

The Urbanist Seattle City Council Endorsement Questionnaire

Cathy Tuttle, Seattle City Council District 4

(note: If and when I'm elected I hope I can see other candidate answers to these questions -- always looking for new ideas!)

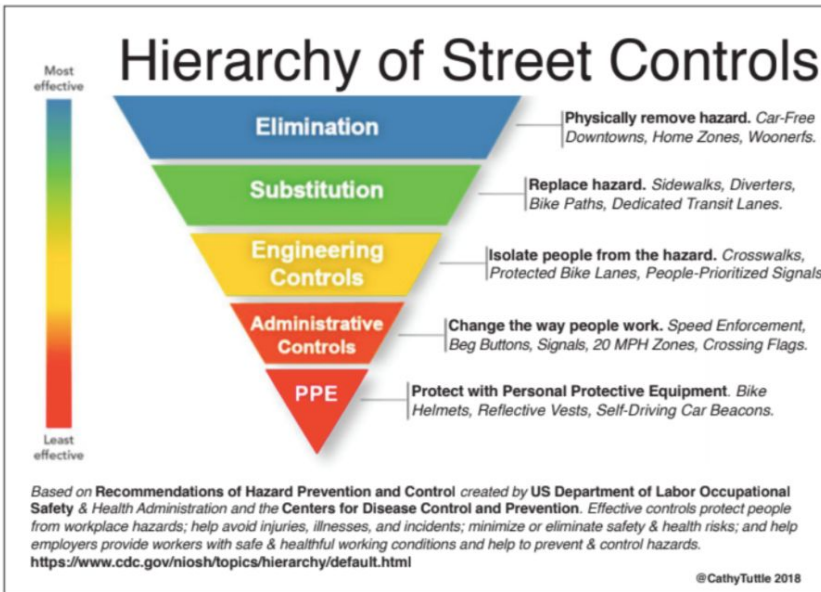
- **Do you support Seattle's commitment to Vision Zero, and what legislative strategies would you seek to implement the goal of reducing serious injuries and fatalities on our streets to zero within the next decade? Do you think legislative strategies are sufficient to achieve this goal?**



A: I absolutely support Seattle's committing fully to Vision Zero! While I was director of Seattle Neighborhood Greenways, we got the Vision Zero and 20 MPH passed as two of our key legislative wins.

No, legislation is clearly not sufficient to achieve Vision Zero. Vision Zero is a program of product safety improvements -- in this case the product is safer roads.

For the past few years, after being the director of Seattle Neighborhood Greenways, I was hired as a consultant by departments of public health in several US cities that had experienced high levels of pedestrian fatalities. My emphasis is not on teaching drivers to be civil, or getting police to give more speeding tickets. It is street engineering to improve the way people naturally use roads. Engineering improvements that include lane width narrowing, leading pedestrian signals, better signal timing, road rechannelization (road diets), curb extensions, barrier protected bike lanes, speed bump. Vision Zero is a product safety program. This week, I have a paper that is being given in Dublin at the VeloCity conference. A Seattle public health nurse, Merlin Rainwater, is giving it on my behalf. Here's a graphic from the paper.



There are some tools Seattle hasn't used yet that I'd like to press for, including Presumption of Liability, more Cameras that record speeding and failure to yield for red lights, and fail to yield in crosswalks. I'd like to see progressive traffic violation fines that reflect a percentage of income, rather than applied at a fixed amount. I'm also interested in the possibility of Restorative Justice or courts of students around schools as a choice for people who routinely violate traffic rules but do not have the means to pay fines.

I'll do my best to ensure Seattle makes road safety improvements that improve climate, as well as life and safety, rather than rely on demands of overly loud voices in specific communities. While some public right of way decisions can and should be decided on by local neighbors, deciding to keep roadways dangerous should not be a community option, any more than Seattle should allow building owners to not meet fire codes or restaurants to disregard health violations. As a case in point, since the construction of 35th Ave NE ended in May 2019, there have been two collisions that resulted in injuries, a fatal motorcycle collision, and three instances of roadway property damage. This is a street that is clearly not functioning for community safety.

