

# PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS 2020 LEGISLATIVE

**ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE** 

Candidate: Susan L. Moran

**Office Sought:** Plymouth & Barnstable (Senate)

Party: Democratic

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# I. About You

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

Transportation (ie Less carbon emissions, more telecommuting); Housing (For everyone in centers of activity for walkability, conservation of resources and protection of aquifer); Climate Change (ie Jobs in Blue and Green Economies; Green communities).

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

I have been working on local and regional initiatives in collaborative ways for over five years and use my experience as an attorney and litigator to drive solutions such as municipal solar development and working on the Bridge Fix Team. Having served as Chair of the Falmouth Board of Selectmen, Chair of Cape Cod Economic Development, Vice Chair of Falmouth Economic Development and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly of Delegates, I have been working with legislators both at the State House and in the District to address needs.

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

Governor Baker's policies which have kicked the can on delayed infrastructure maintenance and other issues have put us at risk with respect to climate change which means we have a mountain of catch up.

# 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 each year--\$4 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.

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.).

**SM:** I favor the Millionaire's Tax as one means to jump start our failing infrastructure, roads, education system. Our District needs to capitalize more on its vibrant tourism economy and fairly tax businesses while offering tax credits that would encourage housing, address climate change and curbing carbon emissions.

2. <u>Corporate Tax Breaks</u>. Corporate tax breaks cost Massachusetts <u>more than \$1 billion</u> <u>in foregone revenue</u>. 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? ✓

**SM:** Tax breaks to employers who encourage telecommuting.

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")?

SM: YES.

Developing a program like there is for school building to infrastructure needs locally would expedite digging out of this hole we are in.

- 4. <u>Progressive Revenue</u>. 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?

**SM:** Raising taxes should be done moderately to avoid bankrupting small businesses.

# **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.

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.).

**SM:** I have supported the increase in the minimum wage as well as union wage efforts such as with teachers and nurses.

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

SM: YES.

I would use a phased approach to see the effect on small mom and pop businesses to be sure they remain the vibrant fabric of the community

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?

SM: YES.

Accountability means transparency.

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?

SM: YES.

We need to be sure managerial positions provide career growth rather than keeping a ceiling on workers.

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?

SM: YES.

Some care needs to be taken with respect to employers with minimum staffing such as with vulnerable populations or hazardous businesses.

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?

SM: YES.

We need to reinvigorate the strength of our unions.

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?

SM: YES.

Mandatory arbitration unfairly advantages employers.

#### 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 most unequal 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.

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.).

**SM:** My daughter taught 4th grade public school and I have worked to support teachers more balanced work schedules, wage fairness and less "teaching to the standardized test."

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

SM: YES.

Free Pre-K is an absolute necessity to support young families.

3. <u>Equitable Funding</u>. 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?

**SM:** I would fight to get teachers into the conversation to be sure the funding is equitable and I would want transparent reporting to be sure funding is getting to our District.

4. <u>Standardized Testing</u>. 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.)

SM: YES.

High-stakes testing has choked teacher ability to shape our learners of every ability.

- 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?

SM: YES.

Charter schools should only be funded after public.

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?

SM: YES.

Public schools deserve a level playing field.

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 that includes the effective use of contraception?

SM: YES.

This is a fundamental need for self-esteem of all students.

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

SM: YES.

Promoting diversity in education, I believe will promote global understanding, and I would align access with a supported path to citizenship and other financial incentive programs such as using degrees in geographical areas or professional fields of need.

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

SM: NO.

Students should receive financial aid (ample if needed) and supportive counseling but everyone benefits from skin in the game as part of higher education.

#### 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.

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.).

**SM:** Robust low cost health care is fundamental to the growth of our next generation and a healthy community and, as a cancer survivor, I have pressed for insurance companies to be more health oriented than profit oriented.

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?

SM: YES.

Single Payer should be supported in covering pre-existing conditions, less expensive prescriptions and more wellness care.

3. <u>Reproductive Rights</u>. 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?

SM: YES.

We must remove barriers to women's health and stop being paternal to one sex over the other.

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?

SM: YES.

Careful planning to locations with community outreach is key.

# 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.

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.).

**SM:** As Board of Selectmen Chair and Chair of Barnstable County Economic Development, I have held community meetings on creative ways to develop more affordable housing and to breakdown barriers to affordable housing. I have also worked on Falmouth's accessory apartment initiative.

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?

SM: YES.

We need to find bold solutions to this crisis.

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?

SM: YES.

I think these would slow the District's housing being eaten up by investors.

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?

SM: YES.

Municipalities must take a greater role in the development of affordable housing.

5. <u>Eviction Sealing</u>. 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?

SM: YFS.

#### 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 makes 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.

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.).

**SM:** I have supported inmate substance treatment.

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

SM: YES.

A fair and transparent system would benefit everyone.

- 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?

**SM:** I would support a one-time parole hearing after 25 years of a life sentence.

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?

SM: 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 of 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 the restrictions placed on visitation and reverting back to the DOC visitation regulations that were in place prior to March of 2018?

SM: 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?

SM: YFS.

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?

SM: YES.

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

SM: YES.

# **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 brought 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>.

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.).

**SM:** I have publicly pledged to support open transparent government.

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?

SM: YES.

I have pledged.

- 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 support 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?

**SM**: All to achieve the important goal of more citizen involvement.

- 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?
- 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?

SM: YES.

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?

SM: YES.

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?

SM: 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 (early voting without penalty)?
- 9. Ranked Choice Voting. Do you support the 2020 ballot initiative to adopt ranked choice voting for state, county, and (non-presidential) federal elections?

SM: YES.

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?

SM: NO.

As opposed to this costly approach, I believe the current right to count is held by strong candidates who are able to exercise the right.

# 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 <u>halved by 2030</u> 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 \text{ billion}, and it would need more than \$10 \text{ 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.

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.).

**SM:** As Falmouth BOS Chair, I started what I believe was the first Coastal Action Committee. As a lawyer, I represent individuals in solar development and as a Falmouth Economic Development Vice Chair, I led the first solar project on the landfill. I have also served on the Cape Cod Regional Transportation Board.

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

SM: YES.

I facilitated Falmouth's leadership on this initiative.

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?

SM: YES.

Falmouth's Solar on the Landfill includes a low-income housing benefit.

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

SM: 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?

SM: YES.

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

SM: YES.

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?

SM: YES.

Falmouth's BOS has made this request to the Commonwealth.

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?

SM: YES.

I believe in an approach that puts the free fares to those in need.

9. <u>Regional Transportation Funding</u>. 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?

SM: YES.

I see this as both economic justice and promoting growth of the regional economy.

# **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.

**SM:** When considering the whole, the District is moderate, and the most progressive candidate will not succeed.