



PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2022 Gubernatorial
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Candidate: Danielle Allen

Office Sought: Governor

Party: Democratic

Website: <https://allenforma.com/>

Twitter: [@dsallentess](#) [@AllenforMA](#)

Facebook: [allenforma](#)

Instagram: [@allenforma](#)

Email questions to elections@progressivemass.com.

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 [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.

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. **If the question is a YES/NO question, please answer either YES or NO.** Feel free to expand your answers, 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 Governing Approach

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

I am answering a call to service, seeking to build a team of courage and commitment, compassion and creativity, to forge a way out of these dark hard times toward the green and healthy next-generation democracy we all deserve. My top three priorities? A roof over every head, good jobs, and an efficient, comfortable way to get to work; a democracy strong enough to meet our existential challenges--from pandemic to racial justice to sustainability and climate justice; and schools we can have confidence to give our kids, educators, and staff a healthy, safe environment for learning and thriving.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

Since losing my cousin Michael in 2009 to a combination of mass incarceration and gun violence, I have used every tool at my disposal to secure the just and equal world we all deserve--through issue advocacy and driving change in large bureaucratic organizations in the nonprofit sector. As an engaged citizen, I pushed for cannabis legalization and other aspects of ending the War on Drugs, ranked choice voting and democracy reform, and civic education. As a leader of a \$60 million Division at the University of Chicago, of the \$6 billion Mellon Foundation, and of a civic education start-up here in Massachusetts, I've built courageous, compassionate, and committed teams to put education and social justice investments to work for the world we deserve. Being a part of a team like this that got things done for COVID rapid response (ultimately creating the country's first Roadmap to Pandemic Resilience) brought me hope. It's time for bold action and I'm ready.

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

We have lots of important policy victories under our belt that deserve a governor who will implement them--from the Next Generation Climate Roadmap to police reform to resources for schools to protections for reproductive rights and communities at risk from the decommissioned Pilgrim Power Plant. We need a governor committed to implementation so that engaged citizens can see that it's worth their time to advocate for policies because there is a governor who will execute on them. When that commitment to effective implementation is clear, it will be worth people's time to advocate for progressive policy, and we'll see more movement in the legislature too.

4. What do you view as the role of the state government in supporting progressive policy at the local level?

The Governor's Office has three lanes of action--working with the legislature on policy; steering state agencies to drive and implement innovation, participatory policy-making, and

empowering approaches to constituency services; and coordinating and communicating horizontally with all 351 towns and cities to establish communities of best practice to drive innovation—in areas from alternative dispatch to climate justice and resilience to diversity, equity and inclusion work in our schools. The Governor’s office can provide the communication and coordination, knowledge resources, and decision supports that municipalities need to tackle their hardest problems and forge partnerships so that we can move forward together. In addition, we need to empower municipalities to take on more decisions without needing a home rule petition—on rent stabilization and ranked choice voting in the first instance.

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

Right to counsel in cases of eviction.

6. Legislative inertia and inter-chamber rivalry remain a dominant force in the Massachusetts Legislature. What would be your strategy for passing your aforementioned priority proposals?

Everything I’ve ever gotten done has depended on building teams of courage and commitment, creativity and compassion. I would tackle relationships with the legislature in the same fashion, building a team in the Governor’s office with deep relationships with members of the Legislature, ready both to partner and to push, seeking to collaborate with the Senate President and House Speaker on agenda development, and communicating early and often with all players, living by a “no surprises” ethic.

7. What do you view the role of the office in advancing a progressive agenda (and fighting a conservative one) on the national level?

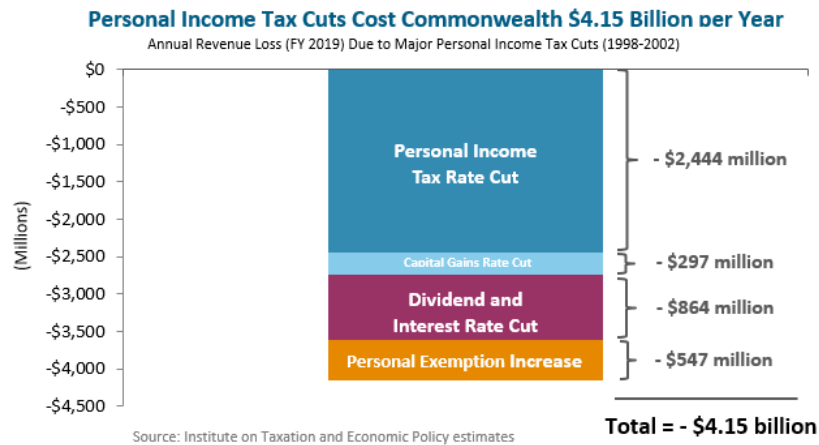
I believe Massachusetts has the capacity to show the nation how to forge a path out of the dark hard times we find ourselves in. Solving many of our challenges starts with strengthening our democracy, and Massachusetts can build on our historic leadership on democracy by once again showing our country the path forward on reimagining our democracy to meaningfully include every voice. We can link progressive commitments to investments in a healthy, good jobs economy that will bring costs of living down, quality of life up, and underpin all our work on equity and justice. I believe the Governor should lay out a clear agenda for unifying progressive commitments with a healthy, inclusive economy — one where all of us have the basic building blocks we need to flourish. This is how we build the green and healthy next-generation democracy we all deserve.

II. The Issues

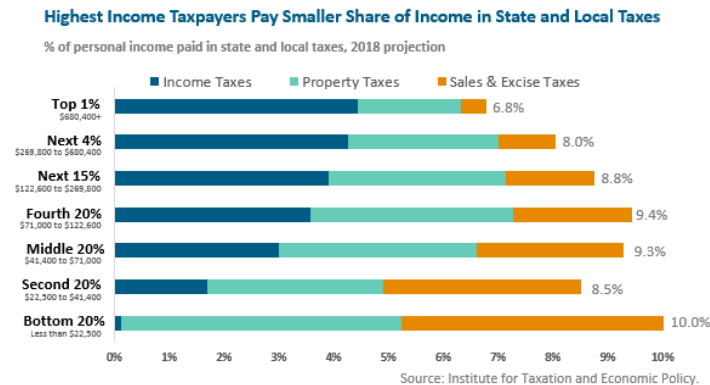
A. Revenue and Taxation

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, combined with [low corporate 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.



Massachusetts state and local taxes are regressive.



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.).**

My basic approach to political economy is that we have to invest in inclusive prosperity and pathways to opportunity. It's time to organize our economic policy from the ground up by asking what opportunities can help people live the lives they seek while also contributing to the greater good of a healthy economy – and how can we ensure these opportunities are equitable and inclusive. This also requires a focus on pre-production and infrastructure investment and also on production itself with policies that create and connect people to good jobs and good firms with strong wages and benefits and worker voice. We have to acknowledge that in Massachusetts we have been underinvesting in the people and infrastructure that power a dynamic, inclusive economy. This does require rebuilding a commitment to smart taxation to support the investments needed to sustain a healthy social contract. I have argued for this in my book Democracy in the Time of Coronavirus and more generally have been working with a network of economists and policy experts for the last four years in a project called A Political Economy of Justice, with a book to be published fall 2022. As Governor, I will support strategic investments that broadly spread opportunity to participate in an inclusive, dynamic economy; recognizing that inclusion is the motor of growth.

