



**PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2020 LEGISLATIVE
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE**

Date: 5/16/2020

Candidate: Ceylan Rowe

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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, which progressive voters find extremely valuable when making a decision.

Our Questionnaires 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.

We encourage you to expand your answers beyond "yes/no" in the additional comments space provided on the form, 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

*Our questionnaire is comprehensive and will take time to complete. Please develop your answers in a separate document before inputting them into the submission form.
(progressivemass.com/questionnaire)*

I. About You

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

CR: I have spent most of my life committed to serving people, reducing suffering and challenging injustice. As a Commissioner on the Metrowest Commission on the Status of Women since 2016, advocating at the State House for legislation supporting women and girls, I saw that other districts had active engaged hardworking full-time legislators and questioned why my district settled for less. Last year, I decided to step up to serve my district the way we deserve to be served.

My priorities are shaped by my experience: fighting for gender equity, supporting our small businesses and building better educational pipelines for children and adults. I am also committed to bold solutions to the crises of climate and healthcare.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

CR: My experience as a small business owner, a Commissioner on the MetroWest Commission on the Status of Women (MWCSW), a child of immigrants and a parent prepare me, as do my degree in political science and nearly-completed MBA. I am an experienced problem-solver who thinks outside the box and creates space for all voices at the table.

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

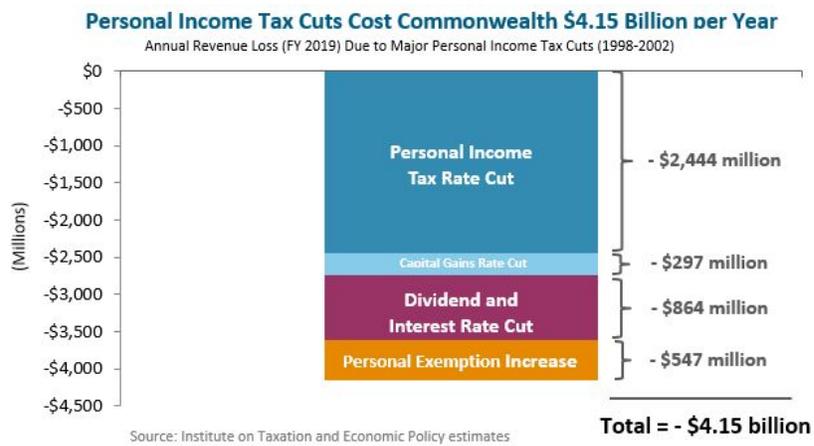
CR: Too many people at the State House are too comfortable with the status quo on Beacon Hill and across the Commonwealth. Lack of transparency obscures the disconnect between what legislators say they support and the legislation they actually champion and pass, making it very difficult for constituents to hold them accountable. So much of our daily lives is dictated by not Washington but Beacon Hill. We cannot just accept that in such a wealthy state in the world's wealthiest country, so many people are suffering or barely getting by. Those who believe business as usual is good enough are disconnected from this reality in Massachusetts and deserve to be voted out.

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

CR: My principles are that Massachusetts should not have regressive taxation and that everyone should pay their fair share.

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?
- b. Repealing any tax break that does not provide the intended benefits in a cost-effective manner?
- c. Establishing sunset dates for all tax breaks so that they must come up for periodic review?

3. **Fair Share.** Would you support a constitutional amendment to increase the income tax on income over \$1 million by 4% (Fair Share Amendment, sometimes referred to as the "Millionaire's Tax")?

CR: YES.

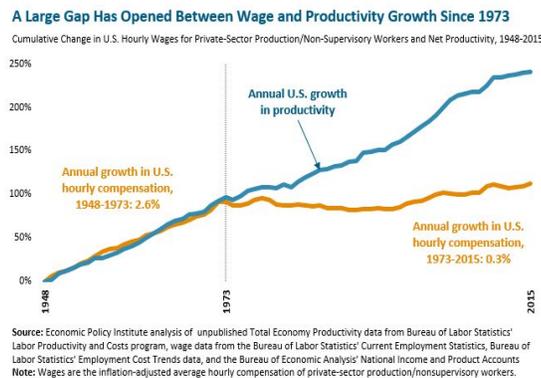
4. **Progressive Revenue.** Massachusetts will not see new revenue from the Fair Share Amendment until 2023, but we have unmet needs now (and will still even with the Fair Share Amendment). Which policies would you support to make a more progressive tax code?
 - a. Raising the corporate minimum tax for larger companies? (The corporate minimum tax is currently only \$456.)
 - b. Imposing a tax on the portion of corporations' US profits that are shifted to offshore tax havens?
 - c. Raising the corporate tax rate from 8% to 9.5% (where it stood in 2009)?
 - d. Raising the tax on long-term capital gains from 5% to 8.95%, in line with states like New York and Vermont?
 - e. Levying a modest tax on university endowments greater than \$1 billion?

