

Appendix B

Municipal Land Use Development Patterns and Trends

The work embodied in this appendix was done for the 2003 and was not repeated for the 2006 Plan, therefore municipal land use development patterns and trends are only listed for the seven municipalities in PACTS at the time of the 2003 Plan.

Appendix B – Municipal land use development patterns and trends

Cape Elizabeth

Land Use

Cape Elizabeth's 1993 *Comprehensive Plan* identifies the Town's overall character as "suburban," but notes that it, "retains a great deal of its early 'rural' character in its open spaces, unspoiled natural areas, and its relative lack of dense development." Located along the seaside, the predominant land use is residential, with single-family homes constituting the large majority of this development. The town's current population of approximately 9,200 is increasing slowly at an annual rate of 0.3%. Cape Elizabeth issued an average of 20-30 residential building permits per year in the 1990's, and this rate is likely to continue throughout this Plan's forecast period (through 2025).

This is typical of "mature" suburban communities, where the primary wave of suburban development occurred in the 1950's and 1960's (when the town's annual growth rate was over four percent) and residents have remained since. Often communities of this type experience a stable or slightly declining population, as Cape Elizabeth did between the 1970's and the 1980's. More recently, the town has experienced an upturn in younger households, as indicated by elementary and middle school enrollment figures (Cape Elizabeth Comprehensive Plan).

With an average population density of 627 people per square mile, Cape Elizabeth is at the lower end of the density scale for developed suburban communities, primarily as a result of natural and wetlands areas located in the southern and eastern section. However, the town still has twice the overall density of more rapidly developing outlying towns, such as Falmouth (284 per square mile) and Gorham (271 people per square mile).

The *Cape Elizabeth Comprehensive Plan* observes:

The primary growth factor in Cape Elizabeth is new residential development, since there is little or no commercial and industrial development expected in the Town over the next 10 years [1993-2003]. Cape Elizabeth has a traditional single-family pattern of development. The Town includes several high-density single-family neighborhoods. These neighborhoods, and the relatively small land area of the town, contribute to a land use density that is significantly higher than [nearby] communities, with the exception of South Portland.

Public sewer service – a key factor in permitting residential development on lots smaller than 40,000 square feet (approximately one acre) - is available in two sections of town, in the northern area adjacent South Portland and in a small section of the Broad Cove neighborhood.

The town's future growth areas are characterized in the Plan as New Growth and Infill Growth. New residential growth is anticipated within the area bounded by Spurwink Road on the east, Wells Road on the south, Eastman Road on the north, and Sawyer Road on the west, as well as in a smaller area to the east of Mitchell Road. Infill growth is anticipated to occur in the high-density suburban area bordering South Portland.

The Plan also notes, “Generally, there is little community interest in increasing commercial uses in the Town,” and therefore recommends: “Limit any new commercial development to the existing business-zoned districts, except for the expansion of existing businesses within the Town Center area.”

Zoning

Cape Elizabeth’s zoning ordinance (as amended through August 2000) includes the following categories:

- Residence A;
- Residence B;
- Residence C;
- Business A;
- Business B;
- Town Center;
- Town Center Core Sub district;
- Fort Williams;
- Resource Protection 1 – Critical Wetland;
- Resource Protection 2 – Wetland Protection;
- Resource Protection 3 – Floodplain; and
- Town Farm District

The Residence A and Residence B districts are mapped outside built-up areas of the town, and have a minimum lot size of two acres (80,000 square feet), while the Residence C district permits minimum lot sizes as small as 20,000 square feet (half acre) or 15,000 square feet if in conformance with Open Space Zoning.

The Town Center district is mapped in the vicinity of Shore Road and Ocean House Road. It is intended to: “encourage an identifiable Town Center that includes a village feeling, mixed retail and residential uses to serve residents, an environment inviting to pedestrians...” Multifamily housing is permitted in this district, and minimum lot size is as low as 10,000 square feet.

The Business A and Business B districts provide limited local shopping and other services within the town. These districts are mapped in the southern portion of Cape Elizabeth along Bowers Beach Road, as well as in a small commercial area on Mitchell Road at the town’s border with South Portland.

Falmouth

Land Use

Falmouth is a fast-growing suburban town located immediately north of Portland. Between 1990 and 1999, its population grew at an annual rate of 1.6 %, reaching the current total of 8,812. It remains the smallest community, by population, within PACTS. As noted earlier, it can be characterized as a developing suburban area, based on its high rate of growth and its low population density (284 people per square mile).

