# MANCHESTER, NEWHAMPSHIRE VALUE PER ACRE ANALYSIS



Asheville | Portland

"A city is more than a place in space, it is a drama in time." – Patrick Geddes

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#### DATA SOURCES AND WORKS CONSULTED

City of Manchester United States Census Bureau The New Hampshire Union Leader New Hampshire Department of Revenue Administration Open Street Map Esri

#### DATA-DRIVEN STORYTELLING

## MANCHESTER, NH INTRODUCTION



Looking west and over the Mill Yard from Downtown Manchester

Manchester, New Hampshire, has a history of making the most of its available resources. In the late 1800s a booming textile industry established itself on the banks of the Merrimack River. Manufacturing peaked in 1911, but the Great Depression proved too great an obstacle and production waned. In later decades, new manufacturing companies moved into the mills and continued the tradition of industry. More recently, technology and innovation ventures and multifamily residential units have made use of the Millyard.

Part of what helps Manchester grow are decisions to adapt to change and use land more efficiently. Land is a finite resource and its use can either produce high enough property tax revenues to support resident needs, or drain city funds for infrastructure upkeep. In this report we look at how city wealth and development are connected, from Elm Street to Nashua, and beyond.

## MANCHESTER, NH TAX SYSTEM TIPS

Property taxes are a key revenue source for many local governments in the United States. New Hampshire is one of the most property revenuedependent states. Without sales tax, local governments like the City of Manchester rely quite heavily upon property taxes for funding. The pie chart to the right shows the significant role of property tax in the budget of Manchester.

Real property, the property that is taxed through this mechanism, is legally defined physical space that has value commensurate with the municipal services provided. This simple point has important implications for the way we think about government spending.

Mapping property tax production is tantamount to mapping how Manchester pays for municipal services, like police and fire protection, the school system, and infrastructure. When property value varies geographically, we can make comparisons between other spatially relevant factors such as patterns of development, demographics, and public investment. Put simply, how land is used directly affects its tax productivity. As such, analyzing the value that is the source of government revenues is critical to planning a strong financial future.



ABOVE: Property taxes make up the greatest portion of city revenue



ABOVE: The formula for a property tax bill in Manchester starts with the assessed value of a property

#### MANCHESTER, NH TAX CAP RECAP

In 2009, Manchester voters passed a referendum to impose a revenue and expenditure cap that limited change in both money streams to the average of the inflation rates for the last three years. The tax caps were struck down in the New Hampshire Supreme court. However, the State Legislature retroactively authorized the caps in 2011, which allowed them to take effect in 2012 during the budgeting process for 2013. The cap limits are set without regard to the property revaluation that takes place every 5 years. The Board of Mayor and Elected Aldermen are allowed to override the cap with a 2/3 vote. In the eight budgeting years the cap has been in effect (2013 - 2020), it's been overridden 5 times.

The tax cap and its effect on City revenues is important to consider when thinking about land use. New development that produces more value isn't as beneficial to the City as it could be when its ability to provide property tax revenue is limited by the cap. Additionally, the cap limits revenue that funds infrastructure maintenance. With funds limited to the rate of inflation, the cost of deferred maintenance grows.

The cap has kept revenues, and therefore tax rates, relatively steady. However, the cap disregards the effect of revaluation, which revalues property according to its worth in current economic circumstances. Manchester can't take advantage of prosperous economic times to prepare for economic downturns. Likewise, Manchester is unable to spend enough money to keep necessary programs and services afloat during economic decline. With revenue limited by the cap in good times and bad, Manchester has difficulty consistently meeting resident needs.



# SPEED LIMIT

LAST YEAR'S PROPERTY REVENUE INCREASED BY THE AVERAGE OF THE CHANGED IN THE CPI-U FOR THE LAST THREE CALENDAR YEARS

**LIMIT** PLUS THE VALUE OF

SPEED

NEW CONSTRUCTION

REGARDLESS OF REVALUATION

# SPEED LIMIT

UNLESS 2/3 OF THE BOARD OF ELECTED ALDERMEN VOTE TO OVERRIDE

#### MANCHESTER, NH WHY VALUE PER ACRE?

Urban3's analysis focuses on the "per acre" metric as a unit of productivity. After all, cities and counties are, at their simplest, finite areas of land, and how that land is used has a direct effect on municipal coffers. This metric normalizes total revenues and tax values into a direct "apples-to-apples" comparison, utilizing land consumed as a unit of productivity.