B. Jobs and the Economy

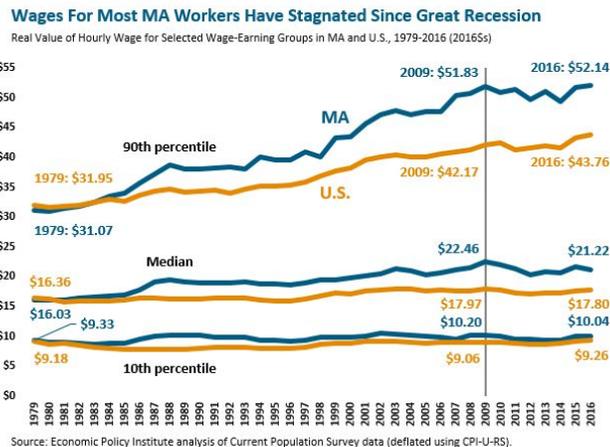
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten [most unequal states](#), as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which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

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

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



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



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

CR: My principles are that workers should be able to feed their families and afford healthcare on the wages they receive working full-time.

2. **Fair Wages. Do you support eliminating the subminimum wage for tipped workers in support of one fair wage?**

CR: 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?**

CR: YES.

4. **Overtime. Would you support updating MA's state overtime law to restore overtime pay protections to low- and moderate-income salaried workers when they work more than 40 hours a week?**

CR: 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?**

CR: YES.

6. **Unions. Since the 2010 election, a number of states have rolled back the collective bargaining rights of public workers as part of a well-funded, nationwide assault on unions, led by wealthy, conservative donors. Would you oppose any effort to roll back the collective bargaining rights of state or municipal employees?**

CR: YES.

7. **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?**

CR: YES.

C. Education

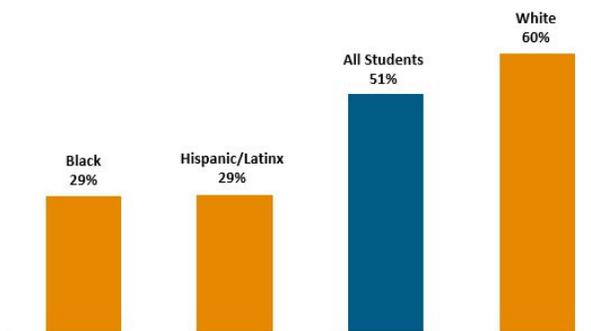
The promise of public education has always been as a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country.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

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

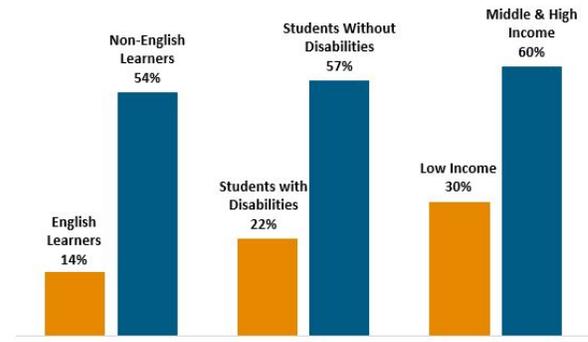
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



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

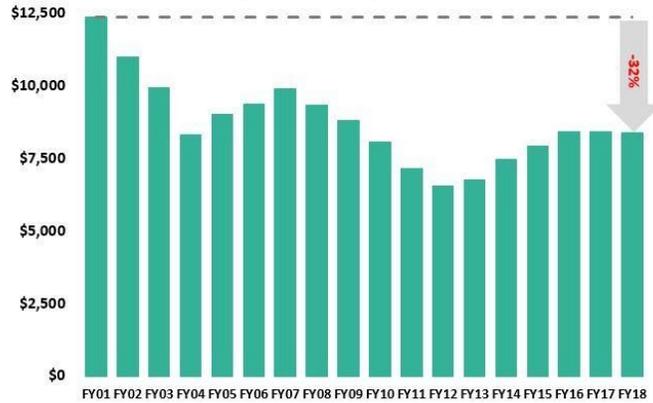


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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

Per Student, MA Has Cut Higher Ed Funding by 32 Percent Since FY 2001

State spending on higher education per resident student, FY 2001-2018 (2018\$)



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

CR: Our public education system needs to be better supported to promote equity and success, schools need to be able to innovate to enable students to achieve their potential and to create strong pipelines into the high paying jobs our economy produces that too few can access. Our communities also need financial/economic literacy training, to understand tools that support household and small business financial health, as well as our society’s systems of financial power, like the stock market. In addition, adults must have access to affordable quality continuing education to retrain if they lose a job or to pursue their goals of career change, advancement or starting their own business.

