



PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS 2020 LEGISLATIVE ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: 5/11/2020

Candidate: Kevin Honan

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OVERVIEW

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

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

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

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

We encourage you to expand your answers beyond "yes/no" in the additional comments space provided on the form, but please keep answers < 150 words.

Issue Subsections:

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

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

I. About You

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

KH: I believe in public service and the ability of government to create equity and opportunity for all Massachusetts residents, and I have dedicated my professional life to public service. My father came to this country as an immigrant and with the help of state and local government found opportunity to raise three children and support each of us through college. My mother worked as a lunch lady at the Jackson Mann school. This background has informed and continues to inform my life and my career. I have a long and substantial record of supporting progressive policies and am known for always using the position of state representative to do the best that I can for the people of Allston and Brighton and the Commonwealth.

My top three priorities are housing, transportation, and now, given the crisis we face, public health and anything pertaining to the COVID-19 outbreak.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

KH: Experience. I have served as the state representative for my district in Allston & Brighton since 1987. I was born and raised in, educated in, and have always lived in the district, both as a renter and homeowner. I have raised my family in this district. I know the benefit of having an active state representative working for the district on Beacon Hill, at Boston City Hall, and in the community and with its members, and have dedicated my professional life to listening to and serving its residents. My staff and I attend community meetings on a regular basis, and continually work to assist local non-profits such as the West End House, the Y, the food pantry, and public institutions like our area libraries, Brighton High, the Jackson Mann and other local schools. . My staff and I are always accessible and responsive to the needs of our constituents. Based on my tenure and experience, my colleagues have repeatedly chosen me to serve as Chair of the Joint Committee on Housing, where I have earned their respect as well as the respect of both the advocates for and leaders of the housing community. It is in these roles that I continually work towards having a beneficial impact on the quality of life of my constituents and others.

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

KH: Basically, educating people as to what such policy is and is not. Unfortunately, progressive policy is often labelled by certain detractors as anti-business and therefore harmful to the economy, resulting in job-loss, etc. That is not true. The evidence shows that policy choices supporting fair wages and decent employment conditions for working men and women, and policy choices that acknowledge income inequality and seek its redress actually result in job growth and an expanding economy; policy choices supporting equality regardless of race, ethnicity, religious beliefs, economic status or gender orientation result in a society where all people can flourish; policy choices recognizing healthcare and housing as basic human rights result in a healthier society with lower overall medical costs for both individuals and their families and a more productive workforce; policy choices emphasizing environmental protection and eliminating greenhouse gas emissions will prevent rising sea-levels and the astronomical economic damage caused by increased coastal flooding, reduce illness caused by ozone (smog) and the particulate matter produced from fossil fuel combustion, while leading to job growth in the renewables industry.

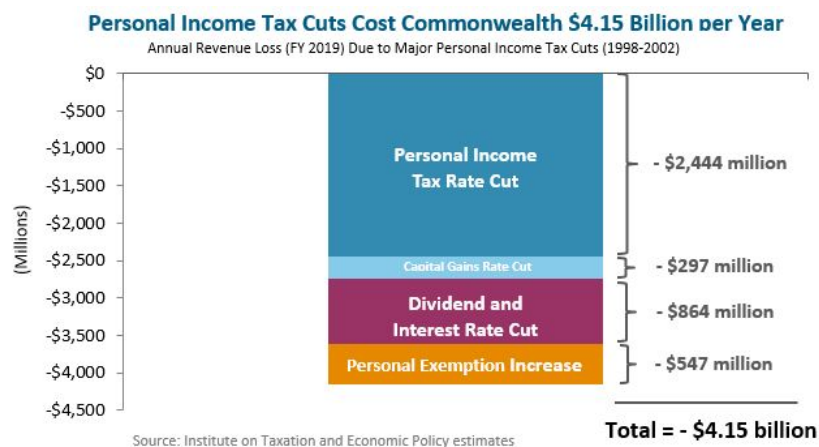
Determining the legislative remedies for these and other problems involves establishing credibility with each member of the House and Senate and building the case for change on these facts.

II. The Issues

A. Revenue and Taxation

Between 1977 and 2016, Massachusetts [reduced state taxes](#) by more than all but two other states. Because of income tax cuts enacted between 1998 and 2002, Massachusetts loses over \$4 billion in tax revenue *each year*--\$4 billion that is not invested in our roads, bridges, schools, parks, and services, all of which have historically been part of why MA is a great place to live. Such cuts to the state income tax have meant increasing reliance on fees, as well as sales, gas, and property taxes, exacerbating the overall regressivity of the system. Regressive taxation strains low- and middle-income families, and reduced revenue collection curtails our ability to invest in vital infrastructure. It also restricts legislators' ability--and willingness--to pass new and visionary legislation, as there is a continual shortage of funds for existing priorities.

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



Massachusetts state and local taxes are regressive.

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

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



Source: Institute for Taxation and Economic Policy.

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

KH: I fully support the Fair Share Amendment. Additionally, I support a graduated income tax so those with higher incomes are accordingly taxed at a higher level, and I have opposed any of the past income tax rate reduction measures. I also support the appropriate taxation of unearned income from dividends, investment property and other capital gains - such income should not be subject to any type of favorable deduction or credit because of its designation as unearned income.

I am the lead sponsor of real estate transfer tax legislation that would allow Boston to impose a fee on selling or transferring luxury real estate to raise funding for affordable housing. Over the past two sessions I sponsored legislation to increase the renter tax deduction to provide relief to rent burdened households, and I continue to work on tax incentives for affordable housing and low-income families.

