

Robert Massie

Statewide

**Governor of
Massachusetts**



Endorsement Questionnaire

Office Sought: Governor of Massachusetts

Legislative District: Statewide

Party: Democrat

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Primary: September 4, 2018

Election: November 6, 2018

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Introduction: Progressive Mass

About

Progressive Massachusetts is a statewide, grassroots organization committed to working toward shared prosperity, racial and social justice, good government and strong democracy, and sustainable infrastructure and environmental protection. It was founded 5 years ago by local organizers from the Patrick and Obama campaigns in order to continue to move forward progressive values and issues in Massachusetts.

Advancing a progressive agenda in Massachusetts requires electing legislators who share--and will fight for--our values, and then holding them accountable.

Membership

One of the benefits of being a dues-paying member of Progressive Massachusetts is that you get to participate in our endorsement votes for key elections, helping to shape the future direction of progressive policymaking in the state. **Not yet a member? Join!** [ProgressiveMass.com/member](https://www.progressivemass.com/member)

How Endorsements Work

Progressive Massachusetts sends candidates this detailed policy questionnaire, revised periodically by the Elections & Endorsements Committee (EEC). The EEC may choose to make a recommendation in a given race, but the ultimate decision lies with you--the members. In each race, you can choose to vote for a **candidate**, vote “**no endorsement**,” or **abstain**. Candidates who receive at least 60% of all ballots submitted in their respective race will be endorsed by Progressive Massachusetts. If no candidate in a race reaches the 60% threshold, we will not endorse. Regardless of whether or not we endorse, all questionnaires will be made available on our website as a public service.

Sources

Each section features a chart or graph that illustrates one facet of the issue under discussion and is not intended to be comprehensive. All images and data are from Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center ([massbudget.org](https://www.massbudget.org)).

I. About the Candidate

Robert Massie

1. Why are you running for office? And what will your top 3 priorities be if elected?

Robert Massie: I am a lifelong progressive committed to action on economic, racial, and gender justice for more than 35 years. I believe that our economy is upside down, drawing wealth and prosperity out of communities and transferring it to Wall Street where it gets gambled away. I have fought successfully for structural change at the national and international level and I intend as governor 1) to fight for “liberty and justice for all,” meaning that every resident of Massachusetts has access to a good home, good school, good doctor, and good job. 2) to lay the groundwork for future prosperity by building a world class transportation system, transitioning rapidly to renewable energy, and focusing on job and ownership opportunities for low-income and working people and 3) creating opportunity for marginalized communities, especially low-income and communities of color.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

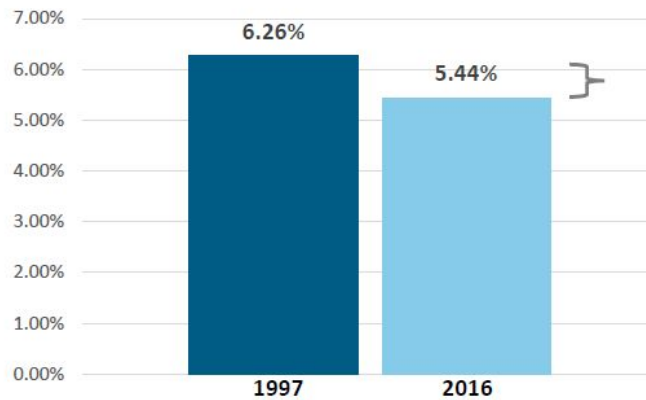
Robert Massie: I have a unique history in which I have demonstrated that one can simultaneously press for bold goals while bringing together people who differ to make decisive change. I started as an urban minister, shifted to teaching, wrote the definitive book on the South African divestment movement, received a doctorate from Harvard Business School in order to be an effective advocate for economic change, and have started or led some of the most influential organizations that have fought for justice and sustainability and against climate change and corporate power. I believe in inclusive governing and building grassroots movements. I have led by asking people to imagine bold change and then inspiring them to unite in service to our common future. Because of my experiences as a person with disabilities and with HIV, I also believe that I have the passion, fire, and determination to serve the people of Massachusetts effectively.

A. REVENUE AND TAXATION

Despite the label of “Taxachusetts,” Massachusetts ranks 22nd among states in terms of state and local taxes as a share of total personal income and below the national average. Between 1977 and 2012, Massachusetts reduced state taxes by more than all but one other state. Because of income tax cuts enacted between 1998 and 2002, Massachusetts is losing over \$3 billion in tax revenue each year. Such cuts to the state income tax have meant increasing reliance on fees, as well as sales, gas, and property taxes, exacerbating the overall regressivity of the system. Regressive taxation strains low- and middle-income families, and reduced revenue collection curtails our ability to invest in vital infrastructure. It also restricts legislators’ ability to pass new and visionary legislation, as there is a continual shortage of funds for existing priorities.

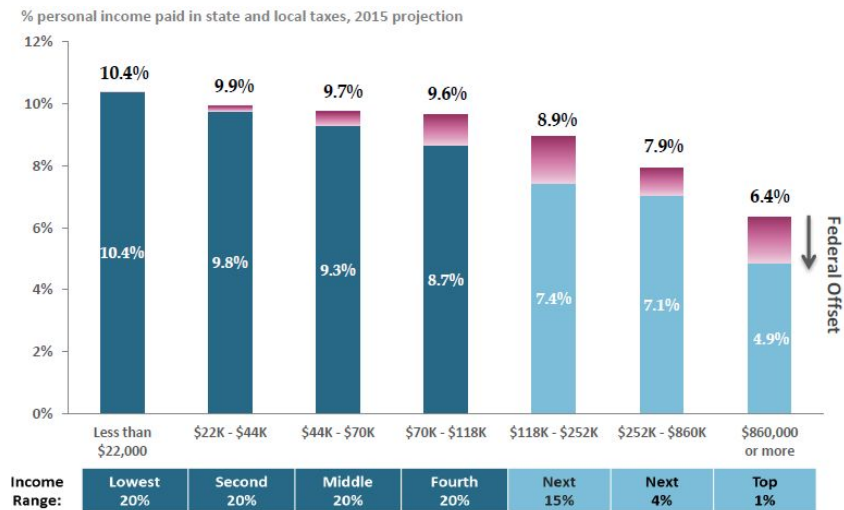
Declining revenues have meant drastic cuts, limiting our ability to invest in our communities and future economic stability.

Massachusetts tax revenue as a share of the state economy



This 13.1% decline in tax revenue has led to deep budget cuts and ongoing budget challenges.

Massachusetts state and local taxes are regressive.



* Percentages shown inside bar are net effective tax levels after factoring in federal offset. Percentages above bars show tax levels before federal offset.

Source: Institute for Taxation and Economic Policy.

1. *What principles do you bring to considerations of state revenue and tax reform (individual and corporate)? How should we raise more revenue to adequately fund our communities for the future?*

Robert Massie: For decades, the people of our Commonwealth shared a commitment to basic levels of investment in education, public safety, infrastructure and economic opportunity. But, today, that commitment is under assault: at state and local levels, we face a structural revenue crisis that is slowly stifling our ability to maintain, let alone enhance, core public services.

Our state government no longer honors the original bargain it made with municipalities under Proposition 2½; it no longer honors its commitment to public education; it struggles to honor its trailblazing commitment to achieving healthcare for all. And we are falling deeply behind in necessary investment in critical infrastructure, especially transportation and water systems.

No more kicking the can down the road: Massachusetts must adopt a more progressive, equitable and efficient system of state and local taxation that provides higher net revenues paid by those who reap the greatest benefits from living and working here.

2. *Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on revenue and taxation (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).*

Robert Massie: When I ran for lieutenant governor back in 1994, I spoke repeatedly about the importance amending the Constitution to allow for a graduated income tax, an effort which at the time was being led by Jim Braude. As noted elsewhere, I have been an advocate for progressive taxation (and against regressive taxes and fees) since my early days as an activist minister. Two years ago, I wrote a short book at the request of Yale Divinity School called “A Handbook on Faith and Money” which specifically addresses the need for economic justice at the community and system level. And I have talked about this \$3 billion a year reduction – and its consequences – across the state in this race. There is a just, pragmatic way forward, but it does not allow for Baker’s wasting billions of taxpayer dollars with a string of private contractors that fail to deliver needed public services

3. *Progressive Taxation. Currently, Progressive Massachusetts is working on a constitutional amendment to increase the income tax on income over \$1 million by 4% (Fair Share Amendment, sometimes referred to as the “Millionaire’s Tax”), which will be on the 2018 ballot. Do you support this ballot question?*

Robert Massie: **Yes.** Yes, to Fair Share! Every year our leaders pretend they can meet the state’s fiscal needs without additional revenue is a year in which we fail to make necessary investments in our infrastructure, our health, our educational systems and our quality of life. That’s doubly true when the Federal government is in headlong retreat from making any contribution to these basic investments. It’s triply true in Massachusetts, where municipalities have less control over their revenues than in most other states – and depend on the state aid that, under Proposition 2½, reduces local dependence on regressive property taxes.

There’s clear evidence that modest surtaxes on the income of the very wealthy do not result in their departure. What *would* drive them away is a continued decline in our quality of life, in our education system, in our transportation systems, in the access to – and preservation of – our natural environment.