As a public school parent, I have actively supported innovation in Northborough schools and classrooms. As a MWCSW Commissioner, I have advocated for school-based education on sexuality, consent and healthy relationships and access to free menstruation products in schools.

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

CR: YES.

And parts of my district don’t even have free full-day kindergarten yet.

- 3. Equitable Funding. In 2019, Massachusetts updated its 25-year-old education funding formula and committed to \$1.5 billion more in investment in public schools. How will you make sure the state follows through with this promise?**

CR: We cannot let that essential and much-delayed commitment be sidelined by pandemic austerity. The pandemic has exposed and worsened the unacceptable disparities in Massachusetts and this is no time to relegate equity to the back burner. My children also attend the town’s schools and as a mom, I see first hand the need for more funding for our schools.

- 4. Standardized Testing. Do you support a three-year moratorium on the high-stakes uses of**

standardized testing? (High-stakes" uses include high school graduation, teacher evaluation, and assigning ratings to schools.)

CR: YES.

Testing has been a tremendous burden on teachers and schools without achieving promised benefits. Teachers are penalized for having high-needs students in their classrooms while we reduce the safety nets that would enable students to arrive at school ready to learn.

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

6. **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?**

CR: YES.

I have advocated for the Healthy Youth bill with the MWCSW and supportive legislators. We held a February event with an audience of over 100 community members that educated the public about this bill, about what it means when we do not provide education on consent, healthy relationships and healthy sexuality in our schools.

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

CR: YES.

Children should not be punished for the choices of their parents. Note also that many undocumented parents did nothing that deserves punishment. Many families are undocumented because our deeply flawed immigration system regularly rejects legitimate asylum claims from low income people of color. Many other undocumented people fled economic desperation at home created by US policies. And the US economy, from crop picking to food processing to office cleaning, depends heavily on the labor the undocumented parents to function. And our businesses desperately need our workers to be educated in order to compete. Note also that undocumented residents pay more in taxes than they receive in benefits, so in the current system, it is in fact the undocumented residents who are subsidizing the education of citizens and documented residents, while their own families are denied affordable access to training that our economy needs to thrive.

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

CR: YES.

I support making community colleges free immediately, extending safety nets to address housing insecurity and food insecurity of public college students and working towards not only free tuition and fees at 4-year public colleges but affordable room and board.

Note also that so many of our college students who were just making it work before the pandemic are now in significantly more precarious positions. Lost wages from spring jobs on or near campus, lost summer jobs they depended on to cover next year's costs and the exclusion of young adults from the first round \$1,200 stimulus checks may present insurmountable obstacles that force many students to drop out. This is in addition to all of the

aspiring students who couldn't make college work in the first place. The Commonwealth must invest in our values and make higher education a public good accessible not only to the more financially comfortable among us.

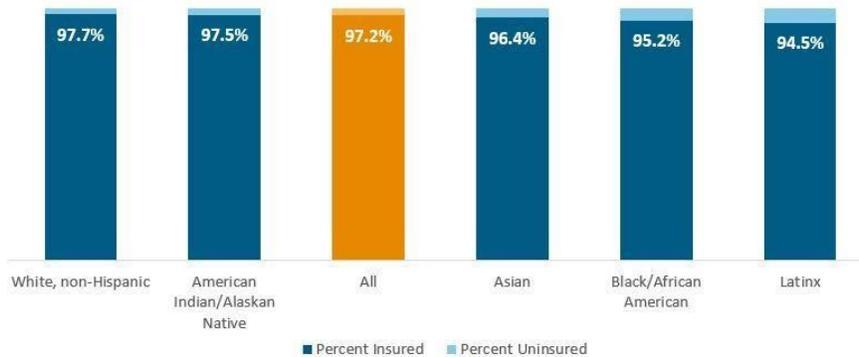
D. Health Care

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.

We have yet to achieve truly universal coverage, with continued disparities along racial lines.

