

Cultural and Spatial Perceptions of Miami's Little Havana

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Introduction

The Latin imprint in 'Little Havana' is a cultural layer that represents the current demographic state of the neighborhood, but it also hides the neighborhood's complete history, demographic change, and change in its spatial extent. 'Little Havana' has been a common ground for the native Indians, white settlers, Bahamian immigrants, Jewish immigrants, Greek immigrants, Cuban refugees, and immigrants almost from every Latin American country (Shell-Weiss, 2009). Before there was 'Little Havana', the area was known as Riverside and Shenandoah, and before there was Calle Ocho there was Orange Glades Road. The current name of the neighborhood hides the dynamics of neighborhood change and tells little about the geographic extent of the area, thus creating the notion of Little Havana being a static monoculture neighborhood with little to no boundary change over time. In reality, a great number of Cubans have moved out of the neighborhood, while other Latin Americans groups have moved into the area. The perceptual boundary of the area has indeed changed through recent decades.

The name 'Little Havana' gives the impression that the neighborhood still resembles the demographic makeup of the period between 1960 and 1980 which was when the area was mainly populated by Cubans (Cordoba & Carrillo, 2010). During this 20 year period, three major migratory events consistently brought Cubans to Miami. The first event was between 1959 and 1962, when the 'golden exiles' began arriving in great numbers disappointed by the drastic social policies implemented by Fidel Castro. They are known as the 'golden exiles' because of the human capital that they brought with them; many had high levels of education and business experience. Furthermore, many settled in Little Havana and established businesses and social organizations (Alberts, 2005).

The second wave of Cuban migration took place between 1965 and 1973. The Cuban missile crisis put an end to the first wave of Cuban immigrants in 1962. However, in 1965 the Castro regime allowed those Cubans that wanted to leave the island to reunite with their relatives in the U.S. to emigrate through the port of Camarioca. Many of these boatlift operations encountered rough seas and inclement weather, and Cuba and the U.S. eventually negotiated the air transportation of 3000 to 4000 Cubans per month to the U.S., with preference given to those Cubans who had relatives abroad. It is estimated that more than 260,000 Cubans came into the U.S. during this period (Alberts, 2005). The last major wave of Cuban migration was in 1980 when a group of six Cubans stormed the Peruvian embassy in Habana and demanded political asylum. However, given that the Peruvian government refused to return the six Cubans to the Castro regime, Fidel announced that those who wished to leave the island could assemble at the Peruvian embassy and should contact their relatives abroad. The multitude of people that assembled at the Peruvian embassy became known as the 'Habana 10,000' and the chaos being created by those seeking asylum led many to organize a second boatlift with a departure point at the port of Mariel (Alberts, 2005). Based on 1980 Census data, the Cuban population of Little Havana reached its peak with 95,522 people of Cuban origin (Cordoba & Carrillo, 2010).

The Cuban population of Little Havana however has not only decreased in number, but the area of concentration for Cubans shifted west of the heart of the neighborhood where Nicaraguans and Hondurans have taken their place (Cordoba & Carrillo, 2010). Between 1970 and 2000 the percentage of Cubans among Hispanics decreased from 93.3% to 55.2% while the percentage of Nicaraguans between 1990 and 2000 dropped from 14.3% to 10% of Hispanics. Hondurans being the third ethnic group with the highest population among Hispanics in Little Havana increased their percentage among Hispanics from 3.1% to 4.9% between 1990 and 2000 (Cordoba & Carrillo, 2010). This demographic change is exemplified in a 1994 article in the Miami Herald where a business owner recounts the scene of Central Americans moving into the neighborhood and comparing it to what Cubans did 30 years earlier to the Anglo Americans that inhabited the neighborhood:

“I had a great business in Little Havana for years; in 1993 I lost \$16,000”, says Mastercake owner Gerardo Moreno. “I decided the time had come for me to do what all the American business owners did when the Cubans moved into the neighborhood. They left their shops to us and moved. Now it's our turn to go” (Martin, 1994, 1J).

It should be noted that this demographic change was due to Cubans moving to the western boundaries of Little Havana and to other parts of Miami, and not because the boundaries of the neighborhood shrunk in size and therefore fewer Cubans were within the boundaries of Little Havana.

Little Havana does not have an official boundary that defines its geographic extent. The area has merely existed with loose boundaries based largely on cultural perception. According to the many boundary descriptions suggested by the city of Miami Planning Department, the borders of the area known as ‘Little Havana’ not only have continued to change, but they have continued to shrink in size. Refer to Figure 1, for the different boundaries that are used to define Little Havana.

The boundaries described by George (2006; 1991) encompass a bigger area than the other three boundaries defined by the City of Miami. In fact, the NET 2006 boundaries are almost five times smaller in area (4.7 times to be exact). Also, the southern and western boundaries of Little Havana as described by the City of Miami have shifted north and east, respectively, but the overall area of the neighborhood has become smaller. The NET 2006 boundaries, (which is the most current definition of Little Havana according to the City of Miami), has an area of 2.237 square miles. This is a 68.92% reduction in size from the boundaries described by the City of Miami Planning Department in 1976 (the area was 7.198 square miles). The NET 2006 boundaries mainly cover the area that is known by some residents of the neighborhood as ‘East Little Havana’, which extends from 12th Avenue east to the Miami River.

experiencing change in their demographic makeup, meaning, identity, and role, it is imperative that community level planning geared towards preserving these communities be devised to identify neighborhood cores instead of defining exact boundaries (Abramson et al, 2006).

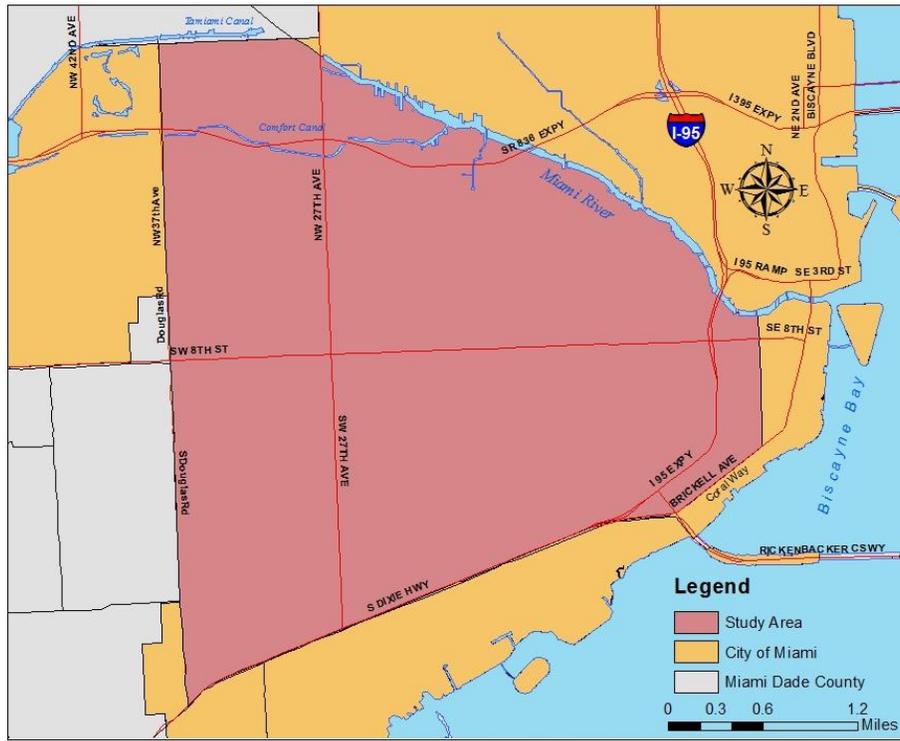
Hence, this study hopes to accomplish these objectives by answering the following research question: What are people's perceptions of 'Little Havana'? In other words, what do the people who interact (interact is defined as people who work, study, shop or live in the study area) with the neighborhood see as the boundaries of Little Havana? And, what are their perceptions of the term 'Little Havana'?

Methods

This study measured people's perception of Little Havana by implementing a survey that consisted of 10 questions; 6 questions that involved fixed responses and 4 that involved open-ended responses. The objectives of the survey were: 1) To identify the cultural associations that people made with Little Havana 2) To capture the participant's spatial perceptions of the boundaries of what they considered to be Little Havana.

Demographic information was gleaned from the survey to describe the respondents and to structure the analysis of the survey data. These variables include gender, age, ethnicity, zip code, length of residence at the current location, length of residence in the City of Miami, and housing tenure. The rest of the questions targeted the specific research objectives of this study. Question 8 was designed to measure the associations that survey respondents made with 'Little Havana', and question 9 was designed to help identify the core and peripheral areas of Little Havana by asking survey respondents to list the names of places and/or landmarks they considered to be located within the boundaries of Little Havana. These places and/or landmarks were used together with the boundaries drawn by participants in question 10 to have a better idea of the location of the core area and the extent of the neighborhood. Question 10 asked survey participants to draw what they considered to be the boundaries of 'Little Havana'. The map used for this task depicts the major streets of the area and the location of some well known landmarks, as well as landmarks drawn from the list of landmarks listed by participants in a pilot test of this survey. Finally, the survey was translated into Spanish for those participants that felt more comfortable with that language. Yet the names of streets and landmarks on the map were left in English since that is the language in which they are found on the streets.

Figure 2: Boundaries of Study Area.



Source: Author

The target population for this study was people 18 years of age and above, who either spoke English and/or Spanish, and who interacted with the area known as ‘Little Havana’. Interacting was defined as: people that either lived, or worked, or studied, or that for any other reason at the time of the survey were found within the study area or its vicinity. As a basis for this study, the boundaries of Little Havana described by South Florida historian, Dr. Paul George (2006) were used to define the study area (Figure 2).