4. *Sales Tax Holiday. It has been demonstrated over and over that the annual sales tax holiday does not*

serve its intended purpose of increasing sales, but rather just shifts sales to the weekend of the holiday. Would you oppose efforts to extend the sales tax holiday?

Robert Masie: Yes. Republicans like to say that government shouldn't pick winners and losers. Yet a sales tax holiday does exactly that – and to no useful purpose. In essence, a sales tax holiday serves as a government-subsidized sales campaign for a select group of businesses but offers no benefit at all to many others, including most service industries and grocery stores.

It's a popular gimmick, to be sure, but it's still a gimmick. The evidence shows that it has little effect on total annual sales, merely on their timing: state revenues are reduced to no real benefit.

As a state – and as a nation – we need to stop governing by gimmicks, stunts and posturing. Taxpayers will respond to the facts when they are fairly and honestly presented.

5. **Corporate Tax Breaks & Disclosure.** *Do you support the state's collecting and publicly disclosing the information about the benefits actually provided by corporations receiving tax credits?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Businesses obtaining state and local tax breaks usually promise that they will invest specific amounts in new facilities and commit to creating a specific, minimum number of new jobs within a fixed number of years. Yet for most businesses that receive these valuable benefits, there is little accountability. Most municipalities lack the oversight capacity to track whether companies actually live up to their commitments. At the state level, the Department of Revenue regularly refuses to share relevant data with agencies (such as the Office of the State Auditor) that have the expertise to determine whether companies are meeting the conditions of their tax break deals.

No tax break should be granted without a reliable mechanism for accountability – and companies that fail to live up to their commitments should not only lose their tax breaks but, where feasible and appropriate, make restitution.

6. **Corporate Tax Breaks & Wages.** *Do you support requiring any company receiving tax credits from the state to pay a living wage and provide good benefits to all its employees?*

Robert Massie: Yes. If, as I do, you support the RaiseUp Massachusetts campaign for a \$15 minimum wage, and for mandatory paid family and medical leave, then you must also take the next and necessary step of requiring businesses seeking tax incentive financing or other tax-break considerations to meet these same standards. Special tax breaks should be seen not only as tools to incentivize not only economic development but also sustainable business practices that foster self-sufficient and empowered workers. What is the point of offering tax incentives to attract or create new jobs that don't pay a living wage – or make workers dependent on state resources such as food aid or health subsidies?

7. **Federal Tax Overhaul.** *The Dec. 2017 Republican tax overhaul disproportionately and negatively affects the ways that states like Massachusetts raise revenue. What proposals do you support to blunt this impact and its exacerbation of the regressivity of our existing tax code?*

Robert Massie: Passage of the Fair Share Amendment is the most immediate and effective response to the Republicans' mean-spirited tax "overhaul." In states like ours that will experience damage from the capping of state and local tax (SALT) deductibility, some policymakers have proposed workarounds such as replacing income taxes with payroll taxes or allowing charitable contributions in lieu of tax

payments – but these devices may well exacerbate the regressive nature of the GOP’s changes. I share the view of the experts at the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP) that “the most logical response by state governments is to shore up education and other public investments by increasing state taxes on high-income households and corporations that received massive tax breaks.”

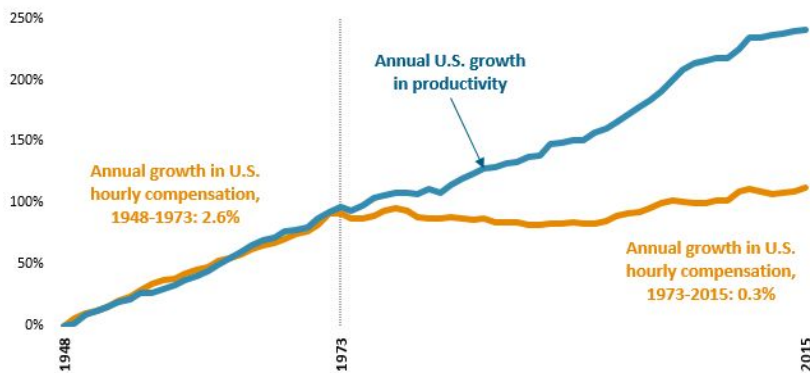
B. JOB GROWTH AND THE ECONOMY

The Massachusetts economy has continued to grow and recover from the Great Recession, but the gains have not been shared equally. According to various measures of income inequality, Massachusetts now ranks as one of the top ten most [unequal states](#). We are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which strain wages. Most MA workers do not have access to paid medical leave, and only a small fraction have access to paid family leave--gaps that force people to choose between their (or their family's) health and their job.

Productivity has grown significantly since the 1970s, but it is not being reflected in higher wages.

A Large Gap Has Opened Between Wage and Productivity Growth Since 1973

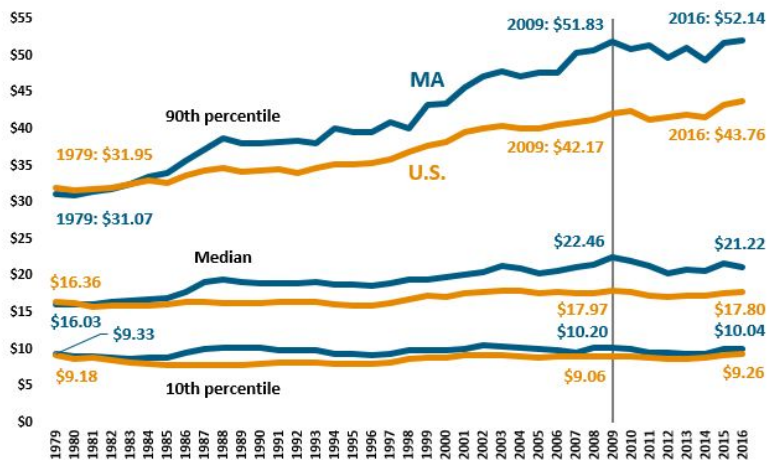
Cumulative Change in U.S. Hourly Wages for Private-Sector Production/Non-Supervisory Workers and Net Productivity, 1948-2015



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of unpublished Total Economy Productivity data from Bureau of Labor Statistics' Labor Productivity and Costs program, wage data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Current Employment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics' Employment Cost Trends data, and the Bureau of Economic Analysis' National Income and Product Accounts
 Note: Wages are the inflation-adjusted average hourly compensation of private-sector production/nonsupervisory workers.

Wages For Most MA Workers Have Stagnated Since Great Recession

Real Value of Hourly Wage for Selected Wage-Earning Groups in MA and U.S., 1979-2016 (2016\$)



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data (deflated using CPI-U-RS).

1. **Share your personal values and principles on job growth and the economy.**

How can we improve the economy and economic security for all people? How do we grow the number of good-paying jobs in the Commonwealth? Which sectors do you see as having the greatest potential? How do you view wealth and income inequality, and what would you do about it, if anything?

Robert Massie: The injustice of workers creating wealth that others capture is the heart of my stump speech. We have an upside economy that takes money from working people and local communities and transfers it to Wall Street under absurd methods of “financialization.” We can reverse this by moving to business and investment models that support local prosperity and a more democratic economy. We must raise the minimum wage to \$15/hour as a first step in addressing wage inequality. Next, we seize the historic opportunity to rapidly expand our renewable energy infrastructure and our state transit system – creating tens of thousands of good-paying jobs. We must reform outdated laws that make it harder for small businesses to take root and embrace worker-friendly models of community and cooperative ownership, as alternatives to the limited liability corporation. This is how we begin attacking wealth and income inequality – restoring localized prosperity and keeping it here!

2. **Optional/As Applicable:** *Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on job growth and the economy (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).*

Robert Massie: This has been my focus for decades. I fought for worker rights in the JP Stevens battle in the 1970s and was, at Ralph Nader’s request, editor of the Big Business Reader published in 1980 (before Bernie was mayor of Burlington!) I mobilized labor, religious, and other pension funds to fight for worker rights. I worked closely with international labor, environmental groups, and branches of the United Nations to fight the “race to the bottom” in which trade deals often allow companies to move from countries with high protections to those with few or none. I was a founding member and head of New Economy Coalition from 2012-2014, working to strengthen small businesses and redefine local economies, and trimming dependence on Wall Street and big business. Finally, I founded the Global Reporting Initiative, which set new standards for how businesses and governments understand their effect on economies and the climate.

3. **Increasing Wages.**

a. **Minimum wage.** *Do you support raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I have been a long-time supporter of the RaiseUp Massachusetts campaign for a \$15 minimum wage. I’ve gathered signatures for the campaign and I was the only candidate for governor who testified for these measures at last summer’s state house hearings.

b. **Tipped Minimum Wage.** *And making the tipped minimum wage equal to that of the regular minimum wage?*

Robert Massie: Yes. The wages of tipped employees must be adjusted to reflect any changes to the state’s minimum wage.

c. **Indexing the Minimum Wage.** *And indexing the minimum wage to inflation?*

Robert Massie: Yes. The \$15 minimum wage is a long-overdue first step to undoing 50 years of diminishing wage value. We must index the minimum wage to prevent this from happening again.

