

PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS 2022 Legislative

ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Candidate: David LeBoeuf

Office Sought: State Representative

District: 17th Worcester

Party: Democratic Party

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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 and provides progressive voters an extremely valuable resource when making a decision.

Our Questionnaire 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</u> <u>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.

Each section contains open-ended questions and YES/NO questions. <u>If the question</u> is a YES/NO question, please answer either YES or NO. Feel free to expand your answers, but <u>please keep answers < 150 words.</u>

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 Governing Approach

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

I want the district to continue to be represented by someone who fights for progressive values, regardless of what zip code they live in. Over the last two terms I have built coalitions, engaged new voters, and used my position to advance quality of life issues for marginalized neighborhoods. I've stood firm in my convictions and taken politically difficult votes in a purple district- such as police accountability and driver's license for all-because it was the right thing to do for all in my district. Most importantly I've put my values into action not just when it's convenient, but when people need it the most. I stood firm in my position with the striking nurses at St. Vincent Hospital and have publicly supported the formation of a legislative staff union. Further, as someone who has recently had a very public battle with addiction, I have gained further perspective into the flaws of our healthcare system, and what needs to be done to have true service access in the Commonwealth.

My major legislative priorities are addressing education inequity and disproportionality of youth involved with DCF, restoration and accountability of hospitals that defy DPH in closing essential behavioral health services, increasing access to affordable housing through the Healthy Homes Initiative.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

In addition to two terms managing an office and providing extensive constituent services, I believe that my many years of professional work in public policy have also prepared me very well for this role. This past work included health care access, urban economic development, and organizing for increased representation of marginalized communities.

3. What do you view as the biggest obstacles to passing progressive policy at the state level, and how do you plan to overcome these obstacles?

Often progressive policies are not messaged or introduced in a way that fully resonates with all regions of the Commonwealth. For example, it is difficult to engage support for the low income MBTA fares in communities that are struggling with dilapidated RTA systems. By broadening the goals and expanding grassroots organizing across the state, not only will there be a greater collective consciousness about these issues, but more elected progressive leaders. I will continue to bring different constituencies together, actively discuss the implications of policies neighborhood by neighborhood, and connect Central MA priorities to other statewide efforts. An example is the work on fare-free transit for the WRTA and the linking of advocacy to Boston and Lawrence's efforts.

4. What is one policy pioneered by another state that you would like to see Massachusetts adopt?

Alaska's Permanent Fund dividend program but applied to wind instead of oil.

5. Provide an example of a time that you built a broad coalition to achieve a desired policy outcome.

There are communities in my district struggling with water and sewer affordability. I was able to bring together a coalition of residents, town officials, state agencies, federal officials, legislators, consultants, and environmentalists to address the immediate and long-term challenges of the systems. This resulted in loan refinancing, improvements by Mass DOT to reduce stormwater going into the sewer system, economic development funding to do a long term study, and relief for our lowest income residents.

6. (For incumbents only) Each year, Progressive Massachusetts compiles a scorecard of key roll call votes, available at https://scorecard.progressivemass.com. Please use this space to explain any discrepancies between your votes and the progressive position.

Vote Discrepancy	Rationale
H68 5	While I support greater transparency in the committee vote process, the making testimony completely public is concerning to me given the committees I serve on. I receive frequent testimony detailing abuse, trauma, and experiences that individuals may be less inclined to share if they knew it would be available to the public. I appreciate the spirit of the amendment, but I do not believe it struck the balance necessary to protect these vulnerable individuals stopping forward.
H89 11	As a former small business advisor, I worked with many businesses that have very high expenses but make very little profit because of industry trends. Especially those in the food service and construction industries. While I appreciate the spirit and intention of the amendment there are many small industries, particularly minority contractors, facing labor and material increases that this amendment would have impacted negatively.
H3930 56	I do not philosophically believe in term limits.
H3930 52	I believed the current rule on public committee votes was a major progressive win from where we were. My focus has

	always been on additional time for bills, and I will continue to advocate for that position
H4359 138	This was a connection issue during remote voting, which the rules do not allow late voting. I would have voted NO with the progressive position and expressed my views to the Clerk.

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</u>—\$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, combined with <u>low corporate</u> income taxes compared to other states, 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.

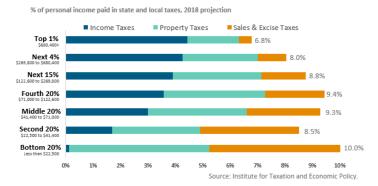
Declining revenues have meant drastic cuts, limiting our ability to invest in our communities and future economic stability.

Personal Income Tax Cuts Cost Commonwealth \$4.15 Billion per Year Annual Revenue Loss (FY 2019) Due to Major Personal Income Tax Cuts (1998-2002)



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 relative to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).

Overall our approach to revenue generation should not be done on the backs of working families and should be done in a progressive, not regressive way. New revenue should come from taxation mostly on wealth and income rather than sales. A flat rate income tax does not make sense. In regard to corporate taxes, we need a policy that encourages small business development and revokes the corporate giveaways received by large companies that don't deliver on promises or keep people in poverty. Revenue is needed to 1) meet basic needs in municipal operations, health care, education, and housing; 2) updating our infrastructure; and 3) investing in technologies which may need initial subsidies (but with claw backs if they don't deliver on promises and job equity goals).

