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Finding a Home: Latino Residential Influx into Progress Village, 1990-2010

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by

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Abstract

Progress Village in Tampa Florida was developed in the late 1950s in response to the dislocation of black families during the construction of Interstate-4. Furthermore this community became an opportunity for many black and more specifically, African American families, to live in a community devoid of racist attitudes and tensions rampant in inner city Tampa at the time. For over thirty years this community's residential population was overwhelmingly (90 percent) black or African American. In the 1990s though this community would begin to experience the first wave of Latino residents and by 2000 this group would comprise over 2 percent of the population. Moreover by 2010 this community's Latino population would soar to over 14 percent of the total population. This project is a case study of Latino migration into a small historically Black residential community. This work examines a plethora of sources ranging from newspaper articles (*New York Times, Sun Sentinel, Progress Village Pioneer,* etc.), scholarly articles, government data (U.S. Census), and primary research in the form of survey data and interviews from current Latino residents. All these sources are incorporated to argue that evolving federal immigration policies, shifting migration patterns, and economic factors (affordable housing and employment) all played a vital role in this recent and ongoing influx. This research adds to the existing scholarship of Latino migration in the U.S. by demonstrating how small predominantly African American communities like Progress Village are diversified by all these factors.

Introduction

The focus of this case study is to provide both secondary and primary evidence to consider the importance of federal immigration policies, migration patterns, and economic factors in the increase of Latinos in Progress Village Tampa Florida in the years 1990-2010. While Progress Village stands out as a non-traditional site of Latino migration, this location has many of the same pull factors such as affordable housing and access to large job markets as larger communities like Compton, California. Scholars from a variety of disciplines: sociology, history, anthropology, economics, and political Science are incorporated to provide an inter-disciplinary approach to understanding this process. Work from Jamie Winders, Raymond Mohl, Roger Daniels, Paul Levengood, Gary Mormino, and Scott Walcott are utilized to situate Progress Village within the national narrative of Latino migration. In addition primary evidence from the *Progress Village Pioneer, New York Times, Sun Sentinel, Miami Herald, St. Petersburg Times, Washington Post, USA Today,* and *Los Angeles Times* compose a story of this process on a state and local level. In collaboration with these primary and secondary sources, new evidence in the form of community surveys and interviews with Latino residents are included to provide first-hand accounts on the role of economics, federal policy, and migration pattern in this residential increase. This research contributes to the existing scholarship of Latino migration in the U.S. by providing a case study of a historically African American community becoming more diversified in the last twenty years. This work addresses questions tied to the cultural, social, and political impact of Latinos in predominantly African American communities. Lastly,

this project contributes to Africana Studies by examining complex changes in a small historically black community.

Major Research Questions

This study addresses three major questions: one how do shifting U.S. federal immigration policies in the twentieth century change the migratory flow of Latinos from traditional sites like Texas and California to new sites like Progress Village in Tampa, Florida; two what is the role of social factors like family connections in the area, to the number of Latinos in Progress Village and their impact on national migration patterns; three how have economic factors like affordable housing and access to a large job market contributed to the rise of Latino residents in Progress Village in the years 1990-2010.

Methodology

This research is the result of previous work in the community. In 2014 the researcher conducted an independent study of the Latino community's involvement with the Civic Association. In the process a brochure was translated from English to Spanish in order to spread membership opportunities and participation to the Latino residents of the community. Furthermore this service work resulted in the phone number of Julia Claudio and Julio DeJesus. While this study incorporates case studies and newspaper articles, it also adds new data to not only the discussion of the political, economic, and social factors which drive this population increase but also the communities most likely to be affected by this migratory process. A ten question survey which included questions about place of birth, length of residency in Progress Village, current occupation, nation of birth, and age group, were given to twenty Latino residents. An analysis of the survey data demonstrated that many of the residents were over the age of forty, their ethnic background was Puerto Rican, they lived in the community less than ten

years, and did not work within the community. To supplement these surveys, five interviews ranging from 3-5 minutes were conducted in the homes of Latino residents to garner responses tied to: reason for moving into Progress Village versus surrounding communities, distance of work from home, place of residency before Progress Village, perception of the community, and the cost of housing. These five interviews painted a picture in which affordable housing and family in the area were the primary factors which drove these Latinos to move into Progress Village. Also all the interviewees worked outside of the community and have had other Latinos stay with them for short periods of time (about 2 weeks on average). The data presented Progress Village as an ideal site of residency for low income Latino families. It also presents Progress Village as an area highly recommended to family members and other Latinos. Politically this community stands in contrast to overcrowding living in traditional sites like New York and Miami. Lastly, this data provides quantitative and qualitative evidence of how these factors drove the increase of Latinos into Progress Village and how they potentially affect the community dynamics.

The Creation of Progress Village

In the late 1950s racial tension and the displacement of African American families during the construction of Interstate 4 in Tampa resulted in the proposal of a "community where Tampa Negroes would be given a fair opportunity to rear their children in the proper environment" (Staff, December 1961). By 1958 the Progress Village Inc., a non-profit organization was chartered with the task of creating "well-constructed homes at reasonable prices in an area of congenial surroundings with all the facilities that make for happy living" (Staff, December 1961). The master plan from Pulara Bowen and Watson included the construction of a 34,000 foot shopping center containing a drug store, barber shop, dry cleaners, shoe repair, coin laundry,

filling station, beauty shop, garden shop, and supermarket (Alicea, 1986). Furthermore this original plan was designed to provide housing for approximately 15,000 African Americans. This project was overseen by a board of trustees comprised of nine white and nine black leaders whose members included Cody Fowler a prominent Tampa lawyer; C. Blythe Andrews publisher of the *Sentinel Bulletin*; and Aurelio Fernandez principal of Henderson Junior High School. In 1959 as construction was underway the Progress Village Inc. was selected as the winner of the Lane Bryant Annual Awards national competition ($1,000 cash prize) for it's "efforts to improve community life" (Staff, December 1961). By 1960 less than a quarter of the 3,857 housing units were constructed and available for residency. In addition, while this community was outside of the city's limit it was still considered part of East Tampa and a CDP (Census Designated Place). The community was labeled a CDP and part of Tampa by the U.S. government because the community lacked a municipal government i.e. mayor, city hall, and police force. It is important to note according to census data and independent studies from organizations like city-data and Cengage Learning Center that over 98 percent of the original residents were African American or did not identify as Latino. 1960 also marked the birth year of the Progress Village Civic Council (84 founding members with A. D. Gaither as the first president), which was created to address issues and oversee developments within the community.

The 2000 U.S. census listed the residential population as 90 percent Black or African American, 7.4 percent white only and 2.7 (68 people) percent Latino or Hispanic. Furthermore out this 68, Puerto Rican (25), Mexican (11), and other Latino or Hispanic (29) comprised the three largest groups. According to the 2010 census the community was 51.7 percent African American or Black, 37.1 percent white alone, and 14.9 percent (801) Latino or Hispanic. Moreover Puerto Ricans (430), Mexican (107), and other Hispanic or Latino (179) were the three

largest groups of Latino residents. This is important to study because it answers questions tied to the impact on the demography of Progress Village and other communities like Durham as federal immigration policies evolve, how family living in the area dictates migratory flows into this community, and the role of economics in this influx into this community and other communities like Compton.

Robert Alicea's *Progress Village, 1958-1962: An Experiment in Southern Gradualism* is important because, to date, it is the only published academic work which focuses on Progress Village. While Alicea's work focuses on the creation of the community he also provides key insights for this study. One of these insights is that according to state public records and community papers, Latinos were not excluded from moving to this community. At the same time though Alicea points out that the original residents were over 90 percent African American, which meant that if Latinos were part of these original residents they did not either identify as so or were in small numbers. Alicea's study focuses primarily on the individuals and organizations involved in the creation of Progress Village, but my work builds upon his initial study by providing additional evidence of Latino participation in the community. Furthermore my work looks to add a new segment to Alicea's in that while he focused primarily on the African American leaders and residents of the community, my study focuses on the rising population of Latino residents in the community.

Key Contributors to this Study

This research is a case study of Latino migration into a predominantly African American community in Tampa, Florida. Other researchers have also discussed this process in other parts of the nation. An illustration of this comes from the work of historian Raymond Mohl (1997, 2003, 2009) which analyzes the role of employment and federal policy in the migration of

Latinos to traditional sites like Miami-Dade in Florida. In his article "Latinos and Blacks in the Recent American South" he provides evidence of Latino migration into the American South since the 1990s. Mohl argues that the huge "influx of immigrants from Central and South America between 2000 and 2007 of 10.3 million into the U.S. has affected southern labor patterns and housing markets" (2009). Mohl also discusses another pattern in Latino migration: employment opportunities and affordable housing for example; "Hispanic newcomers have been settling in traditionally black neighborhoods where rent seems more reasonable" (2009). This provides evidence for the recent influx of Latinos in traditionally African American communities. His work demonstrates that these migrants have moved to states which have a strong agricultural industry such as Texas and Florida. Mohl's work provides evidence of how crucial employment and housing are to Latino residency.

Other scholars like Roger Daniels have tied Latino migration specifically to shifting Federal Immigration Laws with particular focus to Texas and California. His work provides examples of how national immigration policies like the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 allowed for the largest influx of Hispanics into the U.S. in history. Daniels also describes how Congress' Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986 allowed for many Latino immigrants to flood into the U.S. looking for employment and residential opportunities. He argues that national policies shifted the community dichotomy from simply African American and White to African American, White, and Latino. While his work provides legislative evidence tied to Latino migration in traditional locations, this study looks at a non-traditional site of Latino migration to consider how these same policies shifted these migratory streams to new locations.

Chapter(s) Layout and Focus

Chapter one looks at the role of federal immigration policies in migration of Latinos not only into Progress Village, but also other communities. This chapter analyzes the Immigration and Nationality Act, the Immigration and Reform Control Act, and the creation of the Border Patrol in 1924 to argue that the rising numbers of Latinos in Progress Village in the years 1990-2010 are connected to shifting federal policies. Furthermore, this chapter provides a short synopsis of the four Gateway States: New York, California, Texas, and Florida in order to lay a foundation of historical sites of migration in the U.S. and their connection to federal policies. Progress Village is also compared to other communities like Durham, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia to situate it within a national narrative. Progress Village unlike Durham and Atlanta is unique in that it is a small (3.8 square miles), isolated, Census Designated Place which experiences an influx like larger communities. In addition this residential growth in Progress Village lays the groundwork for discussions tied to Latino cultural, economic, and political impact on historically African American communities.

Chapter two considers the role of migratory factors such as family connections and the spillover effect to explain this Latino population increase in Progress Village. In addition this chapter situates Progress Village within a national narrative by comparing it to large areas like Compton, California and Houston, Texas. Residential and demographic data from city-data.com and the 2000, 2010 U.S. census are implemented to provide quantitative evidence of shifting migration patterns and the impact on communities like Progress Village. Furthermore theoretical concepts such as the spillover effect and family based migration are appropriated to explain the connection between Latino culture and migration patterns. Textual evidence from Jamie Winders, Tafoya Suro, Paul Levengood, and others form important connections between

Progress Village and the larger national discussion. To supplement these sources primary evidence consisting of survey data and personal communications are implemented to provide key insights from current Latino residents. All this evidence argues that while Progress Village is similar to larger national communities in terms of migration pull factors, it stands out as a representative site of non-traditional and ongoing Latino migration.

Chapter three derives from the factors discussed in the first two chapters. One of the focuses of this chapter is to look at the role of economic factors like affordable rent and housing in this recent process. This is significant because it provides economic identifiers for which state and national communities are likely to experience a rise in Latino residents. Progress Village serves not only as a contemporary and ongoing example of rising number of Latino residents in a predominantly African American community, but also the results of shifting immigration policies, migration patterns, and urban development. This chapter analyzes data from the 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census, City-Data.com, and Cengage Learning Center to argue that the shifting cost of housing not only in Progress Village, but surrounding communities and proximity to employment opportunities made the community an ideal location for Latino migrants. In addition this chapter incorporates recent and past personal testimonies from community residents like Claudina Claudio and Ms. Pascoe to supplement the central argument of this chapter. Furthermore the work of Pew researcher Rakesh Kochar, journalists Kevin Hall, Audra Burch, Janet Zink, Justin George, and historian Raymond Mohl provide primary and secondary research on not only the role of foreclosure rates and the cost of living in this process, but also how Progress Village situates itself within the broader state and national discussion.

