

PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS 2020 LEGISLATIVE

ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: 5/15/2020

Candidate: Dave Rogers

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We view our questionnaire as an educational resource, for both candidates and voters, on progressive approaches to the issues. It provides candidates the opportunity to address a number of important issues beyond the surface talking points, which progressive voters find extremely valuable when making a decision.

Our Questionnaires starts with an "About You" section and ends with an opportunity for you to include additional remarks beyond what we asked.

The bulk of our questionnaire is focused on the issues outlined in our <u>Progressive Platform</u>, which also inform our <u>Legislative Agenda</u>. We are interested in your overall philosophy as well as your views on specific policy and legislation.

Each section features charts or graphs (with links to sources) that illustrate one or more facets of the issue under discussion.

We encourage you to expand your answers beyond "yes/no" in the additional comments space provided on the form, but please keep answers < 150 words.

Issue Subsections:

- A. Revenue and Taxation
- B. Jobs and the Economy
- C. Education
- D. Health Care
- E. Housing
- F. Racial and Social Justice
- G. Good Government and Strong Democracy
- H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

Our questionnaire is comprehensive and will take time to complete. Please develop your answers in a separate document before inputting them into the submission form. (progressivemass.com/questionnaire)

I. About You

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

DR: Since 2013, it has been an honor to represent the communities of Arlington, Belmont, and Cambridge. Ever since my election, I have worked to bring a remarkable progressive legislative agenda to fruition. A few of these accomplishments include playing an important role in: sweeping criminal justice reform; clean energy incentives; dramatic increases to education funding; gun safety legislation; and this list could go on at considerable length. I was pushing for all these changes and additional ideas for which I am advocating now. Despite many big breakthroughs, I am constantly brainstorming ways to make a positive difference in the Commonwealth and in fact have filed worker protection bills during the Covid crisis. As I seek another term, my priorities include continuing to push improvements to our transportation systems, improving environmental protection and addressing climate change, and continuing to protect and strengthen the civil rights and liberties of every member of our communities.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

DR: I believe the relationships and experience I have accrued as the Representative of Arlington, Belmont, and Cambridge, have positioned me well to continue to lead on progressive issues at the State House.

I worked on Capitol Hill as an aide to the first African-American woman elected to Congress, Eva Clayton. I worked for a federal trial judge, at the White House on the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, and at the EPA. I studied economics, worked for a leading economic consulting firm, and have worked on a variety of social movements and political campaigns.

I have gained profound empathy for the plight of everyday citizens through personal setbacks I have endured, including the loss of my father suddenly when I was a child. Our family needed Social Security Survivors Benefits to get by. I have seen the importance of the social safety net in my own life.

3. What do you view as the biggest obstacles to passing progressive policy at the state level?

DR: Part of the challenge is ensuring that key stakeholders reach agreement on policy, which can create serious difficulty in passing laws. I have seen this firsthand as Chair of the Cannabis Policy. Although I was originally one of the few leading Statehouse advocates for legalization, I have seen groups that worked together on legalization then turn around and disagree on policy questions.

The influence of various industries has also led to difficulties in the lawmaking process. While the jobs they provide are important, their role as large employers should not allow them to block key initiatives that are in our State's interest.

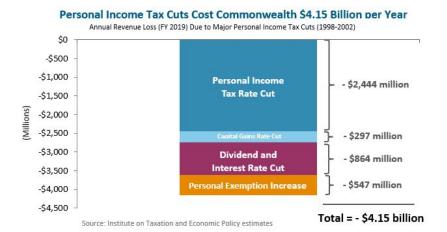
As an example, I faced this first hand when I filed "net neutrality" legislation to counter the outrageous overturning of the Obama era rules. I believe the cable & telecom companies killed it for their own interests. If re-elected, I'm filing my bill again and will be ready to meet their resistance.

II. The Issues

A. Revenue and Taxation

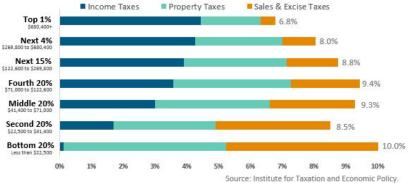
Between 1977 and 2016, Massachusetts <u>reduced state taxes</u> by more than all but two other states. Because of income tax cuts enacted between 1998 and 2002, Massachusetts loses over \$4 billion in tax revenue <u>each year--\$4</u> billion that is not invested in our roads, bridges, schools, parks, and services, all of which have historically been part of why MA is a great place to live. 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--and willingness--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 state and local taxes are regressive.

Highest Income Taxpayers Pay Smaller Share of Income in State and Local Taxes % of personal income paid in state and local taxes, 2018 projection



1. Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: Raising revenue in a progressive way was a distinguishing cornerstone of my initial campaign and my service in office. When Governor Patrick introduced a sweeping package to raise revenue by almost \$2 Billion, I was one of a handful of legislators to side with Governor Patrick.