A letter explaining the objectives of the survey, together with a copy of the questionnaire, were e-mailed to neighborhood associations and faith based organizations that were acquired from the City of Miami Neighborhood Enhancement Team (NET) website for Little Havana, Coral Way, West Flagler, and Downtown. This method is described by Bernard (1988) as cluster sampling and it makes easier when dealing with a large heterogeneous population like the one found in this study area. However, given that the people who affiliate with these organizations are of similar age and socioeconomic backgrounds, younger groups were being left out. Based on the recommendations made in a similar study (Francescato & Mebane, 1973) it is suggested to sample groups of different age and socioeconomic backgrounds. Hence, students who were 18 years of age or above from a social studies class in a high school, and students from two biology classes in a community college were surveyed as well. Also, two adult education classes (a citizenship class, and an English as a second language class) imparted at night in an elementary school, were surveyed to account for recently arrived immigrants, which represent a big part of the study area. In summary, a group of parishioners from a church, a senior housing from another church, two neighborhood associations, a social studies class from a high school, two biology

classes from a community college, and two adult education classes taught at an elementary school, participated for a total 153 survey respondents

The survey was conducted between December, 2010 and February, 2011. Out of the nine groups that participated, seven of them were surveyed as a group, the residents of the senior housing were surveyed door to door, and one neighborhood association decided to administer the surveys on their own to protect the privacy of its members. Survey participants at each institution were given the option to fill out the survey in English or Spanish, or to have the surveyor write their verbal responses for them. With the exception of the residents of the senior housing unit, and one elderly parishioner of the church, all survey participants filled out the surveys on their own.

Survey Data

Two different coded spreadsheets were created to record the responses from questions 1 through 8. The code chart in Table 1 was created for the first seven demographic questions on the survey, and for three other variables used to structure the analysis of the data. Three of the ten variables (Age, Time_Curre, Time_Miami) are ordinal variables and the rest are nominal. The format described by Bernard (1988) was followed.

A second code chart was created to simplify and quantify the responses of question 8. In other words, given the variety of comments provided by respondents in question 8, and the similitude of comments and topics found among the surveys, it was necessary to identify the main topics embedded in the responses and then count the comments to relatively measure their frequency. First, all the comments written down by respondents in question 8 were recorded on a list and then grouped based on the similarity of their topics. As noted in Table 2, six main categories were created. The 'positive' category is made up of comments that are complementary of the neighborhood but also is made up of comments that are ingredients in creating a sense of community. The 'negative' category has three different types of negative comments: those that describe a sense of insecurity, those that depict the area as being neglected, and those that describe the neighborhood as being of lower socioeconomic status.

The 'Cuban' category is made up of descriptors that relate Little Havana to Cubans and/or Cuban Culture. In contrast, the 'Latin-American area' category list comments that describe the neighborhood as being more mixed with people from different Latin American countries. The 'immigration' category lists comments that associate the area to immigrants, a migratory event, or a migratory experience. The last category 'others' contains comments that either are not related at all to any of the previous five categories, or that required too much of a subjective input on behalf of the author to categorize it. Therefore, although the authors recognize that some of these comments could have been classified into any of the other categories, those comments that are in any of the five specific categories were comments that stood out and did not require a strong subjective judgment to classify.

Table 1. Code Book for Demographic Variables

Question #	Variable Name	Description
1	Gender	The gender of the participant as described by the respondent; Male=1, Female=0
2	Age	The age group to which the participant belongs as described by the respondent; 18 to 25= 1; 26 to 35=2; 36 to 55=3; 56 plus=4
3	Ethnicity	The ethnicity or race as described by the respondent; White(Non-Hispanic)=1; Black(Non-Hispanic)=2; Hispanic=3; Other=4
4	Zip_Code	The zip code written down by the respondent
5	Time_Curre	The length of time that the respondent has been living at the current location; less than a year=1; between 1 and 2 years=2; between 2 and 5 years=3; between 5 and 10 years=4; more than 10 years=5
6	Time_Miami	The length of time that the respondent has been living in Miami; less than a year=1; between 1 and 2 years=2; between 2 and 5 years=3; between 5 and 10 years=4; more than 10 years=5
7	Housing_Te	Whether the respondent rents or own the place where he/she currently lives; own=1; rent=0
N/A	Language	The language in which the respondent filled out the survey; English=1; Spanish=0
N/A	Survey_Num	Survey number from 1 to 153
N/A	Study_Area	Based on the zip code provided by the respondent, was the respondent inside or outside the study area? In= 1; Out= 0; These zip codes are the only ones found within the study area (33125, 33128, 33129, 33130, 33135, 33145). If the respondent's zip code was different than any of these six zip codes, then he/she was outside the study area.

These six categories were turned into two different types of variables for further statistical analysis. First, each category became a nominal variable where they could only take two values; 1 for 'yes', and 0 for 'no'. If a survey participant made a comment from any of the six categories listed in the table, then a 1 was recorded under that specific variable. If a survey participant did not make any comments about a specific category, then a 0 was recorded for that specific variable. For instance, if survey participant #4 made the following comments: Cuban coffee, dirty streets, and Hispanics, then under the Cuban, Negative, and Latin-American Area variables a 1 was recorded. For the rest of the variables (Positive, Immigration, and Others) a 0 was recorded. By recording the data into this bivariate format, it opened the door for cross tabs analysis which will be discussed later.

Table 2. Categories Created from Question 8

Positive	Good food, Cheap place to eat, Restaurants, Bars, Coffee, Small businesses, Mom and pop businesses, Small stores run by families, Exciting place, Lots of color and liveliness, Parks, Big families, Fun, Culture, Music, Historical houses, Architecture, Art, History, Nice, Sense of home, Friendly people, Quiet place, Home, Family oriented neighborhood, Close knit community, Small place, Nice people, Helpful people, Peaceful place, Peaceful neighborhood, Good families, Beautiful place, Sense of community, Everything is close, A good place for people that don't have a car, Good transportation, Central location, Everything is close, Street Cafes, Festival on 8 th Street, Carnivals, Cultural Fridays, 3 kings parade
Negative	Dirty streets, Broken down homes, Ghetto, Disorder, Streets need to be cleaned, A little abandoned, Area needs to be beautified, Run down houses, Little organization, Streets are not well maintained, People need to keep it up more clean, Semi blighted, Ok place not the best, Poor neighborhood, People with low economic resources, Lower class, Lower standard of livings, Lower socioeconomics, Poverty, Low income families, Needs more culture, Houses with bars on the windows, Bad, Not secured, Drunkies, Crime, Not a good neighborhood, Thugs, Gangs, Dangerous place, Lots of delinquency, Drugs, Not safe, teenagers hanging out on the streets doing nothing good with their lives, A neighborhood that seems to have a horrible reputation
Cubans	Place where Cubans started, Lots of Cubans live there, Coffee, Pan con Bistec (bread with beefsteak), pastelitos de guava (guava pastries), Cuban businesses, Cigar Shops, Cigars, Cubans playing dominoes, Cuban culture, A place similar to Cuba, Times when Cubans were the majority of residents, Cuban neighborhood, Cuban people, Old Cubans, Cuban-Americans, 8 th bus full Cubans, Cuban Food, Cuban coffee, Cuban shops, Cuban elderly men outside talking, The area where people from the Mariel boatlift arrived
Latin-American Area	Hispanic food, Pastries, Latin Music, Central American food, Non English businesses, Hispanic owned businesses, Hispanic stores, Many type of Hispanics, Hispanic Culture, Hispanic area, Area occupied by Hispanics, Hispanic neighborhood, People of different countries, Not just a Cuban neighborhood, Latinos, Central Americans, Latin community, Latinoamericano, Lots of Hispanics, Small Hispanic neighborhood, Latin-American flavor, Latin quarter, Central American people, Diversity, Latin America, Spanish speakers
Immigration	Variety of immigrants, Freedom, Immigrants, Many immigrants, A place where poor immigrants live, A place of poor undocumented immigrants, A sense of being in your own country, Wetbacks, Migrants, A start of a new life, A place where my family grew up in when they came from Puerto Rico, The place where Hispanics live when they come from their countries
Others	Loud Music, People talking loud, People walking, People roaming the streets, People having parties, Old people, Small homes, Lots of people on the streets, Busy streets, People all over the place, Baseball, 8 th Street, Old men playing dominoes, Alive streets, Lots of traffic, Men whistling and honking at girls, Lots of car lots, I was not afraid to move here even though I heard some things about the area, I was sad to find out that people that don't live here think of poverty and have bad things to say about this neighborhood, It has a bad reputation but reputation is not reality

However, these categories were also converted to ordinal variables, where instead of recording a yes or no value, the number of comments about each specific category was recorded. For instance, if a survey participant made three comments about Cubans, and one about immigration,

a 3 and a 1 were recorded under its respective variable. This format allowed for a correlation analysis among all the ordinal variables.

The names of places listed by survey respondents in question 9 were recorded in an attributes table in ArcMap 10 together, with the address, zip code, frequency, and its respective survey number. After having completed the attributes table, an address locator was created using Dual Ranges as the style, and a roads shapefile acquired from Miami Dade County GIS as the reference data. Finally, using the geocode addresses tool from the Arc Toolbox, the places were geocoded (assigned a unique spatial location on the map). Basically, this tool matches the addresses of the places located on the attributes table to the address locator (which uses the Miami Dade County roads as a reference). The end result is a point feature class with each point depicted as a point on a map.

The boundaries drawn by survey participants on the map found in question 10 were digitized using the construction tools that are enable at the start of an edit session. Only 129 out of a total of 153 survey participants drew boundaries on their respective maps. Therefore, a polygon feature class was created to keep all surveys with maps in the same file. Each boundary drawn by participants was carefully digitized in ArcMap 10 using the digital version of the survey map as a background. Consequently, the boundaries drawn by the respondents were followed very carefully in order to make an identical copy of the boundaries found on the hard copy of each map. Due to the intricate shape of some of the boundaries, different snapping options and constructions tools were used. All boundaries were digitized and each digitized map became a new record.