Chapter 1:

Opening the Floodgates: The Role of Immigration Policies on Migration Patterns

According to the 2000 U.S. census Progress Village (PV), Florida had a total population of 2,482. Out of this only 68 (2.7 percent) of these residents identified as Latino/Hispanic. By 2010, the population in Progress Village would double to that of 5,392. Along these lines, 801 or 14.9 percent of these residents would identify as Latino. This chapter analyzes the Immigration and Nationality Act, the Immigration and Reform Control Act, and the creation of the Border Patrol in 1924 to argue that the rising numbers of Latinos in Progress Village in the years 1990-2010 are connected to shifting federal policies. Furthermore, this chapter provides a short synopsis of the four Gateway States: New York, California, Texas, and Florida in order to lay a foundation of historical sites of migration in the U.S. and their connection to federal policies. Although Progress Village is a residential subdivision, this case study examines communities like Durham, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia to situate it within a national narrative. Progress Village unlike Durham and Atlanta is unique in that it is a small (3.8 miles), isolated, Census Designated Place which experiences an influx like larger communities. In addition this residential growth in Progress Village lays the groundwork for discussions tied to Latino cultural, economic, and political impact on predominantly and historically African American communities.

Federal Immigration Policy: A Historical Synopsis

Immigration has always been a controversial topic in the U.S because of its social, economic, and political implications. Historically, Latino immigration policy has shifted from an open door approach in the 19th century to a revolving door in the 20th. It was not until the National Origins Act of 1924 that U.S. Immigration policy imposed quantitative restrictions for immigrants. This policy set a limit on the number of immigrants admitted annually by using a 2 percent formula based on the 1890 U.S. census. As a result, 82 percent of the immigrants allowed into the country legally came from northern and western Europe, 16 percent from southern and eastern Europe, and 2 percent from the rest of the world (Garcia, 2000). It is important to note that this policy did not place a quota on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere (Mexico, Central and South America). While this act primarily focused on limiting immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere, in 1924 the U.S. also established the Border Patrol to detect and prevent the smuggling and unlawful entry of undocumented immigrants into the U.S. via Mexico. By the 1930s, the Great Depression changed the landscape of immigration and bolstered anti-immigrant sentiment. This resulted in the repatriation of an estimated 830,000 Mexicans under the "voluntary" program. The next massive change to U.S. immigration policy came into effect in 1952 as the Immigration National Act, or more commonly known as the McCarran-Walter Act. This act put a numerical limit per country on the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. legally on a yearly basis.

"This bill we sign today is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions. It will not restructure the shape of our daily lives." were uttered by President Lyndon Johnson at the signing of the Immigration and Nationality Act or the Hart-Celler Bill on October 3, 1965. This phased out the national origins quota system first instituted in 1921, but instead focused on

an immigrant's skills and family relationships with U.S. resident aliens. Before this, over 70% of the immigrants coming into the U.S. were of just three countries- Ireland, Germany, and the United Kingdom. In fact this change caused massive numbers of immigrants from Asia and Latin America to enter the U.S., for instance, "The ending of the national origins quotas opened the doors to mass entry of people from Asia and Latin America (regions where people are far more likely to want to emigrate), and the law's emphasis on family reunification ensured that those through the door first would be able to bring in their relatives" (Center for Immigration Studies, 1995). Many scholars credit the modernization of many European countries as affecting the decreasing number of European immigrants during this time. Moreover, many Americans saw this Act as a symbolic gesture due to its passage at the height of the Civil Rights Movement. The proponents of this bill, like subcommittee chairman, Edward Kennedy, argued that "First, our cities will not be flooded with a million immigrants annually. Under the proposed bill, the present level of immigration remains substantially the same…Secondly, the ethnic mix of this country will not be upset…Contrary to the charges in some quarters, the bill will not inundate American with immigrants from any one country or area"(Centers for Immigration Studies, 1995). The passing of this act resulted in the one of the largest waves of immigration in U.S. history- more than 18 million immigrants since 1965, over triple the number admitted during the previous 30 years (Centers for Immigration Studies, 1995). Besides in 1993 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) released a report that showed a clear shift in the percentage of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere versus the Eastern (see Figure 1.1).

In conjunction with this act, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 strengthened the Border Patrol by providing more resources, such as cameras, sensors, and metal detectors. Next this bill centered on the legalization of undocumented immigrants, which created

two groups of eligible applicants. The first included those who had lived continuously in the United States since before January 1, 1982 and who met other criteria. This group accounted for roughly 1.7 million applications for legalization. The second group, Special Agricultural Workers, were made up of people who could show that they had worked 60 or more days in seasonal agricultural between May 1985 and May 1986. This group ended up totaling 1.3 million, far exceeding the original estimate of 250,000 (Wyloge, 1986). Also, after an applicant had been assigned a legal status or deemed a temporary resident, he or she was not eligible for any form of public welfare assistance for five years. It is important to note that this stipulation may compel some Latino immigrants to live near relatives to survive financially. This idea is discussed further in the following chapter. Although this act sought to curb the massive number of immigrants entering the U.S. illegally it actually exacerbated the amount of immigrants coming into the country and would force them to move to non-traditional migration sites.

The Four Gateway States

This Latino influx was so massive on a national, state, and local level in the early to mid-1900s that the 1970 census was the first to ask participants about their national origin. Participants could choose among several Hispanic origins listed on the questionnaire. Along these lines, in 1980 and 1990 census people of "Spanish/Hispanic" descent reported as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Hispanic. At the same time the 1990 census tabulated information for 30 additional Hispanic groups, due to the increasing diversity and influx of Latinos (Hispanics Statistics Branch, 1993). Even more compelling is in 1990 nearly 9 out of every 10 Latinos lived in just 10 states. The four states with the largest proportion of Hispanics were California, Texas, New York, and Florida (Hispanics Statistics Branch, 1993) (see table 1.1).

Historically these four 'Gateway' states have been the traditional places of residency for Latinos due to employment opportunities, proximity to Latin countries, and affordable housing. On a state level, during the 1960s-1970s, the Hispanic population in Florida more than doubled from about 400,000 to over 800,000 (Mohl, 1997). In the 1980s, this number continued to grow to over 83 percent of the previous era (see table 1.2). To properly understand how these policies change national demographics, the four gateway states mentioned above are analyzed. By understanding the political and economic factors which spur migration into these four states, connections are made to smaller communities like Progress Village and the role of federal policy in its demography.

California: A Mexican Bastion

California for much of its history has been a focal point for Latino migration into the U.S. To understand historically why so many Latinos, specifically Mexican, have moved to California, it is important to understand the annexation and acquirement of the state. This area was acquired in 1848 through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the end of the Mexican-American War. As a result, Mexican and other Latinos living in this area could become American citizens by taking an oath of allegiance without having to undergo naturalization. This meant that California would have had a large Latino population since its early beginnings. At the same time, California was a prime location for Latino migration due to its geographical location and proximity to Mexico, Central, and South America. This played a key role in the formation of the Border Patrol in the early 1920s as a physical barrier separating Mexico from the U.S. Although, the border was created not only to define U.S. territory from Mexican, it also promoted the influx of Latinos around this time both legally and illegally. Also while the U.S.

government sought to create this border as a means of keeping illegal immigrants out, it created an image of the U.S. as a place of golden opportunity later exacerbated by the notion of the 'American Dream'.

The early 1900s marked an era of political turmoil in Latin America countries like Mexico. The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) created economic instability, political turmoil, and social terror. This immediately caused a massive immigration of Mexican refugees into the U.S. Also agricultural advancements in the U.S. such as the nationwide distribution system for produce facilitated the development of large-scale agricultural employment opportunities for Latinos. Secondly labor shortages during World War I also made California a bastion for Latino migration. An example of this historical influx into California is the 'Latinization' of communities like Pico Rivera. "In the early 1900s, Pico Rivera was mostly farm land. After World War II, veterans, mostly young and white, began moving in. And then came a manufacturing boom" (O'Brien, 2009). By the 1970s this community was predominantly Latino. According to local residents, "Folks were just moving to other communities, and Latinos just filled in the gaps" (O'Brien, 2009). To further support this process the 2000 census concluded that California had more than 10 million Latinos. Of these 600,000 were Central American, 160,000 South American, 140,000 Puerto Rican, and 72,000 Cuban. These Latinos comprised 32.4 percent of the state's total population and second in the nation only to New Mexico (42.1 percent). Although California to this day has a large number of Latinos living in the state, the passage of immigration reforms, such as IRCA, diverted the migratory flows away from traditional points of destinations to more non-traditional areas like North Carolina. Also anti-immigrant sentiment shifted some of the migration influx of Latinos to states other than California. Some studies have suggested that the anti-immigrant environment, in which

newcomers have been blamed for unemployment…the passage of Proposition 187 may be contributing to driving Mexicans out of California (Hernandez-Leon & Zuniga, 2000) and into states like Florida where they settle into communities like Progress Village.

Texas: A Mexican Enclave

Texas is also known for its large population of Latinos, historically and contemporary. This area was acquired by the U.S. after the Mexican-American War in 1848 and allowed its Latino population to become American citizens by taking an oath of allegiance. Texas throughout its history has built its economy around agriculture, primary cattle and other livestock. This is important because historically Latinos are usually employed in the agricultural sector and Texas would have been an ideal area to find this type of employment. Texas' geographical location along the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean also made it an easily accessible location for many Latinos coming from Latin America. While the turmoil from conflicts like the Mexican Revolution ramped up the number of Latinos coming into the U.S., the labor shortages from World War I & II played an even greater role in the migration patterns of these people to places like Texas. Along these lines in 1917 the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act granted the INS Commissioner, with the permission of the Secretary of Labor, "to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens for temporary admission" (Daniels, 2004). This resulted in over 500,000 Mexicans coming into the U.S. to work not only on farms, but also in mining, manufacturing, and on railroads. After the initial creation of this program the responsibility for keeping track of these Latino workers rested solely upon local employers. Although this program only lasted until 1921, many of the Latino workers

who had come over during this period either officially or under the guise of this program, had either moved out of the state or were unable to be located by government agents.

The eventual crash of the stock market and the Great Depression in the 1920s and 30s in the U.S. led to the 'voluntary' deportation of over 500,000 Mexicans back to Mexico. Later events such as U.S. involvement in World War II led to labor shortages and the influx of Latinos into places like Texas. This idea is supported by the creation of the *Bracero* program, which comes from the Spanish word *braccar* (to wave one's arm), which was an executive agreement between Mexico and the U.S. in 1942 to provide certain areas with unskilled labor in sectors like agriculture. Government data report that just over 225,000 agriculture workers were imported during the war years nearly three-quarters of them came from Mexico. At the same time it is important to note that while the Mexican government refused to send any braceros to Texas because of notorious anti-Mexican sentiment, many Mexicans and other Latinos still went to Texas in search of work during this period. The rampant anti-Mexican and anti-Latino sentiments in places like Texas were fueled by notions of Latinos stealing employment opportunities from native born American citizens. This discrimination would become the catalyst in the years following World War II for the migration of many Latinos out of Texas and to other areas around the nation. As Latinos in Texas and California faced weakening local economies and growing intra-ethnic job competition, southern cities like Nashville, Atlanta, and Charlotte, with tighter labor markets and less anti-immigrant sentiment, became increasingly viable options for many Latinos to move to (Winders, 2005). As various studies have noted,(P. Campion , 2003) and(Leon Fink , 2003), in many southern locales, Latinos have been accepted as workers but not as community members (Winders, 2005).