Barriers to health insurance coverage remain for some

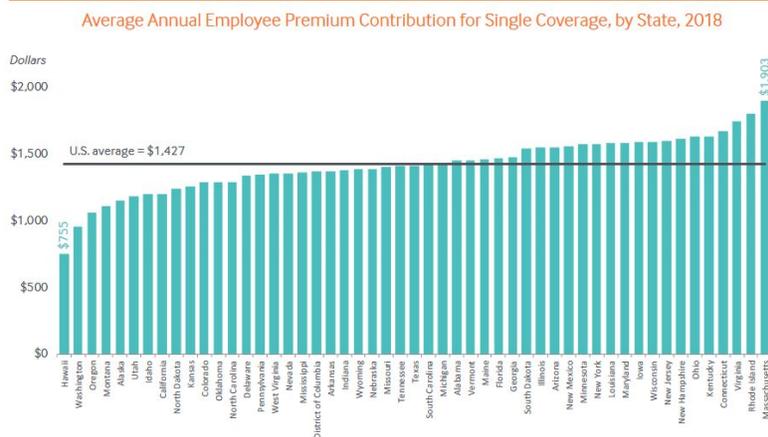
Percent with health insurance in Massachusetts, by race, 2017.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey.

*Note: Use particular caution when considering the American Indian/Alaskan Native data, because of small sample sizes. This chart does not include Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander because the sample was too small and therefore was not included in the Census Bureau's data.

MA has the highest health insurance premiums in the US.



Note: Employee premium contributions are for insurance policies offered by private-sector employers in the U.S.
Data: Medical Expenditure Panel Survey--Insurance Component (MEPS-IC), 2018.

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

CR: I believe that health care is a human right. I believe there is no justification for families in a wealthy society to face medical bankruptcy, to delay needed care for fear of the cost and to ration medication against medical advice just to make ends meet. Even families who are pretty successful and relatively privileged can be one diagnosis or accident away from financial struggle. Our current system just doesn't work well enough. We can and must do better.

I look forward to joining experienced health care reformers to advocate for bold solutions.

- 2. Single Payer. Do you support enacting a single payer health care system in Massachusetts, which would guarantee health insurance as a right?**

CR: YES.

- 3. Reproductive Rights. In Massachusetts, women under eighteen seeking an abortion must obtain parental consent or judicial authorization. This can lead to young women going out of state, or risking their lives and health with illegal or self-induced abortion. Would you support repealing this restriction?**

CR: YES.

I vehemently support repealing this restriction and passing the Roe Act. We need to replace judges with doctors as healthcare decision makers. The current judicial review system is arduous and humiliating and yet, in the end, it is just a rubber stamp as every review except one back in 1981 has resulted in an approval. This means it is serving no purpose except to create obstacles to health care.

- 4. 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?**

CR: YES.

Our current response to opioids leads to countless lives lost. Massachusetts leaders who toured sites in Canada saw a lifesaving model that should be piloted in Massachusetts. We say addiction disorders are medical issues yet our response continues to be largely judicial, incarcerating people or ordering them to forced rehab in unproven programs whose duration is determined not by medical research but by what insurance bureaucrats decided they would pay for. Then punishing the users again the next time they are caught using. Jails are not an adequate response to illness. Safe consumption sites save lives.

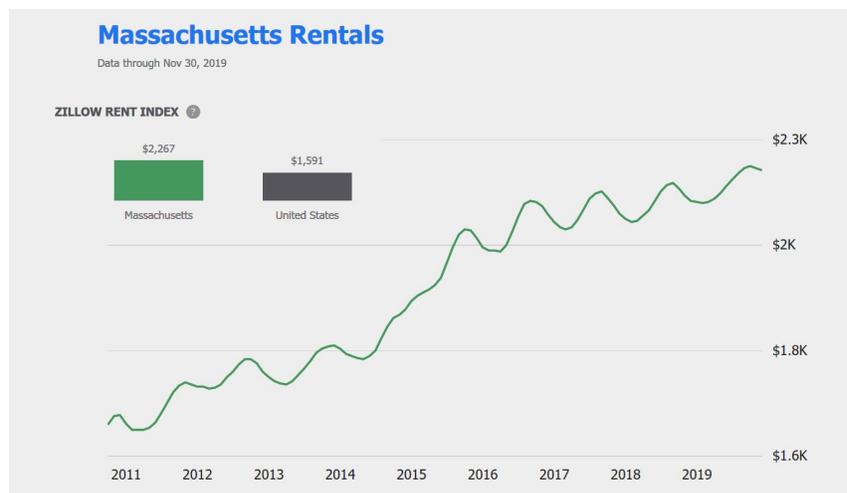
- 5. Pandemic Response. How would you evaluate the state's response to the Covid-19 pandemic?**