While not the lead sponsor, I am a strong proponent of GILTI, the Fair Share Amendment, and real estate transfer fees. I have also consistently opposed eliminating the gas tax and used my platform to explain its giveaways to big oil and instead advocated for direct payments to all workers. In 2020 when there was tension about pursuing progressive revenue options, I joined my house colleagues in pushing back against the narrative from the senate and put that message into action when I voted in the minority in the 2020 budget to raise progressive revenue. I also support Worcester's effort to adopt the CPA.

In 2010, when I was the Central MA Field Director for "No on 2" (Question 2 would have repealed Chapter 40B) that campaign became coordinated with No on I (alcohol tax) and 3 (sales tax) which were both attacks on taxation and revenue. I ended up the field coordinator for that coordinated campaign in Central MA and not only recruited volunteers, but also publicly advocated and spoke out on all three issues at events.

- 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?

3. **Fair Share**. Do you support the proposed constitutional amendment to increase the tax on annual income over \$1 million by 4%, with the resulting revenue devoted to public education and transportation needs (Fair Share Amendment)?

YES.

- 4. **Progressive Revenue**. The Fair Share Amendment ballot initiative will raise much-needed revenue for our commonwealth, but we will require more resources to meet current needs. Do you support the following measures 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.

- 5. <u>PILOT Reform</u>. Massachusetts is home to some of the world's most prestigious cultural, educational, and medical institutions, but many of them are exempt from property taxes.
 - a. Do you support enabling cities and towns to require large tax-exempt not-for-profit institutions (i.e., with property valued at or above \$15 million) to make payments in lieu of taxes to the municipality equal to 25 percent of the amount that would be paid if they were not exempt?

YFS.

b. Would you support requiring the Department of Revenue to regularly collect the data on the financial impact of lost tax revenue from tax-exempt institutions?

6. **Public Bank**. Do you support the creation of a Massachusetts <u>public bank</u> that would make loans to small businesses, local farmers, cooperatives, community development financial institutions, community development corporations, and municipalities?

YES.

7. **Divestment**. Do you support divesting public investments from private prisons, fossil fuel companies, and weapons manufacturers?

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.

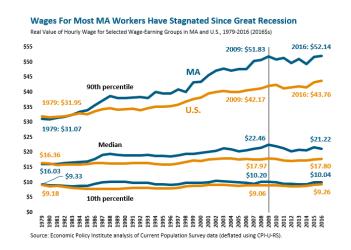
In recent decades, unions have been under attack. However, unions played—and continue to play—a pivotal role in creating a strong middle class. With weaker unions (or no unions at all) come weaker social and economic rights and an imbalanced economy.

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



https://archive.massbudget.org/reports/swma/

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



https://archive.massbudget.org/reports/swma/wages-income.php

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

Wealth and income inequality, even more than poverty itself, have been shown to have detrimental effects on overall health and wellbeing. We need to use all the tools we have available to decrease wealth disparities and not contribute to them. We need to adhere to the principle that economic development needs to be community development. A major strategy for fostering economic security is the strengthening and further development of small, locally based businesses and designing relief packages that provide direct payments to those most vulnerable. Dollars that are spent locally circulate locally, and potentially have up to ten times the economic impact of dollars spent in chain stores. We also need to foster worker ownership and related innovative economic models. Public investment in clean technology and urban manufacturing, with a commitment to hiring local and traditionally marginalized populations, is another promising strategy.

In the legislature I am the co-lead sponsor on an act building justice with jobs, which would spur investment to make clean energy technology accessible to low-income communities and support union job creation. I also have an additional piece of legislation to eliminate barriers to accessing professional licensure for individuals with past convictions. On the local level I have worked side by side with unions on reporting wage theft cases and alerting them about relevant bids in the district. In ARPA I secure funding for a minority business association to do technical assistance for their members and to start an electrical vehicle modification apprenticeship program.

In my previous job as an Urban Business Initiatives Associate at the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City, my primary focus is the implementation of the outreach, application, and selection process for a public-private partnership aimed at increasing opportunities for small businesses in underserved communities. I have championed efforts to increase greater participation of veteran-owned and women-owned businesses in the program. I was invited to speak at a roundtable with Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner to address the economic crisis on the island.

2. **One Fair Wage**. Do you support eliminating the subminimum wage for tipped workers?

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?

YES.

4. <u>Wage Transparency</u>. Would you support requiring the submission of wage data to a public database maintained by the Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development and broken down by gender and race?

YES.

5. **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.

6. <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?

YES.

7. **Paid Vacation Time**. The US is the only advanced industrial country to not guarantee workers paid vacation time to use as they wish. Would you support making Massachusetts the first state to require employers to provide paid vacation time to their workers?

YES.

8. <u>Paid Leave for Municipal Workers</u>. In 2018, MA passed the strongest paid family and medical leave law in the country. However, the law did not include municipal workers. Would you support extending the law to make sure that municipal workers have access to these vital benefits?

YES.

- 9. **Gig Economy**. More than 200,000 workers in Massachusetts now work in the "gig economy," with the rise of app-based platforms. However, their employers often seek to evade labor law in order to avoid treating them as employees and provide decent pay and benefits.
 - a. Do you oppose the November 2022 ballot initiative backed by Uber and Lyft to rewrite current state labor law to exclude hundreds of thousands of workers from fundamental rights and protections?