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? (Y/N)**

YES.

- b. **Repealing any tax break that does not provide the intended benefits in a cost-effective manner? (Y/N)**

YES.

- c. **Establishing sunset dates for all tax breaks so that they must come up for periodic review? (Y/N)**

YES.

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

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.) (Y/N)

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Massachusetts should lead the country in instituting Sen. Elizabeth Warren's policy of an alternative minimum corporate tax based on accounting profits. Corporations should have to pay whichever is less of the statutory rate on the standard corporate tax base and half that rate on the base of their accounting profits reported in public filings audited by accounting firms and filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

b. Imposing a tax on the portion of corporations' US profits that are shifted to offshore tax havens? (Y/N)

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

This would be covered by the proposal in a.

c. Raising the corporate tax rate from 8% to 9.5% (where it stood in 2009)? (Y/N)

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

The problem of falling corporate tax rates results from an interstate race to the bottom. Massachusetts needs a higher corporate tax rate, but if we go it alone we will lose jobs. A better approach would be to give other states an incentive in joining us in raising the floor on corporate tax rates. I would make this happen in two ways:

i. As President Biden did with the G20 countries, I would work with the National Governors Association to convene a group to agree to a minimum state corporate tax rate.

ii. Even ahead of this meeting, I would set up an index of the corporate tax rates of other states based on a mixture of national averages and averages among states that most heavily compete for corporate locations with Massachusetts and peg our corporate tax rate to this index. Furthermore, I would base this on average realized rates rather than statutory tax rates, so that if other states offer tax breaks this would lower their effective tax rate. With this policy in place, other states would lose the incentive to compete with Massachusetts on taxes. This would raise revenues and jobs simultaneously in the long-term, rather than putting us at a competitive disadvantage.

d. Raising the tax on long-term capital gains from 5% to 8.95%, in line with states like New York and Vermont? (Y/N)

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

More effective than raising capital gains tax rates would be reforming the structure of the tax in ways we have long known need to happen at the

federal level. Massachusetts could lead here by reforming the structure of our own taxes, bringing other states along with us and eventually shaming the federal government into reform. Among the most important reforms are:

- i. Treating carried interest as ordinary income rather than capital gains.
- ii. Raising rates on excess capital gains (those above the rate on Treasury Bills), while treating earnings on the Treasury Bill rate as ordinary income.
- iii. Charging capital gains on profits marked-to-market or on an interest-adjusted basis, as well as eliminating loopholes through inheritance and estate planning, which allow widespread legal avoidance.
- iv. Eliminating the exemption of excess capital gains in ROTH IRA accounts.

These reforms would raise more revenue than an increase in the rate and would make Massachusetts a national leader in tax reform.

e. Levying a modest tax on university endowments greater than \$1 billion? (Y/N)

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I think we need to address the contributions made by universities and other non-profits via full enforcement and accountability around the PILOT program.

5. **PILOT Reform. 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? (Y/N)

YES.

b. Would you direct the Department of Revenue to regularly collect the data for the financial impact of lost tax revenue from tax-exempt institutions? (Y/N)

YES.

6. **Divestment. Do you support divesting public investments from private prisons, fossil fuel companies, and weapons manufacturers? (Y/N) If so, how would you reinvest these divested funds?**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I support divesting public investments from private prisons and fossil fuel companies. I would recommend review of investments in weapons manufacturers for ethics concerns. More generally, I would work with the Treasurer to draw on existing and continuously improving frameworks for ESG investment.

B. Jobs and the Economy

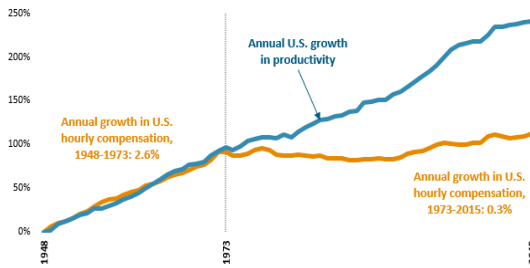
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten [most unequal states](#), as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which 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

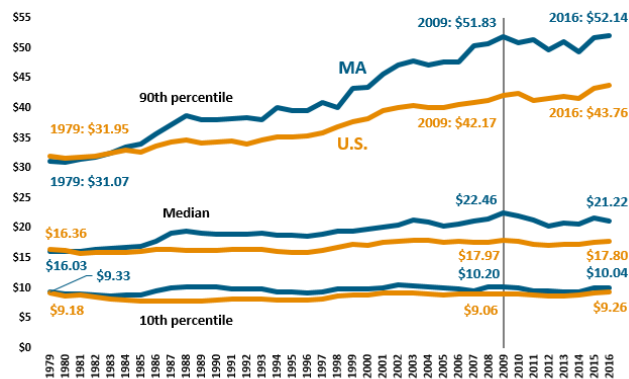


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of unpublished Total Economy Productivity data from Bureau of Labor Statistics' Labor Productivity and Costs program, wage data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Current Employment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics' Employment Cost Trends data, and the 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 relative to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.)**

For too long, we have been presented with false choices: Prospering businesses or better wages and working conditions. Financial stability or quality of life. Long commutes or lack of job opportunity. Concentrations of wealth or faltering GDPs.

It doesn't have to be this way. That is why, As Governor, I will prioritize: **building a good jobs economy for everyone; protecting worker rights, wages and voice; ensuring prosperity is inclusive for all; and helping workers connect to, and persist in, pathways to opportunity.**

An Allen administration will invest in the foundations of a One Commonwealth economy that both spurs business formation and recruitment **and** builds a good jobs foundation that offers stability and broad participation in our state's economic growth, fully incorporating members of minority groups, women, and low to middle-income people.

2. **Economic Development—Part I. In recent years, we have seen a race to the bottom between cities and states to offer special perks for large corporations considering new development or relocation. What would be your approach to such bids or proposals from cities in Massachusetts?**

First, we will make good jobs our top economic goal. To make this our goal, we have to make our first mission the development of metrics and tools for evaluating our success on this front. While there are some good tools out there, for instance, the job quality index developed by Jewish Vocational Services, developing this mission focus and the tools needed to pursue it will require collaboration from between business, labor and government under the leadership of an Allen Administration. These metrics should drive decisions at all levels - from the Governor's Office to the state's Labor Workforce Boards to municipalities setting criteria for relocation and development proposals.

3. **Economic Development—Part II. What industries do you see as growth opportunities for the Commonwealth, and how will you ensure the strong labor standards and diverse hiring practices that are essential for shared prosperity?**

We will continue to support economic engines in the biotech sector and knowledge economy, invest in job-creating housing and transportation infrastructure projects, and diversify our economy by supporting sector growth for renewable energy infrastructure, human-complementing AI, advanced manufacturing, and cannabis.

