



**PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS**  
**2022 Lt. Gubernatorial**  
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

**Candidate:** Bret Bero

**Office Sought:** Lieutenant Governor

**Party:** Democratic

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Email questions to [elections@progressivemass.com](mailto: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 running for Lt. Governor for two primary reasons:

First, I believe that COVID has permanently disrupted our lives and that we will need to build a new foundation for living in a world in which COVID is an ongoing reality (e.g., endemic, not a pandemic). Massachusetts needs someone who has had “front line” experience addressing the critical issues of economic revitalization, educational stability and excellence, and environmental responsibility to help build a better future.

Second, the Commonwealth needs leaders who are committed to serving the citizens, not their own political careers; and who are willing and able to bring new and innovative ideas to these disruptive times.

I am an optimist because I believe in the people of Massachusetts. I believe that Massachusetts can do better.

My top priorities are economic revitalization, educational stability and excellence, and environmental responsibility.

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

I believe that the leadership required for addressing critical issues comes from having “front line” personal experience addressing those issues. I was a small business owner of a manufacturing company in central Massachusetts for over 20 years, and have had extensive consulting and turnaround leadership experience revitalizing businesses in industries critical to the Massachusetts economy, including health care, hospitality, services, retail, technology, and financial services. I am a full time faculty member at Babson College—the premier school for entrepreneurship—and my wife is an Occupational Therapist in a MetroWest school district.

Every day since 2020, I have lived the challenge of an educator in a COVID world, and understand the critical importance of keeping our students in the classroom AND our classrooms safe for the teachers. I served on the Board of the largest environmental testing organization in North America for over half a decade, so I know the realities of trying to drive environmental responsibility onto businesses and property owners. I also have experience working in local government as a member of the Town of Carlisle Revenue Enhancement Committee and the Town of Carlisle Finance Committee. My wife and I have deep ties to Massachusetts. My parents and my Mother-in-law, our two kids, and our two grandchildren all live in Massachusetts. Our siblings are spread throughout the Commonwealth. We have served on the parent committees at schools, served as youth coaches, and served as leaders of other youth programs. And, we also understand the challenge of supporting elder parents.

Finally, as someone who has personally dealt with both COVID and cancer in 2021, I understand that quality, accessible, and affordable healthcare is a basic human right. My life experiences are distinctly different from the other candidates for Lt. Governor. The question for this election is, therefore, does Massachusetts want a Lt. Governor who brings personal front line experience addressing the critical issues confronting us, or one of the other candidates, indistinguishable from each other, who believes that the solutions for our challenges come from being a political insider? I believe my experience compliments rather than replicates the background of our next Governor.

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

I think there are two key challenges, and that they are interrelated. First is the challenge of “not making the perfect the enemy of the good.” While we should not compromise on the progressive values and goals which we espouse—and we should be willing to fight for them—pragmatically, we must realize that progress is critical. The journey of a thousand miles starts with a single step. Second is the challenge of expanding the tent by enabling those new to the movement to have a seat at the table. It takes 50%+1 for change to be institutionalized. For a movement to succeed, it must win the hearts and minds not of those leading the change, but of those impacted by the change. And through participation we gain support. If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.

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

Because I believe that lasting progress is made by individuals at the local levels, but institutionalized at central levels, I believe the role of state government is three-fold. First, to advocate for and help set the vision and goals that challenge us to live up to the ideals and beliefs we assert. This is true even when the exact means to achieve a goal isn't easy or even possible at that moment in time. Second, it is to provide the funding—in the form of grants, loans, and direct spending—necessary to achieve the goal. Third, it is to ensure compliance with the goal, program, or policy by measuring and monitoring progress, providing transparency to and education for the public on securing progress towards the goal, and, when necessary, to ensure that those who would actively seek to avoid their responsibility are held accountable for their actions.

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

Because I believe transformative change only comes when economic equality is possible, I would like to see Massachusetts invest in a public/private partnership to provide \$1B of small denomination (<\$10,000 per grant/loan/investment) seed money for entrepreneurs in communities of color, the LGBTQ+ community, women-owned businesses, and other communities which have not historically received proportional funding to start

businesses in our gateway cities and economically distressed towns. In addition to the grant money, the organization supporting the investments would provide technical support and expertise to help those entrepreneurs succeed. In return for that investment, the entrepreneurs would agree to investment and hiring requirements, and would provide a nominal equity to the P/P partnership for future returns and investments.

This is similar to the Scottish Enterprise venture in Scotland.

**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?**

It would be my intent to first reach out to the Speaker and the Senate President, on behalf of the Governor and Executive Branch, to outline and draft the program with them. Then to work the "Private" network that would partake in the P/P venture to secure a commitment to working on the organization. Then to personally solicit the support of each individual House and Senate member to pass legislation to enact the venture. Ultimately, it is by being able to talk with and listen to others that solutions can be found and change made.

**7. What do you view as the primary role of the office of Lt. Governor, and how would you seek to communicate that to voters?**

First, the ticket would have to win. I believe I bring balance to the Democratic ticket. That balance would take the form of providing experience from working in local government, working on the "front lines" on the key issues—economic revitalization, educational excellence & stability, and environmental responsibility—important to a majority of Massachusetts voters, and having extensive executive experience.

Once elected, the primary role of the Lt. Governor is to "lead from behind" in supporting the Governor's initiatives, while carving out a role that is based on the needs of the Commonwealth and the strengths of the office holder. In my case, I would anticipate working with the local leaders of the towns and cities, and serving as a liaison to the small business community. As I will NOT run for any other office—Governor, Senator, or Congressman—during the 4 or 8 years I would serve as Lt. Governor, I also anticipate that I could carve out a role as a trusted, but confidential advisor to the Governor. Finally, as someone who has had extensive experience addressing difficult business challenges, I could be useful to the Governor in serving as "the point of the spear" in proposing and implementing policies and programs that might encounter some political opposition.

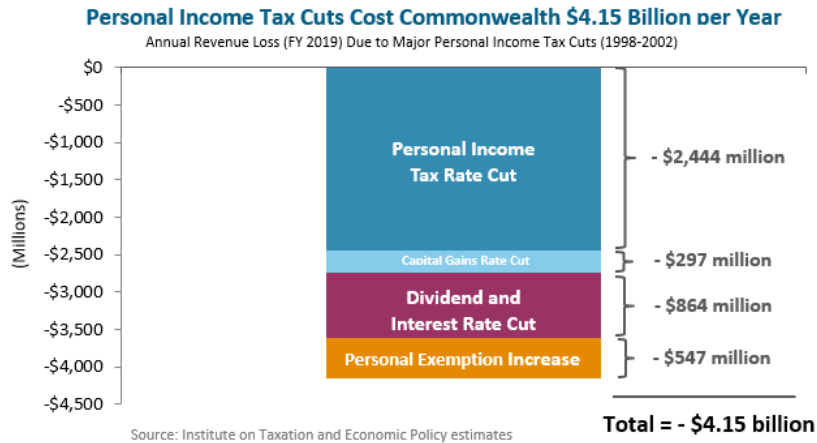
As I tend to be frank in my discussions with the voters, I intend to make my case via an active social media campaign and getting out to meet the voters.

