

*Christine Doktor*

**1st Franklin**

**State Representative**

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*Endorsement Questionnaire*

**Office Sought:** State Representative

**Legislative District:** 1st Franklin

**Party:** Democratic

**Website:** [www.christinedoktor.com](http://www.christinedoktor.com)

**Twitter:** [@ChristineDoktor](https://twitter.com/ChristineDoktor)

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**Primary:** September 4

**Election:** November 6

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# Introduction: Progressive Mass

## About

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*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](https://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

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*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](https://massbudget.org)).*

# I. About the Candidate

## Christine Doktor

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

**Christine Doktor:** I am running for office because I grew up here in Western Massachusetts, am raising my children here, and will spend the rest of my life here on our 3rd generation family farm. My partner's parents and mine all live in Western Massachusetts. I attended public schools from K-12 and my children have and will go to our local public schools. After getting a law degree from Columbia Law School and practicing trial law in New York, I returned home to live firsthand the many issues facing our district and our state and it has spurred my campaign and my priorities.

My focus is on:

- 1) the financial conditions of our public schools;
- 2) the need for our Commonwealth to meaningfully address the environment, natural resources, and agriculture (including supporting solar energy); and
- 3) the urgency of addressing health care and services, from single-payer to broadband to public transportation.

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

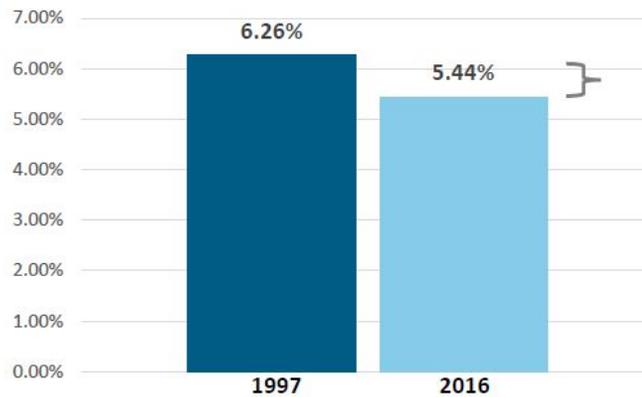
**Christine Doktor:** I am originally from Peru, Massachusetts, and I worked in Massachusetts politics in the Statehouse for both a Governor and a State Representative. I am an attorney who has taken on some of society's toughest political, social, and legal issues (including the 1993 World Trade Center bombing appeal, forced child marriage, Holocaust reparations, public defense in the Bronx, and advocacy for domestic violence survivors). I volunteer for my community as a Board member of a co-op grocery, and as my town's special counsel and member of our Education Committee. I founded two pro bono legal organizations to meet the needs of people in my district including 1st Families Advocacy Project to advocate for divorced women and their children. As a farmer, I have personal experience with the challenges facing farmers, the agriculture industry, our food system, conservation, and clean energy. My family and I are living the issues we face here in 1st Franklin and my skills, experience, and abilities give me a unique set of tools to address them.

# 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?*

**Christine Doktor:** It is quite clear that we should pursue a progressive income tax as well as the Fair Share Amendment. By asking those who are doing well to pay a little bit more, we can greatly increase the revenue to support education (preschool - higher education), infrastructure and public transportation, and human services.

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.).*

**Christine Doktor:** As a candidate for State Representative, I have voiced my support for a progressive income tax and for the Fair Share Amendment. I support the work of Progressive Massachusetts and Raise Up Massachusetts to pass the Fair Share to help strengthen our economy and education system.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. I would prefer to see the Fair Share passed through legislation rather than a Constitutional Amendment, but I am afraid that it has come to this and that citizens need to take matters into their own hands and put this Amendment on the ballot.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. Any sales tax holidays will defeat the purpose of the Fair Share Amendment and contribute to revenue loss.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. Any corporation receiving tax credits must be fully transparent and accountable to taxpayers.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. This is a no-brainer. Corporations receiving tax breaks must pay a living wage.

