, or simply finding a way to replicate the successful product. Thus most markets in the U.S. are oligarchies, meaning "a small handful of firms—ranging from two or three to as many as a dozen or so—[that] thoroughly dominate the market's output and maintain barriers to entry that effectively keep new market entrants at bay" (McChesney 2000, 9). This philosophy aligns well with Mosaic's position and behavior as phosphate's largest global company.

The Riverview processing plant first changed hands in 1927 when the U.S. Export Chemical Corporation was purchased by the Tennessee Corporation, who called their phosphate business U.S. Phosphoric Products. Although there were a lot of changes in

the company over the years, the plant did not fully change hands again until 1973 when it was purchased by the family-owned French firm *Societe des Participation Gardinier* (SOPAG), known simply by the family name Gardinier. They expanded the operations for 10 years until the phosphate market tumbled in 1983 and the company, stretched with many investments, declared bankruptcy in February 1985 (soon after signing the agreement with Progress Village). Cargill Incorporated became the new owner in December 1985, although it continued operating under the name Gardinier for a number of years (Karon 1995). Switching the name from Gardinier, Inc. to Cargill Fertilizer, Inc. in 1991, this company eventually merged with IMC Global to become Mosaic. Now the largest fertilizer company in the world, Mosaic acquired the second largest operation in the region, CF Industries, in March 2014, and is now considered the only significant mining company in the region (Mosaic 2014b).

Phosphate supplies are dwindling in the United States, with new mines simply replacing spent mines (USGS 2016). Permitting officials at Mosaic and the Army Corps of Engineers stated this process takes over a decade before mining can start, requiring due diligence to receive construction and operation permits. These require the company to fully research the area, prove it is the best site for operations, consider impacts on the local area, and plan for reclamation post-mining. The Federal, state and local government authorities must then review the company's information and conduct their own environmental impact investigations. The up-front investments and long timeframe required to open a mine partially explain why the phosphate business consists now of only large companies that can endure a decade of expense with no financial return. Taking over already approved operations is a quicker route to success.

Mosaic faces few competitors for the U.S. market, with their only competition coming at a global level. Currently, countries that represent competition for Mosaic include Morocco—with its large mineral stores and integrated production (handling all aspects from mining to final product sale)—along with Brazil, Peru, China, and Saudi Arabia (USGS 2016). For Mosaic’s other extracted element of potash (mined potassium), Mosaic’s main competition comes from the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, as well as Russia, Germany, Israel, and Brazil. Company leadership sees itself as the American or North American company competing against the rest of the world.

Consolidation is nothing new to Mosaic, as it started as a collaboration between IMC Global, Inc. and the crop nutrition arm of Cargill, Inc.. The companies began collaborating on their phosphate business, forming Mosaic as a joint entity in 2004. Both parent companies had a long history in phosphate, with IMC Global formed in 1909 and Cargill joining the crop nutrition field in the 1960s (Mosaic 2015b). While IMC became Mosaic, Cargill remained a private company that possessed a 64% share of Mosaic, until these were sold in 2011 (de la Merced 2011). Shares from this sale belonging to a deceased Cargill family member were then sold back to Mosaic in 2013-2014, helping the company to become more independent (Donville 2013). A conversation with a worker at a plant suggests that current employees do not know if or to what extent Cargill still influences the decisions of Mosaic, although they do not have decision-making status (yet Cargill employees may still be on Mosaic’s board). Mosaic and Cargill are both headquartered in neighboring suburbs of Minneapolis (Plymouth and Minnetonka, respectively). Both global companies’ anchoring in the U.S. harkens to the

exploitation of colonialism and dangers of Euro-centrism (Wolf 1982). Coming from two powerful American companies with strong histories, Mosaic began its existence with strong advantages for global prominence.

Mosaic continues its global expansion through mergers and collaborations. The company recently acquired Archer Daniels Midland Company (ADM)'s fertilizer distribution business in Brazil and Paraguay. This merger integrates ADM's capacity and experienced employees into Mosaic's established business in Brazil. At times, as in their joint venture with the Brazilian company Vale in Peru, Mosaic cooperates with other companies to receive local knowledge and a portion of the market share. The largest of these projects is in Saudi Arabia, where Mosaic engaged in a joint venture with the private Saudi firm Ma'aden. Mosaic came into this partnership to expand its global phosphate access and increase its value to shareholders, owning 25% of the joint venture to Ma'aden's 60%, with the additional 15% belonging to the government-owned oil company SABIC (Ma'aden 2013). In exchange for receiving a share of the Saudi business, Mosaic provides knowledge and experience in phosphate processing. Saudi Arabia has a greater phosphate supply than what is left in central Florida (USGS 2016), but a local Mosaic worker described it as of a lesser quality (i.e., lower percentage of phosphate in the rock). In total, Mosaic employs almost 9000 people spread over 8 countries, serving customers in over 40 countries (Mosaic 2016b). Over its 10 years of existence as Mosaic, the company has expanded its global reach mostly through consolidation: merging with or acquiring already operating companies.

Further stack expansion

While the 1984 agreement with the county and phosphate company agreed to a 100 foot gypsum stack, this order was amended on multiple occasions. In 1993 it was

allowed to expand to 200 feet above the starter dike with no apparent contact or input from the community. In 2000, the County Commission granted a Substantial Deviation Development Order that allowed another 50-foot increase in



Figure 6: 2014 View of the Riverview phosphogypsum stack from the nearby racetrack. A backhoe sitting near the top of the sack provides scale. (Photo by Author)

stack height, extension of stack operation through 2042, and extension south of land used in the gypsum stack process (including cooling ponds) (TBRPC 2013). The SDDO was amended in 2005 to tighten water management after a large spill of radioactive water into the local creek and Tampa Bay. Now expanding the lower starter dyke as well, the gypsum stack actively expands to this day (see Figure 6).

Of these many expansions, only the 2000 SDDO appears to grant any concessions, however minor, to Progress Village. Even this small concession was not believed by my interviewees to be a part of an expansion deal for the company, thinking them merely continuation of cooperation with their “good neighbors”. At county commission meetings prior to the SDDO approval, one PV resident spoke in favor of the order and the only opposition was from a landowner just north of the stack, outside of the neighborhood (Hillsborough County Board of Commissioners 2000). This development order (Hillsborough County, FL 2000) reaffirmed the preferential hiring position of Progress Village residents for plant employment (Section IV.A.25), requiring the company include information on hiring initiatives and success in Progress Village in Mosaic’s annual DO report. Air monitors were installed at the Progress Village Middle

School and nearby Gibsonton Elementary. Progress Village was not the only area written into the SDDO to receive community benefits. The Concerned Citizens of Gibsonton, which represents the nearby community of Gibsonton, achieved many concessions in the SDDO. Progress Village residents were unaware of this fact when asked directly if they knew if other nearby neighborhoods had been involved or received benefits from nearby industries. Gibsonton and other local areas outside The Village received funding for recreation center improvements, a science camp, and a new section and improvements to their library (Section IV.B.9).

One other provision of the 2000 SDDO commits the company to buying land to construct a community garden for the neighborhood (Section IV.B.7), with the Civic Council responsible for garden management. While this is presented in the SDDO as a concession to the neighborhood for stack expansion, those intimately involved with the setting-up of the garden insist it was not related to stack expansion but a separate neighborhood initiative. Stacey describes how “back in that day we were actually taking kids to go over and look at what [Mosaic] was doing. And so they were interested in Progress Village and somehow we got tied with them. And that was a good advertising plug for them, so they actually sponsored that [the community garden].” [Interviewer: Did it have anything to do with the expansion of the stack?] “No.” [Interviewer: “No? Ok.”] “No. That was a request beyond that.” From the perspective of Progress Village leadership, they decided just before 2000 they should have a community garden, and approached the phosphate company to make this happen. The company agreed and purchased land from the city and built raised boxes for the initial planting. To this day residents insist the community garden was not related to stack expansion. The fact that

the SDDO lists this as a major concession to the community to compensate for the stack expansion is a major deviation from the treasured “good neighbor” relationship.

More troubling is the recent disclosure that the whole phosphate industry has been under investigation by the EPA since 2002 for mixing hazardous materials into their wastes. Mostly from cleaning processes at the plant, these wastes disposed on the phosphogypsum stack were not noted to the EPA and thus did not have a hazardous waste permit or EPA monitoring. The company also has not complied with State laws requiring a plan for stack closure and financial assurance there is the funding set aside for such a closure. This came out in October 2015 when the company settled with the EPA for \$2 billion (Biesecker 2015, United States et al. 2015). Even after this was in the papers, community leaders seem to have no awareness of this occurrence and participants in this research suggested they were never told of it by the company. While the papers say there is no danger to health in the surrounding communities, even so Mosaic hid this investigation for at least 10 years from the residents with whom they interacted at least monthly.

The agreement today

Today the community sees little benefits of their increased exposure beyond the annual scholarship donation. Still, community members support the company, consistently calling them good neighbors who help whenever asked. Community leaders recount many unofficial donations to community events or programs done on no more than a handshake. A representative of the company serves on the scholarship board, although in recent years the representative keeps changing. In total, the community received two major impacts from the 1984 agreement: an ongoing scholarship program and location directly next to a large stack of radioactive rock. Other concessions

including the park, preferential hiring, preferential contracting, and the community garden have had a lesser impact.

The scholarship program remains active today, although with an aging board comprised of people all associated with the original families. During the early years when there was also money from Wooley Company, awards covered a percentage of each student's educational expenses. Trevor remembers a student who went on to dental school in the 1980s and received about \$8000 a year to cover most of the tuition. Now the scholarships are no longer based on merit or school costs, but attempt to reach the largest number of eligible residents, with a moderate scholarship at set rates for 2-year and 4-year degrees. Approximately 15 community members receive this annually. Interviewees noted that while scholarships continue, recipients rarely move back to the community after completing their education.

Through the years the Foundation has only had two presidents, so there is strong organizational memory, yet there are no public records or published information on the effect of scholarships on community residents or on the community in general. In celebration of an early Foundation anniversary, the Foundation compiled a directory of scholarship recipients to that point and their current status, but there is no publicly available copy. This is not surprising, as Foundation leadership cares about getting out the word to neighborhood residents, but resists talking about the scholarship's history. Add this to the generation gap between Foundation leadership and scholarship recipients, leading to conflicting outreach preferences. Their digital presence is limited to the free website I set-up in summer 2014, and they connect mainly with people whom they know directly. Newer residents are eligible for the scholarship if they've lived in

the neighborhood 5 years, but it is debatable how many of them know of the scholarship. When applications are open there are signs at all neighborhood entrances, but in my interviews many people said they never saw these signs. Without pressure from the community and with those who know the details of the agreement phasing out of work both in the community and the company, the future of the agreement seems unstable. While the community knows Mosaic provides money for the scholarship, most do not know this is a legal obligation and are exceedingly grateful for this perceived gift. Foundation leaders are concerned that Mosaic, a multinational based in Minnesota, changed its procedures for cutting the check and now tries to make them submit an application for funding. While the president was reassured this is just a technicality, the board is worked-up knowing this could weaken the agreement.

Although I found problems with the agreement's implementation today, there are also benefits. Community youth receive encouragement and support to do well in high school, receiving honor roll awards of \$25 per report card and a \$100 gift upon graduation, as well as scholarships to college. The community is also recognized in the county as one with dedicated and strong community leadership, and possess power to have their voice heard in political decisions. They also have people they consider friends at the company, and receive funding for neighborhood initiatives at a handshake. Leaders I spoke with felt that they could ask for help with any neighborhood project from Mosaic and they would have instant support. While there are problems with enforcement of many of the provisions, the community is still strong and receives annual support for the education of their youth. The ability to educate neighborhood students is a source of pride and community unifier.

This benefit should be considered simultaneously with the possible negative effects of living near a large gypsum stack. Through 2013, “approximately 96.7 million tons of phosphogypsum have cumulatively been deposited with stack heights of 50 ft. ngvd [National Geodetic Vertical Datum of 1929, a reference to sea level] for the Starter Dike and 238 ft. ngvd for the Stack.” (TBRPC 2013) Approximately 4.4 million more tons of phosphogypsum are placed on the stack each year. Commonly called gypsum, this refuse of processed rock is radioactive, containing uranium and radium-226 (EPA 2012). It is placed in plateau-like stacks near the plant, from which radionuclide dust can blow into nearby communities, make its way into groundwater supplies, or decay into a gas and diffuse into the air. The radioactivity in gypsum can cause cancer and leukemia. The EPA considers this an acceptable risk, but after the stack’s 30 years of operation there have been no epidemiological studies to determine if it created adverse health effects in the community.

Although hiring of community members was re-enforced with the 2000 SDDO, current community leaders do not know if or how this manifests today. While there are community members employed by the plant, there is no process for posting job openings to community members nor monitoring mechanism in the community to collect statistics on how many qualified applicants are hired. While the company must report on the hiring annually to the county, I was unable to locate these reports, and the summary published by the Tampa Bay Regional Planning Council did not include updates on such hiring practices. Only those most intimately involved with the agreement’s construction remember the hiring agreement or section on contractors,

with many residents laughing at the supposition that living in PV can help them get a job.

Regarding the park and community garden improvements, construction of a new sports complex lessens the importance of the 1980s improvements to the Progress Village Park. The most lasting impact of park improvements is the community building at its entrance, which hosts a Senior Nutrition Center and Civic Association meetings. The park is still used by local residents, although the neighborhood's organized sports competitions moved to the Larry Sanders Progress Village Sports Complex, built by the county parks and recreation department and dedicated in 2011. The community and county allow nearby residents without fields to use the old Progress Village Park football field or the new sports complex fields for their youth sports.

The community garden is an asset to the community, but it is fully run by community members, and initial construction by the phosphate company cannot be credited with its success. The community garden actually received a commendation from the County Commission in January 2011 for the 10th anniversary of its work in the community. The phosphate company was included in receiving the award, called a "community collaboration" (Hillsborough County FL 2011), with no mention the company's involvement was part of their mandated requirements for operation. Today the garden needs improvements, such as creating more raised boxes and readjusting the ground to raise a corner that regularly floods, yet Mosaic has not provided help. Those in charge believe in self-sufficiency and thus pay many of the necessary upkeep costs out of their own pocket, while large improvements wait unaccomplished.

Other Relationships with Industry

Establishing their influence of the community through the protests against the stack gave the community power in area development for a period of time, as profiled in the section on subsequent 1980s development agreements. This influence did not last, however, and developments exploded, particularly in the early 2000s, into buildings and businesses little known to Progress Village residents.

When asked about the involvement of industries in the neighborhood, other than Mosaic, the main things people remember is help in disaster recovery. In 2012 a tornado hit the neighborhood, and community members recall how businesses and nonprofits donated goods and came in to help clean up and rebuild what was damaged or destroyed. Residents remember Rebuilding Tampa and Lowes helping with rebuild houses, while Mosaic brought water, food, and other daily necessities.

It is difficult to answer if the stack's presence encouraged increased industrial development in the area. There was minimal nearby development before stack construction, and now this area is nearly filled-in. A variety of heavy industries moved into the area behind the stack, including recycling and asphalt manufacturing. A professional racetrack was hidden in this area before stack construction, and residents anecdotally credit the gypsum stack with dampening the sound from races. Still no one in the community knows about the other hazards, which are accessible only by a small road off the major road US-41, as far as possible from the neighborhood. While the community likes its relationship with Mosaic, they have no relationships with other nearby companies outside of occasional donations from local restaurants. It may be that the stack encouraged additional industrial growth, if so their impact on The Village is

a result of stack construction. These companies also need targeting to ensure they are good neighbors that benefit nearby residents. The section below addresses both what residents think of these other industries, along with government and archival data about possible risks in the area.

Risks Today

Surrounding industries

When asked what industries were in the area, there were a few commonly mentioned, but in general it seems little thought is paid to this issue in daily life. Besides Mosaic, three other industrial businesses were repeatedly mentioned: Coca-Cola, GAF Roofing, and Kearney. Two are located near the train tracks on Madison, and the other, Kearney, was down 78 before it closed in the recent economic downturn. Many in the neighborhood seem to know of these three companies, including knowing of Villagers who work there.

Many residents were also quick to name retail shops, such as tenants of the two shopping plazas in the neighborhood, one owned by the Civic Council and the other privately owned at the corner of 78 and Madison. These retail locations, including restaurants, barber shops, laundry, and a grocery and dollar store, were more relevant to residents than surrounding industrial businesses. Only Simply Good, the bar-b-que restaurant in the plaza, and Alfred's House of Jazz, the new creole restaurant in the shopping center, were mentioned as giving back to the neighborhood.

Most businesses at the corner of Madison and 78th Street were noted as being predatory towards residents who have difficulty going elsewhere. This "Black tax" common in low-income communities means many items cost more than in other neighborhoods. From my experience, the gas station items are overpriced. There is no

bank in walking distance, and even if you use a debit card, it is difficult to get cash back at the shops. The gas station does not allow cash back, and the Family Dollar charges a percentage fee on any cash given. The Hispanic grocery store that anchors the plaza has good prices and fresh food, although many of the fresh items are more likely to be over-ripe and decay quicker than in chain grocery stores. While many praised the stores in this plaza as making life in the Village more convenient, some noticed these indignations that make life in low-income communities an additional degree unpleasant.

Besides these nearby retail businesses, one or two other business were named as familiar. Some mentioned a number of scrap yards around the area, although few knew details. There are also a series of warehouses down Madison and a commerce park just south of the neighborhood. This latter area is what was originally built by Woolley Corp after the non-opposition agreement signed by Progress Village. While residents know of the existence of these commerce parks or warehouses, it is not known what happens inside. Beyond this are single mentions of companies or areas where residents remember industry, but have no details on the product, process, or status of these businesses.

Official designations

There are two designations in the Progress Village vicinity reflecting industries not meeting official standards and regulations: a superfund site and a Sulfur Dioxide nonattainment area. In addition, two sites not far away are undergoing corrective actions for violations of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA): GNB Inc. and Safety-Kleen Systems Tampa. These are both near US-41, respectively south and north of Causeway Blvd. Only one of these four nearby sites includes Progress Village,

and this is the EPA's a Sulfur Dioxide non-attainment area, which includes Unit 1 of the neighborhood. Even so, this regulation is based on new stricter standards implemented in 2010 and does not represent a new risk or higher levels of the chemical than previously present. The two main designations are briefly described below, yet their presence does not indicate direct risks for Progress Village residents.

There is one superfund site in the area, and it is in the port area just west of US-41 near Progress Village. The Raleigh Street Dump was operated from 1977 to 1991 and accepted refuse including batteries and construction debris. A fiberglass company currently operates on a portion of the land. This area was designated a part of the 'Superfund' National Priorities List in 2009, and underwent clean up from October 2012 through March 2014. While this superfund site is in the general vicinity of Progress Village, given its distance and current status, it is reasonable to assume it no longer presents a risk to Village residents.

