

Christian Krueger

14th Middlesex

State Representative

Endorsement Questionnaire

Office Sought: State Representative

Legislative District: 14th Middlesex

Party: Democratic

Website: CK4MA.Com

Twitter: n/a

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/ChristianKruegerForStateRep/>



Primary: September 4

Election: November 6

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Election: November 6	0
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Introduction: Progressive Mass

About

Progressive Massachusetts is a statewide, grassroots organization committed to working toward shared prosperity, racial and social justice, good government and strong democracy, and sustainable infrastructure and environmental protection. It was founded 5 years ago by local organizers from the Patrick and Obama campaigns in order to continue to move forward progressive values and issues in Massachusetts.

Advancing a progressive agenda in Massachusetts requires electing legislators who share--and will fight for--our values, and then holding them accountable.

Membership

One of the benefits of being a dues-paying member of Progressive Massachusetts is that you get to participate in our endorsement votes for key elections, helping to shape the future direction of progressive policymaking in the state. **Not yet a member? Join!** ProgressiveMass.com/member

How Endorsements Work

Progressive Massachusetts sends candidates this detailed policy questionnaire, revised periodically by the Elections & Endorsements Committee (EEC). The EEC may choose to make a recommendation in a given race, but the ultimate decision lies with you--the members. In each race, you can choose to vote for a **candidate**, vote “**no endorsement**,” or **abstain**. Candidates who receive at least 60% of all ballots submitted in their respective race will be endorsed by Progressive Massachusetts. If no candidate in a race reaches the 60% threshold, we will not endorse. Regardless of whether or not we endorse, all questionnaires will be made available on our website as a public service.

Sources

Each section features a chart or graph that illustrates one facet of the issue under discussion and is not intended to be comprehensive. All images and data are from Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center (massbudget.org).

I. About the Candidate

Christian Krueger

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

Christian Krueger: I'm running for office because I want to be able to help people. That is the point. I remember when I was a kid, I wanted to be a firefighter, or a doctor, or a power ranger. Not because I knew what those jobs really meant, but because I knew they were people who helped. In high school I thought about being a writer, or a teacher, or a teacher who taught teachers. Someone who could teach people how to help themselves and each other. After years of searching for what it is I wanted to do, how I could best help the most people, I've come to the conclusion that the best way I can help is by crafting legislation. By being a voice for those who aren't in the room as law is being written. I can listen, I can learn, and when I take this seat, I'll be able to speak for all those who so desperately need Representation. That's why I'm running.

Top three priorities is a little hard to answer, because that could mean "Three I want to do first" or "Three that are most important to me", and the most important ones are long term ones, like Single Payer and Free Public College. Assuming you mean "The three I want to do first"...

1. Free Lunch for Public School Students, because it's never a child's fault if they're hungry.
2. Banning Gay Conversion Therapy, because it's literally torture.
3. Implementing election reforms, like Same Day Voter Registration, Universal Early Voting, and/or Weekend Elections, because we need to do everything in our power to remove barriers to the ballot box.

2. *What prepares you to serve in this capacity?*

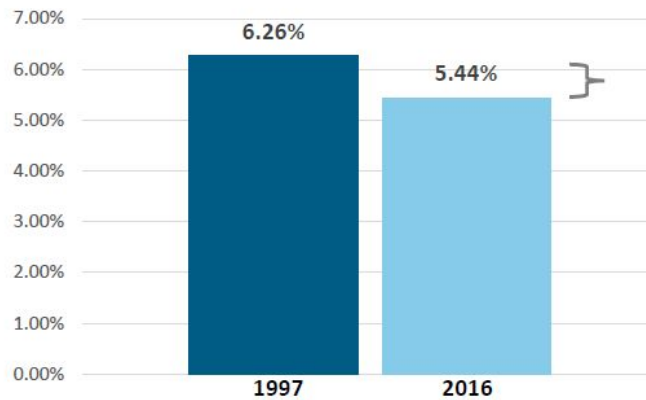
Christian Krueger: Truth be told, my legislative experience is very limited, but my real world experience is not. I am a smart guy who didn't go to college because of the financial expense. My family has been greatly burdened by the weight of the college loans and mortgages we have had to take out in order to send my eldest brother to college and to live in the town of Concord. We have gone through periods of being quite poor. We have dealt with disabilities both Physical and Mental (My mother has Crohns Disease and suffers from difficulties after a surgical mistake, and most of my family has ADD and Dyslexia, myself included.) I have worked in Food Services, Retail, and as a Freelance Production Sound Mixer on film sets. I have a 90 year old Grandmother still living in our Three Generation home. I have experienced what it is like to grow up Gay and find that out about yourself. I have experienced the pain inflicted by drug and alcohol abuse, I've lost friends to it. I know personally some of the most ubiquitous challenges facing my generation, and yet those experiences are vastly under-represented in the state house. Those experiences, those vital perspectives, are what prepares me to serve. Yes, I will have a lot to learn about procedure and how things really work on Beacon Hill, but I can learn that. No one job prepares you for this one. Crafting legislation is the art of crafting the rules our society lives by, and that means taking into account all of the extremely varied experiences that the people in our state go through. That means being open to new perspectives, and always actively willing to learn and question your preconceived notions. I am prepared for that, and I look forward to it.

A. REVENUE AND TAXATION

Despite the label of “Taxachusetts,” Massachusetts ranks 22nd among states in terms of state and local taxes as a share of total personal income and below the national average. Between 1977 and 2012, Massachusetts reduced state taxes by more than all but one other state. Because of income tax cuts enacted between 1998 and 2002, Massachusetts is losing over \$3 billion in tax revenue each year. 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 to pass new and visionary legislation, as there is a continual shortage of funds for existing priorities.

