



PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2022 Legislative
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Candidate: Nathaniel Mulcahy

Office Sought: State Representative

District: 5th Essex

Party: Democratic Party

Website: www.VoteMulcahy.com

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OVERVIEW

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

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

The bulk of our questionnaire is focused on the issues outlined in our [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?

For me the top three are four. In any other state my top three would be (in descending order of importance) Environment, Education and Housing. But given our state's lack of transparency all candidates must have a top four with Transparency being the first objective.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

I have over 20 years of experience in developing and implementing environmental solutions and policies. I've been involved in every UN COP climate conference since 2008 and am a policy reviewer for the IPBES. Currently an engineer and scientist but prior to returning to school I was an elementary school teacher for 12 years. During my tenure as a teacher I taught every grade K-6 in both rural and urban schools. I was also an administrator (vice principal in Ironwood Michigan). The last school I taught at was Swift River Elementary school in Wendell Massachusetts. The fact that, after many years, many of my students are still in touch (one is even a policy advisor for me) as are their parents I think is testament to the dedication I showed for that job.

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

The greatest obstacle is the fact that there are really only 6 truly progressive House members and that number is dropping due Nika's seat being eliminated via redistricting and Tami seeking a different office. I am already working on overcoming this obstacle by actively helping in the campaigns of candidates I see as progressive and who I hope will be my colleagues in the future.

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

Maine pioneered Ranked Choice Voting... I would like to see that here

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

I rallied fishermen, nurses, working families and more to take on the City of Gloucester and a powerful developer. While we did not win everything we wanted we did accomplish a great deal and even managed to get Pavilion Beach permanently deeded to the city as a free public beach

6. (For incumbents only) Each year, Progressive Massachusetts compiles a scorecard of

key roll call votes, available at <https://scorecard.progressivemass.com>. Please use this space to explain any discrepancies between your votes and the progressive position.

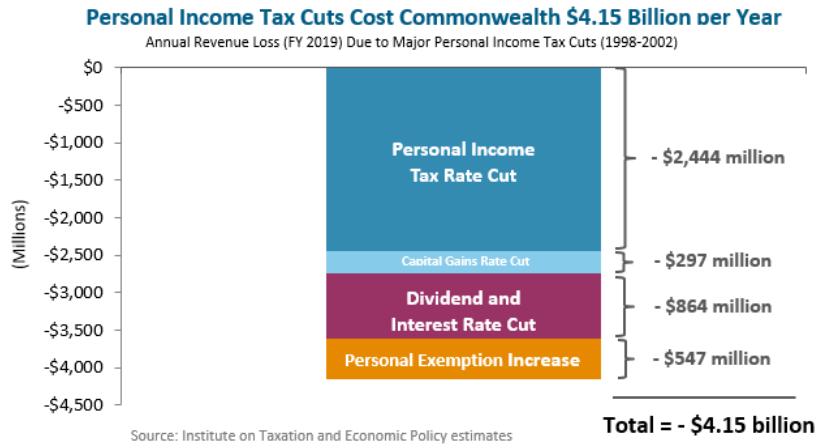
N/A

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.

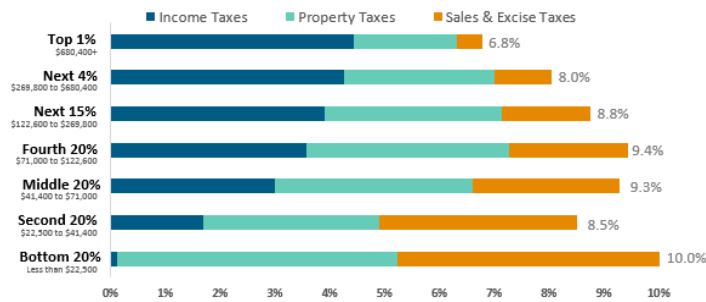
Declining revenues have meant drastic cuts, limiting our ability to invest in our communities and future economic stability.



Massachusetts state and local taxes are regressive.

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

% of personal income paid in state and local taxes, 2018 projection



- 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.).**

We must roll back taxation rates to 1977 levels. I have been pushing for the passage of the Fair Share Amendment but that would only be a first step. Modeling taxation regulation found in other nations we could lower property taxes on first homes and greatly increase the rate at which second or more homes are taxed.

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

- a. **Collecting and publicly disclosing information about the benefits to the state from any tax break?**

YES.

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

YES.

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

NO. The caveats I would add are that not all benefits can be quantified on a purely financial basis (nor should they be). For example the child tax credit makes good sense and should never expire. Other taxes were imposed during war times as a temporary measure ...but then became permanent. I feel that if a tax is passed with the understanding that it is to be temporary it must expire at the end of the event that was used to require it

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

YES. The Fair Share Amendment is long overdue and it is one of the key reasons I am running against my opponent.