The Town of Falmouth has recently completed the Inventory & Analysis document of its Comprehensive Plan 2000. In its Current Land Use section, this document notes the split character of different sections of the town:

Interstate 95 and the Presumpscot Estuary divide Falmouth in half. Falmouth Foreside lies south of this divide. The Foreside is denser and more urban... Falmouth Foreside was one of Portland's earliest suburbs. Its location by the sea and its rural character attracted the city's elite to its shores in the late 1800's... Interstate highways in the 1950's and 1960's and sewers in the 1970's fueled the late 1970's building boom in multi-family housing...

The Foreside was so closely linked to the city that an established commercial district didn't develop until the late 1950's and 1960's. Much of what did develop along the newly constructed Route 1 was a community shopping center...

The other half of Falmouth was remarkably different... This side of Town was dotted with hamlets; West Falmouth Corner, Falmouth Corner, and Presumpscott Falls were the largest centers outside of the Foreside... Today only vestiges are visible.

The Plan observes that recent residential development trends run counter to many of these historical patterns, so that, “the denser Falmouth Foreside grew at a slower rate than did the rural west side of Town... This disparity in growth will likely continue as open spaces west of the Foreside are converted to single family housing developments and developable lots in the Foreside become harder to find.” The Plan indicates that since 1990, 36 subdivisions have been approved in Falmouth, for a total of almost 400 housing units. During the 1990's an annual average of 82 housing units have been permitted, with the total exceeding 100 units in some years. Two-thirds of future residential growth is expected to occur within the Woodville and Falmouth Center areas of the town, with the other third of the development occurring in the Rural Residential districts (Poplar Ridge, Highland Lake, Leighton Hill, and Hurricane Valley) located in the western portion of the town.

Major commercial redevelopment and commercial growth is anticipated along the Route 1 corridor, in the Foreside section, as described in the Route 1 Market Analysis conducted in 1997 for the Town's Comprehensive Plan Advisory Committee. This area contains approximately 1 million square feet of existing commercial space, including office. Another proposed growth area is the Exit 10 Development District – “a planned mixed-use development in keeping with the semi-rural character of West Falmouth and its neighborhoods.”

Zoning

Falmouth's zoning ordinance includes the following categories:

- Farm and Forest;
- Mixed Use Cluster;
- Suburban Business 1;
- Residential A;
- Residential B;
- Residential C;
- Village Mixed Use;
- Open Space Residential;
- Business Professional;
- Exit10 Master Planned Development Area;
- Route 100 Corridor Overlay;
- Retirement Corridor Overlay; and
- Village Center Overlay District.

The Farm and Forest category is mapped for approximately the western two-thirds of the town, while the Residential A category, permitting single-family homes on small lots is the predominant zoning district for the Foreside. The Residential B district mapped along Route 9 permits multi-family housing.

Gorham

Land Use

Gorham has experienced a high rate of residential growth over the last 30 years (1.4% annually during the 1990's), yet it still remains predominantly rural and undeveloped. Between 1990 and 1999, the town issued an annual average of 85 building permits, and it is anticipated that growth will continue through the forecast year of 2025 at a rate of between 60-80 units per year. The town's 1993 *Comprehensive Plan* identifies two emerging demographic trends:

The Town is experiencing an in-migration of established householders who have both more formal education and higher incomes than other residents. These householders are often commuters to jobs in the Greater Portland area.

The population of the Town is increasingly becoming a commuter population that lives in Gorham but works outside the community

According to the Plan, these trends carry with them the implication for continued "suburbanization... as households seek larger homes for their families, often outside of the traditional town centers of Gorham Village and Little Falls." Past trends are also felt to have created a financial imbalance for the town due to the absence of commercial development.

In response to this pressure, the town has recently formulated a *Gorham Village Main Street Master Plan* designed to encourage the revitalization of its traditional center. The *Comprehensive Plan* describes the Village as a "community center," which focuses on convenience goods and services. The Gorham Bypass study, currently undergoing environmental review, is another element in the town's plans to enhance the Village district by removing through traffic that congests it.

The Gorham Industrial Park is located adjacent to Route 25 on the Gorham-Westbrook town line, approximately five miles from Turnpike Exit 8. It contains 183 acres of both developed and undeveloped sites, and is divided into 38 major parcels, ranging in size from two to six acres. Approximately 80 percent of the Park is currently occupied, with a total square footage of slightly less than 600,000 square feet. In 1998, the Town rezoned over 250 acres to the west of the existing Industrial Park, with an anticipated opening of this section in 2002.

