Introduction

Cities of the world are constantly changing and part of this change takes place at the neighborhood level. The aging of physical structures, the aging of the residents, and the movement of people in and out of the neighborhood are the components that give neighborhoods a life cycle (Knox, 2005). This paper explores neighborhood change in a region of the city of Miami that is known as Little Havana. See Map 1. The name ‘Little Havana’ does not appropriately describe the changes that have taken place in the neighborhood; in fact, it only portrays one facet of the total change. Nonetheless, the name has remained attached to the area and has hidden its rich history and dynamism while sending the false impression of Little Havana as a monoculture neighborhood. Hence, it is the overall objective of this paper to show that there is more to Little Havana than its stereotypical name suggests. Thus, this paper will raise the question “How has Little Havana changed?” and it will be explored by looking at one of the most influencing factors of neighborhood change: its people (Knox, 2005).

Methodology

This study will examine the population of Little Havana from 1970 to 2000 by analyzing census data from each decade. The census data acquired were at the tract level, and for this reason, the study only goes back to 1970 as census data at the tract level for previous census periods were not available. Because some of the census tracts were divided into smaller tracts from one census to the other, the data were added from the divided tracts to keep the 1970 boundaries. This allowed the comparison of changes in the region without the change in boundaries having an effect on the results (Campbell, 2001). Categories examined include general population, origin of people, housing tenure,
and median household income. The general population data were used to calculate population density by dividing the total population of the neighborhood by its total area. This procedure was done for all four decades: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000. The boundaries used to determine the limits of Little Havana were those used by South Florida Historian, Paul George (2006): “Little Havana limits to the South with US1 (United States Highway 1), to the North and the East with the Miami River, and to the West with 37th Avenue”.

The origin of people data were used to find ethnic clusters among the total population of Hispanics in Little Havana. This was done by dividing the total population of each ethnic group by the total Hispanic
population times 100 to convert it to percentages. Then, the percentages from the most recent decade were subtracted from the previous decade in order to figure out the percent change. In other words, the ‘percent change’ mentioned in this paper does not refer to percent increase or percent decrease of the raw numbers; what we mean by ‘percent change’ is the change in ratios that took place between one specific group and total Hispanics. The purpose for doing this is to map the actual representation of one specific ethnic group among the total Hispanic population. The specific ethnic groups examined in this study were the ones that had the highest population in Little Havana: Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans. This procedure was done for the Cuban origin population for all four decades, while the population of Nicaraguan, and Honduran origins were only analyzed back to 1990 as previous census periods do not provide data for the population of these ethnic groups. The Jenks natural breaks approach (Ormsby et. Al, 2004) was used to create the classification classes in the legends of all maps. Once the data were mapped, and areas with the highest concentration from the three ethnic groups were found, pictures of the neighborhood were taken in order to see if there was any evidence that supported what the data was revealing. Restaurants, flags, signs, and monuments were considered as supporting evidence.

The housing tenure data and the median household income data were used to examine the trend of these two factors from 1970 to 2000. The median household income data were adjusted to 1999 dollars in order to account for inflation. This was done by using the CPI Inflation calculator from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. See appendix A to get detailed information on the variables acquired from each census, and appendix B to get a list of the census tracts from each census.

Analysis


The neighborhood of Little Havana encompasses an area of 10.81 square miles given the boundaries described by George (2006). By the census of 1970, Little Havana had a total population of 128,201 persons and an approximate density of 11,860 people per square mile.
From 1970 to 1980 the total population of Little Havana increased by 7989 persons, bringing the new total population to 136,190; a 6.23% increase. Consequently, the population density also increased from 11,860 to 12,596 peoples per square mile. From 1980 to 1990 the total population of Little Havana increased by 9097 persons to a new total of 145,296; a 6.68% increase while the population density also increased to 13,440 people per square mile. By the 2000 census, the population of Little Havana increased by 3200 peoples to reach a new grand total of 148,487 persons which is equal to a 2.2% increase and a new population density of 13,736 people per square mile. However, looking at this constant increase of total population in more detail we found that from 1970 to 1980 the Hispanic population of Little Havana grew 39.4% while the Non-Hispanic population decreased 50.27%. From 1980 to 1990 the Hispanic population again increased and the Non-Hispanic population decreased; nevertheless, this time the percent changes were more moderate: 15.22% and -34.08%, respectively. Finally, unlike the previous two decades that experienced decrease in the Non-Hispanic population, from 1990 to 2000 this same group increased slightly 1.91%, while the Hispanic population also increased slightly 4.56%.


