

Josh Zakim

Statewide

**Secretary of the
Commonwealth**



Endorsement Questionnaire

Office Sought: Secretary of the Commonwealth

Party: Democrat

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Primary: September 4, 2018

Election: November 6, 2018

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Introduction: Progressive Mass

About

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

Advancing a progressive agenda in Massachusetts requires electing policymakers 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.

I. About the Candidate

Josh Zakim

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

Josh Zakim: I am running for Secretary of State because despite our progressive reputation, Massachusetts has fallen behind on the promise of democracy and access for all residents. We need to transform the way we approach politics in the Commonwealth by bringing more people into the process, and by lifting unnecessary barriers to participation in our elections and civic discussions. We can make it easier for eligible residents to vote, to access the public records to which they are entitled, and to more fully participate in our civic process.

This year, we have an opportunity to move forward on issues of access and accountability. We need to make sure that everyone across the Commonwealth will have their voices heard in the halls of power. We can, and must, embrace bold new ideas and innovative leadership to make Massachusetts the beacon of democracy that we should be.

Several antiquated and unduly restrictive barriers to participation in the democratic process – including those that impair both registration efforts and ease of access to the polls – remain in place. Public records remain difficult to view despite technological advances that should make them available with the click of a mouse. Far too many people have fallen prey to reinvestment scams, which need better oversight and policing.

Each of these falls under the purview of the Secretary of State. Bill Galvin, our current secretary who has served in the office for 24 years, is not fulfilling his responsibilities. After a quarter of a century, it is time for new leadership.

My top three priorities are increasing access and transparency around our voting system, ensuring public records are actually public, and fighting back against the constant attack on our progressive values.

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

Josh Zakim: I am in my third term on the Boston City Council, where I currently chair the Committee on Civil Rights. In this role, I have championed a progressive agenda that has led to my three proudest accomplishments as a public official. First, I authored the Boston Trust Act, which improved trust and cooperation between immigrant communities and law enforcement by prohibiting the detention of anyone based on their immigration status. Second, I convened hearings to investigate serious health and safety concerns faced by Boston residents in rental housing, issuing the first City Council subpoena in decades to compel testimony from recalcitrant slumlords. The resultant hearings ultimately led to improved landlord accountability and safer, cleaner apartments for residents. Third, during the discussion over Boston's bid to host the Olympic Games I was one of the first elected officials to speak out against that effort, and I filed legislation requiring a referendum vote of our residents on whether the city should host the games, and if so to what extent we should allow tax-payers to be on the hook for cost overruns.

As an attorney at Greater Boston Legal Services, I worked to help people in low-income and immigrant communities stave off foreclosure. In that capacity, I helped level the playing field for those often disadvantaged by a legal system that favors insiders.

As Secretary of State, my top priority will be to increase access to government for everyone. Voting is one of our most fundamental rights, and we must do more to ensure that eligible residents can participate in our elections from Election Day registration to increasing early voting to encouraging young people to vote. Turnout numbers in Massachusetts are shamefully low – participation in statewide primary elections has dropped 30 percent since 2002 – and leadership appears satisfied with a status quo that clearly isn't good enough. We need fresh ideas and bold leadership, and that is why I'm running.

II. The Issues

Limit answers to 150 words or fewer.

Good Government and Strong Democracy are a core part of our Progressive Platform. As an organization, Progressive Massachusetts fights for:

- **AN ELECTORAL SYSTEM** that expands voting, the electorate and its trust in candidates and elected officials.
- **A CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM** that reduces the influence of money and returns elections to issues and the electorate.
- **A GOVERNMENT** that fulfills its responsibility to represent the interests of the Commonwealth and our residents, with transparency and accountability.

Each section will begin with a question about how you would assess current efforts in Massachusetts and what your top priorities would be if elected. Subsequent questions ask about specific policies or initiatives.

We recognize that the role of the Secretary of the Commonwealth is to serve as the enforcer of the state's election law, and while their positions can influence the legislative agenda, ultimately this authority falls to the Legislative Branch. Nonetheless, we are interested to know the positions of the candidates regarding current or potential legislation from that perspective.

