



PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2022 Lt. Gubernatorial
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Candidate: Adam Hinds

Office Sought: Lieutenant Governor

Party: Democratic

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Email questions to elections@progressivemass.com.

OVERVIEW

We view our questionnaire as an educational resource, for both candidates and voters, on progressive approaches to the issues. It provides candidates the opportunity to address a number of important issues beyond the surface talking points and provides progressive voters an extremely valuable resource when making a decision.

Our Questionnaire starts with an “About You” section and ends with an opportunity for you to include additional remarks beyond what we asked.

The bulk of our questionnaire is focused on the issues outlined in our [Progressive Platform](#), which also inform our [Legislative Agenda](#). We are interested in your overall philosophy as well as your views on specific policy and legislation.

Each section features charts or graphs (with links to sources) that illustrate one or more facets of the issue under discussion.

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

Issue Subsections:

- A. Revenue and Taxation
- B. Jobs and the Economy
- C. Education
- D. Health Care
- E. Housing
- F. Racial and Social Justice
- G. Good Government and Strong Democracy
- H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

I. About You & Your Governing Approach

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

I have seen that government can do big things. That the policy and budget choices through generations have led directly to the inequities we now work to overcome. And at the same time, this is a unique moment to make progress on rolling back those disparate outcomes by income, race, and region. We have billions of dollars in federal money coming to the Commonwealth for the next administration and we MUST use it for this purpose. This will be my focus as Lieutenant Governor: finally making progress on inequities by income, race and region. You can see it in the bills I filed this session and in the work I have done in the Committees I chair and the reports I submit to my Senate colleagues. Now is the time, and I want to draw on my background in negotiations overseas to bring people together here to achieve it.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

I am in my third term in the MA State Senate, which shows you all that works and does not work. And I spent nearly ten years working on big, divisive issues in the Middle East for the United Nations. It gave me perspective on how to take on big issues with groups of people who do not always see eye to eye. Additionally, seeing regional differences in MA (poor rural areas), families going through a changing economy and needing to retrain (my own), and more.

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

Senate/House relations and coordination.

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

I love the use of the local option. I co-sponsored a recent bill to allow for local option rent control and I think we can allow local communities to go further in the HERO bill if a local community wants to raise transfer fees.

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

California signed an executive order to require all new cars sold in the state after 2035 must be electric. I filed a bill requiring the same in MA (except starting in 2030). It was recently polled out of the TUE [Telecommunications, Utilities and Energy] Committee and I will continue to push it here.

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?

There are often things that each chamber prioritizes. In the example above related to Electric Vehicle sales, the House is heavily prioritizing investments in offshore wind. That provides the Senate with an opportunity to push EV requirements (and more) in exchange.

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?

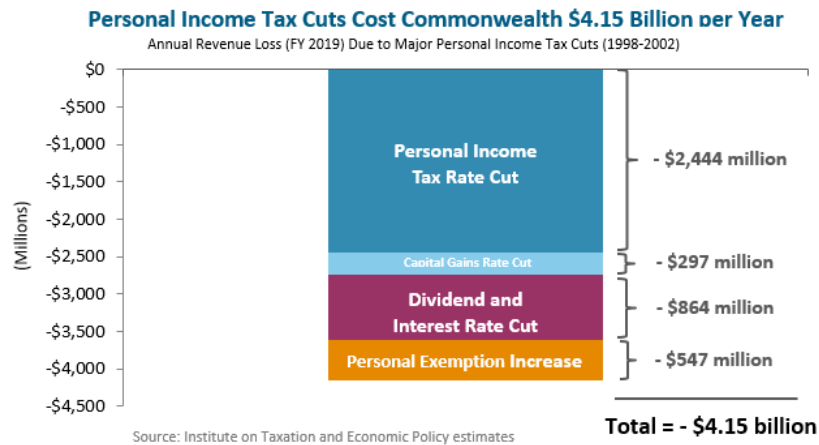
I am excited to re-imagine the role of LG and make it a center of gravity for progress on the big generational shifts we MUST pursue now. Racial equity, income inequality and climate change. I want the LG's office to help the governor by coordinating the cabinet's aggressive cross departmental work in these areas.