We will improve the state's procurement processes to support minority and women business owners, secure commitments from anchor institutions, including universities and hospitals, to diversification of contracting and procurement, and convert the Skills Cabinet into an Opportunity with Equity Cabinet. We will also commit to working with unions to establish project-labor agreements for state projects that advance equity and inclusion.

4. **Closing the Racial Wealth Gap. What opportunities do you see for leveraging**

public procurement dollars to close persistent racial/ethnic wealth gaps in the Commonwealth?

Please see the answer to question 3.

5. **One Fair Wage**. Do you support eliminating the subminimum wage for tipped workers? (Y/N)

YES.

6. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

7. **Wage Transparency**. 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? (Y/N)

YES.

8. **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? (Y/N)

YES. But along the lines of the Predictable Scheduling Act (<https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/1c/fair-work-schedules/#policy>), I would structure such a policy by giving workers the right to refuse a change in work hours demanded with less than 14 days notice as opposed to an outright ban on such changes.

9. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

10. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

11. **Paid Leave for Municipal Workers**. 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? (Y/N)

YES.

12. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

- b. How would your administration work to expand the rights of such gig workers?

Massachusetts has set a leadership standard for the definition of an employee and we need to defend that standard while improving the ability of gig workers to organize.

13. **Worker Ownership.** Do you support allocating state funding (grants, loan guarantees, technical assistance funds) to support worker-owned and governed businesses and cooperatives in Massachusetts? (Y/N)

YES.

14. **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? (Y/N)

YES. I think Massachusetts would benefit from the opportunity to pilot governance models like those used in Germany and would support finding a pathway to that experimentation.

C. Education

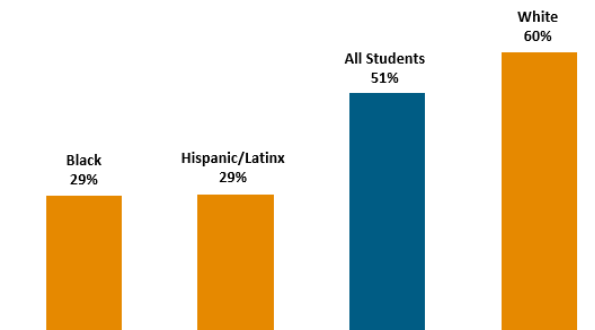
The promise of public education has always been as a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country. Powerful corporate interests are promoting false solutions and working to undermine public schools, teachers, and unions. These groups invest millions of dollars to promote the expansion of privately run charter schools, which siphon money from our public K-12 districts while largely excluding students with the greatest needs. Costly, mandated standardized test results are used to label schools as “failing” and justify these privatization schemes. State receiverships in struggling school districts advance a privatization agenda by disenfranchising voters through stripping those they elect of their power to represent them.

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

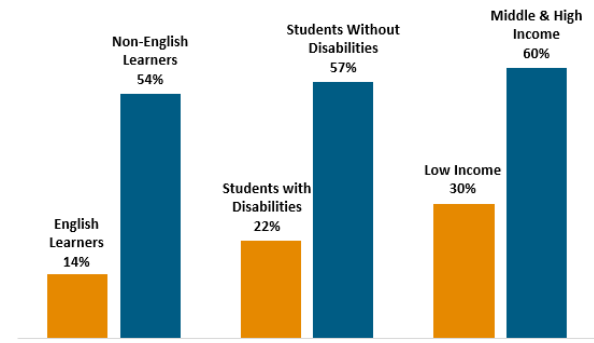
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



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

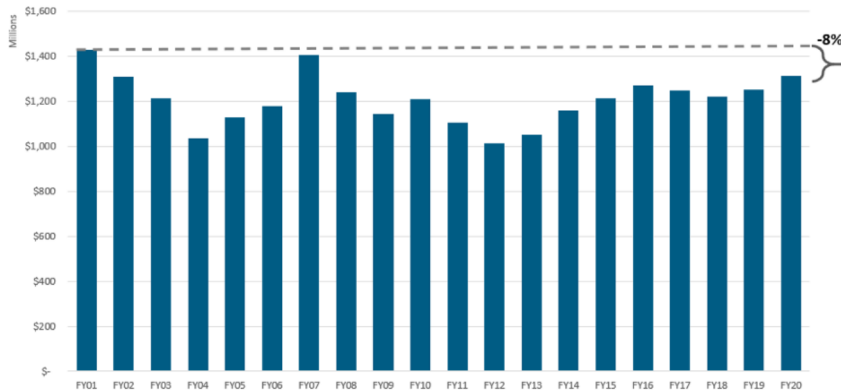


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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

Massachusetts Has Cut Spending on Higher Ed. by 8 Percent Since FY 2001

State spending on higher education, FY 2001-2020 adjusted to inflation (2020 \$)



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

For too long, we have accepted success on average while having some of the starkest racial, regional, and socioeconomic disparities. Our one-size-fits-all education system ends up inadequately serving many of our students, not identifying the needs and the potential of all of our children, and pushing too many of them out of schools altogether. It also leaves our Commonwealth's businesses and non-profit organizations struggling to tap fully into the Commonwealth's talent. This all got much worse under the pressure of the pandemic.

It doesn't have to be this way. For the health and prosperity of our Commonwealth, we need the contributions and talents of each and every resident, and pathways to success suitable to each person. My agenda prioritizes: **uniting excellence and equity through student-centered supports; building a strong foundation for every child through affordable, accessible early education; fostering safe, supportive and healthy environments for learning; supporting diverse pathways to post-high school success; and restoring dignity and good working conditions for educators and effective family engagement.**

I have published *Education and Equality, Education, Justice, and Democracy* and numerous opinion pieces and essays that all support this approach. I have built a civic education provider, the Democratic Knowledge, that prioritizes co-design of curriculum with educators, and has curriculum in a dozen districts in the state and provides professional development support for educators all over the Commonwealth.

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? (Y/N)

YES.

3. **Equitable Funding.** In 2019, Massachusetts updated its 25-year-old education funding formula and committed to \$1.5 billion more in annual 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. *How would you make sure that the state keeps its promise to teachers, students, and parents?*

I would make this a top priority in my annual budget proposal.

4. **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? (Y/N)

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I support transitioning to a next-generation approach to accountability that moves beyond the MCAS exam and provides multiple pathways for demonstrating competency standards.

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? (Y/N)**

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? (Y/N)**

YES.

6. **School Governance.** What would be your priorities in selecting candidates to appoint to the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education?

I want candidates with direct experience of the challenges of education in the Prek-12 space, who are interested in hearing and learning from educators, and who are committed to delivering to families schools that they can have confidence in for their kids.

7. **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. What is your evaluation of the impact

of state receivership on these districts, and what reforms, if any, would you advocate for in the state receivership law?

I think it is time to get Lawrence Public Schools, Holyoke Public Schools, and Southbridge Public Schools out of receivership and would make the development of a pathway back to local management a top priority. The transition would include development of a strategic plan for how the districts would pursue uniting excellence and equity, with state resources supporting municipal-led pilot initiatives to lead the state in improving our ability to unite excellence and equity.

8. **Comprehensive 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? (Y/N)**

YES.