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

- a. **Raising the corporate minimum tax for larger companies? (The corporate minimum tax is currently only \$456.)**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

- e. **Levying a modest tax on university endowments greater than \$1 billion?**

NO. No on the condition that the universities are free to the public. Otherwise tax them.

- 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?**

YES.

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

YES. I am all in favor of transparency but I also feel strongly that some times profit, economic impacts or earnings should be the focus. Universities plunged in quality of education when they shifted to a for profit model. Sometimes the objective is more important than economic impact.

- 6. **Public Bank.** Do you support the creation of a Massachusetts [public bank](#) that would make loans to small businesses, local farmers, cooperatives, community development financial institutions, community development corporations, and municipalities?

YES. I'd also like to see a revolving fund which would provide a way for first time homebuyers to have a down-payment or homeowners to super-insulate their homes. The repayment could be based on reduced interest rates and heating/cooling bills.

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

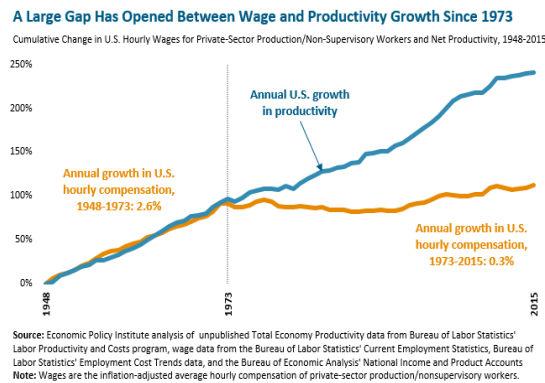
YES. Private prisons should not exist. PERIOD. and we should be taxing not investing in weapons and our state should be focused on eliminating the need for fossil fuels.

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.

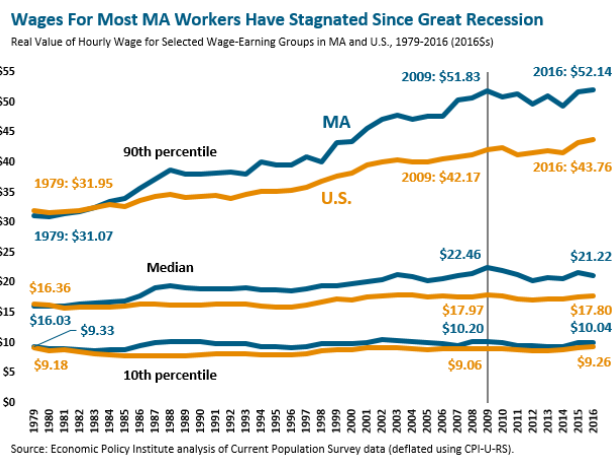
In recent decades, unions have been under attack. However, unions played—and continue to play—a pivotal role in creating a strong middle class. With weaker unions (or no unions at all) come weaker social and economic rights and an imbalanced economy.

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



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

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



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

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 absurdity born of the Reagan era that waitstaff/servers can be taxed even on tips not earned must end. There should be no legal excuse for paying anyone less than minimum wage and minimum wage needs to be a living wage. A living wage could be location based so it could be linked to housing costs. Since housing should not take more than 30% of your net income, minimum wage should be tied to 30% of the mean cost of renting an apartment or mean monthly mortgage payment.

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

YES.

3. Wage Theft. Do you support holding businesses responsible for the wage violations of their subcontractors when the work they do is substantially connected to the company's operations?

YES. Stolen wages must be repaid at ten times the value of the wage stolen

4. 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?

YES.

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

YES. Overtime should be compensated with not only time and a half but additional time off added to vacation time equal to the time that an employee was required to work beyond 40h/week.

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

YES.

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

YES. If we care about families and mental health, paid leave should be 6 weeks per

year.

8. **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?

YES.

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

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

YES.

- b. **Will you oppose all legislation that weakens Massachusetts’s labor law protecting employees from being misclassified as “independent contractors”?**

YES. During the pandemic, gig workers for Uber and Lyft put their lives at risk and came to the aid of the community by providing transportation for patients and medical workers alike. We owe it to them and other gig workers to let them unionize and receive benefits.

10. **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?

YES. I would like to see a rotating fund established to allow workers to purchase the company that employs them with zero interest loans to be repaid with an agreed upon/negotiated percentage of the company net earnings.

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

YES.

12. **State House as a Workplace.** Although the Legislature voted in 2017 to increase legislators’ pay, the Legislature has not taken necessary steps to ensure staff are being properly compensated. Staff are often overworked and underpaid, leading to burnout and making it difficult for the State House to retain diverse talent.

- a. **Do you support the unionization effort of the Massachusetts State House Employee Union?**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. This vital issue is part of why we need to push for a more transparent house. Representatives should not be allowed to vote or commit sexual harassment in anonymity..and in the same way I feel police should not, our legislative body should not be allowed to simply conduct internal investigations into misconduct.

