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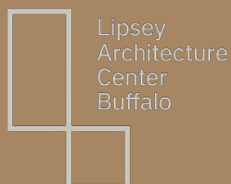
THE IMPACTS OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN BUFFALO

PREPARED BY PLACEECONOMICS

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PlaceEconomics



Lipsey
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Buffalo



Preservation
BUFFALO NIAGARA

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KEY FINDINGS

Historic preservation is central to the fabric of Buffalo. It's key to maintaining Buffalo's physical fabric, of course, but as this report demonstrates, it is also central to the social and economic fabric as well. The pages that follow demonstrate the multiple contributions of historic preservation to the life of Buffalo. Here are fifteen findings that particularly stand out.

1. Twelve percent of Buffalo's land area is within local or National Register Historic Districts, but the expansive Olmsted Parks and Parkways District constitutes more than half of that area.
2. Excluding the Olmsted District, National Register and local historic districts cover eight percent of the land area and are home to more than 41,000 Buffalo citizens, or about sixteen percent of the population.
3. Historic districts in Buffalo are both economically and racially diverse, particularly in local historic districts. Neighborhoods in local historic districts are more fully integrated and less segregated neighborhoods than neighborhoods in the rest of Buffalo.
4. Properties in historic districts constitute around fourteen percent of the city's parcels but provide double that—or twenty-eight percent—of total property value within the city. That means they also contribute a disproportionate share of the city's property tax revenue.
5. The market recognizes the value of being in historic districts. Property values, particularly in local districts, increase at a rate far greater than the rest of Buffalo.
6. Vacancy levels in historic districts and the rest of Buffalo have both fallen significantly in the last decade, but for very different reasons. Vacancies have fallen in historic districts largely through growth in population. Vacancies in the rest of Buffalo have fallen largely through demolition of vacant or abandoned properties.
7. Businesses also recognize the value of historic districts. While commercial historic districts make up less than one percent of Buffalo's land area, those areas are home to five percent of Buffalo businesses and nine percent of Buffalo's jobs. Even more impressive is that over the last decade, nearly half of the job growth in Buffalo took place in commercial historic districts.

8. This disproportionate share of job growth is particularly concentrated for businesses employing high demand knowledge and creative class workers, because businesses and their employees recognize the “value added” of being located in historic commercial neighborhoods.
9. The preference for historic districts is also reflected by investment by property owners in historic districts. Over the last decade, each year has seen an average of \$54 million in investment in historic district properties.
10. That investment has generated an average of 272 direct jobs and an additional 247 indirect and induced jobs each year. Paychecks from those jobs averaged \$15 million in labor income for direct jobs plus \$21.7 million in indirect and induced jobs.
11. The federal and state historic tax credit has catalyzed investment in Buffalo’s historic buildings, attracting more than \$1 billion in direct investment since 2007.
12. Heritage tourism is a major contributor to the Buffalo economy. Thirteen point four percent of visitors to Buffalo fall into the “primary heritage visitor” category with another 24.9 percent classified as “secondary heritage visitors.” After shopping and visiting friends and relatives, seeing historic sites and museums was the most common activity for leisure visitors to Buffalo.
13. Heritage tourists spend locally. More than \$658 million in local spending each year is attributable to these heritage tourists.
14. They also stay longer. A greater share of heritage tourists stay overnight in Buffalo and the length of stay is longer than visitors to Buffalo who don’t have an interest in heritage activities.
15. Heritage tourism creates jobs. Just the heritage portion of Buffalo’s tourism activity generates 6,000 local direct jobs and an additional 2,100 indirect and induced jobs.

Buffalo has a wealth of historic resources that play a significant role in supporting economic diversity, property values, tax revenues, jobs, and incomes. The protection of an investment in historic buildings is an investment in the future growth and health of Buffalo.

PRESERVATION IN BUFFALO IS ROOTED IN COMMUNITY.

In 2017, the National Trust for Historic Preservation published *Preservation for People: A Vision for the Future*. The report outlined a fresh direction for preservation moving forward, one centered on a fuller representation of diverse perspectives and stories; improving equity, sustainability, and resilience of communities; and leaning into the ways in which preservation can contribute to pressing social issues and improving the world. Clearly, that vision resonates, but there are many who've seen the potential for preservation to do good and work in service of communities well before 2017, and that's especially true in Buffalo.

Buffalo's history is full of ups and downs. The city reached its highest population in the 1950s, topping out at over 580,000 then swiftly declining to just over 260,000 in 2010. While the population seems to be gradually rising, the shift is central to the city's story, and it's key to understanding its built environment. Buffalo has also historically been a very segregated city. Analysis from the University of Michigan using census data from 2010 ranked the Buffalo-Niagara metropolitan area as the sixth most segregated in the country. Both of these factors have shaped how Buffalo approaches preservation.

From the Hamlin Park Community and Taxpayers Association, banding together since 1965 to support neighbors and advocate for the safety, health, and beautification of their neighborhood, to the 2007 establishment of the Michigan Street African American Heritage Corridor Commission, Buffalonians have used preservation as a tool to recognize and protect what's important to them. There's no shortage of jaw-dropping architecture in Buffalo—at the turn of the 20th century it was a major shipping and manufacturing hub, home to millionaires and business tycoons, and famously labeled the “best planned city in America” by none other than famous American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. But Buffalo's most exciting preservation work is not only happening in its impressive list of architectural landmarks; it's happening in places like Broadway Fillmore, the Fruit Belt, Allentown, and Michigan Avenue in coordination with residents and community members seeking recognition of Buffalo's story.

PRESERVATION BUFFALO NIAGARA

Preservation Buffalo Niagara (PBN) was established in 2008, with the merging of its predecessor organizations, the Landmark Society of the Niagara Frontier and the Preservation Coalition of Erie County. PBN identifies, protects, and promotes architecture and cultural heritage throughout Western New York, promoting historic preservation as a means of creating a more culturally rich, vibrant, affordable, and sustainable community. PBN encourages and promotes preservation through workshops, tours, technical support, and public education, and by administering tools and incentives including a conservation easement program, their East Side Commercial Building Stabilization Fund, Historic Home Loan Fund, and Sacred Spaces Assistance Program.

THE LIPSEY ARCHITECTURE CENTER

The Lipsey Architecture Center Buffalo fosters collaboration with organizations with the similar goal of activating Buffalo's architecture, planning, and landscape. By providing a center to host exhibitions, events, and programs, the LACB actively collaborates with aligned groups in dialogue and shared programming. Through exhibitions, tours, programs, and outreach, the LACB engages the public in Buffalo's architecture, landscape design, and urban planning, and its role in culture and design literacy.

BUFFALO'S HISTORIC DISTRICTS

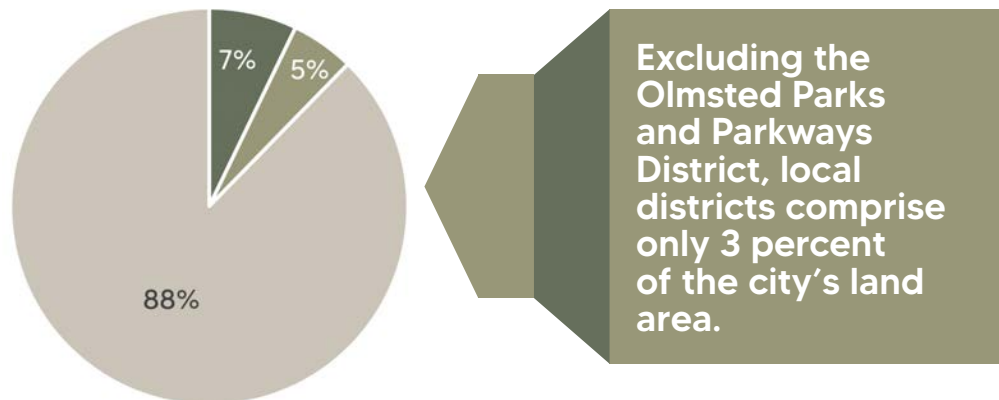
There are 17 local historic districts in Buffalo, including the Olmsted Parks and Parkways Historic District, which encompasses the web of parks and parkways that connect green spaces across the city. The variety in scale and character of the districts is as diverse as Buffalo itself, ranging from the industrial Larkin Historic District with its brick warehouses and industrial buildings that harken back to Buffalo's manufacturing era, to the compact, three-building High Street Historic District that protects the few remaining 19th-century buildings at the western edge of the Fruit Belt spared from extensive demolition in the area over the past twenty years, to the glitzy and exuberant Theater Historic District downtown. Historic districts in Buffalo have often been citizen-led efforts and in most cases, designation has been used as a tool to enact more community control and thwart the negative impacts of demolition and displacement.

Some of the local districts are also National Register Districts, though there are National Register Districts that cover neighborhoods that are not locally designated. Nine local districts have also been certified by the Secretary of the Interior as Certified Local Districts, meaning that they meet the requirements for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Property owners within Certified Local Districts can take advantage of Historic Tax Credits and other state and federal preservation incentives, even if their buildings are not listed on the National Register.

HOW MUCH OF BUFFALO IS DESIGNATED HISTORIC?

The total land area covered by Local and National Register historic districts in Buffalo is 12 percent. Of that total, 7 percent, or 2.89 square miles, constitutes local historic districts. However, more than half of those local districts (55 percent) is the expansive Olmsted Parks & Parkways District. Excluding the Olmsted Parks and Parkways District, local historic districts comprise only 3 percent of the city's land area. Outside of local historic districts, National Register historic districts that do not overlap with local historic districts comprise an additional 5 percent of the city's land area.

LAND AREA IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

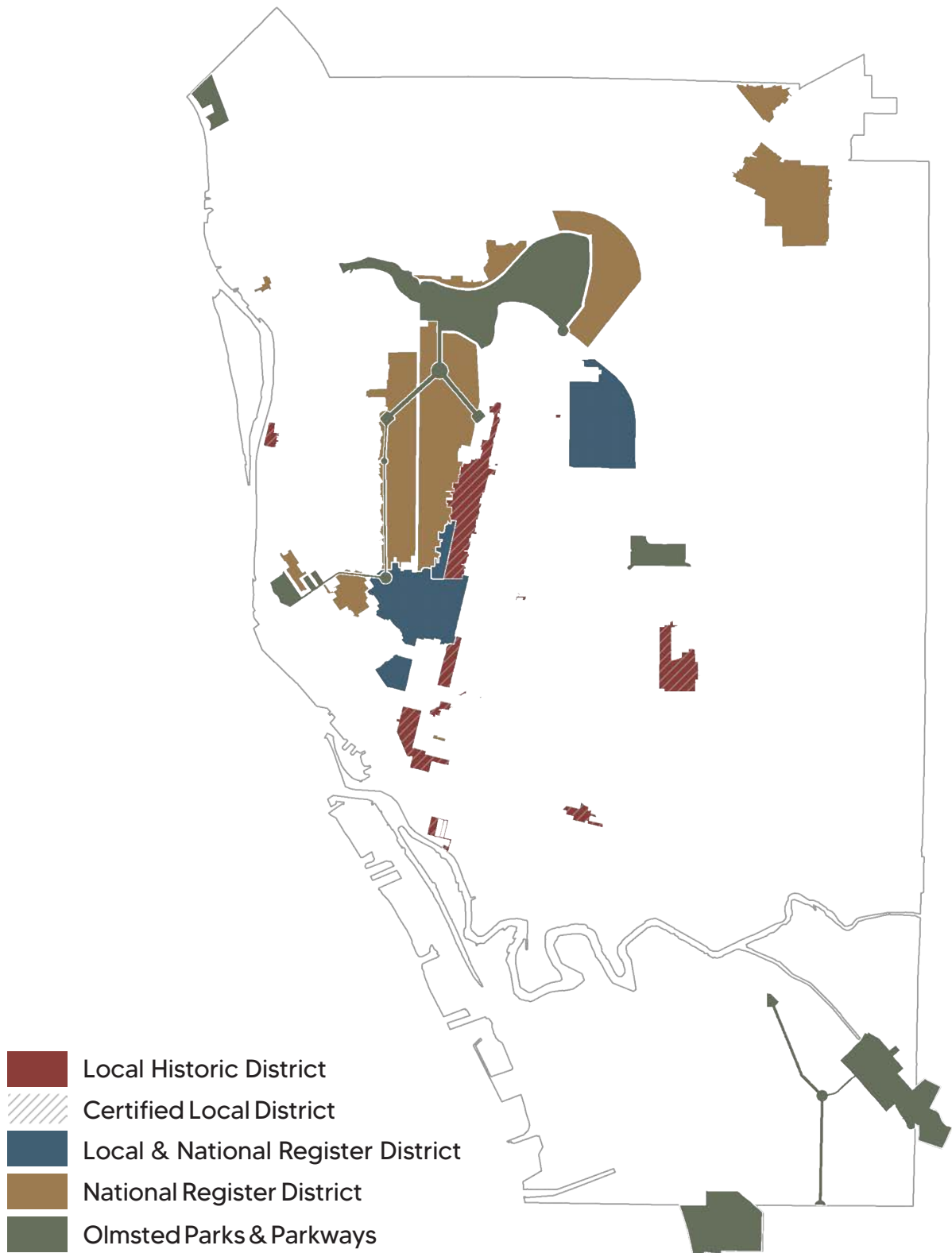


- Local Historic Districts
- National Register Historic Districts
- Rest of City



MAP OF BUFFALO HISTORIC DISTRICTS

The map below shows the locations of local historic districts, National Register historic districts, and districts designated as both. The map also shows the breadth of the Olmsted Parks and Parkways System.



THE OLMSTED PARK SYSTEM AND THE BUFFALO AND ERIE COUNTY BOTANICAL GARDENS

In 1868, the Buffalo Parks Commission hired landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to design a park system for the city, which began a thirty-year relationship between Olmsted and Buffalo. His initial designs included three parks, The Park (Delaware Park), The Parade (Martin Luther King, Jr. Park), and The Front Park, all connected by parkways and circles. These parkways connected the parks with wide medians and dense shade trees for users to travel through the system without leaving a park-like atmosphere. Later, Olmsted's

work continued southward with the addition of Cazenovia Park and South Park to make the park system more accessible to Buffalo's residents. Riverside Park was completed in 1899 on a bluff along the Niagara riverfront, completing the park system and providing access to the river. Today the park system is comprised of six parks, seven parkways, eight landscaped circles, and several other smaller parks, managed by the Buffalo Olmsted Parks Conservancy.

Olmsted's design for South Park, built between 1894 and 1900, included plans for a conservatory and gardens. Lord & Burnham Co., "the premiere Conservatory designers of the time," were engaged to build the center piece, the South Park Conservatory. Over the next century, the conservatory and gardens experienced periods of growth and decline as it withstood storms, the Great Depression, and World War II. Twice the conservatory was at risk of demolition, the latest after the 1977 blizzard collapsed the structure. But led by Florence DaLuiso, the Botanical Garden Society, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, was established to champion the building's preservation. The Society

convinced Erie County to purchase the conservatory and additional land from the City of Buffalo in 1981. The newly named Buffalo and Erie County Botanical Gardens were listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982.

To guide the on-going management and development of the conservatory and grounds the Buffalo and Erie County Botanical Gardens Society and Erie County formed a public/private partnership in 2004. Under the direction of professional staff, a dedicated board of directors, and the support of hundreds of committed volunteers, the Olmsted Parks, Parways, and gardens today are visited by thousands annually, who come to enjoy the unique plants, the historic structure, and to celebrate this special place.



NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOGRAPHICS

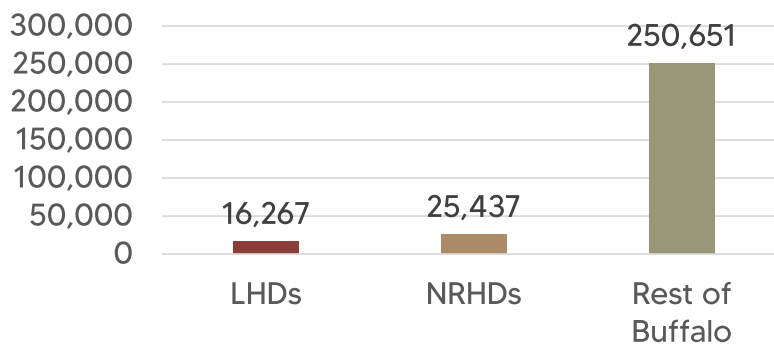


Preservation Buffalo Niagara Executive Director Jessie Fisher discusses the history and importance of the historic Willert Park housing complex with George K. Arthur, former President of the Buffalo Common Council and Sam Smith, former Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority Tenant Council Representative. | Credit: Tia Brown.

POPULATION

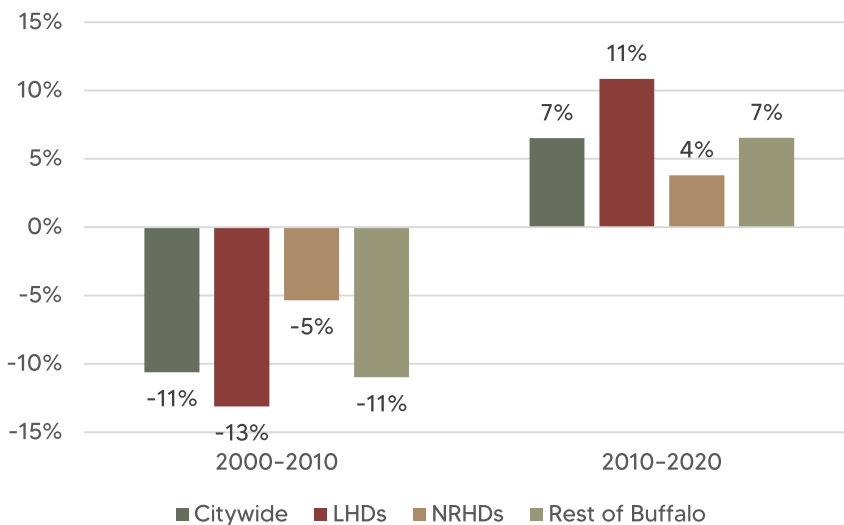
Buffalo’s historic districts support a higher population density than other parts of the city. While local residential historic districts cover only 3 percent of Buffalo’s land area, they account for 6 percent of the city’s population. National Register historic districts outside of local districts only make up 5 percent of total land area, but are home to 9 percent of the city’s population. Over 16,200 people live in local historic districts and around 25,400 people live in National Register historic districts that aren’t also designated as local. In total, more than 41,000 Buffalo residents live in either a local historic districts or National Register historic districts outside of locals.

POPULATION (2020)

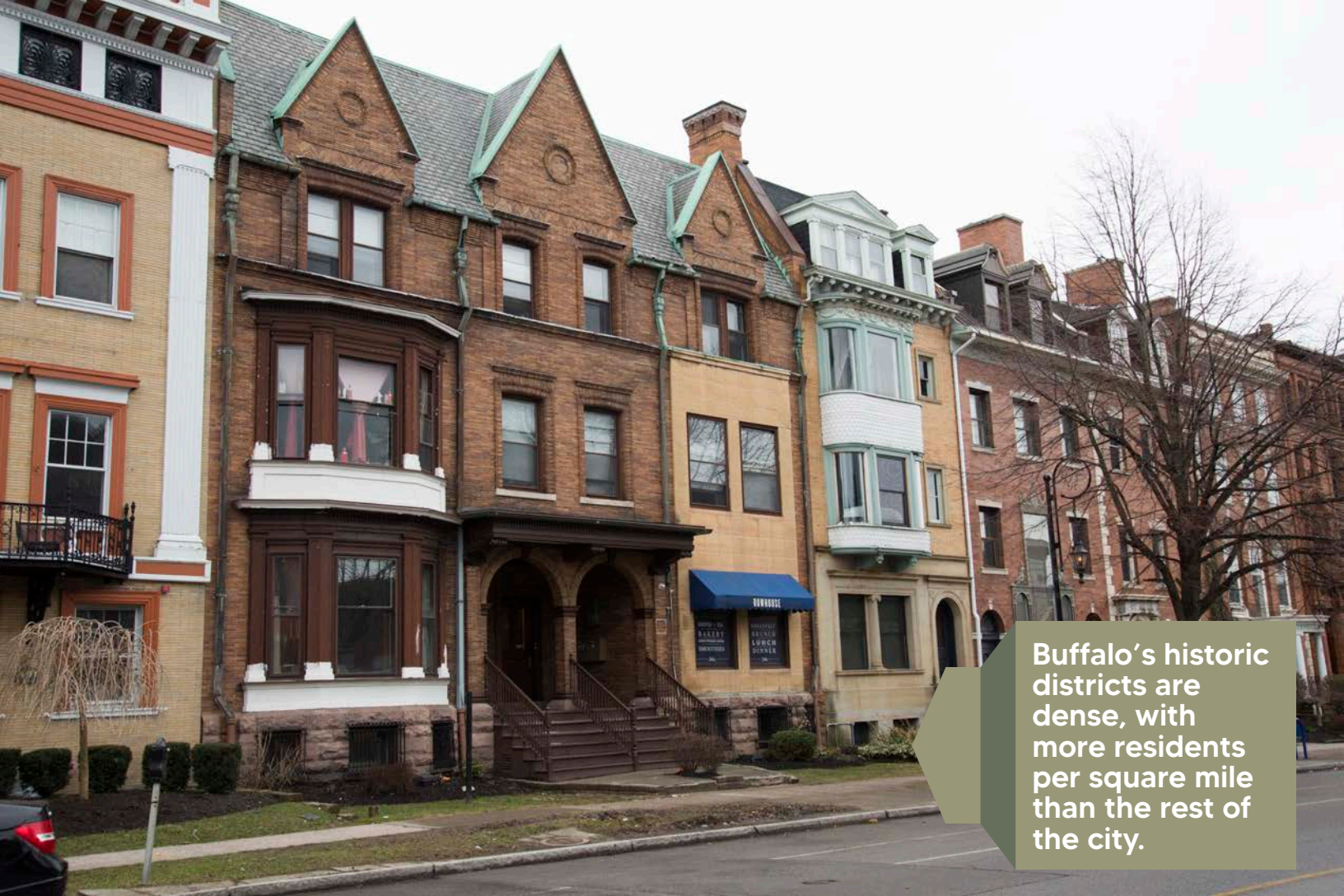


Between 2000 and 2010, Buffalo’s population decreased by about 11 percent. Local and National Register historic districts also saw a decrease in population at that time. But between 2010 and 2020, Buffalo’s population was growing again, with a total increase of 7 percent. However, 14 percent of that increase can be attributed to Local and National Register historic districts. Overall, between 2010 and 2020, the population in local historic districts increased by 11 percent, and in National Register historic districts by 4 percent.

POPULATION CHANGE (2000-2020)



Local Historic Districts experienced greater population growth than the rest of the city.

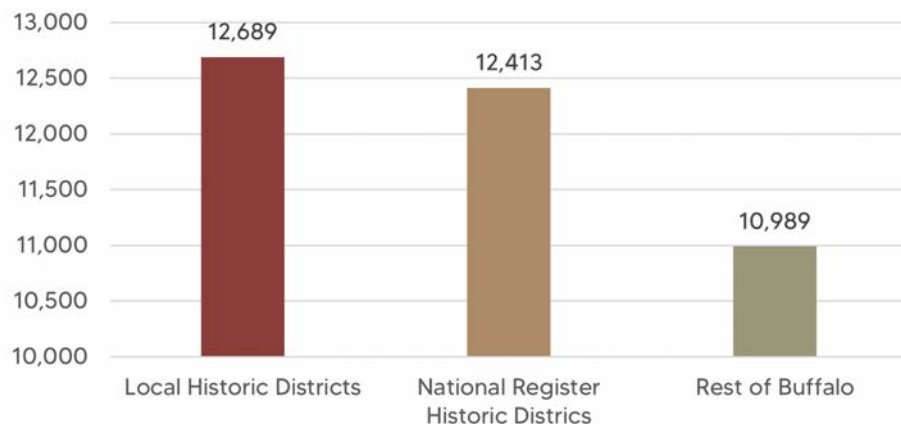


Buffalo's historic districts are dense, with more residents per square mile than the rest of the city.

POPULATION DENSITY

Sixty-two percent of Buffalo's land area is zoned for residential uses. Of that 62 percent, only 13 percent is located in either local or National Register historic districts. Though they do not cover much in terms of total land area, residentially zoned areas in Buffalo's historic districts are denser than other residentially zoned areas of the city.

POPULATION DENSITY (2020)
PEOPLE PER SQUARE MILE

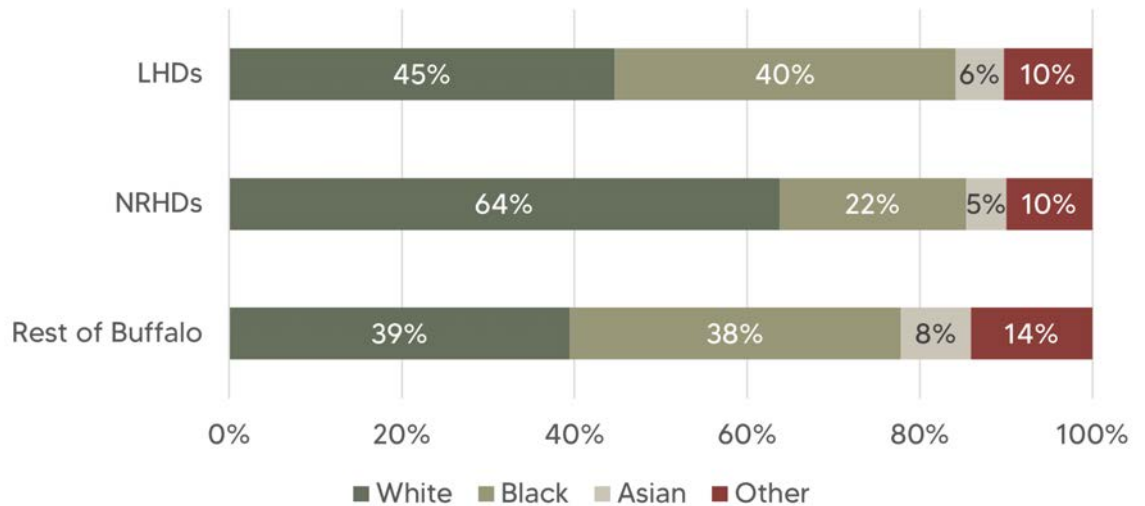


RACE

Buffalo's local historic districts closely mirror the racial diversity of the city as a whole. Local historic districts and design review regulations are sometimes criticized as tools that could potentially cause de facto exclusionary zoning. Because local districts are subject to regulation, they're believed to increase cost of maintenance, limit new housing production, and raise property values. However, this analysis found that local historic districts in Buffalo are actually more diverse than National Register Districts, which impose very little regulation.

Local historic districts in Buffalo have a slightly higher percentage of white residents (40 percent) than the rest of the city (38 percent), however, they also have a slightly higher percentage of Black residents (45 percent) than the rest of the city (39 percent). National Register historic districts have a significantly higher number of white residents (64 percent) than the rest of the city and a significantly lower share of Black residents (22 percent) than the rest of the city.

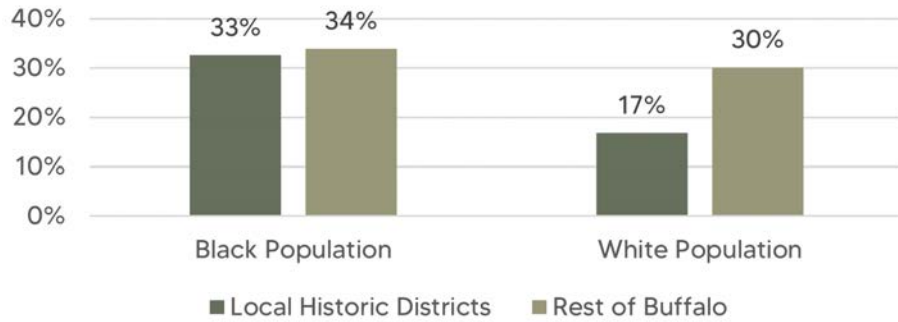
RACIAL DISTRIBUTION (2020)



Recent studies by the Brookings Institute and others have pointed out that in most large metropolitan areas, there is still a pattern of segregated neighborhoods.¹ Buffalo in particular was noted as an urban area that, while exceedingly diverse on the city level, is much less so at the neighborhood level. While Buffalo is still a highly segregated city, Buffalo's local historic districts tend to be less segregated than Buffalo as a whole.² Outside of local historic districts, 33.9 percent of Black residents and 30.2 percent of white residents live in racially segregated neighborhoods, or neighborhoods that are populated by 80 percent or more people of their same race. In local historic districts the percentage of Black residents living in predominantly Black neighborhoods is slightly lower than in the city overall. For white residents, it is much lower: 16.8 percent of white residents living in local historic districts live in predominantly white neighborhoods, compared to 30.2 percent of white residents in Buffalo overall.

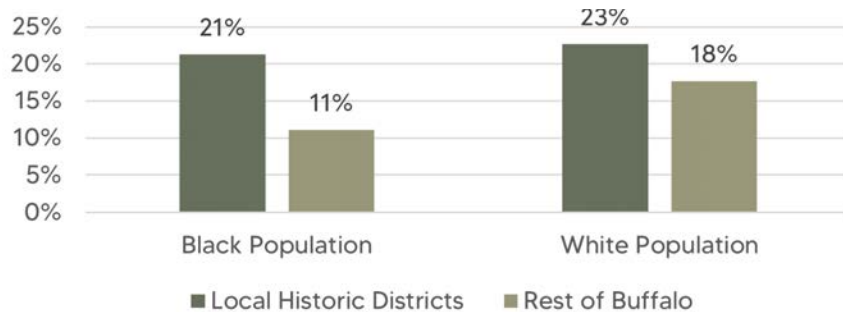
Many of Buffalo's historic districts are more diverse and integrated than the rest of Buffalo.

LIVING IN SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS (80 PERCENT SAME RACE)



This shows that local historic districts are more racially integrated than the Rest of Buffalo. For the rest of the city, one in nine (11.1 percent) of Black residents live in neighborhoods that are no more than 60 percent Black, but in local historic districts that number jumps to more than one in five (21.3 percent). Among white residents living in the Rest of Buffalo, 17.7 percent live in neighborhoods that are no more than 60 percent white; that number increases to 22.7 percent for white residents living in local historic districts.

LIVING IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD (LESS THAN 60 PERCENT ONE RACE)



¹ "Neighborhood segregation persists for Black, Latino or Hispanic, and Asian Americans," Brookings Institute. Published April 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/neighborhood-segregation-persists-for-black-latino-or-hispanic-and-asian-americans/> and [a_city_divided__a_brief_history_of_segregation_in_the_city_of_buffalo.pdf](#)
² The most granular Census data - Census Blocks - has been used for this analysis. For "Local Historic Districts" Census Blocks that are at least 20 percent within a local historic district are included in that category of neighborhood.



HAMLIN PARK

Hamlin Park is a residential neighborhood and historic district on Buffalo's east side. Its layout and architecture exemplifies early subdivision design in Buffalo and the majority was built between the late 19th to early 20th centuries. Home to European immigrants and Jewish families in its earlier years, Hamlin Park's population by the mid-20th century had transitioned to be an upper middle class African American neighborhood, many of whom had moved to escape the destructive forces of Urban Renewal. One of the neighborhood's defining amenities was the Frederick Law Olmsted designed Humboldt Parkway, a tree-lined greenway that connected Hamlin Park to downtown and surrounding neighborhoods. Despite massive resident resistance, the parkway was demolished to make way for the Kensington Expressway.