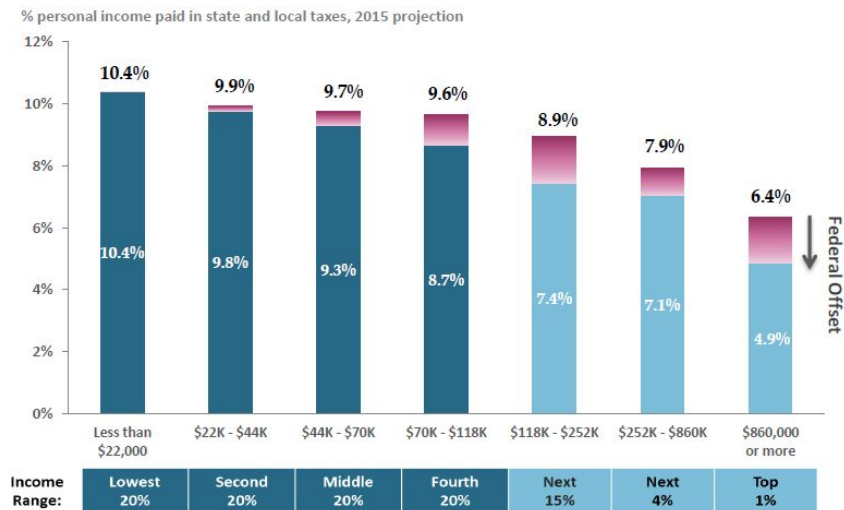
Declining revenues have meant drastic cuts, limiting our ability to invest in our communities and future economic stability.

Massachusetts tax revenue as a share of the state economy



This 13.1% decline in tax revenue has led to deep budget cuts and ongoing budget challenges.

Massachusetts state and local taxes are regressive.



* Percentages shown inside bar are net effective tax levels after factoring in federal offset. Percentages above bars show tax levels before federal offset.

Source: Institute for Taxation and Economic Policy.

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

Christian Krueger: I think the best way to raise revenue starts at the base. By raising minimum wage, we increase the number of well paying jobs, which increases the number of people with stable incomes and extra money they can spend on improving their lives. This expands the middle class, which results in more spending, more jobs, and more revenue through existing taxes. Also, making sure that everyone is paying their fair share, which is addressed later.

2. *Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on revenue and taxation (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).*
3. *Progressive Taxation. Currently, Progressive Massachusetts is working on 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"), which will be on the 2018 ballot. Do you support this ballot question?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

4. *Sales Tax Holiday. It has been demonstrated over and over that the annual sales tax holiday does not serve its intended purpose of increasing sales, but rather just shifts sales to the weekend of the holiday. Would you oppose efforts to extend the sales tax holiday?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. It was a neat idea, worth trying, but I don't think it works, and actively reduces revenue.

5. *Corporate Tax Breaks & Disclosure. Do you support the state's collecting and publicly disclosing the information about the benefits actually provided by corporations receiving tax credits?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

6. *Corporate Tax Breaks & Wages. Do you support requiring any company receiving tax credits from the state to pay a living wage and provide good benefits to all its employees?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. This idea I really like, because companies like this actively cheat the system. They use those tax credits and low wages to suppress their prices, thus making smaller companies without the same benefits, which have a hard enough time as it is paying out living wages, unable to sustain themselves. This destroys competition, and makes communities reliant upon the large corporation, which in turn makes it harder to bargain for the wages their workers deserve.

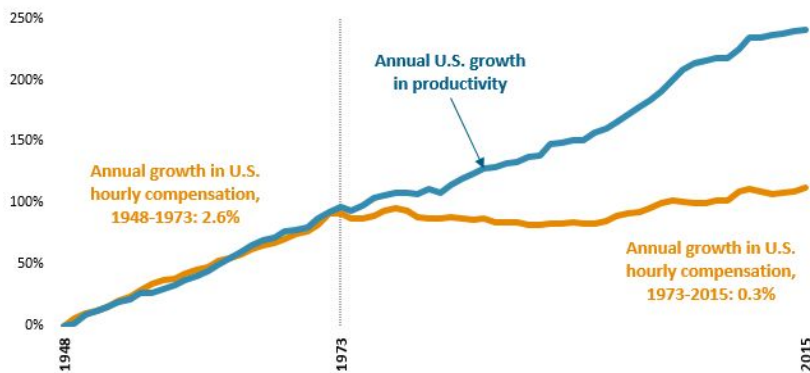
B. JOB GROWTH AND THE ECONOMY

The Massachusetts economy has continued to grow and recover from the Great Recession, but the gains have not been shared equally. According to various measures of income inequality, Massachusetts now ranks as one of the top ten most [unequal states](#). We are one of the most expensive states in the country for [health care](#), [housing](#), and [child care](#), all of which strain wages. Most MA workers do not have access to paid medical leave, and only a small fraction have access to paid family leave--gaps that force people to choose between their (or their family's) health and their job.

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

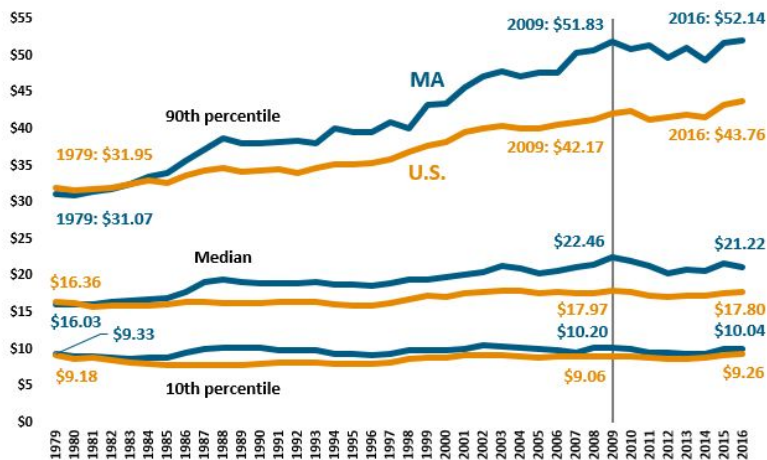
Cumulative Change in U.S. Hourly Wages for Private-Sector Production/Non-Supervisory Workers and Net Productivity, 1948-2015



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 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. Share your personal values and principles on job growth and the economy.

