

Integrating Neighborhood Voice into
Policies, Plans, and Regulations:
A Synthesis of Bozeman's
Northeast Neighborhood Vision and City Policy



Prepared November 2020 by
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Cover Image Source: PhotoVoicesNE, August 2019

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Executive Summary

The Northeast Neighborhood of Bozeman, historically one of working-class housing and industrial working lands, has recently emerged as a desirable neighborhood to live, work, and develop. The Northeast Neighborhood Association, concerned with preserving the unique character of this neighborhood in the face of growth and development, facilitated the PhotoVoicesNE community art project in August 2019 to showcase what elements of this neighborhood contribute to its character.

Photovoice is a tool for community engagement which has historically been used to gauge community needs through the eyes of community members (Wang & Burris, 1997). In order to understand how photovoice can be used as a tool for engagement in planning, we first conducted a literature review comparing photovoice to other engagement methodologies. We found that while photovoice allows for a more in-depth and illustrative conversation than public meetings or online participatory technologies, there has been little written on the role of photovoice in the community design process. While photovoice does present the potential to influence local policy, especially when the project is supported by policymakers (Goodhart et al., 2006), participants in photovoice projects such as this one are often self-selected meaning these projects may not necessarily represent the views of the entire community.

We created a qualitative analysis framework to analyze the PhotoVoicesNE project alongside the City's Community Plan, Strategic Plan, and Unified Development Code. Through this framework we sought to understand what residents feel makes the character of this neighborhood unique, what elements of this character Bozeman has already addressed, and how that character can be preserved in the context of growth and development in the Northeast Neighborhood. As a result of this qualitative analysis, we found the following:

Key Results

- **Many of the values of the Northeast Neighborhood align with the values of the city:** Participants in PhotoVoicesNE voiced support for sustainability initiatives, diversity and inclusion, street and neighborhood safety, affordable housing, multimodal transportation, and connectivity of parks and trails.
- **Opinions are mixed regarding density and infill:** Some participants in PhotoVoicesNE voiced staunch opposition to an increase in housing density in the Northeast Neighborhood, citing concerns that density would threaten historic character, the neighborhood's sense of community, and the Bridger Range and Story Hills viewshed. Others, however, believed density and infill were essential to maintain housing affordability.
- **The Northeast Neighborhood is not anti-development, but it is pro-neighborhood character:** We found throughout PhotoVoicesNE that participants did not oppose development on principle, and in fact provided many photographs of new construction which they felt was cohesive with existing neighborhood design and character. However, the new buildings that were exemplified were all built to the same scale as existing buildings, took styling cues from historic architecture, and most were built on vacant land rather than necessitating the demolition of an existing building.

- **The Northeast Neighborhood values a mix of uses, including industrial and commercial uses:** The Northeast Neighborhood has historically been a mix of residential and nonresidential uses, and PhotoVoicesNE participants supported perpetuation of industrial and commercial land use in the Northeast Neighborhood.
- **Northeast Neighborhood residents do not feel the Development Code fits the needs of their neighborhood:** There were many voices we heard in PhotoVoicesNE which felt that the city code was too inflexible and rigid for the quirks of the Northeast Neighborhood, or felt that the code encouraged uniformity of design.

Recommendations

Based upon these findings, we present the following four recommendations to help preserve the Northeast Neighborhood's existing character, and encourage new development to enhance and contribute to this character as this neighborhood continues to grow:

- **Incentivize developers to match the character of the neighborhood, through zoning or a points system:** As indicated above, many feel the requirements of the city code are too rigid in terms of design requirements for the eclectic nature of the Northeast Neighborhood, yet too permitting of large-scale development. As such, we recommend creating a Northeast Neighborhood-specific zone (not unlike the current NEHMU zone but expanded to include the residential portions of the neighborhood) including a points system to ensure developers match the artistic character of the neighborhood and with added height and footprint restrictions.
- **Consider grants for small-scale historical preservation:** The voices we heard in PhotoVoicesNE commended their neighbors for preserving historic homes, and it was made quite clear that PhotoVoicesNE participants thought *all* historic homes and buildings are important for the overall historic character of the Northeast Neighborhood, whether or not they are officially designated as historic or protected. As such, we recommend utilizing a portion of the money brought in by new development via impact fees and cash-in-lieu payments to give grants to homeowners wishing to repair or preserve their historic home.
- **Create a more concrete viewshed preservation plan:** Many voices we heard in PhotoVoicesNE voiced fear that growth and infill in the Northeast Neighborhood, and particularly development of large-scale apartment buildings, would jeopardize views of the Bridger Range and Story Hills which are currently enabled by low-slung industrial operations on the neighborhood's northern border. As such, we recommend utilizing GIS technology in the vein of Sinclair's (2005) Zoning Methodology for Protecting Viewshed. We believe that if the Northeast Neighborhood is designated as an area of viewshed protection, the City may face less opposition to new development provided it is of modest height.
- **Involve the community throughout the development approval process:** Despite the many agreements we found between the City documents and PhotoVoicesNE, many participants blamed the code as an entity for being uncompromising and counter to their vision for the neighborhood. We believe much of this disconnect is because the community may not feel included in every step of the development approval process and as such view it as an abstract monolith. As such, we encourage the city to continue to prioritize transparent, accessible, and inclusive planning processes and begin to engage with residents early in this process.

Introduction

1. Problem

Bozeman, Montana is the fastest-growing city in the state of Montana (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019) and has grown 23.8% since 2010, compared with 6.2% for the United States as a whole (Headwaters Economics, 2020). Bozeman touts itself as a "City of Neighborhoods" (City of Bozeman, 2020), and many of Bozeman's established neighborhoods are seeing extensive change as a result of this growth and subsequent demand for higher-density housing, including the Northeast Neighborhood. In August 2019 the Northeast Neighborhood Association (NENA), a vocal citizen-activist group concerned with preserving the character of Bozeman's Northeast neighborhood, organized the PhotoVoicesNE project to document the opinions of Northeast Neighborhood residents towards the neighborhood and its character.

This project, advertised in the NENA newsletter distributed to every home in the neighborhood, called for residents of this neighborhood to take photos of elements of the neighborhood that they enjoyed or wished to celebrate. These photos, along with captions written by the photographers, were displayed at TinWorks Art, an art pop-up located within the neighborhood. This exhibit was made accessible to the general public, and saw around 425 attendees (NENA, 2019). These photos and captions, as well as the comments on the photos written by visitors during the course of the exhibit, were then compiled and saved. The association advertised his project as an "*act of democracy*" (NENA, 2019), and since the conclusion of the exhibit NENA members have expressed a desire "*to follow through on the... exhibit in an effort to create new neighborhood character guidelines and standards within City code*" (Held & Costakis, 2020). The aim of this research project is to synthesize and analyze these voices in order to compare residents' visions for the neighborhood with the plans and regulations of the City of Bozeman.

2. Context

According to NENA, the Northeast Neighborhood is bounded by North Broadway Street to the east, North Grand Avenue to the west, East Mendenhall Street to the south, and East Oak Street to the north (NENA, 2020; *figure 1*). Much of the neighborhood is zoned for Single-Household Residential, with some Duplex/triplex Residential, Commercial Retail, and Mixed Use. The lots along the northern and northeastern boundaries of the neighborhood are primarily zoned for Commercial Auto Sales, Rental, Parts, Storage, Gas, & Service as well as Light Manufacturing (City of Bozeman, 2020). Some of these commercial and industrial operations, such as the Montana Rail Link switching yard, the Simkins-Hallin lumber yard, and the Karst Stage bus barn, are still in operation. Others, such as the Misco Mill and the M&O Cigar warehouse, have been adaptively reused as retail or residential space. Still others, such as the old train depot and various grain elevators, remain in disuse. Part of one of these former industrial operations, the Idaho Pole Co. treatment facility, remains an EPA Superfund site (Shelly, 2020).

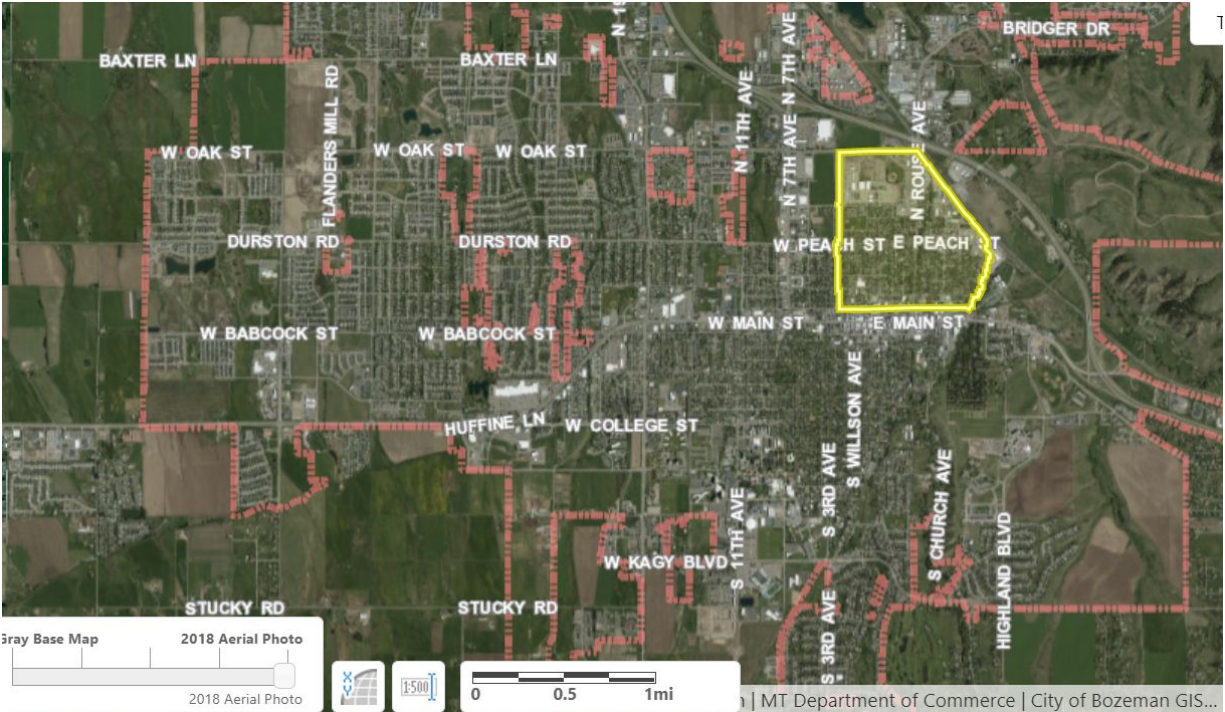


Figure 1: The location of the Northeast Neighborhood within Bozeman.