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

- a. Collecting and publicly disclosing information about the benefits to the state from any tax break?
- b. Repealing any tax break that does not provide the intended benefits in a cost-effective manner?
- c. Establishing sunset dates for all tax breaks so that they must come up for periodic review?

KH: As elected officials, it is our job to make sure that when state money is being wasted on corporate tax breaks, we are swiftly re-evaluating and adapting to reality. If we are unsuccessful in repealing such tax breaks or preventing them from being enacted, I would at the very least attempt to require any corporate or other business tax break to include economic target provisions or performance measures for the individual member companies of each specific industry or industries that benefit from the tax break, such as: the number of created jobs over 5 or 10 years. the annual payroll; the amount of capital investment over a similar time frame; and the amount of depreciated value in a given time. Failure to meet these target provisions or performance measures without good cause would require repayment of the tax relief along with a penalty amount.

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

KH: YES.

Absolutely. The billions lost by not taxing millionaires at a higher rate could mean billions for important Massachusetts infrastructure that would support all Massachusetts residents, not just those who can pay. This money could also be used to fund something like universal Pre-K. It is calculated that the Fair Share Amendment will add \$2 billion to Massachusetts revenue. Additionally, the \$1 million threshold would be adjusted each year to account for cost of living increases. The amendment was proposed by Senator Lewis and Rep. O'Day. It was passed by the Constitutional Convention and it must receive 50% votes of the Constitutional Convention during the 2021/2022 legislative session in order to be placed on the November 2022 ballot for voters.

4. **Progressive Revenue.** Massachusetts will not see new revenue from the Fair Share Amendment until 2023, but we have unmet needs now (and will still even with the Fair Share Amendment). Which policies would you support to make a more progressive tax code?

- a. Raising the corporate minimum tax for larger companies? (The corporate minimum tax is currently only \$456.)
- b. Imposing a tax on the portion of corporations' US profits that are shifted to offshore tax havens?
- c. Raising the corporate tax rate from 8% to 9.5% (where it stood in 2009)?
- d. Raising the tax on long-term capital gains from 5% to 8.95%, in line with states like New York and Vermont?
- e. Levying a modest tax on university endowments greater than \$1 billion?

B. Jobs and the Economy

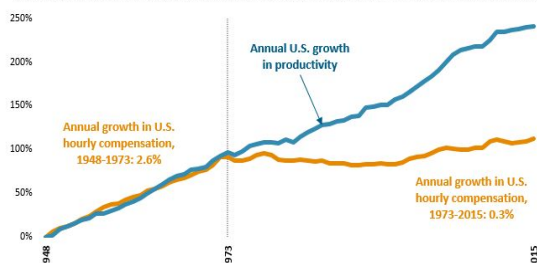
Massachusetts ranks as one of the top ten [most unequal states](#), as the gains from economic growth have disproportionately benefited the already well-off. Compounding this, we are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which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

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

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

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

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

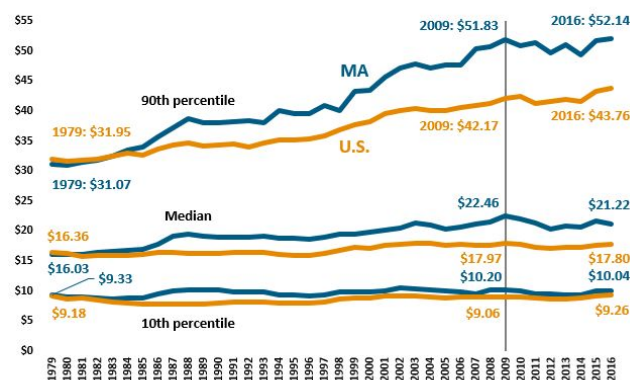


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of unpublished Total Economy Productivity data from Bureau of Labor Statistics' Labor Productivity and Costs program, wage data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Current Employment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics' Employment Cost Trends data, and the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

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

Wages For Most MA Workers Have Stagnated Since Great Recession

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



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

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

KH: For a number of years, I have been very involved in the West End House, a youth development agency in Allston/Brighton. My experience working so closely with the West End House has given me a deep appreciation for the issues that young people in the Boston area face.

Giving them a space to have mentors, think about careers, develop the skills to get into college, and think long term makes a world of difference. Oftentimes, these students even stay in touch after college.

Everyone deserves the access to the community and resources necessary to make sure that they are able to thrive economically.

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

KH: YES.

Current minimum wage for tipped workers is \$4.95/hr. It is set to increase \$.60 every year until it reaches \$6.75 in 2023. This is too low. Despite the fact that tipped workers are mandated by law to at least make standard minimum wage, if their combined tips do not reach standard minimum wage, some employers get around this by compensating their workers during one paycheck, and then deducting it from their next. This is an outrage and, at the very least, must be addressed. A fair wage is one way to do this. If we were to implement this, we would want to ensure that they are not then making less than they were before, so I would want to take a look at that.

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

KH: YES.

Wage theft is theft and those responsible for it should be treated accordingly.

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

KH: YES.

Back when overtime pay was enacted, nearly 62.8% of workers qualified. Currently only 6.8% of full-time salary workers qualify, even though the threshold to qualify is less than the federal poverty line for a family of four (23,660). Additionally, because Massachusetts minimum wage is \$12.75, no workers can legally be below the threshold to make overtime pay. This is obviously an outdated approach that must be addressed.

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

KH: YES.

It is important that we stand up for our workers. If this means that restaurant managers need to spend a little more time on planning schedules, then that is a worthwhile endeavor. I would want to examine some incentives for working odd hours so that industries do not suffer, but

as a principle, no worker should feel that they will get in trouble for requesting hours that are suitable for them.