II. The Issues

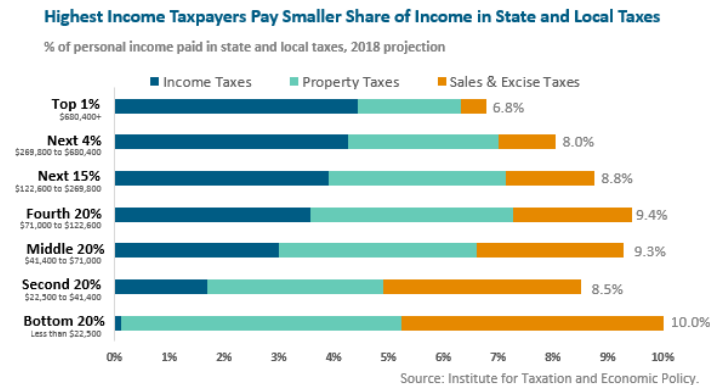
A. Revenue and Taxation

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.).**

It is scary to look at wage stagnation and extreme income inequality at the same time that corporate and individual wealth has absolutely skyrocketed. Yet these are the direct result of deliberate choices. And the result of forcing more families into poverty is disparate outcomes for our kids in terms of health outcomes, lifelong earnings, and education attainment.

One area I have focused is supporting unions and calling for more accountability in our tax give-aways to wealthy individuals and corporations. I have written op-eds on both issues.

2. **Corporate Tax Breaks. Corporate tax breaks cost Massachusetts [more than \\$1 billion in foregone revenue](#) each year. Companies can secure access to such tax breaks due to political connections whether or not the promised benefits ever materialize. Which of the following accountability steps would you support?**

- a. **Collecting and publicly disclosing information about the benefits to the state from any tax break? (Y/N)**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. I filed a bill requiring these.

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. I voted for it multiple times and speak about its need often and publicly.

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)**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

- 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)**

YES.

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

YES.

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. Green energy and green technology would be high on my list.

B. Jobs and the Economy

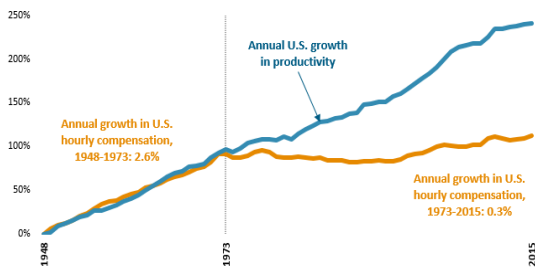
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten [most unequal states](#), as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which strain wages. A strong economy depends on strong wages, as workers spend and help local economies thrive. Although the recently passed minimum wage increase will eventually lift the minimum wage to \$15 per hour, this is [still not a living wage](#) for many.

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

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

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

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

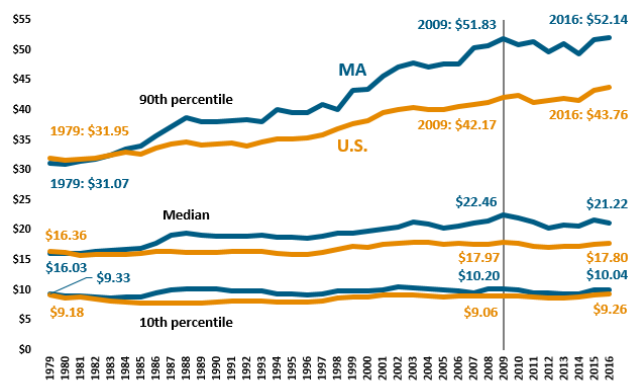


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of unpublished Total Economy Productivity data from Bureau of Labor Statistics' Labor Productivity and Costs program, wage data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Current Employment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics' Employment Cost Trends data, and the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

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

Wages For Most MA Workers Have Stagnated Since Great Recession

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



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

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

I've witnessed the impact of a changing economy and the impact of reducing unions and decades of wage stagnation in my district and my home. It's not right that so many are living close to the edge because our minimum wage simply is not a living wage. As one example, I am a lead co-sponsor on a farm workers bill (to remove the Ag minimum wage and add a day of rest and overtime). But have also written op-eds, joined picket lines, and more.

- 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?**

A new Amazon warehouse got a TIFF [Tax Increment Financing] to locate in Charlestown. That should raise red flags about what we should not be doing. Amazon needs us, and they need to be near population centers. I would work with regional states to agree none of us would allow a race to the bottom.

- 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?**

Offshore wind is certainly one. And while we have a Project Labor Agreement as part of our state investments we do not have similar requirements related to the manufacturing and development in the industry (turbines will likely be shipped in from other countries). I would add those requirements as well.

- 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?**

The Commonwealth should use its purchasing power by expanding the percentage of contracts with BIPOC owned companies. Grants can also invest in companies to prepare them to participate in state purchasing needs (for example we have done that during the pandemic when we invested in companies to transition to mask development and more).

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

YES. The tipped wage results in more harassment and one current bill also allows tips to be shared with the back of the house as well.

- 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. Absolutely, no one should work and not get paid or not get paid at the right level due to misclassification. Holding businesses accountable will create

a strong incentive for enforcement.