Source: City of Bozeman, 2020

3. Demographics and Trends

There are two census tracts which together encompass the Northeast Neighborhood (*figure 2*). Tract 30.031.0006.00, which is larger in area than tract 30.031.0007.01, also contains a large proportion of mobile homes and multi-unit dwellings outside the Northeast Neighborhood, and as such we have chosen to report demographic data as separate tracts. As of 2018, the most recent year for which census data was available at the writing of this report, the median age for these two census tracts (36.4 years and 31.2 years respectively, *table 1*) which encompass the Northeast Neighborhood was older than the median age for the city as a whole (28.0 years, *table 1*). These tracts also show a higher proportion of residents both over the age of 65 and, in tract 7.01, under the age of 18 for the city as a whole. This could indicate a lower proportion of college students residing in this area than other areas of Bozeman. Both census tracts are also more racially diverse than the City as a whole. The population of these census tracts combined has risen from 5,336 in 2010 to 6,507, or 21.95%, slightly less than the 23.81% citywide growth rate during the same time period (All figures U.S. Census Bureau, 2020).

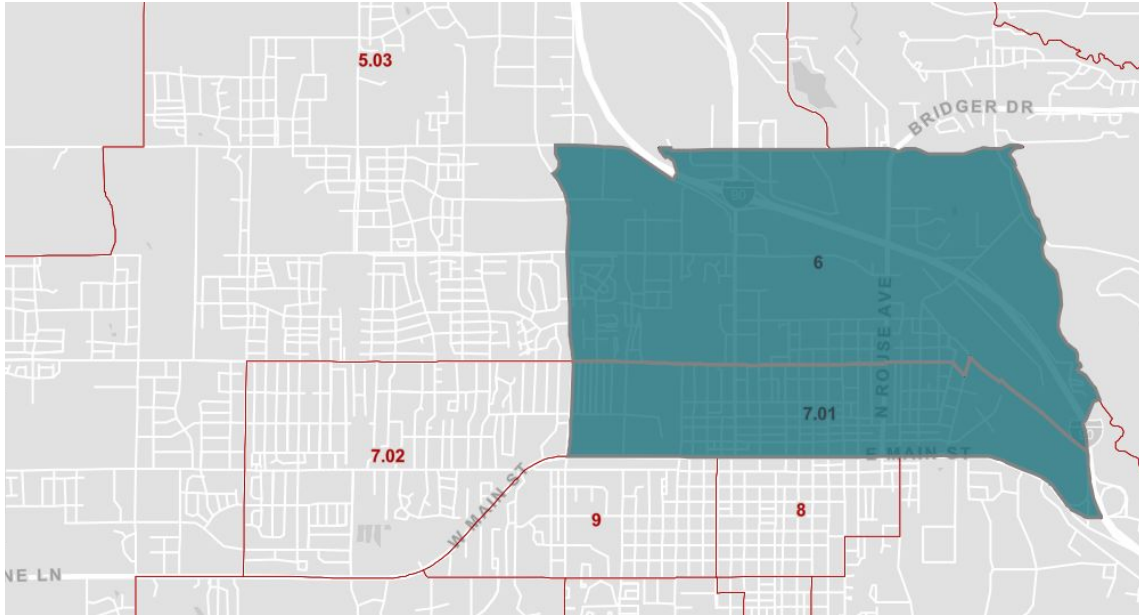


Figure 2: The two U.S. Census tracts which combined encompass the entirety of the Northeast Neighborhood.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020

<u>Demographic</u>	<u>Bozeman City</u>	<u>Tract 6</u>	<u>Tract 7.01</u>
Median Age	28.0 years	36.4 years	31.2 years
Residents Over 65	9.0%	16.7%	9.2%
Residents Under 18	15.2%	13.4%	16.6%
Mean Household Size	2.24	1.9	2.08
Race	92.4% White	86.6% White	89.1% White
Median Household Income	\$51,896	\$42,292	\$48,125
Residents (25+) with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher	54.6%	47.3%	62.5%

Table 1: Selected demographics of the Northeast Neighborhood compared with the City of Bozeman as a whole.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2018

The characteristics of housing stock differ noticeably between the two census tracts encompassing the Northeast Neighborhood. Houses in tract 6 are much newer than in tract 7.01 (*table 2*), and this tract also contains a much higher proportion of rental units than tract 7.01 and the city as a whole. However, these numbers do not truly represent the characteristics of the Northeast Neighborhood, as both tracts contain a large number of housing units located outside the Northeast Neighborhood, including a 202-unit mobile home park (MHVillage, 2020) located in tract 6. As such, further study is required to determine the housing characteristics of the Northeast Neighborhood rather than its census tracts.

Property in this neighborhood has become quite desirable. In 2005, the typical value for a single-family home falling in the mid-tier (35th-65th percentile) value range in the Northeast Neighborhood¹ was \$222,804 (Zillow, 2020), or \$302,354 adjusted for inflation (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). By the end of September 2020 this value had risen to \$520,388 (Zillow, 2020), an increase of 72.1%, adjusted for inflation. This number is much higher than the 44.6% rise (Zillow, 2020) in values of homes of the same type in Bozeman as a whole over the same time period.

<u>Housing Statistic*</u>	<u>Bozeman City</u>	<u>Tract 6</u>	<u>Tract 7.01</u>
Detached Single-Family Homes	40.6%	25.3%	39.9%
Housing Structures Constructed Before 1939	10.0%	8.9%	26.3%
Housing Structures Constructed 2014 or After	5.5%	16.0%	2.1%
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	56.0%	62.9%	38.8%

*Each statistic presented as a percentage of total housing units in each geography

*Table 2: Selected housing characteristics of the Northeast Neighborhood compared with the City of Bozeman as a whole.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2018*

4. Neighborhood Processes

In August 2005, the northern portion of the Northeast Neighborhood was designated blighted by the Bozeman City Commission (Griffin, 2005), who argued that the Northeast Neighborhood fell short in possessing adequate assets such as sidewalks and parks, and that its abandoned industrial remnants made it a blighted area (Northeast Bozeman Urban Renewal Study Committee, 2005). As such, the Neighborhood Urban Renewal District (NURD) was established in November 2005 as a Tax Increment Finance (TIF) district (Northeast Bozeman Urban Renewal Study Committee, 2005). As a follow-up to

¹ It is important to note that while demographic and housing stock data is presented by census tract in this report, Zillow reports housing value data by neighborhood so these data are only for the Northeast Neighborhood.

the neighborhood's blight designation and the implementation of NURD, in 2017 the American Institute of Architects' Regional and Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) facilitated a four-day stakeholder engagement workshop, aiming to identify development and redevelopment opportunities in the Northeast Neighborhood while identifying and preserving aspects of neighborhood character (AIA R/UDAT, 2017) and generating a 10-year plan for the neighborhood. This effort generated a report finding in part,

"[The Northeast Neighborhood] community is expressly concerned about how to maintain its funky identity, its overall affordability and continued accessibility to a mix of residents and workers, and its unique sense of place and community as it grows and evolves" (AIA R/UDAT, 2017).

Due in part to the rise in demand for residential property in this neighborhood, the neighborhood has seen new construction projects built and proposed, including planned unit developments (PUDs) such as a proposed development at the intersection of E. Cottonwood St. and N. Ida Ave. behind the Misco Mill. Many of the developers of such projects have utilized the recommendations of R/UDAT Bozeman in the design of these new developments, such as the developers of the Cottonwood & Ida project incorporating more community-accessible open space as per community input (Nelson, 2019).