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

KH: YES.

I come from a union household and have held union values closely to me. They are absolutely necessary to continue to provide protections to the working class of Massachusetts. For years, collective bargaining rights have been vital to protecting workers against billion-dollar corporations.

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

KH: YES.

I believe our laws should provide access to the judicial system for workers. Mandatory arbitration in employment contracts can be harmful to employees, particularly in instances of discrimination or sexual harassment. Moreover, arbitrators may not be equipped and trained to handle these matters in the same way as other contract violations by an employer. These matters should be allowed to be investigated and handled through the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, and once these options are exhausted, employees should have access to a court.

C. Education

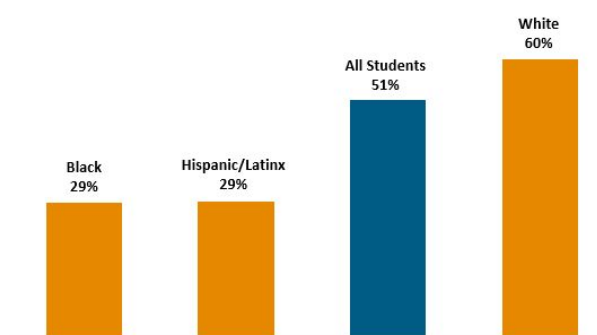
The promise of public education has always been as a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. Although our public education system gets high marks overall, it remains one of the [most unequal](#) in the country. Powerful corporate interests are promoting false solutions and working to undermine public schools, teachers, and unions. These groups invest millions of dollars to promote the expansion of privately run charter schools, which siphon money from our public K-12 districts while largely excluding students with the greatest needs. Costly, mandated standardized test results are used to label schools as “failing” and justify these privatization schemes.

Most of the [fastest-growing occupations](#) require education beyond a high school diploma, but Massachusetts has been disinvesting from public higher education for the past two decades. This has led to higher tuition costs, putting students at risk of long-term debt or making higher education out of reach for them entirely.

Massachusetts has significant achievement gaps reflective of resource gaps.

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

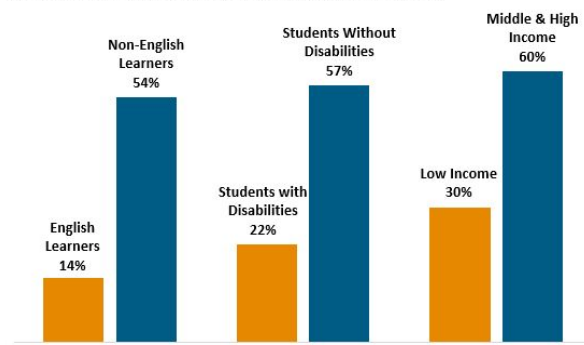
Share of MA 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Race, all students



Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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

Share of Mass. 4th Graders Proficient on the 2017 NAEP Reading Exam, by Student Category

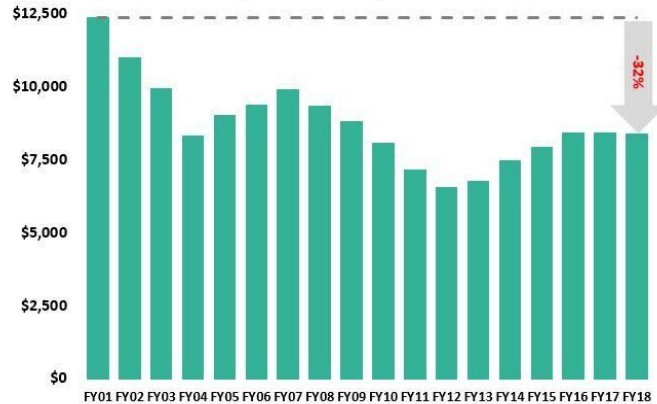


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017

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

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

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



Note: FY 2007 total is adjusted downwards to account for the fact that significant funding during this year was for capital investments that supported activity during other fiscal years.

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

KH: Massachusetts provides excellent public education when looked at generally, but there are key areas in which we need to improve. My most recently filed bills both pertain to education - one that would seek to address our process for assisting underperforming schools, and the other to make sure that the appropriate resources are available to help our students with disabilities.

Brighton High School is struggling. We need the flexibility and resources to change this.

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

KH: YES.

Public funded preschool provides a stable environment for children of low-income families. Additionally, it saves on childcare costs for low income families. According to economists from the University of Chicago, there is a "huge cost-benefit advantage in decreased jail time for poor children who attend preschool. Preschool, in general, can lead to higher IQs, better self-esteem, and fewer behavior issues." Many proponents against preschool cite reasons of funding, and not a noticeable difference in outcomes. I am proud to support Fair Share (millionaire's tax), which will go back into both transportation and education.

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

KH: The education bill was a landmark success for this legislature and is one of my proudest moments in 32 years as a State Representative. For me, this issue is right in my backyard. Brighton High School is a level 4 school and it's on all of us to do whatever we can to address the issues that are preventing it from thriving. I am happy to continually remind my colleagues that the schools deserve a strong voice in this process. To that end, I will actively oppose any efforts to reduce this funding or delay its appropriation.

4. **Standardized Testing.** Do you support a three-year moratorium on the high-stakes uses of standardized testing? (High-stakes" uses include high school graduation, teacher evaluation, and assigning ratings to schools.)

KH: YES.