7. **Wage Transparency. Would you support requiring the submission of wage data to a public database maintained by the Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development and broken down by gender and race? (Y/N)**

YES. Persistent income gaps by race and gender need to be closed and transparency is an important tool in that fight.

8. **Fair Scheduling. Many workers in the service sector face irregular working hours, making it difficult to plan for other life events. Do you support providing workers the right to 14 days advance notice of hours and the right to request specific hours without retaliation from the employer? (Y/N)**

YES. Of course. The service sector is facing significant labor shortages and persistently provides amongst the lowest wages. By boosting wages and providing better benefits, including scheduling, the workforce could expand and workers would benefit.

9. **Mandatory Arbitration. Would you support legislation to prohibit the use of mandatory arbitration provisions in employment contracts, i.e., requirements that an employee forfeit the right to sue the employer for discrimination, nonpayment of wages, or other illegal conduct? (Y/N)**

YES.

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

YES. The absence of it has a full range of implications on flexibility to help with family supports and events, and much more.

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. For sure.

12. **Gig Economy. More than 200,000 workers in Massachusetts now work in the “gig economy,” with the rise of app-based platforms. However, their employers often seek to evade labor law in order to avoid treating them as employees and provide decent pay and benefits.**

- a. **Do you oppose the November 2022 ballot initiative backed by Uber and Lyft to rewrite current state labor law to exclude hundreds of thousands of workers from fundamental rights and protections? (Y/N)**

YES. As the economy shifts we need to be aggressive in upholding

worker protections at the same time. Innovation is no excuse for undermining workers and misclassifying them as “independent contractors” rather than employees. It is telling that it is happening as gig economy CEOs are making more money than ever...on the backs of workers.

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

Require minimum wage, benefits, and overtime requirements are met by employees in the gig economy, and ensure we have the number of enforcement officers and lawyers required to investigate practices in MA.

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

YES.

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

YES.

C. Education

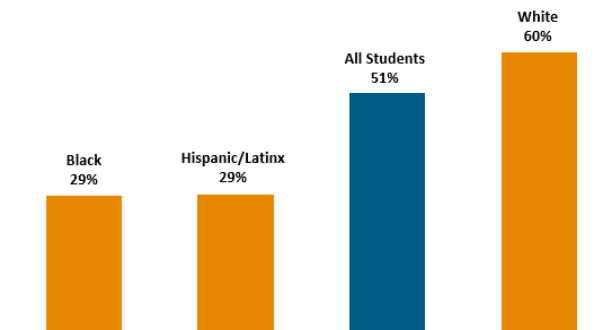
The promise of public education has always been as a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country.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

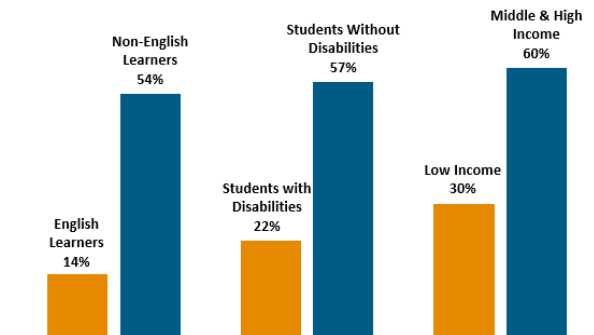
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



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

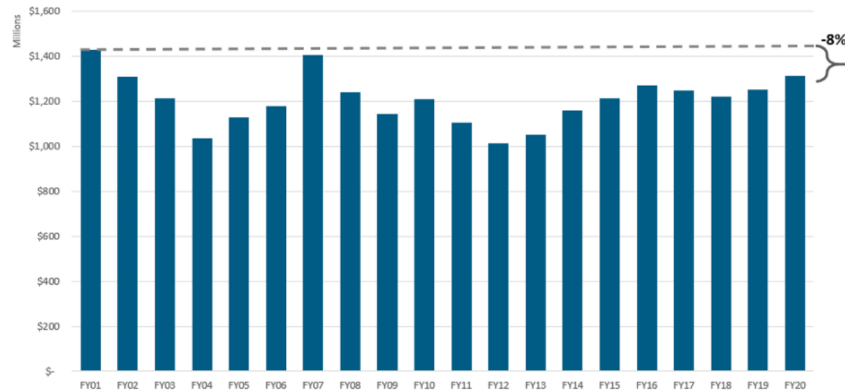


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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.).**

I'm the son of an MTA member, a recently retired teacher, and I saw first hand how the union saved his job on several occasions. I view education as a central opportunity and our investments need to reflect that.

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

YES. I would go even further and make it free for all. But creating a level playing field for kids is simply critical and it must be a priority. Alabama can do it, so can MA.

- 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?**

We have the money, there are no excuses. The administration can allocate the funds to get there given the federal infusion we are experiencing.