In August 2013, the area including the Mosaic Riverview plant and the southern half of Progress Village was deemed a Sulfur Dioxide (SO₂) nonattainment area by the U.S. EPA (See map in Figure 7). EPA issued new National Ambient Air Quality Standards (NAAQS) for SO₂ in 2010 using a 3-year average of a 1-hour daily maximum concentration. This stricter standard was the first change made to EPA SO₂ guidelines since 1971, which measured primary standards at 24-hours and

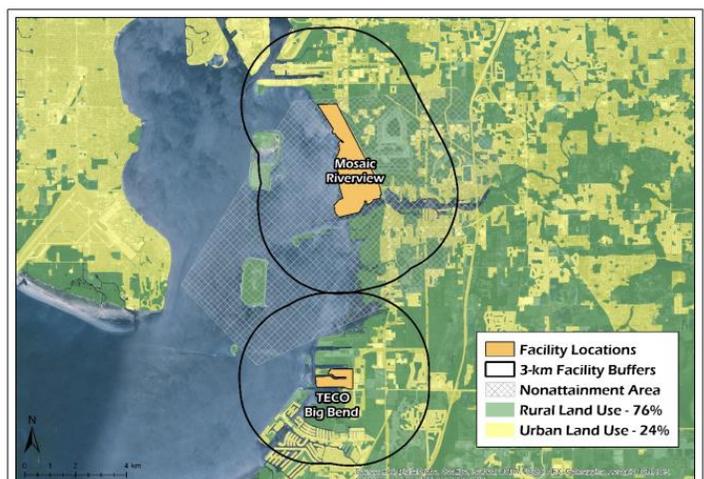


Figure 7: Hillsborough County SO₂ Nonattainment Area (FL DEP 2015)

an annual average, as well as a 3-hour average secondary standard (not to be exceeded more than once in a year). After reviewing the first 3 years of data available under the new standard, EPA found the area around Mosaic Riverview out of compliance. This is one of two SO₂ nonattainment areas in Florida, the other being in extreme northeast Florida's Nassau County. The compliance report by Florida Department of Environmental Protection (FL DEP) lists Mosaic Riverview as the only large emitting facility in the area, but also includes two small facilities in the range (i.e., Ajax Paving Industries, Inc.'s Plant No. 6 and Harsco Minerals) and the county's largest SO₂ emitter, the TECO Big Bend power plant, located just south of the nonattainment area. This report (FL DEP 2015) presents Florida's plan to bring this area into compliance with the new standards by 2017.

Analyses of industrial presence

The earliest forms of environmental justice analysis were simple proximity analyses, although these have fallen out of style as proximity does not denote actual risk. Such studies were important in proving the concept of environmental justice, as early on many people refuted the fact that minority and low-income communities are more often burdened with locally undesirable land uses (LULUs). Now it is accepted that land values fall with the arrival of minorities and industrial hazards follow, leaving minority communities to bear a greater burden of hosting hazardous sites. In a basic proximity analysis conducted as part of formative research for this study, I found this pattern holds for Progress Village. My GIS analysis showed the ratio of residential to industrial/mining land is 1.34 times higher within a 3-mile radius of Progress Village than at a 5-mile radius. At the county level, a 3-mile Progress Village buffer has a risk

ratio of 1.9 percent, meaning there is nearly twice as much industry and mining within 3-miles of Progress Village than for other residential areas in the county.

Proximity is useful in illustrating the problem of disproportionate siting, but it does not prove there is a danger to human health. It is notoriously difficult to prove a hazard causes adverse human health outcomes, especially when health conditions have many causes and long latency periods between exposure and outcome (e.g., cancer). There are surprisingly few studies on how phosphate mining effects human health. Most studies on phosphogypsum look at its varying chemical compositions or environmental impacts. While it is known what direct ingestion of the varying components of phosphogypsum can cause, when such illnesses occur in an area near a phosphogypsum stack it is extremely difficult to prove the stack was the cause and not other biological or environmental causes. One study addressing the health impact of Florida phosphate focused on the health of former phosphate workers (Block, Matanoski, Seltser and Mitchell 1988). This study found that phosphate workers before worker protections of the 1960s have high rates of cancer, but no increased risk was seen after the implementation of safety factors. Another study from the same year found that in lung cancer cases diagnosed from 1981 to 1983 in the Central Florida region, men in this region had a two-fold risk of lung cancer than a control population, although there was not statistically significant risks found for women (Stockwell, Lyman, Waltz, and Peters 1988). No studies on cancer incidence or prevalence among residents near phosphogypsum stacks were found while researching this thesis.

With this obvious dearth in the literature of the health risks present in the community, further study by trained and funded epidemiologists is needed to determine

if risks are present. The phosphate plant and gypsum stack are only two of the risks in the region, and the only one with a public relations program to interact and share information with nearby communities. Future studies should include the other industries in the area, what risks they pose, and how they relate to residential communities.

Today there are techniques beyond proximity to show likely human exposure and absorption of toxins. The best of these use environmental GIS modeling to not only include point source releases at varying daily levels, but also incorporate wind and weather patterns and other factors that can influence the dispersion of a hazard. Such models are conducted by trained environmental scientists. At USF there are three professors skilled in this kind of modeling, although their specialties vary (e.g., one only works with air pollution). Scholars can also estimate the amount of chemicals by making a series of assumptions based on publically available data such as the Toxic Release Inventory, which monitors releases of specific chemicals with daily maximum and annual average values. For instance, a 2001 GIS analysis of Toxic Release Inventory sites in Hillsborough County shows Progress Village is exposed to the highest number of potential toxic releases in the county, with 10 to 13 possible releases in range (Chakraborty 2001). While there are not enough studies available to prove the health impacts of industry to PV residents, it is clear they are overburdened with industrial development.

Barriers to analysis

Even with detailed modeling methods available, such analysis and access to the necessary data is difficult to understand without considerable focused training on environmental science modeling. As stated, even professors with this as their specialty

only feel competent to conduct models in one dispersion method (i.e., air, water, soil), as each acts differently with different variables. While residents fighting against environmental justice often become ‘citizen scientists’ and learn how to conduct their own monitoring and analysis (Checker 2008), generally this proves only the presence of hazards in living areas and still does not prove their origin or responsibility for ill health. The type of modeling needed to prove a hazard came from an industrial source and was carried by winds or other weather patterns to a residential area requires specific training and access to complex software.

The world of citizen science grows daily with the resources and information sharing available on the internet through sources such as Public Lab (2014), but learning many of the techniques takes significant time and funding. As a Masters student, I was unable to find an appropriate way to determine how the tons per year of criteria pollutants emitted in the vicinity of Progress Village could be evaluated as possible health risks. Even if this were possible, there is the additional step of risk communication (discussed more in Chapter 5) to ensure the findings are communicated in an understandable way that does not generate fear.

Conclusion

The story of Progress Village’s resistance to the gypsum stack illustrates the structural violence subjected upon the community. Not only were the developer’s original promises of a fully resourced community not fulfilled, but this intentional community then had no alternative but to accept radioactive hazards in their backyard. As evident in the 1980 DRI approving stack construction years before the agreement battled by the community (HBOCC 1980), there was little chance of stopping a

development with a 1984 annual payroll of \$22,000,000; over \$1.2 million a year in real estate taxes, and contributing annual economic activity near \$43 million (Dietz 1984).

William recounts:

They were going to do it. It's a matter of what can the community benefit from. You can say 'I don't want nothing' and walk away... Let's let the community benefit as well. So my thinking was they going to do it, we can't afford that kind of, "Oh they're not going to." We're not going to be able to stop it, so let us get something that will help this community over a long haul.

This illustrates the practicality of limited options within a situation of structural violence enforced by disproportional power relations. Such situations are made more likely through the strong residential segregation in the country prior to and at the time of the stack agreement. Little remains of the benefits promised by the phosphate agreement, with the stack's presence and scholarship program the only visible reminders. Still this construction preceded a boom in area development that presents unknown risks and benefits to a community that does not focus on such issues. In chronicling the history of relationships between Progress Village and nearby industries, this chapter lays the groundwork necessary to answer the main question of Chapter Five: the relevance of environmental justice to the neighborhood.

Chapter 5: On Not Engaging with Environmental Injustice

Introduction

Signing an agreement with a company is not a common move for a small Black community. Often these communities hold so little power they are not included in discussions of development. When they are included, Black communities often do not trust outsiders due to a history of abuse and broken promises. This often joins a lack of willingness from the corporation to make concessions to residents (especially minorities), leaving such legal agreements rare. The situation in Progress Village represents the unique joining of an extractive industry tied to place with a community philosophy that encourages engagement with power structures. Instead of fighting against industry, Progress Village presents an approach to oppression where residents believe working within the system provides more beneficial outcomes than working against it. Today's community shows what benefits and roadblocks proceed from this approach.

This chapter builds on the history of neighborhood-industry interactions presented in Chapter 4 to demonstrate why the Progress Village of today is not a traditional environmental justice community, even as it possesses elements of environmental injustice. Such a discussion requires a distinction between the reality of environmental injustice and a community's reaction to this injustice.

As stated in Chapter 2, environmental justice highlights how “no group of people should bear a disproportionate burden of environmental harms and risks, including those resulting from the negative environmental consequences of industrial, governmental, and commercial operations or programs and policies” (EPA 2011). Thus conditions of environmental justice describe the physical environment in residential areas. A location itself can display characteristics of environmental injustice, sometimes called environmental racism, without its residents being a part of the environmental justice movement. When groups of people organize to fight for an equitable distribution of environmental harms and risks, they are engaging in the environmental justice movement. It is important to note this distinction between the physical environment and how people react to their circumstances or organize against a given injustice. Neighborhoods referred to as environmental justice communities, like those in Checker’s (2005) account, organize against environmental injustice and join their local fight with the larger environmental justice movement. Chapter 4’s proximity analysis showing how Progress Village has double the risk of being surrounded by commercial or industrial land than the rest of the county demonstrates how Progress Village is an example of environmental injustice. This chapter’s analysis of community politics and issues shows how they are not a part of the environmental justice movement. Examining the politics and history of the area are vital to understanding the neighborhood’s lack of participation in environmental justice organizing.

This chapter explores the neighborhood’s alternative approach to achieving a better future for its residents. Key is the philosophy of working within the system termed southern gradualism that was instrumental to the neighborhood’s founding. The

subsequent section explores how a person's conception of immediate and broader community shape power relations and societal privileges, and how U.S. trends toward individual isolation fit with a narrow view of community. To understand how these two historical trends relate to environmental justice, we must then explore the components of risk perception and the history of risk communication. How residents perceive and act on risks often relates to the amount of power they are able to wield. The chapter thus moves from a discussion of risk to an examination of the community as it stands today and their perceived priorities, before tying these points together into a view of environmental justice impacts in Progress Village. What emerges is truly about different ways to approach enduring oppression, with Progress Village accepting initial setbacks to receive greater ties to power structures that yielded improved opportunities.

Southern Gradualism

Working within the system

Around the time when Progress Village was built, the Florida governor Leroy Collins institutionalized the philosophy of gradualism often seen in the south (Lawson 2003, Alicea 1986). With racial tensions growing around the country in the 50s and 60s, Collins wanted to preserve his tourism-based economy by preventing race riots that may have scared northern visitors. He thus promoted gradualism, bringing Black communities into negotiations to ease the process of integration at a pace acceptable to Whites. Sensing change after the Supreme Court's pro-integration Brown vs the Board of Education ruling, Progress Village became a pressure valve for equal rights, releasing some of the building resistance to oppression by permitting decent housing, while still preserving residential segregation.

Local civil rights leaders who came from outside or did not depend on the local White power structure for their livelihood opposed the neighborhood on the grounds it did not challenge segregation and removed Black people from the city center (Alicea 1986). The families that moved to Progress Village made these concessions of separation. One new resident described the choice to move to PV as follows (Alicea 1986, 52):

Don't think we are not in favor of integration. It is a choice of whether to sit and fight—where we were—or to have a decent place for our children. When you compare where we were, the matter of segregation becomes minor when you think of the homes we now have and the places we now have for our children, with a good school and away from the honkey-tonks. We know what we are getting into.

Making compromises for the good of one's family or the future is still the guiding principle of the neighborhood, with strong emphasis placed on children doing better than their parents and progressing to a better economic and social place. Residents continually call themselves a striving community, and their current motto is "Keeping Progress in the Village." These ideas translate easily into working within the system when the desired path is not possible, as occurred with the stack agreement. Today many community leaders serve on advisory boards or government planning boards, continuing to yield influence on local government matters. Working within southern gradualism provided community leadership entree within some local power structures, although the pace of change may be slower than other places that fought without compromise.

For example, Tampa's June 1967 race riots demonstrated how much of Tampa's Black community remained marginalized with few resources, and those working within the system hindered implementation of the few promises attained in this violent outburst. Just prior to the riots, a member of Tampa's bi-racial committee said that while gains made have been in the middle-class, "the average Negro still remains untrained, unemployed, and unthought of." (Lawson 2003, 231) Riots began after the killing of an unarmed Black man by a White police officer. During the riots, James Hammond, administrator of Tampa's bi-racial Commission on Community Relations was sent to talk to the youth in the riots, who were quoted as suspicious of the "cats who get respect downtown but not with their own people." (Lawson 2003, 231) With the eventual cooperation of Tampa's Black youth, the riots ended, having brought attention to the limited means and options in this community. This led to a flood of programs and funding to help the struggling Black communities of Tampa, including a matching-fund grant for youth employment. Although some changes were made immediately after the riots, businesses soon forgot their commitments, with donations never reacting more than 1/3 of their goal. The program was scrapped just three years later in 1970 (Lawson 2003, 232). This incident highlights how the middle class working within the system did not help the majority of poor Blacks in Tampa. When there was a concerted push for change through the riots, there was a sudden surge of help available, yet this dissipated when the regular system regained control.

Reluctance to jeopardize the benefits of cooperation

Today anthropologists commonly acknowledge there is no unity of perception or opinion within a community; this tension between group structure and individual agency is key to change. Within Progress Village there have been leaders who do not agree with

working within the system, as well as many residents who are not involved in any such decisions.¹ Community organizations are the neighborhood's political face and set its course. When this leadership occasionally opposed societal power structures, they were removed from the area. This happened at least twice in community history, although there is not consensus or documentation of these instances being coordinated efforts.

The first instance occurred around the neighborhood's founding. With the first families moving-in, A.D. Gaither was a prominent Black politician who took it upon himself to ensure residents had the needed resources. As a member of the county Board of Instruction and in charge of the Black schools of Hillsborough County, Mr. Gaither was a notable leader in the Black community (Alicea 1986) but was not on the Board of Directors for Progress Village, Inc. He walked door to door in the community and talked to the initial owners. Marshall, a long-time resident, described Gaither as "sent from the School Board out here to tell us what Progress Village was going to look like when it was completed." Residents were considering electing a president to be spokesperson for the community, but Gaither advocated for an organization that became the Civic Council, where elected representatives could work together on neighborhood decisions.

An educated and connected man, Mr. Gaither was elected the first president of the Civic Council, even though he did not live in the neighborhood. As stated earlier, this organization became essential in the neighborhood achieving better services, such as drainage and transportation, and still exists to this day. He served for at least one year, and residents encouraged him to continue as president. Gaither resisted, wanting

¹ Those who are not a key part of the community's leadership history often make strong impacts in other ways, such as through the youth sports program supported by some of my research participants (whose history is not explored in this paper).

to keep the power within the community. There are conflicting reports on to why he stopped being involved with the organization. Some say he never wanted to be involved himself, but stepped-in when asked and handed-over leadership as soon as possible. One rumor was that the newspaper he started for the community, The Progress Village Pioneer, was seen as a threat to the established Black regional newspaper, the Florida Sentinel. This established newspaper was run by one of the Progress Village, Inc. board members, C. Blythe Andrews, and rumor has it he did not want the competition. I was told he found a job out of town and thus was taken away from leadership. Another conspiracy theory is that Mr. Gaither was recommended for the job out of town in part to stop his advocacy on the part of Progress Village.

The second instance of a person not working within the precepts of southern gradualism and being promoted out of leadership in the Village happened in the 1990s. In this instance, the president of the Civic Council adopted a strong stance against the gypsum stack, claiming it caused health problems in the community and demanding its removal, along with halting of truck traffic through the neighborhood. This leader was also called away by an ideal out-of-town job, recruited by an old community liaison from the phosphate company. As the job was a good opportunity in line with their interests and near family, and the president felt the community was united and strong in its opposition message, the job won and the PVCC found a new leader.

Both instances show a leader working to strengthen community demands who was taken away by a too-good-to-refuse job that required moving. While the circumstances were different, it parallels how civil rights leaders were kept out of the

planning of Progress Village because they supported demands not acceptable to local power structures.

In addition to outsiders displacing leaders who voice too strong of demands, community leadership also minimizes opposition to the agreement by not sharing information on its existence. When asked, leaders at the time told me they received strong backlash from the rest of the Black community for signing an agreement with the company, thus they did not advertise the agreement to minimize conflicts.² Some leaders also mentioned hesitancy on a final clause in the agreement that perhaps they could lose the benefits if they were to speak out against the stack. In my research I was not able to find a non-disclosure or non-opposition clause. In all my interviews with residents and former residents, the only ones who knew about the 1980s agreement were a part of the organizing at the time or had a chance encounter with an outsider who was involved. Some newer residents knew of rumors that the company hurt the health of kids in the community and that is why there is a scholarship, a rumor that portrays the company in a more villainous light than reality. As the agreement is so little known in the community, there is no cry for enforcement. Communicating the history of the agreement would not only improve the currently weak institutional memory but also strengthen the community's ability to press for enforcement.

² I was told the Fla Sentinel-Bulletin from around the time the agreement was signed (8/15/84) would have op-eds saying Progress Village betrayed the Black community, but I can't find copies from that time. The USF library has the paper's archives, but the only paper available from 1984 is the November issue, in which the agreement isn't mentioned.

Isolation as a U.S. trend

Another reason residents of The Village do not know of the agreement is the difficulty communicating due to a trend toward isolation in U.S. society. Deuze (2007, 5) describes how “the individual has become the center of all things” through changing social institutions and increasing demands placed on individuals. Heiman (2015) describes how this happens in a contemporary American suburb, with increasing emphasis on one’s immediate family to the detriment of community. This follows the reasoning of Karl Marx (Tucker 1978, 77-78, 160), who wrote of the isolating power of capitalism. Here, profit seekers have no concern but the pursuit of more profits, and use workers as commodities to secure more profits. Highest profits come when workers compete with each other, lowering their wages. By devaluing labor and increasing precarity, this reserve army of labor (e.g., there is always someone to take your job) pits worker against worker, minimizing connections between those in a similar position.

