

*Setti D Warren*

# Statewide Governor of Massachusetts

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## *Endorsement Questionnaire*

**Office Sought:** Governor of Massachusetts

**Legislative District:** Statewide

**Party:** Democrat

**Website:** <https://settiwarren.com>

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**Primary:** September 4, 2018

**Election:** November 6, 2018

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# Introduction: Progressive Mass

## About

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*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://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

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*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://massbudget.org)).*

# I. About the Candidate

## Setti D Warren

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

**Setti D Warren:** I entered this race because I believe economic inequality is the defining issue of our time. I believe the governor of Massachusetts can make a difference on this issue but Charlie Baker in not only failing to fight inequality, in many ways, he is making it worse. I believe we can do better and we must do better.

There are many more than three items that I would prioritize if elected. In the context of all of those priorities, the essential difference between me and the incumbent governor is I pledge to tell the truth about what is needed and to fight to provide the revenue required to address these needs.

First, Massachusetts can attack economic inequality by investing in ourselves and redefining education from early childhood to college. We underfund our K-12 system. We invest almost nothing in early childhood education even though we know those investments would pay off in so many ways. We do not support public higher education, resulting in denying access to many and burying too many in crippling debt. We need to invest in ourselves by spending more in education at all levels and when we make those investments in ourselves, we will benefit in so many ways.

Second, I believe that jobs, housing and transportation are a single issue in Massachusetts. Right now, our economic prosperity is at risk of being strangled by the cost of housing and an inadequate and underfunded transportation system. Traffic gridlock is spreading in every direction and the only thing worse than the performance of the MBTA and our worst-in-the-nation commuter rail system is the many places across our Commonwealth who little or no access to public transportation. We need to invest in ourselves by spending more to address traffic gridlock, fix the MBTA and commuter rail and expand the system to more regions of the state. Charlie Baker's transportation "plan" of no new revenues and privatization is not working.

Third, we need to confront the truth about the scourge of opioid addiction and we need to invest in ourselves by spending more to help the more than 250,000 people in Massachusetts who are struggling with this crisis. In 2014 (!), Massachusetts declared a state of emergency - the first state in the nation to do so. Since that day over 6,000 people have died - more than five people every day - from a fatal overdose and 50 more suffer a non-fatal overdose. Seventy more people become addicted each day. Reports suggest that the cost of this crisis - health care, criminal justice and lost productivity - to Massachusetts is \$10 Billion annually. Governor Charlie Baker sits on President Trump's Opioid Commission, chaired by Kellyanne Conway, and their work resulted in a declaration of emergency last year by President Trump but no new resources being dedicated to this problem. In Massachusetts, we have had some innovative ideas, but Governor Baker's most recent bill offers no new money and only shifting \$30 million of a federal waiver. That is not enough. We need to invest in ourselves by spending more money to increase the number of emergency beds and access to treatment across the state and provide more care and wrap-around services after emergency treatment.

Investing in ourselves begins with asking those who are doing well to pay a little more. That is why I support the Fair Share Amendment and have called on Governor and Speaker Deleo to consider new revenue within this year's budget. I am running against Governor Baker, but I am also willing to stand up to my own party when we are wrong. With these significant needs, "no new taxes" as a budget policy is unconscionable.

**2. *What prepares you to serve in this capacity?***

**Setti D Warren:** My values were formed by my parents and that began the foundation of my preparation to serve as governor.

My parents did not come from wealth or privilege. They came from poor neighborhoods in New York. My mom's father brought his family there from Ponce, Puerto Rico and my mom was raised in Brooklyn. My dad grew up in Harlem, in a neighborhood that was deemed by CBS News at the time to be the worst neighborhood in America because of the drugs, gangs and violence. He joined the military to get out of that life and fought in the Korean conflict. They met when he returned home and went south for college. It took them six years to work their way through North Carolina A&T, an historically black college. They threw themselves into the civil right movement at the time, sitting at lunch counters and movie theaters to desegregate Greensboro. They taught me that service was required if we were to be full citizens.

After graduating from Newton North High School and Boston College, I embarked on a career of public service. I was honored to serve in the White House on the staff of First Lady Hillary Clinton, as the regional director of FEMA for New England and on the staff of Senator John Kerry. A little after 9-11, I enlisted in the Navy Reserves and served for nine years, including a one year combat tour in Northern Iraq as an Intelligence Specialist. I am proud to be a third generation combat veteran. My grandfather fought in World War II including in the Battle of the Bulge.

When I returned from Iraq, I decided to run for mayor of my hometown. Many advised me it wasn't my turn, but thanks to a grassroots campaign that knocked on 11,000 doors, we won by 469 votes. In eight years as Mayor of Newton, I learned what it was to have the responsibility of leading a city of 88,000 and having the buck stop on my desk for items big and small, urgent and long term. When I took office, we were facing a long term structural deficit projected at \$40 million. We had two of the worst conditioned public school buildings in Massachusetts and had endured layoffs. We had no money in reserve. By the end of my term last month, we had eliminated the deficit and built a reserve fund of over \$20 million. We have a plan to build five new schools - three completed and one under construction. We built a new fire station and re-hired public safety personnel and teachers we had lost. We cut our carbon footprint in half with an aggressive program of energy savings and solar.