Another major presence in the town is the Gorham Campus of the University of Southern Maine (USM) that houses approximately 1,200 resident students in nine dormitories. The campus also contains four academic buildings, a gymnasium, and several smaller buildings. The University is the town's second largest employer, after the Town government, with approximately 400 employees.

Zoning

Gorham's Land Use and Development Code includes the following categories:

- Office Residential;
- Urban Residential;
- Suburban Residential;
- Village Centers;
- Urban Commercial;
- Roadside Commercial;
- Commercial Office
- Rural;
- Industrial;
- Manufactured Housing Sub districts;
- Narragansett Development District;
- Manufactured Housing Park Overlay District.

The Rural (residential) and Rural Manufactured Housing districts are the largest in geographic area. These districts permit a minimum lot size of 60,000 square feet to 200,000 square feet depending on soil conditions (for septic system effectiveness). Suburban residential districts are mapped in the southeast quadrant of the town and permit a minimum lot size of 60,000 square feet (with a density bonus provision for sites with public sewer and water service). The Urban Residential, Urban Commercial and the Village Center districts are mapped in the vicinity of Gorham Village, with an additional Village Center district located in Little Falls Village. These districts permit residential development on minimum lot sizes of 15,000 square feet (with water and sewer service) to 20,000 square feet (in unsewered areas). In addition the Village Center district permits stores of up to 7,000 square feet, with not limit on building sizes in the Urban Commercial district.

To the southwest of the Village area, the Town has designated the Narragansett Village District along Route 202 to “promote high quality commercial, light industrial and specialty enterprises that are compatible with the character and scale of the Village Center.” Hannaford Brothers owns a 75-acre property within the 132-acre District that is largely vacant land suitable for development.

American National Power, Co. is planning to develop a 900-megawatt natural gas fired power generating station on a 264-acre property adjacent to the Westbrook town line.

According to material prepared by the Town, “Several areas in Gorham have been designated Roadside Commercial (RC) Districts. The most suitable location for nonresidential development is located to the east of Gorham Village along Route 25, near the Industrial Park.” Permitted uses in this area include auto sales and services, as well as the wide range of retail uses allowed within the Urban Commercial District. A Commercial Office District is also located to the east of the Village and permits “a suitable mix of retail commercial businesses and professional offices.”

Portland

Land Use

Like many older urban centers in the Northeast, Portland has lost population over the last four decades, but has been stabilizing recently. Between 1960 and 1999, the city's population dropped from 72,600 to 64,000 as younger more affluent families were attracted by the burgeoning suburban areas, both within the PACTS boundaries and outside the PACTS region.

Within the city, several mixed-use neighborhoods adjacent to downtown, such as Old Port, Munjoy Hill and the West Side, experienced a period of decline during the 1960's and early 1970's followed by a renaissance brought about by re-investment, historic preservation and "gentrification." During this same period, the occupancy rate in the downtown core along Congress Street experienced significant ups and downs yet downtown remains the region's largest concentration of office space. The peninsula as a whole has recently attracted increased development and redevelopment interest through such projects as the Bayside Plan and plans for redevelopment of the waterfront on and adjacent to the BIW ship repair facility.

In place of a typical citywide Comprehensive Plan, the City of Portland has created a series of area-specific neighborhood plans which have been summarized in the City's November 2000 *Goals and Policies* statement.

In terms of overall goals, the City's 1991 Downtown Vision report enunciated the following:

- *Preserve and enhance the livability and walkability of Downtown Portland for residents, workers, shoppers and visitors;*
- *Maintain and enhance the Downtown's prominence as the regional center for commerce, human services, culture and the arts;*
- *Encourage growth and development Downtown while preserving and strengthening the unique identity and character of the Downtown;*
- *Achieve the highest quality urban experience through high standards of excellence for improvements to the physical environment, including new construction, building alterations, and the enhancement of the pedestrian environment;*
- *Preserve and enhance the quality and vitality of neighborhoods within and adjacent to the Downtown; and*
- *Guide and position the Downtown in response to changing market conditions to maintain its vitality and strength to achieve the above stated goals.*

More specific Office Economy Policies were to:

- *Promote office development opportunities Downtown... along the Congress Street corridor... within the Central Business District; and*
- *Encourage mixed-use-development, including substantial office growth, in the lower Center/Danforth/York Street (Gorham's Corner) and Bayside areas of Downtown.*

In another section of the same report, *Downtown Vision: Tourism and Hospitality Policies*, the City of Portland encouraged the private sector to develop both a downtown convention center, as well as a new convention-quality hotel with 275 to 400 rooms.