9. **Anti-Racist Education. Do you support the creation of a Commission for Anti-Racism and Equity in Education, which would ensure that ethnic studies, racial justice, decolonizing history, and unlearning racism are taught at all grade levels using a critical approach and pedagogy that is age-appropriate? (Y/N)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

In my Education Agenda (<https://allenforma.com/agendas/>), I call for forming a Commission on the Future of Education in Massachusetts, to drive the work of uniting excellence and equity. That Commission would among other things, help inform a goal of building a state-wide community of practice for school committees and school leadership teams around diversity, equity, and inclusion work including matters ranging from hiring and organizational culture to questions of inclusive pedagogy and curricula, and effective strategies for tackling hard histories of race and racism and other categories of oppression, challenges of digital literacy, and the development of skills and dispositions needed to bridge across lines of difference. So I do support a Commission that would embrace work on equity and anti-racism, but would be approaching it somewhat differently than the specifics outlined here.

10. **Mental Health in Schools. The pandemic has heightened the need for dedicated, sustained funding for mental health services in schools. How would you use your position to make sure that all students are receiving the mental health services they need in a timely fashion?**

The Allen administration will work to tighten the links between a strengthened public health infrastructure and our schools. The goal will be to increase the capacity of schools to serve as **anchors for community health**. Health is a necessary foundation for learning and some schools already provide important health-services for students, from nutrition to dental and eyesight checks. The COVID pandemic has brought the work of school health personnel to another level of intensity and highlighted how important it is to have health personnel in all schools; robust relationships with public health offices and community health centers; and healthy buildings. As part of this effort, we will **ensure every student has access to behavioral health supports – including mental health and**

substance use disorder resources, as well as violence prevention and disruption resources, and other critical health foundations – through increased health personnel in schools and strengthened partnerships with modernized public health offices Commonwealth-wide.

11. **Higher Education Access. Do you support granting in-state tuition and financial aid to undocumented students? (Y/N)**

YES.

12. **Debt-Free College. Do you support making tuition (and mandatory curriculum fees) free at public colleges and universities? (Y/N)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I will make it a priority to lower the cost of public higher education so that every single Massachusetts student can afford it without debt. We can restore affordability through public investment to achieve tuition levels that working students can manage without taking on debt, and a key first step will be to leverage that public investment to make community college free.

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.

Average total cost for Massachusetts family health insurance premiums and national cost of a new compact car



The share of middle-class commercially-insured Massachusetts families with more than ¼ of total earnings going to health care rose from **28%** in 2013-2015 to **33%** in 2016-2018.

Notes: Data are in normal dollars of the year shown.

Sources: Family Health Insurance 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.

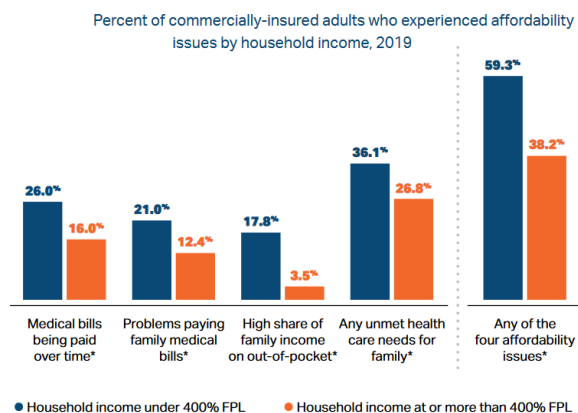
<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/average-new-car-prices-up-nearly-4-percent-year-over-year-for-may-2019-according-to-kelley-blue-book-300860710.html>

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)



Image41

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.).**

Everyone should have access to a foundation for good health. Getting everyone access to great healthcare is part of the puzzle, but so is getting people equitable access to the resources they need to stay healthy in the first place. Housing and jobs are health issues. Food justice and environmental justice are health issues. And what the pandemic has taught us is that we need to not only fill the gaps in healthcare access, but also start asking the bigger question: **how can we get to a place where no matter our background, identity, income, or zip code, we have equal access to a great standard of health?** We need to focus on putting a foundation for good health in place for every community in the Commonwealth. **It's time for a paradigm shift: a shift towards health equity.**

My pandemic work through the Roadmap to Pandemic Resilience and other key documents focused on questions of equitable access to COVID response resources. That is why, as Governor, I will prioritize: leading for equitable pandemic resilience; addressing the social determinants of health; ensuring timely, accessible behavioral health supports; ensuring health coverage is truly universal; bringing health services to where people are and supporting healthy and resilient communities; and making health care simple and affordable.

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? (Y/N)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Health insurance should be universal, simple, and affordable. I support legislation to guarantee health insurance as a right and think that in principle one can achieve that through a single payer system, or hybrid system or all payer system. Rather than enacting a single payer health care system in Massachusetts, I think we will make more progress by first focusing on building on our system's strengths

and investing in what we know matters for improving health broadly, including addressing the social determinants of health, fully integrating behavioral health into our health system, ensuring health coverage is truly universal, and making health care simple and affordable. That is why I support, for example, closing out coverage gaps and a public-private partnership on an insurance plan for small businesses.

3. **Reproductive Justice—I.** 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? (Y/N)

YES.

4. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

5. **Menstrual Equity.** Would you support providing access to free menstrual products in schools, shelters, and prisons? (Y/N)

YES.

6. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

7. **Pandemic Response.** How would you evaluate the state's response to the Covid-19 pandemic? What would you have done differently to ensure more equitable distribution of PPE, testing, and vaccination to underserved populations?

The state made a fundamental mistake in not working with communities on pandemic response. In June 2020 I advocated to Covid Command to try to get the state to partner with community organizers and faith-based organizations to build out contact tracing but I did not get uptake. This was characteristic of the whole response, for instance also the decision to abandon local plans for vaccine distribution and to try to concentrate all vaccine distribution at mass sites. It was ultimately the work of community organizations that turned the tide— the Black Boston Covid Coalition, Barnstable County Health Commission, and Berkshire County Covid Collaborative. My administration would prioritize partnerships with networks of community organizations from the get-go.

8. **Public Health.** What are the main lessons you would take from the state's experience with the COVID-19 pandemic in order to put our state on a stronger public health footing for future crises, especially as relates to protecting the state's most at-risk populations?

The pandemic pressure-tested our health systems, and we came up short. And while each of us has had our own experience of the pandemic, it's been a tough, painful two years for all of us. During 2020, Massachusetts had the third highest number of COVID-19 deaths per capita in the country, and two-thirds of these deaths were in nursing homes. Chelsea was among the municipalities with the highest COVID-19 mortality rates in the nation. And the opioid epidemic has gotten worse.

