

Massachusetts Power Analysis

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NOTE: This is an introductory Power Analysis of Massachusetts was written by the Massachusetts Communities Action Network (MCAN). It is mostly about companies, politicians, organizations exercising power at the state level. It only includes some stories about how these statewide power people, organizations, companies exercise their power. It does not include power holders at the local and regional level except for a part about Boston; these other ones for the other cities need to be done too

Preface: Why do a Power Analysis?

The reason to do a Power Analysis is because of the big income inequality and high education achievement gap in Massachusetts. Because of this, we need to know who holds power and how they use it because their actions lead to these great disparities by race and income and the misery and lack of opportunity that causes.

And then we need to organize and take action to change this story to one of greater income and education equality and opportunity.

Robert Caro, author of The Power Broker "Political power shapes all our lives", "Every time a young man or woman goes to college on a federal education bill passed by Lyndon Johnson, that's political power. Every time an elderly man or woman, or an impoverished man or woman of any age, gets a doctor's bill or hospital bill and sees that it's paid by Medicare or Medicaid, that's political power. Every time a black man or woman is able to walk into a voting booth in the South because of Lyndon Johnson's Voting Rights Act, that's political power. And so, unfortunately, is a young man---58,000 young American men--dying in a needless death in Vietnam. *That's* political power. It affects your life in all sorts of ways".

INCOME INEQUALITY in MA: Massachusetts has the 6th worst Income Inequality amongst states....

COST OF LIVING: Massachusetts has the 5th highest cost of living amongst states

HOME PRICES: Massachusetts has the 4th highest home prices for states at \$439,541

NET WORTH: Boston net worth of African-Americans was \$8 and for Whites was \$247,500 (Federal Reserve report)

POVERTY 9.4% lived below the poverty line in 2019.

In Massachusetts, 15 percent of children under the age of 15 grow up below the federal poverty line, defined as an income of \$24,600 for a family of four. While about 8 percent of White children grow up in poverty, 28 percent of Black children and 38 percent of Latino children do. Nearly in 40 percent of students in Massachusetts have experienced trauma.⁶ In 2016-2017, more than 20,000 Massachusetts children were homeless.⁷

EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENT GAP: "...25 years after the Massachusetts Education Reform Act passed in 1993, Black, Latino, and low-income students continue to have vastly different experiences in Massachusetts schools than their White and higher-income peers — and these disparities have real consequences for students, their communities, and our Commonwealth's economy and democracy." Specifically:

- fewer than “1 in 3 Black and Latino 4th graders are on grade level in reading – half the rate for the state’s White students”
- only “28% of low-income 8th graders are on grade level in math,” which is half the rate of higher income students
- “1 in 3 English learners don’t graduate on time – and 1 in 7 drop out of school entirely”
- fewer than “1 in 3 Black and Latino students who take the SAT meet college-readiness benchmarks in reading and math – compared to 2/3 of their White peers. Too many graduates of color don’t enroll in postsecondary education at all, and among those that do, too many have to take remedial courses.”

OPOID DEATH RATE: Massachusetts has the 5th highest rate amongst states

Introduction: How to do your own power analysis

Doing your own power analysis of your city or state or for our issue campaign

You can do this by examining who (both the organization and the main leaders of these organizations) are the power holders in the 3 sectors

(NOTE: see outline to use to develop this towards the end of this paper):

- Political—Elected and appointed officials, government authorities
- Corporate/Business---Business organizations, major companies and their CEO’s
- Media (newspapers and TV stations)
- Non-Profit
 - Institutional non-profits--Hospitals and Universities, etc.
 - Traditional non-profits—Unions, Community Groups, Social Service agencies

Your power analysis may include some background that you learn about key-- leaders in terms of their past jobs, turning points, key advisors, ambitions, accomplishments, controversies.

You can develop the information for your power analysis through reading a daily newspaper regularly, OR getting free compendium of news articles emailed to you (see below on ways to do this), and intentionally asking people who may know more about a particular politician, business groups, corporate leader, etc.

A. Contours of Power

Power is the ability to act effectively for your interests and values. Power comes from the ability to organize people, organize money, and from particular positions that might enable organizing of people and/or money. It can be use unilaterally in a top down, “power over” manner OR more collaboratively in a “power with” manner.

Power is spread across the private sector/corporations, the public sector/government, and the non-profit sector. However, power is NOT spread equally across these three sectors. The private sector/corporations have the greatest power through the jobs and money they control.

Power has racial and class dimensions. Power as exercised now by large corporations and wealthy individuals leads to lack of opportunity in most areas; and in each of these areas, such power exerts a disproportionate negative impact on people of color.

In the private sector, larger corporations hold more power. A corporation may choose to use its power more at a local, state, or national level. So power may not be felt say on a state level if it chooses-- based on its interests-- to exercise their power at a national level. Ex. Raytheon Corporation as a multi-national based here would likely care more about national and international issues than state issues. Community groups should look for potential mutual interests with business organizations, whenever that's possible—understanding that often it's not-- since that can increase support for what you are doing whenever that's possible, understanding often it's not. ex. Business groups may support certain education and job training initiatives that strengthen the development of the future work force

Power in the public sector is exercised by various elected officials and people they appoint to positions such as in public agencies.

The media (TV stations, newspapers, and radio stations) works to cover news and provide entertain, but almost all media are profit making companies. And the choices of what they cover and how they write/speak about it can influence opinions that help or hinder the issues of community and labor groups.

Power in the non-profit sector encompasses different kinds of organizations. Hospitals used to be all non-profits but a few are now for-profit (like Steward Health Care hospitals in MA); and most hospitals operate often in a business like manner. Universities are places of learning and research but administratively operate more like a corporation. Labor unions, community organizations, and social service agencies are the other key parts of the non-profit sector. Religious congregations are non-profits, provide services to their members, and some times choose to act in the political sphere for their values and interests too.

Corporations, labor unions, community organizations may act offensively to get laws appropriations, or policies that benefit their interests or they may act defensively to prevent changes they see contrary to their interests.

While values of people and usually of institutions tend to stay the same, interests can change. There are possibilities of finding common interests between community groups and corporations and so-called public-private partnerships between government and

business. But often interests are at odds and campaigns are undertaken to change and prevent things and there can be winners and losers in such campaigns.

B. More on Constructing a Power Analysis related to understanding those with power

A power analysis can be done in the context of a specific issue or for a community, region, or even an individual organization or congregation. We try to determine who decides whether a change happens or not. We try to determine the interests of that person or institution or organization or corporation. We look at who could influence the decision-maker. We then develop a strategy of how to move a proposal/issue and how to engage and impact the decision-maker.

It's important to remember that while a position or organization can seem one dimensional, people in those positions are real people, 3 dimensional with stories. For example, former Senate President Rosenberg was in a powerful position. But it's important to know he grew up as foster child, mostly in Revere. He worked at UMass Amherst for many years in both a project that supported training for community groups and on other initiatives there, and he's gay...Mayor Walsh's parents were immigrants, he had a serious illness as a child, became an alcoholic, worked in a construction union and his uncle heads a major local Laborers Union local. An incident that happened related to his mother and tenants in the house he grew up in...when he had a very serious illness as a child, the two male tenants (who apparently were gay) in his 3 decker home in Dorchester made him a wig....when the gay marriage issue came up decades later, Mayor Walsh's mother told him to vote for it and he did even though he represented a Catholic white working class district. Mayor Walsh headed the Greater Boston Building Trades Council at the same time he was a state legislator.

**It is important to research the background, life turning points, ambitions, and key friends and advisers of those who have power in order to understand them better and choose ways to reach them that might be more effective. How to do this is in the next section.

C. Racial Impact of who has power and its consequences on opportunity

It's important to research the racial impact of who has power by race AND the consequences on lack of opportunity that have disproportionate impacts on people of color.

One example on the issue of mass incarceration in Massachusetts.....this racial disparity in who goes to prison is part of our analysis and case for legislative and budget changes that would change these outcomes:

7% of residents are Black and 27% of prisoners. 11% of residents are Latino and 25% of prisoners are Latino. 74% of residents are White and 43% of prisoners are White.

About 8600 are in state prisons run by the Department of Corrections (DOC) and an estimated equal number are in county Houses of Corrections (HOC) run by county sheriffs.

From 2002- 2013, 44% of all convicted of drug crimes were people of color, BUT 75% getting long mandatory minimum sentences were people of color.

D. How can I learn more about people, companies, and institutions with power in an on-going way?

1. Read a daily newspaper

The best way to this systematically and on an on-going basis is probably to thoughtfully **read a daily newspaper**. Think of it as reading it through screens through which you see issues, people with power, and institutions with power. You can look at certain articles in terms of there being about issues you work on or may work on. You can look at articles that are covering political and business leaders and institutions that will decide on issues you may work on.

Of course, you can read articles on world news and sports, but let's look at what you might focus on in terms of someone who is part of a community organization. Let's use the Boston Globe as an example and point out what you might skim through and decide on articles to read that help you understand power in our region and how it is being exercised. You don't have to read all the articles on all the pages mentioned below but determine by their title if they might relate to your interest in understanding power in this region.

- Articles on page 1 that connect to this
- National news article on page 2 (there are additional pages of national news, but this page summarizes some top stories)
- Editorials on the third to last page of the first section
- Op Ed columns on the second to last page of the first section
- Metro section news in the second section
- Business news in the third section or located after the Metro news pages

Besides daily newspapers, you can supplement your understanding of power people and institutions by talking to others who may know more about certain ones. Reading say the quarterly magazine Commonwealth Magazine (and its web site which has often daily stories) published by the think tank MassINC would add to your understanding of issues and power. The State House News Service at its website on line publishes a weekly review of key political events at the State House covering the Governor and Legislature. The websites, Blue Man Group and Red Man group give additional progressive and conservative viewpoints on state issues.

2. You can sign up free for any or all of four weekday daily emails that comb the daily newspapers early each morning and print short summaries of major

articles related to state politics and some on Boston politics and a link to the full articles....

--**Politico Massachusetts**—go to

<http://www.politico.com/tipsheets/massachusetts-playbook> and press on link on top right “Subscribe” AND

--**MASsterList** at <https://massterlist.wordpress.com/> AND

--**MASSINSIDER** another compendium of political stories and events...sign up at <http://massinsider.net/>

--**The Daily Download** by MassINC

<https://commonwealthmagazine.org/category/the-download/>

3. Case studies on the exercise of power

Reading case studies (by googling topics and people and from recommendations, and often a news article is in itself a case study of power) by political figures, business groups, labor groups, and community groups can help bring this alive to people. For example, this article "Romney and Health Care: In the Thick of History" not only tells the story of how the Massachusetts Health Care Law passed but provides a window into the use of power and a partial power analysis of Massachusetts.

www.boston.com/news/politics/articles/2011/05/30/romney_and_health_care_in_the_thick_of_history/

It explains the interaction of: elected officials, health care providers, and community groups whose interaction and finding common mutual interests led to passage of this law.

4. Reading books and articles about key political events that shaped the state or your city

Our communities are also the product of past decisions that came out of the work of politicians or business leaders and/or organized community and labor groups. This is another context to understand both power in the state or your community now.

For example, Boston’s race relations and schools were much shaped over the past 40 years by the 1974 court decision to desegregate the schools and use of wide scale busing of students to do this. The Black Education Movement in Boston by Ruth Batson and Common Ground by Anthony Lukas is one monumental book about some of this history. Jim Vrabel’s book A People’s History of The New Boston covers 25 different community organizing campaigns from 1960-1985 that had a big impact on Boston and its neighborhoods.

We can try to help you discover books and articles about key events in the history of our state and individual cities.

How a Bill Becomes a Law and How Funding for a Program in the State Budget Gets Passed: The State House Process and How We Can Impact that

There's an official process for how a bill becomes a law that happens "Inside the State House". And there's the organizing work we can do from "Outside the State House" to move a bill towards being passed and having the provisions within it that we need .

Summary of How a bill becomes a law? "Inside the State House"

1. Drafting the Bill--it is written by a legislator or written by an organization?
2. Legislators as Sponsors and Co-Sponsors of the Bill--Need a lead sponsor for the bill in the State Senate and the House. Other legislators can sign on as co-sponsors before the bill is formally filed, during January of the first year of a 2 year legislative session....2019, 2021,etc
(Senate rules currently allow Senators to become bill co-sponsors up until the time the bill has a hearing.0
3. Committee Hearing—The bill is sent to a Committee of the Legislature which schedules a hearing on it. A group/coalition can negotiate with the committee co-chairs about when the hearing should be held and for panels of testifiers at the hearing.
4. Committee Co-Chairs—The House and Senate committee co-chairs have power over when a hearing is held on the bill, whether your bill is amended, whether it's reported out with a favorable recommendation to pass, whether it's reported out first to the House or Senate for a vote, or whether it's killed.
Though committee chairs have the most power in the first part of the process, meeting with other committee members and other legislators to get their support and convey that to the committee chairs can help too. Of course, the House Speaker and Senate President, who appoint the committee chairs, retain the most power to move or kill a bill.
5. Bill reported from Committee to the House or Senate for debate and vote.
Often before a bill gets a full vote in the House or Senate, it may be sent to the Ways and Means Committee for review and/or the Steering and Policy Committee for review. Sometimes actual review takes place and legal issues in the bill are checked, but sometimes these committee either hold/delay the bill at the request of the House Speaker or Senate President OR they make major changes to the bill based on the wishes of the legislative leadership. After a bill gets a vote in the Senate or House, it gets a final review at the Committee on Bills in Third Reading where again a bill may be just checked for legal questions or the legislative leadership sometimes makes substantive changes in a bill.
6. Bill debated and voted by the other branch; House or Senate. This includes the same possible other reviews, changes as listed in #5.
7. Conference Committee—If the House and Senate pass different versions of the same bill, a Conference Committee is named with 2 Democrats and 1 Republican named by the House Speaker and by the Senate President....they

negotiate on the differences in the bills passed and recommend a final bill for passage.

8. House and Senate vote on Conference Committee report on the bill as final step in passage.
9. Governor has 10 days to sign or veto the bill or send it back with suggested changes.
10. Legislature can override a veto if gets 2/3 vote.

How we can impact this process to move a bill toward passage:

*****1. Organize local meetings with our state representatives and state senators and ask them** to commit to support the bill, that they talk to the Committee Chair and to the House Speaker/Senate President about their support for the bill.

2. Organizing to get letters and calls to your state legislators asking them to do this.
3. Who's your constituency who can take these actions with you---members, staff, board, people using your programs, allied organizations, local officials, etc.
4. Organizing turnout and testimony at the Committee hearing on the bill.
5. Rallies at the State House followed by visits to offices of your legislators about their supporting moving the bill.... this can be done around a hearing OR at other times too.
5. Getting articles in your local newspaper about the bill and your efforts to reach your legislators.

The State Budget Process and Timeline and Impacting the Decisions

This is how the overall state budget process works. However, again the most important single thing you can do is to organize that local meeting with your legislators held in your community. Groups you work with may call on you to ask you to get some calls in to your legislators at some points in this process, but again organizing that one meeting is the most important step!!

A. Governor's budget recommendations released January

The Governor files his own budget recommendations around the 3rd or 4th Wednesday in January and they are referred to as House 1.

1. We try to hold meetings with departments and secretariats under the Governor, ex. with the Secretary of Labor and Workforce if it were about YouthWorks youth jobs, during the fall and early winter to ask him to fund our budget priorities in his budget. Whether or not he does this, the final decision lies with the Legislature.

2. We also try to organize a meeting with staff at the Executive Office of Administration and Finance (A&F) because they make the final recommendations to the Governor on the budget.

B. House of Representatives Budget Process

1. Hold meetings with your state representatives during January and February asking them to list your budget priorities on the list of budget priorities they give to the House or Senate Ways and Means Chair when they have their individual meetings with them between Feb-March.

2. Legislators meet with the House Ways and Means Chairman on their budget

priorities between February and mid-March. So meeting with legislator before then and asking if they will include an increase in the budget program you work on in their “asks” to the Ways and Means Chair. Some legislators send their priority asks to the Speaker and some even meet with him/her on this in the same period.

3. The House Ways and Means Committee releases it's budget proposal around 2nd week in April/

4. Deadline for legislators to file amendments either increase the funding OR to restore funding cut in this proposal are due by Friday of the week the budget proposal is released and legislators have another week after that to co-sponsor these budget amendments up through the Monday after Patriots Day.

5. Debate and vote on House budget during last week of You can organize calls and visits early that week to try to influence their decisions.

6. **The decision on Budget Amendments is literally made in a “Back Room”, Room 348** nearby to the House Chamber behind an entrance door that says “Members Only”. They announce Budget Caucuses on all the amendment on a section of the budget. The lead sponsor of the amendment and any other legislators he/she can get from amendment co-sponsors go and plead their case to the Chair of House Ways and Means and he decides whether to grant the amendment and how much of it.

NOTE: Legislating in the Budget in the Outside Sections

The Legislature and the Governor can actually add pieces of legislation into the budget and these are called Outside Sections. They go through the same process as described above and below, but are in the format of legislative language instead of in the regular Budget which has the Budget Line Items and amounts.

C. State Senate Budget Process

1. You hold meetings with your state senators during January-March asking them to list your budget priorities on the list they give to the Senate Ways and Means Chairperson.

2. Legislators meet with the Senate Ways and Means Chairperson on their budget priorities between March-mid April.

3. The Senate Ways and Means Committee releases it's budget proposal around the second week in May,

4. Deadline for legislators to file amendments and get co-sponsors to restore/increase funding cut in this proposal are the Friday of the week the budget proposal is released

5. Debate and vote on Senate budget during week before Memorial Day. You can organize calls and visits early that week to try to influence their decisions.

D. House-Senate Conference Committee meets during June

A committee of 3 senators and 3 representatives meets during June to negotiate on different budget amounts passed by the House and Senate. They can decide on the higher amount, the lower amount, or some amount in between.

E. Governor's vetoes and overrides by the Legislature

The Governor gets the budget in later June or early July and has 10 days to either sign or veto each individual budget line item.

The Legislature can override the Governor's veto if they can get 2/3 vote in each branch

****How we can impact the Budget process to get increased funding for our priorities (putting together the steps you can take that were also listed above in the overall**

“Ask” to make of State Representatives in January and then again in March for #2,3

1. When you meet with House Ways and Means Chair Rep. Aaron Michlewitz, will you say that one of your budget priorities is _____(this program I support).
2. If House Ways and Means does not include this in the budget they release in April, will you co-sponsor an amendment for this funding?
3. Will you attend the Budget Caucus on this amendment held during the week of Budget debate to make the case for it to Rep. Michlewitz, Chair of House Ways and Means Committee?

“Ask” to make of State Senators in February and then again for #2, 3 in April

1. When you meet with Senate Ways and Means Chair Senator Michael Rodrigues, will you say that one of your budget priorities is _____(this program I support).
2. If Senate Ways and Means does not include this in the budget they release in May will you co-sponsor an amendment for this funding?
3. Will you work during the week of budget debate for this amendment by making the case for it to Senator Rodrigues and Senate President Spilka?

Additional detail on what you can do on the budget process:

1. Meet with the Secretary of the area of the budget in the fall because they make budget recommendations to the Governor for the budget the Governor files in January
2. Meet with State Representatives in December and January and ask them to include increasing funding for specific state budget programs in the lists they submit and discuss with the Chair of House Ways and Means Committee who they meet with in February on this.
3. Meetings with State Senators in February_March and ask them to include increasing funding for specific state budget programs in the lists they submit and discuss with the Chair of Senate Ways and Means Committee who they meet with in March on this.
4. Anticipate that you may need to get a state representative and state senator to file a Budget amendment if the proposed budget of House or Senate Ways and Means does not include your funding goal....meet with legislators to ask if they will be Lead Sponsor of such a budget amendment if necessary...they have to be filed around the second week in April in the House and around the third week in May in the Senate
5. Paying attention to the deadlines on co-sponsoring budget amendments, organize calls and meeting with legislators with two asks: Will they co-sponsor the budget amendments you are supporting for increased funding for the

program AND in the House, will they attend the Budget Caucus where amendment co-sponsors get to meet with the Chair of House Ways and Means Committee to make the case for their amendment.

6. Additionally, you can organize phone calls on this and get press coverage on what you are doing on this

MASSACHUSETTS POWER ANALYSIS

I. Political Power at the State Level in Massachusetts

1. Governor Charlie Baker (Republican, from Swampscott, MA) elected 2014

Summary (see more biography at end): Served as a cabinet secretary to Republican Governors Weld and Cellucci in the 1990's, then CEO of Harvard Pilgrim Health Care, defeated by Governor Patrick when he ran in 2010 (he modulated in the 2014 campaign the harder edge he had in 2010 campaign), issued an Urban Agenda during 2014 campaign. Raised in Needham, lives in Swampscott, married to Lauren Baker and has 3 children, graduate of Harvard and MA at Northwestern. Initially he is governing from the center, appointing some Democrats to high positions, not publicly attacking the Legislature and its leadership regularly, not speaking out in support of national Republican conservative policies much, focusing on image of someone who wants to make government work effectively. But also has chosen to lead the fight to expand numbers of charter schools so he's fighting the teachers unions on that and ended up losing on the referendum to expand the number of charter schools. He didn't take a position on the Fair Share Amendment/millionaires tax to fund education and transportation but later on it was ruled off the ballot on a legal technicality with 4 of the 5 justices he appointed to the Supreme Court providing the majority vote for that.

SEE APPENDIX for more of his biography and more of his staff.

Key Staff:

Kristen Lepore: Chief of Staff (COS), formerly worked for Associated Industries of MA

Tim Buckley: Senior Advisor (had been Jim Conroy: Senior Advisor but in 3/16 is moving outside the Administration but will still be an advisor)

Lily Zarrella, Deputy Chief of Staff

Will Kaiser, a Key Political Advisor.....Retailors Association is also a client of his

Carlo Basile: Chief Secretary, former East Boston state representative

Michael Vallarelli: Deputy COS

Lizzy Guyton, Communications Director

[Joel Barrera: Deputy COS Cabinet, worked for MAPC, Senator Jacques, and as an organizer, since moved to MassPort]

Mindy d'Arbeloff: Deputy Chief of Customer Service and Constituent Affairs

Katherine Holahan, Legislative Director
Robert Ross, Legal Counsel, Michael Kaneb, Deputy Legal Counsel
Anthony Richards: Director of Community Affairs
Elizabeth Mahoney, Deputy Chief of Staff for Cabinet Affairs and Policy
Anne Selinger, Deputy Chief of Staff for Strategic Innovation
Patrick Carnevale, Western Massachusetts Office Director
(see full list of staff in the appendix)

Cabinet Secretaries:

Michael Heffernan Administration and Finance (A&F)
Michael Kennealy Economic Development and Housing
Rosalyn Acosta: Labor and Workforce Development, former banker
Marylou Sudders: Health and Human Services, former head of MA Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children
Stephanie Pollock: Transportation, formerly with Conservation Law Foundation
Jim Peyser: Education, formerly with Pioneer Institute, charter school groups
Thomas Turco (succeeded Daniel Bennett): Public Safety, former Chief Probation Officer at Worcester Superior Court, former Asst. DA of Worcester County, former head of Department of Correction under previous Secretary Bennett
Kathleen Theoharides (formerly Matthew Beaton): Energy and Environmental Affairs, former state
[one of these cabinet secretaries listed above is a person of color and 3 are women]

2014 Campaign—Governor Baker wins 48.40% to 46.54% to Martha Coakley, Attorney General or by 40,000 out to 2.045 M votes cast... 1,044,573 to 1,004,408
Governor Baker's Urban Agenda announced during his 2014 campaign was his attempt to be intentional in reaching people of color. He did not do that well in getting votes there but he was more explicit with this position paper and time spent than in his 2010 campaign. Robert Lewis Jr., Director of The Base (a youth agency) if an African-American who played a role in the development of this Urban Agenda and is one of his most significant outside advisors of color.

