



**COMPLETE**

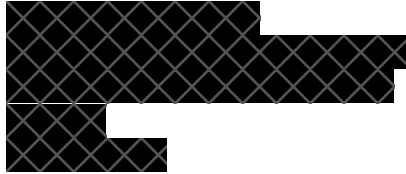
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### Q1

Contact information

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### Q2

Please upload a high-resolution headshot that GGWash has permission to use.

**Nate%20Fleming%20Headshot%20(1).jpg (854KB)**

### Q3

**Yes**

Do you support Mayor Muriel Bowser's goal, announced in 2019, to add 36,000 new units of housing in the District by 2025?

### Q4

**I'll support another housing production goal, and would be willing to propose one myself.**

If successful, the 36,000-unit goal will be met by 2025. However, the District's population is estimated to grow to over 900,000 people by 2045, and the region is expected to have a shortfall of about 690,000 housing units by then. Will you support a second goal for housing production in the District by 2050? If the mayor or your colleagues don't propose a production goal, will you propose one yourself?

### Q5

**Over 100,000**

With 36,000 presumably completed units as a baseline in 2025, how many additional units do you think should be built in the District by 2050?

**Q6**

Yes

Housing production in D.C. has been uneven and particularly concentrated in certain neighborhoods. Do you support the mayor's approach of setting production targets in each of the District's planning areas to evenly disperse the construction of new housing?

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**Q7**

Yes

Should apartments be legal in all parts of all the District's neighborhoods?

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**Q8**

Council's land use authority is limited: The Home Rule Act states, "the mayor shall be the central planning agency for the District" (page 13), and councilmembers do not, generally, vote up or down on individual developments. Councilmembers' most direct influence on land use is through the Comprehensive Plan, though they cannot change that unless amendments are proposed by the mayor. However, the council can still act to increase housing production, whether through legislation and budgeting, or by directing the executive to pursue amendments before the zoning commission. Please rank the following policies that would increase housing production in the order that you would request your staff to pursue them, if elected. (This list is purposefully not inclusive of affordability and stabilization policies, which are addressed in subsequent questions.)

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| Legalizing two-unit buildings District-wide   | <b>3</b> |
| Legalizing four-unit buildings District-wide  | <b>1</b> |
| Subsidizing individual homeowners to construct ADUs   | <b>8</b> |
| Increasing the percentage of affordable housing required in public-land dispositions                            | <b>2</b> |
| Incentivizing the conversion of office buildings to residential properties                                      | <b>4</b> |
| Eliminating the Height Act  | <b>6</b> |
| Eliminating parking requirements in new construction  | <b>7</b> |
| Amending the building code to reduce construction costs   | <b>9</b> |
| Legalizing and incentivizing housing above public facilities, such as libraries, rec centers, and fire stations | <b>5</b> |
- 

**Q9**

If you have any other preferred means by which you, as a councilmember, would increase housing production, please share them here.

I support exploring the Social Housing Model, inspired by Vienna's approach to affordable housing. This model involves the city buying land for residential development, soliciting proposals from private developers, and ensuring affordable housing for lower and moderate-income residents. Rents are regulated to ensure affordability.

We must also fully fund the affordable housing preservation fund to ensure it has ample resources to preserve affordable housing projects around the District. A portion of the Housing Production Trust Fund should be dedicated to meeting this goal.

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**Q10**

Where in your ward do you think new housing should be built? If you do not think new housing should be built in your ward, please write, "I do not think new housing should be built in my ward." At-large candidates should indicate where, and whether, they think new housing should be built in the District.

Ward 7 has locations that are ripe for housing production throughout the Ward, however the area of the ward with the most potential for large-scale housing production is the RFK campus. The RFK campus is vast, allowing for ample space for housing production, but also for recreational space, green space, commercial enterprises, restaurant incubators, community centers, innovations hubs and more. As the RFK campus is responsibly developed, I will be committed to ensuring it is entirely accessible to pedestrians, bicyclists, and buses. The massive parking lot that existed prior will not translate into the future of RFK.

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**Q11**

Where in your ward do you think density should be increased to accommodate the construction of new housing? If you do not think density should be increased in your ward, please write, "I do not think density should be increased in my ward." At-large candidates should indicate where, and whether, they think density should be increased in the District.

