Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

The Setting

Newark is located within the Northeast Corridor, which includes major metropolitan areas along the eastern seaboard, stretching from New England to suburban Virginia, south of Washington, D.C. On the local level, the City is part of the Delaware River Valley at the western end of New Castle County’s primary development core, running from Wilmington along Kirkwood Highway to the Maryland boundary.

Newark lies within two geologic regions: the Appalachian Piedmont and the Atlantic coastal plain. The two regions are divided by a “fall line”, the interface where streams pass from rocky upland to the sandy and softer plain, often marked by rapids or waterfalls, hence the name. Because of the availability of waterpower, cities have developed along the fall line. In this way, Newark’s heritage is linked with other eastern cities like Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Trenton, Columbia, and nearby Wilmington. In Delaware, the fall line runs from Wilmington to Newark, roughly along the route of the Northeast Corridor railroad (Conrail/Amtrak) right-of-way and through Newark to the Maryland line along Cleveland Avenue and the CSX Railroad right-of-way.

The Appalachian Piedmont is a region of gently rolling hills between the Appalachian Mountains and the coastal plain that reaches from the New York/New Jersey state line to Alabama. This area in Newark includes the upper portions of the White Clay Creek and Christina River valleys with elevations ranging from about 100 to 260 feet above sea level. The rolling hills north of the City, along State Route 896 and Paper Mill Road, best exemplify the Piedmont landform. Slopes ranging from 3% to 15%, suitable for most development, predominate in this geological region north of the fall line. Soils in this area tend to be well drained and moderately fertile; obstacles to development tend to be related to high soil erodibility in the more steeply sloped sections.
The Atlantic Coastal Plain is the principal landform for most of Delaware, including the central and eastern portions of Newark. The coastal plain is relatively level with average elevations less than 100 feet above sea level and slopes ranging from 0% to 3% and, coupled with the local soil’s conditions, is generally suitable for all types of development. The Christina and White Clay Creeks provide the City with its major drainage systems. The Christina Creek flows eastward, eventually ending at the Brandywine River just before the Brandywine reaches the Delaware River, whereas the White Clay Creek stream valley acts as the termination of drainage basins running from Pennsylvania and Maryland to the Christina River near Newport. The associated floodplains of the White Clay and Christina Creeks contain wet soils and fall within the City’s strictly regulated Special Flood Hazard Area (SFHA) zoning district. Development in this area is severely limited, restricted primarily to recreational and agricultural uses. While the White Clay Creek valley is considerably larger than that of the Christina in Newark, both creeks provide attractive, tranquil, and forested greenways running through the northern and southern sections of the community.

In terms of climate, Newark is noted for warm summers and mild winters. The City’s typical January temperatures range from lows around 25° to highs around 40° Fahrenheit. Typical summer temperatures range from lows around 65° to highs around 85° Fahrenheit. Total precipitation for the Newark area averages 45 inches per year.

Newark evolved over the centuries from a very small community centered along Main Street and South College Avenues, physically dominated by surrounding farmland, to a much more varied landscape with larger commercial areas, industrial sites, and suburban tracts with much more extensive wooded areas in lands previously utilized for agriculture. The Newark reservoir has also become a dominant physical feature of the City’s landscape.

**A Brief History of Newark** (1)

Little is known of Newark’s initial settlements. It appears that the community’s early growth, like most villages of colonial America, owed much to its natural features and location. In Newark’s case, in the early 1700s, a small English, Scots-Irish, and Welsh hamlet grew along two old Native American trails and the fall line where the Christina River and White Clay Creek turn sharply eastward toward the Delaware River. The area soon began to serve travelers moving between the Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, and colonial Philadelphia. In addition, the streams flowed with sufficient velocity to power the grist and saw mills that soon were located on their banks. Rich soil meant that wheat, corn, and vegetables were plentiful, and the available ore from nearby Iron Hill fed the forges of a small country iron works. Soon a tannery and brickyard were added to the village. By 1758, the bustling local market and country crossroads received recognition in the form of a Charter from King George II, and Newark was officially born.
While the village’s history soon followed the typical late 18th and 19th century Mid-Atlantic development pattern of agriculturally based trade coupled with steam- and water-powered industry, Newark departed from this course in the 20th century as its primary driver for growth became the University of Delaware — now the City’s largest landowner — as it evolved from a local private academy.