New York: A Puerto Rican Mecca

New York is well known historically for its large number of Latinos, primarily Puerto Ricans. After the ratification of the Treaty of Paris in 1898, the U.S. gained control of the island of Puerto Rico. By 1917 with the Passing of the Jones-Shafroth Act, Puerto Ricans were considered legal U.S. citizens. This also meant that after this act they were no longer classified as immigrants and any moving they did from the island to the U.S. was a form of internal migration. This Act also resulted in the creation of Immigration offices in states like New York and Florida. These offices served as the epicenters of Puerto Rican migration throughout the U.S. This provides evidence to why Florida historically has been an enclave for Puerto Ricans. More specifically for this study according to the 2000 and 2010 census Puerto Ricans comprised the largest number of Latinos in Progress Village. This can be tied to the geographic proximity of Florida to Puerto Rico. This shift in recent years to communities like Progress Village can be attributed to overcrowding in areas like Brooklyn, New York.

Although Latinos migrated in low numbers to New York in the early twentieth century, after the end of World War II an influx of Latinos from Puerto Rico known as the 'Great Migration' would take place in New York. In connection to this idea the Library of Congress states that in 1945, there had been 13,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City. By 1946 there were more than 50,000. Over the next decade, more than 25,000 Puerto Ricans would come to the continental U.S. and by the mid-1960s, more than a million had. While the Jones Act and World War II were important to this influx the rising level of poverty, economic depression from failed projects like the Bootstrap Operation, and the devastation from two hurricanes in Puerto Rico also played a role in this influx. According to the 2000 census, New York had the third highest population of Latinos in the nation at 2,867,583. Here Latinos comprised more than 15 percent of

the state's total population. Granted New York is different from the other gateway states in that many Latinos who move here work in the industrial sector versus the agricultural sector. To further solidify this idea according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 2004 California, Iowa and Texas were the three leading producers of agricultural products, while New York ranked 28th.

Florida: A Cuban Sanctuary

Florida is well known for its connection to Cuba and Spanish influence. Texas and Florida long had heavy concentrations of Latinos- Texas because of its proximity and historic connections to Mexico, and "Florida because of the massive waves of Cubans, Nicaraguans, and other Latin exiles, immigrants, and internal migrants beginning in the 1960s" (Mohl, 2003). The territory of Florida was originally a combination of West Florida acquired in the Louisiana Purchase in 1810 and East Florida which was acquired from Spain in the Adams-Onis Treaty in 1821. After Florida gained statehood in 1845 it quickly became an agricultural mecca with a focus on citrus and sugar production. Florida did not experience an influx of Latinos until the political turmoil in Cuba in the 1870s and 1880s. This resulted in the relocation of Cigar factories originally based in Cuba to places like Ybor City and Key West. This also meant the relocation of many Cubans from the island to Florida. The political turmoil in Cuba culminated in the Spanish-American War. Following the defeat of Spain in 1898 and U.S. investment in Cuba, many Cubans came to Florida to places like Ybor City to work and make a living.

Later political events in Cuba, like Fidel Castro's rise to power in 1959 also played an important role in the migration patterns of Latinos into Florida. Many Cuban intellectuals and refugees sought to escape Cuba by any means for example, "over the years the Cuban migration

to Florida has attracted national attention, particularly because of the dramatic forms it has taken, ranging from orderly airlifts to disorganized boatlifts and daring escapes on rafts and inner tubes" (Mohl, 1997). In conjunction with this idea millions of immigrants from the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia flocked to Florida. Between 1970 and 1990, as America's population grew by 21 percent, the South surged by 40 percent, while Florida's soared by 76 percent (Mormino, 2002). Also according to the 2000 census Florida had a Latino population of 2,682,715 in which Latinos comprised 16.8 percent of the state's total population. Considering plentiful service jobs, proximity to their countries of origin and government services that supported immigration, the growth of the Hispanic population in Florida is understandable (Canedy, 2001). Lastly, while Florida has been seen as one of the gateway states and representative sites for Latino migration, the focus of this influx has dealt primarily with traditional sites like Liberty City and Overtown in Miami-Dade County and not on more contemporary and isolated communities like Progress Village.

The Impact of Immigration Policy on Progress Village

Progress Village's Latino population has also been directly affected by these federal policies. While this historically African American community has only been in existence since the 1960s and for much of that time overwhelmingly (over 90 percent) African American, the 2000 census has shown that out of the total population of 2,482 only 64 residents identified as Hispanic/Latino (see table 1.3). The largest group within these 64 did not come from the three dominant Latino groups in Florida i.e. Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican. At the same time, while this was not a large percent it still spoke to the impact of federal policy in that this once almost only African American community was beginning to experience its own local influx. In

conjunction with the 2000 census, the 2010 census demonstrates that the passing of the Hart-Celler Act in 1965, the Immigration Reform, and Control Act in 1986, and the McCarran-Weller Act in 1952 all in essence, opened a floodgate of Latino immigrants into the U.S. who sought to make it a permanent place of residency (see Figure 1.2). As stated earlier in the chapter, the number of Latinos in Progress Village according to the 2000 census was 64 (2.1%), but by 2010 the Latino population had risen to 801 (14.9%) with Puerto Ricans comprising a majority of the residents (430) (see table 1.4). This meant that although all these federal policies had been passed before the 2000 census, Progress Village was beginning to feel the impact of these massive Latino waves. Furthermore the 2010 census demonstrates an interesting trend: that this influx is not a temporary or momentary one, but instead a consistent one. For instance according to the census in 2000 the Latino population was only 2 percent, by 2010 it was 14.9 percent, and is projected by 2020 to reach 17 percent. Yet it is also important to note that this census also portrays another trend in Progress Village: As the Latino population increases, the African American population decreases. An illustration of this process is found in the census data as well for example in 2000 the black and not of Hispanic identity population in Progress Village was 92 percent, by 2010 it was 47 percent, and by 2020 is projected to be 44 percent. At the least one can conclude that the passage of acts like the HART-Celler and IRCA created a new migratory stream which leads directly into communities that were once non-existent sites of Latino migration.

While the U.S. census provides hard quantitative data tied to Latino demography in Progress Village, original research provides more evidence and insight into this process. An example of this is that out of the 20 participants surveyed, 18 of them had moved into the community in the time, period of 2000-2015 (see table 1.5). Not only that, but out of these 20,

more than half of them had moved to Progress Village from either New York or another part of Florida. Also, more than half (12) of these participants were of Puerto Rican origin (see table 1.6).Even more important is that most of these participants have lived in Progress Village 5 years or less (9). This demonstrates not only how recent this influx is (see table 1.7), but also the growing image of the community as a site of Latino residency. At the same time one can dispel the idea that the increase in Latino presence in this period is simply a result of a higher population, this has to be connected to the precedent that immigration reform in the U.S. dictated the massive number of Latinos entering the country during this time. Furthermore these policies have also created overcrowding in gateway states like New York and California inherently forming new sites of Latino residency i.e. Progress Village. Even more compelling is this idea when you compare Progress Village to other communities around the nation, such as North Carolina and Georgia which have also experienced this Latino residential influx partly tied to federal immigration policies to show a national trend and comparative study.

Durham as a Comparison

It is important to compare the influx that has taken place in Progress Village to other communities on a national level to portray a more comprehensive picture of federal immigration policy on national and state demographics. For example, of the nation's 13.1 million Hispanic immigrants, nearly half moved to the United States from 1989 to 1997, according to the Census Bureau estimates. This means three out of every four arrived after 1978 (Bustos, 2000). This can be connected both to IRCA and the Hart-Celler act in that these immigrants moved in large numbers to the U.S. after these policies had been passed. Along these lines, North Carolina is in the vanguard. According to the Census Bureau, the Hispanic population there has burgeoned 110

percent from 1990 to 1998, but Georgia is not far behind, with a 102 percent increase, and Tennessee's Hispanic population has grown nearly 90 percent (Pressley, 2000). Another way to picture this is in the Raleigh-Durham area the Latino population increased from 5,670 in 1980 to 72,580 in 2000, a growth rate of 1,180 percent (Olmeda 2002) (see table 1.8). Also, based on the 2010 census, the population of Latinos in Durham city doubled from 16,012 to 32,459 (see table 1.9). This means that acts like the Hart-Celler and IRCA not only started this large influx with the sheer number of immigrants, but also changed the historical pre-destinations (Florida, New York, California, and Texas) for many Latinos to places, like N. Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. This influx can also be compared to Florida in that while four metropolitan areas, like Tampa, experienced a Hispanic growth of more than 300 percent in the past twenty years, none of them came close to the growth rate, over 1000 percent that took place in Raleigh, N.C. (Olmeda, 2002). This change in migration patterns is important to understand to predict and properly handle Latino impact in what many scholars, like Raymond Mohl(2005), call "the New South". This can also be tied to Progress Village not only through the lens of influx, but also through the idea that a majority of the Latinos moving into these communities are Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican. Lastly, while Progress Village does not boast the total population numbers that areas, like Durham (245,475) and Raleigh (431,746) it still is an important piece of the larger picture of Latino influx into the U.S. in the last thirty years. Lastly, Progress Village is like Durham in that both of these areas are considered non-traditional sites of Latino residency. Both of these communities are clear examples of how immigration policies in the late 1900s shifted migration flows from traditional sites to new sites.

Atlanta Enters the Discussion

Georgia, much like Progress Village in the last twenty years has experienced a before unprecedented influx of Latino residents. During the 1990s, Atlanta experienced a 118 percent growth in its Latino population, continuing a trend begun in the mid-1980s that has carried over into the first decade of the 21st century (Walcott & Murphy, 2006). Georgia for many years until the 1970s had experienced small amounts of Latino immigrants, primarily from Mexico, who came during the labor shortages during WWII, or under the *Bracero* program in the 1950s and early 60s. It was not until the 1970s that large amounts of Latinos began to register for citizenship following the landmark major revision of the national immigration laws in 1965 (Walcott & Murphy, 2006). According to the 2000 census, Latinos made up about 18,720 or 4.5 percent of the total population (416,474) in Atlanta city (see table 1.10). By 2010 they now estimated at 21,815 or 5.2 percent of the total population (419,081) of the residents in Atlanta city (see table 1.11). It is important to note two shocking similarities between Atlanta, Durham, and Progress Village. First, all three of these communities were predominantly African American when they experienced this influx. Second, as the Latino population grew throughout the years, the African American population decreased. A few reasons for this may also be tied to class mobility in that African Americans are leaving the lower paying jobs for higher ones and as a result moving out of the community, or second that these residents are selling/renting their homes to Latinos and moving out of the community in that way. This can also be linked to federal immigration policies because as more Latino immigrants are admitted into the U.S. and make their way to predominantly African American communities, like Durham, Atlanta, and Progress Village, the local demographics adversely shift in terms of residential makeup as the years go on. In essence the passing of Acts and policies, like the Hart-Celler and IRCA, have

changed national, state, and local demographics. Communities like Progress Village have become more saturated with Latino residents. As a result an often small percentage of African American and white residents alike either move out of the community voluntary or through the financial pressure brought in with these Latinos.

Federal Immigration Policies: Final Thoughts

U.S. immigration policies, for much of the early 20th century, were focused on limiting the number of immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Africa into the nation. This meant that although U.S. agencies, like the Border Patrol, regulated the amount of illegal immigrants that came through Mexico and the surrounding areas there was no set limit on the number of Latino immigrants who could come to the U.S. legally; but later events like the Great Depression in the U.S., led not only to anti-immigrant campaigns by American workers, but also resulted in the mass deportation of temporary legal Latino workers in places, like Phoenix, Arizona. After the passing of the Immigration and Nationality or Hart-Celler Act in 1965, a new wave of Latino migration into the U.S. took place. As a result, the 1970 census required the incorporation of Hispanic/Latino into the questionnaire clearly demonstrating the unprecedented number of Latinos coming into the country. By 1986, the passing of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) meant that Latinos had not only become a large number of residents in the U.S., but were continuing to migrate to the U.S. in massive numbers, legally and illegally. To quell this migration wave government officials did two things. First, they added more security and monitoring resources to the Border Patrol. Second, they granted legal resident status to over 2.7 million undocumented workers in the U.S.