After having collected all the data from each participant, each survey was assigned a number at random from 1 to 153. Then, the data were manipulated and recorded in three separate softwares. First, it was recorded in a geodatabase using ArcMap 10 to link it with the spatial attributes. Therefore, the digitization process of the boundaries was done first. Subsequently, the demographic information from questions 1 through 7 and the qualitative information from question 8 were recorded with its respective map. Second, the landmarks were geocoded and then related to the geodatabase based on the survey number since it was the common key between each landmark, map, and qualitative information. The data were then sorted based on different demographic attributes and qualitative categories created from question 8. At last, the data were transferred to SPSS 20 for statistical analysis.

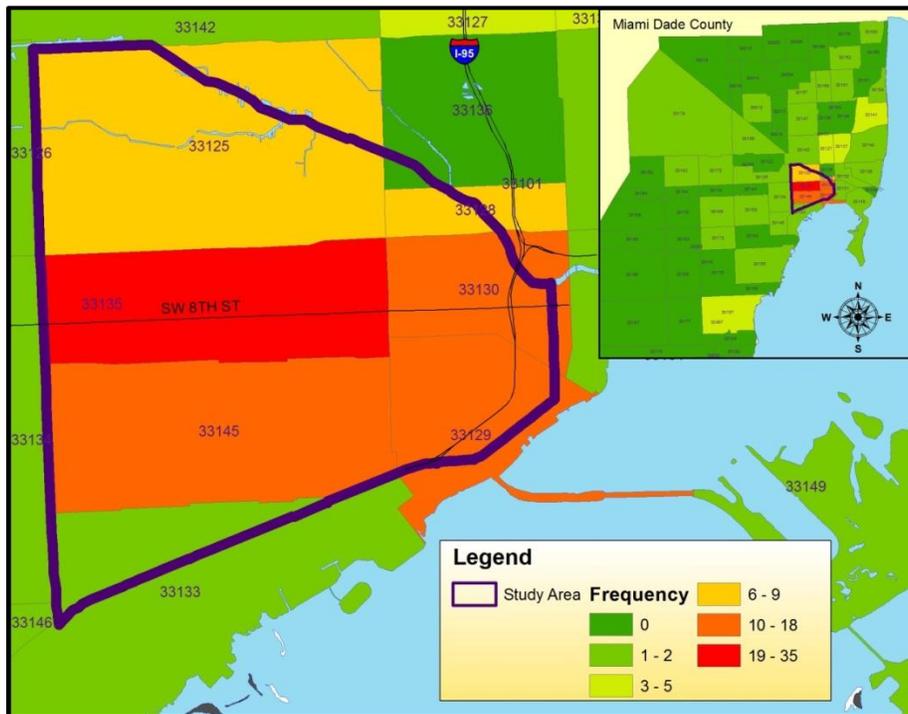
Analysis and Discussion

Four different stages of analysis were applied to the data, starting with a descriptive analysis where all 153 surveys participants are described with the demographic variables collected. Then a bivariate analysis was applied to the responses from question 8, where the open ended comments were categorized into six categories. Afterwards, a rank correlation analysis was also applied to the open ended comments. Finally, a series of choropleth maps created from the boundaries drawn by survey participants, together with the geocoded landmarks, were analyzed.

As previously stated, a total 153 people participated voluntarily in the survey from seven different institutions. However, based on the zip code provided by each participant, it was determined that only 99 of these respondents actually lived within the study area; the remaining

54 participants lived outside. As noted in Figure 3, six zip codes were considered to be part of the study area (33125, 33128, 33129, 33130, 33135, and 33145) and 35 of these 99 respondents lived in zip code 33135. Also, there were respondents who, despite living in both southern and northern ends of Miami Dade County, still participated in this study because the institutions that they were involved with were in a close proximity of the study area. The majority of these respondents were recruited from the high school and community college, and hence belonged to the 18 to 25 age group. Consequently, given the two different sample groups, it was decided to analyze the ‘outside group’ separate from the ‘inside group’.

Figure 3: Zip-Code Frequency Distribution.



Source: Author

Three important facts stand out in the analysis of the demographic data. First, was the high number of survey participants found in the 18 to 25 age group; 42.5% of all survey participants were in this age bracket. However, when the data is divided based on location of the study of the area, 21. 2% of the survey respondents from inside the study belong to this age group versus 81.5% of the survey respondents that live outside. As mentioned earlier, this is due to recruiting participants from the high school and the community college as a way to balance participants from older age brackets that were being recruited from the other institutions. Given the age disproportion in the first age bracket, and the relatively low number of survey participants found in the second and third age brackets, a homogeneity test was carried out to test the claim that the survey sample has the same proportion of ages as the proportion in ages found in the population of Little Havana. The Chi-Square statistic indicated that the proportions in ages of the population of Little Havana are indeed the same as the proportion in ages found in the survey sample.

The second fact that stands out is that 79.1% of all survey participants described themselves as Hispanic. This is obviously due to the overall high number of Hispanics found not only in Little Havana, but throughout Miami-Dade County; 89.31% and 65.05%, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). A similar proportion of Hispanics can be found when the data is separated on the basis of being inside or outside the study area; 84.8% and 68.5%, respectively. Therefore, in the rest of the analysis the 'ethnicity' variable will not be included due to the disproportion that exists with the other three descriptors.

The third fact that stands out is the diversity that exists in the number of years that people have been living in Miami (the name 'Miami' is being used here as in reference to the whole Miami-Dade County and not just the City of Miami). Approximately 68% of the survey respondents have been living in Miami for more than 10 years. This is a satisfying number because at least the majority of respondents have had a chance to either hear about Little Havana with the help of the news or friends, or perhaps visited the neighborhood during one of the local festivals or driven past the area. Furthermore, 84.7% of the survey respondents that lived inside the study area have been living at their current residence at least more than a year which indicates that they have had some time to at least associate with the area. Thirty four percent of the survey participants that are within the study area have been residing at their current address for more than 10 years. The five categories were collapsed down to three. Categories 1 and 2 became category 1 now representing 9.2% of all survey respondents, and categories 3 and 4 became category 2 now representing 22.2% of all survey respondents. Category 5 became category 3 but it still represents 68% of all survey participants.

As was stated, the open ended comments received from question 8 were classified into six categories in a bivariate format. If the respondent's comments were positive, then a '1' was recorded for the positive category, and a '0' was recorded in the rest of the categories indicating that no comments were made. By storing the data in this format a comparison between two variables at a time was done to better understand what's going on with the data and to test for any relationships between the two variables. Therefore, in this second phase of the analysis, contingency tables were created using the demographic variables as the independent variables and the categories created from question 8 as the dependent variables. In this manner, the survey respondents were broken down according to their demographic descriptors and whether they made a comment or not about any of the six categories created from question 8. Hence, the claim tested for each contingency table was the following:

- H0: Whether a person makes a comment about (dependent variable) is independent of the person's (independent variable)
- H1: Making a comment about (dependent variable) is dependent on the person's (independent variable).

Again, the Chi-Square statistic was used to test the claim

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E};$$

where 'O' is the observed value (the observed number of respondents); 'E' is the expected value (the expected number of respondents); and X^2 is the statistic to be compared with the critical value. The degrees of freedom = $(r-1)(c-1)$; where 'r' is the number of rows and 'c' is the number of columns. The expected number of respondents = $(\text{row total})(\text{column total})/(\text{grand total})$; where the grand total equals to the sample 'n'. Also, for every cell in the contingency table the expected number of respondents 'E' is at least 5 (Triola, 2004).

Furthermore, given that Chi-Square only tested for independence, it was also necessary to measure the strength of that dependence or association in those cases where a dependency was found to be statistically significant. Therefore, given the nominal state of the variables, a proportionate reduction in error (PRE) or Lambda (λ) was determined to be the adequate measure of association (Bernard, 1988). PRE works in a similar manner that linear regression works in prediction. Where linear regression predicts the value of the dependent variable based on the information provided by the independent variable (instead of just using the sample mean as the best estimator), PRE tells you by how much the error in predicting the dependent variable is reduced (the number of respondents making a comment about any of the six categories) given the information of the independent variable (the respondents' age, gender, time in Miami, etc.).

In the following sections, a series of contingency tables will be discussed for each dependent variable, together with the results from the Chi-Square test and the PRE value for only those cases where Chi-Square was significant. The data used for this analysis only includes the survey respondents that live inside the study area.

Forty-seven out of 98 respondents (approximately 48%) made at least one comment about Cubans. The majority of the participants (52%) did not. Furthermore, the Chi-Square test only found two demographic variables to be significantly associated with the Cubans variable; language and gender. However, despite Lambda not being statistically significant, it measured a weak association with the Cubans variable; .213 and .170, respectively. Interestingly enough, 57.4% of those respondents that made comments about Cubans filled out the survey in English and 55.3% were males. Therefore, the people that did not make comments about Cubans were more often women and those that felt more comfortable in the Spanish language; 64.7% and 66.6%, respectively. Finally, even though there was not a statistically significant relationship between the number of people that made comments about Cubans and the time that people have been living in Miami, there is one interesting observation between these two variables. The ratio between the number of people that made comments about Cubans and the total number of people under each respective column (specific time interval in Miami) decreases as the time that people have been living in Miami increases; 0.75, 0.5, and .435, respectively. In other words, it seems that the longer that people have been living in Miami, the less they made a comment about Cubans, and vice versa.

