

National Union of Healthcare Workers Questionnaire for 2018 San Francisco Board of Supervisors

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

BACKGROUND

Name: **Rafael Mandelman**
Candidate for: **Supervisor District 8**
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Personal Phone and E-mail:
Current Occupation: **Deputy City Attorney**
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Campaign Consultants: **Nate Allbee**
Campaign Contact Name : **Kyle Smeallie, Campaign Manager**
Campaign FPPC Number: **1395947 and _____**
Political Party: **Democrat**

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

City College Board of Trustees (Former President, Current Trustee, elected in 2012 and re-elected 2016)

San Francisco Democratic County Central Committee (2006 - present)

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

San Francisco LGBT Community Center (Former Board Co-Chair)

Jewish Vocational Services Public Policy Advisory Board

District 8 Progressive Democrats (Former President)

Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club (Former President)

IFPTE Local 21 (Member)

California Bar Association

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

See attached Bio

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?

I am a member of IFPTE Local 21 and have a long history of working in coalitions with labor unions. In addition, I have participated in numerous pickets and other actions with NUHW, CNA, AFT 2121, SEIU 1021, UNITE HERE Local 2, UFCW and other unions, including being arrested several times in support of Local 2 actions. As a member of the DCCC, I have sponsored resolutions to support workers in various labor struggles, most recently in support of fired janitors at UCSF. I was active in the community coalition to save St. Luke's and participated in a number of actions during that fight; I also have joined picket lines at Kaiser on a number of occasions.

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

Supervisor Sandra Lee Fewer

Supervisor Hillary Ronen

Supervisor Norman Yee

Former Assemblymember Tom Ammiano

Former Mayor Art Agnos

California Nurses Association

BART Board of Directors, District 9 Representative Bevan Dufty

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

Our Campaign is raising funds into two committees--one for the election in June 2018 (to fill out former Supervisor Scott Wiener's remaining term) and another committee for the election in November 2018 (to determine the next four-year term as District 8 Supervisor). To date, we have raised \$160,000 between both committees. In total, we aim to raise \$530,000 by the November 2018 election, with one-third of that total coming from San Francisco's Public Finance program.

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

No, our campaign has not conducted a poll.

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

Having the endorsement of NUHW would be a tremendous honor for my campaign and for me personally. In my campaign, I would seek advice on healthcare related issues, and volunteer support from NUHW members for campaign outreach efforts. If elected, I will actively seek advice from NUHW on issues related to healthcare policy and healthcare workers, and solicit input from NUHW to shape my legislative agenda.

OVERVIEW

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

I am running to represent District 8 on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors because I believe San Francisco deserves a government that is as innovative and compassionate as its people. We must do a better job of addressing the needs of mentally ill and drug addicted folks on our streets, building the affordable housing we need to assure that San Francisco remains a diverse City with opportunities for all, and invest in the transit, healthcare, parks, schools and other infrastructure to meet the needs of a growing population. I am running for the Board of Supervisors to bring practical, real world experience to the Board, to cut through the ideology and pessimism and advance big solutions to the big challenges we face.

I am seeking NUHW's endorsement because I believe San Francisco can and must lead the way nationally for providing quality healthcare for its citizens, as well as supporting healthcare workers in their struggles to provide first-rate healthcare.

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

Improving Healthcare for all San Franciscans

Growing up a Type 1 diabetic in San Francisco, I was a Medi-Cal kid who got my health care at UCSF and SF General. Health care is a personal issue for me. I was eleven when my mother's mental illness started her spiraling down a path that led her into repeated hospitalizations and ultimately homelessness. I had to grow up fast, finding myself housing, getting myself to doctor's appointments, and finding my way through middle school and high school. As an adult I was able to secure a conservatorship for my mother, and find her the long-term care she needed.

After I graduated from law school and as I began to get involved in local politics, one of the first groups I volunteered with was the Emergency Coalition to Save Public Health, which was working at the time to stave off significant cuts to SF General and other parts of our public healthcare system. As Supervisor, I will continue to work to support our public health system by identifying adequate resources to meet our obligations to the patients and workers in that system and ensuring that in lean years we protect the most vulnerable – the poor, the sick, and those who serve them – from the brunt of budget cuts.

