

**National Union of Healthcare Workers Questionnaire
for 2018 California State Constitutional Offices**

To help NUHW assess your candidacy for state office, we ask you to complete this questionnaire.

BACKGROUND

Name: Antonio Villaraigosa

Candidate for: Governor

Home Address:

Personal Phone and E-mail:

Current Occupation: Candidate

Employer: Antonio for California

Work Address: 1801 Century Park E. Suite 1132

Work Phone: 310-203-1010

Campaign Address: 1801 Century Park E.
Suite 1132, Los Angeles, CA 90067

Campaign Phone: 310-203-1010

Campaign Website: antonioforcalifornia.com

Campaign E-mail:

Campaign Consultants:

Eric Jaye, General Consultant
Michelle Maravich, Fundraising Consultant
Gabrielle Rodriguez, Digital Consultant
Diane Feldman, Pollster
Mark Putnam, Media
Mike Madrid, Consultant

Campaign Contact Name:

Eric Jaye
Michelle Jeung

Campaign FPPC Number: ID# 1392364

Political Party: Democratic

1. Please list any elected or appointed public offices you previously have held.

1990-1994: Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Board
1994-2000: Assembly Member, California State Assembly
1996-1998: Majority Leader, California State Assembly
1998-2000: Speaker of the Assembly, California State Assembly
2003-2005: Council Member, Los Angeles City Council
2005-2013: Mayor, City of Los Angeles

2. Please list any key volunteer organizational leadership roles you have played.

2012: Chair, Democratic National Convention
2011-2012: President, US Conference of Mayors
President, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles Chapter
President, American Federation of Government Employees, Los Angeles Chapter
Field Representative/Organizer, United Teachers Los Angeles

I have also served as a fellow at Harvard University and a professor in public policy at the University of Southern California. I was a senior fellow at the Bipartisan Policy Institute in Washington, D.C.

3. Briefly describe your educational background and prior work experience.

I was a high school dropout, but was given a second shot and graduated from Roosevelt High School with the support of my teacher Herman Katz. I went to East Los Angeles College, before transferring to University of California, Los Angeles where I received my Bachelor's degree. I then attended the Peoples College of Law.

I first got involved in the farm workers' boycott and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán. After law school, I was a field representative/organizer with the United Teachers of Los Angeles. I later served as president of the Los Angeles chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Federation of Government Employees.

4. Are you currently a union member? To which if any unions have you belonged? If you have been a union member, were you an officer, steward, bargaining committee member or activist?

No, I am not currently a union member. As I mentioned previously, I have worked as a field representative/organizer for the United Teacher of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles chapter for the American Federation of Government Employees.

5. What significant endorsements have you received from organizations and individuals?

Hon. John A. Pérez, Speaker Emeritus
Hon. Fabian Núñez, Former Speaker of the Assembly
Cruz Reynoso, Former California Supreme Court Justice
Assemblymember Blanca E. Rubio (D-Baldwin Park)
Assemblyman Eduardo Garcia (D-Coachella)
Riverside County Supervisor and former Assemblyman V. Manuel Perez
Monterey County Supervisor Luis Alejo
Monterey County Supervisor Simón Salinas
Compton Mayor Aja Brown

6. How much money have you raised to date? How much do you aim to raise?

\$5 million raised to date. \$15-20M primary; \$25-\$40M general

7. Have you conducted a poll? If yes, please provide relevant information from the findings.

In March 2017, we released a poll by The Feldman Group, Inc. According to that poll:

Antonio Villaraigosa begins in a three-way top tier of candidates for Governor of California. Lieutenant Governor and former San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom leads with 26 percent support, a similar level of support as in public polling. Republican John

Cox garners 22 percent support as the sole Republican candidate in a 32 percent registered Republican electorate. Villaraigosa has 20 percent support, just slightly less than Cox and Newsom. Other candidates and prospective candidates have support in the single digits.

