



**PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2021 LEGISLATIVE
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE**

Date: 1/30/2021

Candidate: Juan Pablo Jaramillo

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Email questions to elections@progressivemass.com.

Questionnaire Responses (excepting sections labeled CONFIDENTIAL) will be published on our website.

OVERVIEW

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 [Progressive Platform](#), which also inform our [Legislative Agenda](#). We are interested in your overall philosophy as well as your views on specific policy and legislation. The bulk of the questionnaire consists of "yes/no" questions. Please consider "support" to mean an intent to co-sponsor relevant legislation, join sign-on letters for it, submit testimony on its behalf, etc., as appropriate.

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

I. About You & Your Policy Approach

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

I am running to be the next State Representative of the 19th Suffolk District because I have devoted my life to supporting our community and want to work tirelessly to continue doing that within the State Legislature. I am the son of hard-working parents who came to America after escaping violence in Colombia, where my mother nearly lost her life. I was then raised and have grown up in Revere and attended Revere Public Schools. I care deeply about my community and share the lived experience of many of our most marginalized residents, so I come to this work not just as someone who cares about policy, but as someone who understands the effects of those policies on me and my loved ones. That, combined with my experience on Beacon Hill, will make me an effective legislator from day one. Though there are many more, my top three priorities are:

- (1) **ECONOMIC RECOVERY & JOBS:** We need to support small businesses so they can recover from the pandemic. Hold large institutions, like Amazon and MassPort, accountable for noise, air, and water pollution. Ensure creation of permanent, good-paying jobs for residents in the district. We need to invest in Revere and Winthrop by creating good-paying jobs that allow for someone to support their family and treat the local communities with respect.

- (2) **COVID CRISIS:** The COVID crisis has exposed health, social, and economic issues and disparities in the communities of Revere and Winthrop. Upon seeing the devastating effects that the COVID-19 pandemic has had on the community, I have dedicated my work to represent frontline workers at SEIU 32BJ who are leading the fight against COVID-19 every single day. As your State Representative, I will fight for additional funding for community health centers as they battle COVID-19 and support for workers by expanding critical safety nets, like unemployment and workers' compensation and support for small businesses.

- (3) **OPIOID CRISIS:** Our cities have been hard-hit by the opioid crisis. In high school, I worked with North Suffolk Community Health Initiative to combat substance use disorder. As budget director for State Senator Boncore, I helped secure \$150,000 for the Revere Substance Use Disorder Initiative. I want to continue fighting to expand on the long term, regional policy solutions to the mental health and addiction crisis.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

After graduating from Revere high school, I took a job as a janitor cleaning intensive care units at Mass General Hospital to pay my way through college, which gives me the perspective of the essential workers I now fight to protect in my work at 32BJ. Later, I interned in Speaker Robert DeLeo's office and served as Budget Director for State Senator Joseph Boncore, helping to secure millions of dollars for housing, public transportation, and health care in Winthrop and Revere. Currently, I represent frontline workers at SEIU 32BJ that lead the fight against COVID-19 every single day. I am ready to put my experience, working-class values, and progressive advocacy to work for all the people of the 19th Suffolk and continue the strong leadership that Winthrop and Revere deserve.

3. What do you view as the main job(s) of a state legislator?

As the Representative for the 19th Suffolk district in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, my first and most important duty is to my constituents. Revere and Winthrop are

diverse working-class communities that have been particularly hard hit by COVID, the economic crisis, and the opioid crisis. As the State Representative, I will advocate and amplify equitable and progressive policy solutions that address my district's greatest concerns. Similarly, in spite of the high need, many of my constituents have limited access to government and economic resources. Ensuring these necessary services are fully funded and bridging the gap between my constituents and the government is critical to ensuring the success of the district and its residents.

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

Transparency, organizing, and education are the tools we need to progress more and better progressive policies at the State House. Transparency is central to a functioning democracy and the General Court functions best when we have an informed and engaged electorate. Without better transparency, we will continue to be stymied in our efforts toward more equitable and progressive policies that support our most vulnerable residents.

5. How would you grade the Legislature's performance in the last legislative session?

The Legislature did a few good things at the end of the session, such as passing parts of the ROE Act, passing the climate bill, and police reform to name a few. However, because they waited on some of these things until the last minute not all of them were ultimately signed into law, and now we have to pass the climate bill once again to then override the Governor's veto. This is highly inefficient, and something we need to fight to avoid. In addition to this last-minute activity, the Legislature also passed the Student Opportunity Act in 2019, although they failed to fund it last year. There is still much more work to be done by our Legislature, and I look forward to being elected so I can focus on urgently bringing up these issues and pushing for action as soon as possible.