4. ***Paid Leave.** Do you support requiring access to up to 16 weeks of paid family leave and 26 weeks of paid medical leave?*

Robert Massie: Yes. The relationship between happy, healthy workers and productivity has been exhaustively documented. Paid family and medical leave are essential safety nets that we must provide for all working Commonwealth residents.

5. ***Wage Theft.** Do you support legislation to hold businesses responsible for the wage violations of their subcontractors when the work they do is substantially connected to the company's operations?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Wage theft is a crime. The last thing that employees and contractors should have to worry about is taking home less than what they've worked for. It is imperative that all businesses hold all subcontractors liable for respecting this basic doctrine. When they don't, the Commonwealth must have the authority intervene.

6. ***Youth Jobs.** Do you support greater reinvestment in youth employment and vocational training programs?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Going back to my work with the homeless in New York City, I have seen firsthand what happens when young people are deprived of opportunity and support during times of austerity. Not only does Massachusetts need expanded youth jobs program, but we also need educational reform that will include after school and time out of school daytime and summer youth programs to prevent disadvantaged young people from falling behind over the summer. Our current governor has slashed funding for these programs, which means that we are abandoning young people at the very moment that they need the most help.

7. ***Privatizing Public Services.** In 2015, the MA Legislature, urged by Governor Baker, voted to waive the so-called Pacheco Law for the MBTA. The Pacheco Law contains strong safeguards to ensure that state services are not privatized when doing so would harm workers and state revenue. Do you support reinstating the Pacheco Law?*

Robert Massie: Yes. And strengthening it. I am a strong supporter of labor; in fact, I am the only candidate for governor who is the member of a union (Writer's Union, affiliated with the UAW as local 1981). My wife is the secretary of her National Education Association union at the Rhode Island School of Design. We need to ensure that public services remain accountable to Massachusetts taxpayers. De facto privatization weakens this bond and it also propagates the myth of government inefficiency: it offers the illusion of a magic fix for troubled programs and services that quite often require more investment from the state. My transportation plan calls taking back core operations and maintenance functions from private contractors.

8. ***Economic Democracy.** Would you support legislation to foster and develop employee ownership of businesses in Massachusetts and encourage the formation of cooperatives and/or benefit corporations?*

Robert Massie: Yes. The worker and community owned cooperative is a proven means of localizing and democratizing prosperity. At the New Economy Coalition, I worked with many organizations promoting cooperatives, and organized two national conferences (2012, 2013) that included a focus on these alternatives. In Massachusetts, some of these alternative ownership models also have a longer

history than the limited liability corporation.

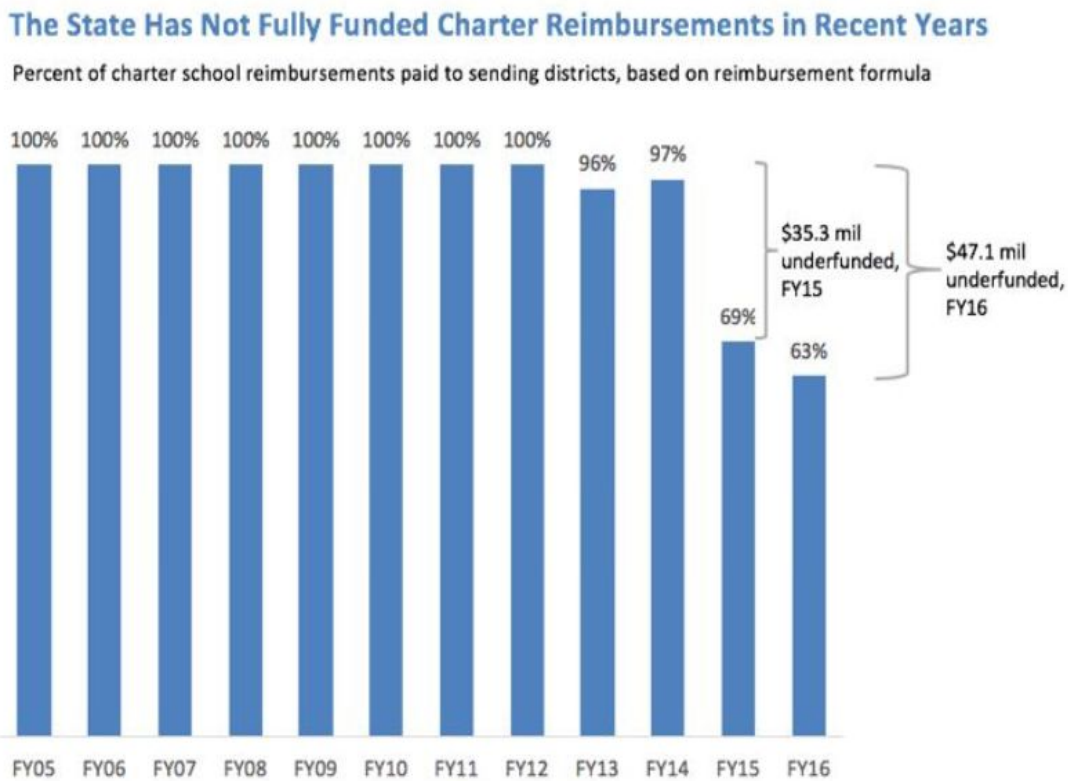
9. ***Cannabis Industry.*** *What is your vision for how the new state cannabis law should be implemented, and what steps would you take to ensure equitable access to opportunities for communities of color in the new industry?*

Robert Massie: I supported the legalization of marijuana. The people of Massachusetts have now spoken on cannabis legalization and it's time for the Cannabis Control Commission to move forward and carry out the will of the voters. The Commission should facilitate the establishment of small, locally owned enterprises – rather than huge cigarette and food companies -- as it oversees licensing of cannabis businesses. The state should also take all possible steps, including exploring setting up a special purpose state bank to ensure that the businesses can be safely and responsibly run and that appropriate taxes are properly collected. We also must take steps to prevent exclusion of communities too often shut out of the licensing process. I would support the creation of an equity permits program for communities most severely impacted by America's failed, destructive, and racist War on Drugs.

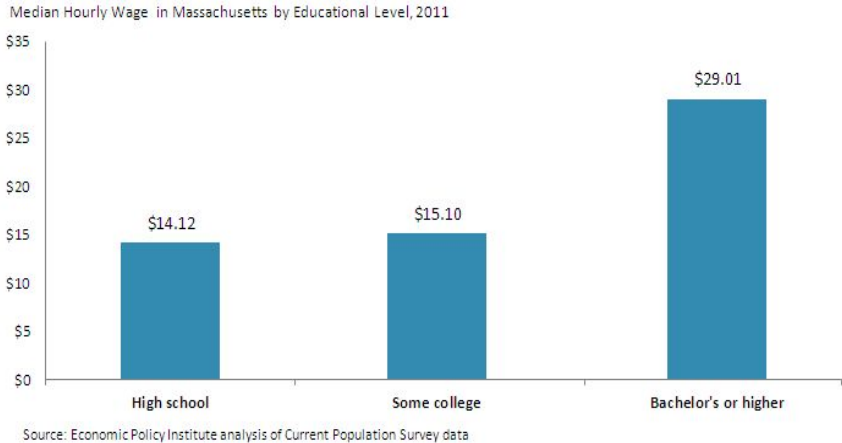
C. EDUCATION

The promise of public education has always been as a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. The mission of public schools is to serve all students, including English Language Learners and those with special needs. However, powerful corporate interests are working to undermine public schools, teachers, and unions. These groups are investing millions of dollars to promote the expansion of privately run charter schools, which siphon money from our public K-12 districts while largely excluding students with the greatest needs. Various forms of privatization are being proposed and implemented, including charter schools and “turnaround” schemes that put private management groups in charge of struggling public schools. Costly, mandated standardized test results are used to justify these privatization schemes. Finally, the soaring price of higher education over the last several decades has made access to this opportunity increasingly out of reach, at the very moment when higher education makes a greater difference to one’s economic future.

The state hasn’t been living up to its responsibility to fully fund our public schools.

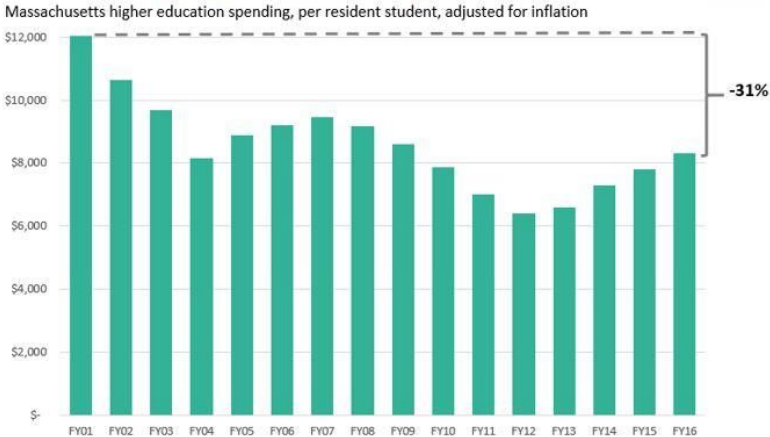


Higher educational attainment leads to higher wages.