Put another way, different cars have differently-sized gas tanks, so the gallon is used as the standard measure, not the tank. Therefore, "miles per gallon", not "miles per tank" is common practice to gauge efficiency. We apply the same principle to measure the financial productivity of various development types across a community.

Expansive developments with large footprints (like a sprawling subdivision) are typically more expensive to service with public utilities (streets, water and sewer). Thus, examining a development's total tax production overlooks the amount of land and other public resources consumed in order to produce revenue. Nevertheless, many cities use a total value map, like the one on the top right of Hillsborough County, to inform land use decisions.

In contrast, the map on the bottom right illustrates how dividing total value by total acreage identifies the lower-efficiency areas (dark green) near the periphery and the concentrations of higher-efficiency parcels (dark red and purple), typically near historic centers and traditional, non-interstate corridors. This metric more accurately measures how well a city or county uses its chief finite resource: land.



ABOVE: Large purple suburban parcels stick out in the Hillsborough County total value map



ABOVE: Small red and purple parcels are concentrated in city centers in the Hillsborough County value per acre map



ABOVE: The 3D map of Hillsborough County value per acre shows the peaks of Manchester in the northeast corner.

Urban3 visualizes property value in 3D to make relative comparisons of values in downtown, with property values on the periphery of a community. 3D visualization of development and property values also illustrates the spatial manifestation of public policy.

The City of Manchester's incorporated area yields 6.7 times the property value per acre compared to the rest of Hillsborough County's land area. Further, Downtown Manchester's value per acre productivity is 3.5 times that of the rest of the City. Most exciting is that the property value per acre of Downtown Manchester is 24 times more productive than Hillsborough County, relative to its size. The map below highlights just Downtown to show how productive this small area, 0.07% of all county land, can produce 1.7% of the county's value.



The bar chart below lists some of the properties we used to compare how development patterns and land use affect value per acre. Average residential values and big-box commercial properties have lower value per acre and appear on the left in blue and red. On the right side of the chart green bars pop up as mixed use properties come into play. Adding the value of the residential to commercial buildings significantly increases value and emphasizes the point that mixed-use is typically more valuable and more efficient at producing revenue than single-use.

The Walmart in Bedford is an example of a typical big-box development at \$809,694 per acre. Walmart provides the baseline for comparing other development types. Walmarts are constructed using inexpensive materials, have large surface area parking lots, and are often located in suburban areas. Together, these three factors reduce the typical value per acre because more land is used without producing proportionate value.

The Mall of New Hampshire is an example of an expansive big-box development within Hillsborough County at \$2.7 million per acre. Not only is the mall a shopping center for Manchester, but also for a large regional, and even state-wide market. It has regional significance and is likely valued higher because of it.



ABOVE: The Bedford Walmart pictured here in March 2019, closed in June 2019



ABOVE: The Mall of New Hampshire is a regional shopping destination



ABOVE: Values on the bar chart range from \$133k to \$67M per acre

The average value per acre of all multifamily housing, including condos and townhouses, within Manchester is \$3.9 million per acre. Multifamily land use is especially efficient from a value per acre standpoint. Taller buildings with smaller footprints, common to multifamily buildings, typically have a higher value per acre.

The Brady Sullivan Tower on Elm Street is at nearly \$2 million per acre. An office tower like this would typically see a higher value per acre because more stories equates to more value. However, the office tower shares its land with a large parking lot, which subsequently reduces its value productivity.

The Pembroke Block on Elm Street was built in the late 1800s and is worth \$15 million per acre. Many historic buildings not only produce significant value now, but have also been producing value for Manchester for over 100 years. They also contribute to the character of a street. Preserving these buildings is key to maintaining existing wealth and sense of place.

City Hall Plaza is the tallest building in New Hampshire. It has the peak value per acre in Hillsborough County at \$67 million per acre. City Hall Plaza's value per acre is three times the second highest value per acre at \$22 million. This gap is significant because it shows that the value of City Hall Plaza is an outlier and not necessarily an indicator of the overall fiscal health of the city.