As I mentioned in the previous question, density should be increased at RFK. In addition to RFK, there are many vacant lots and blighted buildings in Ward 7 located near public transportation and desirable amenities where housing density should be increased. I also support the development of affordable housing on top or adjacent to public lands like libraries and recreation centers.

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**Q12**

Given the opportunity, how would you amend the District's Height Act?

**Removing or raising the Height Act everywhere but downtown**

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**Q13**

Would you support amending the District's preservation laws to remove height and mass from the purview of historic review? Under such a proposal, District historic officials would still review materials, aesthetics and compatibility of designated structures, but overall density would be controlled by zoning the same way it is for non-designated structures.

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**Yes**

**Q14**

I consider affordable housing to be (check all that, in your opinion, apply):

**Means-tested or income-restricted,  
Built by the government,  
Subsidized,  
Rent-controlled,  
Costing no more than 30 percent of one's household income**

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**Q15**

I consider market-rate housing to be (check all that, in your opinion, apply):

**Not means-tested or income-restricted,  
Built by private developers,  
Expensive,  
Unsubsidized**

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**Q16**

Check any of the below combination of features that you would consider social housing.

**District-owned housing on District-owned land, built by a District agency and managed by a District agency**  
,  
**District-owned housing on District-owned land, built by a District agency and managed by a private property-management company**  
,  
**District-owned housing on District-owned land, built by a private construction company and managed by a District agency**  
,  
**District-owned housing on District-owned land, built by a private construction company and managed by a private property-management company**

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**Q17**

What do you think is the greatest obstacle to ensuring that housing is built in the District for residents who make between 0 percent MFI and 30 percent MFI, and why?

The greatest obstacle to ensuring housing is built for residents who make between 0 and 30 percent MFI is the issue of getting housing vouchers out of the door. Individuals and families with income below 30 percent MFI are eligible for vouchers. Developers respond to demand. When the appropriate number of vouchers reach the hands of low-income DC residents consistently and reliably, developers will be incentivized to build new housing catered to that income level.

My approach supports the development of Community Land Trusts and explores the Social Housing Model to ensure long-term housing affordability and prevent displacement. This initiative not only addresses the immediate need for affordable housing but also contributes to the broader goal of economic empowerment for Black residents and other marginalized groups.

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**Q18**

What do you think is the greatest obstacle to ensuring that housing is built in the District for residents who make between 30 percent MFI and 50 percent MFI, and why? If your answer is the same as above, please explain why.

There is not enough focus on workforce housing for working individuals and families in this income bracket. For DC residents who earn too much to receive housing vouchers but still cannot afford market-rate housing, we need to strengthen the housing production trust fund and provide more incentives for developers to construct new housing and dedicate substantial percentages of newly constructed units to affordable housing for residents who earn between 30 and 80 percent MFI.

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**Q19**

What do you think is the greatest obstacle to ensuring that housing is built in the District for residents who make between 50 percent MFI and 80 percent MFI, and why? If your answer is the same as one above, please explain why.

My answer to this question is similar to the above answer because this income bracket is also too high for vouchers but still in need of deep subsidies to afford housing. There is not enough focus on workforce housing for working individuals and families in this income bracket. For DC residents who earn too much to receive housing vouchers but still cannot afford market-rate housing, we need to strengthen the housing production trust fund and provide more incentives for developers to construct new housing and dedicate substantial percentages of newly constructed units to affordable housing for residents who earn between 30 and 80 percent MFI.

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**Q20**

What do you think is the greatest obstacle to ensuring that housing is built in the District for residents who make between 80 percent MFI and 120 percent MFI, and why? If your answer is the same as one above, please explain why.

Residents earning between 80 and 120 percent MFI often need down payment assistance to become first time homebuyers. Assisting these residents involves shoring up the HPAP program to provide larger zero-interest down payment assistance loans to individuals and families with good credit.

Residents in this income bracket can also benefit from affordable housing like residents earning between 50-80 percent MFI and in that respect the Housing Production Trust Fund can be better administered to ensure a fair balance in distributing funds between ultra low-income residents and moderate income residents.