YFS.

b. Will you oppose all legislation that weakens Massachusetts's labor law protecting employees from being misclassified as "independent contractors"?

YES.

10. <u>Worker Ownership</u>. Do you support allocating state funding (grants, loan guarantees, technical assistance funds) to support worker-owned and governed businesses and cooperatives in Massachusetts?

YES.

11. **Worker Governance**. Would you support incentives and/or requirements for large MA corporations to allow workers to elect at least some members of the board?

YES.

- 12. **State House as a Workplace**. Although the Legislature voted in 2017 to increase legislators' pay, the Legislature has not taken necessary steps to ensure staff are being properly compensated. Staff are often overworked and underpaid, leading to burnout and making it difficult for the State House to retain diverse talent.
 - a. Do you support the unionization effort of the Massachusetts State House Employee Union?

YES.

b. If elected, are you committed to creating a safe work environment for all of your employees in which harassment, especially sexual harassment, is not tolerated?

YES.

c. Do you support the creation of an independent commission to investigate and report on complaints of workplace and sexual harassment in the Massachusetts Legislature?

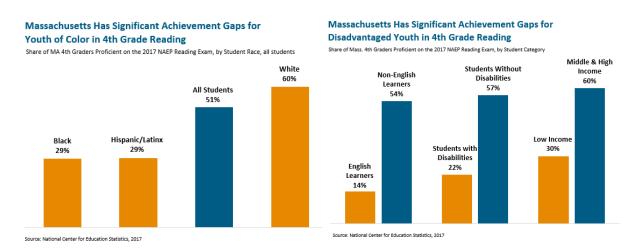
C. Education

Public education plays a fundamental role in democracy, cultivating informed, well-rounded community members and providing the knowledge and skills needed for economic mobility and opportunity. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the <u>most unequal</u> in the country, with significant opportunity and resource divides based on income and race. In 2019, Massachusetts passed the Student Opportunity Act to update the formula for state aid to public school districts and correct these inequities, but schools have faced added strains due to pandemic.

Public education has also been under attack by powerful corporate interests seeking 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. State receiverships in struggling school districts take power away from communities and often facilitate privatization schemes that could never achieve democratic support.

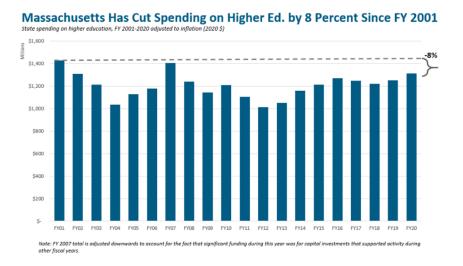
At the same time, our understanding of education has also broadened. No longer do we only talk about K-12 education; rather, most of the <u>fastest-growing occupations</u> require education beyond a high school diploma. Massachusetts has been disinvesting from public higher education for the past two decades, leading to higher tuition costs and putting students at risk of long-term debt (if they are even still able to attend). Our public colleges and opportunities are an economic engine for local economies as well as a pathway to economic opportunity, and when that opportunity is cut off for students, we all lose out.

Massachusetts has significant achievement gaps reflective of resource gaps.



https://archive.massbudget.org/report_window.php?loc=Towards-Equity-School-Funding-Reform-in-Massachusetts.html

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



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

In my own life, and the lives of many of my friends, education has been the key to success and economic security. Our public schools, while imperfect, are remarkable institutions that have the potential to level the economic playing field. We must devote resources to strengthening them and must resist all efforts to privatize them, exposing the bulk of these efforts as cynical ploys to siphon off public money into private, unaccountable hands. Charter schools and voucher programs, even when well-meaning, damage public schools by diverting resources from them and leaving them with the most challenging students.

It is also essential to be vigilant about the disparities in discipline and access to meaningful support systems across racial lines, and to challenge these disparities. We need to hire more teachers who reflect the ethnic and racial composition of our public school populations. I support using precious dollars to hire social workers rather than focusing on discipline measures that interact with the penal system.

One of the key elements of my campaign is the support of universal pre-kindergarten. This is a program that has been proven to support students with language acquisition, identify learning disabilities, and reduce the likelihood that a student will be held back. Furthermore a strong school system is a key indicator of a strong economy and encourages local investment.

In the legislature my primary work on the Joint Committee on Children, Families, and Persons with disabilities has been to improve stakeholder communication in an effort to eliminate educational disparities faced by children in foster care. I am the co-lead sponsor on the electronic backpack bill, and also the lead sponsor on legislation to simplify educational decision making and supports for students in

DCF. I also was a strong champion for the Promise Act, which passed as the Student Opportunity Act. This major progressive victory is only the fist step in making sure zip code does not define one's access to a quality public education.

My first foray into politics was in 2007 when I was a junior at South High Community School in Worcester, MA. At that time I organized students to support the "102%" campaign for increased funding for our schools from the municipal budget. I also testified against the establishment of the now dissolved Spirit of Knowledge Charter School, specifically how it would divert resources from our already underfunded schools. I am a proud Worcester Public School graduate and have devoted much of my volunteer advocacy to supporting our students.

2. **Early Education and Child Care**. Do you support the Common Start Coalition's proposal to establish a robust system of high-quality, affordable early education and care for children from birth through age 5, as well as after- and out-of-school time for children ages 5-12, and for children with special needs through age 15?

YES.