ABOVE: The three different styles of multifamily development seen here are part of the average multifamily value



ABOVE: The Brady Sullivan Tower is an example of an office tower with an accompanying parking lot



ABOVE: City Hall plaza is 20 stories and does not share its parcel with a parking lot



ABOVE: The Pembroke Block is just one example of a historic building with a high value per acre

Urban3's this vs. that comparisons imagine a scenario in which an empty development site is filled with one type of building until the value of the imaginary development site equals that of another existing property. This thought experiment allows us to see how density and design impact land use.

When we compare the Pembroke Block to the Rite Aid strip, we see that a site with 0.19 acres of Pembroke, or adding 5% more building to what already exists, would equal the total property value of the 2.8 acre Rite Aid. Urban3 made this comparison because a developer could conceivably design the uses that come with a Rite Aid strip mall to fit within a building like the Pembroke Block. The need for a drug store is met, but land is used more efficiently, which generates a higher value per acre.



When we compare the highest performing property, City Hall Plaza, with the Walmart in Bedford, we see that a site with 0.14 acres of City Hall Plaza, or about half of what already exists, would equal the property value of the 12 acre Bedford Walmart. Urban3 made this comparison to demonstrate the difference in magnitude of value between lower efficiency big-box stores and highly efficient downtown office towers.



## MANCHESTER, NH ECONOMIC ELEMENTS

Manchester is also part of the much larger Boston Metropolitan Area, which includes parts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. At only an hour's drive away, Manchester is undoubtedly connected to the Boston area. To understand where Manchester residents work in the region, we mapped jobs at the metro and micropolitan level. At this scale, 58% of Manchester-Nashua residents work within the Manchester-Nashua metropolitan area. 24% of Manchester-Nashua residents work within Boston-Cambridge-Newton metropolitan area. Another 12% of Manchester-Nashua residents work in Concord. At both the municipal and metropolitan scales, the portion of Manchester residents who work in Manchester is larger than any other single job destination.



work at the metro/micropolitan level



ABOVE: Yellow spokes show where residents of Manchester go for work at the community level



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## **MANCHESTER, NH** TAXABLE VS NONTAXABLE LAND

The maps in this chapter display the distribution of taxable land (green) and nontaxable land (gray). The taxable status of land is usually not permanent and can change over time due to a change in use or ownership. Land can change from agriculture to subdivision and increase the amount of tax value. It could also be purchased by a university or other tax-exempt organization and be granted nontaxable status. Considering the amount of taxable and nontaxable land is important to understanding what portion of land is generating revenue for a city and how much is only consuming resources.

The map at the top right shows that Hillsborough County land is 82% taxable and 18% nontaxable. These proportions are fairly normal at the county level, especially for a place that has cities and towns scattered throughout a rural county.

The City of Manchester's land is 71% taxable and 29% nontaxable, as seen in the map to the right. A significant part of the nontaxable area is made up of riverfront and lakeside parks, as well as educational institutions.

Downtown Manchester's land is 67% taxable and 33% nontaxable, as seen in the map at the bottom right. Much of the nontaxable land is parks, railways, and government-owned properties, including parking.



ABOVE: Hillsborough County has a typical ratio of taxable to nontaxable land for a county



ABOVE: Public institutions and parks make up much of the nontaxable land within Manchester city limits



ABOVE: Downtown Manchester has a decent amount of taxable land for a central business district



## MANCHESTER, NH NASHUA COMPARISON

Urban3 decided to take a look at how Manchester and nearby Nashua compare on a nontaxable land basis. The map below shows Nashua on the left and Manchester on the right in color.

Despite having slightly more taxable land, Nashua has far less highly productive land. That difference is productivity is also clear when we compare the average value per acre of the two cities in the graph at the top right. Manchester's average value per acre is 14% more than Nashua's.

The graphic at the bottom right reveals the peak value per acre in each city. Manchester's peak value per acre towers above Nashua's at \$67.7 million and \$12.9 million, respectively.

As mentioned earlier, Manchester's peak value per acre is an outlier compared to the other top properties. Urban3 decided to compare Manchester's second highest value per acre to Nashua's to compensate for the anomaly. In this second, alternative value per acre comparison, Manchester still wins with a peak value per acre that surpasses Nashua's by nearly \$10 million. A productive downtown is what helps Manchester compete with Nashua.