During 2014 Campaign, Governor Baker <https://www.rga.org/memo-rgas-2014-election-results/> "Democratic groups, including Massachusetts independent expenditures, spent \$8.2 million. The Republican Governor's Association (RGA) invested \$11.2 million to finance 10 TV spots.

2018 Campaign—Governor Baker wins 66.9% to 33.1% for Democrat Jay Gonzalez, 1,769,452 to 874,568
Incredible amounts raised for the Governor's 2018 campaign. Jack Connors, founder of Hill Holiday Advertiser, philanthropist, and generally a supporter of Democrats, headed Governor Baker's 2018 Re-Election Finance Committee. And again millions from the Republican Governor's Association.

Meanwhile, 22 mayors across the commonwealth — 10 of whom are Democrats — announced their support for Baker yesterday. Many of those endorsements came from gateway cities like Fall River, Brockton, Lawrence, Lowell, and Springfield [but not Lynn, Salem, Worcester, New Bedford].

This is significant and both a sign of Baker's popularity and politicians wanting to be with an expected winner, not seeing the Democratic nominee Gonzalez as being able to run a strong campaign, agreeing with his policies, and these Mayor being more toward being moderates than progressives in most cases.....and that the Mayors of Lynn, Salem, Worcester, New Bedford, Boston, Somerville did not endorse him).

Baker got 55% of the vote in the state's 20 largest cities and towns...<https://commonwealthmagazine.org/news-analysis/baker-shows-a-republican-can-do-well-in-cities/>

2022 Campaign—Baker may run again in 2022 Bryan Wynne runs Baker's Political Committee and Jim Conroy and Will Keyser are political advisers for his campaign (Keyser used to work for Democrats and also now represents the Retailers Association)

2010 Campaign In Baker's unsuccessful 2010 campaign against Governor Patrick, Baker campaigned more as a traditional Republican and changed to a more moderate and common sense tone in 2014 campaign and have governed mostly in the center with a few progressive steps and some progressive staffers. Patrick got 48.42% and Baker got 42% of 1,112,283 to 984,866.

****See additional material on the Governor on pages 35-38**

Kristen Lepore, Chief of Staff: Served before that as Secretary of Administration and Finance. Prior to that, she held a major staff position as VP for Government Affairs with the Associated Industries of Massachusetts (AIM), a major big business lobbying organization. Was Policy Director for Baker's unsuccessful campaign for Governor in 2010. In addition, she was appointed by President Bush to serve as the New England regional representative for the U.S. Department of Education where she advocated the President's education agenda. Prior to her federal appointment, she served as Deputy Chief of Staff to Governor Paul Cellucci; Director of Fiscal Policy for the Executive Office for Administration and Finance and Assistant Executive Director of the Massachusetts Port Authority. Lepore holds a bachelor's degree in political science from Suffolk University and a master's degree in public administration from Suffolk's Sawyer School of Management.

<https://www.mass.gov/orgs/latino-advisory-commission>

Latino Advisory Commission

See the article at the link to indicate occupations of these people on it: Josie Martinez, Robert Harnais, Alberto Vasallo, Juan Lopera, Vanessa Otero, Patty Diaz-Andrade, Aixa Beauchamp, Vetto Casado, Regla Gonzalez, Lazaro Lopez, Monica Lowell, Marcela Aldaz-Matos, Sonia Pope, Mary Skelton Robers, Francisco Surillo, Nahir Torres, Carolina Avellaneda, Rene Jarquin, Carlos Morales, Carmen Augilar, Eric Batista, Javier Cevallos, Alvarez Cote, Dexie Garcia, Yvonne Garcia, Samalid Hogan, Enna Jimenez, Daniel Rivera

<https://www.mass.gov/orgs/black-advisory-commission>

Black Advisory Commission

Deborah Enos, Robert Lewis, Jr., Licy Do Canto, Mechia Minter-Jordan, Henry Thomas, Rev. Dr. Conley Hughes, Daria DeGrace, Elizabeth Jackson, Imara Paris Jeffries, Robert Johnson, Sharon Scott-Chandler, Azanda Seymour, Cheryl Stanley, Abidi Yusuf, Kirk Sykes, Victor Woolridge, Damon Cox, Paul Francisco, Angela Gomes, Keith Greenway, Rachel Kemp, Chiderah Okoye, Ronia Stewart, Macken Toussaint, Anthony Samuels, Tanisha Sullivan

Gary D. Blank, a onetime top White House economic official and 11-year veteran of Fidelity, is poised to become the chief of staff at Governor Charlie Baker's budget office in June 2018.

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2019/01/02/the-incrementalist/KX8bfIMkLJBghfg5umwcyJ/story.html>

Charlie Baker may be the country's most popular governor, but he remains something of an enigma 1/3/19 Boston Globe

- "**Baker adviser helped energy firms land big Mass. contracts,**" by Joshua Miller and Jon Chesto, **Boston Globe**: "The top political adviser to Governor Charlie Baker also provided strategic and communications advice as a paid consultant to two companies that recently landed massive clean energy contracts in Massachusetts. Jim Conroy, an experienced political strategist who managed Baker's 2014 campaign and is a key adviser on his reelection bid, also worked with Vineyard Wind LLC and Central Maine Power Co., helping the companies beat out competitors for [what will be two of New England's biggest energy projects.](#)" 5/29/18

See fundraising loopholes Governor Baker has used and the MA Democratic Legislature has not acted to end those loopholes that have enabled him to raise extra millions for his campaign.... <http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2018/05/30/there-bill-that-would-rein-charlie-baker-fund-raising-but-democrats-aren-touching/fA8y9HwACIDuxDoLDSiD3L/story.html>

See many millions from Republican Governor's Association for his 2014 and 218 campaigns <https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2018/08/08/rga-funnels-millions-into-advertisement-boost-charlie-baker/dDBKfGzBXoYbKEndCfG2SL/story.html>

Lt. Governor Karyn Polito:

from Shrewsbury and was a state representative from there previously. She among other duties serves as liaison to cities and towns.

See for further background on her <https://www.mass.gov/person/karyn-polito-lieutenant-governor>

She is positioned to run for Governor if Governor Baker does not run for re-election in 2022.

See December 2020 article, “**Is Karyn Polito angling for a third term — or a first?**”
<https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/is-karyn-polito-angling-for-a-third-term-or-a-first/>

2. The State Legislature

The House Speaker and Senate President have tremendous power because they

- a) Appoint all the committee chairs and vice-chairs. There are 35 committees with Senate chairs and 37 with House chairs and other leadership positions and all these positions get extra pay and more clout. This also gives the Senate President and House Speaker more clout since they control the power level of so many legislators and this also helps them line up support on key votes on legislation and budget priorities.

The term “House leadership” includes besides the Speaker, the Majority Leader, Assistant Majority Leader, Division Chairs, and the committee chair persons.....

- b) The Speaker and Senate President have much control over what’s specifically proposed in the budget because they pick the Chairs of the Ways and Means Committee who put out the leadership’s budget proposal and they usually have the power to defeat most amendments offered to change it.
- c) They have a lot of control over whether legislation moves or gets killed in the legislative process. Bills can be held in committee and sent to study (which means killing them) by Committees and held the Ways and Means Committee if they want to prevent a full vote on them. And the leadership can greatly amend what comes out of a committee before it might go forward for a full vote.

[Every committee chair and vice chair are appointed by the House Speaker and part of his leadership team and receive additional pay--about 40 state representatives out of 160 have these positions with increased pay because of the House Speaker’s decision]

State budget decisions and the power of the Speaker... in the House are mostly made in a back room, Room 348....state representatives who file amendments for additional funding, can come alone or with others to plead their case for their amendment. Most amendments are rejected and a few get funded partially or in full.

Any legislator can ask for debate and roll call vote before the full House, but most balk at that because the House leadership almost always has the votes to defeat the amendment. Given this process, community and labor groups trying to support a Budget Amendment should also ask legislators if they will go to the Budget Caucus on the amendment.

See article on this process written in 2019

<https://www.bostonherald.com/2019/04/29/speaker-deleo-defends-back-door-budget-process/>

3. House Speaker Representative Ron Mariano (D-Quincy), also represents parts of Weymouth and Holbrook

Key Staff:

John Walsh, Chief of Staff—was staffer to Mariano 2009-2013, and Chief of Staff to him since then. Worked for the Speaker Tom Finneran starting 2003. Whitney Ferguson, Deputy Chief of Staff, held that position under Speaker DeLeo toounder DeLeo she worked in Communications and then Deputy Chief of Staff. Worked in the private sector as an account executive for the Castle Group.

Ana Vivas, Press Secretary....she was Deputy Press Secretary under Mayor Walsh --Mariano supported Criminal Justice Reform bill of 2018 as member of the Conference Committee that negotiated the final bill.

--Voted against the Fair Share Amendment/Millionaire's Tax in 2016 and 2017 **but voted for it in 2019 in its second pending try** and told Raise UP MA in a 2019 meeting that he was all for this now.

Mariano pledges to lead with an open mind Cites shift on millionaire's tax after 2 no votes. Commonwealth 12/30/2020

"I'm balanced, I'm extremely open minded, I've changed my position when I'm convinced that there's another thing – there's something that I missed or didn't consider strongly enough," said the Quincy Democrat in a brief telephone interview. As proof, Mariano pointed to one of the votes he has taken that has drawn some ire from progressives: his vote against a constitutional amendment that would raise taxes on income over \$1 million. Mariano was one of just 17 House Democrats to vote against the measure at a 2016 constitutional convention and one of 12 House Democrats to oppose it in 2017.

Now, however, Mariano said he would support the so-called millionaire's tax. The first time it came up in the House, "I didn't have any details on it, so I voted against it," Mariano said. "Then I was persuaded by folks. When I look at the amount of people it affects, the amount of revenue it generates, I changed my position."

--Supported Gay Marriage votes.

--Was on committee along with Raise UP MA and big business groups and other legislators that negotiated on the Minimum Wage, Paid Family Medical Leave, and

Sales Tax Cut bill in the process that became known as the “Grand Bargain” (see other section on this on pages 28)

Ron Mariano vows to increase diversity in Massachusetts House leadership after he becomes speaker Wednesday. The day before he is expected to be elected speaker of the House, Ronald Mariano on Tuesday pledged to make his leadership team more diverse than the current all-white group. “I feel an obligation to put together a team that’s representative of the diversity of the body,” said Mariano in one of his first interviews since emerging as the [likely successor to House Speaker Robert A. DeLeo](#), whose resignation was to take effect Tuesday evening. Mariano, a Quincy Democrat who serves as House majority leader, said he will also take steps to make the business of the House of Representatives more transparent and less insulated from the public, though he didn’t offer specifics. Boston Globe
<https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/12/29/metro/ronald-mariano-vows-increase-diversity-massachusetts-house-leadership-after-he-becomes-speaker-wednesday/>

Further Biography and Background:

He taught in the Quincy Public Schools for 12 years as an elementary school teacher. Served on the Quincy School Committee from 1989-2009. Elected to the House in 1991 in a special election. Joined House leadership in 2009 as Assistant Majority Leader and then later became Majority Leader.

Mariano has been a lifelong basketball fan and has coached Quincy Youth Basketball for numerous years. He is the founder and coordinator of the President’s Youth Basketball Association and is a member of the Quincy Public Schools Athletic Contribution Committee. Mariano also enjoys travel, reading, and music. Born 10/3/45 in Quincy. Married to Eve Powell. 2 children

Education & Public Service

- Quincy Public Schools
- Northeastern University, B.S.
- University of Massachusetts at Boston, M.Ed.
- Quincy School Committee; Norfolk County Advisory Board former member
- Ward 2 Democratic Committee former chairman; Quincy College Board of Governors
- Baird and Maquire Task Force (co-chair)
- Mass. House (1992-present), Majority Leader, Elected Speaker 12/30/2

What Speaker Mariano said January 6 to the newly sworn in legislators;

“I remember thinking when I was first sworn in of the long journey it took for me to arrive here from Quincy Point, not in terms of physical distance, but of social and generational progress. The shipyards and heavy industry of the Fore River Basin have for generations attracted immigrants seeking new opportunities in America, from my

grandfather's Italy to today's newcomers from across Asia. Quincy Point is the home of immigrants, and it's one of the environmental justice communities the House voted to protect in legislation passed Monday. Our diversity is our strength and it is celebrated. My district speaks more languages than I knew existed. My constituents worship at churches, mosques, and Buddhist temples found throughout our neighborhood. In short, I grew up and live in a place that looks a lot like Massachusetts and America as a whole. Each session, we grow closer and closer to a body that is more representative of all Massachusetts. I'm happy to see this progress continue with this incoming class, and I pledge that my leadership team will reflect the growing diversity of this body. This representation matters as we continue to respond to the pandemic and build an equitable recovery."

Long the House's consummate insider, Ronald Mariano poised to finally lead it

The Quincy Democrat, 74, says he has votes to succeed Speaker Robert A. DeLeo

By [Matt Stout](#), [Stephanie Ebbert](#) and [Andrea Estes](#) Globe Staff, Updated December 26, 2020, 2:48 p.m. <https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/12/26/metro/long-houses-consummate-insider-ronald-mariano-poised-finally-lead-it/>

State Representative Ronald Mariano (pictured in 2017)SUZANNE KREITER/GLOBE STAFF

He is nothing if not ready.

For more than a decade, state Representative Ronald Mariano has played the role of loyal deputy to House Speaker Robert A. DeLeo, negotiating the politics and details of most complex legislation, corraling votes from members, and quietly helping reshape Massachusetts law.

Along the way, Mariano, the House's majority leader, has also built a constituency for himself — steadily amassing support among the House's mercurial membership, positioning himself for the day that DeLeo decides to step aside — and he has done so without threatening the speaker's hold on the chamber.

The number two Democrat in the House, Mariano has long imagined the day when he would be number one.

At a commencement speech at Quincy College last year, Mariano, a Quincy Democrat, ribbed the school's then-president, saying that if Mariano had to call the former lawmaker "President," he should be called "Speaker Mariano."

"As long as he doesn't tell Bob DeLeo," Mariano quipped. "Please, please don't tell Bob DeLeo."

Now the day for which Mariano has been patiently waiting may be near. With DeLeo preparing to leave Beacon Hill for a job at Northeastern University, Mariano's supporters say he has more than enough votes lined to succeed the Winthrop Democrat.

At 74, the longtime House insider would be among the oldest speakers in Massachusetts history, and is four years the senior of DeLeo, who has led the House for a record 12 years.

“He’s very ready for this,” said former state representative Brian S. Dempsey, who himself was seen as a potential heir to DeLeo before he resigned in 2017 and became a lobbyist.

“It’s not so much going out and trying to [be the speaker],” Dempsey said. “It’s other members saying, ‘You’d be good at the right time, when the time comes.’ That’s certainly what has happened in Ron’s case.”

But Mariano’s long path to the speakership — made possible through alliances built over years of dinners and closed-door talks — has chafed some progressive Democratic lawmakers. Representative Russell Holmes, a Black Mattapan Democrat who is mounting a longshot challenge for the post, calls Mariano’s expected ascension the latest example of leadership being passed by insiders from “white guy to white guy to white guy to white guy.”

In its 240 years, the House has never had a person of color serve as speaker. Nor a woman.

Still, for many of Mariano’s supporters, including some progressives who don’t often align with the more centrist Mariano, they say he’s earned the job after showing loyalty to his colleagues, and to a long line of speakers.

“I committed 15 years ago,” said state Representative Michael J. Moran, a close Mariano ally. “There never was a moment where Ron Mariano ever entertained running against Bob DeLeo. He just waited his time.”

Mariano declined an interview request for this story. But in interviews with more than a dozen people, including lawmakers, former state representatives, lobbyists, and Mariano colleagues, a picture emerged of a congenial former elementary school teacher who’s kept his hand deep in the workings of the House chamber for decades.

First elected to the House in a special election in 1991, Mariano has often led talks on thorny legislation, especially on health care and financial services. He was at the negotiating table for the state’s 2006 landmark health care reform law that served as the template for the federal Affordable Care Act. He was a key supporter of the state’s move to deregulate the auto insurance market 12 years ago. And in the past week, he helped finish negotiations on extending

“If there’s one person who has been in every aspect of every major piece of legislation in our contemporary history in Massachusetts, it’s Ron Mariano,” said Jeffrey Sanchez, a former House budget chairman who served in the Legislature from 2003 to 2019. “He loves the institution. This man loves being in the building.”

Lawmakers and others described Mariano as a “macho guy” and a “no-bull” leader who candidly lets members know where he stands on their proposals, but will also stand by his commitments. That, they say, also makes him a known entity and easier to pin down than DeLeo, who can often be noncommittal about priorities and is apt to take it personally when members step out of line.

“If he doesn’t like you, he either dismisses you or dumps on you,” one former lawmaker said of Mariano. “But there’s nobody I’d rather share a foxhole with in a fight. If he gives you his word — it’s done.”

Mariano is also seen as the consummate State House insider, who has built a \$470,000 campaign war chest, in part with checks from lobbyists, health care professionals, and others who once floated within

Beacon Hill's tight-knit inner circle. That's included former House speakers Thomas Finneran and Charles Flaherty, and former Senate President Therese Murray.

While the unassuming DeLeo prefers to spend time in his hometown of Winthrop, Mariano is comfortable with a coterie of legislators and lobbyists that one former State House aide called a "late-night-get-a-steak group."

"They call themselves Ronny and the Boys," the aide said.

Still, Mariano has endeared himself to a broader pool of fellow lawmakers, including more liberal representatives. He often spends formal sessions working the floor of the House, talking and laughing with legislators, and one current lawmaker said he's courted members with invitations to dinners and sporting events.

"Even members inclined to support someone farther on the left like him personally," the legislator said.

Those personal ties have proven key in building the support needed to succeed DeLeo. The co-chairs of the House Progressive Caucus publicly came out in support of Mariano, and other progressive lawmakers have described Mariano both as accommodating and even charming.

"For the record, I like Ron Mariano. He's always been really honest with me. He's always had an open door," said Representative Maria Robinson, a Framingham Democrat and progressive who said that Mariano treated her well even after she [publicly raised](#) concerns about DeLeo's leadership style and stepped out of line with leadership.

"I don't feel like [Mariano] holds that against me, and that's important to me," she said.

He had the same basic makeup even before he arrived on Beacon Hill, friends say. A Quincy Point native, he has a bachelor's degree from Northeastern and a master's in education from UMass Boston, which he put to work as an elementary school teacher in Quincy, including at the Snug Harbor Community School in the city's Germantown neighborhood.

He later served for roughly 20 years on the city's school committee, where he was often involved in labor negotiations and working as comfortably with parents as he did with the mayor, said Richard DeCristofaro, a former Quincy superintendent who also coached basketball with Mariano in the city.

"He had the same skills then, the same way of ingratiating himself with players, knowing when to talk with them," said DeCristofaro, now Quincy College's president. "He makes connections with so many people."

Politically, Mariano has a reputation as a moderate to conservative Democrat, voting against a signature measure of progressive Democrats to boost taxes on the state's millionaires. But several liberal legislators and a lobbyist said Mariano has also aligned with them in significant and controversial battles.

Arline Isaacson, co-chair of the Massachusetts Gay and Lesbian Political Caucus, noted that Mariano cast votes in support of same-sex marriage during some of the earliest debates, when most lawmakers still opposed it.

"I didn't see it coming because of his persona," said Isaacson, who was so delighted, she called Mariano to thank him, confessing her surprise. "He laughed," she said, suggesting that, "for him, it was like, candidly, a no-brainer."

Likewise, state Representative Lindsay Sabadosa, a progressive first-term Northampton Democrat, called Mariano charming and a “very good politician.”

Sabadosa expected objections from Mariano to a bill known as the ROE Act, which reproductive rights advocates championed to codify and expand abortion access in Massachusetts.

And indeed, Mariano publicly expressed misgivings about one of the bill’s original features — eliminating a requirement that anyone under 18 get parental or judicial consent for an abortion. The Legislature ultimately scaled back the language to require parental or judicial consent for those under 16 — two years younger than under current law. (Lawmakers and Governor Charlie Baker continue to wrangle over the measure.)

But Sabadosa said she was impressed with Mariano’s response when she shared with him real-life stories in their discussions.

“He listened to me and said, ‘I get it,’” she said.

Katherine Craven, a former budget adviser to Finneran and now the chief financial officer at Babson College, said Mariano always treated her with respect at the State House, which has long been [criticized as a bastion of male chauvinism](#).

“There is a lot of sexism in that older generation, and he never exhibited any of that,” she said.

All the while, Mariano has steadily lined up support for the day when there would again be a change at the top of the House. Supporters say Mariano likely has more than 100 votes committed to him, far more than he needs to succeed DeLeo.

It’s all made for an uphill climb for Holmes, a former chairman of the Black and Latino Legislative Caucus who vowed to challenge Mariano’s bid for speaker as soon as DeLeo publicly [disclosed plans](#) to negotiate a new job at Northeastern. Holmes pointed to the deaths of civil rights activists US Representatives Elijah Cummings and John Lewis over the past two years and said the baton of Black leadership must be passed.

“This is what the lunch counter looks like to me in my generation,” said Holmes, 51. “Sure, I’m most likely going to get smoked [in the speaker’s race] but that did not stop John Lewis walking on that bridge. That did not stop people from sitting at lunch counters.”

However, Holmes, who once said DeLeo ran a “[dictatorship](#)” and has long challenged House leadership to behave equitably, has not won over many of the colleagues he would need to defeat Mariano.

He proposed sweeping changes to the House’s rules that would take away the perks and privileges of leadership. He also alienated some in the progressive caucus by voting recently against the measure to expand abortion rights in Massachusetts.