3. **Standardized Testing**. Massachusetts is now one of just 10 states for which an assessment like the MCAS is a condition for graduation. Would you support ending this requirement and allow students, especially students with disabilities, to have several pathways to demonstrate that they have met required competency standards?

YES.

- 4. <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 and offer the same support for English Language Learners and students with disabilities as public school districts?

YES.

5. **Receivership**. The Lawrence Public Schools, Holyoke Public Schools, and Southbridge Public Schools are currently under state receivership, with a state-appointed receiver assuming the powers of a superintendent or democratically elected school committee. The state takeover has not produced sustainable gains and has at times been characterized by chronic mismanagement. Would you support ending the practice of state receivership and returning power to democratically elected school committees?

YFS.

6. <u>Comprehensive 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 topics such as consent and the effective use of contraception?

YES.

7. **Anti-Racist Education**. Curricula that reflects students' lived experiences and actively engages them in antiracism is crucial for students today. Would you support legislation that incentivizes districts to develop Ethnic Studies programs?

YES.

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

YES.

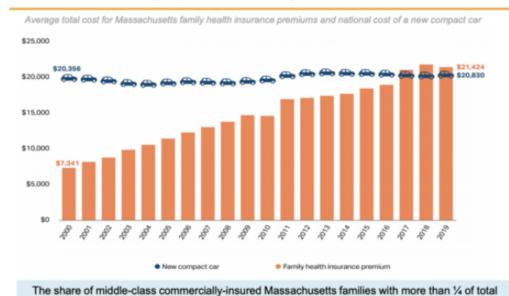
9. <u>Debt-Free College</u>. Do you support making tuition (and mandatory curriculum fees) free at public colleges and universities?

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. The pandemic has put a spotlight on these health care inequities and the need to invest in a stronger public health infrastructure and be more resilient for the pandemics and challenges of the future.

> Massachusetts health insurance premiums have skyrocketed over the past two decades.

Massachusetts health insurance premiums have tripled in 19 years and consume an ever-larger portion of earnings for middle class families.



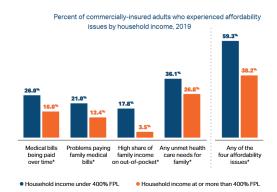
Notes, Data are in normal dolars of the year shown.

Sources: Family Health hazaroance premiums are for Massachusetts from the Agency for Health Care Quality — Medical Expenditure Panel Survey, Insurance
Component. Car cost information is based on car-specific inflation from the BLS and the compact car price index from Kelly Blue Book.

https://www.prawvswire.com/news-releases/average-new-car-prices-up-nearly-1-percent-year-over-year-for-may-2019-according-to-kelley-blue-book30086/270.html; Earnings calculation includes employer premium contribution in both health care payments and in earnings total. See Massachusetts HPC 2019
Annual Cost Trends Report (p.15)

earnings going to health care rose from 28% in 2013-2015 to 33% in 2016-2018.

Many MA residents face difficulty paying health care bills.



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

I am dedicated to fighting for quality affordable health care that is accessible to all residents. However, this goes way beyond insurance coverage. Health care needs to be delivered in a context that is culturally competent and focused on the needs of the individual and/or family. There needs to be enough time to allow practitioners to assess and care for the whole person, not just enough time to order a test or prescribe a medication for an identified disease. This type of care is becoming increasingly rare in the corporate-driven health care delivery environment. A possible antidote to that environment is to return to the original community health center model where clients/patients form a majority of governing boards, and provide them adequate funding to deliver care according to the above principles. Government regulation should restrict the ability of large medical conglomerates to command favorable pricing from payers at the expense of community health centers and hospitals.

During the St. Vincent nurses strike I used my position to call on DPH to investigate why Tenet was closing behavioral health beds, which violated their agreement to provide essential services. During the pandemic my office was aggressive in pushing back against the Administration's failed policies in vaccine distribution, which exacerbated both regional and racial inequities in accessing care. I have also prioritized in my own legislative agenda holding more hospitals accountable for closing essential services when told explicitly by DPH not to.

In 2014, I was asked to implement an outreach program for the Massachusetts Health Connector to educate residents on how to access quality health insurance. Our team reached the most consumers of all partners involved in the project statewide, going door to door to reach over 5,000 households.

I served on the board of the Latin American Health Alliance which runs programs to provide treatment and support addiction recovery in Worcester's Latino community.

2. **Single Payer**. Would you support legislation to enact a single payer health care system in Massachusetts, which would guarantee health insurance as a right?

3. <u>Whole-Person Health</u>. Would you support legislation adding oral health and dental services as a requirement of state standards for MassHealth and commercial Accountable Care Organizations (ACOs) and other value-based care models?

YES.

4. <u>Reproductive Justice—I</u>. Do you support requiring health insurance plans to cover all pregnancy care, including abortion care, prenatal care, childbirth, and postpartum care, without any kind of cost-sharing?

YES.

5. **Reproductive Justice—II**. Would you support the creation of an uncompensated care program to reimburse abortion providers for services they provide to individuals without other means of paying for care, including those individuals traveling from out of state who would have qualified for MassHealth if they lived in the state?

YES.

6. **Reproductive Justice—III**. Young people under sixteen seeking an abortion must obtain parental consent or judicial authorization. While most young people involve their parents, many cannot, causing delays to timely medical care and counseling. Scared teens may also turn to dangerous measures: going out of state or risking their lives and health with illegal or self-induced abortion. Would you support repealing this restriction on young people's access to abortion?

