Chapter 2
Demographics

Demographics

Population

The estimated year-round population of Kennebunkport is 3,582.[1] Between 2000 and 2010 the town's population fell from 3,720 to 3,374.[2]

Population density is approximately 180 people per mile, or 17 people per acre. The average population density in York County is 205 people per square mile, although this number varies widely across and within communities.

The map in Figure 2-1 displays the density of residential addresses. Darker areas, including the Goose Rocks, Cape Porpoise, and Dock Square vicinities are areas with a greater number of addresses per acre than light areas. This map was developed using E-911 address records located on residential lots as a proxy for population density.

Seasonal Population

The town's seasonal population is estimated at over 12,000.[3] As noted in the 2012 Comprehensive Plan, one factor contributing to slower population growth rate in Kennebunkport is the conversion of year-round homes to seasonal or rental homes. This trend has contributed to the lack of year-round and affordable housing within the community and composition of the town's population.

According to Assessing Department records, 53% of the owners of parcels classified as residential have a permanent mailing address that is located outside of Kennebunkport, indicating a high rate of seasonal or rental homes. Figure 2-2 shows the location of residences with an owner mailing address of Kennebunkport or another town. As evident in this
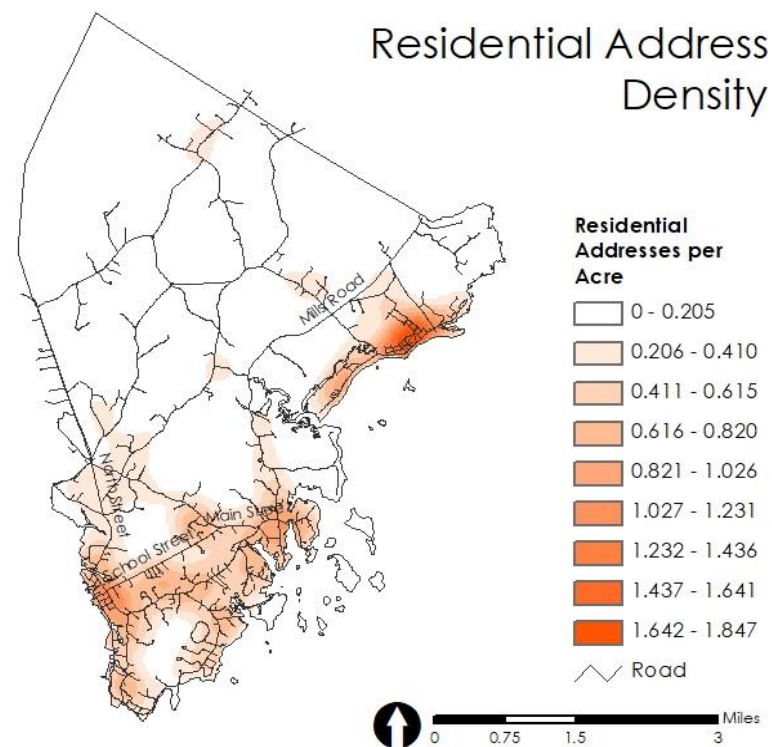

Figure 2-1 Residential addresses per acre. E-911 address data provides an alternative way to show residential density in different areas of the community for a town like Kennebunkport, which falls entirely within a single census tract. (Data source: ME GIS E-911, Assessing Department)

figure, a majority of seasonal or rental homes are located in coastal areas, while very few are located in the rural areas on the north side of town. While summer residents and tourists contribute to the vibrancy of Dock Square and the viability of its retail and restaurant industries, the high rate of off-season vacancies in coastal neighborhoods throughout town may detract from the vitality of neighborhoods.
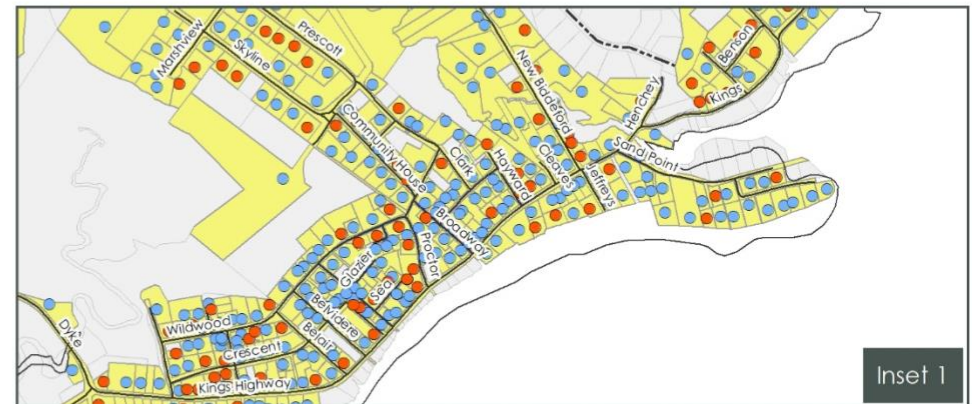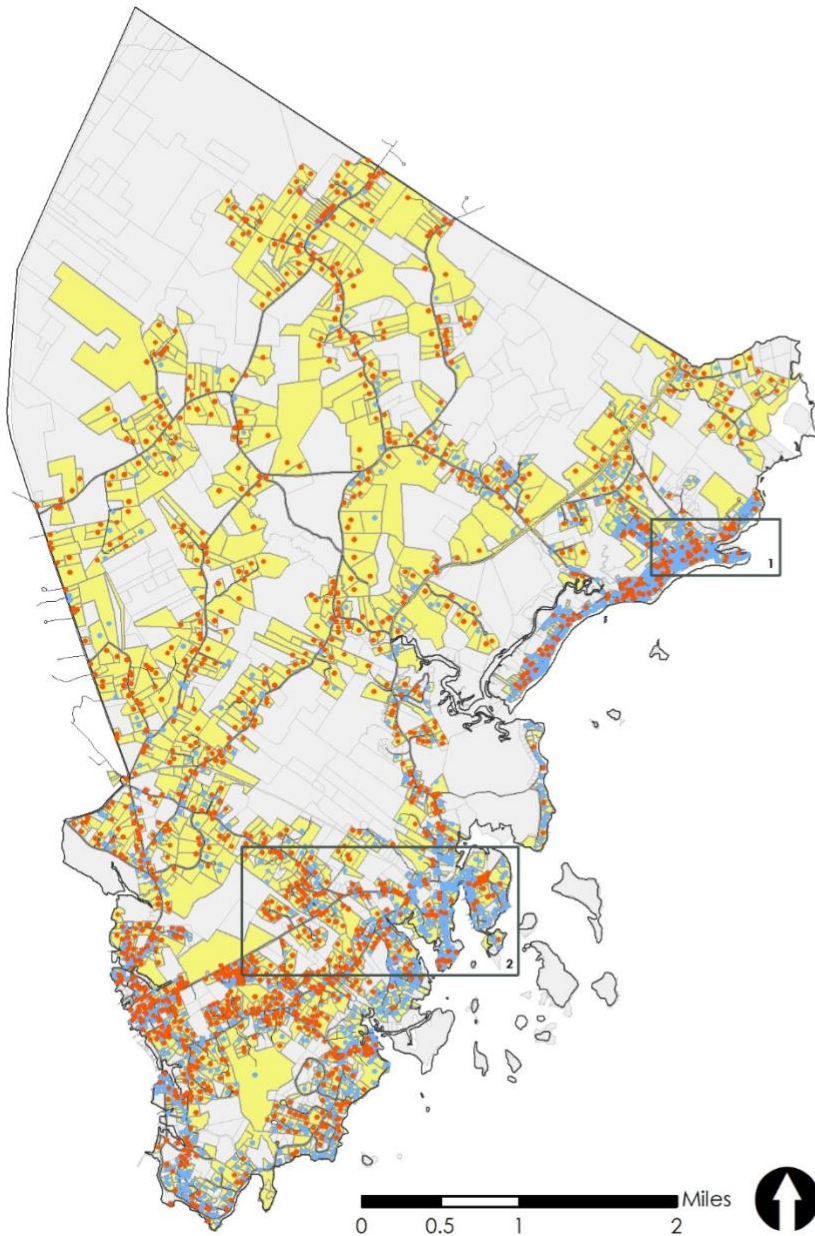
Figure 2-2 Permanent mailing address of residential parcels (Data source: ME GIS E-911, Assessing Department)