## II. The Issues

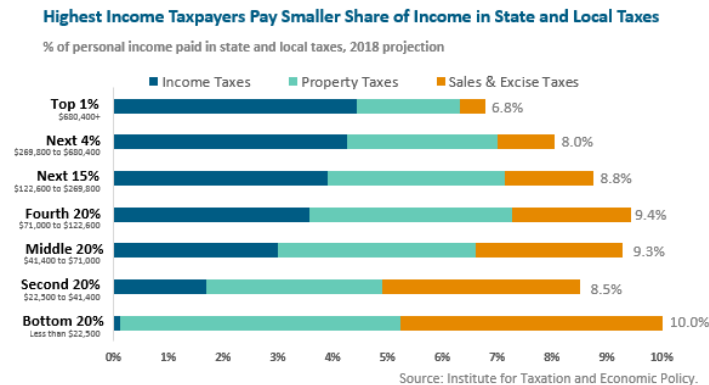
### A. Revenue and Taxation

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.).**

I don't think there is anyone who could argue that the tax system in America and Massachusetts is anything but broken. When the top 1% are able to avoid taxes by employing armies of tax attorneys to generate deductions and use questionable accounting practices, it is time that the tax system is made both fair and simple. Unless tax loopholes are eliminated, it does not matter what the tax rate is, the top 1% will declare that there is no income to tax! So, the first step should be to eliminate tax breaks that only benefit a few. A second principle I would follow in fixing the tax system is to ensure that any new spending programs have corresponding financing mechanisms. If a program has benefits, then it is the responsibility of the proponents of that program to sell its value to the public. And that means that funding will go to those programs which have the support of the public. When the public believes that the State is able to successfully implement efficient, value-added programs that benefit the State, there should not be a problem securing additional funding through targeted tax plans.

**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. As noted in my answer to question 1. above, I am not a fan of tax breaks—especially those that only benefit a very select few. I believe that the Treasurer should be required to issue a report annually, which is reviewed by the State Auditor, that provides detailed transparency to the public on taxes—the dollars of taxes avoided, the number of people and companies using specific tax deductions, and the economic benefit/cost associated with specific tax code items. Boring stuff for sure, but incredibly important to have transparency on these matters, and to ensure tax fairness.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I recognize there may be unique and unanticipated circumstances that may arise between the time a government program and tax plan is enacted and the time it may be used. Therefore, I would suggest that the programs and tax plans are focused as much as possible on controllable outcomes—such as dollars invested or employees hired—rather than uncontrollable outcomes (e.g., whether income is generated from the investment). This is particularly true since direct actions like employees hired can be objectively measured while indirect accounting practices may result in “adjusted” outcomes. Furthermore, any individual or company that has benefited from a program that did

not meet its stated objectives must provide a detailed explanation to the State. Absent a valid reason for the discrepancy, future use of the program or tax policy by that individual or program being repealed.

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

YES. I am a huge fan of Zero-Based Budgeting. I believe all government programs and funding plans should be reviewed and re-authorized every 5 years to ensure that they are providing the benefit they were intended to provide.

**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. As noted in question 1. above, I believe the tax system in Massachusetts is broken and should be addressed. Although I would have gone after deductions instead of an increased rate on incomes over \$1 million (so that tax attorneys do not find means to “adjust” income below the tax threshold), I do support the Fair Share Amendment, and do believe that the State needs to invest the money raised by this amendment solely to education and transportation.

**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.]

If the definition of “large companies” is those employing over 500 employees, then yes I support a larger minimum corporate tax than \$456. However, coming out of the pandemic, Massachusetts needs more entrepreneurs and small businesses to promote economic growth and jobs. So, I am more concerned with promoting small business growth than a slightly higher minimum corporate tax rate on large businesses.

**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.]

Yes in theory and No in practice. Trying to tax large corporations' off-shore tax havens is akin to trying to win a game of three card monte. Rather than helping tax attorneys generate large fees and providing incentives for businesses to leave Massachusetts, I prefer to eliminate corporate tax deductions, and move to a system that taxes objective, measurable metrics like revenues at the point of sale for B2C businesses



and assets or employees for B2B companies.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Corporations employ armies of tax accountants and attorneys to manage the number that gets taxed. I believe addressing issues like “carried interest” and other accounting tactics (such as deductions for interest or depreciation and amortization) are where real corporate tax revenues can be raised. A debate on tax rates will not energize the public to support progressive policies; seeking tax fairness will come from a total reimagination of the tax system will.

**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)**

NO. A “soak the rich” tax rate looks great...until the investment advisors enact investment policies such as dollar averaging and tax harvesting to offset the change in rate. And the primary beneficiaries are the tax accountants and attorneys who manage the investments and prepare the tax documents. Again, I think there are better strategies for raising revenues from those who have greater income and wealth.

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

YES. Although I am sure there would be a response from those managing these endowments to avoid those modest taxes. Money is fungible. If Massachusetts wants universities to provide funds to the Commonwealth, it should go after hard assets that are easy to identify like property, buildings, and students in the State.

**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 support directing 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?**

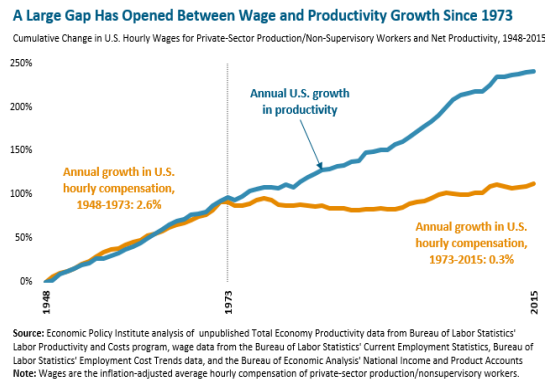
YES. Massachusetts should invest in what it values. I would prefer that money to be invested in Massachusetts entrepreneurs and small businesses who are investing in alternative and renewable energy solutions, and in our forgotten towns and gateway cities to promote jobs.. If the returns on those investments are lower than what would be realized from investing in businesses that do not promote our shared values, then that is part of the price we pay for doing the right thing (i.e., the social “cost” that is incurred from using fossil fuels is recognized, and investment decisions consider both financial and societal returns).

## B. Jobs and the Economy

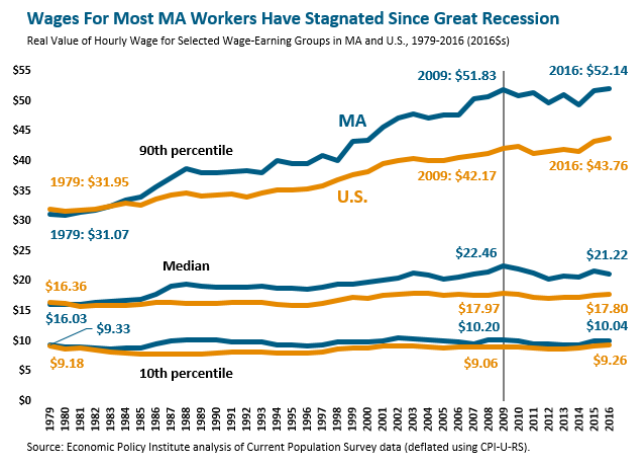
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten [most unequal states](#), as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which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



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



**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 concur with the analysis. I am a member of a union household (my wife is a member of the MTA), and my parents were first generation college graduates. I have watched my kids and their spouses struggle to afford housing in Massachusetts, and my daughter has made the calculation that putting two kids in daycare would exceed the value of having a job. My wife and I are fortunate to have health care partially subsidized by our employer.