YES.

7. **Menstrual Equity**. Would you support providing access to free menstrual products in schools, shelters, and prisons?

YES.

8. **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?

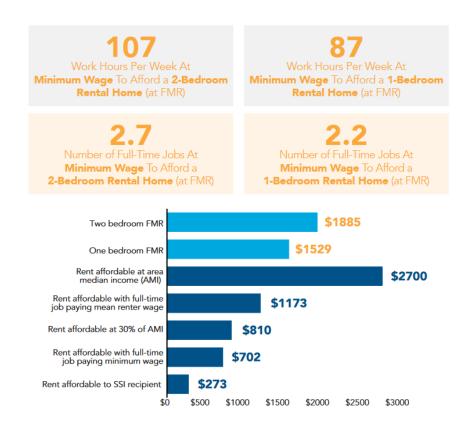
YES.

9. Community Immunity Act. Would you support strengthening the Commonwealth's immunization policies by standardizing the immunization requirements for all schools, daycare centers, and other covered programs and centralizing within the Department of Public Health (DPH) the processes for obtaining an exemption from those requirements?

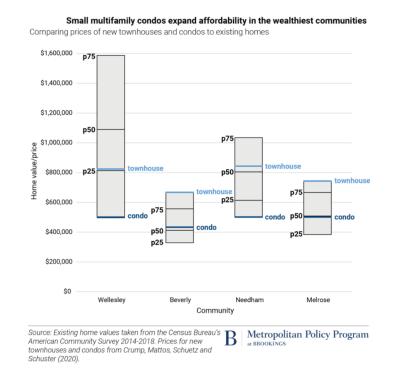
E. Housing

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 #40 in housing affordability (and #47 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work <u>87 hours a week</u> to afford a modest one-bedroom rental home at market rate (and 107 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.

With rental increases far outpacing wage increases, many are left with housing instability.



The overreliance of single-family housing in suburban development, as opposed to denser or multi-family housing, makes communities unaffordable.



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

I believe that housing is a human right and forms a cornerstone of economic security and dignity. In Central Massachusetts we have challenges which may differ from those in other parts of the state. In Worcester there is an apartment shortage, so there needs to be greater opportunities for home ownership for low-and moderate-income families. Additionally in Leicester there is a shortage of subsidized senior housing and I am working with the Town to convert newly acquired elements of the Becker campus for that use. Further we have a variety of Community Development Corporations which have an impressive track record of developing this kind of housing, so it would be a wise investment to support them with tax incentives and sometimes direct funding. Because these organizations also run training and education programs and hire labor for construction and maintenance, they can also serve as a conduit for linking jobs to housing.

In the long term, we need to diminish incentives for housing speculation such that units become and remain affordable, as well as foster local economic development so that people have access to jobs that allow them to afford suitable housing. In the short term, we need to make sure that sufficient housing vouchers are available. Sufficient affordable housing dramatically decreases the incidence of homelessness. As a Commonwealth, we need to do much better at addressing the root causes of homelessness and curtail the practice of housing families in hotels.

As the Westernmost member of the Joint Committee on Housing, I have used my

role to advocate for more innovative solutions in Gateway Cities including the acquisition of vacant lots for affordable housing, incentives to rehabilitate existing housing stock for use by families, and to invest future ARPA funds into remediating toxins. I am the lead sponsor of the Healthy Homes Initiative, which would have \$25 million into programs that would remove lead and other unsafe toxins from housing so that families with children can find the housing they need. I also have a bill in the Public Health committee that looks to reform the MA lead law so that landlords can't discriminate against families with children and instead are required to de-lead the property (with financial assistance from the state and municipality.)

2. **Homeless Bill of Rights**. Would you support the creation of a Homeless Bill of Rights that extends anti-discrimination protections to persons experiencing homelessness, including protections when seeking employment, housing, voter registration, and access to public spaces and places of public accommodation; and secures the right of persons experiencing homelessness to rest, seek shelter from the elements, occupy a legally parked car, pray, eat, and avoid needless harassment in public spaces?

YES.

3. <u>Affordable Housing Funding—I</u>. Would you support legislation to 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.

4. <u>Affordable Housing Funding—II</u>. 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.

5. **Social Housing**. Would you support the creation of a state social housing authority to produce and preserve mixed-income homes that are union-built, sustainable, collectively owned, affordable for all income levels, and financially self-sustaining?

YES.

6. <u>Tenant Protections</u>. Would you support providing municipalities with the authority to implement rent control, 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.

7. **Tenant Opportunity to Purchase**. Would you support providing tenants of small, medium, and large multifamily properties with right of first refusal when the owner plans to put a building on the market, provided that they can make a bona fide offer to match the asking price in a reasonable period of time?

YES.

8. **Right to Counsel**. Would you support legislation to provide legal representation for low-income tenants in eviction proceedings?

YES.

9. **Eviction Sealing**. Eviction records create lasting stigma, are prone to error and impair access to stable housing. Would you support legislation to seal eviction records so that both tenants and landlords can move on with their lives?

YES.

- 10. **Zoning Reform—Part I**. Throughout Massachusetts, restrictive and exclusionary zoning laws make communities unaffordable and exacerbate residential segregation. Would you support the following steps...?
 - a. Prohibiting municipal and state zoning bylaws, ordinances, and land use decisions that discriminate based on race, socioeconomic status, or familial status?

