Jay Gonzalez

Statewide

Governor of Massachusetts



Endorsement Questionnaire

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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**

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).

I. About the Candidate

Jay Gonzalez

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

Jay Gonzalez: I'm running for Governor because I want to make real progress on the challenges holding people back in Massachusetts and stand up for every single person in this state. With Donald Trump in the White House taking this country backwards, it's up to states and their Governors to move us forward. Charlie Baker has done virtually nothing during his term to address the challenges holding people back. He's too satisfied with the status quo and too often sits on the sidelines when we need him the most.

Massachusetts has always been a leader, but we're not leading under Governor Baker. I am running for Governor because I believe Massachusetts needs to lead on critical issues again.

I believe we need to work with a sense of urgency to tackle many of our pressing challenges. Today, the Governor isn't pushing the Legislature to do anything. We need a Governor who will.

If I'm Governor, I will implement a single-payer health care system that is simpler, cheaper and does a better job keeping people healthy. As Secretary of Administration and Finance, I oversaw the successful implementation of Massachusetts health care reform. After leaving the Patrick Administration, I became a health care executive for a company that helped low income people access health care services. I know what it takes to get big things done in the health care space, and as such, I am the candidate best positioned to make single-payer healthcare a reality in Massachusetts.

Another top priority of mine is fixing our broken transportation system. Transportation is among the top concerns I hear from people across Massachusetts when I am out on the trail. The MBTA system is completely unreliable, driving more people to the roads. That's bad for people, it's bad for businesses, it's bad for our economy, and it's bad for our environment. As Governor, I will fix our system. I will fire Keolis, the private operator of the commuter rail. I will end Governor Baker's practice of outsourcing key functions of our transportation system and I will make the necessary investment in our system that Governor Baker has been unwilling to make – not just at the MBTA, the RTAs and all transportation infrastructure across this state. To pay for the necessary investment, I support the Millionaire's Tax, which would generate an estimated \$2 billion a year more for transportation and education. In addition to fixing our current system, we need to expand public transit across the Commonwealth. I support high speed rail from Springfield to Boston, the North-South rail link, and making South Coast rail a reality.

A third priority for me is education. That starts with giving our youngest children the solid foundation they need to succeed in school and in life. When I am Governor, every child

age 0-5 will have access to high-quality, affordable childcare and preschool by the end of my first term. We will eliminate waiting lists and expand eligibility for state assistance so that childcare and preschool are truly affordable for every family. We will invest in those teaching our youngest children, treating them with the dignity and respect they deserve for the important work they do, by investing in salaries and in a comprehensive workforce development system for early education. Massachusetts will have the highest-quality early education and childcare system in the country, and it will be available and affordable for all.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

Jay Gonzalez: In the race for the Democratic nomination, I am uniquely positioned to deliver on a progressive agenda. I am the only candidate with critical leadership experience in state government and in both the public and private sectors.

I served as Secretary of Administration and Finance under Governor Deval Patrick. In that capacity, I oversaw the state budget during the Great Recession. Despite the challenges we faced, I successfully managed the budget, earning the highest bond ratings in state history. As A&F Secretary, I was also responsible for implementing Massachusetts health care reform, which became a model for Obamacare. I was Governor Patrick's point person on many of the big issues we tackled including transportation reform, pension reform and municipal health reform.

I also served as chair of the Board of Early Education and Care, where I advocated for increased investment in early education and childcare.

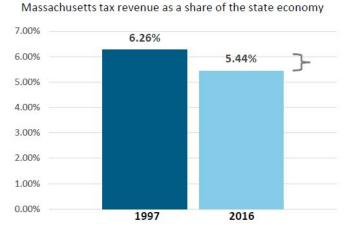
After leaving state government, I became CEO of CeltiCare Health and New Hampshire Healthy Families, health insurance plans in Massachusetts and New Hampshire that provided low-income people with health care coverage. I successfully grew the company, adding hundreds of new jobs and expanding coverage to tens of thousands of new members. Under my leadership, CeltiCare was recognized as a "Game Changer" by the Boston Globe in 2016 for our innovative efforts to help our members who were struggling with opioid addiction.

Prior to my public service, I was a public finance lawyer representing most of the cities and towns across Massachusetts, helping them to build public facilities like schools, police and fire stations, libraries and other key community resources. I served as a member of the Brookline Town Meeting and Advisory Committee. I led the campaign for Brookline to adopt the Community Preservation Act. In addition to my career experience, I have served on a number of non-profit boards, including the Trust for Public Land, the Dimock Center and Project Hope, a shelter for homeless women and their children.

My collective experience has given me hands-on leadership experience that will be instrumental in helping deliver on a bold, progressive agenda that will help people in Massachusetts and make our Commonwealth a leader again.

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.



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

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



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?