Oftentimes standardized testing fails to accurately represent a student's knowledge, and more so acts as an indicator of a student's race or income. A three-year moratorium would give educators enough time to come up with a better test that would more accurately represent a school's and student's true aptitude. It results in teachers being forced to "teach to the test" instead of being able to teach as they have been trained to do. Taking the MCAS has not helped students at Brighton High School. It impedes an opportunity to learn and restricts the flexibility that is needed to cater specifically for the needs of our students.

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

- a. Do you support keeping the cap on charter schools? **YES.**
- b. Would you support legislation to bring greater accountability to charter schools by requiring them to adhere to the same disclosure and disciplinary standards as public school districts? **YES.**

KH: The cap on charter schools ensures that our public schools are a priority. If a cap were ever lifted on charter schools, many districts would face budget difficulties and our public schools, with its students and teachers, would suffer. Charter schools must adhere to more accountability. If they continue to receive public funding, then they must adhere to the same standards as school districts.

6. **Sex Education. Do you support requiring public schools that teach sexual health education to provide age-appropriate, medically accurate information that is inclusive of all sexual orientations and gender identities and includes the effective use of contraception?**

KH: YES.

Many students graduate high school without fully understanding contraceptive methods and what it means to be in a healthy sexual relationship. Data shows that teaching abstinence only increases the teen pregnancy rate, while teaching about contraceptives decreases teen pregnancy and STDs. It is also a problem that we have not added LGBTQ+ relationships to the school curriculum. It is long past time our schools

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

KH: YES.

All students deserve access to higher education. We should also consider additional provisions that guarantee that undocumented students will not be reported to USCIS or ICE.

My father was drafted into the Vietnam war before he was a legal citizen of the U.S. If he could wear the uniform for our country, then we can provide in-state tuition for undocumented students, without fear of repercussion.

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

KH: YES.

Massachusetts is notably known for its higher education institutions. By making tuition free at public colleges and universities, it reduces the barriers that low-income students face.

I would want to consider, instead of making public colleges and universities free, to make it a tiered system where students whose families make below 100k go to the university for free and a tiered system after that. But between these proposals, I would support whichever helps our low-income students get an education in the most efficient way possible.

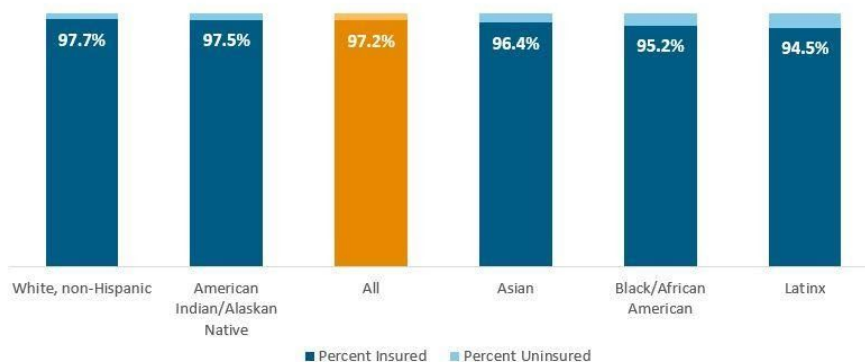
D. Health Care

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health insurance coverage, with [97% of the state](#) having health insurance. But until that is 100%, we haven't reached truly universal coverage or tackled critical barriers to accessing care. Disparities in insurance coverage and health care access continue to exist along income, racial, and education lines. Premiums continue to rise, and high deductibles mean that many do not get the health care they need -- or suffer from long-lasting debt if they do. We still spend an oversized portion of public and private money on health care, but without necessarily achieving better health outcomes.

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

Barriers to health insurance coverage remain for some

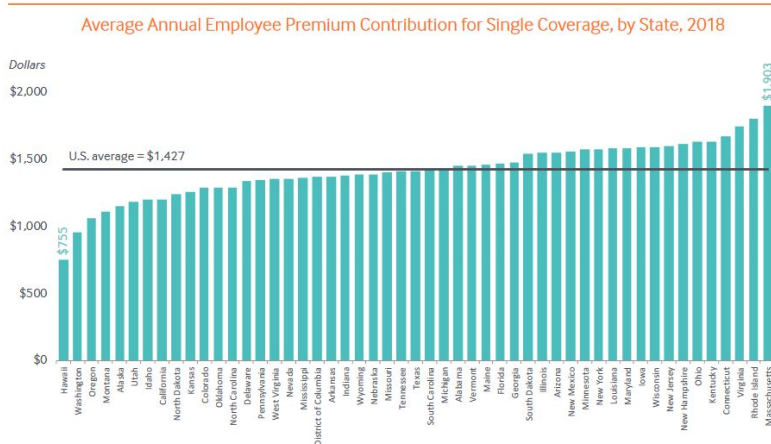
Percent with health insurance in Massachusetts, by race, 2017.



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

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

MA has the highest health insurance premiums in the US.



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

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

KH: My top priority has always been ensuring equal access to health care, regardless of income. I was one of the first to file legislation for the creation of MassHealth in 2006, which not only became law but is now a leading model.

I am a strong supporter of additional funding for Community Health Centers and last year earned the Community Health Center Champion award from the Massachusetts League of Community Health Centers for my lead sponsorship on a Community Health Center Transformation Fund amendment to the FY20 state budget.

I also have prioritized the protection of reproductive health care services. The Planned Parenthood on Comm Ave in my district provides a long list of safe, affordable, and judgement-free services to countless patients each year. I was a leader on the creation of a constitutionally-mandated buffer zone in front of that facility and I continually ensure it is properly enforced.

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

KH: YES.

