

I. INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this study was an article by Avery M. Guest¹. which brought to light the two diverse theories that the distribution of population is a result of either

fierce economic competition for location near the Central Business District (CBD), or is seen as a product of the development of the metropolis during different transportation epochs.

With this article in mind and my concern over the increasing commercial and office space development on Coral Way and South West 3 Avenue, I began to question the development of this area. Although not staying in the strict confines of Guest's article, I felt that one of these premises was the reason for greater development of the "Study Area".

The goal of this study of Coral Way and its extension of Brickell Avenue is to ascertain what factors permitted and or encouraged this area to increase the growth of office space locations.

The limits of the study are: Coral Way, the area east of 27 Avenue to 12 Avenue, and then along South West 3 Avenue north thru Brickell Avenue to the Miami River.

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Avery M. Guest, "Urban Growth and Population Densities," Demography X, 1973, pp. 53 - 58.

What is termed the STUDY AREA is geographically defined as that part of Incorporated City of Miami bordered on the north by S.W. 8 Street; on the west by S.W. 27 Avenue; on the south by U.S. 1; and, on the east by Biscayne Bay. This area is defined by the Bureau of the Census as Census Tract Numbers: 64., 65., 66., 67.01, 67.02, and 69.

There are two areas closely related to the Study Area that are not being included in the study because of their special nature. First, is the area bordering South West 8 Street; this area is the heart of the Latin community or "Little Havana". The increased commercial development along South West 8 Street is, I feel, due primarily to the Latin population of the area. Since the beginning of the Cuban influx, they have settled in this area, and at present the population is predominantly Latin. The commercial enterprises along S.W. Eight Street are local commercial. The further west along S.W. 8 Street the more general is the type of commercial enterprise. South West 8 Street is presently zoned C-4 (General Commercial).

The second area being eliminated from the study is

Coconut Grove. Coconut Grove has recently experienced

growth in apartments, condominiums and office space. This

increased growth is attributed largely to the quaint atmosphere

and off-beat character of the community.

Additionally, I have halted the western boundary of Coral Way at 27 Avenue, as it was felt that west of 27 Avenue along Coral Way is more commercially developed due to the effect of "Miracle Mile" and major thoroughfares that border and lead into the area. West of 27 Avenue is a much older developed part of Coral Way.

CITY OF MIAMI

The City of Miami, incorporated in 1896, is 34 square miles with a 1970 Census population of 334,859. It is the heart of Metropolitan Dade County, which has only recently taken second place to Broward County as the fastest growing area in South East Florida and in all of Florida. The Central Business District is located in the City of Miami and has as its borders: NW/NE 7 Street south to the Miami River, and east of the Forida East Coast railroad property to Biscayne Bay.

The City of Miami is one of 27 municipalities in Dade County. Along with the other municipalities it co-exists with Metropolitan Dade County, one of the few metropolitan governments. The population of the City of Miami has gone from 75% of the population living in incorporated City of Miami in 1930,

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to less than 30% of Metropolitan Dade County's population residing in the City of Miami in 1960.2.

METROPOLITAN MIAMI

Presently the 27 ranking metropolitan area in the United States; Dade County has grown from a 1960 population of 935,000 to a 1970 population of 1, 247,000. During this same period of time Dade County's developed land has grown 198 from 127,000 acres in 1960, to 158,000 acres. Dade County is a tri-ethnic community with minority populations of 13.6% Latin population and 14.5% black population.

Miami, situated as it is, has become the cross-roads of the Americas. Miami International Airport is the most important airport for passenger and freight between North and South America.

Economic characteristics indicate a variety of types:
tourism, construction, manufacturing, air transport, delivery
and service industries, and agriculture.

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Department of Housing and Urban Development, Psycho-Socio Dynamics in Miami, 1969, Florida, p. 4.

The table below indicates the importance of these employment categories to Miami's economy.

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT3.

Manufacturing	15.5%
Construction	5.9
Transportation	11.1
Distributive trades	26.7
Finance, Insurance	
Real Estate	6.6
Services	21.2
Government	13.0

TABLE 1

Occupationally, in 1970 Professionals and Managers accounted for 22.6% of the total labor force, 115,451 persons; and, ranking second is clerical, 19.9% of the total labor force, 102,015 persons. The total labor force is 546,855.