Massachusetts has been disinvesting from higher education and shifting the cost burden onto students.

Per Student, Higher Ed. Cut by 31 Percent Since FY 2001



1. *Please share your personal values and principles regarding public education. What value does public education have in improving our economy as well as in addressing matters of economic justice? How can we close persistent achievement gaps? What measures should the Commonwealth take on these issues?*

Robert Massie: I went to public school for much of my childhood, as did my children who attended Somerville public schools until high school. Massachusetts should be proud that we invented the concept of public education, to advance the economic opportunities of our people and to create well-educated citizens to participate in our democracy. We are now failing at both tasks, which means that we need to reaffirm our commitment to reforming pretty much everything. We need solutions for caring for and teaching children in the critical 0-3 and pre-K age groups. We need to reform high-stakes testing and focus on helping our children prepare for the economic, political, and moral challenges of the future. We need to increase our commitment to technical vocation and to our system of public education. The legislature's inability – and the governor's failure – to address these questions is a betrayal of both our past and our future.

2. *Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on public education?*

Robert Massie: My wife and I were active participants in the Somerville public school system when our children were there; I am concerned that charter schools undermine public schools; I have been the head of a program (and taught) at UMass Boston designed to improve social and physical resilience for communities of color; I have been a professor (at the university level) and member of an admissions committee that pushed for scholarships for people coming out of public school training and into graduate school.

3. *Achievement Gaps. What would you do to address persistent racial and economic achievement gaps in education?*

Robert Massie: Closing the racial and economic achievement gap requires a holistic view of how the symptoms of poverty interfere with educational achievement. This view must incorporate and address housing insecurity. We must have the political courage and will to invest in care for our kids at the earliest ages. This will not only help students, but also save the state significant money. These interventions should include fully integrated, public universal Pre-K, and full-day kindergarten. We must equitably fund education by increasing local aid to districts with lower tax bases. Education is changing rapidly, and our state needs to be more adaptable and responsive to the needs of kids and families. We need to create pilot programs in the neediest districts to assist and empower teachers to try new techniques. The classroom should be a place for interactive learning, experimentation and discussion with individualized learning programs that help kids advance most effectively.

4. *Universal Pre-K. Would you support or oppose creating universal, free Pre-K, accessible to any resident of Massachusetts, integrated into the public school system?*

Robert Massie: Yes. We need to change our system from being reactive to being proactive, for the good of our children and their parents. All the research shows that early intervention reduces the likelihood of academic, social, and emotional troubles later in life. We should be investing in our children at all stages of growth, including their early years. Providing fully integrated and public universal Pre-K and full day kindergarten (which Massachusetts still does not have) is a lynchpin upon

which a number of other issues turn, including racial, economic, and gender inequality. Our early childhood education system is currently set up to disadvantage people already under strain, like single parents, families with two wage earning parents, and their children. That needs to change.

5. **Standardized Testing.** *Do you oppose the use of high-stakes testing for such things as student promotion, high school graduation, teacher evaluation, and the evaluation of schools and districts?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Testing is one tool to evaluate and target efforts to close achievement gaps across sub-groups of Massachusetts students. The MCAS is supposed be the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System – but it comes nowhere near evaluating the full skills and talents of our students. We should add individualized portfolio review and capstone projects to the metrics. Properly constructed and timed, the tests could be made more useful in measuring student progress to evaluate school performance. A simple test at the start of the school year could give teaches information about individual students so that they could tailor learning strategies. New tools make individualized plans more feasible and could free teachers to give students better support. We must reassess whether “high stakes” testing warrants the resources we are spending on it and its effects on instructional time and student experience at the expense of alternative learning activities.

6. **Equitable Funding.** *Do you support changing the Chapter 70 Education formula, including the Foundation Budget, to incorporate proper state funding for ELL students, Special Education students, transportation costs, charter school reimbursements to sending schools, and class size reduction?*

Robert Massie: Yes. We must re-evaluate Chapter 70 formula to ensure it is achieving equitable distribution of state funding. Over the past 15 years, equitable funding has been affected by a series of changes, both legislative and, in light of the 2008 recession, financial. The formula for the Foundation Budget in particular warrants evaluation, especially for ways it may disadvantage vulnerable students. Currently, the wage formula restricts the ability of the neediest districts to employ the best teachers.

The funding schedule is also important. As Governor, I would work with the legislature to approve school funding well before the beginning of the school year in order to allow superintendents to adequately hire and compete with surrounding states for the best teachers. I would also work to review the schedule of charter school tuition payments to ensure school districts that receive returning students mid-year are reimbursed.

7. **Charter Schools.** *Last November, Massachusetts voters overwhelmingly rejected a ballot initiative to lift the cap on charter schools given the millions of dollars it would have siphoned away from public schools.*

- a. *Would you support keeping the cap on charter schools?*

Robert Massie: Yes. The number of charter schools in Massachusetts is capped for a reason. Charter schools were never intended to and should never replace public schools. They should focus on fulfilling their original mission, which is to research and experiment with different education practices and then pass on their results to the public schools.

- b. *Would you support legislation to bring greater accountability and transparency to charter schools, such as by requiring them to adhere to the same disclosure and disciplinary standards as*

public school districts?

Robert Massie: Yes. The current double standard is unacceptable. Charter schools receive public funding and must be held publicly accountable. This includes full public disclosure of their financial reports, policies, and contracts. They must also be held accountable for the composition of their boards, most of which are currently dominated by corporate, not parental, interests.

8. *Higher Education Access.* Would you support legislation to grant in-state tuition and financial aid to undocumented students?

Robert Massie: Yes. Granting undocumented students in-state tuition and financial aid is the right thing to do. Undocumented students who would otherwise be eligible for in-state tuition should receive it – just as Massachusetts students whose parents have work visas currently do. Doing otherwise is economically foolish and morally indefensible. Undocumented students’ parents are taxpayers, and regardless of immigration status, their children will be in our future workforce and deserve access to advancement.

Undocumented students often come from low income families, cannot legally work themselves, and are ineligible for Federal financial aid, making cost a major barrier to higher education. Research shows we are losing talent because of barriers like these. Eighteen states, including Kansas, offer in-state tuition to undocumented students and four states, including Texas, offer financial aid. We need to join with these other states signaling to motivated, talented undocumented students that we see them as equally worthy of our investment.

9. *Tuition-Free Higher Education.* Would you support making tuition (and mandatory curriculum fees) free at public colleges and universities?

Robert Massie: Yes. College is no longer a luxury in our economy, but more often a basic need to gain access to the job market. The current financial burden of a four-year college degree is unaffordable for many, which means that Massachusetts’ young people and workers are at risk of falling behind tens of millions of global competitors who receive their educations for free.

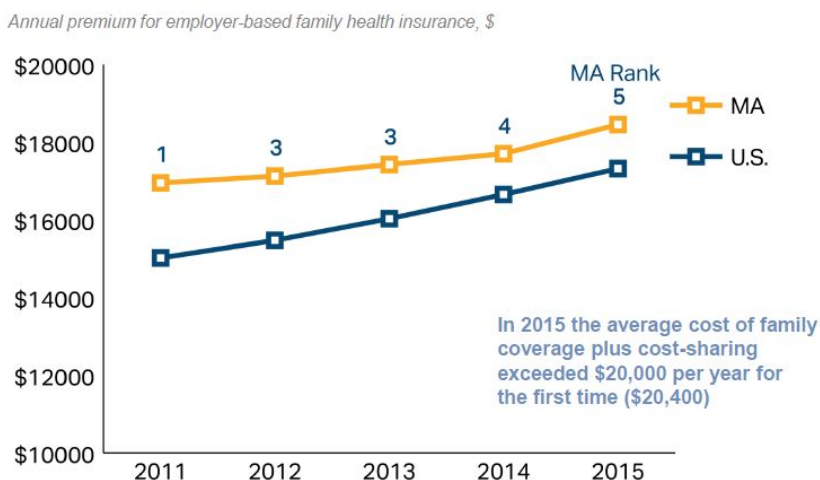
We must move toward tuition-free education at public colleges **and private universities**. As a first step in this direction, I support a program that will enable every student to graduate without debt. The program will be modeled after a similar program recently enacted in New York State by Governor Andrew Cuomo. As a second step, we need to move to free Community College.

We also need to explore the possibility of financial relief for those who are already drowning in debt from college costs.

D. HEALTH CARE

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health insurance coverage, with 97% of the state having health insurance. We provided the blueprint for the national Affordable Care Act, with an insurance-based reform passed by the Democratic Legislature and signed by Republican Governor Romney. While the reforms of President Obama's Affordable Care Act are under assault by Republicans (who control the Executive and both legislative chambers), Massachusetts could lead in more progressive health care reforms. Even without the Republican dismantling of national reforms, there is still work to do right here in Massachusetts. MA's Democratic Legislature passed, and the Republican governor signed, the ACCESS bill in 2017--protecting the right to no-fee contraception, which is (federally) under threat: Where our federal advances are being rolled back, Massachusetts could--and should--push progressively forward. Significant disparities in health insurance coverage and health care access continue to exist along income, racial, and education lines. Premiums continue to rise, and medical debt remains a persistent problem. We still spend an oversized portion of public and private money on health care, but without necessarily achieving better health outcomes.