Jay Gonzalez: We have a regressive tax system in Massachusetts that has resulted in an unbalanced economy, where the rich keep getting richer, the poor keep getting poorer and the middle class is shrinking. Both our sales tax and property taxes are regressive, and lower-income residents pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes. I oppose efforts to reduce our state income tax, and I support the Millionaire's Tax, which would levy an additional tax on earnings over \$1 million.

If the Millionaire's Tax doesn't pass, I will propose and fight for an alternative, progressive source of new revenue to fund critical investments we need to make. I also think we need to review the tax breaks we give corporations in Massachusetts. As one example, I oppose the film tax credit, which studies show results in most of the benefit flowing out of state.

I think we need to freeze any reduction in the state income tax, which now occurs annually if certain economic triggers are met. The remaining scheduled annual reductions to 5.0 percent will cost the state approximately \$400 million each year.

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.).

Jay Gonzalez: I served as Governor Deval Patrick's Secretary for Administration and Finance during the Great Recession. Despite the economic challenges we faced, we prioritized investment in education and infrastructure and earned the highest bond ratings in state history. We put in place sound fiscal policy that allowed us to create a robust stabilization fund so we're prepared for the next downturn. I co-chaired the Tax Expenditure Commission, which made a number of recommendations around tax expenditures that are considered best practices, which Governor Baker is not following. (http://www.mass.gov/dor/docs/dor/stats/tax-expenditure-commissionmaterials/ final-report/tec-report-with-appendices-new.pdf) I am the only candidate in this race who has played a significant role in state revenue policy and administration.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I strongly support the Fair Share Amendment. We have a regressive tax system in Massachusetts and the Millionaire's Tax is a fair and progressive way to raise the revenue we desperately need for education and transportation. The tax will generate an estimated \$2 billion annually that we can invest in things like high quality public education for all of our kids and a reliable public transportation system that residents and businesses can depend on. If it doesn't pass, I will propose and fight for an alternative.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I oppose the sales tax holiday and agree that the holiday does little more than

shift consumer purchases to another date. In fact, the sales tax holiday costs Massachusetts upwards of an estimated \$30 million. That's money we can't afford to forgo as we work to tackle many of the pressing challenges facing the residents of Massachusetts.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I co-chaired the Tax Expenditure Commission, which made a number of recommendations around tax expenditures that are considered best practices, which Governor Baker is not following.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I absolutely support this. I not only support it for companies doing business with state government, I believe every company should provide its employees with a living wage and benefits like health care and paid family leave. I support increasing the minimum wage to \$15 an hour and also support legislation or a ballot question requiring paid family leave. Companies, in particular, that receive tax credits from the state have an even higher obligation to their employees and to taxpayers to ensure that their workers can afford to live and work in Massachusetts. Our campaign is leading by example, offering health care to our staff and paying a salary that ensures a living wage.

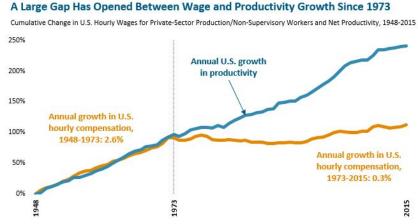
7. **Federal Tax Overhaul.** The Dec. 2017 Republican tax overhaul disproportionately and negatively affects the ways that states like Massachusetts raise revenue. What proposals do you support to blunt this impact and its exacerbation of the regressivity of our existing tax code?

Jay Gonzalez: The Republican tax overhaul is bad for the country and disproportionately impacts states like Massachusetts. I am still assessing the direct impacts on Massachusetts and what action we should take to mitigate those impacts. What most concerns me is the limit on deducting state and local taxes, which results in double taxation and is one of the federal tax law changes that disproportionately impacts Massachusetts.

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 <u>unequal states</u>. We are one of the most expensive states in the country for <u>health care</u>, <u>housing</u>, and <u>child care</u>, 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.

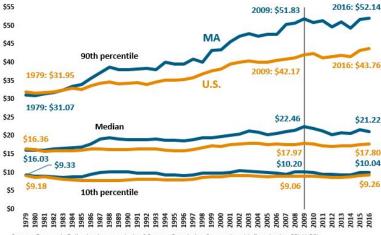
Productivity has grown significantly since the 1970s, but it is not being reflected in higher wages.



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 (20165s)



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?

Jay Gonzalez: We need to aim high on an economy that works for everyone. While those at the top continue to do well, middle class and low-income families are struggling to get ahead. The income gap in Massachusetts is one of the worst in the country and is growing. We need to do all we can to give everyone a fair shot.

One of the key reasons I'm running for Governor is to address income inequality. In large part, my entire agenda for our state is aimed at closing this wealth and income gap.

The most important thing a state can do to promote economic development and economic security for people is do the things government is supposed to do well. It's why I feel passionately that we must provide affordable preschool and early education, debt-free college, paid family and medical leave, high quality public transportation, affordable housing, workforce training, a living wage --- these are the bread and butter issues that people need to be economically secure.