- 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)

YES. It has long been shown to be nothing more than a reflection of the income by census tract, so why spend so much money and valuable class time to tell us what we could determine by looking at such data?

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. We lose so much money from our public schools. It is crippling.

b. Would you support legislation to bring greater accountability to charter schools by requiring them to adhere to the same disclosure and disciplinary standards as public school districts? (Y/N)

YES.

6. **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?**

What concerns me is the lack of local control that results. We can create reforms that continue to include the voice of elected school committee members while injecting stronger state supports for schools in need.

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. For sure, and I have voted for it multiple times.

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)**

YES. I do, I believe I am a co-sponsor and if not I will go and do that.

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?**

Every student benefits from mental health services. Continue to expand mental health professionals in schools, train teachers to recognize, respond, and

incorporate healthy practices, etc.

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

YES. Providing opportunity to everyone who lives here protects mobility and provides benefits to not only the individual but the entire Commonwealth in the long run.

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

YES. As stated above, higher ed is increasingly necessary for wage growth yet barriers prevent participation or leave graduates with growing amounts of debt. The same philosophy behind providing free K-12 education needs to now be extended to college and pre-K.

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.

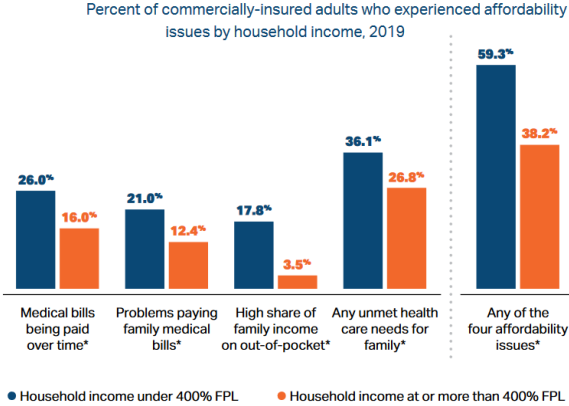
<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/average-new-car-prices-up-nearly-4-percent-year-over-year-for-may-2019-according-to-kelley-blue-book-300860710.html>

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.).**

Healthcare is a right. It's time to move toward single payer to stand up for our families, to save money that is wasted in the current system, and move towards a system based on creating health not just handling the sick. Standing up to pharmaceuticals to finally reduce drug prices is another priority.

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. Absolutely. The pandemic revealed a fatal flaw in our current approach: health care connected with work when an economic downturn (caused by a health crisis no less!) leads to massive loss of health insurance through those employers. I have long co-sponsored Medicare for All, have been a member of the caucus, and more.

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. Having just gone through a childbirth in my family I can't imagine anything short of full coverage of pregnancy care. I also PROUDLY voted for the ROE Act this session, the fight needs to be strong and persistent now that the Supreme Court seems poised to gut Roe v. Wade.

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. What is most abhorrent about the actions taken by states around the country to limit abortion access is that wealthy individuals will continue to access services. It is the people without the means who will be impacted. I support such strong action and solidarity actions by state.

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

YES. Definitely.

6. **Harm Reduction. An essential part of addressing the opioid crisis, safe consumption sites allow medical professionals to respond to overdoses and engage participants in medical and behavioral health services. Would you support the legalization of SCSs? (Y/N)**

YES. As the head of a non-profit I helped bring a needle exchange program to the region and I would support safe injection sites as well. The goal has to be safety, harm reduction, and using any opportunity to get people access to the

services that could eventually lead to recovery.

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?**

Poor. At each stage the administration has been forced to take key steps (e.g. related to school testing, etc) or they were 6 weeks too late. Regarding engaging underserved populations we needed to use trusted, community based partners from the start. We need/needed to pull out all of the stops related to the availability of all of the above, instead as the current surge demonstrates we have taken half measures when we knew surges were inevitable and when the critical steps to confront a surge would be access to PPE, testing and vaccinations.

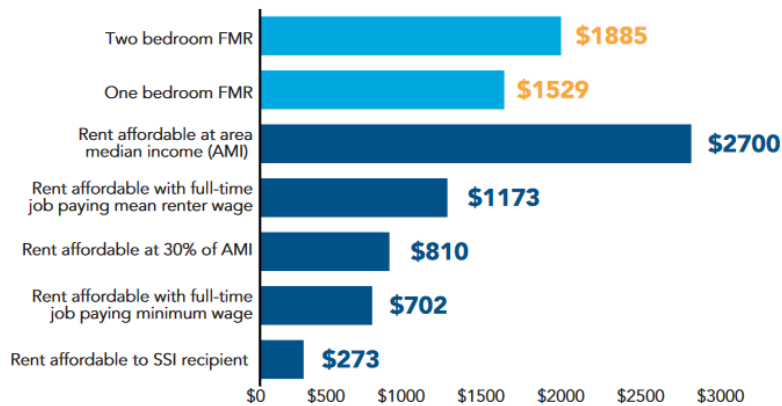
8. **Public Health. What are the main lessons you would take from the state's experience with the COVID-19 pandemic in order to put our state on a stronger public health footing for future crises, especially as relates to protecting the state's most at-risk populations?**