C. Education

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

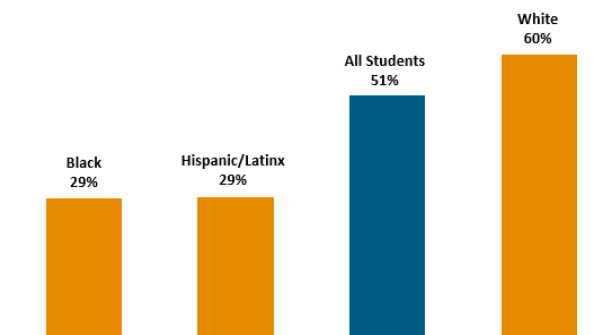
Public education has also been under attack by powerful corporate interests seeking to undermine public schools, teachers, and unions. These groups invest millions of dollars to promote the expansion of privately run charter schools, which siphon money from our public K-12 districts while largely excluding students with the greatest needs. Costly, mandated standardized test results are used to label schools as “failing” and justify these privatization schemes. State receiverships in struggling school districts take power away from communities and often facilitate privatization schemes that could never achieve democratic support.

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

Massachusetts has significant achievement gaps reflective of resource gaps.

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

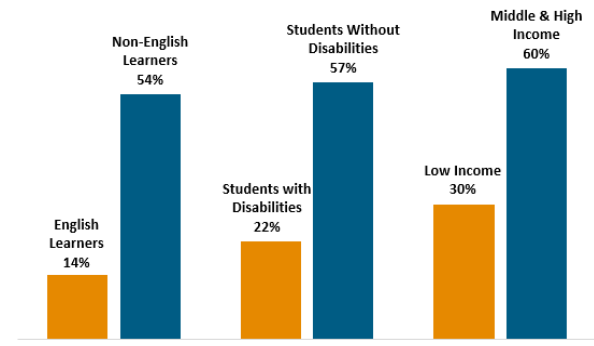
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



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



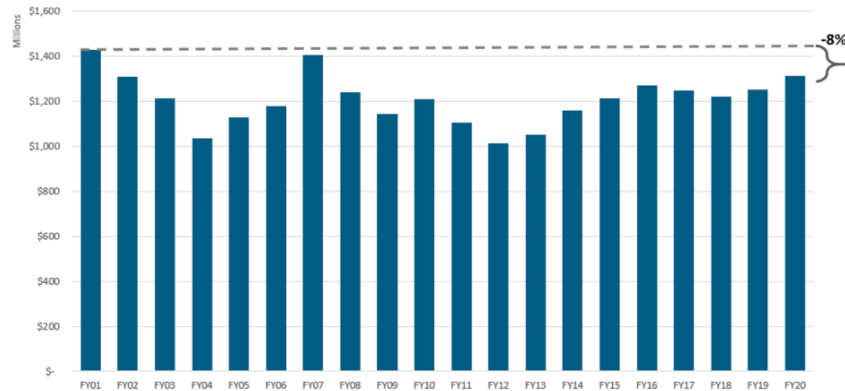
Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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

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

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.).**

In my particular race I am the only candidate who has been both a teacher and an administrator. For 12 years I taught K-6 and for two of those years I was also a vice principal. Having taught in both rural and urban schools, wealthy school districts and officially the poorest school district, both public and private schools I have a strong experience based understanding of the challenges facing education these days. The fact that in just two decades the US has dropped from one of the top nations to 27th place is a clear demonstration that the current problems in our public education are a fully bipartisan failure. When I was still teaching I ran free afterschool programs for all the students in our school (Swift River Elementary in Wendell Massachusetts) to try and fill the voids left by an increasingly standardized curriculum focused ever more on passing standardized tests than it was the needs of the students. School funding I see as a core issue with the problems we are seeing. Finland too faced this problem and ten years ago they radically changed how schools were funded. By doing so and shifting the focus of curriculum away from standardized testing and more to the individual students Finland now has one of the best public education programs in the world. Massachusetts could and should follow these examples and lead the nation in educational reform. As an interesting side note it is worth mentioning that these reforms were not initially done specifically for education but as part of the economic recovery plan for Finland for enlightened politicians understand that the greatest economic investment is 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?

YES.

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

YES.

4. **Charter Schools.** In 2016, MA voters overwhelmingly rejected a ballot initiative to lift the cap on charter schools given the millions of dollars it would have siphoned away from public school districts.

- a. **Do you support keeping the cap on charter schools?**

YES.

- b. **Would you support legislation to bring greater accountability to charter schools by requiring them to adhere to the same disclosure and disciplinary standards and offer the same support for English Language Learners and students with disabilities as public school districts?**

YES.

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

YES. Given the many tragedies we've witnessed over the past years at Massachusetts Department of Children & Families (for example the heartbreaking case of Jeramiah Oliver) I think the State is clearly not qualified to look out for the well being or education of children. Receivership often removes at risk communities from those who know and care about them and places them in the hands of remote bureaucrats with little connect, care or qualification for meeting the needs of children.