How can we improve the economy and economic security for all people? How do we grow the number of good-paying jobs in the Commonwealth? How do you view wealth and income inequality, and what would you do about it, if anything?

Christian Krueger: We need to invest in people and lower the barriers to finding good jobs and continued lifelong learning. The economy of the future is increasingly automated. Right now I see a huge shift in how business is done in America, and in Massachusetts, and we need to be open to new and innovative solutions. Soon, a vast number of people with skill sets in service industries are going to be replaced, and we need to prepare ourselves for that in this time of relative prosperity, through the reduction of economic inequality, the strengthening of our social safety net, as well as our educational services for people of all ages, our public transportation networks, and our budgetary preparedness.

If a wise man in times of peace prepares for war, than a wise man in times of economic strength prepares for recession. We need to invest and prepare now.

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

3. Increasing Wages.

a. Minimum wage. *Do you support raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

b. Tipped Minimum Wage. *And making the tipped minimum wage equal to that of the regular minimum wage?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. Without this, food services workers will be unable to be secure in their incomes. Re: Teen Minimum Wage, While I see the appeal of having a separate lower wage to encourage teen workers, I feel like it'd almost certainly get abused, and have nasty side effects.

c. Indexing the Minimum Wage. *And indexing the minimum wage to inflation?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. Though I support this, I would like to check with some economists first to make sure that there's no chance of a feedback loop effect. If we're raising it significantly every year that's a very a bad sign I'd think.

d. Teen Minimum Wage. *And reject efforts to create a subminimum wage for teen workers?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. While I see the appeal of having a separate lower wage to encourage teen workers, I feel like it'd almost certainly get abused, and have nasty side effects.

4. Paid Leave. *Do you support requiring access to up to 16 weeks of paid family leave and 26 weeks of paid medical leave?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. I actually worked on that bill during the Citizens Legislative Seminar. I am very much in favor.

5. **Unions -- Part I.** *If workers in Massachusetts make the decision to unionize, would you be willing to publicly support a union-organizing drive and discourage management from fighting their decision?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

6. **Unions -- Part II.** *Since 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?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. The right to collectively bargain is a basic freedom in my mind. Depriving people of the ability to work together to get a better deal is **oppressive**.

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

Christian Krueger: Yes.

8. **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?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. Mandatory Arbitration is basically a licence to do evil things, and thus shouldn't be allowed.

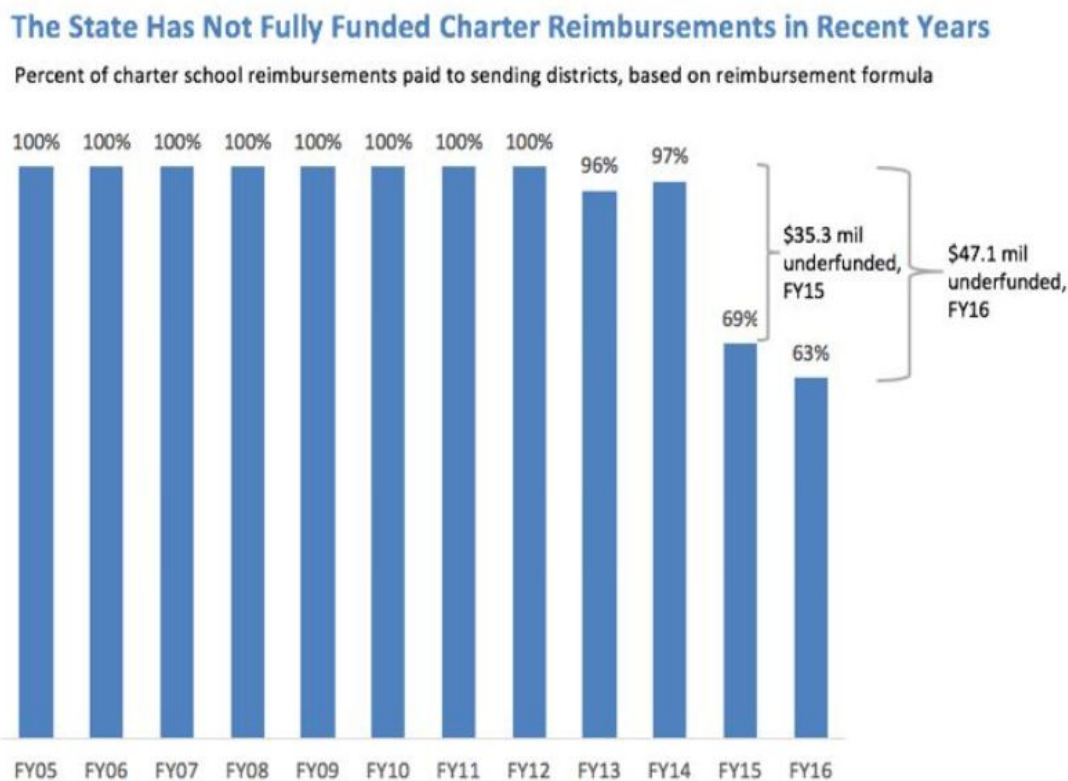
9. **Economic Democracy.** *Would you support legislation to foster and develop employee ownership of businesses in Massachusetts and encourage the formation of cooperatives and/or benefit corporations?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. This sounds like a fantastic idea!