Dade County has four major commercial areas of importance:

the CBD of Downtown Miami with 14,000,000 square feet,
Miami Beach - Lincoln Road Mall with 1,000,000 square feet,
Coral Gables - Miracle Mile with 1,000,000 square feet, and
Hialeah - Palm Avenue to Okeechobee Road with 1,000,000
square feet.

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The Study Area is located between the Miami CBD and the Coral Gables commercial area. Other smaller pockets of commercial

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^{3.} Ibid., p. 56. is clerical.

areas are scattered along the major thoroughfares and expressways. My concern is the commercial and office space development that has taken place between the Miami CBD and the Coral Gables commercial area.

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II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY AREA

The specific area of study has been broken down into three sections: Coral Way from S.W. 12 - 27 Avenue; South West 3 Avenue from 12 Avenue to 15 Road; and, Brickell Avenue, S.E. 15 Road north to the Miami River and CBD border.

CORAL WAY

South West 22 Street or as it is better known, Coral Way has a longer history of commercial development than do the other two areas. This approximate one and one/half mile strip shows its history in the numerous community commercial businesses along both sides of Coral Way. The age of these business fronts is apparent and very few recent community commercial enterprises have constructed buildings along the corridor.

THIRD AVENUE

South West 3 Avenue is an extension of Coral Way and is often mistakenly referred to as Coral Way. A mile and a quarter in length it has, until recently, been predominantly residential, a mixture of single family dwellings and small apartment buildings.

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There are some commercial enterprises located near S.W. 15

Road as well as a church, synagogue and a community hall.

This strip is presently zoned R-C and is seeing a number of medium density apartment buildings and office space condominiums being constructed as well as a few recently completed.

BRICKELL AVENUE

Brickell Avenue, U.S. Highway 1, from the Rickenbacker
Causeway north to 15 Road has recently experienced heavy
High Density Multiple Dwelling growth due to the apparent
fact that it is one of the most scenic undeveloped areas
on Biscayne Bay. Already most of this area is crowded with
condominiums. The remainder of the undeveloped land is
presently under construction with a condominium and a Planned
Area Development.

The area north of 15 Road to the Miami River has experienced phenomenal growth in luxury office space in addition to the Sheraton Four Ambassadors complex. It is my contention that this area's development is due to the CBD's jump across the Miami River to the accessible and undeveloped land that lay south of it.

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III. DEMOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY AREA

POPULATION

In 1960 this area had a population of 31,896. In a period of ten years it grew 8876 (28% growth) to a 1970 population of 40,772. During this same period Metropolitan Dade County experienced a 36% growth rate and the City of Miami experienced a 15% growth rate. Census tracts 64. & 66. which fall just south of the heart of the Latin area, South West 8 Street, grew 36% and 35% respectively. The third area of high growth was Census tract 67.01 & 67.02. Together their growth rate was 32%; this is due to construction of apartments and condiminiums along Biscayne Bay. The least amount of growth was in Census tract 65. & 69. These two areas, already fully developed and predominently one family dwellings, grew at a rate of 15% each.

In Census tract 64. & 66., the heart of the Latin community, the median age is 35-45. In the remainder of the tracts the median age is 45-55, based on the 1970 Census.

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HOUSING

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From 1960 to 1970 the percentage of housing grew at a rate of 10%, 14391 units to 15861 units. The greatest growth was

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experienced in number 67., an increase of 21%, i.e., 2999 units to 3619 units. During this same period Dade County's housing growth grew at a rate of 30%. Tract numbers 64. & 66. had a net change of 8% and 13% respectively.

General residential stability appears to have remained relatively constant. In the 1970 Census 14,424 people, or 45%, lived in the same house 5 years prior; and, in the 1960 Census 14,092 people, or 35%, lived in the same house five years prior.

INCOME

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The median income for the area has improved. In 1960 all of the Census tracts reported a median income higher than the overall median income for the City of Miami, but all less than the median income for Dade County. In 1970, again all were higher than the median income for Miami, with three higher than the median income for Dade County. Tracts 64. and 66. were substanstially lower than the other three, pointing out that 64. and 66. are in the heart of the Latin community. Tract number 67.01 indicated a median income of \$11,730. for 1970 (see Appendix B).