But Holmes said he feels the need to challenge Mariano for the leadership, which was passed from former House Speaker Salvatore F. DiMasi, who was convicted of federal public corruption charges in 2011; to DeLeo, a top DiMasi deputy; and now, in all likelihood, to Mariano. And some on Beacon Hill speculate it could eventually flow to Aaron Michlewitz, the House budget chairman, who was also once a DiMasi aide.

“DiMasi left here in shame,” said Holmes. “We’re still living under the lineage he put in — white guy to white guy to white guy. It’s not right.”

But Robinson, the House’s first elected Korean-American, said she believes Mariano is committed to making sure that there are voices “represented from across the spectrum” in the House.

“Yes, he might be an old white man,” Robinson said, “but he recognizes the world is very different than when he first came into the Legislature, and the expectations of what people want from a leadership team in terms of diversity — not just of opinion but also of background — is going to be important.”

Now, many believe it’s only a matter of time until that new leadership team takes hold. Though DeLeo has yet to officially announce his resignation, Mariano supporters are preparing for a succession vote in the coming days.

After that, the same type of quiet jockeying Mariano mastered over the years could begin anew, as he fashions his leadership team and sets the House agenda.

“This is our version of a Biden presidency,” said one progressive lawmaker who did not want to be named, but who is not unhappy about the likelihood of Mariano — an entrenched centrist — being speaker. The lawmaker said progressives should begin unifying around their choice for the next speaker, after Mariano.

“The moment one speaker ascends, the next speaker fight begins.”

Todd Wallack contributed to this report.

A deal-making new House speaker

Mariano is no progressive, but his fans say he’ll listen to everyone 12/29 20. see lots of details in

<https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/a-deal-making-new-house-speaker/>

4. House Ways & Means Chair Representative Aaron Michlewitz (D-Boston)

Chief of Staff: Blake Webber, Budget Director: David Bunker, Tim Sheridan

Democratic member of the [Massachusetts House of Representatives](#) from the 3rd [Suffolk](#) District, within the city of [Boston, Massachusetts](#). The 3rd Suffolk District encompasses the [North End](#), Waterfront, [Chinatown](#), [South End](#), [Financial District](#), [Bay Village](#), [Leather District](#), and parts of [Beacon Hill](#), and [Back Bay](#) neighborhoods.... Ward 3: Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, Ward 4: Precincts 1, 3, Ward 5: Precinct 1

Born 6/7/78 in Boston. Grew up in Boston’s North End. Religion: Jewish

- MBA, Sawyer School of Management, Suffolk University, 2013
- BA, Journalism, Northeastern University, 1996-2001

President, North End Waterfront Neighborhood Council, 2005-2008

Michlewitz was elected in a special election following the resignation of [Salvatore DiMasi](#) in 2009. [1]

- Prior to the election, Michlewitz worked for the Former [Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives](#) Sal DiMasi as his Constituent Services Director from 2004 until DiMasi's resignation on January 27, 2009. And Mayor's Office of Special Events and Tourism, City of Boston, 2001-2004

Michlewitz is currently in his second term serving as the House Chairman to the Joint Committee on Financial Services [2]. He has previously served as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Public Service, and the Joint Committee on Election Laws.

In 2016, Michlewitz was a leading author of Massachusetts's landmark legislation dealing with Transportation Network Companies like Uber and Lyft [3]. Michlewitz has also worked on crafting legislation that would regulate Short-Term residential rentals such as Airbnb [4]

See short article at <https://www.bostonmagazine.com/2019/04/23/power-profile-aaron-michlewitz/>

House Leadership 2021-2022

Ron Mariano/House Speaker/Quincy,Weymouth, Holbrook/
Claire Cronin/Majority Leader/Easton and Brockton,
<https://commonwealthmagazine.org/state-government/catching-up-with-majority-leader-claire-cronin/>

Kate Hogan/Speaker Pro Tem/Stow, Mike Moran/Assistant Majority Leader/Broghton,
Joseph Wagner/Second Assistant Majority Leader/Chicopee, Sarah Peake/Second
Assistant Majority Leader/Provincetown, James O'Day/First Division Chair/ West
Boylston and Worcester, Ruth Balser/Second Division Chair/Newton, Thomas
Golden/Third Division Chair/Lowell, Frank Moran/Fourth Division Chair/Lawrence

Others in House Leadership 2019-2020

Democrats: Speaker Robert DeLeo, Majority Leader Rep. \Mariano, Rep. Pat
Haddad/Speaker Pro Tempore, Joseph Wagner/Asst. Majority Leader, Paul Donato/2nd
Assistant Majority Leader, Michael Moran/Second Assistant Majority Leader, Division
Chairs—Kate Hogan Sarah Peake, Louis Kafka

Republican Leadership in the House. 2021-2122

Brad Jones/Minority Leader, Brad Hill/ Asst. Minority Leader, Kimberly Ferguson/Second Asst. Minority Leader, Susan Williams Gifford/Third Assistant Minority Leader, Paul Frost, Third Assistant Minority Leader

5. Senate President Karen Spilka (D-Ashland) and also represents Framingham, Holliston, Hopkinton, Natick, Medway, part of Franklin

She secured the votes to be the next Senate President in the spring of 2018 and took office July 27, 2018. She previously had been Chair of Senate Ways and Means Committee, the #2 in power Senate legislative position. She succeeded Interim Senate President Harriette Chandler who succeeded the progressive Senate President Stan Rosenberg, who had to resign due to allegations against his husband's sexual harassment misconduct.

Chief of Staff—Mary Ann Padian

Political Aide—Dave Guarino

Other aides: Mark Dalley/Operations

Policy: Jonah Beckley/Legal Counsel, Colby Dillon, Pujah Mehta, Legislation

The election of Spilka as president elevates a 65-year-old liberal who has had a varied career as a social worker, labor lawyer, and mediator. Grandparents fled anti-semitic violence in Russia in 1905 and immigrated to the US. Raised in Yonkers, N.Y., she grew up with a father who had mental illness – perhaps, she said, because he stepped on a land mine during World War II. Spilka was the legal guardian for her younger sister, Susie, who had Down syndrome. She died last year after suffering from Alzheimer's disease. After graduating from Cornell University in 1975, Spilka spent two years as a social worker at a school in Boston's South End before enrolling in Northeastern University Law School from which she graduated in 1980. As a labor lawyer, she represented unions and workers, and was employed by the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority in the 1990s. In 1999, she entered politics, winning a seat on the Ashland School Committee. Two years later, she was elected to the House, campaigning on a promise to increase education funding for her suburban district, which she

argued was being shortchanged. In 2004, Spilka was elected to the Senate. She ran for the US House seat vacated by Edward J. Markey in 2013, but lost to her state Senate colleague, Katherine Clark, and finished fifth among the five major candidates in the Democratic primary. Spilka — who has not laid out a formal legislative agenda for her potential presidency — said she is passionate about social and economic justice.

From her website:

Due to her experience in social work, law, and disability issues, Senator Spilka was named the first Senate Chair of the Joint Committee on Children, Families and Persons with Disabilities. Senator Spilka was appointed Senate Chair of the Joint Committee on Economic Development and Emerging Technologies in February 2009, as well as serving on the Senate Ways and Means Committee.

Prior to becoming a legislator, Senator Spilka was in private practice as an arbitrator and mediator, specializing in labor and employment law and community and court mediation. In addition, she has been a facilitator and fact finder in disputes in the public and private sectors, as well as a trainer of adult mediation and school-based peer mediation programs, collaborative-based collective bargaining, and conflict resolution strategies. She has also previously worked as a labor and employment attorney on behalf of employees, unions, the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority (MWRA), and the Commonwealth.

<http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2018/03/26/senate-leader-has-focused-troubled-children-families/LeP5Zx8IrtvshduZ1wpAYO/story.html>

Spilka has focused on troubled children, families throughout career
Karen Spilka says life in her house was unpredictable and scary. Growing up in Yonkers, N.Y., with a father who struggled with mental illness, she never knew when she got home whether he would be angry or happy. “I often look back on my past experiences and wonder, ‘Why did my life turn out the way it did?’ ” Spilka once said. “To be more blunt, I often ask myself, ‘Why am I not more messed up?’ ”The answer, she says, is that her volatile father forced her to become stronger, and to learn how to read people and pick up clues about their behavior. He also, she says, gave her a sense of empathy for others who struggle with problems beyond their control, and an inclination to defuse, rather than escalate, conflicts. Those qualities shaped her professional life, leading her into a varied career as a social worker, labor lawyer, mediator, and legislator who has sought to help troubled children and families find stability without ending up in the criminal justice system. Now, Spilka, a 65-year-old Democrat from Ashland, is poised to become one of the most powerful figures on Beacon Hill. Last week , she claimed to have enough votes to become the next Senate president, a role that will make her one of the most significant forces in state

policymaking, along with House Speaker Robert A. DeLeo and Governor Charlie Baker. She sees the position as the culmination of her past experiences, and an opportunity to continue to advance the Senate's liberal agenda against the more conservative House and governor. "I loved all my other jobs, my past work," Spilka said in an interview. "But this is such an incredible opportunity to combine all my background — personal, professional — and really work with my colleagues to help make a difference for the people of the Commonwealth." As president, she will face a daunting challenge trying to stabilize a 40-member chamber that has been riven by internal power struggles since December, when Stanley C. Rosenberg stepped down as Senate president amid allegations that his husband sexually harassed and assaulted four men and meddled in the Senate's official business. In an indication of the delicate task she faces, Spilka and the current Senate president, Harriette L. Chandler, who took over from Rosenberg in December, disagreed publicly on Thursday about when the actual transfer of power will take place. At an awkward press conference, Chandler said she wants to serve until her term expires in January, but Spilka declined to endorse that timeline, saying she wants to discuss the issue further. Privately, some senators want Spilka take over sooner, rather than have Chandler serve as a lame duck for the next 9 months. "It's curious that she's got the votes almost a year before the election is scheduled to take place — a lot can change in 9 months," said former Senate president Thomas F. Birmingham, who said he understands why Spilka might want to take over sooner and why Chandler doesn't want to step down early. "That's a challenge because you can't have two Senate presidents." Whenever Spilka does take the gavel, admirers say she will draw on her experience as a mediator to listen to her colleagues and let them help set the agenda. She will also use her knowledge of the Legislature's internal workings. She has served for 17 years on Beacon Hill, and has helped craft the state budget as chairwoman of the powerful Senate Ways and Means Committee since 2015. "She's a good choice," said former Senate Republican leader Richard R. Tisei. "The Senate obviously turned to a steady hand and somebody who is well-versed on the budget and most major issues. She obviously has some depth and knowledge, which I think is going to be very important." Her father served in World War II and was injured when he stepped on a land mine — a battle scar she believes contributed to his mental illness. A builder by trade, he struggled financially when the construction industry suffered, she said. Her younger sister, Susie, was born with Down syndrome, and Spilka later became her legal guardian. She died last year after suffering from Alzheimer's disease. Spilka says she got the political bug in high school when she was elected sophomore class president. After graduating from Cornell University in 1975, she spent two years working in Boston as a school social worker. She entered Northeastern University Law School hoping to study juvenile justice but switched to labor law, considering it a better fit for her skill set. After being admitted to the bar in 1981, she worked as a lawyer representing unions, and then took a job with the state office that negotiates collective bargaining agreements — an experience she says is still helpful to her as a legislator. She was also the first labor and employment lawyer at the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority. She entered politics in 1999, after moving from Cambridge to Ashland with her husband, Joel Loitherstein, an environmental engineer. After serving on several town boards, she won a seat on the Ashland School Committee, and formed a coalition to lobby the Legislature to change the formula used to disburse education

aid, convinced that it shortchanged certain suburban districts. In 2001, her state representative resigned, “and within about 10 seconds, I thought ‘Wow, I can make better change from within than from without,’ ” so she decided to run for the seat. “I called up my husband and he said, ‘Go for it,’ ” Spilka said. Spilka served in the House until 2005, when she was elected to the Senate. During her time in the Legislature, she helped create the Office of the Child Advocate, a watchdog agency that oversees the child welfare system. She also helped overhaul the CHINS (Child in Need of Services) law that allowed parents to petition courts for help for their troubled children, amid criticism that it was trapping too many families in the criminal justice system. The new system, called Children Requiring Assistance, is designed to provide more services for young people who run away from home, disrupt school, or cannot obey their parents. Spilka has also fought to raise the age at which juveniles can be tried as adults to 21. Spilka has said her own tumultuous childhood convinced her “it is unfair for us to expect [children] to ‘grow up just fine’ when they have no supports, and cruel to punish them for the behaviors that follow when no one helps them.” Josh Dohan, who heads the Youth Advocacy Division of the Committee for Public Counsel Services, worked with Spilka to overhaul CHINS, and said it required her to bring together prosecutors, court officials, defense lawyers, and advocates who were often at odds. “What I experienced is somebody who is confidently reasonable,” Dohan said. “She didn’t pound her fists. She said, ‘I hear what you’re saying, and let’s talk about how to get past that.’ She invited people to participate, even when we were not getting our way in the moment.”

Karen Spilka installed as president of Massachusetts Senate: 'We will continue to be a leading light in our nation'

Updated Jul 26, 2018; Posted Jul 26, 2018

By [Shira Schoenberg](#)
sschoenberg@repub.com

BOSTON -- In 1906, a Russian Jewish teenager who had been protesting the czar's policies saw his friend hanged in the village square for opposing the czar. The boy, Joseph Goldstein, fled the country and came to the United States.

Goldstein's granddaughter, Karen Spilka, told the story on the floor of the Massachusetts Senate on Thursday as she was installed as Senate president.

"Like any typical American family, things weren't always easy, and life was sometimes hard, but because America had a generous immigration policy, my family's story didn't end in tragedy in a small Russian village," Spilka said. "And my story - the story of a social worker who became an improbable legislator, let alone Senate president - was able to be written."

Amid pomp and circumstance, surrounded by the governor, attorney general, cabinet secretaries, legislators, family and friends, Spilka delivered a personal speech, revealing her own family's challenges and the ways in which they shaped her policy.

Outgoing Senate President Harriette Chandler, D-Worcester, wrote in her resignation letter that it was her pleasure to be part of a "historic" transition, handing the presidency from one woman to another for the first time. Spilka will be the third female Senate president, and the third Jewish president.

Spilka said her father, a World War II veteran, suffered from undiagnosed mental illness. "As a teenager, I could see how much he was struggling, and I often wondered what his life - and mine - would have been like if he had received the services he needed," Spilka said.

Spilka said she spent 26 years as the legal guardian of her sister, who had Down Syndrome. "I got my paycheck!" was her rallying cry each week, which taught me that giving people the opportunity to participate in our economy - as well as the tools to succeed - benefits us all," Spilka said.

Spilka drew upon the story of Ella, a non-gender binary constituent who inspired Spilka to push for a bill allowing someone to mark their gender as "X" on state identification.

Spilka said she herself was inspired to run for state office after seeing inequities in the education funding formula while serving on the Ashland school board.

"It can be easy to think of what we do in government as separate from our day-to-day lives, but nothing could be further from the truth," Spilka said. "Here in the Massachusetts State House, the choices we make, big and small, help to shape the stories that will be told for years to come."

6. Senate Ways and Means Chair, Senator Michael Rodrigues

(D-Westport) and also represents Fall River, et al, see below)

Staff: Karen Almeida, Chief of Staff

Chris Marino, Budget Director Martha Kwasnick, Legal Counsel (Legislation)

Born May 30, 1959, He is a [Democratic](#) member of the [Massachusetts Senate](#) representing the 1st Bristol and Plymouth district.^[2] He is a resident of [Westport](#) who has served since January 2011.

From 1996 to 2011 he was a member of the [Massachusetts House of Representatives](#) from the 8th Bristol district.^[3]

Prior to serving in the Massachusetts legislature, he was a member of the Westport Democratic Town Committee and chairman of the Westport Finance Committee.^[3]

Family: [Wife: Patricia; 2 Children: Ian, Mayka](#) Religion: probably Catholic

- Attended, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth
 - BS, Accounting, Southeastern Massachusetts University, 1983
- President/Treasurer, ABC Floor Covering, 1982-present Runs a small business

District: First Bristol and Plymouth -- Consisting of the city of Fall River and the towns of Freetown, Somerset, Swansea and Westport in the county of Bristol; and the towns of Lakeville and Rochester in the county of Plymouth.

Progressive side—Was strong on the Millionaire’s Tax, Worked for an amendment to freeze income tax reduction and instead fund the Earned Income Tax Credit, Supports ending or limiting the Film Tax Credit

Conservative Side—voted against Minimum Wage increase, against progressive amendments in the Criminal Justice Reform bill 2018, supported Question 2 Referendum 2016 on increasing Charter Schools, supported delaying implementation of Earned Sick Time law

7. Others in Senate Leadership 2019-2020

Senator Cynthia Creem/Majority Leader, William Brownsberger/Pro Tempore, Harriette Chandler/President Emerita, Joan Lovely/Asst. Majority Leader, Michael Barrett/Asst. Majority Leader, Sal DiDomenico/Asst. Majority Leader, Michael Rush/ Senate Majority Whip, Julian Cyr/Asst. Majority Whip, Cindy Friedman/Vice Chair of Senate Ways and Means

Republican Leadership in the Senate 2019-2020

Bruce Tarr/Minority Leader, Ryan Fattman/Asst. Minority Leader, Patrick O’Connor/Minority Whip, Dean Tran/Asst. Minority Whip

8. Caucuses in the Legislature:

Black and Latino Caucus—yearly revolving Chair, it’s Rep. Chynah Tyler for 2021

House Progressive Caucus—Co-Chairs, Rep. Tricia Farley-Bouvier, Rep. Jack Lewis

Senate Progressive Caucus—Senator Jamie Eldridge

Gateway Cities Caucus—Rep. Tony Cabral/House Chair and Senator Eric Lesser/Senate Chair

Women’s Caucus—House Chair/Rep. Liz Malia, Senate Chair/Senator Cindy Friedman

9. Some of the on-going questions in state politics

a. **The Governor/The House Speaker/The Senate President**

The permanent negotiations, trading, compromising, and one-upmanship as well as cooperation that can happen between Governor Baker, Speaker DeLeo, Senate President Chandler on budget and legislative issues. The 3 of them meet every Monday.

b. **How the House Speaker and Senate President exercise their power**.....what's the balance between democracy and unilateral power exercised at times in these positions.

The Speaker and Senate President appoint Committee Chairs and others leadership positions which give those chosen some more power on some legislation and budget items and also give them extra pay. And in return they are supposed to generally vote in the way the Speaker and Senate President wants them to. Currently the Senate is seen as more liberal than the House and the Senate gives Committee Chairman somewhat more power than the House does. **The culture of centralized power exercised by House Speaker DeLeo was described in this article** by a non-profit lobbyist

<https://commonwealthmagazine.org/opinion/ex-lobbyist-reveals-how-the-house-really-works/>

.... He described a campaign where they had a majority of legislators supporting the bill and the Speaker saying that many privately told me they don't really support it (an impossible barrier to get over)....that despite their being Chairs of thirty-five committees being in a level of leadership, most decisions are made by the Speaker who sometimes listens to around 3-5 other state representatives in an inner leadership group...he describes how few bills advance without the Speaker's direction and most budget proposals are hard for legislators to change.

Every committee chair and vice chair are appointed by the House Speaker and part of his leadership team and receive additional pay--about 40 state representatives out of 160 have these positions with increased pay because of the House Speaker's decision.

State budget decisions and the power of the Speaker... in the House are mostly made in a back room, Room 348, located beside the House Chamber and behind a door reading "Members Only"....state representatives who file amendments for additional funding, can come alone or with others to plead their case for their amendment. Most amendments are rejected and a few get funded partially or in full. Any legislator can ask for debate and roll call vote before the full House, but most balk at that because the House leadership almost always has the votes to defeat the amendment. Given this process, community and labor groups trying to support a Budget Amendment should also ask legislators if they will go to the Budget Caucus on the amendment.

See article on this process written in 2019

<https://www.bostonherald.com/2019/04/29/speaker-deleo-defends-back-door-budget-process/>

- c. **‘Tough votes’ and ‘Protecting the Members’**—This is hard to explain on paper. Some legislators expect the House Speaker and Senate President to ‘protect’ them from “tough votes” defined as more controversial issues that an opponent could use the vote of the incumbent against them in a contested election. In some cases, without being asked to do it, the House Speaker or Senate President might act to prevent a “tough vote” by just assuming some of the members want them to do this for them. Preventing tough votes can include not allowing an issue to come up for a vote, holding it in committee, amending it substantially, preventing a roll call vote with parliamentary powers, etc. This can end up preventing important and controversial issues from ever getting a vote and there not being a record of how people voted.

But the alternative for community and labor groups is to organize enough people to meet with their legislators and ask them to not only commit to vote for something but commit to communicate that to the House Speaker or Senate President. And you can say, you’d also have their back and would work for their re-election if they did take on a tough vote and end up having an opponent because of that vote. Or additionally, group or coalition could collect signatures to qualify the proposed law as a referendum for the ballot.

d. **Protections for incumbents make it harder for more people of color and woman to get elected**...the Legislature is 91% white and the state is 72% white [though some people of color are not yet citizens] (see article, “Why the Protection of Incumbents Hurts Beacon Hill’s Reach for Equality....fundraising advantage for incumbents, incumbents listed first on ballots with their title....
<https://www.wbur.org/news/2018/12/20/beacon-hill-reelection-machine>

- d. **Cities and Towns depend a lot in their budgets on annual state budget grants called Local Aid.** Local Aid comes in different categories like municipal aid, lottery aid, and school aid.
Because of the limits cities and towns have on raising property tax based on the Proposition 2 ½ law, these Local Aid grants are vital to city and town finances. Because of the Recession and decisions by the Legislature and Governor, Local Aid has been cut significantly during the Recession years of 2008-2011.
- e. **Massachusetts has virtually no County government.** All county offices like District Attorneys and House of Corrections/jails are funded out of the state budget. By comparison, a fair number of states have county government with powers over many areas and with their own budgets. Since we don’t have that

here, it **pushes organizations to have to work at the statewide level** for budget appropriations for programs for their local communities.

- f. **Also, local communities cannot pass local legislation in some areas so that means either a state law has to be passed or nothing can be changed.** For example, a city can't pass its own law on say foreclosure prevention or on raising the minimum wage. They can pass what's called a home rule petition which asks the Legislature to give their community the power to pass such a bill on that specific issue, but the Legislature won't usually pass such a bill, unless it applies to a non-controversial issue in one city or town.
- g. **Budget deficits and taxes** and the "Taxachusetts" term
Property taxes and some state taxes were high in Massachusetts in the 1970's and more conservative groups used the disparaging term "Taxachusetts" to campaign for tax cuts. This was not completely unfair since in 1977, MA had the third highest local and state taxes, but no longer when MA cut taxes more than any other state than 1 over the last 20 years and now is in the middle of states in tax levels.