Improving Public Education

I was elected to the City College Board of Trustees in 2012 as the

accreditation crisis was first hitting City College. I fought hard to push back against a rogue accreditor that seemed intent on closing the College and to restore local control. My colleagues elected me President of Board of Trustees in the midst of that crisis, and I'm proud to have led the 80-year-old institution back to full accreditation and the restoration of local control. Under my leadership, City College not only secured its accreditation, but also became free to all San Francisco residents. I worked closely with the Board of Supervisors and Labor to ensure that City College is free for all SF residents. The program is funded by the City and the creation of a voter approved tax on the sale of multimillion dollar properties. As Supervisor I will work to champion our public educational institutions, solve the teacher-housing crisis, and join New York to create a universal preschool program in San Francisco.

Building Affordable Housing

District 8 has had the highest number of evictions of any district and yet in the last ten years has seen only one significant affordable housing development. As an urban development attorney for cities and nonprofit housing developers I have worked on building thousands of affordable housing units all over the Bay Area. I want to bring that practical, real world experience to the Board and get affordable housing built here in San Francisco, and especially in District 8. We must focus on expanding affordable housing opportunities at all income levels, not simply continuing to focus on luxury housing development as if that will trickle down to low, moderate, or middle income San Franciscans.

Solving Street Homelessness

The tragedy of homelessness we see playing out every day on our sidewalks and other public spaces is the result of housing and health policy failures at the State and Federal level. San Francisco did not create our homeless problem, but it is up to us to solve it. Other cities in America have innovated and succeeded in ending encampments, and so can we. But we need an independent voice in City Hall who is laser-focused on finding the resources to get our homeless population off the streets and into care and ensuring that we spend those resources wisely and effectively. We need to expand our Navigation Centers, work aggressively to keep vulnerable people housed and get the recently homeless back into housing as quickly as possible, build new supportive housing and free up existing supportive housing units by moving those who no longer need supportive housing into less expensive, permanent housing, and we need to dramatically expand our mental health and drug treatment capacity. San Franciscans read about the hundreds of millions of dollars we currently spend on homelessness, and do not understand how we can spend this much money and seemingly have so little to show for it. I know we can do better.

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

I believe District 8 deserves an independent voice who will champion our neighborhoods and our City. Over the past eight years of Mayor Ed Lee's tenure, we've seen economic inequality grow to unprecedented levels, as the City of San Francisco has become increasingly unaffordable for working people. My opponent in this race was appointed by Ed Lee, and in his short time in office, has shown himself to be a close ally of the Mayor. What we need now are leaders who have the independence and courage to take on the big issues affecting our City. And in that regard, I have a proven track record from my time on the Board of Trustees for City College. As mentioned above, I helped City College not only secure its accreditation, but also become free to all San Francisco residents.

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 legion 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.

I would urge all employers to respect workers' freedom to choose a union. I see as essential both card check neutrality, as well as the code of conduct described above.

I believe that union representation is the only way most workers find fair treatment in the workplace, and I strongly support policies to make it easier for employees to form a union, including expanding majority signup rights.

I fundamentally believe that there is power in numbers and that organizing--whether union organizing, tenant organizing, or organizing for racial

justice--is the most meaningful and effective way that marginalized, oppressed and exploited communities gain power to demand justice.

I am proud to have stood with a number of unions in their organizing campaigns, including serving on community delegations on behalf of HEI Le Meridien and Hyatt—Fisherman's Wharf. In particular, I am proud to have stood with NUHW healthcare workers in their struggles.

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. Unfortunately, over the past several years, despite reaping record setting profits, the state's largest hospital employers have used the changes anticipated to result from the Affordable Care Act as an excuse to roll back a number of the most important of these industry standards.

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

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

SINGLE PAYER HEALTHCARE REFORM AND PUBLIC FINANCING FOR HEALTHCARE SERVICES

Obamacare represents 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. Meanwhile, employers who fail to provide affordable, quality health insurance for their employees will face no penalties for the first year and limited penalties thereafter, incentivizing a reduction in employer-sponsored coverage, with the potential for them to pass on even more costs to workers and taxpayers by cutting employees' hours to under thirty (30) per week and offering unattractive plans. By bringing so many more people into a publicly financed, publicly governed system of care, Obamacare sets the stage for us to organize a collective

reckoning with the real reform we need and begin a campaign in earnest to enact single payer healthcare reform in California and the nation.

Do you support the establishment of a single payer healthcare system – 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? Are you in favor of enacting such a system in California alone (as allowed for under the Affordable Care Act and in Vermont) as well as in pursuing it on the national level?