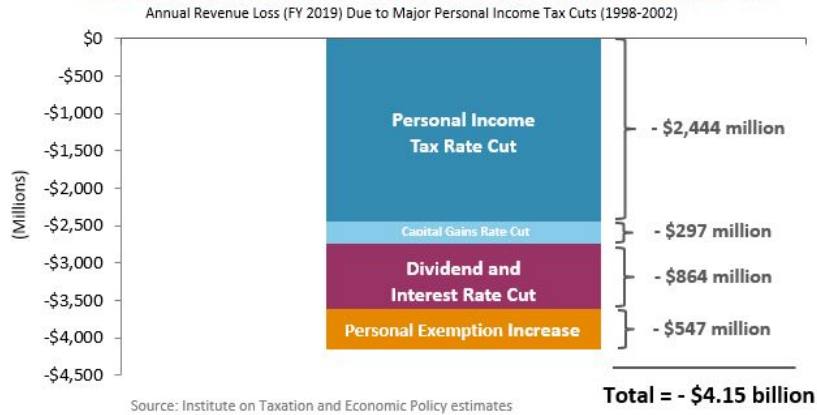
II. The Issues

A. Revenue and Taxation

Between 1977 and 2016, Massachusetts [reduced state taxes](#) 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.

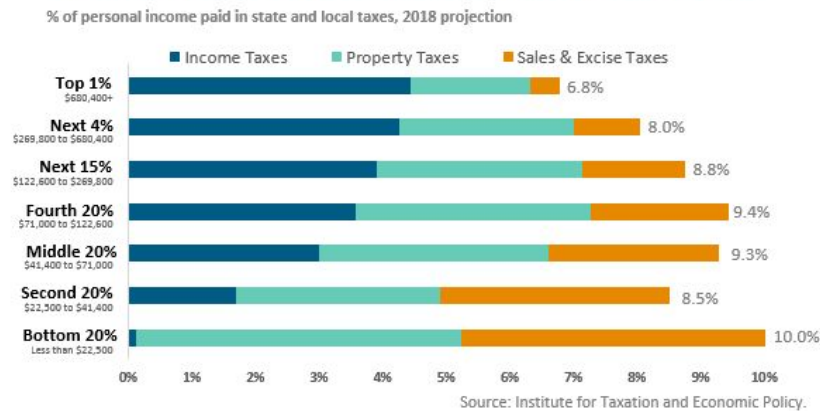
Declining revenues have meant drastic cuts, limiting our ability to invest in our communities and future economic stability.

Personal Income Tax Cuts Cost Commonwealth \$4.15 Billion per Year



Massachusetts state and local taxes are regressive.

Highest Income Taxpayers Pay Smaller Share of Income in State and Local Taxes



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.).

I strongly believe that we need a progressive tax system that ensures everyone pays their fair share. This starts with passing the Fair Share Amendment by ballot question in 2022 but has to extend beyond that. We have to look into other sources of revenue, and I fully support all the measures raised by Raise Up Mass. These are resources that we need to tax because we have to invest in our communities, particularly now that we are living through the COVID-19 pandemic. One other measure I fully support is taxing second homes and condos that go without any residents because people use them to speculate on the housing market and essentially stash their money in property.

What have you done?

As the political coordinator for SEIU 32BJ, I have advocated for many of Raise Up Mass' measures. I have worked closely with the legislature to further our goals on the fair share amendment and emergency paid sick leave. While serving as Senator Boncore's Legislative Director, I was the Senate's lead advocate on the real estate transfer fee, which raised

revenues from high-value real estate transactions and dedicated the revenue to affordable and public housing. As the State Representative, I will continue to advocate for fair and equitable revenue proposals that dedicate funding to programs and policies that serve those most in need.

2. **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? **Yes**
 - b. Repealing any tax break that does not provide the intended benefits in a cost-effective manner? **Yes**
 - c. Establishing sunset dates for all tax breaks so that they must come up for periodic review? **Yes**
3. **Fair Share.** 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")? **Yes**
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.) **Yes**
 - b. Imposing a tax on the portion of corporations' US profits that are shifted to offshore tax havens? **Yes**
 - c. Raising the corporate tax rate from 8% to 9.5% (where it stood in 2009)? **Yes**
 - d. Raising the tax on long-term capital gains from 5% to 8.95%, in line with states like New York and Vermont? **Yes**
 - e. Levying a modest tax on university endowments greater than \$1 billion? **Yes**

B. Jobs and the Economy

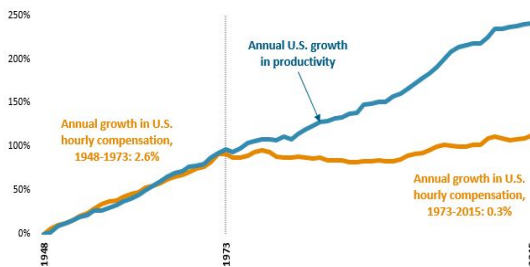
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten [most unequal states](#), as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which 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 [still not a living wage](#) 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.