In 1980, **Proposition 2 ½** or Prop 2 ½ was passed to severely limit the growth in property taxes. It can only be overridden by a local referendum vote. That's hard to win because people have to vote to raise their own taxes. Since 1980, the state has annually passed major grants to cities and towns called Local Aid that have helped them with funding their municipal and school budgets that they couldn't do without this state aid.

Massachusetts went from being in the top 3 states in tax levels to now being in the m 25th among states of the nation in state and local tax levels. The label "Taxachusetts" does not apply anymore, but will be called up and still used by those who oppose any tax increase anytime. Massachusetts actually cut taxes more than 48 of the other 49 states to go from #3 on tax levels to #25 amongst states. See research on this done by MA Budget and Policy Center.

2009 increase in sales tax brought in \$800 million to avert that much more in budget cuts. No tax increases in 2010. Budget deficits in 2008-2011 due to the Recession and tax breaks resulted in overall budget cuts each of those years. Increases in health care costs for Medicaid, Mass. Health, and state employees are costly.

Some 40 tax breaks costing about \$3 billion in lost revenue were passed during the 1990's. Once the recession hit 2002-2004, post 9/11, and income tax and capital gains revenue dropped, there was a huge deficit that has been filled by substantial budget cuts and use of reserve "rainy day" funds. State Local Aid to cities and towns has still not been restored to 2002 levels, including inflation and many prevention programs cut.

The Raise UP Massachusetts Coalition attempted to change this picture by moving to get the Fair Share Constitutional Amendment on the 2018 ballot. It would have raised \$1.9 Billion annually in new revenue through raising state income tax rate by 4% on earnings of millionaires after their first million. The Supreme Judicial Court ruled it could not be on the ballot because it said raising taxes and spending the money on education and transportation were unrelated issues. The vote was 5-2 and 4 of the 5 justices who ruled this way were Governor Baker's appointees. This was a major blow because it had a very good chance to pass based on the polls and so much could have been done with the \$1.9 Billion that would have been dedicated to education and transportation. Raise UP MA has come back in 2019 to file a legislative version of the Fair Share Amendment/Millionaire's Tax, which is less legally challengeable. It got the first of two Constitutional Convention votes in 2019 and if gets another in 2021-2022, it will be on the 2022 ballot.

- h. **Campaign Contributions** for state legislators and the Governor are available at the Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance. A place to do research but many business special interests give to Democrats, especially those in Leadership, since the Legislature has a large Democratic majority, but still a fair place for research.

Case Study: "The Grand Bargain" June 2018

This refers to the negotiations between Raise UP Massachusetts, leaders of 5 Big Business groups, and state legislators that led to passage of a compromise bill on Raising the Minimum Wage, Paid Family Medical Leave, and dropping a Sales Tax Cut.

Raise UP MA's 2017-2018 campaign was to move two referenda to Raise the Minimum Wage to \$15 an hour (the fight for \$15) and to pass a Paid Family Medical Leave law, to enable paid time off for serious illness or injury. Additionally, through a parallel process we were trying to pass a constitutional amendment for a Millionaires Tax to fund education and transportation.

We collected the signature required for the two referenda in the fall of 2017 and spring of 2018 getting 360,000 signatures. We had 7 regional accountability meetings with legislators to get commitments to pass these legislatively as well. We had phone banks using the magical predictive dialer so a volunteer caller could reach 12 or actual voters an hour by phone. We had a statewide rally of 800 at our state capital. We had social media.

Big Business groups didn't let us have the playing field of referenda all to ourselves. The Retailers Association of Massachusetts collected signatures to cut the Sales Tax by \$1.2 Billion. They didn't want that so much but wanted to use it as leverage to get a two day annual Sales Tax Holiday and an end to a law enabling retail workers to be paid at time and 1/2 for Sunday work.

House Speaker DeLeo and Senate President Chandler asked Raise UP Massachusetts and big business groups to meet together with legislators to see if something could be negotiated to pass laws instead of these three referendum going to the ballot. Negotiations went on between a 6 member RUM negotiating team, 6 representatives from 5 major big business groups and 6 state legislators.

Things were upended toward the end of the Negotiations in part when our State Supreme Court ruled the Millionaires Tax off the ballot in a suit brought by 5 major big business organizations. It turned on an interpretation of what constituted unrelated items in a ballot proposal with a majority of judges saying raising taxes on millionaires and spending it on education and transportation were unrelated. In the 5-2 decision against us, 4 of the judges had been appointed by first term Republican Governor Charlie Baker who got to appoint so many judges because they others had reached their retirement age.

This led to the legislators deciding to propose a bill to raise the Minimum Wage to \$15 over 5 years and to pass a strong Paid Family Medical Leave law. But fearing that the Retailers Sales Tax Referendum might win, even though we were prepared to fight it, they gave them a 5 year phase out of Sunday time and 1/2 pay and a smaller tipped wage increase if they withdrew their Sales Tax Cut referendum and they did. We were able to prevent a teen sub-minimum wage proposal from being added to this deal.

Raise UP MA did not agree to the final terms of the Grand Bargain especially because it included the repeal of time and ½ pay for retail workers on Sundays. BUT it did include major pieces we had worked for on Raising the Minimum Wage to \$15 and on Paid Family Medical Leave.

We voted not to go to the ballot on Paid Family Medical Leave because the legislation offered was close enough to what was in our ballot proposal for it to be a major victory. We voted not to go to the Minimum Wage because we achieved our main goal of raising wages for 840,000 low wage workers by \$2.75 billion in wage increases. Even had we gone to the ballot, we could not have stopped the cut in Sunday time in a half pay for retail workers because that was of course not in our ballot proposal. We regretted that the tip worker raise was smaller than we hoped for but we had defeated a proposal for a major sub-minimum wage for teens for 90 days of their employment.

Lessons:..

1. The power of courts and the importance of who appoints the judges.
2. Big Business groups will use referendum strategies too and we need to anticipate how and with what.
3. We sometimes may try to project what the other side might attack and include upholding it within a referendum to further an issue,
4. If the hard work is done to build a strong coalition and funding raised, then we're capable of collecting hundreds of thousands of signatures to bring major social justice legislation directly to the voters.

10. Other State Constitutional Officers

a. **Attorney General: Maura Healey**

Elected 2014.

Maura Healey upset Warren Tolman for the Democratic nomination in 2014 as he'd previously run for Governor and had most of the labor support. She has worked for the previously for Attorney General, Martha Coakley. Her energy, youth, tv commercial spotlighting her former basketball career, and being a women, and being gay made her an attractive candidate to many.

Healey grew up the oldest of five brothers and sisters in Hampton Falls, New Hampshire. Her mother worked as a school nurse, her father was a captain in the military and a civil engineer, and her stepfather taught history and coached high school sports. Her family roots are in Newburyport and along the North Shore, where her grandfathers worked at the post office and in the General Electric factory. From her family, she learned values of hard work, discipline, and the importance of taking care of others.

Healey graduated from Harvard College in 1992 and was captain of the women's basketball team. She played professional basketball in Europe before returning to Massachusetts to attend Northeastern University School of Law. She was inducted into the New England Basketball Hall of Fame in 2006.

Early in her career, Healey clerked for Judge David Mazzone in the United States District Court in Massachusetts. Prior to joining the Attorney General's Office, Healey was a junior partner at the international law firm Wilmer Hale (formerly Hale and Dorr), where she represented clients in the financial services, pharmaceutical, medical device, software, energy, biotechnology and professional sports sectors. She is a former Special Assistant District Attorney in Middlesex County, where she tried drug, assault, domestic violence and motor vehicle cases. She held these positions under the previous Attorney General Martha Coakley, as head of the Civil Rights Division and as Chief of the Public Protection and Business & Labor Bureau.

She is well regarded and Democrats hoped she'd run against Governor Baker in 2018 and are hoping she'll run in 2022.

She has had a high profile in the many suits by Attorney Generals against numerous Trump Administration actions.

Key Staff—Chief of Staff is Gabrielle Viator, Mike Firestone (was her campaign manager), Alicia Pradas-Monne/Criminal, Joanna Lydgate/Policy

Can initiate action on consumer issues, wage and hour violations by employers, civil rights violations, can intercede and does in auto insurance, health care, utility rate increases. Can and does file legislation. Active in the health care costs issue.

b. **Secretary of State: William Galvin (D-Brighton (Boston))**

In this office for many terms, formerly was state representative from Brighton). Power to investigate security industry fraud, oversight of state elections laws, historical land development. Faced a major challenge in the Democratic Primary 2018 from Boston City Councilor Josh Zakim, but defeated him.

c. **Auditor: Suzanne Bump (D-Braintree)**

A former state representative from Braintree, high official in then Governor Patrick's campaign for Governor in 2006, was Governor Patrick's Secretary of Labor and Workforce Development from 2007-2010. Can audit state agencies and publicize results. Has initially shown willingness to do reports and speak out to fulfill this role more actively than her predecessor. Had closer statewide election than anticipated because of growing Republican strength and snafu of paying resident assessment rate on a home she owned but didn't live in.

d. **Treasurer: Deb Goldberg (D-Brookline)** first term in office, ran previously for Lt. Governor, comes from a family that once owned the Stop and Shop Supermarket chain. The State Treasurer runs the Massachusetts State Lottery, including cash and debt management, the State Board of Retirement, and the Pension Reserves Investment Management (MA PRIM) Board, which manages the state's Pension Reserves Investment Trust (PRIT), a pooled investment fund that invests the assets of the Massachusetts Teachers' and State Employees' System, and the assets of county, authority, district, and municipal retirement systems that choose to invest in the Fund. Also the MA School Building Authority.

11. **District Attorneys** are elected for each 11 counties and direct criminal prosecutions ex. Rachel Rollins, Suffolk County District Attorney and see all 11 of them at <http://www.mass.gov/mdaa/district-attorneys/offices/>

12. Sheriffs

Sheriffs are elected for each county and run the House of Corrections, county jail, with inmates serving terms of 2 ½ years or less ex. Sheriff Steven Tompkins, Suffolk County Sheriff and see all at <http://www.mass.gov/msa/sheriffs/complete-listing.html>

13. Courts

Massachusetts has these different levels of Courts---District, Superior, Appeals, Supreme Court

All Judges are nominated by the Governor and approved by the elected Governor's Council.

Supreme Court Chief Justice Ralph Gants has been outspoken on criminal justice reform speaking of the 400% increase in incarceration since the 1980, disproportionate numbers of people of color in prison, and need to repeal long mandatory minimum sentences on drug offenders and return sentencing to judges based on facts and circumstances of each case.

Members of the State Supreme Court: Chief Justice Kimberly Budd, Justices Frank Gaziano, David Lowy, Elspeth Cypher, Scott Kafker, Dalila Wendlandt, Serge Georges

Administration of the Trial Court system---Judge Paula Carey, Chief Justice of the Trial Court and Harry Spence, Court Administrator (Harry is former head of DYS and was Receiver of the Boston Housing Authority in the 1980's)

Commissioner of Probation, Edward Dolan
Parole Board, Gloriann Moroney, Chair

II. MA Congressional Delegation

1. Senator Elizabeth Warren

Jon Donenberg/Chief of Staff, Nikko Mendoza, Massachusetts Office Director, Roger Lau-long time staff in her office and campaigns
Focus on consumer protection from actions of big banks
She is a Former Harvard Law Professor most known for her work on how bankruptcies for individuals that are most due to medical bills and unemployment.
Held oversight committee role on US financial crisis and foreclosure crisis, appointed by Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid
Proposed the Consumer Financial Products Board to regulate financial products for the interests of consumers
Takes on banks and financial institutions on practices hurting consumers.
2020 Presidential Candidate
Grew up in Oklahoma.

2. Senator Ed Markey

Was a long term, 37 years, House member from Malden area and had special focus on environmental issues. Grew up in Malden. Served two terms in Massachusetts House. See <https://www.markey.senate.gov/about> on his biography and key legislative work. In 2013, he replaced Senator John Kerry, then Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Democratic presidential candidate in 2004, when Kerry became Secretary of State.

Chief of Staff is John Walsh who ran his 2020 Re-election campaign victory over Congressman Kennedy, ran Deval Patrick's campaign in 2006, former Chair of MA State Democratic Committee

3. House Members

All are Democrats and their districts and their committees

- **Richard Neal** (WMass including Springfield), former Mayor of Springfield, **Chair of Committee on Ways and Means** 2019-
 - **James McGovern**, Worcester, former Chief Aide to Congressman Joseph Moakley...**Chair of House Rules Committee** 2019-
 - **Jake Auchincloss** Fall River to Newton
 - **Lori Trahan** Merrimack Valley, Fitchburg
 - **Seth Moulton** North Shore, decorated Iraq War veteran, on Armed Services, Budget, Small Business Committees
 - **Stephen Lynch** Boston, Brockton former State Senator, former head of Ironworkers Union local in Boston Financial Services
 - **Ayana Pressley** Boston, Cambridge, Somerville formerly Boston City Councilor
 - **William Keating**, Quincy, South Shore, New Bedford, Cape Cod...former State Senator, former District Attorney, on Homeland Security, Foreign Affairs Committees
- Katherine Clark, Assistant Speaker (4th in rank in the House)** Melrose, Malden, Framingham, etc. Committees on Education & Workforce, Scienc, Space, Technology, former State Senator and Representative. In November 2018, she was elected Vice Chair of House Democrats, the 6th ranking member of the House Democrats leadership team. See article:
<https://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/2021/03/02/katherine-clark/>

II. Political Power at the City Level in Boston

1. Mayor Kim Janey (who will become Acting Mayor during likely February 2021)

Key staff: Chris Osgood, Chief of Staff (was Chief of Streets under Mayor Walsh Samuel Hurtado, Senior Advisor, Mary Churchill—Policy Director, Stephanie Garrett-Stearns, Senior Advisor, Justin Sterritt, Chief Financial Officer, Dion Irish, Chief of Operations

Mayor Janey worked at MA Advocates for Children for 16 years on education issues. In the 1990's worked as a community organizer at Parents United for Child Care.

[From her campaign website:](#)

Kim has deep roots in Roxbury, and strong ties to the South End. She grew up in the Highland Park section of Roxbury and spent much of her childhood at her great-grandmother's house in the South End. Her father, Cliff, was raised in the Orchard Park projects and later worked as an educator in the Boston Public Schools. Her mother, Phyllis, grew up in Cambridge and was the daughter of a Baptist preacher. They instilled in her the values that continue to drive her to this day: the importance of education, the power of community organizing, and the fundamental principles of justice and equity.

Kim's own education reflects the experiences of many Boston students. Outside of the home, Kim's first educational experience was at New School for Children, a community school in Roxbury founded by Black parents who wanted their children to have a better school experience. Kim later attended the Ellis, Garrison, and Higginson Schools in Boston Public Schools. Upon transferring to BPS, the school had initially assigned her to repeat her previous grade, but her parents' steadfast advocacy saw her placed correctly, a lesson that would influence her later career in educational advocacy. Later, in the 6th grade, Kim attended the Edwards Middle School in Charlestown during the second phase of desegregation busing, and then attended the Reading Public Schools through the METCO program. She was one of two Black students in her graduating class. She later attended Smith College as an Ada Comstock Scholar.

Kim's parents were both 18 years old when she was born, and Kim's daughter, Kimesha, was born when she was only 16 years old and a junior in high school. The experience of being a young mom having to fight for her daughter, and her family's history of activism, made Kim a natural advocate for children and equity in education.

For over 20 years, prior to her election to the City Council, Kim has been a strong voice for Boston's children. She began her advocacy career organizing for early education and child care, before joining Massachusetts Advocates for Children, where she led efforts to advocate for systemic policy reforms that would ensure equity and excellence in education for students in Boston Public Schools, with a special focus on eliminating opportunity and achievement gaps for children of color, immigrant children, students who are learning English, children with special needs, and those living in poverty. Kim organized parents to successfully advocate for a new dual language school in 2014, helped to write the 2016 BPS policy on closing the opportunity and achievement gaps, and supported students at Boston Latin School in advocating for greater diversity in Boston's exam schools.

Kim has long been a recognized leader on issues of equity, racial justice, and community empowerment. She is a founding Board Member of the voting rights group MassVOTE, and has long been a champion of civic engagement. In 2009, Kim organized neighbors to form the Historic Moreland Street Neighborhood Association, which has worked with community members and city agencies to make the neighborhood more vibrant, safe, and healthy. Kim is an active elected member of the Boston Ward 12 Democratic Committee, is a member of the Massachusetts Women's

Political Caucus, and previously served on the Executive Committee of the Boston branch of the NAACP.

Equity for Boston Kim was elected to the City Council after winning a 13-candidate race in 2017, and she is the first woman to represent District 7. As our City Councilor, Kim has prioritized being responsive and accessible to residents, responding to constituent requests in a timely and effective manner. She frequently publishes a community newsletter, holds regular office hours throughout the district, and organizes an annual Easter egg hunt to engage families.

Kim has fought for our communities on the Council, holding hearings on issues ranging from displacement and gentrification to teacher diversity in Boston Public Schools. Throughout her work, Kim remains focused on equity, economic justice, and civil rights. She has been a leader in the push for greater equity in City contracting, in ensuring diversity in hiring, and in supporting families impacted by trauma. Kim has also worked to expand access to voting and to improve conditions for workers seeking to unionize.

Kim chairs the Council's Committees on Small Business & Consumer Affairs and Arts, Culture, & Special Events, and vice chairs the Committees on Education and Housing & Community Development. Kim also serves on the Council's Committees on Ways and Means, Public Safety and Criminal Justice, Civil Rights, Homelessness, Mental Health, and Recovery, and Jobs, Wages, and Workforce Development.

Kim believes that too many of our neighbors have been left out of the City's economic boom. While big corporations and a select few individuals have prospered enormously, many residents are facing higher costs of living and stagnant incomes. Seniors struggle to afford rising rents or expensive home repairs, working families seeking to buy their own home are not able to find an affordable option in the City, and those living in affordable housing face an increasing threat of displacement.

Kim has co-sponsored legislation calling for a transfer fee on luxury real estate transactions which would generate hundreds of millions of dollars for affordable housing, pushed to include resident voices in major planning decisions, and worked to pass regulations for the short-term rental industry.

"I am running for re-election so we continue our work of fighting for a more equitable Boston for everyone. With deep family roots in Roxbury and the South End, I understand that we have a lot of work to do to ensure that our community is not left out of Boston's economic boom and that we can all remain in the neighborhoods that we call home. Let's continue to work together and make our neighborhoods stable, safe, and vibrant places where all feel they belong and are included. I humbly ask for your vote on Tuesday, September 24th."

[From her City Council website:](#)

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Political Caucus, and previously served on the Executive Committee of the Boston branch of the NAACP.

While many know Kim for her work in education policy, she is also very active on a number of boards and civic organizations. In 2009, Kim founded a neighborhood association in Roxbury and served as its president for the first four years. She is a member of the Massachusetts Women's Political Caucus and the Boston Ward 12 Democratic Committee. In November 2016, she was elected to the Boston NAACP Executive Committee and she has served on MassVOTE's board of directors for more than 10 years. Kim has been recognized for her service with a number of awards, including the Boston NAACP Difference Maker Award in 2015 and the coveted Sapphire Award in 2017.

Elected in an historic election, Kim became the first woman to represent District 7, which includes Roxbury, with parts of the South End, Dorchester, and Fenway. Her priorities include education, housing, small business development, and providing high quality constituent services. With deep roots in Roxbury and the South End, Kim is committed to ensuring that every resident in District 7 has equitable access to opportunities and resources, so that our neighborhoods are stronger, safer, healthier and more vibrant.

2. Boston City Council

Has limited powers on budget--they can't add appropriations, but they can cut what the Mayor proposes or if 7 or more councilors agree on something they can hold up passage of the budget to get the Mayor to negotiate with them.

- City Council President for 2020 is Kim Janey
- Council "progressives"-- Lydia Edwards, Julia Mejia, Matt O'Malley, Kim Janey, Liz Breadon, Michelle Wu, Andrea Campbell, Ed Flynn, Ricardo Arroyo, Kenzie Bok
- Council "moderates"—Frank Baker, Michael Flaherty,
- Anissa Essabai from Dorchester both progressive and moderate directions.
- These labels don't necessarily apply to labor issues!!
- NOTE: City Councilors who want to run for Mayor...currently City Councilors Andrea C Campbell and Michelle Wu are running against Mayor Walsh in 2021
-

4. Boston School Committee---In Boston, the School Committee is appointed by the Mayor. This change in the law was done by Mayor Flynn in the 1980's because the Boston School Committee had a reputation as a haven for patronage and being a stepping stone to run for higher office. It was still a contested change as people could no longer vote for these School Committee members

In other cities, the School Committees are elected and the Mayor also gets a seat on it. In towns, School Committees are elected.

Superintendent of Schools is Brenda Cassellius

Boston School Committee members (appointed by the Mayor): Alexandra Oliver-Davila/Chairperson (Director of Sociedad Latina), Michael O'Neil, Dr. Hardin Coleman, Jeri Robinson, Quoc Tran, Regina Robinson, Dr. Lorna Rivera, Khymani James/Student Representative

****NOTE:** Similar power analysis and listings can be done for other cities and their political and business, community, and labor groups.

IV. The Power of Big Business

1. Background

Massachusetts has fewer major corporations with their headquarters here than previously--ex. New England Tel. to NYNEX to Bell Atlantic, John Hancock to Manulife

Some Fortune 500 corporations are still based here-- Mass. Mutual Life Insurance, Raytheon, Liberty Mutual Insurance, TJX, Staples, BJ's Wholesale Club, EMC, State Street Corp., Boston Scientific, Almerica Financial, State Street Bank.....

BUT, thinking about the 'new emerging economy' and significant companies here like Wayfair, HubSpot, etc.

AND all the biotech firms....Sanofi Genzyme, Biogen, Pfizer, Takeda, Vertex, Merck, Novartis, Bristol-Myers Squibb

Loss of these Fortune 500 corporations, that had been based in Massachusetts, in recent years due to mergers and acquisitions--Gillette, John Hancock, Digital, Polaroid, Fleet/Bank of Boston, Filenes, etc.

Shot of pride—General Electric GE is moving its corporate headquarters here from Connecticut, announced in January 2016 but then cutting back

Other business figures: Jack Connors, former Chair of Hill Holiday and Partners Health Care...and see others below.

Much of what affects business is not decided by state government BUT business organizations and individual major companies do step up to influence state decisions affecting their interests.

There power of money in defeating/advancing legislation and referendums (ex. story of tech firms in gaining repeal on tax on tech services, story of Fidelity and financing opposition to the Community Preservation Act referendum 2001 in Boston, story of earned income tax cut not being paid for by ending a corporate tax cut as originally passed, etc.)