6. **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 topics such as consent and the effective use of contraception?

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. Public education should be expanded to universal Pre K-16

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

YES.

D. Health Care

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health insurance coverage, with [97% of the state](#) having health insurance. But until that is 100%, we haven't reached truly universal coverage or tackled critical barriers to accessing care. Disparities in insurance coverage and health care access continue to exist along 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.

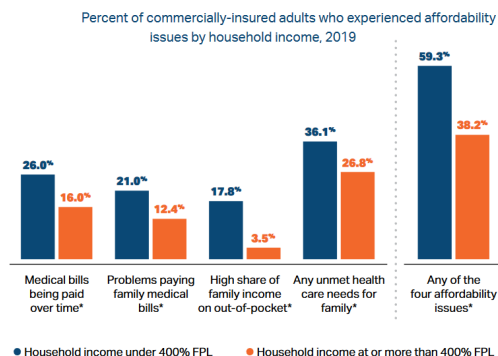
<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/average-new-car-prices-up-nearly-4-percent-year-over-year-for-may-2019-according-to-kelley-blue-book-300860710.html>

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)



Image411

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.).**

While it's true that Massachusetts leads the nation with healthcare coverage 97% insured means little when deductibles and copays may exceed what people can afford. I can walk today because when I shattered my neck and became paralyzed from mid-torso down I happened to be living in Italy which has the equivalent of Medicare for All. Here in Massachusetts health insurance providers still have too much power. When trying to get cosponsors for a bill I had written to close a loophole in Mass legislation which allows health insurance companies to not cover the cost of treatment for lead poisoned babies I was told over and over again that "no one [in the Commonwealth] will go against the insurance industry". Even with 97% insured there is still massive medical debt. During my last campaign I used my run for office to call attention to this and the absurd cost of campaigns by partnering with RIP medical and purchasing all the medical debt for poor families in Massachusetts' sixth Congressional district. That worked out to the cancellation of \$1,528,483.03 of medical debt for 845 poor and low income families.

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

YES.

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

YES.

4. **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?

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

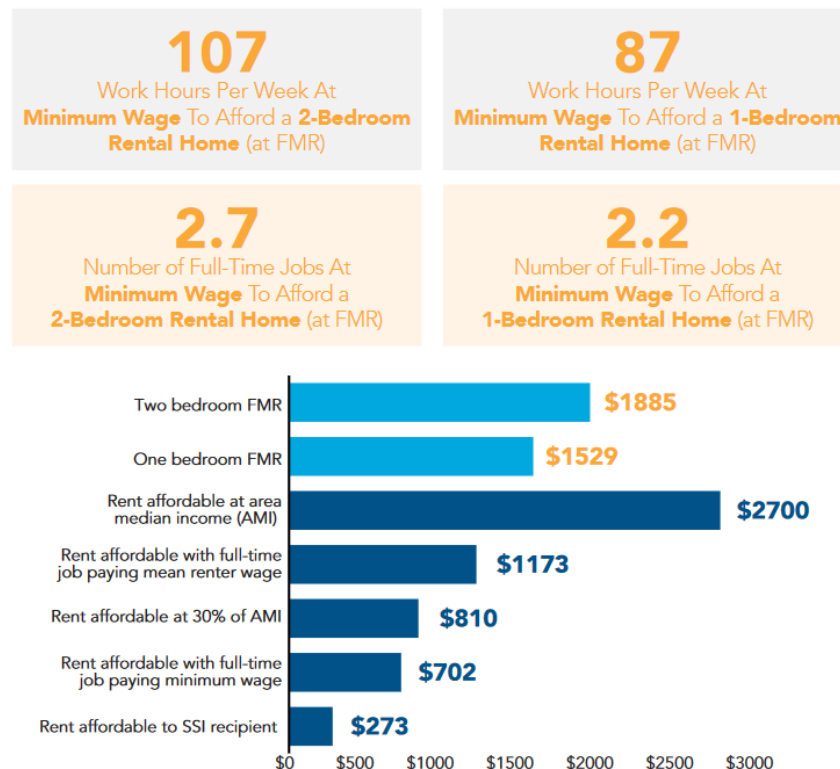
9. **Community Immunity Act**. Would you support strengthening the Commonwealth's immunization policies by standardizing the immunization requirements for all schools, daycare centers, and other covered programs and centralizing within the Department of Public Health (DPH) the processes for obtaining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

YES.