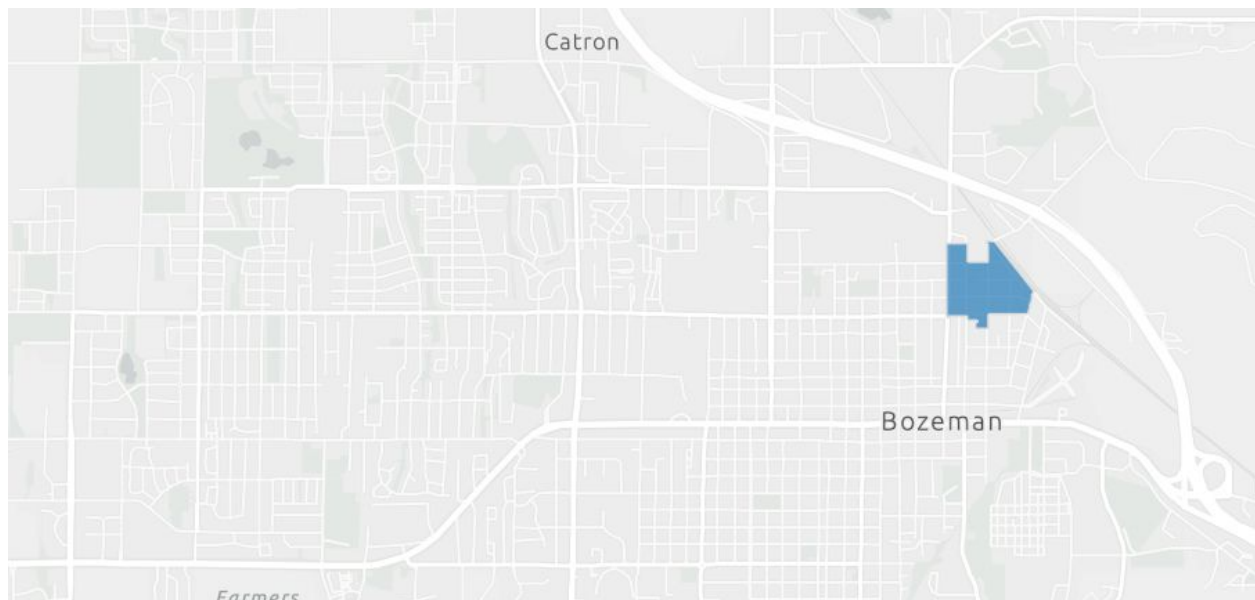


Figure 4: Location of the Northeast Neighborhood Urban Renewal District (NURD).

Source: City of Bozeman, 2017

Research Question

Many residents of the Northeast Neighborhood are passionate about preserving their neighborhood's history as the neighborhood becomes increasingly desirable for development (Cramer, 2019), and much of the development and redevelopment in this neighborhood has followed recommendations of R/UDAT Bozeman (Nelson, 2019). However those recommendations are just that- recommendations- and "neighborhood character" cannot be enforced by the city's Unified Development Code. The PhotoVoicesNE project also presents a unique example of photovoice as a tool for planning.

Most photovoice projects undertaken thus far have been focused on issues of public safety and health rather than the built environment and neighborhood design. Because photovoice is being utilized in this context, and NENA's aim for this project is to utilize PhotoVoicesNE to reach the City of Bozeman and influence the ways in which it supports neighborhoods and their unique character, this paper seeks to answer:

How do the voices heard in PhotoVoicesNE agree and/or disagree with elements present in Bozeman's Unified Ordinance, Community Plan, and Strategic Plan, what elements present in PhotoVoicesNE do not exist in these city documents, and what does this analysis suggest about the use of the photovoice method as a means of engagement in planning and urban design?

Review of Literature

1. Public Engagement in Neighborhood Design

Jacobs (1961) argues that everyone in a community possesses important local knowledge about their locale and its built environment. For this reason, community members can be quite passionate about development in their neighborhood and a certain level of community engagement is mandated as a part of community planning and regulatory processes by the ordinances of many municipalities (Looney, 2018; Pittsburgh Department of City Planning, 2019). However, as a result of engagement being required to a minimal level, "...citizen participation has become trivialized, as simply a step in the planning process that must be completed to comply with... regulations" (Julian et al., 1997). In order to combat this trivialization of the engagement process, researchers have written extensively about the ways in which planners can engage with the public in order to understand their desires pertaining to community design.

Public meetings and forums still exist as the most common method of outreach by planners (Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015). Laurian (2004) describes public meetings as "...the traditional planning domain." However public meetings, while convenient and cheap for the planner, are often poorly attended (Laurian, 2004), particularly by those with less than a high school education (Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015). While there are ways to encourage more community participation in public meetings by making them more accessible to a wider portion of the public (Beard & Sarmiento, 2014; Bryson et al., 2012), in order to engage with certain groups of interest planners also utilize methodologies tailored to a smaller and more specific group of community members.

These methods include, most commonly, focus groups, interviews, and walking audits. These methodologies allow for the input of a community group, or a single representative community member, to be heard and understood in-depth. Focus groups can be utilized throughout the planning process to understand the opinions of a select group of people about a planning project or neighborhood plan (Sanoff, 2000). Interviews allow for an even more specific targeting of one community member, often a representative of a larger group such as NENA. Walking audits are especially useful in the process of redevelopment, as they enable community members to share aspects of the community they experience (Colley, Brown, & Montarzino, 2016) which may be changed or improved upon through redevelopment. However, all three of these methods take large amounts of valuable time and resources to execute and analyze data (Israel & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2008).

Seeing as 96% of American adults have a cell phone of some kind, and 81% a smartphone with internet access (Pew Research Center, 2019), there exists a huge proportion of community members who can be reached via their phones. These technology-based methods of engagement include text messages

(Ziegler et al., 2020), surveys (Gallatin County Planning Department, 2020), and participation in community forums such as Facebook groups and NextDoor (Afzalan & Muller, 2018). However, by utilizing smartphone technology for engaging with the public, planners run the risk of marginalizing elderly community members as well as those who are technologically illiterate or distrust technology (Ziegler et al., 2020; Afzalan & Muller, 2018).

2. Photovoice as an Engagement Method

Photovoice is a technique for community outreach and engagement by which members of a community being studied are given cameras and asked to take pictures of their community, or a certain aspect of their community (e.g. its sidewalks), which they either appreciate and wish to preserve, or find distasteful and wish to change. These photos are then displayed, published, or analyzed along with the participants' descriptions of the photographs. Wang & Burris (1997), pioneers of photovoice, promise:

"Photovoice as a research methodology provides participants an opportunity to take photographs that address a salient community concern and present them in group discussion that empowers them to reflect on personal and community strengths, create critical dialogue, share knowledge about personal and community issues, and develop and host a forum for the presentation of their lived experiences and priorities through self-identified images, language, and context"

This method has its roots in academia, but shows great potential in the public engagement aspect of community planning. As of yet, little has been written about photovoice as a tool for community design. This method, however, is conducive to community design (and promising for the future of planning) because it easily allows for imagery of the built environment, and specifically documentation of aspects of the built environment which the participant likes or dislikes (Nykiiforuk, Vallianatos & Nieuwendyk, 2011).

Researchers studying photovoice have found that photovoice studies have the potential and ability to change public policy. For example, the DeKalb County (Georgia) Board of Health instituting a photovoice program to hear more youth voices in issues of public health led to the implementation of a recycling program in that municipality (Wang, 2006). A photovoice study performed on a university campus related to smoking policy violations led to significantly stricter smoking regulations and enforcement of those regulations after university leaders attended the exhibit displaying the photos taken as part of the study (Seitz et al., 2012). In some cases, the only way in which photovoice influences the thoughts of policymakers is by introducing them to the concept of photovoice and demonstrating its use as an outreach tool. Upon analyzing the implications of the Flint Photovoice project in Flint, Michigan, on policymakers, Wang et al. (2004) found that *"...policymakers offered venues for highly visible forums featuring all participants' work and acquired experience with a methodology they could adapt for future community health programs"*. In other words, even if the subject matter of the photos produced as a function of Flint Photovoice may not have directly impacted policy, it did expose policymakers and officials to photovoice for the first time and exposed them to the potential photovoice possesses as an engagement tool.

However photovoice has the greatest potential to influence community design when given the full support and backing of the planning department being tasked with designing the community. Goodhart et al. (2006) assert that *"Gaining support from policy makers early in the [photovoice] project also creates an environment of support, rather than making the policy makers feel challenged by shortcomings documented in the photographs."*

Hergenrath (2009) summarized the usage of photovoice in policy making quite nicely, asserting, "*Although change in community and policy can be incremental, photovoice can identify concerns and priorities that empower participants to become advocates of change for themselves and community, providing data to help influential advocates and policy makers understand the needs of their community.*" This means that although photovoice has yet to make significant strides in directly impacting the policies of community design, it provides a baseline upon which community members can organize their community towards collective activism.

Methods

1. Document Selection

First, we identified three relevant City of Bozeman planning documents to analyze. The City of Bozeman Strategic Plan (adopted April 16, 2018) was chosen for its aspects of long-range planning which will be utilized as guidance for allocation of time and resources citywide (Houghton, 2018) including in the planning division. The city's Community Plan was chosen for its specific guidelines for the planning division in its approach to growth, development, and land use (City of Bozeman, 2020). During the facilitation of this study, the official community plan was the 2009 draft, but the city was very far along in the process of drafting an updated community plan for 2020. As such, all page numbers given make reference to the new 2020 Community Plan, adopted November 17, 2020. Finally the city's Unified Development Code was chosen for the specific regulations it set forth for new developments, in order to understand how these regulations compared with Northeast Neighborhood residents' visions for new development in their neighborhood. Article 4 (Community Design) and Article 5 (Project Design) were chosen as the only sections to be analyzed because these sections contained the most directly applicable regulations regarding development and how new buildings are to be integrated into existing neighborhoods.

NENA provided us with a PDF document compiling all the PhotoVoicesNE photos, their captions, and all comments made by visitors to the exhibit. We downloaded the Strategic Plan and Community Plan from the City of Bozeman website, and sections 4 and 5 of the Unified Development Code from the city's Municode library.

2. Data Analysis

We developed an initial coding framework via an inductive coding process based upon a close reading of the PhotoVoicesNE document, wherein a categorical label or code was created for each new idea presented by a participant of PhotoVoicesNE, and subsequent instances of that idea was coded into that category (Thomas, 2003). This inductive approach was chosen for two reasons: 1) to ensure every aspect of community design extant in PhotoVoicesNE, whether present in a city document or not, was captured in the coding process; 2) because it was not necessary to incorporate codes based upon planning or design theory which may have been extant in a city document but not in PhotoVoicesNE.