I plan to continue to support the work of the Seattle DOT Vision Zero team and Walk/Bike staff. In the seven years I led Seattle Neighborhood Greenways, our advocacy was largely responsible for quadrupling the sizes of both the Vision Zero and Walk/Bike staff from three to 12 people, as well as getting the Vision Zero and 20 mph legislation passed by the City.

- **Do you support the completion of the current bicycle master plan? If so, what strategies, both political and financial, do you propose to ensure its completion?**

A: Yes, I support the completion of the bicycle master plan (BMP). The delay in completion is shameful. Politically, I will be a strong advocate of the BMP on City Council, since it is a key to reducing our growing carbon emissions from transportation.

Politically, well, it is challenging. Councilmember Mike O'Brien is a very strong advocate of the BMP but has been beating his head against the wall for nearly a decade. We still don't even have a downtown bike network. Mayors control the budget, and hire and fire department heads. City Council has much more limited authority.

As a Councilmember, I have ideas for three groups of constituents I'd like to activate to get a basic bike network downtown and throughout Seattle (particularly linking SE and SW Seattle to the city center).

1. **Low income people who bike.** People who work in the gig economy rely on bikes because our transit system stops working between 1am and 5am. Transit is unaffordable for many extremely low income people as well. I'd like to work with groups to empower people in these constituencies to speak up for needing safer bike options.
2. **Family Bikers.** Children, and their parents are very engaged when it comes to child safety, politically sympathetic in the media and at community meetings, and also among the most vulnerable of constituents I can serve.
3. **Corporate workers.** I've been talking to people in London who started the [London Cycling Works](#) program. Basically, people who work in tech and finance who are not managers often commute by bike while managers often drive. This program gets managers on board not by getting them

on bikes, but by getting them to sign letters and petitions to elected leaders to make biking safer for workers.

Financially, I believe congestion pricing can be a serious source of funding for our BMP. Stockholm, a city about twice the size of Seattle, brings in \$150 million each year from congestion pricing. A meaningful price on parking on the right-of-way in residential neighborhoods, and a fee per space of recently constructed downtown and SLU parking garages could also yield meaningful money to build high quality walk and bike infrastructure.

- **The current Seattle Transportation Benefit District funding bus services and transit access expires at the end of 2020. Should it be extended and do you envision any changes to the programs it funds?**

A: The STBD needs to be extended in order to make necessary public transportation improvements such as frequent, reliable and convenient service. This means 24/7 service for night-shift workers. This means completing the Rapid Ride expansion. This means subsidized ORCA cards for people of low-income and free ORCA cards for our youth under 18.

- **The Move Seattle levy expires at the end of 2024. What features should the next transportation capital project levy have? What lessons do you take away from the way the current levy has gone?**

A: The next transportation capital project levy should focus on two things:

1. Making our neighborhoods walkable. As Seattle continues to gain thousands of new residents each year, we must build dense, walkable neighborhoods so that the most vulnerable among us - elderly, children, people of limited means, and the disabled - are able to get around. This means expanding Safe Routes to Schools, ensuring safe routes to transit, and creating Home Zones, residential streets that are retrofitted to slow car speeds which eliminates the need for sidewalks.
2. Create frequent, reliable and convenient public transportation. People will only choose public transportation when it is frequent, reliable and convenient. To tackle our growing transportation carbon emissions, we must complete Rapid Ride expansion, expand bus service 24/7, and create bus only corridors. Only then will Seattleites flock to transit as an ideal method of travel.

The current levy has taught me

1. The Levy Oversight Committee needs to have more authority and access to records including budgets and engineering reports. It would be great if people of limited means who serve on the Oversight also had some per diem or other ways to make their service financially possible.
2. Don't fund the Magnolia Bridge.