A Large Gap Has Opened Between Wage and Productivity Growth Since 1973

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

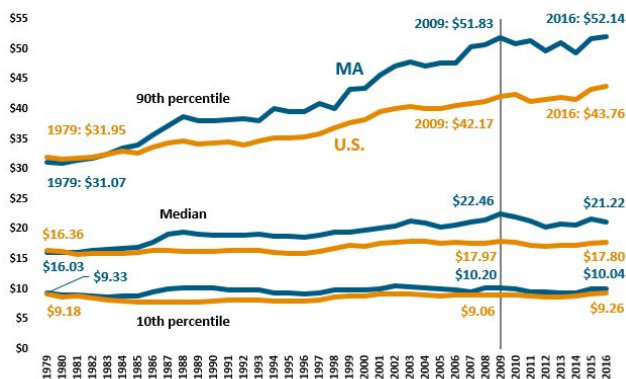


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of unpublished Total Economy Productivity data from Bureau of Labor Statistics' Labor Productivity and Costs program, wage data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Current Employment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics' Employment Cost Trends data, and the Bureau of Economic Analysis' National Income and Product Accounts
Note: Wages are the inflation-adjusted average hourly compensation of private-sector production/nonsupervisory workers.

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

Wages For Most MA Workers Have Stagnated Since Great Recession

Real Value of Hourly Wage for Selected Wage-Earning Groups in MA and U.S., 1979-2016 (2016\$)



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey data (deflated using CPI-U-RS).

1. 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.).

As political director of SEIU 32BJ, I have fought for workers' rights and organized workers in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. I have stood alongside nurses to increase staffing ratios. I have organized successful contract negotiations with security guards and custodial staff. Further, I have stood side by side with members of the MNA in late December of 2020 in their actions to secure a strong contract for their unit at St. Vincent's Hospital in Worcester.

I fully support a minimum wage of at least \$15/hr, and that we need to protect and expand people's right to unionize. Our economy runs because of essential workers that overwhelmingly live in communities like mine, so I believe in ensuring that those people are protected. My parents are essential workers, and even before my work with SEIU 32BJ, I was involved with supporting unions as a custodian at MGH and essential worker myself, so I empathize with the folks who now have to do this work in the middle of a pandemic because I understand the struggle that they are living through trying to make ends meet in this incredibly challenging situation.

2. **Fair Wages.** Do you support eliminating the subminimum wage for tipped workers in support of one fair wage? **Yes**
3. **Wage Theft.** 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? **Yes**
4. **Overtime.** 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? **Yes**
5. **Emergency Paid Sick Time.** Would you support providing ten additional work-days of job-protected paid sick time for immediate use during the COVID-19 outbreak? **Yes**
6. **Fair Scheduling.** 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? **Yes**
7. **Unions.** 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? **Yes**
8. **Mandatory Arbitration.** 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? **Yes**

C. Education

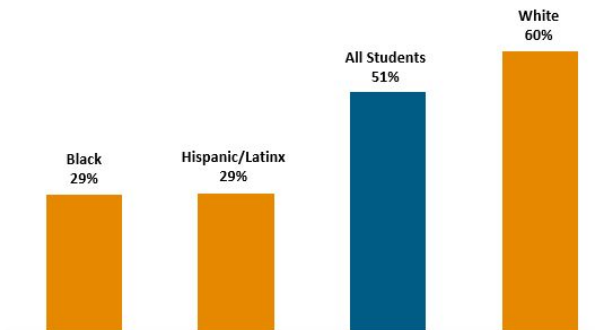
The promise of public education has always been a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country. 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 [fastest-growing occupations](#) 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 Significant Achievement Gaps for Youth of Color in 4th Grade Reading

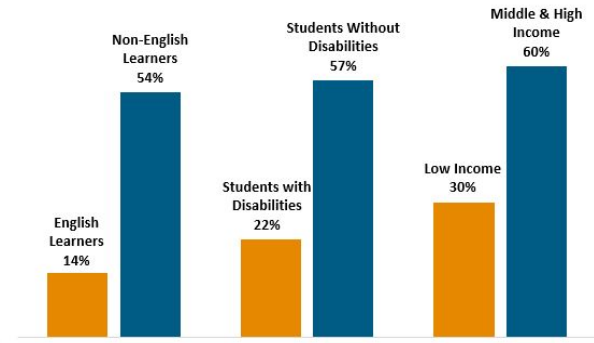
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

Massachusetts Has Significant Achievement Gaps for Disadvantaged Youth in 4th Grade Reading