Once the initial coding process was completed, we presented codes and demonstrative examples to members of NENA. Following their feedback, we added additional codes based upon elements they found important but which were not included in our initial coding framework. This inductive coding process resulted in a coding framework of eight parent codes (see Appendix A for full coding framework), incorporating a total of 28 subcodes. Once all documents were coded to the satisfaction of the researchers, NENA members, and city representatives, we added a "Plan Agreement" parent code to

the coding framework incorporating subcodes "Agree," "Disagree," and "Missing" These codes were utilized only for the PhotoVoicesNE primary document in order to group codes based upon their agreement with any of the three city documents.

Once we inductively coded the PhotoVoicesNE primary document, we then utilized the set of codes derived from that process to qualitatively analyze the Community Plan, Strategic Plan, and Unified Development Code. Although the majority of the coding was performed by the primary researcher, the research team had regular discussions throughout the coding process in order to ensure agreement regarding analysis and interpretation of the documents. Utilizing this two-researcher process allowed for elimination of rival explanations and researcher bias (Church, Dunn, & Prokopy, 2019). Data analysis was conducted using NVivo 12.

Results

Once we applied the coding framework to each document, we were then able to analyze where there was agreement between the goals and ordinances of the City and residents' visions for the Northeast Neighborhood, as well as instances of disagreement, and perhaps most vitally what was missing entirely. This section will outline these three types of voices heard in PhotoVoicesNE, comparing quotes from the project to the wording utilized in City documents.

1. Agreement

The coding framework and analysis process revealed a number of ideas presented in PhotoVoicesNE which agreed with goals and codes of the city. This section provides an overview of elements present in PhotoVoicesNE which suggest common goals with the City of Bozeman. Table 3 presents quotes demonstrating the agreements discussed below; see Appendix B for a full detailed list of instances where City documents align with the voices heard in PhotoVoicesNE.

1a. Diversity & Inclusion



Figure 5: "May Peace Prevail on Earth" marker in the Northeast Neighborhood.

Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 17

Both the voices heard in PhotoVoicesNE and the goals expressed in the Community and Strategic Plans reflect encouragement of diversity and inclusion of people. Both census tracts encompassing this neighborhood are more racially diverse than Bozeman as a whole (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), and one photovoice participant said, "*Our neighborhood is open to native plants and to all cultures*"

(PhotoVoicesNE, p.17), one of several such references to diversity in the Northeast Neighborhood. This reflects similar enthusiasm to embrace diversity seen in the Strategic Plan: "*Anticipate, celebrate, and incorporate an increasingly diverse population into the community, city advisory boards, and city staff*" (p. 4) and Community Plan: "*Social Equity: Provide solutions that are inclusive with consideration to populations that are often most fragile and vulnerable to sudden impacts*" (p. 26).

<u>Code: Subcode</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>	<u>Unified Development Code</u>
Community & People: Diversity & Inclusion	p.17: "Our neighborhood is open to native plants and to all cultures"	R-2.4 (p.26) Social Equity: "Provide solutions that are inclusive with consideration to populations that are often most fragile and vulnerable to sudden impacts"	3.3 Friendly Community (p. 4): "Anticipate, celebrate, and incorporate an increasingly diverse population into the community, city advisory boards, and city staff"	N/A

Table 3: Instances of agreement regarding Diversity & Inclusion.

Ib. Neighborhood Assets



Figure 6: A community garden in the Northeast Neighborhood.

Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 15

Throughout PhotoVoicesNE, participants called attention to a variety of neighborhood assets which they valued and sought to preserve. The preservation, maintenance, and improvement of these assets were echoed in the City documents as well. Take as an example community gardens and urban agriculture. A PhotoVoicesNE participant stated: "*Community gardens offer more than vegetables... Open Space. Solace. Grounding for growth (pun intended...fast growth both within the city and garden). Hope. Love of place*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p.15). This desire to promote community gardens was echoed by the goals stated by the City: "*Ensure that new development includes opportunities for urban agriculture, including rooftop and home gardens, community gardens, or urban farms*" (Community Plan, p. 30).

Another type of asset which we found to be valued both by the Northeast Neighborhood and the City was gathering places: "*Community gathering spots matter. All year, community happens!*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 2). These gathering places were presented in a variety of forms including parks, music venues, local restaurants, and community centers; common among the comments about all these different types of places was the ability to gather as a community. The city echoed this desire to integrate

community gathering spaces into its developments: "To provide a neighborhood focal point, all residential subdivisions or planned unit developments that are ten net acres in size or greater, must have a neighborhood center... The center must be comprised of a park, square, green, plaza, transit stop, neighborhood commercial center, civic use or any combination of these" (Unified Development Code, Sec. 38.410.020).


<u>Code: Subcode</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>	<u>Unified Development Code</u>
Community Assets: Gardens	p.15: "Community gardens offer more than vegetables... Open Space. Solace. Grounding for growth (pun intended...fast growth both within the city and garden). Hope. Love of place"	N-2.5 (p.30): " Ensure that new development includes opportunities for urban agriculture, including rooftop and home gardens, community gardens, or urban farms"	N/A	38.520.060- On-site residential and commercial open space:  "Rooftop deck example"
Community Assets: Gathering Places	p.2: "Community gathering spots matter. All year, community happens!"	N-1.5 (p.29): "Encourage neighborhood focal point development with functions, activities, and facilities that can be sustained over time. Maintain standards for placement of community focal points and services within new development"	5.2b Support for Public Art (p.8): "Explore an Outdoor Music Venue"	38.410.020- Neighborhood centers: "To provide a neighborhood focal point, all residential subdivisions or planned unit developments that are ten net acres in size or greater, must have a neighborhood center... The center must be comprised of a park, square, green, plaza, transit stop, neighborhood commercial center, civic use or any combination of these"

Table 4: Instances of agreement regarding Community Assets.

Ic. Community Design



Figure 7: A variety of homes in the Northeast Neighborhood, including an ADU.

Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 23

Along with specific assets treasured by the Northeast Neighborhood community, there were also comments pertaining to neighborhood design and character in a broader sense. We were able to find elements of community design important to the neighborhood which were also deemed important to the city. One such element was diversity of housing within the neighborhood: *"This image is of a very modest multi-unit development. It was chosen as an example of the housing diversity that exists in our neighborhood"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 24). This desire for diversity in housing stock is one shared by the city: *"Housing type diversity within neighborhoods helps ensure community benefits are available to households of different size, income, and age"* (Community Plan, p. 27).

One specific type of diversity in housing stock, accessory dwelling units, were mentioned enough to warrant their own subcode. The city's goal is to *"Promote development of accessory dwelling units (ADUs)"* (Community Plan, p. 29). Some voices in the neighborhood did agree, and encouraged the development of ADUs in the Northeast Neighborhood: *"ADUs are an important element to address our housing/rentals shortage"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 10).

The historic character of the Northeast Neighborhood was also made quite apparent throughout PhotoVoicesNE: *"It would be a shame for the NE neighborhood to lose all of its historical charm"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 4). We found the city to also be interested in preserving historic character, particularly in the face of change: *"Promote continued investment in the city's inventory of historic structures relative to ongoing infill and redevelopment"* (Strategic Plan, p. 6).

Scale of buildings, specifically the desire to keep new construction and remodels small and at the same scale as the other buildings in the neighborhood, was mentioned many times in PhotoVoicesNE: *"Scale: Houses are built over many years... However, they harmonize because they have pitched roofs and are relatively modest in scale"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 2). We saw this theme in the City plans, as well: *"Support compact neighborhoods, small lot sizes, and small floor plans, especially through mechanisms such as density bonuses"* (Community Plan, p. 30) . However it is important to note that much of the City's references to scale are in regards to new developments only and not specific to remodels of existing structures.

<u>Code: Subcode</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>	<u>Unified Development Code</u>
Community Design: Architectural & Housing Diversity	p.24: "This image is of a very modest multi-unit development. It was chosen as an example of the housing diversity that exists in our neighborhood"	Theme 2 (p. 27): "Housing type diversity within neighborhoods helps ensure community benefits are available to households of different size, income, and age"	N/A	38.430.090 - Planned unit development design objectives and criteria: "If the project is proposing a residential density bonus as described below, does it include a variety of housing types and urban styles designed to address community-wide issues of affordability and diversity of housing stock?"
Community Design: Historic Character	p.4: "It would be a shame for the NE neighborhood to lose all of its historical charm"	Theme 2 (p. 27): "From the traditional neighborhoods north and south of Bozeman's downtown, to the developments of more	4.2d High Quality Urban Approach (p.6): "Promote continued investment in the city's inventory of historic structures relative to ongoing infill and	38.500.020 - Applicability and compliance: "[T]he review authority may apply the provisions of this article in the event of a conflict, where the review

		recent times, Bozeman's neighborhoods are as diverse as the periods of time in which they were built"	redevelopment"	authority determines that the provisions herein help new development better meet the purpose and intent of neighborhood conservation overlay district"
Community Design: Scale	p.2: "Scale: Houses are built over many years... However, they harmonize because they have pitched roofs and are relatively modest in scale"	N-37 (p.30): "Support compact neighborhoods, small lot sizes, and small floor plans, especially through mechanisms such as density bonuses"	N/A	38.430.020- Application and uses of a planned unit development : "All planned unit developments must complement or be harmonious with existing adjacent development"

Table 5: Instances of agreement Regarding Community Design.

1d. Local Identity



Figure 8: A Northeast Neighborhood resident enjoys a local beer.

Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 16

We found many stories presented in PhotoVoicesNE of individuals' personal histories living in the Northeast Neighborhood. Of course the personal ties one has to a place cannot be controlled by the city, but the identity and collective history of a community can. The people of the Northeast Neighborhood harbor a strong sense of pride in identifying with their community: "*No place I've lived has ever felt more like home*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 28), and we found the city to have a desire to encourage neighborhood identity: "*This eclectic mix of housing opportunities within differing geographic parts of town helps define who we are, where we came from, and where we're going*" (Community Plan, p. 27).

<u>Code: Subcode</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>	<u>Unified Development Code</u>
Community Identity: Local Identity	p.21: "Remain true to a city where those who work here... can live here"	Theme 2 (p. 27): "This eclectic mix of housing opportunities within differing geographic parts of town helps define who we are, where we came from, and where we're going"	Vision Statement 4 (p.1): "We consistently improve our community's quality of life as it grows and changes, honoring our sense of place and the 'Bozeman feel' as we plan for a livable, affordable, more connected city"	N/A

Table 6: Instances of agreement regarding Local Identity.

1e. Location & Interconnectedness



*Figure 9: A young Northeast Neighborhood resident rides her bike on a trail.
Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 16*

We found the participants in PhotoVoicesNE appreciated the walkability and bikeability of the Northeast Neighborhood: *"I like the gentle transition this part of the neighborhood makes into open spaces to our north and east, and the ease with which we can walk or pedal our way out there"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 28). This ability to walk and cycle around is also seen in the goals of the city: *"Continue to support high-quality planning, ranging from building design to neighborhood layouts, while pursuing urban approaches to issues such as multimodal transportation, infill, density, connected trails and parks, and walkable neighborhoods"* (Strategic Plan, p. 6). Beyond a general sense of bikeability, however, we discovered participants to be particularly passionate about the connectivity of recreation opportunities to each other and the creation of a trail network: *"Really important to connect trails!"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 7). This desire is seen repeatedly throughout City documents: *"Increase connectivity between parks and neighborhoods through continued trail and sidewalk development. Prioritize closing gaps within the network"* (Community Plan, p. 29).

<u>Code: Subcode</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>	<u>Unified Development Code</u>
Location & Interconnectedness: Multimodal Transit	p.28: "I like the gentle transition this part of the neighborhood makes into open spaces to our north and east, and the ease with which we can walk or pedal our way out there"	DCD-3.3 (p.34): "Identify major existing and future destinations for biking and walking to aid in prioritization of route planning and completion"	4.2 High Quality Urban Approach (p.6): "Continue to support high-quality planning, ranging from building design to neighborhood layouts, while pursuing urban approaches to issues such as multimodal transportation, infill, density, connected trails and parks, and walkable neighborhoods"	38.540.050- Number of parking spaces required : "All site development... must provide bicycle parking facilities to accommodate bicycle-riding residents and/or employees and customers of the proposed development"
Location & Interconnectedness: Interconnected Rec	p. 7: "Really important to connect trails!... I wish this connected to the Story Mill across the highway"	N-1.10 (p.29): "Increase connectivity between parks and neighborhoods through continued trail and sidewalk development. Prioritize closing gaps within the network"	6.5 Parks, Trails & Open Space (p.9): "Support the maintenance and expansion of an interconnected system of parks, trails and open spaces"	38.420.110- Recreation pathways: "Recreation pathways include... Pathways that connect parks, but do not connect major residential, employment, educational or service nodes"

Table 7: Instances of Agreement Regarding Location & Interconnectedness

If. Mixed Uses



Figure 10: A commercial building in the Northeast Neighborhood containing a pilates studio and a hair salon.

Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 8

The Northeast Neighborhood is a neighborhood of mixed uses, and we found many instances of pride in that fact. Participants voiced support for mixed-use buildings as well as a mix of land uses in the neighborhood, and urged their neighbors to do the same: *"Let's keep a tolerant attitude toward non-residential uses in our neighborhoods"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 1). The City, as well, has expressed encouragement for mixed uses within Bozeman's neighborhoods: *"Diverse uses of land should occur relatively close to one another"* (Community Plan, p. 20).

<u>Code: Subcode</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>	<u>Unified Development Code</u>
Neighborhood Uses: Mixes Uses	p.1: "Let's keep a tolerant attitude toward non-residential uses in our neighborhoods"	Basic Planning Precepts (p. 20): "Diverse uses of land should occur relatively close to one another"	N/A	38.430.080- Enforcement of approval requirements and conditions : "Mixed use. Planned unit developments in mixed-use areas (REMU, UMU, and NEHMU zoning districts) may include commercial, light industrial, residential and mixes of various primary and accessory uses"

Table 8 : Instances of Agreement Regarding Neighborhood Uses

2. Disagreement

Not all the voices present in PhotoVoicesNE agreed with the city on matters of community development, nor did the voices always agree with each other. These areas of disagreement were concentrated mainly on problems of neighborhood growth: infill and density. As we will demonstrate below, there were voices heard which both supported and did not support the addition of more, or higher-density, housing stock in the Northeast Neighborhood.

From the standpoint of the city, infill is an essential component of adding housing to a rapidly-growing city: *"Infill development and redevelopment should be prioritized, but incremental compact outward growth is a necessary part of the City's growth"* (Community Plan, p. 20). Some voices in PhotoVoicesNE did agree with this stance, and welcomed infill in the neighborhood, provided it matched the character of the neighborhood: *"Need more infill homes like this. Simple & match neighborhood"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 9). However, we also found voices skeptical of infill and viewed it as a threat to the historic character of the neighborhood: *"Infill' means tearing down historic/old buildings for non-affordable multi-unit projects"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 8).

Density is another issue of disagreement we found in PhotoVoicesNE. Much like infill, density is a controversial topic in the Northeast Neighborhood, with some feeling high-density housing is incongruent with local character: *"Montana is about horses/mules/cows, crops, wild spaces not too far away. Keep Bozeman that way. Low density all around"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 24). Others felt that more smaller homes were better suited to the neighborhood than larger multi-unit projects: *"Modest scale housing keeps a neighborhood likeable by NOT having high density population, more people leads to unlikeable living conditions for everybody!"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 2). Both these views disagree with the City's approach to density, which is: *"Increase required minimum densities in residential districts"* (Community Plan, p. 29).

3. Missing

Through the inductive coding process and discussions with NENA members, we determined that there were a large number of thoughts expressed in PhotoVoicesNE which did not exist in any of the city documents analyzed. There were far more instances of cases like this than instances of disagreement with the City documents. Many of these thoughts pertain directly to the built environment of the Northeast Neighborhood or to its character, and as such NENA expressed their desire to see these elements found in the PhotoVoicesNE to be shared.

3a. Assets



*Figure 11: One of the Northeast Neighborhood's many dirt alleys.
Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 29*

There were certain assets which the participants in PhotoVoicesNE made apparent were deeply important to the neighborhood, which are addressed only briefly or incidentally in city documents. The most striking example is alleys. As one participant stated, "*Our treasured northeast neighborhood alleys provide safe travel and places for kids to play year round*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 10). Alleys, while provided for in the city code (Unified Development Code, Sec. 38.400.060), are not specifically encouraged as a means of community development.

3b. Viewshed Preservation



*Figure 12: View of the Bridger Range from the Simkins-Hallin lumberyard.
Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 3*

Another item of pride we found in PhotoVoicesNE were the views which can be seen from the neighborhood, primarily of the Bridger Range and the Story Hills. However, residents expressed concern that new development threatened this view: "*Keep the view across the meadow. Don't lose our mountains to walls*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 4). We also find within the city documents plans to identify and preserve viewsheds: "*Open space, parks, trails, and the preservation of local agricultural lands and view sheds were also priorities*" (Community Plan, p. 21). However, these plans were of the broad and abstract variety, and we found no concrete or code-based plans to preserve specific views in the Northeast Neighborhood, or in any specific area.

3c. Personal Expression



*Figure 13: Art painted on a building in the Northeast Neighborhood.
Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 20*

Many comments pertained to private aspects of the built environment in the Northeast Neighborhood beyond city control, but still outwardly presented as a part of the character of the neighborhood. This included how residents express themselves: "*Each house is unique. If you live here, you can express your uniqueness*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 11), which was asserted several times as a vital component of the Northeast Neighborhood's character. There were also mentions of unique private yards: "*This is a hidden gathering place under a willow in a NE yard. Unique outdoor spaces are part of the character of this area. Bland development landscaping does not contribute to the character here*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 12). A number of comments also indicated a favorable view of those who restore and improve their homes in the neighborhood: "*Watching the painstaking care to restore these houses is a testament to love for the NE neighborhood*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 18). These means of self-expression through yards and homes were often cited as an integral part of the character of the Northeast Neighborhood, and one that is not addressed, and perhaps cannot be addressed, by any City document.

3d. Neighborhood Uniqueness



Figure 14: A girl creates a giant bubble as part of the neighborhood's annual Parade of Sheds.

Source: PhotoVoicesNE, p. 1

However the greatest number of comments present in PhotoVoicesNE which simply could not be related to a city document referred to the Northeast Neighborhood's character in a general sense as unique from others. The coding framework captured this view as "ways in which residents view, and feel pride in, aspects of the neighborhood as nonconforming, imperfect, or 'funky' as compared to other neighborhoods and the city code". However this uniqueness which multiple residents mentioned both in PhotoVoicesNE and meetings with us encompassed a broad range of attributes. Some spoke to the character of the industrial buildings in the neighborhood: "...many of them have been adapted for modern uses even though some are still rather funky and unglamorous" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 8). Some mentioned the unexpected and eclectic mix of architecture and land uses: "NENA = Freedom to be creative!! Lack of uniformity!!" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 10). These specific and often abstract aspects of a neighborhood cannot be found in any city code, but repeatedly have been mentioned by Northeast Neighborhood Residents as important to them and the character of their neighborhood.