While larger cities, like Atlanta and Durham would experience larger numbers of Latino influx, isolated communities, like Progress Village would also experience an influx of Latinos from the 1990s till today. The recent and rapid influx of Latinos into the U.S. has generated mixed responses. On one hand, government officials have recently passed several policies to stymie this influx, such as passing the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act(1996), the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act(1996), the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act(1996), and Proposition 187(1994). All these policies worked to limit state and national aide to Latino immigrant families through welfare, education, housing, and employment opportunities. But scholars like Raymond Mohl, Suzi Parker, and Paula McClain have argued that it is these Latino immigrants who work the lowest level of employment in American society, such as custodians, factory workers, and construction workers, which are often rejected by whites and African Americans. Also, while Immigration over the past seven years was the highest for any seven-year period in U.S. history, bringing in over 10.3 immigrants (Preston, 2007) some scholars have argued that these recent federal immigration policies have actually reduced the number of Latino immigrants coming into the country. A study in 2005 by another demographer, Jeffrey Passel of the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington, found that the rate of growth of immigration peaked in 2000 and declined somewhat in the next five years (Preston, 2007). This Chapter focused on presenting three key ideas; a short historical overview of major immigration reforms and policies, their impact on traditional and non-traditional sites of migration, and how Progress Village not only fits but stands out in this narrative as a new site of migration.

This led to more Latinos moving into Progress Village during period, which in turn affected the local businesses, the ratio of blue to white collar employees, and the percentage of

renters to owners of homes in the community. Federal policy often looks only at the national and state impacts of allowing more Latino immigrants into the U.S., but cases like Progress Village prove that these changes can also affect the local economic, social, and political representation of the community. Policies like IRCA and the Hart-Celler Act not only exacerbated the number of Latinos in Gateway states like New York and Texas, but inherently formed new sites of Latino migration in small communities like Progress Village. In this sense Progress Village is unique because it becomes a prime example of how federal policies change the residential demography of a community that for much of its history was predominantly African American.

Tables for Chapter 1: Immigration Impact

Table 1.1

Hispanics in the Florida Population
1970-1990

Year	% Hispanic	No. Hispanics		% Change
1970	6.0	Total Hispanic	405,036	--
		Cuban	250,406	--
		Puerto Rican	28,166	--
		Mexican	20,869	--
		Other Hispanic	105,595	--
1980	8.8	Total Hispanic	858,105	111.9
		Cuban	469,312	87.4
		Puerto Rican	95,663	238.5
		Mexican	75,734	262.9
		Other Hispanic	217,396	105.9
1990	12.2	Total Hispanic	1,547,143	80.3
		Cuban	674,052	43.6
		Puerto Rican	247,010	158.2
		Mexican	161,499	113.2
		Other Hispanic	491,582	126.1

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population. Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin, Final Report* PC(2)-1C (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), 36; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics*, pt. 11, *Florida*, PC80-1-C11 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1983), 135; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population. General Population Characteristics, Florida*, sec. 1, 1990 CP-1-11 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1992), 22.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 1.2

States with Largest Number of Hispanics
1970-1990

State	1970 No. Hispanics	1970 % Hispanic	1980 No. Hispanics	1980 % Hispanic	% Inc. 1970-80	1990 No. Hispanics	1990 % Hispanic	% Inc. 1980-90
California	2,369,292	11.9	4,541,300	19.2	91.7	7,687,938	25.8	69.3
Texas	1,840,648	16.4	2,982,583	21.0	62.0	4,339,905	25.5	45.5
New York	1,351,982	7.4	1,660,901	9.5	22.8	2,214,026	12.3	33.3
Florida	405,036	6.0	858,105	8.8	111.9	1,574,143	12.2	83.4
Illinois	393,204	3.5	634,617	5.6	61.4	904,446	7.9	42.5
New Jersey	288,488	4.0	494,096	6.7	71.3	739,861	9.6	49.7
Arizona	264,770	14.9	444,102	16.3	67.7	688,338	18.8	55.0
New Mexico	308,340	30.3	477,051	36.6	54.7	579,224	38.2	21.4
Colorado	225,506	10.2	341,435	11.8	51.4	424,302	12.9	24.3
Total U.S.	9,072,602	4.5	14,603,683	6.4	61.0	22,354,059	9.0	53.1

Source: U.S. Census, 1970-1990. States ranked by size of Hispanic population in 1990.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 1.3

Progress Village Population Breakdown, 2000

Subject	Progress Village CDP, Florida	
	Number	Percent
Total population	2,482	100.0
RACE		
One race	2,451	98.8
White	166	6.7
Black or African American	2,252	90.7
American Indian and Alaska Native	1	0.0
Some other race	27	1.1
Two or more races	31	1.2
Race alone or in combination with one or more other races [3]		
White	183	7.4
Black or African American	2,277	91.7
American Indian and Alaska Native	4	0.2
Asian	4	0.2
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	5	0.2
Some other race	43	1.7
HISPANIC OR LATINO AND RACE		
Total population	2,482	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	68	2.7
Mexican	11	0.4
Puerto Rican	25	1.0
Cuban	3	0.1
Other Hispanic or Latino	29	1.2
Not Hispanic or Latino	2,414	97.3
White alone	146	5.9
RELATIONSHIP		
Total population	2,482	100.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 1.4

Progress Village Population Breakdown, 2010

Geography: Progress Village CDP, Florida

Subject	Number	Percent
RACE		
Total population	5,392	100.0
One race	5,204	96.5
White	1,999	37.1
Black or African American	2,787	51.7
Some Other Race	189	3.5
Two or More Races	188	3.5
HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	5,392	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	801	14.9
Mexican	107	2.0
Puerto Rican	430	8.0
Cuban	85	1.6
Other Hispanic or Latino [2]	179	3.3
Not Hispanic or Latino	4,591	85.1
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	5,392	100.0
One race	5,204	96.5
Hispanic or Latino	721	13.4
Not Hispanic or Latino	4,483	83.1
Two or More Races	188	3.5
Hispanic or Latino	80	1.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	108	2.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010

Table 1.5

Year of Residential Entry into Progress Village

First Year of Residency in Progress Village	Number of People
1990-1995	0
1996-2000	1
2001-2005	5
2006-2010	5
2010-2015	9

Source: Author, 2015

Table 1.6

Latino Participants Ethnic Makeup

Ethnic Makeup of Participants	Number of Participants
Cuban	5
Dominican	0
Puerto Rican	12
None of the Above	3

Source: Author, 2015

Table 1.7

Latino Participants Length of Residency in Progress Village

Length of Residency in Progress Village	Number of Participants
1-5yrs	9
6-10yrs	8
11-15yrs	1
16 or more years	1

Source: Author, 2015

Table 1.8

Durham, North Carolina Residential Racial Breakdown in 2000

Subject	Durham city, North Carolina	
	Number	Percent
Total population	187,035	100.0
RACE		
One race	183,399	98.1
White	85,126	45.5
Black or African American	81,937	43.8
HISPANIC OR LATINO AND RACE		
Total population	187,035	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	16,012	8.6
Mexican	10,343	5.5
Puerto Rican	696	0.4
Cuban	236	0.1
Other Hispanic or Latino	4,737	2.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	171,023	91.4
White alone	79,277	42.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 1.9

Durham, N. Carolina Residential Breakdown in 2010

Geography: Durham city, North Carolina

Subject	Number	Percent
RACE		
Total population	228,330	100.0
One race	222,265	97.3
White	96,932	42.5
Black or African American	93,517	41.0
HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	228,330	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	32,459	14.2
Mexican	17,626	7.7
Puerto Rican	1,641	0.7
Cuban	445	0.2
Other Hispanic or Latino [2]	12,747	5.6
Not Hispanic or Latino	195,871	85.8
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	228,330	100.0
One race	222,265	97.3
Hispanic or Latino	30,627	13.4
Not Hispanic or Latino	191,638	83.9
Two or More Races	6,065	2.7
Hispanic or Latino	1,832	0.8
Not Hispanic or Latino	4,233	1.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010

Table 1.10

Atlanta, Georgia Population Based on the 2000 U.S. Census

Subject	Atlanta city, Georgia	
	Number	Percent
Total population	416,474	100.0
RACE		
One race	411,297	98.8
White	138,352	33.2
Black or African American	255,689	61.4
Some other race	8,272	2.0
Two or more races	5,177	1.2
HISPANIC OR LATINO AND RACE		
Total population	416,474	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	18,720	4.5
Mexican	12,715	3.1
Puerto Rican	1,147	0.3
Cuban	887	0.2
Other Hispanic or Latino	3,971	1.0
Not Hispanic or Latino	397,754	95.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 1.11

Atlanta, Georgia Population Based on the 2010 Census

Geography: Atlanta city, Georgia

Subject	Number	Percent
RACE		
Total population	420,003 (r41503)	100.0
One race	411,634	98.0
White	161,115	38.4
Black or African American	226,894	54.0
HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	420,003 (r41503)	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	21,815	5.2
Mexican	11,827	2.8
Puerto Rican	2,258	0.5
Cuban	1,333	0.3
Other Hispanic or Latino [2]	6,397	1.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	398,188	94.8
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	420,003 (r41503)	100.0
One race	411,634	98.0
Hispanic or Latino	20,235	4.8
Not Hispanic or Latino	391,399	93.2
Two or More Races	8,369	2.0
Hispanic or Latino	1,580	0.4
Not Hispanic or Latino	6,789	1.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010

Figures for Chapter 1: Immigration Impact

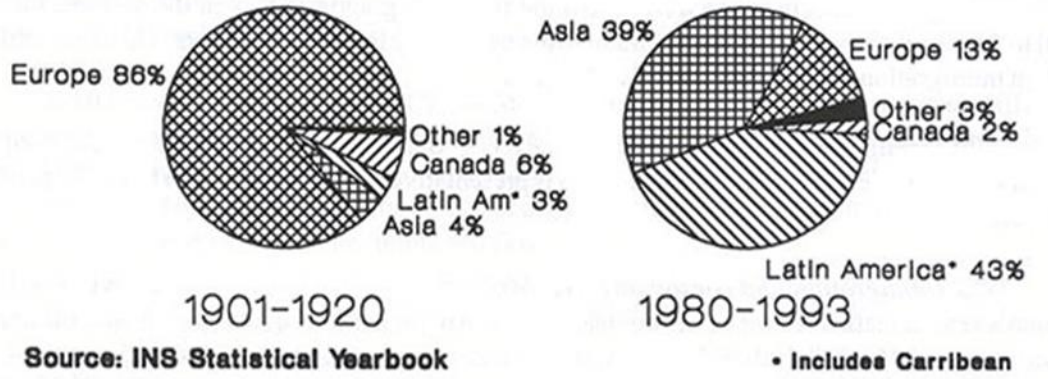


Figure 1.1

Latino Immigration 1901-1993

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Services Yearbook, 1996

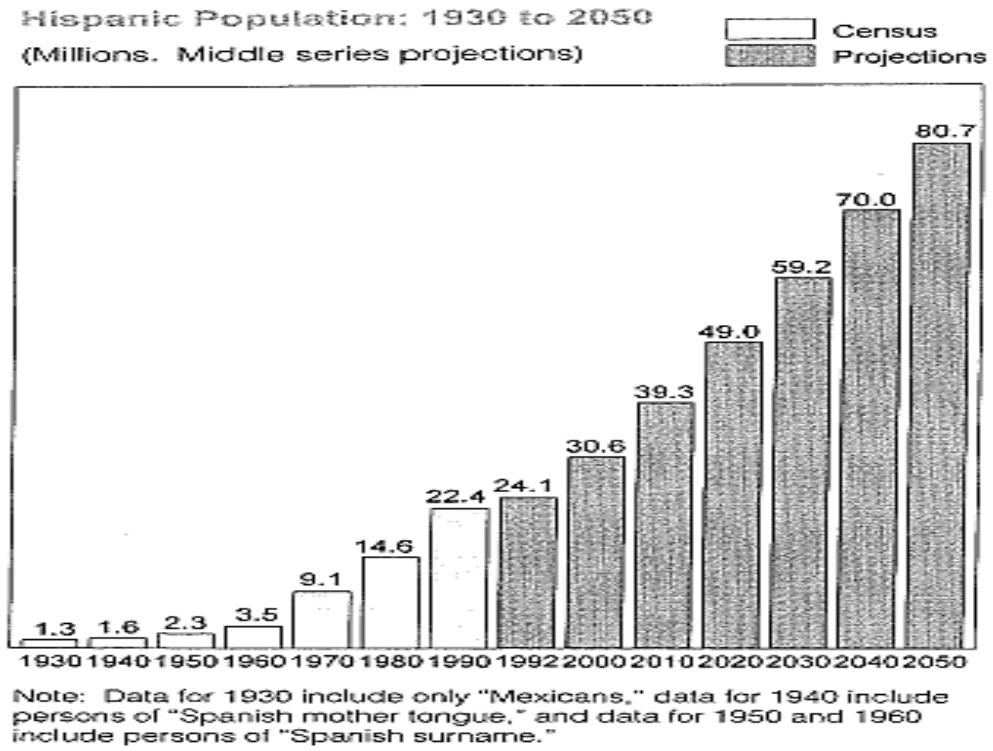


Figure 1.2

Hispanic Population: 1930 to 2050

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1993

Chapter 2:

Branching Out: Latino Migration into Progress Village

This chapter considers the role of migratory factors such as family and the spillover effect to explain this Latino population increase in Progress Village. In addition this chapter situates Progress Village within a national narrative by comparing it to large areas like Compton, California and Houston, Texas. Residential and demographic data from city-data.com and the 2000, 2010 U.S. census are implemented to provide quantitative evidence of shifting migration patterns and the impact on communities like Progress Village. Furthermore theoretical concepts such as the spillover effect and family based migration are used to explain the connection between Latino culture and migration patterns. Textual evidence from scholars like Winders (2005), Suro (2004), Levengood (2005), and others make important connections between Progress Village and the national narrative. Also supplementing all these sources is primary evidence in the form of survey data and personal communications which provide key insights from current Latino residents. All this evidence argues that Progress Village is similar to larger national communities in terms of migration pull factors, but it stands out as representative site of non-traditional and ongoing Latino migration.

Historical Overview of Latino Migration into the U.S.

Since the early 1900s Latinos have been migrating to the U.S. in significant numbers. One of the reasons for this is that unlike Europeans, Asians, and Africans whose immigrants'

numbers were limited due to the current quota system Latinos did not fall under this quota system. As a result, many Mexican, Central Americans, Caribbean, and South American migrants entered the U.S. Although Latinos can now be found throughout the nation, historically they have primarily migrated to one of four states: California, Florida, Texas, or New York. Along these lines major waves of these Latinos were concentrated in three distinct regions: Mexican and Central Americans in the Southwest, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in the Northeast and Cubans in the Southeast (Daniels, 2004). Many of these Latinos moved to these locations due to their geographic proximity to Latin American countries, their surplus of seasonal work in the agricultural and industrial sectors, and the availability of housing in metropolitan areas like Los Angeles. While many of them came for various reasons ranging from employment, housing, job security, and native pressures, most of these Latinos have migrated to these four 'gateway' states. At the same time, while today many of these historical Latino enclaves still have a high percentage of Latinos, migration patterns have shifted due to changing fluid factors such as a 'spillover effect' in places like Florida.

Progress Village versus Compton Migration

One way to understand the migration patterns of Latinos into predominantly African American neighborhoods is to analyze this process in places like Compton, California. This community was founded in 1888, named after Griffith Dickenson Compton and by 1968 was predominantly African American. Latinos began entering the city in large numbers in the 1980s due to "immigrants finding cheap rent in Compton, and access to the Los Angeles job Market" (Fears, 1998). Much like Compton, Progress Village Latino residents stated that the allure of "cheap rent" and "affordable housing" was instrumental to moving into this community.

Moreover this migration had a profound effect on both communities. For example, in Compton "signs in Spanish proliferated the streets; taquerias have replaced barbecue joints" (McDonnell, 1994). In Progress Village the Spanish Village Meat Market was constructed in the early 2000s next to a soul food barbecue restaurant. At the same though Progress Village is different from Compton in the local political involvement of Latino residents in these two communities. Compton Latinos in the 1990s sought to gain a seat on the city council, Mayor Omar Bradley was advised by an African American school board member to "He said it would be a bad decision for me to put a Hispanic on as president. He made a statement to me that a Hispanic couldn't run the Compton Unified School District" (Fears, 1998). Latinos in Progress Village are more politically isolated, for example according to the current Civic Association Directory, of the 801 Latino residents only two are members. This could be tied to the fact that the larger city of Compton has a higher number of Latino residents versus Progress Village, which dictates their political involvement and collective identity. It is important to compare migration between Progress Village and Compton because it portrays a trend of Latino migration to places which have "cheap rent" and "easy access to a large job market". Lastly, this comparison considers that as more Latinos migrate to an area like Progress Village and Compton, the larger impact they have on the community's economic, political, and social landscape.

Houston as a Mirror of Progress Village Migration

Houston, Texas is another example of shifting migration patterns in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. According to the 2000 census Houston had an African American population of 33 percent. By 2010 their numbers had risen to 43 percent of the total population. Unlike Compton where Labor movements and millions of Latinos resulted in political mobility

in Houston “Latinos have been unable to claim the political power that their large numbers might have otherwise given them” (Levengood, 2005). Furthermore “In Houston, absent a sizable labor movement and hemmed in by right-wing Republican domination of every aspect of state politics, a vast Latino immigrant community remains largely un-mobilized and markedly underrepresented” (Meyerson, 2004).This is similar to Progress Village in that here while Latino migration has impacted local businesses and pop culture, Latinos are still politically irrelevant. Progress Village at the same time is unique and different from Houston in that the small Latino percentage (14) of the total population limits their political relevance. Houston and Progress Village also are similar in that both of these communities experience high levels of poverty among their Latino population. An illustration of this in Houston is from Sylvia Garcia who commented in 2004 that “I have a [Third World] colonia in my district- 95 percent of the residents speak only Spanish, and most have annual household incomes beneath $15, 000” (Meyerson, 2004). Progress Village experiences a similar trend to this in that 2013 the male Latino unemployment rate was 23.4 percent (city-data, 2013). This would mean that Latinos in Progress Village would be the most likely to not make $15, 000 or under annually, but also to pool financial resources. While Progress Village Latinos do not migrate in the large numbers as Houston and Compton, they both experience similar/different impacts tied to migration amount. Lastly, Progress Village is important in this national narrative because it not only mimics political and economic patterns found in large cities, but also provides a case study of the impact of migration in a smaller, non-metropolitan community.

Progress Village and the Spillover Effect

The Spillover Effect has been used in different disciplines with a variety of applications. Psychologists define this effect as the tendency of one person's emotion to affect how other people around them feel (Alleydog, 2015). Economists use this concept to explain economic events that occur in one context because of something else in another unrelated context. Psychologists use this idea to postulate that participation in nonpolitical realms of people's lives will affect their political orientations and behavior. I use this concept in this chapter in a more literal sense: the overcrowding of traditional Latino migration sites has caused many of these Latinos to leave these areas and settle in non-traditional migration locations. Furthermore this concept is used to explain shifting migration patterns in the U.S. which have played a pivotal role in the migratory patterns of Latinos into areas like Progress Village.

Progress Village can be seen as the result of a Latino spillover effect in Florida and nationally. I am defining this spillover effect as the process in which Latinos migrate to communities which historically have had a small or non-existent Latino population, like Progress Village due to an overcrowding of Latinos in traditional sites of migration like Miami-Dade County. An example of this idea is of the 1.1 million Latinos who migrated to the state of Florida between 1990 and 2000, fewer than half (45 percent) moved into the Miami-Ft. Lauderdale CMSA. More than 55 percent were added outside the bounds of the Miami Ft. Lauderdale CMSA, and most of them were found in 'non-Hispanic' neighborhoods in 2000. Only 32 percent of the increase in Florida's Hispanic population was added in the Latino neighborhoods of Miami-Ft. Lauderdale CMSA (Suro &Tafoya, 2004). This means that an area like Progress Village which has been a historically African American neighborhood is experiencing the ripples of this spillover effect. Also to further connect this idea to Progress Village, according to the

2000 census, the Latino population was only 2.1 percent of the total population, but by 2010 it was 14.8 percent. Also growth in some counties in central and northern Florida reflected both the spreading out of the state's Latino population and retirement-age citizens looking to move farther from urban centers. The trend began in Miami and is continuing in places like Orlando and Tampa (Canedy, 2001). At the same time this spillover effect is not only intra-state it is also intra-city. Progress Village which is part of East Tampa experienced a surge in the Latino population in the last ten years, but a significant number of these Latinos are moving from areas like North Tampa, West Tampa, and South Tampa. This spillover effect also takes place on a national level for example many of the surveyed Latinos were born outside the state in places like Manhattan, New York, Caguas, Puerto Rico, and Havana, Cuba. Along these lines non-Latino communities that were geographically contiguous to majority Latino neighborhoods in 1990 had gained a majority Latino population by 2000. An increase in the Latino population was accompanied by a process of geographic expansion of the largely contiguous majority Latino neighborhoods even as a sizeable part of the Latino population found homes in non-Latino communities (Suro & Tafoya, 2004). Florida's immigrant pulse was no longer confined to Dade County; rather, Latino and Asian immigrants were found across the state (Mormino, 2002). Latinos increasingly 'settled out' across southern communities and the image of Latinos shifted from a migrant population tied to seasonal jobs to an established community tied to particular neighborhoods and workplaces (Winders, 2005). Lastly, while Progress Village is traditionally not a Latino migration hotspot, the overcrowding of traditional migration sites like Miami-Dade and New York have changed the migratory flow of Latinos from those areas to areas like Progress Village.

Family based Migration

Scholars who study Latino migration patterns have focused heavily on the impact of federal policy, employment opportunities, and proximity to Latin countries (McDonnell, 1994; Hernandez-Leon & Zuniga, 2000; Daniels, 2004; Suro, 2004), but not much attention has been paid to the role of the family in these migratory patterns. Progress Village is unique in this regard for two reasons: 18 out of 20 participants did not move into Progress Village alone (see table 2.1) and 12 out of 20 listed their main reason for moving into Progress Village was "due to family living in the area" (see table 2.2). For example when Cyrenquera Viera was asked why she decided to move into Progress Village versus a surrounding community like Brandon or Riverview Florida she responded, "I came to live in Progress Village because I have family who also lives here" (personal communication, July 25, 2015). Another example of the importance of family to migratory patterns is from Claudina Claudio who stated, "well I have a family member who lives here in Progress Village" (personal communication, July 17, 2015). What makes this idea even more impactful is that one of the participants stated that just on her street in Progress Village her niece lives next door, her sister lives one street over, and a longtime friend of the family lives at the end of her street. This idea can also be tied to word of mouth in that when one Latino family member moves in and finds the community to be residentially acceptable, then they spread the word to other family members which may result in that member moving in and doing the same. This not only creates a chain of potential residents, but also demonstrates how family ties within a community can lead to an influx of Latinos into that community. At the same time this idea can be broadened to include friends and acquaintances that are exposed to oral advertisements about the community from Latinos already living in the area. This can also be connected to the idea of strength in numbers i.e. the more Latinos living or moving into the

community, the more exposure that community garners to other Latinos on a state and national level. Lastly, this does not mean that every Latino that moved into Progress Village did it because of family in the area, for example Julio DeJesus was asked his reason for moving into Progress Village, "it is less populated and there is affordable housing"(personal communication, July 21, 2015).