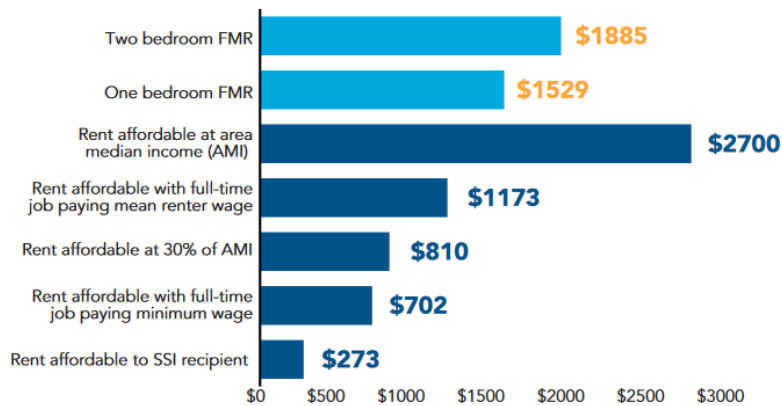
Health isn't equal in our state. And it isn't universal, simple, and affordable — a truth working people, immigrants, LGBTQ+ people, people with disabilities, and Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities have long known. In Massachusetts, although we've got a proud leadership record on health, our excellence on average hides wide gaps that still exist in health across our state. **It's time for a paradigm shift: a shift towards health equity.**

- An Allen administration will tighten connections between schools, public health offices, and community health centers to provide a robust foundation for primary and preventive health across the Commonwealth, building on learning from the pandemic about leveraging schools as easily accessible sites to provide basic health resources ranging from healthy lunches to vaccinations.
- We will jumpstart this effort using COVID relief funds offered under the American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) to increase the presence of health personnel in schools, including nurses, counselors, social workers, and psychologists, prioritizing districts and schools serving students of color and students from low-income backgrounds including those who live outside of big cities.
- We will similarly use COVID relief and ARPA funds to modernize and regionalize the Commonwealth's local public health infrastructure in line with the recommendations of the 2019 Commission on Public Health. Robust public health offices at the state and local level will be needed to support the transition to healthy and green school buildings, as advanced in our Education Agenda; as well as to improve water and waste management at municipal and regional levels and manage the nature-based solutions and tree-canopy that are advanced in our Climate Agenda. And school-based family health education teams, working in collaboration with public health offices and community health centers, can help broadly educate for climate resilience.

E. Housing

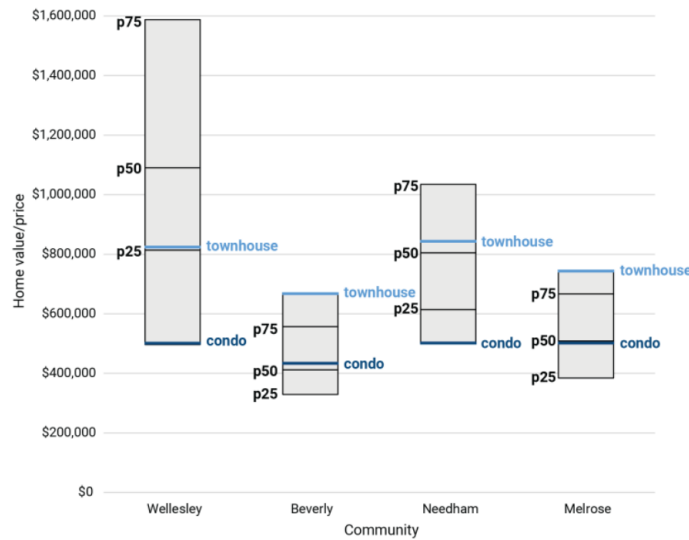
Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The [US News & World Report's annual state rankings](#) put Massachusetts at #40 in housing affordability (and #47 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [87 hours a week](#) 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.

Small multifamily condos expand affordability in the wealthiest communities
 Comparing prices of new townhouses and condos to existing homes



Source: Existing home values taken from the Census Bureau's American Community Survey 2014-2018. Prices for new townhouses and condos from Crump, Mattos, Schuetz and Schuster (2020). **B** Metropolitan Policy Program at BROOKINGS

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.).

One of the first things that any of us needs in order both to thrive and to contribute to our community is a safe, healthy, and secure place to live. Access to housing is a basic human need and the foundation for personal dignity, healthy democracy, and a growing, inclusive economy. That is why my agenda prioritizes: Increasing affordable housing, supporting tenants' rights, supporting first-time homeowners, ending housing insecurity, and creating a culture of beauty and sustainability in density.

Richard Rothstein's book, *The Color of Law*, emerged from a seminar and on-going workshop on segregation and education to which I had invited him in 2009. I have advocated for inclusionary zoning across essays over the past decade. Throughout the 2021 Mass Dems platform writing process, I advocated to elevate housing as a priority area of policy, and advocated specifically for a Commonwealth-wide strategic plan around affordability and tenant protections like right to counsel and rent stabilization. I have also testified on behalf of tenant protections before the State Legislature.

2. Reducing Homelessness. What steps would you take to reduce the number of individuals experiencing homelessness and address the daily indignities and systemic problems unhoused individuals face?

Ending housing insecurity is a priority for my campaign. We will help households avoid homelessness by providing back-rent assistance, increasing funding for programs that prevent and address housing insecurity, and stabilizing the recently

restored statewide rental arrearage program. With such a program, the Department of Transitional Assistance found that 96 percent of recipients maintained stable housing and did not require more intensive assistance in the form of shelter stays for the following 12 months.

We will also commit to expanding and improving our Housing First programs, which recognize that people need a stable place to live before they can address other challenges like getting a job or getting help with substance abuse issues. We will also focus on addressing the underlying drivers of housing insecurity. Housing insecurity is a multidimensional problem that requires investment in the areas of workforce development, violence interruption, and physical, behavioral and mental health.

3. **Affordable Housing Funding—I. 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? (Y/N)**

YES.

4. **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? (Y/N)**

YES.

5. **Public Housing. Massachusetts has underfunded state-assisted public housing for years and has sought to reduce the overall quantity of state public housing units. Will you protect and expand Massachusetts' operating investment in public housing? (Y/N) What would be your priorities in doing so?**

YES. We will increase the supply of housing units of all types, including via repurposing of abandoned buildings, and via a blend of tools to bring both public and private investment.

6. **Tenant Protections. Would you support providing 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? (Y/N)**

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? (Y/N)**

YES.

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

YES.

9. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

- b. Enabling municipalities to pass inclusionary zoning ordinances by a simple majority vote? (Y/N)

YES.

- c. Enabling municipalities to pass zoning ordinances to eliminate parking requirements for multifamily residential development by a simple majority vote? (Y/N)

YES.

10. **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.

- a. The new requirement is an important step toward addressing our affordable housing crisis, but it lacks an enforcement mechanism. How would you enforce this new requirement?

We would develop accurate accounting methodologies to measure and track the quantity of affordable housing in each community, which would make 40B a more effective enforcement mechanism. We would also make forward movement on other municipally sought projects, for instance, further transportation projects dependent on actionable commitments around affordability.

- b. Would you support extending this requirement to include *all* municipalities that have public transit available, as opposed to only MBTA communities? (Y/N)

YES.

11. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

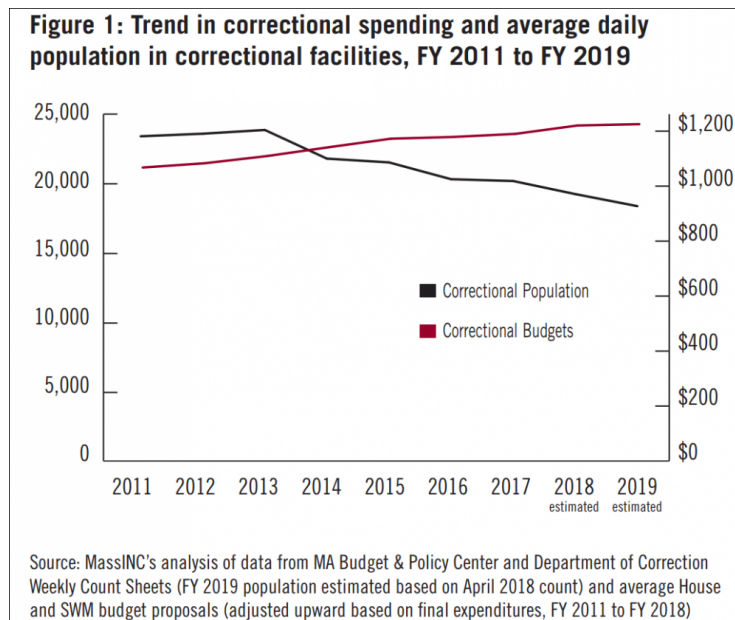
F. Racial and Social Justice

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, 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, [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.

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.).

This issue goes to the core of my being as I lost one of my closest cousins to a combination of mass incarceration and gun violence. I believe that achieving justice and safety for all depends on seven core principles:

- The principle of healthy social connection
- Freedom from domination
- Self-determination
- Participation
- Economic dignity and security
- Recognition and redress of past state harm
- Data transparency

(Full statement available here: https://ethics.harvard.edu/files/center-for-ethics/files/justice_principles.pdf?m=1626444771)

I have been working and writing on this subject since my first book (published in 2000) which was about the history of punishment, including historical comparison

to the excessive penalty of the U.S. I have written frequently in the Washington Post to argue for ending the War on Drugs and published a memoir Cuz to make that case. I served on the Soros Foundation US Programs Advisory Board to help drive this work forward, and during my time chairing the Mellon Foundation board we became the most significant funder of prison college education in the U.S. During the pandemic my COVID response network contributed to the advocacy network working on ensuring that incarcerated people were in the top priority tiers for vaccination and we developed resources to help the families of incarcerated people know how to advocate for their loved ones in relation to COVID. And I have worked to link professional training in health and law in support of transitioning away from criminalizing paradigms for addressing substance use disorder to health paradigms.

As Governor, I will prioritize: Transforming juvenile justice to prioritize rehabilitation and equity, expanding alternative response systems that better connect residents to needed supports, increasing equitable representation and accountability for first responders, and advancing sentencing reform and strengthening re-entry supports.

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? (Y/N)**

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? (Y/N)**

YES.

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

YES.

d. **Directing an independent investigation of the Massachusetts State Police Commonwealth Fusion Center, to determine whether it has engaged in investigations of protected First Amendment activity or otherwise improperly collected, accessed, or shared information about people not suspected of engaging in criminal activity? (Y/N)**

YES.

e. **Reforming the law regarding the Civil Service Commission so it no longer has power over the hiring or firing of police officers in Massachusetts? (Y/N)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I am waiting for the conclusion of the legislative review of the Civil Service Commission and the related recommendations before coming to a position.

3. **Alternative Crisis Response. 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? (Y/N)**

YES. Beyond that, I think one of the most important jobs the EOHHS will have in the next two years is to support a community of best practice around the Commonwealth to help all 351 towns and cities develop healthy alternative crisis response systems to advance justice and health reform goals, in response to the federal mandate that a new crisis hotline number (988) be operable as of July 2022. Massachusetts has undertaken very little preparation for this important transformation.

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? (Y/N)**

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? (Y/N)**

YES.

- c. **Decriminalizing consensual sexual activity between adolescents, by creating an exception to the statutory rape law for youth close in age? (Y/N)**

YES.

- d. **Eliminating the sentence of life without parole, which is costly and has been shown to be racist in its application? (Y/N)**

YES.

5. **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 banning the use of long-term solitary confinement? (Y/N)**

YES.

6. **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 end these restrictions? (Y/N)

YES.

7. **Prison Profiteering—Part I.** 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. Would you end the price gouging of inmates by the DOC for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply inmates with the basic requirements necessary for life and maintain good health and hygiene?(Y/N)

YES.

8. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

9. **Prison Moratorium.** Would you impose a moratorium on the construction of new prisons and jails in the Commonwealth? (Y/N)

YES.

10. **DOC Reform.** Numerous reports (such as the recent *Falcon* and DOJ reports) have highlighted a culture of unchecked institutional violence in the Massachusetts Department of Corrections. How would you change the culture and policies of the DOC?

I would change the people at the top and appoint leaders committed to the safety of all, including incarcerated people.

11. **Judicial and Parole Board Nominees.** The Governor has the ability to appoint judges and members of the Parole Board. What would be your priorities when evaluating candidates for vacancies?

In addition to looking for legal, governmental, or social services agency experience, I would be seeking to identify candidates who understand the importance to justice of the following seven principles:

The principle of healthy social connection
Freedom from domination
Self-determination
Participation

Economic dignity and security
Recognition and redress of past state harm
Data transparency

I would also be looking for candidates from diverse backgrounds and with direct lived experience of the kinds of challenges faced by individuals before the bench or parole board.

12. **Clemency. The Governor also has the ability to issue pardons. Would you be willing to pardon all individuals convicted of non-violent cannabis offenses, whether formerly or currently incarcerated, as Senators Warren and Markey have called on President Biden to do? (Y/N) How else would you choose to use this power?**

YES. I would pardon all individuals convicted of non-violent cannabis offenses, whether formerly or currently incarcerated. I would also seek review of all incarcerated people currently held in our women's prison to see whether appropriate acts of clemency might help us further reduce that population as part of a transition to shutting down prisons for women and transitioning to community-based approaches to sanctions.

13. **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? (Y/N)**

YES.

14. **Work and Family Mobility Act. Do you support removing immigration status as a barrier to applying for a license or learner's permit? (Y/N)**

YES. In addition, as another key step to removing barriers for undocumented community members, I am also advocating for better health support for undocumented people in my health policy agenda — filling the gaps in health access and services to make sure all undocumented people can get the healthcare they need. That includes extending MassHealth coverage for all eligible children regardless of immigration status.

15. **Data Equity. 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? (Y/N)**

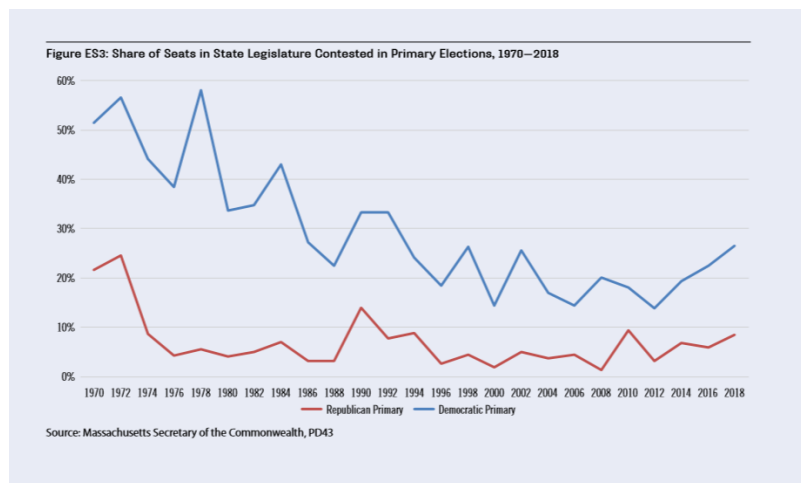
YES.