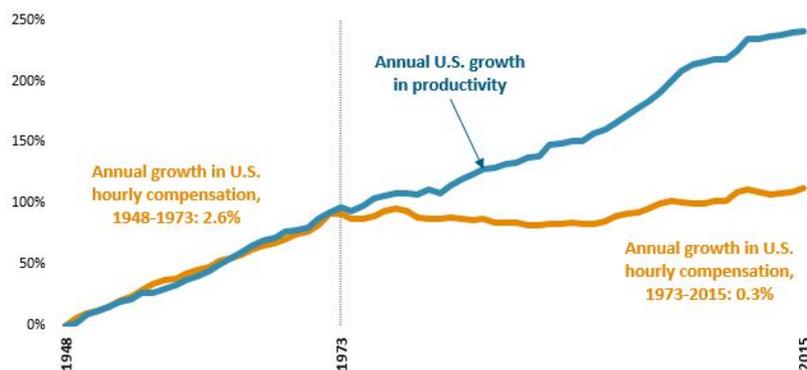
## B. JOB GROWTH AND THE ECONOMY

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

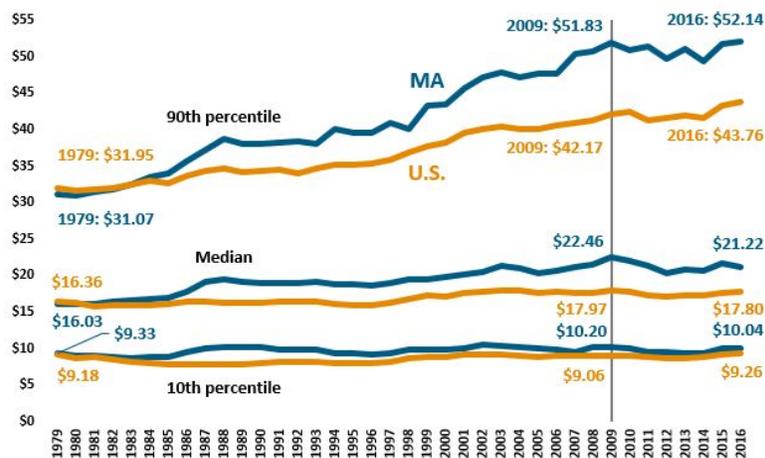
Cumulative Change in U.S. Hourly Wages for Private-Sector Production/Non-Supervisory Workers and Net Productivity, 1948-2015



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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Wealth inequality is a major problem in Massachusetts. We can address such inequality by:

- 1) Taking action to build Massachusetts' energy independence through renewable energy. We have an opportunity to simultaneously create jobs and counter climate change;
- 2) Adopting the Fair Share Amendment to ask those doing well to help support education and transportation – which will in turn benefit our economy;
- 3) Creating a new Chapter 70 funding formula for our public schools, fully funding transportation, and managing health care, insurance, and OPEB costs that our school districts pay. Education is a priority and an investment.
- 4) Single-payer health care has the potential to improve health care access and outcomes and reduce costs to the state;
- 5) Many 1st Franklin District towns are still without broadband internet. Ensuring last-mile and last-driveway broadband will bolster Western Massachusetts' opportunities for business, education, and quality of life.

**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.).*

**Christine Doktor:** In order to increase our district's energy independence and assist other farmers, I have provided pro bono legal assistance to farmers and landowners to help build solar arrays. My family and I are likewise pursuing a solar facility on our farm.

I am a board member of The Old Creamery Co-op grocery and have worked for years to help this small business and important community center thrive in the Hilltowns.

I have been on my town's Education Committee for the past five years and in the interests of best serving our students, have helped the town with its education goals and educational financial concerns.

**3. Increasing Wages.**

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

Raising the minimum wage is a social justice and a gender justice issue. Women make up the majority of low-wage earners. Raising the minimum wage is important to equality and to closing the gender wage gap and supporting the equality, dignity, and well-being of Massachusetts women and children.

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** Ensuring paid family leave is vital to a healthy and just society. It is also an important gender justice matter as women make up the majority of caregivers to children and the elderly. Women also make up a majority of our taxpayers. Ensuring that paid leave is available to workers is a major step towards economic security, a more diverse workforce, better care for children and the elderly, and women's rights.

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** Unions help us support a strong workforce and help ensure that workers have a voice. They also support workplace safety, a living wage, and worker training. Unions are a vital part of a strong and fair(er) economy.

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** Collective bargaining rights are essential to giving workers a voice in discussions with wealthy and powerful corporations and it is important that such rights be preserved.

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** I support ensuring that people get paid for their work. Under a theory of wage theft, I brought legal action against the German government for reparations for unpaid work that my Holocaust survivor clients performed while interned in Nazi labor camps. Wage theft is unfair wherever it occurs.