We encourage you to expand your answers beyond "yes/no" in the additional comments space provided on the form.

A. Voting Rights & Voting Access

With [75% turnout](#) in the 2016 presidential election, Massachusetts has one of the highest voter turnouts in the country. But 75%, a C, is little to be proud of. First of all, that statistic fails to include the nearly 700,000 citizens eligible to vote who remain unregistered. And second, [racial and income disparities](#) in registration rates remain persistent. We can, and must, do better. Massachusetts took important steps toward modernizing our elections with the 2014 election modernization bill, but we remain the only state in New England without some form of Election Day Registration. And since [Oregon](#) first adopted automatic voter registration in 2015, ten states and DC have followed. With voting rights under assault from the Trump administration, it is more important than ever for Massachusetts to push forward efforts to protect and expand the right to vote, the cornerstone of our democracy.

1. *What grade would you give to Massachusetts when it comes to voting rights and voting access? What would be your top priorities for taking the state further in this area?*

Josh Zakim: I'd give Massachusetts an F for voting rights and voting access, and that's why I have centered my campaign around these issues. Turnout during a presidential election year – with its saturation coverage of the candidates and the horse race – is not how you judge turnout. Rather, it should be looked at during the other cycles – when the top of the ticket does not feature someone like Barack Obama or Donald Trump. In those cycles in Massachusetts, turnout is on a steady and embarrassing decline. From 2002 to 2014, turnout in nonpresidential elections decreased by nearly 300,000 voters.

My top priority in this area – and in this campaign – is making it easier to register and to vote. I have long championed Election Day registration. I also favor expanding early voting, allowing for weekend voting, and scrapping the law that requires an approved excuse to get an absentee ballot. Although my opponent claims to have seen the light on these positions after 24 years of aggressively protecting the status quo, it defies reason to believe that his sudden conversions reflect sincerely held beliefs. Indeed, he continues to contest a court ruling that overturned our state's 20-day voter registration deadline (*Chelsea Collaborative, et al v. Galvin*).

2. *Automatic Voter Registration. Eleven states and the District of Columbia have already adopted this reform, in which eligible citizens who interface with designated state agencies are automatically registered to vote unless they opt-out. Do you support the implementation of Automatic Voter Registration in Massachusetts using the RMV and MassHealth as the designated agencies (as proposed in pending legislation)? Are there other agencies you would propose using to further expand AVR?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I support AVR. In fact, I sponsored and successfully ushered a City Council resolution endorsing AVR last year. While the Registry and MassHealth are excellent starting-point agencies, I would like to see the initiative expanded to other departments with which everyone in Massachusetts interacts. For example, since we already ask on state tax forms whether residents would like to donate to publicly funded campaigns, the Department of Revenue would be a logical agency to designate as well.

3. **Voter Registration Cutoff.** *Last summer, the Suffolk Superior Court, in Chelsea Collaborative v. Gavin, ruled that MA's 20-day registration cutoff is arbitrary and unconstitutional as it denies thousands their right to vote. Do you support this ruling?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I absolutely support Judge Wilkins' ruling in *Chelsea Collaborative v. Galvin*, and if the appeal is still pending when I become Secretary, the very first thing I'll do is drop it. It is inconceivable that Secretary Galvin opted to appeal and to willingly preserve an unconstitutional system for at least two more elections. It is even more galling for him to now say that he supports same-day registration and AVR (again, after 24 years of inaction that profoundly undermines his campaign rhetoric) while standing by this appeal.

4. **Election Day Registration.** *Election Day Registration is one of the best-proven methods of increasing voter participation in elections. Do you support allowing voters to newly register or re-register at the polls on Election Day?*

Josh Zakim: YES. As stated above, I fully support Election Day registration, and would drop the appeal of *Chelsea Collaborative v. Galvin* immediately after taking office. Election Day, or same day, registration is a key part of my expanding voting access package that I have already unveiled, and is the centerpiece of my campaign.