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**Q21**

While the District has a robust Housing Production Trust Fund, it is not infinite, and land costs in the District impact the number of affordable units that can be constructed, as well as the percentage of MFI to which they can be subsidized. The below scenarios are not inclusive of all options that will ever be on the table. They are, however, representative of the tradeoffs inherent in balancing funding for and the location of income-restricted, subsidized “affordable” housing, which is often cross-subsidized with market-rate housing. Please choose the scenario you would prefer, and explain why you prefer that scenario.

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**One 50-unit project in Congress Heights for residents making between 30 (\$27,100 for a one-person household) and 80 percent (\$72,250) MFI, but no affordable housing in Chevy Chase**

**Q22**

I prefer this scenario because:

I selected the first scenario because it reaches the widest swath of DC residents. By providing affordable housing for individuals and families earning between 30 and 80 percent MFI, we are providing affordable housing for a wider income range than in all of the other scenarios.

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**Q23**

In the Office of Planning's Housing Framework for Equity and Growth, released in October 2019, Mayor Bowser set targets for the production of affordable housing per planning area "to achieve an equitable distribution of no less than 15 percent affordable housing in each planning area by 2050." Progress toward these targets is shown above. As a councilmember, what will you do to ensure that enough affordable housing is built in each planning area so as to achieve this goal?

I would push for more incentives to be given to developers until each goal is met. Developers do not produce affordable housing without government incentives.

It is also important to note that housing is less likely to be produced when crime rates are high. This is why I have an extensive evidenced-based plan to address public safety concerns. I encourage you to review my public safety plan on my website at [nateford.com](http://nateford.com).

Finally, again I must point to social housing and community land trusts as ways to help reach and exceed these goals within the desired time frames.

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**Q24**

**This is a suitable evolution of TOPA.**

The Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act has historically enabled the cooperative purchase of apartment buildings that are put up for sale by a tenants' association. There are many ins and outs of the TOPA process, one of which is the ability of tenants to take buyouts, if the interested buyer is willing to make them. Buyouts have skyrocketed to, in some deals, \$60,000 per unit, making TOPA, functionally, not an anti-displacement policy but, rather, a tenant-equity policy. Do you think this is a suitable evolution of TOPA, or should the law be amended to either formalize or restrict this?

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**Q25**

Please explain your selected response. If you'd like, feel free to expound upon cutbacks to TOPA eligibility, including the recently proposed 10-year exemption to TOPA in the Downtown Action Plan.

Being able to assign the tenant association's interest in the property to a third party is part of the tenants' first right to purchase the property as is the intent of TOPA. Therefore, I do not believe it is necessary to amend TOPA to restate what is already in the law.

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**Q26**

Limited-equity co-ops and community land trusts enjoy widespread support. How would you encourage their proliferation?

I strongly support limited-equity co-ops and community land trusts and would encourage their proliferation by supporting legislation that increases their footprint. I will also fight for funding for these programs in the budget cycle. My plan involves continued support for developing community land trusts in DC. These trusts aim to acquire and steward housing, focusing on a defined geographical area. The goal is to serve low-income and disadvantaged populations, ensuring a robust stock of permanently affordable housing, with a commitment to long-term preservation and stewardship of housing affordability.

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**Q27**

Describe your views of the District's inclusionary zoning policy. What do you think it should be achieving? What is it currently failing to do? What, if anything, you think should be changed about it?

I am generally a fan of the District's inclusionary zoning policy, and like other affordable housing programs, I would like to see the program expanded to reach more DC residents.

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**Q28**

**Mostly tenant-based**

Affordable housing is publicly subsidized in two main ways: project-based subsidies (such as Housing Production Trust Fund dollars or Low-Income Housing Tax Credits) that are tied to a unit and reduce its cost for any qualified tenants who live there, and tenant-based subsidies (i.e., portable vouchers) that a qualified tenant can use on any market-rate unit. Acknowledging that an even split is not realistic, how do you think the District should divide its public subsidy money between these two methods?

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**Q29**

**I do not support public funding for privately owned sports stadiums in the District.**

Sports teams and government officials have long touted the economic benefits of publicly financed, privately owned sports stadiums, but research spanning the last 30-plus years has found that these projects consistently do not deliver their promised economic impacts, while imposing major public costs. Which of the following statements best describes your view?