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** Mandatory arbitration provisions have a chilling effect on employees' ability to defend their rights in a court of law. Having such provisions in employment contracts is a reflection of a power imbalance. For both these reasons, I support the prohibition of mandatory arbitration provisions in employment contracts.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. I am a big believer in employee-owned and cooperative businesses. I am on the board of a cooperative grocery and deli (The Old Creamery Co-op in Cummington, MA) and see firsthand the benefits to employees and the community of such a business model.

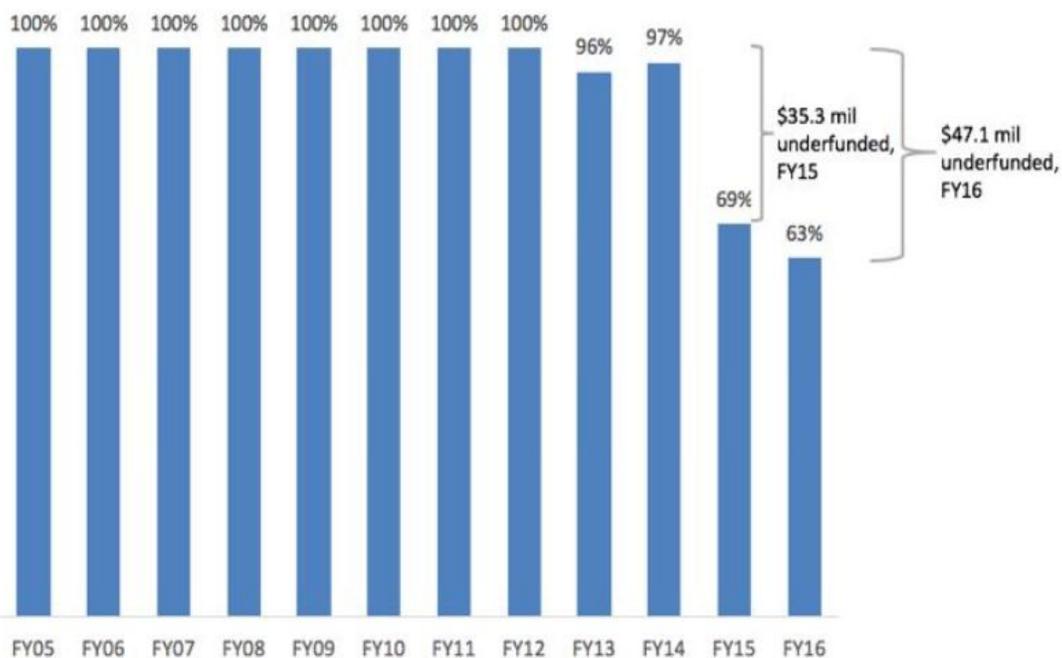
## C. EDUCATION

*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.*

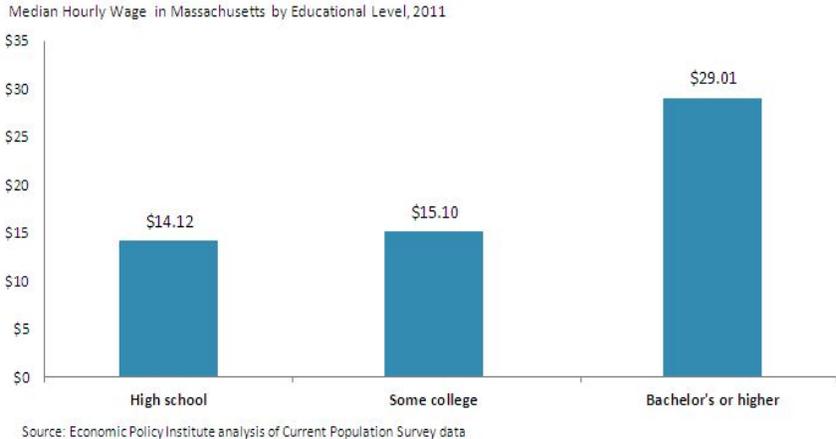
**The state hasn’t been living up to its responsibility to fully fund our public schools.**

### The State Has Not Fully Funded Charter Reimbursements in Recent Years

Percent of charter school reimbursements paid to sending districts, based on reimbursement formula