- **Do you support the construction of the Center City Connector streetcar and why/why not?**

A: Yes. A streetcar loop from downtown, through the I-district, to Capitol Hill, and South Lake Union makes sense. If it were a frequent and reliable loop line, it would be well-used and climate-friendly. I would like to visit South Lake Union businesses, hat in hand, to discuss their contributions to this line.

- **What considerations should inform the discussion around finding additional funding for a light rail tunnel to West Seattle? To Ballard?**

A: Money and time. We need to build transit as fast as possible if we're truly going to lower our climate footprint dramatically in the next five years. Will tunneling slow us down? Probably. Will tunneling lower our GHG footprint? Maybe not. I'm open-minded at this point, but I'm leaning toward no tunnel.

- **For what purposes should impact fees on development be used?**

A: According to WA state law there are four areas impact fees can be applied to: Public parks/rec, Public streets and right of way, schools, and fire protection facilities. I'd love to push the envelope a bit and see if impact fees could be used for developing multifamily workforce housing in the public right of way.

- **Do you support imposing additional fees on ridesharing services like Uber and Lyft?**

A: Rideshare is critical for first and last mile connections to transit. Four things I want to make sure of:

- Rideshare drivers are paid a living wage.
- Autonomous vehicles and EVs have defined role in first/last mile services.
- We monitor and control vision zero safety, carbon impact, and traffic impact of rideshare services.
- Data from private rideshare services is available for public agencies to use in program planning and design.

- **Do you support a congestion pricing program downtown? If so, what considerations should be made when setting up such a program?**

A: YES! But we need to make sure that congestion pricing is done right, in a way that doesn't overly impact those of low-income, or those who may *need* to drive, such as elderly, disabled or parents with small children, tradespeople who rely on vehicles, etc. We also need to ensure that our transit system is reliable, frequent and convenient enough to handle the increased passenger load from congestion pricing. Our biggest challenge will be the need to plan the pricing correctly so that it significantly decreases traffic and carbon emissions without hurting vulnerable communities or stressing our transit system.

New York, as well as European cities like London and Stockholm, have implemented successful congestion pricing programs that we can look towards, but we must remember that Seattle is unique in many ways so we can not overly rely on those comparisons.

- **How do you feel about the current allocation of street space in Seattle? Under what circumstances would you support converting general purpose lanes to other uses?**

A: I'm all in for converting a lot of general purpose lanes to other uses. In fact, I think it's critical to help Seattle to meet its climate goals. More than 30% of Seattle land is street right of way, and a great deal of that public land is given over to parked vehicles that do not contribute to land use, the economy, or the general health of the people who live work and play in the city.

In the past 20 years, cities around the world have quickly reconfigured their streets to serve people, not cars. Streets have unlimited potential as public space that is currently unrealized in Seattle. In thriving business communities in Central and South America, in Europe and in Asia, streets that prioritize the movement of people increase sales capacity, and improve public health.

I'm convinced streets also have potential as developable land.

Streets are just big gray slabs of impervious surface, mostly already hooked up to city grids of utilities and other services. Let's look at streets as an underutilized land bank. Though this may be a radical step for Seattle, it's time Seattle joined the rest of the world of high tech forward-looking cities already heading in that direction.

- **What approaches would you take to ensure that emerging mobility options (bikeshare, rideshare, e-scooter, etc) are implemented in a manner that increases access to our mobility hubs?**

A: Non-car rideshare hopefully will be what pushes Seattle to fully develop a safe, complete Bicycle Master Plan where vehicles can travel and park. Right now, our systems are a mess, with limited sidewalk space used for vehicle parking and movement. We clearly need good shared mobility access to mobility hubs. Rideshare of all types is critical for first and last mile connections to transit. Four things I mentioned earlier are applicable here too:

- Rideshare drivers need to be paid a living wage.
- Autonomous vehicles and EVs need to have defined roles in first/last mile services.
- We have to monitor and control vision zero safety, carbon impact, and traffic impact of rideshare services.
- Data from all private rideshare services is available for public agencies to use in program planning and design.