Regional Trends

From 1990 to 2000 the population of York County increased by 19.8%, from 164,587 to 197,131. The county's population grew half as fast over the following decade (Source US Census).[1] The population of municipalities in York County has varied significantly in recent decades. Between 1990 and 2010, the average population change of municipalities was 28.0%, ranging from -8.4% in Ogunquit to +71.3% in Limerick. During this time, Kennebunkport, similar to other coastal communities, experienced only 3.5% growth in its population and its share of the county's population declined by 2.4%.[1] Currently, Kennebunkport's population accounts for about 1.8% of the population of the county. The Since 2010, the populations of Kennebunkport and of York County have experienced little change. The population trends in York County in the early 2000's reflect a general shift in growth of population in the coastal and more urban communities to growth in suburban and rural areas (Source: US Census, 1990, 2000, 2010).

Age

The median age in Kennebunkport is 53.5 years. As shown in Figure 2-3, median age has increased since 2000. The town's median age is approximately 16% higher than both York County and Maine (45.1 years), and 29% higher than the national median age of 38.2. However, in recent years it appears that the median age in Kennebunkport has increased at a lower rate than that of the county and state.
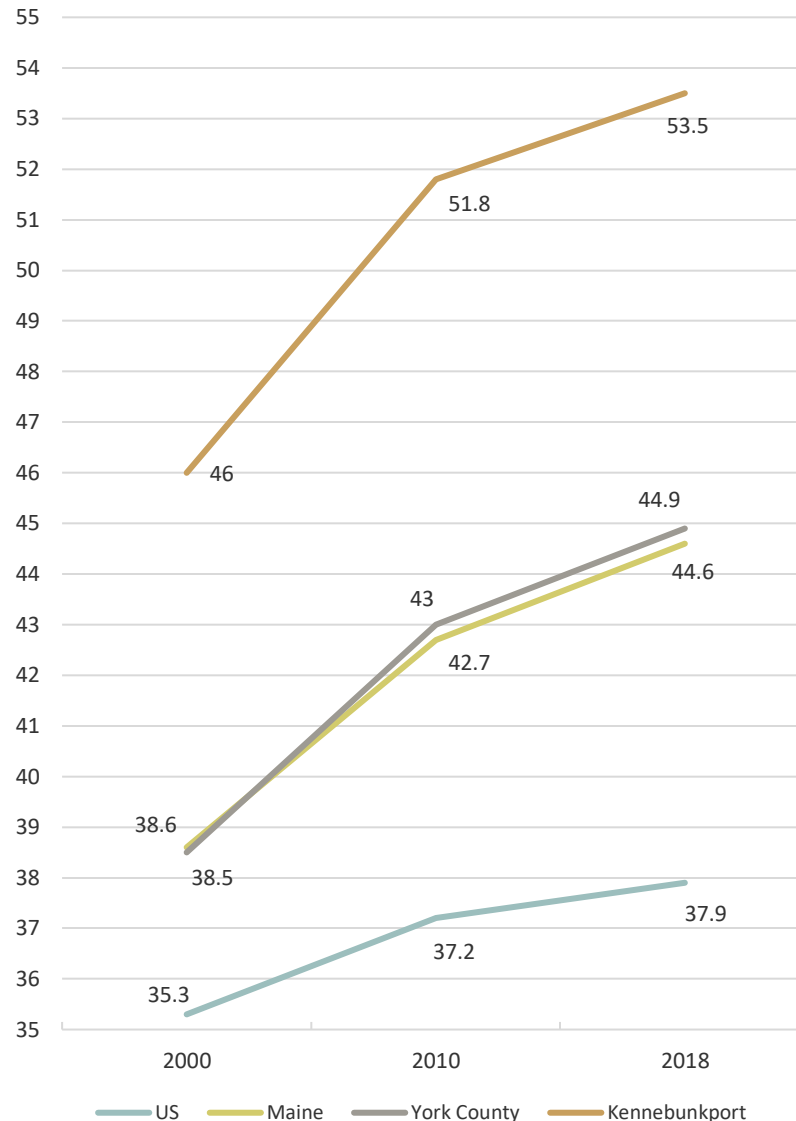

Figure 2-3 Median age in Kennebunkport, York County, Maine, and the US (Source: US Census 2000, 2010, ACS 2018 5-year estimates)

Distribution of the Population by Age

As displayed in Figure 2-4, Kennebunkport has, in general, fewer younger people and more older people than the region, state, and nation. The residents ages 60 to 64 comprise the largest five-year cohort in Kennebunkport, accounting for 12.1% of the town's total population (Figure 2-4).[4] Twenty-eight percent of the population is over age 65. The population under age 20 comprises 18% of the population. With the exception of 10 to 14-year-olds, the share of the population of all five-year cohorts under age 39 is lower in Kennebunkport than the county, state, and national share of the population in these cohorts. Conversely, all population cohorts ages 60 and over are higher in Kennebunkport than the county, state, and national share of the population in these cohorts.[5]
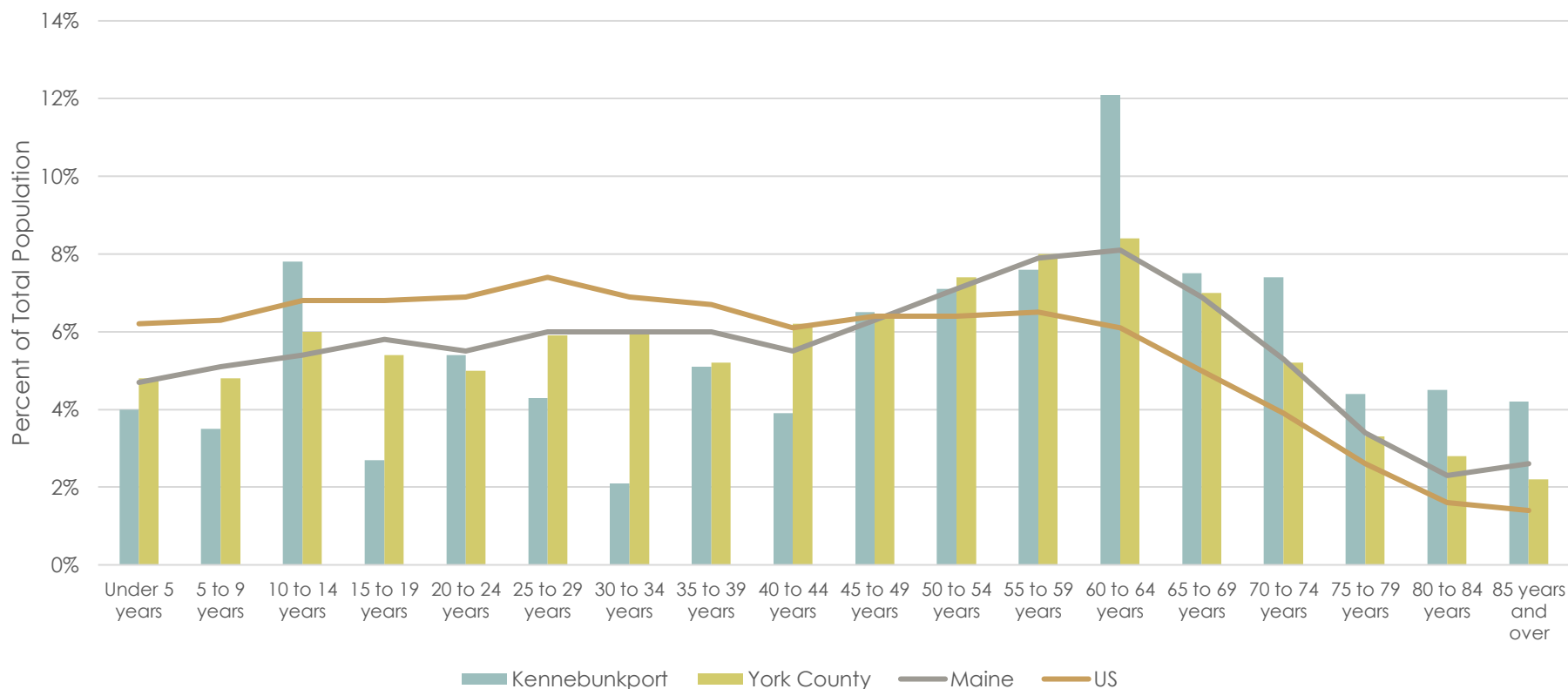