It is clear that our society is increasingly becoming one of “have and have nots.” The wealth concentration and disparity should not and cannot continue if we expect to maintain the social contract that has enabled American and Massachusetts to be the “city upon the hill” to which others aspire. In fact, Senator Sanders has correctly identified that real wages have been stagnant for ~40 years, and have turned the justifiable anger of working families at the continuing income discrepancy into movements for someone who is NOT part of the political ruling class. Regardless of whether existing political insiders are unable or unwilling to address this economic inequality, the result is the same—the status quo. I believe that addressing this wealth and income gap will require transformative economic programs. Unless and until real capital is committed to those who traditionally have not been included in our economic programs, our forgotten towns and gateway cities will continue to lag in almost every measure of economic performance. And, our social fabric will continue to fray. The investment in economic equality is critical.

**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?**

Real wealth will not come from “buying” jobs from Multinational companies through tax breaks; rather, it comes from investing in the entrepreneurs and small business owners that come from those communities. These small business entrepreneurs hire locally, buy from other local businesses, and reinvest in their communities. And it is those individuals that will revitalize our forgotten towns and gateway cities. We know this from having witnessed how the “Massachusetts Miracle” tech companies—Digital, Data General, Wang, Prime—of the 1980s impacted our Towns and Cities like Maynard and Lowell.

If we are going to invest in our economy, let’s bet on our homegrown entrepreneurs who believe in the workforce of Massachusetts.

**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?**

Massachusetts is an economic leader by virtue of the ingenuity of its entrepreneurs and the resilience of its workforce. The Technology, Life Science, Medical/Health Care, Education, Financial Services, and Professional Services (legal, consulting) industries include some of the State’s largest employers. Yet,

approximately 45% of our workforce is employed by small businesses. And, businesses such as tourism and fishing are critical to the economy in select areas of the Commonwealth such as Cape Cod.

Instead of betting on the ability of the State House to pick and support select industries, let's bet on our people. Let's fund the entrepreneurs in our forgotten towns and gateway cities—those who are close to their customers and understand what products and services are important for their economic growth. And, we should recognize that one size does not fit all—what is required for one region of the Commonwealth will not work for another area. So, the specific economic programs we develop should be created in conjunction with local leaders. Yet, let's require (and monitor) adherence to our labor laws and diversity goals in return for financial support from the State.

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?**

I believe the only truly sustainable means to close the wealth gap is for there to be a significant commitment to funding entrepreneurs and small business owners from those racial/ethnic groups experiencing persistent wealth inequalities. Entrepreneurs create long term wealth in their communities (because entrepreneurs and small businesses hire locally, buy from other local businesses, and reinvest in their communities). Traditional government programs have helped make life better, and are necessary; however, they have not been able to eliminate the racial wealth gap.

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

YES. All workers should receive a minimum living wage. We should tip on top of that for exceptional service, not tipping as a means for the employer to avoid providing a living wage!

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. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. Absent enforcement, work could be shifted to those who have labor models that do not comply with wage laws. That should not be permitted, and the general contractor is responsible for not only their employees, but ensuring all subcontractors adhere to legal requirements.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Maybe. I recognize that “you get what you measure.” Yet, as the nation has become more multicultural, it is difficult to adequately capture race and

gender using historic classification methods. Furthermore, it is a violation of a person's privacy, and may result in bias against that individual if they are forced to disclose how they identify. Therefore, I would need to be assured that those considerations were addressed before I could fully support that form of reporting. I support the goal; the challenge is implementation.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Work scheduling should be fair to both employers and employees. Whenever reasonable, there should be 14 days notice for both sides. Unless an employee agrees to waive the 14 day notice, which could be possible if the employer were to offer wage inducements for unanticipated scheduling requests within the 14 day window, it is the employer responsibility, NOT the employee responsibility to respond to the scheduling challenge.

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. And I believe that many employment contracts are used to restrain employment competition. Furthermore, contract negotiations have asymmetrical information that benefits the corporations. So, I am not a fan of employment contracts in general.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I am in favor of paid vacation time for full time employees who have met employee commitments/expectations.

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. Again, and consistent with my position on most of these employment issues, I believe employees are the most important resource most organizations have. It behooves them, municipalities included, to ensure that workers are fairly compensated—which includes a living wage and good benefits.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I believe that any person who works 30 or more hours a week for one employer for any extended period of time should be considered a full time employee subject to all existing wage and labor laws. Any individual who works under 20 hours a week for one employer, or works more than 8 hours for multiple employers in a week, should be considered either a part time employee, subject to all existing wage and labor laws or as a self-employed contractor.

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

Right now, I think the issue is more one of enforcement and compliance with existing labor laws than a need for new worker categories. In the event that the gig economy continues to develop new labor models to skirt labor and wage laws, then the AG and legislature should consider alternative strategies to respond to employment abuse.

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. Absolutely. I support most programs designed to promote the expansion of entrepreneurs and small businesses. The best path to wealth creation comes from sweat equity. Government should encourage worker participation in company ownership.

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. But only if the Board membership has a meaningful contribution. Having served on the Boards of many companies, I can definitively tell you that without a controlling interest (or active support from the controlling majority), any Board seat could just be window dressing. I support the intent of Board representation, and would encourage it. But don't let appearance be confused with influence. The best way to have true worker participation on the Board is for workers to have a 20% minority share in the Company.



## C. Education

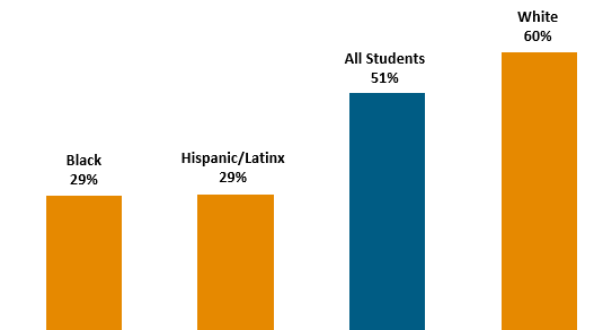
The promise of public education has always been as a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country. 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

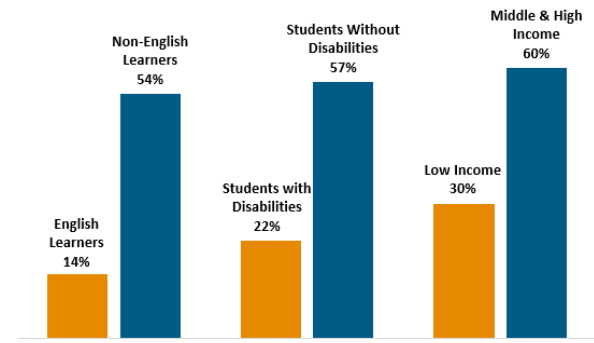
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



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

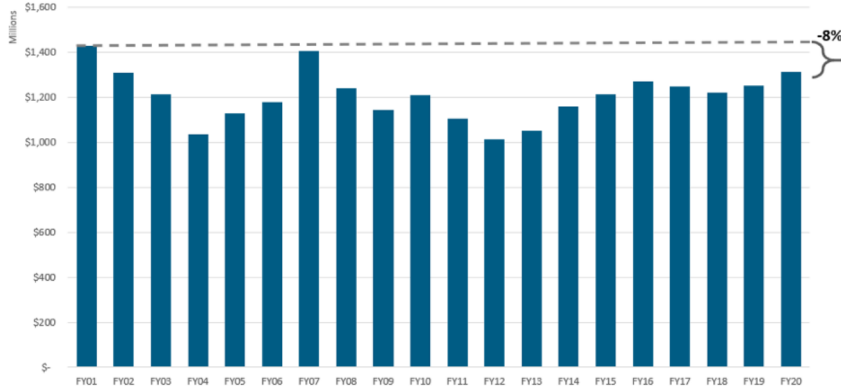


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

### 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.).**

As the child of first generation college graduates, I have always been taught that education is THE path to a better future, regardless of an individual's position in life. Massachusetts is successful because of the quality of our workforce. And the quality of our workforce is directly related to the quality of our schools. We need to continue to promote education stability and excellence across all levels—pre-school, K-12, Vocational High Schools, our state University system, and our community colleges—if we hope to be thought leaders in addressing the challenges of the future. And I believe we need someone who has direct experience in the education field to help drive that effort.