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ZONING

At the present time the Study Area is zoned primarily R-1, One Family Dwelling; the other predominant zones are in order of magnitude: R-2, Two Family Dwelling; R-4, Medium Density Multi Dwelling; and, R-5, High Density Multi Dwelling.

Along the Brickell Avenue South area it is zoned High Density Multi Dwelling One side of Brickell Avenue, and on the other side it is One Family Dwelling. North on Brickell Avenue it is zoned Residential - Office and Residential - Office - Commercial.

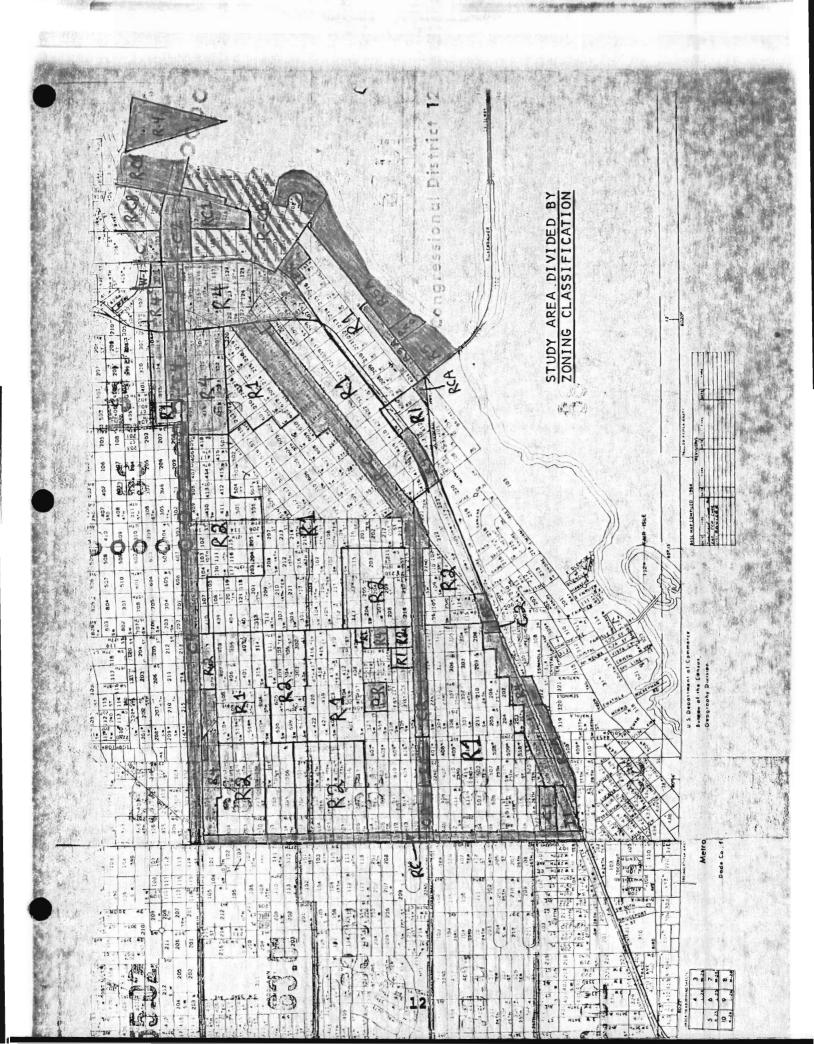
South West 3 Avenue is zoned Residential - Office and is enclosed by One Family Dwelling.

Coral Way is primarily Community Commercial and it is enclosed by a mixture of One Family Dwelling and Two Family Dwelling.

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TRANSPORTATION

The transportation map (following page) indicates the lattice network of arteries, express streets, and the expressway that covers the area. Major routes carrying traffic east-west are: S.W. 8 Street, 3 Avenue & adjoining 22 Street, U.S. 1, and Brickell Avenue. North-south is adequately covered by S.W. 27 Avenue and Interstate 95; of lesser contribution is S.W. 12, 17 & 22 Avenues.

Unfortunately this network is working above its capacity.