Still, several of these comments specifically mentioned planning practices as perceived to be counter to the character of the Northeast Neighborhood: "Much of the charm of the Northeast Neighborhood is in its variety and unexpected juxtapositions—a vibrancy incompatible with labyrinthine regulations designed to enforce uniformity" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 9). One resident believed that, "Most of the Northeast Neighborhood would be illegal to build today. The streets are too narrow and meet at odd angles; the houses are too irregular; commerce and housing intermingle like kith and kin" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 9). In these comments, we found a certain distrust that uniform regulation would keep the Northeast Neighborhood unique as it continues to grow and evolve.

One resident implored the city to treat the Northeast Neighborhood in a different manner from any other: "City code needs to recognize the non-conformity of our homes & stop acting as if it's new construction. Relax the code for home improvements in NE Bozeman! Stop using one criterion only—the code" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 9). Some also advocated for stricter zoning in the Northeast Neighborhood, such that new construction would be limited in scale: "No more buildings like Black & Olive—this is a

small western town!" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 16) or altogether restricted: *"If you want new, build where new are being built"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 18).

Discussion and Implications

As indicated above, through this qualitative analysis process we have extracted a great deal of information about what makes the Northeast Neighborhood unique, what its residents treasure about their neighborhood, and what they fear they will lose. This section discusses what residents' perceptions of their neighborhood, its character, and its future mean for the future of the Northeast Neighborhood as it continues to evolve.

1. Building Design

In 2017, the R/UDAT team said of the Northeast Neighborhood: *"The team did not find a community in the Northeast Neighborhood that is anti-development or "NIMBY" (Not-In-My-Back-Yard)"* (AIA R/UDAT, 2017). We also find this to be mostly true. We did see a few scattered statements that demonstrated a completely anti-development stance, but there were many more instances where PhotoVoicesNE participants shared images of new developments and newer homes which they viewed as welcome additions to the neighborhood. For the most part, it became apparent to us that residents of the Northeast Neighborhood fully understand the importance and inevitability of infill as Bozeman continues to grow and housing stock continues to be in high demand. However, almost all the photos representing these ideas came with comments regarding how these new buildings fit in with the neighborhood.

This "fitting-in" came in a variety of ways. First, buildings were of a scale appropriate for the neighborhood. Residents welcomed new buildings and even PUDs so long as they did not dominate the landscape and remained true to the scale of existing buildings: *"Small live-work: Yes! Huge live-work: No!"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 1). This seemed to stem from both a desire to preserve the overall character of the neighborhood, and a fear of losing the excellent views which can be seen from the neighborhood. Participants expressed favor for homes which maintained setbacks similar to those of existing homes, and disdain for those which did not: *"...4800 SF house on a 7,000 SF lot and for only two occupants!... Yikes!!!"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 26).

Second, despite being built to the same scale as the neighborhood's other buildings, the newer buildings exemplified by residents were unique from one another, and often not designed using contemporary architectural cues which can be seen in many of Bozeman's new buildings. Rather, homes that PhotoVoicesNE participants appreciated were built using cues from the existing homes in the neighborhood: *"Houses are built over many years (in this case, the house on the right is at least 40 years younger than the house on the left). However, they harmonize because they have pitched roofs and are relatively modest in scale"* (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 2). Other buildings, such as live/work developments, tended to mimic the industrial character of existing commercial buildings in the neighborhood. Several had large garage doors and most were finished in brick or corrugated metal, much like the old commercial buildings in the neighborhood are.

Perhaps most importantly, the developments PhotoVoicesNE participants appreciated did not come at the expense of existing buildings. They were built on vacant or subdivided lots, such that a new building did not require the removal or demolition of an old one. The character of the Northeast Neighborhood comes in large part from its history and the idea of razing those historic buildings, even if

they had no inherent historical value than their age, was concerning to many residents: "*SAVE THE HOUSE AT BOZEMAN/LAMME! ENOUGH!*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 8).

In short, through careful and repeated reading of PhotoVoicesNE, we determined that for the most part residents are not wary of new construction in the neighborhood on principle. Rather, they welcome infill providing it fits with the context of the neighborhood, in terms of scale (both relative to other buildings and the building's overall lot size) and architecture, and does not result in the destruction of an older building. Much as the Northeast Neighborhood is not hostile to new people moving in: "*We are new to the neighborhood...Everyone we meet is welcoming & friendly*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 29), it is not hostile to new buildings. We found that residents feel they simply must fit in with the aesthetics and character of the neighborhood: "*Cookie cutter townhouses and condos are the opposite of this*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 27).

2. Future Concerns

One code in the qualitative analysis framework we coded in PhotoVoicesNE was participants' desires and concerns for the future. By coding for these elements we are able to help the City better understand what elements of the community the Northeast Neighborhood will be prioritizing as the neighborhood continues to grow.

One concern for the future which was voiced by several participants was affordability of housing, both in the Northeast Neighborhood and Bozeman as a whole. The Northeast Neighborhood was historically an affordable and working class neighborhood, and many voices concerns that it will lose this status in the near future: "*To be a rich, thriving community, Boz needs what this neighborhood was: more affordable housing for artists, writers, musicians, builders, volunteers, young families committed to living here full time*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 24). Affordability of housing is certainly a concern in growing Bozeman, and in the Northeast Neighborhood there are residents deeply concerned about the high cost of housing in their neighborhood.

There were voices we heard which were also concerned about both local environmental preservation: "*Preserve natural habitats. Don't destroy what's beautiful about Bozeman!*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 4) and neighborhood efforts to be sustainable: "*Live-work reduces traffic, is eco-friendly and allows neighborhood to be sustainable*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 1). These voices are concerned about the toll which both development and climate change will have on their neighborhood, and encourage a variety of community and neighborhood actions to protect the environment.

A final major concern we heard from PhotoVoicesNE was the concern that rapid growth would be detrimental to the tight-knit neighborhood community which the Northeast Neighborhood enjoys: "*Another question to consider is rate of growth -is rapid growth great for communities? Does rapid growth contribute to stability?*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 2). In a similar vein we heard voices express concern that rapid growth in their neighborhood threatened the historic character of the Northeast Neighborhood: "*Don't ever let this building disappear!*" (PhotoVoicesNE, p. 3).

In short, we found that residents are not hostile to growth and development. However, they do have concerns that a rapid rate of growth threatens the working-class character of the Northeast Neighborhood, its sense of community, its historic character, and the environment around Bozeman. Many of these problems can be avoided by ensuring growth is thoughtfully managed and responded to, and that community character and history be prioritized.

Recommendations

From what we have read and interpreted in the PhotoVoicesNE project, the people of the Northeast Neighborhood are fiercely proud of the unique character of their neighborhood. This neighborhood is unique in Bozeman; no other offers such a mix of history, art, commerce, industry, and community pride. If Bozeman truly strives to be a "City of Neighborhoods" as it states in its community plan, it must support neighborhoods wishing to preserve their own unique flair. As such, we present the following recommendations to the City:

1. Incentivize Developers to Match Neighborhood Context

Given the growth the City of Bozeman is undergoing, development in this neighborhood, as in all of Bozeman's neighborhoods, is inevitable. However the Northeast Neighborhood is different from any of Bozeman's other neighborhoods and we heard voices in PhotoVoicesNE indicating they wished that the approval of development and redevelopment in this neighborhood was not based solely on the Unified Development Code. This is because residents tended to view the code as rigid, inflexible, and counter to the unique character of the neighborhood. We had considered the possibility of an overlay district, similar to the NCOD currently in place, as a means of implementing special regulations or requirements unique to the Northeast Neighborhood. However upon further discussion with both the City and NENA, we found that neither group felt another layer of regulation was correct for this context.

We then considered recommending a move towards form-based zoning for this neighborhood, wherein the zoning would be based entirely on project design rather than land use (Hirt, 2014). A system of mixed zones, some land-used-based and some form-based, is utilized in many Western cities including Denver and El Paso, and by Bozeman's planning division. However, upon further conversation we determined that form-based zoning may be perceived by residents of the Northeast Neighborhood to be too rigid and encouraging of uniform architecture than is appropriate for the eclectic feel of the existing neighborhood architecture. Instead, many did feel a Northeast Neighborhood-specific zone would be appropriate as a way to tailor codes and ordinances to the uniqueness of the neighborhood.

We recommend collaborating with NENA and utilizing aspects of the "Missing" section of this report in order to develop additional guidelines for development in the Northeast Neighborhood regarding the character, aesthetics, and use of new development. The City of Merrillville, Indiana has implemented a point system for Low-Impact Development, in which they released a list of different items each corresponding to a point value, and required each development to attain a certain number of points (Town of Merrillville, n.d.). We recommend implementing a similar points system with items such as public art, community gardens and home footprints within a certain percentage of the total lot size all counting for points towards a total for the development. In this way, the City would not regulate the precise design of a development (this would be counterproductive; the Northeast Neighborhood is about diversity and nonconformity) but ensure it incorporates the scale, feel, and assets which make this neighborhood unique.

2. Consider Incentives for Historic Preservation

We also heard many voices in PhotoVoicesNE praise their neighbors for restoring and preserving their historic homes. We found that PhotoVoicesNE participants felt *all* historic homes and buildings are important to the Northeast Neighborhood, not just the ones of particular historical significance. As such we recommend that the city encourage individual homeowners to maintain their historic homes and buildings within the neighborhood.

