



PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS

statewide, grassroots organizing for progressive change in Massachusetts

2014 STATE RACES ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: 2/3/2014

Candidate: Juliette Kayyem

Office Sought: Governor

Party: Democrat

Web Site: <http://www.juliettekayyem.com>

CANDIDATE CONTACT INFO

Email:

Mobile Phone:

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CAMPAIGN CONTACT INFO

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**RETURN COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES BY MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 5:00PM, BY EMAIL ONLY
RETURN QUESTIONNAIRE AS (1) WORD FILE AND (2) PDF.**

E-mail completed questionnaire to deborah@progressivemass.com.

Please be in touch with Executive Director Deborah Shah with questions, at 917-922-7947 or by email.

Please compose your answers directly in the document, underneath the question. Limit answers to 250 words or fewer. No attachments.

I. About You

1. Why are you running for office?

- We have to solve our challenges with bold, innovative ideas. Without these ideas and a real plan for progress we cannot utilize government's capacity to help people when they need it most. We cannot let the tired ideas of the past slow us down, because the challenges are too great. There are too many of us in Massachusetts who feel like they don't belong, too many who can't afford college, too many remain unemployed or underemployed, and too many of our young people are relegated to a life in and out of prison. I am not saying that tackling these issues will be easy, they are not. But we can tackle the tough issues; we can bring jobs to Massachusetts that are sustainable and that will make Massachusetts competitive in the increasingly complex world we live in. We can ease the burden for everyone in Massachusetts so people are not so worried about putting their children through school and about finding a lasting job. We can close the income inequality gap to ensure that no family struggles to put food on their table. We can expand universal Pre-K and after school programs to help young children, and dramatically reduce the number of young people put in jail for non-violent crimes.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

I worked for President Clinton and Deval Patrick at the Justice Department, where I took on institutional discrimination. I advocated through federal authority to have one of the first anti-bullying complaints resolved. When military institutions denied women equal access to education, I was a part of the team that fought and won them their rights at the Virginia Military Institute, and at the Citadel. When I was a columnist for the Boston Globe, I took on an administration I had personally worked for when I called on the Pentagon to end its female combat exclusion rule. My work was affirmed when the Pentagon decided to lift the prohibition in recognition of women's contribution to the war effort.

When Governor Patrick asked me to be the first Under Secretary for Homeland Security, I took on Beacon Hill to implement the first interoperability plan for our first responders. When President Obama asked me to manage the clean up of the Gulf Coast after the BP oil spill, I knew lives and livelihoods, not to mention our environment, were on the line. Engaging over 60 federal agencies, five states, and numerous local partners we were able to turn around one of the worst environmental disasters in history.

I am the only candidate in this race to have executive leadership experience at both the state and federal levels, and I have made government work in some of the most difficult situations. I worked across the aisle, and beside people that I didn't politically agree with, Bobby Jindal, Rick Perry, and Haley Barbour to name a few; however, when crises happen we must put ideological differences aside to solve whatever problem we face. I have made my career managing crises and finding solutions for the most difficult challenges our state and nation have been forced to face.

3. What do you think is the proper role of government in Massachusetts residents' daily lives?

- Government has the capacity to do good, but I know that it can do better. The political establishment says that not everyone belongs in this conversation. I disagree. We need a conversation that solves the problems of our time with a sense of urgency, but we must also do so in a way that is the right solution for the long-haul, that demonstrates a real plan for progress, that brings people in and keeps them there.

4. If elected, what would be your top three priorities?

- Every person who is running to be the next Governor has to be focused on education, infrastructure and job creation. But if we want to continue to push for government to do good we must focus on more than a silo view of policy. As Governor Patrick has done we must have a view that is both for fixing the problems of today with an eye towards the future. In this respect we must reform our criminal justice system, reduce and prepare for climate change, and ensure equality for all especially women.

PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS – ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

CANDIDATE: Juliette Kayyem

OFFICE: Governor

2014

II. The Issues

Please compose your answers directly in the document, underneath the question. Limit answers to 250 words or fewer. No attachments.