The pandemic has put in stark relief the disparities in health outcomes by race, income and neighborhood that have already been the daily experience of too many. Clearly we need a more robust public health infrastructure for access and investments in preventive health to reduce comorbidities. I previously managed local participation in the Prevention Wellness Trust Fund (no longer in operation) and I feel the investment in community outreach is a critical element moving forward.

E. Housing

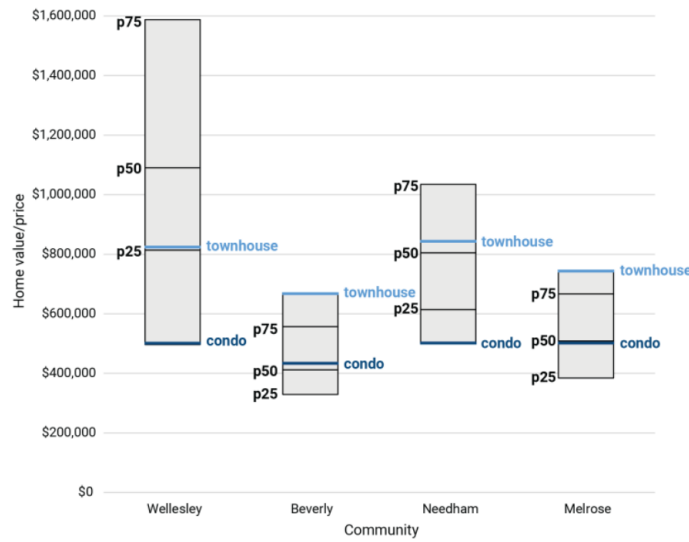
Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The [US News & World Report's annual state rankings](#) put Massachusetts at #40 in housing affordability (and #47 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [87 hours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

It's time to move from a right to shelter state to also become a right to housing state, and I have advocated for that as outlined below. Clearly each case is different and requires a holistic approach to keep people housed, making housing more affordable, and overcoming the legacy of red lining and home ownership discrepancies by race. On that, I would focus on reducing the gap in home ownership by race given all of the implications it has for the wealth gap and the intergenerational transfer of wealth.

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?

I have previously advocated for rental assistance as a right. While we provide rental vouchers, the majority of eligible families aren't able to receive rental support. A funding commitment to open these programs to all eligible residents would vastly improve rental options among low-income families.

It is also time for a new approach to eviction. Massachusetts should guarantee tenants a right to counsel, automatically connect them to (expanded) rental assistance programs like RAFT, and mandate better data collection from the court system — especially with regard to race and ethnicity, so that we can document disparities and identify appropriate state responses.

3. **Affordable Housing Funding—I. Would you support legislation to allow cities and towns to impose a fee on real estate transfers to generate revenue for affordable housing, with the ability to create local exemptions as appropriate? (Y/N)**

YES. I am a co-sponsor of the HERO bill and would support a local option to go beyond the final revision.

4. **Affordable Housing Funding—II. Would you support doubling the current Deeds Excise Tax (from \$4.56 per \$1,000 to \$9.12 per \$1,000), upon the sale of real property in Massachusetts, to create a new funding stream to be split evenly between affordable housing and climate resiliency? (Y/N)**

YES. I am a co-sponsor of the HERO bill and would support a local option to go beyond the final revision.

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? What would be your priorities in doing so? (Y/N)**

YES. I will protect those investments and I would start by allocating another \$600 million from ARPA for housing to match the first disbursement.

6. **Tenant Protections. Would you support providing municipalities with the authority to implement rent-stabilizing regulations, just cause eviction protections, stronger condominium conversion and foreclosure protections, anti-displacement zones, and options to help tenants manage the upfront costs of leasing an apartment? (Y/N)**

YES. I would; related to rent-control, I co-sponsored the rent control bill proposed by Rep Connolly.

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. I love the idea. We need to find creative ways to expand home ownership in an affordable manner, especially for first-time homeowners.

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

YES. I included Right to Counsel in the report I authored for a Committee I Chair: the Senate Committee on Reimagining MA Post-pandemic resiliency. COVID showed us we need to rethink our eviction process, top to bottom and provide more supports (legal, financial) along the way.

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. Of course.