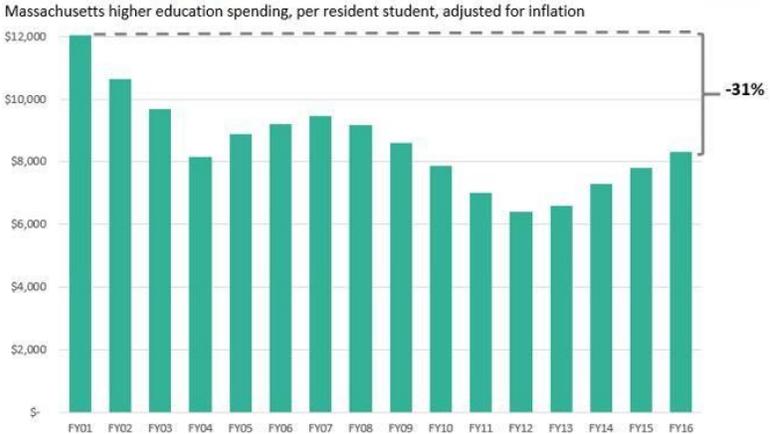


**Higher educational attainment leads to higher wages.**



**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?*

**Christine Doktor:** It is amazing what a person can accomplish with a public school education. I am a testament to that fact. I attended Central Berkshire Regional School District's public schools from K-12. I was then fortunate to get a full scholarship to Gettysburg College and go on to graduate school at Georgetown University on a partial scholarship. I then attended one of the world's best law schools, Columbia Law School, though I took on significant student loan debt to do so. I graduated from each school with honors and have been able to pursue my dream of using the law as a tool for social justice, though at times, debt has factored into my job choices.

I am proud to say that my daughter has attended two years of public preschool and will begin public Kindergarten this coming Fall.

Our commitment to public schools must be firm and unwavering. Having adequately funded public schools is a matter of human, civil, and Constitutional rights. It is of the utmost importance to individuals and our society and nation as a whole.

We must invest in education, restructure the funding formula, fully fund school transportation, invest in early childhood education, pursue debt-free higher education, insist that charter schools do not siphon money away from public schools, and manage the health insurance and OPEB costs of our districts. Single-payer health care could significantly relieve our districts' health insurance expenditures.

2. *Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on public education?*

**Christine Doktor:** Championing our public schools is one of my primary motivations for running for State Representative. I proudly serve on my town's Education Committee and was a founding member of the committee five years ago. I work towards one goal: to ensure the best public school opportunities for children.

I am originally from neighboring Peru, MA. Peru had a one-room schoolhouse at which my big sister thrived. The school district closed it before I was old enough to attend. Likewise, our school district closed my town's elementary school several years ago but we are fortunate to have excellent public school options in adjacent towns. I have seen twice now the lasting negative effects of a school closing on a town, on families, and on children. Both school closings were a function of economics. I have lived through the consequences of an insufficient funding formula and the need to revise and address school funding as well as raise more revenue to do so (The Fair Share Amendment!). I am a strong, confident voice for our public schools and I lead by example.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. By all metrics, Pre-K has positive short and long-term benefits to children (and parents, if I do say so myself!).

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?

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. High-stakes testing is at odds with learning.

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?

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. We must change the Chapter 70 formula in order to reflect the realities and needs of our time.

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**?

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. We must keep the cap on charter schools and bring more transparency and accountability to the charter school system.

- 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?

**Christine Doktor:** 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?

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

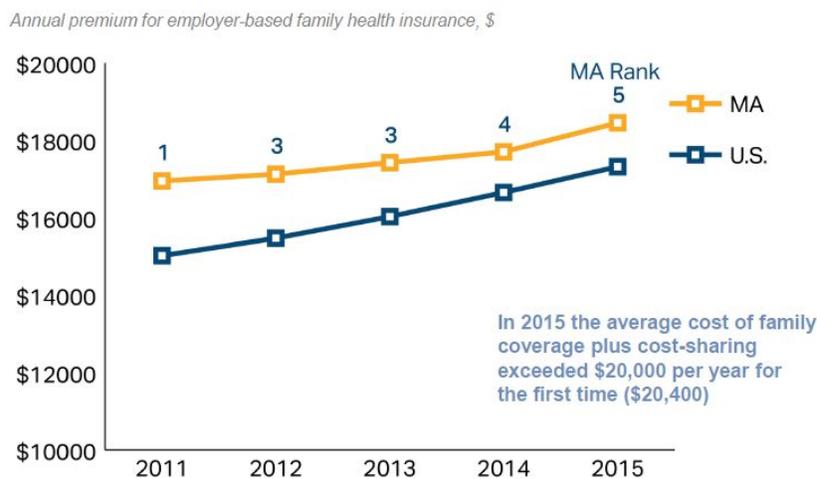
9. **Tuition-Free Higher Education.** Would you support making tuition free at public colleges and universities?