Including during the Early Voting period?

YES. This includes the early voting period, as well.

5. **Early Voting - Primaries/Municipal Elections.** *Massachusetts voters were able to vote early for the first time in the 2016 presidential election, and one-third of voters took advantage of this opportunity. Do you support expanding early voting to cover primaries and municipal elections as well?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I absolutely support early voting and would like to see it expanded. And yes, it should be used in primaries and municipal elections. Galvin's support of early voting is spurious, however, since his proposal for early voting for the state primary this year is during the last week of August. Scheduling the primary for the day after Labor Day, and for five days of early voting from Aug. 27-31, was a cynical maneuver aimed at depressing turnout and preserving the status quo. It takes more than a small amount of hypocrisy to claim support for expanded voter access while continuing to take active measures explicitly designed to impede.

6. **Early Voting - Evenings/Weekends.** *Do you support requiring that cities and towns offer evening and weekend options for early voting?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I do support this and have proposed it as part of my campaign platform.

7. **Absentee Voting.** *Most states do not require absentee voters to provide an excuse when requesting a ballot, but Massachusetts does. Would you support moving to a system of no-fault absentee voting?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I also support this, and have proposed scrapping the required excuses for obtaining

an absentee ballot.

8. **Felon Disenfranchisement.** *In 2001, the Massachusetts Constitution was amended to prohibit all prisoners who are incarcerated for a felony conviction from voting in any election. Would you support ending that prohibition?*

Josh Zakim: YES. Laws and policies that have resulted in mass incarceration are disproportionately enforced in low-income and minority communities. Accordingly, as a matter of racial and economic equity, I support ending this prohibition and restoring the system that was in place prior to 2000.

9. **Prisoners' Voting Rights.** *Individuals who have finished serving their time for a felony conviction, individuals who are serving a misdemeanor sentence, and individuals who are civilly committed have the right to vote in Massachusetts. How would you rate current efforts to ensure they are aware of their rights and exercise it? What additional steps would you take to improve upon existing efforts?*

Josh Zakim: People deserve a fresh start and a second chance, but low turnout numbers prove that little to nothing is being done to help. I support requiring, as part of a prisoner's discharge process, a briefing of the rights that are being restored to them, including the right to vote. I have already discussed this with some of our county sheriffs and would work with the sheriffs and state Dept. of Correction to make voter registration a part of the re-entry process.

10. **Immigrants' Rights.** *Twenty years ago, Amherst and Cambridge submitted home rule petitions to the Legislature to allow non-citizens, such as green card holders and students with visas, to vote in municipal elections. Do you support such efforts?*

Josh Zakim: YES. Yes, I support the efforts of Amherst and Cambridge in allowing their non-citizens, who are green card holders and students with visas, to vote in their municipal elections.

11. **Language Access.** *In 2016, the Census Bureau determined that Massachusetts has two municipalities that must provide language assistance during elections in Chinese and one municipality in Cambodian under Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act. Both Chinese and Cambodian written languages do not use Romanic characters. Do you support transliterating the names of candidates on ballots in cities that must comply with Section 203?*

Josh Zakim: YES. Yes, I have talked about early and often that we must making voting accessible, which includes utilizing other languages in our registration and voting system.

12. **Youth Participation.** *Young people consistently vote at lower rates than other age groups, and are less likely to be able to be registered to vote. How would you rate current efforts to engage young people? What additional steps would you take to increase voter registration and participation among young voters, especially high school and college students?*

Josh Zakim: Massachusetts' efforts at getting and encouraging young people to vote are awful. Aside from Secretary Galvin's reluctance to make it easier for everyone to register and vote – which greatly affects young people – there is little to no outreach by the Secretary's office to schools for registration drives or even to visit classrooms to talk to students about the importance of voting. As Secretary, I'll leave Beacon Hill frequently to talk with students about the importance of participating in their

government. I have proposed legislation, currently pending in the Boston City Council, that would require our public schools to inform 16, 17, and 18 year-old students that they may register to vote, and to provide them with the necessary support to actually register and then vote in our elections.