The fact that many of the participants stated that they did not move into Progress Village alone also supports the idea that many Latinos move into communities in groups. For example according to the 2000 census a majority, 33.7 percent of Latinos in Progress Village identified their marital status as 'Married' (for a view on a national level see table 2.3). By 2010 more than 50 percent of the Latino residents in Progress Village would list their marital status as 'Married'. This meant that not only were more Latinos moving into the area during this time, but also that many of them were moving in with at least one other person. Additionally most of the participants in this study were over the age of forty (12) which works in connection with marital status (see table 2.4). In connection with this idea Latino migration patterns have shifted in this regard. This means that while historically in the early 1900s many of the Latinos who were migrating to the U.S. were young men who came alone usually, modern migratory patterns are showing a shift in which many Latinos are moving with others. At the same time it is important to note that this does not mean that all these married individuals who were moving into Progress Village during this time were married to a Latino or moving into the community with one. This idea was also clear in that when interviews were being conducted, the researcher noticed all the Latino interviewees were living with at least three other people, primarily Latino, in the same house. A more concrete example of this comes from Julia Claudio, "When you moved here did you move here as single or married and if so did you have children when you moved into

Progress Village?" to which the participant responded, "Yes as we moved into Progress Village we had several children, we are married, and we brought our family to live in Progress Village, like I said, nine years ago" (personal communication, November 30, 2013). This demonstrates a new emerging trend in migratory patterns, family based migration, which is validated and demonstrated by a community like Progress Village.

In conjunction with family ties and moving in numbers, the idea of temporary residency may also help explain the recent influx of Latinos into not only Progress Village, but the nation on a whole. I am defining temporary residency as the idea of Latinos coming into a community and staying with another person as a short term(less than 4 years) roommate. A more concrete example of this idea is from Julio DeJesus who was asked, "What period, so what year(s) did other Latino relatives live/stay with you in Progress Village, not including your current occupants?" to which he replied, "I had my son living with me for a while with his wife"(personal communication, July 21, 2015). Also when asked for how long he stated, "about three years"(personal communication, July 21, 2015). Another example comes from Claudina Claudio who when asked this same question responded, "I've had many family members come and stay with me…I want to say during Christmas time and the summer" (personal communication, July 17, 2015). When asked about the length of time on average for these stays Claudina Claudio stated "about a week or two" (personal communication, July 17, 2015). Also while more participants stated having family members or other Latinos stay with them at some point, others like Carlos Juan Viera stated that he "never" had anyone else, not already living with him stay at his home. Others like Cyrenquera Viera mentioned, "Not in my house, but in the house of other family people have stayed" (personal communication, July 27, 2015). As a result, it is safe to assume that some misconceptions in connection to Latino influxes many have been

made in previous research. This goes to say that sometimes researchers mistake the migration of Latinos to areas like Miami as long term residency instead of seeing it as a short term temporary residency.

Final Thoughts on Migration Patterns

This chapter has focused on providing a brief overview of migratory factors which have culminated in the rise of Latino residents in Progress Village in the last twenty years. While Texas and California still hold the highest number of Latinos to this day, smaller non-traditionally Latino communities like Progress Village are being affected by these migratory streams. Progress Village provides new evidence to the discussion of modern Latino migratory patterns by appropriating the concepts of family based migration and temporary residency. At the same time Progress Village serves as an example of how high population density and overcrowding in historical sites like Miami-Dade has resulted in new sites of migration. As a result of policies like IRCA migratory patterns have now become widespread (Mohl, 2003). Also because Progress Village is located next to massive piles of gypsum, which are considered toxic and have been linked to cancer, it supports the idea that Latinos often live in areas where they are directly exposed to pollution, such as neighborhoods near highways and power plants (Davenport, 2015). Progress Village demonstrates that modern migratory patterns are centered on driving Latinos into low income neighborhoods which are usually predominantly African American. This idea will be elaborated upon in the following chapter to provide insight into the importance of economics in Latino migration. The following chapter will also analyze the roles of economic factors such as affordable housing and employment in the recent influx of Latinos into Progress Village.

Tables for Chapter 2: Latino Migration into Progress Village

Table 2.1

Number of Latino Participants that Moved into Progress Alone or Not

Moved to Progress Village Alone	Number of Participants
Yes	2
No	18

Source: Author, 2015

Table 2.2

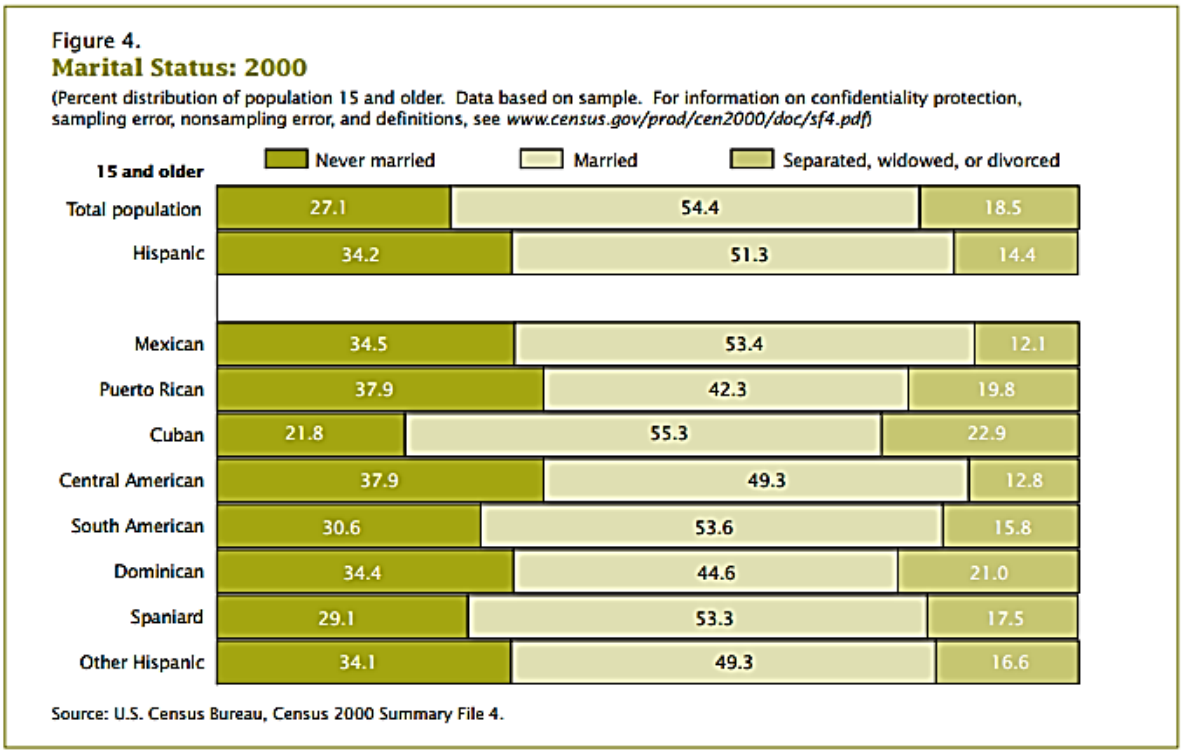
Latino Participants Main Reason for Moving into Progress Village

Main Reason for Moving into Progress Village	**Number of Participants**
Affordable Housing	7
Employment	2
Family in the Area	11
None of the Above	1

Source: Author, 2015

Table 2.3

Marital status of Latinos in the U.S. in 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 2.4

Age Range of Latino Participants in progress Village

Age Group (in years)	**Number of Participants**
10-20	2
20-30	3
30-40	3
40+	12

Source: Author, 2015

Chapter 3:

Within the Budget: The Role of Affordable Housing and Employment

This chapter considers the role of affordable housing and employment in Latino migration into Progress Village. This is significant because it provides economic identifiers for which state and national communities are likely to experience a rise in Latino residents. Progress Village serves not only as a contemporary and ongoing example of rising number of Latino residents in a predominantly African American community, but also the results of shifting immigration policies, migration patterns, and urban development. This chapter analyzes data from the 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census, City-Data.com, and Cengage Learning Center to argue that the shifting cost of housing not only in Progress Village, but surrounding communities and proximity to employment opportunities made the community an ideal location for Latino migrants. Furthermore the work of Pew researcher Rakesh Kochar, journalists Kevin Hall, Audra Burch, Janet Zink, Justin George, and historian Raymond Mohl provide primary and secondary research on not only the role of foreclosure rates and the cost of living in this process, but also how Progress Village situates itself within the broader state and national discussion. In addition this chapter incorporates recent and past personal testimonies from community residents like Claudina Claudio and Ms. Pascoe to supplement the central argument of this chapter.

Affordable Housing in Progress Village

Many Latinos in Progress Village moved into the community based on economic factors such as affordable housing. While 11 out of the 20 participants listed "family in the community" as their primary reason for moving into Progress Village, 7 of the remaining number listed "Affordable housing" as their primary reason. Residents such as Julia Claudio indicated that they moved to Progress Village instead of other communities such as Brandon or Riverview due to affordability. Julia Claudio stated, "we moved here because it was economical at the moment for what we had, what we were looking for, and what we could afford" (personal communication, November 30, 2013). Others like Julio DeJesus and Claudina Claudio also echoed this idea by stating the community was "less populated" and had "affordable housing" which made it an appealing site of residency. In conjunction with this participants like Carlos Juan Viera when asked if he would recommend Progress Village to other Latinos responded, "yes because the rent is affordable" (personal communication, July 27, 2015). While most of these Latinos pointed out the importance of housing affordability in their decision to move into Progress Village, the exact numbers in term of median mortgage, house value, and Gross Rent also provide evidence to explain this influx.

The Power of Foreclosures

The Great Recession in the U.S. from 2007-2009 was a result of the mortgage crisis which caused high unemployment and foreclosure rates throughout the country. Florida and California experienced the highest number of foreclosures in the nation. The foreclosure rate in 2008 exceeded 5 percent in 12 counties in California and 10 in Florida. The highest foreclosure rate in the U.S. was 12.0 percent in Lee County, Fla. (Kochhar, 2009). This resulted in not only

high foreclosure rates, but also in lower rent (median was under 1,000 a month) and housing opportunities in communities like Progress Village. This idea is also supported by the data that many of the participants moved into Progress Village within the last five years. Also in conjunction with this idea is the increased number of Latinos in Progress Village in the years 2000-2010. This meant that "several states with large numbers of Latinos and immigrants or states are new destinations for these groups are home to many counties with relatively high foreclosure rates" (Kochhar, 2009). At the same time this influx was also exacerbated by African American migration out of Progress Village. Some of the original residents like Ms. Pascoe argued that the recession and later, urban development caused a change in the African American demographics of Progress Village for example, "see people's houses where their children done let them go. The proud pioneers are dying and leaving their homes to their kids. Some can't pay taxes and lose them. Some sell. Ninety percent of the village's 2,482 residents were black, according to the 2000 census, and a once segregated subdivision is growing more diverse" (George, 2006). The Great Recession had a twofold impact on Progress Village; on one hand it raised the number of foreclosures, while at the same time it served as a catalyst for Latino migration into the community.

Cost of Housing over the Years

Alongside the Great Recession the affordability for the asking price for potential homeowners and the monthly rent for renters also played a key role in the migration of Latinos into Progress Village. To gauge the affordability of Progress Village in terms of housing cost and monthly rent, a comparison with surrounding communities, Brandon and Riverview is included. Participants were asked to describe the difference in the cost of housing in these three areas.

Claudina Claudio for example stated that "houses were cheaper in Progress Village than Brandon or Riverview" (personal communication, July 17, 2015). Others like Cyrenauque Viera believed that housing in Progress Village was "a little cheaper than the other ones" based on the rooms to baths ratio of 4:2. Residents like Carlos Juan Viera stated that housing in Progress Village in the 2000s "was really cheap" in comparison to other close communities. It is also important to note that Tampa's Housing market peaked in 2006, three months after the peak of the U.S. housing market. This impact is seen in Progress Village since over 776 houses were built from 2000 to 2004 according to the housing report in the 2010 census. This provides a lot of housing opportunities for Latinos. Also many of these houses now house people located from Tampa housing projects that have been torn down (Zink, 2004). Another example of how affordable housing can be tied to the number of houses constructed is that according to the U.S. census there were 888 houses in Progress Village in 2000, but by 2010 the number of houses was recorded at 2,135. Also estimates for 2014 listed over 2,565 houses in Progress Village. This also meant that while Progress Village experienced a surge in the number of Latinos surrounding communities like Brandon and Riverview also experienced a population boom. This can also be tied to the spillover effect for example, "the population explosion in Brandon and Riverview has reverberated to the edges of this 853-home community where the average price of a house is less than 80,000 dollars" (Zink, 2004). It is safe to assume that the mass construction of houses in the early 2000s combined with the housing peak and recession all played a role in the influx of Latinos into the community, but at the same time the actual price of housing and renting also contributed to this increase.