Figure 2-4 Age distribution of the population (Source: ACS 2018 5-year estimates)

Population Pyramid

Population pyramids graphically display the distribution of males and females in different age groups. When a population is growing, the distribution forms a pyramid-like shape. The population pyramid for Kennebunkport's population reveals an almost inverted pyramid, reflecting a high share of older people (Figure 2-5). This figure also highlights the especially low population in the 30 to 44-year cohorts. This form is indicative of populations with characteristics including:

- Declining birth rates
- Aging and longer-living residents
- A shrinking population
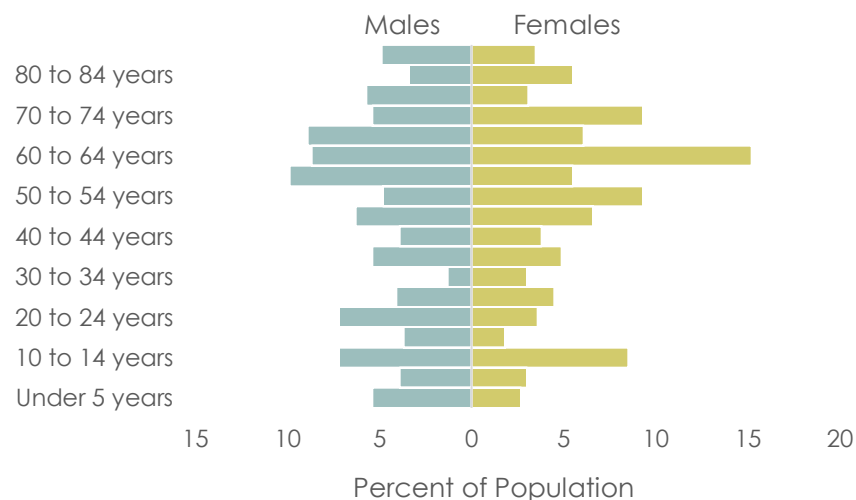- Fewer working people to support the older population.

Age Dependency

Figure 2-6 displays the old-age and child dependency rations for Kennebunkport, compared to York County, the State of Maine, and the US. The overall age dependency ratio, or ratio of the population not typically in the workforce (under age 14 or over age 65) is over 80.7. The age dependency ratio is an indicator of the proportion of non-working people who are not likely earning an income and often receiving outside support to meet their needs. An age dependency ratio over 65 is considered high. A ratio of around 80 means that for every four adults who are not working, there are five who are. Kennebunkport has a much higher old-age dependency ratio than the county, state, and nation, while the child dependency ratio is comparable to other geographies.
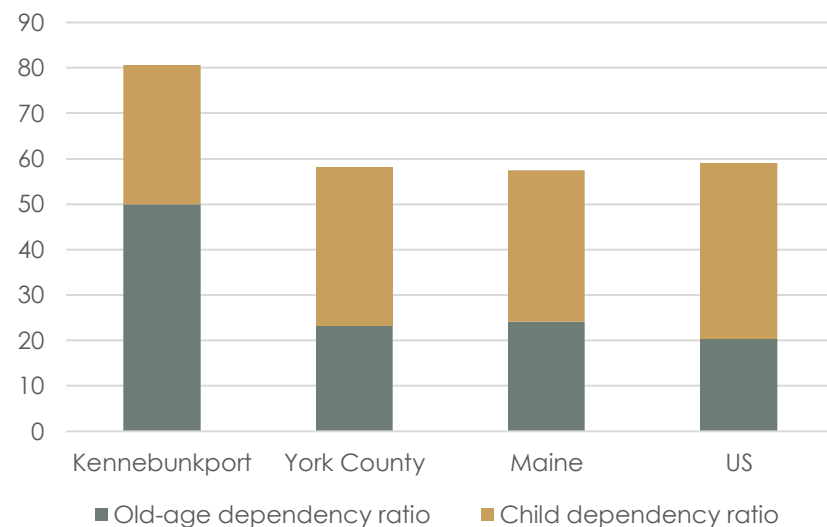

Figure 2-5 Population pyramid of Kennebunkport (Source: ACS 2018 5-yr estimates)

Figure 2-6 Old-age and child dependency ratio (Source: ACS 2018 5-yr estimates)

School Age Population

As of October 2018, the school population of Kennebunkport was 365 students. Approximately two-thirds of this population attended the Consolidated School or the High School (Figure 2-7). Since 2010, the total school population declined about 15%.[vi]
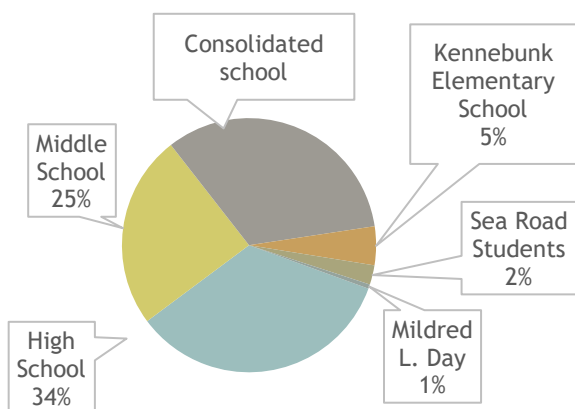

Figure 2-7 2018 Share of the school population by school in 2018 (Source: Town Annual Report, 2018)

School Enrollment

Enrollment at the town's only public school, Kennebunkport Consolidated (Kindergarten through 5th grade) has been trending downward in recent years, as shown in the shaded area in Figure 2-8.

There are several factors that may contribute to declining enrollment. First, between 2013 and 2014, the number of children born in Kennebunkport dropped precipitously (Figure 208). While there is no clear correlation visible between the number of births and enrollment, the precipitous decline in school enrollment from 2016 to 2019 appears to mirror the decline in births that occurred between 2011 and 2014. Is reasonable to assume that a declining school population is attributable to fewer births with a lag of four to five years, the time it takes for children to reach enrollment age.