A single payer health care system will reduce the overall cost of the healthcare system. We live in one of the wealthiest nations in the world --- no one should have to make the agonizing choice between ignoring a serious health problem or going bankrupt from a trip to the emergency room. Now, more than ever, we see the urgent need for a single payer health care system and ensuring that every person in Massachusetts can receive the care they need at a cost they can afford.

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

KH: YES.

Absolutely. We need to trust women, in consultation with their health care providers, to make the decisions that are right for them. Asking a young woman to go before a judge to secure her constitutionally-guaranteed right to an abortion is an intimidating and unnecessary barrier we must eliminate. I am a strong supporter of the ROE Act and have been fighting to make it law.

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

KH: YES.

This is a quite nuanced and complex issue, but there are tangible community benefits associated with SCSs. While some argue that it will lead to an increased crime, studies have actually shown that there is no discernable increase in drug consumption when a SCS is established. In fact, an overwhelming majority of local businesses and residents support these sites as a way to manage and address illegal drug use. Safe injection sites ultimately lead to (1) a lower fatality rate among our most vulnerable populations, (2) less hospital and ambulatory visits and (3) a lower burden on our hospitals. Safe injection sites should be

legalized, with an emphasis on referring users to addiction services that will help them recover, as well as housing and wraparound services so that they have the support they need to maintain a clean lifestyle.

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

KH: COVID-19 has presented an array of unprecedented and unique challenges that have dramatically affected the way the legislature can safely conduct business. Despite all of these obstacles and in the wake of the failed response by the federal government, I am proud of all Massachusetts has been able to accomplish. We have put many data-informed measures in place to flatten the curve and minimize impact on our constituents and our health care system.

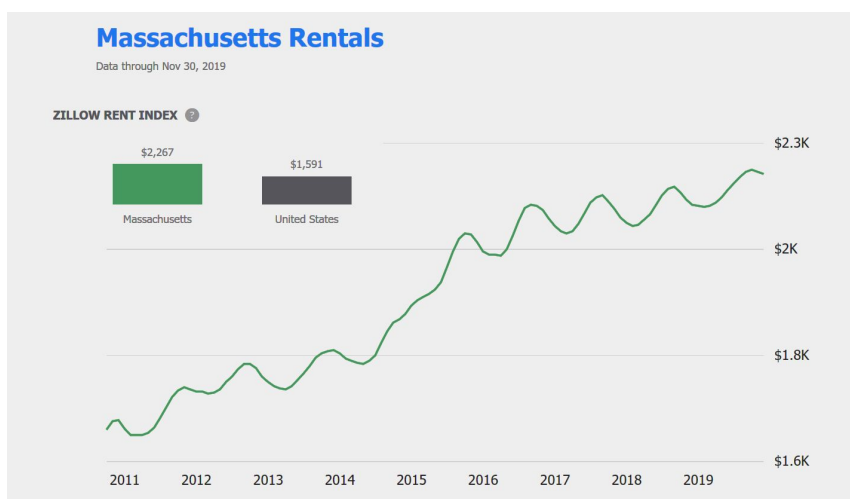
I was a lead sponsor on an eviction and foreclosure moratorium bill in the immediate days following the declared state of emergency. I am proud we were able to reach an agreement on that legislation within weeks to ensure that no one in Massachusetts has to worry about losing their home while they are being asked to shelter at home. Thanks to this law, Massachusetts has the strongest COVID-19 housing plan in the nation, and it was done with impressive collaboration amongst stakeholders.

With a plan for remote voting now in place, we will continue to respond to this crisis with the urgency it demands.

E. Housing

Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. The [US News & World Report's annual state rankings](#) put Massachusetts at #41 in housing affordability (and #43 in cost of living). A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [91 hours a week](#) to afford a modest one-bedroom rental home at market rate (and 113 hours for a modest two-bedroom). Over the last ten years, the need for affordable housing has increased, while funds for affordable housing have decreased at both federal and state levels. This is unsustainable. It has led to expanding economic inequality, increased homelessness, and damage to our economy, as talented workers often leave the state for less expensive regions.

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



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

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

KH: As the House Chair of the Joint Committee on Housing, I have a vested commitment to affordable housing production and preservation. I have authored several housing bond bills, including a \$1.8 billion bond bill passed in 2018 --- the largest in state history. Each session I file an array of housing legislation, with a focus on transit-oriented growth and empowering municipalities the tools they need to support smart housing production. As the representative of a booming district, I have made attendance at neighborhood meetings to discussion pending projects a top priority.

- 2. Funding. Would you support legislation that would allow cities and towns to impose a fee on real estate transfers to generate revenue for affordable housing, with the ability to create local exemptions as appropriate?**

KH: YES.

The Housing committee has reported legislation of this nature favorably out of our committee this session. I am also the lead sponsor of a home rule petition passed by Boston City Council earlier this year to allow a fee of up to 2% on real estate transactions valued over \$2 million (H.4514).

- 3. Tenant Protections. Do you support passing enabling legislation to provide municipalities with the authority to implement rent-stabilizing regulations, just**

cause eviction protections, stronger condominium conversion and foreclosure protections, anti-displacement zones, and options to help tenants manage the upfront costs of leasing an apartment?

KH: YES.

We should equip municipalities with the capability to produce and preserve affordable housing opportunities wherever they can. Each of Massachusetts' 351 cities and towns has unique housing challenges, but enabling them to have a full tool box of options is how we ensure better housing affordability statewide.

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

KH: YES.

I have filed legislation that would mandate communities served by the MBTA to have at least one district zoned for multifamily development for several sessions in a row. H. 4262 was reported out of our committee favorably in December 2019.

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

KH: YES.