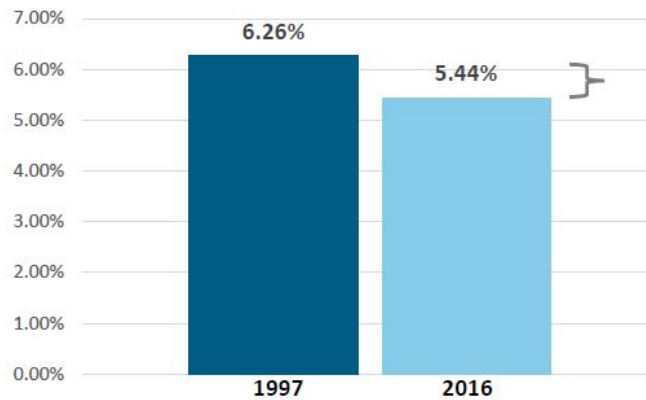
I am proud of that record and I believe being a lifelong public servant who has been a successful public sector CEO also prepares me to serve as Governor of Massachusetts.

# 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.

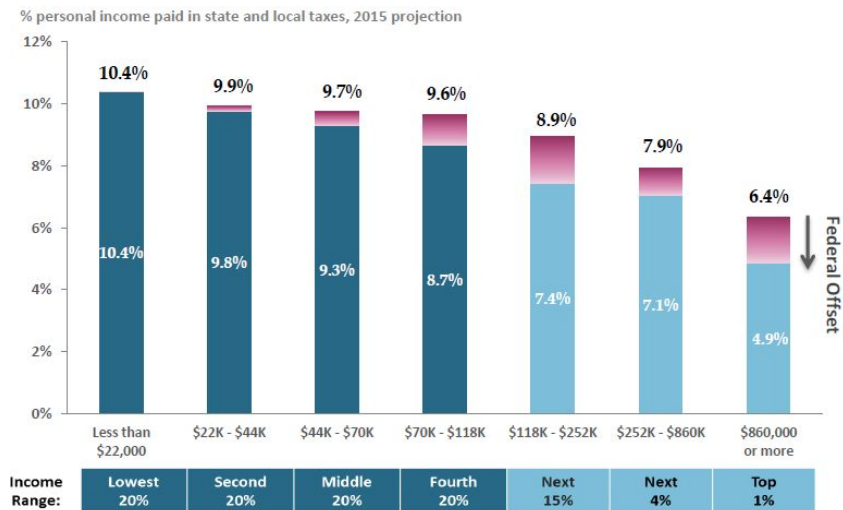
**Declining revenues have meant drastic cuts, limiting our ability to invest in our communities and future economic stability.**

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?*

**Setti D Warren:** I believe in telling the truth about our budget problems. Massachusetts does not raise enough revenue. I support a transparent budget process to fully disclose the cost of providing the services Massachusetts residents want and I support raising sufficient revenue to fully fund those priorities. I believe in increasing the progressivity of Massachusetts' tax revenue. The current budgeting process on Beacon Hill is broken and I am the only candidate in this race that has endorsed the Mass Budget & Policy Center's reform proposals to require Massachusetts to publish a level-service spending plan at the beginning of each budget process. I have committed to making such a level service spending plan part of my House One budget. In addition, I have committed to publish a five year revenue projection and update it regularly. I believe additional revenue should be raised from those who can most easily afford it. That is why I support the Fair Share Amendment.

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.).*

**Setti D Warren:** When I was elected Mayor of Newton, I faced a projected deficit of \$40 million dollars with zero reserves. Our budget faced challenges and significant needs including capital expenditures and staffing in education and public safety positions that had been cut. We cut expenses by reducing our carbon footprint and engaged in an open and transparent series of public conversations about our needs. Following that, in my re-election year, I proposed a series of property tax increases to fund priority outcomes and worked hard to pass them. We won all three questions with 54% of the vote.

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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?*

**Setti D Warren:** I support the Fair Share Tax Amendment to ask these same individuals to pay more for education and transportation in 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 [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

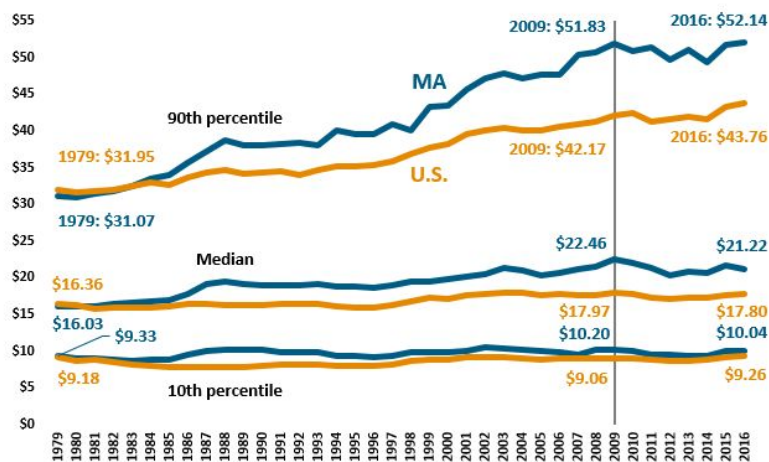
Cumulative Change in U.S. Hourly Wages for Private-Sector Production/Non-Supervisory Workers and Net Productivity, 1948-2015