Fewer births may be attributable to the lower population of women of childbearing age. Between 2009 and 2018, the estimated population of women ages 15 through 50 declined nearly 20%.[vii]
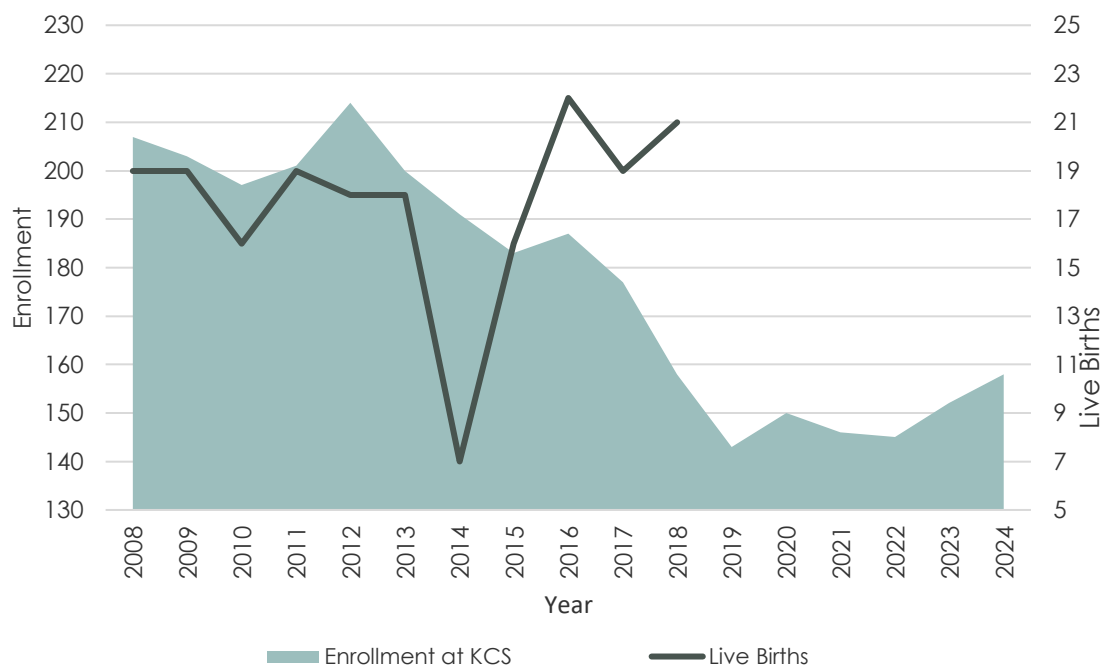

Figure 2-8 Enrollment at Kennebunk Consolidated School with live births. Enrollment data and 2019 projections provided by RSU 21. Birth data provided by the Maine Department of Health & Human Services, Center for Disease Control and Prevention.

RSU 21 advises that the number of Kennebunkport children (Kindergarten through 5th grade) who are home schooled or who attend private schools number seven and two, respectively. Thus, the absence of those students from the public school system has not played a significant role in declining enrollment at the Kennebunkport Consolidated School.

Finally, there is a perception in the community that a rapid increase in the cost of housing, the acquisition of housing by seasonal residents, and the loss of permanent housing to short term rentals (this trend is documented in the Housing chapter of the Comprehensive Plan) has put housing beyond the reach of many young families, and thus the school enrollment is in decline.[viii]

PARENTS HAVE THE OPTION OF ENROLLING THEIR CHILDREN IN RSU 21'S LARGER SCHOOLS SITUATED OUTSIDE OF KENNEBUNKPORT. SOME DO SO BELIEVING THAT A LARGER SCHOOL IS MORE SUITABLE FOR THEIR CHILDREN. LIKEWISE, PARENTS IN KENNEBUNK AND ARUNDEL ARE PERMITTED TO ENROLL THEIR CHILDREN IN THE SMALLER KENNEBUNKPORT SCHOOL. IN 2019, 23 KENNEBUNKPORT CHILDREN IN KINDERGARTEN THROUGH 5TH GRADE COMMUTED OUT OF TOWN, WHILE 46 OUT-OF-TOWN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE KENNEBUNKPORT SCHOOL. THUS, INCOMING STUDENTS OUTNUMBERED KENNEBUNKPORT RESIDENTS ENROLLING IN OTHER TOWNS TWO TO ONE.

Kennebunkport Parks and Recreation young

Race

Kennebunkport has a homogenous population with respect to race and ethnicity. Almost 100% of the population is white. Less than 1% are American Indian and Alaska Natives and less that 1% identify as some other race. Similarly, the population that identifies as two or more races is also under 1%.[ix]

Income & Employment

Median Household Income

Kennebunkport residents earn more than the average household in York County. The median household income in Kennebunkport is $79,295, which is approximately 21% higher than that of York County ($65,638) and 43% higher than the median household income in the state ($55,425).[x] This figure does not reflect the income of part time residents, which would likely increase the median income.

The town's median household income grew by about 36% between 2009 and 2018, which is about double that of the state and US.[xi] When adjusting for

inflation, median household income in Kennebunkport increased by about 18% during this time. Figure 2-9 displays the median household income in Kennebunkport, York County, and Maine, adjusted for inflation to 2018 dollars using the Consumer Price Index (CPI). From 2011 through 2016, median household income in Kennebunkport grew steadily, while that of the county, Maine, and US decreased slightly, when adjusting for inflation. In recent years, this trend has reversed as household income in Kennebunkport leveled off.
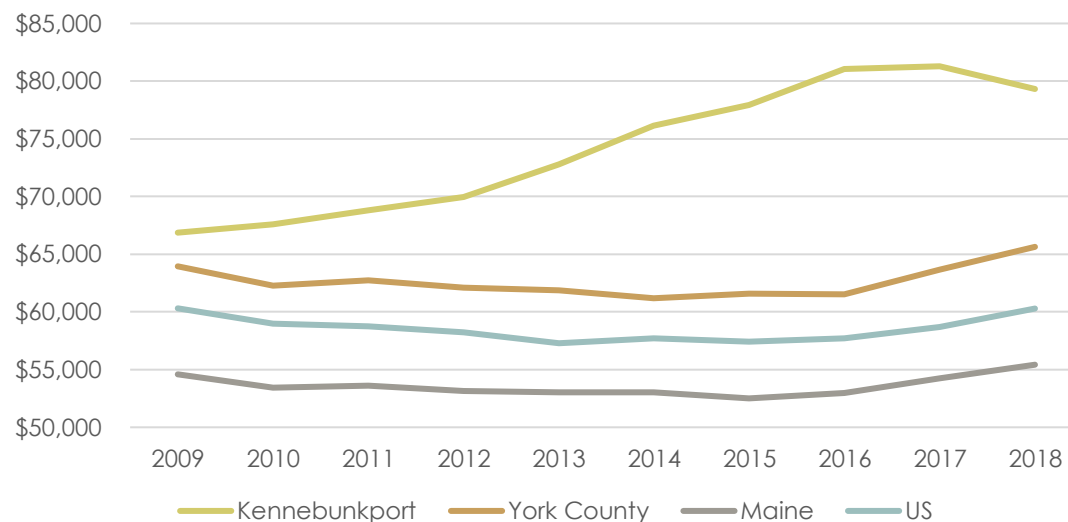

Figure 2-9 Median household income in Kennebunkport compared to Maine and the US, adjusted for inflation to 2018 dollars using the Consumer Price Index (ACS 5yr, CPI)

Cost Of Living

According to one cost of living calculator, which determines how much it costs to maintain a standard of living from one place to the next, the cost of living index in Kennebunkport is 149, or approximately 50% more than the national average. This reflects the cost of food, housing, utilities, transportation, health, taxes, and housing cost (Source: bestplaces.net).