I have been a leader in the Fair Share movement to put a ballot question in front of voters to raise taxes on incomes over \$1 million by 4%. It will be on the ballot in 2022 and I plan to vigorously campaign for it.

In the recent transportation financing debate, I pushed for progressive revenue sources, particularly arguing for increased corporate taxes (which we did). I have additionally filed revenue bills including a bill to raise the capital gains tax significantly, which currently unfairly benefits the well off. I have been a relentless leader in the fight for additional revenue.

- Corporate Tax Breaks. Corporate tax breaks cost Massachusetts more than \$1 billion in foregone revenue each year. Companies can secure access to such tax breaks due to political connections whether or not the promised benefits ever materialize. Which of the following accountability steps would you support?
 - a. Collecting and publicly disclosing information about the benefits to the state from any tax break?
 - b. Repealing any tax break that does not provide the intended benefits in a cost-effective manner?
 - c. Establishing sunset dates for all tax breaks so that they must come up for periodic review?
- 3. <u>Fair Share</u>. Would you support 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")?

DR: YES.

I voted for the Fair Share amendment in the constitutional convention and lobbied other members to do so too. I publicly discussed it in my community in a variety of settings advocating for it and in my communications with constituents. In other words, I do not only support it, I have been working to help make it happen. Just recently, I supported the passage of a major tax increase package to benefit transportation infrastructure, including additional funding to the T, and pushed that it be as large as possible and that it be progressive rather than regressive. I wanted more than the approximately \$600 million that we did, but it is most definitely a significant revenue package nonetheless and a helpful bridge to the Fair Share amendment vote in 2022. The Senate has not taken it up yet.

- 4. **Progressive Revenue**. Massachusetts will not see new revenue from the Fair Share Amendment until 2023, but we have unmet needs now (and will still even with the Fair Share Amendment). Which policies would you support to make a more progressive tax code?
 - a. Raising the corporate minimum tax for larger companies? (The corporate minimum tax is currently only \$456.)
 - b. Imposing a tax on the portion of corporations' US profits that are shifted to offshore tax havens?
 - c. Raising the corporate tax rate from 8% to 9.5% (where it stood in 2009)?
 - d. Raising the tax on long-term capital gains from 5% to 8.95%, in line with states like New York and Vermont?
 - e. Levying a modest tax on university endowments greater than \$1 billion?

DR: With regards to the inequity of our State's current tax breaks for corporations, we can do better. Just recently, I supported the passage of a major tax increase package to benefit transportation infrastructure, including additional funding to the T. This bill, which was passed overwhelmingly in the House, will raise corporate taxes, which is long overdue. If the Governor and the federal government will not lead, I promise you that myself, along with my colleagues in the House of Representatives, will. I will continue to work tirelessly to bring all relevant stakeholders to the table in order to fashion a state-wide solution to transportation and infrastructure issues.

B. Jobs and the Economy

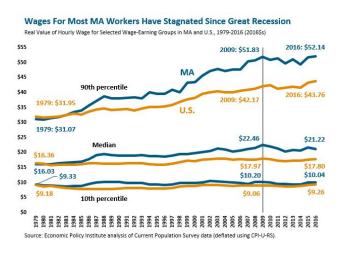
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten <u>most unequal states</u>, as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for <u>health care</u>, <u>housing</u>, and <u>child care</u>, all of which strain wages. A strong economy depends on strong wages, as workers spend and help local economies thrive. Although the recently passed minimum wage increase will eventually lift the minimum wage to \$15 per hour, this is <u>still not a living wage</u> for many.

In recent decades, unions have been under attack. However, unions played -- and continue to play -- a pivotal role in creating a strong middle class. With weaker unions (or no unions at all) come weaker social and economic rights and an imbalanced economy.

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



Wages for most MA workers have remained stagnant since the Great Recession.



1. Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: Throughout my service, I have made the fight for social and economic justice completely central to my work, and have consistently supported and pushed for virtually every major initiative to make our society more just and fair. The list is too long for this space but from paid family and medical leave, earned sick time, raising the minimum wage, or raising taxes on wealthy people to invest in education, I have championed these causes. I proudly authored and passed the Pregnant Workers Fairness Act, to protect these individuals from workplace discrimination. I was the first Representative to reintroduce rent control legislation, and others followed. I also filed the "Cover All Kids" bill, which will give undocumented immigrant children better access to healthcare.

For many of the questions between 2 through 7 below, it is not only that I support these ideas; I have put my name on them, co-sponsoring legislation to accomplish these issues.

2. <u>Fair Wages</u>. Do you support eliminating the subminimum wage for tipped workers in support of one fair wage?

DR: YES.

3. <u>Wage Theft</u>. Do you support holding businesses responsible for the wage violations of their subcontractors when the work they do is substantially connected to the company's operations?