Communities of color face the largest wealth and income gaps as a result of persistent, structural disparities in opportunity. While initiatives like those noted above will disproportionately benefit these communities, we must also have an intentional and focused effort to ensure communities of color have access to opportunities to close these unacceptable gaps, achieve true integration and end racial discrimination.

Finally, to grow the economy and simultaneously combat climate change, we need an intentional effort to create thousands and thousands of jobs in Massachusetts by making Massachusetts a leader in the clean energy sector.

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.).

Jay Gonzalez: As CEO of a private health insurance company providing low-income people with access to health care, I grew the company by tens of thousands of members and added hundreds of jobs. I helped develop the Life Sciences initiative and co-chaired the Life Sciences board for 6 years, which helped us become the world's leader in the industry. I oversaw the state's capital investments and increased those investments to record levels including in transportation and higher education. I developed innovative economic development investment programs that supported projects that created thousands of jobs, like the Assembly Square project in Somerville.

- 3. Increasing Wages.
 - *a. Minimum wage.* Do you support raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour?
 Jay Gonzalez: Yes. Increasing the minimum wage to \$15 per hour by 2021 would raise the wages of nearly 950,000 workers, or nearly 1/3 of the state's workforce. Over 90% of workers who would be affected are over 20 years old, 56% are women, and 57% work full-time. Increasing the minimum wage to \$15 per hour by 2021 would also raise the wages of nearly

25% of all working parents in Massachusetts. Raising the minimum wage to \$15 per hour is a

big step forward, but it will still result in an annual salary of only \$31,200, an insufficient amount to cover basic living expenses for many families in Massachusetts. We will need to continue to make progress toward a true living wage so that everyone who works hard and plays by the rules can afford to cover basic living expenses. In order to further relieve the cost burdens on working families, we must also take steps to make basic necessities and supports more affordable, such as housing, health care, childcare, preschool and higher education.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I support eliminating the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers. More than half of minimum wage earners are women even though men represent a larger share of the total workforce; fully two-thirds of tipped wage workers are women. According to the Economic Policy Institute, tipped workers face a poverty rate nearly double that of non-tipped workers. In addition, tipped workers – most of whom work in the restaurant industry – are subject to an alarmingly high rate of sexual harassment. In fact, according to the Restaurant Opportunities Center, 90 percent of women in the US restaurant industry report being subject to unwanted sexual advances. I've sat down with restaurant workers who described being sexually harassed and assaulted and who were too afraid to speak up out fear of losing their tips. The sub-minimum tipped wage is bad for people economically and contributes to a culture of sexual harassment.

- Indexing the Minimum Wage. And indexing the minimum wage to inflation?
 Jay Gonzalez: Yes
- **4. Paid Leave.** Do you support requiring access to up to 16 weeks of paid family leave and 26 weeks of paid medical leave?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. Massachusetts is lagging behind when it comes to giving families the ability to care for loved ones without the risk of losing their jobs or income they need to support their families. California, New York, Rhode Island, and New Jersey have paid family and medical leave. Making it possible for employees to take job-protected, paid leave to recover from a serious illness or injury, to care for a seriously ill or injured family member, or to care for a new child is the right thing to do. According to the Raise Up Coalition, 1.2 million Massachusetts workers risk losing their jobs if they take leave for a medical emergency or birth of a baby.

But 16 weeks of paid family leave won't do much good if a parent then needs to quit their job because they can't afford child care. That's why we need to create an affordable early education and childcare system that gives kids the solid foundation they need to succeed in life and allows parents to keep their jobs.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I believe we need to do all we can to prepare our young people for a 21st Century

economy. That starts with providing access to youth summer job programs, internships and vocational education. Not only do these opportunities provide young people with the foundational training and employment experience they need, but they've also been proven to help keep kids off the streets, out of gangs and off of drugs. If I'm Governor, I will work with the business community and education leaders to expand these opportunities.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I support reinstating the Pacheco Law. Governor Baker's whole approach to solving our transportation crisis has been to outsource critical jobs, separating those responsible for delivering critical public services from the elected officials who are accountable to us. We see this at the MBTA, where Governor Baker blames the private MBTA commuter rail operator, Keolis, for delays, breakdowns and other woes. We've seen this at the RIDE, where transportation service for our most vulnerable residents is outsourced, with the resulting service being a disaster for those who rely on the RIDE to get to doctors' appointments and other critical appointments. If I were Governor, I would fire Keolis, bring commuter rail operations under direct management and invest in employees who will be responsible and accountable for making sure people can rely on our public transportation system.