In 1765, a small preparatory and grammar school moved from New London, Pennsylvania, to Newark. The school, renamed the Newark Academy, flourished during the years prior to the American Revolution. Newark was described at the time as a “suitable and healthy village, not too rich or luxurious, where real learning might be obtained.” During the war, the Academy was closed and its funds seized by the British.

Following the Revolution, the Academy and the town grew slowly. In 1833, recognizing the need for local higher education, the State of Delaware granted a Charter to a new institution in the town, Newark College, later renamed Delaware College. The next year, the College merged with the Academy, and shortly thereafter the grammar and preparatory portion of the school was closed. The college itself shut its doors in 1858 as a result of a student fracas and the run-up to the Civil War. When Delaware College reopened in 1870, it was a land-grant institution assisted by federal funds. In 1914, a Women’s College physically adjacent and linked administratively to the men’s school began operations. The two institutions were not formally combined until 1944. Prior to that, in 1921, the men’s college received a revised State Charter and a new name: the University of Delaware. In the meantime, the village of Newark had become a small town around the college as well as a local crossroads market.

In 1837, the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore railroads—today’s Northeast Corridor Conrail/Amtrak line—linked Newark to points north and south. Industrial concerns like the Curtis Paper Company (reestablished in 1848 from the older Meeter Paper Company), Continental Fiber (1896), and National Vulcanized Fibre (1924) helped diversify the local economy. In 1855, the town’s first bank was established. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, predecessor of the modern CSX system, came in 1886 and provided additional passenger and freight rail service to Philadelphia and points west and south. The town’s population grew rapidly through the 1920s, and a substantial retail market developed in conjunction with the University and industrial expansion.

While the Great Depression slowed economic growth, the pace of industrial and commercial development increased dramatically during World War II and the subsequent Korean conflict. For example, several DuPont facilities opened in the 1940s, and in 1951 the Chrysler Corporation constructed its Newark Assembly Plant. Coinciding with the arrival of Chrysler, the State of Delaware granted the City a new Charter that doubled the City’s size. Before the City Charter change, Newark had encompassed an area roughly bounded by the White Clay Creek and what is now the University’s Laird Campus to the north, the Newark Country Club and the approximate location of Old Barksdale and Beverly Roads to the west, the Pennsylvania Railroad on the south, and the present site of Library Avenue on the east. The new 1951 Charter resulted in the basic outline of the Newark we know today (Map 1-1).
In 1965, the State of Delaware granted the current Charter to Newark, significantly strengthening its Council-Manager form of government. In that decade and earlier, in the 1950s, Newark’s development pattern closely followed the postwar national economic boom. For Newark, this meant that the population increased from just over 11,000 in 1960 to almost 21,000 in 1970. These residential tracts still provide excellent housing for Newark’s citizens and expanded the City’s boundaries. In addition, during the same time period, the Diamond State Industrial Park was annexed, providing the present home for DuPont, Dow Chemical, and other nationally known firms.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, as the national and regional economy suffered from oil-price shocks, Newark’s growth stabilized. In the latter part of the 1980s, however, the City’s pace of development quickened with the completion of the Stafford and Barksdale Estates communities, the approval of the new Sandy Brae industrial park, and the annexation and subdivision approval of the Christianstead and West Branch residential communities. The late 1980s also saw the City’s first sustained initiatives to upgrade and improve its downtown area, including the issuance and adoption of the City’s Downtown Economic Development Plan, the first of many annual Newark Nite events, the development of the downtown parking waiver system, and the active encouragement of mixed commercial/residential uses on Main Street.

Also in the late 1980s, in response to continued growth in the University’s enrollment coupled with a shortage of on-campus housing, the City began to face increasing problems with students living in traditionally single-family owner-occupant neighborhoods. As a result, the City adopted a series of ordinances and regulations intended to limit the increase in rentals of single-family-type housing for students, increased rental fees, and developed regulations intended to limit as much as possible the impacts of the “conflict of life styles” between students living off-campus and nonstudent residents. Apartment projects, also intended to help relieve the off-campus housing pressure on Newark’s traditional and central-city residential neighborhoods, were approved on Elkton Road (now South Main Street) and downtown.