Our questionnaire is focused on economic justice and inequality, as outlined in our Shared Prosperity Agenda (forthcoming). We are interested in your overall philosophy and approach to the components of the Shared Prosperity Agenda, as well as your views on specific policy and legislation.

In each section, **Question 1** seeks your overall view, values, principles and priorities. You do not need to address each item embedded in these first questions; they are suggestions.

In each section, **Question 2** asks about your advocacy experience; you may leave it blank if appropriate—we do not expect candidates to have a record on every issue. Current or former elected officials: please outline your leadership roles, as opposed to simply your voting record.

Additional questions seek your position on specific policies and legislation. At a minimum, please answer “yes” or “no”; you may also provide an explanation of your positions, as appropriate.

A. Job Growth and the Economy

The Massachusetts economy has continued to grow and recover from the Great Recession, but the gains have not been shared equally. Poverty levels continue to increase, while the minimum wage loses value every year. Massachusetts now ranks 8th in the nation for income inequality.

1. Share your personal values and principles on job growth and the economy.
How can we improve the economy and economic security for all people? How do we grow the number of good paying jobs in the Commonwealth? How do you view wealth and income inequality, and what would you do about it, if anything?
 - We must expand opportunity through job growth today and in the future. We need to focus on jobs that stay and grow here, as well as jobs that we can lure here. We have the capacity to bring sustainable and vibrant jobs to this state and to prepare our workforce for them. We can see this in examples through jobs in the clean tech industry, which is on an upward trend, which are jobs that employ skilled labor, such as solar panel installers. We must invest in this and other industries in innovative ways, such as motivating private investment through Green Banks.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on job growth and the economy (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).

3. **Minimum Wage.** Do you support:

Raising the wage to at least \$10.50/hour:	<u>Yes</u>	
Indexing automatic yearly increases to inflation:	<u>Yes</u>	No
Increasing tipped wages to 60% of the minimum wage:	<u>Yes</u>	No

4. **Unemployment Insurance and Minimum Wage.** As of January 2014, the legislature is negotiating a bill that would pair an increase in the minimum wage with cuts to unemployment insurance. Do you oppose this effort?
Yes No
5. **Earned Sick Time.** Do you support requiring businesses with more than 11 employees to provide earned, paid sick time to their employees?
Yes No
6. **Job Creation and Standards.** A "Job Creation and Quality Standards Act" would require corporations that receive any kind of public benefits (grants, tax expenditures procurement contracts) to, in turn, pay a living wage (\$15 per hour plus benefits) to full-time employees. Do you support such legislation?
Yes No
7. **Employee-Owned Businesses.** Do you support legislation to foster and develop employee ownership of businesses in Massachusetts?
Yes No
8. **Co-ops, Benefit Corporations, Community Banks.** Do you support legislation that would encourage the formation of cooperatives and/or benefit corporations and the development of community banks?
Yes No

B. Education and Workforce Development

Public education has always been a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. However, the soaring price of higher education over the last several decades has made access to this opportunity increasingly out of reach, at the very moment when higher education makes a greater difference to one's economic future. Meanwhile, powerful corporate interests have been steadily undermining public school teachers and unions and siphoning money from our public K-12 system.

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding public education and workforce training. *What value does public education and workforce development have in improving our economy as well as in addressing matters of economic justice? What measures should the Commonwealth take on these issues? You might address, for example, charter schools, school vouchers, standardized testing and federal programs like No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top.*

Our education system must not only prepare children for college, but needs to push further towards educating them for a career. With over 100,000 available jobs and over 240,000 unemployed residents, it is clear that our workforce is not prepared for the jobs of today and tomorrow. To address public education in Massachusetts I would first work to better align learning objectives by promoting innovative instructional and school management practice, and promoting ambitious school quality standards from Pre-K through post secondary education. In addition to this I would create partnerships between school systems, higher education, business, and civic institutions that move education beyond school walls to create "anywhere, anytime" learning and developmental opportunities for Massachusetts students. Lastly, and most importantly, I would focus on closing the achievement gap (which I describe below).