E. Housing

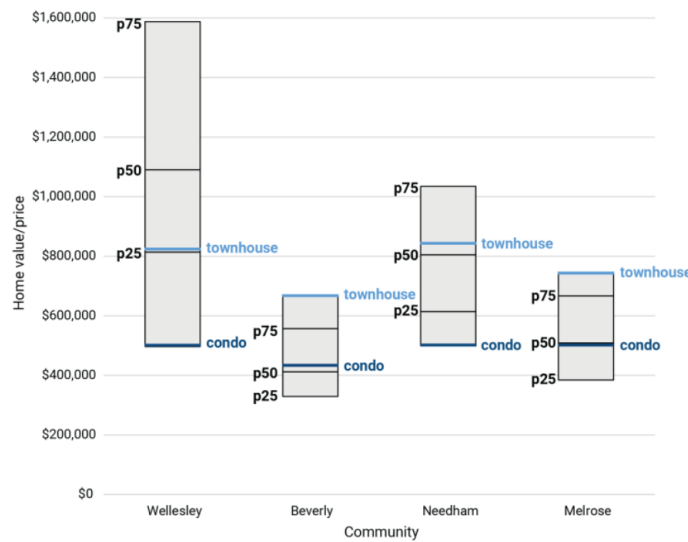
Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The [US News & World Report's annual state rankings](#) put Massachusetts at #40 in housing affordability (and #47 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [87 hours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

When people who have lived in the same community for five or seven generations can no longer live where they grew up; when school teachers, police officers, and librarians cannot afford to live in the communities they work in; when seniors who have paid off the homes they worked a lifetime to retire in are being taxed out of their homes; and when new families with children cannot afford to purchase a home, it is safe to say we are experiencing a housing crisis on Cape Ann which could have catastrophic consequences. Already now we are witnessing beloved multi-generational local businesses that have helped build our communities and enriched our quality of life closing because their employees can no longer afford to live here. This crisis needs immediate solutions while simultaneously being environmentally and energy conscious. All four of our communities have grown thanks to thriving artist and fishing communities but now the very people and professions who made us who we are are being forced out and this is a loss for everyone. Being sure there is housing for everyone is not only a matter of quality of life for our communities but a question of security for when the police can not afford to live here and actually be part of the communities they are less able to protect and tend to only enforce laws. Tax breaks for the elderly and a revolving fund to help artists, fishermen and teachers afford their first homes could go a long way to helping everyone in our communities. Beverly has demonstrated one step that would be applicable to my district which is the requirement that AirBnB homes be owner occupied. Here in Rockport I've been part of the push mandating minimum of six month leases and if elected I would like to see the elimination of property taxes for seniors who have lived in the same home for at least 10 years.

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

YES.

3. **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?

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

9. **Eviction Sealing**. Eviction records create lasting stigma, are prone to error and impair access to stable housing. Would you support legislation to seal eviction records so that

both tenants and landlords can move on with their lives?

YES.

10. **Zoning Reform—Part I.** Throughout Massachusetts, restrictive and exclusionary zoning laws make communities unaffordable and exacerbate residential segregation. Would you support the following steps....?

a. Prohibiting municipal and state zoning bylaws, ordinances, and land use decisions that discriminate based on race, socioeconomic status, or familial status?

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. I not only support this, I have spoken in favor of it in our Town Meetings.

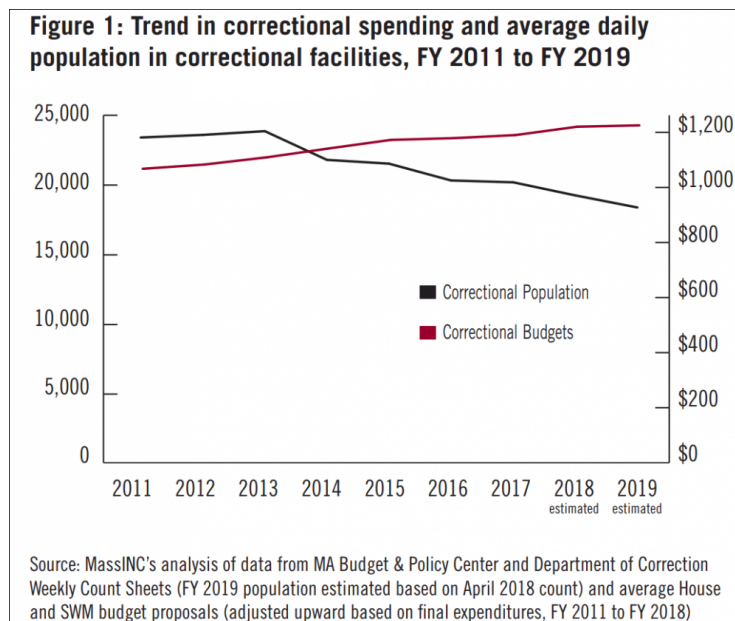
F. Racial and Social Justice

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 individual 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.).