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**Q30**

**Creating opportunities for new housing**

The District's current Comprehensive Plan was written in 2006 and amended in 2021. The Office of Planning will begin the process of rewriting it in 2025. The Comp Plan is the District's foundational land-use document; though land use naturally intersects with other sectors, the Comp Plan's legal scope is limited to land use alone. Which of the following will be your top priority in a rewrite of it?

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**Q31**

**No**

Traditional smart-growth planning principles concentrate high-density construction, including apartment buildings, on major corridors. This, by design, leaves residential areas off of corridors untouched. Do you agree with this approach to the distribution of housing within neighborhoods?

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**Q32**

Yes

Production, distribution, and repair zones—basically, industrial uses—are largely concentrated in the Near Northeast planning area. In a Comprehensive Plan rewrite, would you support a fair-share approach to the location of parcels zoned for PDR, which would necessitate adding PDR zoning to planning areas where there currently is none or very little, such as Near Northwest and Rock Creek West?

**Q33**

Where in the District should PDR zoning should be added so as to more fairly balance it across the District? If you do not think PDR zoning should be added in the District, please write, "I do not think PDR zoning should be added in the District."

PDR should not be concentrated in poorer regions of the District where more residents of color reside. Equitable zoning policy means distributing PDR zoning throughout the District as not to create a disproportionate and negative impact on underserved communities. Industrial projects often compromise air quality and water quality creating an issue of environmental injustice in communities of color. Spacing these projects protects the health of our most vulnerable residents.

**Q34**

Land-use changes in the District are sometimes, though not always, required to be accompanied by a public input and/or community outreach process. The following is a non-exhaustive list of means by which public input might emerge, or community outreach might be conducted. Of course, different proposals will occur in different contexts, and it's understandable that you might feel that your preferred ranking would vary based on individual proposals. However, all else being equal, rank the following based on how greatly you, as a councilmember, would value them:

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| Verbal testimony given in-person in a public forum, such as a Zoning Commission or Board of Zoning Adjustment meeting, or a council hearing          | <b>1</b> |
| Written testimony submitted to the record of a public forum, such as a Zoning Commission or Board of Zoning Adjustment meeting, or a council hearing | <b>4</b> |
| Letters, emails, and calls from residents adjacent to a given site   | <b>2</b> |
| A resolution passed by the relevant Advisory Neighborhood Commission(s)  | <b>3</b> |
| Emails sent via click-to-send action alert   | <b>8</b> |
| A petition with 100 or more signatures   | <b>7</b> |
| A statistically significant survey or poll of neighbors adjacent to a given site   | <b>5</b> |
| A statistically significant survey or poll of ward residents   | <b>6</b> |
| A statistically significant survey of District residents   | <b>9</b> |



**Q35**

**Too many cars**

Do you think there are not enough cars, enough cars, or too many cars in the District?

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**Q36**

**Yes**

The Sustainable D.C. 2.0 plan includes a target of reducing commuter trips made by car to 25 percent. Do you agree that incentivizing residents and visitors to drive less should be an explicit policy goal of the District?

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**Q37**

**Yes**

Internal data for WMATA estimates that bus delays cost the system at least \$14 million per year. Buses are primarily delayed by sitting in single-occupancy vehicle traffic. Bus riders are more frequently Black and brown, and less affluent, than rail riders and drivers. Do you support removing single-occupancy vehicle parking and travel lanes for dedicated bus lanes, which make bus service faster and more reliable?

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**Q38**

**DDOT should prioritize repurposing existing parking lanes.**

If yes, how do you think DDOT should prioritize repurposing street space to create dedicated bus lanes?

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**Q39**

**Yes**

A 12-year study, published in 2019, found that protected bike lanes drastically lowered fatal crash rates for all road users in Seattle (-60.6%), San Francisco (-49.3%), Denver (-40.3%) and Chicago (-38.2%), among others. Do you support removing single-occupancy vehicle parking and travel lanes for protected bike lanes?

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**Q40**

**DDOT should prioritize repurposing existing parking lanes.**

If yes, how do you think DDOT should prioritize repurposing street space to create protected bike lanes?