- What are mutual self interests with community/labor groups--education, job training...
- See Big Business role in the "Grand Bargain" 2018 Negotiations on Minimum Wage, Paid Family Medical Leave, Sales Tax Cut, Millionaires Tax on pages 27-28
MA High Tech Council, AIM, National Federation of Independent Businesses, MA Taxpayers Foundation, MA Competitive Partnership raised \$1 million for 2018 court suit that led to State Supreme Court decision to rule the Millionaire's Tax off the ballot...saved \$8 Billion for millionaires over 4 years and deprived state of \$8 billion that would have been dedicated to education and transportation

2. Who got major state tax cuts in the 1990's?

A major company led the effort to get each tax cut

- a) Financial services--"the Fidelity tax cut"
- b) Defense contractors--"the Raytheon tax cut"
- c) Insurance companies--"the Hancock tax cut"
- d) Banks--"the Fleet and Bank of Boston (now they are merged and part of Bank of America) tax cut"
- e) Capital gains tax cuts--tax cuts for especially those wealthy people with lots of stocks
- f) Income tax cut by referendum 2002 from 5.5% to 5%--benefited all taxpayers (referendum passed to lower it from 5.5% to 5%, but not implemented fully because of revenue deficits—then House Speaker Tom Finneran blocked full implementation because of this in 2003...but then implemented over many years back to 5%).

3. Business Organizations and their Lobbying Groups-

Community groups should look for mutual self interests, when possible, with the business community since that can strengthen your campaigns on policy, legislative, and budget issues.

Ex. Many business groups may give some support to particular initiatives on education and job training, that develops the work force of the future.

Some business groups and their directors:

- **Associated Industries of Massachusetts (AIM)**, John Regan, formerly on House Speaker Tom Finneran's staff, Chris Kealey VP

- **Massachusetts Competitive Partnership**, 16 of the most powerful CEO's make up this group, Jay Ash is the Director. He was Secretary of Housing and Community Development for Governor Baker, Chelsea City Manager, COS to House Ways and Means Committee under Rep. Richie Voke See Board members at <https://www.masscompetes.org/about-us>
- **Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce**—Jim Rooney, was formerly head of MA Convention Center Authority, Assistant Manager of the MBTA
- **Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation**—Eileen McAnney, Director—watchdog on the state budget, Eileen previously worked for Associated Industries of MA, Doug Howgate is VP and previously worked for Senate President Spilka
- **Massachusetts Business Roundtable**—Jon David “JD” Chesloff, Director
- **Jobs for Massachusetts, a monthly meeting of business leaders with the**
Governor, House Speaker, and Senate President
- **Massachusetts High Technology Council**—Christopher Anderson
- **Massachusetts BioTech Council**—Robert Coughlin
- **MA Life Sciences Center**—Travis McCready,
- **Massachusetts Software Council**
- **Greater Boston Real Estate Board, Mass. Association of Realtors, and Mass. Home Builders**
- **Retailers Association of Massachusetts**—Jon Hurst
- **Alliance for Business Leadership** Jen Benson, Director and a former state representative
- **MA Restaurant Association**, Bob Luz, President and CEO
- **Worcester Regional Chamber of Commerce**—Tim Murray, former Lt. Governor
- **South Shore Chamber of Commerce**--Peter Foreman, former Republican Congressman
- **Boston Financial Commission**—watchdog on Boston budget issues
- **New England Business Council**—Jim Brett (former state representative and 1993 candidate for Mayor of Boston) is its director, focuses on national issues affecting the New England states
- **Greater Boston Real Estate Board and MA Association of Realtors**
- **New England Venture Capital Association**
- **A Better City**—transportation issues, Rick Dimino, etc.

NOTE: The first five business organizations listed below also meet monthly to coordinate and decide on new issues and ask the other groups to step up on certain issues.

a. Massachusetts Competitive Partnership was formed in 2008 to spur jobs and economic development across the state and for small and midsize businesses as driving that. It played a role in economic development proposals made by both Governor Patrick and Senate President Murray in 2010. The newspapers are calling it the “New Vault” after the business coalition that played a big role in Boston politics and development in the 1960’s and 1970’s (The old Vault got their name because they originally met in the vault area of Boston Safe

Deposit and Trust Bank.) 16 CEO's attend its meeting whereas other business groups are often represented by other senior staff but not their CEO's.

It's agenda is focused on business climate issues of taxes, education and workforce development, health care costs, and support for the economies in Gateway Cities.

The Massachusetts Competitive Partnership was founded by John Fish of Suffolk Construction, retired Bank of America and former Fleet Bank CEO Chad Gifford, and William Swanson, former CEO of Raytheon.

President and lead staff is Jay Ash. He formerly was Secretary of Economic Development and Housing for Governor Baker, City Manager of Chelsea, House Ways and Means aide to Rep. Richard Voke.

See articles on them at <https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2016/01/11/meet-boston-most-powerful-business-group/pieWzRKM1J0DyVa1W5qz5H/story.html>, <http://media.wrko.com/a/112472759/jon-chesto-boston-globe-on-the-states-most-powerful-and-sective-business-group.htm>

Now, it includes these CEO's:

Jack Connors/Connors Family Office [Connors is an important power figure—(he formerly headed Hill, Holiday, a major ad agency, was for many years Chair of Partners Health Care, and is a major philanthropist for Catholic schools, the Camp Harbor View summer camp on the harbor island of Long Island, etc., see this 2010 article on him <http://www.bostonmagazine.com/2010/09/jack-connors-last-king-boston/>), Chair and Chief Fundraiser for Governor Baker's 2018 Re-Election Committee

Fidelity Investments executive Abigail Johnson, Roger Crandall/Mass Mutual, Joseph Hooley/State Street, Dr. Jeffrey Leident, Vertex Pharmaceuticals, Brian Moynihan/Bank of America, Ronald Sargent/Staples

b. Associated Industries of Massachusetts (AIM)—largest business group, John Regan, President and CEO (Rick Lord, was former President and was formerly a House Ways and Means Committee Chief of Staff)

c. Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation—Eileen McAnney, Director—formerly worked for Associated Industries of Massachusetts, had been headed for a long time previously by Michael Widmer.

d. MA Business Roundtable—75 larger corporations, their CEO's don't represent them at meetings, but senior executives do JD Chesloff, Director Chris Kealey, staff

- e. **Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce**—Jim Rooney is new director replacing Paul Guzzi in late 2015, Rooney formerly ran MA Convention Center, was Chief of Staff for Mayor Menino for 2 years, started at track laborer at the MBTA and over 18 years worked up to being Deputy General Manager, grew up in South Boston, attended Boston Latin School and Harvard, lives in Dorchester.
- f. **National Federation of Independent Businesses**—Chris Carolozzi, Director
- g. **Massachusetts High Technology Council**—Chris Anderson
- h. **Worcester Regional Chamber of Commerce**...headed by former Lt. Governor Tim Murray who bring his experience from 8 years as Lt. Governor and before that as a Worcester City Councilor and Mayor

h. Jobs for Massachusetts

A monthly meeting of the Governor, House Speaker, Senate President with certain business, labor and health care leaders.

- **i. Alliance for Business Leadership** Jessie Mermel/staff (a progressive business organization and includes significant business leaders

j. Sectors of the Economy and some major companies

Banks--Bank of America (national CEO Brian Moynihan lives in Wellesley) , State Street (Ronaldo O'Hanley), Citizens, Santander, Eastern (Robert Rivers), TD Bank North

Financial Services—Fidelity, Putnam Investments, Wellington Hill, Brown Brothers/Harriman

Manufacturing—Raytheon, General Electric (moved its corporate headquarters to Boston in 2016)

Computers/Software—EMC Corporation, Athenahealth

Biotech— Sanofi Genzyme, Biogen, Pfizer, Takeda, Vertex, Merck, Novartis, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Boston Scientific, Shire

Insurance—Liberty Mutual, John Hancock, Massachusetts Mutual

Health Care—see below

Retail—Marshalls, Staples, Bose, have corporate headquarters in Massachusetts

Accounting—Price Waterhouse, Deloitte, Ernst and Young, KPMG, McGladrey

Communications/political consulting/lobbying Rasky and Baerlein, Regan Communications, O'Neill and Associates, Denterlein Worldwide

Law Firms—see below

Real Estate Developers build major commercial developments and own them

ex. Chiofaro Company, Don Chiofaro and 1 International Place in Boston and pending additional major development

k. Law Firms

Major law firms represent corporations and hospitals.

Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky Popeo PC—a major law firm
And they set up ML Strategies as lobbying group that is run by former
Republican Cabinet Secretary Steve Tocco, former Republican Governor William
Weld, and William “Mo” Cowan, former Chief of Staff to Democratic Governor
Deval Patrick and a former interim US Senator (Cowan is now with General
Electric)

Some of the other large law firms include: Ropes and Gray, Goodwin Procter,
Bingham McCutcheon, Foley Hoag

I. Corporate Headquarters in Massachusetts can make a difference in their local
presence on issues, campaign donations, charitable donations, CEO presence, amount
of employees.....Major companies with headquarters in Massachusetts: Raytheon,
EMC Corporation, Liberty Mutual Insurance, Mass Mutual Insurance, Fidelity
Investments, New Balance Shoes (Jim Davis, CEO), Bose, Marshall’s/TJ Max, General
Electric (GE), Boston Scientific, Vertex

m. Lobbyists—Corporations employ lobbyists to work on state and city
legislation
regulations, budget issues.

Boston Globe on 9/11/18 identified these as the top lobbying firms:

ML Strategies (with Mintz, Levin law firm) includes Steve Tocco, former Weld
Administration official, former Governor William Weld, Mo Cowan (former Chief of
Staff to Governor Patrick and filled last period of Senator Kerry’s seat after he was
appointed Secretary of State),
Smith, Costello, Crawford—Jim Smith, former state representative Michael Costello
O’Neill and Associates—Tom O’Neill, former Lt. Governor

Top Lobbying firms in 2018

Lobbying firm	2018	2017	2016	Largest 2018 client
ML Strategies	5,161,232	3,879,804	4,089,106	New England Aquarium (\$420,000)
Smith, Costello & Crawford	3,213,579	1,949,929	1,019,499	Mass Gaming and Entertainment (\$240,000)
O'Neill & Associates	2,710,130	2,715,995	2,992,696	Mohegan Tribal Gaming Authority (\$159,000)
Kearney Donovan & McGee	2,203,554	1,955,833	1,805,192	Direct Energy Services (\$104,000)
Rasky Partners	2,030,500	2,420,549	2,131,206	Dell Inc. (\$180,000)
Murphy Donoghue Partners	1,919,925	1,883,776	1,866,773	Mass Mutual (\$156,000)
BCB Government Relations	1,750,442	1,797,991	1,753,342	Massachusetts Beverage Association (\$155,000)
Travaglini, Eisenberg Kiley	1,714,686	1,624,886	1,433,691	Cambridge Health Alliance (\$124,086)
Preti Strategies	1,587,926	1,606,195	1,344,729	Cubic Transportation Systems (\$110,000)
Suffolk Group	1,584,879	1,560,180	1,612,303	EMD Serono (\$155,000)
Serlin Haley LLP	1,480,560	1,264,059	1,186,815	MA Assisted Living Association (\$120,000)
The Brennan Group	1,390,297	1,326,289	1,511,919	Tufts Cummings School of Veterinary Medicine (\$208,013)
Brian S. Hickey Associates	1,329,152	1,440,152	1,396,100	Eversource Energy (\$180,000)
Dewey Square Group	1,157,378	1,250,504	1,500,409	Tenet Healthcare (\$250,000)
McDermott Quilty Miller	1,139,099	1,209,599	1,144,724	Wine and Spirits Wholesalers of Ma (\$174,999)
The Karol Group	1,092,019	1,115,670	967,500	Bank of America (\$109,000)
Beacon Strategies Group	429,000	1,432,763	1,353,500	Uber (\$90,000)
				SOURCE: Secretary of State website.

Travaglini [former Senate President Robert Travaglini]/Eisenberg/Kiley see <http://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/blog/2014/03/13/chart-week-beacon-hill-lobbying-firms/>

George Regan runs the Regan Communications Group, a major political consulting firm, which advises executives of corporations and some public officials. He was Press Secretary to Boston Mayor Kevin White before starting this firm in the 1980's. His August 2022 wedding included 400 guests with a who's who of corporate leaders, political leaders, and reporters.....Governor Baker, Senator Markey, Robert Kraft, Arthur Wynn, Jim Davis, etc. attended.

<https://www.boston.com/culture/lifestyle/2022/08/02/george-regan-elizabeth-akeley-wedding-charlie-baker-robert-kraft/?amp=1>

n. Citizens for Limited Taxation (CLT)—founded by Barbara Anderson (now deceased), organized for the passage of 1980 Proposition 2 ½ to limit increases in local property taxes, and was an on-going critic of any tax increase. Chip Faulkner is Director now. In 1986 CLT worked to pass law for income tax rebates based on growth of state budget surplus and wage growth; this came into play in 2022 when the state budget surplus led to several billion being available for this. Her group worked to defeat a graduated income tax referendum in 1994, but lost on their own referendum to further cut taxes. She and WGBH news host Jim Braude used to travel to debates between

them around that state on these referenda.....Braude back then worked then for the progressive Tax Equity Alliance of MA (TEAM).

V. Hospitals and HMO's and Community Health Centers

They play major role on health care treatment, access, costs, and are major employers. The industry is undergoing rapid transformation. Massachusetts led the nation in expanding access to health care through its Affordable Care Act of 2006 and is now addressing cost containment. The traditional base of power had been hospitals, but they are challenged on various fronts. Independent ambulatory care centers, surgical centers etc are challenging hospitals by providing services far cheaper than those provided by the hospitals.

a. Four major hospital networks

- **Partners Health Care:** Director Dr. David Torchiana (largest network, includes MGH, Brigham, North Shore Medical Center, Faulkner Hospital, Newton-Wellesley Hospital, et al) largest employer in MA with 60,000 employees—Jack Connors, was Board President. They are building a huge office complex at Assembly Mall. The move of corporate offices to Somerville angered Boston officials
- **UMass Medical Caregivers** (Worcester): second largest, Central Massachusetts hospitals
- **Beth Israel-Deaconess and Lahey** (Care Group) (Beth Israel, Deaconess, and Jordan Hospital in Plymouth, and Lahey Hospital Network)
- **Steward/Cerebus** (formerly Caritas Health Care, the 6 former Catholic hospitals) plus have since bought 4 more hospitals Dr. Ralph de la Torre, President SEIU 1199 represents most of their health care workers. Unlike the rest of health care, Steward is for profit and pays taxes (property, income, sales etc). Management and union negotiated a recognition process enabling the unions to organize without management opposition.
- **Bay State Medical Center Network** in Springfield and WMass
- Also, the **Massachusetts Hospital Association** (former State Representative Steve Walsh is its President), **MA Community Hospitals Association**

b. Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's) / health insurers

Blue Cross-Blue Shield/Andrew Dreyfus, Harvard Pilgrim, Fallon, Tufts/James Roosevelt, etc.

Tufts and Harvard Pilgrim were negotiating a merger but then called it off.

c. Neighborhood health centers

Massachusetts League of Neighborhood Health Centers, Michael Curry/ Director (he's also President of Boston Chapter of NAACP). Jim Hunt was long time Director through 2020.

d. Major doctor's practices like Atrius

e. Nursing homes and MA Federation of Nursing Homes

Nursing homes have been increasingly challenged by cuts in funding and a changing population that wants to live at home and not in a nursing home. Care has increasingly shifted to home care.

f. Independent providers in home care

The personal care attendant model was developed by the disability committee to enable persons with disabilities and conditions that qualified them for PCA coverage or remain at home. SEIU across the country partnered with the disability rights community to pass state legislation to provide a vehicle for organizing PCAs into the union.

g. Finding mutual interests

The coalition of health care organizing and advocacy groups, unions, hospitals, some HMO's around extending health care coverage to the uninsured, lessening free care pool payments by hospitals, increasing medicaid reimbursement rates to hospitals.

A key issue is cost containment. Health care costs continue to rise and elected officials are concerned that this continues to be a major budget buster as well as not affordable for many. 1199SEIU worked with a broad coalition to create a ballot question for 2016 ballot on high costs in Massachusetts which would create a fairer funding mechanism for community hospitals.

Hospitals are supposed to provide community benefits in preventative health care measures based on state regulations. When a hospital builds a new building, they need to create a fund for community health care benefits under the Determination of Need process.

VI. Universities and Colleges

As major employers, landowners, as places with research centers that impact on jobs and public policy.

- Private colleges and universities—ex. Harvard, MIT, Boston University, Northeastern, Boston College, Wellesley, Holy Cross, Clark, Amherst, Babson, Tufts, etc.
- State Universities--UMass campuses—at Amherst, Dartmouth, Boston, Lowell, Worcester
- State Colleges--Framingham State, Fitchburg, Bridgewater, Salem, etc.
- Community Colleges--Roxbury, Bunker Hill, North Shore, Massasoit, Bristol, Middlesex, Holyoke, Berkshire, etc.

State universities play not as much of a role as say in Midwest and southern states as less a % of legislators graduated from them, the many private universities here; this is reflected in less state budget funding to them compared to other states.

VII. Foundations and their role in giving and public policy

The Boston Foundation and its president Paul Grogan (to be succeeded June 2021 by Lee Pelton, current President of Emerson College)—They are the largest foundation in terms of grants and they undertake and have significant influence on state legislation and funding for their policy initiatives supporting pilot schools and charter schools, cultural funding, suburban affordable housing development, StreetSafe street outreach worker program, SkillWorks initiative on job training partnerships and public policy work, CORI reform.

Barr Foundation is another major foundation focusing on education, cultural issues James Canales, new President in 2014. Funds come from Amos Hostetter, founder of Continental Cablevision.

The Yawkey Foundation, Hyams Foundation, Strategic Grant Partners are other larger funders in Massachusetts.

See, list of 40 largest MA foundations at: <https://www.tgci.com/funding-sources/MA/top>

VIII. Media

When do they push & set the agenda, when do they react to others, and how to get them to cover your campaigns?

1. Newspapers

Boston Globe (largest circulation, their daily stories affect what TV News stations decided to cover, owned by John Henry who also owns the Boston Red Sox). Brian McGrory is Editor (was a columnist and Metro reporter before that). Won Pulitzer Prize for exposing the Catholic priest sexual abuse scandal in 2002 that was later depicted in the Academy Award winning film called “Spotlight”.

Boston Herald: Joe Dwinell/Editor Tabloid style daily newspaper and the newspaper competitor of the Globe. Has a more conservative editorial policy than the Globe.

Daily papers in other cities/regions of the state—Worcester Telegram, Lynn Item, Brockton Enterprise, New Bedford Standard Times, Fall River Herald, MetroWest Daily News, Springfield Republican, Lowell SUN, Lawrence Eagle Tribune, Berkshire Eagle, MetroWest Daily News, etc.

Weekly papers in many communities across the state, too.

2. TV

Channels 4CBS, 5ABC, 7, 10NBC, 25Fox, New England Cable News Network (NECN), Univision

Providence based TV stations cover New Bedford and Fall River and Springfield/Hartford stations cover parts of Western Massachusetts.

Jim Braude has a political news show Boston Common on WGBH TV on Monday-Thursday at 7:00

3. Radio

WBUR and WGBH are the NPR affiliates in Eastern Mass.

AM radio stations like WBZ and WRKP have significant listenerships.

Jim Braude and Marjorie Egan have a 11-2 talk show on WGBH radio that has the Governor and Mayor of Boston as guests every month.

4. **Immigrant newspapers** and radio and TV ex. Univision Spanish language TV station

IX. Labor Unions

Most unions belong to the Massachusetts AFL-CIO as the umbrella union organization. The individual unions belong to that and national union, sometimes called international unions, often based in Washington, DC. There are regional coalitions of unions called Central Labor Councils, see list at <http://www.massafcio.org/central-labor-councils> that bring together unions for joint action, see below. There are also special constituency organizations connected to the labor movement like MassCOSH, A.Philip Randolph Institute, Pride at Work.

Unions join with community and religious groups in various coalitions and campaigns. Unions have presence at the State House on legislation and budget issues. Unions are a major constituency within the Democratic Party and make endorsements and give donations and donate volunteers to work on campaigns of candidates they endorse.

Some of the major sectors of jobs that unions are in:

- **--Public sector representing workers at local, state, and federal government** (ex. MA Teachers Association/ Merrie Najimi/President, SEIU 509 and SEIU 888/ Brenda Rodrigues/President, American Federation of Teachers MA/Beth Kontos/President, AFSCME, NAGE)
- **--Private sector** ex. IBEW and CWA for Verizon workers, IUE/CWA for General Electric workers in Lynn, IBEW for Raytheon workers, UAW and Steelworkers for others....
- **--Building trades unions:**....17 different building trades unions with locals, MA Building Trades Council--Frank Callahan, and Greater Boston Building Trades Council—Brian Doherty, Carpenters Union—Tom Flynn, IBEW Local 103—Lou Antonellis, Business Manager, etc.

- **--Health Care:** SEIU Local 1199 representing health care workers in hospitals, nursing homes, personal care attendants, Tim Foley/ Director, FayeRuth Fisher/Political Director, Becca Gutman, Mass Nurses Association
- **--Janitors, Security Guards—**SEIU 32BJ/Roxana Rivera/President
- **Hotel and Restaurant Workers—**UNITE HERE Local 26/Carlos Aramayo/President

Some but not all of the Massachusetts unions:

- **Massachusetts AFL-CIO-**Steve Tolman, President, was formerly a State Senator from Brighton and Watertown and formerly a railroad worker, Chrissy Lynch is Chief of Staff

SEIU

SEIU 1199 representing health care workers at hospitals, nursing homes, PCA's

- **SEIU 32BJ** representing janitors and security guards, airport workers, Roxana Rivera/President, Dalida Rocha, Political Director
- **SEIU 509** representing social workers and human service workers, college adjunct professors / Peter MacKinnon/President, Chris Condon, Political Director
- **SEIU 888** representing municipal workers, Brenda Rodrigues/President and the

SEIU State Council, coalition of SEIU union headed by Harris Gruman

- **Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA)** largest union in Massachusetts. Merrie Najimi, President (Barbara Madeloni, President 2014-2018) . MTA played a major role in funding and organizing against the tax cut referendums that were proposed in the 2008 and 2010 ballot. Max Page is VP.
- **American Federation of Teachers MA** (AFT Massachusetts), Beth Kontos, President-- represents teachers in some cities like Boston (Boston Teachers Union), Springfield, New Bedford, etc. but MTA has overall more members than AFT.
- **AFSCME—**public employees
- **Massachusetts Building Trades Council**, Frank Callahan, President, and the Greater Boston Building Trades Council where Brian Doherty is President.
- **NE Carpenters Union—**Tom Flynn, Joe O'Brien/Political Director
- **Local 26 Hotel and Restaurant Workers**, UNITE/HERE, Carolos Aramayo/President
- **United Food and Commercial Workers** representing supermarket workers and some retail workers, 3 locals in MA
- **Massachusetts Nurses Association—**Julie Pinkham, President
- **UNITE** representing garment workers Warren Peppicelli
- **United Auto Workers** UAW/MassCAP Council and its Director, Willie Desnoyers and part of UAW Region 9 headed by Julie Kushner
- **Teamsters Union** Local 25
- **Greater Boston Labor Council-**Darlene Lombos, President
- **North Shore Labor Council-**Adam Kaszynski, President

- **Pioneer Valley Labor Council:** Fiore Grasseti, President and other Labor Councils in other areas of the state....full list of the regional central labor councils is at <http://www.massflcio.org/central-labor-councils>

In addition to the individual issues facing the unions there are a few significant concerns. The US Supreme Court heard a case, Friedrich's versus California Teachers Association, which threatens the public sector unions ability to collect dues from those members that refuse to join the union, but still benefit from the union contract and all the benefits they receive. The Supreme Court decided the Janus case in this June to allow people represented by public sector unions not to have to pay dues.