Such a turn from community associations was predicted from the isolating effect of capitalism, where Marx saw labor in industrial capitalism as transforming “social relations between people ... into economic relations between things - economic relations which operate in an alien way, independently of us.” (Sayers 2011, 60) This contrasts with what Marx saw as all human existence deriving meaning from social relationships. By being forced by economic activities into only one activity of production (e.g., a job), we are alienated from the larger social system in which we exist. Marx’s concept of alienation refers not only to being alienated from the products of your labor, but how this act of alienation impacts our social lives. Unable to exercise the range of our interests and skills, we are also limited from fully connecting with the world around

us. Drawing from these Marxian concepts into the modern United States, it is not surprising to see the heightened emphasis on individualism to the detriment of community and familial relations. The impact of these abstract conceptions is easily seen in the movement of Progress Village from a remote but unified community into today's packed landscape and fractured resident groups.

Lack of communication

In the early days of Progress Village, it was much easier to contact residents. One of the stories told about the honorary mayor of Progress Village, Emmanuel P. Johnson, is his role as town crier. In the 1960s and 70s he would drive around in his truck with a bullhorn attached and shout out the news of the neighborhood, calling people to meetings or letting them know the happenings of the Civic Council. The Civic Council also published its own newspaper for a brief period, and members of various community organizations would go door to door to spread the news of neighborhood happenings. The Progress Village Park also played a key role, as everyone would be down in the stands on Saturday mornings to see the children play baseball, softball, or later football. While the kids played, the parents and other community members would share stories of what was happening. Early residents had all recently chosen to move to this isolated neighborhood, so there was greater unity of purpose and commonality of age that bred communication.

While the Civic Council remains active today, it has difficulty in getting people out to meetings and communicating with all residents. Today there is no town crier spreading the Civic Council's news. Instead, information spreads through a website that is rarely updated, monthly meetings at a consistent time, and a couple signs at entry/exit points to the neighborhood. Occasionally, Civic Council members go door to

door to drop-off flyers for an upcoming event, attempt to get signatures on a petition, or do a mass mailing to the neighborhood. Still, many residents with whom I spoke were uninformed about current neighborhood initiatives. Knocking on everyone's door takes time, volunteers, and a boldness to go to unknown doors and challenge the privacy so highly valued in today's society. Producing mailings and signs quickly becomes expensive. The Civic Council appoints block captains responsible for ensuring everyone on their block is informed of neighborhood activities and serving as a point of contact for complaints, yet many of these positions are unfilled. Community organizations try multiple paths to inform the neighborhood, but with their small numbers and limited funding, it is a difficult task.

Leadership in the Civic Council continues to be those who moved in during or before the 1980s, meaning the youngest officers did not grow-up with cell phones or the internet. Stephanie voiced how this can be a barrier to communication with younger residents: "This generation is very connected. ... And so the older generation, we're going to send-out a letter in the mail. You know the new generation, I'm waiting for a tweet, or I'm waiting for a Facebook post. And so I think that there probably could be some area for improvement there."

Outside of the civic association, other channels of communication on neighborhood issues include communal gathering spots like the park and churches, along with local news. While casual bleacher talk at the park previously served a unifying source of information, now most of the neighborhood games occur across the street at the new sports complex, making residents less centralized for information sharing (although this still happens). The neighborhood maintains three churches, yet

church members often live outside of the Village, and many Village residents maintain membership at the church their family attended before the construction of Progress Village. No longer does the neighborhood produce its own newspaper, but Tampa's local Black newspaper, the Florida Sentinel-Bulletin, continues to serve an important communication role, distributed by residents to their networks and often highlighting community events. These open sources of information bring community information to people who take the initiative to seek it out, but still does not use today's communication technology to help solidify and formalize this communication.

Those least informed about neighborhood happenings are residents who moved to the neighborhood since the 1980s. For families with connections to the Village in its first couple decades, most identified "word of mouth" as how they learn about neighborhood news. For those not in the social network of the neighborhood it is difficult to learn these happenings. Many of the new people are reluctant to become involved, be it out of hesitancy to leave their comfort zone or fear that knowing your neighbor's business could be dangerous or costly. Reaching new residents is thus very difficult, as reflected in the difficulties I had in getting referrals to residents who moved-in since 1990.

Today the neighborhood is divided in old and new, young and old, and has a difficulty spreading news. This difficulty communicating is not just an organizational problem, but reflects a broader societal trend of speaking less with our neighbors.

Individualism

This was a constant theme throughout not just Progress Village, but also the surrounding neighborhoods: the desire for quiet. Residents new and old mention quiet as a top neighborhood asset, although older residents consistently viewed community

as most important. What comprises this “quiet” varies (e.g., a lack of crime, community safety, or nature appreciation), yet this desire functions as both safety seeking by new arrivals and a broader U.S. trend towards isolationism. Regardless of the motivation, quiet-seeking behavior leads to fewer unplanned resident interactions, weakening community unity.

This in part comes from society’s increasing mobility and technological connections. It is now common in the U.S., including in Progress Village, for youth to move away from their hometown. This separates grown children from their parents, meaning fewer extended family relations and looser ties to the area. This lack of ties interacts with online social networking and the internet create a feeling of connection without personal contact. Theoretically, residents can be informed without visits to the Saturday games in the park or neighborhood block parties.

With people keeping to themselves, it becomes harder to establish community unity. The early years of Progress Village were especially unique because residents all chose to move to this rural community in search of a better life for their families. As years wore on, there was no longer such commonality of intent. By the 1980s, drugs, youth leaving, and lessening segregation created divisions since exacerbated by the continuing growth of capitalist individualism.

There is also a narrative of self-reliance in the U.S., particularly in struggling communities (Kelley 1997). The U.S. myth of pulling yourself up by the bootstraps highlights this American ideal of individualism. One person, the idea goes, has it in their power to change their future, and the only thing holding them back is their own failings. If you work hard enough, you can make it, and this does not require the support of

others. Many feel that no matter how bad they have it, they should not take “handouts” because there is always someone worse off and they can make due on their own. Interviewee Lisa is a perfect example. Being the only adult income for her household, she was forced to temporarily stop working due to injury from a car accident. Two teenagers also contributed to the household finances, but one just had a baby. With the two elementary-aged children also in the house, Lisa, the two teens, and three children lived on a minimum-wage income. Still, Lisa related that:

...my neighbor over here, I saw her a couple days ago and she said “Why haven’t you come over there and get some [free] food for those kids?” And I’m like “Well we really don’t need it.” I don’t want to just take it because it’s free, you know? I’d rather leave it for families that need it more than us, so, I mean a lot of kids and the grandkids come over, and I’m going to have food if I don’t have anything else. ... If it’s only enough for me I’ll give that away if someone come over. I’ll just eat a sandwich or something like that. And that’s just me. I’ve always been like that.

Another long-time resident, Quinn, recounted how he would not let his children apply to the scholarship fund, saying “...let that go to people who actually need it. And some people thought that we were crazy because we didn’t allow [our children] to participate in that program, but that’s the way we are. I know some people made as much money if not more than me, and their children were on reduced lunch or free lunch. I just couldn’t send my children out like that.” This narrative is deeply embedded in the American consciousness, as the poor are often derided for living off handouts. To combat this image many who need help are vigorously independent, and some even

look down on those who accept help. Pride is gained through being able to do it on your own, even though research shows individual efforts did not create their difficult situation, individual effort cannot raise everyone's life options, and very few people with wealth earned it on their own (Kelley 1997, Lipsitz 2006).

This growing lack of unity makes maintaining a community organization difficult. Not only Progress Village residents but also those I spoke with in the neighboring communities related the difficulties of getting people to come out to meetings, or the stark lack of interest in joining community organizing. Interviewees' major reasons for not being involved included poor relationships with the current leaders and lack of time or interest. Most at some point voiced an issue that would bring them into organizing, but it needed to, as Patricia put it, "involve the house I am living in." She continues:

So I don't have time to be out there in the neighborhood being, you know, nosing around, trying to decide what's going on with Sister Sue and Mary over there. Because I got enough going on in here. ... I got my grandkids, I have meetings to go to, I have the school things to go to. I have to pick them up. I have one... she's into a lot of sports. She's in every sport there is. My day is filled. Then when they get home then I have them do their homework then after that, then I got to cook and get them into bed by 9. So my day is full. You know, it's just full.

Other new residents came from parts of town where violence and poverty were common, and not getting involved is a safety mechanism. Marcus voiced it this way: "I try to stay out of everyone's way and I try to be as quiet as possible. If somebody come to me and say, 'Oh, this person right there', I say, 'Man I don't know nothing about

that.’ Whatever you have with it or with that person, let that person be, because that’s how stuff start.” New residents continually voiced how they liked the quiet of Progress Village as opposed to the neighborhood from which they moved, where there would be gunshots or people running through your house to escape the police. Stephen said his favorite thing about the neighborhood is that, “it’s quiet, it is peaceful. Nobody bothers nobody,” while Jermaine says, “I think it’s pretty nice, you know? Pretty quiet. Like at nighttime I’m not hearing no helicopters or gunshots, so... that’s pretty good.” Treasuring this quiet is also a goal of long-term residents. Patricia, living in the Village less than a year, related an interaction with her new elderly neighbor: “...the lady said ‘we don’t have a whole lot going on out here now, so we like it nice and peaceful out here.’ I said, ‘OK.’ And then you know, they don’t really associate that much but then when you do come out they’ll talk to you once in a while.” This desire for quiet was especially strong in the short-time residents.

Some young, newer people simply did not believe in formal community organization, feeling leaders developed organically from the people sought-out and trusted to handle issues. This view contradicted most of the others, as one particular young person did not know the effort put into achieving neighborhood goals and simply saw problems get fixed. His view also refuted the isolationism trend, as he felt most neighborhood residents knew each other, but were just not involved in formal leadership structures beyond sports. This means there may be other currents of leadership outside of the formal community organizations than what I was able to discern. Many elders agreed that the youth all knew each other, but in the same breath

people told of how everyone stayed in their houses these days and you wouldn't know they were there except for when the kids come home from school.

This may be part of a broader generational gap between old and young residents. An older millennial, Stephanie, noted:

[I] think there is a generational gap as well. People thinking, 'oh, if I should know it, it should come to me.' And they don't always seek and research those types of things, even though they will look-up the new song, the new dance. Because you think when you look at the civic council, most of them are older. ...this [new] generation is very connected. I think this younger generation expects you to come to them.

Age is not the only barrier with current leadership in getting new people involved. The bond between people of the original families seems difficult to break into for newer residents. Some are turned-off, saying there are a lot of old people who are stuck in their ways and so newer or younger residents don't feel welcome to voice their ideas. Marcus felt that "people don't take kindly... of changing things that's been in existence. They don't take kindly to that." Some newer owners in the neighborhood voiced interest in getting involved but felt like outsiders because it seemed everyone else in the neighborhood knew each other, and she only recognized them, finding it difficult to get involved deeper. Lisa, who has lived in the Village over a decade, put it this way:

I just don't feel like I'm an original. Because I still don't know a lot of people out here, even though I've been out here so long. And people that are from this area and this community, they know

everybody. They grew-up out here so they know the grandmothers, and the aunts, and everything like that. And they're like 'Well do you know the Williams?' and I'm like, 'Well no.' 'Well you have to know them if you've been there that long' and I'm like 'Well no.' I'm just working and I'm a homebody and a lot of my friends and family are across town.

One newer arrival who is involved tells a story about how upon moving in, their long-time resident neighbor guided them through neighborhood happenings and brought them out to meetings, introducing them to everyone. It seems for a group with such long ties and established leadership, bringing-in new leadership from resident who have the time requires personal connections and an overt willingness to implement the ideas of newer members.

The newer neighborhoods around Progress Village sidestep this lack of participation by establishing homeowner associations (HOAs). These require financial contribution to communal neighborhood needs and often have clauses whereby residents can be forced to maintain the property to a certain prescribed standard and adhere to certain behavioral norms or face penalties. Through this project I spoke with people in two of the nearby developments built since 2000, and both ensure neighborhood cleanliness and amenities such as street lights through an HOA. Only one of these communities has a board of residents who meet to discuss how to spend communal HOA funding or discuss problems needing amelioration; the other is run strictly by an outside company. This meant there was no communal group knowledge

sharing or community building, and my interviewee only knew the people directly surrounding her house on the block.

While many newer Progress Village residents also only know their immediate neighbors, Progress Village differs because they have no way to compel residents to maintain their property outside of calling code enforcement. Many resident complaints relate to trash on the streets or poorly maintained yards, with a desire for the neighborhood to aesthetically appear clean and maintained. Without ways to instill a sense of pride in the community or to compel non-cooperative residents to attain a level of cleanliness, Progress Village continues to operate on a community organization model needing intensive organizing that struggles to reach all residents.

This section addressed how growing individualism leads to less community organizing, with many neighborhoods now using coercive HOA measures depending not on cooperation but mandates. The unity of early Village families also inhibits new arrivals from breaking through to join the coordination, as some find it intimidating and others feel the old leaders aren't open to new ideas.

Desegregation and diversity

Progress Village is unique in its origin story, which leads to other unique moments as it moves into the modern day. A segregated neighborhood that only those few 1950/60s Black residents with job security could afford, the original Progress Village was an elite Black neighborhood. Even with many of the original residents coming from public housing, in the 1960s public housing was a step up from many of the available options, as one resident noted that at least public housing had brick construction and indoor plumbing. As stated earlier, those who moved into Progress Village originally made the compromise to not fight for integration but accept this limitation for a chance

at a peaceful life with opportunities for their family. Doing so meant leaving behind those not able to afford this advancement, as well as essentially removing their voice and pressure from the fight for integration. Putting the personal over others is a common and accepted approach to life in the United States, although it manifests differently in the Black and White community. Many Black people see the commonality of oppression and a need to help others, while White families often do not feel obligated to other Whites. This is a function of White supremacy, that the White group does not identify as a communal entity yet minorities experience the shared exploitation based on their skin tone and are more likely to feel an allegiance to this imagined community (Lipsitz 2006, Guinier & Torres 2003).

How broadly a person identifies their commonality is a function of their definition of family and community. To whom are you as a person obligated? If it is just your immediate family or a chosen family of a few close friends, they are the only considerations before making a decision. Some people adopt responsibility for a broader community, such as their neighborhood or an imagined community of race or nation (Anderson 1991).

People in the late 1950s who felt their community was all African Americans would be less likely to move to Progress Village, as doing so meant continued participation in segregation. If you are looking out for your immediate family, what matters is they have the best opportunities. Financially secure Black families who moved to Progress Village in the 1960s for this reason would also be inclined to move again when an opportunity to better the chances of their family appeared. For many this began as integration took hold in Florida and Black workers had more opportunities

for education, advancement, and secure employment. A number of early community leaders moved-out between 1975 and 2010 as opportunity increased. When they could move out, they did. Others may have moved to the neighborhood for better opportunities for their family, but then adopted Progress Village as an extended family and remain committed to its betterment to this day, with some vocal of their conscious choice to continue living in The Village and others actively involved in the community even after moving. Even those who stayed often spoke of how they could afford to move out, and many long term residents speak of a significant other or child who continually prods them to leave The Village.

As prosperous original families moved-out, this opened their houses to new residents. Known as a Black neighborhood, this area was undervalued and many of the houses were sold at low prices. Many Whites, especially those with money, saw Progress Village only as a Black neighborhood and would not consider moving there. Thus the people who were left behind in Tampa's poor Black neighborhood when Progress Village was built are some of today's new residents. This adds a class division within community residents that functions as an additional barrier to today's community organizing.

While the early years of integration rarely saw non-Blacks moving into Black neighborhoods unless they were in an inter-racial relationship, this has changed in recent years. Most of the older community members still refer to the Village as a Black community, but other residents do not consider it a Black neighborhood. In his early 20s, Jermaine states that, "I like the way that you have so many different people here. So the kids, they are growing up with not just one race ... So nowadays in this neighborhood there are so many different people and they, and some of them

communicate and all of them go and mingle and stuff. That, OK. You got Mexicans, Blacks, [and] Whites.” During my time in the neighborhood I also noted a number of Hispanic and White residents. While integration meant Progress Village lost some of its more prosperous residents, it eventually made the community more diverse, although many still see it as a Black neighborhood.

The recent influx of racial diversity does not expand to income diversity. In fact, the new residents in this study were all on the lower-income range (\$60,000 or under) and had more people living in a house. Long-term residents were typically better educated with higher incomes and fewer people per house.³ Often coming from low-income neighborhoods, many of these new residents did not have benefits such as the parks, close government connections, and industry-funded programs enjoyed by Progress Village residents. A major question raised from the results of this thesis is how much impact did the satiation of Progress Village residents with such benefits have on the rate of improvement in other Black neighborhoods of Tampa? Especially as much of the financially secure portion of 1950s Black Tampa moved to Progress Village, these residents likely exerted greater political power than their poorer counterparts. As illustrated in the earlier example of the 1967 Tampa riots, most of Black Tampa still struggled with few opportunities in the late 60s. These poorer residents left behind in the creation of Progress Village are some of those now moving to the open and now low-priced Village housing.

This section illustrates how the mentality of continually striving and taking every opportunity to better your family without consideration for broader societal injustices,

³ Some original families have descendants living in multiple homes in Progress Village.

along with societal limiting of Black real estate value, led to the current divisions in the Village. The initially elite community lost much of its upper crust when integration opened opportunities to live elsewhere. Racism's continual hindrance of Black neighborhoods meant the White community of Tampa perceived Progress Village as first a Black neighborhood, which kept housing prices low and restricted who dared move-in. This leaves the descendants of the original families in financial and educational contrast to newer residents, even as racial diversity increases. Such racial and class differences make it increasingly difficult for residents to reach consensus or organize.

Risk Perception and Communication

Regardless of the organizing possible in a neighborhood, resident perception of their physical landscape changes with new knowledge. Such perceptions of corporate interests or possible risks to human health or safety are typically closely monitored and influenced by power sources such as industry or the government. The fields of risk perception and risk communication focus on how these groups can prevent panic in the general public through strategic framing of issue perception by community member. Humans are notoriously bad at judging risk, and studies show that perception greatly affects an area's prosperity and health (Cutter 1993). Stress from perceiving your life is at risk of daily harm has been shown to lower people's immune systems and present other medical conditions (Williams & Mohammed 2009). Rumor of industrial contamination can tank an area's real estate prices much easier than a campaign to correct the rumor's misperception (Masuda & Garvin 2006). In speaking with people working in environmental health, often their tactic is to tell the public as little as

possible, because they do not trust the public to understand and not overreact to hazards which are present in everyone's daily life (Cutter 1993).