ABOVE: Nashua and Manchester are compared on a taxable land and average VPA basis



ABOVE: Nashua and Manchester are compared on a peak value per acre and alternate peak value per acre basis



ABOVE: Nashua, on the left, has a much more plateau-like profile than spiky Manchester

#### MANCHESTER, NH NASHUA COMPARISON

It's not just the high-value productivity red and purple properties that boost Manchester's value productivity. The yellow and orange properties that fall within the middle part of the green to purple color scale used on value per acre maps are just as important for creating fiscal health. Put another way, purple spikes are the soloists in an orchestra, but orange and yellow parcels make up the supportive brass section. In the graphic below we see the total number of acres in each color segment in Manchester and in Nashua. The cities have similar acreage within the green and light yellow range of productivity. The number of acres in the dark yellow and orange segments is hard to discern at this scale.



The next graphic takes the bar chart above and zooms in to the total number of acres within the yellow to purple range. The difference between Manchester and Nashua is unmistakable. The number of acres within the orange color range speaks to the greater productivity of Manchester.



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MANCHESTER, NH

Manchester incorporated as a city nearly 175 years ago. Before that, it was chartered as the city Derryfield. Before that, native Pennacooks knew the banks of the Merrimack as a good place to fish. Looking at how Manchester evolved over time is important to understanding why the City looks like it does today. In the map to the right parcels with buildings built before 1925 are in shades of brown. Parcels with buildings built after 1925 are in shades of green. Parcels with no data are gray. Manchester is interesting because the core of the city was built before 1900. The scale and density of the urban development at that time is partly due to the milling industry which had begun nearly 100 years before.

The later decades in shades of green take on the patterns of more car-centric urban design. Making the distinction between before and after the automobile revolution is important because that's when America generally stopped building cities for the pedestrian and built for the car. Development became less dense and surface parking lots became part of parcel footprints. The less-dense neighborhoods on the periphery of Manchester are more expensive to service, yet produce less value per acre due to large property footprints. Limiting sprawl and encouraging density are important to keeping Manchester's infrastructure expenses under control while also fostering property value productivity.

Year Built No Data 1699- 1850 1851 - 1875 1876 - 1900 1901 - 1925 1926 - 1950 1951 - 1975 1976 - 2000 2001 - 2018

ABOVE: The oldest parts of town are adjacent to the millyard



Another element to consider in the matter of development over time is population. Unlike most industrial cities, Manchester's population continued to grow even after core manufacturing companies left the Millyard. A tiny dip in population occurred in the 1960s, but it was miniscule compared to rust belt cities that lost tens of thousands of residents. One might make the case that since Manchester's population continued to grow after industrial decline, it would be reasonable for the City's footprint to continue to grow. However, when we compare how Manchester's population grew over time and how the number of developed acres within city limits grew, a startling difference emerges.

In the chart below the light purple line represents the growth of population over time. Manchester saw remarkable population growth from 1875 to 1925. In the second half of the 20th century, Manchester continued to grow, but at half the speed. The bars on the graph represent the developed acres that existed at the start of the 25 year period in brown and the acres of developed land added by the end of the next 25 years. 1925 is the turning point at which newly developed acres starts outpacing population growth. Without a population that generates property revenue to support it, a larger city footprint becomes too expensive to properly service with infrastructure. This chart highlights how development decisions from decades past are affecting Manchester's fiscal health today and far into the future.



Examining the age of parcels tells us how Manchester consumed land, but looking at the approximate age of roads tells us about the timing of infrastructure spending that supported the growth of the City.

In the image to the top right, we see the approximate street grid of Manchester in 1925. Manchester had about 77,000 people and 140 miles of road. That equals 9.6 feet of road per person. The street grid is generally tight and able to support a dense walkable city.

The image to the bottom right, shows the approximate street grid of Manchester in 2018. Manchester had 111,000 people and 535 miles of road. That equals 25.4 feet of road per person.

From 1925 to 2018, Manchester population increased 44%. Over that same time period, the feet of road per person increased 163%. The bars below visualize the change.

Population 44% Increase

Feet per person

163% Increase

9

2

5

ABOVE: The changes in population and feet of road per person are represented by bars drawn to scale

2

The increase in road miles without a proportional increase in people strains infrastructure spending budgets because there aren't enough people to support the level of government spending needed to maintain infrastructure. The disparity between the increase in population and feet of road per person also speaks to the change in how development patterns in Manchester have dramatically changed over the last ninety years.