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?*

**Setti D Warren:** Massachusetts is on a roll and has been for a while, yet too many people and communities are falling behind. Too often those people and communities that are falling behind have been ignored by state government. Setting a higher standard of protection for those who are working, understanding and focusing on regional inequities, investing in the infrastructure necessary for success, supporting existing small and innovation-based companies who seek to grow and seizing opportunities to make Massachusetts home to the growth industries of today tomorrow would be the elements of my plan to address economic inequality and grow good jobs at good wages.

Progressive Massachusetts' Legislative Agenda section "Our Shared Prosperity" provides a foundation for addressing economic inequality and improving the economic security for all in Massachusetts. I explicitly support all of the items in your agenda

\$15 minimum wage

Fair Share Amendment

Paid Family and Medical Leave

Affordable and Sustainable Housing Production

Single Payer Healthcare

Fully Funding Our Public Schools

Free Public Higher Education

and I commit to work with you and progressive legislators to make them law.

I would add to that list a strong commitment to regional equity in transportation and other infrastructure spending. As one example, I believe building a high speed rail service from Western Mass to Boston is a high priority. I believe all candidates in the primary support this worthy goal, but I am the only one to suggest a way to achieve it. I supported Worcester's bid to host Amazon's HQ2 with the provision that the public resources we commit to attracting them include building that train line. Although that proposal has not moved to the next round of consideration with Amazon, I know that for central and western Mass to be more competitive for the next opportunity while at the same time serving the people and businesses that are already there, we need a governor who wakes up every day thinking of ways to make these investments happen - and not just for that region. We need a massive investment in transportation infrastructure to all regions. By investing in ourselves in this way, we are creating opportunities for people who already live here and establishing a foundation for future growth and sustainable prosperity.

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.).*

**Setti D Warren:** In addition to support of the above agenda, as Mayor of Newton, I spearheaded the effort, with Needham, to create the N-Squared Innovation District. In addition, we facilitated bringing Mass Challenge and Cambridge Innovation Center to Newton to promote the support of local small entrepreneurs.

We also recognized that many students of some families lacked the social capital to access opportunities during the summer months to build skills and experience certain professional job environments. We

created a paid internship program that began five years ago with six interns and four employers. In the summer of 2017, it had grown to ninety-five interns in thirty employers.

**3. Increasing Wages.**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes.**

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

**Setti D Warren: No.** I support raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour. I do not support indexing it to inflation at this time. I believe increases should be considered each time they are increased.

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

**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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

**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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes. IMMEDIATELY**

**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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

**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?*

**Setti D Warren:** I did not support the ballot question that passed but I recognize and support the importance of putting in place regulations so that this new industry can operate smoothly and successfully.

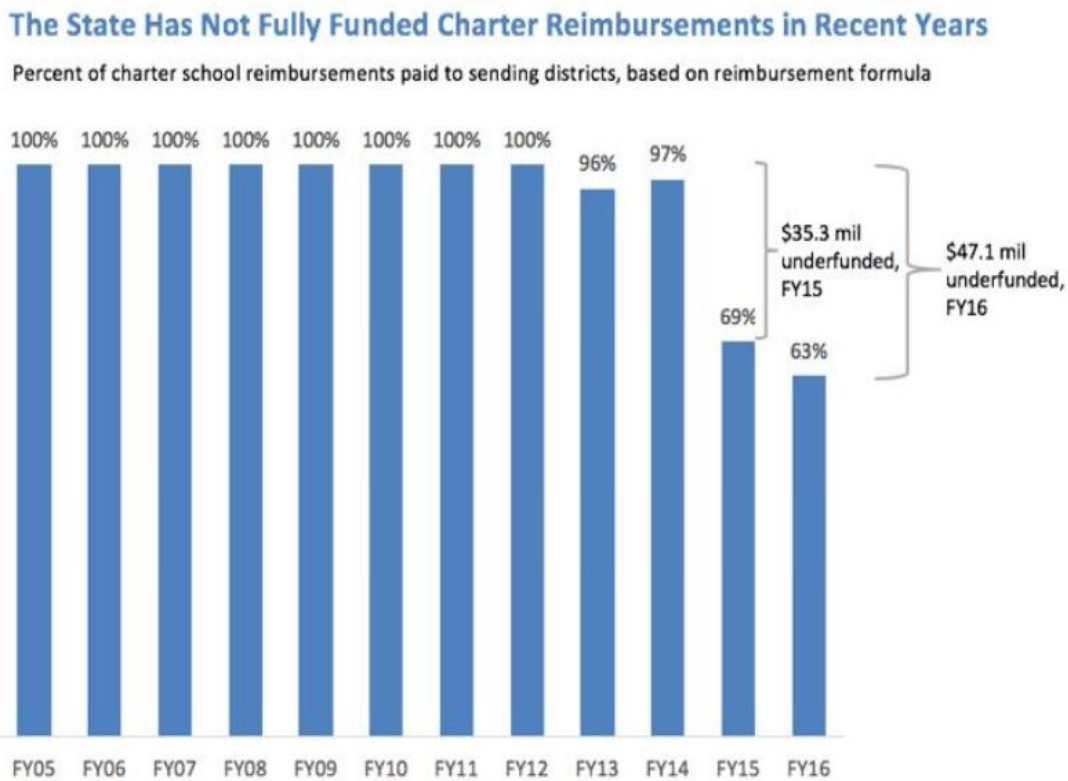
To ensure equitable access to opportunities for communities of color in this new industry, I support the proposals advanced by the Massachusetts Black & Latino Legislative Caucus including:

- \* The establishment of a study aimed to increase diversity in the marijuana industry and establish goals to promote the full industry participation of communities of color, women, and veterans;
- \* Support for minority, women, and veteran owned businesses;
- \* Record sealing for individuals with prior marijuana convictions;
- \* Participation of persons with experience in minority business development; economic development strategies for under-resourced communities; social welfare or social justice; and criminal justice reform in the Cannabis Advisory Board;
- \* The creation of the Marijuana Regulation Fund to provide funding for restorative justice, jail diversion, workforce development, industry technical assistance, and other services for economically-disadvantaged persons;
- \* Priority status for marijuana license applicants with a demonstrated commitment to economic justice empowerment in high-need communities; and
- \* The removal of language prohibiting individuals from accessing opportunities in the new industry.

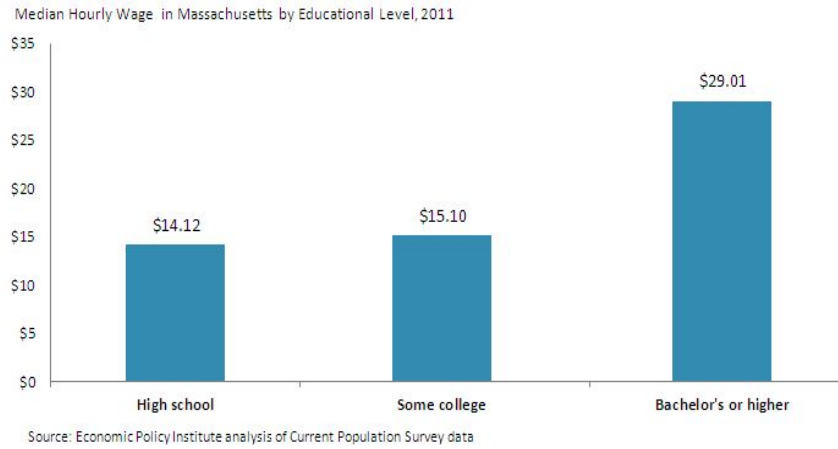
# C. EDUCATION

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.**

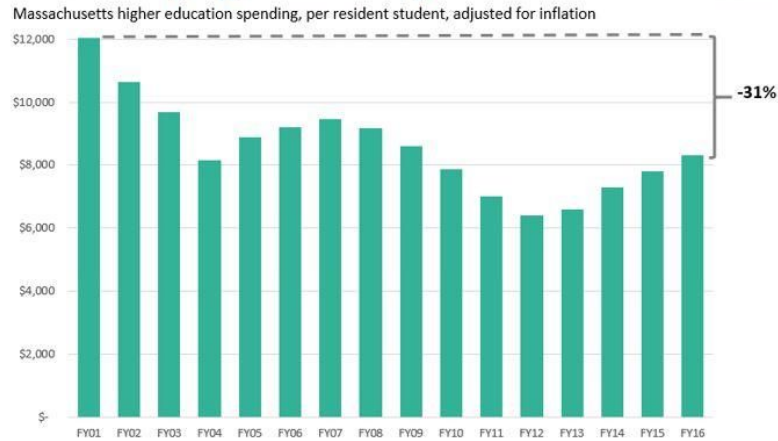


**Higher educational attainment leads to higher wages.**



**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?*

**Setti D Warren:** I believe in public education. I am a graduate of Newton North High School and both of my children attend public school. I have skin in this game. I believe, under this governor, Massachusetts is not committed to providing a quality education to every child in every district in Massachusetts. Our Chapter 70 formula is a disaster and causes pain in almost every public school building in Massachusetts. The reason this is not addressed is that everyone knows it will cost money.

We need to invest in ourselves by committing to reinvent public education. (From my prior answer where I state funding education is one of my top three priorities) That starts with admitting we are underfunding our K-12 system. We invest almost nothing in early childhood education even though we know those investments would pay off in so many ways. We do not support public higher education, resulting in denying access to many and burying too many in crippling debt. We need to invest in ourselves by spending more in education at all levels and when we make those investments in ourselves, we will benefit in many ways.

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

**Setti D Warren:** I was a vocal and strong opponent of Charlie Baker's cynical Question 2. As a member of the Newton School Committee, I led the effort for our committee to go on the record in opposition.