The science of risk perception documents that people accept more risk if they feel in control and place themselves in the risky position. Thus many people are terrified of dying in a plane crash while they gloss over the much more likely scenario of a serious accident when driving. They are in control of the car and thus feel it lessens the odds something will happen, while they cannot control the plane. This is one of many insights used by people who determine what to tell people about the dangers in their lives.

What is most important to the case of Progress Village is learning what shapes residents' general lack of concern about industrial pollution. Is it successful risk communication, an understanding and acceptance of the risk present, or ignorance to the situation? Village leaders have built relationships and a history of trust with Mosaic and believe the industry supports them and they benefit from this arrangement. Risks and dangers are not evident, and thus there is no drive to spend time on investigations that may disturb what is seen as a positive relationship. The risk communication field could consider this a success, as industrial risks rarely enter the consciousness of nearby residents and have not impacted nearby property values, with many new and valuable residences recently built nearby. Unfortunately risks and risk perception do not necessarily share a reality, and recent events lend doubt the community fully understands and accepts the risks present.

The recent revelation that the EPA was investigating Mosaic for the last decade regarding mixing unmonitored harmful chemicals into the gypsum stacks in Riverview

and elsewhere should be a concern. This is not necessarily because it means resident health is in danger, but because it means they do not have the open conversation they thought was present with Mosaic. This incident proves that for a decade, while a representative attended at least monthly meetings in the community, no one informed the community that there was an ongoing investigation into a technique for the stack. This investigation began in 2004 when radioactive water spilled from the stack during a 2004 hurricane. At the time, County Commissioner and Chair of the Hillsborough County Environmental Protection Commission Jan Platt said, “It’s distressing. Gypsum stacks near the bay just don’t work. They’re a ticking time bomb,” (Zink, James & Varian 2004). In regards to the lack of communication about the investigation that grew from this incident, the risk communication literature may say it is best to not make this news public until the story is complete and a unified message can be implemented, but it is the betrayal of trust from this long-term relationship with the community that seems most vital.

Thoughts on health

This research found that residents are not currently concerned with industrial impacts on their health. When asked if Progress Village was a healthy neighborhood, most residents addressed if residents were healthy, noted the facilities available for exercise, or spoke of concerns with drug activity. Safety as compared to inner-city neighborhoods was seen as a plus, as long as you “stand out [the] way” of other people’s problems. Sometimes the conditions of the old houses was noted as unhealthy, such as with sewage problems from old pipes. Still most consider the neighborhood healthy with some “unhealthy ways”. This displays residents’ sophisticated understanding of health as multi-faceted and inclusive of social conditions. When industries were mentioned, it

was mainly to wish for more employment opportunities nearby, or concern with traffic pollution.

This does not imply residents are unconcerned with the area's health. Delores called it a "high dusty neighborhood" because of the chemical plant, with others, including Lorraine, are also concerned about risks from the stack's dust that might cause cancer. Still Janice credits the area's health to uncluttered air. William shared that, "I guess if I had any question, I wish someone would do a study on it. And this is a very good area to do it. Is the incidence of cancer greater within a certain radius of chemical stacks, of a gypsum stack, than in other areas? And if so, what is that percentage and what kind of cancer does it... kind of separate it?" Other residents voiced a more direct concern with possible health risks from the nearby industry, although often based on false accounts that a previous health incident earned the community the scholarship program. When residents were asked if there were any health problems more common to area residents than elsewhere, the only consistent mention were concerns due to the number of elderly residents. When asked to rate the health of Progress Village on a scale of 1 to 5, the vast majority placed the neighborhood right in the middle or slightly on the healthier side. Even though they voice interest, many residents have not given thought to possible industrial dangers. As Checker (2007) notes, daily obligations often crowd out unknown health risks in the agenda of working residents. Most do not see there being any increased health risk to living in Progress Village, but are concerned to know if there is a problem.

The Structural Violence of Other Pressing Issues

Environmental health issues are far from the minds of most residents of Progress Village. When asked about their concerns about the neighborhood, a common range of issues emerged, reflecting problems encountered in any neighborhood. Sometimes truck traffic was mentioned, but primarily the concerns were for inter-neighborhood issues and government services, not addressing industrial development except to speak to the need for consistent and decent employment.

While environmental justice is not seen as a concern in the neighborhood, residents are consumed with a variety of other needs and pushes for community improvement. As stated in much of the environmental justice literature, those facing the trials of poverty are often so consumed with concerns of daily life they do not have the time or energy to work towards or even think about concerns outside of survival of their families. If the environmental concerns are not seen as immediate or life-threatening, they do not receive action. This theme holds outside of the EJ literature, with Maslow's hierarchy of needs placing basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter ahead of everything else (Maslow 1943). The Health Belief Model in public health notes that a person must not only believe they are susceptible to a negative outcome and that this is likely to happen, but also that they can do something to avoid the problem (i.e., self-efficacy) (National Cancer Institute 2005).

The below sections address what concerns come to the fore of resident minds while environmental justice issues are not present. These mirror the concerns of most neighborhoods, such as renters, youth delinquency, reputation, and economic insecurity.

New residents and renters

A major obstacle to achieving the neighborhood's goals is the division between old and new residents. As addressed earlier, many of the new residents, even if they have lived in the Village for 20 years, do not feel a part of the Progress Village community. This is true for both homeowners and renters, although renters present unique problems. A report by the Hillsborough County Children's Board (2000) also noticed this division, saying, "Residents also have a strong sense of pride in their homes and community, but that less commitment and pride can be found among many newer residents who tend to be from a more transient population."

Renters face double difficulty in integrating into the community: many homeowners do not accept them and they also deal with landlords whose only concern with the house is making money. Many renters described their landlords as slumlords who don't disclose issues with the house and are slow to fix problems. Renters described losing their deposits for regular wear and tear, and maintenance problems. For example, Patricia relates how

The whole year... [The bathroom] would stop up one side of the house, then they would unstop that side then the other side would stop up. And so I'm standing in the shower and it's still backing up. And so then [my friend] gets the thing and take it off and plunge and plunge and plunging it, and I went and got some of that stuff and poured in it, and oh boy, a whole bunch of it just pssshhhhhuuuuuh, right up out of there. And after that, then it was OK, for a little while. But then in the upper, the bathroom on the other side of the house, there was feces and everything else coming back up in the bathtub. ... And me having to stay there.

Other former renters described slumlords who never came for maintenance or who lied about the condition of the house to get people to move-in. With long-time residents resistant to new arrivals, these arrivals are also strained with often sub-par rental conditions.

This double burden of renters not becoming part of the neighborhood's social fabric and landlords with poor quality housing giving the area a bad reputation is a major problem for Progress Village. While the original Progress Village was intended to be a premier community and structurally selected the Black elite, issues from house design to racism's degradation of all Black communities mean residences in Progress Village no longer have an air of the elite. New permanent residents feel excluded from the community treasured by the original families, and often have work and family responsibilities that preclude their seeking involvement. Many of these new residents, renters or homeowners, come from the poorer Black neighborhoods in Tampa still facing the violence, poverty, and lack of opportunity the original residents looked to escape. Without fixing the root of these problems in the Central Florida region, Progress Village must incorporate the Black families originally left behind in its creation or continually struggle as those in poverty enter this dream neighborhood.

Delinquency

The main concern voiced by residents is the behavior of young men in the neighborhood. Young men occasionally sell drugs and get into fights, making some longer term residents avoid the streets. Still many residents say the problems are only in one part of the neighborhood, although they often disagree on the problem section. Residents generally saw their area as great, while the other side of the neighborhood had problems. This trend held for residents of a nearby mobile home park, too, with

each side pointing to the other as the problem. Through triangulating resident stories, I eventually identified a couple block radius as the area of primary concern, including by some residents who live in that portion of houses.

Older residents are concerned that youth do not respect the elders or know the history of what those who came before went through so they could have more opportunities. One interviewee discussed how oftentimes youth on the street would give a look when passing to deter the adult from engaging. Stephanie, an older millennial, confirmed this lack of institutional memory, saying:

I think coming up, my parents and my parent's parents, they instilled this sense of pride, this sense of community [but] they don't necessarily teach you your history. ... Like I did not know the history of Progress Village coming up. I knew ... it was one of the first places for Black people [to] live, but that was it.

Many youth in the community today feel a lack of opportunities and a lack of activities in the community. Boys hanging out on the street in the summertime told me there was nothing to do in the neighborhood; it was boring. One parent who had a young son wanted something productive he could join to keep him from joining kids wasting time and causing trouble on the streets. Currently the only programs in the neighborhood are sports, which are seasonal with possibly prohibitive uniforms costs. The Progress Village Panthers, the football organization, holds tutoring sessions, and the community itself is looking to get these set-up as a way to engage and encourage neighborhood youth to perform well in school. Once there was a county afterschool program run out of the building in Progress Village Park, but this was halted years ago

and all participants made to travel down to the Clair-Mel center down the road. 2015 saw the construction of a new gym facility by the sports complex, and the youth program reopened here in March 2016. While this holds potential for providing neighborhood youth a safe place to spend time, few options currently exist.

One of the dear memories older residents recount is how when they were youth, the community would hold dances at the park every Friday night. Youth would walk down and hang out all night safely. It appears the last dances happened in the 90s, stopped due to safety concerns. One teen in the community attended a private dance held in another community, and she was killed when someone shot into the crowd (Rossetter & Newcomer 2011). While elders wished youth could have the fun of the dances from when they were young, they are concerned about safety liabilities these days.

Residents of nearby areas named the young men with sagging pants walking around as one reason why the neighborhood should be avoided. This compounds with reports of break-ins in these new neighborhood, particularly in houses under construction. Often the thefts were traced back to youth from Progress Village. Theft sometimes continued in houses after move-in, but primarily in unlocked houses with no alarm system. People, including the local sheriff sub-station, related to me how if people locked their doors, closed their garage, and installed an alarm system, the thefts would stop. These seeming thefts of convenience also occur in the Village if cars were left unlocked or garages opened. Still, long-time residents are disturbed by the youth in the neighborhood. When asked her least-favorite thing about the neighborhood, Kimberly, an elderly female resident said,

The boys that stand on corners ... The things they doing out here now is just, ugh. I want to stay in my house... I got grandsons and stuff so you know I don't know what they doing and don't want to know. ... I'm not even comfortable sometimes when I want to take walks and stuff.

I was unable to talk with youth known to engage in such delinquency, although I spoke with men of all ages. One father in his mid to late 20s spoke of how he did some of that bad stuff when he was younger, and recognized people from back in that day who fought with him, and he was adamant of using his experience to help the kids these days who feel there is no alternative but to be dumb and mess around. While I did not spend time with many of these youth while in the neighborhood, it appears the lack of opportunities for making a livelihood or simple safe entertainment in the area lead youth to spend more time on the streets where they can get into trouble.

Reputation

Long-time residents are greatly concerned that the reputation of Progress Village does not reflect the caring and striving community they know. Many claim that anything bad that happens in the whole Palm River/Riverview area is classified as Progress Village in the press, even if it is far away. The main stories carried are of violence and robberies, not of the good points and community unity. Interviewees who recently moved into the neighborhood recounted how they heard the neighborhood was very bad just a few years ago, and residents of some adjacent neighborhoods described a "ghetto" or simply a dangerous area they tried to avoid. As Quinn puts it:

...I hate that people who aren't familiar with the area think oh it's a bad area, it's full of crime. They don't want their kids to come here.

They make comments about driving through there. That I dislike...

because I've never felt unsafe here. There are bad things that happen, but there are bad things that happen everywhere... They just don't know, and I think a bigger issue is they don't realize how that can make someone who is from here feel. It's being stereotypical to classify a whole neighborhood based on perception and not knowing it.

Officials give varying views on if the reputation is warranted, with a representative of the sheriff's office speaking to the danger and crime in parts of the neighborhood, and a politician stating how crime is not exceptional in Progress Village; it is instead the caring elders who set this neighborhood apart. Within the neighborhood there is general consensus that outsiders judge the neighborhood without knowing it as an undesirable space due to racial preconceptions and stereotypes. Robert try to reframe the conversation through his language:

When you say Progress Village, they probably heard some of the bad things that are around Progress Village. So I always say Progress Village as The Greater Community of Progress Village. It is a spin that we try to maintain within our community itself. And when you're from Progress Village, you have a little bit more pride.

Instilling such pride in the neighborhood is a constant concern of the homeowners, especially those who are part of the original families. One reoccurring demand of these residents is to improve the visual appearance of the area through maintaining yards and removing trash from streets and yards, with the hope such outward appearances will instill more pride and value in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood appearance

A common complaint of interviewees was the aesthetic appearance of the neighborhood, including maintaining the yard of abandoned houses and trash accumulating on the streets. As my research came after the housing crisis of the late 2000s that strongly impacted Black neighborhoods like Progress Village, residents were also worried about houses abandoned for long periods of time. As noted during the parade description that started this thesis, houses and yards vary greatly in their upkeep, some with high budget lawn care and improvements, while others fall apart and have wild yards. As Lorraine, an elderly resident, stated:

When people throw trash, I can't stand to see that. Sometimes people don't take the time to upkeep their yard. And when you have an abandoned building, you know, people gravitate towards abandoned buildings. Now that part I don't like.

Some residents believed this could be solved by instilling a sense of pride in the neighborhood, which would inspire residents to maintain their house and yard. Another participant worried that the large number of old people in Progress Village contributes to this problem, as they were no longer fit enough to do yard upkeep. The Civic Council coordinates yard service for elderly or infirm residents from collected donations, but the limited funds available are not enough to maintain every negligent household.

Community organization goals

While delinquency, reputation, and renters represent many of the concerns of residents, the community organization has additional projects. As in the neighborhood's infancy, they are again petitioning for street lights. These, it seems, must come from the private electric company, not the city or county, and over 80% of homeowners (not

residents, but homeowners) need to sign a petition before the company considers installation. The lighting in the neighborhood hasn't been updated since the early years, and there are even some empty poles simply not affixed with a light.

Another concern is traffic congestion, particularly with students being picked-up from the middle school. At pick-up time a long line forms blocking the main roads into and out of the neighborhood, making it difficult for residents to move around. A new elementary school was just constructed south of the middle school, yet it did not include an outlet for the middle school's traffic. Other primary concerns are aesthetic appearances, ensuring lawns are kept clean and free of trash. They also work on the primary concerns of finding activities for youth, helping them make it through school, and promoting a positive narrative of the neighborhood.

Conclusion

Environmental justice looks to community organizing to stand against degrading power structures that devalue the lives of minorities and low-income residents. Progress Village faces these negative environmental determinants, living near more industry than other residential areas in the county, yet they do not perceive this as an important risk to the community needing combating. They do not engage with the environmental justice movement and instead consider the major industry in the area a good neighbor. Neighborhood concerns instead include their negative reputation (based largely on the presence of Black people), youth delinquency, and renters not inculcated in the community's culture. They are not a community fighting for environmental justice, even as they encounter some injustices combatted by the movement.

Residents resist such engagement with environmental injustice through their long history of working within the system to achieve a better life for their family and community. This approach to oppression does not negate the difficult circumstances faced because they are a community of color in a racist world. By accepting some concessions to the ruling powers, like construction of the stack, residents were given advantages such as the scholarship and the ability to request funds as needed for community activities. These advances pertain only to those in the neighborhood, which does not help other Black communities in the area facing similar problems. Because of this approach, some in Progress Village have done quite well, and when they move out their spaces are filled by people from communities not afforded these advantages. Thus it is difficult these days to maintain the advantages so hard fought by the community, because the underlying oppression was not addressed.

People moving from rougher neighborhoods talk about Progress Village as a haven. After moving to Progress Village, Marcus related he feels “good where I’m at. I don’t want to go nowhere. I hit the lotto. I won’t tell nobody, just live right there.” Even when long-term residents sacrificed to give their families better lives, these original residents have moved away or died, impeding the unity that made organizing for the initial agreements possible. Class divisions within the Black community coupled with increasing isolationism make organizing a community harder than ever. To hold on to the advantages gained means continually inculcating the new residents with the philosophy of southern gradualism and empowering them to unite for community strength. If the community continues this path without addressing the underlying causes of oppression, the task of bringing-in new arrivals will continue in perpetuity.

Chapter 6: Lessons Learned

Oppression, particularly instances based on race, occurs daily in ways noticed and unseen. Environmental injustice is one instance only occasionally noted, yet the vast majority of low-income and minority communities bear a greater portion of industrial hazards than the majority community. This situation exists in Progress Village as it exists elsewhere. What makes the Progress Village experience particularly instructive is their approach to this injustice.

At multiple times in their history, Progress Village fought against these developments, yet were most often unsuccessful in stopping their construction. The most noticeable instance was in construction of the gypsum stack, which this thesis paints as a turning point in resident-industry relations. In ceasing opposition and entering into an agreement with the company, the neighborhood wagered their best chance for a safe and prosperous neighborhood was to make friends in the industry and government, becoming engrained in the decision-making process when possible. This action is often advocated by environmental justice communities alongside resistance, as voiced by participants in the 2015 North Carolina Environmental Justice Summit I attended. Here a popular saying was, “If you are not at the table, you are on the menu.”

Instances of working within the system that avoid outward resistance are often overlooked. This thesis posits it is important for academia to study such everyday situations, including those that fit within a critical environmental justice frame, to

understand the reality of daily life. By paying attention to the everyday, we can see the differing approaches to oppression evident in EJ communities organized in opposition versus neighborhoods facing environmental injustice but allied with power structures, as in Progress Village.

Signing the agreement with the company yielded mixed results, and has much to teach other neighborhoods currently seeking a community benefits agreement. This thesis finds such agreements must ensure the agreement lasts, phrasing the program so it can continue at least as long as the industry continues its local operations. Leadership will change over such spans of time, so it is important the agreement incorporates enforcement provisions that do not depend on pressure from community members. It is also smart to include hazard monitoring and communication in the agreements to alleviate the fear and burden for community members of unknown health risks. Even if all such provisions are met, signing an agreement may hinder solutions to social injustice. By working with the system, communities remove weight from the push for change without addressing the underlying injustice. Crafting a strong agreement can improve opportunities for those in the development's footprint, yet it may slow the push for social progress.