Today, Hamlin Park remains a relatively affordable, majority Black neighborhood. There are a lot of older residents, many of whose children are no longer in the Buffalo area, and recently, property values have been steadily rising and there's been an influx of new, younger and whiter, residents. Hamlin Park's trajectory stands in stark contrast to the neighborhood that surrounds Bidwell Parkway, which remained true to its original Olmsted design. While homes in Hamlin Park tend to sell in the \$100,000 to low \$200,000 range, homes near Bidwell, which are very similar in size and designed by the same architect, sell for two to three times that amount.

Fortunately, the push to preserve Hamlin Park came relatively early and was initiated by neighborhood residents. Hamlin Park was designated a local historic district in 1998, but nearly a decade prior, residents fought for and won a demolition moratorium out of concern that the neighborhood would be subjected to the widespread demolition happening in other neighborhoods around the city. Since then, Hamlin Park has also been listed as a National Register Historic District so that owners can take advantage of state and federal historic preservation tax credits.

"The cost of maintaining an older house on a fixed income is scary," says Stephanie Barber Geter, who serves as the Chair of the Restoring Our Communities Coalition (ROCC) and has been involved in Hamlin Park for decades. Geter was born in Buffalo and has been a staunch advocate for tenant rights and housing issues since she was in middle school. She's also been a key figure in Hamlin Park's preservation since the beginning. "The spirit of the people and work of the citizenry is key," Geter says, "Preservation is about neighborhoods, it doesn't just stop with buildings."

Thanks to the strong and consistent presence of the community groups like the Hamlin Park Community and Taxpayers Association (HPCTA) and Restore our Communities Coalition (ROCC) and the tight-knit community they've helped build, neighbors new and old are working together to continue the decades-long legacy of preservation. HPCTA helps neighbors navigate a whole range of issues: funding home repairs, aging in place, holding wills workshops and helping with estate planning. The ROCC advocates to restore the Humboldt Parkway.



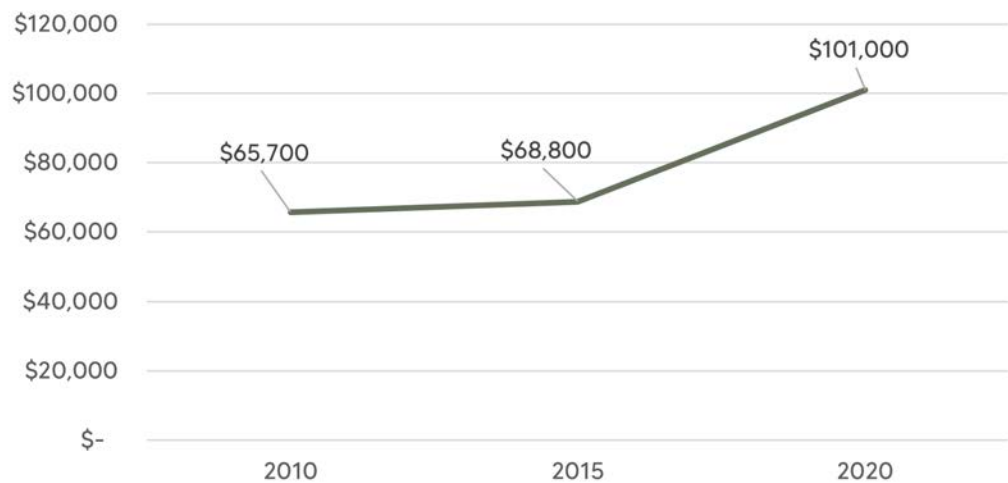


HOUSING AND AFFORDABILITY

The story of how preservation has been used in Buffalo is really borne out by the housing and affordability data. In Buffalo, where the poverty rate remains high (28.3 percent) relative to the rest of the country (11.4 percent), affordable housing options are critical. And in Buffalo, historic preservation does not preclude affordability. In fact, local historic districts in particular offer a higher percentage of affordable housing for both homeowners and renters than National Register historic districts and the rest of Buffalo.

The data also show, however, that like many cities across the country, Buffalo has seen a dramatic increase in housing costs over the past five years. Between 2010 and 2020, median home values have jumped 54 percent.

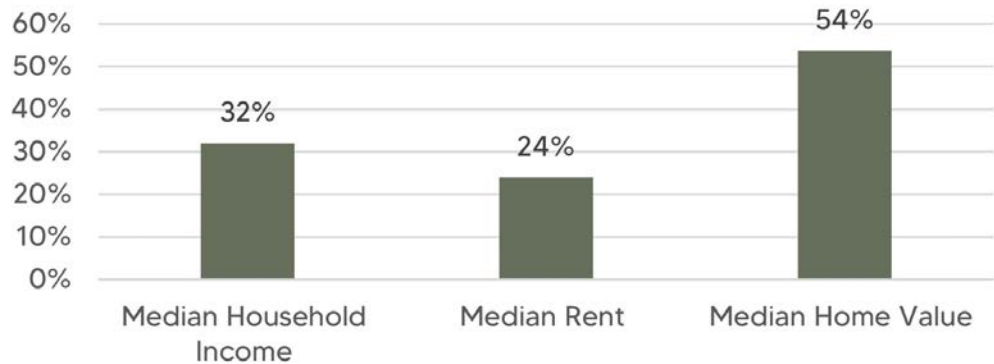
BUFFALO MEDIAN HOME VALUE (2000-2020)



Over the last 10 years, home values have risen faster than wages.

Meanwhile, median household incomes have lagged behind, rising only 32 percent during the same period of time. Despite rising costs of living, the median household income in Buffalo is \$39,677, which is well below the median for the state of New York (\$71,117) and the national median (\$67,521).

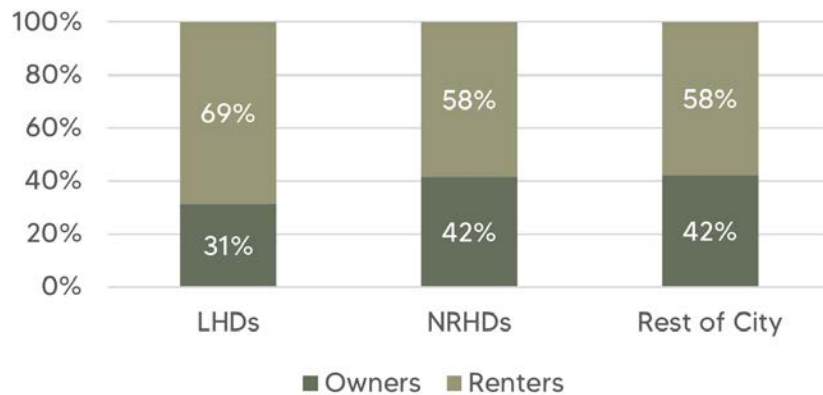
CHANGE IN BUFFALO'S MEDIAN INCOME VS MEDIAN HOUSING COSTS (2010-2020)



HOUSING TENURE

Importantly, Buffalo’s historic districts remain accessible to both renters and homeowners. In fact, the breakdown of owners versus renters is the same in National Register historic districts and the rest of Buffalo: 58 percent of residents rent, while 42 percent are homeowners. But the percentage of renters in local historic districts is significantly higher (69 percent) than the rest of the city. Renters make up 69 percent of households in Buffalo’s local historic districts versus 58 percent in National Register historic districts and the rest of Buffalo.³

OWNER VS RENTER (2020)



³ Data for 2020 Tenure, Income, Housing Cost Burden, Gross Rent, and Owner Costs came from block group level data from the American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, ACS has made the public aware that there were certain irregularities in the 2020 dataset due to nonresponse bias. Overall, those who responded to ACS survey tended to be white, higher income, and homeowners.

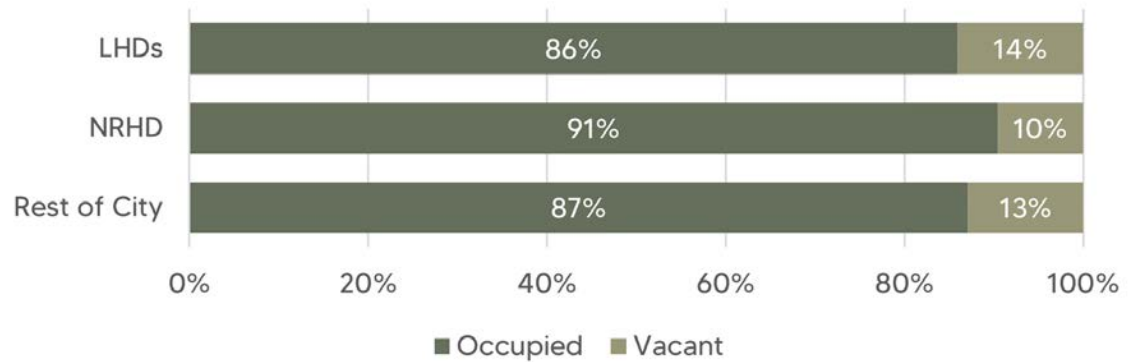
OCCUPANCY RATES

Buffalo’s historic districts also tend to be densely populated. Excluding the Olmsted Park System, 8 percent of Buffalo’s land area is designated as local or National Register historic districts. But nearly twice that (15 percent) of Buffalo’s population lives within those historic districts. In 2020, 17 percent of the city’s housing units were located in those historic districts (7 percent in local historic districts and 10 percent in National Register historic districts).

Overall, 87 percent of Buffalo’s housing units are occupied, while 13 percent remain vacant. Local historic districts almost match the same breakdown, with an occupancy rate of 86 percent and a vacancy rate of 14 percent. National Register historic districts have a higher occupancy and lower vacancy rate at 90 percent and 10 percent, respectively.

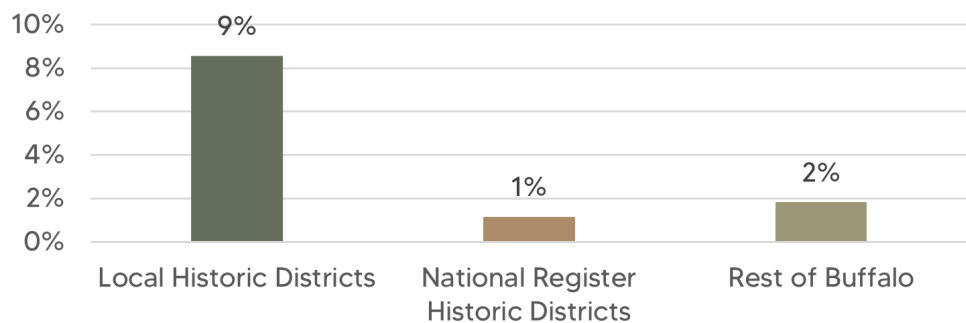
30 percent of the city’s housing unit growth can be attributed to local historic districts.

HOUSING UNIT OCCUPANCY STATUS (2020)



There’s often a concern that historic designation limits housing growth, but that’s not true in Buffalo’s historic districts. Buffalo’s total number of housing units increased by 2 percent between 2010 and 2020. However, housing units in local historic districts increased by 9 percent. To put these numbers in context, local historic districts gained 735 new housing units and National Register districts gained 156 new housing units between 2010 and 2020, compared to the 2,032 new housing units gained in the rest of the city. This means that 30 percent of the city’s housing unit growth can be attributed to local historic districts.

HOUSING UNIT GROWTH (2010-2020)

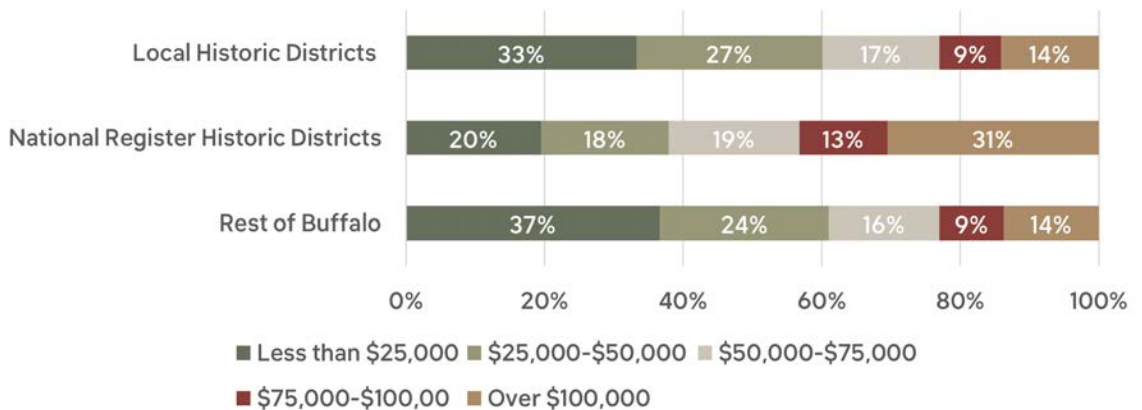


Overall, vacancy rates have dropped slightly across the board over the past 10 years, decreasing from 15.7 percent citywide in 2010 to 13 percent in 2020. In local historic districts the vacancy rate dropped from 15.9 percent to 14 percent and in National Register historic districts from 11.4 percent to 10 percent over the same period of time. What is important to note, however, is that the causes of the decline in vacancy in historic districts and the rest of the city are very different. In historic districts, these lower vacancy rates are due to population growth. In the rest of the city, lower vacancy rates can be attributed in part to demolition of vacant housing.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME WITHIN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Buffalo’s median income is \$39,677. Household income in Buffalo’s local historic districts more or less mirrors the breakdown in the rest of Buffalo. However, incomes within National Register historic districts tend to be higher. Overall, 49 percent of the households in the local historic districts make less than the city’s median income of \$39,677, while only 30 percent of the households in National Register historic districts make less than the median income.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME (2020)





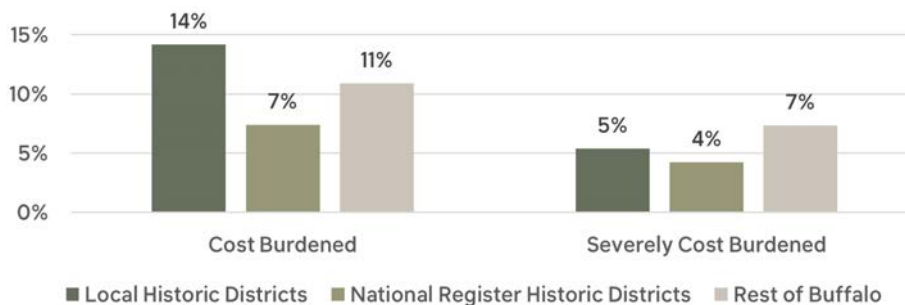
HOUSING COSTS

In general, housing is considered to be affordable when households are spending less than 30 percent of their income on housing. Any more than 30 percent, and a family is considered “cost-burdened.” Households paying more than 50 percent of their income for housing are considered “severely cost-burdened.” Nationally, renters are more likely than homeowners to be housing cost-burdened; this is also true in Buffalo. Residents in local historic districts, whether owners or renters, are the most likely to be housing cost-burdened in Buffalo, though they are less likely to be severely cost-burdened.