Despite the fact that none of the demographic variables were statistically significant with the Latin American Area variable, there is one observation that should be mentioned. More survey participants associated Little Havana with Cubans or Cuban culture than they associated it with a more mixed Latin American people or culture. For instance, 30 respondents described the neighborhood as being more mixed with Latin American people compared to 47 respondents that associated the neighborhood with Cubans. Furthermore, 34 out of the 47 (72.3%) strictly associated Little Havana with Cubans or Cuban culture, while only 17 of the 30 (56.6%) associated Little Havana strictly with a more mixed Latin American culture. Thus, only 13 respondents (13.1%) associated Little Havana with both Cuban and Latin American cultures.

A total of 45 survey respondents made at least one positive comment with regard to Little Havana. Twenty-eight out of the 45 (62.2%) respondents filled out the survey in English, while 37 out of 53 (69.8%) respondents that did not make positive comments filled out the survey in Spanish. Also, this is the only demographic variable that was statistically significant with the Positive variable (indicating an association between the two), but that Lambda described the relationship as weak (.267), and not statistically significant. Furthermore, the cross tabulation between Positive and Time in Miami shows the ratio between the number of people that made a positive comment about Little Havana, and the total number of survey respondents under each specific column (specific time interval in Miami) increases as the time that people have been living in Miami increases as well; 0.375, 0.428, and 0.483, respectively. Hence, at least for this survey sample, the longer the people have been living in Miami the more likely they made a positive comment about Little Havana.

Thirty-two survey respondents made a negative comment with regard to Little Havana, where 50% of them were women and 50% of them filled out the survey in Spanish. Also, the only demographic variable that was statistically significant with the dependent variable 'Negative' was 'Time in Current Residence'. However, Lambda describes this association as very weak (.094), and not statistically significant. In addition, 14 out of the 32 (43.8%) respondents strictly made negative comments about Little Havana without any mention of positive comments. On the other hand, 27 of 45 (60%) respondents only made positive comments about Little Havana without any mention of negative comments. Consequently, 18 respondents made both positive and negative comments about the neighborhood. Similar to the comparison between Cubans and Latin-Americans, survey respondents have mixed views about Little Havana with more of them describing a positive and Cuban oriented neighborhood.

No demographic variable was statistically significant with the dependent variable 'Immigration'. Part of the reason is the fact that only 11 respondents made comments about this variable. Out of these 11 respondents, 4 made comments about Cubans and Latin American people, 7 made positive comments and 5 made negative comments

It was mentioned that the number of comments made by the survey respondents were counted and recorded according to the type of comments (Positive, Negative, Latin American, Cubans, Immigration, or Other). Therefore, instead of having nominal variables with yes or no answers, ordinal variables were created and compared across ranks. In other words, the number of comments made by survey participants was used to rank each respondent based on the six categories.

As such, a participant had the highest rank for the positive category if he or she made the highest number of positive comments about Little Havana out of all the respondents. Furthermore, a participant had the 3rd highest rank for the Cubans category if he or she made the third highest number of comments about Cubans out of all survey respondents. Hence, two assumptions were made. First, it was assumed that all comments had an equal weight. For example, if a survey participant made the following comments: dirty streets, unattended neighborhood, and lots of robberies, it can be argued that ‘lots of robberies’ are worse than the previous two comments and should be counted as a stronger negative descriptor. However, because this required too much of a subjective involvement when it came to categorizing each comment, all comments were regarded the same regardless of their strength. Instead, a more conservative path was taken with the second assumption; the more comments made about one specific category, the more inclined the survey participant felt about that specific category, and therefore the higher his or her rank.

Consequently, a correlation analysis was carried out with all the ordinal variables (including some demographic variables that are ordinal). In this manner each variable was compared to one another to see if there was an association between the two variables. Spearman’s rank correlation test

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

was the statistic calculated to be compared with the critical values.

$$r_s = \frac{\pm z}{\sqrt{n-1}}$$

Where r_s is Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient; n is the number of pairs of sample data (the number of survey participants); d is the difference between ranks for two values of the same pair (difference in ranks based on the number of comments for each category); and z is equivalent to the significance level. The correlation coefficients range from -1 to 1, with values closer to zero indicative of poor association, and no association at all if equal to zero (Triola, 2004). The claim tested was the following:

H0: $r_s = 0$ (There is no correlation between the two variables)

H1: $r_s \neq 0$ (There is a correlation between the two variables)

Some of these statistically significant correlations were expected. For instance, ‘time in current residence’ and ‘time in Miami’ have a strong positive correlation (.603), as it does ‘age’ with ‘time in current residence’ and ‘time in Miami’ (.372, and .419, respectively). These relationships are obvious since it makes sense to have the time at your current house increase with the time that you have been living in the city; the longer you have been at your house, the longer you have been in the same city, and probably the older you are. All of these are characteristics of established residents, which, as described at the beginning of the analysis, 62% of survey participants from inside the study area have been living in Miami for more than 10 years.

Interestingly enough, the ‘Cubans’ variable showed a statistically significant negative correlation with ‘Age’ (-.265). That is, as the number of Cuban comments increased, the age of the survey participant decreased. Despite being a weak association, at least in this survey sample it seems that the younger survey participants made more comments about Cubans than their older counterparts. Initially, it seems counterintuitive to have younger people relate the neighborhood to Cubans. After all, the number of Cubans has been decreasing in the area and there are other Latin American groups in the neighborhood as well. So if anything the younger generation should perceive the neighborhood more mixed. However, the older more established people are the ones that have seen the neighborhood change, and perhaps this is the reason why their frequency of comments about Cubans or Cuban culture was lower as they noticed the mixed population more.

The ‘Latin American Area’ variable was also statistically significant with the ‘Positive’ and ‘Negative’ variables (.298, and .242, respectively). In other words, as the number of comments about Latin American people or culture increased, so did positive and negative comments about the neighborhood. These two weak but statistically significant associations are indicative of the mixed views that the survey participants have of Little Havana. It appears that many survey participants made one of these three types of comments: Latin American and Positive, Latin American and Negative, or Latin American plus Positive and Negative.

In summary, survey participants from inside the study area made a total of 287 comments with an average of approximately 3 comments per participant. Eighty-two (28.6%) of them were positive, 60 (20.9%) negative, 55 (19.2%) were about Cubans or Cuban culture, 35 (12.2%) were about Latin American people or culture, 11 (3.8%) were related to immigration, and 44 (15.3%) were a mix of comments categorized as others. The numbers change however when the survey participants from outside the study area are included.

The proportion of the number of comments about Cubans or Cuban culture to the total number of comments that survey participants from outside the study area made was interesting. When compared to the proportion of comments of the same category made by participants from inside the study area, it is obvious that participants from outside the study area associated Little Havana more with Cuban culture. Almost thirty-one percent (30.9%) of the comments of survey participants from outside the study area were Cuban related, versus 19.2% from participants inside the study area. Also, participants outside the study area made more negative comments than positive comments about Little Havana; the opposite of participants from inside the study area. It should be noted again that the majority of the survey respondents from outside the study area (81.5%) are in the 18 to 25 age category and as such is probably unfair to compare them to the survey participants from inside the study area that have a more balanced distribution in the other age categories.

In this last phase of the analysis the frequency of each geocoded landmark was recorded based on different demographic variables and the type of comments made by the survey respondent. In this manner, the landmarks were examined based on these different criteria in order to look for patterns. Also, an overlay analysis was performed on the boundaries drawn by survey participants with the Overlay-Union tool from the Arc toolbox. By doing this, ArcMap calculated the geometric intersection of all the digitized boundaries and then fragmented each digitized boundary into smaller polygons based on those geometric calculations. The end result

was a new feature class with an attributes table indicating whether or not the digitized boundary overlapped or not with another polygon, and indicated the polygon with which they overlap. A value of -1 indicated that there was not overlap and a value of 0 indicated an overlap.

Consequently, all the negative values for each polygon were summed to get the total number of digitized boundaries (the same as the number of survey participants since each digitized boundary is equivalent to one survey participant) that did not overlap a specific polygon. Then, the actual number of digitized boundaries that did overlap each polygon was calculated by subtracting the total sum of negative values from the number of participants included in the Union-Overlay. Here is a summary of the performed arithmetic: $N - [(-1) * (P)]$; where N is the number of survey participants included in the Union-Overlay, and P is the total number of survey participants that did not overlap a specific area or polygon. Therefore, an area (a polygon) with the highest overlap value represented an area that was identified the most (overlap the most) by survey participants to be within the boundaries of Little Havana; on the contrary, an area (a polygon) with the lowest overlap value was indicative of an area that was identified the least (overlap the least) by survey participants to be within the boundaries of Little Havana.

Finally, the survey participants and their respective digitized boundaries included in each Union-Overlay analysis were selected based on the demographic descriptors from each participant and the type of comments that they made about Little Havana. Hence, numerous maps were created from these many Union-overlay analyses performed. For this reason, the mean center of each Union-Overlay analysis was calculated in ArcMap to aid in the comparison of the maps. The total number of overlapping values was used as the weight in the computation of the mean center. Figure 4 depicts the boundaries of Little Havana drawn by survey participants who live inside the study area, while Figure 5 depicts the boundaries of Little Havana drawn by survey participants who live outside the study area.

It is obvious in that the overall area described by survey participants as Little Havana is bigger than those described by any of the boundaries described by the City of Miami and by South Florida historian Paul George (Figures 1 and 2). The area that survey participants from inside the study area agree the most to be Little Havana is encompassed approximately by Southwest 4th Avenue to the east, Southwest 27th Avenue to the west, Southwest 8th Street (Calle Ocho) and Southwest 9th Street to the south, and West Flagler Street to the North. The area with the most agreement to be Little Havana according to survey participants from outside the study area is slightly smaller, especially on the eastern front. On the east limits with Southwest 12th Avenue, to the west with Southwest 27th Avenue, Southwest 8th Street to the south, and West Flagler to the north.