Separate from these key conclusions, data gathered in this thesis can inform future projects in the study community and in academia. This project's focus on community can only be fulfilled if my presence in the neighborhood yields residents a net benefit. I aim for the content to the study itself to be beneficial, and as such will communicate findings important for community development in a method useful to community leaders. Data can also point to studies needed on phosphate's impact on

surrounding residents and what mass extraction means for the world. In line with efforts at building sustainable communities, more attention should be paid to the relationships between industrial development and nearby residential communities. It is my hope that the data provided in this thesis helps further this discussion. The below sections expound on these lessons, divided by implementing party. The first is the community itself. My activist anthropology aims make it vital this thesis is beneficial to the community where I spent 2 years, and this section addresses how I hope to make this impact. There is much here to teach other resident-industry relationships, and so the second section focuses on lessons for other communities. I conclude with reflections on what this thesis means for how we study, including my call for a greater focus on the everyday relationships between residents and nearby industries. Table 2 summarizes the main conclusions within each of these sections.

Table 2: Conclusions

Audience	Theme	Conclusion
Progress Village Residents	Community Organizing	A key benefit to the community, interviews for this thesis asked residents about the assets and needs of the neighborhood. Topics of concern include a lack of involvement by new residents, difficulties in resident communication, and managing the neighborhood’s reputation. Such organizing is complicated by a trend toward isolationism, addressed in new communities through HOAs. I also advocate for greater sharing of information on the phosphate agreement to enhance its impact and longevity.
	Documenting History	Minimal public history of Progress Village exists, so chapters documenting community history add to the historical record on Black communities and power negotiations in the southern United States.

Table 2: Conclusions (Continued)

Audience	Theme	Conclusion
Other Resident-Industry Relations	Future CBAs	Essentially an early community benefit agreement, there is much to learn from the 1980s legal agreement between PV and the phosphate company. Learning from the agreement's 30 year history, this thesis identifies three essential lessons for new CBAs as continuity (ensuring the agreement lasts and is remembered through time), enforcement (provisions for ensuring agreement terms are followed without requiring more organizing or pressure from the community), and health monitoring (documenting and communicating elements that may impact resident health in a format accessible and understandable to community members). Signing a CBA can benefit local communities, yet they do not solve societal injustice.
	Phosphate's Importance	While extraction is currently a popular topic, rarely is phosphate mentioned. With this non-renewable element's necessity in DNA replication, more attention is needed to implications of over extraction, dwindling supplies, and ties to the green revolution and factory farming.
	Globalization/ Reindustrialization	Capitalist ideology requires new markets for businesses expansion, driving globalization. Simultaneously, resistance to competition makes most industries oligarchical. Phosphate conforms to these trends. If resistance to outsourcing continues and there is increased industrialization in the U.S., new tactics are needed to not exacerbate environmental injustice.
	Uniqueness of Phosphate	Due to the limited geographic distribution of phosphate deposits, business success requires access to specific locations. Phosphate attempts to gain the favor of local residents by intensive public relations efforts and donations to community groups. Regions with a strong regulatory structure can exercise power to ensure the industry minimizes hazards and truly benefits the local community.

Table 2: Conclusions (Continued)

Audience	Theme	Conclusion
Academia	Critical EJ	In presenting a new case study of critical environmental justice, this thesis recognizes that residents can face but not organize against environmental injustice.
	Power	Working within the system is one response to structural injustice, and must be considered within societal power relations. While large companies wield greater power than minority neighborhoods, intersectional power relations mean a person's multiple identities determine how much power they can exercise. Thus two marginalized communities experience oppression differently based on their other identities (e.g., class, education, marital status, parental status).
	Focus on resident-industry relations	More attention should be paid to the organization of relationships between residential areas and nearby industry, especially the harms and benefits therein.
	Attention to the Everyday	Studying only situations of resistance misses the majority of human experience, so academics should pay attention to everyday situations.

Significance to Progress Village

Theories of power may not themselves be desired by those living in Progress Village, yet implications from such academic pursuits can help the neighborhood achieve its aims. The below section attempts to fulfill my goal as a community-based researcher by providing direct benefits from my research to the community of study.

Community development

The major direct benefit from my research is information gathered on resident needs, perceptions, and divisions. When shared with community leadership, this aims to help the community with future organizing, making them a stronger force in whichever path they choose.

Three main lessons emerge regarding community organizing: difficulties of new residents in joining leadership including communication barriers, the use of sharing

information on the phosphate agreement, and attention to how the Village relates to other neighborhoods. A major lesson is the perception of current leadership as insular and hard to join for those outside the original families. One way to overcome this barrier is to develop programs where long-term leaders receive some benefit for bringing someone new to a meeting, or perhaps fun events based on voiced interests of newer residents, where longer-term residents to invite newer residents. Leaders should also share the history of the community, from the vision of initial families to the 1980s struggle that ended in the legal agreement with the phosphate plant. As discussed in the below section on lessons for other communities, the strength of such agreements can wane over time, and it is only community involvement that maintains its relevance. Sharing such information also helps residents internalize a common history and loyalty to the area, aiding in community organization.

The relationship of Progress Village to other neighborhoods is also a strong theme, be it neighboring communities or the broader Black community of Tampa. While it is difficult to change an area's reputation, and community leaders already place emphasis on crafting a positive image, the acknowledgement of how negative perceptions hinder neighborhood prosperity can help residents decide to emphasize changing these perceptions. Likewise, it is up to community members to decide what efforts they want to place on joining or differentiating themselves from the broader Black community and other neighborhoods of Tampa, as the furthering of benefits for one segment of a marginalized community may lessen calls for institutionalized change. These three major issues in neighborhood organizing can now draw on specific resident input in an attempt to continue working for community improvements.

Community leaders can take solace they are not alone in their difficulties to involve residents in community organization. As highlighted in Chapter 5, this is part of a broader trend in U.S. society towards isolation and individualism that prizes quiet and chosen groups over those in spatial proximity. This joins with the particularity in low-income communities of avoiding interactions with those around to minimize involvement in conflicts or requests for aid. Such isolationism is achieved in the nearby new construction neighborhoods, where owners maintain neighborhood cleanliness and pay for renovations through an HOA with outside management. Older communities do not have the same leverage to compel homeowner/renter compliance, and struggle in traditional organizing in an age of increased separation. A key question revealed in this research asks how older neighborhoods can band together for improvements as people in the U.S. increasingly do not know their neighbors.

Addressing all three lessons requires an improved neighborhood communication structure. Engaging new, particularly younger residents, hinges on their knowledge of community activities and how to get involved. For those with time but without connections to current leaders, there needs to be a method for sharing community news. The consistent meeting times for the Civic Council are a good start, along with the PVCC's intermittent newsletter. Still, an improved and continually updated presence on the internet (e.g., website, Facebook, and Twitter pages) would ensure interested outsiders could learn of events and initiatives. Many residents suggested flyers, word of mouth, or signs at the community's entrances, yet these are already implemented. Reaching more residents likely requires concerted effort to bring-in

newer residents and an increased digital presence to inform interested parties not yet in contact with the leadership.

While not much information was gathered in this thesis on concrete health risks the community may face, hopefully attention to the issue of industrial hazards highlights some key questions to ask going forward. Why would the company withhold information about an EPA investigation? Where are the reports from the air monitoring and why doesn't the community have access? An epidemiological study would be ideal, but noting the key points of community engagement with industry allows ample starting points for investigation. Some community leaders mentioned wanting to reach-out to the other companies identified in my research to see if they could develop partnerships with the community, including the elusive employment agreements. Knowing some of the major emitting facilities, along with the simple awareness of smaller companies that do not relate to the community, can inspire efforts to create such relationships.

Such major conclusions from this research will be written in a form for easy community consumption. While this full thesis is publically available and will be shared it with the community, I do not expect many residents to read the full document. Thus these targeted publications are important for the local gains attempted with my activist anthropology framework. Such a document will highlight trends from the interviews, plus a public presentation at a community meeting. With over two years spent in the community, I hope community leaders find benefit in the information gathered that can aid further organizing efforts.

Plant closure

One area needing attention from the community is the plant's eventual closure. According to county records, the stack is expected to reach its maximum size at the

end of 2037, and the development order expires on December 31st, 2042 (TBRPC 2013). This assumes there is enough phosphate in the region in this time to continue operations, as a lack of mined phosphate rock could lead to earlier plant closure. There are also many other plants in the region, including a large phosphate processing plant just down the road in Mulberry, FL at Mosaic's New Wales processing plant. This large processing plant has at least five sulfuric acid towers to Riverview's one and much more space for gypsum storage in a more isolated location. One worker at Mosaic speculated that the Riverview plant was no longer necessary for processing phosphate in the region, and was only kept open due to its strategic location on the bay. This leaves a maximum of 26 more years of benefits from the company, as the agreement is written to last as long as the plant and stack are in operation.

When the plant closes, be it next year, 2042, or a generation later, what will be the impacts on Progress Village? As it stands, such closure would mean the end of the scholarship program, and the loss of jobs for those few neighbors who work at the plant. The stack should be fully capped and decommissioned when production stops, and a comprehensive stack closure could diminish the stack's risk. As mentioned, the effort put into combating stack construction led to the most comprehensive safety measures to date for a gypsum stack, both with the old stack being the first to be fully capped and closed, and the new stack instituting new safety procedures to guard against contamination of the outside environment. These included a buffer zone and institution of vegetation cover when possible to minimize the amount of fine granules that could become airborne. Builders also placed a barrier at the bottom of the stack in an attempt to keep toxins from leeching into the soil. This was new technology in 1984, and a

representative of ManaSota 88 with whom I spoke does not believe that early technology was able to protect against stack materials leaching into nearby soil and groundwater. Add this to the unapproved toxins recently revealed to be mixed in with the gypsum stack waste and a current lack of guaranteed funds for closure (Biesecker 2015), and it is possible the stack may continue to be a danger to the community even after its closure and the end of current assistance agreements. Such considerations should be a part of current Progress Village leadership decisions.

Future area research projects

While this project did not include a full epidemiological study, information gathered here can be an asset and starting point for future studies of the area. By identifying residents at different points in time it becomes possible to conduct a retrospective cohort survey, identifying those living in Progress Village before the building of the stack and following them to the present day to see if their health status differs from that of other similar communities. Finding such a reference community not facing industrial pollution may be difficult, so use of a statewide summary of Black community health data may be the best possible reference group. I have also identified nearby sites that emit criteria air pollutants, serving as a starting point for development of sophisticated air distribution modeling (See Appendix B). In addition, my research found maps of the nearby air monitoring sites within the archives at Progress Village, which can be pursued for site-specific contaminant data.

This thesis and my data contain all the information necessary for a full mapping of community assets, needing a simple refocus on different research questions and organization. This revised study could yield insights into possible solutions amenable to

community and government authorities. I would be happy to serve as a resource for such a study.

One concrete next project would find programs for youth involvement. This is already a priority of community leaders and a major concern of residents evident in this research. Future research would reach-out to these youth, perhaps through focus groups, to learn what they would like instituted in the neighborhood, and what kind of program they would join. Such research could adopt a social marketing approach, and would help in applying for funding to sponsor the resulting program, with some data from this research providing documentation of the community need.

Documenting history

Beyond specific suggestions, the simple compilation of area history creates a record currently lacking in the available research. When I first set-out on this project, there were about two published resources addressing the history of Progress Village: an unpublished thesis (Alicea 1986) and grey literature from the county Children's Board (Briscoe & McClain 2000). Many residents under 50 do not know the full history of the community, which is shared through scattered documents in community organization files, occasional reunion events, and word of mouth. The simple act of putting this history in writing contradicts societal patterns that do not acknowledge such history as important to chronicle. Sharing this with community members helps create a community mythology that encourages community unity, identity, and pride.

Significance to Other Communities and Extractive Industries

Two major themes emerge as important to other resident-industry relations: community-industry legal agreements and the generalizability of phosphate lessons to other industries. Instances of a minority community signing a legal agreement with a

corporation are becoming popular under the moniker of Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs), and there is much from the history of Progress Village that can benefit other areas considering a similar path. Three main lessons on continuity, enforcement, and hazard monitoring and communication should inform future agreements, although these agreements alone do not achieve environmental justice. In applying lessons from this study elsewhere, it is important to note how the unique place-based necessities of phosphate production require loyalty to local populations that may limit lesson generalizability to other business types. This section explores lessons for future CBAs and the generalizability of these lessons due to unique circumstances of phosphate in order to inform other communities living in an industry's shadow.

Implications of CBAs

The vital lesson from Progress Village addresses the pros and cons of small communities, often marginalized, developing a friendly relationship with big business. The 1984 agreement from Progress Village can serve as a lesson for the newly popular Community Benefits Agreements to see what has worked and what hasn't in its three plus decades. Lessons come in at least two levels: the basis of what worked and didn't work with the agreement, in addition to the broader societal-level impacts produced from signing an agreement.

Exploring these major lessons requires first discussing the concept and current application of Community Benefits Agreements. CBAs are “legally enforceable contracts between commercial developers and community coalitions” (Laing 2009) “setting forth a range of community benefits that the developer agrees to provide as part of a development project” (Gross 2005). These typically occur “when community or labor

organizations become aware of proposed developments that will be sited in or near residential communities, and that will have a significant negative impact on their target constituency” (Laing 2009). The struggle to create CBAs highlights how Progress Village is unique, as they were able to enter an agreement without the leverage of opposing public funds for the project (it was a fully private venture) and lacking a broad coalition in opposition. Most CBAs are formed around area redevelopment projects instead of one industrial expansion, thus engaging a wider number of neighborhood organizations and stakeholders. The local government around these projects often adopts a responsibility for the management of agreement enforcement, an element not present in the Progress Village agreement. CBAs are increasingly popular to ensure local communities receive benefits of nearby large developments. Recent heralded agreements include the Staples Center agreement in Los Angeles won by the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice (Laing 2009, Gross 2005), and one in negotiations for the Overtown neighborhood of Miami.

Terms of CBAs

The Progress Village agreement, while not the product of a coalition, has much to teach CBA advocates about possible pitfalls. Three concepts emerge as important: continuity, enforcement, and monitoring.

When signing an agreement, it is important to know it will stand the test of time. If the plant or new development will be a permanent or long-term fixture of the area, the development should have an ongoing positive relationship with prior area residents. Progress Village did a great job ensuring the phosphate stack agreement would last for the life of the plant, and this has lasted through three changes in plant ownership. They

did so by writing the agreement to last for the life of the plant, so it transfers responsibility for implementation to whomever operates the facility.

Even though this is the legal obligation, people come and go and there is the threat that with time people will forget about the agreement and implementation will slip. This is a danger in the Village today, as only those who were involved in the original negotiations know the agreement's details and many key community leaders know only of a vague commitment to the scholarship fund and none of the other agreement provisions. Some former Civic Council presidents did not know about the legal agreement at all. To ensure continuity, agreement implementation must be part of people's expectations. As those who know about the agreement retire for leadership in both the community and the company, this threatens the strength of the agreement for the next generation. The plant is now owned by the largest phosphate company in the world and so community efforts for enforcement may need to increase.

This is more than an empty fear, as illustrated by a current concern of Foundation leadership. In moving their community funding request to an online system, Mosaic changed the procedures for groups to receive money. Foundation staff were told they had to go through official online forms entitled "Grant Application" to request the annual scholarship check. This infuriated and concerned the leadership. Shirley fumed:

Ours really is not a grant! It's something that is written into your cover sheet. This is what you have to do, you have to do that for us until there is no more phosphate company, right? [Our rep] says, "I know, I know." Well that's fine. She's been there forever... But what happens when she retires and everything is still online and they want to make us a grant?

...Because ... you can disapprove a grant. ... So when people that don't know about us and that situation leave, then what happens?

So far the leadership has been able to avoid filling out this form due to protests they are not conversant with online systems and need to conduct business in hard copy, to which an allowance was made to write a letter of request. Since I have been in the community, they have gone through three different company liaisons, and the one with the most experience recently retired. The current representative does not know the history between the company and the community, and there is no guarantee this group will be able to continue completing their forms offline.

This illustrates the main difficulty in an agreement like the one signed by Progress Village and the phosphate company: a lack of enforcement mechanisms. Foundation leadership took care to emphasize their good relationship with company officials and how "as far as the money coming, we have never not received our monies. And it has been more than 25 years. ...And if it looks like it's being delayed, we just need to let our liaison person know, 'We haven't gotten our money yet.' [and they say] 'OK, we'll take care of it.'" While the neighborhood continues to receive scholarship funds, the other provisions of the agreement expired, dissipated, or never materialized. The requested health center and daycare facilities the company was to consider opening in the community never happened. The pool was downgraded to an above-ground pool that only lasted a couple years. I could find no record of preferential hiring of contractors from the community, and the last documented case of efforts to specifically hire qualified individuals living in Progress Village was nearly 15 years ago. Only those who attended the job fair back in the early 2000s (which the company missed

in its first scheduling, requiring it to be rescheduled) knew of this provision. How then is the neighborhood to ensure enforcement of the terms of the agreement?

This illustrates how power imbalances between neighborhoods and multinational companies require caution and careful crafting of the legal clauses to ensure enforcement. Dealing with such legalities, a multinational company with billions in annual profit has the advantage over a community organization in hiring lawyers. There is no push now for greater enforcement, which I see as due to leaders not wanting to upset the perceived positive relationship with the company and ability to request funds as desired, paired with a general ignorance of the agreement and its terms amongst all but the most involved, long-term community leaders. Maintaining community awareness and pressure over decades is a monstrous task, yet without such an awareness the community is unable to reap the benefits of the struggles of earlier generations. Even if those in the neighborhood are unaware of an agreement, that does not mean the legal obligations cease. While the Village may need to build awareness to revive the agreement obligations, future communities should take note of this difficulty and find ways to write-in continuous enforcement even if the agreement becomes a distant memory to most residents.

Another element needed in CBAs is a caveat for hazard and health monitoring of any threats to the community from the new development, communicated in a form understandable and accessible to the community. Mosaic must submit annual reports on their emissions and safety standards to various government offices, yet this information is not available without special and specific requests to the correct offices. As such reports are spread across varying reporting facilities and written in technical

language, officials cannot reasonably expect residents to be able to access and understand what these reports mean regarding their health and safety. Part of the impetus for the initial agreement was to improve communication between the company and residents, ensuring residents are involved in decisions significantly effecting their immediate environment and physical well-being. While lives in low-income communities may be too busy to devote time to unknown environmental health considerations, those who are interested should be able to know and understand the current risks and protections for their health without expending extensive time or requiring new training. There were no provisions in the 1980s agreement regarding monitoring of the environment around the stack, as it was made simply to provide community benefits. Future CBAs should ensure such environmental and human health monitoring and communication are included in their legal agreement.

These three key lessons from the Progress Village experience should be heeded by other communities exploring use of a CBA. Consider how the agreement will last through time and ownership changes, how it will be enforced, and ensure the agreement includes monitoring and communication of the development's health and safety impacts on the neighborhood.