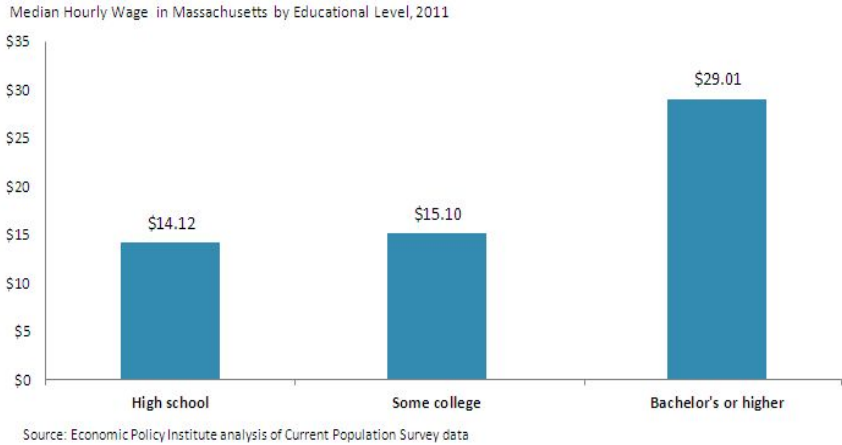
C. EDUCATION

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. The mission of public schools is to serve all students, including English Language Learners and those with special needs. However, powerful corporate interests are working to undermine public schools, teachers, and unions. These groups are investing 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. Various forms of privatization are being proposed and implemented, including charter schools and “turnaround” schemes that put private management groups in charge of struggling public schools. Costly, mandated standardized test results are used to justify these privatization schemes. Finally, the soaring price of higher education over the last several decades has made access to this opportunity increasingly out of reach, at the very moment when higher education makes a greater difference to one’s economic future.

The state hasn’t been living up to its responsibility to fully fund our public schools.

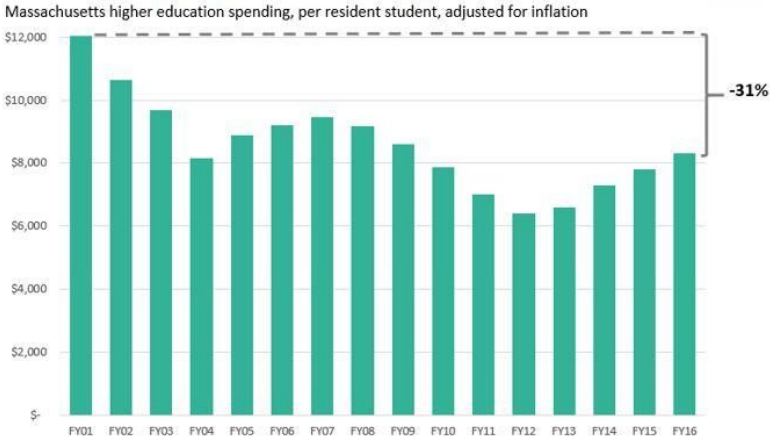


Higher educational attainment leads to higher wages.



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

Per Student, Higher Ed. Cut by 31 Percent Since FY 2001



1. ***Please share your personal values and principles regarding public education. What value does public education have in improving our economy as well as in addressing matters of economic justice? How can we close persistent achievement gaps? What measures should the Commonwealth take on these issues?***

Christian Krueger: Public schools are incredibly important, but right now our funding is based too much on local property taxes to be fair across the state. We also focus too much on standardized testing, while giving kids an education that frankly leaves them unprepared to go off and make a living without an additional four years of schooling. I think we need to change up our education strategy significantly. Also, I personally want to make sure that all public schools give free lunches regardless of income. If our state is going to lead on Single Payer Healthcare, we ought to be able to do Single Payer Lunch for Kids, given how vital it is to the effectiveness of their education, and the moral responsibility we have as a commonwealth to see to their needs.

2. ***Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on public education?***
3. ***Universal Pre-K. Would you support creating universal, free Pre-K, accessible to any resident of Massachusetts, integrated into the public school system?***

Christian Krueger: Yes. So far as I can tell, the evidence points to that being a great and effective use of education dollars, as well as very useful for working parents.

4. ***Standardized Testing. Do you oppose the use of high-stakes testing for such things as student promotion, high school graduation, teacher evaluation, and the evaluation of schools and districts?***

Christian Krueger: Yes. I am highly suspicious of the utility of MCAS' as a tool for telling us much beyond the ability of a student to fill out an MCAS exam. I am similarly unimpressed by most other test metrics, and specifically their theoretical implications. Though despite this, I am not against the idea of metrics entirely.

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

Christian Krueger: Yes.

6. ***Charter Schools. Last November, Massachusetts 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 schools.***

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

Christian Krueger: Yes.

- b. ***Would you support legislation to bring greater accountability and transparency to charter schools, such as by requiring them to adhere to the same disclosure and disciplinary standards as***

public school districts?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

7. **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 that hat includes the effective use of contraception?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. As a gay man who sat through lots of health classes but never got informed about how my experience would be entirely different in terms of how to be safe during sex, yes, I support better sex-ed.

8. **Higher Education Access.** *Would you support legislation to grant in-state tuition and financial aid to undocumented students?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. Undocumented students are still people, and I want to see them become educated citizens, rather than taking their best prospects for their future away from them.

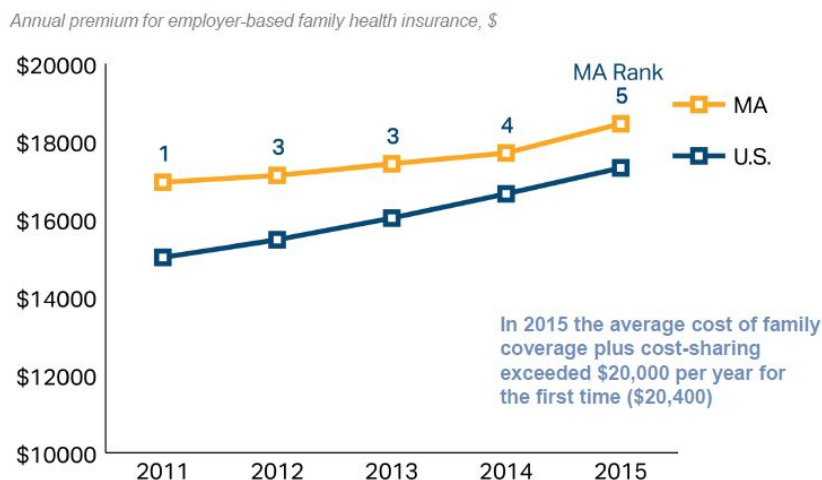
9. **Tuition-Free Higher Education.** *Would you support making tuition free at public colleges and universities?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. Seems vital to avoiding a very nasty economic future once automation kicks in.