MA has among the highest health insurance premiums in the country.



Source: Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, Medical Expenditure Panel Survey, Insurance Component

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding health care insurance, delivery, and outcomes.

Robert Massie: I believe that the right to health care in America has already been well established and articulated in our most important documents and second, that it is precisely to maintain our individual and communal freedoms that health care must universally be provided. Clearly, our current system does not deliver good health for all. Churchill said, "Americans always do the right thing, but only after they have tried everything else". And we have tried everything else. For more than sixty years. Recently, Marcia Angell, (1st woman editor-in-chief of the *New England Journal of Medicine*), argued that we need a comprehensive program of universal health care. Whether we choose the title of Single Payer,

Medicare for All, or universal health care doesn't matter. The mechanics are complex, but the core value is not.

2. *Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on health care (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).*

Robert Massie: My first major policy speech in this campaign was titled “Moral Imagination and Political Success in Health Care,” which argued that you cannot pursue “life, liberty and happiness” without access to health care and that our constitution implicitly states that access to health care should be a right, not a privilege.

I fully support a Medicare for all or Single Payer initiative. If no federal initiative is forthcoming, I will work to find a path to Single Payer within the Commonwealth or the Northeast. I should also note that I was a supporter of Don Berwick (former head of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services under President Obama) when he ran for governor of Massachusetts and have been in regular conversation with him since then about the fastest and most effective ways to transition to single payer within our state.

3. *Single Payer. Would you support legislation to enact a single payer health care system in Massachusetts?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Born with a severe genetic illness -- an expensive “pre-condition” that caused me to lose my ability to walk at the age of four -- I grew up in a family where we were constantly in fear of being rejected for health insurance. In 1968 we moved to France for four years where I was fully covered under their national health insurance system and thus obtained medications that helped me return to walking. Commitment to a health care as a right – and to the Single Payer system that would make it possible – is bred into my bones.

4. *Reproductive Rights. Would you support legislation to guarantee women access to abortion care without dangerous delay, isolation, and obstruction?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Women MUST maintain the right to make their own choices. I find it abhorrent that many Republicans – who say they are committed to liberty – are willing to use coercive methods, including the police, the courts, and the prison system to impose their wills on other free citizens.

5. *Dental Care. Do you support the authorization of dental therapists in Massachusetts, similar to a nurse practitioner or physician assistant, in order to expand access to dental care?*

Robert Massie: Yes

6. *Prescription Drug Pricing. Would you support a drug transparency law, like the one recently passed in California, that requires pharmaceutical companies to publicly justify steep price increases?*

Robert Massie: Yes

7. *Mental Health. What will you do to build a comprehensive mental health care system that includes sufficient funding for the Department of Mental Health and an effective and expanded mental health training and response program for first responders and police?*

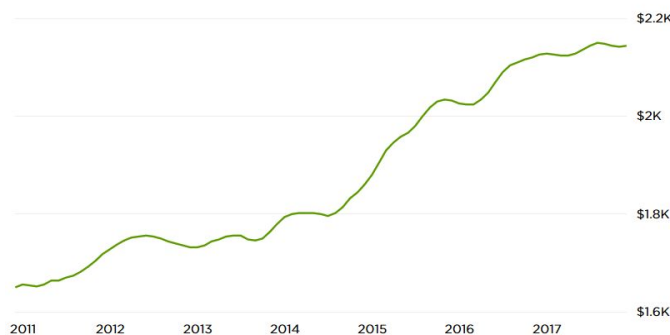
Robert Massie: Very little is right about mental health care in the Commonwealth. We went from inhumane hospitalizations to extremely limited care availability, with even greater limitations on insurance coverage, as compared to physical health coverage. Our current practices deny care or access to care or access to affordable care, often until the point that care itself is extremely expensive and least likely to be effective.

These shortcomings are reflected in our lack of preparedness to address the opioid crisis, and in shortages of mental health beds and in our homelessness problems. For example, when a drug addict goes through a treatment program, and gets 30 days last their last use, they can no longer receive support services through MassHealth, even if the individual simply wants counseling to help stay off drugs. I will look to best practices outside the United States to overhaul our mental health treatment programs and financing.

E. HOUSING

Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. Although Massachusetts ranked #1 last year in the [US News & World Report's state ranking](#), we were #45 in cost of living and #44 in housing affordability. A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [80 hours a week](#) to afford a modest one bedroom rental home at market rate (and almost 100 hours a week in Metro Boston). Over the last ten years, the need for affordable housing has increased, while funds for affordable housing have decreased at both federal and state levels. The Commonwealth is at risk of losing [14,231 subsidized units](#) by December 31, 2019, as subsidies expire and owners convert properties into market-rate condominiums. Half of families in Greater Boston alone pay over 30% of their income in housing and utilities costs—and over 25% of households pay more than half their income to housing. There is a waiting list of up to ten years for a rental voucher. This is unsustainable. It has led to expanding economic inequality, increased homelessness, and damage to our economy, as talented workers often leave the state for less expensive regions.

Median rents have gone up by more than 30% since 2011.



(source: [zillow.com](#))

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding affordable housing.

How would you ensure that there is suitable housing for all who need it, within reasonable distance of job opportunities? How would you address the need to link housing, jobs, and transportation? How would you tackle homelessness?

Robert Massie: To have a safe, comfortable home is a basic element of human happiness and fundamental for prosperity. In 1944, President Roosevelt declared that our right to liberty as Americans included the “the right of every family to a decent home.” Without safe, secure, and affordable housing, no one can thrive and participate fully in our society. It is a core government function, in partnership with private enterprise, to meet this basic human need.

Housing is a tool for addressing economic, racial and geographic inequality in Massachusetts. We must work to balance activities across all 351 cities and towns, aligning jobs with housing and housing with jobs, in part by building a modern transportation system that would allow people to live and work in different parts of the state. I'm committed to finding ways to provide shelter for those in need and to develop new ways for households to build equity.

2. **Optional/As Applicable:** Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on housing (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

Robert Massie: My work has focused on corporate accountability, sustainability and just economy issues in national and global contexts. I also have a strong partnership with my wife, Anne Tate, a professor of architecture and planning, who has been an advocate in housing, smart growth, transit-oriented development, zoning reform and community planning for 30 years. She has worked closely with advocates and the city of Somerville on comprehensive plans, and the challenge of increasing development, while fighting gentrification confronting the Boston region.

Meanwhile, our Gateway Cities have lots of housing stock and few jobs. I am committed to a transportation system that addresses this problem but also am aware of the threat of rising prices that come with better access. I do not endorse the idea of “protecting” communities by leaving them stranded and unimproved. I am committed to the strategies stated below as we work to keep housing available and affordable.

3. **Funding.** Do you support increasing funding for affordable housing production (especially low-income housing units) and the Massachusetts Rental Voucher Program?

Robert Massie: Yes

4. **Housing Preservation.** Currently, certain property owners who guarantee affordable rents have been incentivized by subsidized mortgages via the 13A program. However, many of the contracts under 13A are set to expire in 2019. Do you support giving cities and towns the authority to require such apartments to remain affordable?

Robert Massie: Yes. Inequality is not only about wages - it is about equity. 13A contracts are just one element of housing equity that government can use. The wealth gap in our commonwealth and in our country is even more extreme than the income gap. African American households in the Boston area average accumulated savings of \$8- and white households average \$249,000 - truly shocking disparity. Households hit by the mortgage meltdown were disproportionately minority and they have had a harder time climbing out of that hole.

Unfair housing policies and targeted exploitation have helped create wealth inequalities and new efforts are needed to address them.

This means preserving 13a contracts, promoting small scale owner-occupied multifamily houses like the triple deckers, which built the middle classes in Boston neighborhoods, housing trusts to hold down the costs of housing and increase equity in the communities.

5. **Foreclosure Prevention.** Do you support a requirement that banks mediate in good faith with homeowners to seek alternatives before beginning foreclosure proceedings?

Robert Massie: Yes. I have seen firsthand the brutal impact of foreclosure and displacement across the state, not only in our urban communities but across rural Massachusetts. It is critical to stop foreclosures and do everything we can to keep people in their homes. I would explore the possibility of a moratorium on foreclosures. In addition, I would like to explore possible work-out arrangements that might engage local banks and housing trusts to take over loans and work with owners to stay in their

homes.

6. **Zoning Reform.** *Would you support legislation to upgrade Massachusetts’s zoning laws to encourage more affordable housing and transit-oriented, walkable development and to promote inclusionary zoning practices?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I have closely followed and supported this strategy in conjunction with my wife, Anne Tate, who developed the TOD initiative at the state level in the Office of Commonwealth Development. I understand the importance of putting affordable housing near transit, along with the need to increase transit access, particularly to low-income neighborhoods. In addition, as the owner of a multifamily house in Somerville, which I could buy 20+ years ago because the rent contributed to the mortgage, I recognize the importance of allowing secondary units in residential neighborhoods. We also have many “overhoused” seniors who could benefit by creating an apartment in their home. These are among the simplest and most effective ways to add affordable housing in our communities. We have needed these reforms for a long time.