Broad implications from community-industry agreements

Signing an agreement can provide benefits for the included residents, but the impact should also be considered for those outside the agreement. Industries outside the agreement may take advantage of the building boom in a way harmful to the community. Residents of communities outside the agreement may also face adverse consequences as diffusing one front of opposition to development increases the industry's power to set its own agenda, making it more difficult for other groups to

resist the company's expansion. Legal agreements are not the only way residents and industries can interact, and if such an agreement is considered, its impact on those outside the agreement should be a part of the decision-making process.

In the case of Progress Village, the presence of the stack led to additional industrial development in the area. This brought additional hazards with few of these companies relating at all with the neighborhood, much less providing benefits for residents. For a brief period after signing the agreement, the neighborhood gained negotiating power with other big industries moving into the area, but this influence dissipated as memories of the initial opposition faded. Since that time, what was cow pasture during the stack battle has developed into commercial and industrial businesses. With recycling companies, chemical plants, and most recently a garbage truck headquarters moved into the area, it appears signing one agreement did not protect the residents from the hazards of industrial development.

Throughout its history Progress Village residents have made concessions to power in order to receive benefits for those involved. The first concession was to segregation in order to own a new home in a striving neighborhood. The agreement with Gardinier/Mosaic echoes this compromise, ending the community's active opposition to the stack when it became clear the development was going forward. In exchange for their acquiescence to the plan, community members received the scholarship, employment agreements, community beautification, and the other agreement points. In other words, for not demanding full equality or justice and accepting change at the pace desired by the ruling class, residents received compensation and power within local government.

Working with power structures can mean those in the agreement advance, while those not involved remain in difficult situations with less leverage for advancement, having lost numbers in the fight (in this case including those with the most connections and local power). By compromising to gain power, those outside the agreement were left behind. Communities debating advancement within a social system that does not honor their rights equally should consider if such complicity helps solidify or perpetuate inequality for others.

This critique should be considered within the context of White privilege. Villagers did no more than what is assumed as a right for many White families in the U.S.; they attempted to give their family the best opportunities possible. Part of the U.S. trend towards individualism negates obligations to an abstract group, yet the conclusions above assert such individual interests can hinder work for equality. It is not the intent here to judge people unwilling to sacrifice their families for a difficult-to-quantify benefit to an abstract society. This thesis merely asserts that power taken through accepting your own marginalization does not help others trapped in those same marginal power vices.

There are certain hallmarks evident in the Progress Village case on how communities and industries should interact, and legal agreements are only one approach to creating these positive relationships. The brief implementation of a Community Advisory Panel in the area was a good step in ensuring communication between residents and industry, although as Moberg (2002) asserts, such boards can easily turn into promotional and social organizations that do not address the physical impacts of industrial development on residents. It is important resident leaders have

an understanding of risk communication to not only grasp what hazards are present, but also strategies to talk with their neighbors to encourage awareness but not unfounded fear. Keeping this in mind, such boards have the potential to increase communication while maintaining awareness of the division of power existent between resident and company. Those on the panel are not relating at a person-to-person level, but as representatives of industries and residents, groups with vastly different histories and decision structures.

As neighbors in a limited space, another trend emerging from these relationships is a need for cooperation in the region's economic development. Businesses should ensure if they occupy an area, they are an active part of the area's life and provide a share of their earnings to reinvest in local initiatives. A similar constant theme is the reciprocal relationship between labor power and livelihood, where businesses in an area should hire from within that region to again encourage prosperity and accountability in their backyard. Many CBAs closely work with labor organizations to create these kind of opportunities for local residents (Laing 2009, Gross 2005). What is important is the industry be not just physically present, but meaningfully contribute to local social and economic prosperity.

In examining how CBAs impact environmental justice, it is clear that one-off agreements can provide benefits to a small group, but they do not create societal justice. Often by gaining cooperation from locals, the agreement minimizes attention to unjust distribution of hazards, at times overcorrecting to highlight the company's positive influence on the region. CBAs are localized attempts to correct the imbalance of power between large building projects and marginalized communities. Such

agreements can be crafted to include the continuity, enforcement, and monitoring seen as important to the Progress Village agreement, sharing profits from the new development with those sharing its footprint. Even as it provides benefits, it only impacts a small community, maintaining and minimizing opposition to the structural injustice in society. If we are to achieve environmental justice in the United States, it needs to be at a structural level, not through one-off agreements. If U.S. culture and government institutes the principles that nearby residents should benefit from area construction, we can attain environmental justice. As long as such benefits come only through consistent campaigns from the impacted communities, environmental injustice will perpetuate, most strongly in areas without the organization or power to force the developer into an agreement.

Extractive Industry Generalizability

Not every company will make a legal agreement for community benefits, and the nature of phosphate extraction makes this industry more likely than most to cultivate local relationships. Due to their reliance on a limited natural resource, localities can demand desired practices from the company in exchange for resource access. While such balances of power need not include residents, Mosaic's intensive community relations approach ensures the company is welcomed into the area. Beyond community relations, the implications of phosphate extraction deserve attention and debate on if communities should allow extraction at current levels. As the world's leading producer of phosphate, Mosaic is a unique blend of rooted mining and global corporation that resists some contemporary economic trends while embracing others.

As profiled in the chapter on relationships to industry, Mosaic's intensive community relations include donations that, like the classic anthropological concept of

“the gift,” ingratiate the public to the company. As with the incarnations of phosphate companies before them, Mosaic emphasizes its economic contribution to the community through providing living wage jobs, but with increased emphasis on their extra-employment contributions to the community (Mosaic 2014a). These include their global donations map highlighting how they provide funding to community initiatives (Mosaic 2016a), as well as their efforts to environmental conservation. Websites, TV commercials, resorts, and calendars produced by the company highlight their beautiful land restoration projects with slight mention of this as a legal requirement (Mosaic 2015c, Mosaic 2016c). Donations to civic organizations and delivery of ocean water to the local aquarium are not legally mandated, but serve as a gift that obligates the receiving community to reciprocate through kindness to the company. A prime example is that although the scholarship program in Progress Village is a legal obligation, the MC at the 2014 scholarship dinner stated attendees should support Mosaic because they supported the community.

Extractive industries are currently a popular topic of research and protest in the United States, but most do not have such loyalty to one locale or locales in ‘developed countries’. The most common extractive industries in the United States produce energy (e.g., coal, oil, and natural gas), with the exception of uranium. Coal and oil have deep histories in the U.S., and are often based in distant and marginalized communities. Similarly uranium mining occurs most often on sparsely populated indigenous lands. It is only the more recent surge in fracking for natural gas that not only impacts marginalized communities but also ones in the prosperous majority. Precious mineral extraction is also big business around the globe, primarily in communities that do not

wield the power to refuse access to the extracting corporation. In these communities, the inability to force the company out paired with the threat of losing their economic resources to moving the mine and processing elsewhere provides the company power to practice extraction as they desire, without making concessions to the host community.

Natural gas extraction represents the major contradiction to this approach. This extraction often occurs in middle class White communities in the U.S., which possess the education and positioning to challenge the companies. Still the draw of jobs is powerful, and there are many deposits of natural gas. Thus the communities do not have as much negotiating power as in the phosphate communities, as there is always a risk of the company simply moving elsewhere if a locality does not agree to their terms.

This aligns with the broader trend in industry to liquid life (Deuze 2007), where fewer obligations between employee, employer, and location enables a fluidity of operations and employment. Within this are the trends towards a portfolio lifestyle (Deuze 2007) where workers do not have one stable job providing their livelihood but market their skills one project at a time with no continuity of employment. Mosaic engages in this where possible, hiring a number of consultants, yet due to their need to remain desirable to the local area they continue to provide a core of jobs. Still the company was able, after only being in existence 10 years, to become the world's leading producer of phosphate and potash. They achieved this status both by absorbing companies in their primary phosphate region of the Central Florida Phosphate District and expanding overseas primarily through mergers and acquisitions. Such trends towards an oligarchy in the crop nutrition field are enabled by neoliberal practices of

capitalism, yet go against Adam Smith's capitalist ideal of an open market (Smith 1904) where open competition yields the best and most economical result, instead reflecting Marx's trend towards capitalist exploitation (Tucker 1978).

It is questionable if society should allow phosphate mining at its current levels, or if localities should cut-off access for the safety of humanity. Many scientists are beginning to raise the alarm on the over-extraction of this non-renewable resource (Ashley 2012), which is essential to DNA replication and being depleted from the earth's core. Modern sanitation disrupted the cycle of phosphate renewal, and researchers in geography, resource management, and the environmentalist voice concern that the world's phosphate stocks are dwindling (Ashley 2012). Not only could crop yields reduce significantly, but phosphate's key role in DNA replication could produce direct dangers to human existence (Ashley 2011). Since the green revolution the mineral supplementation of phosphate, nitrogen, and potassium in fertilizer led to greatly increased crop yields, so a reduction in available phosphate would adversely impact the food supply. The portions of phosphate and potassium in these fertilizers come from mining, now often owned by the same company. Mosaic and its main Canadian competitor produce both phosphate and potash. With both major companies based in North America, that gives a very small contingent of the world control over management of the limited natural resources essential for current crop yields. Such dangers are not mentioned by Mosaic as they tout the slogan of "help[ing] the world grow the food it needs" (Mosaic 2015b). How this came to be and minimization of any alarms to future development show a process of power concentrated in Western nations and general ignorance of this industry.

Phosphate production silently relates to contemporary controversies such as offshore factories and subsidized factory farms, which are able to increase yields through the use of the phosphate-rich fertilizer. This is rarely recognized by local communities, as the industry obfuscates their products by emphasizing their positive relations with the community. Such a relationship is unique to U.S. phosphate, as limited phosphate deposits and strong government enables localities to yield power over the companies. This rarely comes into being, as relationships in these areas extend back over 100 years, producing a typically unquestioned loyalty to this major regional economic driver.

Significance to How We Study

Anthropological researchers not only have a responsibility to the community studied but also to the development of new knowledge and ideas. As such, this section highlights how lessons from this research should impact academia and how anthropologists study. As advocated in political ecology, this project benefited from a multilevel approach. In addition to expanding the knowledge base with documentation on African American community power relations, phosphate extraction, transdisciplinary research, and critical environmental justice, this study highlights different approaches taken to oppressive situations of environmental injustice. Inherent in this is a call to not only study those in full resistance to power, but those finding different paths to navigate power relations and how such different approaches impact society.

Themes from political ecology help explore and explain the complications in Progress Village and can continue to aid other researchers. Chains of explanation helped

conceptualize the cause-effect interactions involved in this community's history. The similarity of this to "studying through" must be acknowledged, as both concepts ensure an issue is explored in its breadth. The social ecology of health similarly works with "studying up" to ensure researchers do not only focus on community or family-level factors, but also investigate power and society impacts and reasoning. Such tools on expansion of our research allow a detailed method of ensuring the researcher examines the context of a situation and not a singular impression. The deep history and links to politics and the environment inherent in political ecology urge this exploration. From its classic political economy roots plus its inclusion of levels of interactions, political ecology proves a productive guide to research.

This thesis also aims for a transdisciplinary focus. This in part derives from my dual degree program in public health (relevance to which is discussed below), and complements Eric Wolf's (1982) call for a unified social science. While pulling from anthropological theory, this work also crosses disciplinary lines. Environmental justice is a perfect example, as this field arose from grassroots activists to become embedded in any field the community activists believed could help, including health, government, geography, chemistry, and social sciences such as anthropology. As so much of the literature is outside of anthropology, preparations for this work reached broadly as well, including training in GIS, epidemiology, and environmental health as well as ethnography. As any reader knows, there are always more connections to be made, and Wolf's assertion that such disciplinary divisions are not necessary affirm such a transdisciplinary approach.

Linkages to the study of public health

As a Master's student in public health, I am particularly aware of how this study relates to many key elements in this field. As mentioned just above, the popular social ecological model (Coreil 2010) dovetails with political ecology's chains of explanations, with these similar concepts essential to this study's conceptualization. Aims of this study also concern health equity, and one key step in eliminating health disparities is to eliminate disproportionate hazard exposure. Even when communities do not fight such siting, such exposure can contribute to the disparity seen in health outcomes. This relates to place studies like that by Cummins, Curtis, Diez-Roux, & Macintyre (2007) that show how a person's physical environment strongly correlates to health outcomes. Often spoken about as the social determinants of health, many government and health agencies now recognize these social factors as key contributors to health that need incorporation in studies. Related is the asset assessment buried in this study's interview data, ready for use in planning a public health intervention using the PRECEED-PROCEED model (Green & Kreuter 2005). This study fits perfectly within many concepts of community and environmental health, and should inform future studies both with its case study examples and a site ripe for analysis.

Such opportunities for further public health studies of Progress Village proliferate. A glaring study need is for a retrospective cohort study to determine if long-time Progress Village residents face increased risk of cancer, lung disease, or other morbidities associated with the nearby hazards. One aspect in determining this is to conduct a risk analysis of the area (Moore 2007). Original plans for this thesis included this assessment of local hazards and their impact on the population, but this proved too extensive to include in the time and resources available. This thesis notes many of the

hazards present in the community, providing an early start to determining the exposures faced by residents and what should be done. Both the retrospective cohort study and risk analysis of Progress Village would complement this qualitative study to present a complete picture of the risks present and how these are experienced by residents.

Critical environmental justice

There is a well-established literature for environmental justice, yet this often focuses on overt cases of marginalized groups fighting for their health against corporate interests. Such a focus, as in political ecology addressing marginalization, may perpetuate emphasis on the downtrodden instead of often overlooked everyday situations. The Progress Village case illustrates the old adage of people reacting differently to the same situation. The inability of residents to prevent a new industrial site from moving into their vicinity harkens to the original environmental justice story of Warren County, NC and the residents who protested construction of a hazardous waste dump (McGurty 2000). Yet Progress Village is far from Warren County in how its residents to this day view industry. Progress Village is still an environmental justice situation, but not an environmental justice community. As discussed in Chapter 5, such distinctions must be explored as part of the move towards a critical environmental justice. This does not mean abandoning traditional environmental justice research, as there are many exploitative and harmful situations in need of urgent attention and academic assistance (Nicole 2013, USHRN 2016). Yet in The Village, many are happy with the industry's cooperation, and most of the rest simply do not think about industrial hazards. As the same situation gives rise to different relationships, this thesis

asserts it is the community's positioning and approach to power relationships that creates the difference.

Navigating power relations

Such implications for the theory of power deserve additional emphasis. Academics need a better way to address what is similar within exploitation even when oppressed groups react differently. There is too often a draw to the narrative of a subjugated hero, striving against seemingly unbeatable forces; stories of David versus Goliath (even when David doesn't win). Such extreme cases do not cover the range of power expressions in society.

As stated earlier, power is seen as a contention, a struggle that is part of the dialectic's constant change (Tucker 1978). One pushes against the other, structure against agency, to change one reality into another. Termed practice theory, the result is determined through power relationships. Bourdieu's habitus (1990) posits people are most likely to remain in the societal view in which they were raised, as it is very difficult to break outside your experience. Taken to Progress Village, we see how the upper middle class Black families, accustomed to making compromises and sacrifices so their children can achieve more than prior generations. Considering Yelvington's (1995) assertion that race is an identity constructed by those in power to control others, the powerful develop an identity for the subjugated group, who lacks the power to publicly rearticulate their identity. This imposed public identity controls how society judges and interacts with this group. Such processes shaped how Progress Village organized strongly and fought for decades to be prosperous, yet still has a reputation as a poor Black community blighted with drugs and violence. Long-term residents fight ceaselessly to

reframe this narrative to the family and community pride they know, yet society does not recognize their efforts.

The study of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991, Yelvington 1995) demonstrates how to understand interplays between multiple identities held by one person. A person may be subjugated as Black, but given power as a capitalist and a politician, and still discounted as female. For early Progress Village residents, most were subjugated as Black, yet because they had financial security they received more power than others in the Black community. This thesis contextualizes the situation of intersectional power distinctions, addressing how in Progress Village, an elite group of the Black community of Tampa achieved some political power, in part so the government could slow concessions to other minority residents.

Additional contributions to the literature

One key contribution made by this thesis is preservation of the story of a striving Black community, and how they negotiated the social and political system to fight for the betterment of the next generation. Half a century after the civil rights movement, the story of Black communities, especially the Black middle class, is still not proportionately documented. This thesis preserves individual stories of one such neighborhood and chronicles critical moments in their negotiations of power.

While there is a growing literature on extractive industries, I could not find another anthropological example studying phosphate extraction's impact. While extraction is a common theme in anthropological literature, little is said about phosphate. Given phosphate's essential role in life on this planet, more investigations are needed into its role in power and societal reproduction. This includes focusing on the consequences of depleting phosphate stores, along with the impact of industries on

local communities. There is precious little information on the health risks from phosphate, especially outside of those employed in the industry. This thesis provides a quick look into one piece of this industry that hopes to pique interest in further studies.

Related to the inclusion of phosphate in the extraction literature is the inclusion of central Florida's ammonia pipelines in the growing body of pipeline research. Hillsborough County Environmental Protection Commission representatives spoke of incidents where the ammonia pipes leaked for days, requiring creative action on the part of local authorities who are not empowered to regulate their environmental compliance. As with the gypsum stack, Progress Village lost the fight against construction of the pipeline through the neighborhood. Further investigations into such local pipelines and how they are experienced by community members would bolster current pipeline research.

Conclusion: In Support of Resident-Industry Relations Research

What is clear from this thesis research is that the intersection of residential areas and industry needs more attention. Young adults today increasingly desire authenticity (Cloud 2008), often manifested as seeing the fruits of their labor in an increasingly alienated society. Coupled with a desire to fortify the economy by producing goods at home, there is a push for increasing industry output stateside. If the United States moves towards reindustrialization (Tregenna 2013), it is important we do not repeat the mistakes of earlier generations in overburdening poor and minority populations. Not in my backyard movements do not determine a just resting place for undesirable sites, but simply push the hazards to those least able to resist. While source reduction of hazards should be the goal, today's society possesses hazards that need physical space

to exist. This means conducting outreach that internalizes the need for equitable placement and distribution of hazards. Such source reduction and equitable distribution lessens the burdens of key environmental aspects of social determinants of health, and in turn reduces the structural violence enacted against poor and minority communities.

Progress Village exists in a context of environmental injustice, yet their leadership has chosen not to make this their activism focus. By cultivating relationships within government and industry, this neighborhood has advice and access to power structures not possible in other Black neighborhoods. Such instances are important for academics to study to learn the reality of daily life, instead of simply the exceptional circumstances of resistance. How this impacts the communities not accepted in such decision-making institutions should also be considered. If justice is the goal and not just piecemeal advancement, society must develop new normal for how factories and industrial facilities contribute to and communicate with people living in their shadow.