- 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?**

This really does have the potential to be a game changer and needs implementation. I would use the full range of tools: publicizing adoption, providing financial incentives in these targeted areas, and more by engaging with statewide and local stakeholders.

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

YES.

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

YES. We can't on the one hand say people need to "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" while we simultaneously remove the straps!

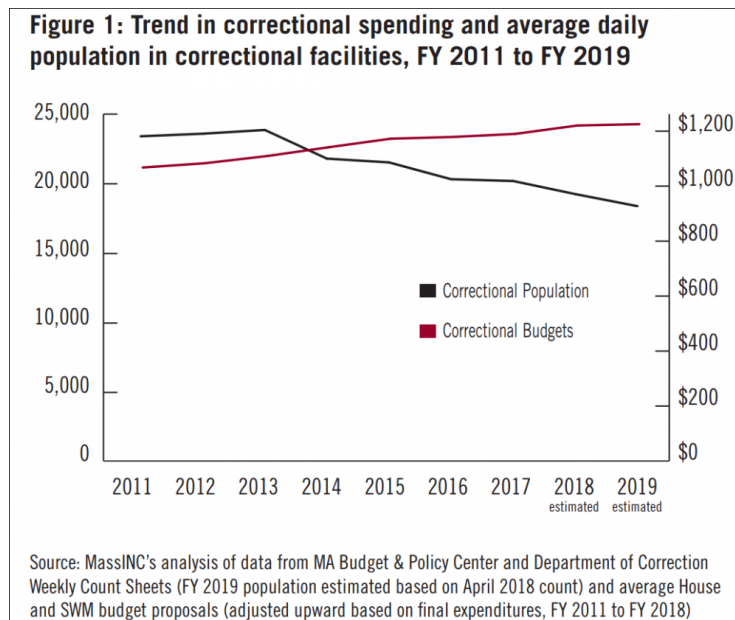
F. Racial and Social Justice

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.).**

Racial and social justice is central to my work before and in the Senate. From filing bills related to felony re-enfranchisement and jail based voting rights, to trying to create an Office of Racial Equity our work on racial and social justice needs to permeate every aspect of policy and budget making. It requires actively rolling back the policies and legacies of racist policy and budget choices. That is how I view the role of Lieutenant Governor.

- 2. Police Accountability. The 2020 police accountability legislation passed by the Massachusetts Legislature contained a number of steps forward, but important measures were left out. Would you support legislation to do the following?**
 - a. Eliminating qualified immunity for state and local police and correctional officers so that individuals whose constitutional rights are violated can have their fair day in court? (Y/N)**

YES.

- b. Supporting strict regulations on government use of face surveillance like**

those initially enacted by the House and Senate in 2020, before Governor Baker rejected them? (Y/N)

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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.

4. **Sentencing Reform. The 2018 criminal justice reform bill was an important first step in reducing mass incarceration. However, in our “liberal” state, incarceration rates remain much higher than they are in other countries, and sentencing laws can be even more punitive than those in states viewed as conservative. Do you support the following reforms?**

- a. **Eliminating mandatory minimums for all drug offenses? (Y/N)**

YES.

- b. **Raising the age of criminal majority from 18 to 21, in line with research that shows that young offenders served by a juvenile system are much less likely to reoffend and more likely to successfully transition to adulthood? (Y/N)**

YES. (And the brain not being fully developed until 24 y.o.)

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

YES.

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

YES.

5. **Solitary Confinement. In Massachusetts, prisoners can be sentenced to 10 years of solitary confinement—per infraction. The UN defines holding someone in solitary confinement for more than 15 days as torture. Do you support banning the use of long-term solitary confinement? (Y/N)**

YES.

6. **Prison Visitation. Maintaining connections with friends and family outside prisons is one of the most important factors in ensuring successful reentry. In March 2018, the DOC severely limited the ability of prisoners to receive visits and the rights of family and friends to visit their loved ones in prison. ([Read more on this here.](#)) Would you end these restrictions? (Y/N)**

YES.

7. **Prison Profiteering—Part I. While Massachusetts does not have private prisons, the DOC invites private companies to profit off of the families of prisoners by price gouging inmates who have no alternatives but to buy from the sole providers of goods in prisons. Would you end the price gouging of inmates by the DOC for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply inmates with the basic requirements necessary for life and maintain good health and hygiene? (Y/N)**

YES.

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

YES. And we need to make sure to fund the services in jails that those funds are often used for.

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

YES.

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

I filed a bill that was then passed as an amendment to the VOTES Act in order to ensure and establish access to voting behind the wall. It was a mix of new requirements, data collection, and channels for communication when there are

concerns. That provides a starting point for further policies in jails and prisons.

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?**

I think it is time to move towards restorative justice, and community-based approaches that emphasize addressing the underlying contributing factors.