Police reform and justice reform touch on very personal issues with me. I am married to the most amazing woman and after many years we were blessed with twins. getting two infants to sleep was challenging so we took them on what we shamefully called "high carbon naps" driving slowly with them in their car seats until they fell asleep. Eventually however i had to take over nap duty for every time my wife took a turn she'd get pulled over....even in our own neighborhood in front of the house we are lucky enough to own. Jessica is Black. Our son is afraid of school in part because every time he enters the building he's met by a police officer with a hand on his gun (our son was 4 when this happened). As a family of immigrants who lived in fear that we'd be deported we never wanted to even open a door to an officer let alone call for help. This certainly does not make communities safer, and with white supremacy being rampant in many police departments I think the time of thinking the system can be reformed has long passed. I certainly see the possibility of a connection between officers in Buffalo facing no consequences for gravely injuring 75-year-old Martin Gugino who stood up for BLM and a young man feeling Buffalo was a safe place to go to to commit a murderous racially motivated attack. If we are to fix things (and I'm not sure that is possible) as a minimum we must eliminate internal reviews and have all reviews of

police misconduct be conducted by independent review panels made up of legal experts and members of the community. If wrongdoing on the part of an officer has been determined to have occurred the damages for those actions must be paid for by the police pension fund and not community or state funds. Police must be required (just as doctors do) to carry malpractice insurance, and all departments must have some first responding officer teams that are not only unarmed but trained in racial justice and de-escalation.

2. **Police Accountability.** The 2020 police accountability legislation passed by the Massachusetts Legislature contained a number of steps forward, but important measures were left out. Would you support legislation to do the following?

- a. **Eliminating qualified immunity for state and local police and correctional officers so that individuals whose constitutional rights are violated can have their fair day in court?**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. NO town or municipality should EVER have to acquire military or surveillance equipment. The fact that when the new police chief of Rockport was hired one of the first things he did was purchase armored swat vans for Rockport (population of 6,952 and ranked as one of the safest communities in the US prior to his arrival) is abhorrent. that Armed police patrol the town meeting and check every child (even Pre K) coming into school is inexcusable. Our teachers have some of the lowest starting salaries in the region THAT's where we should be spending more not instilling fear into preschoolers.

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?

YES. Lynn is setting a better standard and Gloucester's approach to opioids has saved many lives.

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

- a. **Eliminating mandatory minimums for all drug offenses?**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES. Absolutely, and i will also commit to closing all private prisons. No one and no corporation should ever be allowed to profit off of another person's freedom.

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

YES.

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

YES. When my brother-in-law was in jail for a non violent drug offense we had to pay to be allowed to call or write to him and he had to pay to be allowed to receive calls or mail ... we could afford it but many cannot and the despair this made some feel resulted in behavior that for some made parole harder to achieve.

8. **Prison Profiteering—Part I.** While Massachusetts does not have private prisons, the

DOC invites private companies to profit off the families of incarcerated individuals by price gouging, as incarcerated individuals have no alternatives but to buy from the sole providers of goods in prisons. Would you support ending such price gouging by the DOC for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply incarcerated individuals with the basic requirements necessary for life and maintain good health and hygiene?

YES. Hygiene is a human right. it should be free for anyone who is in the custody of the state.

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

YES.

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

YES. I am proud that Massachusetts has the lowest incarceration rate of any state but we could do even better. We should end the construction of new prisons permanently with the goal of closing even more while reinvesting in better education for all.

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

YES.

12. **Safe Communities Act**. Do you support the Safe Communities Act, which limits local and state police collaboration with federal immigration agents, bars law enforcement and court personnel from inquiring about immigration status, and ensures due process protections?

YES.

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

YES. I have been door knocking for and supporting this initiative since 2019.

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?

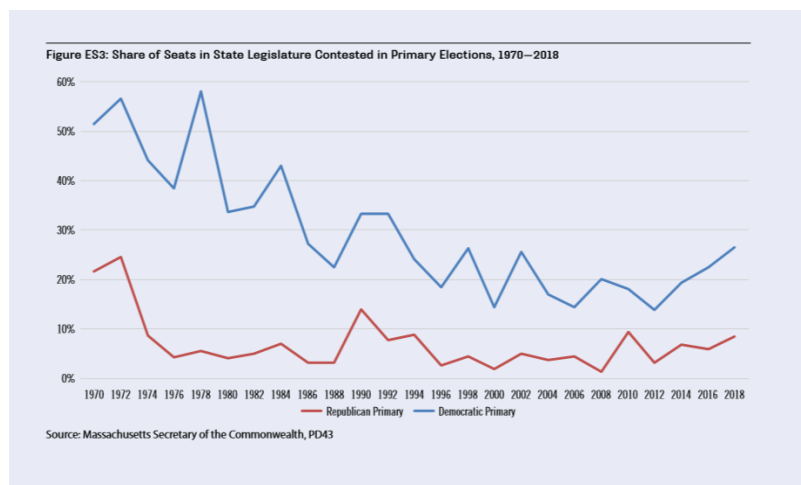
YES.