DR: YES.

4. <u>Overtime</u>. Would you support updating MA's state overtime law to restore overtime pay protections to low- and moderate-income salaried workers when they work more than 40 hours a week?

DR: YES.

5. <u>Fair Scheduling</u>. Many workers in the service sector face irregular working hours, making it difficult to plan for other life events. Do you support providing workers the right to 14 days advance notice of hours and the right to request specific hours without retaliation from the employer?

DR: YES.

6. <u>Unions</u>. Since the 2010 election, a number of states have rolled back the collective bargaining rights of public workers as part of a well-funded, nationwide assault on unions, led by wealthy, conservative donors. Would you oppose any effort to roll back the collective bargaining rights of state or municipal employees?

DR: YES.

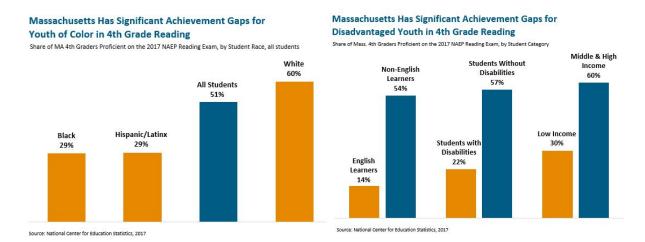
7. <u>Mandatory Arbitration</u>. Would you support legislation to prohibit the use of mandatory arbitration provisions in employment contracts, i.e., requirements that an employee forfeit the right to sue the employer for discrimination, nonpayment of wages, or other illegal conduct?

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. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the <u>most unequal</u> in the country. Powerful corporate interests are promoting false solutions and working to undermine public schools, teachers, and unions. These groups invest 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. Costly, mandated standardized test results are used to label schools as "failing" and justify these privatization schemes.

Most of the <u>fastest-growing occupations</u> require education beyond a high school diploma, but Massachusetts has been disinvesting from public higher education for the past two decades. This has led to higher tuition costs, putting students at risk of long-term debt or making higher education out of reach for them entirely.

Massachusetts has significant achievement gaps reflective of resource gaps.



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



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

1. Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: From day one of my service, I have been advocating for increased resources to education including helping to push for the creation of the Foundation Budget Review Commission (FBRC). The findings of the FBRC in turn ultimately led to the passage of the landmark "Student Opportunity Act", which has since been signed into law. This Act establishes the ability for the Commonwealth to invest \$1.5 Billion into our Public Education System over the next seven years. As your Representative, I have and promise to continue to support and fight for legislation that will ensure that Arlington, Belmont, and Cambridge's commitment to education is protected. The breakthrough civics education law incorporates my legislation on media literacy, which is a major advancement in education in the Commonwealth.

Note: For questions 2 through 8, not only do I support the ideas, in many cases I have co-sponsored legislation to achieve these objectives.

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

DR: YES.

3. Equitable Funding. In 2019, Massachusetts updated its 25-year-old education funding formula and committed to \$1.5 billion more in investment in public schools. How will you make sure the state follows through with this promise?

DR: Despite the decline in state revenue that will inevitably result from the crisis, I will continue to support the effort to fund the new education law. We may need to look at tax increases and also the current financial situation makes the Fair Share Amendment campaign all the more important.

4. **Standardized Testing**. Do you support a three-year moratorium on the high-stakes uses of standardized testing? (High-stakes" uses include high school graduation, teacher evaluation, and assigning ratings to schools.)

- 5. <u>Charter Schools</u>. In 2016, MA 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 school districts.
 - a. Do you support keeping the cap on charter schools? YES.
 - b. Would you support legislation to bring greater accountability to charter schools by requiring them to adhere to the same disclosure and disciplinary standards as public school districts? **YES.**

DR: We must continue to support and fund our public education system, not turn to its privatization. Since taking office, I have consistently opposed the use of charter schools and any other form of privatization. I was very active in my district and elsewhere in the fight to defeat the Charter School Ballot Initiative, which would have dramatically expanded the number of charter schools throughout the Commonwealth.

6. <u>Sex Education</u>. Do you support requiring public schools that teach sexual health education to provide age-appropriate, medically accurate information that is inclusive of all sexual orientations and gender identities and includes the effective use of contraception?

DR: YES.

7. <u>Higher Education Access.</u> Do you support granting in-state tuition and financial aid to undocumented students?

DR: YES.

8. <u>Debt-Free College</u>. Do you support making tuition (and mandatory curriculum fees) free at public colleges and universities?

DR: YFS.