Over the past three years, COVID has significantly disrupted our education model, and is still threatening to force us back to remote learning. Yet, I know from teaching at Babson College and from talking with my wife, who is an Occupational Therapist in a MetroWest school district and a member of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, that remote learning is hard for both students and teachers. Facing the COVID Omicron wave, we must have a plan to keep the schools open so that students do not lose another year of learning, AND ensure that the teachers are safe. Furthermore, we need to adopt the “lessons learned” from teaching during COVID. And, because I believe that the best programs are developed by those who are delivering the service, teachers must be involved in defining and implementing the educational policies and programs necessary to keep Massachusetts a leader in public education..

- 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. My wife and I placed our daughter in a head-start program when she was under 3 because we believe in integrated education beginning at the earliest age a child can attend pre-school. Furthermore, studies have shown that children spending greater time in such programs retain skills and exhibit better social skills. My wife is an Occupational Therapist who works with students on IEPs. We know how critically important ongoing support is for these students all the way through their high school years (and beyond).

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?**

This is not an expense, it is an investment. Failure to make that investment comes from a lack of political leadership. The progressive caucus should not support any candidate that was in the legislature and failed to address this issue on the floor of their chamber.

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.]

As you noted, “Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country.” I believe that the MCAS system (or a variation thereof) helps us identify our students’ performance and progress. It also helps us identify inequality in educational performance and support. I do believe that learning has been impacted by “teaching to the test,” and I think we can do more in the educational arena. I would recommend that Massachusetts increase the total classroom time. I also believe that all students would benefit from better art, physical education, and other extracurricular programs. And, for those students on IEPs or where there are clear challenges for demonstrating competence via standardized test, yes, I believe that there should be alternative pathways for demonstrating competence and qualifying for graduation.

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. While I get and applaud parents’ desire to provide the best schooling for their children, charter schools are a lottery. Unless every child has access to quality schools—that are appropriately funded so that they can achieve excellence—education becomes a matter of luck, not

effort. Allowing more charter schools increases the odds of a better education for some students, but doesn't, and can never, ensure that ALL students receive a quality education. There is nothing a charter school can do that couldn't be replicated in traditional public schools. However, where charter schools outperform traditional public schools, then we should learn from them and adopt their best practices. If we believe that education is a critical investment in our future (and I do), then we should be willing to fund and adopt programs and policies that focus on providing a quality education to all our students. That should be our only measure of success. We should not make education a gamble, and we should not pit families against one another for access to quality schools.

**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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I believe the focus should be on providing a quality education to students. We should understand why parents believe, and are voting with their children's future, that charter schools are able to outperform traditional schools. We should then learn from those best practices and adopt them to ensure that all schools can provide a quality education. I am NOT interested in forcing standardization on programs that are not working (as determined by the demand for charter schools). I am interested in ensuring that ALL students are treated fairly and appropriately, and that the schools are safe for students and teachers so that schools can excel at their primary job—educating our students so that they can have the future they envision. And, I am for 100% transparency on the policies and standards being adopted by all schools—especially charter schools.

6. **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?**

The optimal model for public education is providing a quality education to students and that is accountable to the parents of the local community. When an educational system is unable to consistently provide even the minimal education standards expected by the community and the State, then change is required. If that change cannot be achieved within the existing educational model, then intervention is required. That intervention should be focused on improving performance as quickly as possible by adopting the sometimes drastic changes necessary to achieve at least the minimal education standard that were lacking and that resulted in a receivership in the first place. Once the expected educational standards have been achieved, the school system should be returned to the parents and voters, but with ongoing monitoring by the State Department of Education. Repeated sub-minimal performance, regardless of intent, should result in the permanent exclusion of school board members and school

administrators from serving in those positions within that community going forward. There MUST be accountability for performance, otherwise, quality education—the only acceptable measure of performance—will not happen.

7. **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. All public school systems should be required to provide age-appropriate sexual health education to their students. Sex is part of the human experience. To think otherwise is to reject human nature. Failing to provide our children with the ability to understand their bodies and how they work is to deprive them of the knowledge they need to manage their sexual health and safety. Statistics suggest that the age when children begin to engage in sex is far earlier than most parents think. I would rather our children learn from mature adult teachers committed to promoting in class sexual health knowledge than from slightly older (or even much older) individuals who have their own interests ahead of the individual to whom they will attempt to impart experiential knowledge.

8. **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.]

I do support the teaching of our racial history. It should be mandatory that all students have at least 1 full year course prior to graduating (I might suggest 10th grade, but leave it to those who know more about curriculum development than I). It should also be part of MCAS testing. It is indisputable that bias exists, and is the result of our history. Failure to understand and recognize that bias will result in the perpetuation of the bias—even if unintentional. In particular, I believe the academic work on Intersectionality by Kenefelkamp and O'Brien, and the concept of Interactive Phases by Peggy McIntosh are both valuable tools for our teachers and administrators to be aware of and incorporate in their consideration of DEI curriculum. Our ability to educate our children about that historical and ongoing bias is necessary if we expect to live up to the ideals of equality and justice for all which we espouse.

9. **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?**

Mental health issues are real, and have been increasing not just due to the pandemic, but to the increasingly demanding and connected world in which we live. As a parent and grandparent, as an educator, and as a former Board member of an organization dedicated to addressing mental health issues, I believe the first step in addressing the increasing mental health crisis is to recognize that it IS a crisis. Also, in communicating to the public at large and students in particular that

addressing one's mental health challenges is not a weakness but a strength. The second step is to provide the resources, both human and financial, needed to address the growing need our children have for mental health support. Every school system in the Commonwealth should have mental health professionals on staff and on call to meet the needs in their communities. For those who deny mental health is a significant challenge or worry about the expense, I would suggest that addressing mental health is an investment. It is an investment both in helping our children reach their full potential as productive members of society and in helping to stop the tragedies that occasionally occur when mental health is not treated and our teenage youth snap.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I believe in investing in our future. For those who would seek in-state tuition and financial aid, there should be a reciprocal commitment to providing a return on that investment by serving the Commonwealth and its communities. The nature of this service can be as teachers, public health employees, first responders, mental health providers, day care providers, or other fields where demand outstrips our supply of providers. There should be a number of potential ways to serve the citizens of the Commonwealth, gain experience, and thereby repay the investment before and while embarking on their chosen careers.