D. HEALTH CARE

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health insurance coverage, with 97% of the state having health insurance. We provided the blueprint for the national Affordable Care Act, with an insurance-based reform passed by the Democratic Legislature and signed by Republican Governor Romney. While the reforms of President Obama's Affordable Care Act are under assault by Republicans (who control the Executive and both legislative chambers), Massachusetts could lead in more progressive health care reforms. Even without the Republican dismantling of national reforms, there is still work to do right here in Massachusetts. MA's Democratic Legislature passed, and the Republican governor signed, the ACCESS bill in 2017--protecting the right to no-fee contraception, which is (federally) under threat: Where our federal advances are being rolled back, Massachusetts could--and should--push progressively forward. Significant disparities in health insurance coverage and health care access continue to exist along income, racial, and education lines. Premiums continue to rise, and medical debt remains a persistent problem. We still spend an oversized portion of public and private money on health care, but without necessarily achieving better health outcomes.

MA has among the highest health insurance premiums in the country.



Source: Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, Medical Expenditure Panel Survey, Insurance Component

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

Christian Krueger: Single Payer. In the interim I want to make it easier to get to get Mass Health. Navigating that system for an uninformed person is difficult. I once lost my insurance due to that. Also, making it easier to get to medical services with non-life threatening illness would be good. Something cheap and easy between the logistical expense of an Ambulance (not to mention the absurd cost to the person in question), and the current strategy of simply not going at all. I feel like automated vehicles might be able to help here in the future.

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

3. **Single Payer.** Would you support legislation to enact a single payer health care system in Massachusetts?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

4. **Reproductive Rights.** Would you support legislation to guarantee women access to abortion care without dangerous delay, isolation, and obstruction?

Christian Krueger: Yes. We must make these laws as strong as possible within Massachusetts, so attacks on them from both the outside and from within can be defended against.

5. **Dental Care.** Do you support the authorization of dental therapists in Massachusetts, similar to a nurse practitioner or physician assistant, in order to expand access to dental care?

Christian Krueger: Yes. I think ultimately Dental care should be as easy to access as specialized care for any other part of the body and covered by normal insurance.

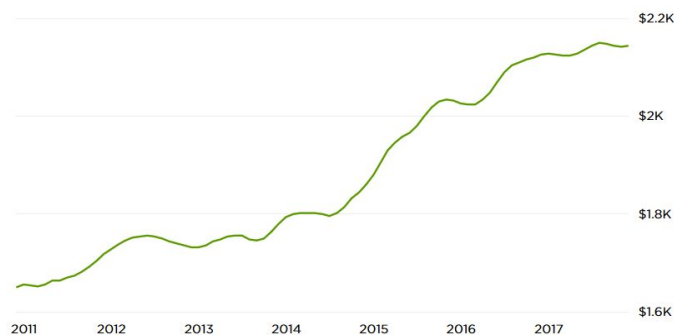
6. **Prescription Drug Pricing.** Would you support a drug transparency law, like the one recently passed in California, that requires pharmaceutical companies to publicly justify steep price increases?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

E. HOUSING

Massachusetts has a lot to offer, but that does little if people can't afford to live here. Although Massachusetts ranked #1 last year in the [US News & World Report's state ranking](#), we were #45 in cost of living and #44 in housing affordability. A worker earning minimum wage in Massachusetts would have to work [80 hours a week](#) to afford a modest one bedroom rental home at market rate (and almost 100 hours a week in Metro Boston). 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. The Commonwealth is at risk of losing [14,231 subsidized units](#) by December 31, 2019, as subsidies expire and owners convert properties into market-rate condominiums. Half of families in Greater Boston alone pay over 30% of their income in housing and utilities costs—and over 25% of households pay more than half their income to housing. There is a waiting list of up to ten years for a rental voucher. 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.

Median rents have gone up by more than 30% since 2011.



(source: [zillow.com](#))

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding affordable housing.

How would you ensure that there is suitable housing for all who need it, within reasonable distance of job opportunities? How would you address the need to link housing, jobs, and transportation? How would you tackle homelessness?

Christian Krueger: The home is the center of both the family, and the economy. We need people to have safe, healthy places to live, that aren't so expensive that they force families to overwork themselves just for food and shelter. I think Transportation ties into this significantly. If you can't reliably get to your job, or to school, then commutes get longer and life gets more expensive as people take cars for their reliability. That makes the acceptable range for affordable housing smaller. Getting our transportation in order can greatly increase our ability to create better, safer, affordable housing for everyone.

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

3. Funding. Do you support increasing funding for

a. *The creation of new units of affordable housing, especially low-income units?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

b. *The Massachusetts Rental Voucher Program?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

c. *Matching funds for the Community Preservation Act (via fees from the Registry of Deeds)?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

4. **Housing Preservation.** *Currently, certain property owners who guarantee affordable rents have been incentivized by subsidized mortgages via the 13A program. However, many of the contracts under 13A are set to expire in 2019. Do you support giving cities and towns the authority to require such apartments to remain affordable?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

5. **Foreclosure Prevention.** *Do you support a requirement that banks mediate in good faith with homeowners to seek alternatives before beginning foreclosure proceedings?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

6. **Tenant Protections.** *Would you support legislation, such as the Jim Brooks Stabilization Act, that requires landlords to provide a reason when seeking to evict a tenant, like failure to pay rent, damaging property, or breaking a lease; informs tenants of their rights under state law; and increases data collection on eviction?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

7. **Zoning Reform.** *Would you support legislation to upgrade Massachusetts's zoning laws to encourage more affordable housing and transit-oriented, walkable development and to promote inclusionary zoning practices?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