A majority (52 percent) of voters know Villaraigosa well enough to express an opinion of him, and those who know him regard him favorably. Sixty-two (62) percent of Latinos know Villaraigosa well enough to rate him, with 45 percent who rate him favorably and only 17 percent who rate him unfavorably.

More recently, a public poll conducted by UC Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies found:

“22 percent of likely voters support Newsom — down from 28 percent in March — and [17 percent favor Villaraigosa, a six-point bump](#). Support was in the single digits for little-known Republicans John Cox and David Hadley and Democrats John Chiang, the state treasurer, and former state schools superintendent Delaine Eastin.”

8. Beyond our public endorsement, what specific support are you seeking from NUHW?

My campaign is focused on creating greater economic equality in California by working to attract millions more high-wage jobs. Growing jobs in the healthcare economy will be a vital part of that effort – making sure the jobs we create are high-wage jobs where workers earn middle class salaries and work in conditions that respect their views and protect their patients.

In other words, I want to do for California what you are already doing in the healthcare sector. I would be honored to be a partner with you in this effort, learn from your experience and to have the benefit of your experience.

I would be grateful for your endorsement and honored to be able to speak with your members. And I look forward to working in partnership with you when I am governor.

OVERVIEW

1. Why are you a candidate for this office and why are you seeking NUHW's endorsement?

We live in a progressive state, and we talk a lot about how we need to defend our progressive values and principles, but we must also take stock of how well we are actually doing to make economic progress a reality for the millions of Californians who have been left behind. Because we can't be truly progressive as a state unless we are actually making progress for everyone.

Progressive isn't a press release. Progressive isn't being on all sides of the same issue. Progressive needs to be a consistent and successful focus on closing the gap between rich and poor by lifting more Californians into the middle class and keeping them there.

Healthcare is a vital part of this effort. As I mentioned, one important reason we need to make improving access to affordable healthcare is because it is a jobs generator. But it is also a priority because it is a vital civil rights issue as well. Where you live in this state can determine your life

expectancy. I think residents of Imperial County and Fresno County and every county should enjoy the same health outcomes as residents of Marin County and other high-income areas.

I am a candidate for Governor of California for a simple reason. I think we need a leader focused every single day on growing our economy and creating more high-wage jobs. We have so many unanswered needs, but we have one clear answer: create more high-wage jobs.

The answer to creating millions more high-wage jobs starts with making sure our state is investing enough in our schools, colleges, health, roads, rail and water infrastructure, which are the basic building blocks of a strong economy.

We must also make a significant new investment in affordable housing. One of the reasons California has the highest supplemental poverty rate in the nation is our high cost of housing. And for healthcare workers, and all working and middle-class workers in high-cost areas, this high cost of housing can be both impoverishing and immiserating. A worker that must travel from San Francisco to Tracy to find an affordable home is spending up to 20 hours a week or more in traffic. A worker who rents in San Francisco is essentially made poor by a hidden housing tax.

Workers who can't afford to buy their own homes are being frozen out of a proven path to economic security – since investments in homes help families send kids to college and retire in comfort and dignity.

That's why, in addition to investing in better healthcare, better schools and better infrastructure of all kinds – investing in affordable housing is a vital part of closing the gap between rich and poor. We should remember that fixing this problem of creating the up to five million new homes our state needs will also create hundreds of thousands of high-wage jobs.

We also certainly must support small businesses creating jobs and making it easier for businesses to expand – with a focus on those businesses that pay middle-class salaries.

The endorsement and support of NUHW would send a strong signal to state policymakers and Californians that the Villaraigosa for Governor campaign will be the standard bearer for ensuring access to healthcare – particularly for the poor, underserved, women and people of color.

It will help us strengthen our campaign for economic equality and to expand the middle class.

I have spent my life fighting for poor people. Your union has exemplified success in this struggle. I would be honored to have your support.