Road building decisions made in previous decades have ramifications for development today. If the average width of Manchester's current 535 miles of road was 2.5 lanes, that would be enough road surface to build a single lane road from Manchester to Orlando. The map below illustrates the magnitude of that hypothetical road surface. Before committing to the cost of building and maintaining new roads, it's important to remember the extent of existing roads. Ask how much more of a road to Florida does Manchester plan to maintain.

This overabundance of roads phenomenon isn't unique to Manchester. City building changed from a compact street grid design to disconnected spiraling sprawl across the country. While we can't change the past, Manchester can carefully consider the long-term implications of development decisions and take steps to grow in a more fiscally-sound way for the future.



ABOVE: Manchester is already responsible for a road surface that could reach Florida if stretched into a single lane

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MANCHESTER, NH

#### MANCHESTER, NH AMOSKEAG MOMENT

Amoskeag manufacturing was one of the key players in creating the city that Manchester is today. Amoskeag manufactured textiles and at its peak in 1911, it was the largest cotton plant in the world. Since Amoskeag played such an important role in the founding of Manchester, Urban3 decided to look at the city in terms of before and after this "Amoskeag moment" to see how property value and development patterns changed.

In the map to the right, the properties with buildings dated 1911 and before are in blue. Properties with buildings dated 1912 and after are in dark gray. Properties with no data are in light gray. Most blue parcels follow a grid street pattern in some form on both sides of the river. It is important to note that a dark gray parcel within downtown likely existed before 1911, but currently has a modern building on it. Unlike the land on the edges of the city, the downtown area has been through several iterations of building replacement.

The map in 3D at the bottom left shows younger parcels in dark gray making up the bulk of the city. However, the map in 3D at the bottom right shows that, despite their age, historic blue parcels still pack a punch when it comes to value per acre. The average value per acre of all 1911 and before parcels combined is about \$1,000,000. The average value per acre of all 1912 and after parcels combined is only \$600,000. The difference in the average value per acre of the two groups of parcels is evidence that density and higher value construction, along with less land consumption, boosts property value productivity in the historic parcels to nearly twice that of the younger parcels.





ABOVE: Blue parcels were built in 1911 and before

MANCHESTER, NH

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#### **MANCHESTER, NH** SCENARIO VALUE PROJECTIONS

Urban3 modeled development scenarios by creating realistic combinations of land use types to forecast value for three different infill sites around Downtown Manchester. The following scenarios represent speculative concepts for the infill opportunities, not actionable design plans. Although the scenarios are hypothetical, they are realistic representations of what more efficient use of land could contribute to Downtown, currently valued at \$657 million. The map to the right is Manchester in its current state.

The first scenario, mapped at the bottom left, replaces the 3.6 acre nontaxable Arms Park on the Merrimack River with mixed-use, commercial, multifamily residential, parking, and office space uses. In this scenario half an acre of open park space is preserved. This combination would add about \$14.8 million in taxable value to Downtown.



ABOVE: Downtown Manchester at its current state with a total property value of \$657 million

The second scenario, mapped at the bottom right, takes 9.6 acres of the South Elm Street area north of Queen City Avenue and fills half of it with commercial and mixed-use properties. The majority of the remaining land is used for multifamily residential. Two smaller shares are dedicated to parking and open greenspace. This infill adds about \$43 million in taxable value to Downtown.





ABOVE: Infill development on the Arms Park site appears to the left of the second tallest purple spike

## Scenario 2 Added Value: \$43M



ABOVE: Infill development in the South Elm Street area adds a purple spike and a few` red spikes to the south end of downtown

#### **MANCHESTER, NH** SCENARIO VALUE PROJECTIONS

The final scenario concerns the National Guard armory between Canal and W Salmon Street. This infill site is close to the dense development of Downtown Manchester, so this scenario is built to function as an extension of the city center. The majority of the 7.4 acres of the armory is occupied by mixed-use and multifamily residential properties. About half an acre is used for office space and the remaining 1.4 acres is used for parking. This infill adds about \$63 million in taxable value to Downtown.