HOMEOWNERS

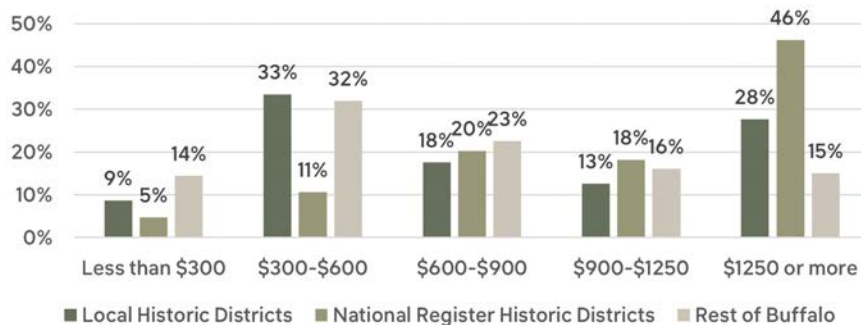
Forty-two percent of Buffalo's housing units are owner-occupied, 14 percent of which are located in historic districts. Overall, 11 percent of Buffalo's homeowners are cost-burdened and 7 percent are severely cost-burdened. Homeowners in local historic districts are more likely to be cost-burdened than residents in the rest of the city. However, they are less likely to be severely cost-burdened. In both cases, a smaller share of homeowners in National Register historic districts are cost-burdened or severely cost-burdened than in local historic districts or the rest of Buffalo.

COST BURDENED HOMEOWNERS (2020)



The graph below illustrates the share of housing units by monthly owner costs in local historic districts, National Register historic districts, and the rest of Buffalo.⁴ The median owner costs in the City of Buffalo is \$986. Of the nearly 33,000 owned units whose costs are below the median, 10 percent are located in either local or National Register historic districts. A much larger share of owned units in local historic districts (65 percent) have monthly owner costs that are lower than the citywide median. Within National Register historic districts, that figure is only 41 percent. Additionally, 46 percent of owned units in National Register historic districts have monthly owner costs of \$1,250 or more, while local historic districts come in at 28 percent, well above the rest of Buffalo at 15 percent.

UNITS BY MONTHLY OWNER COST IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS VS REST OF BUFFALO

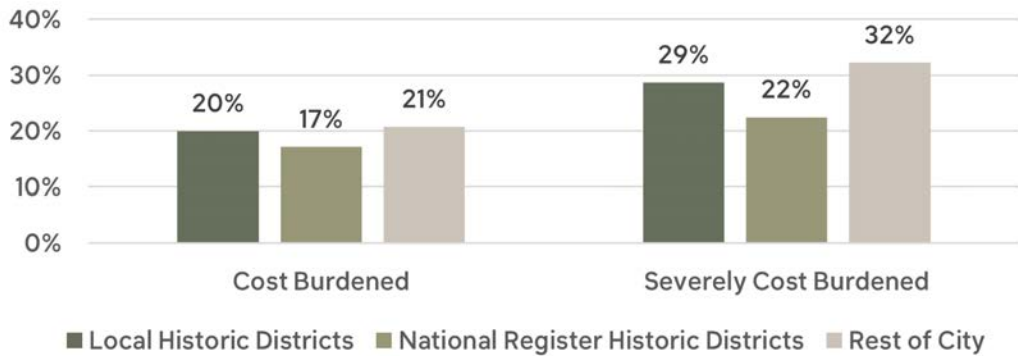


⁴ Monthly owner costs include the sum of payments for mortgages, or similar debts on the property, real estate taxes, insurance, and utilities.

RENTERS

Fifty-eight percent of housing units in Buffalo are renter occupied, 17 percent of which are in historic districts. Buffalo's renters are significantly more cost-burdened than its homeowners. Overall, 20 percent of the city's renters are cost-burdened and 31 percent are severely cost-burdened. Residents of local historic districts mirror this citywide trend, while renters living in National Register historic districts are slightly less cost-burdened.

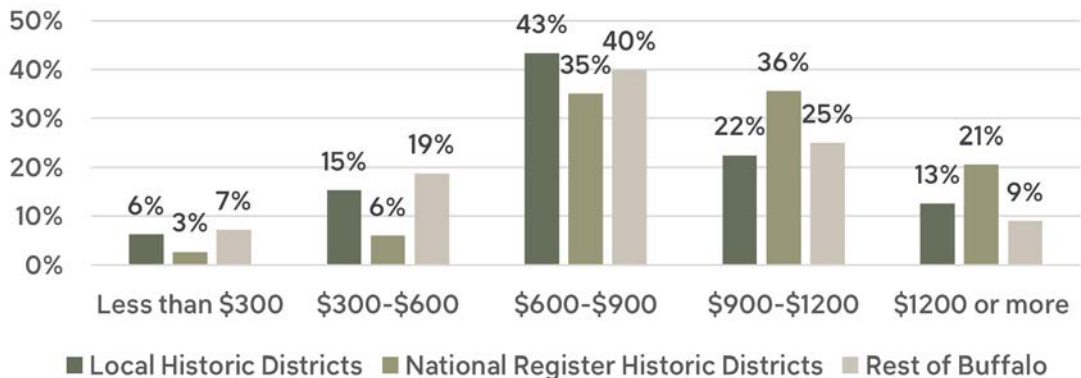
COST BURDENED RENTERS (2020)



Overall, 7 percent of the city's rental units are located in local historic districts, while 10 percent are located in National Register historic districts. A larger share of rental units in local historic districts are available at lower monthly costs than units in National Register historic districts. Overall, the share of rental units across price ranges in local historic districts closely mirrors the cost of rental units in the rest of Buffalo. However, a higher share of rental units in National Register historic districts rent for \$900/month or more than either local historic districts or the rest of Buffalo.

Overall, the citywide median gross rent is \$801 per month. In local historic districts, 48 percent of rental units rent for less than the median, while only 28 percent of rental units in National Register historic districts rent for less than the median.

UNITS BY RENT IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS VS REST OF BUFFALO

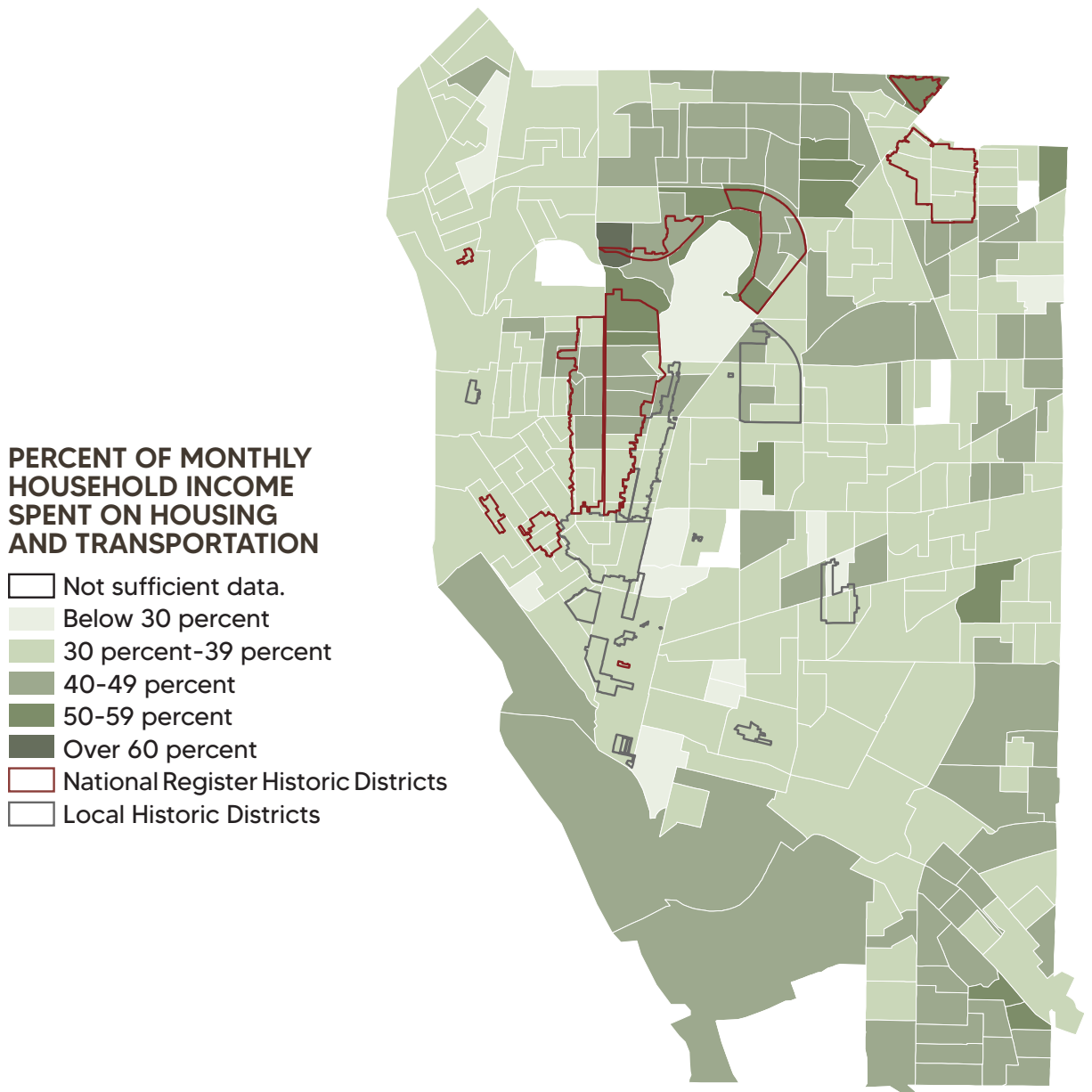




The key takeaway is that in almost every income and housing cost metric, local historic districts very closely mirror the rest of the city, while National Register historic districts trend toward higher income and are more expensive to own and rent. Households in local historic districts and the rest of Buffalo tend to be lower income. However, housing cost burden is still high in these local districts, despite rents and owner costs being comparable to the rest of the city. This confirms that, in Buffalo’s historic districts, housing cost burden is a function of income relative to housing costs, and incomes are generally low across Buffalo.

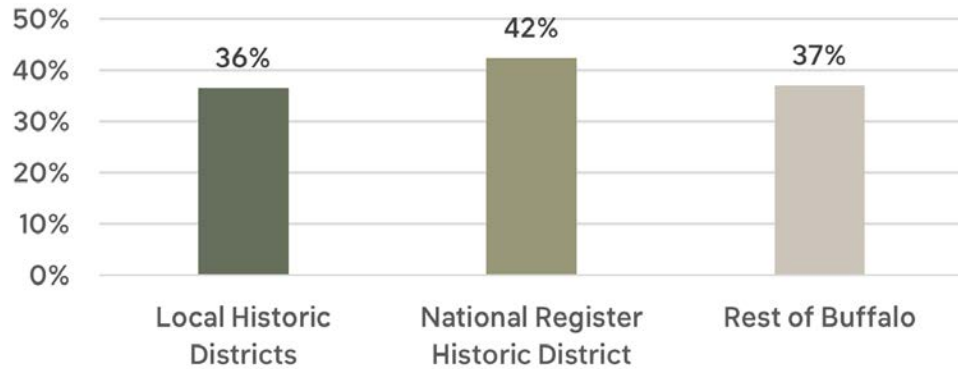
HOUSING + TRANSPORTATION COSTS

Housing is not the only factor that contributes to a household's cost burden. Transportation costs also have implications on affordability and typically make up the second largest household expense after housing. The Center for Neighborhood Technology has developed the Housing + Transportation (H+T) Affordability Index, which takes into account the cost of housing as well as the cost of transportation, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the affordability of a place. When considering transportation costs, proximity and density impact affordability. Older neighborhoods tend to be more dense and closer to services, public transit, and jobs, which can decrease household transportation costs.



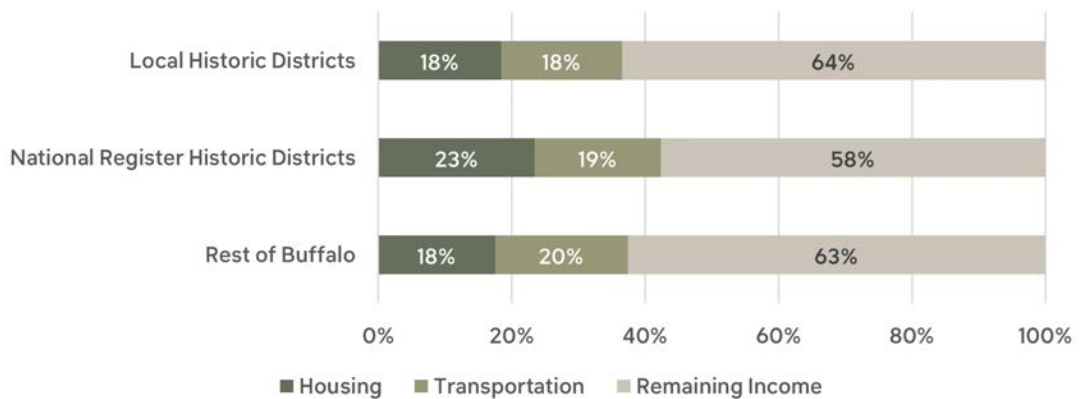
In the City of Buffalo overall, households making 100 percent of the Area Median Income (AMI) spend 38 percent of their income on housing and transportation costs.⁵ However, in local historic districts, the average percent of income that a household spends on H+T is slightly less, at 36 percent, while National Register historic districts are slightly more, at 42 percent.

AVERAGE PERCENT OF INCOME SPENT ON HOUSING + TRANSPORTATION (FOR HOUSEHOLDS MAKING 100 PERCENT AMI)



After housing and transportation costs are taken out, households making 100 percent AMI in Buffalo have an average of 62 percent of their income leftover for disposable purposes. That figure is slightly higher in local historic districts and slightly lower in National Register historic districts. While transportation costs in both Local and National Register historic districts slightly outperform the rest of the city, housing costs in National Register historic districts make up a larger share of the average household's income than does housing in local historic districts or the rest of the city.

HOUSING + TRANSPORTATION COSTS AS PERCENT OF INCOME

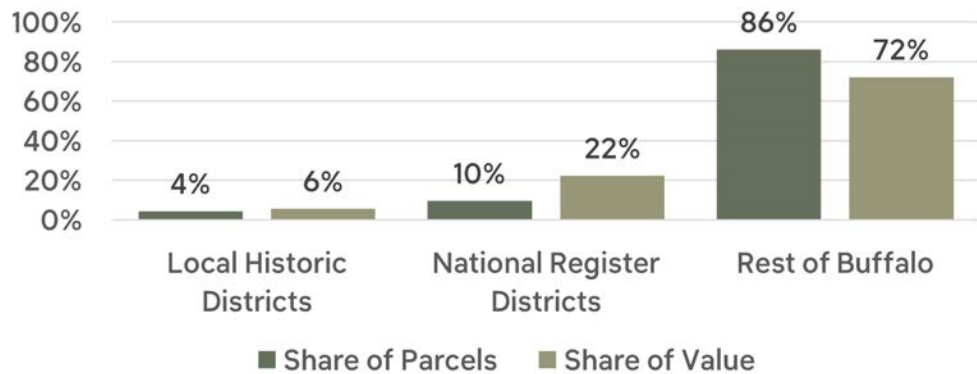


⁵ H+T Fact Sheet Buffalo, Housing and Transportation (H+T®) Affordability Index, Center for Neighborhood Technology, <https://htaindex.cnt.org/fact-sheets/>

PROPERTY VALUES

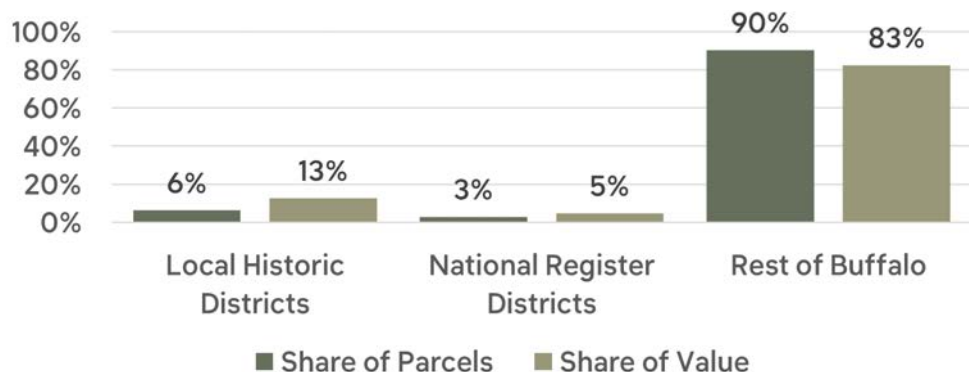
Across the board, residential properties located in historic districts contribute a disproportionately larger share of value than their share of parcels compared to properties that aren't historically designated. Residential properties in National Register historic districts contribute more than 22 percent of the total share of value despite accounting for only 9.5 percent of total parcels in the city.