Employment

Approximately 63% of the population of Kennebunkport that is age 16 and over is in the labor force. The population in the labor force includes people that are either employed or unemployed and seeking work. Of this population, 99% are employed and less than 1% are not employed. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the average annual unemployment rate in 2018 for York County was 3.0%,[xii] while the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate for Maine is 2.9.[xiii]

Over 10% of workers ages 16 and over work at home in Kennebunkport, which is down from around 15% in 2010.[xiv] Nearly 90% of residents work within the state of Maine, while 74% work in York County. As efforts to reduce energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions associated with vehicle miles traveled increase, it is likely the proportion of people working from home will grow, provided that workers have access to reliable high-speed broadband. Other factors such as presence of shared workspace, the availability of public transportation, and the availability of affordable housing near jobs will also affect the region's ability to reduce GHG emissions associated with commuting.

Additional information on employment, occupation, and industry is included in the Economy Chapter. Commuting patterns are discussed further in the Transportation Chapter.

Educational Attainment

Kennebunkport has an exceptionally high level educational attainment compared to the state average (Figure 2-10). Over 99% of the population over age 25 are high school graduates or higher and 58% have a bachelor's degree or higher. Ninety-two percent and 34%, respectively, of York County and Maine residents have graduated high school or higher.[xv] The effect of this higher level of education is reflected in the town's high median household income.
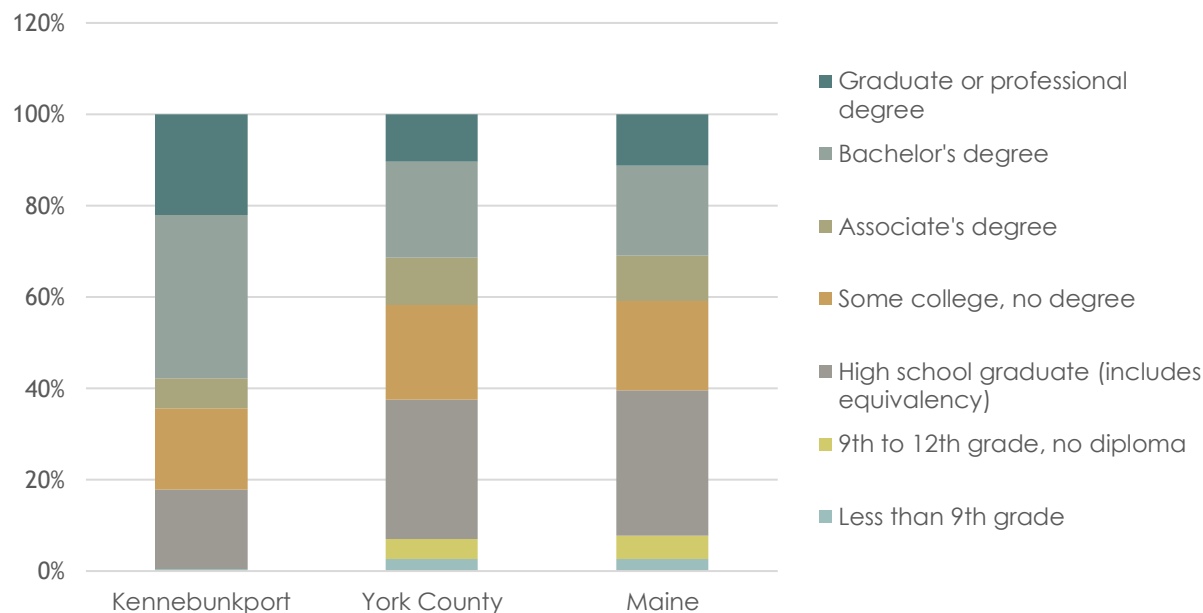

Figure 2-10 Educational attainment (Source: ACS 2018 5-yr estimates)

Vulnerable Populations

Poverty

The poverty rate of Kennebunkport is less than 3%, down from 3.5% five years ago.[1,xvi,xvii] In comparison, 8.4% of the population of York County fell below the poverty level in the last 12 months. Approximately 52 of the town's households (3% of total households) received public assistance income in the last 12 months and 76 (5%) received cash assistance and food stamps/SNAP benefits.[xviii] Refer to the Housing Chapter for information about the housing burden.

Disability

The disability rate in Kennebunkport is 12%, which is similar to the current national rate as well as the disability rate in Kennebunkport five years ago. [xix,xx] Approximately 27% of the population ages 65 and over and 45% of the population age 75 year and over have a disability.[xxi] As the proportion of the elderly population in Kennebunkport increases, it is anticipated that the disability rate will also increase.

CENTER FOR DISEASE CONTROL SOCIAL VULNERABILITY RANKING

Census tract 270, which comprises the Town of Kennebunkport, received an overall social vulnerability ranking of 0-0.25, which is the lowest category of vulnerability assigned by the Center for Disease Control (CDC). Several variables are included within this score. The tract's socioeconomic theme score, which is based on the population below poverty, unemployed, the median income, and population without a high school diploma, was 0.0254 on a 0 to 1 scale with 1 being the highest vulnerability. Under the household composition/disability category, tract 270 received a higher score of 0.3836. This metric is based on the population aged 65 or older, 17 or younger, civilians with a disability, and single parent households and thus it is not surprising that with it's older population, the tract scored higher. Under the housing and transportation theme, with accounts for accounts for multi-unit structures, mobile homes, crowding, households without a vehicle, and group quarters, the tract scored 0.1700, indicating a low level of vulnerability. Lastly, in the race and language theme, which is based on the population that speaks English "less than well," the tract similarly had a low vulnerability score of 0.0028 (Source: CDC Social Vulnerability Index).

The vulnerability rankings indicate that social vulnerability is low in Kennebunkport. There is potential that this low vulnerability translates into a low supply and demand for social services and support. As a result, the individuals who experience high vulnerability may not have access to the local services and support they require.

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[1] The population for whom the poverty status is determined does not include people in institutional group quarters (such as nursing homes), college dormitories, military barracks, living situations without conventional housing, dormitories, or children under 15 living in foster care.

Obesity

Obesity is increasingly prevalent across the country. Nearly 29 percent of children ages 10-17 in Maine are overweight or obese for their age based on body mass index. In comparison, the national average for this age group is 31%.[xxii] The obesity rate in adults 33.5%, which is higher than both the state and national averages of less than 30%. [xxiii]

There are a number of factors that lead to obesity, some of which relate to the surrounding environment and accessibility to health food and opportunities for physical activity. The USDA's Food Atlas suggests that the population's access to food stores increased between 2010 and 2015 in York County.[xxiv] Another positive trend is the increase in farms with direct food sales and the increase of farmers markets, which more than doubled between 2010 and 2016 in the county.[xxv] Concurrently, however, the number of household with no car and low access to food stores increased by around 15% from 2010 to 2015 (footnote: at least 500 persons and/or at least 33 percent of the population lives more than 1 mile from a supermarket or large grocery store).[xxvi]

Twenty percent of adults over age 20 in York County report that they do not engage in leisure-time physical activity.[xxvii] Access to recreational opportunities, such as parks, trails, and health and fitness centers, also affect the wellbeing of the population. Refer to the Recreation and Natural Resources Chapters to learn about access to these amenities in Kennebunkport. The presence of safe places to walk or bike is critical to encouraging active transportation. Over the last decade, the awareness of the importance of designing streets for all users - not just automobiles – has grown. Complete streets, as these multi-user transportation routes are known, foster active transportation by providing welcoming, safe places for people to travel. More information on complete streets can be found in the Transportation Chapter.