**11. 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 believe that tuition and fees should be forgiven based on a number of considerations. As mentioned in 10. above, funding individuals who serve the Commonwealth for a period of time in professions such as teachers or health care providers, where the demand exceeds supply within the Commonwealth is good public policy. Demonstrating that the education being funded by taxpayers is actually worthwhile through academic performance (e.g., maintaining a specified GPA) is also desirable. An education is an investment by taxpayers in the future. To maintain public support for that investment, citizens need to see and appreciate that the investment provides a return to the Commonwealth.

## 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.

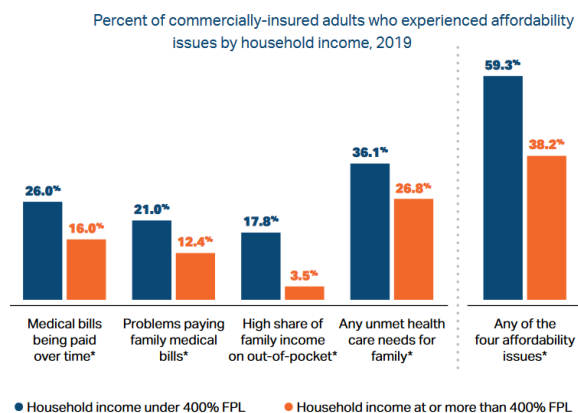
<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/average-new-car-prices-up-nearly-4-percent-year-over-year-for-may-2019-according-to-kelley-blue-book-300860710.html>

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)



Image41i

## 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.).**

As someone who personally dealt with both COVID and cancer in 2021, I believe that quality, accessible, and affordable healthcare should be a basic human right. While, as you noted, most Massachusetts residents have access to quality health, not all do. And, unless the health care model is modified, it is not affordable to many. The health care business model that exists in the United States is not the only, or even best, business model in existence. The United Kingdom has a National Health system that provides quality health care to all its citizens as a government service. So, clearly other viable models exist. While strides have been made to make the system available to citizens, efforts to make it affordable have not been as successful. As a Massachusetts small business owner, the health care costs I incurred for my employees NEVER went up less than 20% a year! That's unsustainable. So, it is not a question of if the health care business model will break, it is a question of when. I believe that the healthcare business model can be modified without jeopardizing providing quality health care accessible to all.

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)**

YES. The Trump administration forced hospitals to report on their contracts with the various insurance companies that pay for the health care services patients receive. Not surprisingly, hospitals do a very poor job of negotiating. That is because information is asymmetrical. The few insurance companies negotiate in private with a multitude of organizations that provide the services. Therefore, the insurance companies are better able to set terms favorable to them. A single payer system would eliminate the asymmetrical information and result in an organization that had the ability to extract better and fairer cost terms with medical providers. The same is true with drug companies. Small businesses, which are 99% of the companies in Massachusetts and employ 45% of our workforce, need a single payer to help them manage health



care costs. Affordability, more than availability, is the coming issue for health care in Massachusetts.

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. There should be an uncompensated care program to provide reimbursement to medical care providers for providing care to Massachusetts residents who cannot pay for care. The challenge we face is that Massachusetts will need additional sources of funding to provide that service. I do not believe that Massachusetts taxpayers can absorb all the cost of healthcare for non-residents—the federal government should help.

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

YES. Menstruation is a normal biological function, and providing this service is not unlike providing food.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

As a former Board member of an addiction and trauma center, I know that addiction is a medical condition. The number one step to helping someone in crisis, and addiction is a crisis, is to create a safe space to treat the addiction. Because addiction is so powerful and recidivism is so high, we are still learning how to best treat those struggling with addiction, and we need to keep experimenting with solutions to this epidemic. The only condition I would apply is the need for evidence-based treatment. If we are to learn what actually works, we need to measure outcomes associated with the treatment options.

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?**

Massachusetts underperformed in its initial response to the pandemic. The website to schedule vaccinations was flawed (and should have either been developed by an in-state company or should have been subcontracted to an organization with a proven track record for servicing high volume on-line traffic).

Excluding teachers from first responder status for receiving vaccinations put both teachers and students at risk of contracting COVID. The fact that the State did not support those businesses (such as Merrow Manufacturing in Fall River) that converted their operations to making PPP at the height of the pandemic was a missed opportunity.. The unwillingness to establish and enforce a state-wide mask mandate and the requirement for a COVID vaccination for all state employees, and all citizens attending any public events, entering state buildings, and (after vaccinations became available to students) attending schools appears to be driven by considerations other than science.

Having said that, Massachusetts did get better in responding to the pandemic. Yet, I still believe the best way to have conducted testing and distributing vaccinations would have been locally. This could have been done at public school locations (albeit the site where the service was provided being run by medical professionals). And distribution should have been based on the communities and citizens most at risk. Only in this way would the response have been fair.

However, the challenge now is, first, to ensure that all citizens get vaccinated, and second, to help our communities get support to address the economic collapse caused by the actions to control the spread of COVID.

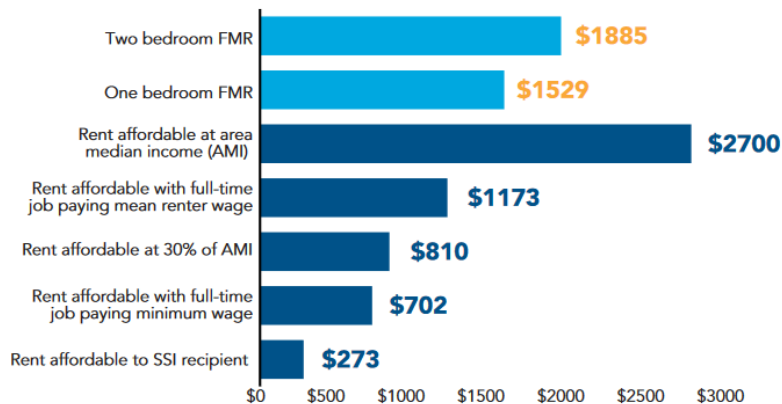
8. **Public Health. What are the main lessons you would take from the state's experience with the COVID-19 pandemic in order to put our state on a stronger public health footing for future crises, especially as relates to protecting the state's most at-risk populations?**

Whether we are in a pandemic, as we were at first, or COVID is endemic, as is likely to be the case going forward, we should develop our healthcare response to that situation based on science. Leadership requires making decisions not based on politics, but on helping those with the greatest need—even when those in need might not recognize or appreciate the solution that is required. So, leadership also requires reaching out to those at risk and talking with them to ensure that they are part of the process for developing and implementing the solution.