Eviction records are a large barrier to tenants finding housing. I support eviction sealing after three years, in addition to other reforms --- such as only making an eviction record public when the landlord wins the cases on the merits and preventing children from being listed on eviction complaints.

F. Racial and Social Justice

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

Mass incarceration in Massachusetts has proven socially and economically destructive, breaking apart communities across the state. From 2011 to 2016, [spending on prisons](#) grew faster than any other part of the Massachusetts budget, while funding for necessary services languished. The average cost per year to house an inmate in the Massachusetts Department of Corrections is [more than \\$60,000](#), money that could be better reinvested into the communities that have suffered from decades of misguided and racially discriminatory “tough on crime” policies. To achieve “justice for all,” we need a judicial system that does not disproportionately target communities of color and the poor and that does not criminalize public health issues such as addiction. The April 2018 criminal justice reform bill made strides forward, but there is more work to do.

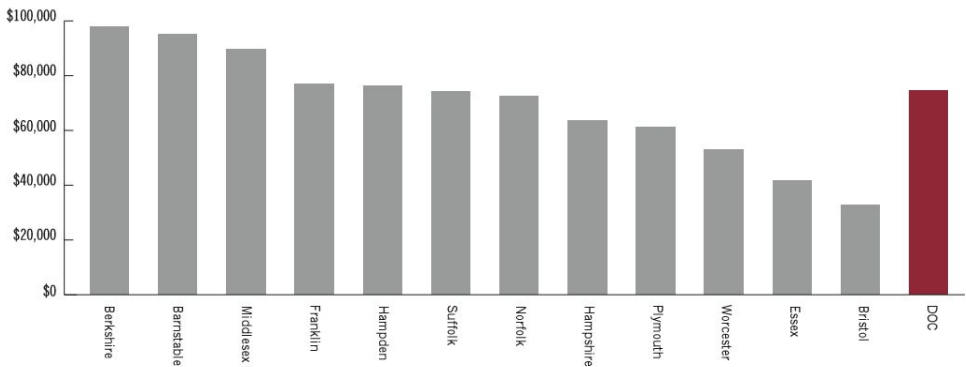
Immigrants make up 16% of Massachusetts’s population; however, demagoguery against, or indifference to, immigrant populations has historically been a mainstay of Massachusetts politics. As the Trump administration in Washington ramps up a xenophobic mass deportation agenda, it is important for states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

Significant racial disparities exist in incarceration in Massachusetts.

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

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

Figure 4: Estimated expenditure per inmate, FY 2019



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

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

KH: Allston-Brighton is a melting pot of diversity that brings exciting cultures together in one neighborhood. I work closely with the Allston-Brighton CDC and their many programs offering assistance through housing classes, ESL help, employment seminars and overall guidance navigating city and state services. I have been fortunate to hire summer interns for the past 15 years from the West End House Boys & Girls Club who represent all races and backgrounds. I have championed the effort to change our public housing laws to require tenant representation on public housing authority boards, negotiated legislation that is now a national model for the preservation of affordable housing, and have consistently and successfully defended the state's affordable housing law, Chapter 40B from suburban attacks. I have led the fight against incessant Republican efforts to require Social Security Numbers on applications for state public housing, a blatant attack on our immigrant residents.

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

KH: YES.

I believe transparency should be a fundamental crux of our public safety and criminal justice systems, including for police-involved shootings, to negate even the notion of a conflict of interest. In a tragic instance such as that, there needs to be an outside, independent party to review all of the facts and evidence to determine what happened. We've seen the impact that an independent review board has in terms of transparency, accountability and trust within the community in Boston, which has a designated board to review appeals made with the Boston Police over internal investigations cases. In recent years, the City has expanded and reformed the board to increase the number of cases reviewed and automatically refer to the Board all allegations of discrimination or use of force resulting in serious bodily injury, leading to a decline in citizen complaints to Internal Affairs and also complaints of excessive force

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

- a. Eliminating mandatory minimums for opioid-related offenses?
- b. Raising the age of criminal majority from 18 to 21, in line with research that shows that young offenders served by a juvenile system are much less likely to reoffend and more likely to successfully transition to adulthood?
- c. Decriminalizing consensual sexual activity between adolescents, by creating an exception to the statutory rape law for youth close in age?
- d. Eliminating the sentence of life without parole, which is costly and has been shown to be racist in its application?

KH: I support expanding judicial discretion in sentencing rather than eliminating a sentence of life without parole. As such, I would continue to allow judges to sentence those convicted of first-degree murder to life without parole, but I would give them the additional option of sentencing prisoners to a life term with eligibility for parole after a certain term of years. Those who have committed less heinous murders and have served such a term should have the opportunity to persuade the parole board that they are ready to rejoin society. We want to be mindful of flexibility for instances of extreme atrocity or cruelty. I believe that this change must also balance the rights of victims and their families. As State Representative I have comforted families who have lost loved ones to violent crime. These people and their stories are deeply emotional matters.

4. **Solitary Confinement. In Massachusetts, prisoners can be sentenced to 10 years of solitary confinement—per infraction. The UN defines holding someone in solitary confinement for more than 15 days as torture. Do you support limiting the use of**

solitary to no more than 15 consecutive days?

KH: YES.

Massachusetts should not be below the standard that the UN sets for torture.

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

KH: YES.

6. **Prison Profiteering.** While Massachusetts does not have private prisons, the DOC invites private companies to profit off of the families of prisoners by price gouging inmates who have no alternatives but to buy from the sole providers of goods in prisons. Do support ending the price gouging of inmates for necessary items and requiring DOC to adequately supply inmates with the basic requirements necessary for life to keep in contact with their families and maintain good health and hygiene?

KH: YES.