13. **Accurate and Comprehensive Voter Lists.** *Until March of 2017, Massachusetts was part of the [Interstate Crosscheck system](#), which states use to identify potential double registrations but which has increased the risk of purging legally registered voters, especially people of color. ERIC, or the Electronic Registration Information Center, a program developed by IBM and the Pew Charitable Trusts, offers an alternative. Rather than just matching the voter's name and date of birth, ERIC also looks at a voter's driver's license number or Social Security number, and it provides officials lists of potentially unregistered voters as an outreach opportunity as well. Would you support Massachusetts's joining of the ERIC consortium?*

Josh Zakim: YES. Kris Kobach's Interstate Crosscheck was a bold attempt to suppress the vote and disenfranchise millions of Americans. People of color were disproportionately impacted. I am disappointed that Secretary Galvin waited until just last year to pull out of this program.

14. **Help America Vote Act.** *Massachusetts has \$43 million in money from the Help America Vote Act to promote voter registration and engagement, more than any other state except for California. How do you plan to use this money?*

Josh Zakim: This money needs to be used to meet unregistered people where they are. Instead of running the same television ads, which can be skipped with DVR or Netflix, I would utilize current technology. If we had online registration without a precondition, we could utilize social media and door-to-door canvassing to immediately register voters. Currently the Commonwealth is unable to do this because to register online, you have to have a signature at the RMV, which not all those that live in Massachusetts have. We must also ensure every person that has the right to vote is able to register, which is why we must ensure that the registration process is multilingual and accessible to those with disabilities. Our current Secretary of State website lacks the ability to translate it into non-English languages, which our current City of Boston website has. We must embrace technology to allow government to be accessible, not shy from it.

15. **Protection from Election Irregularities.** *The 2016 election revealed threats and vulnerabilities to our election system, particularly for states with electronic voting. Massachusetts was protected from these risks due to our reliance on paper ballots. How would you assess our current level of vulnerability, and what steps would you take to protect our elections from these risks?*

Josh Zakim: I agree with the Center for American Progress and give our system a C rating. While paper ballots are one aspect to protecting our voting system, we cannot rely solely on this to ensure that our system is not compromised. We must perform post-election audits after every election, not just presidential elections. We also must tap into the expertise in our community around cybersecurity, which I have already started to do and will be rolling out detailed policy plans throughout the campaign around this issue.

B. Campaign Finance & Disclosure

The outside role of big money in our elections remains a threat to the promise and practice of democracy. In 1998, Massachusetts voters backed the creation of a public campaign financing system by 2 to 1. Five years later, the Legislature repealed this “clean elections” law. Massachusetts does have some of the [strongest campaign finance regulations](#) in the country, including [dark money disclosure regulations](#) passed in 2014, but [loopholes abound](#), allowing candidates and donors to circumvent regulations and to take advantage of the laxity of federal campaign finance law.

1. *What grade would you give to Massachusetts when it comes to campaign finance & disclosure? What would be your top priorities for taking the state further in this area?*

Josh Zakim: I support publicly funded elections, in principle, for candidates who agree to spending limits, but not at the expense of going back to the 2002 situation where “clean elections” won its court challenge but was not funded by the Legislature. That threw the entire system into upheaval, and eased the case for full repeal of the law.

There is too much money, both soft and hard, in our elections. The Baker Administration’s seemingly legal exploitation of a loophole has made a mockery of our political finance laws.

I have always, and will continue, to fund my campaign through individual contributions that stay within the legal limits.

If the Legislature (or voters) approve a new public financing system and the Legislature funds it, I will support it and opt in by agreeing to funding caps.

2. ***Citizens United.** The 2010 Citizens United vs. FEC ruling from the US Supreme Court eliminated restrictions on independent expenditures by corporations, leading to a [flood of dark money](#) in our elections. Do you support the repeal of Citizens United?*

Josh Zakim: YES. *Citizens United* is one of the worst and most harmful Supreme Court decisions in recent history, and I fully support its repeal, including the potential for an amendment to the US Constitution.