CR: The state's COVID-19 response has been underwhelming. All states were left in a bad position by the absence of a functioning federal executive and a federal stimulus that bailed out the wealthy more than the workers. Yet Massachusetts has left too many families to choose between protecting their health and feeding their children. We currently have the fourth highest per capita COVID death rate of any state. (The statistic is imperfect both due to low and variable testing rates--how many COVID deaths have gone untallied?--and pandemic timing differences across states.) All public health recommendations have been virtually ignored in jails and prisons, despite the truism that hotbeds of contamination are likely to fuel repeated waves of the pandemic across the state. Baker has not issued a single commutation or medical parole to any old sick people behind bars or people on misdemeanor charges scheduled for release in coming months.

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 #41 in housing affordability (and #43 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [91 hours a week](#) to afford a modest one-bedroom rental home at market rate (and 113 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.

Monthly median rents have gone up by more than one-third since 2010, outpacing income growth.



(source: [zillow.com](https://www.zillow.com))

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

CR: We have to address the rise of homelessness. This state is wealthy enough that we should not have people losing their housing, doubling up with friends and relatives and living in the streets because we have chosen not to solve this problem.

- 2. Funding. Would you support legislation that would 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?**

CR: YES.

Yes, as long as there are adequate exemptions for lower income families for whom a fee could be an unreasonable burden.

- 3. Tenant Protections. Do you support passing enabling legislation to provide 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?**

CR: YES.

4. **Zoning Reform/Housing Production. Do you support requiring cities and towns to allow multifamily housing to be built as of right within 1 mile of transit stations?**

CR: NO.

I would leave that to the discretion of the towns. Note, however, that the commuter rail is currently unaffordable for most income levels, at \$360 for a monthly pass from Westborough to Boston. Building near transportation will not accomplish the desired result if the residents cannot afford the transportation. More funding also is required to create shuttle services to areas that do not have access to the commuter rail.

5. **Eviction Sealing. Today, when a tenant exercises their legal rights in housing court, it creates a permanent record. Eviction records create lasting stigma, are error prone, and impair access to stable housing. Would you support legislation to seal eviction records so that both tenant and landlord could move on with their lives after three years?**

CR: YES.

F. Racial and Social Justice

Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds.

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. The April 2018 criminal justice reform bill made strides forward, but there is more work to do.

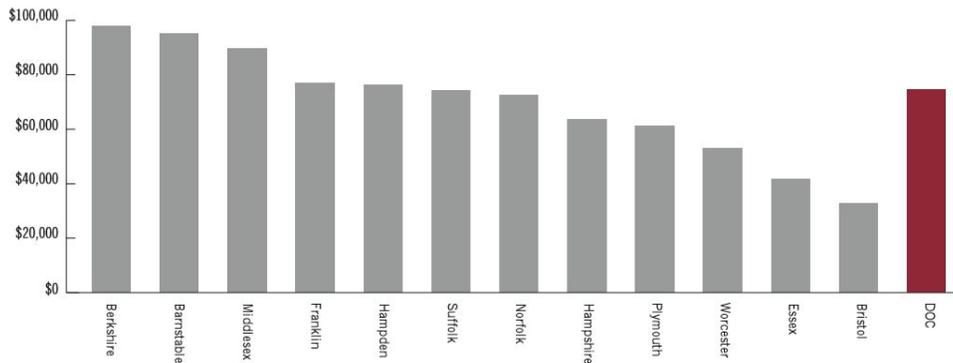
Immigrants make up 16% of Massachusetts’s population; however, demagoguery against, or indifference to, immigrant populations has historically been a mainstay of Massachusetts politics. As the Trump administration in Washington ramps up a xenophobic mass deportation agenda, it is important for states like Massachusetts to take leadership in protecting and advancing the rights of our immigrant communities and making clear that all are welcome.

Significant racial disparities exist in incarceration in Massachusetts.

Imprisonment by Race/Ethnicity (2014)	
White imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	81
Black imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	605
Hispanic imprisonment rate (per 100,000)	351
Racial/Ethnic Disparity in Imprisonment (2014)	
Black : white ratio	7.5
Hispanic : white ratio	4.3
Juveniles in Custody (2015)	
Juvenile custody rate (per 100,000)	66
White custody rate (per 100,000)	22
Black custody rate (per 100,000)	222
Latino custody rate (per 100,000)	172
American Indian custody rate (per 100,000)	0
Asian custody rate (per 100,000)	7

Massachusetts spends large (and growing) sums per inmate -- while still not providing for basic needs.