The overall population in Little Havana increased steadily from 128,201 to 148,487, yet, average median household income and the foreign-born population does not show the same trend. The average median household income shows the opposite trend; it decreases almost steadily, with exception in 1990, from $35,550 to $24,298. From 1970 to 1980 average median household income saw the biggest drop in the 30 year period ($8388). Although in 1990 the average median household income increased slightly to $28,317 from $27,162; by the year 2000, the average median household income was at the all time low ($24,298).

Two possible influencing factors for the opposite trend of increasing population and decreasing income could be the amount of foreign born population entering Little Havana as well as the countries
Source: Author

of origin. From 1970 to 1979 a total of 32,282 persons that were born outside of the United States entered Little Havana. During this same period we see the biggest drop in average median household income and the biggest positive increment in total population. From 1980 to 1989 we still see foreign born population entering Little Havana, but this time the neighborhood only saw a total influx of 12,194 peoples; 20,088 less than the previous decade. Throughout the same period, the average median household income grew by $1,155. From 1990 to 2000, foreign born population was on the rise by a total of 26,190 peoples. During this time period the average median household income fell again by $4,069. Whether the foreign born population was the cause to the drop off in average median household income cannot be determined given the data used in this study, and we can only speculate. What is true though is the opposite relationship that exists between these two factors: as foreign born population increased in Little Havana, average median household income decreased.
Housing Tenure: 1970-2000

One important influencing factor of neighborhood change is housing tenure (Knox, 2005). It is relevant because it gives us an idea of where in the life cycle the neighborhood is positioned (K Knox, 2005). In other words, it gives us a sense of whether there is an increase or decrease in investment in the neighborhood by looking at the change in owner occupied and renter occupied housing units (Knox, 2005). Graph 3 shows that the number of owner occupied housing units remained stable from 1970 to 2000, while the number of renter occupied housing units kept increasing. In other words, between 1970 and 2000 the number of renter occupied housing units in Little Havana increased approximately 34.4% and the number of owner occupied housing units decreased approximately 2.02%. On the other hand, when compared to the change in renter and owner occupied housing units for Miami Dade county between 1990 and 2000 (summary report in 1970 was reported at the city level, and at the metropolitan level in 1980, and not at the county level) the number of owner occupied housing units increased by 19.5%, while the number of renter occupied housing units also increased by 3.5%.
The U.S. Census (1980) defines Hispanic Origin as follows:

Persons of Hispanic origin…are determined on the basis of [a] question that asked for self-identification of the person's origin or descent. Respondents are asked to select their origin (Or the origin of some other household member) from a "flash card" listing ethnic origins. Persons of Hispanic origin, in particular, are those who indicated that their origin was Mexican-American, Chicano, Mexican, Mexicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Hispanic.

In 1970 the population of Hispanic origin in Little Havana was 80,793 or approximately 63% of the total population. Among the Hispanic Origin population, those of Cuban origin- 75,401 - accounted for 93.3% of the Hispanic population. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans represented 0.4% and 1.5%, respectively, of Hispanics. Those categorized as other Hispanic origin accounted for 4.8% of the total Hispanic population. As noted in Table 1, due to the fact that the U.S.
Table 1: Little Havana’s Hispanic Population by Country of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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Source: Author. These figures come from sample data