OTHER HEALTH INDICATORS

- THE LIFE EXPECTANCY IN YORK COUNTY IS 79.1, COMPARED TO 78.6 IN MAINE
- OVERDOSE DEATHS DUE TO SUBSTANCE USE INCREASED BY OVER 125% BETWEEN 2011 AND 2016
- LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH IN YORK COUNTY
  #1: CANCER
  #2: HEART DISEASE
  #3: UNINTENTIONAL INJURIES
  #4: CHRONIC LOWER RESPIRATORY DISEASES
  #5: STROKE

SOURCE: YORK COUNTY HEALTH PROFILE 2018. MAINE SHARED COMMUNITY HEALTH NEEDS ASSESSMENT
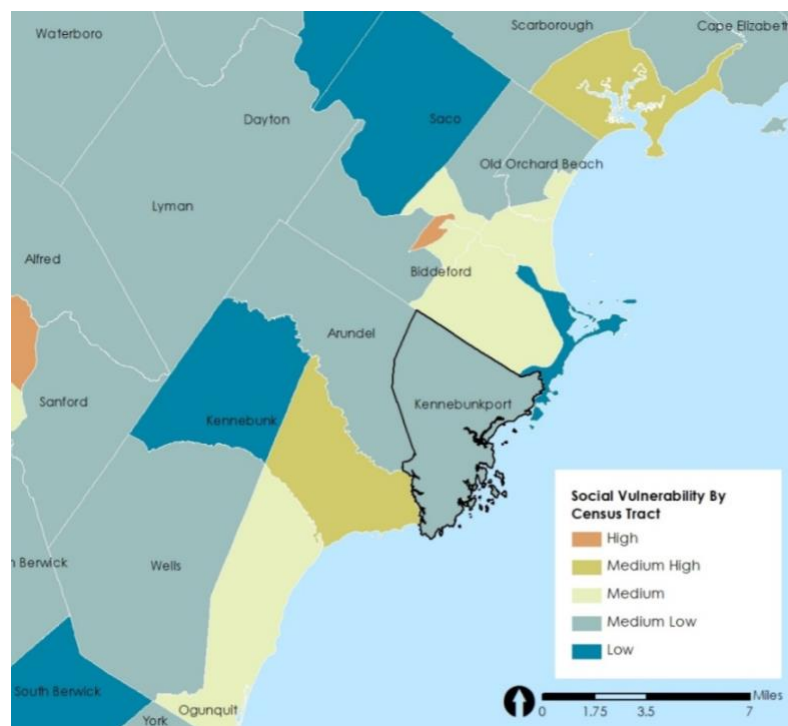
VETERAN POPULATION

APPROXIMATELY 13% OF THE POPULATION AGE 18 OR OLDER ARE VETERANS (386 INDIVIDUALS) (SOURCE: ACS 5YR). QUALIFYING VETERANS AGES 62 AND OLDER ARE ELIGIBLE FOR A PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTION. A TOTAL OF 124 POST WWI VETERANS RECEIVE A PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTION (SOURCE: MUNICIPAL VALUATION).

Climate Change Vulnerability

Vulnerability to Hazards

Kennebunkport (census tract 270) ranks 'medium-low' on a Social Vulnerability Index (SoVI)[b] that ranks the ability to prepare for, respond to, and recover from hazards based on several socioeconomic variables.[xxviii] While this score does not reflect the town's capacity to adapt to climate change specifically, it indicates the community's relatively strong ability to plan for and recover from hazards, such as more severe storms and other events associated with climate change. Figure 2-11 displays the SoVI ranking by census tract in the vicinity of Kennebunkport. Sixty percent of the census tracts in York County are ranked 'low' or 'medium low'. Compared to counties in the state York ranks medium low, while on a national scale, York County received a medium ranking, which reflects the high vulnerability ranking that northern Maine counties received.[xxix]
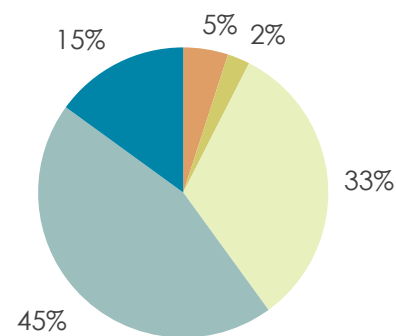

Figure 2-11 Social vulnerability ranking of ability to prepare for, respond to, and recover from hazards (Data Source: University of South Carolina Hazards & Vulnerability Research Institute)

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[b] SoVI was developed by the University of South Carolina based on county level 2010-2014 data. The ranking is based off of 29 total variables that fall within the following eight categories: wealth, race (black) and social status, age (elderly), ethnicity (Hispanic) and lack of health insurance, special needs populations, service sector employment, race (Native American), and gender (female).

Coastal Population

Historical settlement patterns and desirable waterfront property have led to dense settlement along Kennebunkport's coastline and tidal Kennebunk River. The population that resides in coastal homes will become increasingly vulnerable to sea level rise and storm surge throughout this century. Flooding has the potential to result in damage to infrastructure and public and private property, road closures that limit travel and accessibility, and hazardous conditions that threaten the wellbeing of individuals. Figure 2-12 displays residential land use, the approximate location of residences, and impervious surfaces (buildings and roads) with the mean high water level and the low and high sea level rise and storm surge scenarios developed by the Maine Geological Survey: Highest astronomical tide plus 1.2 feet of sea level rise and storm surge and highest astronomic tide plus 10.9 feet of sea level rise and storm surge. These low and high scenarios encompass the range of sea level rise that is anticipated in Maine. Refer to Chapter 3 Land Use for information about the area of land that is vulnerable to development under each of six scenarios. A discussion of homes located within the FEMA floodplain, which are inherently vulnerable to flooding, is included in Chapter 5 Housing.
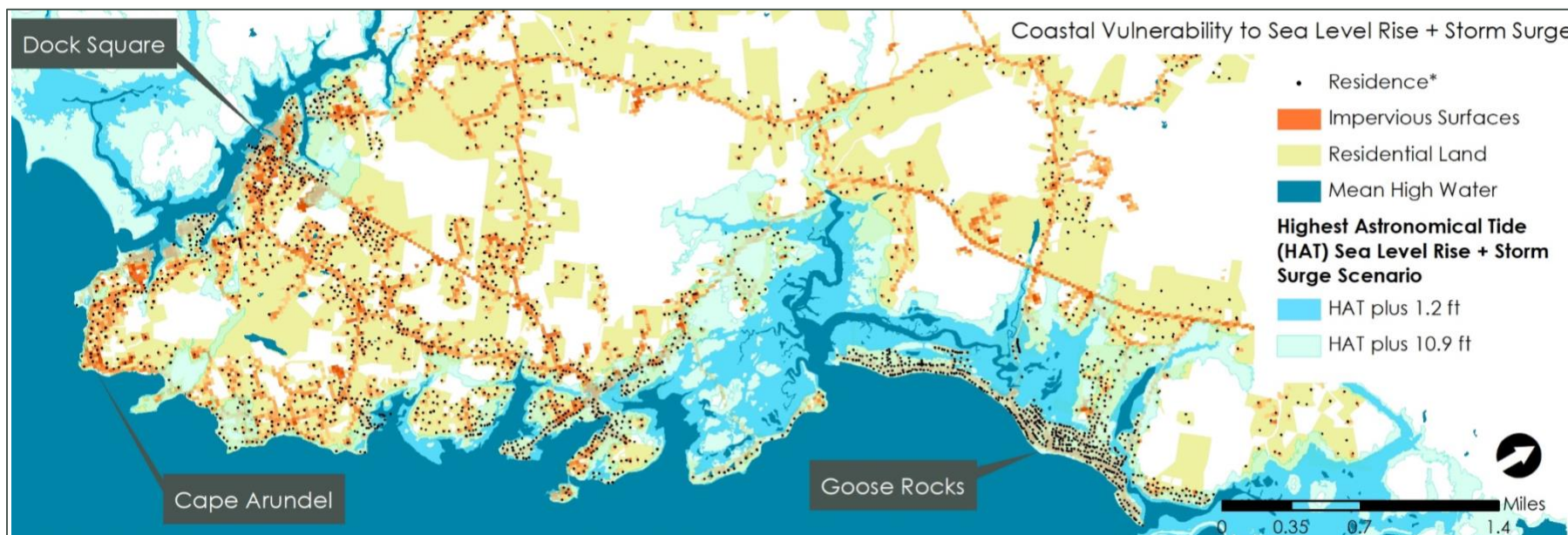