G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine the system. Despite recent reforms, a weak public records system stymies government accountability: MA is one of only two states where all three branches of state government claim to be exempt. A strong democracy requires an engaged electorate, but voter turnout in midterm elections, and especially local elections, remains low. Although election modernization legislation in 2014 and 2018 helped bring much-needed reforms, we still lag behind states in New England and around the country in making voting accessible (Maine, for instance, has allowed for Election Day Registration since the 1970s).

A centralized power system, a skewed campaign finance system, and restrictive voting laws together help create a situation in which our elections are the [least competitive in the country](#).

Our elections have grown less competitive over the past four decades.



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

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

Bottom 10 municipalities in terms of 2020 voter turnout

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

My top reason for running is transparency

I admit I have an ambitious set of goals but I am well aware that none of them will be achievable if we do not have a transparent house. I note too that the only representatives who ever seem to vote for transparency are the new ones. This says to me that the only way to restore our state's reputation as the most transparent is to replace the existing entrenched incumbents. Perhaps a more transparent government will result in a more engaged public which will in turn result in greater voter turnout.

https://www.gloucestertimes.com/election/rockporter-to-challenge-ferrante-in-primary/article_03639896-d623-11ec-bea9-ef1b0c302033.html

2. **Legislative Transparency—Part I.** The Massachusetts Legislature lacks many basic transparency measures found in other state legislatures around the country. Would you vote in favor of making the following items available online...?

- a. **All committee votes, whether taken by electronic poll or formal roll call?**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

3. **Legislative Transparency—Part II**. Legislators only vote to change the rules at the start of the legislative session, but all legislators can model transparency on their own throughout the session. Would you commit to doing the following...?

a. **Standing for a recorded vote when a colleague asks for one on any amendment which you have co-sponsored?**

YES.

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

YES.

4. **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?

YES.

5. **Expanding Access to Public Meetings**. During the pandemic, the ability to attend and participate in public meetings virtually has expanded the number of people who are able to participate, removing barriers faced by people with disabilities, people with small children, people with mobility issues, or people with scheduling conflicts (among many others).

a. **Would you support updating Open Meeting Law so that people can choose to participate remotely in public meetings on a permanent basis, even after the pandemic emergency ends, and providing the necessary funds to municipalities to implement this?**

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

8. **Local Elections.** Municipalities across Massachusetts have sought to expand the franchise for local elections, but remain hamstrung by the home rule process.

a. **Would you support legislation to enable municipalities to expand the franchise to 16- and 17-year-olds for local elections?**

YES. If they're old enough to drive they're old enough to vote. Besides, when it comes to issues like school funding and climate change a 16 year old has a much greater stake in what is decided than a 57 year old would so they should have a greater say as well.

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

YES.

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

YES.

10. **Redistricting.** Would you support legislation to codify the goal of creating [influence districts, crossover districts, and coalition districts](#) in order to expand opportunities for representation and voice for communities of color?

YES.

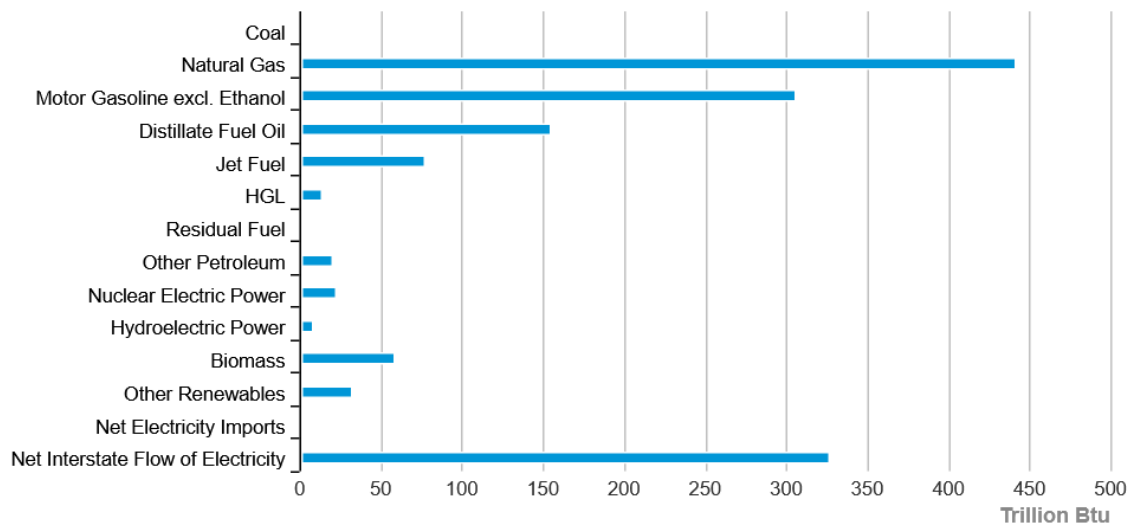
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

As a coastal state, Massachusetts will be hit particularly hard by climate change, but we are not responding with the necessary urgency. In order to avoid catastrophic climate change, global carbon emissions need to be [halved by 2030](#) and brought to net zero by 2050, and affluent countries and states must go further. In 2016, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the state has failed to meet its legal obligation to set and enforce annual limits on greenhouse gas emissions as outlined in the 2008 Global Warming Solutions Act. Setting and reaching these goals, as well as the goals of the 2021 Next Generation Roadmap law, will require the decarbonization of our state economy and a transition away from fossil fuels toward clean, renewable sources of energy. In light of congressional gridlock at the federal level, state government must take a role in accelerating this transition and ensuring that equity is at the forefront.