## E. Housing

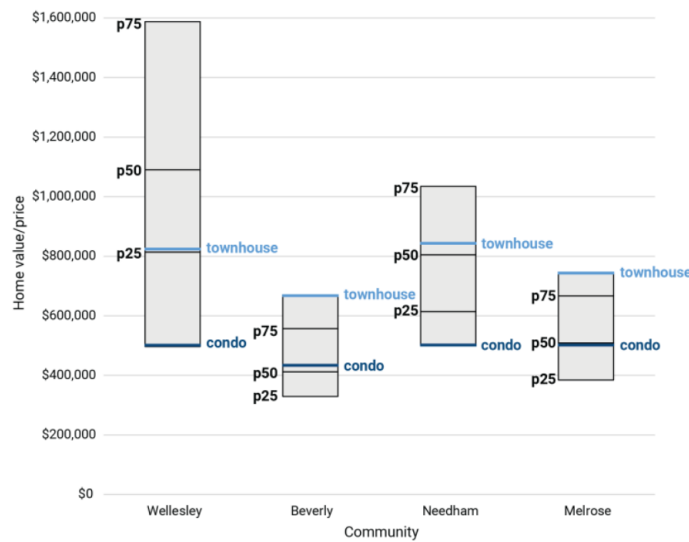
Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The [US News & World Report's annual state rankings](#) put Massachusetts at #40 in housing affordability (and #47 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [87 hours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

Massachusetts is at risk of becoming two communities—those who can afford housing and those who can't. And, while the problem is most acute for those earning just a living wage (or worse), it is also becoming a generational challenge to find housing regardless of income/wealth level. To address both of these challenges and provide a sustainable solution to the housing crisis requires change along multiple dimensions: zoning requirements, public funding for housing assistance, incentives for increasing the supply of housing stock (of multiple types), and investments in high speed transportation (east/west, southcoast, and north-south rail-link) so that people can live in areas where there is more affordable housing and commute to work on mass transit (within a reasonable time at a reasonable cost while reducing our carbon footprint). A real solution is not easily achieved, and we must consider a wider range of actions than has been pursued in the past if we are to really provide housing—one of the most basic needs—for all citizens.

**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?**

In the short term, we need both housing stock and funding to help those that are unhoused to find and accept housing. That is but a temporary solution. In the longer term, we need to address the underlying causes of homelessness—jobs with living wages to provide for housing; a balance between the demand for and supply of housing stock; treatment for those who are unhoused due to substance abuse,

trauma, or mental health; and education so that people have the skills to provide for themselves. The root cause of homelessness is not just the supply and cost of housing; rather, it comes from a multitude of causes. All must be addressed if we are to prevent housing from remaining a chronic challenge.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

For those communities where residential real estate taxes are (de facto) the only source of revenues available, I would support legislation allowing the citizens of those communities to have an election on implementing a transfer tax or fee. However, transfer fees do increase the cost of housing—which is one (but only one) of the root causes of the lack of housing available and affordable to our younger generation. So, because housing is a critical need, I would also ask the State legislature to provide greater funding to those cities and towns that have a significant shortage of affordable housing, and I would increase the minimum number of units within a 40-B development (from 10% now to 25% or more) so that the affordable housing stock can be increased. Massachusetts is to receive ~\$5B in ARPA funding and, although the legislature moved forward without transparency or public debate on the use of those funds, some of this funding can and should be dedicated to this critical issue.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Our goal should be on *reducing* the cost of housing. The conflation of the sources of funding and the use of funds limits the State's ability to address both of these critical needs. We should provide a budget for both critical needs—regardless of the funding source.

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. The priority has to be to provide housing to those in acute need. I believe that offering housing is not enough, though. We must offer wraparound services focused on health care, job training, and education. Living in public housing does not mean that residents should have a substandard quality of life. We must also work to help those who are living in public housing have an opportunity to move out of public housing if they so choose.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

I do support actions to provide protection against unjust evictions and foreclosures, and to help tenants—particularly those who lost income due to the COVID pandemic—remain in their homes. Rent control is a short term “solution” that in the long term results in a reduction in the quantity and quality of affordable housing. If we believe that providing housing is critical, and I do, then our political leadership should take the fundamental long term actions required to address the root causes of homelessness and provide solutions to the housing challenge..

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?**

State funding for communities should be dependent upon making progress towards meeting that objective.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

While I support the concept, I recognize that those communities that do NOT have town water and sewer cannot have high density housing without depleting the aquifers that provide well water to those communities. So, I would exclude any community that does not have public sewer water and systems.

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.

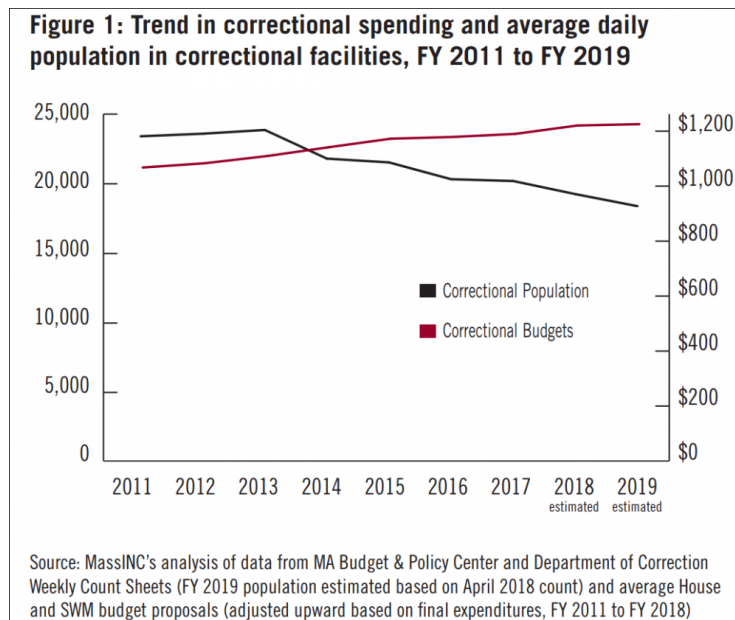
## F. Racial and Social Justice

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.).**

The data makes it incontrovertible that our criminal justice system has racial disparity regarding who has been incarcerated. Prisons are not the best means to address the root causes that contribute to illegal activities. And, once an individual has been convicted and incarcerated, their opportunity for a better life is severely and adversely impacted. Diverting our resources to address the underlying causes of criminal activities—treating addiction and trauma, providing an education so an individual has the skills to get meaningful employment, providing the means for food and lodging—BEFORE the criminal activity occurs results in a better outcome for the individual who might have become a criminal, the “victim” that now isn’t, and society in having more people who are productive members of society. Our goal should be eliminating the causes that lead to criminal activities, not pursuing “justice” or retribution—which is, at best, little solace to the victim of the crime. However, in the instance of violent crime or drug trafficking, I do support incarceration.

- 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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Qualified immunity has, at times, become a license for some in the police force to disregard the rights of the citizens that the police are supposed to protect and serve. Any action that requires a claim of qualified immunity should be reviewed by an independent civilian board. If the actions of the police in that situation are deemed outside established procedures, in violation of law, or just excessive and done in fear, then qualified immunity should be stripped from a defense of that action. For the majority of police who act professionally while in difficult or life threatening situations, qualified immunity remains a necessary safeguard.

- 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. And it is seldom needed. Once purchased, there is “go fever” for using that equipment—even if the situation could have been avoided by the use of other tactics (as was done in the past).

- 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. And that is something the State Auditor should pursue.

- 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)**

YES. We should always review and revise laws to ensure they meet the needs of the public.

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. This is particularly true when a family is calling for assistance in addressing mental health crises with their loved ones. Because our police force is trained to ensure safety, that is their first priority. When someone on the scene is trained to de-escalate the situation and render mental and emotional support, the situation can often be defused without an adverse outcome—whether arrest or worse.

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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Yes for drug users or those in possession of an amount indicating personal use. No for drug traffickers (who have much more than personal use in possession).

- 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. But with the caveat that those convicted of murder or sexual assault still need to serve a minimum sentence (but not a life sentence) that goes beyond the age of 21 years old.