7. **Combating Speculation.** *Do you support imposing a graduated tax on private real estate transactions over \$2.5 million, with the money allocated to affordable housing trust funds?*

Robert Massie: This has been raised as a strategy to support more affordable housing in Somerville and I wholeheartedly support it. Somerville will seek a home rule petition to allow the city to try this. I would advocate for a review of recent home rule petitions to see what innovations are currently difficult for communities to enact and to see how statewide action could support community innovations that increase access to affordable housing.

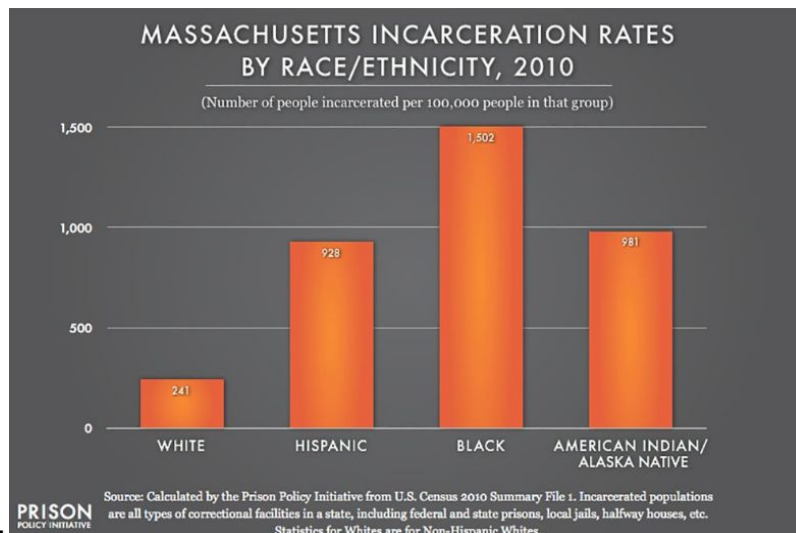
F. RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

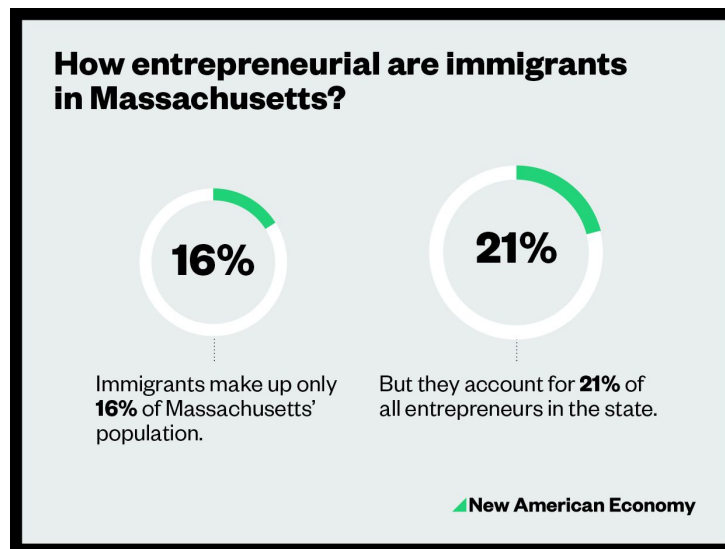
Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. The social and economic costs of mass incarceration and the policies that created it, in particular, have put our aspirations of “justice for all” into crisis. We support a judicial system that does not disproportionately target communities of color and the poor, that does not criminalize public health issues such as addiction, that reorients away from ineffective and costly ‘tough on crime’ policies. A comprehensive approach to reform must be taken in all aspects of the criminal justice system.

Spending on prisons has increased while other services have been cut.



Significant racial disparities exist in incarceration in Massachusetts





1. *Please share your personal values and principles regarding Racial and Social Justice.*

Robert Massie: There is no place for discrimination, which is cruel, unjust, and damaging to all individuals and to our republic.

I have a lifelong passion for “liberty and justice for all.” Though I walk today, I spent childhood in leg braces and a wheelchair and saw discrimination in favor of able-bodied people up close. Though white, I spent 20 years fighting and documenting the battle against racism in the United States and South Africa. Though male, I fought for over 40 years for women’s equality. Though straight, I contracted HIV through infusions, and, like the LGBTQ community, experienced prejudice and panic that swept the country in the 1980s. While I “present” as a straight, white male, my heart burns with a call for justice, reflected in every personal and professional action of my adult life. As governor, I will serve all of our citizens, including those often rejected in our society.

2. *Please indicate work you personally have done to combat racism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and other attempts to marginalize disadvantaged groups.*

Robert Massie: One early episode of my activism was organizing to end the exclusion of women and minorities from Princeton’s elitist clubs. I was a leader in the student movement against apartheid, campaigning for divestment from South Africa. In my work as an activist, I spent thirty years researching, writing, and advocating for a more sustainable and just economy. I mobilized some of the world’s largest pension funds to put effective pressure on multinational corporations to measure, disclose, and change their practices on human rights, labor rights, gender equality. For this work, I was named one the 100 most influential people in the field of finance in 2002 by CFO magazine – a strange designation for a relentless activist. As governor, I will work shoulder to shoulder with all marginalized communities to support their drive for dignity, recognition, and fairness, striving to fulfill America’s ideal of equality.

3. *Trans Accommodations. In 2016, Massachusetts passed legislation to prevent discrimination against transgender individuals in public accommodations. Conservatives are seeking to repeal the bill on the 2018 ballot. Will you advocate for the protection of this legislation?*

Robert Massie: Yes. And I want to add: OF COURSE. I have spoken about this before and I will continue to oppose attempts to overturn these vital protections for transgender people in the Commonwealth.

4. *LGBTQ Youth. Our neighboring states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont ban the use of harmful conversion therapy practices for minors. Do you support banning the use of conversion therapy in Massachusetts?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I support banning the use of conversion therapy, which I view as abusive. Nine other states have already banned this practice, and it is opposed by the American Psychiatric Association.

5. *Sentencing Reform. Which of the following steps to combat mass incarceration in the Commonwealth do you support?*

- a. *Eliminating mandatory minimum sentences related to drug offenses*

Robert Massie: Yes. I believe that we should eliminate mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses. Mandatory minimums increase mass incarceration without reducing crime, while preventing judges from doing their job and using their discretion.

- b. *Raising the felony threshold for theft from \$250 to \$1500*

Robert Massie: Yes. The previous threshold was put in place in 1987, and it's time we followed the majority of states and the rest of New England in setting a higher threshold.

- c. *Raising the age of criminal majority from 18 to 19*

Robert Massie: Maybe. I am open to learning more, but I am not yet not committed to this policy. I believe that the threshold should be set based on the best evidence from the scientific and legal communities.

- d. *Promoting community based alternatives for sentencing individuals who are primary caretaker of a child*

Robert Massie: Yes. According to a recent study, more than 800,000 parents are separated from their children in the US, with more than 5,600 of those in Massachusetts. Such separations fall primarily on communities of color since "black children are nine times more likely and Latino children are three times more likely than White children to have a parent in prison. Children with incarcerated parents face deep physical, mental, and behavioral health challenges which could be lowered if our criminal justice system created more options for primary care-givers to serve their sentences in a manner less punitive to their children.

- e. *Limiting the role of School Resource Officers, to curb the school-to-prison pipeline*

Robert Massie: Yes. I believe it is important for us to find better ways to keep our children safe in schools. Everyday disciplinary issues should be handled by school staff, counselors, and social workers rather than sworn officers.

- f. *Eliminating or reducing fees and fines that hinder reentry efforts and turn jails into debtors' prisons*

Robert Massie: Yes. The law should treat everyone equally, rich or poor. Imprisoning someone for not being able to afford a fee is bad for justice and bad for the taxpayer.

g. *Increasing investment in education and job training programs for the formerly incarcerated*
Robert Massie: Yes. We should do everything we can to 1) create economic opportunity so that young people do not fall into the despair and hopelessness that can lead to addiction and crime. 2) create mechanisms for the treatment of addiction and the rehabilitation and training of prisoners while serving their sentences; and 3) aggressively fund programs to reduce recidivism and improve employment prospects among former inmates who are trying to re-enter society. I have seen promising experiments with all of these around the Commonwealth.

6. ***Solitary Confinement.*** *Do you support limiting the use of solitary confinement to no more than 15 consecutive days, and eliminating the use of solitary confinement for at-risk populations, including pregnant women, LGBTQ people, those with mental illness, and those under age 21 or over age 65?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I believe we should eliminate the use of solitary confinement except in extremely limited circumstances and short duration, guided by strictly enforced guidelines. This would include refusing to use it on the at-risk populations you cite.

7. ***Police Brutality.*** *Do you support the establishment of an independent review board for police shootings in the Commonwealth?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Everyone—both police officers and the general public—should be able to trust that investigations of these shootings will be carried out fairly and without prejudice.