While many of the Latino participants pointed out the affordability of housing in Progress Village, it is important to understand exactly how affordable renting versus owning a home in

Progress Village was when compared to Brandon and Riverview. According to the 2000 U.S. census a majority of homes in Brandon and Riverview were worth more than 100,000-149,000 dollars, while a majority of the houses in Progress Village (285) were valued at 50,000-100,000 dollars (see table 3.1). By 2010 most houses in Brandon and Riverview would be worth 200,000-300,000 dollars, while most homes in Progress Village were valued at 100,000-149,000 dollars (see table 3.2). In connection to house values in these three areas the 2000 census listed the median mortgage in Brandon as 1,031 dollars, Riverview at 1,158 dollars, and Progress Village at 578 dollars. By 2010 these values would rise with Brandon's new median mortgage being 1,577 dollars, Riverview 1,778 dollars, and Progress Village at 1,376 dollars. All this data clearly demonstrates the idea that housing in Progress Village is more affordable than the surrounding areas of Brandon and Riverview. At the same time that property values are increasing, Progress Village has seen another trend- more renters. According to longtime resident Mr. Kemp "As people can afford to move out, they hang onto their homes and rent them" (Hall, 2015). According to the 2000 census the majority of gross rents in Brandon, Riverview, and Progress Village all fell in the range of 500-749 dollars. The 2010 census demonstrated this same trend by showing the majority of gross rent in Brandon, Riverview, and Progress Village was 1,000-1,499 dollars. Although these three areas were in the same category of gross rent in these twenty years, their median differed. In 2000 the median rent in Brandon was 721 dollars, Riverview was 654, and Progress Village was 609. By 2010 Brandon's median had risen to 997 dollars, Riverview rose to 1,162, and Progress Village had reached 1,184 dollars. This demonstrates that 1990-2000 the average price of rent in Progress Village was the lowest in comparison to the other two. The rise by 2010 to 1,184 dollars, more than Brandon, is attributed to the urban development and construction of townhomes i.e. Magnolia Townhomes, starting in the 100,000 dollars range right

outside of the boundaries of Progress Village. This data provides evidence of how the price of homes in Progress Village and the median rent have attracted more Latinos over the year in comparison to surrounding communities like Brandon and Riverview. Furthermore in connection with this idea is the common practice in which Latinos are more likely to pay in cash, and have extended families under a single roof with a higher tendency to pool resources (Hall, 2015). This can also be seen in Progress Village since all the interviewees had spouses, children, or other family members who worked and lived in the same house with them.

Contemporary views of Latinos and Employment in the U.S.

Latinos primarily entered the U.S. to find temporary employment which would allow them to provide for their families. Events such as World Wars I & II created a labor shortage in the U.S. which was often filled by Latino immigrants. This was one of the reasons for the creation of the Bracero Program in 1917, to provide temporary citizenship to Mexican migrant workers. Also political and economic turmoil in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean in the early 1900s also perpetuated massive waves of Latino influx into the U.S. A majority of these Latinos were employed in the agricultural sector, but after the rise of anti-immigrant resentment in places like California and Texas in the 1930s many of these Latinos began to shift their attention to the industrial sector for employment. By the 1990s Latinos had become a mainstay in many low-paying, labor intensive industries, in places like Atlanta and Memphis; they dominated the construction and landscaping trades. In eastern North Carolina, they process hogs (Schmitt, 2001). By 2008, Latino workers made up a huge percentage of the farm labor force in the southeast-90 percent or more in some states. This pattern was similar in the poultry, seafood, and meat processing sectors (Mohl, 2009). As a result many Latinos now sought

permanent residency in these cities and towns. An example of this is "as Latinos increasingly 'settle out' across southern communities and the image of Latinos shifts from a migrant population tied to seasonal jobs to an established community tied to particular neighborhoods and workplaces" (Winders, 2005). This sustained migration was based on employment and would create tensions between Latinos and African Americans. Latinos by the 1990s would begin to dominate jobs once held chiefly by African Americans such as meat processing and in areas that were once held predominantly by African Americans.

A New Trend in Industrial Employment

It is important to look at the idea of employment and wage competition between Latinos and African Americans to provide evidence to why Latinos usually move and work either close or within predominantly African American communities. "Many immigration scholars reject the wage-competition argument. They contend that the new Latino immigrants are filling jobs that no one else wants. They are filling 'replacement' jobs abandoned by black workers who rejected low pay and excessively demanding work" (Mohl, 2003). Latino workers are replacing African American workers who leave the worst jobs in those industries [textiles, furniture making, custodial, and meat processing], rather than displacing them from the more desirable jobs in the industry (Mohl, 2003). Latino immigrants filled jobs that no one else wanted. Latinos took new jobs created in the 1990s by expanding urban and regional economies, such as in construction, which created 670,000 jobs between 2000 and 2004 (Mohl, 2009). Another example of just how massive this influx is on a national scale in 1990s-2000s is at the Smithfield Packing Company plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina, the largest hog butchering plant in the world, over 3,000 Latinos workers hack meat from hog carcasses on moving conveyor belts. These Latino meat

cutters are replacing black workers who regularly quit in large numbers: the Smithfield plant has a 100 percent annual turnover rate (Mohl, 2003). Also Latinos are filling vacancies brought about by African American hiatus in sectors like construction. Working class Latinos are now employed as laborers in construction and landscaping, filling jobs once held by African American men. This pattern of job competition and displacement/replacement is found throughout the South, in big cities and small towns, where newcomers are looking for work and where employers are looking for ways to cut wage and production costs (Mohl, 2009). Also in general the South has grown by leaps and bounds economically, and many of the jobs tied to factory, landscaping, construction, and agricultural are held by immigrants, primarily Latino immigrants (Burch, 2004). Lastly, while these sections show employment on a national level, Progress Village can be situated within this discussion due to its proximity to a major fertilizer company. Many of the Latino participants work either within the community or close to it.

Employment in Progress Village

Historically the majority of Latinos employed in U.S. were found in the agricultural sector. Although Progress Village is located less than five miles from the Mosaic Company, formerly the Cargill Crop Nutrition, a national leader in agricultural products, none of the Latino participants in this research were or are currently employed by this company (see table 3.3). This is even more impactful because Cargill Crop Nutrition, as a trade-off for building a gypsum stack nearby in the 1980s and then expanding it in 2000, agreed to perform environmental and community projects and beef up employee recruitment in Progress Village (Zink, 2004). Also according to the Gale Cengage Learning Demographics database, in 2000 the percentage of blue collar to white collar workers was 55.1 to 44.8 percent. Now the U.S. census listed Latinos as

only 2.1 percent of the local population. By 2010 the percentage of blue collar to white collar workers would take a drastic change, 39.2 to 60.7 percent. Also at this time the Latino population comprised 14.8 percent of the total population in Progress Village. This means that this shift could be attributed to the increase of the total population from 2000-2010 rather than the increase in the number of Latino residents.

Most of the participants who lived in Progress Village were not employed there (see table 3.4). This is relative to the size of the community, 3.8 miles total. Also while many of these participants did not work within the community borders, many of them worked within thirty minutes of the community. For example Claudina Claudio who is a para-educator at Ippolito Elementary stated that her job was "about six minutes away from Progress Village". Other like Julio DeJesus a shop supervisor at Reliable Transmission Services stated that his job was "within three miles" of his home and that it took him on average "about three minutes" to reach his job by car. At the same time participants like Cyrenauque Viera had to travel further from their homes in Progress Village. Cyrenauque who is a Department Manager at McDonalds stated that she had to drive "about forty-five minutes" to South Tampa to reach her job. This is important because it demonstrates that affordable housing was more important to this Latino influx then employment opportunities were. At the same time it also supports a national trend between employment and proximity to home in that Latinos take up residency in communities close to their job. At the same time this does not mean that every Latino that lives in rural communities like Progress Village work close to their home, Cyrenauque Viera is one example of this idea.

Final Thoughts: Economic Factors

Progress Village serves as a representative site of how events like the Great Recession changed the cost of housing in the community which played a role in the influx of Latinos. The 2000 Census data clearly demonstrates the affordability of housing in Progress Village in comparison to two surrounding communities. At the same time the 2010 data portrays the impact of urban development outside the borders of this community on the cost of housing. The development of townhomes which start in the low 100,000s has affected Progress Village through higher rental costs. In connection with affordable housing, employment also plays a lesser, but important role in this influx. While most of the participants stated that they did not work within the community, many of them worked less than thirty minutes or ten miles from it. This also allows us to see a trend in this Latino influx: the availability of employment near possible communities of residency. Also the 2000 census listed the percentage of Blue-collar workers (agricultural, farming, and heavy labor) at 44 percent to 55 percent for White-Collared workers (administrative, office, etc.). By 2010 the White-collared percentage had risen to 62 percent and the Blue-collared dropped to 30 percent. This is more likely the result of an increase in the total population rather than the impact of rising numbers of Latinos in the area. This rise has not only changed the median income for Latinos in Progress Village, but also the state for example, "The area with the smallest income gap between Latinos and whites was the Lakeland-Winter Haven region in Florida where the median household income for Latinos was 39,434 a year compared with 44,014 for whites. The city with the largest income gap between those two groups was Springfield, Mass. Where the median income for Latinos was 20,762 compared with 58,549 for whites" (Tanzina, 2014). Progress Village provides a concrete example of not only

the importance of affordable housing and employment for potential Latino residents, but also representative sites of Latino influx.

Tables for Chapter 3: Economic Factors

Table 3.1

Cost of Housing in Progress Village, Brandon, and Riverview

Subject	Brandon CDP, Florida		Progress Village CDP, Florida		Riverview CDP, Florida
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Total housing units	30,332	100.0	880	100.0	4,796
YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT					
1999 to March 2000	1,607	5.3	9	1.0	391
1995 to 1998	4,892	16.1	17	1.9	1,053
1990 to 1994	3,607	11.9	0	0.0	596
1980 to 1989	9,003	29.7	92	10.5	967
1970 to 1979	6,956	22.9	65	7.4	916
1960 to 1969	3,197	10.5	524	59.5	534
1940 to 1959	953	3.1	146	16.6	270
1939 or earlier	117	0.4	27	3.1	69
ROOMS					
Median (rooms)	5.8	(X)	5.4	(X)	5.7
Occupied Housing Units	28,697	100.0	845	100.0	4,434
YEAR HOUSEHOLDER MOVED INTO UNIT					
1999 to March 2000	7,517	26.2	82	9.7	1,226
1995 to 1998	8,853	30.8	127	15.0	1,647
1990 to 1994	4,630	16.1	98	11.6	477
1980 to 1989	4,407	15.4	86	10.2	651
1970 to 1979	2,307	8.0	196	23.2	304
1969 or earlier	983	3.4	256	30.3	129
Specified owner-occupied units	19,312	100.0	600	100.0	2,984
VALUE					
Less than $50,000	76	0.4	270	45.0	59
$50,000 to $99,999	9,277	48.0	285	47.5	836
$100,000 to $149,999	7,603	39.4	37	6.2	1,190
$150,000 to $199,999	1,660	8.6	8	1.3	530
$200,000 to $299,999	513	2.7	0	0.0	269
$300,000 to $499,999	140	0.7	0	0.0	60
$500,000 to $999,999	43	0.2	0	0.0	25
$1,000,000 or more	0	0.0	0	0.0	15
Median (dollars)	101,500	(X)	52,700	(X)	128,000
MORTGAGE STATUS AND SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS					
With a mortgage	16,259	84.2	406	67.7	2,532
Less than $300	15	0.1	38	6.3	0
$300 to $499	407	2.1	88	14.7	83
$500 to $699	1,409	7.3	151	25.2	235
$700 to $999	5,777	29.9	85	14.2	579
$1,000 to $1,499	6,678	34.6	36	6.0	1,048
$1,500 to $1,999	1,514	7.8	0	0.0	382
$2,000 or more	459	2.4	8	1.3	205
Median (dollars)	1,031	(X)	578	(X)	1,158
Not mortgaged	3,053	15.8	194	32.3	452