All the teachers unions are also concerned about funding and the future of charter schools who take students from the regular public schools. Charter school supporters placed on the 2016 ballot a referendum to allow more charter schools but a very strong organizing effort led by the MTA and MFT defeated this despite massive amounts raised for it and Governor Baker's active support

Also, **Massachusetts Jobs with Justice**, Lily Huang/Co-Director, Alica Fleming/Co-Director. Work on worker's rights including support for unions, strengthen support for public education, immigrant rights, mutual aid.

Also, the **Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC)** supporting and representing restaurant workers on issues of wages and working conditions.

Immigrant Workers Centers support and organize immigrant workers on wage and working conditions violations....**groups like MassCOSH, MetroWest Immigrant Workers Center, Pioneer Valley immigrant Workers Center, Chinese Progressive Association, Chelsea Collaborative, CCT/New Bedford, Brazilian Immigrants Center, Brazilian Women's Group Fuerza Laborat. Justice at Work** provides legal back up to immigrant workers centers.

X. Religious Groups

Roman Catholic is the largest religious group. Cardinal Sean O'Malley heads the Archdiocese of Boston and there's also the Diocese of Fall River, Diocese of Worcester, and Diocese of Springfield. African-Americans and Latinos are in various evangelical, Pentecostal, and Main Line denominations.

Some denominations have policy and advocacy sections:

- Episcopal City Mission
- Unitarian Universalist Urban Ministry
- Massachusetts Catholic Conference
- Catholic Charities
- Jewish Community Relations Council

- Muslim Justice League

Also the same for federations of churches:

- Black Ministerial Alliance
- Massachusetts Council of Churches
- Boston Ten Point Coalition
- Latino Pastors Organization
- Emmanuel Gospel Center

See also congregation based community organizations in Section XI C above

**XI. Community organizations and issue organizations
(really only some of these are listed and please, please don't take
offense if your group is not listed)**

1. Raise UP Massachusetts

A community, labor, religious coalition, led passage of the Minimum Wage increases in 2014, Earned Sick Time benefit in 2013-2014, and led campaign for Fair Share Amendment/millionaires tax 2015-, Minimum Wage and Paid Family Medical Leave 2017-2018.

2. Multi City Organizations

Neighbor to Neighbor (N2N, Elvis Mendez/Director), Coalition for Social Justice/Deb Fastino/Director, La Colaborativa (formerly Chelsea Collaborative)/Gladys Vega, MA Communities Action Network (MCAN)/ Janine Carreiro/ Director (Lew Finfer was the former Director and Co-Director)

3. Housing...affordable housing, tenants rights, etc.

Massachusetts Affordable Housing Alliance/Tom Callahan, Hillary Pizer, Cortina Vann, Barbara Rice, Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations (MACDC)/Joe Kreisberg--see their website for the list of 60+ local CDC's around the state, Citizens Housing and Planning Association/Rachel Heller, Massachusetts Shelter and Housing Alliance/Joe Finn, Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless/Robyn Frost, Metro Boston Housing Partnership/Chris Norris, Boston Tenants Coalition/Kathy Brown, City Life/Lisa Owens, Steve Meacham, Massachusetts Alliance of HUD Tenants/Michael Kane, Boston Homeless Solidarity Committee, Massachusetts Union of Public Housing Tenants, Lynn United for Change/Isaac Hodes, Springfield No One Leaves/Rose Smith

4. Some Neighborhood or citywide or multi- neighborhood/community

organizations--NE United for Justice/Mimi Ramos, La Colaborativa (formerly the Chelsea Collaborative)/Gladys Vega, Chinatown Progressive Association/Karen Chen, Lydia Lowe, Neighborhoods United for a New East Boston/Gloribel Mota, East Boston Ecumenical Council, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Project Right/Michael Koza, Four Corners Action Coalition, Hyde Square Task Force/Celina Miranda, Sociedad

Latina/Alexandra Oliver-Davila, Union of Minority Neighborhoods/Horace Small, and many CDC's have neighborhood organizing sections of their organizations like Jamaica Plain NDC, Dorchester Bay EDC, Fenway CDC, Somerville CDC, Allston-Brighton CDC, Cleghorn Neighborhood Center/Fitchburg/Joana dos Santos, Boston Workers Alliance, Right to the City/Darnell Johnson, Action for Regional Equity Coalition/Weezie Waldstein, Boston Jobs Coalition.

5. Congregation Based Community Organizations

MA Communities Action Network (MCAN)/Janine Carreiro and its affiliates: Brockton Interfaith Community/Will Dickerson, Essex County Community Organization/ Alexandra Pineros-Shields, Margie Klein, Rev. Bernadette-Hickman, Aviva Herr-Welber, Rev. Annie Belmer, United Interfaith Action/Andrea Shepphard Lomba, Worcester Interfaith/Isabel Gonzalez, Pioneer Valley Project/Tara Parish, Emily Rodrigues, I Have a Future/ Keturah Brewster and Meredith Clark.....

Also Greater Boston Interfaith Organization/Kathleen Patron, Merrimack Valley Project/Walter Mena, Berkshire Interfaith Organization/Dondei Dean, the last 2 are part of InterValley Project network).

6. CDC's/Community Development Corporations

About 60 of them in this state. They belong to the Massachusetts Association of CDC's headed by Joe Kriesberg. Most CDC's do affordable housing development. Some run social service programs and small business assistance programs. Some have community organizers on their staffs. See list of CDC's at <https://macdc.org/members>

7. Health Care

Health Care for All as a policy advocacy organization/Amy Rosenthal, Neighborhood health centers and their statewide group, the MA League of Community Health Centers/Michael Curry, Director

8. Electoral and Voter Registration Coalitions

MassVote/Cheryl Crawford, Boston Vote, Mass Alliance-Jordan Berg Powers, Director, MA Voter Table/c3 Table---Beth Huang

9. Environmental

Clean Water Action/Cindy Luppi, Mass PIRG, Community Action Works (formerly Toxic Action Center), ACE/Alternatives for Communities and Environment/Dwain Tyndal, Environmental League of Massachusetts, 350 Massachusetts/Craig Altemose

10. Community and Labor

Community and Labor United (CLU)/ --Lee Matsueda/Director, a Boston area coalition of unions and community organizations

--Massachusetts Jobs with Justice, Lily Huang and Alicia Flemming are Co-Directors , Directors and Edward Argueta, et al

--Policy Group on Tradeswoman's Issues www.policygroupontradeswomen.org

11. Immigrant Organizations

Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition/Eva Millona, Brazilian Immigrant Center, Rian Immigration Center/Ronnie Millar, Centro Presente/Patricia Montes, Brazilian Women's Center, Muslim Justice League-Shannon Erwin, Project Alpha at Leon de Judah Church/Damaris Lopez, Patricia Sobalvarro, etc.

12. Workforce Development

Massachusetts Workforce Alliance/Tonja Mettlach, Boston Private Industry Council/Neil Sullivan, Workforce Solutions Group of SkillWorks/Kathie Mainzer, Regional Employment Boards or Workforce Investment Boards in 16 regions of the state, Midas Collaborative has programs for individuals to build savings to use for college, training, etc.

13. Latino community organizations

Greater Boston Latino Directors Association, Centro Presente/Patricia Montes, Centro Latino/Chelsea, Sociedad Latina/Alexandra Oliver-Davila, Hyde Square Task Force/Celina Miranda, Agencia Alpha/ Damaris Lopez, Patricia Sobalvarro, IBA (Inquilinos Boriquas en Accion)/Vanessa Calderon Rosado, etc.

14. Youth Organizations

I Have a Future (formerly the Youth Jobs Coalition)/Keturah Brewster, Meredith Clark, South End/Lower Roxbury Youth Workers Alliance, Youth on Board—Jenny Sazama, Project Hip Hop, Youth For Jobs, Boston Youth Organizing Project—Najma Nazyat, Dorchester Youth Collaborative/Emmett Folgert, Teen Empowerment/Abrigal Forrester, ROCA/Molly Baldwin, United Teen Equality Center (UTEC-Lowell)/Gregg Croteau, Dorchester Bay Youth Force, Sociedad Latina—Alexandra Oliver-Davila, Hyde Square Task Force, Spontaneous Celebrations, Teens Leading the Way, Boston Mobilization, The City School—Amatullah Mervin, Youth Justice and Power Union—George Lee, Tara Venkatraham,

15. Neighbor to Neighbor

Statewide organizing, electoral organizing// in Lynn, Springfield, Worcester, Holyoke/Elvis Medina, Director

16. Coalition for Social Justice

Working in Fall River, New Bedford, Brockton, parts of Cape Cod Deb Fastino, Director, Marlene Pollock, Dan Gilbarg, Maria Fortes,

17. Youth Violence Prevention

Safe Teens/Safe Communities Coalition--a coalition of 36 organizations working on funding and policy issues affecting youth violence prevention and teen jobs. Staffed by MCAN.

I Have A Future/Youth Jobs Coalition, Teens Leading the Way, staffed by UTEC/Lowell.

18. Job Training

MA Workforce Alliance/Tonja Mettlach, JVS Boston/Jerry Rubin, Amy Nishman, Workforce Solutions Group of SkillWorks--a coalition acting on issues of funding for job

training, ESL, and training and education policies affecting low wage workers. Led by Massachusetts AFL-CIO, Massachusetts Communities Action Network (MCAN), EMPATH, Mass. Association of Workforce Boards, Mass. Business Roundtable, WIA Association.

Also Boston job training groups work through the Boston Workforce Alliance Coalition.

19. Ex-prisoner organizations

EPOCA/Worcester, Boston Worker's Alliance; they played important roles in passage of CORI reform legislation along with Neighbor to Neighbor, Boston Workers Alliance

20. Senior Citizens

Massachusetts Senior Action Council/Caroline Villers, Director
AARP Massachusetts

21. Transportation

Transportation for MA (TforMA) Chris Dempsey

22. C4 Electoral groups

MA Alliance includes unions and community groups who endorse progressive candidates as a 501 c 4 group (501 c 3's cannot endorse candidates but can endorse referenda)

MA Voter Table—Beth Huang

23. Political Parties

MA Democratic Party—Gus Bickford, Chairman and Veronica Martinez, Director
MA Republican Party—Kristen Hughes, Chairwoman, Matt St. Hilaire, Executive Director

24. Legal Services groups are wonderful resources on representing people, groups, information

1. Greater Boston Legal Services (GBLS)--Attorneys working on policy, laws, legal representation on housing, workplace rights, immigration, welfare and benefits, criminal justice and CORI Sealing project, at the Housing Court on Thursdays to help tenants facing evictions

ALSO, Western MA Legal Services, Merrimack Valley Legal Services, Neighborhood Legal Services (Lynn and Lawrence), New Center for Legal Advocacy (Bristol and Plymouth Counties), South Middlesex Legal Services

2. Massachusetts Law Reform Institute (MLRI)--Attorneys working on policy, laws, legal representation on housing, immigration, welfare and benefits, and health care.

3. Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights---take on certain civil rights and discrimination issues, Ivan Espinoza Madrigal

4. American Civil Liberties Union of MA (ACLU)--take on many civil liberties issues including criminal justice reform, Carol Rose, Rahsaan Hall, Gavi Wolfe

5. National Lawyers Guild---take on civil rights and civil liberties issues

- 6. Disability Law Center
- 7. Health Law Associates

25. Voting Rights and Increasing Voter Turnout--- MassVOTE—Cheryl Crawford, Director, MA Voter Table coalition of community groups, especially groups working in lower income communities of color....Beth Huang, Director, and Common Cause-Geoff Foster, Director Election Laws, Government Ethics issues

26. Workers Centers—Metro West Workers Center, Brazilian Workers Center/Natalicia Tracy, Matahari Workers Center, Lynn Worker Center, Centro Comunitario de Trabajadores/CCT/New Bedford, Chinese Progressive Association, MassCOSH, Pioneer Valley Workers Center, La Colaborativa (formerly the Chelsea Collaborative), Brockton Workers Alliance, Brazilian Women’s Group

27. Community Action Program (CAP’s) organizations, see <http://www.masscap.org/agencies.html> located across the state that run Head Start, Fuel Assistance and other programs.....MA CAP Directors Association—Joe Diamond

28. Education organizing groups—MA Education Justice Alliance (MEJA), MA Education Equity Partnership (MEEP)-Natasha Ushomirsky, Mariel Novas, Collaborative Parent Leadership Action Network (CPLAN)—Sharita Fauche, Ivelisse Caraballo, Boston Higher Ground—Mossik Hacobian, MA Parents United-Keri Rodrigues

29. Economic Development—Black Economic Council of MA—Segun Idowu, Director, Various CDC’s work on economic development

XI. Social Service agencies

Numerous organizations: MA Council of Human Service Providers/ Michael Weeks, Director, See also Massachusetts Nonprofit Network/Jim Klocke, Director... and many, many others..

XII. Think Tanks

MA Budget and Policy Center: progressive issue policy center, Marie-Francis Rivera, Director

MassINC (MA Institute for a New Commonwealth): Louise Grogan, Director, policy work on Gateway Cities, education, criminal Justice reform. Also publish Commonwealth, daily news coverage.

Pioneer Institute: conservative policy center, Jim Stergios (Governor Baker worked here once, his current Secretary of Education/Jim Peyser worked here once)

Beacon Hill Institute: conservative policy center, David Tuerck, Director

MA Institute for a New Commonwealth (MassInc): Louise Grogan, Director, policy work on Gateway Cities, education, criminal Justice reform. Also publish Commonwealth, daily news coverage.

XIII. Some Resources

- Groups acting and reporting on state budget and legislative policy issues: **Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center** is a tremendous resource on the state budget and issue areas of poverty, jobs, wages, education, children, etc. Marie-Francis Rivera, Director.
- Groups by issue or constituency like Health Care For All, Citizens Housing and Planning Association, Massachusetts Senior Action Council, Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition, The Crittenton Women's Union.... have policy information.
- Workshops, books and materials on legislative and budget campaigns and lobbying: by non-profits by **Judy Meredith** at the Public Policy Institute and One Massachusetts (617) 275-2923, 338-0954 www.realclout.org judy@realclout.org
- **Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth (MassINC)** sponsors forums on many issues and has a very good quarterly magazine on state and local issues called **Commonwealth Magazine** which can be read on-line at www.massinc.org and has daily news updates on politics and policy issues in Massachusetts. They have a special project on support for Gateway Cities and on criminal justice reform.
- **State House News Service** writes daily extensive stories on State House events related to legislation, the budget, and state agencies. It has paid subscriptions but it publishes a Weekly News Round Up that's can be found on line at www.statehousenews.com/public/roundup.htm
- For daily email listings of articles on Massachusetts politics, sign up for free for **Politico Massachusetts and MASSterList** (see page 5 for links to free subscriptions to these daily emails) and MassInsider.

Blogs/Websites like BlueMassGroup.com (Democrats) and RedMassGroup.com (Republican)

The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston publishes research papers on various economic policy issues, see <http://www.bostonfed.org/commdev/index.htm> and <http://www.bostonfed.org/economic/index.htm>

Marshall Ganz is a long time organizer from the Civil Rights Movement, United Farmworkers Union. He teaches an organizing course at the Harvard Kennedy School and allows people to apply to audit the course. There are many, many

good articles, resources, curriculum related to community organizing and leadership development at his website www.marshallganz.com

Power Analysis Outline to use to develop your own power analysis for your city/region and/or a statewide campaign

- What do you know now to fill out this outline below?
- For what you don't know, who can you talk to who might know?
- And developing the practice of reading your daily newspaper through a lens of Power Analysis of who's doing what..

I. Story of your city/region and/or this issue

- What are the key events in the last 100 years of our city related to its economy and political and business leadership
- What kinds of people live here by race and class and how has it changed or not during the last 20 years
- What's the reputation of our city and its leaders and is that fair or not?
- What are the big challenges to writing a much better story for our people

II. Political Figures

- ex. Mayor, City Councilors, state legislators, members of Congress and their influence....
- List background, accomplishments, controversies, ambitions, key staff, key allies.....

II. Major Corporate Leaders and Business Organizations

- List agenda, accomplishments [sometimes business groups will be your opponents but on some issues such as education and job training, they can be allies, as they have an interest in continuing to develop a skilled workforce].
-

NOTE: Other organizations and institutions below in Section III-IX can be potential allies.

III. Universities, Colleges, Community Colleges and their leadership and mission

IV. Hospitals and HMO's and Community Health Centers

V. Labor Unions and their presence

VI. Social service organizations

VII. Community organizations

VIII. Media—Daily newspaper, key radio stations, Community Cable

IX. Foundations that fund your city

X. Research

Impact on people's lives of power being held mostly by major corporations, wealthy individuals, and not being racially diverse: Major issue areas and racial and class impacts on opportunity and often a disproportionate impact on people of color. What data do we have on issue/problem areas like wages, educational attainment, incarceration, poverty that illustrates lack of opportunity and disproportionate racial impact?

Appendix:

I. More Background on Governor Baker and his top staff

Governor Charlie Baker's Administration

Biography of Governor Baker (taken from his website):

As a cabinet secretary under Governors William Weld and Paul Cellucci, Baker helped lead efforts to reform and modernize state government. During his time as Chief Executive Officer of Harvard Pilgrim Health Care, Baker turned a company on the brink of bankruptcy into the nation's highest ranked health care provider for six straight years.

As a member of the Weld and Cellucci Administrations in the 1990s, Baker helped turn a billion-dollar deficit into a surplus, create a half million jobs, and enact an ambitious education reform agenda. First asked to serve as Secretary of Health and Human Services in 1992, Baker led efforts to make Massachusetts' social service system more humane, cost-effective and responsive to the needs of the Commonwealth's residents. In 1994, Baker was appointed Secretary of Administration and Finance, overseeing a number of cost-saving reforms, modernizing state government and making it more efficient. Governor Baker was recognized for his leadership and innovation by the National Governors' Association in 1998 which rewarded him with the Distinguished Service Award.

As Chief Executive Officer of Harvard Pilgrim Health Care from 1999 to 2009, Baker led the company out of receivership to become the top healthcare plan in the country for member satisfaction and clinical effectiveness. During Baker's tenure, Harvard Pilgrim was named one of Boston Business Journal's "Best Places To Work" for seven years in a row.

Raised in Needham, Baker attended Massachusetts public schools and is a graduate of Harvard College. He went on to earn a Master's of Business Administration from the Kellogg Graduate School of Management at Northwestern University.

Governor Baker and his wife, Lauren, have been heavily involved in numerous civic and charitable endeavors. They live in Swampscott, and have three children: Charlie, AJ, and Caroline.

Governor Baker's fundraising for 2018 Governor's Race: from Politico Massachusetts: A "FUND" WEEKEND DOWN THE CAPE - Gov. Charlie Baker and LG Karyn Polito's deepest-pocketed backers are

recovering from a weekend-long retreat down the Cape where they shelled out for a still-to-be-announced re-election bid. While Democratic gubernatorial candidate **Jay Gonzalez's** trackers tried to live-stream one of Baker's Friday night events (but were [swiftly booted](#) from it), the night included a policy and campaign briefing, a reception at Falmouth's stylish Seacrest Hotel, and a "lot of re-election talk about how much money has been raised, what has been accomplished in Mass, and what they expect to do going forward," an attendee tells me.

Also noteworthy: "Trump was barely mentioned," the tipster added.

Saturday included golfing at the Ridge Club in Sandwich and an evening-time lobster and clam bake at the waterfront home of Bill and Ruth Ann Carey, top Baker fundraisers, in Osterville. Guests were also given a New Balance Baker/Polito pullover sweatshirt as a take-home thank you gift.

Weekend attendees included Massachusetts First Lady Lauren Baker, Lt. Governor Polito's spouse Steve Rodalakis, state Rep. Will Crocker, Tim Buckley, Jim Conroy, Barry Sloane, NECN Meteorologist Tim Kelley and spouse Janet Fogarty, Matt Keswick, Ed Cash, John Cook, Tom Arcadipane, Mary Burns, Richard Tisei, Janet Leombruno, Larry Army, Mass GOP Chief Kirsten Hughes, George Regan, David Drummond, Jim McGinn, Brian Wynne, David Shapiro, Frank Shea, Mindy McKenzie, Mark Fuller and Caroline Alcock.