More recently, the April 2000 *A New Vision for Bayside* plan recognized that, "Bayside's location between downtown and I-295 presents a significant economic and market opportunity... to expand the central business district with new office and commercial space."

The *Portland Transportation Plan* (1993) places renewed emphasis on the importance of neighborhood centers as hubs of social, mixed use and transportation uses.

Zoning

Portland's Land Use Code (Code of Ordinance Section 14-1) includes the following categories:

- R-1 Residential;
- R-2 Residential;
- R-3 Residential;
- FH Flexible Housing;
- R-4 Residential;
- R-5 Residential;
- R-5A Residential;
- R-6 Residential;
- R-7 Compact Urban Overlay;
- IR-1 Island Residential;
- IR-2 Island Residential;
- IR-3 Island Residential;
- Island Transfer Overlay;
- R-P Residence Professional;
- R-OS Recreation and Open Space;
- B-1 and B-1b Neighborhood Business;
- B-2 and B-2b Neighborhood Business;
- A-B Airport Business Zone;
- I-B Island Business Zone;
- B-4 Commercial Corridor Zone;
- B-5 Urban Commercial Mixed Use;
- O-P Office Park;
- I-L and I-Lb Industrial;
- I-M, I-Ma, and I-Mb Industrial;
- I-H and I-Hb Industrial;
- Waterfront Central;
- Waterfront Port Development Zone;
- Waterfront Special Use Zone;
- R-P Resource Protection Zone; and
- Helistop Overlay Zone.

The R-1, R-2, and R-3 districts primarily are designated for single-family residential development in areas outside of the Peninsula. Limited exceptions are provided for other uses consistent with a single-family neighborhood, such as municipal facilities (schools, utility substations, etc.), community institutions, planned unit developments, and accessory uses. Within the city's single family residential zones, minimum lot sizes range from 15,000 square feet in the R-1 single family zone and a minimum street frontage of 75 feet; to 10,000 square feet in the R-2 zone, with 50 feet of frontage; and 6,500 square feet in the R-3 districts, with 50 feet of frontage.

The R-4, R-5 and R-5a districts, also located primarily outside the Peninsula, permit both single-family housing, new construction of two-family units, three-family (R-5a), and multiplex (attached) housing. The minimum lot size permitted within these districts is 6,000 square feet for single-family dwellings and 9,000 square feet (total) for multiplex units. The minimum permitted street frontage is 50 feet.

The R-6 and R-7 districts are located on the Peninsula, and permit single-family and multi-family developments. Minimum lot size in the R-6 district is 4,500 square feet, with a 40-foot minimum frontage requirement. In the R-7 there are no minimum lot size or frontage requirements.

Scarborough

Land Use

Over the last four decades, Scarborough has had the highest residential growth rate of any of the communities within the PACTS region. Between 1990 and 1999, the town's population continued to increase at an annual rate of 2.2%. Its 1999 population of 15,286 makes Scarborough the fourth most populous of the PACTS municipalities, and the most populous of the lower-density suburban communities.

Scarborough contains a mix of both residential development, as well as strip commercial development along Route 1, and more focused office and industrial development in the vicinity of the Maine Turnpike Exit 6. The town's 1994 *Comprehensive Plan Update* observed: "The perception of growth was that it was accelerating [during the 1980's and early 1990's]. In some ways it was: commercial growth in recent years has been unprecedented, and residential growth extended into areas that previously were almost entirely rural."

In its description of the local economy, the Plan presents an assessment of the town's shifting economic role, as a part of the economic growth "crescent" identified in Section 1 of this report:

During the 1980's a new regional economic role began to emerge... The new role isn't the result of Route 1 but rather a distinct part of an expanding suburban regional economy. It springs from the Town's ties to the Maine Turnpike, I-295, and the business activity that is spilling out of the Maine Mall area. Scarborough has become part of a regional retail, job, and service center that crosses municipal boundaries. The center extends in a swath from Route 114 and Payne Road in Scarborough on the south, the Maine Mall area in South Portland, to Spring Street and County Road in Westbrook, and to outer Congress Street in Portland.

The largest private employers within Scarborough include a mix of distribution firms, corporate offices, industrial and manufacturing companies, and major retailers along the Payne Road and Route 1 corridors. They include:

- Hannaford Brothers (supermarket corporate office);
- Konica Quality Photo (distribution and processing);
- Wal-Mart;
- Hanover Insurance of Maine;
- Gabriel Electronics, Inc.;
- Sam's Club;
- Rock-Ten Converting, Co. (paper products);
- Bayley's Quality Seafoods;
- Rich Tool & Die Company, and
- Maine Medical Center.