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on education and workforce development (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).
3. **Achievement gaps.** What would you do to address persistent racial and economic achievement gaps in education?
 - As a state, we must ensure that all families make living wages and have access to the supports that they need to succeed. In my education plan, *Providing Education from Birth to Career*, I dive deeply into this issue, and propose several actions to tackle this problem. Below you'll find a section from my plan where I specifically discuss closing the achievement gap.
 - Develop statewide guidelines for local school choice systems and school governance practices to increase equitable access to quality schools and ensure equitable participation by all parents in matters pertaining to their children's education.
 - Support the development of robust summer learning opportunities to stem learning loss and offer families and students a broader spectrum of learning and developmental opportunities than might be accessed during the school year.
 - Focus on and improve student attendance by meeting children where they are to incorporate all child and family support systems to immediately and efficiently address truancy problems.
 - Offer more support to low-income parents so they can better navigate the services (including government and non-profit) available to them and their children to improve school performance.
 - Increase and expand the Innovation Schools program.
 - Increase support and provide tailored help for students coring in warning/ failing and needs improvement on the mathematics, English language arts and science/technology and engineering MCAS.

- Expand on the existing Massachusetts Model for Comprehensive School Counseling Programs, which drives a proactive, collaborative, and comprehensive approach to raising student achievement and enhancing career development for all students.
- Create mandates for shared accountability across school types to promote local education systems that are unified and seamless.

- **Universal Pre-K.** Do you support creating universal, free Pre-K, accessible to any resident of Massachusetts, integrated into the public school system?

Yes No

- **Universal higher education.** Do you support a program that provides free, publicly funded higher education for every student who wants it?

Yes No

I support residents having access to affordable higher education. This includes linking high schools to higher education institutions to reduce the need for remedial classes.

- **Funding Structure.** Do you support changes to the Chapter 70 Education formula, including the Foundation Budget, to incorporate proper state funding for ELL students, Special Education students, transportation costs, charter school reimbursements to sending schools, and class size reduction?

Yes No

C. Health Care

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health care insurance coverage. However, we still spend an oversized portion of public and private money on health care, without necessarily achieving better health outcomes.

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding health care insurance, delivery and outcomes.

Healthcare is a right that every individual in Massachusetts must have access to. While we have 98% of residents covered we still have work to do. We have made legislative strides through the Affordable Care Act, but we must ensure that implementation improves. Improvement in implementation and focusing on lowering costs must be the goals of the next Governor.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on health care (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).

3. **Single Payer and Public Option.** Do you support moving Massachusetts to Single Payer insurance?

Yes No

What role might a Public Option play, in your view?

4. **Costs and Quality.** What steps would you take to lower health care costs while maintaining or improving health outcomes?

Massachusetts has some of the leading healthcare facilities in the nation. Unfortunately, we also have some of the highest healthcare costs. To stem the rising costs of healthcare in Massachusetts we must explore alternative payment strategies, coordinate care among providers and manage cases more sensibly. As Governor I will work to implement alternative payment strategies such as episode of care and bundled payment that better align the economics of healthcare with the outcomes. I will work with our hospital systems so that they coordinate care in a way that makes the most sense for the patient, so that patients get the care they need in the least intense medical environment. And I will encourage the creation of outpatient medical homes that will lower the extraordinary expenses associated with frequent Emergency Room trips by high risk patients through constant care provided by qualified nurse practitioners in a low-cost setting. Reducing healthcare costs boils down to creating smarter ways to pay for more sensibly given distributed care, while providing extra preventative care to those most likely to use the system.

5. **Mental Health.** What steps would you take to address the gap in affordable mental health services?