2. Briefly describe what will be your top legislative priorities and issue areas of focus if elected.

I want to unite people around a shared vision of creating high-wage jobs and restoring the middle class. I think we get there through a lot of ways, but we start by improving our schools, expanding access to healthcare, investing in affordable housing and rebuilding our infrastructure.

3. What do you believe distinguishes you, over your opponents, as the best candidate for this office?

There are a number of differences – starting with fundamental life experience.

I know what it is like to be dismissed because of where I am from and who I am. Making sure every Californian has an equal voice isn't a campaign slogan – it is a lifelong mission.

When a member of Lift Team – or any hospital worker has something to say that would make their jobs better and their patients healthier – they should be heard. Their voice matters.

When any Californian has something to say about how to improve our economy, our schools, our state – they should be heard. Their voice matters.

I have talked in this campaign about the “Davos Democrats” who spend their time with the wealthy and powerful, but don't really hear the rest of us. Davos is the town in Switzerland where the global economic elite meet every year to plot strategy. But it might as well be a board room in Silicon Valley or a back room in Sacramento.

We need leaders who understand that everyone in California has an equal stake in our success and everyone should be heard – not just the connected, wealthy or powerful.

I think all the Democratic candidates have one thing in common – we have all been leaders when it comes to issues of social equality. I was an early supporter of Marriage Equality, years before it was championed by other Democrats. When others were silent or absent, I helped lead the fight against racist attacks like Prop. 187 and 209. As Speaker of the California State Assembly, I wrote one of the nation's toughest assault weapon bans.

But what distinguishes us is that I have also spent my career fighting for economic rights and economic justice.

Other key distinctions between myself and my opponents are fundamentally ones of experience in serving in both executive and legislative leadership roles. It is without question that serving as the executive of the country's second largest city has uniquely prepared me for the role of governor of the world's sixth largest economy. Coupled with the experience of serving as the Assembly Speaker, working with legislative leaders and understanding the legislative process, my experience makes me exceptionally qualified to best serve as Governor. Throughout my career, I have earned a reputation for hearing all sides, making tough decisions and letting my colleagues, constituents and all stakeholders know why I made these decisions. Everyone might not always like where I stand, but they will know where I stand.

WORKERS' FREEDOM TO CHOOSE A UNION

Workers are regularly denied the freedom to choose a union due to intimidation, harassment, and other forms of coercion by their employers, and sometimes even by labor organizations. Legal remedies for such violations of workers' rights are far too little, far too late, with the result that these violations are legal and workers' organizing efforts are squashed more often than not.

4. Would you urge employers to respect workers' freedom to choose a union by:

a) remaining neutral on the question of unionization and recognizing a union as their employees' collective bargaining representative when presented with a petition demonstrating its support from a majority of the employees (frequently referred to as "card check neutrality"); or

b) agreeing to a code of conduct for a fast and fair union election that prohibits both the employer and the union from disparaging each other's motives; requires them both to make only factually accurate statements when seeking workers' support; provides them both equal physical access and equal time to discuss workers' choice of a union with them; bans inherently coercive kinds of communications, like "captive audience" meetings and one-on-one discussions with supervisors; and establishes a short election period prior to a final and binding secret ballot vote? Have you ever interceded with employers to urge their adoption of one of these methods for workers to choose a union? If so, describe your experience and what you learned from it.

Answer: Option B (although as a former union organizer I found that card check can also be a useful tool and, if the local organizing drive sees that as valuable, we should support it).

My goal is to lift more Californians into the middle class. There is no more important way to achieve that goal than to make sure more Californians enjoy the protection and benefits of unions. The union movement helped build a vibrant middle class in this nation and it can and will help rebuild the middle class in California.

We need a governor who has been in a union, worked for unions, understands that when workers have a greater voice they make our state better.