The early 1990s saw continued City efforts to improve Main Street, especially with the issuance of the Downtown Streets Tree and Sidewalk Program report by the Planning and Development Department and the subsequent installation of new downtown-street trees and the brick-sidewalk treatments that, to this day, help define Main Street as a distinctive place for shopping and dining. In addition, the City adopted a tax incentive program to encourage the adaptive reuse of historic buildings and a downtown façade-improvement program.

In the meantime, in response to continued growth in the Newark region, City Council requested, and the Newark voters approved by an overwhelming margin, a bond issue for open-space land acquisition. As a result, beginning in 1993, the City began the purchase of several large tracts of land throughout Newark for active and passive open space. Development projects approved and completed in the mid-1990s included the White Chapel Village 55-and-over cottages and assisted-living facility off Marrows Road, the Hunt at Louviers and Woods at Louviers large-lot single-family home developments off Paper Mill and Possum Park Roads, the Yorkshire Woods single-family home developments, the Paper Mill Falls 55+ community on Old Paper Mill Road, and the Southridge 55+ community off West Chestnut Hill Road.
The mid-1990s also saw considerable commercial and industrial development as the local and national economy began to improve. These projects included the Interstate Business Park on Elkton Road adjacent to the Maryland state line; the Marrows Road Sports Complex, including “The Pond” ice arena; the Traders Alley subdivision that is now the home of the original Iron Hill Inn (now the Iron Hill Brewery and Restaurant); the Main Street Galleria project, reflecting increased investment in Newark’s reviving downtown; the Astra Plaza Main Street project at Main Street and South Chapel, with commercial uses on the first floor and upper-floor apartments that then represented the cutting edge in national downtown redevelopment planning; and the redevelopment of the old Newark Farm and Home site for commercial and upper-floor apartments. The decade culminated with approval of The Mill at White Clay project, which called for the redevelopment of the historic National Vulcanized Fibre (NVF) site for a restaurant, commercial uses, office space, and residences. This outstanding example of adaptive reuse of historic old mill buildings was featured in an article in the Sunday New York Times (November 11, 2001).

The late 1990s culminated with the City’s renewed commitment to downtown through the selection of the HyettPalma Consultants to perform a downtown market analysis, which resulted in the Downtown Newark Economic Enhancement Strategy, which is discussed further in Chapter 9. In 1998, as part of the HyettPalma Study, the City, under the supervision of the Planning and Development Department, assumed responsibilities of the Newark Parking Authority and the Newark Business Association. The Newark reservoir site acquisition, design, and construction began in 1998, and the facility was completed in 2006.

The 2000s began with the City’s approval of the renovation and restoration of the historic Deer Park Restaurant and Tavern. This project, designed in full compliance with the City’s recently adopted Historic Preservation Ordinance, helped anchor the western end of our thriving Main Street. At the same time, the Planning and Development Department began aggressively improving existing parking with new automated equipment, the combination of the privately owned Wilmington Trust (now M&T Bank) parking lot with the existing public parking lot (#3) to create the City’s largest municipal parking lot, the purchase and development of a new monthly parking lot (#5), as well as the relocation of the Downtown Parking Office into the Main Street Galleria. Beyond that, as part of the growing list of downtown projects, the Department also spent considerable time on the CSX Bridge Mural fundraising and painting project. At the same time, the City initiated the planning for and construction of the James F. Hall Bike Trail. Other major development projects included the Fountainview 55+ community; the Newark Charter School (middle and elementary schools); and a major redevelopment effort on Main Street involving one of Newark’s most well-known entertainment venues, the Stone Balloon Tavern and Night Club, which led to the construction of the City’s first major downtown “upscale” condominium apartment project, the Washington House.

In 2007, Chrysler announced that its Newark automotive assembly plant, a mainstay in the regional and state economy since the early 1950s, would be closing in 2009. This meant that Newark would have new challenges in the future that would call for the kinds of careful and pragmatic planning that have been hallmarks of the City’s successes in the past. In 2010, the University of Delaware announced its purchase of the site and coordinated with the City to develop a new STC (Science and Technology Campus) zoning classification, adopted in 2012, to develop the site into the Science, Technology, and Advanced Research (STAR) Campus. That year, Bloom
Energy agreed to locate its East Cost fuel cell manufacturing center at the site, opening its doors a year later. The STAR campus also hosts UD’s Health Sciences Complex and the Electric Vehicle to Grid (eV2g) project.