Profiting off of prisoners is not something that Massachusetts should be a part of.

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

KH: YES.

I am a cosponsor.

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

KH: YES.

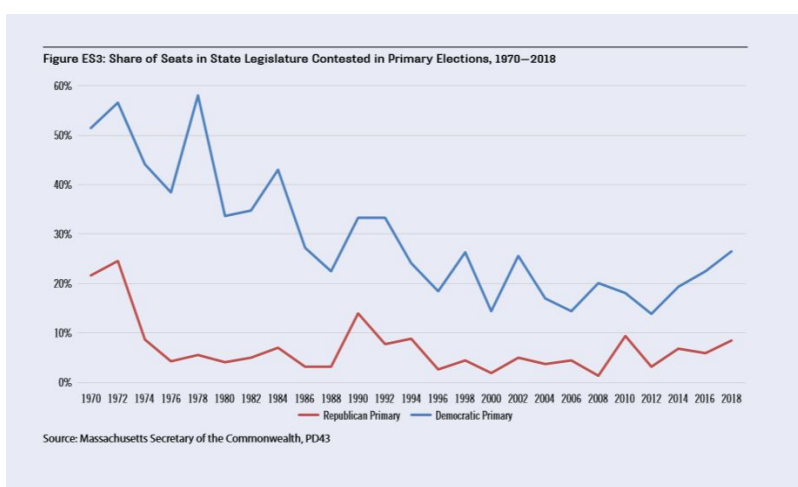
Immigration issues are deeply personal to me. One's immigration status has no impact on their ability to operate a vehicle and the law should reflect that. If my father could go to war as an undocumented immigrant, our undocumented immigrants should be able to apply for permit and license without fear of repercussion.

G. Good Government and Strong Democracy

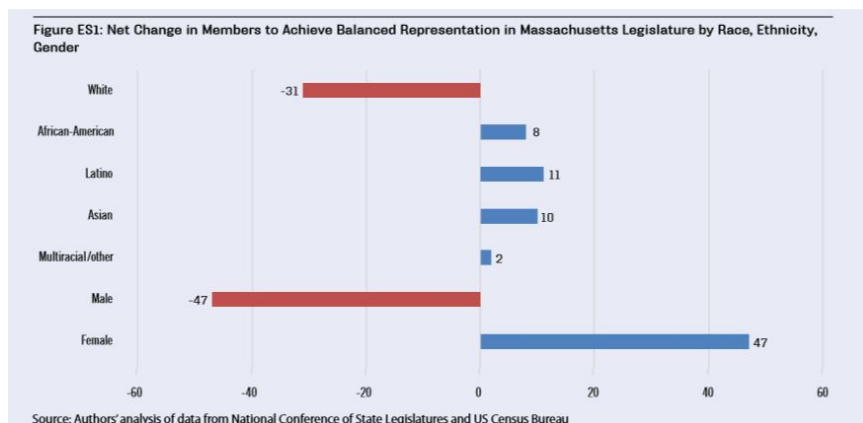
A strong democracy depends on a transparent and representative government and an engaged public. Too often, however, we see centralized, unaccountable power and barriers to participation. An undemocratic, centralized power structure on Beacon Hill makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine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

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

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



Our legislature is not reflective of the population as a whole.



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

KH: As Chair of Housing, I have always made committee votes available. I am happy to do my part to provide transparency on any votes that I take or votes that are taken in my committee. The same goes for any roll call taken in committee. I pledge to make my votes available to the public.

We have also worked hard to make sure young people have the opportunity to be civically active. We set up an internship program set up in Brian J Honan's memory at the West End House - 10 interns each summer who are compensated and are placed in non-profit offices including City Council, House of Reps, Senate, etc. to teach young people about the importance of public service. It is very difficult for low-income students to afford to do internships in government because so many are unpaid.

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

KH: NO.

The Legislative exemption from the public records law in Massachusetts provides for the protection of open, frank inter-office and intra-office deliberations regarding legislative and government decisions. These discussions often involve a deliberative process whereby legislators review and select among various options presented, and the value of such strategic discussions depends upon the open and frank recommendations and opinions. I am concerned that legislators will not communicate candidly among themselves, through e-mail or other written form, if such communications are public records open to discovery by any and all. As such, any relaxation from the public records law must ensure that private communication between staff and legislators facilitates the free flow of ideas and solutions as draft legislation is debated, examined, and tested.

3. **Legislative Transparency -- Part I. The Massachusetts Legislature lacks many basic transparency measures found in other state legislatures around the country. Would you vote in favor of making the following items available online...?**
 - a. All committee votes, whether taken by electronic poll or formal roll call?
 - b. All written testimony submitted for or against bills?
 - c. Reader-friendly summaries of bills currently in or reported out of committee?

KH: I make all of my committee votes, both electronic and roll call, available to the public. There are a number of serious matters that we must consider before making this decision for others. There are many very personal testimonies, not just from members of the House, but also stories that come from constituents. Protecting the confidentiality of my constituents will always be a priority and I am cautious when navigating this. Provided some context and attention to this issue, I could support this.

4. **Legislative Transparency -- Part II. Legislators only vote to change the rules at the start of the legislative session, but all legislators can model transparency on their own throughout the session. Would you commit to doing the following...?**
 - a. Standing for a recorded vote when a colleague asks for one on any amendment which you have co-sponsored?
 - b. Making your committee votes available online on your website?
5. **State House Culture. Do you support the creation an independent commission to investigate and report on complaints of workplace and sexual harassment in the Massachusetts Legislature?**

KH: YES.