Coral Way from S.W. 12 Avenue to 37 Avenue is 20% above capacity. The length of 3 Avenue is working 9% above capacity; and: Brickell Avenue 23% to 35% at the Miami River, U.S. 1 up to I-95 is 88% above capacity, and I-95 at 23% above capacity.

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Metropolitan Miami has attempted to remedy this situation with improved regular and express bus service, especially down the U.S. 1 corridor to and from Downtown Miami. MUATS, Miami Urban Area Transportation Study, has proposed to skirt the edge of the Study Area by travelling S.W. 37 Avenue & connecting to a Flagler Street line. Parts of the Study Area are indicated to

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Dade County, FL. Office of the County Manager, Profile of Metropolitan Dade County: Conditions Needs, (Miami, Dade County, 1972), pp. 56-63.

ongressional District 12 EXPRESS STREET MAJOR ARTERY EXPRESEWAY have a "near great" and "great need" Mass Transit Demand; completion of the proposed MUATS should alleviate this need, but will not alleviate inner area traffic generation.

A study of the average peak and off-hour trips indicates that the intersection of S.W. 27 Avenue & 22 Street (Coral Way) is 10 minutes from Downtown Miami, 32 minutes from both Homestead and North Miami; this quite probably has a bearing on the location of office space along this corridor.

OCCUPATIONS

As is indicated in Appendix D, Employment by Occupation, the highest percentage of the labor force in this area is employed in the clerical field (23%) compared with Dade County's 19.9%. Occupationally the Study Area does not differ significantly from Dade County. The largest categories are: with comparable Dade County percentage and rank -

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Clerical	1.		19.98	2.
Managers, combined20%				1.
Operatives	3.		14.0%	3.
Service Workers12%	4.		13.2%	5.

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ENVIRONMENT

The predominently Latin area has a residential density of 20.0 to 39.9 people per acre; the exclusive Brickell Avenue has the highest density, that being 40 plus people per residential acre; and, the remainder of the Study Area has 10.0 to 19.9 people per acre. Additionally, Brickell Avenue has the highest Land Use Conflicts and Coral Way is ranked below that. The remainder of the area is on an average with Dade County.

Part of the portion of "Little Havana" that extends into the area is classified as a poverty area, having 15. to 29.9 percent of the population below the poverty level. The "Little Havana" area also has a concentration of 15% of the area being Public and Publicly Subsidized housing, and ironically the exclusive Brickell Avenue has a concentration of 16%. This 16% is exclusively the Classroom Teachers Association Towers at 1809 Brickell Avenue.

Dade County has targeted the "Little Havana" area as a Priority Area and is attempting improvement in this and the other 13 areas through the Neighborhood Development Program (NDP) and Urban Renewal.

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IV. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A superficial investigation of the libraries of the Planning and Zoning Board & Planning Department of the City of Miami as well as Dade County's Planning Department revealed a dearth of historical data on Miami and Dade County. What little was found was under lock and key in the University of Miami library. Following are two of the more important and relevant maps included in the Miami Today & Tomorrow ... report published by the City of Miami Planning Board in 1945.