8. ***Black Lives Matter.*** *Since 2016, in response the Black Lives Matter activists' illumination of criminal justice system abuses, conservatives have pushed a myth of a "war on cops." States such as Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and Kentucky have advanced "Blue Lives Matter" legislation, making law enforcement a protected class under hate crime statutes. In November 2017, the MA Legislature followed suit, creating a new "superpenalty" and mandatory minimum for assaulting a police officer. Would you oppose such policies, which would disproportionately punish minority communities and contribute to an overly carceral state?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I would oppose these policies. Serving as a police officer is a complicated, demanding, and sometimes dangerous job and those who take on these responsibilities and perform them well deserve our recognition. Reducing the number of police officers who make the ultimate sacrifice must always be a priority. At the same time, creating new "super-penalties" only works to further separate police from those they are sworn to protect. "Assault on a police officer" is serious charge already, and unfortunately we know from experience that almost any behavior can be interpreted this way in a moment of conflict. Let's not add to the confusion by adding "super penalties" to the mix. I would work to find other approaches that would protect our officers with better equipment and training, improved community relations, and fewer guns on our streets.

9. ***Safe Communities Act.*** *Do you support the Safe Communities Act, which prohibits the use of state resources for mass deportations or deportation raids, limits local and state police collaboration with federal immigration agents, and prohibits state support for a Muslim registry?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I am a strong supporter of the Massachusetts Safe Communities Act, which will help protect undocumented immigrants and others from persecution. I do not believe that Massachusetts state and local police should in essence be deputized by Federal immigration agents and used to track down undocumented immigrants.

Many police chiefs have pointed out that this measure would expose vulnerable communities to exploitation, destroy trust between law enforcement officers and the people they serve, make it harder to solve crimes, and target law-abiding, tax-paying residents of our country for injustice and abuse.

America's greatness is not rooted in one nationality, one race, one identity. America's greatness is that, whoever they love, however they pray, whatever color their skin, anyone can be an American.

10. Safe Driving Act. *Would you support the Safe Driving Act, which would remove immigration status as a barrier to applying for a license or learner's permit?*

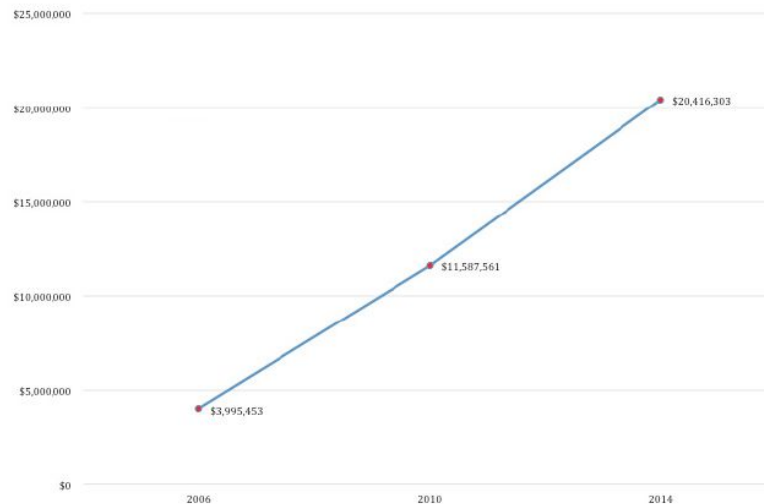
Robert Massie: Yes. I support the Safe Driving Act. Every driver on Massachusetts roads should be tested, licensed, and insured as a matter of public safety for everyone.

G. GOOD GOVERNMENT/ STRONG DEMOCRACY

The influence of big money in politics is detrimental to democracy. Independent expenditures in MA elections have grown by a factor of five over the past decade. A centralized power structure on Beacon Hill, is undemocratic, and makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine the system. A strong democracy requires an engaged electorate, but voter turnout in midterm elections, and especially local elections, remains low. Myths about voter fraud are peddled in order to justify voter suppression. The Election Modernization Act of 2014 helped eliminate Massachusetts’s embarrassing status as one of the ten worst states in terms of voting rights, but there is still much work to be done.

Independent expenditures in MA elections have risen rapidly. (Source: [Common Cause](#))

Figure 1: MA Independent Expenditure Totals



1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding Good Government and Strong Democracy.

Robert Massie: We are witnessing the transformation of our democracy into a plutocracy, in which elections and policies are determined by the wealthy. Our founders worried about the impact of the “monied interests” on the early republic. Today, nearly 250 years after our nation’s birth, we must continue to fight such interests – or risk sitting on the sidelines while the republic is steadily destroyed.

We must protect not only the right to vote, but ensure that this right can be effectively exercised.

To do that, we need to make sure that we have sensible limits on campaign contributions, so our public servants serve everyone and not just large contributors.

We need to remove unnecessary obstacles to voting, especially those which have disproportionate effects on already marginalized communities. And we need to keep government not only reactively but proactively transparent, so people can hold their elected officials to account. And we must have public financing in order to increase the diversity and independence of candidates.

2. *Please indicate work you personally have done to promote transparency, campaign finance reform, legislative rules reform, and access to voting.*

Robert Massie: I have been fighting big money in politics for a long time. I campaigned hard for the original Clean Elections ballot initiative, which was passed by the voters almost twenty years ago but subsequently gutted by the legislature's refusal to fund it. I have also fought successfully, alongside many allies, to persuade pension funds and other institutions to demand that corporations be required to reveal their political contributions. And in this campaign, I have refused to accept donations from corporations, and I have relied principally on individual contributions from small donors.

3. *Transparency. Massachusetts is one of only two states where the governor's office claims to be completely exempt from the public records laws. Do you support ending that exemption? ?*

Robert Massie: Yes. The public has a right to know how elected officials are conducting the people's business. Nowhere is this more important than in the corner office. Transparency is too crucial to be, in the words of Charlie Baker's office, a "voluntary practice." I would both end the claimed exemption, as well as work to make the Governor's office more proactively transparent.

4. *Public campaign financing. Would you support legislation to create a robust public financing system for state elections?*

Robert Massie: Yes. Candidates should work for the people's trust, not for the support of big donors. I will continue to fight tirelessly for a publicly-supported, transparent system of campaign financing at both the state and federal levels. There are already thirteen states in the U.S. that have some form of publicly financed elections, and the benefits have proven obvious. As governor I will insure that we make the transition to this system.

I also support aggressive enforcement of our existing campaign finance laws, the effort to overturn Citizens' United, and closing the loophole by which an incumbent like the sitting governor can bring in huge amounts of money through a national committee, bypassing our state-level rules.

5. *Voting. Do you support the following policies to increase voter participation?*

a. *Election day voter registration*

Robert Massie: Yes

b. *Automatic voter registration*

Robert Massie: Yes

c. *Expansion of early voting to "off-year" elections*

Robert Massie: Yes

d. *No-fault absentee voting*

Robert Massie: Yes

I fully support all four of these policies. We must remove unnecessary obstacles to people exercising their right to vote. Massachusetts should follow the lead of other states that have successfully improved participation with these common-sense practices.

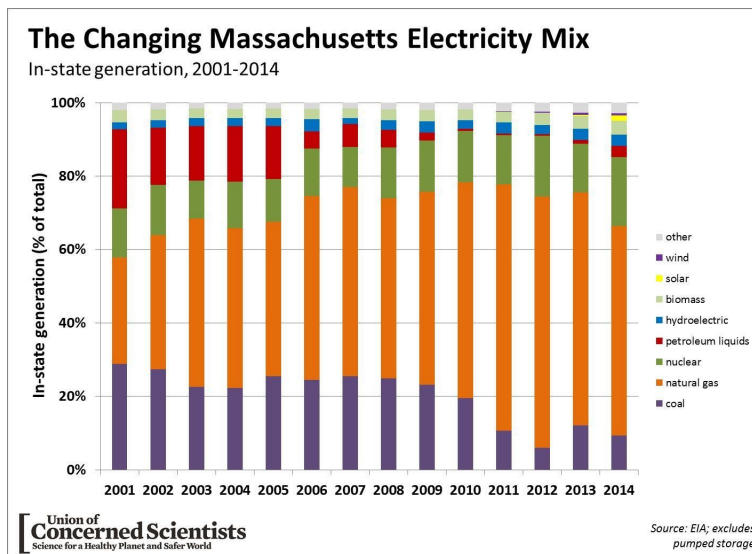
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

Massachusetts will be hit particularly hard by climate change. In order to avoid catastrophic climate change, global carbon emissions need to be reduced by 70% by 2050 and brought to 0 by 2080. In 2016, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the state has failed to meet its legal obligation to set and enforce annual limits on greenhouse gas emissions as outlined in the 2008 Global Warming Solutions Act. Setting and reaching these goals will require the decarbonization of our state economy and a transition away from fossil fuels toward clean, renewable sources of energy. In light of congressional gridlock at the federal level, state government must take a role in incentivizing reduced carbon usage and assisting in coordination between agencies and moving forward local government understanding of looming climate threats.