G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

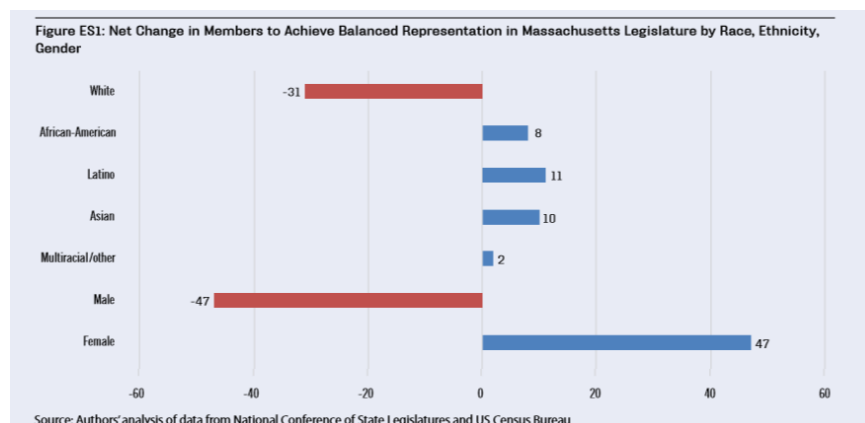
A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine 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 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 [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 relative to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).**

What's powerful about our democracy is that it's ours. Our empowerment. Our tool of transformation. Our voice to claim, own, and use. Throughout our history, we have faced down moments of crisis with resilience and an openness to transformation, fashioning our Commonwealth into a better version of itself. Each time, what has made that process possible is democracy — where each of us has a voice in shaping our collective future, and where empowerment stems from claiming that voice. We are facing that kind of moment today. And while the pandemic has laid bare the depth of our inequalities, while unregulated social media fosters the spread of misinformation and distrust of our democracy, this is a moment of opportunity. Because solving our biggest problems starts with strengthening our democracy — so we can bring everyone to the table, and build common purpose, to tackle our collective challenges.

My twenty-five year career as a subject-matter expert has consisted of writing and teaching about healthy democracy. My most recent book is called *Democracy in the Time of Coronavirus*. I served as an honorary co-chair for the 2020 Ballot Proposition on Ranked Choice Voting here in Massachusetts. I have recently co-chaired two major national commissions—one on democracy reform (see here) and one on civic education reform (see here) and I continue to serve on the advisory board for **We Are Democracy Rising** (<https://www.wearedemocracyrising.org/>).

As Governor, I will prioritize enabling and encouraging the participation of every single eligible voter in Massachusetts; creating checks on social media's anti-democratic effects by rebuilding the information ecosystem for voters and local governments; cultivating shared civic purpose through honestly acknowledging our history, building pride in our shared achievements, and promoting services; and reining in the influence of corporate money on politics.

2. **Public Records Law. 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? (Y/N)**

YES. This is a key step to building trust and strengthening our democracy.

3. **Diversity in Public Boards and Commissions. What steps would you take to increase the diversity on public boards and commissions? (Y/N)**

I would charge my transition team to review the Governor's Boards and Commissions staff with a view to ensuring that that team is diverse and includes individuals with expertise in organizational diversity and inclusion. We would review and reorganize the nomination and appointment process in order to support diversification of appointments, and we would partner closely with other appointing bodies and officers to strengthen their adoption of best practices for diversification of appointments.

4. **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? (Y/N)

YES.

5. **Voting Access**. Massachusetts lags behind other states in making voting accessible for all. Do you support the following policies to increase voter participation?

a. **Election Day Registration, i.e., eliminating the 20-day voter registration cutoff? (Y/N)**

YES.

b. **The expansion of early voting to municipal elections and primaries? (Y/N)**

YES.

c. **The expansion of opportunities to vote-by-mail (namely, mailing every eligible voter a ballot)? (Y/N)**

YES.

6. **Jail-Based Voting**. Individuals incarcerated with non-felony convictions maintain the right to vote, but that right often does not exist in practice. As Governor, would you commit to requiring DOC and HOC officials to provide all eligible voters with mail ballot applications, materials on candidates, and access to private voting; appoint a staff person to ensure timely transmission and return of all voting materials, ballot applications and ballots, and make public reports on voting in prisons/jails, including numbers of eligible incarcerated people and rates of participation? (Y/N)

YES.

7. **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)? (Y/N)

YES.

8. **Reining in Big Tech**. Tech companies have outsized power, threatening both individual rights and our democratic process. What would you do to rein in the power of big tech and to empower ordinary users of modern technologies to assert control over their privacy and personal information?

In laying out my policy agenda to strengthen our democracy, I've been very clear: big social media companies are breaking our democracy. By enabling misinformation to spread like wildfire, these companies are eroding our information ecosystem and voters' access to the tools they need for decision-making. In our Democracy Agenda we propose to tax the targeted advertising revenue earned by social media companies and to use that to fund local journalism. I also will work with our Congressional delegation to achieve

national policies to strengthen privacy protection. In addition, I would support data dignity initiatives at the state-level. To this end, I would support MA legislation that would establish public interest standards and duties of care around various kinds of harm and privacy violations in the use of data by any technology company; (ii) hold executives accountable for whether their companies meet those standards through standard Attorney General structures; and (iii) bring citizens into participatory panels in both helping to set the standards tech companies should be held to and in evaluating whether those standards have been adequately respected..

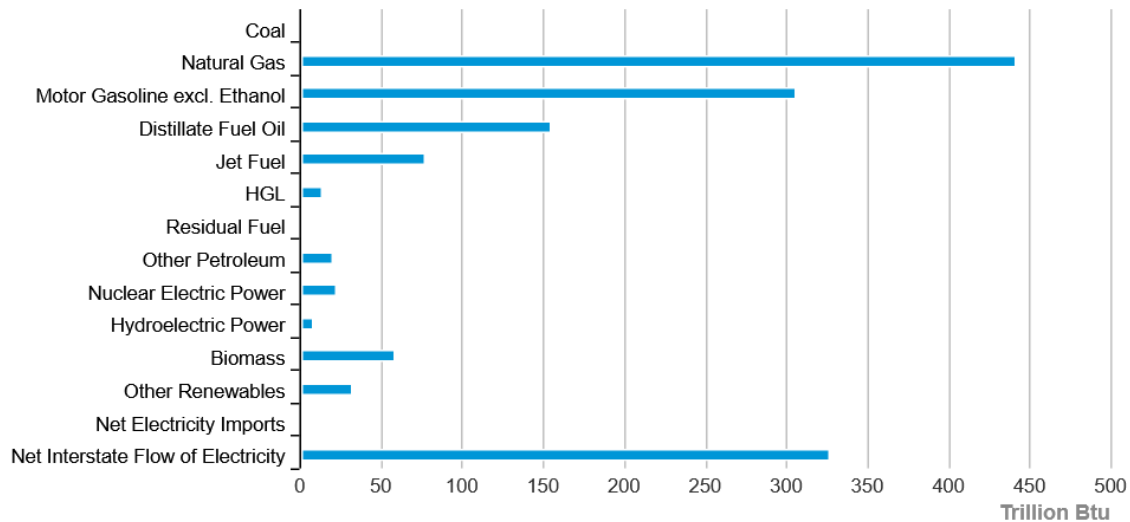
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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 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.