- **What lessons did you take away from the head tax vote/debate? Would you support bringing back the head tax?**

A: I think the Council has disregarded their responsibility as a check on the Mayor and her budgets. Council should not have backed away from the head tax, but instead worked on a more actionable plan and interfaced with local major employers and unions for affordable housing while addressing the crisis levels of people experiencing homelessness. Council should also have pushed back harder when the Mayor dragged her feet on transportation issues. I believe more positive synergy is possible between Council and the Mayor in working toward Seattle's sustainable equitable future.

The main lesson that should be drawn from the head tax experience is that we need to have support from the majority of stakeholders before presenting a plan to big businesses in Seattle. If small businesses, labor, and Seattle communities are fully behind a plan, it is hard for bigger businesses to shut it down. We also should learn that we need clear goals and recommendations for how the revenue from a tax will be used before putting it up to the public. I would come prepared with a fully vetted plan that has tons of community, labor, and small business support before asking larger businesses to pay their fair share.

I believe that to solve the homelessness crisis in our city we need support from the many successful tech businesses in Seattle. They have not shown that they are willing to help at scale yet, but they are indicating they are interested. The head tax was an imperfect way to ask for help. Tech and other local leaders must strategize more effective ways to help Seattle grow stronger, more resilient, more sustainable in the future. It is critical that all new workers feel they can make Seattle their home and make sure existing Seattleites feel that the new residents are part of the city.

- **What responsibilities do you think that corporations doing business in Seattle have to the city, and are they meeting them? If not how would you get them to do so?**

A: Many of the city's current challenges are also challenges for our business community and its workers -- workforce housing, visibly unhoused people, climate action, childcare, transportation. The business community and the city are not siloed off from each other. We need to work together to address these problems.

I would put a high priority on engagement and have an open dialogue with the business community to make sure I know the needs of the business community. I know that the business community of Seattle wants this to be a city that other cities look towards for inspiration and guidance, and that we have businesses that are willing to contribute to that goal when it is clear those funds will not go to waste.

But it is a two way street: we need to draw on the knowledge and expertise of the local business community to help solve problems in our local community, while as a community we need to help our local business community grow and prosper. Without strong local communities, we do not have people to start, run, and work for Seattle businesses, but without a strong Seattle business community we do not have a city people can live in. Without community group input and buy-in, projects fail to work for the people they intend to serve. People push back to keep projects from moving forward, and neglect places and projects they have not bought into. The Seattle business community is a critical community group, and it is important to understand and acknowledge the challenges they face.

- **If you had been on council at the time it was considered, would you have voted for Mandatory Housing Affordability, Seattle's version of inclusionary zoning? In what ways did the final approved plan differ from your ideal policy?**

A: Yes I would have but MHA has always been a compromise. The aspect of it I like the least was for developers to pay into a common fund rather than build affordable housing units on site within the context of other housing in dense Seattle neighborhoods. I appreciate the city continuing to support

aggressive investments to preserve and expand affordable housing so that people with low and fixed incomes can afford to stay in their communities. Seattle has race and social equity and anti-displacement policies in the 2035 draft Comp Plan. I'll make sure they are implemented.

I'd also like to see an Affordable Housing Zoning Overlay. This would be a city-wide overlay that would allow modest increases in height and density (e.g. in districts that now allow three stories, 100% affordable housing proposals could go to four stories, etc.), and reductions in set-backs, parking requirements and other dimensional issues.

We should encourage major institutions to build housing and support low cost existing housing stock near their facilities. In D4 I'm particularly looking at UW, medical institutions like Fred Hutch, Children's Hospital, and UW Medical Center.

- **Do you support transit-oriented development? If so, how do you ensure TOD is affordable and doesn't displace communities around new transit infrastructure?**

A: Transit corridors are one of the best places to build very high density. People do not need to be car-dependent near places with plenty of retail, services, and transit. At the new Roosevelt Light Rail Station, the Mercy/Plymouth Housing development with 250 deeply affordable multifamily units with childcare on site as well as a generous public spaces is a great model for many other station area buildings. We need much more!