Key Staff

Kristen Lepore, Chief of Staff
Tim Buckley, Senior Advisor to the Governor
Lily Zarrella, Deputy Chief of Staff

Kelly Dwyer, Executive Director of the Council on Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence

Haley Arnold, Executive Assistant to the Governor
Madison LaCure, Scheduling Assistant
Marissa Ribeiro, Executive Assistant to Chief of Staff

Boards and Commissions

Jordan Maynard, Director, Boards and Commissions
Eric Bertino, Special Assistant, External Affairs
Noah McClanan, Deputy Director Boards and Commissions
Georgia Polemenakos, Program Coordinator

Cabinet Relations - Strategic Operations

Elizabeth Mahoney, Deputy Chief of Staff for Cabinet Affairs and Policy
Anne Selinger, Deputy Chief of Staff for Strategic Innovation
Brian Mckeon, Assistant Chief of Staff for Cabinet Affairs
Jenna Borkoski, Associate Chief of Staff for Cabinet Affairs
Lisa Dixon, Associate Chief of Staff for Cabinet Affairs
Colleen Maloney, Project Manager - Cabinet Affairs
Ben Samuels, Director of Special Projects - Cabinet Affairs
Teplyn Fournier, Senior Director - Strategic Innovation
Elizabeth LaMontagne, Director - Strategic Innovation
Meredith Sandberg, Director - Strategic Innovation
Jesse Cohen, Director - Strategic Innovation
Christine Kang, Director – Strategic Innovation

Communications

Lizzy Guyton, Communications Director
Sarah Finlaw, Press Secretary

Anisha Chakrabarti, Deputy Communications Director
Terry MacCormack, Deputy Communications Director / Digital Director
Maura Driscoll, Deputy Press Secretary / Deputy Digital Director
Alex Camp, Press Assistant
Josh Qualls, Photographer & Multimedia Specialist

Constituent Services and Community Affairs

Mindy d'Arbeloff, Deputy Chief of Customer Service and Constituent Affairs
Patrick Carnevale, Western Massachusetts Office Director
Kelly Govoni, Director of Constituent Services
Michael Vazquez, Director of Community Affairs
Christian Nakkashian, Deputy Director of Constituent Services, Internship Coordinator
Brian Heffernan, Constituent Services Aide
Aaron Thomas, Constituent Services Aide
Leah Protentis, Constituent Services Aide
Marga Celado, Constituent Services Aide
William Ramsdell, Constituent Services Aide
Grace Headrick, Constituent Services Aide

Governor's Council

Sonia Altamirano, Administrative Assistant
Valerie McCarthy, Executive Assistant
Adam Costa, Program Coordinator

Legal Counsel

Robert Ross, Chief Legal Counsel
Michael Kaneb, Deputy Chief Legal Counsel
Elizabeth Denniston, Deputy Legal Counsel
Kirk Hanson, Deputy Legal Counsel
Nick Brandt, Deputy Legal Counsel
Paige Ferreira, Legal Assistant
Lauren Greene-Petrigno, Director, Judicial Nominating Commission
Emily Gauthier, Deputy Director, Judicial Nominating Commission
Katelyn Babbín, Program Coordinator, Judicial Nominating Commission

Legislative Affairs

Katherine Holahan, Legislative Director
Dan Gates, Associate Legislative Director
Ceferina Murrell, Deputy Legislative Director
Kevin McColaugh, Washington, DC Office Director

Operations

Dean Serpa, Deputy Chief for Administration and Operations
Grace Robinson, Director of Operations
Alexis Dellaquila, Project Manager
Colin Ahern, Special Assistant to the Governor
Zack Colclasure, Advance Representative to the Governor
Molly Burgoyne, Special Assistant to the Lt. Governor
Elizabeth Galvin, Special Assistant to the Lt. Governor
Sophia Schintzel, Briefings Coordinator
Jessica Beliveau, Project Manager
Alex Powell, Deputy Director of Administration
Kevin Marshall, Program Assistant

Joyce Stanton, Receptionist
Richard Fierro, Administrative Co-Op
Mike Creamer, LAN IT Administrator

Office of Access and Opportunity

Anthony Richards, Deputy Chief for Access and Opportunity
Ixchel Garcia, Program Coordinator

Personnel & Administration

Ryan Coleman, Chief Secretary and Director of Personnel and Administration
Conor Glasheen, Deputy Director of Personnel and Administration
Kendy Derival, Employment Coordinator
Bottom of Form

II. Boards of Major Business Organizations

A. Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce

Board of Directors <https://www.bostonchamber.com/about-us/board-of-directors/>

B. Associated Industries of Massachusetts (AIM)

Chairman of the Board of Directors

Dan Kenary, CEO & Co-Founder
The Harpoon Brewery

Vice Chairs

John Lynch, Principal
Lynch, DeSimone & Nylen, LLP

John Stowe, President
LUTCO, Inc.

Treasurer

Joanne Hilferty, President and CEO
Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries, Inc

Assistant Treasurer

Dennis Leonard, President
Delta Dental Plan of Massachusetts

Clerk of the Corporation

Christopher Geehern, Executive Vice President
Associated Industries of Massachusetts

Executive Committee

Patricia Begrowicz, President
Onyx Specialty Papers, Inc.

William Blanker, Chairman, (Retired)
Esleek Manufacturing Co., Inc.

Samuel Cabot, Chairman (retired)
Samuel Cabot Inc.

Peter Chase, Chairman and CEO
Chase Corporation

Pamela Everhart, Senior Vice President, Government Relations
Fidelity Investments

Lewis Gack, Principal
LPG Consulting

Howard Goldman, Chief Executive Officer
Humboldt Storage and Moving Company

Christopher Goode, SVP & Chief Public Affairs Officer
EMC Corporation

Leslie Greis, Owner/Director
Kinefac Corporation

Joanne Hilferty, President and CEO
Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries, Inc.

Arthur Hilsinger, Chairman (retired)
The Hilsinger Company

Michael Hogan, President and CEO
A. D. Makepeace Company

Ann Hurd, Corporate Affairs Manager
Intel Massachusetts, Inc.

Daniel Kenary, CEO and Co-Founder
The Harpoon Brewery

Paul Kussell, President
P.K. Consulting, LLC

Dennis Leonard, President
Delta Dental Plan of Massachusetts

John Lynch, Principal
Lynch, DeSimone & Nylen, LLP

Gary Magnuson, Executive Vice President
RBS Citizens N.A.

Paul Mattera, SVP & Chief Public Affairs Officer
Liberty Mutual Insurance Company

Peter Nessen, Chairman
Nessen Associates, Ltd.

Kevin Petrosino, Managing Director
CBIZ Tofias

John Stowe, President
LUTCO, Inc.

Lynn Tokarczyk, Government Incentives Consultant
Business Development Strategies, Inc.

Thomas Wroe, Chairman of the Board (retired)
Sensata Technologies

Joseph Zukowski, Vice President, Government Affairs
Verizon Communications

C. Massachusetts Competitive Partnership

Jay Ash, *President & CEO*

Robert L. Reynolds
Chairman, MACP
President & CEO
Putnam Investments

Dr. Jeffrey M. Leiden
Vice Chairman, MACP
Executive Chairman

Vertex Pharmaceuticals
Roger W. Crandall
Chairman, President & CEO
Mass Mutual Financial Group

John F. Fish
Chairman & CEO
Suffolk Construction

Marianne Harrison
President & CEO

John Hancock

Gregory J. Hayes

CEO

Raytheon Technologies

Abigail P. Johnson

Chairman, President & CEO

Fidelity Investments

James J. Judge

Chairman, President & CEO

Eversource Energy

Michael F. Mahoney

Chairman & CEO

Boston Scientific Corporation

Dr. Anne Klibanski

President & CEO

Mass General Brigham

Robert K. Kraft

Founder, Chairman & CEO

The Kraft Group

David H. Long

Chairman & CEO

Liberty Mutual

Brian T. Moynihan

Chairman & CEO

Bank of America

Ronald P. O'Hanley

Chairman & CEO

State Street Corporation

Niraj Shah

CEO & Co-Founder

Wayfair

Corey E. Thomas

Chairman & CEO

Rapid7

D. Massachusetts Business Roundtable

Officers:

CHAIR

Robert Rivers *Chair and CEO*
[Eastern Bank](#)

VICE CHAIR

Cathy E. Minehan *Vice Chair & Partner*
[Arlington Advisory Partners](#)

SECRETARY

Jeffrey Cook *Chairman,*
[Cohen Kinne Valicenti & Cook](#)

TREASURER

Katherine Craven *Chief Administrative Officer*
[Babson College](#)

<http://www.maroundtable.com/members.html>

E. Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation

OFFICERS

Chair:

Jane Steinmetz

Managing Principal and the New England Markets Leader, **Ernst & Young LLP**

Vice Chair:

Stephen Mosha

ITS Leader - East Region, **PwC**

Treasurer:

Matthew D. Schnall

Partner, **WilmerHale**

President & Secretary:

Eileen P. McAnney

President, **Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation**

Board of Trustees is at <https://www.masstaxpayers.org/board-trustees>

F. Alliance for Business Leadership

See <http://alliancebl.org/> for Board members

III. Past Governors of Massachusetts and Current Governor

http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page_massachusetts.html

Charlie Baker 2015-, Deval Patrick 2007-2015, Mitt Romney 2003-2007, Jane Swift 2001-2003, Argeo Paul Cellucci 1997-2001, William Weld 1991-1997, Michael Dukakis 1975-1979, 1983-1991, Edward King 1979-1983, Francis Sargent 1969-1975.....see the link above for the rest of them.....

IV. Past House Speakers

Robert DeLeo 2009-2020, Sal DiMasi 2004-2009, Tom Finneran 1996-2004, Charlie Flaherty 1991-1996, George Keverian 1985-1990, Tom McGee 1975-1984, David Bartley 1969-1975, Robert Quinn 1967-1969, John Davoren 1965-1967, John Thompson 1958-1964....

V. Past Senate Presidents

Harriette Chandler 2017-2018, Stan Rosenberg 2015-2017, Therese Murray 2007-2015, Robert Travaglini 2003-2007, Tom Birmingham 1996-2003, William Bulger 1978-1996, Kevin Harrington 1971-1978, Maurice Donahue 1964-1971, John Powers 1958-1964....

VI. Past Mayors of Boston and Current Mayor

<http://www.cityofboston.gov/archivesandrecords/facts/mayors.asp>

Martin Walsh 2014-, Tom Menino 1993-2014, Raymond Flynn 1984-1993, Kevin White 1968-1984, John Collins 1960-1968.....see the link above for the rest of them...

Power Analysis Summary

Looking at our landscape and its political and economic environment.....**strategies on issue campaigns must address how they will operate amongst political power holders, corporations or business organizations that might oppose them or occasionally be allies, the impact the media can have, and what and who can be organized and mobilized from community/labor religious groups, social service agencies.**

I. Political Power Sector in State Government

A. Governor Charlie Baker

1. Powers

Sign or veto legislation

Sign or veto budget line items

Decide what part of capital budget authorizations are spent each year

Appoint judges and people to serve on Boards, ex. Massport (airport board)

Develop policies to implement laws

2. Politics

Governor Baker is trying to govern as a moderate in a majority Democratic state and not completely as a Republican conservative which would make him more vulnerable in his re-election

He's appointed Democrats to his staff and to be some of his cabinet members. He said he won't back Donald Trump.

He's avoided most partisan Republican positions. But he did reverse himself and oppose a tax on AirBNB accommodations that would have funded \$300 tax credits to 400,000 low wage earners. His policy on the state police cooperating with ICE could lead to more racial profiling of immigrants and deportations, that immigrant leaders worry about.

B. Senate President Karen Spilka

1. Powers

The Senate must pass all bills and budget line items.

There are vehicles for the Senate to initiate bills

Appoints Committee Chairman but there's so many committees and 35 Democratic Senators so they all get to be Chair of some committee but some committees are more important than others

2. Politics

The Senate President is a progressive who has made income inequality as his top issue.

He backed expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit for low wage earning families.

He backed passage of the Fair Share Amendment/millionaires tax and passage of Paid Family Medical leave.

He threatened but backed off on the Senate setting up its own committees to report out bills since the House has the majority of seats on joint committees and generally advances less progressive bills than the Senate does.

He's trying to give his committee chairs more power to advance bills instead of past Senate Presidents who often picked the priorities.

C. House Speaker Robert DeLeo

1. Powers

Appoints committee chairman and vice chairman.....about 50+ appointed positions carry extra pay and make those representatives part of House Leadership and expected to vote for the Speaker's bill priorities.

The House must pass all bills and budget items. Only the House can originate a bill on taxes.

2. Politics

The Speaker is more of a moderate and there are big blocks of both moderate and progressive Democrats amongst the large Democratic majority in the House.

The Speaker pushes hard for adoption of his priorities by House Democrats and preventing bills he doesn't favor from advancing;

He gives his committee chairman less leeway to advance bills than the Senate President does.

Initiates some priorities like gun control in 2014.

Individual legislators who are committee chairs have a level of power. Each legislator gets to meet with the House or Senate Ways and Means chair as the budget is being developed to state what their priorities are. Each can try to reach the Speaker, Senate President, and Ways and Means Chairs about the case for moving a bill toward being vote on by the full House or Senate.

II. Corporate power sector

Large corporations can advance their agenda through business organizations, see below, fight defensively to defeat or weaken laws that would regulate them or restrict them. Since many decisions affecting corporate profits and regulation are done at the federal level and international level, state legislation and budget decisions are only one and often not the top concern of larger corporations. Never the less, corporations can bring their power to state decisions.

There are 5 major business groups with their own agendas of things to pass, legislation to fight against. They do some joint coordination as well. These are Associated Industries of MA, Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, MA Business Roundtable, MA Competitive Partnership, and the Alliance for Business Leadership.

III. Non-Profit Sector

A. Institutional Non-Profits

1. Hospitals
2. Universities/colleges
3. Social Service agencies

B. Non-Profits using organizing strategies

1. Community organizing groups working in 1 neighborhood, 1 city, statewide.....those that are single issues focus and those that are multi-issue
 2. Labor Unions the largest unions are SEIU and MA Teachers Association.....public employee unions are significant.....building trades unions are significant
 3. Faith based community organizations with community organizing strategies
- NOTE: Looking through the Lenses of race in composition of the organizations and their leadership.

IV. Media Power

What the media covers and how they cover it impacts people's understanding and perception of events. Politicians, business leaders, and community/labor/religious based groups all try to get the media to cover their priorities. Major newspapers and TV stations are also for profit businesses.

The Boston Globe has the biggest impact on spotlighting issues and impacting what TV stations some times cover.

The four major TV Stations, Channels, 4,5, 7, 25 cover Eastern Massachusetts. The Springfield-Hartford stations cover Western MA and the Providence stations also cover the South Coast. Daily newspapers in each city have major impact on local news coverage and politics.

NOTE: A similar Power Analysis can be done for a City by using these headings around political, business, non-profit, and media; see page 30 above.

How a Bill Becomes a Law: The State House Process and How We Can Impact that

There's an official process for how a bill becomes a law that happens "Inside the State House". And there's the organizing work we can do from "Outside the State House" to move a bill towards being passed and having the provisions within it that we need .

Summary of How a bill becomes a law? "Inside the State House"

11. Drafting the Bill--it is written by a legislator or written by an organization?
12. Legislators as Sponsors and Co-Sponsors of the Bill--Need a lead sponsor for the bill in the State Senate and the House. Other legislators can sign on as co-sponsors before the bill is formally filed, during January of the first year of a 2 year legislative session....2019, 2021,etc
(Senate rules currently allow Senators to become bill co-sponsors up until the time the bill has a hearing.0
13. Committee Hearing—The bill is sent to a Committee of the Legislature which schedules a hearing on it. A group/coalition can negotiate with the committee co-chairs about when the hearing should be held and for panels of testifiers at the hearing.

14. Committee Co-Chairs—The House and Senate committee co-chairs have power over when a hearing is held on the bill, whether your bill is amended, whether it's reported out with a favorable recommendation to pass, whether it's reported out first to the House or Senate for a vote, or whether it's killed.
Though committee chairs have the most power in the first part of the process, meeting with other committee members and other legislators to get their support and convey that to the committee chairs can help too. Of course, the House Speaker and Senate President, who appoint the committee chairs, retain the most power to move or kill a bill.
15. Bill reported from Committee to the House or Senate for debate and vote.
Often before a bill gets a full vote in the House or Senate, it may be sent to the Ways and Means Committee for review and/or the Steering and Policy Committee for review. Sometimes actual review takes place and legal issues in the bill are checked, but sometimes these committee either hold/delay the bill at the request of the House Speaker or Senate President OR they make major changes to the bill based on the wishes of the legislative leadership. After a bill gets a vote in the Senate or House, it gets a final review at the Committee on Bills in Third Reading where again a bill may be just checked for legal questions or the legislative leadership sometimes makes substantive changes in a bill.
16. Bill debated and voted by the other branch; House or Senate. This includes the same possible other reviews, changes as listed in #5.
17. Conference Committee—If the House and Senate pass different versions of the same bill, a Conference Committee is named with 2 Democrats and 1 Republican named by the House Speaker and by the Senate President....they negotiate on the differences in the bills passed and recommend a final bill for passage.
18. House and Senate vote on Conference Committee report on the bill as final step in passage.
19. Governor has 10 days to sign or veto the bill or send it back with suggested changes.
20. Legislature can override a veto if gets 2/3 vote.

How we can impact this process to move a bill toward passage:

*****1. Organize local meetings with our state representatives and state senators and ask them** to commit to support the bill, that they talk to the Committee Chair and to the House Speaker/Senate President about their support for the bill.

2. Organizing to get letters and calls to your state legislators asking them to do this.
3. Who's your constituency who can take these actions with you---members, staff, board, people using your programs, allied organizations, local officials, etc.
4. Organizing turnout and testimony at the Committee hearing on the bill.
5. Rallies at the State House followed by visits to offices of your legislators about their supporting moving the bill....this can be done around a hearing OR at other times too.
5. Getting articles in your local newspaper about the bill and your efforts to reach your legislators.

Massachusetts Communities Action Network (MCAN) (617) 470-2912 LewFinfer@gmail.com

The State Budget Process and Time Line and Impacting the Decisions

This is how the overall state budget process works. However, again the most important single thing you can do is to organize that local meeting with your legislators held in your community. Groups you work with may call on you to ask you to get some calls in to your legislators at some points in this process, but again organizing that one meeting is the most important step!!

A. Governor's budget recommendations released January

The Governor files his own budget recommendations around the 3rd or 4th Wednesday in January and they are referred to as House 1.

1. We try to hold meetings with departments and secretariats under the Governor, ex. with the Secretary of Labor and Workforce if it were about YouthWorks youth jobs, during the fall and early winter to ask him to fund our budget priorities in his budget. Whether or not he does this, the final decision lies with the Legislature.

2. We also try to organize a meeting with staff at the Executive Office of Administration and Finance (A&F) because they make the final recommendations to the Governor on the budget.

B. House of Representatives Budget Process

1. Hold meetings with your state representatives during January and February asking them to list your budget priorities on the list of budget priorities they give to the House or Senate Ways and Means Chair when they have their individual meetings with them between Feb-March.

2. Legislators meet with the House Ways and Means Chairman on their budget priorities between February and mid-March. So meeting with legislator before then and asking if they will include an increase in the budget program you work on in their "asks" to the Ways and Means Chair. Some legislators send their priority asks to the Speaker and some even meet with him/her on this in the same period.

3. The House Ways and Means Committee releases it's budget proposal around 2nd week in April/

4. Deadline for legislators to file amendments either increase the funding OR to restore funding cut in this proposal are due by Friday of the week the budget proposal is released and legislators have another week after that to co-sponsor these budget amendments up through the Monday after Patriots Day.

5. Debate and vote on House budget during last week of You can organize calls and visits early that week to try to influence their decisions.

6. **The decision on Budget Amendments is literally made in a "Back Room", Room 348** nearby to the House Chamber behind an entrance door that says "Members Only". They announce Budget Caucuses on all the amendment on a section of the budget. The lead sponsor of the amendment and any other legislators he/she can get from amendment co-sponsors go and plead their case to the Chair of House Ways and Means and he decides whether to grant the amendment and how much of it.

C. State Senate Budget Process

1. You hold meetings with your state senators during January-March asking them to list your budget priorities on the list they give to the Senate Ways and Means Chairperson.

2. Legislators meet with the Senate Ways and Means Chairperson on their budget priorities between March-mid April.

3. The Senate Ways and Means Committee releases it's budget proposal around the second week in May,

4. Deadline for legislators to file amendments and get co-sponsors to restore/increase

funding cut in this proposal are the Friday of the week the budget proposal is released

5. Debate and vote on Senate budget during week before Memorial Day. You can organize calls and visits early that week to try to influence their decisions.

D. House-Senate Conference Committee meets during June

A committee of 3 senators and 3 representatives meets during June to negotiate on different budget amounts passed by the House and Senate. They can decide on the higher amount, the lower amount, or some amount in between.

E. Governor's vetoes and overrides by the Legislature

The Governor gets the budget in later June or early July and has 10 days to either sign or veto each individual budget line item.

The Legislature can override the Governor's veto if they can get 2/3 vote in each branch

****How we can impact the Budget process to get increased funding for our priorities (putting together the steps you can take that were also listed above in the overall**

"Ask" to make of State Representatives in January and then again in March for #2,3

1. When you meet with House Ways and Means Chair Rep. Aaron Michlewitz, will you say that one of your budget priorities is _____ (this program I support).
2. If House Ways and Means does not include this in the budget they release in April, will you co-sponsor an amendment for this funding?
3. Will you attend the Budget Caucus on this amendment held during the week of Budget debate to make the case for it to Rep. Michlewitz, Chair of House Ways and Means Committee?

"Ask" to make of State Senators in February and then again for #2, 3 in April

1. When you meet with Senate Ways and Means Chair Senator Michael Rodrigues, will you say that one of your budget priorities is _____ (this program I support).
2. If Senate Ways and Means does not include this in the budget they release in May will you co-sponsor an amendment for this funding?
3. Will you work during the week of budget debate for this amendment by making the case for it to Senator Rodrigues and Senate President Spilka?

Additional detail on what you can do on the budget process:

7. Meet with the Secretary of the area of the budget in the fall because they make budget recommendations to the Governor for the budget the Governor files in January
8. Meet with State Representatives in December and January and ask them to include increasing funding for specific state budget programs in the lists they submit and discuss with the Chair of House Ways and Means Committee who they meet with in February on this.

9. Meetings with State Senators in February_March and ask them to include increasing funding for specific state budget programs in the lists they submit and discuss with the Chair of Senate Ways and Means Committee who they meet with in March on this.
10. Anticipate that you may need to get a state representative and state senator to file a Budget amendment if the proposed budget of House or Senate Ways and Means does not include your funding goal....meet with legislators to ask if they will be Lead Sponsor of such a budget amendment if necessary...they have to be filed around the second week in April in the House and around the third week in May in the Senate
11. Paying attention to the deadlines on co-sponsoring budget amendments, organize calls and meeting with legislators with two asks: Will they co-sponsor the budget amendments you are supporting for increased funding for the program AND in the House, will they attend the Budget Caucus where amendment co-sponsors get to meet with the Chair of House Ways and Means Committee to make the case for their amendment.
12. Additionally, you can organize phone calls on this and get press coverage on what you are doing on this

Massachusetts Communities Action Network (MCAN) (617) 470-2912
LewFinfer@gmail.com

Additional related media articles: The new 'Vault' expands its membership

September 14, 2016 Boston Globe

It's going to be more crowded around the conference table at 535 Boylston St. next week.

The Massachusetts Competitive Partnership added two new seats to its crew of high-powered executives, in advance of its September meeting: **Niraj Shah** (right), CEO of Boston-based online retailer **Wayfair**, and **Sheila Marcelo**, CEO of the Waltham-based **Care.com** marketplace for caregivers. Their arrival brings the group's total number of members to 17.

This is the first time the Partnership has added a new member in more than two years. It's not easy to get into this club, sometimes dubbed **'the new Vault'**: You need to be a current or former CEO of a big employer, and the annual dues are \$100,000.

Partnership CEO **Dan O'Connell** says his group wanted to broaden its industry base. "The feeling was we needed more of the new tech economy on the board," O'Connell says.