- 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. I would, and youthful offenders would be another area of focus for me given the serious drop off in offenses in the mid-20s and my background starting a program for high risk youth involved in violence. It was the necessary supports that mattered, not a tougher sentence.

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. And I have voted for it.

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. Absolutely. A co-sponsor.

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)**

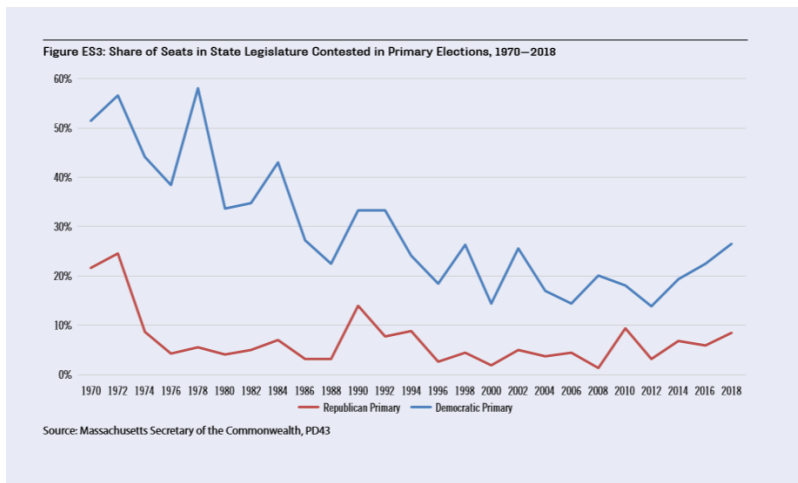
YES. This is an area to pick from previous criminal justice reform. I have previously worked to elevate data on District Attorney choices at each step of the process, particularly as it relates to race.

G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

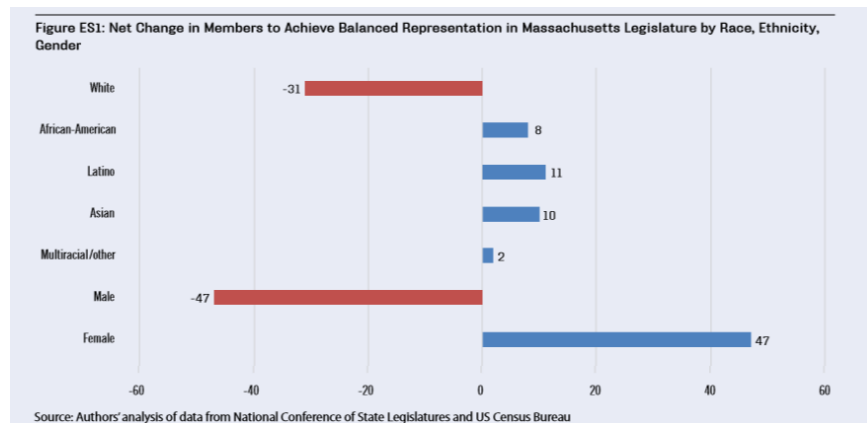
A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine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

So much is at stake right now in terms of trust in government and ensuring a strong democracy. I worked in civil wars and conflict in the Middle East for the United Nations for nearly 10 years. If I was doing a conflict assessment for the US I would send red flags given the degradation of democracy nationwide. But MA is not immune, and we can and must do more to establish the highest levels of transparency and trust.

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?**

Basic minimum requirements to start, active recruitment and development, and hiring within the issue areas to create a pipeline of experienced personnel. I would also go further and require corporations of a certain size publish the composition of their boards.

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

YES. And I have voted for it.

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

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. We should be making voting easier, not harder especially as our technology allows for it to happen in a secure manner.

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. This sounds like a reference to a bill I filed (and later an amendment to the VOTES Act that passed), thank you for including it in the questionnaire.

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

YES. Similarly, I am the person who has filed the constitutional amendment in the last two legislative sessions.

- 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?**

To start I filed a bill with Rep Uytterhoeven to tax digital advertising, or the use of our data for corporate profits. It is long past time for us to catch up to big tech in terms of what they are collecting on us on an ongoing basis. We can require permission from individuals, up front. We can create avenues for redress when violated and on and on.