Share of Mass. 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Category

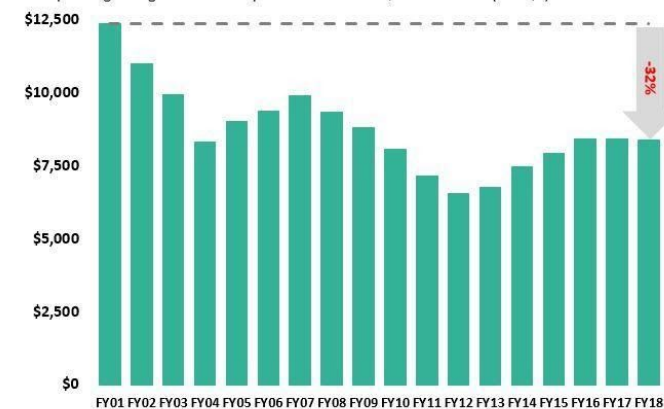


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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

Per Student, MA Has Cut Higher Ed Funding by 32 Percent Since FY 2001

State spending on higher education per resident student, FY 2001-2018 (2018\$)



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.).

One of the most important things we can do to improve our education system is to fully fund our schools. We know that our schools are underfunded, particularly those in low-income communities like Revere, and we have a constitutional duty to properly fund the education of all students. It was very disappointing that we delayed the implementation of the Student Opportunity Act due to the pandemic because during this difficult time we should have doubled down and invested in our children and their future. I would push to catch up to SOA implementation by advocating for increasing revenues with the measures mentioned above.

Governor Baker and Commissioner Riley have shown throughout the COVID-19 pandemic that they do not understand the struggles of teachers, students, and parents, especially in urban public school districts, and they have constantly changed the goalposts for their reopening plan. Such an inattention to impacted communities, combined with their strong support for an education privatization agenda, underscores the danger of state officials holding so much power in this system, instead of the local educators, parents, school committee members, and administrators who know their needs best.

I was a strong advocate for the No on 2 campaign and will continue to fight against further expansion of charter schools or any other form of privatization. I will also fight against the continued use of high stakes testing as an accountability tool since it assumes all children learn the same when that wouldn't be the case even if all students had the resources they needed, which we know is certainly not the case.

2. **Universal Pre-K.** Do you support creating universal, free Pre-K, accessible to any resident of Massachusetts, integrated into the public school system? **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. However, the legislation to do so -- the Student Opportunity Act -- did not include funding for this promise, and the state is already behind on its commitment. What steps would you take to make sure that the state keeps its promise to teachers, students, and parents?
I believe we need to deliver on the commitment that the Legislature made last session with the Student Opportunity Act and ensure that our students get the funding that they deserve and get a fair share of education dollars from Beacon Hill.
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.) **Yes**
5. **Charter Schools.** 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**
6. **Sex Education.** 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? **Yes**
7. **Higher Education Access.** Do you support granting in-state tuition and financial aid to

undocumented students? **Yes**

8. **Debt-Free College.** Do you support making tuition (and mandatory curriculum fees) free at public colleges and universities? **Yes**

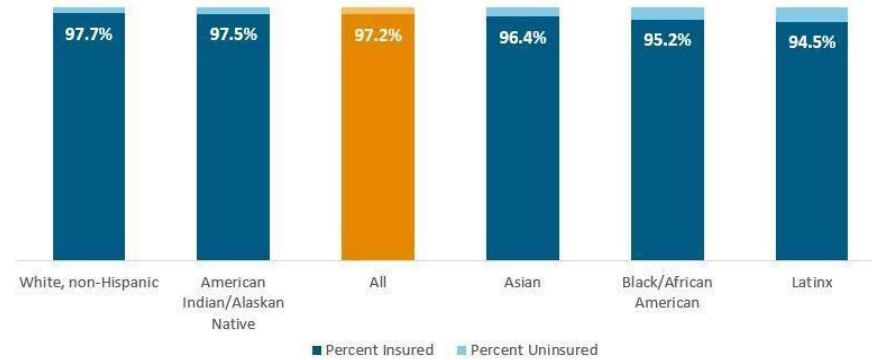
D. Health Care

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 with 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

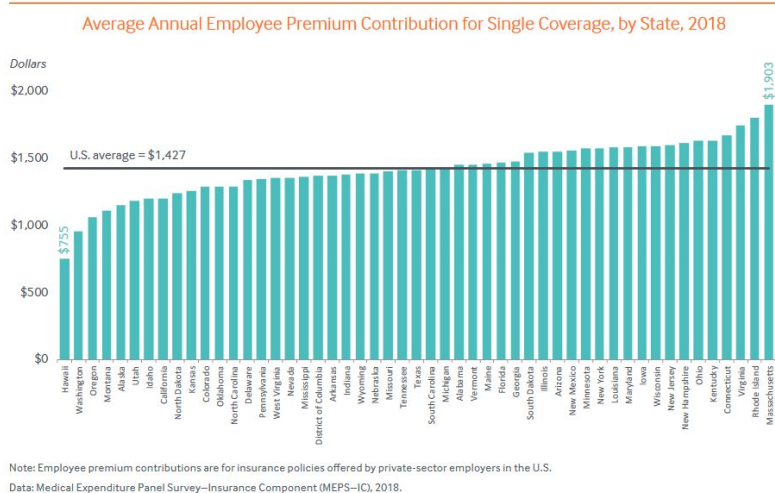
Percent with health insurance in Massachusetts, by race, 2017.