Since 2010, the City has received several important recognitions. In 2010 and 2014, the League of American Bicyclists designated the City of Newark as a “Bicycle Friendly Community” at the bronze level. This was largely a result of Newark Bicycle Committee’s efforts to increase bicycle amenities throughout the City and improve bicycle safety. In 2011, Newark’s downtown and the Downtown Newark Partnership’s success in revitalizing our downtown was recognized with the Great American Main Street Award by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Finally, in 2013, the City was recognized as a “Sterling Community” by the National Arbor Day Foundation for achieving the “Tree City USA Growth Award” ten years in a row.

The City’s downtown district has expanded southward on the western end of Main Street. The portion of Elkton Road from West Main Street to West Park Place was renamed “South Main Street” in 2012 to reflect the City’s intent for the street to continue to redevelop with downtown style, mixed-use, and pedestrian-friendly developments. Most recently, the City started seeing major expansion of existing housing stock with two new apartment complexes: the approved redevelopment and facelift of the existing Newark Shopping Center along with 220 two-bedroom apartments and the “Retreat at Newark” at Suburban Plaza with 168 new apartment units. Along with other infill projects that included apartments mostly targeted to students, the City approved more new apartment units within the first six months of 2013 than it had in the previous 12 years combined.

Over the course of its history, Newark has experienced much change, growing from a small hamlet between the creeks to the bustling small city it is today. Guiding documents like this Comprehensive Development Plan can help ensure that the change ahead of Newark will preserve what its stakeholders value most and transform it into an even better city consistent with their vision.

Comprehensive Planning in Newark

This document represents the fourth update to Newark’s comprehensive development planning document since the City’s first Comprehensive Development Plan of 1969. This Comprehensive Development Plan V (Plan V) builds on and revises the four previous plans. To put this plan in historical context, the history of comprehensive planning in Newark is provided below.

Comprehensive Development Plan (1969)

In 1967, the Philadelphia planning consulting firm of Kendree and Shepherd began working with the City of Newark Planning Commission to develop the City’s first long-range development plan. In October of 1969, the final draft was presented to City Council, who adopted it on September 29, 1970. The plan consisted of three parts. Part One, titled “Basic Studies,” included a detailed analysis of population trends, the local economy, natural features, existing land uses, existing roadway-circulation problems, existing community facilities, city finances, and individual
neighborhoods. Part Two included land use, traffic, community facilities, and development plans. It also included an “area-wide generalized plan” for areas adjacent to the City that might be considered for development and annexation by the City or future development in New Castle County. Part Three proposed a plan for guiding improvements in Newark’s downtown business area.

Comprehensive Development Plan II (1987)

The Planning and Development Department began developing an initial outline for an updated and revised comprehensive development plan in the early winter of 1985, primarily because of the increase in development proposals that began in 1985. Moreover, fifteen years had passed since the original Comprehensive Development Plan was adopted. While much of the background and supporting material in the 1969 plan remained relevant, the population projections upon which much of the land-use portion of the plan was based had been grossly overestimated.

After gathering input from all City operating departments; regional, state, and federal agencies; and the public, the Planning Commission approved the Comprehensive Development Plan II (Plan II) on April 7, 1987, followed by City Council’s public hearing and final adoption on June 22, 1987.

Plan II was divided into three chapters. Chapter One, the “Introduction,” summarized comprehensive planning efforts in Newark, including the Adjacent Areas Land Use Plan (1979), the Newark Beautification Plan (1979), Historic Preservation (1980), Water 2000 (1980–1984), Open Space and Recreation Facilities (1977), and the UNICITY Bus System Five-Year Plan (1983). Chapter Two, “Conditions Affecting Growth and Development,” contained a brief history of Newark, existing land-use patterns, and population trends, as well as planning elements such as transportation, environmental quality, housing and community development, economic development, parks and recreation, and infrastructure. Finally, Chapter Three, “Land Use Guide,” contained the community’s land-development goals, land-use definitions, and planning section maps.