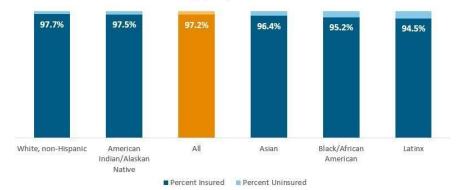
D. Health Care

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health insurance coverage, with 97% of the state having health insurance. But until that is 100%, we haven't reached truly universal coverage or tackled critical barriers to accessing care. Disparities in insurance coverage and health care access continue to exist along income, racial, and education lines. Premiums continue to rise, and high deductibles mean that many do not get the health care they need -- or suffer from long-lasting debt if they do. We still spend an oversized portion of public and private money on health care, but without necessarily achieving better health outcomes.

We have yet to achieve truly universal coverage, with continued disparities along racial lines.

Barriers to health insurance coverage remain for some

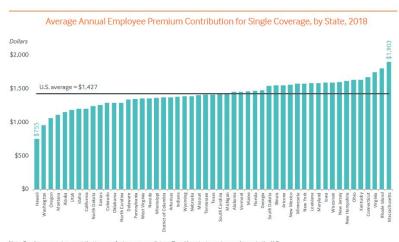
Percent with health insurance in Massachusetts, by race, 2017.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey.

*Note: Use particular caution when considering the American Indian/Alaskan Native data, because of small sample sizes. This chart does not include Native Havaiian/Pacific Islander because the sample was too small and therefore was not included in the Census Bureau's data.

MA has the highest health insurance premiums in the US.



Note: Employee premium contributions are for insurance policies offered by private-sector employers in the U.S. Data: Medical Expenditure Panel Survey—Insurance Component (MEPS—IC), 2018.

1. Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: I have continually supported expanded health insurance rights. I have co-sponsored single payer legislation. As noted above, I introduced the "Cover All Kids" legislation. Everyone deserves the right to make their own choices for their body, and I will continue to fight to ensure that everyone receives the proper coverage they need, no matter their choice. I am proud to have supported the Advancing Contraception Coverage and Economic Security in our State, or ACCESS Bill. I am particularly pleased to have co-sponsored this bill, which goes further than the Affordable Care Act that only allowed health insurance companies to choose one form of contraception to cover within each of the 18 categories. The ACCESS bill requires coverage of nearly all FDA approved contraceptives, with no cost sharing with consumers. With this legislation, most Massachusetts women will be protected from whatever action the Trump administration takes on repealing birth control coverage.

2. <u>Single Payer</u>. Do you support enacting a single payer health care system in Massachusetts, which would guarantee health insurance as a right?

DR: YES.

3. Reproductive Rights. In Massachusetts, women under eighteen seeking an abortion must obtain parental consent or judicial authorization. This can lead to young women going out of state, or risking their lives and health with illegal or self-induced abortion. Would you support repealing this restriction?

DR: YES.

I have been a key leader on reproductive rights and choice. In fact, in their most recent "Legislators Scorecard", I received the highest possible ranking of any legislator along with one or two others. I was under consideration to be the lead sponsor of the ROE Act, which addresses the concern raised in this question. In my district, I have been the featured speaker at events promoting passage of the ROE Act. I attended the key hearing to stand in support of the ROE Act. In meetings with my colleagues who are senior leaders of the body, I have pressed the case for action.

4. <u>Harm Reduction</u>. An essential part of addressing the opioid crisis, safe consumption sites allow medical professionals to respond to overdoses and engage participants in medical and behavioral health services. Would you support the legalization of SCSs?

DR: YES.

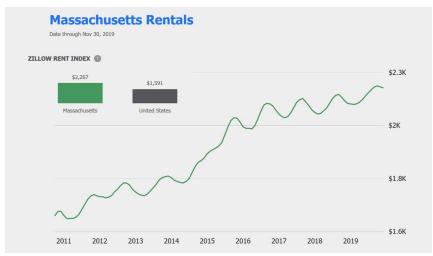
5. <u>Pandemic Response</u>. How would you evaluate the state's response to the Covid-19 pandemic?

DR: Despite the disastrous failure of leadership we have seen from the White House's response to this unprecedented threat to our communities, I believe that Massachusetts has done a solid job at the state level of responding to COVID-19, although I wish we had acted sooner in certain instances and done more to protect vulnerable populations. In a public health emergency, the vast majority of the authority to implement change resides with the Governor using his executive powers. Any meaningful analysis of the state's response must focus primarily on what the executive branch has done.

E. Housing

Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The <u>US News & World Report's annual state rankings</u> put Massachusetts at #41 in housing affordability (and #43 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work <u>91 hours a week</u> to afford a modest one-bedroom rental home at market rate (and 113 hours for a modest two-bedroom). 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. 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.

Monthly median rents have gone up by more than one-third since 2010, outpacing income growth.



(source: zillow.com)

 Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: Housing is a fundamental human need and right. Quality, affordable housing should be available to everyone in Massachusetts, especially during a thriving economy. Massachusetts has seen the job market improve substantially over the last decade; however, so has the cost of living, while wages for many have remained largely unchanged. Families are being displaced and, even worse, facing homelessness. This should not be the norm, and this should not be the reality.