Figure 4: Estimated expenditure per inmate, FY 2019



Source: MassINC's analysis of Department of Correction Weekly Count Sheets, April 2018, and average House and SWM FY 2019 budget proposals (adjusted upward based on final expenditures, FY 2011 to FY 2018)

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

CR: The racial disparate way that laws are enforced in Massachusetts and the money squandered in the process is abhorrent. The cost to the communities disproportionately impacted is devastating and resources must be redirected to repair and rebuild. It is time to reinvent the way that Massachusetts holds people accountable for the harm that they cause.

I have advocated with the MWCSW and supportive legislators to decriminalize consensual sexual contact between teens. As a Commission we visited MCI Framingham and I left with several concerns about recidivism and how to reduce it, incarcerated individuals having little access to certificate programs to help them gain economic self-sufficiency and the lack of transportation and housing assistance once an individual is released.

- 2. Police Accountability. Do you support the establishment of an independent review board for police shootings in the Commonwealth?**

CR: YES.

- 3. 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. Which of the following reforms would you support?**

- Eliminating mandatory minimums for opioid-related offenses?
- 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?
- Decriminalizing consensual sexual activity between adolescents, by creating an exception to the statutory rape law for youth close in age?
- Eliminating the sentence of life without parole, which is costly and has been shown to be racist in its application?

CR: Mandatory minimums remove a judge's power to use their judgment and take into account the full circumstances under which a law was broken. In addition, criminalization of substance use is contrary to medical science. Brain science shows that while the brain is mature for "cold cognition" by age 16 (ability to reason and make complex decisions when calm), that "hot cognition" (impulse control, reactions in an emergency) is not fully mature until about age 25. 18-21 year olds deserve the opportunity to learn, grow and change. Consensual sexual activity between age peers is not rape and must be decriminalized. The

proposed life without parole reforms simply states that a prisoner's case should be reviewed after 25 years to determine if their continued incarceration is in the public interest. If it is, they remain incarcerated. To not even ask the question is a tremendous waste of resources and lives.

4. **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 limiting the use of solitary to no more than 15 consecutive days?**

CR: YES.

Massachusetts should absolutely not use torture, which often causes permanent psychological damage, in any circumstance. It is cruel, unusual, grotesque and a violation of international law. If the people of Massachusetts had any idea how minor the infractions are that can result in solitary confinement, the practice would be curtailed if not banned immediately.

5. **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.](#)) Do you favor ending these restrictions?**

CR: YES.

Reduced prison visitation is completely against the public interest. Visitation is essential to mental health and wellbeing of prisoners and their loved ones.

6. **Prison Profiteering. 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. Do support ending the price gouging of inmates for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply inmates with the basic requirements necessary for life to keep in contact with their families and maintain good health and hygiene?**

CR: YES.

The poorer you are, the more likely you are to end up in prison for the same behaviors that someone with a little more resources gets off for and someone with a lot more resources never gets arrested for in the first place. Once these families lose a breadwinner to incarceration, pushing them further into poverty, they then bear the endless costs of supporting their loved one behind bars—the high-cost phone calls, the pay-per-message emails, the commissary purchases of soap and other basic hygiene products are a tremendous and unfair burden on families. We must end prison profiteering.

7. **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?**

CR: YES.

I have been an avid and active supporter of the Safe Communities Act for years. Undocumented immigrants need to be able to interact freely with local law enforcement as victims and witnesses in order for lawbreakers to be held accountable for the harm they cause. In addition, our local resources should not be subsidizing federal mandates. The Joint Committee on Public Safety has killed this bill year after year. This is part of made me realize how much change is needed at the State House and inspired my decision to run.

8. **Work and Family Mobility Act. Do you support removing immigration status as a**

barrier to applying for a license or learner's permit?

CR: YES.

When undocumented immigrants are not eligible for driver's licenses, it means that people who have to get to work end up driving unlicensed (our public transportation system often can't get people where they need to be when they need to be there). When someone is driving without having the RMV test that they know rules of the road and demonstrate adequate skill, it is a risk to public safety. This is not in the public interest.