YES.

b. Enabling municipalities to pass inclusionary zoning ordinances by a simple majority vote?

YES.

c. Enabling municipalities to pass zoning ordinances to eliminate parking requirements for multifamily residential development by a simple majority vote?

YES.

11. **Zoning Reform—Part II**. The Department of Housing & Community Development recently released guidelines for the 175 MBTA communities to have a zoning ordinance or bylaw that provides for at least one district of reasonable size near public transit in which multifamily housing is permitted as of right. Would you support extending this requirement to include *all* municipalities that have public transit available, as opposed to only MBTA communities?

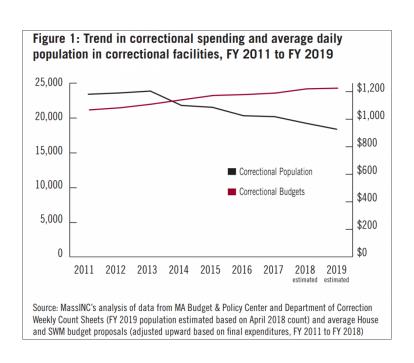
F. Racial and Social Justice

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, especially on the systemic and institutional level.

Mass incarceration in Massachusetts has proven socially and economically destructive, breaking apart communities across the state. From 2011 to 2016, <u>spending on prisons</u> grew faster than any other part of the Massachusetts budget, while funding for necessary services languished. The average cost per year to house an individual in the Massachusetts Department of Corrections is <u>more than \$60,000</u>, 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.

Immigrants make up 16% of Massachusetts's population; however, demagoguery against, or indifference to, immigrant populations has historically been a mainstay of Massachusetts politics. Even though the administration in Washington has changed, we have seen a deportation agenda from both Democratic and Republican presidents, and 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.

The correctional population in Massachusetts has declined, yet the state continues to increase the Department of Corrections budget.



Significant racial disparities exist in incarceration in Massachusetts.

Imprisonment by Race/Ethnicity (2019)		
White imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	63	
Black imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	466	
Hispanic imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	260	
Racial/Ethnic Disparity in Imprisonment (2019)		
Black: white ratio	7.4	
Hispanic: white ratio	4.1	
Juveniles in Custody (2015)		
Total juveniles in custody	309	
Committed	168	
Detained	135	
Diverted	0	
Juvenile custody rate (per 100,000)	0	
White custody rate (per 100,000)	18	
Black custody rate (per 100,000)	166	
Latino custody rate (per 100,000)	117	
American Indian custody rate (per 100,000)	0	
Asian custody rate	0	

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

To me, racial and social justice means fighting not just for equality but for equity. We need to be cognizant of the history of discrimination that continues to create disparate outcomes even in the absence of intentional discrimination. These disparities exist in all aspects of life, including housing, economic opportunity, education, health care, and access to a healthy environment.

During my time in the legislature my greatest amount of time (outside of district specific projects and services) has been spent looking at education disparities of students in the foster care system. Statewide there is disproportionality of kids in color in custody compared to white youth, and in the Worcester are it's startling. Particularly for the Latino population, this is a major issue and something I have worked with local leaders to understand and determine most appropriate interventions that can reverse these trends. This session I also introduced relative to algorithmic bias, removing barriers to licensure because of past convictions, and 911 response time accountability. While not the lead sponsor on either, I was very active in the legislative coalition to move the Work and Family Mobility Act over the finish line.

I am also a member of the Criminal Justice Reform Caucus and have been attending prison and have joined delegations in visiting correctional facilities.

- 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. Supporting strict regulations on government use of face surveillance like those initially enacted by the House and Senate in 2020, before Governor Baker rejected them?

YES.

c. Requiring a vote by a local legislative body (city council, town meeting) before a municipality can acquire military or surveillance equipment?

YES.

3. <u>Alternative Crisis Response</u>. Do you support creating a grant program through the Executive Office of Health and Human Services to increase funding for non-law-enforcement, unarmed community-based response personnel to respond to emergency calls?

YES.

- 4. **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. Do you support the following reforms?
 - a. Eliminating mandatory minimums for all drug 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.

5. **Prison Accountability**. Massachusetts legislators have the statutory right to make unannounced visits to correctional facilities run by the state. Would you commit to exercising this right in order to improve accountability for the Department of Corrections?

YES.

6. Solitary Confinement. Although the 2018 Criminal Justice Reform Act contained provisions to reduce the excessive and harmful use of solitary confinement, the Department of Corrections has established policies and practices to evade implementation of the spirit of these reforms. Would you support legislation to address this discrepancy by taking measures such as (but not limited to) providing all incarcerated people with access to at least 1 hour of structured programming each day for 5 days a week, and offering a minimum of 50 minutes of therapy per week to everyone in segregated confinement by qualified clinical mental health providers; and requiring that all people held in solitary confinement be given a minimum of 4 hours out of cell time?

YES.

7. **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.*) Would you support legislation to end these restrictions?

YES.

8. **Prison Profiteering—Part I**. While Massachusetts does not have private prisons, the DOC invites private companies to profit off the families of incarcerated individuals by price gouging, as incarcerated individuals have no alternatives but to buy from the sole providers of goods in prisons. Would you support ending such price gouging by the DOC for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply incarcerated individuals with the basic requirements necessary for life and maintain good health and hygiene?