We should not be privatizing core government functions, putting taxpayer dollars in the hands of for-profit businesses and threatening the livelihood of hard-working public servants.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I support this concept.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: We must honor the will of the voters and implement the state cannabis law in a way that ensures equitable access to opportunities for communities of color across the Commonwealth. I support rules proposed by the Cannabis Commission that designate "areas of disproportionate impact," and offer priority review for applicants for cannabis business licenses from those communities. Applicants with a majority of owners who have lived in areas of disproportionate impact for at least five of the past 10 years would be offered priority review, as would any company in which at least 51 percent of employees or subcontractors have drug-related arrests on their records.

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.

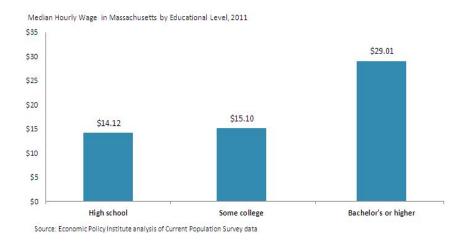
Percent of charter school reimbursements paid to sending districts, based on reimbursement formula 97% 96% \$35.3 mil \$47.1 mil underfunded, underfunded. FY15 **FY16** 69% 63% FY05 **FY06 FY07 FY08** FY09 FY10 FY11 FY12 FY13 FY14 **FY15 FY16**

The State Has Not Fully Funded Charter Reimbursements in Recent Years

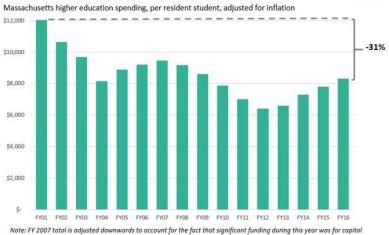
The state hasn't been living up to its responsibility to fully fund our public schools.

12

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

Note: FY 2007 total is adjusted downwards to account for the fact that significant funding during this year was for capi investments that supported activity during other fiscol years. **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?

Jay Gonzalez: Massachusetts has always been a leader in public education. The most fundamental responsibility we have through government is to provide every single child with access to a high quality public education. A high quality education from birth through college or training is critical for our students to succeed in our global economy.

Unfortunately, we're not leading in the ways we need to be. Too many low-income and minority students are being left behind by the yawning achievement gap that persists in our urban and rural communities. We are the most expensive state in the country for early education, and too many families can't afford to send their children to college or are saddled with tens of thousands of dollars in student debt.

First and foremost, I support adequately funding the Chapter 70 foundation budget for school districts across the state. That's one of the reasons I support the Millionaire's Tax.

The most important component to providing a high quality education within the walls of our schools is our teachers. We need to empower and support our teachers.

Instead of creating a separate privatized charter school system for a few kids as Governor Baker has proposed, we need to be focusing with a sense of urgency on making all of our public schools great for every single child in this state.

We need to take a fresh look at whether we are teaching our children the skills they will need to be successful in the 21st century economy and society. And we need to provide children and their families with the supports they need to stabilize their lives and ensure children are healthy and ready and able to learn.

While there are many areas we need to improve when it comes to public education, I believe the most critical thing we can do to close the achievement gap is ensure children have the solid foundation they need to learn by making high-quality, affordable early education and childcare accessible to every single child and family in Massachusetts.

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

Jay Gonzalez: I served as the chair of the Board of Early Education and Care. Additionally, as A&F Secretary, we prioritized education funding during the Great Recession, making record levels of investment in Chapter 70. I also developed and implemented the most ambitious capital investment program in our public higher education campuses in decades.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Closing the achievement gap starts with giving every child access to high quality

preschool and daycare. We need to provide low-income districts with the resources they need to be successful, which is why I support fully funding the Chapter 70 formula. I also believe that we need to focus on factors outside the walls of the school that impact a child's ability to learn. For example, we should invest in social workers in schools to engage with children and families as a resource who can help connect them with benefits and resources to help stabilize their lives.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. When I am Governor, every child age 0-5 will have access to high-quality, affordable childcare and preschool by the end of my first term. We will eliminate waiting lists and expand eligibility for state assistance so that childcare and preschool are truly affordable for every family. We will invest in our teachers, treating them with the dignity and respect they deserve for the important work they do, by investing in salaries and in a comprehensive workforce development system for early education. Massachusetts will have the highest-quality early education and childcare system in the country, and it will be available and affordable for all. Read my full plan: https://jay4ma.com/earlyeducation-2/.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: I am concerned about the amount of standardized testing and the impact it has on other educational priorities. Our primary focus in education should be on teaching and learning, not testing. While I support MCAS as a graduation requirement, I know it is an imperfect tool and strongly believe performance assessments should be based on a broader set of factors.