Central City, Colorado, a mining town full of historic Victorian homes, provides grants to homeowners wishing to repaint their homes; priority is given to homes in greatest need of paint and those in prominent view of major streets (City of Central, 2017). While the guidelines regarding specific colors in this particular incentive are quite strict (and would be counter to the love of color and self-expression many participants in PhotoVoicesNE expressed) the concept of grants for the preservation and restoration of historic buildings in the Northeast Neighborhood is an intriguing one. The high level of desirability to build in this neighborhood presents a possibility to harness some of the money brought in by this new development to fund such grants for both residential and commercial historic properties in the Northeast Neighborhood.

3. Create a Concrete Plan for Viewshed Preservation

Many residents voiced major concerns regarding higher-density residential developments because they equated these large buildings with a loss of mountain or hill views. Although the Community Plan does note prioritization of viewshed preservation (p. 10), nowhere in any city document are specific areas designated for viewshed preservation. The city of Kent, Connecticut has utilized GIS to identify areas most susceptible to loss of view by development and used these data to create a conservation district (Sinclair, 2005). Because the views from the Northeast Neighborhood of the Bridger Range and Story Hills are so treasured by its residents, we recommend the City explore possibilities similar to this methodology to ensure the residents' views are preserved. By doing so, the City can be confident that new development will not be opposed on the grounds of viewshed loss.

4. Continue to Encourage Participatory Planning

As can be seen in PhotoVoicesNE, many residents of the Northeast Neighborhood are actively thinking about the planning and growth of their neighborhood. They pay attention to the new buildings being built and how their neighbors express themselves through the ways they present their homes. As such it is clearly important to involve this community as much as possible in regards to its future. The City of Bozeman has clearly made efforts thus far, and initiatives such as R/UDAT attest to this fact. However there is much more to be understood about the character of the Northeast Neighborhood than can be garnered from a single event such as R/UDAT. We therefore encourage the City to continue to explore different outreach methods which can be used to understand the desires of the Northeast Neighborhood's people as the neighborhood continues to change.

We also found that while our qualitative analysis indicated a large amount of agreement between PhotoVoicesNE and the city documents, participants tended to view the code as an enemy of architectural diversity, self-expression, and nonconformity. While it is true that there are many aspects of the built environment in this neighborhood which do not conform to the code, or would be disallowed if built today, we believe a large part of this disconnect is an issue of planning processes. Through meetings with NENA members, we garnered that community members feel that they would have more of a say in development and project approval if their involvement was included earlier in the planning process. As such we believe it is important to ensure neighborhood involvement throughout the planning process.

We also encourage the city to engage with future community art projects such as PhotoVoicesNE in all of its neighborhoods. Every neighborhood in Bozeman is different and the Northeast Neighborhood is not the only one wishing to preserve its character in the face of change. Photovoice has proven itself to be an excellent medium to allow residents to communicate, via images and text, the aspects of their neighborhood which makes it unique. We extracted a great deal of information regarding the character of

this neighborhood from PhotoVoicesNE and were able to use it to better understand what the City is doing well in regards to preserving neighborhood character and where it can improve and believe other neighborhoods could benefit from similar programs. However it is important to note that PhotoVoicesNE was not necessarily representative of the neighborhood as a whole. Because participation was community-led and community-advertised, and participants self-selected, there were neighborhood residents who could not or chose not to participate. In any neighborhood photovoice project, PhotoVoicesNE being no exception, it is important to note that it can not be used as a standalone means of documenting everything which makes the character of a neighborhood.

Conclusion

The Northeast Neighborhood has historically been working-class and unique in its mixture of residences, commerce, and industry. In the past this neighborhood was one of perceived blight but as of late has become a desirable place to both live and own a business. This recent desirability has given many residents cause for concern as new development is built and residents fear a loss of the unique character of their neighborhood.

The residents implemented PhotoVoicesNE, a photovoice project seeking to document the character of the neighborhood through photos and captions, and shared it with the public to garner further feedback. We analyzed both the original project and the public's response to it. We then developed a qualitative coding framework with which to compare the voices heard in this project regarding neighborhood character with three City of Bozeman documents: one legally binding and two broader in scale and scope to guide growth.

From this qualitative analysis we learned that residents of the Northeast Neighborhood hold many of the same values as the City: celebrating diversity of people; parks, trails, community gardens, and gathering places; diverse, historic, and affordable housing stock; mixed uses of land. However we also found instances where the participants in PhotoVoicesNE disagreed with the City's plans and codes, particularly those related to density and infill, which residents viewed as a threat to their community's character and scenic views. However, from both the PhotoVoicesNE project and communication with the residents of the neighborhood, we garnered that many of the most important aspects of the character of the Northeast Neighborhood were those not present in any City document: its alleys and trees, the ways in which its residents feel free to express themselves, and the eclectic and 'funky' qualities of the neighborhood which sets it apart from others.

After this analysis we offered four recommendations to the City in order to preserve the character of the Northeast Neighborhood: 1) incentivize developers to design and develop in a way which fits in with the context of the neighborhood; 2) consider means to prioritize and incentivise preservation of historic homes on an individual basis 3) identify specific viewshed areas and restrict larger-scale development in these areas; and 4) continue to explore various methods for engaging the public in all aspects and stages of the planning and approval processes.

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Appendix A: Qualitative Analysis Framework

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Community & People	This set of codes pertains to the people living in the neighborhood, both as individuals and as a community, the ways in which they interact, and how residents in the community perceive other residents.
CP_Community Events	Events, both planned and informal, occurring in the community which allow community members to connect or interact.
CP_Diversity Inclusion	Diversity and inclusion of residents inc. disability, class, race, LGBTQ+, etc.
CP_Safety	Feeling of personal and group safety among community members including traffic & pedestrian safety and safety from crime, and in particular how the built environment and community culture foster safety.
CP_Unity Connection	Unity, involvement, participation, and sense of community among community members. This includes the ways in which community members meet each other and make connections, and the ways in which the built environment fosters these connections.
Community Assets	This set of codes encompasses the physical features of a neighborhood which residents value and seek to preserve, as well as desires expressed to expand or increase the existence of these assets for the future of the neighborhood.
CA_Alleys	Neighborhood alleys and the benefits they are deemed to provide.
CA_Future Desires	Any expression of desired elements and assets to be built, renovated, or expanded upon in the future.
CA_Gardens	Gardens, both of the public community type and in private yards, and the benefits they provide. This includes urban agriculture as well.
CA_Gathering Places	Any publicly-accessible space which can be used for formal or informal community events or meetings.
CA_Landmarks	Iconic buildings and other sites of historic, architectural, or cultural importance used as focal points for a community.
CA_Local Business	Locally-known businesses that community members take pride in patronizing.
CA_Parks Rec	Parks, trails, and other formal or informal sites used for recreation by

	community members.
CA_Public Art	Art both in public places and publicly viewable on private land.
CA_Trees	Trees, both on private and public land, enjoyed by the community, and the perceived benefits they provide.
CA_View	Views of natural beauty including the Bridger mountain range and Story Hills which can be viewed from homes and public areas within the community.
Community Design	This set of codes encompasses the aspects of the design of a neighborhood which give it unique character, as well as the aspects of future development which residents either encourage or discourage in the name of neighborhood character and the preservation thereof.
CD_ADU Infill Anti	Expressions of sentiments against infill of residences within the existing residential neighborhood, including ADUs on residential lots.
CD_ADU Infill Pro	Expressed support for infill of residences in an existing neighborhood, including accessory dwelling units on existing residential lots, splitting of lots to add new homes, and building of homes on vacant lots.
CD_Housing Diversity	Diversity of types, ages, and architectural styles of housing stock. This code does not take into account diversity of uses, which fall under the NU_Mixed Use code.
CD_Historic Character	Preservation and celebration of neighborhood history and its historic architecture by means of celebrating and preserving aspects of history within the built environment including historic homes and buildings, ghost signs, and other physical elements which contribute to historic character.
CD_Increase Density	A desire to increase the density of residential units in existing residential neighborhoods.
CD_Preserve Density	Appreciation of, and desire to preserve, the existing density of residences in the neighborhood.
CD_Scale	Small and/or modest, "human" scaling of buildings including footprints and height. This includes the fitting-in of new developments, remodels, and ADUs to existing neighborhood scale and architecture.
CD_Yards Footprints Setback	Yards and other green space on private lots, and the preservation thereof including appropriate setbacks and home footprints allowing for green space on every residential lot.
Community Identity	This set of codes encompasses the sense of connection residents feel to their neighborhood and region via the built environment.
CI_Local History	Pride and preservation of local history, including agricultural and industrial history.

CI_Local Identity	Pride in, or attachment to, one's belonging to a particular neighborhood community, or to the community of Bozeman and Gallatin County as a whole.
CI_Personal History	The individual histories of community members, and how the physical environment relates to their memories.
CI_Regional Identity	Pride in, or attachment to, or identification with Montana and the Mountain West on a personal or neighborhood scale.
Future Concerns	This set of codes encompasses the concerns residents have when looking to the future of their neighborhood as it changes.
FC_Affordability	Issues, concerns, and solutions regarding housing affordability.
FC_Development	Issues, concerns, and solutions related to increasing density and larger-scale developments in existing neighborhoods, including loss or perceived loss of neighborhood character.
FC_Environment	Issues, concerns, and solutions related to preservation of the environment and natural assets in NENA and around Bozeman.
FC_Growth	Issues, concerns, and solutions related to Bozeman's high growth rate and in-migration.
FC_Historical Preservation	Issues, concerns, and solutions related to future preservation of historical buildings and locations
FC_Sustainability	Efforts to decrease carbon footprint and improve long-term or global environmentalism.
FC_Viewshed Preservation	Issues, concerns, and solutions related to the preservation of views from existing residences and locations.
Location & Interconnectedness	This set of codes encompasses the location of a neighborhood, its proximity to features of other neighborhoods, the city, and the region; and the ways in which residents travel within and outside their neighborhood.
LI_Interconnected Rec	Interconnectivity of trails between parks and recreation areas within the city.
LI_Multimodal Transit	The ability for community members to move throughout the city via methods other than single-occupancy vehicles, including walking, cycling, public transit, etc.
LI_Proximity Nature Rec	Proximity and access to natural and recreation areas, which may or may not fall within the city.
Neighborhood Uniqueness	This set of codes encompasses the unique qualities of the Northeast Neighborhood, both in terms of its built environment and community, and how residents view that their neighborhood is different from others.