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

## 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.*

**Christine Doktor:** Single-payer healthcare has the potential to expand healthcare access and improve healthcare outcomes. Such a system could control healthcare costs to the state, municipalities, and individuals. In order to improve the health of people in our Commonwealth and address socio-economic disparities, I would work to pass single-payer healthcare legislation.

2. *Optional/As Applicable: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on*

*health care (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).*

**Christine Doktor:** I am currently collecting signatures for the public policy ballot question instructing the 1st Franklin District State Representative to vote for legislation to create a single-payer system of universal healthcare.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. Reproductive freedom is a Constitutional right and a human right, yet that right is constantly and increasingly under assault. Women cannot achieve social, educational, economic, or legal equality or equity without the right to control decisions regarding their own bodies, identity, and reproduction. I have worked for the New York Civil Liberties Union Reproductive Rights Project and I will continue to champion women's health issues and healthcare access.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

## E. HOUSING

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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?*

**Christine Doktor:** The lack of affordable housing is damaging lives and our economy. When I was a child and my parents divorced, my mother and I left the marital home. We moved three times in six years searching for affordable housing. Over the years, I have seen how much worse the housing situation has become. When my teenage cousin, John, recently sought to move to Western Massachusetts, I helped him look for an apartment. John was working as a carpenter, and though he was able to find a minimum wage job, he was unable to find housing he could afford.

Housing insecurity and homelessness often create trauma for individuals and families. They also damage our workforce and businesses. Ensuring affordable housing stock is vital to our small towns and businesses here in Western Massachusetts and across the state. Hand-in-hand with housing is the need for public transportation such that people like my cousin can get to work.

**2. Optional/As Applicable:** Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on

*housing (legislation, community work, published writings, etc.).*

**Christine Doktor:** Through the public interest organization I founded, Hilltown Legal Services, I have provided pro bono legal services to families and individuals on housing matters ranging from USDA home loan funding to eviction protection.

**3. Funding.** *Do you support increasing funding for*

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

*b. The Massachusetts Rental Voucher Program?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** 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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. There should be bank oversight and good faith efforts for banks to work with homeowners before beginning foreclosure proceedings.

**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?*

**Christine Doktor:** 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?*

**Christine Doktor:** 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*

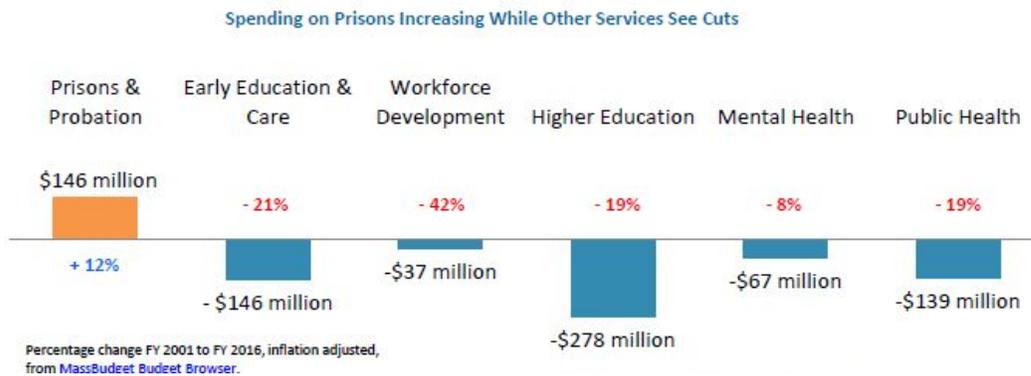
*housing trust funds?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