I am also concerned about whether we're focused on teaching and testing the right content to prepare kids for success in a 21st century world. For example, I believe kids need to be learning good communication skills, how to work collaboratively with others to solve problems, civic participation skills, and more. We also need to ensure testing isn't crowding out kids getting a well-rounded education that exposes them to the world, facilitates their personal growth and development, and allows them to understand and pursue their own interests.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

- **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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I support making public colleges and universities affordable and debt-free for any Massachusetts resident. I support an approach similar to the framework proposed by Senator Eldridge in his Debt-Free Public Higher Education bill (S. 681) in order to ensure that access to our public colleges and universities is affordable for any MA resident.

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.

Annual premium for employer-based family health insurance, \$ \$20000 MA Rank 5 MA 3 \$18000 3 US \$16000 \$14000 In 2015 the average cost of family coverage plus cost-sharing exceeded \$20,000 per year for \$12000 the first time (\$20,400) \$10000 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 НРС Source: Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality. Medical Expenditure Panel Survey. Insurance Component

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

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

Jay Gonzalez: I believe healthcare is a fundamental human right. I support a single-payer system, and as Governor I would implement it. We need a system that is easier for people to navigate, cheaper, and delivers better outcomes. As a former health insurance executive, I've seen firsthand the waste and inefficiency that exists in our current system. The healthcare system we have today doesn't work for people, especially low-income and minority residents. Massachusetts was the model for national health reform and I believe it can be the model for a national single-payer system as well.

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

Jay Gonzalez: As A&F Secretary under Governor Deval Patrick, I was responsible for implementing Massachusetts health reform. I also played a leading role in working with the Legislature and health care industry to enact the 2012 Health Care Cost Containment Law on behalf of Gov. Patrick. After I left the administration, I became CEO of CeltiCare Health and New Hampshire Healthy Families, health plans for low-income residents. We added thousands of new members and hundreds of new jobs and were recognized as a "Game Changer" by the Boston Globe in 2016 for our efforts to combat the opioid epidemic.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I know what it takes to get big things done in the health care space, and as such, I am the candidate best positioned to make single-payer healthcare a reality in Massachusetts.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I strongly support a woman's right to make her own reproductive health care decisions. At a time when President Trump and congressional Republicans threaten the ACA's protections, it's up to states like Massachusetts to stand up for women and their access to sexual and reproductive health care.

There is strong evidence to show that access to contraception increases women's educational attainment, workforce participation, and earning power, in addition to multiple physical and mental health benefits.

As Governor, I will fight for the following:

<u>*Co-pay Free Contraceptive Coverage*</u> – I will require insurers to provide contraceptive coverage without co-pays or other out-of-pocket costs.

<u>Planned Parenthood Funding</u> – I will ensure Planned Parenthood and other freestanding health centers that provide access to reproductive health and family planning services are adequately funded. <u>Comprehensive Sex Education</u> – I will require all public schools in Massachusetts to provide comprehensive sex education. It is critical that girls and young women get the information they need to take control of their own reproductive health, family planning and career opportunities.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: 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?

Jay Gonzalez: 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?

Jay Gonzalez: We need a healthcare system that treats the whole person and integrates behavioral health and physical health. We need to invest more in our behavioral health workforce, increase funding for DMH and expand the infrastructure of community-based treatments and supports for people with mental illness and addiction.

We're in the midst of an opioid epidemic that is claiming the lives of nearly 6 residents per day. Many of those suffering from opioid addiction are afflicted by mental illness. We need to do more to combat the disease, including putting the necessary resources into education and prevention, treatment and recovery.

At CeltiCare Health, we made treating mental illness and addiction a priority. We won a national award for our integration of physical and behavioral health care services and supports. We were also recognized as a "Game Changer" by the Boston Globe in 2016 for our work to support our members with opioid addiction.

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 <u>US News & World Report's state ranking</u>, we were #45 in cost of living and #44 in housing affordability. A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work <u>80 hours a week</u> 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 <u>14,231 subsidized units</u> 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.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Housing is a basic human need, and it's unacceptable that in a state as wealthy as Massachusetts, people are unable to secure affordable, stable housing. We have an affordable housing crisis in the Greater Boston area and other parts of this state and it threatens the forward progress of our economy.

We need a comprehensive affordable housing plan that 1) understands the depth of the crisis 2) identifies clear affordable housing goals and 3) recognizes that each region may require a different solution.

We need to do a better job of effectively coordinating the various public subsidy resources and agencies that exist to support affordable housing development and take regulatory measures to ensure communities throughout this state are participating in increasing the supply of affordable housing. I support legislation by Sen. Chandler (S.81) to achieve these goals.

A successful affordable housing plan must also rely on a reliable, well-functioning public transportation system. Housing should be developed wherever possible in proximity to public transportation, and the expansion of our public transit system can link jobs to existing affordable housing. Finally, to combat homelessness, we need to acknowledge its root causes. That means providing better services for those struggling with mental health or substance abuse; increased access to affordable higher education and job training; and affordable early education and childcare so parents can afford to work.