NUQ_Expression	Self-expression via the ways in which a resident presents their home to the public eye, and appreciation for the ways in which others do the same.
NUQ_Nonconformity	Ways in which residents view, and feel pride in, aspects of the neighborhood as nonconforming, imperfect, or "funky" as compared to other neighborhoods and the city code.
Neighborhood Uses	This set of codes encompasses the varied uses of a neighborhood and the balance of residential, commercial, and other uses.
NU_Industry Working Lands	Expressions of support for industrial and other urban working land use in or in close proximity to the neighborhood.
NU_Live Work	Developments wherein residents can live and work at the same location, or accessory workshops & studios extant on residential properties.
NU_Mixed Uses	Neighborhoods as a mix of uses and functions: residential, commercial, agricultural, etc.
NU_Proximity to Business	The distance between residences and the businesses residents can patronize, and particularly walkability/bikeability to those businesses.

Appendix B: Agreement Between PhotoVoicesNE and City Documents

<u>Code</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE Quote</u>	<u>Unified Dev. Code²</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>
CP_Diversity Inclusion	"Our neighborhood is open to native plants and to all cultures." (p. 17)	38.400.110.B.1	R-2.4 (p. 26) EPO-1.3 (p. 37)	3.3a (p. 4)
CP_Safety	"My son wanders the NE neighborhood streets safely and freely. So thankful for that" (p. 10)	38.400.010.A.6 38.520.040.C.3	Theme 2 Introduction (p. 27) M-2 (p.42)	3.1 (p. 4)
CA_Alleys ³	"Alleys make safe places for children, dogs and the child in all of us, binding neighbors together!" (p. 12)	38.400.020.A 38.400.050.A.2 38.400.060.B.2 38.400.080.A 38.400.090.B.1.b	Theme 3 Introduction (p. 31)	N/A
CA_Gardens	"Yes to community gardens & meeting my neighbors" (p. 11)	Fig. 38.520.060.B.5	N-1.6 (p. 29) N-2.5 (p.30) Theme 3 Introduction (p. 31) EPO-3.10 (p. 38)	N/A
CA_Gathering Places	"Community gathering spots matter. All year, community happens!" (p. 2)	38.410.020.A 38.520.060.B.2	N-1.5 (p. 29)	5.2b (p. 8)
CA_Landmarks	"Love the grain elevators!; Iconic Bozeman! This image is Bozeman!" (p. 4)	N/A	N-4.2 (p. 30)	N/A

² Only Articles 4 and 5 were analyzed, because these sections pertain directly to project and community design. There are other sections of the code relevant to this neighborhood, such as 38.340.050 in Article 3.

³ In PhotoVoicesNE, many participants included their feelings about the benefits of alleys to the community, which we found to be missing from any City document. However the documents do make reference to the design standards for alleys, which we have included for reference.

<u>Code</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE Quote</u>	<u>Unified Dev. Code</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>
CA_Local Businesses	"I come here often for lunch with friends because the food is good and not expensive." (p. 23)	N/A	N-2.3 (p. 30)	2.1 (p.3)
CA_Parks and Rec	"Parks and trails help to keep a community livable even as we grow." (p. 5)	38.410.020.A 38.420.110.B.1 38.520.060.B.1	Community Desires (p. 21) EPO-1 (p. 37)	3.4 (p. 5) 6.5 (p. 9)
CA_Public Art	"Incredible public art is the icing on the cake!" (p. 5)	38.410.020.A.5	EPO-1.3 (p. 37)	5.2 (p. 8)
CA_Trees	"I love the trees in our neighborhood, and I would like to see conservation of existing trees and planting of new ones." (p. 5)	38.410.010.B 38.520.040.D.4.b 38.550.050.E.1.a 38.550.050.J	N/A	N/A
CA_Waterways	"Bozeman Creek should be celebrated as a greenway" (p. 9)	38.410.100.A	EPO-1.5 (p. 37) EPO-2.1 (p. 37) EPO-3.6 (p. 37)	6.1 (p. 9)
CD_ADU Infill Pro	"Nice example of thoughtful infill in a residential neighborhood." (p. 8)	38.430.090E.2.c(7)	N-1.4 (p. 29) DCD-1 (p. 33)	4.1d (p. 6) 4.2 (p. 6)

<u>Code</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE Quote</u>	<u>Unified Dev. Code</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>
CD_Housing Diversity	"I agree that housing diversity is important in NENA" (p. 24)	38.430.090E.2.b(4)	Community Desires (p. 21) Housing Affordability (p. 21) Theme 2 Introduction (p. 27) N-1.1 (p. 29) N-1.3 (p. 29) N-3 (p. 30)	N/A
CD_Historic Character	"Love these older homes that take you back to another time." (p. 5)	38.400.090.B.1.b 38.500.020.A.1 38.530.030.B.1 38.560.050.A.1.c 38.560.060.C.1 38.560.170 38.570.070	Theme 2 Introduction (p. 27)	4.2d (p. 6)
CD_Scale	"Support small homes on small lots" (p. 8)	38.400.090.B.1.b 38.410.030 38.410.040 38.430.020.D 38.500.010.D 38.530.030.A1	N-1.7 (p. 29) N-3.7 (p. 30) DCD-2.5 (p. 33)	N/A
CD_Yards Footprint Setback	"Houses don't need to go to all edges of a lot. Keep the green spaces!" (p. 17)	38.410.030.A 38.410.030.E 38.500.020.B.2.a 38.510.030.J.2 38.520.060.D.3 38.550.050.A	N/A	N/A
CI_Local Identity	"No place I've lived has ever felt more like home." (p. 28)	N/A	Theme 2 Introduction (p. 27) N-4 (p. 30)	Vision Statement 4 (p. 6)
FC_Affordability	"Worker housing = affordable housing" (p. 9)	N/A	Community Desires (p. 21) Housing Affordability (p. 21) N-3.4 (p. 30)	4.5b (p. 7)

<u>Code</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE Quote</u>	<u>Unified Dev. Code</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>
FC_Development	"Time to slow building and keep the open spaces in all of Bozeman (p. 15)	38.430.020.D	N-1.11 (p. 29) DCD-2.9 (p. 34)	N/A
FC_Environment	"Preserve natural habitats. Don't destroy what's beautiful about Bozeman!" (p. 4)	38.410.010.B	EPO-1.5 (p. 37)	6.6 (p. 9)
FC_Sustainability	"Live-work reduces traffic, is eco-friendly and allows neighborhood to be sustainable" (p. 1)	N/A	R-2.9 (p. 26)	4.1a (p. 6) 4.3d (p. 7) 6.3 (p. 9)
FC_Viewshed Preservation ⁴	"...why live in the mountains if you're satisfied only seeing in your neighbors windows?" (p. 5)	N/A	Community Desires (p. 21) DCD-2.9 (p. 34)	N/A
LI_Interconnected Rec	"Really important to connect trails!" (p. 7)	38.420.110.B.1	N-1.10 (p. 29) EPO-1.1 (p. 37) M-1.13 (p. 41)	4.2 (p. 6) 5.2a (p. 8) 6.5 (p. 9)
LI_Multimodal Transit	"I am thrilled that there are safe ways for me to walk or bike..." (p. 5)	38.400.080.A 38.400.110.B.1 38.400.110.E 38.500.010.E 38.540.050.A.4	N-1.9 (p. 29) N-2.2 (p. 30) N-3.3 (p. 30) DCD-1.9 (p. 33) DCD-3 (p. 34) M-1 (p. 41)	4.2 (p. 6) 4.5a (p. 7)
LI_Proximity Nature Rec	"...open space we can reach—right here in our neighborhood."	38.400.080.B 38.400.110.B.1	DCD-1.9 (p. 33)	N/A

⁴ In PhotoVoicesNE, participants voiced concerns about losing the neighborhood's specific viewshed. The Community Plan makes reference to viewshed preservation as a broad concept, which we have included here, but makes no specific plans or commitments.

	(p. 12)			
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<u>Code</u>	<u>PhotoVoicesNE Quote</u>	<u>Unified Dev. Code</u>	<u>Community Plan</u>	<u>Strategic Plan</u>
NU_Industry Working Lands ⁵	"Industrial and commercial facilities represent the reality of human towns." (p. 3)	38.430.090.E.2.e	Theme 7 Introduction (p. 46)	N/A
NU_Live Work	"I feel some of the best character traits of the NENA are the mixed-use buildings." (p. 1)	N/A	N-3.8 (p. 30) EE-1.3 (p. 45)	N/A
NU_Mixed Uses	"...commerce and housing intermingle like kith and kin." (p. 9)	38.430.010.A.14 38.430.090.E.2.e 38.510.030.D	N-2.3 (p. 30) N-2.4 (p. 30) DCD-1.9 (p. 33) M-1.1 (p. 41)	N/A

⁵ The Unified Development Ordinance makes extensive reference to industry in regards to design standards. However, we have only included the section which allows for light industrial in Mixed Use zones, which we found to be the only section relevant to the Northeast Neighborhood.