As a newly-elected mayor, my city confronted crumbling school buildings. We had lost teachers to layoffs. Our budget was a disaster. The way we fixed those things is I asked our residents to not accept the status quo. I asked them to raise their taxes. They said yes. We solved the problem because we were not afraid to act. That is the kind of governor I will be.

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

**Setti D Warren:** Solving achievement gaps starts with committing to increasing the funding for education across the board. The biggest impediment to that is the unwillingness of our leaders - from both parties - to be willing to raise revenues to address this. I am running against the Republican incumbent but I am explicitly willing to challenge my own party on essential issues like this.

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

**Setti D Warren:** Yes

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?*

**Setti D Warren:** Yes

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?

**Setti D Warren: 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**?

**Setti D Warren: 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?

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

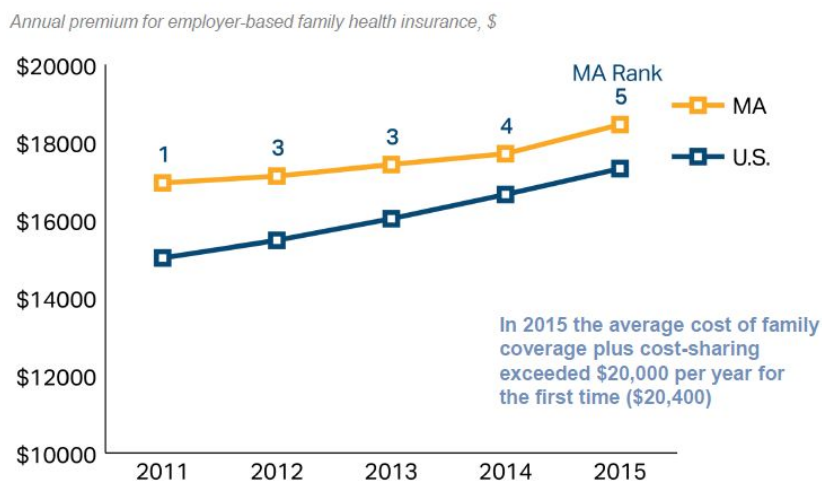
**Setti D Warren: Yes**



## 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.

**Setti D Warren:** I believe health is a public good and quality, affordable healthcare is a right for everyone. That is why I am calling for Massachusetts to move to a single payer healthcare system right now. Right now in Washington, Republicans are pushing to make healthcare more expensive and less available to people. We all know that is wrong. The truth is that today, Charlie Baker's healthcare proposals are doing the same thing. He seeks to take 140,000 families off MassHealth. I would not do that. His GIC takes 200,000 public employees and forces them off their health plan. I would not do that.

What I WOULD do is reduce drug costs and administrative costs and the way to do that is to move Massachusetts to a single payer system.

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

**Setti D Warren:** I believe my efforts as a candidate to confront the status quo on two issues related to healthcare are important.

First, single payer healthcare is important. The fact that it is hard is also true. I am not suggesting that it won't be hard. What I AM saying is I am committed to DOING the hard work - right now. I believe that is why former Vermont Governor Peter Shumlin just endorsed my candidacy.

Second, the most urgent and dangerous healthcare problem for Massachusetts is the opioid crisis. In Newton, as this problem grew, we proactively addressed it with a three-part program that included prevention efforts in the city, building out an initiative with Newton-Wellesley Hospital and interactive community education.

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

**Setti D Warren:** Yes

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

**Setti D Warren:** Yes

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?*

**Setti D Warren:** 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?*

**Setti D Warren:** 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?*

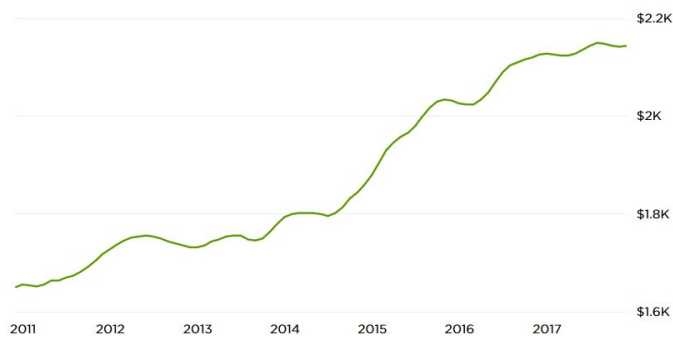
**Setti D Warren:** This would be an important element in a single payer healthcare system.

## E. HOUSING

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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?

**Setti D Warren:** Massachusetts has one of the most expensive housing markets in the country. Indeed, 17% of Massachusetts households devote over half of their income to housing. (1) Too many residents of our Commonwealth are forced to sacrifice financial stability to live close to a good job.

I believe that jobs, housing and transportation almost always are interrelated issues for most people. A failure to address affordable housing hurts many people and in addition it is a threat to our ongoing economic success and prosperity.