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

Table 3.2

Cost of Housing in Progress Village, Brandon, and Riverview 2010

Subject	Brandon CDP, Florida		Progress Village CDP, Florida		Riverview CDP, Florida	
	Estimate	Percent	Estimate	Percent	Estimate	Percent
YEAR HOUSEHOLDER MOVED INTO UNIT						
Occupied housing units	37,919	37,919	1,777	1,777	22,951	22,951
Moved in 2005 or later	17,787	46.9%	802	45.1%	9,437	41.1%
Moved in 2000 to 2004	8,857	23.4%	378	21.3%	6,999	30.5%
VALUE						
Owner-occupied units	22,888	22,888	1,201	1,201	18,327	18,327
Less than $50,000	504	2.2%	45	3.7%	1,435	7.8%
$50,000 to $99,999	957	4.2%	202	16.8%	1,219	6.7%
$100,000 to $149,999	4,164	18.2%	420	35.0%	2,236	12.2%
$150,000 to $199,999	6,978	30.5%	183	15.2%	3,845	21.0%
$200,000 to $299,999	7,680	33.6%	196	16.3%	6,117	33.4%
$300,000 to $499,999	2,272	9.9%	94	7.8%	3,001	16.4%
$500,000 to $999,999	302	1.3%	49	4.1%	324	1.8%
$1,000,000 or more	31	0.1%	12	1.0%	150	0.8%
Median (dollars)	190,700	(X)	140,300	(X)	206,200	(X)
MORTGAGE STATUS						
Housing units with a mortgage	18,238	79.7%	835	69.5%	14,614	79.7%
Housing units without a mortgage	4,650	20.3%	366	30.5%	3,713	20.3%
SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS (SMOC)						
Housing units with a mortgage	18,238	18,238	835	835	14,614	14,614
Less than $300	28	0.2%	0	0.0%	22	0.2%
$300 to $499	123	0.7%	0	0.0%	146	1.0%
$500 to $699	468	2.6%	47	5.6%	249	1.7%
$700 to $999	1,914	10.5%	108	12.9%	1,174	8.0%
$1,000 to $1,499	5,592	30.7%	343	41.1%	3,475	23.8%
$1,500 to $1,999	5,679	31.1%	190	22.8%	4,317	29.5%
$2,000 or more	4,434	24.3%	147	17.6%	5,231	35.8%
Median (dollars)	1,577	(X)	1,376	(X)	1,778	(X)
GROSS RENT						
Occupied units paying rent	14,753	14,753	576	576	4,495	4,495
Less than $200	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
$200 to $299	45	0.3%	36	6.3%	66	1.5%
$300 to $499	105	0.7%	38	6.6%	129	2.9%
$500 to $749	1,572	10.7%	0	0.0%	620	13.8%
$750 to $999	5,743	38.9%	178	30.9%	762	17.0%
$1,000 to $1,499	6,021	40.8%	267	46.4%	2,034	45.3%
$1,500 or more	1,266	8.6%	57	9.9%	884	19.7%
Median (dollars)	997	(X)	1,184	(X)	1,162	(X)

006-2010 American Community Survey

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010

Table 3.3

Current Occupation Sector of Latino Participants

Current Sector of Occupation	Number of Participants
Agriculture	0
Office or Administrative	12
Other	7
Disabled	1

Source: Author, 2015

Table 3.4

Number of Latino Participants who worked Within the Community

Work Within Progress Village	Number of Participants
Yes	6
No	14

Source: Author, 2015

Epilogue

Change in Progress Village

Progress Village was first proposed in 1957 due to the "construction of Tampa's interstate expressways, several public building projects, and the razing of condemned buildings in blighted areas" (Roberts, 1986). This project was the collaborative effort of both national and local leaders such as C. Blythe Andrews, Aurelio Fernandez, and Cody Fowler. The involvement of Fernandez was not only important for race relations between Latinos and African Americans in the area, but also ethnic relations i.e. Cuban and African American. Up until the 2000 U.S. census, more than 80 percent of the residents identified as black but not of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity. The 2000 census also marked the first noticeable presence of Latinos in the community at 2.1 percent (68 residents) and by 2010 this percentage had risen to 14.9 percent (801 residents). In addition as the number of Latino residents rose during this time the percentage of black non-Hispanic/Latino residents decreased i.e. in 2000 was 91 percent and in 2010 was 48 percent. It is important to note that this decrease could have been the result of many different factors such as urban development, rising property taxes and values, and better opportunities for African Americans outside of the community. Although I would argue that not only does this trend take place in other communities nationally as more Latinos entered the community, but that all these factors took place at the same time as these Latino number rose. Progress Village is important to the discussion and field of Latino migration because this community which is only

3.8 miles in length with a total residential population under 6,000, still experienced a substantial growth in the number of Latinos within a twenty year period (1990-2010).

Opening the Floodgates Recap

The primary focus of this study was to provide existing and new evidence on how Progress Village in this period experienced a large increase of Latino residents. In order to accomplish this goal work from scholars like Raymond Mohl, Roger Daniels, and Gary Mormino were implemented to explain the role of federal immigration policies in this increase. Furthermore in chapter one the work from these scholars combined with U.S. government documents to provide a foundation on the demographic impact of policies like the Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) on communities like Progress Village, Atlanta, and Durham. This act ended the quota system and resulted in a mass entry of people from Latin America into the U.S. Other policies changes like the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986 also had a profound effect on the demographics of Progress Village. With the provision of more resources to the Border Control, Latino immigrants were forced to migrate to areas other than California and Texas. As a result communities like Progress Village, which before this act had a minimal to non-existent Latino population was now experiencing rising numbers of Latino migrants.

Branching Out Recap

Chapter two analyzed the 2000 and 2010 U.S. census, demographic and residential data from city-data, and quantitative evidence from the research to argue that shifting migration patterns in the U.S. resulted in the increased presence of Latinos in Progress Village. The second

goal of this chapter was to compare these changing migration patterns to two other predominantly African American communities, Compton and Houston to point out key similarities and differences between the three. While affordable housing and access to large job markets were key to migration in these three communities, Progress Village is unique because of its geographic isolation and community size. Even more compelling is, according to data and personal communications from Latino residents in the community, family in the area and overcrowding in other communities, which were instrumental factors for moving into Progress Village. Many of the interviewees claimed that they had family members who not only lived in the community, but also lived within a few blocks of them. Furthermore many of these participants also claimed that at one point or another, relatives or other Latinos had stayed in their homes with them. This meant two things: the recommendation and persuasion of family members in the area influenced some of these Latinos to also move into the community; second that relatives or friends who temporality resided in the community also spread the idea of residency in the community to other Latinos. This chapter took both new and existing evidence to demonstrate that traditional factors like employment and affordable housing were important to Latinos moving into Progress Village, but that cultural factors like family in the area also played a vital role in this decision.

Within the Budget Recap

Chapter three was devoted to the role of economic factors like employment and affordable housing in the rising number of Latinos in Progress Village. To explain the role of these factors in this influx, data from the 2000 and 2010 U.S. census, Cengage Learning Center, and City-Data were employed. In conjunction academic articles from Raymond Mohl and

Rakesh Kochar were included to explain the importance of employment to residency for Latinos by looking at other areas like Tar Heel, North Carolina. To supplement these secondary sources, primary evidence from journalists Justin George, Janet Zink, Audra Burch, and Kevin Hall provided the voices from past community residents and their views on how rising property taxes and lower rent have resulted in the increased migration of Latinos into the community. Recent personal communications done by the researcher are also found in this chapter to demonstrate that many Latinos decided to move into Progress Village because of affordable housing. Next, this chapter provides charts and tables to demonstrate the affordability of housing in Progress Village i.e. median mortgage and rent, in comparison to two surrounding communities, Brandon and Riverview. Lastly, this chapter provides evidence of another shift in the employment sector for Latinos: that historically Latinos have worked primarily in the agricultural sector, but recently in places like Progress Village they are more occupied in the administrative or white-collar sector.

Looking Ahead

This study can be seen as one side of a coin. This study is the side which looks at the causes of Latino residential increase in a predominantly African American community. The other side of this coin which is setup by this study is the social, economic, and political impact of these Latinos in Progress Village. This work sought to lay the foundation for discussing how a small predominantly African American community responds to the presence of increasing Latino residents. Another way to understand this change is "black and white once defined the racial landscape of the American South, but multicultural and multiethnic rather than biracial now describe society in many southern places" (Mohl, 2003). While studies like Paula McClain

discussed this impact on a community in North Carolina and discovered that "U.S. born Latinos expressed more negative views of black Americans than blacks expressed of Latinos, but foreign-born Latinos held even more negative views of black Americans. " (2006) that this response tied to contact theory has not been adequately studied in a historically African American community with a total population under 6,000. At the same time this study also sets a precedent for the response of current Latino residents to future Latino residents in Progress Village. Little work has been done in the area of Latino-Latino contact in a small community, with most research being done on a state level "the majority of Latinos in New York (54%) and New Jersey (55%) report that Latinos discriminating against other Latinos is a major problem" (Staff, 2004). While these social and cultural responses in Progress Village also are important to add to the small existing scholarship, political involvement in local organizations like the Progress Village Civic Association are also important to analyze. Progress Village was originally created to house black, but more specifically, African American families who were either displaced by urban development or decided to move into a community free from racial tensions. Latinos much like these original residents sought to move to a community in which housing was affordable, the community was not densely populated, and where they could have access to employment whether within the community or close to it.

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Appendix

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

4/30/2015

Christopher Pineda,
Africana Studies
7201 W Riverchase Dr.

Temple Terrace, FL 33637

RE: **Expedited Approval for Initial Review**
IRB#: Pro00021253
Title: A Wave of Brown: Latino Residential Influx into Progress Village, 1990-2010

Study Approval Period: 4/30/2015 to 4/30/2016

Dear Dr. Pineda:

On 4/30/2015, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application and all documents outlined below.

Approved Item(s):
Protocol Document(s):
Study Protocol.docx

Consent/Assent Document(s)*:
Informed Consent Thesis English.docx.pdf
Informed_Consent_Spanish.pdf.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:

(1) Clinical studies of drugs and medical devices only when condition the following is met (a) Research on drugs for which an investigational new drug application (21 CFR Part 312) is not required; (b) Research on medical devices for which (i) an investigational device exemption application (21 CFR Part 812) is not required; or (ii) the medical device is cleared/approved for marketing and the medical device is being used in accordance with its cleared/approved labeling.

(2) Collection of blood samples by finger stick, heel stick, ear stick, or venipuncture as follows: (a) from healthy, nonpregnant adults who weigh at least 110 pounds. For these subjects, the amounts drawn may not exceed 550 ml in an 8 week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week; or (b) from other adults and children, considering the age, weight, and health of the subjects, the collection procedure, the amount of blood to be collected, and the frequency with which it will be collected. For these subjects, the amount drawn may not exceed the lesser of 50 ml or 3 ml per kg in an 8 week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week.

(3) Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by noninvasive means.

(4) Collection of data through noninvasive procedures (not involving general anesthesia or sedation) routinely employed in clinical practice, excluding procedures involving x-rays or microwaves. Where medical devices are employed, they must be cleared/approved for marketing.

(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.

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.

Your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirements for the documentation of informed consent as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.117(c) which states that an IRB may waive the requirement for the investigator to obtain a signed consent form for some or all subjects if it finds either: (1) That the only record linking the subject and the research would be the consent document and the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality. Each subject will be asked whether the subject wants documentation linking the subject with the research, and the subject's wishes will govern; or (2) That the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context.

Your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirement for signed authorization as outlined in the HIPAA Privacy Rule regulations at 45CFR164.512(i) which states that an IRB may approve a waiver or alteration of the authorization requirement provided that the following criteria are met (1) the PHI use or disclosure involves no more than a minimal risk to the privacy of individuals; (2) the research could not practicably be conducted without the requested waiver or alteration; and (3) the research could not practicably be conducted without access to and use of the PHI.

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,

John A Schinka, Ph.D.

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