The Scarborough Industrial Park located off Route 1 is a 158-acre site divided into 36 lots.

Scarborough also has a small seasonal increase in its residential population in coastal sections of the town, such as Pine Point, Higgins Beach and Prout's Neck. All of these districts were originally developed as summer colonies, but have now become predominantly year-round residential areas. The *Comprehensive Plan* also notes the large volume of traffic and, to a lesser extent economic activity, generated by summer visitors to Scarborough Beach State Park and other shoreline attractions, such as lobster shacks, marinas and seafood restaurants.

Zoning

Scarborough's zoning ordinance contains the following categories:

- Resource Protection;
- Rural Residence and Farming;
- Rural Residence, Farming and Manufactured Housing;
- Residential 2 (R2);
- Residential 3 (R3);
- Residential 4 (R4);
- Residential 4A (R4A);
- Residential and Professional;
- Town and Village Center;
- Local Business (B1);
- General Business (B2);
- Highway Business; and
- Industrial.

The Rural Residence and Farming (RF) district predominates in the town's western half, where existing development is at a very low density and public services (water and sewer) are not available. The minimum lot size in the RF and RFM districts is 80,000 square feet. The R4, R4A and Town and Village Center zones permit the highest density of residential development. In these zones minimum lot sizes range from 10,000 to 20,000 square feet depending on the availability of sewer service. The Town and Village Center district is mapped in the Oak Hill section, while the R4 zone is located on the east side of Route 1 and in the Sawyer Road-Route 114 area to the northeast of Oak Hill. The R4A district is used for the Grant Avenue neighborhood in Pine Point, which contains scattered commercial uses. Multi-family housing is permitted in R3, R4 and R4A districts, as well as in the Town and Village Center district.

The most predominant commercial/industrial districts are the General Business district (B2) and the Industrial (I) district. The B2 district covers most of Route 1. Within this district a wide range of retail, office and other commercial uses are permitted as of right. The Residential and Professional Office district is mapped in the vicinity of Route 1 just north of the Oak Hill village center, while B1 local business district is mapped in North Scarborough and Dunstan Corner.

South Portland

Land Use

South Portland is the second largest city by population in the Portland region, and also the most stable in its population characteristics over the last four decades. As a largely "built-out" urban and suburban community, it has virtually the same population it did in 1960 (22,800, versus current population of 23,300). Its population density 1,807 per square mile is approximately half that of the City of Portland but is higher than any of the other communities within the region.

As in many urban communities, South Portland has a significant proportion of multi-family housing, both in two-family houses, as well as in condominium developments.

Approximately 63 percent of the city's housing stock is single-family, while the remaining 37 percent is a mix of apartments and smaller attached and two-family structures. The city's 1992 *Draft Comprehensive Plan* notes the significant housing growth in the outer Highland Avenue area, and the development of a condominium complex on the waterfront during the 1980's. As with many other parts of the Portland region, South Portland experienced a sharp drop in housing construction during the early 1990's. This trend has reversed recently. Some undeveloped properties still exist along the outer Highland Avenue area, Cummings Road, Running Hill Road, and Rumery Park.

The Maine Mall and surrounding commercial areas are located within South Portland and provide a significant share of the City's tax revenue. The growth of employment in this area has also contributed significantly to traffic congestion, both at Turnpike Exit 7 and on local roads within the Maine Mall area. A 250,000 square foot Target Store is under construction in this area.

South Portland also has many of the region's goods movement and air transportation facilities. With a waterfront dominated by large oil terminals and a ship repair yard, South Portland contains a significant concentration of the region's commercial marine activity. Growing marine terminal activity is forecast for the Turner's Island petroleum facilities. The city is also home to the majority of the property comprising the Jetport that is owned by the City of Portland.

Targeted revitalization is being used to enhance the business and residential environment of the traditional Knightville/Millcreek downtown area.

Zoning

The City of South Portland's zoning code (as amended through July 1999) includes the following categories:

- Rural Residential (RF);
- Residential AA;
- Residential A;
- Residential G;
- Limited Business;
- Commercial;
- Industrial;
- Professional Office;
- Light Industrial;
- Central and Regional Commercial;
- General Commercial;
- Suburban Commercial;
- Non-residential Industrial;
- Conditional Residential;
- Contract Residential;
- Conditional Office;
- Transitional Residential;
- Spring Point;
- Conditional Shipyard; and
- Shipyard.