- **What do you think is the most important strategy or set of strategies Seattle can pursue to make the city affordable to live in? What assumptions about affordability do those strategies rely on?**

A: Here are a few strategies I am exploring:

First, I would propose an Affordable Housing Zoning Overlay. This would be a city-wide overlay that would allow modest increases in height and density (e.g. in districts that now allow three stories, 100% affordable housing proposals could go to four stories, etc.), and reductions in set-backs, parking requirements and other dimensional issues.

The City should be negotiating with major institutions to build housing and support low cost existing housing stock near their facilities. In D4 I'm particularly looking at UW, medical institutions like Fred Hutch, Children's Hospital, and UW Medical Center that all have a need for more workforce housing.

I'd also like to raise our percentage of required affordable housing in any development over 10 apartments to 30%. That is, developers are required to rent 30% of their apartments to households that earn 80% of the Area Median Income and they must allow them to pay a rent of no more than 30% of their gross income.

Additionally, I'd like to see funds put into a Land Trust by any developer putting up non-residential space (office, commercial, entertainment, hospital, laboratory educational) that is over 30,000 square feet. They can pay to the Trust Fund something like \$15 per square foot before getting an occupancy permit.

While I support much of the current MHA legislation, ADU/DADU contributes only a tiny bit to affordability and often new dwelling units in upzoned areas are at least as expensive as the properties they are replacing.

We should explore the slow movement of housing stock out of the hands of for-profit owners and into the hands of non-profits and public agencies. It is important to recognize that housing cost (brick and mortar, labor, architects, etc.) and housing price (supply and demand) are two entirely different things. The only relation between them is that price must be a little more than cost or nobody will build any housing. But in hot markets like Seattle, price will exceed cost by a great deal. As long as for-profit owners control that housing, they will do what good capitalists are supposed to do — maximize price so they can take the profits and invest in other deals that create construction jobs and drive the economy. They are not going to leave money on the table. I worry a lot about what happens when that apartment is “home” to a household and “investment” to an owner. In the case of any conflicts, “investment” will always win. And that is not good for our cities, neighborhoods, and communities. So I would like to see ownership of our rental stock move more into the hands of public agencies and non-profits whose interest in real estate is much closer to that of the resident, including existing older housing stock.

Finally, we have made it illegal to live in small units. Building microhousing in Seattle is almost impossible due to code requirements passed by Seattle Construction Code Advisory Board. If people want to live in small units or if small units can get people off the street, that should be completely legal.

- **What would you do as a city council member to address evictions and the displacement they cause, particularly in communities of color?**

A: The main reason people face eviction is falling behind a month or less on rent. This disproportionately impacts communities of color. Going from three to 14 days before eviction will help keep people housed and allow agencies to work out back-rent payment plans. More protections are needed, including court and attorney fees for eviction protection and more outreach so renters can access needed services.

- **Do you support the proposed creation of a city-county authority to address homelessness in Seattle/King County? If so, what steps would you take to support it on city council?**

A: There is a city-county working group on homelessness that I plan to join as soon as I’m elected to council. And while homelessness is currently addressed regionally and will continue to be, I’m not 100% convinced we need another layer of authority to organize public response. Maybe.

In the immediate term, people living outside need our compassion and our help. Unsheltered people in Seattle need at least the standard of care the World Health Organization has developed for refugees. People should not need to live in our parks to have access to water, garbage cans, and toilets. We can quickly build sanctioned encampments and care for each other with sanitation, water, and other life-support services as we build more places for people to live.