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Appendix A: IRB Letters of Approval

1. IRB Approval for Thesis Research



3/30/2015

Laura Baum
USF Department of Anthropology
4202 East Fowler Ave, SOC107
Tampa, FL 33620

RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

RE: Expedited Approval for Initial Review
IRB#: Pro00021546
Title: Neighborhood Perceptions of Proximal Industries in Progress Village, FL

Study Approval Period: 3/30/2015 to 3/30/2016

Dear Ms. Baum:

On 3/30/2015, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and APPROVED the above application and all documents outlined below.

Approved Item(s):
Protocol Document(s):
[PV Thesis Proposal](#)

Consent/Assent Document(s)*:
[SB Adult Minimal Risk Baum.docx.pdf](#)

*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are only valid during the approval period indicated at the top of the form(s).

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kristen Salomon', followed by a horizontal line.

Kristen Salomon, Ph.D., Vice Chairperson
USF Institutional Review Board

2. IRB Approval for Formative Research



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

November 19, 2014

Laura Baum,
Anthropology
Tampa, FL 33612

RE: **Expedited Approval for Initial Review**

IRB#: Pro00019967

Title: Perspectives on Community-Industry Relations in a Historic African American
Community in Florida

Study Approval Period: 11/19/2014 to 11/19/2015

Dear Ms. Baum:

On 11/19/2014, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application and all documents outlined below.

Approved Item(s):

Protocol Document(s):

[Protocol for Perspectives of Industry in PV](#)

Consent/Assent Document(s)*:

Waiver of Process granted

*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are only valid during the approval period indicated at the top of the form(s).

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).

Your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirements for the informed consent process as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.116 (d) which states that an IRB may approve a consent procedure which does not include, or which alters, some or all of the elements of informed consent, or waive the requirements to obtain informed consent provided the IRB finds and documents that (1) the research involves no more than minimal risk to the subjects; (2) the waiver or alteration will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects; (3) the research could not practicably be carried out without the waiver or alteration; and (4) whenever appropriate, the subjects will be provided with additional pertinent information after participation.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D." The signature is written in a cursive style.

John Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson
USF Institutional Review Board

3. Progress Village Civic Council Letter of Support

March 16, 2015

To Whom It May Concern:

In my capacity as President of the Progress Village Civic Council—the neighborhood association of Progress Village, FL—I give our support to the research conducted in our community by Laura Baum, a Master's Student at University of South Florida. After reviewing her research plans and speaking with her on multiple occasions, we want to provide moral and practical support as she completes her research plans. This includes offering the following:

- Providing access to our office when not in use, including for conducting interviews.
- Allowing use of information in our files and archives for her research.

It is our hope and expectation that information gained through this research will be mutually beneficial for Ms. Baum's research and for the Progress Village Civic Council.

Please contact me with any questions or concerns at .

Sincerely,



Linda Washington

President, PVCC

4. Progress Village Foundation Letter of Support

March 15, 2015

To Whom It May Concern:

In my capacity as President of the Progress Village Foundation, I give our support to the research conducted in our community by Laura Baum, a Master's Student at University of South Florida. Our organization provides educational incentives to neighborhood youth, and after reviewing her research plans and speaking with her on multiple occasions, we believe Ms. Baum's research intends to benefit the community. As such, we will provide moral and practical support for her research plans. This includes offering the following:

- o Providing access to our office when not in use, including for conducting interviews.
- o Allowing use of information in our files and archives for her research.

It is our hope and expectation that information gained through this research will be mutually beneficial for Ms. Baum's research and for the Progress Village Foundation, Inc.

Please contact me with any questions or concerns at 

Sincerely,



Lois Bowers

President, PVFI

Appendix B: List of Facilities in two bordering zip codes (33619 and 33578) with active air monitoring by the Hillsborough County Environmental Protection Commission

OWNER/COMPANY NAME	SITE NAME	STREET ADDRESS	ZIP 5
FLORIDA SOIL CEMENT COMPANY, LLC	# 700 VARIOUS LOCATIONS - STATEWIDE	1502 N 50th Street	33619
KATER CORPORATION	FLORIDA MEGA MIX YARD	1902 N 69TH Street	33619
WINGFOOT COMMERCIAL TIRE SYSTEMS, LLC	WINGFOOT COMMERCIAL TIRE SYSTEMS, LLC	1325 MASSARO Boulevard	33619
VULCAN MATERIALS COMPANY, FLORIDA		3510 PENDOLA POINT ROAD	
ROCK D	TAMPA SALES YARD	ROAD	33619
	TAMPA AMALGAMATED STEEL CORPORATION		
TAMPA AMALGAMATED STEEL		5215 ST. PAUL STREET	33619
MANNA PRO CORPORATION	MANNA PRO CORPORATION	7000 ADAMO DRIVE	33619
MANHEIM TAMPA DBA GREATR TB AUTO AUCTION	GREATER TAMPA BAY AUTO AUCTION	401 South 50th Street	33619
		9314 Princess Palm Avenue	
GULF COAST PLASTICS INC	GULF COAST PLASTICS	Avenue	33619
HILLSBOROUGH CO BOARD OF CO			
COMMISSIONER	HILLSBOROUGH CO ANIMAL SERVICES	440 FALKENBURG Road	33619
PASCO TERMINALS, INC.	PASCO TERMINALS, INC.	3411 PORT SUTTON ROAD	33619
LEHIGH CEMENT COMPANY	LEHIGH CEMENT COMPANY	4020 PENDOLA PT Road	33619
WOODRUFF & SONS INC	ROCK CRUSHER #1	1502 N 50th Street	33619
	SEA 3 OF FL, INC. (TAMPA LPG		
SEA 3 OF FLORIDA, INC.	TERMINAL)	3606 Pendola Point Road	33619
GAETANO CACCIATORE, INC.	GAETANO CACCIATORE	3920 Pendola Point Road	33619
SUNCOAST TAMPA BAY BLOCK & R-M CO			
INC	SUNCOAST CONCRETE	5208 36TH Avenue south	33619
	SEVENTH AVE PROPERTIES CONCRETE		
SEVENTH AVE PROPERTIES LLC	FACILITY	2409 Orient Road	33619
WOODRUFF & SONS, INC.	SOIL CEMENT PLANT #1610-3	1502 N 50th Street	33619

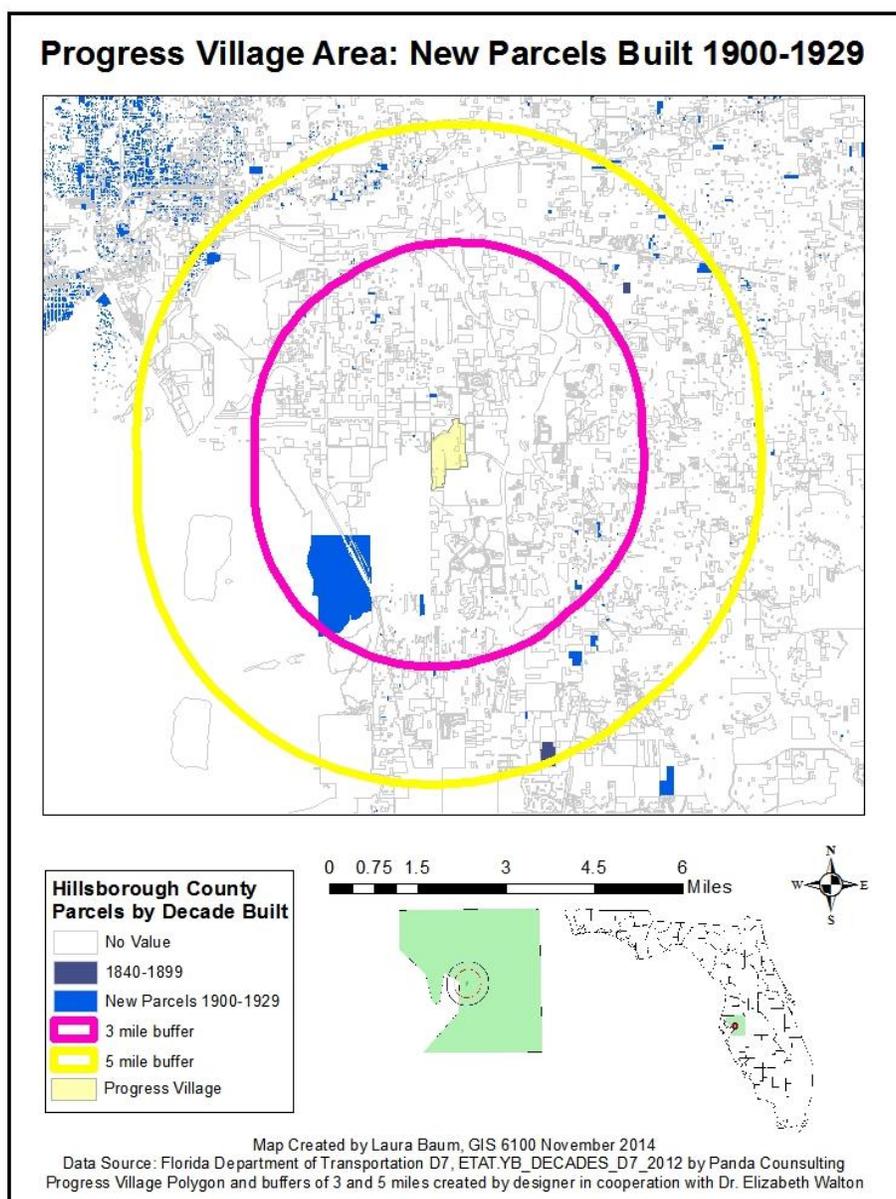
CHADERICK ENTERPRISES INC	EAGLE CLEANERS	1100 N 50TH Street	33619
TRADEMARK METALS RECYCLING LLC	TMR - SUTTON SCRAP METAL FACILITY	5220 Dover Street	33619
QWEST COMMUNICATIONS COMPANY LLC	CENTURYLINK QCC-TAMPA DATA CENTER	9302 FLORIDA PALM Drive	33619
BAY PORT SHREDDING AND METALS RECYCLING	BAY PORT SHREDDING AND METALS RECYCLING	4902 SOUTH 50TH STREET	33619
ANCHOR SANDBLASTING AND PAINTING, INC	ANCHOR SANDBLASTING AND PAINTING, INC	4101 Causeway Boulevard	33619
SONNY GLASBRENNER, INC.	CHIEFTON SCREENER	2602 East 4th Avenue	33619
TANKTEK INC DBA ENVIROTEK	STORAGE YARD	3007 N 50th Street	33619
BLACKLIDGE EMULSIONS, INC.	BLACKLIDGE TAMPA PLANT 11	5010 Montgomery Street	33619
CHROMALLOY CASTINGS, TAMPA CORP	CHROMALLOY CASTINGS, TAMPA CORP	3401 Queen Palm Drive	33619
TRADEMARK METALS RECYCLING, LLC	TRADEMARK METALS RECYCLING SCRAP	3310 Port Sutton Road	33619
ALTO RECYCLING LLC	CAUSEWAY YARD	4102 CAUSEWAY Boulevard	33619
GROW FINANCIAL FEDERAL CREDIT UNION	GROW FINANCIAL FEDERAL CREDIT UNION	9927 DELANEY LAKE Drive	33619
VERIZON FLORIDA INC	VERIZON FLORIDA INC EAST CO	3401 Orient Road	33619
G&K SERVICES	G&K SERVICES	3735 Corporex Park Drive	33619
AJAX PAVING INDUSTRIES, INC.	TAMPA FACILITY - PLANT NO. 6	6050 Jensen Road	33619
VCNA PRESTIGE CONCRETE PRODUCTS INC	PRESTIGE 24TH AVE CCB PLANT	5123 24TH Avenue south	33619
KIMMINS CONTRACTING CORP	TRANSCOR RECYCLING LLC	1900 BLOCK OF 53RD Street	33619
TAMPA BAY WATER	HIGH SERVICE PUMP STATION (HSPS)	2301 Regional Water Lane	33619
TRADEMARK METALS RECYCLING, LLC	TRADEMARK METALS RECYCLING PORT SUTTON	4943 Port Sutton Road	33619
TRANSWHEEL CORPORATION	TRANSWHEEL CORP-TAMPA FACILITY	1201-9 OLD HOPEWELL RD	33619
SONNY GLASBRENNER, INC.	TRAKPACTOR CRUSHER	2602 East 4th Ave	33619
TAMPA FIBERGLASS, INC.	TAMPA FIBERGLASS, INC.	4209 RALEIGH STREET	33619
MARTIN GAS SALES, INC.	MARTIN GAS SALES, INC.	4118 PENDOLA POINT ROAD	33619
KINDER MORGAN OLP "C"	KINDER MORGAN TAMPAPLEX TERMINAL	4801 PORT SUTTON ROAD	33619
TRADEMARK NITROGEN CORP	TRADEMARK NITROGEN CORP	1216 OLD HOPEWELL ROAD	33619

CEMEX CEMENT OF LOUISIANA, INC.	CEMEX CEMENT OF LOUISIANA, INC.	3417 PORT SUTTON ROAD	33619
CSX TRANSPORTATION, INC.	CSX TRANSPORTATION, INC.	3701 CAUSEWAY BLVD	33619
	H. L. CULBREATH BAYSIDE POWER		
TAMPA ELECTRIC COMPANY	STATION	3602 PORT SUTTON ROAD	33619
MASTER - HALCO, INC.	MASTER - HALCO, INC.	9800 REEVES ROAD	33619
KINDER MORGAN PORT SUTTON	KINDER MORGAN PORT SUTTON		
TERMINAL, LLC	TERMINAL	4310 Pendola Point Road	33619
		4388 PENDOLA POINT	
GULF SULPHUR SERVICES LTD., LLLP	GSS, PORT SUTTON TERMINAL	ROAD	33619
BUILDING MATERIALS MANUFACTURING			
CORP	GAF MATERIALS CORPORATION	5138 MADISON AVENUE	33619
ENVIROFOCUS TECHNOLOGIES, LLC	ENVIROFOCUS TECHNOLOGIES, LLC	6505 Jewel Avenue	33619
TAMPA ARMATURE WORKS	TAMPA ARMATURE WORKS	440 S. 78TH STREET	33619
	INDUSTRIAL GALVANIZERS AMERICA,		
INDUSTRIAL GALVANIZERS AMERICA, INC.	INC.	9520 E Broadway Avenue	33619
GRIFFIN INDUSTRIES	GRIFFIN INDUSTRIES	1001 ORIENT Road	33619
HARSCO MINERALS	HARSCO MINERALS	5950 Old US 41A Highway	33619
PREFERRED MATERIALS, INC., TAMPA			
PLANT	TAMPA PLANT	1811 N 57th Street	33619
CEMEX CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS		3400 PENDOLA POINT	
FLORIDA,LLC	CEMEX PORT SUTTON TAMPA	ROAD-POINT	33619
	INTERNATIONAL PAPER TAMPA		
INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY	WAREHOUSE	8700 ADAMO Drive	33619
HILLSBOROUGH CTY. RESOURCE	HILLSBOROUGH CTY. RESOURCE	350 NORTH FALKENBURG	
RECOVERY FAC.	RECOVERY FAC.	Road	33619
		5127 BLOOMINGDALE	
TAMPA STEEL ERECTING COMPANY	TAMPA STEEL ERECTING COMPANY	Avenue	33619
ADVANTAGE STEEL, INC.	ADVANTAGE STEEL, INC.	5101 24th Avenue South	33619
TAMPA TANK, INC.	TAMPA TANK, INC.	5205 ADAMO Drive	33619
FLORIDA PRE-FAB,INC.	FLORIDA PRE-FAB,INC.	2907 SAGASTA STREET	33619
		5315 CAUSEWAY	
ESSEX CRANE RENTAL CORP.	ESSEX CRANE RENTAL CORP	Boulevard	33619
	KEARNEY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY	5115 Joanne Kearney	
KEARNEY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LLC	LLC	Boulevard	33619
DGP&S	60TH STREET	2816 N 60th Street	33619
FLORIDA SOIL CEMENT COMPANY, LLC	#701 VARIOUS LOCATIONS - STATEWIDE	9625 Wes Kearney Way	33578

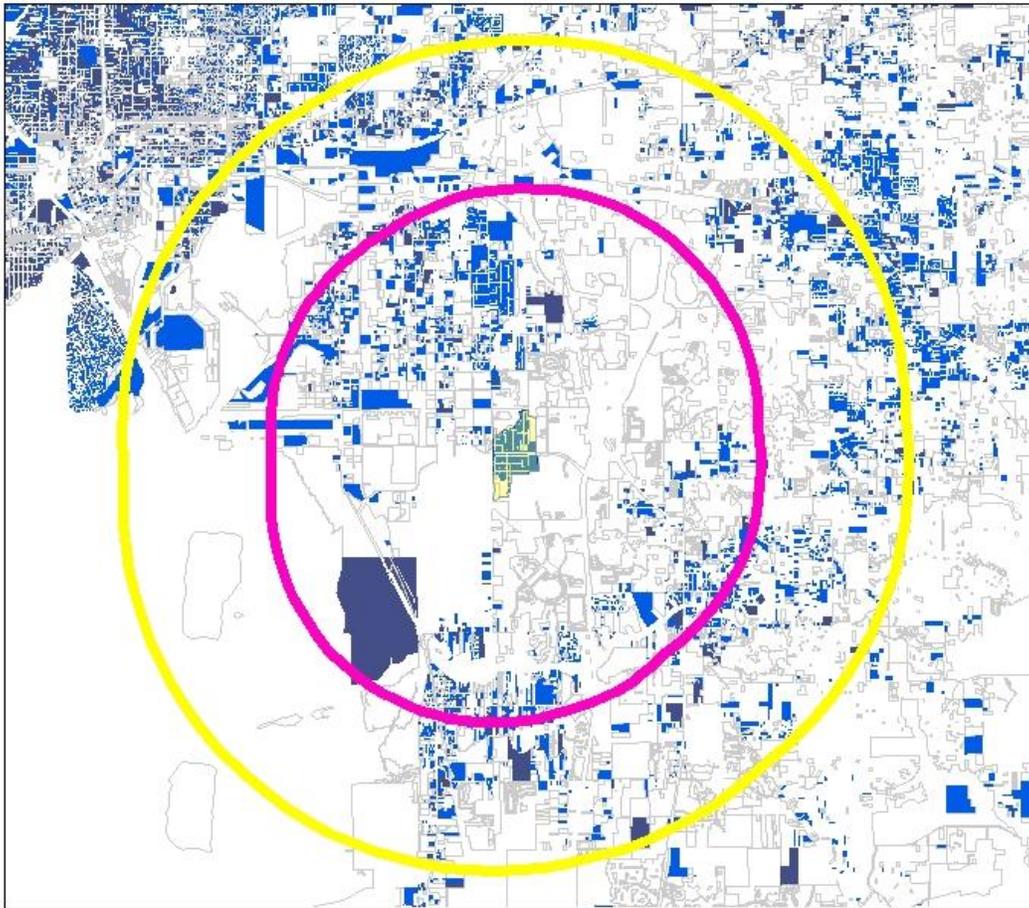
FLORIDA CEMETERIES INC	SERENITY MEADOWS-HC & AC FACILITIES	6919 PROVIDENCE Road	33578
FLORIDA SOIL CEMENT COMPANY, LLC	# 714 VARIOUS LOCATIONS - STATEWIDE	9625 Wes Kearney Way	33578
GEM DRY CLEANERS	GEM DRY CLEANERS	10312 BLOOMINGDALE Avenue #107	33578
TAMPA ARMATURE WORKS	TAMPA ARMATURE RIVERVIEW SITE	6312 78th Street	33578
RING POWER CORPORATION	RING POWER CORPORATION	10421 Fern Hill Drive	33578
MOSAIC FERTILIZER, LLC	MOSAIC FERTILIZER-RIVERVIEW FACILITY	8813 HWY. 41 SOUTH	33578
PREFERRED MATERIALS INC	RIVERVIEW PLANT	6723 S 78th Street	33578
BRIGHT HOUSE NETWORKS	BRIGHT HOUSE NETWORKS RIVERVIEW	4145 S Falkenburg Road	33578

Appendix C: Development around Progress Village

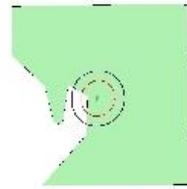
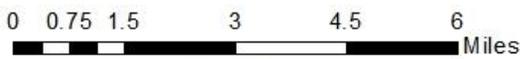
Selected maps showing parcel development maps in 3- and 5-mile buffers around Progress Village, from 1900 until 2015. Maps created during formative research for this thesis. Also available in video form at <https://youtu.be/V8H152YkW2c>.