Drafts of the Comprehensive Plan III (Plan III) were reviewed by the Office of State Planning Coordination and discussed in public meetings before the final version was adopted by City Council on May 12, 2003. Plan III updated information regarding community character, the City’s economic profile, water and sewerage system, electricity service, public works service, parks and open space, transportation, housing needs and opportunities, population trends, and then-current land-development patterns. The City’s land-use and development goals were also revised, and a section-by-section review of all “Planning Areas” was conducted. In addition, Plan III incorporated an updated Adjacent Areas Land Use Plan.

Comprehensive Development Plan IV (2008)

The Planning and Development Department began work on the Comprehensive Development Plan IV (Plan IV) in June 2007. Following staff review and a series of public meetings, amended copies were sent to the Office of State Planning Coordination for its PLUS
Plan IV was divided into four chapters. Chapter I, “Introduction—Purpose and Plan Design,” detailed the planning process, intergovernmental and agency cooperation, and implementation. Chapter II, “The History of Comprehensive Planning in Newark,” included the City’s planning efforts, the *Old Newark Traffic Calming Plan* (2007), the Elkton Road Planning Study (2004–2007), the *Downtown Newark Economic Enhancement Strategy* (2007), and *Design Guidelines for Main Street* (2007). Chapter III, “Conditions Affecting Growth and Development,” provided background and descriptive information regarding Newark’s history, physical setting, existing land-use patterns, community character, transportation, community development and housing, environmental quality, infrastructure, and economic development (particularly downtown and the location of the former Chrysler plant, referred to then as the “Chrysler Opportunity Site”). And finally, Chapter IV, “Land Use Guide,” contained proposed land-use recommendations in existing Newark communities and neighborhoods, as well as for Adjacent Planning Areas the City might consider for annexation.

*Comprehensive Development Plan V (2016)*

The Planning and Development Department began the process of updating Plan IV with exhibits at Newark Day on June 2, 2012, and Community Day on September 16, 2012, to alert and inform members of the community of the City’s update of its comprehensive development plan. Throughout the process, input from a diverse range of stakeholders—including, first and foremost, the City’s residents—has been sought.

*Identification of City of Newark Stakeholders*

A “stakeholder” is considered to be any individual, group, organization, or agency that has a vested interest, present or future, in the outcomes of the planning process. The Planning and Development Department identified and engaged representatives from as diverse a range of stakeholders as possible.

These key stakeholders included:

1. Community residents, including those historically left out of the decision-making process, such as low-income residents, minority groups, and young people;
2. Business, industry, and civic leaders;
3. The development community, including real-estate professionals;
4. City staff and elected officials;
5. Churches, civic clubs, students, and service organizations; and
6. The University of Delaware.
Public Participation

The Public Participation Plan was designed to offer opportunities for all citizens, businesses, interest groups, relevant units of government, and other stakeholders to participate in a meaningful way throughout the entire planning process, with the primary purpose of addressing the ultimate planning question: “What is the vision stakeholders of Newark have for their community?"

The public participation process:

1. Ensures all comprehensive planning decisions are open to public comment;
2. Produces better planning decisions;
3. Supports and adds credibility to all City decision-making processes;
4. Provides opportunities to disseminate information about the Comprehensive Plan to the community;
5. Strengthens the relationship between our decision makers and citizens; and
6. Develops a shared vision for the future of the City of Newark. (3)

A series of public events was held, in addition to outreach via a monthly e-newsletter to more than 200 subscribers, a dedicated page on the City’s website, and Twitter. More than 400 individuals participated in approximately 47 public meetings, representing residents, elected and appointed officials, business owners, landlords, community and interest groups, and representatives from collaborative agencies such as DelDOT, WILMAPCO, the University of Delaware, New Castle County Departments of Land Use and of Community Services, the Newark Housing Authority, DNREC, the Downtown Newark Partnership, and the Greater Newark Economic Partnership.