Figure 2-12 Residential land and impervious surfaces with low and high sea level rise scenarios. *The dots representing residences are derived from E-911 addresses and do not necessarily show the exact location of homes (Data Source: Maine Geological Survey, NOAA CCAP, Assessing Department)

Extreme Heat & Air Quality

Maine's residents can expect to see temperatures warm over this century due to climate change. While warmer winters may be welcomed by some, prolonged heat waves and extreme heat events are a threat to the population's wellbeing. Certain segments of the population — including the very young, elderly, those with existing health problems, people without access to air conditioning, and individuals who work outside — will be particularly vulnerable to hotter temperatures. In addition to stroke and dehydration, extreme heat can lead to cardiovascular, respiratory and cerebrovascular disease.[xxx]

It is anticipated that warmer temperatures will increase the frequency of days with unhealthy levels of ground-level ozone, which increases risk of respiratory problems and premature death, as well as more hospital visits. [xxxi] In addition, warmer temperatures coupled with higher primary productivity in plant associated with higher levels of carbon dioxide increase airborne allergens. [xxxii]

While the asthma rate in Maine children (8.0%) is lower than that of the national average (8.4%), the Maine's adult population has a considerably higher asthma rate (11.2%) than the national average (7.7%).[xxxiii] The Maine's high rates of asthma are likely caused by a number of factors, one of which is the state's location in the 'tail-pipe' of the US, where pollutants from across the country are deposited. As a result, climate change impacts on air quality nation-wide will likely affect Maine residents.

Future Population

Between 2016 and 2036, Kennebunkport's population is projected to increase by approximately 10.5% from 3,571 to 3,946 people. Kennebunkport is projected to grow at a slightly higher rate than York County, which is projected to increase by 9.1% during this time, and significantly higher than the state, which is projected to increase by less than 1%.[xxxiv] Figure 2-13 displays the projected population change in five-year increments.
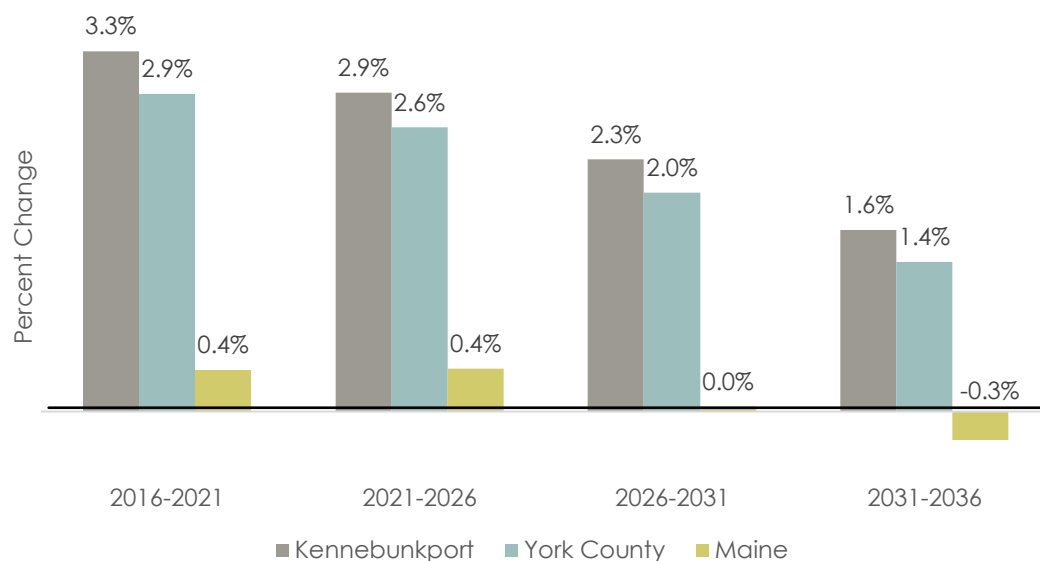

Figure 2-13 Percent of population change in five-year increments between 2016 and 2036 (Source: State of Maine Economist)

Assuming this estimated increase of 375 people over the 20-year period from 2016 to 2036, the town can expect an average increase of 19 people per year. With a current average household size of 2.3 people per household,[3,xxxv] an estimated eight new units per year would be required to accommodate this growth. The town's high housing vacancy rate of 46% indicates that the existing housing stock may easily accommodate the relatively low rate of population growth that is projected. However, a majority of vacancies are seasonal homes and seasonal rentals which may not be available or affordable to potential incoming residents.

Although the town's population is expected to increase, the stagnant state population may have implications for the local labor force and tourism industry in Kennebunkport. Lower unemployment rates, fewer federal H2B visas for foreign seasonal workers, and the aging population will likely exacerbate worker shortage associated with the lack of population growth.

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[3] Average household size is based on a weighted average of the average household size of owner- and renter-occupied housing units.

Age

The future population of Maine will be an older population. Maine ranks highest in the nation with respect to the share if its population over age 65. Factors including lower birth rates, movement of younger populations out of state, and the aging baby boomer population will continue to reinforce this trend. Figure 2-14 displays the age profile of York County in 2007, 2016, and the projected profile in 2036.