I was the first Representative to reintroduce rent control legislation this year. I support certain zoning reforms, which have the potential to allow for greater density. I have supported increased funding for a whole variety of housing initiatives including RAFT and MRVP.

Every year I am the legislator who is the leading advocate in the budget for funding to homeless individuals.

2. <u>Funding</u>. Would you support legislation that would allow cities and towns to impose a fee on real estate transfers to generate revenue for affordable housing, with the ability to create local exemptions as appropriate?

DR: YES.

This year, I supported the efforts in the House to provide \$110 million for the Massachusetts

Rental Voucher Program (MRVP), which puts the state at a large 10% increase from last year. This program is essential because it provides individuals and families with a voucher for affordable housing and pays a certain percentage of the rent. The Legislature goes even further to ensure vouchers for rental assistance to non-elderly handicapped persons of low-income by investing \$7.2 million for the Alternative Housing Voucher Program and also provides affordable housing units throughout the state for families by investing \$72 million in public housing subsidies, which is also a 10% increase from last year.

3. <u>Tenant Protections</u>. Do you support passing enabling legislation to provide municipalities with the authority to implement rent-stabilizing regulations, just cause eviction protections, stronger condominium conversion and foreclosure protections, anti-displacement zones, and options to help tenants manage the upfront costs of leasing an apartment?

DR: YES.

Yes, I would support this and in fact was way out front on the issue. I was the first legislator to introduce a substantial rent control bill in a long time, kicking off a major debate this year. Two other colleagues subsequently filed a rent control bill and we have worked together on the issue. I also filed a "Right to Counsel" in eviction cases bill for the last three sessions, which is now gaining major traction. In fact, the Chief Justice of our state Supreme Judicial Court endorsed this right to counsel and the Boston Globe editorialized in favor of it. Today, prices in Massachusetts are not affordable, even to middle-class families. Many of our young people and seniors cannot stay in the communities they have long called home. We have seen an affordable housing crisis that is devastating some families and individuals. Many people throughout Massachusetts are paying over 50% of their income on rent, which is unacceptable. That is why I filed legislation to give cities and towns the ability to reinstitute rent control.

4. Zoning Reform/Housing Production. Do you support requiring cities and towns to allow multifamily housing to be built as of right within 1 mile of transit stations?

DR: YES.

5. Eviction Sealing. Today, when a tenant exercises their legal rights in housing court, it creates a permanent record. Eviction records create lasting stigma, are error prone and impair access to stable housing. Would you support legislation to seal eviction records so that both tenant and landlord could move on with their lives after three years?

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.

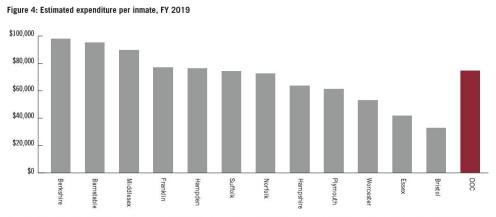
Mass incarceration in Massachusetts has proven socially and economically destructive, breaking apart communities across the state. From 2011 to 2016, spending on prisons grew faster than any other part of the Massachusetts budget, while funding for necessary services languished. The average cost per year to house an inmate in the Massachusetts Department of Corrections is more than \$60,000, money that could be better reinvested into the communities that have suffered from decades of misguided and racially discriminatory "tough on crime" policies. To achieve "justice for all," we need a judicial system that does not disproportionately target communities of color and the poor and that does not criminalize public health issues such as addiction. The April 2018 criminal justice reform bill made strides forward, but there is more work to do.

Immigrants make up 16% of Massachusetts's population; however, demagoguery against, or indifference to, immigrant populations has historically been a mainstay of Massachusetts politics. As the Trump administration in Washington ramps up a xenophobic mass deportation agenda, it is important for states like Massachusetts to take leadership in protecting and advancing the rights of our immigrant communities and making clear that all are welcome.

Significant racial disparities exist in incarceration in Massachusetts.

White imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	81
Black imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	605
Hispanic imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	351
Racial/Ethnic Disparity in Imprisonment (2014)	
Black : white ratio	7.5
Hispanic : white ratio	4.3
Juveniles in Custody (2015)	
Juvenile custody rate (per 100,000)	66
	22
White custody rate (per 100,000)	
White custody rate (per 100,000) Black custody rate (per 100,000)	222
Black custody rate (per 100,000)	222 172

Massachusetts spends large (and growing) sums per inmate -- while still not providing for basic needs.