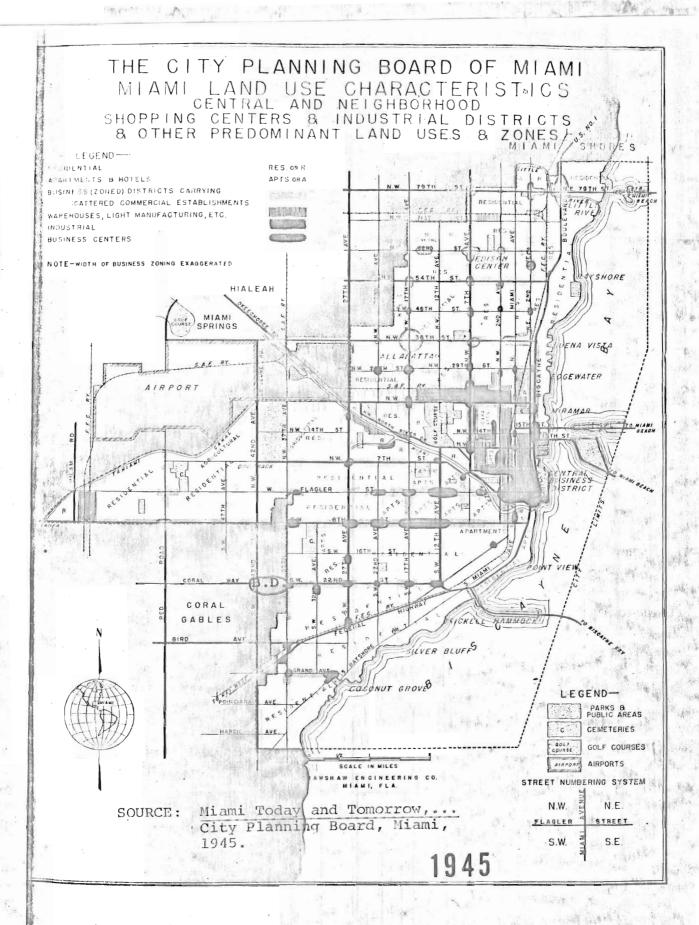
The first map, "The City Planning Board of Miami - Miami Land Use Characteristics", indicates that as early as 1945 Miami was aware of the commercial growth along S.W. 22 Street from S.W. 12 Avenue to 37 Avenue. As well, we can see that they noted the "Miracle Mile" CBD of Coral Gables. A number of things can be inferred from this map. As no action was mentioned or found since, it appears that the City officials condoned if not pushed growth on the Coral Way area.

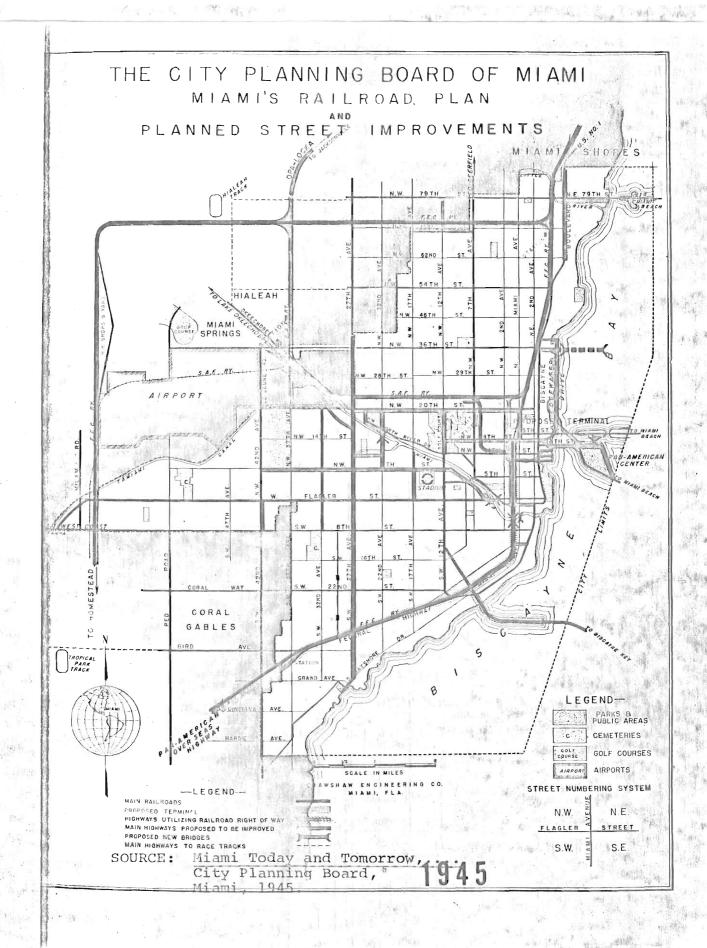
Although the second map appears to pertain more to the railroad plan for Miami, it indicates the same primary roads as are in existence today. The only improvement made since this 1945 map is the addition of I-95 to the

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Study Area. Twenty-nine years after this map S.W. 27 Avenue is still "proposed to be improved". 5.

Dade County & Florida D.O.T., Proposed Transportation Master Plan, MUATS, Map, 1969.





V. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY AREA

Because of the differences found in the development of the Study Area, the area has been broken down into three sections:

- A. Coral Way
- B. South West 3 Avenue
- C. Brickell Avenue (North)

A summary of each will end the section.