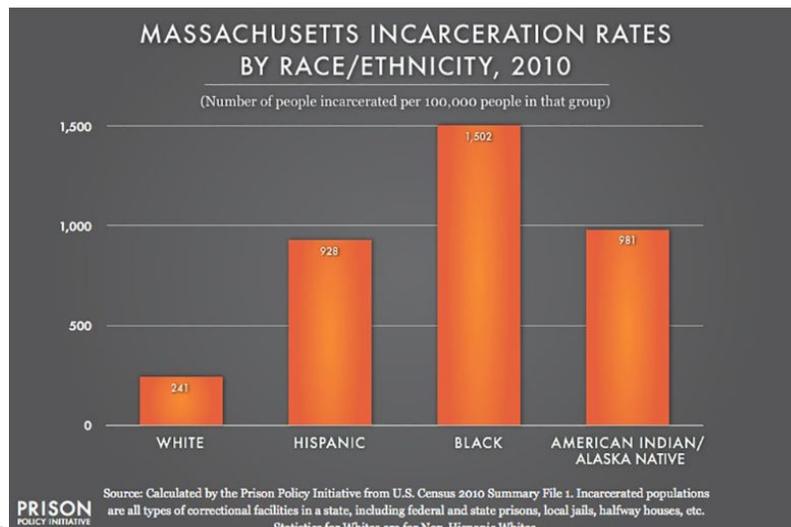
# F. RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

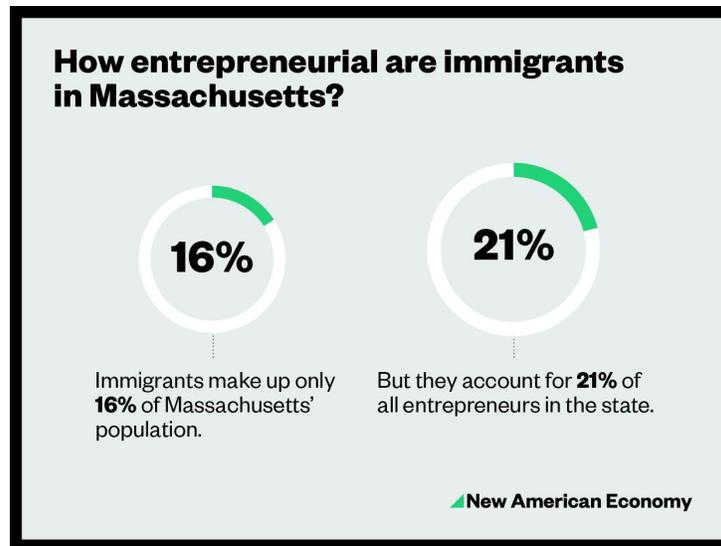
Massachusetts must continue to strive to be a state that welcomes and embraces all of its residents and combats prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. The social and economic costs of mass incarceration and the policies that created it, in particular, have put our aspirations of “justice for all” 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.*

**Christine Doktor:** Now we're talking. Racial, gender, and social justice are issues that I have fearlessly taken on and have motivated me to become a lawyer. Discrimination undergirds the complete set of issues discussed in sections 1-8 of this questionnaire. I am committed personally and professionally to advancing equality and equity. (I will keep this answer short if you will forgive me for going over the limit in my next response.)

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

**Christine Doktor:** As a pro bono attorney, I have worked on social justice legal matters including:

- 1) Founding and running two pro bono legal organizations: Hilltown Legal Services (to provide free civil legal help) and 1st Families Advocacy Project (to advocate for divorced women and their children)
- 2) Criminal Defense: attorney with The Legal Aid Society in the Bronx;
- 3) Disability Law: attorney for the New York Lawyers for the Public Interest;
- 4) Reparations: brought suit against the German government for financial reparations on behalf of Holocaust survivors who survived Nazi labor camps;
- 5) Mentorship: served as a lawyer mentor for high school students from underserved and underrepresented NYC neighborhoods;
- 6) Immigration: represented Haitian earthquake survivors in applying for Temporary Protected Status in the U.S.
- 7) Domestic Violence: brought suit against the United States government in an immigration and Violence Against Women Act trial on behalf of a teenaged, Muslim client from West African who was fleeing domestic violence, forced child marriage, and forced female circumcision.
- 8) Reproductive Rights: worked for the New York Civil Liberties Union Reproductive Rights Project
- 9) LGBTQ: performed legal research for same-sex marriage amicus brief and article for Legal Momentum (National Organization for Women).