VALUE CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESIDENTIAL HISTORIC BUILDINGS



This contribution isn't limited to residential properties. Commercial buildings within local and National Register historic districts also contribute a larger share of value relative to their share of parcels.

VALUE CONTRIBUTIONS OF COMMERCIAL HISTORIC BUILDINGS



When looking at residential property value per square foot, properties in both local and National Register historic districts average higher values per square foot than the rest of Buffalo.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY VALUE PER SQUARE FOOT (2022)



Properties in local historic districts saw a significant increase in value between 2017 and 2022 when compared to National Register historic districts and the rest of Buffalo. In 2019, Buffalo underwent a citywide reassessment for the first time since 2001. The dramatic increase in values was actually a reflection of years when properties were essentially under assessed. But ultimately the assessments are based on market evidence—transactions between buyers and sellers. What these patterns indicate is that while the value of properties throughout the city increased significantly, it was in historic districts that the value increase was the greatest, driven by marketplace demand.

Homes in Buffalo's local historic districts are experiencing property value growth greater than the rest of the city.

CHANGE IN VALUE (2017 - 2022)

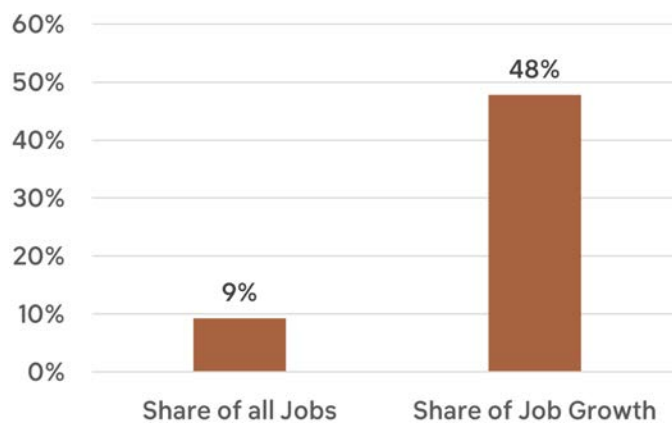


JOBS

Historic districts that are primarily commercial only constitute about 0.8 percent of Buffalo's land area. Still, 5 percent of Buffalo's businesses and a disproportionate share of jobs are located in these areas.⁶ In 2019, the most recent year for which data is available, 9 percent of Buffalo's jobs were located in these commercial historic districts.⁷ The rate of job growth in these districts is also significantly higher than in the rest of the city. Between 2010 and 2019, 48 percent of Buffalo's job growth took place in commercial historic districts.

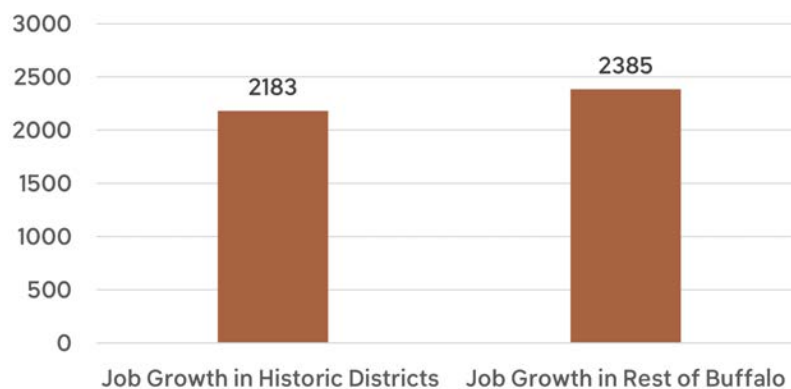
Historic districts are responsible for almost half of Buffalo's job growth over the last 10 years.

JOBS IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS (2010-2019)



While commercial areas within historic districts are only home to 9 percent of Buffalo's jobs, over the last decade nearly as many jobs were added within these areas (2,183) than the entire rest of the city (2,385).

JOB GROWTH (2010-2019)



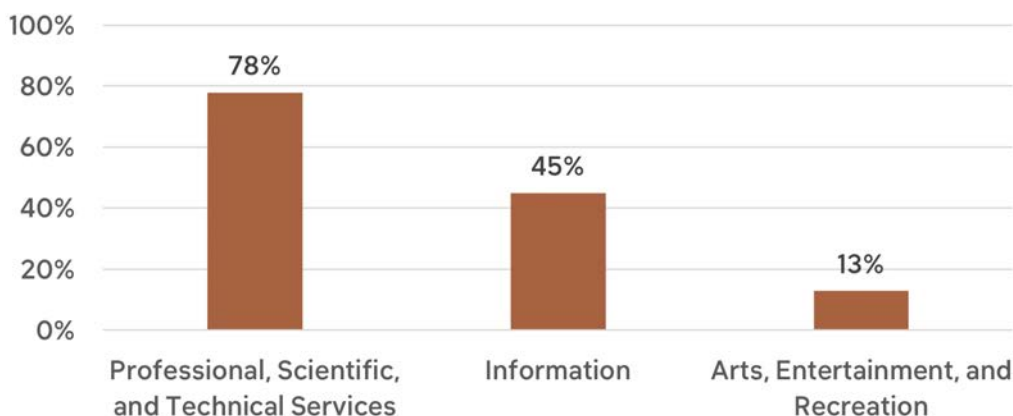
⁶ Data Axle, data retrieved May 12, 2022.

⁷ LEHD, 2002-2019, All Jobs-Work, retrieved April 6, 2022.

Historic districts are magnets for creative and knowledge-based industries.

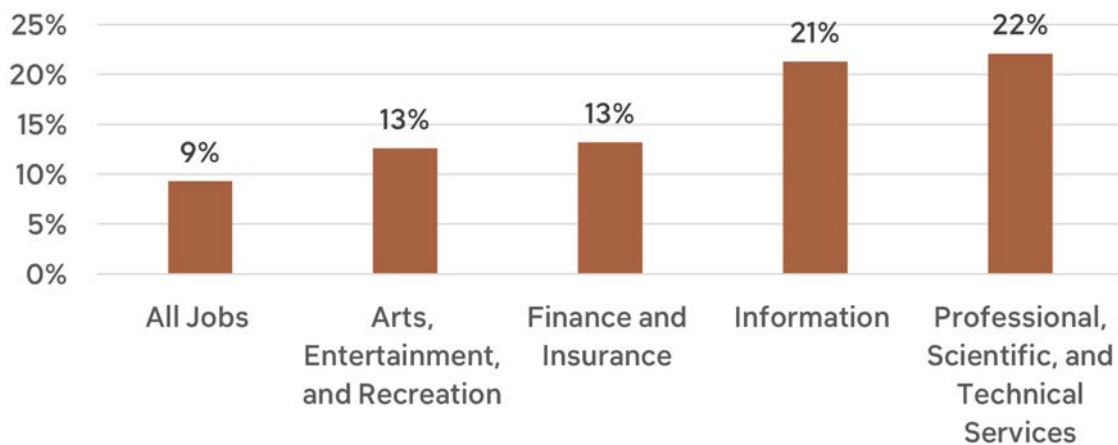
In key industries (Professional/Scientific/Technical Services, Information, and Arts/Entertainment/Recreation) commercial historic districts were where the city saw the largest growth.

SHARE OF CITY'S JOB GROWTH IN COMMERCIAL HISTORIC DISTRICTS BY INDUSTRY



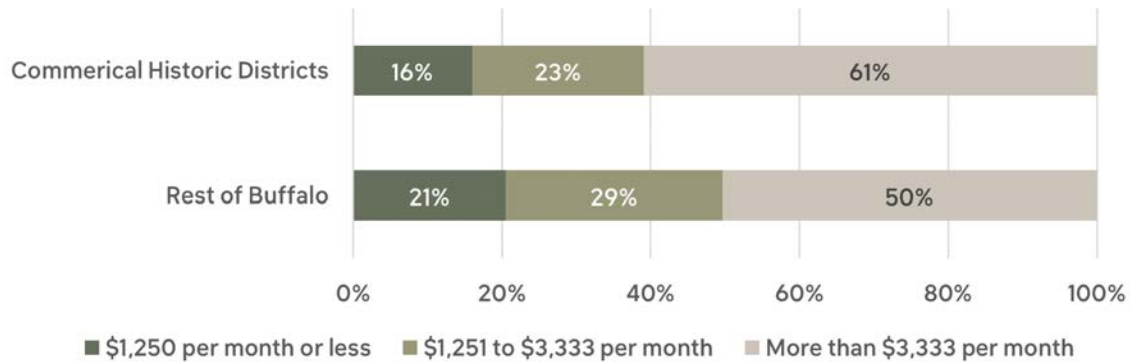
Jobs in the knowledge and creative class categories show the highest growth rates in historic commercial districts, meaning they're the type of jobs that are high on any economic development specialist's recruitment list. Arts and entertainment, finance and insurance, information, and professional, scientific, and technical services are all jobs categories that are more likely to be located in historic commercial neighborhoods.

HISTORIC DISTRICTS AND CREATIVE CLASS AND KNOWLEDGE WORKERS



Jobs in commercial historic districts also pay better. Almost 61 percent of jobs in commercial historic districts pay more than \$3,333 per month, as opposed to just 50 percent in the rest of the city.

EARNINGS IN COMMERCIAL HISTORIC DISTRICTS



Attracting and maintaining a younger workforce is key to ensuring cities’ survival. Historic areas tend to appeal to the type of industries that hire and attract a younger workforce. In Buffalo, the rate of job growth among young workers is more than four times greater in historic commercial areas than it is in the rest of the city.

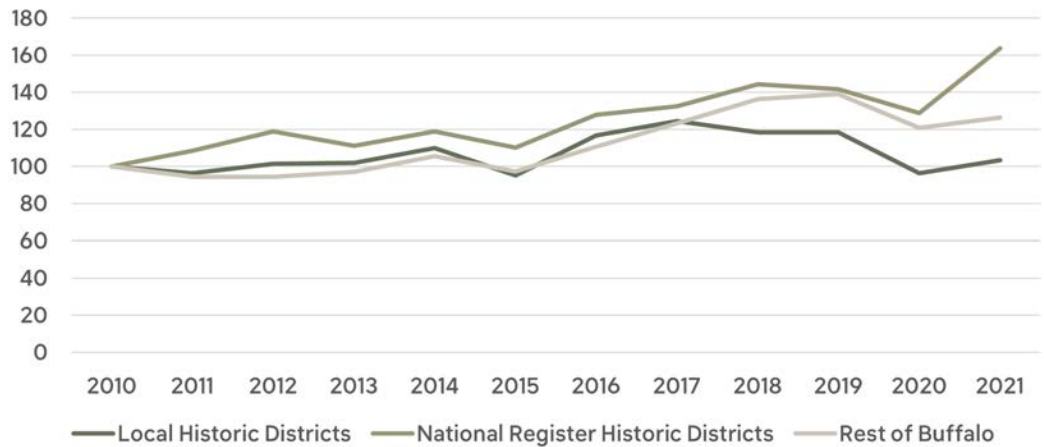
GROWTH OF YOUNG (UNDER 20) WORKERS (2010-2019)



CATALYTIC IMPACT FROM CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY

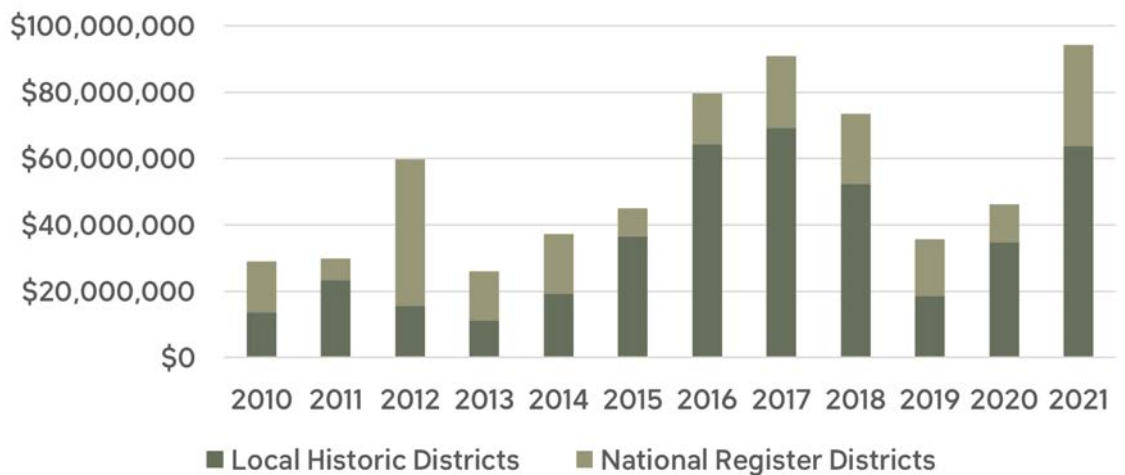
Between 2010 and 2021, there were almost 110,000 building permits in the city of Buffalo, 8 percent of which were in local historic districts and 9 percent of which were in National Register historic districts.⁸ Overall, the rate of permits in National Register historic districts outperformed both the rest of Buffalo and local historic districts.

BUILDING PERMITS OVER TIME (2010 = 100)



In dollar amounts between local historic districts and National Register historic districts around \$54 million a year on average has been invested.

CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

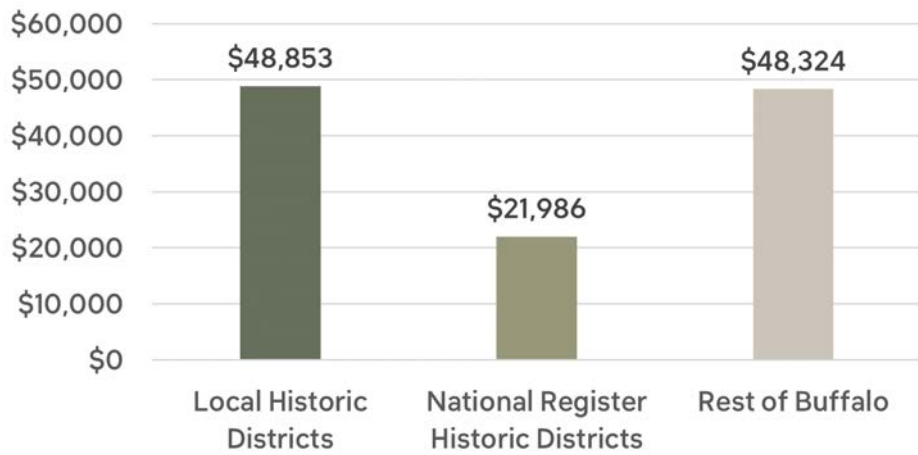


⁸ This analysis only included permits that involved the primary structure on the property. Therefore, permits for utilities, garages, fences, pools, signage, or other accessory uses were eliminated.



The average permit value in local historic districts is two times greater than the average permit value in National Register historic districts outside of local.