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

Jay Gonzalez: As Secretary of A&F, I increased funding for investments in public housing and affordable housing development. I served on the boards of Mass Housing and the Mass Housing Partnership. I led a campaign to adopt the Community Preservation Act in Brookline to raise more resources for affordable housing and other purposes. And I developed a first-in-the-nation social innovation financing program to increase investment in permanent supportive housing for people who are chronically homeless.

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

Jay Gonzalez: 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?*

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

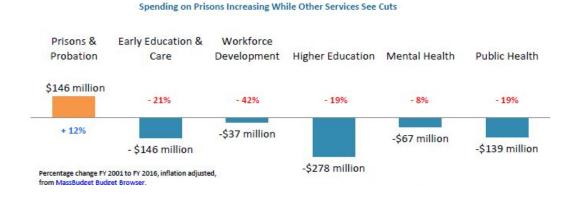
7. *Combating Speculation*. Do you support imposing a graduated tax on private real estate transactions over \$2.5 million, with the money allocated to affordable housing trust funds?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

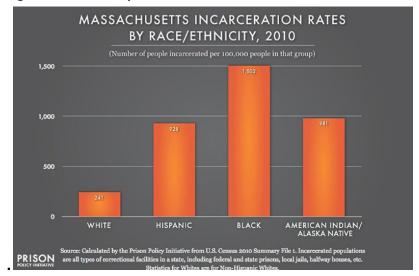
F. RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

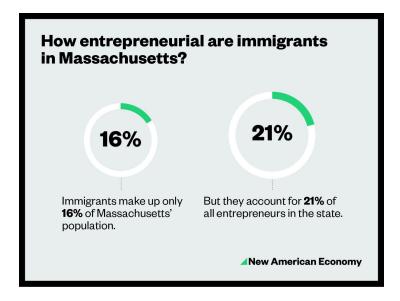
Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. The social and economic costs of mass incarceration and the policies that created it, in particular, have put our aspirations of "justice for all" 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.

Jay Gonzalez: As President, Donald Trump promotes a culture of racism, xenophobia, bigotry and hatred. Immigrants, minorities and women are the target of most of this behavior, and it's completely unacceptable. With leadership like that, it is more important than ever that we do all we can at the state level to protect ALL people.

Unfortunately, Charlie Baker has fallen in line with Trump and many of his GOP colleagues, opposing Syrian refugees from settling here, staying silent on transgender rights legislation until he was forced to sign it and condoning the flying of the Confederate Flag at state capitols.

It's not who we are.

If I'm Governor, it won't matter what color you are, where you came from, what you believe, what gender you are or who you love – I will fight for you.

The first piece of legislation I supported as a candidate for Governor was the Safe Communities Act, which Governor Baker opposes. We should not use our state and local law enforcement resources to do the bidding of Donald Trump and his Justice Department, which is not their job.

I'm proud to have released a comprehensive criminal justice reform proposal (https://jay4ma.com/criminal-justice/). Our criminal justice system is broken. In particular, we need to address our state's appalling racial disparities in incarceration. African-Americans are incarcerated at a rate of 7.5 times that of whites in Massachusetts, compared to a national rate of 5.1 to 1. Hispanics are incarcerated at a rate of 4.3 times that of whites in Massachusetts, compared to a national rate of 1.4 to 1. Overrepresentation of minorities in jails is a problem with many causes; no single entity is solely responsible for creating it, but all of us are collectively responsible for fixing it.

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

Jay Gonzalez: As Secretary of A&F, I oversaw the Office of Access and Opportunities to increase

opportunities for minority-owned businesses to work with state government. Also, in partnership with ROCA, I created a first-in-the-nation social innovation financing program to support youth in the juvenile justice system. I have served on the board of Project Hope and Dimock Community Health, which provide services to support disadvantaged communities. As a lawyer, I also did pro bono legal work for a Nigerian refugee.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

- **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
 Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I support eliminating all mandatory minimums except for murder. We need to allow judges the discretion to do their jobs. This is consistent with the recommendations of the Massachusetts Sentencing Commission.
 - b. Raising the felony threshold for theft from \$250 to \$1500 Jay Gonzalez: Yes
 - *c.* Raising the age of criminal majority from 18 to 19
 Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I've proposed raising the juvenile age to 21, giving a larger number of youthful offenders access to the juvenile court system, its attentiveness to defendants' individual needs and its diversion programs for first-time offenders.
 - d. Promoting community based alternatives for sentencing individuals who are primary caretaker of a child
 Jay Gonzalez: Yes
 - e. Limiting the role of School Resource Officers, to curb the school-to-prison pipeline Jay Gonzalez: Yes
 - *f.* Eliminating or reducing fees and fines that hinder reentry efforts and turn jails into debtors' prisons