Addressing the gap in mental health and substance abuse services are a critical piece of ensuring every resident of Massachusetts is able to belong. It is imperative that we increase funding for these types of programs, which sadly, have seen a significant decline for funding over the years. One specific component to address is mental health in relation to veterans. Veterans who suffer from mental health problems, often as a result of the unfathomable trauma they experienced while in service or difficulties reintegrating when they return, are disproportionately represented within the criminal justice system. Left untreated, mental health disorders and/or related substance abuse can lead individuals into the criminal justice system.

6. **Health disparities.** What steps would you take to reduce racial and income disparities in health outcomes?

Community health centers are one of the greatest tools we have for healthcare in Massachusetts, and one that we must empower and strengthen to help decrease health disparities we see across the Commonwealth. One incredible example of the success of community health centers can be seen with the Dimock Center in Roxbury. The Dimock center, overseen by President Dr. Myechia Minter-Jordan, provides help for those with

mental health and substance abuse and is also the largest employer in Roxbury, with over four hundred staffers.

Community health centers like Dimock do more than just provide quality healthcare, they connect how they treat their patients back to the community, understand different demographics, and have developed the ability to properly treat new patient populations (impoverished specifically) in ways that we need to introduce to our other hospitals and health care facilities. We should treat Dimock as the model other community health care centers should look to for guidance. In addition to empowering our community health centers, we also need to grow partnerships between community health care centers and hospitals. Doing this will allow hospitals to adapt policies to properly accommodate changing populations, such as the impoverished.

If we empower community health centers, and establish partnerships between them and hospitals, we can correctly address health disparities in the Commonwealth.

7. **Standards of care and cost.** Do you support establishing a state panel of experts (such as the Affordable Care Act's IPAB/"Independent Payment Advisory Board") to recommend high-value and cost-effective services?

Yes No

8. **Pharmaceutical companies.** Do you support prohibiting pharmaceutical companies from including direct-to-consumer drug advertising as tax-deductible expense?

Yes No

9. **Bulk prescription programs.** Do you support establishing a bulk prescription drug program that would provide lower cost prescription drugs for public employees?

Yes No

Do you support establishing this same program for *all* Massachusetts residents?

Yes No

D. Housing

In the last ten years, the need for affordable housing has increased, while funds for affordable housing have decreased, federal and state. Currently there is a 10-year waiting list for a rental voucher, and the average rent for a two bedroom apartment requires a wage 50% higher than the median Massachusetts wage. Half of families in Greater Boston alone pay over 30% of their income in housing and utilities costs—and 25% of households pay *more than half* their income to housing. 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.

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding affordable housing.
How would you ensure that there is suitable housing for all who need it, within reasonable distance of job opportunities? How would you address the need to link housing, jobs and transportation? How would you tackle homelessness?

We must approach this challenge first by saying that every resident must have access to affordable housing, but second that not every part of the state will have the same solution. Through regional planning we can increase affordable housing, while providing access to job opportunities. Access can mean many things, but it cannot happen without infrastructure, which is the backbone of our state's economy. Infrastructure prepares us for the future. Without an efficient, reliable, and forward-thinking infrastructure, our economy is less productive and able to expand and grow going forward. Transportation infrastructure – our roads, highways, and railways – helps move our workforce to and from jobs, as well as employees and their families to affordable homes and schools.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on housing (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).
3. **Housing Authorities.** Governor Patrick has proposed consolidating the Housing Authorities to six regional authorities, from the current 242 authorities. The legislature appears reluctant to agree to this reform, in part because it would reduce local control. What is your position?

As stated above I strongly support regional planning, as this is the only way we can increase access to housing.

4. **Affordable Housing.** What would you do to increase the number of affordable housing units in the State? What would you do to ensure that no low-income family has to spend more than 50% of their income on housing and related expenses; and that fewer than a quarter of families spending more than 33% of income on shelter?

Affordable housing can no longer be thought of as an individual development, but must be part of all development. Individual cities, or neighborhoods within cities, cannot solely host affordable housing, as this approach decreases economic vitality and communities' ability to sustain both affordable housing and living wage jobs. To provide this link between affordable housing and living wage jobs we must increase the connectivity of our regional economic hubs. To do this we must increase access to public transportation, increase mixed use development, and create regional strategic planning.