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**Q41**

**No**

Road pricing, or congestion pricing, in which motorists pay directly for driving on a particular road or in a particular area, has successfully reduced congestion, improved air quality, and raised money in London, Stockholm, and Singapore by reducing the number of vehicles on the road and improving transit performance. New York City is moving forward with its implementation of road pricing. Though it is on its face unpopular to drivers who currently do not pay to do so, a road pricing program charging drivers for their trips into downtown is estimated to generate about \$345 million for the District. Would you, as a councilmember, support road pricing as a means to reduce congestion to speed up transit, improve air quality and public health, and raise revenue?

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**Q42**

If yes, how would you propose reinvesting the \$345 million in revenue road pricing is estimated to generate for the District? If no, please write, "I do not support road pricing."

Road pricing is a form of regressive taxation that would disproportionately affect Black DC residents and low-income residents. The stated goals can be achieved through more equitable policymaking.

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**Q43**

**Yes**

In 2019, the council budgeted \$475,000 for a road pricing study. The study is complete, but Mayor Bowser has not yet released it, despite 2024 legislation mandating her to do so. Do you think the study should be made public?

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**Q44**

If "yes," how would you get the executive to release the report? If "no," please write, "I do not think the study should be made public."

I would encourage the release of the report during Council deliberations and I would sign on to a letter supporting the release of the report solely in the interest of public transparency.

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**Q45**

WMATA's budget deficit is likely to extend beyond this year, and funding WMATA going forward will require the District to cut existing programs, raise revenue, or both. Please rank the following revenue-raising policies in the order of your preference:

Raising Metrorail and Metrobus fares	<b>6</b>
Increasing property tax rates around Metrorail stations and high-frequency Metrobus routes	<b>4</b>
Implementing a road pricing charge	<b>5</b>
Increasing the gas tax	<b>3</b>
Increasing parking rates	<b>1</b>
Increasing the sales tax	<b>2</b>

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**Q46**

Why is the above your preferred ranking?

I ranked increasing parking rates first because doing so may reduce the use of individually driven vehicles when public transportation or bicycles can be used instead, which reduces global climate change and harmful particulate matter emissions. The last change I recommended was raising Metrorail and Metrobus fares because public transportation should be accessible to all DC residents regardless of income level.

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**Q47**

**Fare-free transit**

Which of the following would you prefer?

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**Q48**

Pick a planned transportation project in your ward that you support, and explain what you would do to ensure it comes to fruition. At-large candidates are welcome to select any project, regardless of ward.

The above link does not work, but a planned transportation project that I support is the extension of the DC Streetcar to the Benning Road Metro station.

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**Q49**

Incentives for people to drive less and nudges to make them drive safely can prevent drivers from killing other people, but research shows such “carrots” won’t be enough to curb this public health crisis. Keeping people alive and safe on District roads requires policies that actively reshape our transportation systems and built environment to decrease single-occupancy vehicle trips, and to slow down drivers when they do make those trips. Please rank the following policies in the order that you would request your staff pursue them.

Implementing a road-pricing program	9
Increasing the cost to own a car in the District, including RPP and parking registration	8
Removing minimum parking requirements in new developments near transit	4
Implementing road diets on arterial streets	3
Making some streets, especially residential streets, car-free	1
Regional reciprocity for automated traffic enforcement	5
Building more housing and affordable housing in the District proximate to transit and job centers	2
Removing travel lanes for bus lanes	6
Removing travel lanes for bike lanes	7

**Q50**

On-street parking occurs in public space, which means that an on-street parking spot cannot belong to a specific individual, and people park in different places at different times. What do you consider a reasonable threshold for evaluating if street parking is sufficient in any given neighborhood?

**A resident is able to find an available public street parking space within two to three blocks, in any direction of their residence (about a five- to seven-minute walk), most of the time**

**Q51**

The District's goal to be carbon-free by 2050 requires most of the reduction of its transportation emissions to come from residents turning existing single-occupancy vehicle trips into transit, walking, and biking trips. Please describe at least one trip you currently take by car (even if you, yourself, are not driving) that you can commit to taking on foot, by bus, by train, or by bike instead.

The next trip I take to Dulles airport will be by metro instead of car.