- **What causes people to experience homelessness in the City of Seattle?**

A: There is no single cause of homelessness but Seattle's rising income inequality certainly makes it much more likely that people from all walks of life will experience homelessness. It is becoming too common to miss a rent payment and end up on the streets, especially for our more vulnerable populations. There are multiple factors at play in every person who experiences homelessness and multiple pathways to becoming housed again. Here's a non-exhaustive list of why people become homeless in Seattle:

1. Domestic violence
2. Abusive relationships
3. Elders on fixed income who cannot afford rent or taxes or mortgage payments
4. Children aging out of foster care
5. People with mental instability
6. People with substance use disorders
7. Immigrants without strong community network
8. People experiencing a medical disaster
9. People with disabilities that are not covered by our medical system
10. Sex workers or sex slaves escaping their workplaces
11. People priced out by rent increases or building demolitions
12. Climate refugees from the US or abroad

- **What, specifically, should the city do to address racial disparities in housing opportunity?**

A: Support affordable workforce housing. It is the foundation of a diverse, socially just, sustainable community. When we are able to spend less than 30% of our income to live in our community of choice, it positively impacts all aspects of our lives. Right now, working people – from nurses to teachers to baristas to firefighters – cannot afford to live in the city they work in and love. We need housing of all types for all of our neighbors.

Where we live impacts the community as a whole. It is how we form caring, progressive, engaged places. When people of a variety of backgrounds, income levels and professions live side-by-side, we become more compassionate about the variety of life experiences that shape our neighbors.

- **What approaches would you consider to ensure that multi-generational, affordable housing is located in high-opportunities neighborhoods?**

A:

- Prevent evictions. Keep people in their homes. With rapidly rising rents, too many people in Seattle are just a paycheck or a medical emergency away from being homeless.
- Every person without a home came from a different place. Many are youngsters who have aged out of foster care, are victims of domestic violence, or are elderly veterans. Housing and programs must meet different needs.

- Many people without homes struggle with mental illness or substance use disorders. Seattle and the region need more evidence-based treatment facilities.
 - Diversion programs assign a social worker to assist police. Diversion is an evidence-based program that works.
 - Our region needs to build more barrier free transitional housing and permanent supportive housing.
- **What role should Safe Seattle and like-minded groups play in our public discourse?**

A: I read the comment section of the Seattle Times. I listen because if I try to shut people up it is as dangerous as giving hate groups a voice.

Safe Seattle is a hate group. It is one of many other groups in Seattle. The question is how to distinguish what you and I may consider hate groups and make sure they do not have undue influence on the public discourse. As a member of City Council, I'll be an elected official that represents all of the constituents within not only within my district, but representing the whole city. That means that, when elected, I will listen to all of my constituents, including those I personally disagree with -- including ones I consider hate groups. As I've knocked on thousands of doors, I've come across many people whom I seriously disagree with or whom have completely different world views. But I listen to them. Only by listening and sometimes finding connection will we make progress on the complex issues that plague Seattle.

- **To what extent has pursuing racial equity been a priority in your work to date? How do you plan to continue that work on city council?**

A: The organization I led for seven years, Seattle Neighborhood Greenways, was responsible for putting an equity lens on to any project over \$5 million in the Move Seattle Levy. I'd uphold that lens, and extend it to all other projects. I know that now the City, Metro, Sound Transit, and other agencies try to spend equivalent amounts on all regions. I'd challenge those agencies to spend not just the same, but more in historically underserved areas, and to have a goal to provide excellent infrastructure for people who depend on walking for their everyday mobility.

I know most about land use and transportation because I have worked in those areas for the past 30 years and have a PhD in Urban Design and Planning. I always bring an equity lens and I always listen to a variety of voices.

In transportation, for example, I have worked extensively on Safe Routes to School. I know that using a bus or car is expensive, parents have multiple jobs and responsibilities, and so children in low income communities of color frequently walk to school on their own. Getting to school safely is a barrier to learning. Children arrive stressed and unable to learn effectively. That's why my non-profit organization advocated successfully to focus Safe Routes to School programs in low income areas that had been underserved. Safe Routes to School money had previously been spent on the loudest voices, and high income schools received the bulk of City investments before I started our focused advocacy. In addition to adding an equity filter to Safe Routes to School, I made sure the Move Seattle Levy put an emphasis on both equity and Safe Routes to School.