I support support zoning reform efforts in the state legislature to eliminate housing discrimination, encourage multi-family housing, and reduce barriers to accessory apartments, fully funding the Community Preservation Trust Fund by supplementing it with state appropriations. This means working to expand adoption of the act to 90% of cities and towns and tracking revenue flows to ensure that resources are being shared equitably across the Commonwealth. We must promote and strengthen

our existing affordable housing development tools by fully funding 40R and expanding 40S to cover 40B properties. We must also expand the annual progress criteria for 40B housing production plans to include zoning reform, thereby providing incentives for long-term housing production.

(1) 2016. "American Community Survey," US Census Bureau

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

**Setti D Warren:** As Mayor of Newton, I worked with the City Council to pass an ordinance that allowed people to build accessory apartments by right. I was also the first Mayor of Newton to develop a proactive strategic plan to create more affordable housing in the city.

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

**Setti D Warren: 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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: 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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

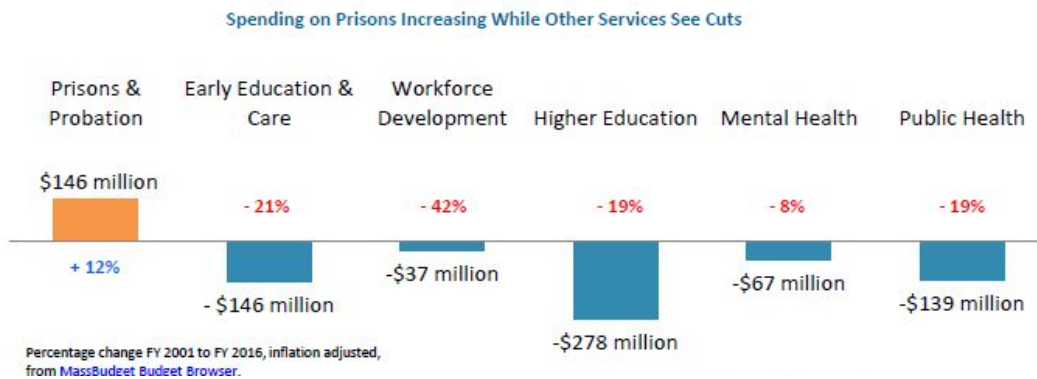
7. **Combating Speculation.** *Do you support imposing a graduated tax on private real estate transactions over \$2.5 million, with the money allocated to affordable housing trust funds?*

**Setti D Warren:** I would need more information on this idea before deciding on support.

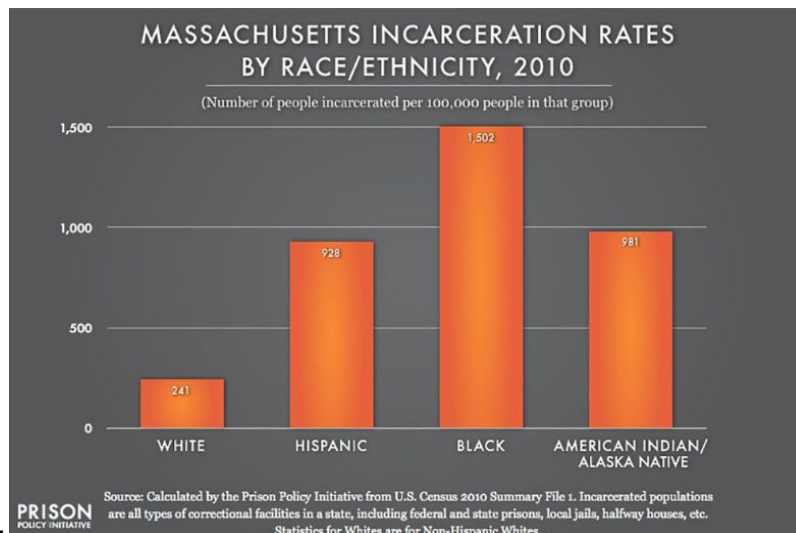
# F. RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

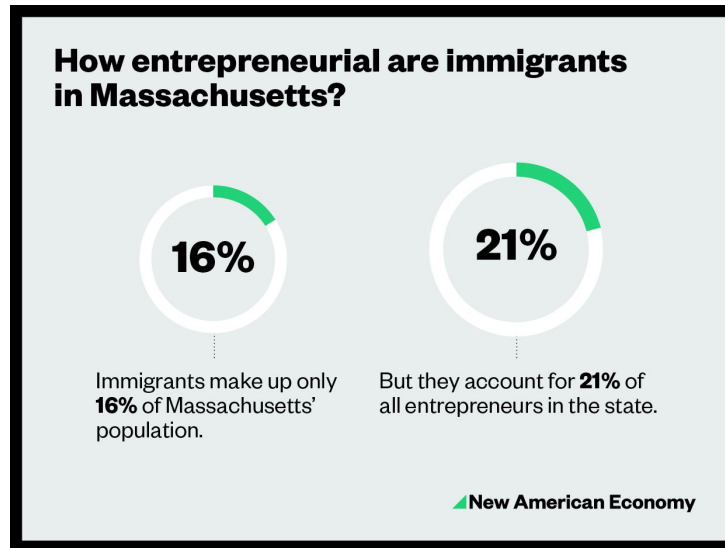
Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. The social and economic costs of mass incarceration and the policies that created it, in particular, have put our aspirations of “justice for all”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

**Setti D Warren:** Progressive Massachusetts’ Legislative Agenda section “Racial and Social Justice” provides a foundation for addressing racial and social justice for all in Massachusetts. I explicitly support all of the items in your agenda:

- \* Justice Reinvestment
- \* Eliminating Mandatory Minimum Sentences
- \* Ending Excessive Fines & Fees
- \* Safe Communities Act

and I commit to work with you and progressive legislators to make them law.