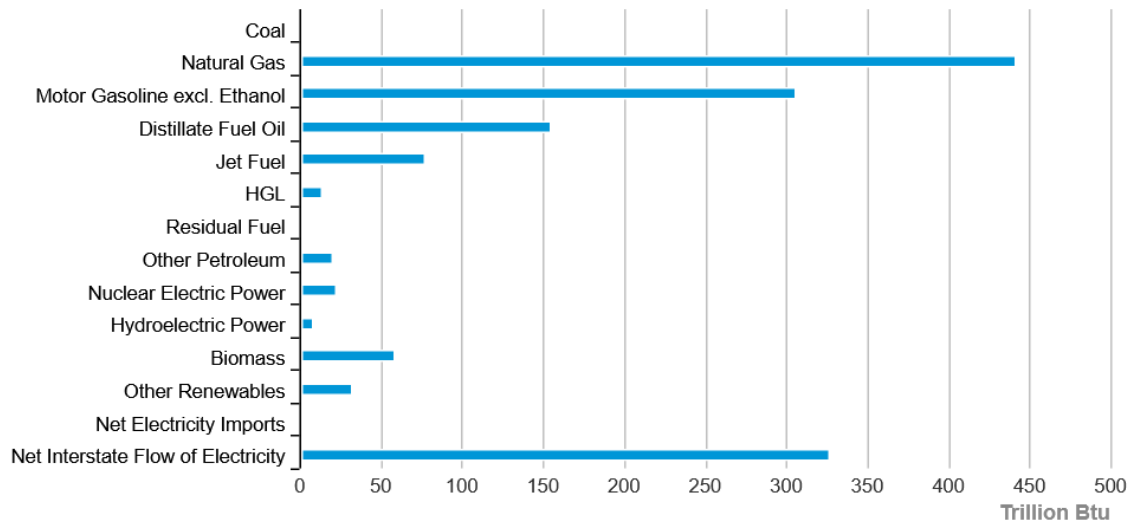
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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.

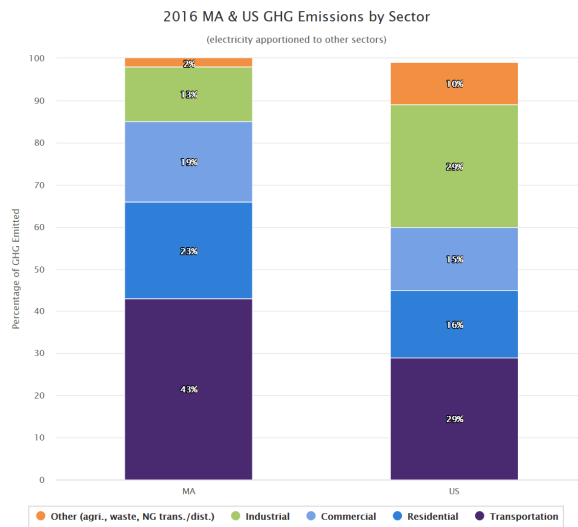
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

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.).**

I have decided to focus my work in the Senate on two areas (given where work is needed and where I did not find others working urgently enough): 1) Transportation and 2) Natural Carbon Sequestration. One bill of mine is likely to be a part of the current climate ‘omnibus bill’ that just polled out of the TUE Committee. It requires all cars bought in MA after 2030 be electric. Related to natural carbon sequestration I have worked to file several bills to conserve our forests and incentivize keeping trees on private lands, among other things.

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

I think this question needs to be updated: the NextGen law requires we get to Net Zero by 2050! Yet we must exceed this. In addition to my current efforts in transportation and carbon sequestration noted above, I would reinvigorate the Transportation Climate Initiative to get us in a ‘Cap and Invest’ regime. Continuing to grow offshore wind is critical. And so much more.

- 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? (Y/N)**

I dare say we can EASILY get to 100% renewable energy in two decades, maybe

sooner, in part because the technology is improving so quickly. It might take another 30 pages to outline how we get there but it's a mixture of reducing energy demand (building improvements etc), producing renewable energy, drastically expanding storage capacity and technology, and ensuring purchasing of renewable energy.

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? (Y/N) If so, what steps would you take to do so?**

YES. We are working to convert multiple peaker plants in Berkshire County to renewable with the use of renewable energy and battery storage installations. If peaker plants can consider it, then we can come up with solutions and avoid expanding fossil fuel infrastructure at a time when we MUST be moving the opposite direction and technology is there.

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. And we can require things like wind turbines to be built in MA to assist with that process.

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?** I might need more time to understand these systems and needs, but I am committed to greening them as a goal. In fact I included it in multiple reports I have produced for the MA state senate (Reimagining MA and a report of the Student Transportation Commission)
- b. **the MBTA rail system?** See above
- c. **the Regional Transit Authority bus fleets?** See above

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

YES. It starts by targeting the lines servicing low-income census blocks and including a reduced fare option through the service area. I advocated for that in a report I drafted for the State Senate.

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

YES. I have co-sponsored regional ballot initiatives for years.

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?

Investing in public transportation and encouraging the mode shift through fare reductions, reliability, and speed. Rail links outside of the city are important as well to relieve congestion and housing demand.

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.