YES.

9. **Prison Profiteering—Part II**. The cost of phone calls can be as high as \$4-\$5 (or more) for 15 minutes of phone time for incarcerated individuals in some parts of Massachusetts. Do you support making phone calls free for incarcerated individuals?

YES.

10. **Prison Moratorium**. Would you support a moratorium on the construction of new prisons and jails in the Commonwealth?

YES.

11. **Expungement**. Would you support legislation to automatically expunge marijuana offenses with state-level coordination, firm deadlines, and a study on the impact of the expungements?

YES.

12. <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?

YES.

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

YES.

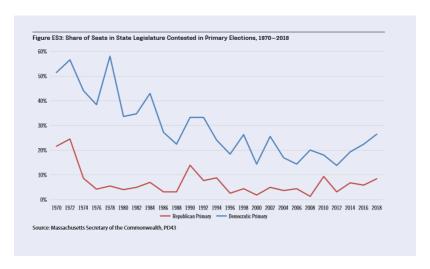
14. **<u>Data Equity</u>**. Do you support allowing state agencies to collect, organize, and assemble public data on major ethnic subgroups for all racial groups to create more visibility for the diverse experiences within communities and enable policymakers and community organizations to be more responsive to community needs?

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>.





Lower-income, ethnically diverse municipalities have lower voter turnout than whiter, more affluent communities, leading to reduced voice in state politics.

Municipality	Turnout (Nov 2020)
Springfield	52.67%
Lawrence	52.72%
New Bedford	55.27%
Chelsea	56.94%
Holyoke	58.89%
Lowell	59.71%
Fall River	60.04%
Southbridge	60.44%
Brockton	63.86%
Lynn	64.07%

Bottom 10 municipalities in terms of 2020 voter turnout

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

This issue has been a passion of mine from an early age and I have devoted a large portion of my professional career to defending voting rights in the Commonwealth and making sure elections are decided by the people, not special interests. The right to vote is sacred and must be protected at all costs. The role of government is to make sure that it is completely representative and efforts to diminish the voice of the people need to be actively challenged. I also believe we need to move towards an election system where money and corporate influences do not cancel out the will of the people. This is why I continue to reject all corporate PAC money.

I spent 7 years as the director of a community effort focused on voter empowerment. Our efforts were to not only register disenfranchised communities but also to inform people of their rights. I stood up against the Tea Party on voter ID. Our organization worked closely with MassVote on a variety of civic engagement programs. I also organized efforts in central MA to support the Election Modernization Bill and put pressure on key legislators to change their votes

In my role as a legislator I have filed two critical pieces of legislation to strengthen our democracy- one to reform the "inactive" list which often disenfranchises renters and communities of color, and another to establish campaign finance reporting disclosures and greater transparency for online political ads.

- 2. <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?

YES.

b. All written testimony submitted for or against bills (with appropriate redactions)?

YES. With extensive stipulations. There needs to be a system that allows individuals (not lobbyists or organizations) to request the testimony not be released if it is discussing a traumatic event or any minor detail could compromise one's identity or other vulnerabilities. This has to go beyond redaction to fully protect survivors.

c. Reader-friendly summaries of bills currently in or reported out of committee?

YES.

- 3. <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?

YES.

b. Making your committee votes available online on your website?

YES.

4. <u>Public Records Law</u>. Massachusetts is the only state where the Governor's Office, the Legislature, and the Judiciary claim full exemptions from the public records laws. Would you support eliminating these exemptions?

YES.

- 5. **Expanding Access to Public Meetings**. During the pandemic, the ability to attend and participate in public meetings virtually has expanded the number of people who are able to participate, removing barriers faced by people with disabilities, people with small children, people with mobility issues, or people with scheduling conflicts (among many others).
 - a. Would you support updating Open Meeting Law so that people can choose to participate remotely in public meetings on a permanent basis, even after the pandemic emergency ends, and providing the necessary funds to municipalities to implement this?

YES.

b. Would you advocate for continuing the practice of allowing people to testify virtually at legislative hearings?

YES.

6. **Removing Barriers to Running**. The cost of child care can prove prohibitive to parents seeking to run for office. Would you support legislation to explicitly allow parents running for office to use campaign funds to pay for child care?

YES.

7. <u>Same Day Registration</u>. Massachusetts lags behind other states in making voting accessible for all. Do you support eliminating Massachusetts's arbitrary and exclusionary 20-day voter registration cutoff and allowing voters to register or update their registration at the polls on Election Day and during the early voting period?

YES.

- 8. **Local Elections**. Municipalities across Massachusetts have sought to expand the franchise for local elections, but remain hamstrung by the home rule process.
 - a. Would you support legislation to enable municipalities to expand the franchise to 16- and 17-year-olds for local elections?

YES.

b. Would you support legislation to enable municipalities to expand the franchise to legal non-citizens (e.g., Green Card holders) for local elections?

YES.

9. **Voting Rights Restoration**. Would you support restoring the franchise to incarcerated individuals serving time for felony convictions (Their right to vote was taken away by ballot twenty years ago)?

YES.

10. <u>Redistricting</u>. Would you support legislation to codify the goal of creating <u>influence districts</u>, <u>crossover districts</u>, <u>and coalition districts</u> in order to expand opportunities for representation and voice for communities of color?