INDUSTRY STANDARD WAGES, BENEFITS, AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Over the first years of this century, organized hospital workers throughout California established a set of industry standard wages, benefits, and working conditions that brought these caregivers, who are predominantly of women, people of color, and recent immigrants, solidly into the middle class, while also creating a stable and experienced workforce in adequate numbers to protect the well-being of acutely ill patients and improve the quality of care they receive.

5. In the quickly upcoming round of collective bargaining, will you publicly support NUHW members in their efforts to restore the industry standard wages, benefits, and working conditions that made California's hospital workers among the very best compensated of any in the nation? Specifically, will you join workers in calling upon employers to restore:

- fully employer paid family health benefits
- defined benefit pensions
- a real voice in staffing levels with the right to arbitrate any disputes
- employment and income security for displaced workers
- a ban on subcontracting;
- scheduling policies that allow workers to live stable lives and maximize full time jobs?

Answer: Yes and so much more.

We are living in an economy in which too many sectors have conducted a race to the bottom – cutting wages, undermining working conditions disregarding the voice and expertise of the people who do our work. We need to understand that creating millions more middle class jobs is good for

everyone – it builds up our economy; it means better service and results because trained, well-paid and respected workers are necessary to provide quality healthcare and other services.

SUPPORTING COMPREHENSIVE CAMPAIGNS

In order to secure the best results for workers, patients, and communities from recalcitrant employers, NUHW members often must wage comprehensive campaigns that build power in multiple venues through multiple means. Such campaigns are undertaken both to help unorganized workers assert their right to choose a union and to compel employers' agreement to industry standards. Elected officials are frequently called upon to play important roles in these efforts.

6. To support comprehensive campaigns aimed at recalcitrant employers, would you be willing to:

- meet with union organizing committee and bargaining committee members;
- sign public letters of support for the union's organizing rights or bargaining proposals;
- place phone calls to and meet with employer representatives on the union's behalf;
- attend negotiations with employers to support and help present the union's position;
- conduct facility walk-throughs to engage both workers and employers on disputed issues;
- participate in town hall meetings to highlight the union's organizing and bargaining campaigns and build support for union proposals in the press and with the public;
- participate in picket lines, marches, rallies, and vigils;
- assist in outreach to community-based organizations and faith based groups?

Answer: Absolutely, yes.

Single Payer Healthcare Reform and Public Financing for Healthcare Services

Obamacare represented a critical step forward in the long struggle to win affordable, quality healthcare for all, but much work remains to be done. Even with the expansion of Medi-Cal to cover the near poor and the availability of significant subsidies to help low and middle income families purchase coverage through the state exchange, millions of working Californians will remain uninsured as the price of coverage remains too dear, especially for those living in high cost areas. Now the Washington Administration is threatening these gains and millions are likely to lose their health insurance.

7. Do you support the establishment of a single payer healthcare system as prescribed in SB 562 Californians for a Healthy California Act - a publicly financed system of healthcare for all with a uniform standard of coverage that reduces costs by eliminating the profiteering, administrative waste, and marketing expenditures that accompany private insurance? Do you support the Sales Tax and revenue measures in the SB 562 financing report? How would you participate in the campaign to enact a single payer solution to our healthcare crisis?

Answer: Virtually every person engaged in this healthcare discussion supports the concept of single payer. I have been a supporter of single payer my entire career; I introduced and passed a massive expansion of public health insurance for California children when I was Speaker of the California State Assembly and proposed single payer at that time.

The current proposal requires the Republican president and Republican Congress to provide a Medicare Waiver, and that is just not going to happen. So, to actually achieve single payer we need a plan that acknowledges that fact.

The current proposal, according to the Legislature's own analysis, would also carry a price tag of up to \$400 billion and require tax increases of up to \$200 billion. It is true that other studies show a lower price tag, but even the authors of the State Senate bill acknowledge their proposal still has many financial details to be resolved.

Even if you accept the best-case data, adopting single payer now will mean massive cuts in other state programs and significant increases in taxes. It will also require explaining to voters why the state will take away trusted providers and require every Californian to join a state-run system.