Census only provided these four categories in 1970 and 1980 (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Hispanics), detailed data from other Hispanic origins is not available. In 1980 the total Hispanic origin
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population of Little Havana was 112,616 or approximately 82.7% of the total population. Among the Hispanic origin population, those who were of Cuban origin accounted for 84.8% of Hispanics; Mexicans and Puerto Ricans accounted for 0.4% and 2.4% of Hispanics, respectively. In 1990 the total Hispanic origin population of Little Havana represented 89.3% of the total population. Among Hispanics, 86,247 or 66.4% were of Cuban origin, while Nicaraguans became the second largest group with a population of 18,660 or approximately 14.3% of the Hispanic origin population. Hondurans ranked third among Hispanics with a population of 4,073 or 3.1%. Finally, in 2000 total Hispanic population in Little Havana was 132,239 approximately 89.1% of the total population. Cuban origin accounted for 55.2% of Hispanics, Nicaraguans still ranked second with approximately 10% of Hispanics in Little Havana, while Hondurans increased in numbers to 6,489 or approximately 4.9% of the total Hispanic origin population. By the same token, the Hispanic population in Miami Dade County in 1990 was 953,407 and by the 2000 census it had increased 35.5% to a new grand total of 1,291,737 persons.

Distribution of Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans

Another aspect examined with regard to the populations of Hispanic origin in Little Havana was their spatial distribution. The purpose for doing this is to find whether there is some clustering from any ethnic group, and to see if there is any shift in their concentration areas. Due to the lack of data, Hispanics of Cuban origin are the only ones to be examined from 1970 to 2000, while Nicaraguans and Hondurans, being the two highest ranking ethnic groups after Cubans, were examined from 1990 to 2000. The Cuban origin population data in 1970 comes from sample data, while data from later decades-1980, 1990, and 2000- come from 100% data. Nicaraguan and Honduran data for the 1990 census comes from sample data (1 in 6 sample) the 2000 data for both ethnic groups however, is 100% data.
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**Cuban Origin**

Map 2 depicts the 1970 population that is of Cuban origin in Little Havana. As noted, Cubans in all census tracts account at least for 79% of Hispanics. Their highest concentration was found in the interception of Flagler Street and 12\textsuperscript{th} Avenue—the heart of Little Havana—and on census tracts 6301 and 6400 that are bordering 8\textsuperscript{th} Street, where they account for 95% to 97% of Hispanics. Also, although they clearly dominate in all census tracts, their dominance is stronger north of 8\textsuperscript{th} Street. However, by 1980 the highest concentration of Cubans began to leave the heart of Little Havana and shifted slightly to the west of 17\textsuperscript{th} Avenue. Map 3 shows tracts 5401, 5000, 5501, 5502, and 6400 being the new tracts with the highest concentration of Cubans accounting for 89% to 90% of the total Hispanic population in that area. Meanwhile, map 4 shows the percent change of Cubans from 1970 to 1980. As noted, all census tracts in Little Havana decreased in the percentage of Cubans despite the fact that the overall population of Cubans increased from 75,401 to 95,522; an increment of 20,121 Cubans. Interestingly, the area that had the highest concentration of Cubans in

Map 2

Source: Author

Map 3

Source: Author
1970—tracts 5200, and 5300—was the same area that saw the second biggest drop in percentage of Cubans by 1980; a -23% to -11% decrease. By 1990 the area with the highest concentration of Cubans shifted once again to the west. The highest concentration of Cubans was found in the western boundary of Little Havana and the lowest concentration in the east; see map 5. The second highest percentage of Cubans among Hispanics was located in the southwestern area of the neighborhood. Map 6 depicts the percent change in Cuban origin from 1980 to 1990, and as noted, all census tracts in Little Havana experienced a decrease in the number of Cubans. Yet, the census tracts with highest concentrations of Cubans are the same tracts that experienced the lowest percent change.

By the 2000 census, the highest concentration of Cubans could still be found in the western boundary of Little Havana and the lowest concentration in the east; the opposite pattern from 1970. See map 7 and refer to map 2 to compare the trends. As noted in map 8, the whole neighborhood saw a negative percent change in the Cuban origin population, with the area known as the “heart” of Little Havana—12th

Map 4

Source: Author

Map 5

Source: Author
Avenue and West Flagler Street – experiencing for a third consecutive time the biggest negative percent change of the whole neighborhood. In summary, the Cuban population of Little Havana was at the highest in 1980 and by the census of 2000 Cubans had similar population numbers to the 1970 census; 75,401 and 73,012, respectively. Yet, their numbers among Hispanics decreased constantly from 1970 to 2000, and their highest concentration area shifted from eastern and northern census tracts to those in the west and south. Nonetheless, Little Havana represents a venue for political protests and celebrations to the
Figure 1: SW 8th Street (Calle Ocho) & 13th Avenue