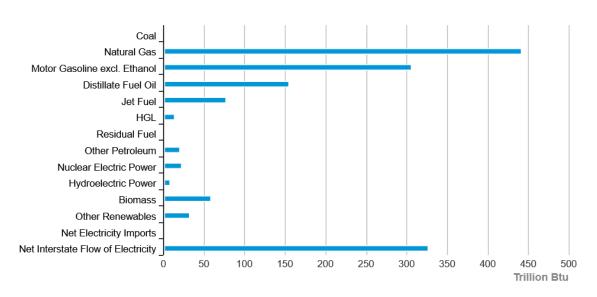
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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, and affluent countries and states must go further. 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, as well as the goals of the 2021 Next Generation Roadmap law, 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 accelerating this transition and ensuring that equity is at the forefront.

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.

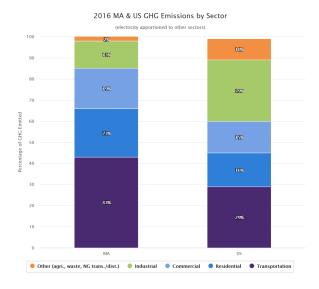
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

Massachusetts Energy Consumption Estimates, 2019



Source: Energy Information Administration, State Energy Data System

Transportation is currently the largest contributor to greenhouse gas emissions in MA.



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

The key principle we need to remember is that we work in the same world where we eat, drink, and breathe. No one should have to choose between a job or a place to live and their health. Economic activity whose byproducts harm human life and our habitat cannot be sustained long term. Currently all life on our planet is threatened by both climate change caused mostly by burning of fossil fuels and by toxic, often non-biodegradable, substances that enter our biosphere as a result of energy generation, manufacturing, and waste disposal. Knowhow, sustainable resources, and technology exist that can change this situation and lead to a sustainable future. We need a strategic economic policy focused on what we need for a future that sustains life: transitioning to a clean technology, carbon-free economy where outputs would become inputs and there is little to no waste generation. At the same time, we need to make sure that where there is transition to a clean economy, its benefits accrue to its workers and populations that have historically been shut out of economic well-being. As we look at actions to move towards environmental sustainability it cannot be in a way that puts an extra financial burden on low-income and working families. I am a proud public transportation supporter and believe it drives the economy and should be fare free. Funding needs to be equitable across the whole state and not forget those of us who do not have MBTA service in our communities.

In the legislature I have used my position to advocate for keeping the Worcester RTA fare free and have connected this issue to broader efforts to make public transportation equitable, and accessible. I have also sponsored legislation to create union, green energy jobs while offering greater access to sustainable housing to low-income communities (Building Jobs with Justice Act). Further I am the lead

sponsor of the Healthy Homes Initiative which aims to eliminate lead and other environmental contaminants in our housing stock. From a constituent services perspective I have devoted an extensive period of time to addressing challenges related to water affordability, brownfield remediation, addressing oil spills in public buildings, and addressing problem businesses that illegally dump or create toxic fumes in EJ neighborhoods.

Prior to my election I was board president of Oak Hill CDC where we have promoted community gardens. I was also a member of the Regional Environmental Council and on the executive board of the Coes Zone Task Force, which seeks to maintain the quality of Coes Park and John J. Binienda beach.

2. **Next Generation Roadmap**. At the start of this legislative session, the Legislature passed a bill that requires emissions reductions of 50% from 1990 levels by 2030, 75% by 2040, and at least 85% by 2050. How can the Commonwealth exceed these targets, and what will your priorities be in advocating for that?

My first focus would be on the electrification of school busses across the Commonwealth. Nationally school fleets emit 5.3 million tons of greenhouse gas emissions a year in the United States. Further, the exposure of diesel to children at such a young age leads to long term health challenges. I am the co-filer of the Building Jobs with Justice Act which would invest funding into retrofitting existing housing stock in low-income neighborhoods/ gateway cities with heat that is affordable, environmentally sustainable, and not reliant on natural gas. Further the bill would provide assistance to displaced workers in these utility industries and create more union jobs.

3. **100% Renewable Energy**. Scientists have argued that, with existing technologies, the US could supply 100% of energy needs with renewable sources. Would you support requiring that Massachusetts adopt a target of sourcing electricity from 100% renewable energy sources by 2030?

YES.

4. **Rooftop Solar**. Would you support requiring that all new construction be built to accommodate solar energy installations?

YES.

5. **Fossil-Fuel-Free Construction**. Would you support legislation to enable municipalities to ban oil and gas heating pipes in new construction?

YES.

6. **Fossil Fuel Infrastructure**. Do you oppose the expansion of fossil fuel infrastructure in the state?

YES.

7. **Environmental Justice**. Would you support requiring the Energy Facilities Siting Board to consider environmental justice, public health, and climate impacts in

decision-making on siting projects?

YES.

8. **Just Transition**. Do you support the creation of a Just Transition Office to assist workers that are displaced in the transition from fossil fuels to clean energy?

YES.

9. **Electrifying Public Transit**. In Massachusetts, 43 percent of GHG emissions in 2016 came from transportation infrastructure and vehicles. Tackling this will require a shift away from cars and toward public transit, as well as electrification of both. Would you support the electrification of the MBTA bus fleet by 2030, RTA fleets by 2035, and the MBTA rail system by 2035?

YES.

10. <u>Free Public Transit</u>. Do you support making public transit in the Commonwealth fare-free?

YES.

11. <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?

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

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.