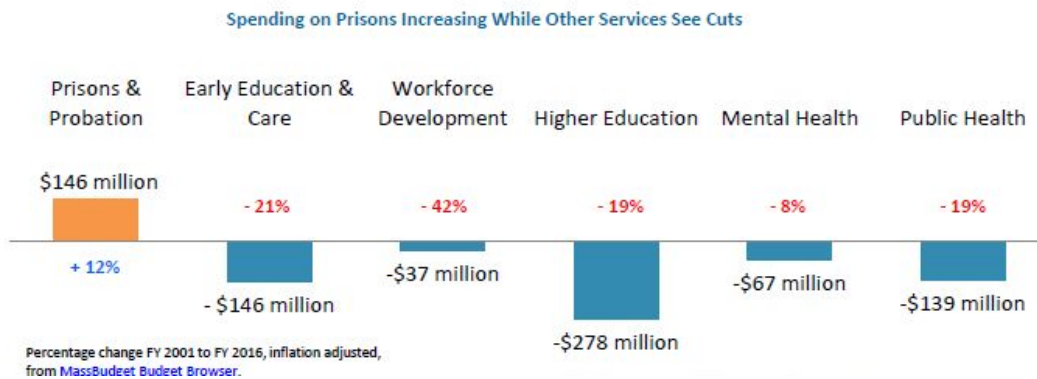
8. **Combating Speculation.** *Would you support legislation to allow cities and towns to impose a graduated tax on private real estate transactions over \$2.5 million, with the money allocated to affordable housing trust funds?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

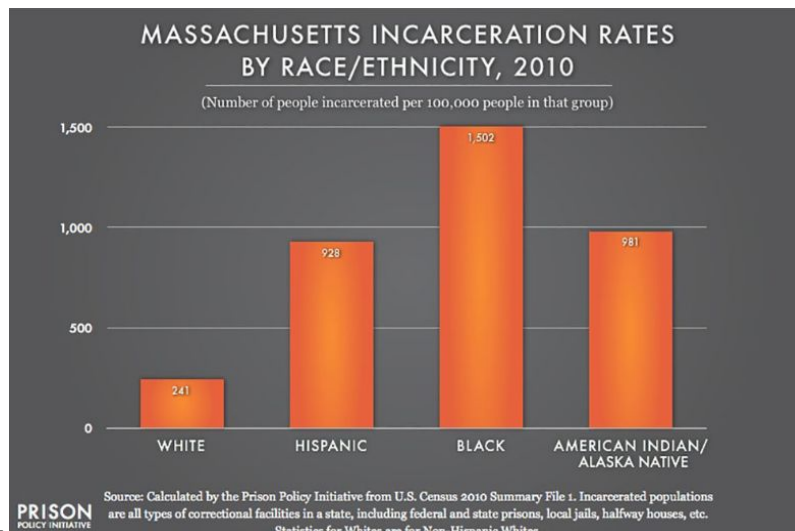
F. RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

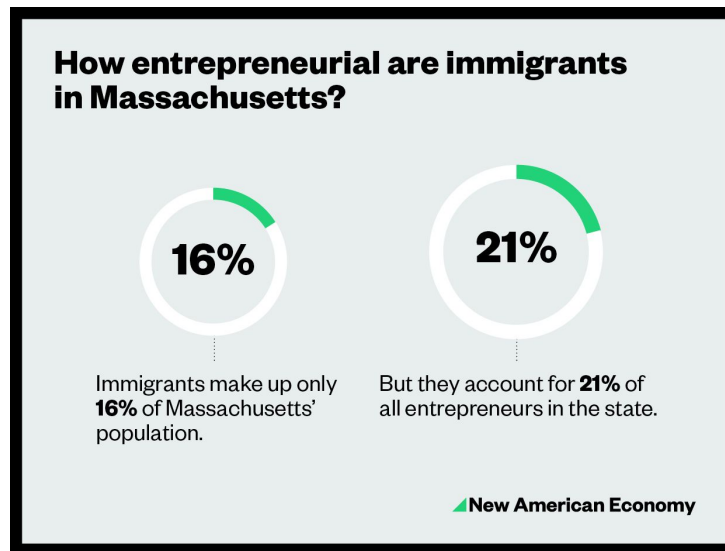
Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. The social and economic costs of mass incarceration and the policies that created it, in particular, have put our aspirations of “justice for all” into crisis. We support a judicial system that does not disproportionately target communities of color and the poor, that does not criminalize public health issues such as addiction, that reorients away from ineffective and costly ‘tough on crime’ policies. A comprehensive approach to reform must be taken in all aspects of the criminal justice system.

Spending on prisons has increased while other services have been cut.



Significant racial disparities exist in incarceration in Massachusetts





1. *Please share your personal values and principles regarding Racial and Social Justice.*

Christian Krueger: We need to make sure Massachusetts is a safe place for everyone. In my mind, that is best done by making sure that all groups are represented in our State House, and that those who are not in a given group keep their ears and minds open to the people advocating for those groups. What I can do, from my seat in the 14th Middlesex, is use my vote to help support both my constituents in minority groups, and those who are outside my district. Any given group might not be a significant number of voters in my district, but that's why I think that it's vital for representatives to work with each other to do right by everyone in the commonwealth, not only because I think we are all strengthened by a more fair and just society, but because I think it is the right thing to do period.

2. *Please indicate work you personally have done to combat racism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and other attempts to marginalize disadvantaged groups.*

Christian Krueger: This one I actually have experience with personally, having participated in protests for gay rights in high school, as well as consistently advocating for better understanding of different perspectives and the value of diversity to my more conservative peers.

3. *Trans Accommodations. In 2016, Massachusetts passed legislation to prevent discrimination against transgender individuals in public accommodations. Conservatives are seeking to repeal the bill on the 2018 ballot. Will you advocate for the protection of this legislation?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

4. *LGBTQ Youth. Our neighboring states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont ban the use of harmful conversion therapy practices for minors. Do you support banning the use of conversion therapy in Massachusetts?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. I am profoundly against conversion therapy, and it needs to go away now.

5. *Mandatory Minimums. The landmark criminal justice reform bill passed earlier this year eliminated or reduced a number of mandatory minimums for drug-related offenses; however, it left in place, or*

expanded, those related to opioids. The opioid crisis in Massachusetts is severe, but it will not be solved by doubling down on criminalization. Do you support eliminating mandatory minimums for opioid drug offenses?