I'm 40-years old and I'm only getting started. If elected, I will bring all legal and social tools to bear to advance equality, equity, and the freedoms and liberties guaranteed to all people in our Constitution.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** 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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. I have represented clients who were held on bail or otherwise incarcerated at Rikers Island. After having talked to my clients about their experiences at Riker's and after having seen the conditions firsthand, I assure you that people under 21 have no place there or at any other adult prison. And Riker's Island has no place in our society. Reforming our prison system and ending our mass incarceration complex are paramount to upholding our Constitutional aspirations.

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)?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. I support eliminating solitary confinement. Solitary confinement has a harmful effect on the person in confinement and serves no rehabilitative purpose. It is unconstitutionally cruel and unusual. In order to bring Massachusetts' criminal justice system into compliance with prevailing human rights protocols, we must eliminate solitary confinement.

Furthermore, solitary confinement is expensive to taxpayers.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** 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?*

**Christine Doktor:** 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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

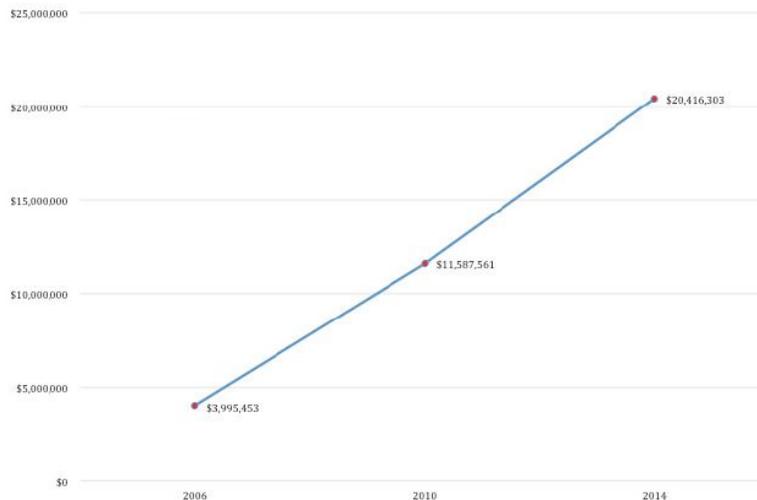
# G. GOOD GOVERNMENT/ STRONG DEMOCRACY

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*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.*

**Christine Doktor:** We need a new paradigm to address good government and strong democracy. Elected officials must be transparent and accountable. As long as power and profits rule politics and the economy, we will continue down the path of inequality in which our government serves primarily the 1%.

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

**Christine Doktor:** I am running a clean, grassroots-driven campaign and support getting money and corporate influence out of campaigns and politics. I support the work of Represent.Us and have

publicly stated my position on the matter.

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?*

**Christine Doktor: 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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** The current system of campaign fundraising often cheats us out of good candidates for office. Public campaign financing would level the playing field and make elections more democratic.

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"?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** And my family and I support Senator Jehlen's budget amendment, "Modernizing Campaign Expenditures for Working Parents."

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

a. *Election day voter registration*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

b. *Automatic voter registration*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

d. *No-fault absentee voting*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

I support ranked choice voting. Ranked choice voting is good for voters and would be a breath of fresh democracy in a crowded field such as ours here in the 1st Franklin District.

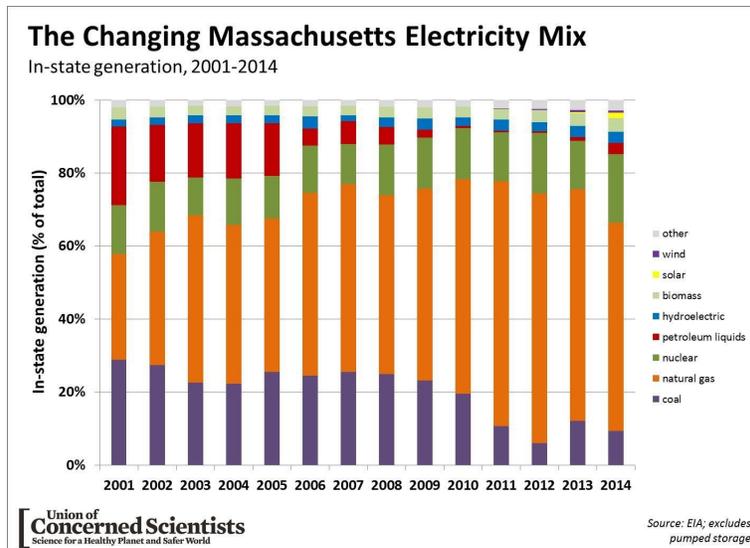
# H. SUSTAINABLE INFRASTRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

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.