Over the three decades, the share of the population ages 25-29 and 35-39 experience the least dramatic change, each hovering around 5% of the population. The cohort with the greatest percent of the population shifted from ages 45-49 in 2007 to 55-59 in 2016. By 2036, the 70-74-year-olds will be the largest cohort. In the county and the state, the total share of the population over age 65 is projected to increase from approximately 19% to just under 30% from 2016 to 2036. At the same time, the school age population (ages 0-19) in the county is projected to decline by 13% from 2016 to 2036, with the greatest decline (nearly 20%) occurring in the 15-19 age group.
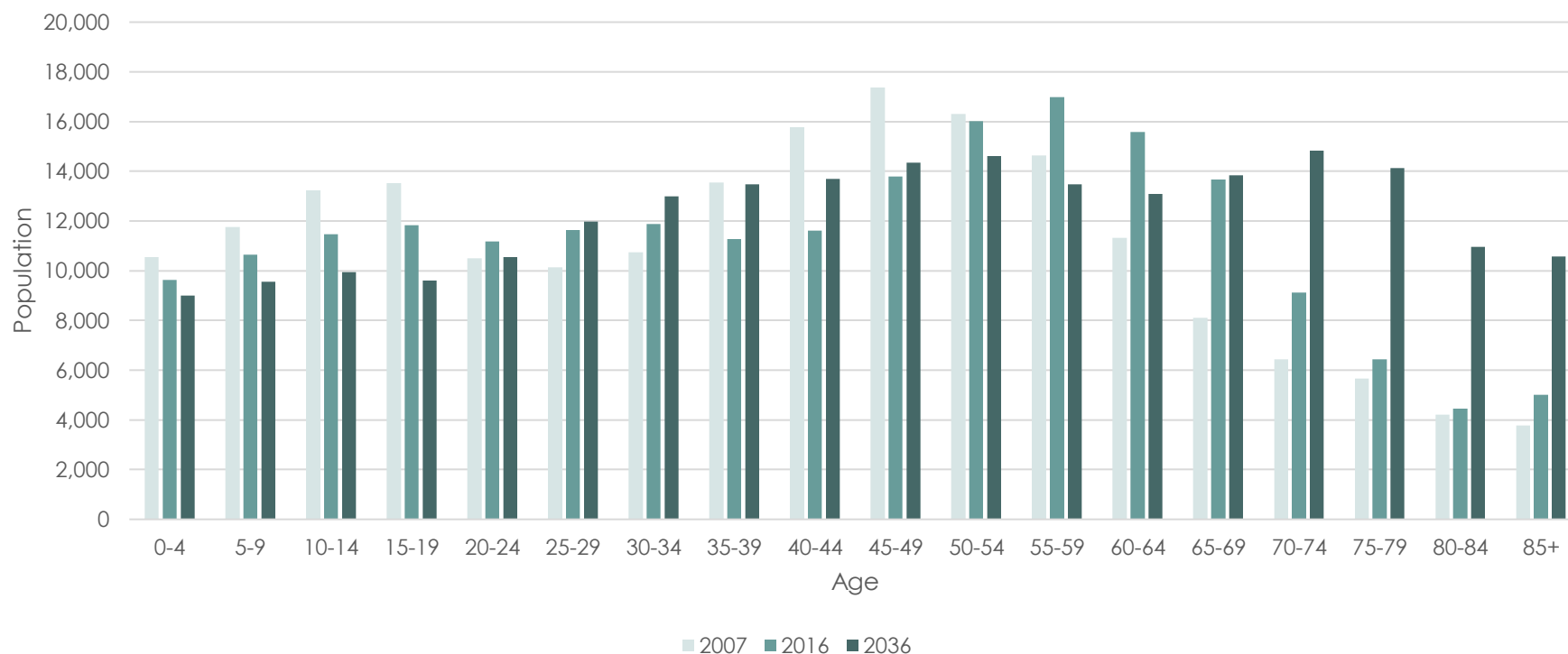

Figure 2-14 Past and projected age distribution for York County (Source: State of Maine Economist)

The decline in young people is likely to reinforce the downward trend in total school enrollment in Kennebunkport. However, the projections suggests an increase in the 0-4 year old cohort in the early 2020's that will increase enrollment as they move through the school system (Figure 2-15).
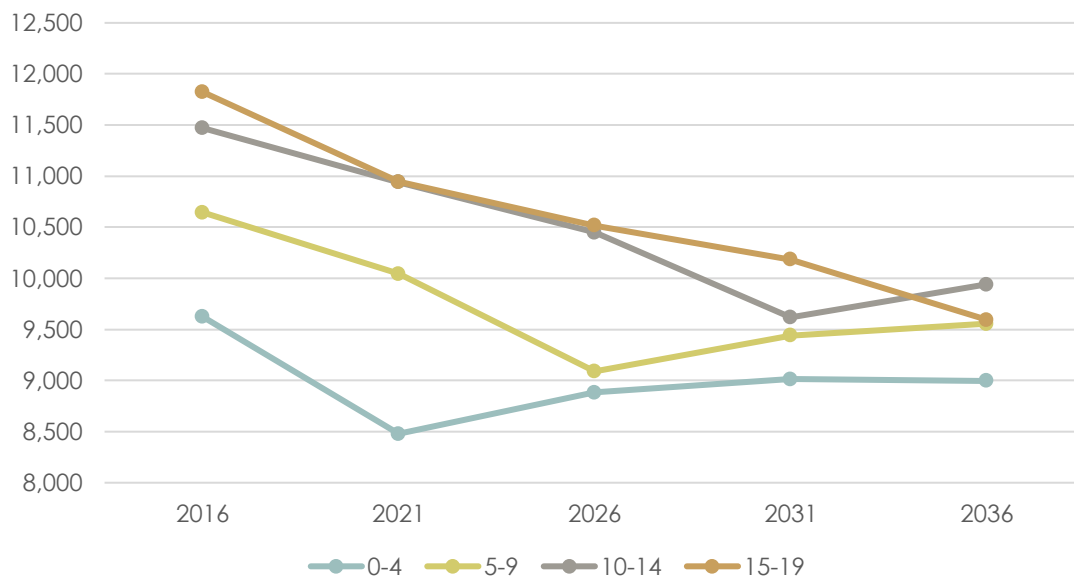

Figure 2-15 Projected change in school aged population (under age 19) in York County (Source: Maine State Economist)

In and Out Migration

A number of factors — such as housing affordability, services and resources, vacant housing, developable land, local and regional job opportunities, birth and death rates, and climate change — will impact population change in Maine. In addition to these internal factors, external factors that drive individuals and families to seek an alternative place to live, whether in a new region, state, or county, will also affect Maine's population. Maine is becoming a more diverse state, and this diversity has brough a younger median age. Migration in and out of Maine will influence the future population of Kennebunkport.

Communities that provide high quality and diverse housing options, amenities such as services, restaurants, and parks, and local employment opportunities will be better positioned to attract a younger demographic. Furthermore, municipalities that are able to take advantage of the influx in refugees in the state may experience a more stable, year-round population and workforce.

ATTRACTING YOUNG ADULTS

THE STATE HAS DEVELOPED INCENTIVES TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN YOUNG PEOPLE. PROGRAMS SUCH AS THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY TAX CREDIT, WHICH OFFERS A CREDIT TO INDIVIDUALS WHO LIVE, WORK, AND PAY TAXES IN MAINE AFTER GRADUATION, HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED BY THE STATE TO COMBAT THE OUTWARD MIGRATION OF YOUNG ADULTS FROM MAINE.

Climate Migrants

In the coming years, climate change will impact some regions of the United States more severely than others. For example, Gulf Coast states will experience storms and flooding of great intensity, the Southwest will struggle to provide sufficient potable water to support its population, and western states such as California will continue to face wildfires on a large scale.

In contrast, a state like Maine with ample water supplies and a temperate climate will likely attract migrants fleeing other parts of the US. By and large, the migrants will be US citizens, and those who are affluent may displace Mainers who are less so.

Concurrently, a rising sea will force some Kennebunkport residents to seek higher ground within the town and elsewhere.

Planning to accommodate these migrants while enabling local residents to remain in the community is a new challenge the community will face.

[1] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[2] US Census 2000, 2010
[3] Town of Kennebunkport 2017 Annual Report.
[4] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[5] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[vi] Town of Kennebunkport 2017 Annual Report.
[vii] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[viii] Seacoastonline, June 7, 2018
[ix] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[x] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xi] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xii] Bureau of Labor Statistics. Local Area Unemployment Statistics. Labor Force Data by County. 2018.
[xiii] Bureau of Labor Statistics. Local Area Unemployment Statistics. Expanded State Employment Status Demographic Data. 2018.
[xiv] ACS 2018 5-year estimates, ACS 2010 5-year estimates
[xv] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xvi] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xvii] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xviii] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xix] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
[xx] ACS 2018 5-year estimates
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