Christian Krueger: Yes. I absolutely do, and agree with the reasoning in this question.

6. **Juvenile Justice -- Part I.** Ample research shows that teenage offenders served by a juvenile system are much less likely to re-offend and more likely to successfully transition to adulthood. Teenagers in a juvenile system have access to greater educational and counseling services, and they're much less likely to face sexual assault than at an adult facility. Do you support raising the age of criminal majority from 18 to 21?

Christian Krueger: Yes. Also, lets never charge someone under the age of 18 as an adult, until those same people are enfranchised. If a 16 year-old isn't considered mature enough to vote for those crafting the law, then they shouldn't be considered old enough to make adult judgments in the eyes of that same law.

7. **Juvenile Justice -- Part II.** Under Massachusetts law, if a high school senior and a high school sophomore have sex – with mutual consent – the senior could be punished by incarceration and then forced to register as a sex offender. In recent years, states have been passing so-called "Romeo and Juliet" laws out of a recognition that such cases only get prosecuted when a parent disapproves of their child's relationship. Do you support the elimination of the charge of statutory rape for consensual sex between youths who are close in age (See H.3065 for reference)?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

8. **Solitary Confinement.** Do you support limiting the use of solitary confinement to no more than 15 consecutive days, and eliminating the use of solitary confinement for at-risk populations, including pregnant women, LGBTQ people, those with mental illness, and those under age 21 or over age 65?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

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

Christian Krueger: Yes. I don't see Solitary Confinement as a constructive tool towards meaningful lasting reform, which is ostensibly the point of our criminal justice system.

10. **Militarization of Police.** Under the federal 1033 program, the US Department of Defense can transfer excess military equipment to local police departments. Such equipment makes police forces look like occupying armies and exacerbates the impact of overpolicing in communities of color. Meanwhile, communities are often left in the dark about the equipment that local police departments are acquiring. Would you support, at minimum, a requirement that local elected officials vote on any such transfer before it can take place?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

11. **Safe Communities Act.** Do you support the Safe Communities Act, which prohibits the use of state

resources for mass deportations or deportation raids, limits local and state police collaboration with federal immigration agents, and prohibits state support for a Muslim registry?

Christian Krueger: Yes.

12. **Safe Driving Act.** *Would you support the Safe Driving Act, which would remove immigration status as a barrier to applying for a license or learner's permit?*

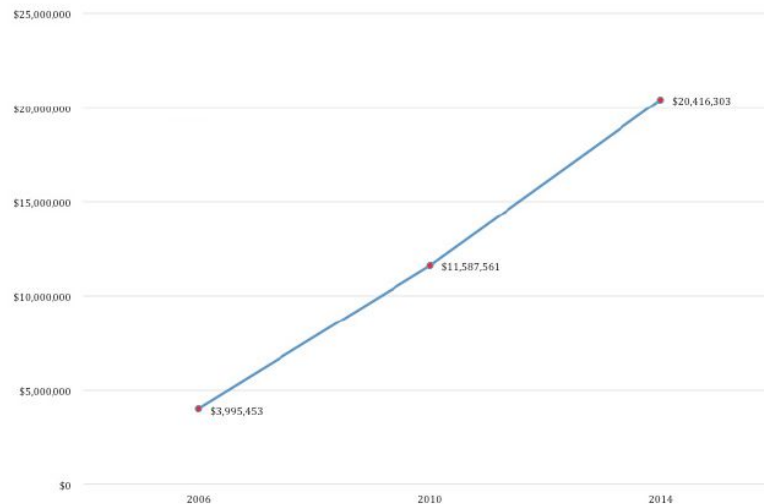
Christian Krueger: Yes.

G. GOOD GOVERNMENT/ STRONG DEMOCRACY

The influence of big money in politics is detrimental to democracy. Independent expenditures in MA elections have grown by a factor of five over the past decade. A centralized power structure on Beacon Hill, is undemocratic, and makes it easier for lobbyists to target the top and undermine the system. A strong democracy requires an engaged electorate, but voter turnout in midterm elections, and especially local elections, remains low. Myths about voter fraud are peddled in order to justify voter suppression. The Election Modernization Act of 2014 helped eliminate Massachusetts's embarrassing status as one of the ten worst states in terms of voting rights, but there is still much work to be done.

Independent expenditures in MA elections have risen rapidly. (Source: [Common Cause](#))

Figure 1: MA Independent Expenditure Totals



1. *Please share your personal values and principles regarding Good Government and Strong Democracy.*

Christian Krueger: We need elections to be Open, Well Advertised, As accessible as possible, with early voting available, automatic as well as same day voter registration, and numerous well staffed polling places adequate to the task at hand. Ranked Choice Voting would be great for Democracy, giving 3rd parties a chance and encouraging civility between both constituents and candidates. Also, I want public financing for elections, which would solve more problems than any amount of private funding regulation.

2. *Please indicate work you personally have done to promote transparency, campaign finance reform, legislative rules reform, and access to voting.*

3. **Power and the Legislature.** *If elected, would you support efforts to dilute the amount of power held by leadership in your respective branch of government? For example, would you support a rule change allowing committees to appoint their own chair, instead of leadership?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

4. **Transparency.** *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. Do you support ending that exemption?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

5. **Public campaign financing.** *Would you support legislation to create a robust public financing system for state elections?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

6. **Candidate Diversity.** *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 childcare while the candidate is "performing work or attending events directly related to the candidate's campaign"?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

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

- a. *Election day voter registration*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

- b. *Automatic voter registration*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

- c. *Expansion of early voting to "off-year" elections*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

- d. *No-fault absentee voting*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