5. **Temporary Housing Transitions.** What would you do to move homeless families and individuals out of motels and shelters and into permanent housing?

The only way to move away from temporary solutions and into permanent ones is to fix the problems of today, while viewing the solutions of tomorrow. With housing this means providing families and individuals

increased access to vouchers, but at the same time working to increase access to affordable housing and a living wage job.

6. **Regulation Reform, Development and Preservation.** Would you support reforms to update our outmoded zoning, subdivision, and planning laws, in such a way as to encourage balanced development and land preservation?

Yes No

E. Revenue and Taxation

Because of income tax cuts and the effects of the recession, Massachusetts has lost nearly \$3 billion in revenue over the last 12 years. We now collect less revenue than 21 other states, and our tax revenue is below the national average. Since 1982, local aid has dropped 58%. Cuts to the moderately progressive state income tax has meant increasing reliance on fees, sales, gas and property taxes, exacerbating the overall regressiveness of our revenue. Regressive taxation strains low- and middle-income families, and reduced revenue collection curtails our ability to invest in vital infrastructure.

1. What principles do you bring to considerations of state revenue and tax reform (individual and corporate)? *How should we raise more revenue to adequately fund our communities for the future?*

Our budget is a reflection of our morals. It is where we invest in people through investing in education, workforce training, veterans services and more. That is how I think about revenue and tax reform. We must have a system that pays for the services that our society requires.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on revenue and taxation (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).
3. **Tax Rates for Upper Incomes.** Do you support increasing income taxes on the wealthiest residents of Massachusetts?
Yes No

I support having a progressive tax system where everyone pays their fair share.

4. **Automatic Tax Decrease Triggers.** Do you support halting the automatic decrease in state tax when Massachusetts state revenues grow four quarters in a row?
Yes No
5. **Capital Gains.** Do you support increasing the capital gains tax (with safeguards to protect seniors)?
Yes No

CANDIDATE: Juliette Kayyem

OFFICE: Governor

6. **Progressive Taxation.** “An Act to Invest in Our Communities” was designed to raise significant revenue while making our tax code more progressive, but it has not passed the legislature. Would you support a renewed effort to pass this or similar legislation?

Yes No

As I have said publically I supported Governor Patrick’s legislative push and will continue to push similar initiatives. This act was not solely about increased revenue, but a call to invest in transportation, education, and other much needed services. I commit to fighting for these increases, whether through reformed tax code, public-private partnerships, or regional cooperation.

7. **Corporate Tax Breaks.** Do you support eliminating or substantially reducing corporate tax breaks?

Yes No

Do you support repealing or significantly reducing the Film Production Tax Credit?

Yes No

8. **Clawbacks and Transparency in Corporate Tax Breaks.** Do you support increasing corporate tax break transparency and clawback provisions?

Yes No

9. **Graduated Income Tax.** Would you support a state constitutional amendment creating a Massachusetts progressive income tax?

Yes No

As I have said publically I supported Governor Patrick’s legislative push and will continue to push similar initiatives. This act was not solely about increased revenue, but a call to invest in transportation, education, and other much needed services. I commit to fighting for these increases, whether through reformed tax code, public-private partnerships, or regional cooperation.

IV. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

***Please compose your answers directly in the document, underneath the question.
Limit answers to 250 words or fewer. No attachments.***

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.

You will see that I omitted or did not answer yes or no on some questions. I strongly believe in governments' ability to do good, but believe it can always do better. Governor Patrick has demonstrated a political compass that continues to push progressive values. To continue this push we need bold and innovative solutions to solve the problems of today with an eye towards the future. This means not being theoretical in ideas, but putting forth plans that can work to lift up every resident so they have a feeling of belonging. This campaign must be about those ideas, as we as candidates need to use the campaign to be a better Governor, not use it as a way to make promises that we cannot keep.