Progress Village Area: New Parcels Built 1950-1969

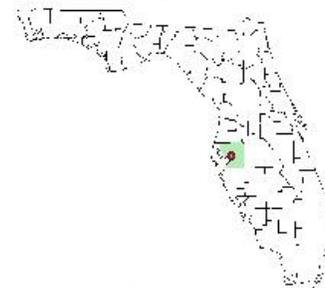
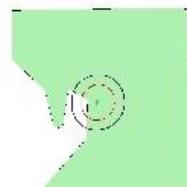
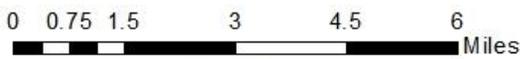
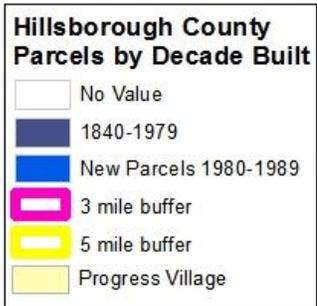
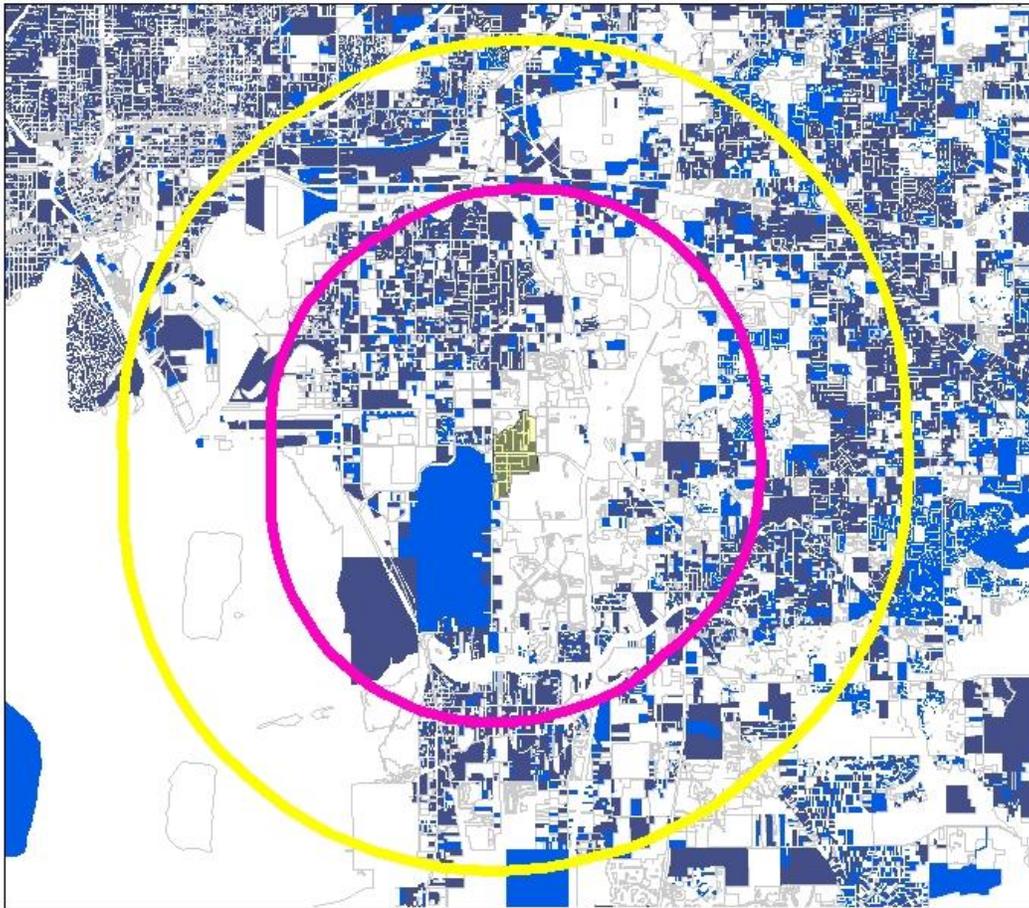


Hillsborough County Parcels by Decade Built	
	No Value
	1840-1949
	New Parcels 1950-1969
	3 mile buffer
	5 mile buffer
	Progress Village



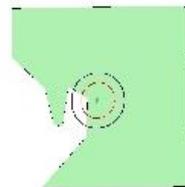
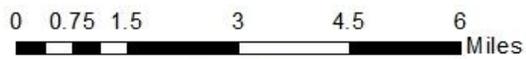
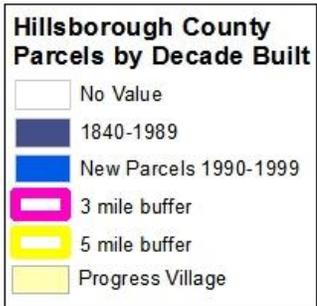
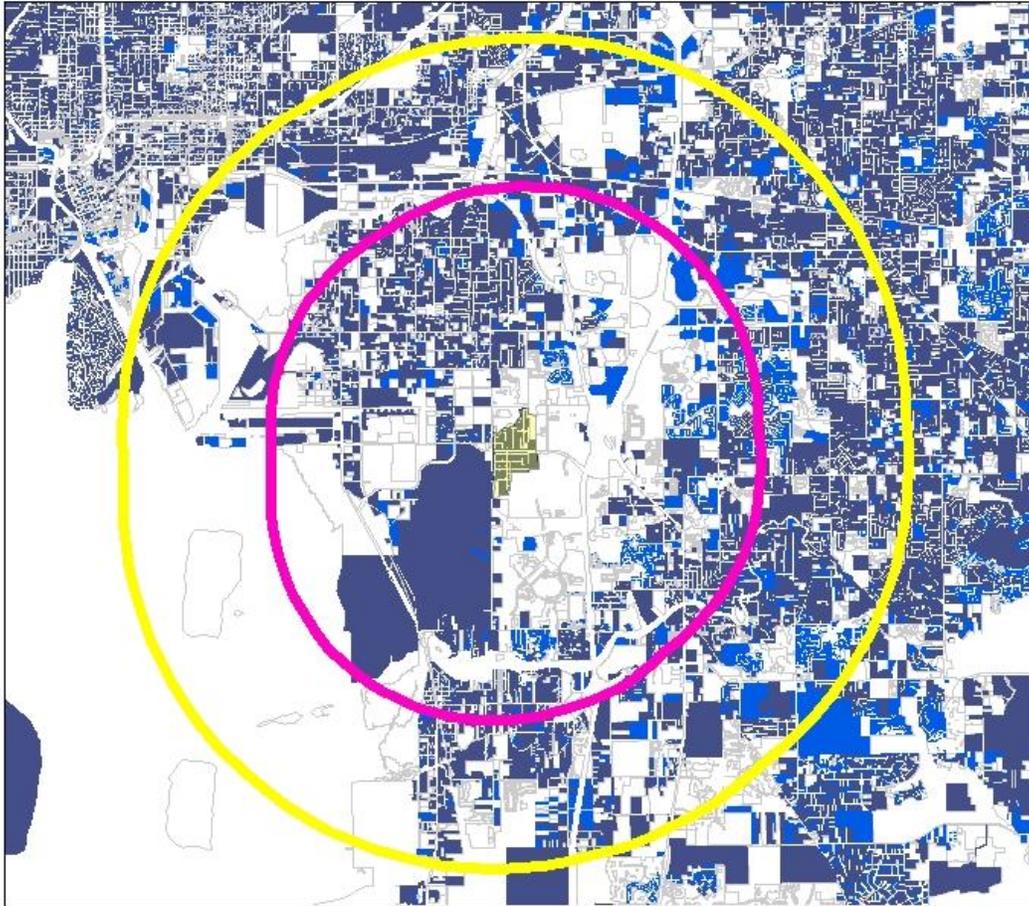
Map Created by Laura Baum, GIS 6100 November 2014
Data Source: Florida Department of Transportation D7, ETAT.YB_DECADES_D7_2012 by Panda Consulting
Progress Village Polygon and buffers of 3 and 5 miles created by designer in cooperation with Dr. Elizabeth Walton

Progress Village Area: New Parcels Built 1980-1989



Map Created by Laura Baum, GIS 6100 November 2014
Data Source: Florida Department of Transportation D7, ETAT.YB_DECADES_D7_2012 by Panda Consulting
Progress Village Polygon and buffers of 3 and 5 miles created by designer in cooperation with Dr. Elizabeth Walton

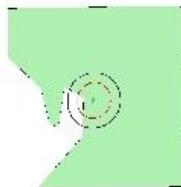
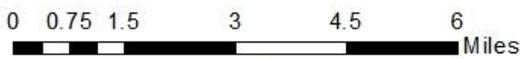
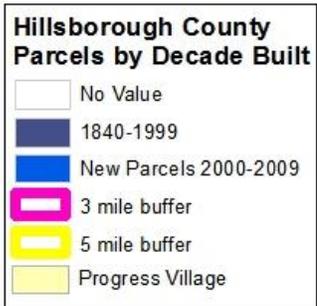
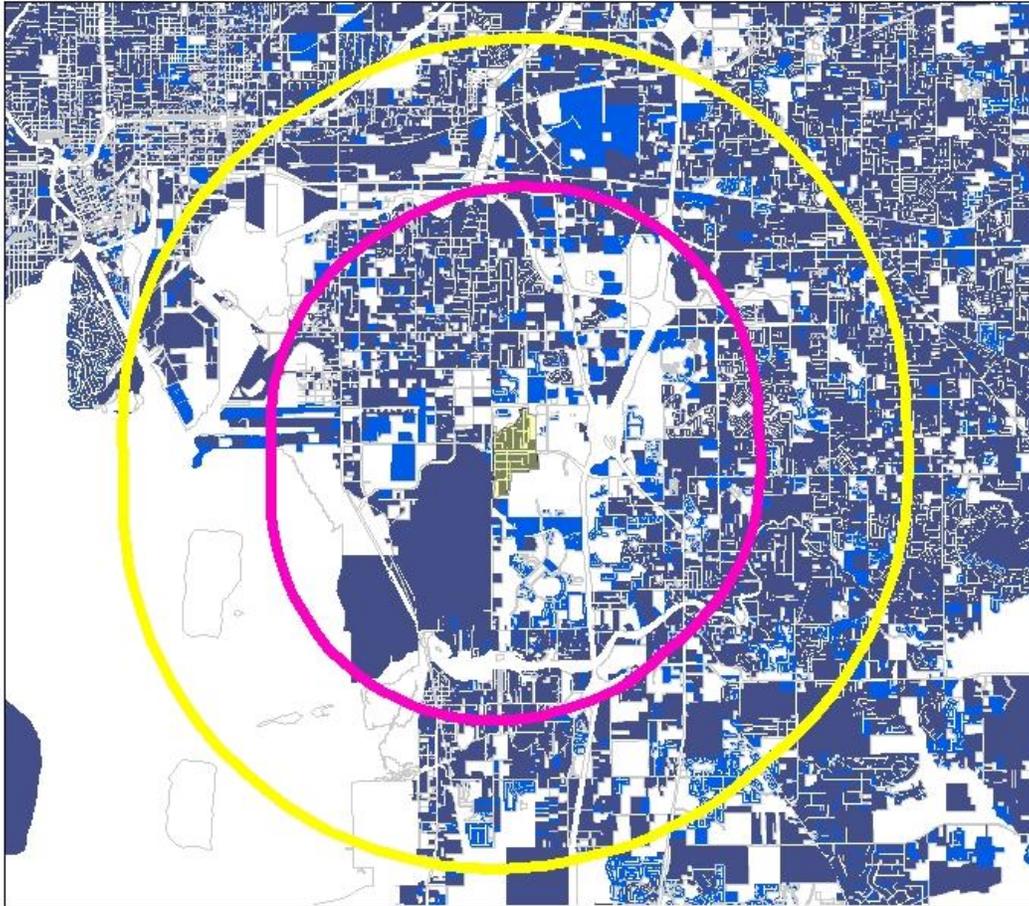
Progress Village Area: New Parcels Built 1990-1999



Map Created by Laura Baum, GIS 6100 November 2014

Data Source: Florida Department of Transportation D7, ETAT.YB_DECADES_D7_2012 by Panda Consulting
Progress Village Polygon and buffers of 3 and 5 miles created by designer in cooperation with Dr. Elizabeth Walton

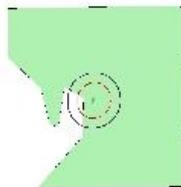
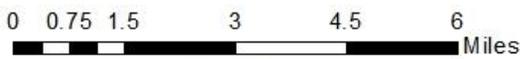
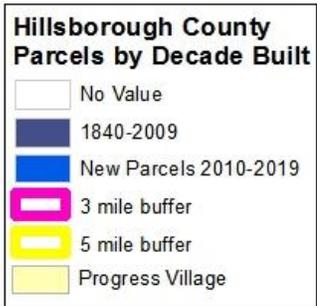
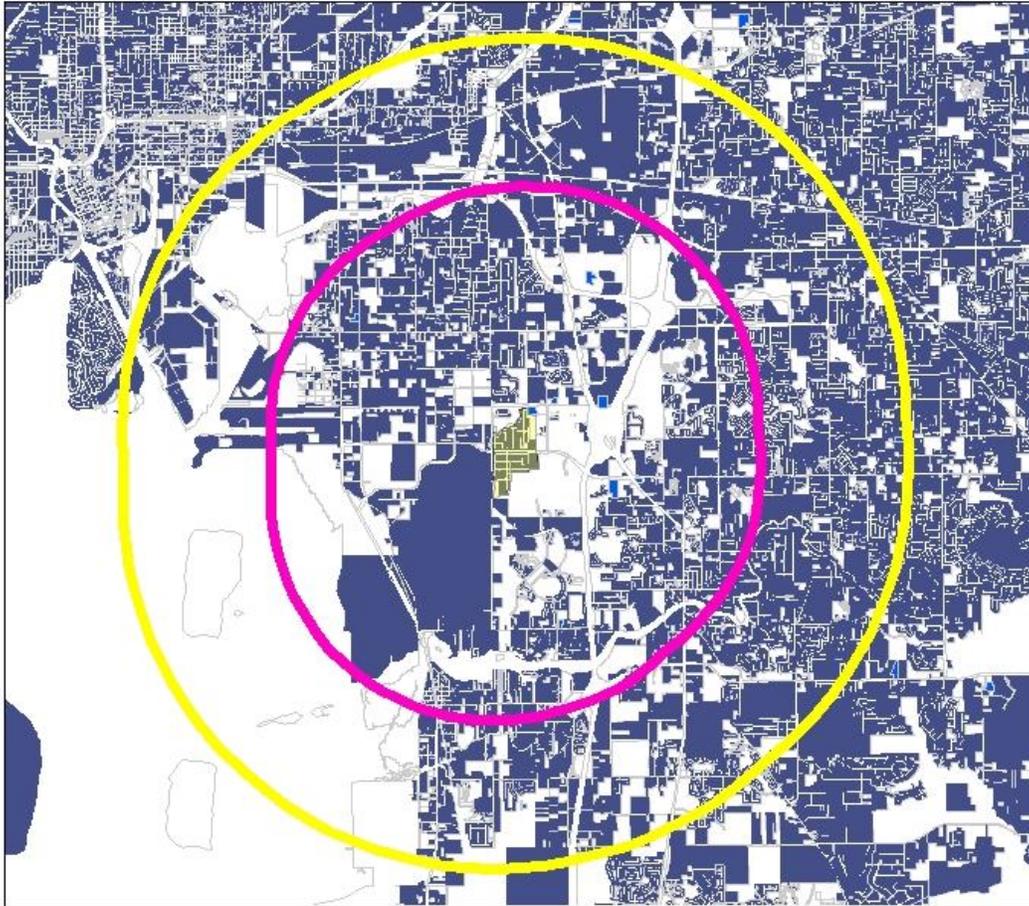
Progress Village Area: New Parcels Built 2000-2009



Map Created by Laura Baum, GIS 6100 November 2014

Data Source: Florida Department of Transportation D7, ETAT.YB_DECADES_D7_2012 by Panda Consulting
Progress Village Polygon and buffers of 3 and 5 miles created by designer in cooperation with Dr. Elizabeth Walton

Progress Village Area: New Parcels Built 2010-2019



Map Created by Laura Baum, GIS 6100 November 2014
Data Source: Florida Department of Transportation D7, ETAT.YB_DECADES_D7_2012 by Panda Consulting
Progress Village Polygon and buffers of 3 and 5 miles created by designer in cooperation with Dr. Elizabeth Walton