Figure 2: SW 1st Street & 16th Avenue

Figure 3: SW 8th Street & 13th Avenue

Figure 4: SW 1st Street & 16th Avenue

Figure 5: SW 1st Street & 14th Avenue

Source: All photos taken by author
Cordoba and Carrillo

Cuban exile community as well as the place where typical elements of Cuban culture and everyday life can be found. Cafeterias, monuments, street names, cigar factories, and botanicas are a few examples of these elements adorning the streets of Little Havana (see figure 1 – 5).

Nicaraguan Origin

In 1990 the Nicaraguan origin population accounted for 14.3% of the total Hispanic population; ranking as the Hispanic group with the second highest population. As noted in map 9, their highest concentration was found in the heart of Little Havana; the former highest concentration area of the Cuban origin population. Also, their numbers are very weak south of 8th Street; where they accounted for less than 15% of the total Hispanic population. Also, note that the tracts where the Cuban population had its highest percentage, Nicaraguans had their lowest: tracts 5000, 5501, 5502, and 6301. Conversely, where Nicaraguans had their highest concentration, Cubans had their lowest: tracts 5200, and 3602.

By the year 2000, the Nicaraguan origin population only represented 10% of the total Hispanic population of Little Havana. In a similar manner, during
the same time period the Nicaraguan population in Miami Dade County decreased by 4987 persons, which is equivalent to a 6.72% decrease. Furthermore, although their numbers were lower than the previous decade, their concentration area remained the same. See map 10. Nonetheless, they still represented a low percentage of the Hispanic population south of 8th Street. Also, noted in map 11, the Nicaraguan population experienced a -15% to -13% change in their 1990 high concentration area: tracts 3602, and 5202, while tracts along the northwestern boundary of Little Havana saw a slight increase in the concentration of Nicaraguans. Finally, even though they only represented 14.3% of the population in 1990 and 10% in 2000, their fritangas- Nicaraguan restaurant – adorn almost every major avenue of Little Havana (see figures 6 – 9).

Map 11

Source: Author

Figure 6: 15th Avenue & SW 1st Street

Figure 7: 13th Avenue & NW 1st Street

Source: Photos taken by author
Honduran Origin

Hondurans represent the Hispanic group with the third highest population in Little Havana in 1990 and 2000. They accounted for 3.1% of the total Hispanic population in 1990, while in 2000 they accounted for 4.9%. As can be seen in map 12, they share almost an identical high concentration area with the Nicaraguans; in tracts 5202, 3602, and 6600, they account for 5% to 7% of the total Hispanic population. Also, like the Nicaraguans, they have very weak numbers south of 8th Street; yet, unlike Nicaraguans who in 1990 had their highest percentage in the eastern portion of the neighborhood—tracts 3602, and 5200—Hondurans highest and 2nd highest percentages spread across Little Havana from east to west along census tracts located north of 8th Street. Unlike Nicaraguans and Cubans though, by the year 2000 they increased their percentage.
among Hispanics. In fact, throughout the whole neighborhood of Little Havana there was not a single census tract with a negative percent change of Hondurans. See map 14. However, like Nicaraguans, the census tracts with their highest percentages were still located in the eastern section of the neighborhood which was the same area where Cubans had their lowest percentage in the 2000 census; see map 13. In addition, the census tracts along the northern boundary of Little Havana were the tracts that experienced the biggest increment in percentage of Hondurans.

Finally, by the 2000 census the total population of Hondurans in Little Havana increased by 59.3%, while Miami Dade County saw a 48.2% increase of the Honduran population. Evidences of their presence in Little Havana are Honduran restaurants, stores, and murals (see figures 10 – 13).
Discussion

The population of Little Havana increased from 1970 to 2000 together with its population density. By the same token, the number of renter occupied housing units increased constantly, while the number of owner occupied housing units remained stable through the 30 year period. On the other hand, the average median household income of Little Havana and the amount of foreign born population display an opposing trend during the same period. As the amount of foreign born population increased, the average median household income decreased,
and vice versa; whether one causes the other to go up or down cannot be determined.