Public transit must play a role in decarbonizing our transportation system, as well as advancing complementary goals of equity and inclusion. However, Massachusetts politicians have lost their understanding of public transit as a public good that benefits all residents and businesses in Massachusetts, not just those who use it in their daily lives. The greatest evidence of this is their neglect of the MBTA: its debt has grown to nearly [\\$5 billion](#), and it would need [more than \\$10 billion](#) to bring infrastructure and equipment up to a state of good repair. Regional Transit Authorities that serve communities, including Gateway Cities across the state, face enormous capital needs as well.

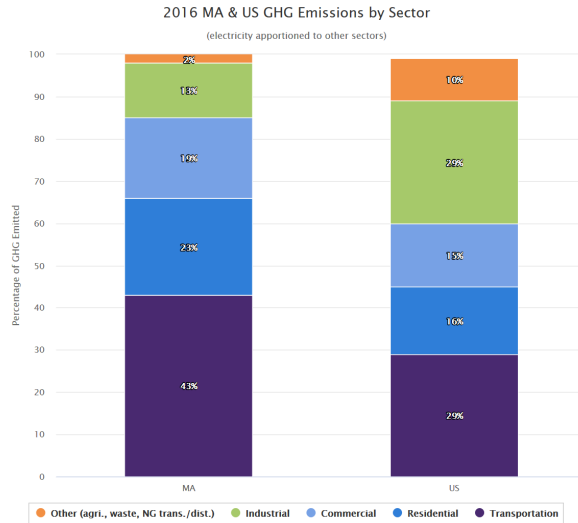
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

Massachusetts Energy Consumption Estimates, 2019



Source: Energy Information Administration, State Energy Data System

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



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

In 1999 I started a small humanitarian engineering company (www.WorldStove.com) with a focus on humanitarian and environmental issues. In 2010 WorldStove became the first company in the world to be certified as carbon negative. I've been involved or part of almost every COP UN Climate Conference since 2008 and was the only one who called out the dangerous inclusion of permitted temperature overshoots as part of the Paris Climate agreement <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11708-017-0498-y>. I was recruited in 2018 by Justice Democrats to consider a run for congress specifically to help develop and implement actionable climate solutions and policies for the GND. In Senegal I was hired to address a phragmites invasion of the river that divides Mauritania and Senegal. Developed a way to harvest the invasive plant species and use it as a cooking fuel and with the residues of that we were able to restore the desertified areas to the point tomatoes now grow there using a tenth of the water that is needed in loamy soils. In Rwanda and Haiti I've spearheaded large scale reforestation programs and as an expert in fluid dynamics I've developed ecological systems to address sea level rise here in Massachusetts.

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

2050 is too late. One of the reasons I support Adam Hinds is because he is THE ONLY candidate (other than me) that has accurately noted that reducing emissions is not enough we must be sequestering carbon. The reality is even is we

were magically able to immediately reduce 100% of emissions globally, because of existing atmospheric carbon levels, global temperatures would continue to rise well beyond the target goal of 1.5C for decades if not centuries. Solar roofs are nice but we waste far too much energy. Building codes need to be updated to mandate super insulation for all new construction. Water is ever scarcer so I would push for legislation which would permit greywater use for flushing, and watering lawns and gardens. Wastewater treatment plants must be updated to uses newer energy positive processing systems (40% of our municipal power usage is wastewater related)

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

7. **Environmental Justice.** Would you support requiring the Energy Facilities Siting Board to consider environmental justice, public health, and climate impacts in decision-making on siting projects?

YES.

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

YES.

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

YES.

10. **Free Public Transit.** Do you support making public transit in the Commonwealth fare-free?

YES.

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

YES.

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

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.

With the notable exception of Rep Holmes the majority of progressive champions are relatively new. This means the only way to get the changes we need is to replace entrenched incumbents because they have clearly demonstrated that they are not willing to shift left or place the needs of the people and environment over the wishes of corporations. With Nika's seat being eliminated via redistricting (convenient how "by chance" a progressive seat was eliminated) and Tami running for LG 30% of the most progressive champions will be missing in the next legislative session. I am running to bring my experience and voice to The House in the hopes of not only fostering progressive representation but encouraging other progressive candidates to run as well.