With Safe Routes to School, I've been active at local and national level with organizations that make sure all children have a way to get to school without stress, ready to learn. Because at least 10% of our children are housing insecure and rely on schools for nutrition, I've also focused on healthy food systems at schools. Providing safe routes and nutrition to children throughout the year is definitely an area I'll continue to work in.

I've also worked on access to parks and open space as a human right. Access to parks, to places with clean air, and outdoor play spaces remains inequitable. I've worked with Seattle Parks, Seattle Parks Foundation, and clean air advocates to increase park access and will continue to do so.

An area I will continue to work on at the intersection of racial equity is Restorative Justice. I've participated in programs to develop guidelines for people most affected by crime and how they can participate in its resolution, particularly with people who break traffic laws. I want to continue to work on community guidelines that are fair and equitable to both victims of crime and people who break community rules.

I've stayed involved in the apex of the built environment and public health. There are many intersectional health issues in transportation -- air quality, lack active transportation leading to childhood obesity, community health, traffic collisions, disability access. I will continue to research, write, and develop policy in those domains.

- **What approaches do you feel are most-important to ensuring that programs, policies, and practices are prioritized in historically underserved and underrepresented communities, who may not have the loudest voice in a public forum?**

A: First, we must recognize that there have been, and still are, systemic and continued institutionalized failures of justice in Seattle. The most important and effective approach to reversing injustice is to hire staff that are from, or immersed in, historically underserved and underrepresented communities, since they will know these communities best. Furthermore, it is imperative that we convene meetings with people who have the authority to represent diverse viewpoints, amplifying voices from underrepresented communities. Finally, by setting goals for equity and justice and by measuring outcomes, we can ensure that intersectional identity is considered in decision-making.

My entire career has been focused on equity and the built environment. My PhD dissertation was on "How high and low income people in Seattle perceive, use, and value urban open space."

I worked on food security issues while I was on the board of Seattle Tilth. As part of an Healthy Eating Active Living coalition, I wrote grants for community kitchens with Solid Ground, and developed a master plan for Marra Farm that incorporated school lunches for Concord Elementary and a pop-up farmstand for South Park.

In the years I worked for Seattle Parks I developed collaborative teams to provide not just translation and culturally appropriate outreach for the 40 parks and community center development projects I led, but I also worked with low income communities on getting equitable allocations of park and community space.

When I started the non-profit traffic safety advocacy group, Seattle Neighborhood Greenways in 2011, I focused our resources on underserved communities. I've worked most visibly with immigrant people on traffic safety in two domains, Safe Routes to School and Memorial Walks.

Memorial Walks was a program I started with Seattle Neighborhood Greenways to highlight how long income communities of color are disproportionately impacted by traffic violence. I started a Memorial Walks program to focus media and government attention on poor traffic safety provided for people who walk and bike. I've worked closely with grieving families and their extended communities in Seattle who have experienced traffic death or severe injury in the Filipino, Hmong, Nepali, Somali, African American, Oromo, Hispanic, Tglingit, Chinese, and Eritrean communities. And in the past 10 years, the coalition of 20 local groups that make up Seattle Neighborhood Greenways has successfully advocated for close to \$100 million in traffic safety improvements including sidewalks, crosswalks, signals, and other safe street engineering, much of it in low income communities.

In all of this work, my go to mantra has been to hire staff that represent the communities I want to work with. I cannot speak for people I do not represent.

- **What are ideas for progressive revenue sources for transportation and housing that do not burden low-income communities?**

A:

1. Congestion pricing soon! We can definitely do this with minimal equity impacts.
2. Put a value on curb space -- price parking AND driveways -- all in the public right-of-way.
3. Figure out how to raise money on real estate speculation.
4. B&O tax that has a small business proviso so that higher net value companies end up contributing more.
5. Support a capital gains tax and progressive income tax at the state level