Furthermore, after having examined the Hispanic origin population of Little Havana, there are two clear patterns that stand out. One of them is the positive increment of the Hispanic origin population: in 1970 they accounted for 63% of the total population, 82.7% in 1980, 89.3% in 1990, and 89.1% in 2000. The second pattern is the constant decrease of the Cuban origin population. In 1970, they accounted for 93.3% of Hispanics, 84.8% in 1980, 66.4% in 1990, and 55.2% in 2000. Finally, the mapping of Cubans among the total Hispanic population of Little Havana, and the mapping of Nicaraguans and Hondurans among the total Hispanic population reveal three patterns. One is the westward movement of the Cuban origin population from the heart of Little Havana. As a consequence, a void was left in the area, which brings us to the second pattern. This void was apparently filled by the Nicaraguans and the Hondurans as was noted in the areas where Cubans experienced their biggest negative percent change, Nicaraguans and Hondurans had their highest concentration. The third pattern is the obvious sharing, among Nicaraguans and Hondurans, of the area where they both have their highest concentration – the heart of Little Havana – while Cubans concentrate more in the western boundary of Little Havana.

Conclusion

So how has Little Havana changed? It is obvious after this examination of the population of Little Havana, that the 1970 Little Havana resembled the characteristics that its stereotypical name suggests. During the 30 year period, Little Havana saw the percentage of Cubans cut almost in half, the take over of the heart of the neighborhood by Nicaraguans and Hondurans, and the arrival of new Hispanics groups from every country of Latin America. Unfortunately, the fall of the average median household income seems to suggest that the population now inhabiting the neighborhood is poorer. Yet, as the data point out, the neighborhood is in constant change; people move, different ethnic groups arrive, congregate in different areas, and finally move out while leaving their mark on the landscape with restaurants, stores, and murals. So what can we conclude? We can say that Little Havana is in constant
flux, that because of this constant flux, at some point in time, this neighborhood passed from being Shenandoah and Riverside to being Little Havana. Hence, because of its ever changing nature, at some point in time, this neighborhood will pass from being Little Havana to something new.

Appendix A: Census Variables used from each census:

1970 Census

P1- General Characteristics of Population (100% data)
   Total Population
P2- Social Characteristics of Population (Sample data)
   Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, other Hispanic,
P4- Financial Information (Sample data)
   Average median household income
H1- Housing Tenure (100% data)
   Owner occupied housing units, Renter occupied housing units

1980 Census

P1- General Characteristics of Population (100% data)
   Total Population
P7- Race and Spanish Origin (100% data)
   Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, other Hispanic,
P11- Income and Poverty Status (Sample data)
   Average median household income
H11- Occupancy, utilization, and financial characteristics of housing units (100% data)
   Owner occupied housing units, Renter occupied housing units
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1990 Census

Summary Tape File 1 (100% data)
  P1- Persons
    Total Population
  P9- Hispanic origin
    Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, other Hispanic
  H3- Tenure
    Owner occupied housing units, renter occupied housing units

Summary Tape File 3 (Sample data)
  P107A- Median family income in 1989 dollars
    Average median household income
  P11- Hispanic origin
    Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, other Central American Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, other South American

2000 Census

Summary File 1 (100% data)
  P1- Total Population
    Total Population
  H4- Tenure
    Owner occupied housing units, Renter occupied housing units
  PCT11- Hispanic or Latino by specific origin
    Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, other Central American Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, other South American, other Hispanic origin
Cordoba and Carrillo

Summary File 3 (Sample data)

P22- Year of entry for the foreign born population
    1995 to March 2000

P53- Median household income in 1999 dollars
    Average median household income

Appendix B: Little Havana Census Tract Boundary Changes from 1970 to 2000

Census tract splits indicated by various colors.
Appendix C: Little Havana’s Boundaries as of 2006

Neighborhood boundaries were gathered from the City of Miami NET website; these boundaries are as of April 2006.
References