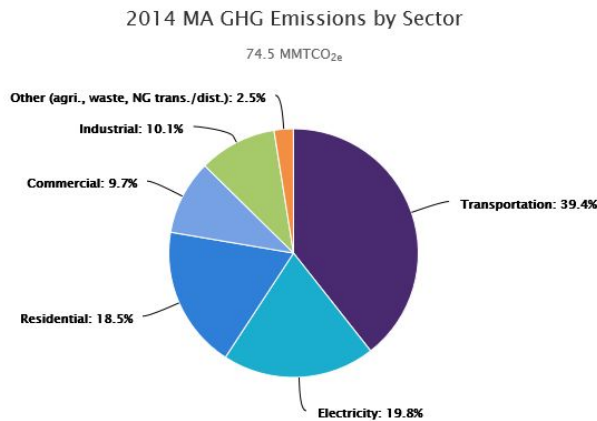
Equity issues loom large, as low-income communities and communities of color are often the most vulnerable to natural disasters and bear the brunt of pollution. In 2014, Governor Deval Patrick signed an executive order directing all state agencies to devote resources to protect the health, safety, and environment for the most vulnerable residents. However, this nominal commitment to “Environmental Justice” has been more rhetorical than real.

Public transit must play a role in decarbonizing our transportation system, as well as advancing complementary goals of equity and inclusion. However, Massachusetts politicians have lost their understanding of public transit as a public good that benefits all residents and businesses in Massachusetts, not just those who use it in their daily lives. The greatest evidence of this is their neglect of the MBTA: its debt has grown to nearly \$5.5 billion, with over \$7 billion in deferred maintenance costs. Regional Transit Authorities that serve communities, including Gateway Cities across the state, face enormous capital needs as well.

Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.



Transportation is currently the largest contributor to greenhouse gas emissions in MA.



(Source: <http://www.mass.gov>)

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection.

Robert Massie: I have been a strong environmentalist since my youth; indeed, at age 8, before the word had been invented (we were “conservationists” then) I wrote passionate letters to the President to protect Storm King mountain from destruction by a power plant. Over many years I have been my intellectual, personal, professional and political career leading in the field of sustainability. America is disturbingly far behind in accepting that we live on one planet, within one biosphere, and that to protect ourselves and our economic systems, we must respect those limits. This is a fundamental question of public health and of national and global justice, since a failure to build infrastructure and protect the environment often damages poor people first. As governor, I will use the office to help the entire state wake up to the importance of these globally accepted principles, all of which are key to our survival.

2. Please indicate work you personally have done to protect the environment and expand access to public transportation.

Robert Massie: Since much of my professional career has been in this field, it is hard to limit my answer. Environment: I taught courses about environmental justice at Harvard in the 1990s; I organized the first major public event on climate change in Boston, attended by Al Gore, in the 1992; I was the first executive director of Ceres, now one of the most powerful environmental organizations in the United States; I created the Global Reporting Initiative, which is now the international standard that requires multinational corporations to release verifiable information on human rights, labor practices, and environmental performance; I founded the Investor Network on Climate Risk, a collection of the world’s most powerful investors who are moving their money out of fossil fuel, and many other efforts. Transportation: my work has been in cooperation with my wife Anne Tate’s leadership in sustainable urban design, in which public transportation is always central.

3. Waste Reduction. Would you support a statewide ban on single-use shopping bags and a requirement that alternatives be more sustainable?

Robert Massie: Yes. To reduce the impact on lower income families, I believe that the state should subsidize the distribution of free cloth bags for at least two years so that they become as commonplace as plastic is today. We could also invite school children and senior communities to learn to make them

as a way of building awareness and contributing to the transition

4. **Solar energy.** *Do you support increasing equitable access to solar power by removing caps on solar generation and restoring compensation for low-income and community solar?*

Robert Massie: Yes. And I will do more than that, by ending the control of the Department of Public Utilities by fossil fuel cronies by appointing commissioners who understand the critical health, climate, and economic benefits of moving rapidly to renewable energy. I will ask the new commission to reverse the anti-renewable provisions, (including the minimum solar charge to residential customers), remove other regulatory barriers that unnecessarily drive up the cost of solar, accelerate offshore wind and increase battery storage to reduce rates to all ratepayers. Our failure to lead on this issue is costing families, small businesses, and towns more than \$20 billion every year because we have to import fossil fuel from outside the state. This must and will stop.

5. **Renewable Energy.** *Do you support a target of at least 50% clean energy by 2030 for Massachusetts, as adopted in California and New York? (Hawaii is committed to 100% renewables by 2045). To accomplish this, would you support an increase in the Renewable Energy Production Standard (the green energy mandate on utilities) by at least 3% each year?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I am the only gubernatorial candidate to have testified on Beacon Hill in favor of a dramatic increase in the rate of expansion of renewables. Our current RPS targets are pathetic – certainly unworthy of state like Massachusetts which normally leads – but they are favored by the utilities who want to squeeze as much profit out of the broken business model not to serve the public but to serve the hedge funds and other institutional investors by whom they are owned.

While most countries in the world are rocketing into the renewable energy economy, Governor Baker is putting our future economic prosperity at risk by favoring fossil fuel. I am the only candidate for governor who has released a comprehensive plan for renewable called “Our Common Future: Bold Leadership for Clean Renewable Energy.” It has 26 pages of explanation of the huge positive impact we could have by committing to rapid transition and 22 specific suggestions about how to proceed.

6. **Environmental Justice.** *Successive and bipartisan gubernatorial administrations have made verbal commitments to environmental justice (EJ) and Governor Deval Patrick issued an Executive Order on Environmental Justice in 2014 which has not been implemented.*

- a. *Would you support implement the 2014 EO?*

Robert Massie: Yes

- b. *and support efforts to codify environmental justice into law?*

Robert Massie: Yes. I have worked on – and taught about – environmental justice for more than 25 years. In my role as the executive director of the Sustainable Solutions Lab at UMass Boston (2014-2016), I worked on climate justice with many of the community groups in Roxbury, Dorchester, Mattapan, East Boston, and other neighborhoods. Our goal was to create a united force pushing for both social and physical resilience; our principle was that any changes made to protect us from climate change should also have clear economic benefits for lower income communities. Environmental justice is built into every one of my policies. For example, my transportation plan includes initiatives that will give lower income communities in rural, suburban, and urban areas, greater personal and

economic freedom and improve air quality and public health, especially for communities that have traditionally been stuck with the worst environmental and health outcomes.

7. Gas pipelines. *Do you oppose the expansion of gas pipelines in the state?*

Robert Massie: Yes. This proposal is idiotic. As the Attorney General has pointed out, we do not need the extra capacity for the state. This is a scam to get our public to pay for infrastructure that will allow the fossil fuel companies who tore up Pennsylvania with fracking to get their natural gas to our ports. I have supported the brave citizens all over the state who have fought these pipelines. I have visited the Weymouth compressor station site. The whole project is an enormous boondoggle for the benefit of fossil fuel companies, and as governor I will find a way to stop them once and for all.

8. Carbon pricing.

a. Do you support putting a fee on carbon emissions?

Robert Massie: Yes. I prefer for call this proposal a “transition dividend.” People react negatively to the words “tax” and “price” but the central purpose of this proposal is that we are going to give families money to make the transition to new, far more efficient cars, appliances, and new energy sources.

b. Do you support using some of the revenue from such a fee to invest in green infrastructure?

Robert Massie: Yes. In general, yes, but if the only way to pass a carbon price would be to make it revenue neutral – i.e. give all the money back to the citizens – I would consider this as part of our legislative discussions. As governor I would a statewide debate about where we want to get transportation revenue, so that we are ready, for example, when the increase in electric cars reduces our revenue from the gas tax.

9. Public Transit. *What are your top three priorities for improving access to, and reliability and quality of, the MBTA?*

Robert Massie: 1. Fix the contracting, planning and management functions (includes ending outsourcing across the T and insourcing the Commuter Rail operation)
2. Stop over \$4 billion in wasteful projects (SSX, South Coast Rail Phase 1, the outsourcing of the Fare Collection System)
3. Rebuild the System (North South Rail Link, South Coast Option 2, East-West High-Speed Improvements, including a major electrification effort across the system)

10. Regional Transportation Funding. *Would you support legislation to allow municipalities to place a question on the ballot to raise revenue for local and regional transportation projects?*

Robert Massie: Yes. In addition, I will work to overhaul how we finance both capital and operating costs for public transportation across the state, including support for the Fair Share Amendment, changes in auto use taxes that are regionally fair and socially equitable, and land value capture financing.

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Limit answer to 150 words or fewer.

Use this space to add any other issues important to your vision for Massachusetts or any other matter you think progressive voters should know about your candidacy.

Robert Massie: Massachusetts is the origin of the American idea that a group of citizens can commit to liberty, equality and democracy. We have been the conscience, the innovators, the leaders of this nation. But Republicans have told us that we are not allowed to dream anymore because dreams are too expensive.

I utterly reject this premise. Here in Massachusetts, we live in a society with enormous human potential. We have not exhausted our possibilities. Teddy Kennedy said: "Taking on great challenges is what we do as Americans. We seize the heights. We go to the moon. I know it, I have seen it; I have lived it. **And we can do it again.**"

As governor I will invite the people of Massachusetts to tackle our hardest problems of today, to look forward into tomorrow, to dream together and then to work together. And then we will improve together. As we must.

END QUESTIONNAIRE