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

**Setti D Warren:** As Mayor of Newton, I worked with Holly Ryan to pass a municipal public accommodations regulation protecting our transgender residents prior to the change in state law. Later, I was proud to name Holly the first LGBTQ Liaison for the city in our history.

In addition, at the suggestion of our Democratic City Committee and progressive leaders, we enacted a Welcoming City Ordinance to protect our undocumented neighbors and to prevent the federalization of our local police to become part of President Trump’s deportation efforts. In this process, we worked with community members of all opinions including prominent Republicans and Trump supporters to earn their support.

**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?

**Setti D Warren:** 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?

**Setti D Warren: 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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: No.** I support allowing individual communities to decide this.

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

g. Increasing investment in education and job training programs for the formerly incarcerated

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: 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?

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?

**Setti D Warren: Yes**



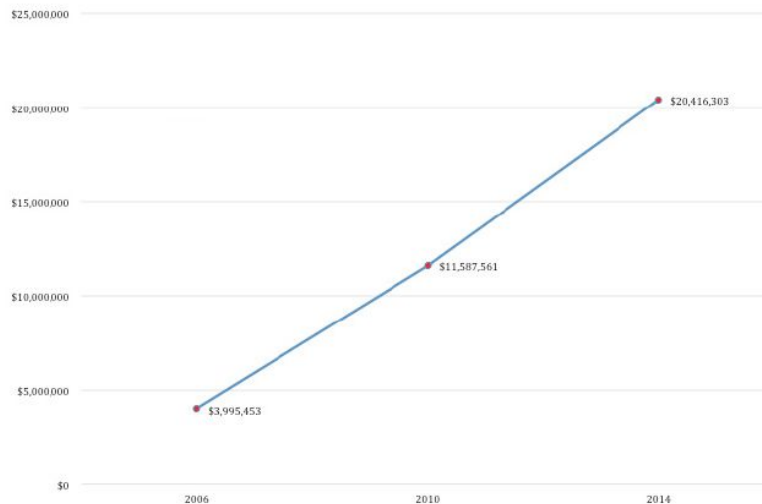
# G. GOOD GOVERNMENT/ STRONG DEMOCRACY

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*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.**

**Setti D Warren:** I believe that increased access and participation by all strengthens our democracy. Making it easier to vote is a fundamental part of accomplishing that. In that spirit, I support Progressive Massachusetts' Legislative agenda item authorizing automatic voter registration.

Massachusetts has one of the worst public records law in America. I am committed to changing that including making the Governor's Office subject to the Open Meeting and Public Records laws. I was covered by these important transparency guarantees as Mayor of Newton and have committed to abiding by them as governor.

I also believe that Massachusetts' budgeting process is badly broken. I am the only candidate to

endorse the proposals from Mass Budget & Policy Center's reform proposals that would require the governor to publicly produce a level service spending plan and a more detailed revenue projection. Everyone should know exactly how much it will cost next year to provide all the services we currently provide. I believe these are important because if they were open to the public, I believe it would be clear to all that we do not raise sufficient revenue to pay for all the items Massachusetts residents want. This kind of transparency would make it clear that we need to raise more revenue. As governor, as part of my House One budget, I will produce a level service spending plan and a five-year revenue projection. These facts will become the foundation for a more honest and open budgeting process.

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

**Setti D Warren:** The budget crisis I confronted when elected as Mayor of Newton not only threatened our public services. It also had fundamentally shaken the public's confidence in city government. I started by committing to a budget process that committed to tie every expenditure to specific outcomes for our residents. Over time, we opened the books including over seventy open town hall meetings across the city. We looked at every expenditure and saved money by cutting our carbon footprint. During the year of my re-election year, when it was clear that we would need more revenue, we put three property tax increases on the ballot. Many people advised against asking for new taxes during election year. In the end, all three questions passed and a few months later, I was elected to a second term. I believe voters deserve complete transparency regarding spending and if you do so, they will approve revenue to pay for things we need.

Massachusetts is not spending enough money in critically important areas like education, transportation and fighting the opioid crisis. I believe we need to raise revenue, and transparency is the only way we will succeed.

I am committed to both.