3. ***Campaign Finance Loopholes.** Charlie Baker’s “[Massachusetts Victory Committee](#)” fundraising arrangement with the Republican National Committee has exploited loopholes in state campaign finance laws, if not openly violating them. Do you support 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?*

Josh Zakim: YES. As stated above, I question the legality of this practice and support closing this loophole.

4. **Dark Money -- Enforcement.** Last year, Families for Excellent Schools-Advocacy, a pro-charter school nonprofit, was hit with the largest fine in the history of the state Office of Campaign and Political Finance. FES had been anonymously receiving major checks from Baker administration officials and financiers for prohibited electioneering activity around Question 2 on the 2016 ballot. What steps would you take to prevent such dark money schemes?

Josh Zakim: We saw in the 2016 election that advertisements and use of personal data to target voters can negatively impact our electoral process. Disclosure and penalties are key to ensuring the public is aware of who is behind campaign ads. Until we are able to overturn *Citizens United*, we must work to shine light on those that wish to disrupt our political process through misleading and at times blatantly fake advertisements.

5. **Dark Money -- Practicing What You Preach.** In your run for Secretary of State, will you reject outside spending, especially non-disclosed spending, on your behalf?

Josh Zakim: I have consistently supported a constitutional amendment to overturn Citizens United and will continue to support all efforts to do so. Until that day comes, regretfully it will be impossible for any candidate to dictate the terms of outside non-disclosed spending.

6. **Corporate Money.** The Massachusetts Fiscal Alliance, backed by the right-wing advocacy group the Goldwater Institute, has sued to overturn the Massachusetts law that prevents businesses from making contributions to political candidates. Do you support the ban on business contributions to political candidates?

Josh Zakim: YES. I support maintaining the ban on businesses contributing to candidates.

7. **Corporate Transparency.** Do you support requiring a vote from the shareholders of a corporation before said corporations is able to contribute to a political candidate or campaign via independent expenditures?

Josh Zakim: YES.

8. **Public Campaign Financing -- P1.** Currently, public financing is only available to candidates for the six state constitutional offices. Would you support expanding this to the Legislature?

Josh Zakim: YES. I support this, as long as it is fully funded.

9. **Public Campaign Financing -- P2.** Would you lobby for a robustly funded public campaign financing system?

Josh Zakim: YES. I would, and I would lobby the Legislature to ensure it is fully funded.

C. OPEN GOVERNMENT

In 2015, the Center for Public Integrity gave Massachusetts an F for public access to information. The [2016 public records reform law](#) contained many vital reforms to increase transparency and public accountability. Despite such advances, Massachusetts still lags behind its peers. Massachusetts, for example, is [one of only two states](#) that exempt the Governor's Office, Legislature, and judiciary from public records law. And any advances in open government only matter to the extent that public records law is vigorously enforced.

1. *What grade would you give to Massachusetts when it comes to open government? What would be your top priorities for taking the state further in this area?*

Josh Zakim: I agree with the Center for Public Integrity for the "F" that gave Massachusetts for open records and transparency. My top priorities would be ending the exemption for the Governor's Office, Legislature, and Judiciary. Under Secretary Galvin, a deeply flawed interpretation of state law allowed law enforcement officials to conceal serious wrongdoing within their departments for years. This stance reflects a cynical view of the public's right to and has repeatedly been rejected by the courts. As secretary, I would appoint a Supervisor of Public Records whose rulings properly consider the public interests served by transparency and accountability.

2. *Exemptions. Do you support ending the aforementioned exemption for the Governor's Office, Legislature, and judiciary?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I do, as stated above. They should have the same requirements and exemptions as every other office and agency.

3. *Access to Records. The 2016 public records reform bill allowed state agencies to contract out to vendors to store records, raising the potential that a nongovernmental entity could hinder access to records. How would you address this discrepancy?*

Josh Zakim: Public records belong to the public and should be accessible all of the time. I would discourage storing records with private entities, and in the cases they are being used, secure a guarantee that any such entity will fully comply with the Commonwealth's open records law.