Plan Organization

Plan V is organized around the following five questions:

- **“Where have we been?”** Analysis of past trends, key events, and decisions that were instrumental in the development of Newark’s community
- **“Where are we now?”** Analysis of present conditions and the major issues facing the community and City
- **“Where are we going?”** Analysis of the likely future of the community and City if past trends and current conditions continue
Chapter 1, Introduction, addresses the question “Where have we been?” by outlining the setting and a brief history of Newark and summarizing past comprehensive planning in the community. Chapter 2, Community Profile, covers both past and current trends to address the questions “Where are we now?” and “Where are we going?” Chapter 3, Vision, offers a proposal for “Where do we want to go?”

The remaining chapters expand on “Where do we want to go?” and cover “How do we get there?” Each chapter starts with the City’s vision and how each element (Housing, Transportation, Economic Development, etc.) advances the vision. In that sense, Plan V is organized differently than previous plans. The intent is to create a more reader-friendly document, wherein information is organized by subject matter.

**Key Terms**

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<tr>
<th><strong>Adaptive Reuse</strong></th>
<th>Creating new uses for old buildings other than those for which they were designed. (6)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annexation</strong></td>
<td>The process by which unincorporated county land is incorporated into a municipality. (6)</td>
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<td><strong>Charrette</strong></td>
<td>An intensive, multidisciplinary, collaborative planning process involving professional facilitators, planners, designers, and citizens, usually taking place over 1–3 days. The process includes developing alternative concepts, feedback loops with stakeholders, and adoption of a plan. (7)</td>
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<td><strong>Cohort</strong></td>
<td>A group of persons sharing a particular statistical or demographic characteristic. (4)</td>
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<td><strong>Complete Streets</strong></td>
<td>Streets and roadways to safely accommodate the needs of motorists, pedestrians, public transit, bicyclists, and commercial and emergency vehicles to offer a balanced transportation network for users of all ages and abilities. (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Family (U.S Census)</strong></td>
<td>A family is a group of two people or more (one of whom is the householder) related by birth, marriage, or adoption and residing together; all such people (including related subfamily members) are considered as members of one family. Beginning with the 1980 Current Population Survey, unrelated subfamilies (referred to in the past as secondary families) are no longer included in the count of families, nor are the members of unrelated subfamilies included in the count of family members. The number of families is equal to the number of family households, however, the count of family members</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing: Multi-Unit Structure</td>
<td>Apartments or condominiums, managed collectively, with two or more units. (6)</td>
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<td>Housing: Single-Unit Structure</td>
<td>One unit, detached, such as a single-family house, a duplex with one shared wall, and townhomes or row homes on individually owned lots.</td>
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<td>Infill Development</td>
<td>Infill is the use of land within a built-up area for further construction. (7)</td>
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<td>Master Plan</td>
<td>A land-use plan, created through a collaborative process involving stakeholders, government agencies, and decision makers, focused on one or more sites within an area, intended to coordinate growth and development in order to implement a comprehensive development plan. (10)</td>
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<td>Parkland (active):</td>
<td>Parks that include recreation facilities for baseball, soccer, or other sports. (9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parkland (passive):</td>
<td>Parks that feature paths for walking and places to sit, as well as undisturbed or natural open space. (9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Sharrows” or Shared-Lane Markings</td>
<td>Pavement markings showing a bicycle and a chevron used on urban roads without sufficient width for bicycle lanes to indicate that bicyclists are permitted and expected to use a full traffic lane. (8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWOT Analysis</td>
<td>A study undertaken by an organization to identify its internal Strengths and Weaknesses, as well as its external Opportunities and Threats. (7)</td>
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<td>Traffic Calming</td>
<td>The practice of slowing vehicle traffic and/or channeling traffic away from impacted neighborhoods in order to address concerns of volume, speed, and safety of traffic. (7)</td>
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<td>Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)</td>
<td>Development that is ideal for transit by being higher density, pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly, and including mixed-use development near transit stops so that more people can use transit conveniently. (7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zoning</td>
<td>A legal device used to divide a community into separate districts and regulate land-use activity and intensity of uses. Used as an “exercise in police power” to protect the public health, safety, and welfare. (7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1. *City of Newark Comprehensive Development Plan IV,* 2008
5. Scott, Marcia s.; Beck, Claire M.; Rabidou, Brando; *Complete Streets in Delaware,* Institute for Public Administration; University of Delaware; 2011