The overall difference in both maps is perhaps best described by their mean centers. The mean center of boundaries drawn by survey participants inside the study area is found approximately at the intersection of Southwest 16th Avenue and Southwest 5th Street; while the mean center of the boundaries drawn by survey participants outside the study area is found at the intersection of Southwest 17th Avenue and Southwest 7th Street. This is roughly a two block shift (one block south and block one west) from the mean center of survey participants inside the study the area.

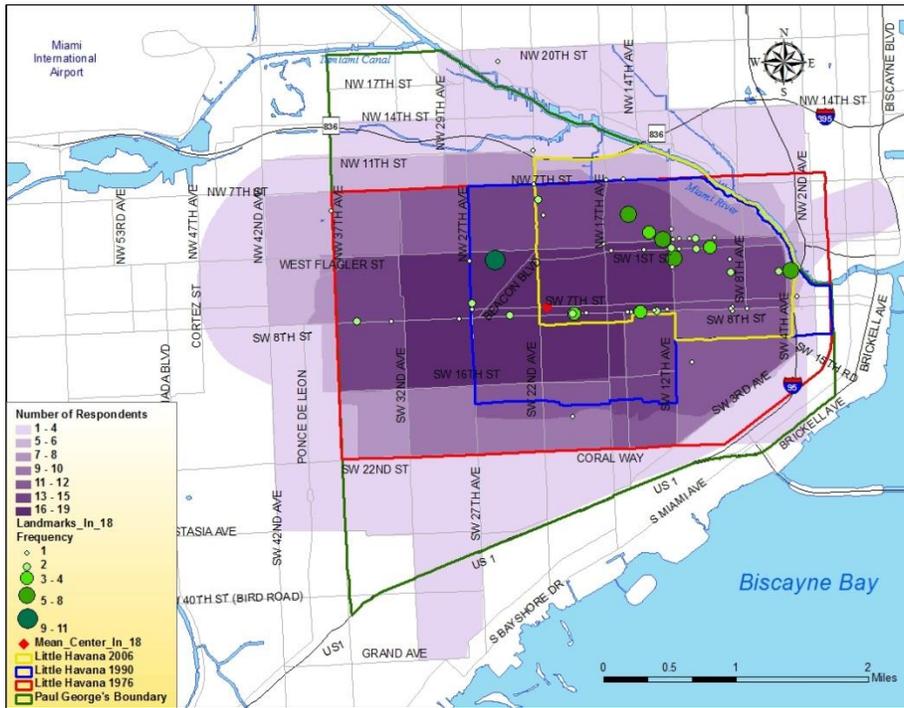
However, they are still relatively closer to Southwest 8th street than they are to West Flagler Street; the two main roads running east and west through the area which are also the two main commercial thoroughfares. The mean centers are also close to the area described by the City of Miami as the 'Latin Quarter' which is along Southwest 8th Street and between Southwest 17th Avenue and Southwest 12th Avenue. The 'Latin Quarter' is an area that the City of Miami has targeted for economic redevelopment since 1990 and now has become the main tourist attraction of the neighborhood by being the home of many art galleries, Cuban theme stores, restaurants, cafeterias, cigar stores, Maximo Gomez Park (Domino Park), the Tower Theater, the walk of fame for Latin American stars, and the Cuban Memorial in honor of brigade 2506 that invaded the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1961.

Looking at the landmarks cited, the 'Latin Quarter' is one of the two areas where the majority of landmarks mentioned by survey respondents are found; the other area being the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue. The main difference between these two areas is that the 'Latin Quarter' is the main tourist destination of the neighborhood, while the intersection of Flagler Street and 12th Avenue is where many of the day-to-day activities are carried out by the residents of the area. Within a two block radius residents can find anything from gas stations, pharmacies, health clinics, churches (and other religious centers), supermarkets, dollar stores, mechanic shops, barber shops, a variety of ethnic restaurants, hardware stores, bus stops, banks, schools, clothing stores, and the big chain stores such as McDonald's, Walgreen's, Payless Shoes, and Foot Locker.

Furthermore, the top 5 places mentioned by survey respondents from inside the study area were: Sedanos Supermarket, Presidente Supermarket, Riverside Elementary School, Navarro Discount Pharmacy, and San Juan Bosco Catholic Church. On the other hand, the top 5 places listed by survey respondents outside the study area were: Miami Senior High School, Versailles Restaurant/cafeteria, the Orange Bowl (which is now the location of the Florida Marlins stadium), Presidente Supermarket, and Riverside Elementary School. Three out of the top five locations listed by survey participants from inside the study area are places that are frequented the most by residents of the area (Sedanos supermarket, Presidente supermarket, and Navarro Discount Pharmacy); on the other hand, three out of the top five places listed by survey participants outside the study area are places that are well known landmarks not just in Little Havana but throughout Miami-Dade County: the first high school, a stop for politicians and demonstrators, and the host of major sport events (Miami Senior High School, Versailles Restaurant, and the Orange Bowl, respectively).

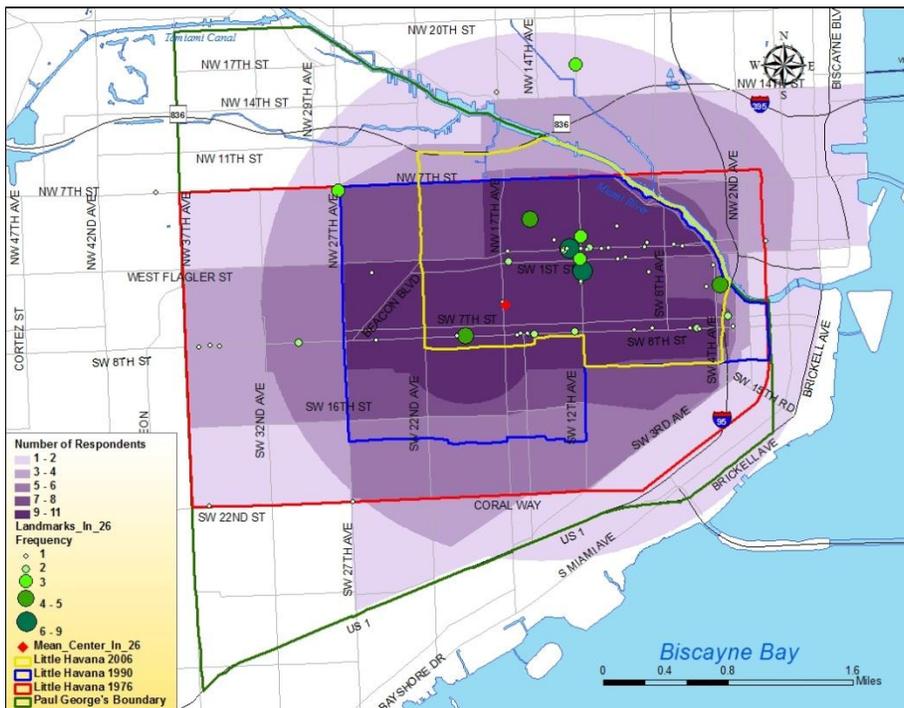
Overlay maps were similarly prepared to compare the Little Havana boundary and core based on all of the demographic variables. Highlighted here are some of the more interesting findings. First, in the 18 to 25 age group the boundary extends as far south as Southwest 16th Street and as far west as Southwest 32nd Avenue (Figure 6). In the 26 to 35 age group this area begins to shrink and shifts in a northwest direction extending as far north as Northwest 7th street (Figure 7). The 36 to 55 age group concentrate this area more between West Flagler Street and Southwest 8th Street (Figure 8), which is more similar to the overall distribution from all survey participants from inside the study area. Finally, the oldest age group further reduces and shifts the area slightly to the west, and depicts it in a more rectangular fashion that is encompassed by West Flagler Street to the north, Southwest 8th Street to the south, Southwest 22nd Avenue to the west, and Southwest 4th Avenue to the east (Figure 9).

Figure 6: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants between 18 and 25 Years of Age.



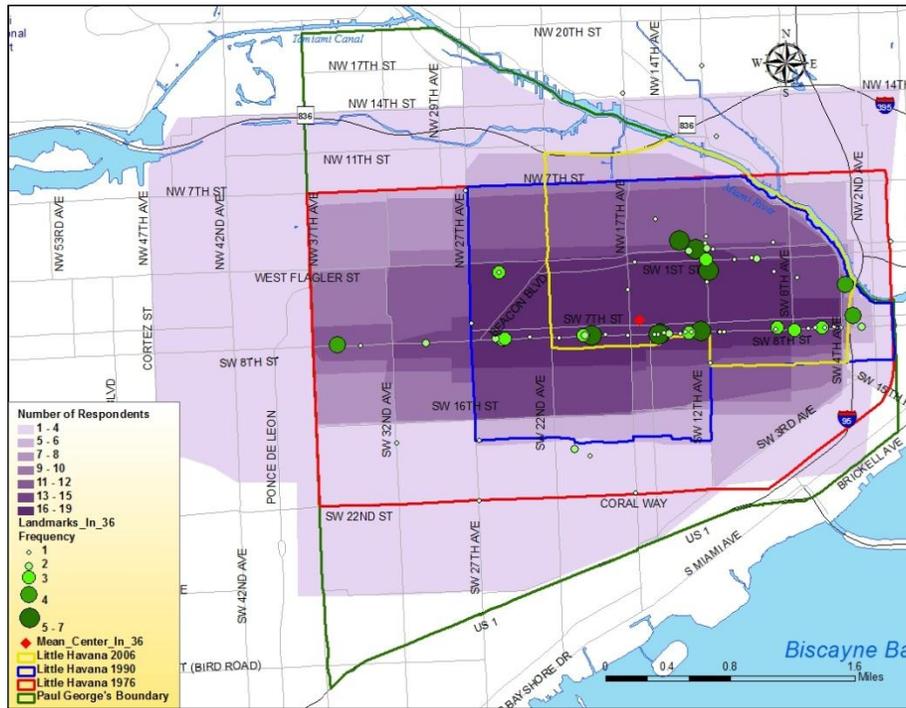
Source: Author

Figure 7: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants between 26 and 35 Years of Age.