4. *Law Enforcement & Public Officials. Last December, the Suffolk Superior Court ruled that agencies in Massachusetts can't use the state's criminal records law to withhold mug shots of police officers who are arrested and police reports involving public officials accused of breaking the law. Do you support this ruling?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I support the court ruling and vehemently disagree with Secretary Galvin's position on the matter. I would counsel the City of Boston and the Attorney General to drop the appeal and make Secretary Galvin comply with the law.

5. *Conflicts of Interest. Would you commit to lobbying the State Ethics Commission to make Conflicts of Interest Law disclosures available online in a digital database (with private information duly redacted)?*

Josh Zakim: YES. Yes, this is a part of my campaign platform about digitizing as many public records as possible to make accessing them easier and faster.

6. **Public Record Opinions.** *The Supervisor of Public Records has recently moved toward proactively publishing recent public records opinions. Would you commit to continuing and building on this practice?*

Josh Zakim: YES. Transparency is a pillar of a strong democracy.

D. CENSUS

The 2020 Census is on the horizon, with major implications for Massachusetts. The Census influences the foundation of representative democracy: how the lines of districts are drawn (at all levels), as well as how many many Congressional seats and funding a state gets. Making sure that everyone gets counted is essential to securing adequate federal resources, many of which are allocated on a per capita basis, as well as to maintaining accurate data on public health. But the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the Census is at risk, as Congress fails to provide sufficient funding and the Trump administration eyes opportunities to advance a xenophobic agenda in yet another arena.

1. *What grade would you give to Massachusetts when it comes to the census? What would be your top priorities for taking the state further in this area?*

Josh Zakim: I'd give Massachusetts a low grade in census taking, likely a C or D. Since Galvin has become Secretary, the state's population is up 500,000, but we've lost a congressional seat. There is no question that there are large swaths of people, particularly immigrants, who are being undercounted.

2. *Comprehensiveness. What is your plan to make sure that every Massachusetts resident is properly counted in the 2020 Census, particularly those currently at risk of being undercounted as a result of changes to the process introduced by the Trump Administration (e.g., college students, veterans, and immigrants)?*

Josh Zakim: Ensuring that residents are counted is critical to providing accessibility, which means we must be proactive and culturally competent. Producing materials in the many different languages that are spoken across the Commonwealth, hiring staff that not only speak different languages, but who know and are representative of the diverse communities of Massachusetts. And it means standing up to the Trump Administration's continued assaults on our immigrant neighbors. In my time on the City Council, I have and will continue to protect all members of our community. Whether it's through the Boston Trust Act, which we passed in 2014, or the more recent stances I have led on like rallying and adopting resolutions to urge TPS extensions and opposing the President's plan to send Secret Service agents into our polling places. As Secretary, I will continue this work of standing up for our progressive values.

3. *Immigrant Populations. The Trump administration has toyed with the idea of including a question about citizenship status on the 2020 Census, which would make many undocumented immigrants hesitant to fill it out. Do you oppose such a proposal? If it were implemented, what steps would you take to overcome this impediment and make sure immigrants are counted in the 2020 Census?*

Josh Zakim: YES. I vehemently oppose inquiring about citizenship status on census documents.

4. *Language Access. Will you make Census materials available in the top 9 most widely spoken languages in the Commonwealth (besides English)?*

Josh Zakim: 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.

Josh Zakim: My parents instilled in my sisters and me a strong sense of social and economic justice. My father, Lenny, was the longtime head of the Anti-Defamation League, and lived out those values every day in his work throughout Greater Boston by building and growing coalitions amongst Massachusetts' many diverse groups. That passion for inclusiveness is in my DNA, and I remember every single day that I am a public servant. I will never forget where I came from and who I am here to serve. And I believe the Secretary of State's role is a perfect way to expand the ideals my family and I - and the people who share our values - hold so dear.

END QUESTIONNAIRE