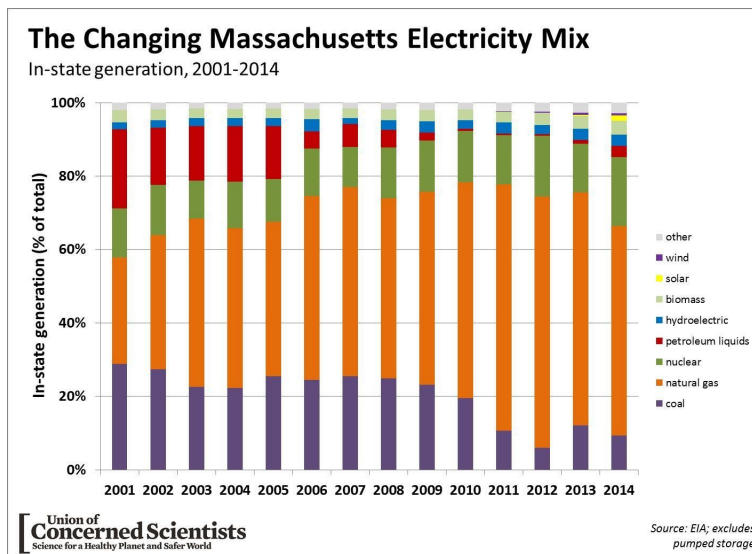
H. SUSTAINABLE INFRASTRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Massachusetts will be hit particularly hard by climate change. In order to avoid catastrophic climate change, global carbon emissions need to be reduced by 70% by 2050 and brought to 0 by 2080. 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.

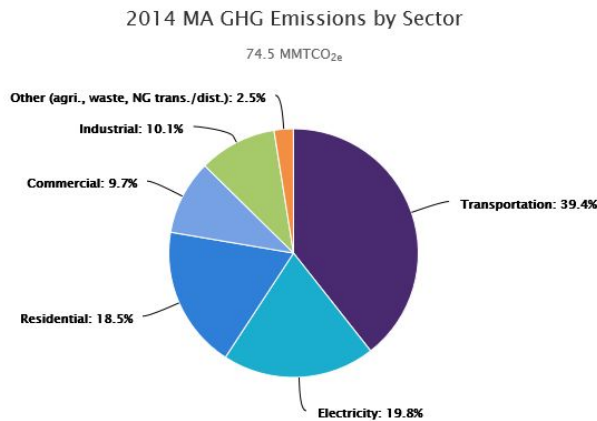
Equity issues loom large, as low-income communities and communities of color are often the most vulnerable to natural disasters and bear the brunt of pollution. In 2014, Governor Deval Patrick signed an executive order directing all state agencies to devote resources to protect the health, safety, and environment for the most vulnerable residents. However, this nominal commitment to “Environmental Justice” has been more rhetorical than real.

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 \$5.5 billion, with over \$7 billion in deferred maintenance costs. 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.



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



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

1. *Please share your personal values and principles regarding Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection.*

Christian Krueger: I'm deeply concerned about our continued investment in infrastructure that is damaging to the environment, or opens us up to damaging the environment. We keep building in vulnerable areas, and refusing to invest in the type of resiliency infrastructure required to ensure we can withstand the storms that are sure to come more frequently due to climate change. We need to build wisely, in an environmentally friendly manner, while expanding public transportation to help us do so

2. *Please indicate work you personally have done to protect the environment and expand access to public transportation.*
3. **Waste Reduction.** *Would you support a statewide ban on single-use shopping bags and a requirement that alternatives be more sustainable?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. I'd have to be convinced. I've seen news about some technological innovations regarding biodegradable and/or water soluble single use bags, that may be the key to getting rid of waste without depriving people and businesses of the utility of single use bags. Also, what's single-use exactly? Sure, that plastic grocery bag is, until I use it as a trash bin liner. Is the little bag I got lotion from Victoria's Secret in single-use? It's sure more durable than that, but I don't see myself carrying it around all over, even though I could. Is it dictated by thickness? Durability? production value? I'd want to see legislation before saying I'd vote for it.

4. **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?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

5. **Renewable Energy.** *Do you support a target of at least 50% clean energy by 2030 for Massachusetts, as adopted in California and New York? (Hawaii is committed to 100% renewables by 2045). To accomplish this, would you support an increase in the Renewable Energy Production Standard (the green energy mandate on utilities) by at least 3% each year?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. I think we can exceed that expectation.

6. **Environmental Justice.** *Successive and bipartisan 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.*

a. *Would you support implementation of the 2014 EO?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

b. *and support efforts to codify environmental justice into law?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

7. **Gas pipelines.** *Do you oppose the expansion of gas pipelines in the state?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. On a slightly related note, let's fix our leaky gas pipes all through Massachusetts. They're bad for the economy, the environment, and the people.

8. **Carbon pricing.**

a. *Do you support putting a fee on carbon emissions?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

b. *Do you support using some of the revenue from such a fee to invest in **green infrastructure**?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

9. **Public Utilities.** *Would you support legislation to allow municipalities to purchase their electric distribution utility (the poles and wires that transmit power) and operate a municipal or cooperative electric utility?*

Christian Krueger: Yes.

10. **Public Transit.** *Do you support finding progressive revenue sources to fund the maintenance, expansion, and improvement of the MBTA and the RTAs?*

Christian Krueger: Yes. I think a good portion of the funding will come from the system itself once our transit system is as reliable, fast, and comprehensive as it ought to be, which might even allow for a reversal of the upward trending price of riding.

11. **Regional Transportation Funding.** *Would you support legislation to allow municipalities to place a question on the ballot to raise revenue for local and regional transportation projects?*

Christian Krueger: 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.

Christian Krueger: You'll likely have noticed that I left most of the personal advocacy sections blank. Truth be told, while I have been supportive of virtually everything mentioned, I have not personally seen many of the methods of advocacy available to a non-college-student, 24 year old, with limited transportation, and barely any money, as effective enough to warrant participating instead of working a job, maintaining my home, or helping my family. It's part of why I am doing this. By standing here, and making my campaign loudly about these progressive values, I can build myself a soap box out of hope, and speak from it to anyone who will listen, and plenty who wont. This campaign is my advocacy, and it is how I will make an impact. Or at least, it's a start.