I think the people of California deserve a plan that we can actually achieve. Which is why my first priority is to protect the ACA.

Our second goal must be to continue to extend coverage to more Californians, until coverage is universal. We have worked tirelessly to make sure Californians have health insurance and our work is paying off. Nearly 92 percent of the state's residents now have coverage – including one-third of the state, which is covered under Medi-Cal. But 92% is not 100%, which is why I strongly support moving forward with plans to craft a "Public Option," that would allow Californians to buy into public programs for their insurance coverage.

One thing I would like you to know is that my position here has always been consistent – and I will always work to let you know exactly what I mean. Lt. Governor Newsom indicated he was for Senator Lara's single payer bill, but now says he is not.

I won't try to be on both sides of an issue. I will always try to be for what lifts up the most Californians.

8. As you may know, NUHW members over the past several years successfully prosecuted a complaint against Kaiser Permanente for failing to provide its plan members with timely and appropriate mental health services. In prosecuting the complaint, we learned that the Department of Managed Health Care interprets current law not to require any specific timeliness standard for the scheduling of return appointments, even in mental health services where in many cases the close spacing of return appointments is absolutely necessary for the provision of clinically sound care.

Will you support NUHW members if we seek to close this loophole in the state's timely access law?

Answer: Yes.

Will you support NUHW members in demanding that all members of the public have equal access to quality and affordable mental health care?

Answer: Yes.

Will you support NUHW members in their contract disputes to improve the quality of care?

Answer: Yes, I will always be on the side working to improve quality of care for Californians.

9. **SANCTUARY CITY AND NUHW**

NUHW recently declared itself a ‘sanctuary union’ and a member of the growing network of sanctuary institutions that will do everything within our power to ensure the safety and security of all members of our community regardless of their immigration status.

As a result, NUHW will:

- protect the rights and safety of every member of our union, our community and all patients including undocumented people and their families;
- will not voluntarily cooperate with federal agents to enforce immigration laws;
- pledge to stand up for, support and defend the most vulnerable among us; those deliberately targeted in the lead-up to the election; and those who have become victims of hate in its wake;
- urge its members to help address the social, emotional, medical and mental health needs of our patients and community members and to promote diversity and inclusion;
- declares its support for the following Legislation: The California Values Act, which would prevent the use of public resources to aid federal immigration agents in deportation actions; the Due Process for All Act, which provides legal representation for noncitizens facing deportation; and the Stronger Public Defenders Act, which would create state-funded centers to train defense attorneys and public defenders on immigration law and the consequences of criminal convictions.
- will request that our nation’s hospitals, clinics, and other healthcare providers declare their support for and protection of undocumented people and their families, affirmatively create a welcoming environment for them, and declare themselves to be “safe zones” so that no member of our community feels threatened when seeking medical care.
- Please state whether you agree with NUHW’s sanctuary union action and the ‘Sanctuary State’ movement. And state what you will do to protect our communities from hate and possible federal action.

Answer: I have spent my entire career fighting for the most vulnerable amongst us. Today, we are seeing unprecedented division in America. Unprecedented fear. Unprecedented frustration about our political system – a system which many feel ignores their concerns.

President Trump seeks to divide us from our third largest trading partner and closest neighbor to the south with a wasteful wall on our border, which could cost up to \$40 billion dollars to build. He proposes a religious test for refugees – contrary to our Constitution. These policies create walls of division and distrust, pitting Muslims against Christians and Jews, documented against undocumented, wealthy against working people.

The 11 million undocumented immigrants who came to America are united by the same dream – and it is our dream. They came because they dreamed of freedom. Opportunity. An education. They dreamed of a land where hard work is rewarded. And every person respected.

I do support NUHW’s action to become a “sanctuary union” and respect the inherent rights of all residents of our state.

HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS:

Californians are seeing one of the worst housing crises in recent memory. Working people are being priced out of their homes by increased rents and mortgages. Homelessness is increasing due to a lack of affordability and a lack of social services for wrap around care.

What is your definition of affordable housing? How do you propose to increase the affordable housing stock/inclusionary zoning? What do you propose to do to curb evictions? What actions have you taken so far to help fix the current housing and affordability crisis? Do you support the repeal of Costa-Hawkins?

Answer: We are now facing a crisis when it comes to the cost of housing in this state. We know the root of the problem. We are not building enough homes and apartments where we need them because of a lack of necessary state and local investment, unnecessary housing speculation and a regulatory system that is now so restrictive it can add up to hundreds of thousands of dollars to the price of housing and prevent the creation of housing where it is needed (like the recent example of Marin County refusing to build necessary housing).

Too much regulation, speculation and not enough investment has created two California housing markets – one for the very rich who can still afford these astronomical prices and one for everyone else, including the working and middle-class families who are being priced out of the market and either forced to buy homes hours from where they work or forced into a high-cost rental housing market.

The broken housing market is essentially becoming a new form of redlining – separating the rich from the poor, deepening our economic divide and keeping families out of the middle class. Our outdated and misused regulations – and our failure to make adequate investment in new housing – is leading to this new form of segregation where only the very rich can afford homes in too many parts of California.

So how do we work together to find a solution?

We need to set a goal. And I think we need to think big. We need to build 5 million new homes over the next 25 years so let’s start with a goal that defines success, not failure. But how do we get there? Our state is already falling well behind where we need to be in terms of building new housing.

When I was mayor of Los Angeles, I announced an ambitious plan to increase affordable housing for families. We set a goal: 20,000 new rental units for a family of four making up to \$100,188 a year. Within four years, we not only met, but exceeded that goal. And we achieved it by attacking the problem from multiple angles, including land-use incentives, such as density bonuses, in exchange for middle income households and low-cost gap financing for developers serving low-income residents.

As a state, we have even more tools at our disposal. And it starts by dramatically lowering regulatory barriers that unnecessarily add time and costs to development projects.

California must also find a way to unlock private investment dollars. We can do so by investing public dollars, just as we did in Los Angeles when I was mayor. Our city was able to leverage public funds with \$2.6 billion in private capital resources, which was achieved in part through a public/private partnership with a non-profit community development financial institution.

I do believe public dollars are needed, but let's be smart. Let's leverage our billions of dollars to unlock tens of billions more in private investment.

We must also find ways to help make it easier for people to save, so they can build the capital needed to buy a home. We already encourage families to invest in the future through 529 college savings programs; we could do the same for first time homebuyers.

We need to recognize the link that connects transportation and housing so we don't exacerbate the problems of congestion while we address the problems of housing. By the middle of this century, our state's population is expected to grow from 39 million people to 50 million. If we aren't smart about where we encourage that growth to occur, we can expect it to spread farther and farther from our job centers, our transportation hubs and our top-notch schools.

In Los Angeles, we unveiled the nation's first transit oriented consolidated plan in 2012. By focusing our investments near transit hubs, we were able to maximize the leverage of federal Housing and Urban Development dollars. As governor, I'll propose a significant state transit bond and direct the funds to those communities building housing near transit – tackling the problems of housing, transportation, congestion and climate change together.

We need to implement good ideas. Allowing current homeowners to add secondary units would help bring down soaring rent prices is a great start. We need to support other good proposals. The \$3 billion low-income housing bond proposed is another great start.

California should revive the "As of Right" housing proposal. But we need to do so in a manner that allows cities who have chosen to set higher requirements to preserve their local solutions such as the affordable housing requirements in San Francisco and other communities. I am well aware – this is not a "one size fits all" problem.

And I strongly believe we need to bring back a modified form of redevelopment. As a mayor, I saw how ending this funding stream hurt local communities. Let's bring back Redevelopment 2.0 focused on solving our housing crisis.