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 Hawaiian/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.



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.). A single payer health care system is the single most important tool toward creating an affordable, accessible and quality health care system in the Commonwealth. As we advocate for this change, placing assessment on our latest hospitals, insurers and pharmaceutical companies will raise revenue that can be dedicated to patients and community hospitals that provide care for historically underserved populations. Similarly, cost transparency for these large cost-driving institutions will allow the state to monitor cost trends and address the problems as they arise. On all health care matters, we need to pay special attention to our most overlooked and vulnerable populations especially as it applies to care for the elderly, people of color, the economically disadvantaged and the reproductive rights of women.
2. **Single Payer.** Do you support legislation to enact a single payer health care system in Massachusetts, which would guarantee health insurance as a right? **Yes**
3. **Reproductive Rights.** In Massachusetts, women under sixteen 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? **Yes**
4. **Harm Reduction.** 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? **Yes**
5. **Pandemic Response.** How would you evaluate the state’s response to the Covid-19 pandemic?

The state has had a terrible response to the pandemic. It has been inconsistent in how metrics have been tied to phases in the reopening plan, and Baker has consistently changed the goal posts in order to continue pushing for everything to reopen even as infection rates skyrocket. He has also failed in using a science-based approach to reopening schools, which has focused, as everything else in his pandemic response, with getting people back to work regardless of whether it’s safe. This is irresponsible and has led to the rising infection rates and the ever-growing death toll, which has impacted working-class communities like Revere especially

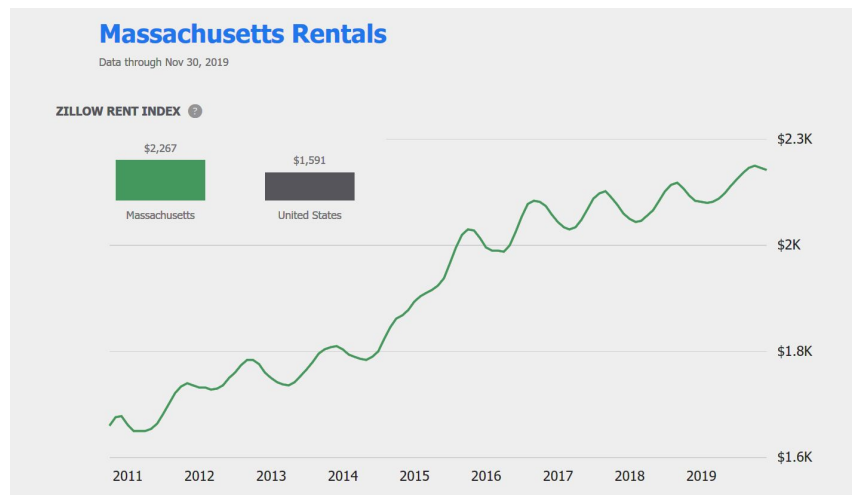
hard.

Lastly, we look at the vaccine rollout and that has been a disaster as well. Massachusetts ranks low in the percentage of shots that we have received which have been administered, and low in the percentage of people who have been vaccinated. And yet in the face of all this, the Governor continues to tout his response as good instead of admitting his failures and working to do better.

E. Housing

Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The [US News & World Report's annual state rankings](#) put Massachusetts at #41 in housing affordability (and #43 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [91 hours a week](#) 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)

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.).

We need a multi-pronged approach that increases access to homeownership for low-income residents, fully funds and expands our public transit system, and increases housing stock, especially public housing. We are well overdue to make significant investments into building new public housing, and we also must rehabilitate existing public housing. We need zoning reform so that each municipality has a minimum of 20% affordable housing, scaled to AMI no higher than 50%. The expansion in public transit investment should include making both trains and buses on the MBTA free to all riders and should include light rail to connect more suburbs to Boston for easy commuter access. This will ease the market pressure on the market closer to the city and also provide opportunities for people who prefer to not live in the city. We also have to expand tenants' rights so that people are not pushed out of their homes because of greedy landlords or rising rent costs due to gentrification.

As Legislative Director for Senator Boncore, I was the lead Senate staffer on the Joint Committee for Housing. Under my direction, the legislature passed the single largest Housing Bond bill in Massachusetts history. The \$1.8 Billion authorization provided new and critical funding toward the development of public and affordable housing across the Commonwealth. Similarly, I was the lead architect on the Senate's zoning reform policy requiring the development of transit-oriented multi-family housing across the Commonwealth, a policy that was just signed into law in January. While at SEIU 32BJ I worked closely with our members to provide access to critical rental assistance during the worst of the pandemic and eviction crisis. At the same time, I advocated for necessary housing cost control measures for our

renters and our most vulnerable residents.