I support making public service at the State House a safe, positive, and welcoming environment where employees can thrive. That is why I supported a House of Representatives order for an independent review of our human resources department in consultation with the Boston Area Rape Crisis Center, the Victim Rights Law Center, The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, the Massachusetts Office of Victim Assistance, and the Attorney General's office. At the conclusion of this review, I was proud to join the entire House of Representatives in unanimously voting to establish within our HR department an independent Equal Employment Opportunity Officer. This position's charge is to ensure our policies prevent sexual harassment in the workplace and that we have the proper infrastructure for employees to feel safe and empowered to report on an unhealthy workplace environment or specific instances of harmful or inappropriate behavior.

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

KH: YES.

I support reinstating something like the prior law in Massachusetts, which created a new voluntary system allowing candidates for state office who agree to campaign spending limits and \$100 contribution limits to receive a set amount of public funds for their campaigns. The law limited transfers of money from national political parties to state political parties for administrative, overhead, or party-building activities. It also required candidates for state office who had raised or spent at least a set minimum amount in an election cycle to file their required campaign finance reports with the state electronically, and the public would have prompt electronic access to such reports.

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

KH: YES.

Being a parent has been one of the most enlightening experiences of my life. We need more of that wisdom in the State House. Without campaign funds being used to pay for child care, we are seriously disadvantaging single parents, a group that absolutely deserves equal representation.

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

a. Election Day Registration?

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

c. No-fault absentee voting?

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

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

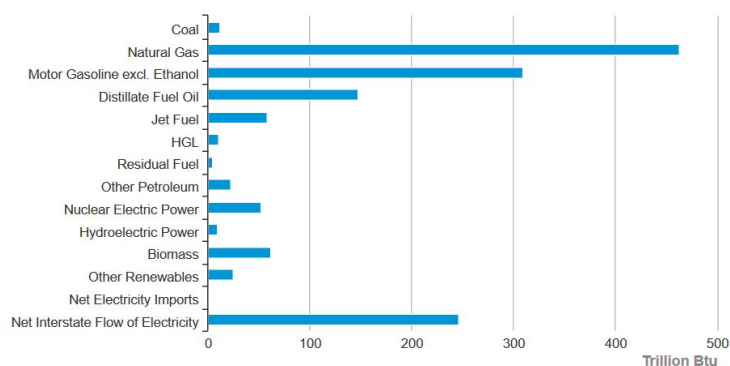
H. Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection

As a coastal state, Massachusetts will be hit particularly hard by climate change, but we are not responding with the necessary urgency. In order to avoid catastrophic climate change, global carbon emissions need to be [halved by 2030](#) and brought to net zero by 2050. In 2016, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the state has failed to meet its legal obligation to set and enforce annual limits on greenhouse gas emissions as outlined in the 2008 Global Warming Solutions Act. Setting and reaching these goals will require the decarbonization of our state economy and a transition away from fossil fuels toward clean, renewable sources of energy. In light of congressional gridlock at the federal level, state government must take a role in incentivizing reduced carbon usage and assisting in coordination between agencies and moving forward local government understanding of looming climate threats.

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

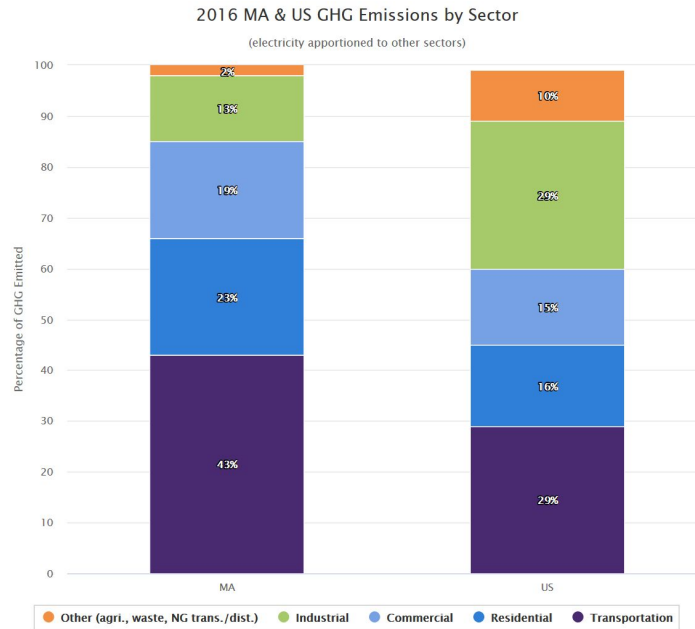
Despite recent progress, Massachusetts is still overwhelmingly dependent on fossil fuels.

Massachusetts Energy Consumption Estimates, 2017



 Source: Energy Information Administration, State Energy Data System

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



(Source: <http://www.mass.gov>)

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

KH: I started my career for ABCD, a part of the Community Action Network, teaching elderly, disabled, and low-income communities about no- and low-cost energy-saving techniques. I was a leader for the Community Preservation Act campaign to provide more money for affordable housing and environmental actions. I have publicly and passionately supported candidates that reflect my environmental values like Sen. Ed Markey's re-election and Sen. Elizabeth Warren's presidential campaign.

I have fought to secure state funding to tackle some of the pressing climate and transportation challenges that we face. I supported and voted for a \$600 million transportation financing bill. I backed the 2008 Massachusetts Global Warming Solutions Act. I am a co-sponsor on Rep. Decker and Garballey's bill H. 2836 100% Renewable Energy Act.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

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

KH: YES.

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Limit answer to 150 words or fewer.

Use this space to add any other issues important to your vision for Massachusetts or any other matter you think progressive voters should know about your candidacy.