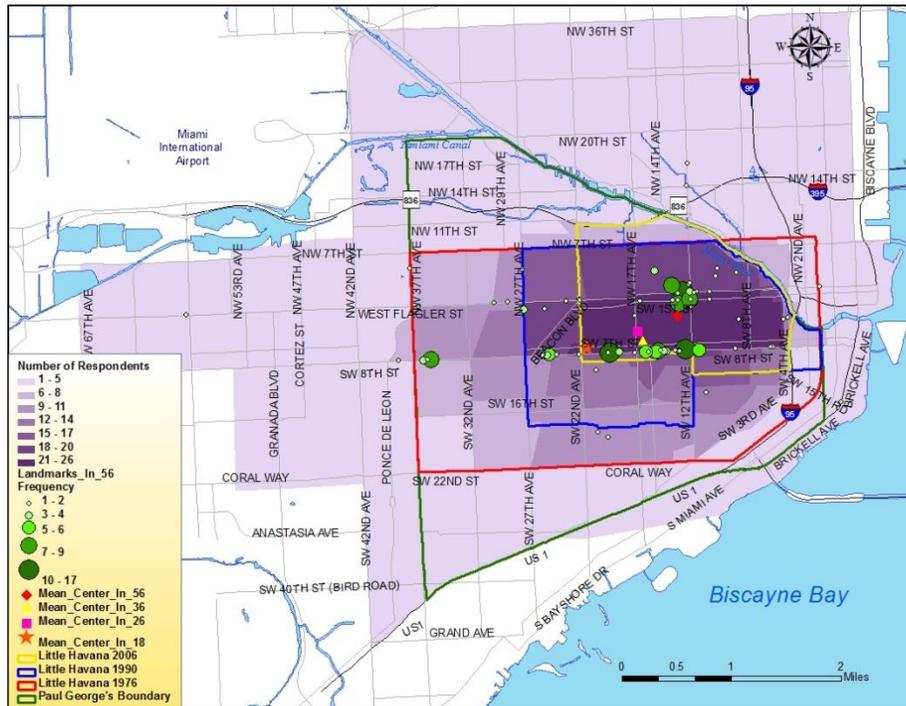
Source: Author

Figure 8: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants between 36 and 55 Years of Age



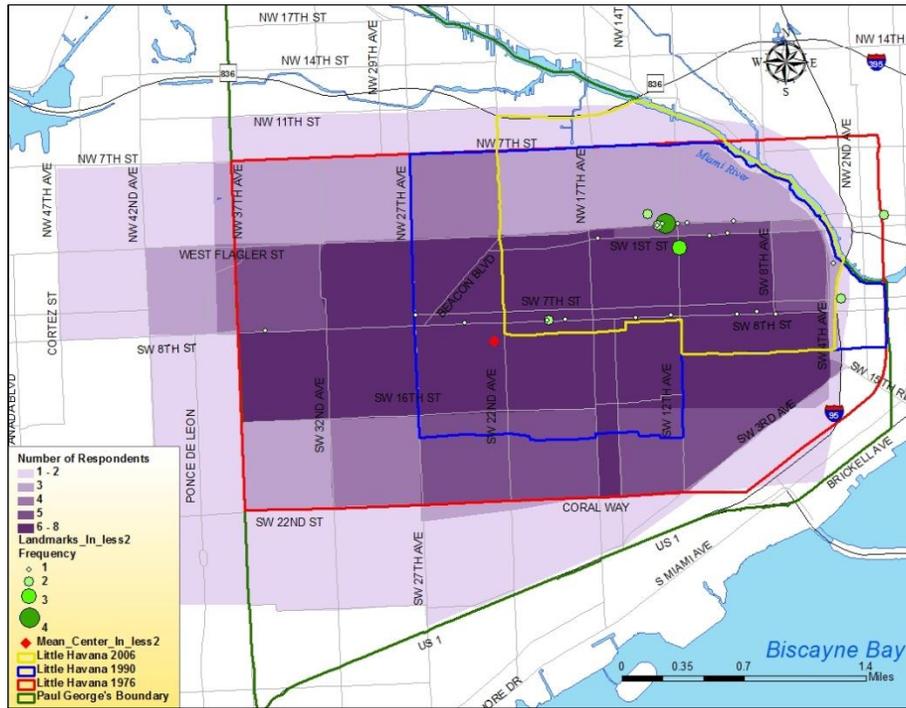
Source: Author

Figure 9: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants older than 55 Years of Age



Source: Author

Figure 10: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Have Been Living in Miami for Less than 2 Years

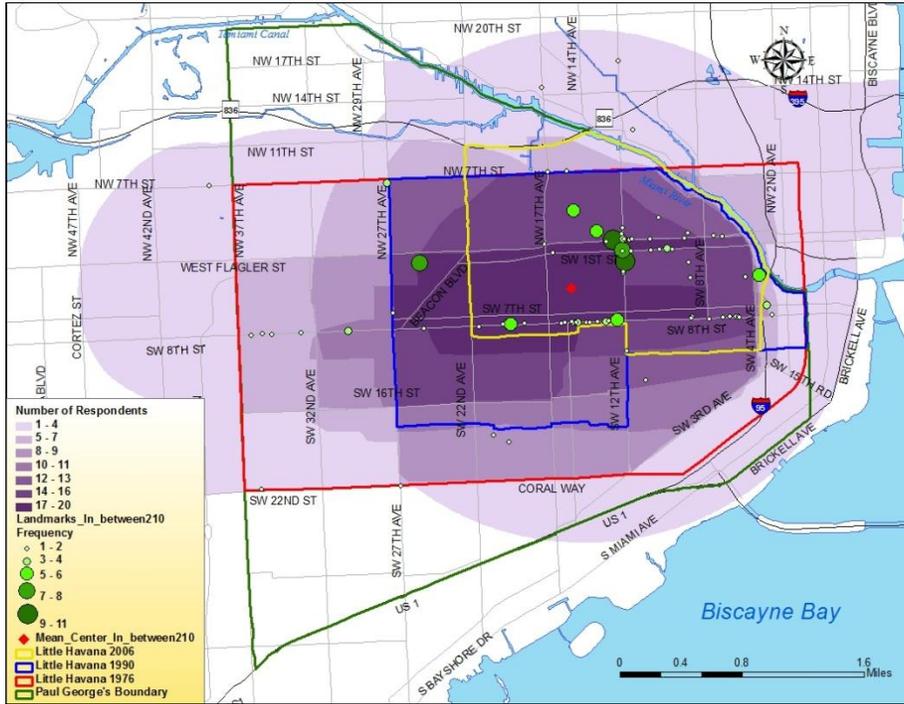


Source: Author

The overall shift in direction is best described by the mean centers depicted in Figure 10, which migrated from approximately the intersection of Southwest 22nd Avenue and Southwest 8th Street to the intersection of Southwest 13th Avenue and Southwest 3rd Street. The second observation is that the older age groups mentioned more landmarks along Southwest 8th Street than the younger groups; 18, 19, 38, and 30, respectively.

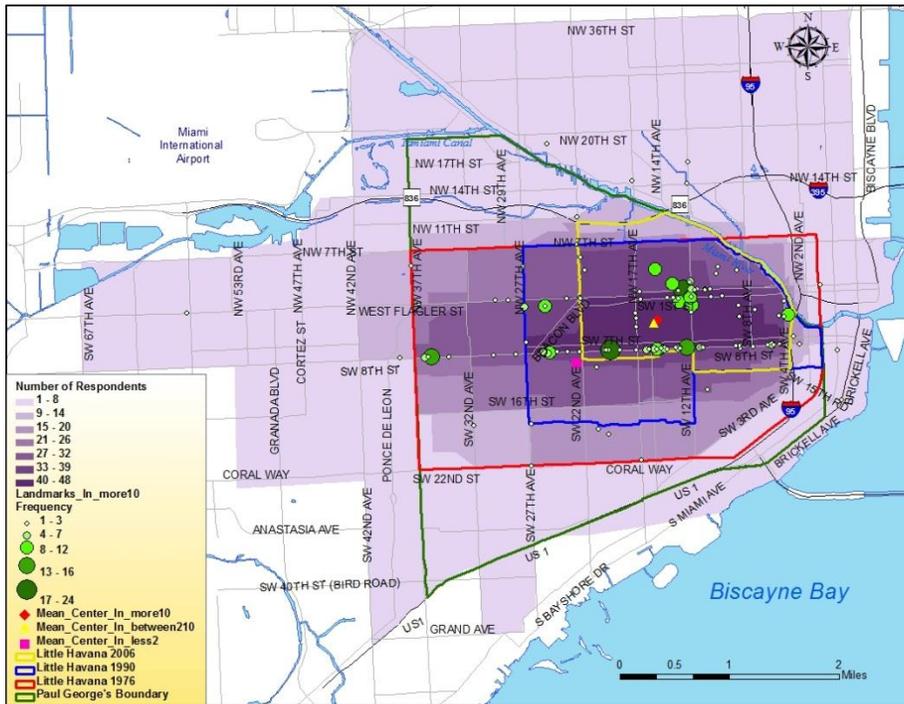
Those survey participants that have been living in Miami for less than 2 years (Figure 10) extend the area with the most overlaps farther south and west than those survey participants that have been living in Miami for a longer period of time. In fact, the area with the most overlaps for the latter two groups have similar geographic extent and center of gravity. The second observation to note is the fact that the group that has been in Miami for less than two years lists the lowest number of landmarks. This is expected since they are probably less familiar with the area. Nonetheless, the location of the landmarks that they listed still gives a good indication of the popularity of Sedanos Supermarket (the landmark with the highest frequency) and the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue since it is where the majority of the landmarks are located. Figure 11 illustrates the boundaries drawn by survey participants who have been living in Little Havana from 2-10 years, while Figure 12 shows the boundaries given by residents who have been living in Little Havana for more than 10 years.