Source: MassINC's analysis of Department of Correction Weekly Count Sheets, April 2018, and average House and SWM FY 2019 budget proposals (adjusted upward based on final expenditures, FY 2011 to FY 2018)

1. Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: Criminal justice reform has been and will continue to be one of my highest priorities, and I am proud of the great progress that we have been able to make. I have consistently been one of the legislators to file the most proposals in this area of policy. Just recently, I played a major role in creating sweeping criminal justice reform that can serve as a model for how to improve justice systems across the country by reducing or eliminating mandatory minimums, reducing the use of solitary confinement, and codifying important changes to the bail system. While we have made some remarkable changes so far, we have more to do. Along those lines, working with Prisoner's Legal Services, I have been the lead sponsor of legislation to reform the parole system. I filed a bill to allow prisoners to vote. We must continue our efforts to combat anti-immigrant practice by creating and implementing policies that will protect immigrant civil rights and ensure access to proper education. Immigrant families deserve to experience the same quality of life as any other American living in Massachusetts.

2. <u>Police Accountability</u>. Do you support the establishment of an independent review board for police shootings in the Commonwealth?

DR: YES.

- 3. <u>Sentencing Reform</u>. The 2018 criminal justice reform bill was an important first step in reducing mass incarceration. However, in our "liberal" state, incarceration rates remain much higher than they are in other countries, and sentencing laws can be even more punitive than those in states viewed as conservative. Which of the following reforms would you support?
 - a. Eliminating mandatory minimums for opioid-related offenses?
 - b. Raising the age of criminal majority from 18 to 21, in line with research that shows that young offenders served by a juvenile system are much less likely to reoffend and more likely to successfully transition to adulthood?
 - c. Decriminalizing consensual sexual activity between adolescents, by creating an exception to the statutory rape law for youth close in age?
 - d. Eliminating the sentence of life without parole, which is costly and has been shown to be racist in its application?

DR: a. Yes, I support this. b. Most likely. I would want to consider and study the idea more. It may depend on the nature of the crime. c. Yes, I would most likely support this issue, but it

has not been a focus of mine and I would like to consider more information on the topic before making a decision. d. Yes, I support this and in fact am the lead sponsor of a bill to address this issue.

4. <u>Solitary Confinement</u>. In Massachusetts, prisoners can be sentenced to 10 years of solitary confinement—per infraction. The UN defines holding someone in solitary confinement for more than 15 days as torture. Do you support limiting the use of solitary to no more than 15 consecutive days?

DR: YES.

5. <u>Prison Visitation</u>. Maintaining connections with friends and family outside prisons is one of the most important factors in ensuring successful reentry. In March 2018, the DOC severely limited the ability of prisoners to receive visits and the rights of family and friends to visit their loved ones in prison. (<u>Read more on this here</u>.) Do you favor ending these restrictions?

DR: YES.

6. <u>Prison Profiteering</u>. While Massachusetts does not have private prisons, the DOC invites private companies to profit off of the families of prisoners by price gouging inmates who have no alternatives but to buy from the sole providers of goods in prisons. Do support ending the price gouging of inmates for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply inmates with the basic requirements necessary for life to keep in contact with their families and maintain good health and hygiene?

DR: YES.

7. <u>Safe Communities Act</u>. Do you support the Safe Communities Act, which limits local and state police collaboration with federal immigration agents, bars law enforcement and court personnel from inquiring about immigration status, and ensures due process protections?

DR: YES.

Yes, I support this and am a proud co-sponsor of the "The Safe Communities Act" and will continue to be a strong advocate for the protection of all immigrants. I also introduced working with the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugees Association and Health Care for All to create the "Cover All Kids" bill. This bill would give health care rights to undocumented children. This gets to the very core of my values. We are a nation of immigrants. The presence of new immigrants here benefits us all. And yet, when it comes to access to justice and health care services, we need to do more to protect them. Immigrants have become increasingly wary of seeking medical treatment and emergency services for fear of deportation. In addition, they are increasingly cautious about interacting with law enforcement, which should never be the case in our state, or anywhere else.

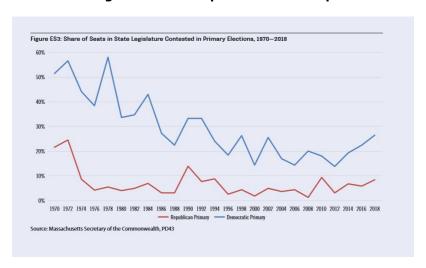
8. Work and Family Mobility Act. Do you support removing immigration status as a barrier to applying for a license or learner's permit?

G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

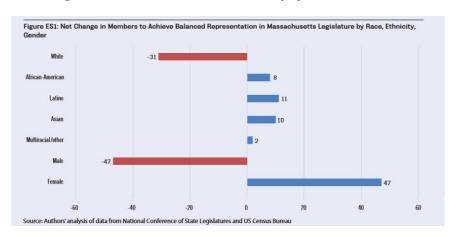
A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine the system. Despite recent reforms, a weak public records system stymies government accountability: MA is one of only two states where all three branches of state government claim to be exempt. A strong democracy requires an engaged electorate, but voter turnout in midterm elections, and especially local elections, remains low. Although election modernization legislation in 2014 and 2018 helped bring much-needed reforms, we still lag behind states in New England and around the country in making voting accessible (Maine, for instance, has allowed for Election Day Registration since the *1970s*).