2. **Affordable Housing Funding -- I.** 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? **Yes**
3. **Affordable Housing Funding -- II.** Would you support doubling the current Deeds Excise Tax (from \$4.56 per \$1,000 to \$9.12 per \$1,000), upon the sale of real property in Massachusetts, to create a new funding stream to be split evenly between affordable housing and climate resiliency? **Yes**
4. **Tenant Protections.** Would 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? **Yes**
5. **Eviction Moratorium.** Tens of thousands of families across Massachusetts are now facing eviction following the October 17 expiration of our state's eviction moratorium. Would you support extending the moratorium? **Yes**
6. **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? **Yes**

F. Racial and Social Justice

Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds.

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.

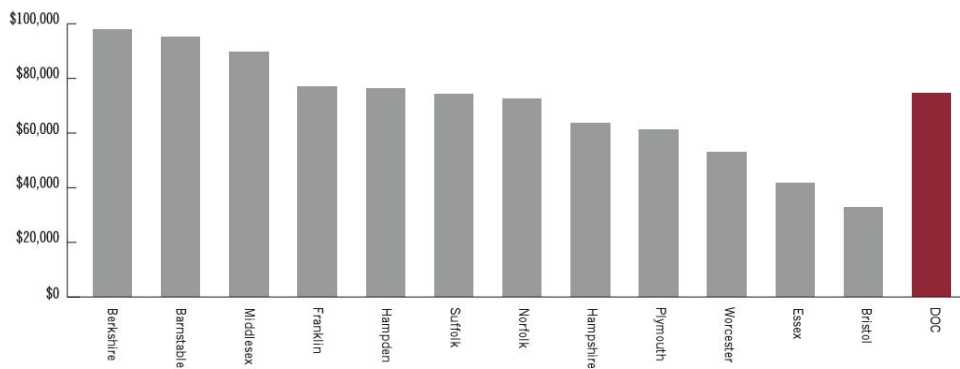
Immigrants make up 16% of Massachusetts’s population; however, demagoguery against, or indifference to, immigrant populations has historically been a mainstay of Massachusetts politics. As the Trump administration in Washington ramps up a xenophobic mass deportation agenda, it is important for states 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.

Imprisonment by Race/Ethnicity (2014)	
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
White custody rate (per 100,000)	22
Black custody rate (per 100,000)	222
Latino custody rate (per 100,000)	172
American Indian custody rate (per 100,000)	0
Asian custody rate (per 100,000)	7

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

Figure 4: Estimated expenditure per inmate, FY 2019



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.).

The Commonwealth should be focused on a justice system that reduces recidivism and

promotes restorative justice. Simultaneously, our residents have a right to equitable policing that not only ends brutality but also holds the police accountable for their actions. As Senator Boncore's Legislative Director I worked tirelessly on promoting a system based on restorative justice. This included work on bills that would expand access to diversion programs, raise the age of juvenile jurisdiction, and end life without parole. As a State Representative, I will continue to work toward ending disparities in our criminal justice system.

2. **Police Accountability.** The 2020 police accountability legislation passed by the Massachusetts Legislature contained a number of steps forward, but important measures were left out. Would you support legislation to do the following?
 - a. Eliminating qualified immunity for state and local police and correctional officers so that individuals whose constitutional rights are violated can have their fair day in court? **Yes**
 - b. Banning facial surveillance technology, which is well-documented to be both inaccurate and racist? **Yes**
 - c. Requiring a vote by a local legislative body (city council, town meeting) before a municipality can acquire military equipment? **Yes**
3. **Sentencing Reform.** 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? **Yes**
 - 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? **Yes**
 - c. Decriminalizing consensual sexual activity between adolescents, by creating an exception to the statutory rape law for youth close in age? **Yes**
 - d. Eliminating the sentence of life without parole, which is costly and has been shown to be racist in its application? **Yes**
4. **Solitary Confinement.** 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? **Yes**
5. **Prison Visitation.** 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. ([Read more on this here.](#)) Do you favor ending these restrictions? **Yes**
6. **Prison Profiteering.** 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? **Yes**
7. **Safe Communities Act.** 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? **Yes**