Figure 11: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Have Been Living in Miami between 2 and 10 Years



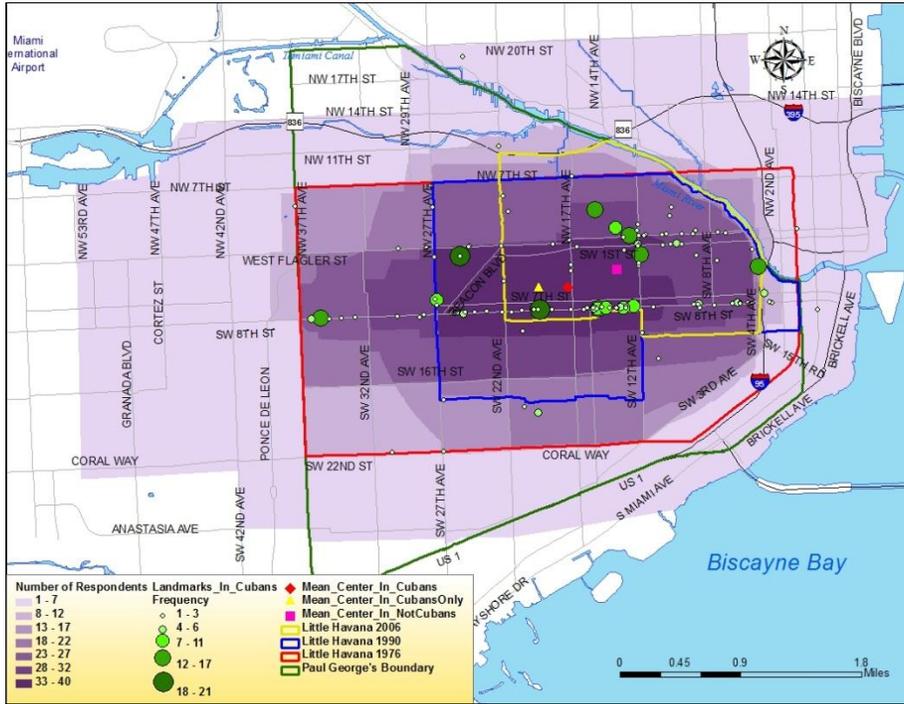
Source: Author

Figure 12: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Have Been Living in Miami for More than 10 Years



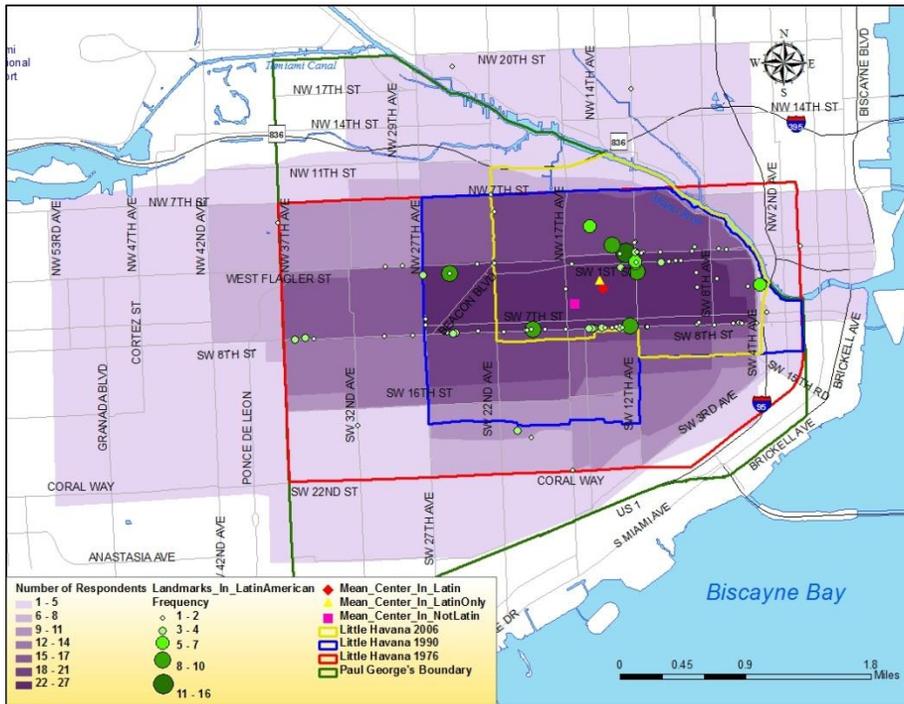
Source: Author

Figure 13: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Associated the Area with Cuban People or Culture



Source: Author

Figure 14: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Associated the Area with Latin American People or Culture



Source: Author

Given that survey participants associated Little Havana either with Cuban culture or Latin American culture, with both, or none of these two attributes, a union-overlay analysis was performed for each scenario. Figures 13 and 14 depict the mean center of all these scenarios and the union-overlay analysis of those survey participants that associated Little Havana in general with Cuban culture or with Latin American culture. Therefore, these Figures depict the boundaries drawn by survey participants that made at least one comment about the variable 'Cubans' or at least one comment about the variable 'Latin American Area'.

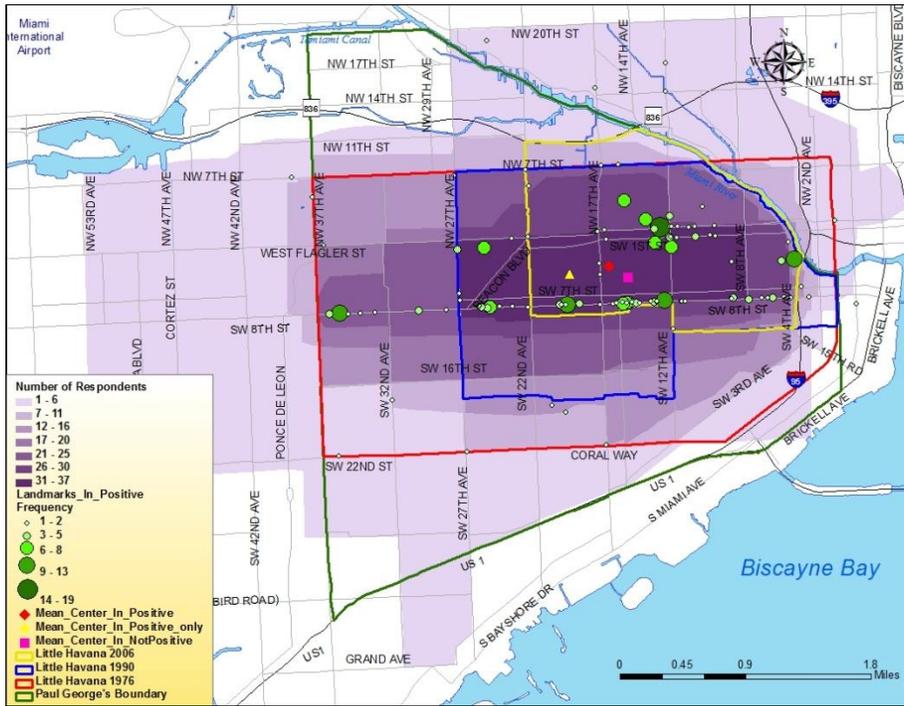
In Figure 13 it is clear that those survey participants that associated Little Havana with Cuban culture listed more landmarks along Southwest 8th Street, especially in the area known as the 'Latin Quarter', than they did along the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue. This is also noted in the location of the mean centers calculated from the union-overlay analyses. The mean center of those survey participants that associated Little Havana with Cuban culture and not with Latin American culture is located farther west than the mean center of those survey participants that associated Little Havana with Cuban and Latin American cultures. Furthermore, both of these mean centers are closer to Southwest 8th Street than those that did not associate the neighborhood with Cuban culture; their mean center is located closer to the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue, which is farther east and north.

Almost the opposite situation occurs with the landmarks and mean centers of those survey participants that associated Little Havana with Latin American culture (Figure 14). The number of landmarks listed by these survey participants is higher around the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue, and a slightly lower number of landmarks can be found along Southwest 8th Street, especially in the section known as the 'Latin Quarter'. The location of the mean center of those survey participants that did not associate the neighborhood with Latin American culture is very close to the location of the mean center of those survey participants that associated the neighborhood with Cuban culture. Also, the eastern boundary of the area with the most overlaps extends further east to Southwest 4th Avenue, than the eastern boundary of the area with the most overlaps described by those that associated the neighborhood with Cuban culture. Yet, the southern boundary of the area with the most overlaps only extends to Calle Ocho, while those that associated the neighborhood with Cubans goes past Southwest 8th Street.

Similar to the Cuban and Latin America comments, given that survey participants made either positive, or negative, both type of comments, or none of these comments about Little Havana, a union-overlay analysis was performed for each scenario. However, Figures 15 and 16 depict the mean center of all these scenarios and the union-overlay analyses include survey participants that made at least one positive comment or at least one negative comment.