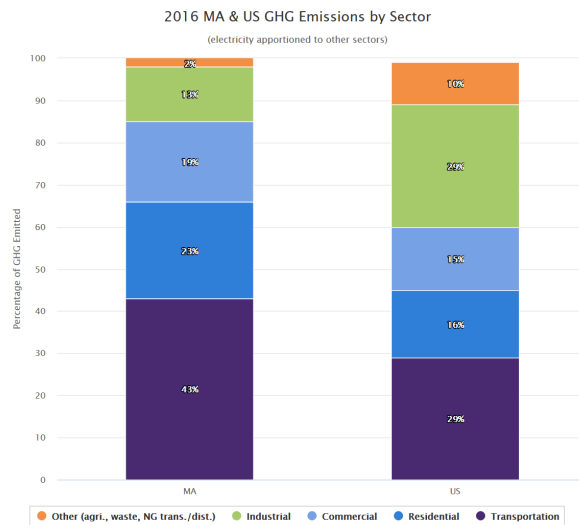
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

Massachusetts Energy Consumption Estimates, 2019



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

For too long, we have kicked the can on meaningful climate action. With global carbon dioxide levels at their highest point in human history and average temperatures in Massachusetts climbing by the year, climate change isn't coming; it's here. Already, people living in areas of our Commonwealth where fossil fuel facilities are located experience high rates of asthma, respiratory diseases and other health challenges. The coming decades will bring more severe weather events, hotter temperatures, and more flooding.

But we can meet our challenges. That is why my agenda will prioritize: **achieving a 100% renewable energy economy and decarbonization by 2040; supporting climate resilience and climate justice; ensuring access for all to a healthy environment; and prioritizing infrastructure that supports and advances our climate goals.**

- 2. Next Generation Roadmap. At the start of this legislative session, the Legislature passed a bill that requires gross emissions reductions of 50% from 1990 levels by 2030, 75% by 2040, and at least 85% by 2050. How do you plan to achieve—or exceed—these targets?**

I have set 2040 as the target year for 100% renewable energy economy and deep decarbonization. First, we will **align five-year emission limits to achieve our 2040 goal** and ensure **rigorous accounting and accountability** for those limits. The rapidly decreasing costs of wind, solar, and battery storage give us an opportunity to accelerate this effort. The Massachusetts Secretary of Energy and Environmental Affairs – appointed by the Governor – will achieve these more

ambitious goals through the state's regulatory process. Every five years state-wide emissions limits are set, and sub-limits are set for the sectors of electric power, transportation, commercial and industrial heating and cooling, residential heating and cooling, industrial processes, and natural gas distribution and service. We will leave no room for fossil fuel polluters to cheat or duck when it comes time for the nuts and bolts of carbon accounting.

We will also work aggressively to accelerate the Commonwealth's move away from its reliance on natural gas by **increasing the rate of growth in the state's renewable portfolio** and **greening the grid with renewable energy** technologies of the future – wind, solar, and geothermal. To achieve this we will pursue **regional design of the distributed energy system of the future**, including in support of solving the interconnection problems currently hindering growth of the solar industry. We will **continue the advance of the off-shore wind industry** and assure that state infrastructure investments align with climate goals. We will use state leadership to encourage local governments to do the same.

3. **100% Renewable Energy. Scientists have argued that, with existing technologies, the US could supply 100% of energy needs with renewable sources. What would you set as a target year for achieving 100% renewable-sourced electricity in Massachusetts, and how would you achieve this goal?**

I have set 2040 as the target year for 100% renewable energy economy and deep decarbonization. My first step would be to appoint experts in renewable energy infrastructure to the drivers' seat roles on key boards and commissions responsible for emissions standard and next-generation energy infrastructure.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I support folding sustainability requirements into the zoning reforms I am proposing in my housing policy.

5. **Fossil Fuel Infrastructure. Do you oppose the expansion of fossil fuel infrastructure in the state? (Y/N) If so, what steps would you take to do so?**

YES. I would begin by closing the Weymouth Compressor.

6. **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? (Y/N)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I would convert the current Skills cabinet into an Opportunity with Equity cabinet with a broader mandate including Green Jobs transition and retraining.

7. **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. What would be your target dates for the full electrification of...?**

- a. **the MBTA bus fleet? 2026**
- b. **the MBTA rail system? 2040**
- c. **the Regional Transit Authority bus fleets? 2026**

8. **Free Public Transit. Do you support making public transit in the Commonwealth fare-free? (Y/N) If so, how would you do so?**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Transit fees and taxes hit hardest on low-income residents of the polity, and that impact should be offset with public transportation designed for human dignity and free and subsidized fares, depending on context. An Allen administration would support piloting free bus routes through high-density, low-income neighborhoods while transit card systems permit efficient means-testing to deliver subsidized fares where appropriate.

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? (Y/N)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I plan to secure significant federal and state funding to invest in regional transportation infrastructure so municipal ballot questions to fund transportation should not be necessary.

10. **Reducing Congestion & Emissions. Boston was recently ranked the fourth most congested city in the US. What is your plan to reduce the number of vehicle miles traveled in the Commonwealth?**

As Governor, I will set a goal of achieving next generation transportation infrastructure for our Commonwealth. We will pursue East-West rail; the Rail Vision Full Transformation agenda (electrification of commuter rail, including the Fairmount Corridor, the North-South rail link, the Red-Blue line connector, and bus links to stations); congestion pricing and free or affordable within-region public transportation; electrification of public vehicles & creation of EV infrastructure; increased safety for cyclists and pedestrians, and retrofitting of existing infrastructure to prepare for the reality of sea-level rise and more frequent, violent storms.

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Limit answer to 150 words or fewer.

Use this space to add any other issues important to your vision for Massachusetts or any other matter you think progressive voters should know about your candidacy.

I'm so grateful to get the chance to share the vision I'm fighting for -- a roadmap to the green and healthy next-generation democracy we all deserve here in Massachusetts. To get there, we'll have to do something audacious. We'll have to take the politics of our moment, and reimagine them -- refusing the trap of divisiveness, and instead tenaciously seeking common purpose, bringing to the decision-making table those who are most impacted by our policies.

I am working to knit diverse communities across our state together into One Commonwealth. That's how we can build public commitment for hard work and wise investment in the basic building blocks all of us need -- to get cost of living down, quality of life up, and secure healthy communities, a healthy democracy, and a healthy climate.