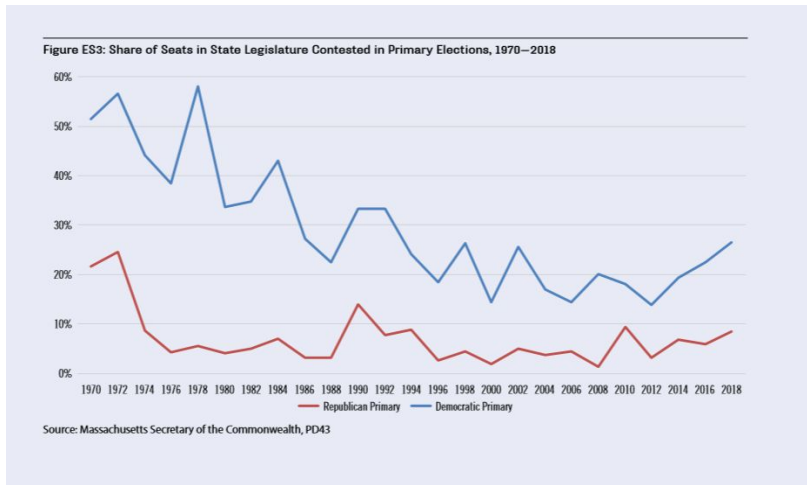
8. **Work and Family Mobility Act.** Do you support removing immigration status as a barrier to applying for a license or learner's permit? **Yes**

G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

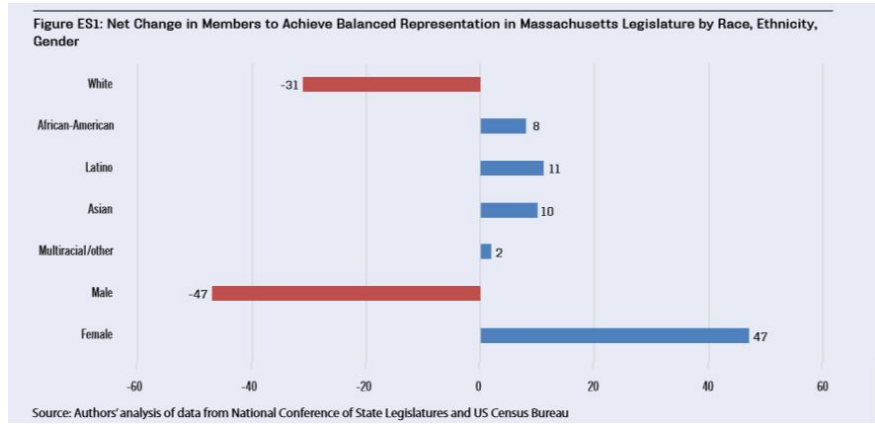
A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine 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 [least competitive in the country](#).

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.).

In the past year, we have seen how things that for many years we've said couldn't be done were made possible. The COVID pandemic gave us expanded early voting and expanded vote by mail. I think we need to fight to make those changes permanent, and also do things like automatic voter registration, and allow people to update that registration on Election Day. The right to vote is fundamental and we have to do everything we can to protect it and expand the franchise to as many people as possible.

Transparency is critical to our democracy. Similarly, an informed and engaged electorate is critical to improving the General Court. It is additionally necessary to ensure the public has adequate access to the decisions made by legislators, including access to committee results and roll call votes. Further, the General Court must provide the public and legislators with a reasonable amount of time to consider legislation prior to final action. Many of these minor changes can and should be addressed in the General Court's rules.

2. **Public Records Law.** 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? **Yes**
3. **Legislative Transparency -- Part I.** 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? **Yes**
 - b. All written testimony submitted for or against bills? **Yes**
 - c. Reader-friendly summaries of bills currently in or reported out of committee? **Yes**
4. **Legislative Transparency -- Part II.** 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? **Yes**
 - b. Making your committee votes available online on your website? **Yes**
5. **State House Culture.** Do you support the creation an independent commission to investigate and report on complaints of workplace and sexual harassment in the Massachusetts Legislature? **Yes**
6. **Public Campaign Financing.** 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? **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? **Yes**
8. **Voting Access.** Which of the following policies to increase voter participation do you support?
 - a. Election Day Registration, i.e., eliminating the 20-day voter registration cutoff? **Yes**
 - b. The expansion of early voting to municipal elections and primaries? **Yes**
 - c. The expansion of opportunities to vote-by-mail (namely, mailing every eligible voter a ballot)? **Yes**
 - d. Ending the disenfranchisement of prisoners serving with felony convictions (Their right to vote was taken away by ballot twenty years ago)? **Yes**

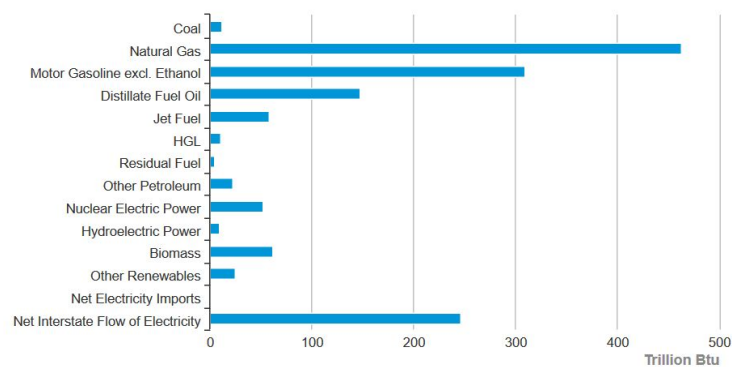
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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.