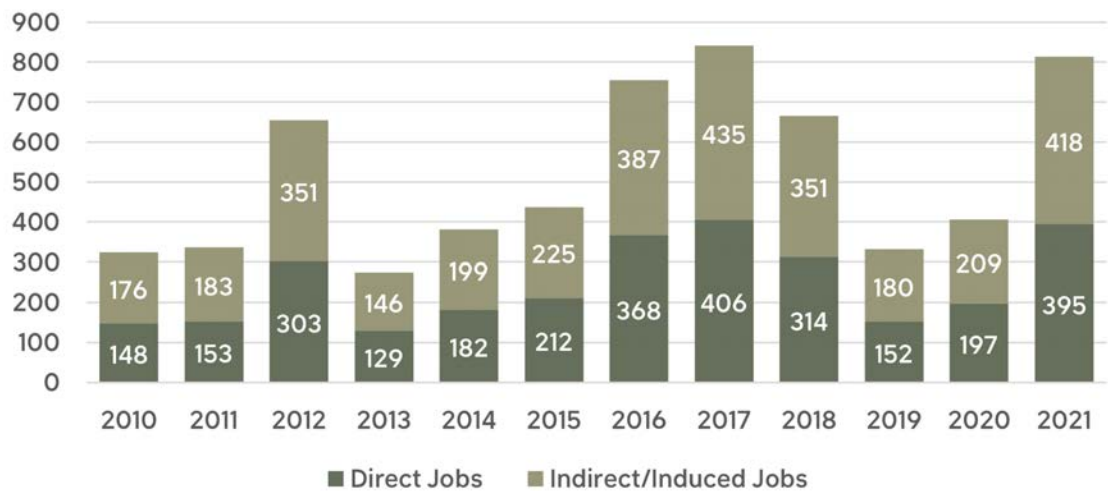
AVERAGE PERMIT VALUE



JOBS FROM CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Construction activity in historic districts certainly maintains quality housing and in many cases makes them more energy efficient. But because rehabilitation is labor intensive, this construction activity is also a major job creator for Buffalo citizens. Each year between 2010 and 2021, investment in historic districts has created an average of 272 direct jobs and an additional 247 indirect and induced jobs for Buffalo citizens.

JOBS FROM HISTORIC DISTRICT CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY



USEFUL DEFINITIONS

A “direct job” is a job that is created by the project. In the case of historic rehabilitation that would include a carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.

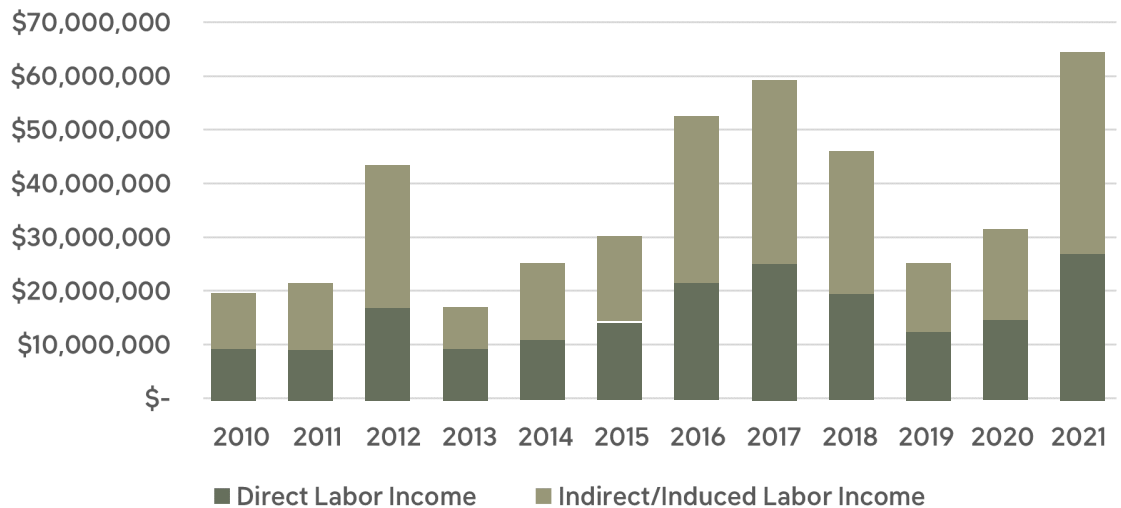
“Indirect jobs” are not created by the project, but are supported by it. In this case, the sales person at the lumberyard, or the truck driver that delivered materials to the job site are good examples of indirect jobs.

An “induced” job is a job that is supported by employees’ own spending on goods and services with wages earned through direct and indirect jobs.

LABOR INCOME FROM CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

These jobs tend to pay well and the paychecks they generate help support Buffalo residents. On average since 2010 citizens in Buffalo through their investment in historic districts have generated an average of nearly \$15 million each year in direct labor income and an additional \$21.7 million in indirect and induced labor income.

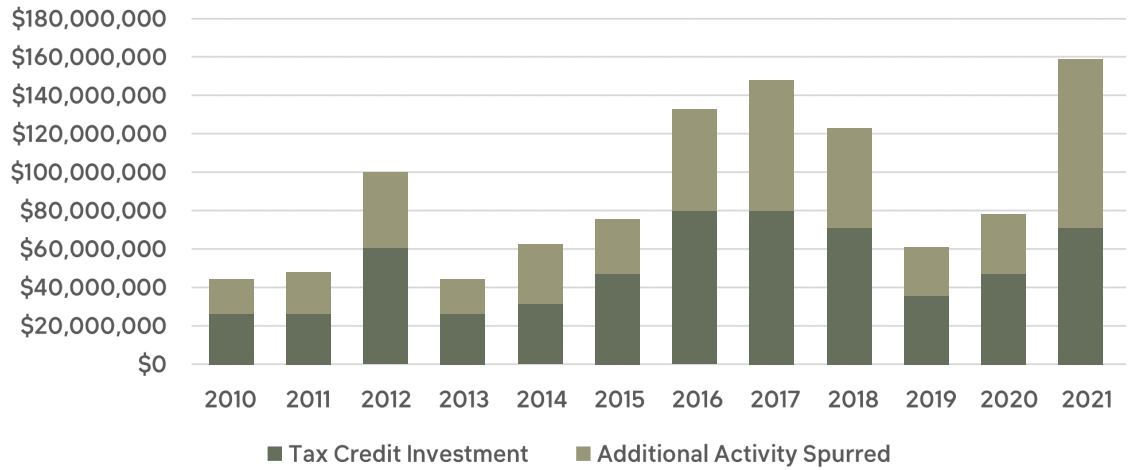
LABOR INCOME FROM HISTORIC DISTRICT CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY



Imagine if a corporation announced it was bringing a factory to Buffalo that would employ 270 people with paychecks of \$15 million. That would be considered a major economic development homerun. And yet that is what owners of historic district properties are doing on average each year.

The direct investment Buffalonians make in their historic district properties generates additional economic activity throughout the city when materials are purchased in lumber yards, hardware stores, equipment rental companies, and other businesses. Through this kind of local spending, the average \$54 million in construction activity in historic districts actually spurs an additional \$35 million of economic activity.

DIRECT INVESTMENT AND ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY FROM HISTORIC DISTRICT CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY



THE RICHARDSON OLMSTED CAMPUS

If one building could convey the magnitude of the latent potential that exists in Buffalo, it's the Richardson Olmsted Campus. A white elephant to rival all white elephants, the hulking campus is almost so overwhelming in size and stature that it's hard to imagine finding a single compatible use. The 463,000 square feet property is managed by the Richardson Center Corporation which oversees the stabilization and reuse of the campus. They and other creative minds in Buffalo are endeavoring to transform the site into a hospitality and cultural venue.

Designed by internationally-renowned architect H.H. Richardson and landscape architects Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, the campus is one of Buffalo's most iconic landmarks, and one of the largest adaptive reuse projects in the country. It was built to house the Buffalo State Asylum for the Insane, opened in 1880, and was designed based on the famous Kirkbride Plan, a system of enlightened treatment for people with mental illness. The massive campus represents the largest commission of H.H. Richardson's career and the advent of his iconic Richardsonian Romanesque style. It was added to the National Register in 1973 and designated a National Historic Landmark in 1986.

Preservation efforts have been underway for more than a decade, and have moved in fits and starts. The state took action in 2004 when it approved \$76.5 million to revive the site, supplemented by \$10 million in grants and \$16 million in state and federal tax credits. However, the project still required significant additional private investment. A planning phase that included the development of an Historic Structure Report, Cultural Landscape Report, and Master Plan followed. In April 2017, an 88-room hotel and conference center opened in three of the main buildings surrounding the site's iconic towers. But the pandemic proved too tough to weather, and the hotel closed in February 2021.

In 2022, redevelopment work resumed on the campus with a new development partner working to reopen the hotel and tackle phased development of the entire campus. This partnership would be a huge win for the Richardson Olmsted Campus, which had difficulty attracting a developer willing to commit the resources necessary to take on all 13 buildings. While there's still a long road ahead, the hotel is tentatively slated to open in autumn 2022, to the delight of Buffalonians and architecture lovers everywhere.

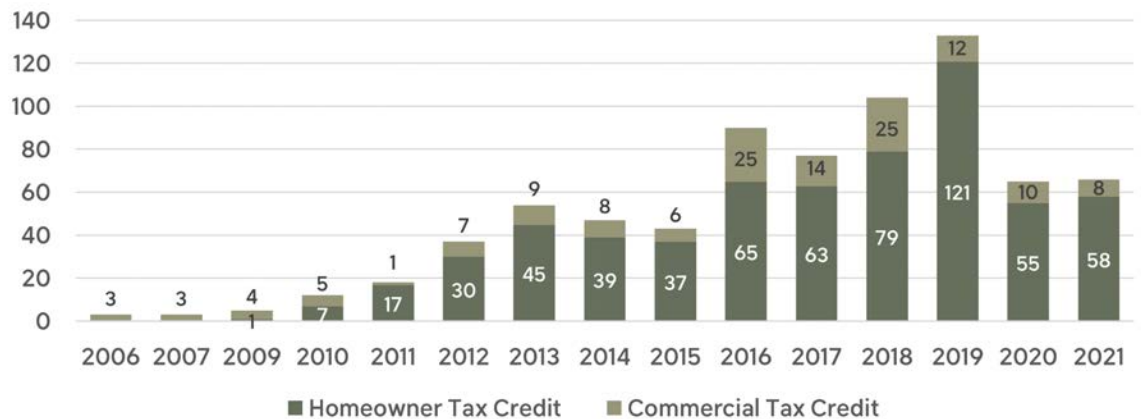


HISTORIC TAX CREDIT ACTIVITY

Tax credits are an important incentive for historic preservation and rehabilitation because they can help make larger or challenging projects financially feasible. New York launched its state historic rehabilitation tax credit program in 2007, providing incentives for both income producing and homeowner occupied historic properties. Certain restrictions (geographically limited to “ultra-distressed” census tracts for the homeowner credit and per project caps on the commercial credit) limited its use. A 2010 revamp of the program made it more accessible, and further updates in 2013 sought to stimulate the economy and boost community revitalization in New York.⁹ Another statewide change in 2020 expanded the eligibility for the homeowner tax credit to include any home in a city with less than one million people with a poverty rate greater than 15%, which will increase usage in neighborhoods like Elmwood Village and Parkside.

Since then, use of historic tax credits in New York State has grown substantially and Buffalo is among one of the state’s top users of both the state and federal historic rehabilitation tax credits.¹⁰ Tax credit activity in Buffalo is largely supported by the State Historic Tax Credit, which boosts the incentive for developers; tax credit activity was very low prior to the introduction of the state’s program. Since 2007, 143 projects have taken advantage of the New York State Commercial Historic Tax Credit and 617 have used the State Historic Homeownership Rehabilitation Credit.

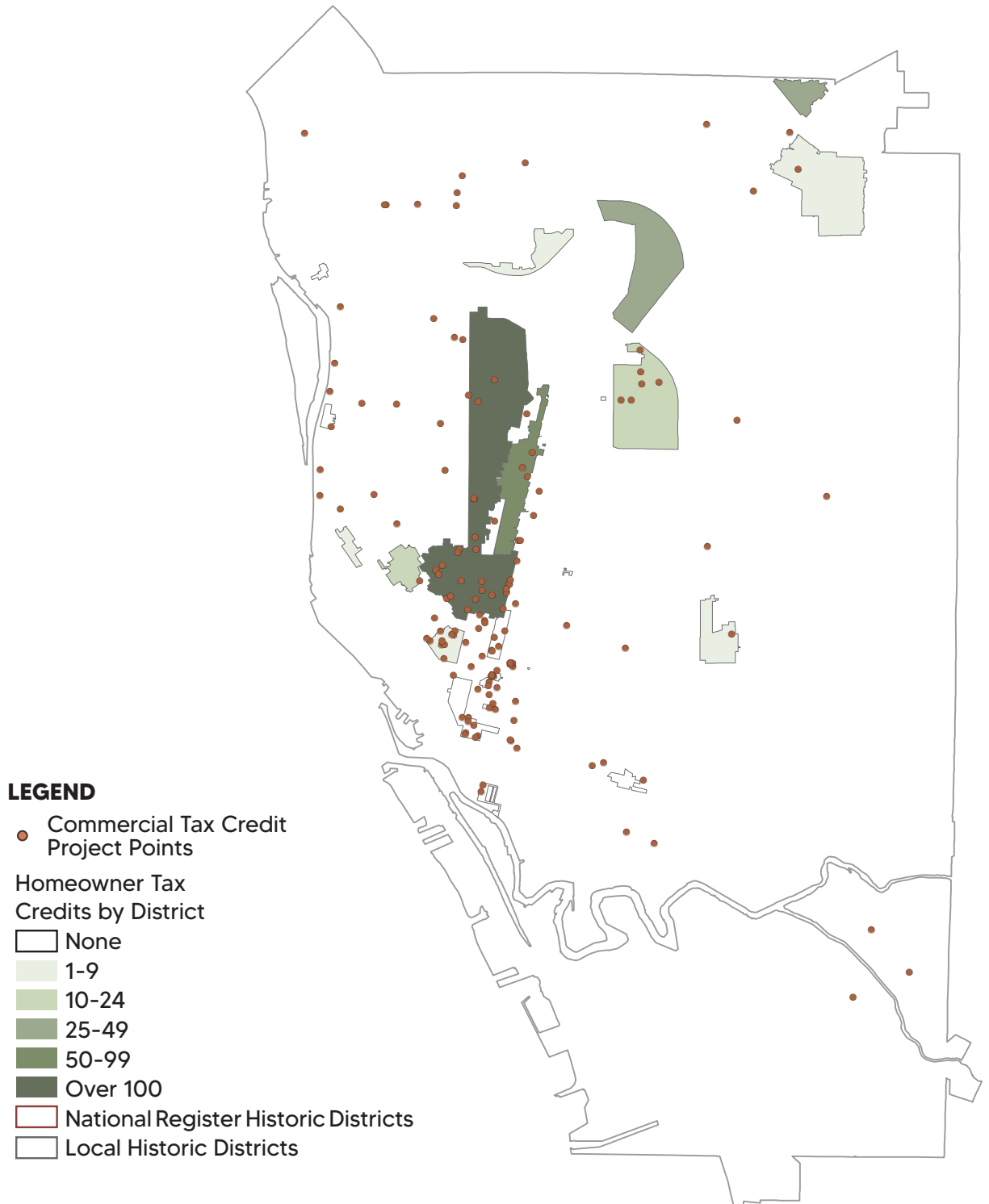
STATE TAX CREDIT PROGRAM USAGE



⁹ Vonesh, Sarah. The New York State Historic Tax Credit Program & Preserving Buffalo, New York: An Examination of the Program’s Use and Impact in Buffalo New York.” Master’s Thesis, Columbia University, 2015
¹⁰ The State Commercial HTC was designed specifically to be used in combination with the Federal Historic Tax Credit, meaning that if the income-producing property owner went through the federal process and received the federal tax credit, they would also receive the state tax credit.