A. CORAL WAY

Circa 1955 the Miami Comprehensive Plan and Generalized Plan indicated that Coral Way was a "general (retail) business area". Proposed action for this area stated that actions were needed for "maintenance of a strict zoning policy along Coral Way to encourage continued construction of high quality office buildings along this thoroughfare". A caution was noted, that being, strict control over offstreet parking to insure no intrusion of commercial parking into the residential area.

In 1964 the City Commission requested a study of Coral Way from S.W. 12 to 37 Avenue by the Planning Department. On June 25, 1965 Mr. D. Hinds, Director of Planning reported that:

Coral Way is a major arterial boulevard with a median of grass and ficus trees. This area is a mixture of commercial and office space with residential apartments included. The grass & ficus tree median has made it possible for the "residential and commercial" to co-exist compatibly.

Recommendations for a change in zoning are that there be no change in zoning for the "R-C" zone; and, the following changes for C-2:

From C-2 to R-C

- a. South side of Coral Way, 13-14 Avenue b. South side of Coral Way, 14 15 Court
- c. South side of Coral Way, 17 18 Avenue

From C-2 to C-1

- a. North side of Coral Way, 14 18 Avenue
- b. South side of Coral Way, 16 Ct. 17 Ave.
- c. North side of Coral Way, 19 22 Avenue
- d. North and South side of Coral Way, from 25 - 27 Avenue

The first change of C-2 to R-C is a more liberal zoning of the land. The second recommendation of C-2 (Community Commercial) to C-1 (Local Commercial) is a stricter zoning of the area. The table following is a Frontage Analysis of the Zoning District.

Subsequently an area hearing was held by the Planning and Zoning Board on May 23, 1966 in order to bring the question before the property owners of the area. Prior to the opening of the meeting to the public, general remarks were made that are most relevant to the area:

It is apparent that there has been a general interest in this area by private and public interest since November of 1965.

Coral Way is a totally different type of area in Miami, being a boulevard, no less with a wide median of grass and ficus trees. This created a pleasant view along the route. As for its capability as a route it was/is considered a major artery. It has long been valued as a prestige street and one of the streets that holds a great future as far as commercial development of the city is concerned. The Miracle Mile of Coral Gables is an extension of Coral Nay and has long been one of the most highlighted and prosperous shopping areas in South Florida.

Another unusual aspect of Coral Way is the compatibility of the residences and commercial businesses, a result of the wide median strip.

Planning and Zoning Board, "Area Hearing on Coral Way from S.W. 12 Avenue to 37 Avenue," (Miami, FL., 23 May 1966), summary of transcript.

The meeting was quite lengthy and the transcript voluminous Summarizing: the general context of the public officials' feeling toward rezoning was that a mixture of residential and commercial was compatible and that Coral Way's future should remain as designated along both sides of Coral Way.

Public reaction was weighted heavily in favor of "speculators" desirous of commercial rezoning of their residences, and commercial property owners wanting to insure that their commercial zoned property was at least liberalized if not maitained at the same classification. No commercial property owner wanted to see his property zoned to a stricter classification.

The City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board resolved in resolution #66-169, on May 23, 1966: and, #66-191, on June 20, 1966, that zoning along both sides of Coral Way remain as presently designated.

TABLE 2

FRONTAGE ANALYSIS
Zoning District along Coral Way 12- 37 Avenue.

ZONE	LINEAR FEET OF FRONTAGE	%AGE OF TOTAL FRONTAGE
R-C	17,800	42.9%
C-1	1,900	4.6%
C-2	21,750	52.5%

Percentage of Frontage of Various Land Uses

TYPE	12 - 17	17 - 22	22 - 27
Residential	7.9%	18.1%	19.1%
Office	31.8	23.8	18.0
C-1	30.1	26.9	28.8
C-2	10.6	13.1	10.0
More liberal	0.0	0.0	1.7
Commercial vacant	4.0	3.9	0.9
Vacant land	15.6	11.1	21.5