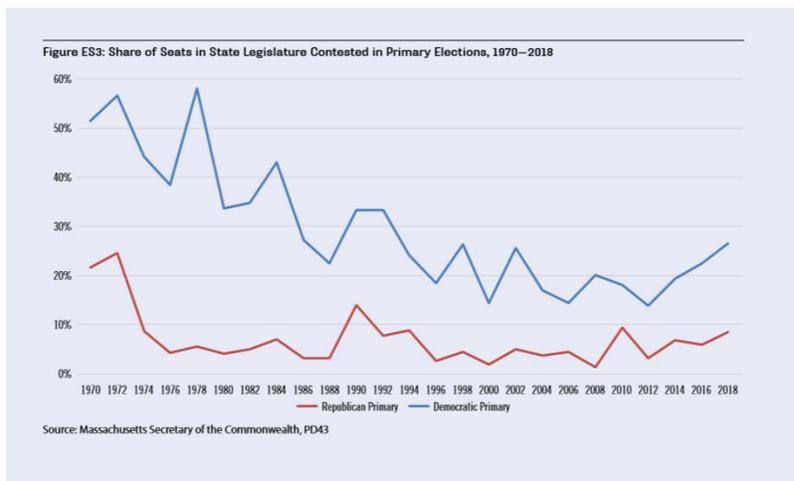
G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public.

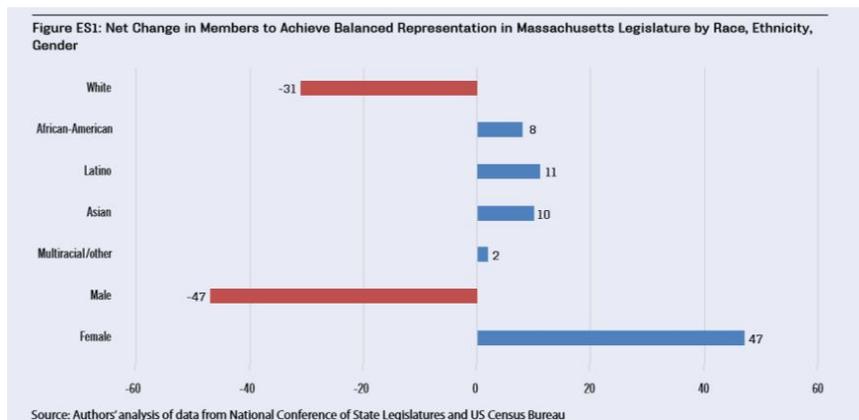
Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine the system. Despite recent reforms, a weak public records system stymies government accountability: 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 as relate to this issue, and what work you personally have done to advance them (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).**

CR: It is essential to a functioning democracy that the government is transparent and accountable to the people, that voters have good access to the polls and that potential candidates can afford to campaign for office.

2. **Public Records Law. Massachusetts is one of only two states where the Governor's Office, the Legislature, and the Judiciary claim full exemption from the public records laws. Would you support eliminating this exemption?**

CR: YES.

Yes, we must be able to see what our government is doing to hold it accountable.

3. **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?
 - b. All written testimony submitted for or against bills?
 - c. Reader-friendly summaries of bills currently in or reported out of committee?

CR: Yes, these measures would make it easier for constituents to understand what is happening in the legislature and be engaged.

4. **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?
 - b. Making your committee votes available online on your website?

CR: Yes, I have signed the Act on Mass Transparency Pledge.

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

CR: YES.

It is essential that there are robust systems for reporting and investigating inappropriate and illegal conduct at the State House.

6. **Public Campaign Financing. Our campaign finance system favors incumbency and discriminates against potential candidates who do not have a ready pool of wealthy donors. Do you support the creation of a robust public financing system for state elections?**

CR: YES.

In a healthy democracy, every person must have access to running for office if they choose to serve. Financial barriers must be removed.

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

CR: YES.

You can currently pay for a tuxedo for an event but not a babysitter.

8. **Voting Access. Which of the following policies to increase voter participation do you support?**

a. Election Day Registration?

b. The expansion of early voting to municipal elections and primaries?

c. No-fault absentee voting?

d. Ending the disenfranchisement of prisoners serving with felony convictions (Their right to vote was taken away by ballot twenty years ago)?

CR: I support all of these policies. A healthy democracy must facilitate all voters' access to the ballot box.

9. **Ranked Choice Voting. Do you support the 2020 ballot initiative to adopt ranked choice voting for state, county, and (non-presidential) federal elections?**

CR: YES.

Ranked choice voting is an important reform that allows voters to vote for their favorite candidate without having to strategize about who other voters may feel is electable. It avoids vote splitting and spoilers and is a truer reflection of voter preference. It is easy solution to implement.