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. Yes. I support eliminating cash bail and reforming our system of fees and fines so that we're not jailing people just because they're poor. Approximately three-quarters of the people under state correctional control in Massachusetts - about 67,000 individuals - are on some form of probation. The court system collects over \$20 million annually in probation-related fees and fines, out of nearly \$100 million collected in all court fees and fines. A person on probation is charged between \$850 and \$1,300 in monthly probation fees, in

addition to other fees and fines they may be required to pay. Yet our poorest residents pay probation fees at substantially higher rates than our wealthiest.

g. Increasing investment in education and job training programs for the formerly incarcerated **Jay Gonzalez: Yes.** I've proposed ways to make it easier for individuals with criminal histories to find and keep a job:

• CORI reform - reduce the time to seal records, and allow those with sealed records to state they have no record when applying for housing and employment.

- Limit driver's license suspensions to punishment for driving-related crimes.
- Invest in job training and in employer incentives, similar to the federal work opportunity tax credit, to hire ex-offenders.
- **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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I oppose all mandatory minimums except in the case of murder.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. This was the first piece of legislation I supported as a candidate for Governor.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I think it's important for public safety.

G. GOOD GOVERNMENT/ STRONG DEMOCRACY

\$25.000.000

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)

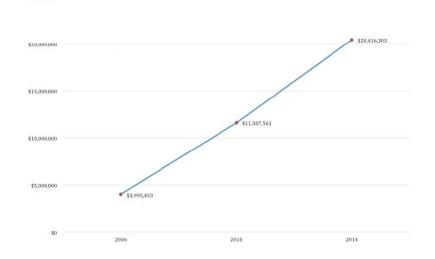


Figure 1: MA Independent Expenditure Totals

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

Jay Gonzalez: I believe that when we talk about "government," we're talking about us. Government is the tool by which we empower each other, support each other and protect each other.

Good government reflects and is responsive to all those it serves. Unfortunately, today, government is too often influenced by those with money and those with power. As Governor, I will do all I can to make government more transparent, accessible and responsive to all people and ensure that my administration reflects the diversity of our Commonwealth.

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

Jay Gonzalez: As Secretary of A&F, I made state finances more transparent than any administration in state history. We won national awards for budget transparency and MassPIRG upgraded the state's grade for transparency from F to A- on my watch.

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? ?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. One of the first positions I took as a candidate for Governor was to support legislation removing the exemption and I committed to voluntarily comply with the public records law.

Our public records law invites the public to participate fully in our democratic institutions, promoting openness and transparency and engagement for all, not just the few, the powerful, the insiders. In Massachusetts, however, we've fallen behind. The Center for Public Integrity gave Massachusetts an F in this category in its "State Integrity Scorecard," in both 2012 and 2015. Last year, our legislature enacted some much-needed public records reforms, the first update since the law was passed back in 1973. It was a good start, but there is more work to do.

Unfortunately, Governor Baker, throughout his term has refused to turn over many records, citing a special Governor's office exemption. It's not right. Now more than ever, people need to have confidence that their government leaders are working for them.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. As Governor, I will work to curtail the influence of moneyed interests in politics and increase disclosure requirements that will bolster transparency around how campaigns and outside groups raise and spend their funds.

Our efforts will include:

Limiting the Impact of Citizens United and Bringing Dark Money into the Light:

• **I support the passage of a federal constitutional amendment** that will expressly permit Congress and states to regulate campaign contributions and expenditures, including corporate contributions.

• Broaden the triggers for disclosing funders of independent expenditure groups to include advocacy and communication of all kinds.

• **Create new disclosure requirements for donors to independent expenditure groups**, such that any entity contributing more than \$1,000 to an independent expenditure group must publicly disclose each donation it has received above a certain threshold.

• Expand the definition of "coordinated" spending to limit independent expenditures.

Closing Loopholes for Raising and Spending Campaign Funds in Massachusetts:

• Close the "Baker loophole" for circumventing state contribution limits by proposing state legislation to prohibit state candidates from soliciting political donations for any entity in amounts greater than the limit on donations for such donations under state law.

• **Clarify rules for political party use of federal campaign account funds** in state races by supporting pending legislation to ensure that state contribution limits apply to state races.

Make Massachusetts Campaigns More Accountable to the Public

• Enhance the state's limited public financing system by increasing the voluntary contribution amount to the State Election Campaign Fund on annual tax returns, which has not been adjusted since it was set in 1994. A larger pool of public financing would make more money available to more candidates, reducing their need to fundraise from special interests and putting the brakes on runaway spending.