- 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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Sentences of life without parole should be limited to those who commit crimes that result in the death of multiple individuals. Act of Domestic or foreign terrorism, school shootings, political assassinations, and a very select few other criminal acts that are so heinous that society itself is the victim should still be held to a standard that those committing that act will forfeit their freedom.

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. In fact, any solitary confinement beyond 48 hours (except for detoxing) seems excessive and more to penalize than to de-escalate the situation.

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?**

YES. Albeit controlling the time provided for free.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Massachusetts would be better served spending its resources addressing the root causes of criminal activities.

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?**

Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis once penned that “Publicity is justly commended as a remedy for social and industrial diseases. Sunshine is said to be the best of disinfectants.” Transparency is critical. Furthermore, leadership is critical. Any act of institutional violence at any site should result in the discipline and/or termination of the leadership (up and down the chain of command) at that site.

11. **Governor’s Council. The Lt. Governor serves as an ex officio member of the Governor’s Council, which oversees judicial appointments, Parole Board appointments, pardons, and commutations.**

- a. **What would be your priorities when evaluating and/or advocating for candidates for judicial and Parole Board vacancies?**

For judicial appointments, I would advocate for individuals who had both strong judicial academic and experience qualifications AND who has had experience with the communities they will be serving. For Parole Board vacancies, I would advocate for a diverse and representative mix of individuals from all our communities and from those families who have been the victims of crimes.

- b. **Would you support pardoning 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 recommend that the Governor use clemency power?**

YES. Clemency is earned by the individual who is incarcerated doing the work to rehabilitate themselves, and who express remorse and a desire to make restorative justice to those whom they committed the crime against.

12. **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.

13. **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.

14. **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)

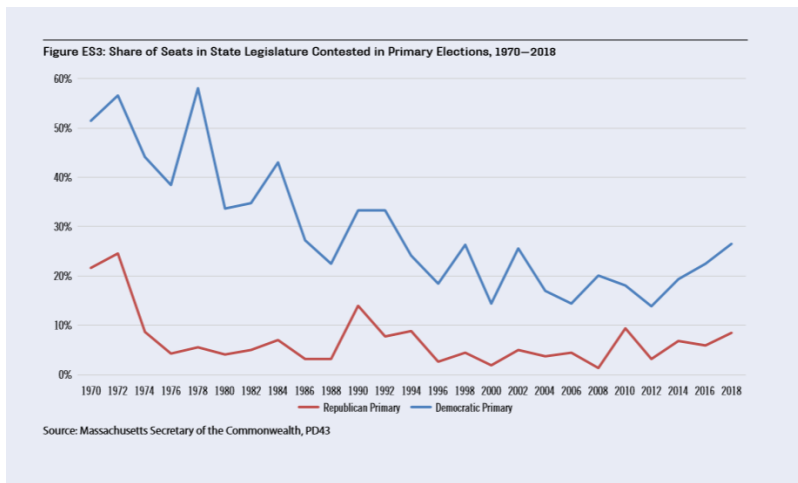
YES. Although as noted earlier, it is challenging to collect data on subgroup membership due to the blending of our multicultural community.

## G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

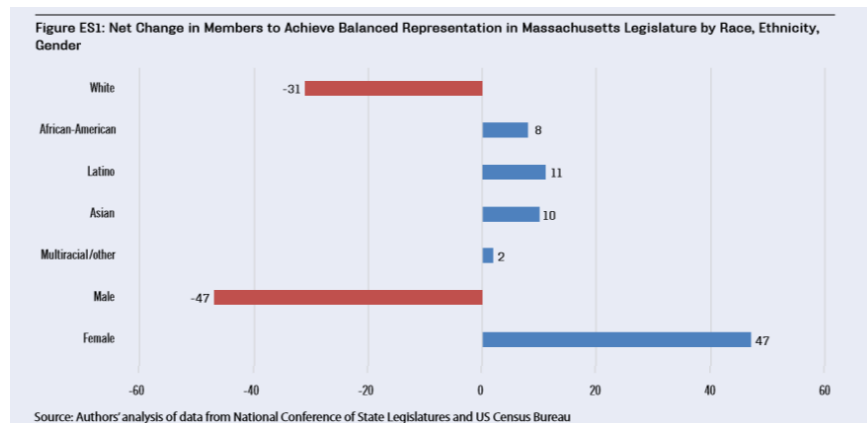
A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine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

I agree that “elections are rigged” for those who control the systems of government and the political parties. I also believe our towns do a much better job of adhering to the open meeting laws and providing transparency than does the State government. I believe in the concept of a “citizen legislator.” That is why I served in local government, and why I am running for Lt. Governor. I support term limits for all elected officials—regardless of office held. I believe that individuals should be legally restricted from running for another office that would commence before the term of their existing elected position is concluded. And, I believe that there should be reforms to the election laws to allow more individuals to participate—there should be minimal barriers to getting on a ballot.

- 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.

- 3. Diversity in Public Boards and Commissions. What steps would you take to increase the diversity on public boards and commissions?**

I believe our public Boards and Commissions should represent the diversity of the Commonwealth. I believe that there should be public reporting on appointments to these Boards/Commissions. Furthermore, when there are vacancies for boards/commissions that do not have representation commensurate with the community that board/commission represents, multiple candidates—including candidates that would address the diversity deficiency—must be publicly considered for the position, and there must be public meetings to vet the candidates for the open positions.

- 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)**

NO. As a parent and grandparent, I do recognize that affordable child care is a critical need—even for candidates. However, allowing child care to be a campaign expense would provide one more opportunity for favors to be bought for candidates. I do support policies that make child care affordable for all—not just candidates for office—so that child care is not a barrier for running for public office.

- 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. Or alternatively, voting day should be a state holiday so all citizens can vote.

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

YES. And in fact, with today's technology, there is no reason this can't be done electronically the same day. In fact, it is being done in other states. So, let's move away from paper and pen and start voting electronically.

**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 Lt. Governor, would you advocate for 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 at the federal and state level. I recognize that correctional facilities reside in some small towns and believe that incarcerated individuals should only be able to vote in the local towns/cities in which they resided before their incarceration (similar to the existing law for overseas citizens).

**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)**

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

Upon completing their sentence, yes. The loss of vote is part of the loss of freedom due to committing a felonious crime.

**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?**

It is clear that Facebook and other tech companies have algorithms that promote an echo chamber—whether from the right or the left. Furthermore, their stated policies are not adhered to when confronted with individuals or branches of government that can threaten their economic fortunes. It is clear that regulation is required—just as Theodore Roosevelt instituted regulations on the new economic powers at the turn of the 20th century. The process for establishing those regulations MUST be transparent, and not set by agencies or others beholden to those companies. And, there must be public comment on those regulations before they are enacted.