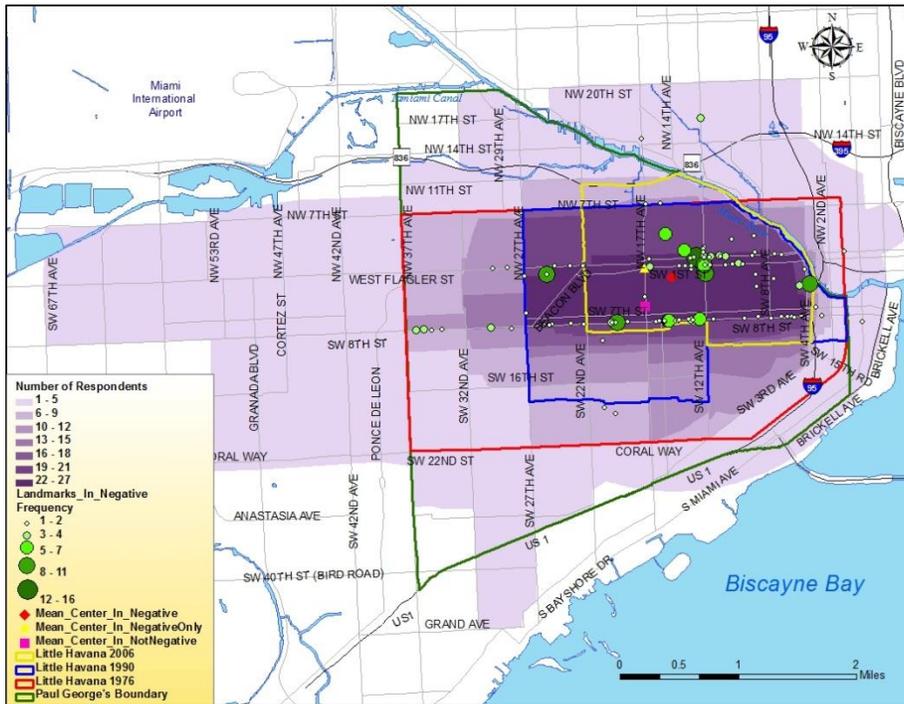
The three observations to note are the following. First, the area that is agreed the most as Little Havana by survey respondents who made positive comments extends as far east to Southwest 8th Avenue, while the area described the most as Little Havana by those respondents who made negative comments extends further east to Southwest 4th Avenue. Second, the mean center of those survey respondents that made negative comments about Little Havana are further north, and closer to West Flagler Street, than the mean centers of those participants that made positive comments. Finally, those that made positive comments mentioned more places that are located on Southwest 8th Street when compared to those who made negative comments whose listed landmarks are higher around the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue.

Figure 15: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Made Positive Comments about the Area



Source: Author

Figure 16: Boundaries of Little Havana Drawn by Survey Participants that Made Negative Comments about the Area



Source: Author

All three observations seem to resemble the associations found in the previous two phases of the analysis; more survey participants made more positive comments than negative comments, and more of them associated the neighborhood with Cuban culture than with Latin American culture. Also, the 'Latin American Area' variable had a statistically significant positive correlation with the 'Positive' and 'Negative' variables. Hence, so far in this part of the spatial analysis, the mean centers of survey participants that made comments about Cubans are closer to Southwest 8th Street, so are the mean centers of those that made positive comments. On the other hand, those that associated the neighborhood with a more mixed Latin American culture have their mean centers closer to the intersection of West Flagler Street and Southwest 12th Avenue, as well those that made negative comments about Little Havana.

Like in the previous union-overlay analyses, the overall area described as Little Havana is bigger than any of the boundaries described by the City of Miami; yet, slightly different when it comes to the boundaries of the area with the most overlaps. This area is found between West Flagler Street and Southwest 10th Street, and between Southwest 27th Avenue and Southwest 4th Avenue.

Conclusion

The survey participants from inside the study area associated Little Havana more with Cuban culture and had more positive things to say about the neighborhood. The proportion of Cuban-related comments, as well the proportion of negative comments, was stronger among survey respondents from outside the study area than from those respondents that were inside the study area. These negative comments from outsiders provide some explanation for the comments about reputation made by survey participants from inside the study area; specifically, about 'bad reputation'. Three survey participants from inside the study area acknowledged the fact that they knew the area had a bad a reputation but that it was not as bad as it was portrayed. According to a Cuban survey participant who has been living in Little Havana for more than 40 years, the area began to decline in the 1980s with the arrival of Cubans from the Mariel boatlift. The survey participant mentioned that during this time period crime began to rise and residents began moving out to other areas that were newer and better. Yet, he thinks that Little Havana has gotten better but that still needs more work

The mixture of comments such as this one was present in several participants' responses. Thirty-one survey participants made both positive and negative comments and associated the neighborhood with both Cuban and Latin American cultures. For instance, many respondents acknowledged some of the negative aspects of the neighborhood, but they also mentioned that it had some things that were nearly irreplaceable. One of these irreplaceable aspects of Little Havana was its centrality. One survey participant narrated the story of how in the area of Kendall (the city in which she used to live with her daughter before she moved to Little Havana) only ducks were seen walking along the canals and everywhere she needed to go she had to get into a car. She mentioned that this solitude on the streets was what motivated her to move to Little Havana, despite her daughter's warnings of the area not being safe. She adds that everything in Little Havana is within walking distance and that public transportation is very good.

The centrality of Little Havana is one of the most overlooked qualities that helps explain why this area has been the landing ground for many immigrants and continues to be the residence of

choice of many seniors. As noted by the location and the variety of the landmarks listed by survey respondents, businesses along Southwest 8th Street and West Flagler Street not only prevent residents from having to go outside the neighborhood, but also makes it easy to live in the area without relying on a car. Furthermore, the area is less than a mile away from downtown Miami (the transportation hub of the city), and there are multiple bus routes that take passengers to the nearby train stations and the airport. Hence, all of this access to transportation is ideal for senior residents in particular that no longer wish to drive, but also for newly arrived immigrants that either cannot afford to own a car or simply lack the documentation to drive one legally.

This centrality also goes hand in hand with the fact that Little Havana is in the vicinity of higher income areas and these are the workplace for many immigrants that live in the neighborhood. For instance, areas like Brickell, Coconut Grove, Key Biscayne, and Miami Beach, are communities with lots of condominiums, extravagant homes, and hotels that provide the opportunity for many of these immigrants to work as maids, gardeners, and construction workers. Therefore, not only is the workplace close to home but it is easily accessible via public transportation.

From the perspective of perceived neighborhood boundaries, given the boundaries drawn by survey participants from inside the study area, this study suggests that the core of Little Havana is very legible. This would be encompassed by West Flagler Street on the north, Southwest 8th Street on the south, Southwest 27th Avenue on the west, and Southwest 4th Avenue on the east. It was very interesting to note how the area with the most overlaps many times was limited by these four roads. After all, the landscape changes beyond these points. For instance, Southwest 8th Street is the division between the two historic neighborhoods of Shenandoah (single family residential neighborhood located south of Southwest 8th Street) and Riverside (an area with multi-family apartment buildings located north of Southwest 8th Street-the current location of the core of Little Havana). West Flagler Street divides the city north and south, which has big implications since Little Havana is referred to by many local residents as the 'sagues'-the Spanish name for southwest. Southwest 4th Avenue is where the overpass of Interstate 95 is located and the point from which the downtown buildings and the condominiums in the Brickell area are more noticeable. Finally, Southwest 27th Avenue is where wider streets with fewer pedestrians are found and where Southwest 8th Street and West Flagler Street become wider with two way traffic.

Last, from the perspective of 'imageability' described by Lynch (9), Little Havana has a unique character and structural arrangement that was clearly evoked in the variety of comments made by the survey respondents. Among these were especially the comments related to the cafeterias on the corner of the streets, lots of pedestrian activity, loud music, small businesses, men whistling and honking at girls, parties, and Calle Ocho. All these comments not only give Little Havana a unique identity but they are also part of the imagery that people carry with them and tap into every time they think of this neighborhood.

This study is limited mainly by its sample size. One hundred and fifty-three survey participants do not represent a sample big enough to be able to make inferences about the population of Little Havana. With a 95% confidence level, a 4% margin of error, and a total population of 161,951 people, the required sample size was approximately 600 residents. Furthermore, despite having residents that lived inside and outside the study area, this study is not able to fairly compare both groups due to the disproportion in ages found among the outside group.

Therefore, a larger sample ought to be considered if more generalizations are going to be made about the residents of Little Havana. However, despite the limitation presented by the sample size of the study, the data reflected trends that merit further exploration. For instance, future research should look into testing whether outsiders have a more negative perspective on Little Havana than the actual residents of the area. Former residents of the neighborhood should be included in the study, not only because they can provide a description of the situation of the neighborhood during the time they were there, but also because many of these former residents still maintain some level of attachment with the area. For many previous residents, this is the place where they got married, their kids went to school, or their grandparents lived. For many immigrants Little Havana is the place where they started a new life and began the long process of acculturation. Furthermore, a spatial component should be added to this investigation to test whether some of these comments obtained in this study are distance dependent.

In a similar manner, future research should expand the Cuban association that survey participants from inside the study area made with Little Havana to tourist and outsiders, and see if these perceptions are related to the places they visited? For example, places with a Cuban theme, such as Versailles, La Carreta, the Cuban Memorial, and many Cuban associated stores are located along Southwest 8th Street, and tours of the neighborhood take place along Southwest 8th Street, especially in the Latin Quarter. Therefore, there is the possibility that tourist and outsiders associate the neighborhood more with Cuban culture than with a more mixed Latin American culture, mainly because of the places they visited.

Finally, related to neighborhood change, future research should ask why other areas of Little Havana have not been targeted for redevelopment. Or why haven't Craftsman Bungalow homes prevalent in Little Havana been the target of historic preservation in Miami? From the perspective of neighborhood change, the possible impact of three major events should be monitored and analyzed: 1) the impact of the newly built Marlins stadium on the grounds of the former Orange Bowl 2) the impact of numerous empty parcels of land throughout Little Havana waiting to be developed and 3) the impact that river communities like Little Havana will see and experience change with the planned redevelopment of the Miami River corridor.

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