Together the three infill projects would generate about \$121 million in new value for Downtown, or an additional 18% on top of the existing \$657 million. These three scenarios might individually seem insignificant in value creation. However, the issue of generating more property value should not be met with one silver bullet mega project. That kind of development is usually financially unsustainable and is detrimental to community well-being. Instead, incremental development on one site at a time, in different parts of the city, provides the opportunity to grow property value responsibly.

Scenario 3 Added Value: \$63M

ABOVE: Infill development on the armory site appears north of Downtown with a mix of purple and red spikes



ABOVE: Infill development is one way to incrementally create significant value

## MANCHESTER, NH PARALLEL PARKING

Parking is a serious concern in nearly every community Urban3 has analyzed. Manchester is no different. The tech and entrepreneurial boom in the Millyard has left some feeling like the search for a parking spot is an insurmountable obstacle. To understand the scale of the issue, Urban3 mapped the surface land use for three different areas. Parking surfaces are shown in red, buildings are shown in black, and other land uses, like vegetation, are shown in beige.

In the aerial photo to the right, Downtown is relatively equal parts parking, buildings, and roads with a small portion dedicated to other land uses. This semi-equal division of land uses is typical in Downtown. Buildings dominate the landscape, but parking lots and street parking are interspersed behind and between buildings. Unlike other areas, Downtown has a significant amount of road surface due to the consistent grid pattern and multi-lane arterial roads. The box to the right visualizes the proportion of each surface type in relation to the total surface area.

The Millyard is adjacent to Downtown, yet walking from one to the other is difficult, due to the infrequency of crosswalks on four-lane Canal Street. The railroad tracks also serve as a barrier. It may seem like parking is hard to come by in the Millyard, however, more than a third of the land is taken up by parking. More than a quarter of Millyard land is taken up by road. Together, parking and roads take up more than half of the Millyard. The design of the long and thin mill buildings lends itself to the temptation of filling all the space in between them with pavement. The aerial photo to the right reveals the magnitude of pavement. The box to the right details the land divided by surface use. Rethinking the design of parking could help better integrate its use into this busy historic space.



ABOVE: Downtown Manchester mapped by surface and a square that represents the portion each surface takes up within Downtown.



Millyard



ABOVE: The millyard mapped by surface and a square that represents the portion each surface takes up within the millyard.



## MANCHESTER, NH PARALLEL PARKING

The Mall of New Hampshire is southeast of Downtown Manchester and it serves as a regional shopping destination. Of the three study areas, the mall has the most parking, with nearly half of the area dedicated to surface lots, seen in the aerial photo to the right. The sprawling design of the mall requires that visitors drive a car because walking or taking public transit to the mall is difficult, if not impossible. After all, the sidewalks end at the intersection of S Willow Street and Kaye Street, far from the mall entrance. While visiting the mall essentially requires a car, it is unlikely that the parking lots are consistently full. Malls across the country are grappling with changes in shopping trends and consumer preferences. Reconfiguring the mall to reduce the amount of land used for parking could allow for the possibility of denser development and support efforts to adapt to the future of retail. The box at the far top right represents what portions of the mall area are dedicated to each land use.



#### Mall of New Hampshire



ABOVE: The Mall of New Hampshire mapped by surface and a square that represents the portion each surface takes up within the mall area.

When we compare the boxes of all three areas below, we see the difference design and layout make when it comes to surface use. Downtown has the most building cover. Downtown and the millyard are equal in amount of road surface. The mall has the most parking. It's important to note that like the areas in question, these boxes have boundaries that limit the amount of available space. How that space, or land, is used impacts city finances.



#### **Downtown Manchester**

Millyard

#### Mall of New Hampshire

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## MANCHESTER, NH WRAPPING UP



The view from the southwest corner of Elm and Merrimack

Manchester has weathered many changes over the years. The ability to adapt to changing economic conditions and repurposing existing assets has allowed Manchester to reinvent itself. Manchester also faces challenges, particularly concerning the City's ability to adequately fund services while respecting the need for fair and transparent taxation. However, it is important to note that Manchester has a good deal of self determination when it comes to changing the status quo. Assessing existing development, taxation, and budgeting policies and questioning if the intent and impact of the law support Manchester's best interests is a practical first step.

The current state of Manchester and the numbers reviewed in this report are not destined to stay unchanged for long. The quantitative analysis provided here and the street corner above are a snapshot in time. Goals regarding future development should evolve as information becomes available and through learned experience as Manchester changes and grows.