A centralized power system, a skewed campaign finance system, and restrictive voting laws together help create a situation in which our elections are the <u>least competitive in the country</u>.

Our elections have grown less competitive over the past four decades.



Our legislature is not reflective of the population as a whole.



1. Please explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: I am deeply committed to the principles of transparency and open, responsive government. As a result, I regularly communicate with constituents in person and in writing as to the inner workings of the Legislature. Many of my constituents thank me for my blunt candor and direct explanations. Now the Chair of a Committee for the first time this session, I regularly disclosed all sorts of information as to the functioning of the committee. I remain open to continuing reforms if they are well thought out and advanced in an organized way.

2. <u>Public Records Law.</u> Massachusetts is one of only two states where the Governor's Office, the Legislature, and the Judiciary claim full exemption from the public records laws. Would you support eliminating this exemption?

DR: YES.

- 3. <u>Legislative Transparency -- Part I.</u> The Massachusetts Legislature lacks many basic transparency measures found in other state legislatures around the country. Would you vote in favor of making the following items available online...?
 - a. All committee votes, whether taken by electronic poll or formal roll call?
 - b. All written testimony submitted for or against bills?
 - c. Reader-friendly summaries of bills currently in or reported out of committee?
- 4. <u>Legislative Transparency -- Part II</u>. Legislators only vote to change the rules at the start of the legislative session, but all legislators can model transparency on their own throughout the session. Would you commit to doing the following...?
 - a. Standing for a recorded vote when a colleague asks for one on any amendment which you have co-sponsored?
 - b. Making your committee votes available online on your website?

DR: a. Yes, I generally support this and it can depend on various factors related to the overall legislation. b. Yes, I support this.

5. <u>State House Culture</u>. Do you support the creation an independent commission to investigate and report on complaints of workplace and sexual harassment in the Massachusetts Legislature?

DR: YES.

The House has implemented an exhaustive and detailed process to investigate claims of harassment, which was developed in part by former Attorney General Martha Coakley. When it was completed, it was praised as a good system. After a lot of effort went into creating that system, which was received favorably, the question is whether we try something new right away. I am always open to additional ideas. As to whether an independent commission is the right step, I do not know but am open to the conversation.

6. <u>Public Campaign Financing</u>. Our campaign finance system favors incumbency and discriminates against potential candidates who do not have a ready pool of wealthy donors. Do you support the creation of a robust public financing system for state elections?

DR: YES.

Yes, I support this. In fact, I was involved in the Clean Elections movement and worked on the gubernatorial campaign of the only Clean Elections candidate in 2002, eighteen years ago when I lived in Somerville (where I lived up until about 12 years ago).

7. Removing Barriers to Running. The cost of child care can prove prohibitive to

working mothers or fathers seeking to run for office. Would you support legislation to explicitly allow working parents running for office to use campaign funds to pay for child care?

DR: YES.

- 8. <u>Voting Access</u>. Which of the following policies to increase voter participation do you support?
 - a. Election Day Registration?
 - b. The expansion of early voting to municipal elections and primaries?
 - c. No-fault absentee voting?
 - d. Ending the disenfranchisement of prisoners serving with felony convictions (Their right to vote was taken away by ballot twenty years ago)?

DR: a. Yes, I support this and co-sponsored the legislation. b.Yes, I support this. It has to be done in a way that has buy in from local town clerks. They are the ones responsible for implementing these changes, which can be complicated and sometimes lead to unintended consequences. c.Yes, I support this. d. Yes, I support this.

9. Ranked Choice Voting. Do you support the 2020 ballot initiative to adopt ranked choice voting for state, county, and (non-presidential) federal elections?

DR: YES.

I am open to supporting this as a ballot measure. Candidly, the one potential flaw I see in it is that it assumes that winning by a plurality is somehow flawed.

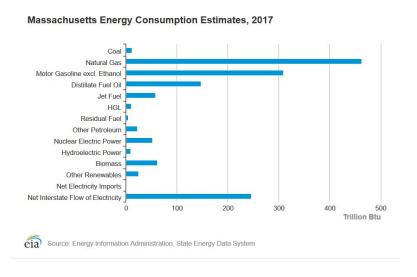
10. <u>Election Integrity</u>. Do you support requiring <u>risk-limiting audits</u> of election results, in which a statistically significant percentage of ballots are hand counted to ensure that the reported winner was the actual winner, preserving the integrity of elections from foreign interference, technological glitches, or simple human error?