10. **Election Integrity. Do you support requiring [risk-limiting audits](#) of election results, in which a statistically significant percentage of ballots are hand counted to ensure that the reported winner was the actual winner, preserving the integrity of elections from foreign interference, technological glitches, or simple human error?**

CR: YES.

It is essential that our citizens can trust the legitimacy of our elections in order for the government to have a proper mandate.

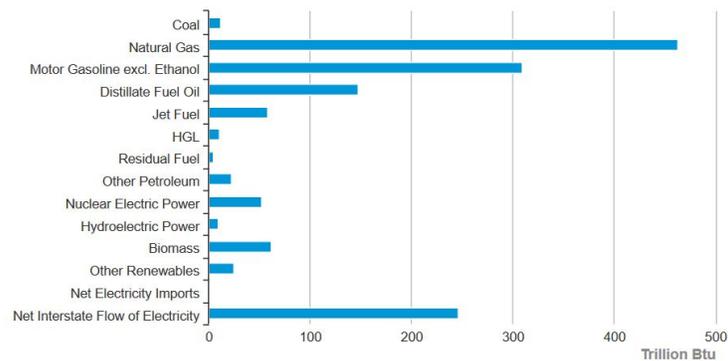
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

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. 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.

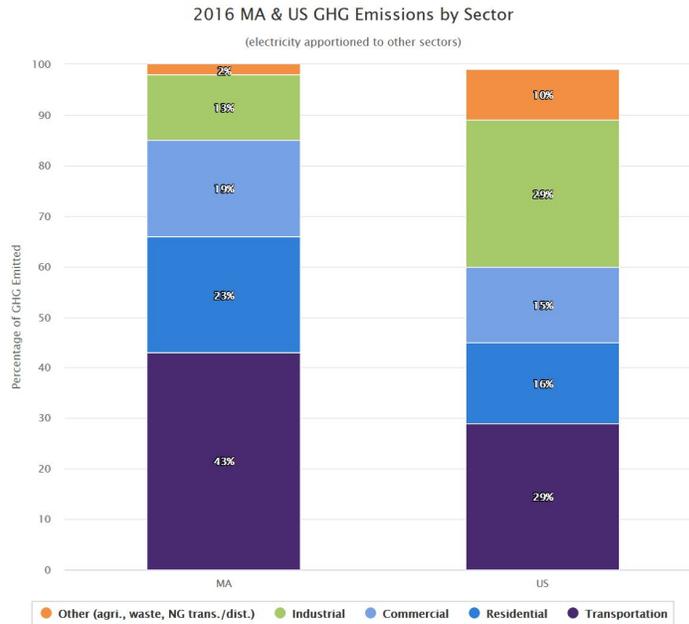
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

Massachusetts Energy Consumption Estimates, 2017



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

CR: We must take bold action to respond to the climate crisis and take advantage of the economic potential that this response creates. Massachusetts has not yet taken adequate action.

- 2. Waste Reduction. Would you support a statewide ban on single-use shopping bags and a requirement that alternatives be more sustainable?**

CR: YES.

- 3. Solar Energy. Do you support increasing equitable access to solar power by removing caps on solar generation and restoring compensation for low-income and community solar?**

CR: YES.

- 4. Renewable Energy. Do you support a target of 100% renewable energy economy-wide by 2045 and 100% renewable electricity by 2035?**

CR: YES.

- 5. Environmental Justice. Successive gubernatorial administrations have made verbal commitments to environmental justice (EJ), and Governor Deval Patrick issued an Executive Order on Environmental Justice in 2014 which has not been implemented. Would you support efforts to codify EJ into law?**

CR: YES.

6. **Fossil Fuel Infrastructure.** Do you oppose the expansion of gas pipelines in the state?

CR: YES.

7. **Carbon Pricing.** Do you support imposing a fee on carbon emissions and using some of the revenue to invest in green infrastructure, especially in frontline communities?

CR: YES.

8. **Public Transportation.** Will you oppose any fare increases to the MBTA or regional transit authorities and work toward the goal of fare-free public transit?

CR: YES.

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?

CR: YES.

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.

CR: It is important in a democracy that government leaders are representative of the people and informed by a broad range of experiences. Never in the history of the United States has there been a legislator of Turkish descent elected. I could be the first. Never in the history of the MA State legislature has there been a Muslim-American elected. I could be the first. This is a historic race that would allow more diverse voices to be heard.