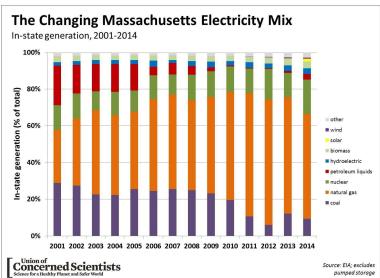
- 5. Voting. Do you support the following policies to increase voter participation?
 - a. Election day voter registration Jay Gonzalez: Yes
 - b. Automatic voter registration Jay Gonzalez: Yes
 - c. Expansion of early voting to "off-year" elections Jay Gonzalez: Yes
 - d. No-fault absentee voting Jay Gonzalez: Yes

H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

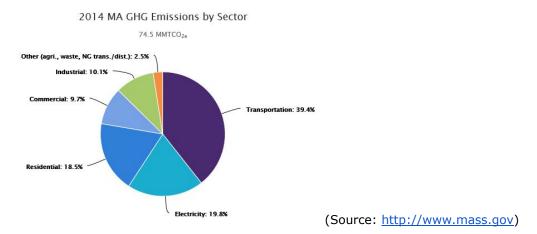
Massachusetts will be hit particularly hard by climate change. In order to avoid catastrophic climate change, global carbon emissions need to be reduced by 70% by 2050 and brought to 0 by 2080. In 2016, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the state has failed to meet its legal obligation 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.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Climate change is the biggest threat to our planet and to our future. President Trump is taking us in the wrong direction on climate change. As President Trump and the Republicans continue to take the country backward, it's more important than ever that we have leadership here in Massachusetts that moves us forward. Massachusetts should be the first state in the nation to adopt carbon pricing, we should accelerate our transition to clean energy sources, and we should oppose any new gas pipelines that further our dependence on fossil fuels.

In Massachusetts, the transportation sector accounts for about 40 percent of the state's greenhouse gas emissions. We must take more vehicles off the road and move people to public transportation. We also need to "green" our entire transportation system by moving to electric vehicles, expand public transportation and electrify our public transit system.

Environmental protection must be prioritized again. We need to invest in our parks and in our environmental regulatory agency, both of which have been decimated under Governor Baker. We also need a robust initiative to make Massachusetts more resilient to the impacts of climate change. I will restore at least 1 percent of the state budget to these priorities.

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

Jay Gonzalez: As Secretary for A&F during the worst fiscal crisis the state had faced in decades, I helped Gov. Patrick increase investment to record levels in land conservation and urban parks and increase funding for the MBTA. I also led the campaign to adopt the Community Preservation Act in Brookline and I did pro bono legal work for the statewide community preservation coalition and the Trust for Public Land. I currently serve on the Advisory Board for the Trust for Public Land.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. We need to do more to incentivize solar and reclaim our spot as the number one creator of solar jobs. I support legislation that would remove net metering caps.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

- **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?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I oppose new pipelines and related infrastructure. The Attorney General's comprehensive study showed we do not need new gas pipelines to meet our electricity needs.

- 8. Carbon pricing.
 - a. Do you support putting a fee on carbon emissions?

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I propose that we lead the country by being the first state to adopt carbon pricing.

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

Jay Gonzalez: Yes. I believe we should use revenue generated from the fee paid by higher income individuals to make one-time investments in green infrastructure and accelerate our transition to a clean energy economy. I believe that the revenue generated from low and middle income individuals and businesses should be rebated on a revenue neutral basis.

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

Jay Gonzalez: First, we need to generate the revenue necessary to increase investment in the MBTA

to get it to a state of good repair as quickly as possible. That is one of the reasons I support the Millionaire's Tax.

Second, we should end the practice of privatizing the commuter rail system so that we can improve service and directly control the management of the system. I would fire Keolis.

Third, we need to continue to make progress on transformational investments that will support economic growth, environmental sustainability and regional equity. This includes high speed rail between Springfield and Boston, South Coast Rail and the North-South rail link.

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?

Jay Gonzalez: No. I think the state has a responsibility to increase its support for RTAs and other transportation infrastructure across the state so that communities don't bear the full burden of regional transportation costs. Regions outside of the Greater Boston area have been denied their fair share of transportation infrastructure investment for too long. I worry about creating a system where they're asked to fund their own transportation needs and the result is a patchwork of different quality regional transit systems that allow some regions of the state to prosper and holds others back. State government needs to step up to make needed investments across the entire state.

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.

Jay Gonzalez: We are at a particularly pivotal moment in this country's recognition of women in society.

The #MeToo movement has exposed a sickness in our culture that needs to be remedied. As Governor, I will keep a spotlight on this issue and take steps to protect and support women (and men) subject to sexual assault and harassment, and hold those who perpetrate such abuses of power accountable.

We must also take further steps to support women in the workplace, where they have been unfairly treated and unfairly compensated for far too long. I've proposed a women's economic opportunity agenda which includes increasing the minimum wage and eliminating the sub-minimum wage; increasing the representation of women on corporate boards and increasing efforts to ensure women are paid equally for their work.

END QUESTIONNAIRE