O'Connell won't say it but the move also could address concerns raised by some that the Partnership consisted almost entirely of white men: For most of this year, **Abby Johnson of Fidelity Investments** was the sole exception.

Shah and Marcelo won't be the only newcomers. **Jim Judge** took over as CEO of **EversourceEnergy** earlier this year. That means he'll now take the Partnership seat formerly held by his mentor and predecessor, **Thomas May**.

Other transitions could be coming. **Ron Sargent** has left his day job at **Staples**, but he remains in the Partnership for now. (**Shira Goodman** is the interim CEO at the Framingham-based office supplier.) **Joe Tucci** is also retiring, after helping engineer this month's sale of **EMC** to **Dell**. He is still in the Partnership, although **Michael Dell** could eventually take his place.

Partnership priorities have included boosting the digital health sector, international trade, and workforce training, as well as curbing costs of government and energy. Partnership members are also helping bankroll a ballot question this fall to expand charter school enrollment.

The agenda for the meeting includes a discussion of what needs to be done next to make the state's economy more competitive. "We'll have new members present," O'Connell says, "[so] we'll get some new perspectives on that going forward." — JON CHESTO

THE VIEW FROM THE LOBBY -- "Business lobby holds new sway on Beacon Hill," by Frank Phillips, Boston Globe: "While AIM had to swallow some compromises at the end of the 2015-16 legislative session, the organization also flexed considerable muscle. The pregnancy-rights legislation - which AIM opposed in written testimony to the House - languishes. A series of other legislative initiatives opposed by AIM hit similar headwinds." <http://bit.ly/2cYM9XS>

Business lobby holds new sway on Beacon Hill

By [Frank Phillips](#) Globe Staff September 20, 2016

For Danielle Beitz, a Westfield gas station attendant, the final months of her pregnancy were hellish. Her bosses refused to supply a stool when she worked the cash register, she said. They forced her to shovel sidewalks in her last trimester, denied her breaks, and, she said, would not assign her lighter duty and reprimanded her for sitting during her shift.

It was exactly the sort of experience Massachusetts advocates hope to address with the Pregnant Workers Fairness Act, which would require employers to provide reasonable accommodations for pregnant workers. But even as a majority of state representatives called for its passage, the House leadership has kept the measure locked in the House Ways and Means Committee for the past year.

“It doesn’t make any sense to be against this; it’s just plain human decency,” said Liz Friedman, program director for MotherWoman Inc., which is pushing for the bill’s passage.

But Friedman, as well as others advocating for workers’ rights and environmental causes, are up against the powerful Associated Industries of Massachusetts and its 4,000 business members.

In fact, they say, AIM, which has for years been business’s most effective lobbying group, has developed new clout in the past year and a half, shaped by the 2014 election of a Republican governor and House leadership that is inclined to accommodate much of the group’s priorities.

While AIM had to swallow some compromises at the end of the 2015-16 legislative session, the organization also flexed considerable muscle. The pregnancy-rights legislation — which AIM opposed in written testimony to the House — languishes. A series of other legislative initiatives opposed by AIM hit similar headwinds.

AIM’s recent gains meant that the more liberal Senate repeatedly saw its own pro-labor and environmental priorities thwarted.

“From my experience, AIM exercises veto power in the House,” says Senator Daniel A. Wolf, the Senate chairman of the Joint Committee on Labor and Workforce Development, which handled several major bills that won Senate approval but never saw the light of day – or were watered down – in the House.

“They have an undue amount of influence in the State House, more so with the House than the Senate,” said Wolf, whose own company, Cape Air, is an AIM member.

AIM, which spends over \$500,000 a year lobbying the State House, makes no bones about flexing its muscle on Beacon Hill. “I wouldn’t call it undue influence,” says AIM CEO Rick Lord. “I would say we do an effective job in communicating the views of the business community.”

The organization’s government relations team claims to monitor more than 600 bills in each session, and testifies on almost 100 of them.

“If you’re worried about it, we’re working on it,” AIM tells its members.

In recent months, that work proved particularly effective.

Wolf said, for instance, that House negotiators made clear to him that a bill giving departing workers more rights when negotiating noncompete contracts would go nowhere without AIM approval. The bill died in a deadlocked conference committee.

Another bill creating tough penalties for wage theft by employers, which AIM strongly opposed, passed the Senate in the final weeks of the session, but the House never took it up for a vote.

A Senate bill prohibiting employers from asking for credit reports from job applicants met strong objections from AIM. It passed the Senate but was buried in the House.

And when the Senate insisted on including a provision in a comprehensive energy bill that would bar utilities from charging ratepayers for new pipelines, the House (despite a majority of its members supporting it) and the governor — and AIM — held a hard line and it never got into the bill’s final version.

To be sure, AIM didn’t get everything it wanted. The House and Senate found common ground on a measure to significantly increase an important financial incentive for solar panel owners — despite

warnings from AIM that the bill was “poorly conceived, it will not lower costs and will not put the commonwealth on a path to a sustainable future.”

AIM says keeping electric rates down is critical when trying to keep companies here and lure corporations to Massachusetts. And the group argues that the imposition of what it considers burdensome employment regulations puts hardships on struggling small businesses and costs jobs.

Governor Charlie Baker, who chose AIM’s vice president of government affairs, Kristen Lepore, as his secretary of administration and finance, did not comment directly on the organization’s influence, but his office pointed to new laws on pay equity and energy as important business-related accomplishments of the past two years.

“Governor Baker feels strongly that in order to get things done, lawmakers and the administration must find common ground,” said Baker spokesman Tim Buckley, “and the major pieces of legislation passed this session are evidence of healthy bipartisan cooperation.”

Lord, AIM’s CEO, said its influence is based on the fact that all legislators have a host of local businesses that are AIM members in their districts. “We encourage them to communicate,” Lord said. With its government relations staff well-versed in specific policy issues, Lord said AIM can effectively make its case.

Much of the conflict over business-related legislation came to a head this past spring as the House and Senate wrapped up the second year of their two-year session.

House Speaker Robert DeLeo declined to comment directly, but his spokesman Seth Gitell took umbrage at Wolf’s characterization of the House being under the sway of AIM. He said the chamber “enlists opinions of all sides” and seeks consensus, a process, he said, that “fosters an environment of job creation and growth.”

“The outgoing senator is confusing facts with his own self-serving interpretation of facts,” Gitell said. He said the House leadership took pride in passing groundbreaking bills on energy, transgender rights, pay equity, and economic development.

But Gitell said the speaker would not comment on why he has not brought the pregnancy workers protection bill to the floor of the House, where a majority of members are ready to approve it. He referred questions to the House Ways and Means Committee, where it has sat for the past year.

A committee spokesman said the panel is still trying “to assess the impacts of the proposed legislation.” AIM argued that there are already provisions in state employment laws to protect pregnant workers — a claim that advocates strongly reject.

For its part, AIM clearly sees the House as more in line with its priorities than the more liberal Senate.

“While the House of Representatives and Speaker Robert DeLeo successfully forge consensus on important measures such as wage equity and energy, the Senate hewed to a more progressive, ideological approach that produced a steady stream of bills with the potential to harm the Massachusetts economy,” the group wrote in a recent newsletter.

According to AIM’s legislative scorecard, only five of 40 senators got grades of 50 percent or more. In the heavily Democratic House, every member won grades of 50 percent or more, with 126 of the 160 members scoring 75 percent or more.

Frank Phillips can be reached at phillips@globe.com.

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2017/06/29/lawmakers-hit-lobbyists-companies-fund-national-confab/QwDrc8besNAzmmfftv9LpK/story.html>

Lawmakers asked to hit up lobbyists, companies to fund national confab

Tapping lobbyists, special interests, and an array of blue-chip corporations, Democratic legislative leaders are raising seven-figure sums to bankroll a national conference of state lawmakers in Boston later this summer.

According to an e-mail recently obtained by the Globe, the companies targeted for solicitation include a host of those with business before the Legislature: retailers, banks, telecommunications firms, insurers, utilities, and a wide range of health-care providers.

The e-mail's author, Senate majority leader Harriette Chandler, listed companies that have already agreed to funding, as well as those that are "in play" — potentially ripe for the giving, as organizers seek to raise roughly \$2.2 million for the nonpartisan, five-day event. The document advertises special access to the week's events for donors, and perhaps more importantly, a chance to stay on the radar of local decision-makers.....

BAKER BOOSTER'S BIG BUCKS, via Frank Phillips on BostonGlobe.com: "The Republican Governors Association continues to collect significant donations — up to \$250,000 — from some of Massachusetts' most wealthy residents (including the wife of a cabinet official) and corporations whose interests depend on Governor Charlie Baker's administration. The RGAs a major funder of Baker's 2014 victory in the governor's race ..." <http://bit.ly/2uteHUt> 8/11/17 Boston Globe

NOTE: This is some of the previous material taken out of the above due to these people leaving these offices:

NOTE: Upon Mayor Walsh's expected confirmation to be Secretary of Labor in the Biden Administration, he will resign and City Council President Kim Janey will become Acting Mayor. She will remain Acting Mayor either to a Special Election held in the Spring or possibly until the regular election this fall.

Below in information on both Mayor Walsh and City Council President Kim Janey

1. Mayor Martin "Marty" Walsh

Elected 2013 and took office January 2014 replacing Mayor Menino who had been Mayor the previous 20 years and did not run for re-election due to health issues

Grew up in Dorchester, parents were immigrants from Ireland and working class, unmarried but has long term girl friend Laurie Higgins. Overcame serious childhood illness and then later alcoholism and being shot in the leg in late teens/early 20's. Uncle ran the Laborers Union. Served as head of the Greater Boston Building Trades Council while also serving as state representative. Was State Representative from Dorchester from 1997-2013.

Won 2013 Mayoral race over John Connolly (Connolly had been a Boston City Councilor) by 51.44% to 48.06%. Was second in the Primary Election and then came from behind to win the final election

A key moment of 2014 campaign was persuading the 3 minority candidates who did not make the final election to endorse him---Charlotte Golar Richie, John Barros, and Felix Arroyo (Mayor Walsh subsequently hired Arroyo and Barros as department heads).

Won 2017 race against City Councilor Tito Jackson by 65.4% to 33.97%.

Key Staff—Kathryn Burton/Chief of Staff, Joyce Lenihan/Policy (has arts, music background too), Emme Handy/Chief Financial Officer, Patrick Brophy/Operations, and Planning, Dan Manning/Neighborhood Services, John Barros/Economic Development, Karilyn Crockett/Chief of Equity, Trinh Nguyen/Jobs and Community Services, Brian Golden/BPDA, Gene O'Flaherty/Legal Counsel and former House Judiciary Chairman and friend of the Mayor when they served in the Legislature, Police Commissioner Willie Goss, Marty Martinez/ Health and Human Services , Sheila Dillon/Housing & Neighborhood Development, Kaitlin Feeney Passafaro/Intergovernmental, Tracy Litthcut, Public Safety, Kevin Sibley/Returning Citizens, Chris Bynner/Street Outreach Workers

Brenda Cassellius, Superintendent of Schools

3. House Speaker Robert DeLeo (D-Winthrop, Revere)

DeLeo's legacy: Centralized power but lots of results

WGBH's [Mike Deehan](#) and Commonwealth's [Michael Jonas](#) have good pieces this morning on outgoing House Speaker Robert's DeLeo's legacy at the State House. Sure, his secretive, control-freak leadership style centralized decision making, suffocated debate and infuriated opponents. But he did get the job done, as [WBZ's Jon Keller notes](#), and delivered a "string of impressive accomplishments rightly praised by liberals, while curbing some of the left's riskier instincts."

Progressives, you have only yourselves to blame

The Globe's Joan Vennochi has had it with progressives bemoaning the pending election of yet another septuagenarian white guy to lead the Massachusetts House. Progressives had their chance two years ago to promote diversity in House leadership – and they chose political purity over political pragmatism instead, she writes [Nika Elugardo defeated Rep. Jeff Sanchez, Chair House Ways and Means]. She does have a point, right? And progressives recently had yet another chance to promote diversity by backing Russell Holmes as the next speaker. Many went with Ron Mariano. And the rest, as they say, is history.

[Boston Globe](#)

Represents Winthrop and part of Revere. Was appointed Ways and Means Chair by former Speaker DiMasi (with differing stories of their transgressions, the 3 previous Speakers, Sal DiMasi, Tom Finneran, and Charles Flaherty had to leave office due to cases brought against them) .

Won election as House Speaker in contested campaign with then House Majority Leader John Rogers. Attended Boston Latin School (the citywide exam school in Boston). His father worked at Suffolk Downs race track next to his district. Is a Roman Catholic.

Had actively opposed MWRA rate increases and supported state funded rate relief, active in opposing new runway at Logan Airport and in opposing lessening support to special education students. Promoted race tracks getting slots as part of legislation to create new gambling casinos.

Seen as a moderate, leans toward business interests some times, did support passage of sales tax increase during Recession of 2008, led on passage of gun reform legislation and funding for early childhood education.

Key Staff—Seth Gitell/COS, Whitney Ferguson/Deputy Chief of Staff, Chris Eicher, Dave Sweeney, Patti DePamphilis,

From his website:

House Speaker Robert A. DeLeo (D-Winthrop) has represented the 19th Suffolk District, including the Town of the Winthrop and a portion of the City of Revere, in the Massachusetts House of Representatives since 1991. A graduate of the Boston Latin School, Speaker DeLeo holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from Northeastern University and a Juris Doctor from Suffolk University Law School. He became Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in January, 2009.

This year, Speaker DeLeo led the Legislature in passing a consensus-driven gun safety law that closes existing loopholes, creates a sustainable framework to stop gun trafficking and establishes best practices for school safety. The Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence has noted that the legislation is among the strongest in the nation, including an important set of provisions existing in no other state. Under his leadership, the Legislature also passed updated domestic violence legislation which creates new criminal offenses and elevated penalties, boosts prevention efforts and seeks to empower victims.

Since becoming Speaker, DeLeo has spearheaded two economic development packages which focus on improving the Massachusetts economy through comprehensive strategies. He has been lauded for his effective and creative approach to job creation which leverages the strengths of diverse sectors to bolster the Commonwealth's economy in its entirety and address regional inequalities. A February 2014 Boston Globe article praised Speaker DeLeo as "one of the biggest champions of our innovation economy" and described him as "knowledgeable and fluent in getting things done, what the innovation economy needs." These efforts underscore the Speaker's work on the transportation finance bill which addresses long-standing issues through responsible and progressive investments in the Commonwealth's transportation system.

During his long service in the House, Speaker DeLeo has been a fierce advocate for those with disabilities, playing a key role in the evolution of disability services for children and adults. Speaker DeLeo led the initiative to remove the 'R-word' from the Massachusetts General Laws and was instrumental in establishing the autism insurance bill (ARICA). He has also advanced legislation related to special education law, transition assistance for students, family support including respite care and funding for adult services.

Under Speaker DeLeo's leadership, the Massachusetts House has worked to improve services for the state's veterans and military personnel, passing the VALOR ACT I and II in 2012 and 2014. The legislation provides increased property tax relief and enhances employment, educational and health care support services for these individuals and their families.

Previously, Speaker DeLeo brought nationally-heralded legislation that cut health care costs for cities and towns in Massachusetts. The same session, he initiated far-reaching judiciary reorganization legislation in concert with the chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court.

" The Paradox of Robert DeLeo: the affable everyman with vise-like grip on the House he leads" in Commonwealth Magazine, Spring 2016, <http://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/the-paradox-of-robert-deleo/>

In the same Boston Latin High School class as former House Speaker Tom Finneran, former State Rep and Suffolk County Sheriff Dennis Kearney, and former Boston City Councilor Larry DiCara. He was on the Baseball Team. Father was maitre 'd at Turf Club at Suffolk Downs Racetrack and worked at the Statler Hotel in Boston and mother at Winthrop public schools food service department. Divorced father of an adult son and

daughter and long time girlfriend is Vicki Muccil. Attended Northeastern and Suffolk Law School.

On Winthrop Board of Selectman for 10 years and elected to the House in 1990.

In 2005, the Speaker Sal DeMasi chose him to be House Ways and Means Chair and he became Speaker 2009 when DiMasi resigned as he was charged and convicted of bribery. The past 3 Speakers, Charlie Flaherty, Tom Finneran, and Sal DiMasi were indicted on federal felony charges and forced to leave office. Speaker DeLeo was named but not charged in the Probation Department scandal of legislators naming people to get probation jobs.

Acted to pass legislation on gun regulation and for the opioid crisis (went to 3+ wakes of overdose victims).

A power move the repeal the 8 year limit on terms for a Speaker. Element of influence he has over 50+ legislators getting extra pay for leadership positions he appoints them to.

Resolving legislative issues before they go to the floor. Ethic of Speaker protecting legislators from "tough votes" and giving over their votes to him sometimes since he does this.

Bill to repeal fines and penalties in ex-prisoner getting back their driver's license.

Allowed Rep. Lyons amendment to not have the repeal cover those convicted of drug trafficking....possibly protecting reps from and "tough" vote.

Power of the Speaker's Position in getting Campaign Contributions: "House Speaker Robert DeLeo was highest-spending state lawmaker in 2018," by Shira Schoenberg, Springfield Republican:"Despite facing no electoral competition, House Speaker Robert DeLeo, D-Winthrop, spent more money than any other state lawmaker during the 2018 election season: \$386,800, according to the state Office of Campaign and Political Finance. As a six-term House speaker, DeLeo has enormous fundraising clout and the ability to help and fundraise for other Democratic representatives and candidates. He also spends campaign account money on [political events with legislators.](https://www.masslive.com/news/2019/01/house-speaker-robert-deleo-was-highest-spending-state-lawmaker-in-2018.html)" <https://www.masslive.com/news/2019/01/house-speaker-robert-deleo-was-highest-spending-state-lawmaker-in-2018.html>

5. House Ways & Means Chair Rep. Brian Dempsey (D-Haverhill)

Chief of Staff—Colleen McGonigle, Budget Director—Chris Bennett

Appointed by House Speaker DeLeo in January 2011 to replace Rep. Charles Murphy. Dempsey was a Haverhill City Councilor 1988-1991. Was an insurance broker. Haverhill is a former mill city in the Merrimack Valley region of the state. Is a Roman Catholic.

Attended Haverhill High School and Norwich University. Married and father of 3 children.

Proud of his role in legislation to allow casino gambling, economic development, green communities, and economic stimulus bill.

Senate President Stan Rosenberg (D-Amherst)

Senator Stan Rosenberg, current Senate Majority Leader, was elected the new Senate President effective for January 1, 2015

Represents Amherst, Northampton, Greenfield

Grew up in Revere, was raised by foster parents and started Foster Parents Caucus in the Legislature, worked at UMass Amherst including on developing training materials for community groups, State Democratic Party, former State Senator Olver's staff.

Big interests in income inequality policy, criminal justice reform, etc. Played important role in getting the 2018 major Criminal Justice Reform bill to pass, the Earned Income Tax Credit increase, legislative support for the Fair Share Constitutional Amendment for a Millionaire's Tax.

He is trying to give the many Senators who chair committees, some autonomy to develop key legislation, so it's a collaborative style of leadership and decision-making different from the usual top down decision-making.

He also reached out to community groups and labor unions on their priorities and discussing what would be important to due.

He is the first Jewish and first openly gay head of a branch of the Massachusetts Legislature.

From his website:

Senator Stan Rosenberg was unanimously elected by his colleagues to be the 93rd President of the Massachusetts Senate on January 7, 2015. Since his first election, Senator Rosenberg has remained deeply committed to improving the lives of the people of Massachusetts. He is the first Jewish and first openly gay legislator to lead the Massachusetts Senate in its over-three-hundred year history.

A 1977 graduate of UMass Amherst, where he earned a B.A. in Community Development & Arts Management, Rosenberg began his work in public service as an aide to former State Senator and longtime Congressman John Olver. He was first elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1987.

Rosenberg was then elected to the Senate in 1991, where he has been entrusted by his colleagues time and again with leadership positions such as Majority Leader, President Pro Tempore, and Chair of the Senate Committee on Ways and Means.

To fellow residents of the Pioneer Valley, Stan is known as an accessible, responsive leader and champion of affordable and world-class education, fair taxation, government transparency, and

environmental protection. He played a key role in the passage of many groundbreaking bills guaranteeing equality before the law in the Commonwealth. Stan was a chief strategist behind the passage of a 2000 bill aimed at curtailing racial profiling, and after the Supreme Judicial Court legalized same-sex marriage in 2003, he was a key leader in the fight on Beacon Hill to preserve that newly won right.

Stan has been a consistent advocate for increasing access to government and participation in our democracy. As chair of the Election Laws Committee, he coauthored the 1993 "Motor Voter" law, an overhaul of our election laws to modernize our system and boost voter turnout. He was twice tasked with redrawing the Commonwealth's political boundaries as Senate Chair of the Joint Committee on Redistricting. Under Stan's leadership, the new boundaries were enthusiastically accepted, unlike in many states which found themselves mired in costly lawsuits. Stan was lauded for the exceptionally transparent process in 2010-11, resulting in the creation of new minority-majority districts that better reflect the changing demographics of the Commonwealth.

See also article: <http://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/001-president-in-waiting/> that has some good background on him too.

Key Staff—Natasha Perez/COS, David Sullivan, Jim DiTulio (Education), Mark Dailey (criminal justice), Anna Friedman, Rosalie Adams

1. House Ways and Means Chair Rep. Jeffrey Sanchez

State Representative representing Mission Hill, Jamaica Plain, and a small part of Brookline since 2002. Worked for 5 years prior to that in Mayor Menino's Administration in posts ranging from Hispanic Liaison to Census Director. Grew up in Mission Hill Main public housing and his mother Maria Sanchez was a significant public housing tenant leader. Was formerly House Chair of Public Health Committee and then the Health Financing Committee. Has done work on gun control. Represents three public housing developments: Bromley Heath in JP and Mission Main and Mission Extension in Mission Hill. Married with two children. He's of Puerto Rican background.

<http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2017/07/23/from-projects-one-most-powerful-posts-beacon-hill/tOs2PfgUCPy7C2jYXn5XZM/story.html> Boston Globe article on Chairman Sanchez

Five Things You Should know About Jeffrey Sanchez

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2017/01/06/five-things-you-should-know-about-jeffrey-sanchez/csY2GWbC1mvbeiTGgAYyzJ/story.html> January 2017 article

See article on Sanchez and immigrant rights issues not passing the House-Senate Conference Committee he Co-Chaired and politics of this <https://commonwealthmagazine.org/back-story/sanchez-in-hot-seat-on-immigration-measure/>

Key Staff: Erin Liang/COS, David Bunker/Budget Director, Yamit Yapor, Collin Fedor, Rebecca Kaye, Cassandra Roeder