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? ?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

a. *Election day voter registration*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

b. *Automatic voter registration*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

d. *No-fault absentee voting*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

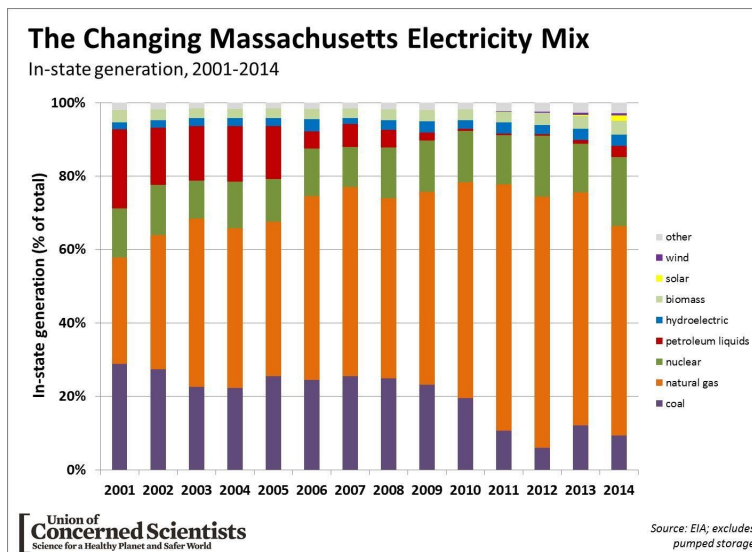
# H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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.

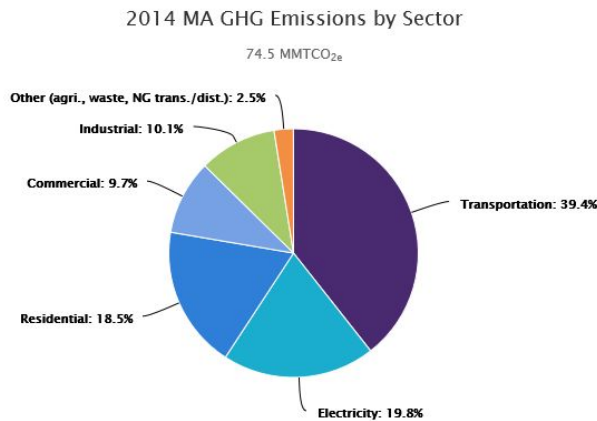
Equity issues loom large, as low-income communities and communities of color are often the most vulnerable to natural disasters and bear the brunt of pollution. In 2014, Governor Deval Patrick signed an executive order directing all state agencies to devote resources to protect the health, safety, and 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.**



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

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

**Setti D Warren:** For too long, our country’s politicians have delayed making courageous energy decisions in the face of climate change. As parents and stewards of the planet for future generations, we cannot continue to make policy and investment decisions that lock our communities into more carbon-intensive fuels for decades to come. A clean energy future is not just possible, it’s necessary now.

\* We must pass Senator Eldridge’s bill, “An Act transitioning Massachusetts to 100% Renewable Energy”, and send it to the Governor’s desk for signature as soon as possible

\* We must immediately cease all new investments into fossil fuel infrastructure, including but not limited to the natural gas compressor stations in Rehoboth and Weymouth, and redirect efforts and funding to increasing the use of hydroelectric power, wind power, solar power, and energy storage.

\* We must dramatically increase our investment in smart grid technology, and establish a new Smart Grid and Distributed Generation Division within the Department of Public Utilities to oversee widespread implementation.

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

**Setti D Warren:** As a municipality, Newton reduced our carbon footprint by half during my two terms as mayor. I also created first-of-its-kind community solar share program, which extended energy credits to qualified, low-income households on a zero-cost basis. This program was a part of a larger investment in green energy development that has made Newton a municipal leader in clean, affordable energy policy.

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

**Setti D Warren: 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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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?

**Setti D Warren: 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?

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes.** I oppose the expansion of gas pipelines and infrastructure in Mass.

8. **Carbon pricing.**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

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

**Setti D Warren:** Charlie Baker's plan for the MBTA - no new revenue and privatization - is not working and will not work.

First, I believe we need to invest in ourselves and increase spending to address decades of underinvestment in the system.

Second, we have the worst commuter rail system in America, run under a privatization contract that has been in place for many years. Why would we assume this strategy would work for other important priorities? The privatization of parking facilities, money counting and The Ride under Governor Baker have all been unmitigated disasters and the ill-advised request for proposals for bus maintenance

collapsed with only one bidder. Privatization of the MBTA is a bad idea. I have called for an immediate moratorium on any more of Charlie Baker's privatization schemes and an investigation by legislators about what has gone wrong.

Third, we need to expand the system to better serve the public. A prime example of the benefit of this would be the North-South Rail Link. I have been a part of the advocacy for this common sense idea with my friend Governor Michael Dukakis since its inception. I am proud to be endorsed by Michael and Kitty Dukakis in this race.

*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?*

**Setti D Warren: Yes**

# 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.*

**Setti D Warren:** I humbly request the endorsement of Progressive Massachusetts. I have embraced an unapologetic progressive agenda in this race. As important as each of these policies are, I know the biggest challenge facing Massachusetts is that leaders like Governor Baker and too many Democrats have worked hard to get us to believe the status quo is acceptable, that this is the best we can do. To accept that we cannot do better requires us to lower our expectations about what we can accomplish. I know we can do better and I know we must do better. Standing up for what we believe in and organizing at the grassroots is the path to victory for progressive candidates and policies. That is the kind of campaign I am building. Please join me.

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END QUESTIONNAIRE