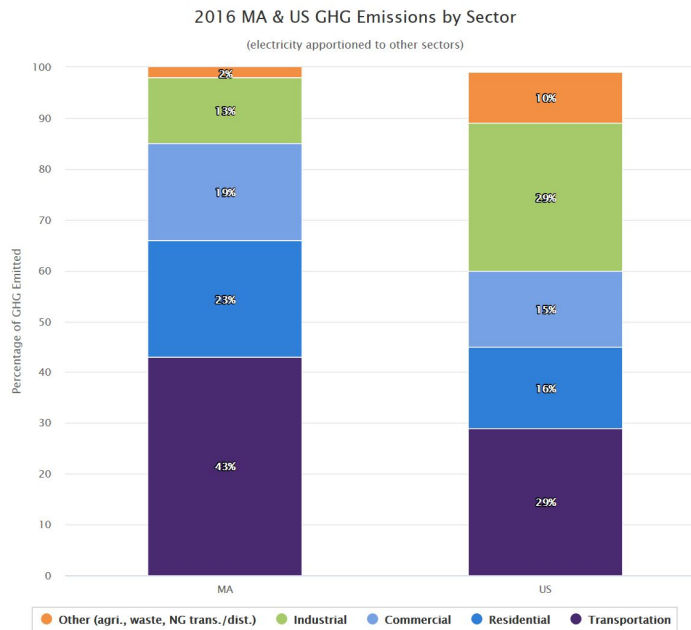
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

Massachusetts Energy Consumption Estimates, 2017



Source: Energy Information Administration, State Energy Data System

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.).

Revere and Winthrop’s greatest asset is its access to the Commonwealth’s coastline; however, decades of unmitigated climate change have placed these communities, their residents, and their resources at risk. The Transportation sector is the single largest contributor to greenhouse gas emissions. To combat this, we need to promote a public transit system that is affordable and accessible to all residents. This includes more frequent service, better access to alternative modes of transportation, and free MBTA service. To provide these improvements the Commonwealth will need to raise new revenues, in that process we must ensure that all new revenues are equitable and all the commonwealth’s wealthiest residents and institutions pay their fair share. To that end, we must also ensure that programs like TCI are dedicated to equitable transportation and infrastructure solutions.

Similarly, We need to immediately invest in infrastructure to combat flooding. Big polluters like the Wheelabrator and MassPort should be held accountable for the higher asthma rates, higher cancer rates, noise pollution, and bad water our communities are left with. We must ensure that we listen to residents and fight for community benefits agreements and build infrastructure to prevent coastal flooding and protect homes, open spaces, and businesses. I believe in pushing for expanding renewable energy as much as possible so we can reduce our dependence on fossil fuels.

2. **Waste Reduction.** Would you support a statewide ban on single-use shopping bags and a requirement that alternatives be more sustainable? **Yes**
3. **Climate Omnibus.** Governor Baker recently vetoed the Next Generation Roadmap bill, which would have set emissions targets, codified environmental justice protections, accelerated the transition to renewable energy, and enabled municipalities to adopt a net-zero stretch code. Would you support re-filing and re-voting for this bill and overriding Baker’s veto? **Yes**

4. **Renewable Energy.** Do you support a target of 100% renewable energy economy-wide by 2045 and 100% renewable electricity by 2035? **Yes**
5. **Fossil Fuel Infrastructure.** Do you oppose the expansion of gas pipelines in the state? **Yes**
6. **Building Codes.** If re-passed, the Next Generation Roadmap bill would allow municipalities to adopt a net zero stretch code to stop the expansion of fossil fuel usage in buildings. Would you advocate for the municipalities in your district to opt in to such a standard?
7. **Carbon Pricing.** Do you support imposing a fee on carbon emissions and using some of the revenue to invest in green infrastructure, especially in frontline communities? **Yes**
8. **Public Transportation.** Will you oppose any fare increases to the MBTA or regional transit authorities and work toward the goal of fare-free public transit? **Yes**
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? **Yes**

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Limit answer to 150 words or fewer.

As a child, I immigrated to Revere from Colombia with my Family. I grew up in these communities and graduated from Revere Public Schools. I began my career working as a janitor at Mass General Hospital and eventually worked in the General Court as Senator Boncore's Legislative Director. My experiences as an immigrant from a working-class family provide me with a rare voice in state government. When combined with my experience in the state legislature, I will have an uncommon ability as a State Representative to advocate for and further progressive policies.