Percentage of Frontage Zoned District

ZONE	12 - 17	17 - 22	22 - 27
R-C C-2	0.0 100 %	45% 55%	3 7% 63%
C-2	100 2	238	036

SOURCE: IOM, June 25, 1965; Hines to Reese. RE: Coral Way Area Hearing

SUMMARY: CORAL WAY

Zoning maps as early as 1946 indicate the zoning on the Coral Way thoroughfare as a mixture of commercial and residential. It appears that this was a part of an overall plan that Coral Way should serve as a "local and community dommercial" area servicing the traffic from Downtown Miami CBD to the Coral Gables commercial area and vice a versa. Written policies since 1946 have adequately planned for this type of growth. It does not appear that planning and zoning officials took into consideration any future need for office space locations along the Coral Way corridor. An increase in multi-story office buildings will have a detrimental effect on the plan of a mixture of compatible commercial - residential. The permitting of multistory office buildings will negate the effect that the grass and ficus tree median strip has had, which for so long has been praised as a natural barrier permitting the co-existence of commercial and residential. Present zoning regulations do not combat the problem of the intrusion of office space parking into the residential area. Greater problems can be foreseen for this area as the value of the land exceeds the economics of building a single family dwelling unit or a multi-story dwelling on the land.

B. THIRD AVENUE

The 1946 Zoning Atlas indicates that this area was zoned multiple family, R-3 & R-4. It wasn't until 1961 that the area was reclassified and zoned R-C. The Residential - Commercial classification would continue the multiple family and permit some "office space building".

The Miami Comprehensive Generalized Land Use Plan of 1959 is coded high density (over 35/acre) residential. The Proposed General Land Use Plan of 1955 had this area coded low density residential. As previously stated, subsequent action in 1961 changed the zoning in this area to R - C. In 1966 a community renewal program was undertaken and studied; their recommendations were:

EXISTING CONDITIONS: Predominently residential with low rise apartment buildings and some commercial on 3 Avenue, South West 21 - 23 Road.

PROPOSED ACTION (implied): Leave South West 3 Avenue at its continued development.

SUMMARY: THIRD AVENUE

Although there is little data on the area it appears that the original plan was to maintain this area as a purely residential neighborhood. Two small sections on 12 Avenue and on 15 Road were set aside as local commercial areas that would serve the residential neighborhood.

In time local officials were prodded by speculative interests to change the zoning to R-C in order to make this land available for office space location. The Third Avenue corridor was ideal for land development for office space. This is not to say that there was not other land available, just that this area had the availability, was the most convenient and it was a good location. Many people do feel that it is compatible for the office space to be mixed with the residential complexes. Further rationalizing this, that with the controls set up in the Zoning Code, e.g., set back limitations and Floor Area Ratio, there would be an optimal growth of office space locations. Unfortunately the Zoning Code does not state what would be the optimal growth of office space locations for the area. Thus the area has grown and will continue to grow beyond what would be a healthy mixture of residential and office space. There is the probability that with continued growth of office space locathe area will be redefined and zoned more liberally. tions

What began as a designed intrusion of office space into the residential area has led to an over abundance of office space buildings. In turn this may lead to a corridor of office buildings, rather than the desired mixture of office buildings and residences.

The motive for office space location on 3 Avenue is the availability of land, as a number of the residences are old and therefore expendable; the transportation convenience, as the area is served by a number of arteries and is easily within reach of the Miami CBD and the Coral Gables commercial area; and finally, this area is an environmentally desirable location but less prestigious than Brickell or Coconut Grove.

C. BRICKELL AVENUE

In 1946 the area south of S. E. 15 Road was zoned multifamily residential. Fourteenth and Fifteenth Roads were zoned single family residential; north of this it was zoned multi family residential to S. E. 8 Street. From S.E. 8 Street the land was zoned B-1, the strictest of commercial zone.

As greater growth was encompassed in the CBD, and the need for more available land became apparent, this Brickell Avenue area was rezoned to assist in the growth of offices and financial institutions that have centered around the CBD. The factors which influenced the development of the Brickell Avenue area into an extension of the CBD are: economics of land in the CBD vis a vis the land across the river on Brickell Avenue; the abundance of vacant land on Brickell; less traffic congestion; approximity of prestigious housing nearby; and, proximity to the Downtown CBD. These factors which were appreciated by developers influenced the decision making Planning and Zoning Board and City Commission.