In general, most areas to the west of I-295 are zoned for non-residential use, with the exception of the Redbank community located adjacent to the Portland Jetport which is zoned for Residential G. The most common residential zone is Residential A in the area east of I-295 and south of the Broadway and Knightville village areas. In the village areas,

Residential G is the most common zone. The City's residential zones permit minimum lot sizes ranging from 7,500 square feet (Residential G) to 80,000 square feet (Rural Residential).

Westbrook

Land Use

The City of Westbrook is the Portland region's third most populous community after Portland and South Portland. Its population density and growth characteristics are typical of older urban communities. The city has experienced a slight increase (0.5% per year) in population over the previous decade, reaching its current total of just under 17,000. While Westbrook is characterized as an urban community, based on its density and development history, many sections of the city are still experiencing suburban style development.

The center of Westbrook is a traditional New England mill town that has developed over 100 years around the factory complex currently owned by the SAPPi paper company. This operation has traditionally been the city's largest employer and also the focus of its residential and commercial land use patterns. Over the years, S.D. Warren (the predecessor to Sappi) built housing for its workers along Brown Street and Cottage Place that constitute a distinctive, historic district. However, over the last decade, SAPPi has downsized its workforce from 3,000 employees to 500. Fortunately, major high-technology employers, such as Idexx, EM Solutions and DG Machines have increased their presence in the community over the same time period.

In its Housing section, the City's July 2000 *Comprehensive Plan* indicates:

Residential housing represents the dominant built land form in the community... Fully 47% of the total housing stock was built prior to 1950, with 38% pre-dating WWII... The dense central city did not assume its present-day form until the turn of the century. Sprawl along Methodist Hill Road and Route 302 has not been an exclusively post-war event, rather it has progressively occurred since the early 1800's. Since 1990, development has been concentrated in the Duck Pond area and Brook Road near the Falmouth Town line, with further housing in fills in the neighborhoods immediately surrounding the urban core.

In terms of future economic development, the Plan suggests development consistent both with traditional patterns and also responsive to current economic realities:

With a history steeped in the tradition of heavy manufacturing, it is natural for Westbrook to continue to look to manufacturing as the principal base of its economic vitality. However it would be a mistake for the City to target 'traditional' industrial sectors such as textiles, leather and shoes... Rather, with the limited amount of vacant manufacturing/industrial land available, the City would be better suited to target emerging operations in the industrial sector such as electronics, high-technology, etc.

As a result of this recommendation, the City has targeted the County Road Industrial District as the "premier" location for economic expansion and diversification. The Plan notes that

the County Road area “is an extension of a regional concentration of non-residential development shared among Westbrook, Portland and South Portland.”

The Plan also notes:

With the completion of the Maine Turnpike’s Exit 7A, Westbrook can capture industrial expansion and increase its non-residential valuation... However, much of the land is of poor quality. Westbrook’s industrial parks were designed on poorly drained soils... However, infrastructure improvements including sewer extensions, changes to local subdivision restrictions, and some wetlands banking will be required to make these vacant lands developable.

The other major development initiatives for Westbrook are the Dana Warp Mill redevelopment and the Riverfront Master Plan. The mill redevelopment has resulted in the growth of high-technology businesses within the downtown area, while the riverfront open space development program is intended to result in the creation of a fully linked walking system along the banks of the Presumpscot River and to reconnect neighborhoods to and revitalize the city’s Main Street central business district.

Zoning

Westbrook’s zoning ordinance (as revised to November 1994) includes the following categories:

- Residential 2;
- Residential 3;
- Residential 4;
- Residential 8;
- Residential General;
- Residential, Farming & Conservation (RFC);
- Business General;
- Business Local;
- Business Highway;
- Business Limited Highway;
- Industrial;
- Mobile Home Sub district;
- Conditional;
- Resource Protection;
- General Development Shoreland Zone; and
- Mixed Use.

Residential zoning density ranges from one unit per acre maximum for the Residential, Farm & Conservation which is mapped in many of the city’s outlying areas to eight units per acre (5,000 square foot lot minimum) in Residential 8 which is mapped primarily within the existing city center. A development potential analysis of the current zoning pattern conducted for the Comprehensive Plan indicates that up to 5,700 units could be developed based on density limitations (without the presence of constraining environmental or economic factors). The large majority of these units would be located in the lower density Residential 2 and Residential, Farm & Conservation zones.