H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

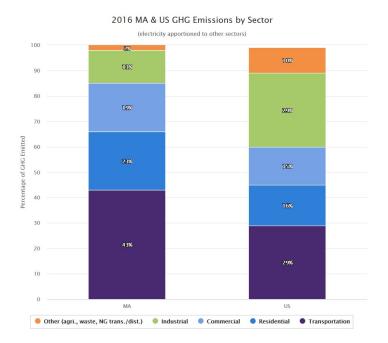
As a coastal state, Massachusetts will be hit particularly hard by climate change, but we are not responding with the necessary urgency. In order to avoid catastrophic climate change, global carbon emissions need to be halved.by.2030 and brought to net zero by 2050. In 2016, the Massachusetts Supreme 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.

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 billion, and it would need more than \$10 billion to bring infrastructure and equipment up to a state of good repair. 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 explain your principles and proposals as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

DR: I will continue to fight for strong enforcement of the laws that protect our environment and advocate for policies that help lead to the development of the alternative energy sector and the creation of green jobs, and have consistently supported Green Initiatives. I have been one of the most passionate and effective voices for environmental protection and funding on Beacon Hill, and was recently a featured speaker at the Green Budget Kick Off event at the Statehouse. We now have up to 3200 megawatts of offshore wind authorized, when fully implemented enough to power 1.6 Million homes. I helped make that happen.

Now, with revenue falling dramatically, I will strenuously push to protect funding. I see my role now as a leader to prevent a repeat of the 2009 recession, which resulted in significant reduction in enforcement actions, water quality testing and other key environmental initiatives. With my work experience in the green energy sector and at the EPA always in mind, I will continue to be a vigorous champion of environmental causes.

2. <u>Waste Reduction</u>. Would you support a statewide ban on single-use shopping bags and a requirement that alternatives be more sustainable?

DR: YES.

Yes. In fact, I am the lead sponsor of a whole series of initiatives in the "Zero Waste" movement. Working with the Conservation Law Foundation, I have introduced a pioneering set of bills to ban Styrofoam, reduce waste (pay as you throw), and dramatically limit the use of plastic straws and other initiatives.

3. <u>Solar Energy</u>. Do you support increasing equitable access to solar power by removing caps on solar generation and restoring compensation for low-income and community solar?

DR: YES.

4. Renewable Energy. Do you support a target of 100% renewable energy economy-wide by 2045 and 100% renewable electricity by 2035?

DR: YES.

5. <u>Environmental Justice</u>. Successive 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. Would you support efforts to codify EJ into law?

DR: YES.

6. <u>Fossil Fuel Infrastructure</u>. Do you oppose the expansion of gas pipelines in the state?

DR: YFS.

Massachusetts residents should not suffer from the financial and environmental consequences caused by leaking gas pipelines. I recently supported legislation that will hold gas companies accountable for repairing their existing pipeline leaks. This will not only ensure that the leaks in residential areas are fixed, but it will also force companies to repair leaks in fields and forests that are deemed "low priority". While these low priority leaks are typically not in residential areas, they are a major culprit in greenhouse gas emissions. It is about time that we hold these gas companies accountable for the unnecessary financial burden that they impose on Massachusetts residents, as well as the overwhelming greenhouse emissions that have long been left ignored.

7. <u>Carbon Pricing.</u> Do you support imposing a fee on carbon emissions and using some of the revenue to invest in green infrastructure, especially in frontline communities?

DR: YES.

I am a cosponsor of this legislation.

8. <u>Public Transportation</u>. Will you oppose any fare increases to the MBTA or regional transit authorities and work toward the goal of fare-free public transit?

DR: YFS.

I successfully pushed for major increases in funding for environmental protection; and was the lead sponsor of a variety of environmental legislation, including a bill that will transition the MBTA fleet to clean energy power.

9. Regional Transportation Funding. The unavailability of state funds for infrastructure spending has meant the deterioration of regional transportation systems. Do you support allowing municipalities to place a question on the ballot to raise revenue for local and regional transportation projects?

DR: YFS.

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.

DR: I love public service and have had a lifelong commitment of pushing back against reactionary forces and fighting for progressive causes and issues. Now more than ever, with our state, the nation, and the world reeling from a global pandemic, the urgent need for the advancement of progressive priorities is clear.

Deep fissures of inequality, present for decades now, and at times thinly veiled beneath the surface of our society, are revealed in glaring light for all to see. The disparity in health outcomes for low-income and minority communities; food insecurity; inadequate protections for workers – all of it – must be addressed now.

I am a down-to-earth person, without artifice or pretense, but campaigns are not necessarily a time to be modest. Over these last years, I have established a voice and record as one of the most effective progressive legislators in this state, hands down. I'm excited for the opportunity to continue to serve my community and the Commonwealth.