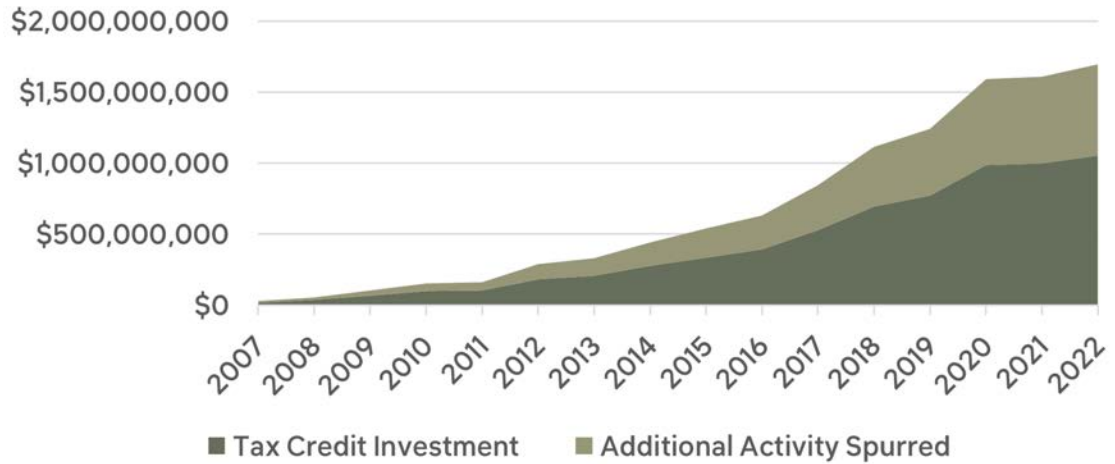
Rehabilitation of historic buildings creates economic impacts that extend well beyond the immediate projects: it supports direct and indirect jobs, increases surrounding property values, catalyzes additional redevelopment, and generates new local tax revenue.

That means that Historic Tax Credit activity has had a significant catalytic impact in Buffalo, spurring more than \$1 billion in direct investment in historic resources over the past 15 years and creating hundreds of direct, indirect, and induced jobs each year which generate paychecks that go back into Buffalo's economy.



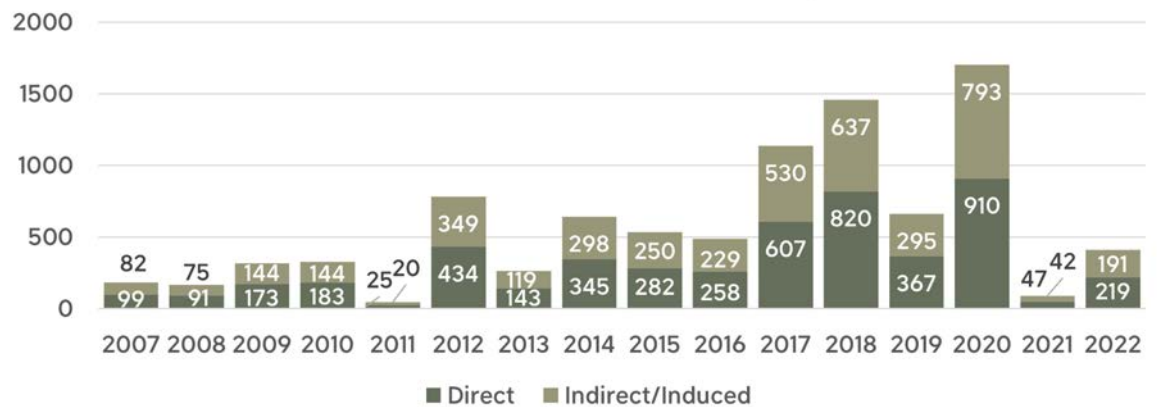
Over the past fifteen years, more than \$1 billion has been directly invested in Buffalo's historic buildings using the Federal and/or the New York State historic tax credits. But the impact does not stop there. Those projects have spurred an additional \$645 million of local economic activity.

CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT IN HISTORIC TAX CREDIT PROJECTS



The beneficiaries of this investment in historic buildings aren't just the property owners. Historic rehabilitation is a labor-intensive activity, meaning that a high percentage of the overall expenditure goes to salaries and wages of the people working on the projects. While the number of jobs created through rehabilitation varies considerably from year to year, over the last 15 years historic rehabilitation projects have created an average of 312.6 direct jobs¹¹ per year. In addition, an average of 262.6 indirect and induced jobs were generated each year by those projects.¹²

LOCAL JOBS FROM HISTORIC TAX CREDIT PROJECTS

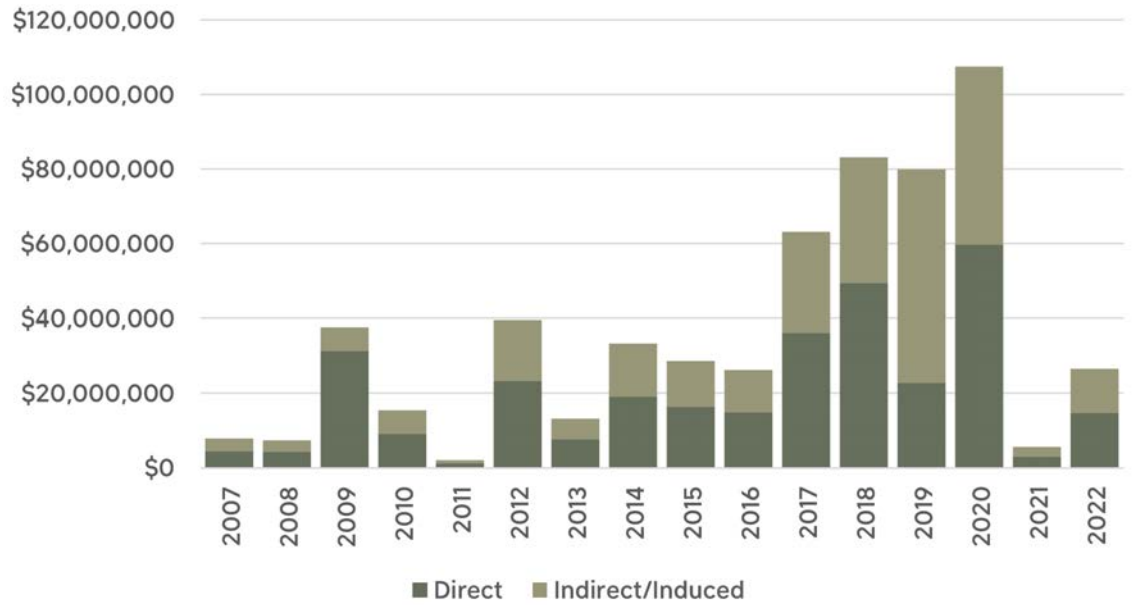


11 A "direct job" is a job that is created by the project. In the case of historic rehabilitation that would include a carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.

12 "Indirect jobs" are not created by the project, but are supported by it. In this case, the sales person at the lumberyard, or the truck driver that delivered materials to the job site are good examples of indirect jobs. An "induced" job is a job that is supported by employees' own spending on goods and services with wages earned through direct and indirect jobs.

The jobs created through these projects have living wage paychecks. Since 2017, direct workers on these historic preservation projects have, on average, received nearly \$20 million each year (\$19,924,825) in labor income. During the same timeframe, workers who held indirect and induced jobs that benefited from historic rehabilitation activity received more than \$16 million (\$16,203,825) in labor income.

LABOR INCOME FROM HISTORIC TAX CREDIT PROJECTS

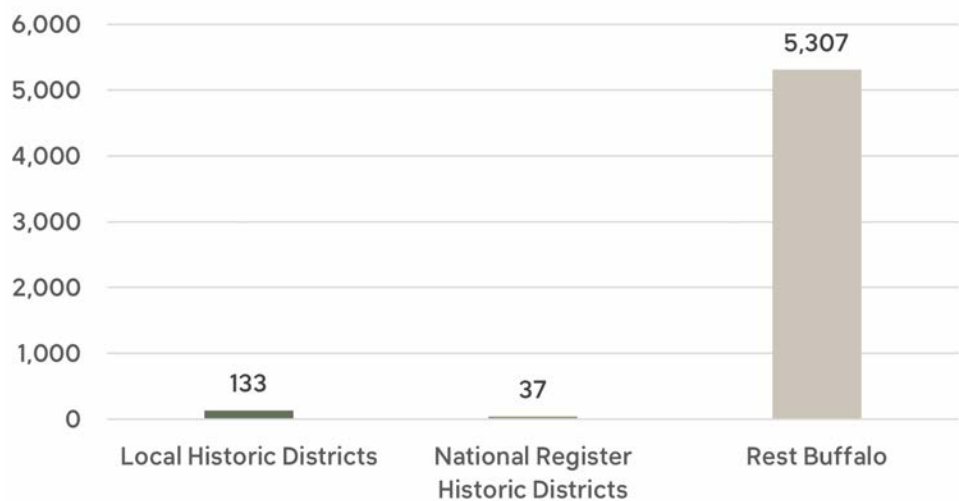


DEMOLITIONS

All too often the demolition of a building is the result of a failure – failure to keep the property in habitable condition, failure to attract new population to occupy the structure, failure of the imagination in finding a new use for the deteriorating building. That is not to say there should not be any demolitions. A vacant and abandoned house has a significant adverse impact on the value of surrounding houses. Sometimes (though far less often than alleged) a building is a public safety risk and needs to come down. And sometimes the demolition of a structure is the necessary prerequisite for construction that better meets the needs of a city. Whatever the reason for demolition, it still comes with environmental costs that are antithetical to sustainable development. While sometimes necessary, demolition is rarely an indicator of success.

Between 2007 and 2021, there were over 5,500 whole building demolitions¹³ in Buffalo, only 3% of which took place in either Local or National Register Historic Districts.

DEMOLITIONS (2007-2021)

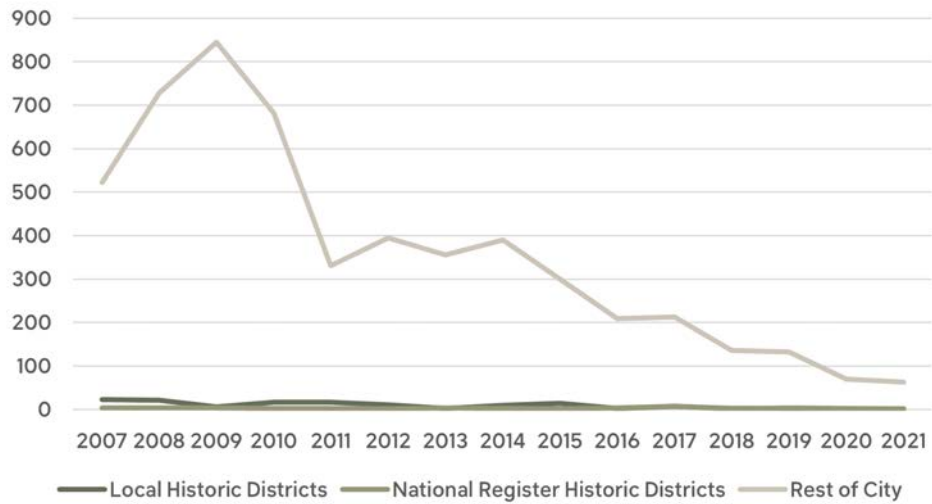


¹³ For this analysis, demolitions of garages, sheds, pools, and other accessory and/or non-structural features were excluded. All attempts were made to only take into consideration whole-structure residential and commercial demolitions.

The low rate of demolitions in both local and National Register historic districts is a result of the protection that being in a historic district provides and a sign of urban success.

The good news is that over the last 15 years the total number of demolitions in Buffalo has fallen significantly. The even better news is that demolitions were few in historic districts all along.

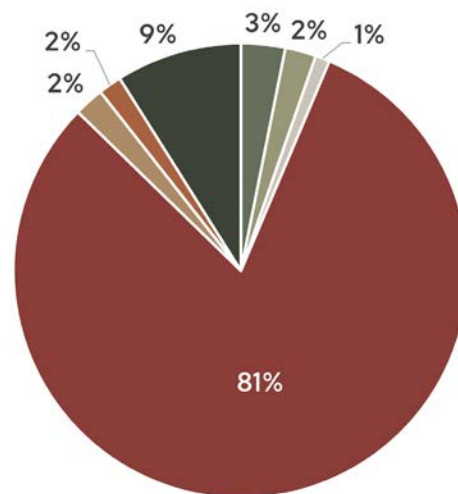
BUILDING DEMOLITIONS IN BUFFALO



HERITAGE TOURISM

Tourism is a major industry in the Buffalo-Niagara area and heritage tourism is a large component of visitor activity. Just over 80% of all visitors to the region fall into the Leisure category. The most recent year for which data was available, visitors spent \$1.9 Billion in Buffalo-Niagara.¹⁴

MAIN PURPOSE OF TRIP

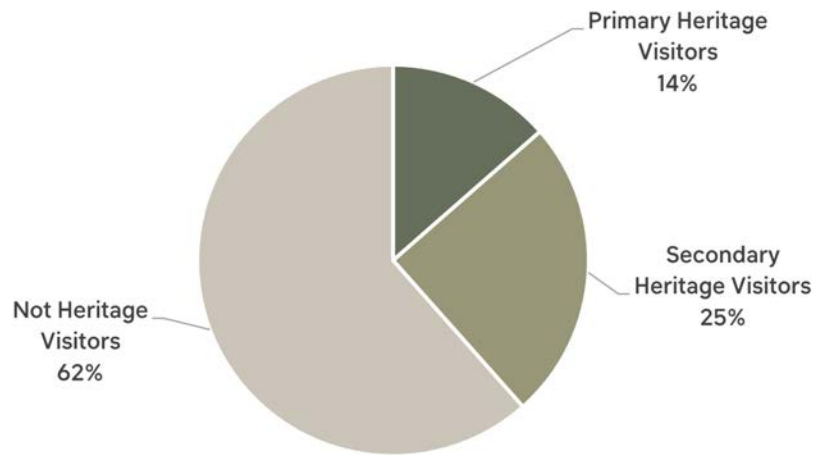


- Business trip
- Conference / meeting
- Group tour / motorcoach
- Leisure
- Team sports event / tournament
- University / college related
- Visiting Niagara Falls

¹⁴ Tourism data came from Empire State Development and Tourism Economics. The raw data upon which this analysis was conducted was generously shared with PlaceEconomics by Visit Buffalo Niagara.

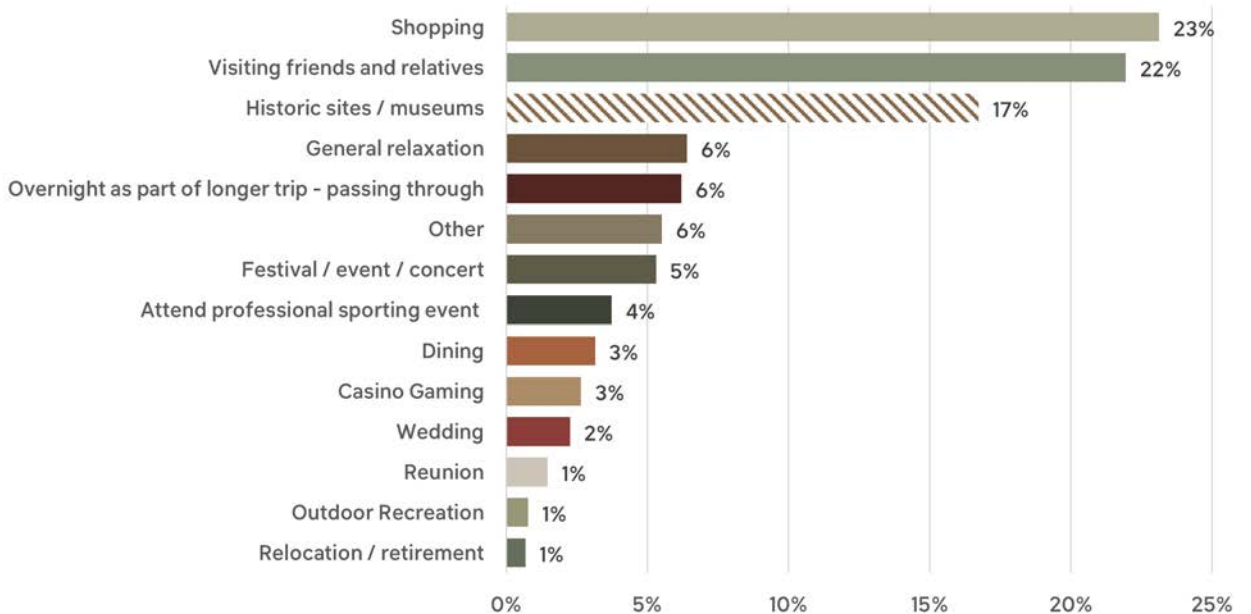
Of all visitors to Buffalo, PlaceEconomics has identified 13.4 percent as Primary Heritage Visitors—leisure visitors whose primary purpose in visiting the area was visiting historic sites and museums. An additional quarter of all visitors (24.9 percent) were categorized as Secondary Heritage Visitors. Those are visitors who did not visit Buffalo primarily to visit historic sites and museums, but who still did so during their trip. For example, 44 percent of people traveling to Buffalo on business ended up visiting historic sites and museums during their trip. Of the \$1.9 billion in total visitor spending, around 35 percent (\$658,978,462) is attributable to Primary Heritage Visitors.