Prior to affirmative action on rezoning the Brickell Avenue area the City Commission requested the Planning and Zoning

Board proceed with an Area Hearing on the Brickell Avenue area.

From November 19, 1969 through May 3, 1971 the City of Hiami Planning and Zoning Board held five hearings on a proposal to change the zoning on Brickell Avenue and additionally to create an Urban Development Review Board. Summarizing the two-inch-thick minutes of the hearings held, the public and zoning board members were in favor more liberal zoning for Brickell Avenue. The Planning οf and Zoning Board made a negative recommendation on the Urban Development Review Board. Following the Planning and Zoning Board's recommendation the City Commission, on September 9, 1971, sanctioned in general the creation of two new districts that would develop the area into a mall of offices and prestigious apartment structures. The City Commission also created an Urban Development Review Board.

The Comprehensive Renewal Program of 1966 realistically foresaw this development of the area and stated that in all likelihood there would be continued development of prestigious housing on Biscayne Bay as well as prestigious commercial development on Brickell Avenue. One of their proposals in the renewal plan was to allow for public & scenic land. Thus far no action has been taken to follow through on this recommendation.

SUMMARY: BRICKELL AVENUE

The development of Brickell Avenue as well as the planning and the zoning is an example of incrementalism in planning and zoning. No realistic action was taken prior to 1971 to allow and influence expansion of the CBD, although knowledge of the CBD and its growth potential should have initiated some action prior to 1971.

It appears that the Brickell Avenue area is recognized as a quasi CBD extension. Yet no formal action has been taken or even considered to recognize and plan for this area to be included as a part of the CBD. This lack of a decision regarding the inclusion of Brickell Avenue area as a part of the Downtown CBD will have an adverse affect on controlling the growth of Brickell Avenue. Again, it appears that the responsible officials are relying on the zoning code to control commercial and office space growth on Brickell Avenue, as they have for Third Avenue.

VI. PROPOSAL

Briefly stating the summaries of Coral Way, Third Avenue and Brickell Avenue:

Coral May developed as a planned commercial zone, which included office buildings. Forces motivating the development are: transportation ease, being situated between two commercial centers, and the natural forces flowing from the CBD to areas with an abundance of economical land.

Although the planned future was for local and community commercial it has turned out that the commercial businesses are not of the type that strictly serve the immediate community or even that passing through. These factors combined with liberal zoning controls have permitted the recent growth.

Third Avenue's development is inspired by the availability of inexpensive land, and interests seeking to be near the CBD but not of necessity to be within walking distance.

Additionally, the failure of the Planning and Zoning Board and the Planning Department to maintain the plan for local commercial and residential has allowed CBD encroachment into the predominantly residential area.

Brickell Avenue is purely a result of a scarcity of land in the CBD, and the necessity of financial and commercial interests to be within close proximity to the CBD. Incremental planning has allowed this area to develop as CBD's have in the past. No innovative practices have been utilized to insure that this area does not develop as Downtown Miami has. Plans for the restoration of this area will be needed in the next 20 years, as is being done for Downtown Miami! The Planning Department has failed to consider this area for what it is, a part of the CBD. Now is the time to institute the practices in the Brickell area, which are being proposed for the Downtown Central Business District.

The Miami City government has failed to fulfill its responsibilities in Planning and Zoning. Prior to 1961 the Planning and Zoning Board was delegated the sole responsibility of planning and zoning. As the Planning and Zoning Board is appointed by the City Commission, politics has entered into the scene of planning. Additionally the P&ZB has long been considered the stepping stone to the Commission; therefore Planning and Zoning Board members have had to step lightly in their moves.

Not until 1961 was a professional staff hired to staff the newly created Planning Department. It was at this time that the Planning Department began a study of Miami, i.e., land use, zoning classification, new maps, and a new zoning code; all of this in preparation of planning for Miami. In essence it was too late to do anything at the time, and too young to begin exerting pressure subsequent to 1961.

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The general inference derived is that the commercial development which has taken place has been primarily a combination of the factors that Guest brought out - fierce economic competition for location near the CBD, as well the influence transportation has.

Other contributions to this development have been: the area is situated between two commercial centers: development has been facilitated by poor planning practices. More specifically, planning has failed to take innovative measures and has participated in incremental planning.