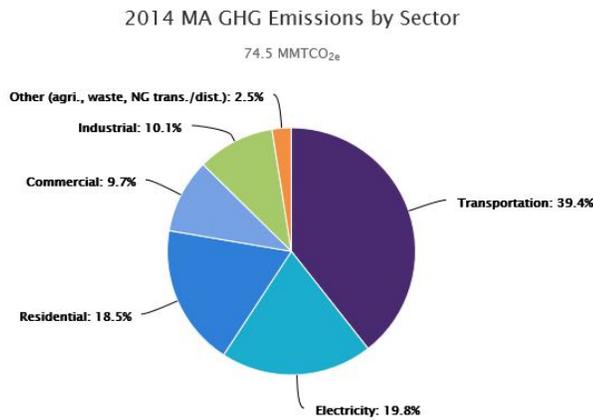
Equity issues loom large, as low-income communities and communities of color are often the most vulnerable to natural disasters and bear the brunt of pollution. In 2014, Governor Deval Patrick signed an executive order directing all state agencies to devote resources to protect the health, safety, and 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.*

**Christine Doktor:** I am a farmer, and I see firsthand the challenges we face with climate issues. The environment is one of my biggest concerns. If elected, I would seek a seat on the Joint Committee for the Environment, Natural Resources, and Agriculture. As a Commonwealth, we have to uphold the commitments of the Paris Accords and use it as an opportunity to create jobs and promote a shared economy by turning to renewable energy.

To meaningfully support renewables, particularly solar, we need to incentivize battery storage, modernize the grid, remove net metering caps, increase the RPS, double down on energy efficiency, address siting and community issues around clean energy, and pass Representative Kulik's Reform the DPU legislation.

2. *Please indicate work you personally have done to protect the environment and expand access to public transportation.*

**Christine Doktor:** I am committed to the environment and confronting climate change. I have provided pro bono legal work for the anti-pipeline group PLAN-NE and I am a member of Citizens' Climate Lobby. My campaign advisors include internationally-recognized experts on climate change and nationally recognized experts on zero-waste and environmental preparedness and community self-sufficiency. I also consult with a conservationist, an environmental attorney, and an organic farming expert.

My campaign is unique in the 1st Franklin District in that I have a green campaign manager (in addition to a campaign manager). We are avoiding use of vinyl and single-use plastic and metal even for such items as lawn signs, buttons, and bumper stickers.

When my family and I took over our family farm, we committed to ridding the operation of GMOs and chemicals such as atrazine and glyphosate and to beginning regenerative farming practices. I have helped other farmers interface with the USDA to seek grants and other assistance in transitioning to greener and organic farming practices.

3. *Waste Reduction. Would you support a statewide ban on single-use shopping bags and a requirement*

*that alternatives be more sustainable?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** Yes! Banning plastic bags (and all single-use plastic) is an easy win for the environment and our health. And if the ban passes, I will no longer look so strange with my canvas shopping bags. (If you've made it this far in the questionnaire, you really care, probably also use reusable shopping bags, and have earned that bit of humor!)

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** Yes! And I support cooperative solar as well.

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

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?*

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.** I oppose the expansion of gas pipelines in our state. I provided pro bono legal assistance to PLAN-NE when it was countering the Kinder Morgan pipeline in Sandisfield, MA.

8. **Carbon pricing.**

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

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

**Christine Doktor: Yes.**

I am a member of the Ashfield Chapter of Citizens' Climate Lobby and support putting a price on carbon pollution.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** Yes.

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

**Christine Doktor:** Yes. We cannot say we're in favor of equity and starve our public transit.

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?*

**Christine Doktor:** 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.*

**Christine Doktor:** I would sincerely appreciate the support of Progressive Massachusetts. I believe I have a unique and powerful voice to offer voters. As the only lawyer in this race and as the only farmer on the ballot – possibly in all of Massachusetts – I can bring skill and firsthand experience to pressing issues like the environment and social justice. I am also in the position of being a true champion for public schools and healthcare. We need a lawyer in the House. We need a farmer in the House. Therefore, we need a Doktor in the House! Thank you.