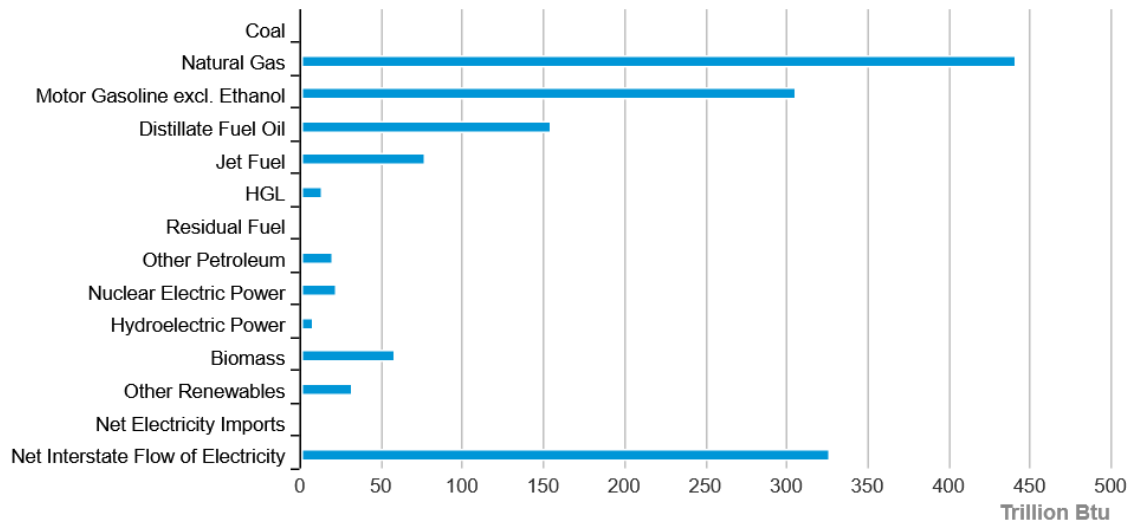
## H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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.

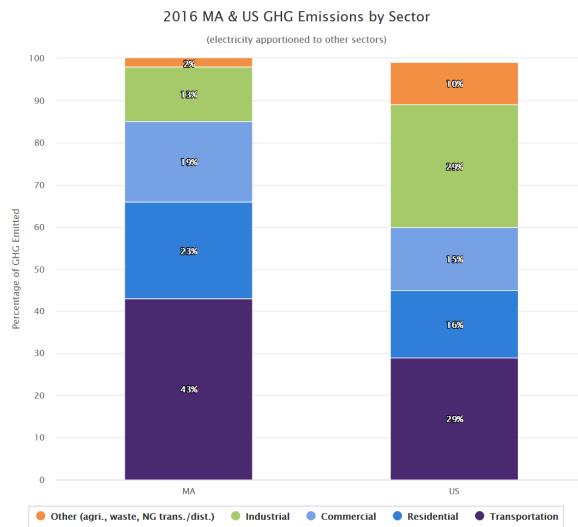
**Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.**

### 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.).**

Climate change IS an existential issue, and THE defining issue for my kids' and grandchildren's generations. But it is also an opportunity for Massachusetts to be a thought leader in defining solutions to this global challenge.

\* In the short term, Massachusetts needs to invest in public mass transit systems, including regional transit systems, that actually work so that we can reduce carbon emissions from our transportation needs. We also need to fix the energy grid and encourage conservation in our homes by promoting LED lighting and other energy efficient equipment so that demand for carbon fuels is reduced. Every candidate for public office should demonstrate environmental responsibility and leadership by using an electric vehicle as their daily driver.

\* In the longer term, we need to develop and promote alternative energy solutions—like offshore wind, solar, and other emerging innovations—so that we get to net zero carbon emissions while meeting our future energy needs before the planet can no longer sustain our population.

All of this requires an investment. Yet, it also offers an economic return. And the consequences for not making that investment will be deadly for our grandchildren.

As someone who was on the Board of the largest environmental testing company in North America (and that played a role in monitoring the cleanup of some of the largest environmental disasters in North America), I know the challenges of driving environmentally responsible behavior by companies and individuals without new

environmental legislation. Our time is short—we need to act now.

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?**

The best way to reach these targets is for there to be incentives, both positive and negative, for actions taken by individuals and businesses. Massachusetts should provide tax incentives and funding for those who reduce their use of fossil fuels by either conservation or investing in assets that use renewable/green energy sources. There should also be fees and taxes for those who do NOT move to renewable/green energy or who fail to reduce their use of fossil fuels to the required levels. Even with these incentives, it will be difficult to reach these targets. Clearly, there will be significant disruption to our economy and lifestyles. Yet, without the participation of ALL citizens, we will not be able to reach the necessary thresholds to address this existential challenge. Our political leaders need to publicly address the magnitude of the change that will be required, and develop policies and programs for those whose economic livelihood will be disrupted by this change.

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 believe that change will only come when forced upon us. Our target timeframe should be 2035—recognizing that massive innovation will be required to be able to reach that target while minimizing the impact on our economy. If you set a goal of 2050, most people won't respond to that deadline until 2048. So, let's be aggressive, knowing that the goal may not be reached by that time frame. But, let's begin to convert our energy sources and start to make a difference.

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

YES.

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

YES. And we need to promote the use of mass transit (including regional systems) and charging stations for electric vehicles to address use of fossil fuels in transportation.

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)**

YES. This change WILL cause disruption to our economy, and some will be adversely impacted more than most. It is not their fault, and we should work to help them be prepared for the new infrastructure required. So, retraining, income protection, and other costs will be part of the investment we make in

cutting over to alternative energy sources.

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?** By 2030 for all buses, and by 2025 for the purchase of any new buses. This will be within the useful life of the bus assets.
  - b. **the MBTA rail system?** Same as for buses. All new rail should be electrified, and there should be a plan for the cut over as soon as possible. This is true for commuter rail and any east/west, north/south rail as well.
  - c. **the Regional Transit Authority bus fleets?** Same as the MBTA.
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.]

Only if we are going to provide free public mass transit across the state—including east/west and north/south rail, and regional bus service. Because the conversion to electrification is going to be a significant investment and the carbon emissions reduction benefits all citizens, this should be an investment to which all citizens contribute. Because we are actively seeking to promote mass transit, however, I am in favor of subsidizing the fare to encourage ridership.

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

[Candidate chose neither YES nor NO.]

It's not that state funds were "unavailable," it's that the state legislature chose to spend state revenues elsewhere. Political leadership includes establishing priorities. Our forgotten cities and towns outside of Rt 495 do not receive the funding that they need to survive and thrive. Every member of the legislature is responsible for that. Western Massachusetts has been in economic decline for quite some time. Furthermore, some towns don't have internet or cell phone coverage. Again, that is on our political leadership. Massachusetts, and all of Massachusetts, deserves better.

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?

If we are trying to address an existential threat, we need to take aggressive actions to change the behavior of the public. Other major cities have better commuter rail, and still others (e.g., London) have begun to restrict access to parts of downtown

by car. But, those cities have excellent commuter and mass transit (subways and buses) to promote easy access. If we are serious about reducing the use of fossil fuels from our cars, we should consider investing in those mass transit systems and restricting vehicle access to local residents and electric vehicles only.

### **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 am running for a reason. COVID is no longer a pandemic, it is now endemic to our lives. Massachusetts is at an inflection point. We need to build a new foundation for living and working in the 21st century. The decisions we make during the next administration will define the character of the Commonwealth for our next generation. We must:

- o make our small businesses the growth engine of our economic revitalization,
- o ensure education stability and excellence, and
- o develop pragmatic and progressive policies to promote environmental responsibility.

I entered the race before Governor Baker decided not to seek re-election because I have the direct, personal experience and skills necessary to address the critical issues facing Massachusetts. Consequently, I will not run for any other office while serving as Lt. Governor—because this election is not about personal political ambitions, but about the needs of the Commonwealth.

MASSACHUSETTS CAN DO BETTER.