VISITORS TO BUFFALO



Among all activities for Leisure Visitors, “shopping” and “visiting friends and relatives” were the most common, followed by “visiting historic sites and museums.”

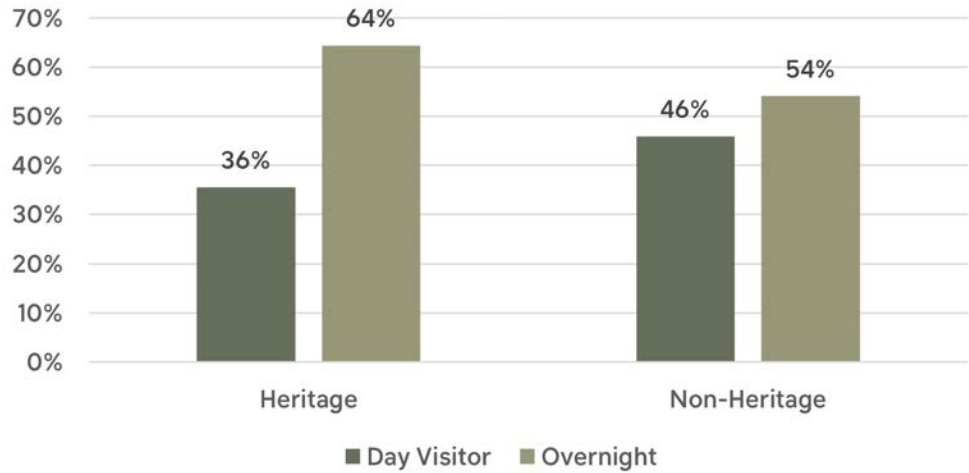
MAIN PURPOSE OF VISIT AMONG LEISURE VISITORS



As tourism experts will attest, while all types of visitors are important, overnight visitors have the greatest local economic impact. Sixty percent or more of a visitor's total expenditures will be made in the place they stay overnight. There is a significantly higher percentage of heritage visitors (64.5 percent) who stay overnight than non-heritage visitors (54.1 percent).

Heritage visitors spend more nights in Buffalo, which has a greater impact on the local economy.

DAY VS OVERNIGHT VISITORS



Furthermore, among visitors who stay overnight, heritage visitors tend to stay in paid lodging (hotels and B&Bs) longer than non-heritage tourists.

AVERAGE NIGHTS IN PAID ROOMS



Parkside Candies, University Heights

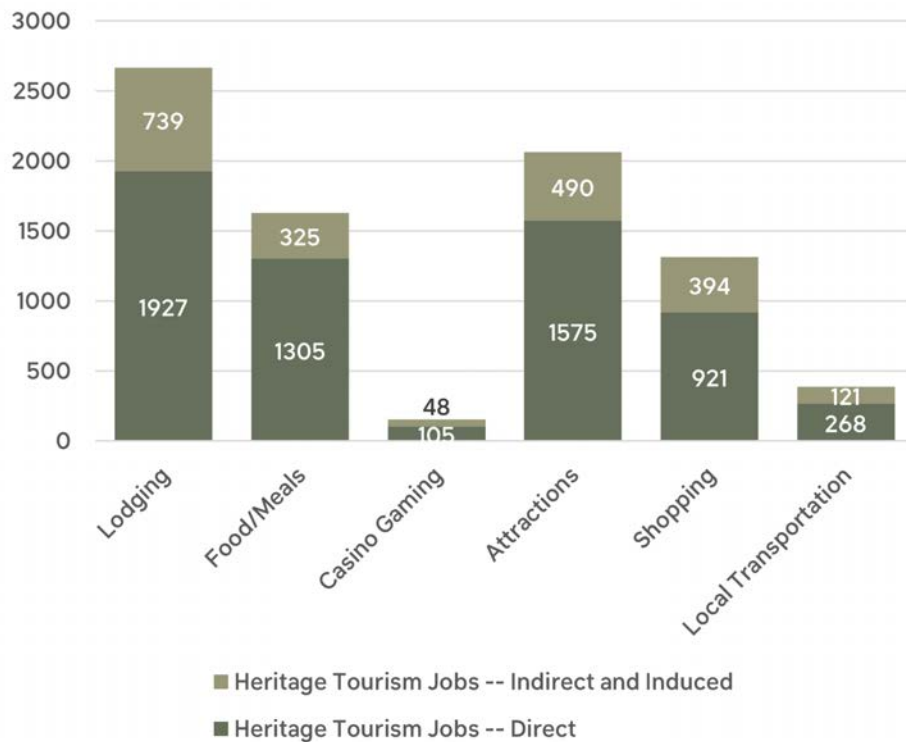


The coronavirus pandemic had a catastrophic impact on tourism around the world, and that certainly extended to the Buffalo region. Now, however, tourism is recovering to pre-pandemic levels. The estimated annual jobs and labor income that follows are based on the \$658 million direct spending and the \$332 million indirect and induced spending by heritage visitors at the pre-COVID level of activity.

In most tourism impact analysis, visitor expenditures are divided into five categories: lodging; food and beverage; admissions and attractions; retail shopping; and local transportation. Because the immediate Buffalo area includes nearly a dozen casinos on the US side making it a major destination for gaming and gambling, Casino Gaming was added as a separate category of tourism spending.

The heritage portion of tourism in Buffalo alone creates more than 6,000 local direct jobs (6,101) and supports an additional 2,117 indirect and induced jobs.

LOCAL JOBS FROM HERITAGE TOURISM



LOCAL JOBS BY INDUSTRY AND IMPACT

	Employment	Labor Income	Output
Lodging			
Direct	1926.9	\$87,053,083	\$201,727,385
Indirect & Induced	739.4	\$44,133,624	\$116,828,969
Total	2666.3	\$131,186,706	\$318,556,354
Meals			
Direct	1305.0	\$33,130,148	\$49,818,335
Indirect & Induced	325.2	\$20,550,193	\$32,590,448
Total	1630.2	\$53,680,341	\$82,408,783
Casino Gaming			
Direct	105.4	\$6,210,513	\$17,171,692
Indirect & Induced	48.1	\$2,900,415	\$4,747,107
Total	153.5	\$9,110,927	\$21,918,799
Attractions			
Direct	1574.7	\$55,128,815	\$58,482,381
Indirect & Induced	489.9	\$27,898,234	\$47,107,774
Total	2064.6	\$83,027,049	\$105,590,155
Shopping			
Direct	921.3	\$21,927,390	\$35,833,338
Indirect & Induced	393.5	\$23,458,344	\$37,378,014
Total	1314.8	\$45,385,734	\$73,211,352
Local Transportation			
Direct	267.8	\$11,931,170	\$16,740,020
Indirect & Induced	121.2	\$7,235,678	\$12,385,951
Total	389.0	\$19,166,847	\$29,125,971

MICHIGAN STREET AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL CORRIDOR

The Michigan Street African American Heritage Corridor sits prominently on Buffalo's east side, stretching from the waterfront to Ferry Street. The corridor's contributions to the area's heritage are rich and many, including sites of local, national, and international significance that tell the story of Buffalo's African American community over a span of more than 180 years. From the Buffalo Anti-Slavery Society, Underground Railroad, abolition and Civil Rights Movements, to major cultural movements like the Jazz Age, the corridor, while focused around Michigan Avenue, "embodies themes of Freedom, Cultural Expression and Self-Determination, spanning time and transcending a single geography."

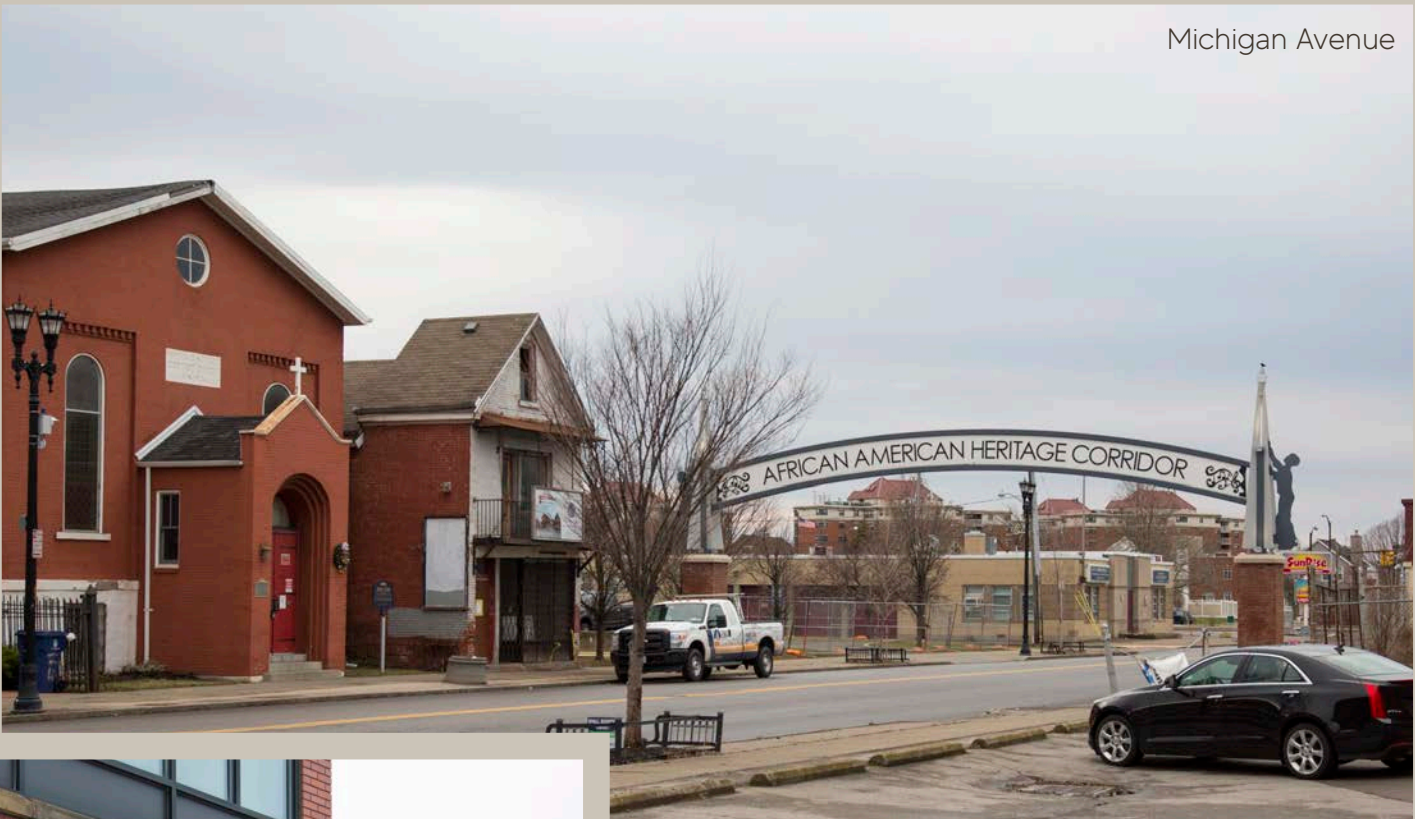
In 2007, a piece of New York State legislation designated the corridor a State Heritage Area "to fight against urban blight, extreme redlining and represent underserved neighborhoods." The Michigan Street African American Heritage Corridor Commission (MSAAHCC) was also established to manage the Corridor. Today, Executive Director Terry Alford is leading that effort. Alford took the role in February of 2020, becoming the Corridor's first ED. His charge: develop a strategic action to unify the corridor, which was recently completed and involved extensive community input. Since stepping into the role, Alford has been working closely with Preservation Buffalo Niagara to advance the organization's goals within the corridor. "There's great momentum happening now on this corridor," says Alford.

Once a densely populated and thriving community, Urban Renewal was hard on the Avenue, which—like many Black and immigrant neighborhoods in US cities at the time—was targeted for "slum clearance." Today, the Corridor faces an interesting challenge: how to effectively highlight and uphold these important stories when a relatively small amount of the physical fabric remains. Thanks to the work of early preservationists, the remaining landmarks, or what MSAAHCC calls "cultural anchors" include: the Michigan Street Baptist Church, founded in 1836; the Nash House, home to Reverend J. Edward Nash, the longest-serving pastor at the Michigan Street Baptist Church; The Historic Colored Musicians Club, founded in 1917 by a group of jazz musicians who were experiencing racial discrimination in Buffalo's white musicians unions and jazz clubs; and WUFO - Black Radio History Collective, which has had a powerful presence in Buffalo's Black community since the 1960s.

Future plans include strategic infill, adaptive reuse, creative storytelling, addressing issues like food security, introducing traffic calming measures and otherwise improving the quality of open space and creating places for the community to use and gather, reimagining the corridor as a major destination that celebrates the cultural impact of Buffalo's African American population in the past and present.



Michigan Avenue



Colored Musicians Club



Nash House

CONCLUSION

What has been learned in this analysis of historic preservation in Buffalo? Four lessons particularly stand out.

1. The historic buildings and neighborhoods today truly are both the legacy and the continuation of the Frederick Law Olmsted description of Buffalo as “the best planned city, as to its streets, public places and grounds, in the United States if not the world.”
2. The marketplace has demonstrated a preference and a demand for historic buildings and neighborhoods evidenced by property value appreciation, business attraction, job growth, and patterns of reinvestment.
3. Visitors who come to Buffalo to experience the historic resources reward the local economy in spending patterns, length of stay, and visitor satisfaction.
4. Leaders of Buffalo’s public, private, and non-profit sectors talk about the importance of diversity, inclusion, and equity as an asset for the social and economic future of Buffalo. And where is that happening at the neighborhood level in day-to-day interactions among Buffalo citizens? Disproportionately in local historic districts.

The authors of this report know of no city in the United States where the historic preservation movement has had a higher priority on making sure that historic preservation is diverse, inclusive, and equitable. The ongoing success of that effort is something all Buffalo citizens, preservationists or not, should be extremely proud. In Buffalo it is Everyone’s Heritage.



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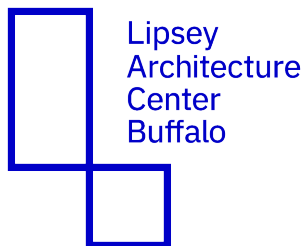
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EVERYONE'S HERITAGE

PREPARED FOR
PRESERVATION
BUFFALO NIAGARA
AND THE LIPSEY
ARCHITECTURE
CENTER

THE IMPACTS OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN BUFFALO

PREPARED BY PLACEECONOMICS

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