It is inexcusable that so many in this country are living without health insurance, and that our elected leaders have failed to provide health security as a basic right. That's why I support a single payer healthcare system, where all people have access to the healthcare they deserve, and pledge to do everything in my power to make sure San Francisco continues to be a leader in providing healthcare services. I strongly supported efforts to pass single payer in California, and will continue to be a strong advocate for efforts to make that a reality. Furthermore, I will do everything in my power to support the creation of a single-payer system on the national level.

As you know, San Francisco already goes further than most legislation by requiring all employers with 20 or more employees to spend a minimum amount per hour for healthcare on any employee regularly scheduled to work 8 hours per week or more. Would you support increasing the employer spending requirement for employee healthcare?

In the absence of a single payer healthcare system, I support requirements to make employers provide coverage for their employees, including efforts like our Health Care Security Ordinance. If additional changes are needed to this landmark law, I will be their champion at the Board and beyond.

HOUSING AND AFFORDABILITY

Citizens of San Francisco and neighboring cities are seeing one of the worst housing crises in recent memory. Most people who work in San Francisco can't afford to live anywhere near the City. And people who do live in the City are being squeezed out of their homes by predatory landlords and greedy developers.

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?

Given the Federal and State government's lack of prioritization of building new affordable housing, it is more incumbent than ever that leaders in San Francisco do everything we can to provide this desperately needed . I will fight to force private developers to increase the amount of affordable housing they provide, we will only meet the needs of San Francisco residents and workers if the County builds

thousands of units of affordable housing.

This is why I supported Prop C in June 2016, and its victory demonstrates that San Franciscans are demanding more from developers when it comes to affordable housing. We must take this momentum and prioritize the construction and preservation of 100% affordable housing whenever possible and commit funding for such projects.

I currently serve as Deputy City Attorney for the City of Oakland, in which I help make sure that affordable housing is included in new developments. It's an area of expertise for me, and making sure more affordable gets built will be a key priority of mine if I am elected Supervisor.

DEVELOPMENT AND TAX BREAKS

The development boom that San Francisco is currently undergoing has caused much debate between developers and community advocates. San Francisco has given away millions in tax revenue to various dot.coms and other developers who promise lots to the community but local advocates don't see any boom to many of their constituents. The City has seen so many valued small businesses and non-profit agencies, who help aid our communities, flee the city.

Critics of the tax breaks claim that the developers and companies that have received the tax breaks have not hired locally and are forcing out 'mom and pop' shops in exchange for chain companies and outside retailers. Some argue that the neighborhood businesses are what make our neighborhoods great and a true tourist destination but current development trends may be threatening the make-up of our city. What is your opinion on this matter?

Do you support such tax breaks? If so, what type? If not, what do you propose to do with added revenue?

As one of the wealthiest cities in the world, in the midst of an historic economic boom, there is no excuse for San Francisco to have insufficient revenue to fund health and human services. I support closing tax loopholes and subsidies for big corporations, funding robust enforcement of existing laws, and seeking any viable way to make big corporations and the very wealthy pay their fair share.

With the added revenue from closing these loopholes, I propose funding the services our City needs most--specifically improving homelessness services and increasing our capacity to provide the care for low-income and homeless populations.

When it comes to small business, I strongly support regulations on chain stores in our neighborhood commercial corridors, and believe in cultivating 'mom and pop' businesses. I believe these kinds of small businesses are the lifeblood of our local economy, and are vital to what I see as the character of our neighborhoods. It is the foundation why I strongly supported Prop J in 2015, the ballot measure that created

the Legacy Business Registry to protect long-term businesses in San Francisco. (In fact, my Campaign Manager also ran the Prop J campaign).

As Supervisor, I will work to protect small businesses by supporting the creation of a Vacancy Tax, in order to cut down on commercial landlords who raise rents to astronomical levels, and force our local businesses.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION AND TRAFFIC

With the increased development, influx of companies, and the population boom that San Francisco is experiencing, traffic has gotten worse. Gridlock, street closures, and overall congestion have become the new 'norm' in San Francisco.

What role do you see public transportation playing in easing congestion? What improvements would you make to public transportation? What do suggest we do to ease congestion and traffic?

Our city sits at the epicenter of a technological revolution which is fundamentally reinventing the way we do everything from ordering dinner to falling in love, but our city government has completely failed to harness that creative energy to tackle the inevitable strain housing the tech industry has put on our aging infrastructure.

As our City's population has expanded, we have not seen what I call smart growth. Instead we have privatized the overflow, relying on tech shuttles and private car services to solve the rising traffic and congestion, and it hasn't worked.

We need a massive investment in our public transit infrastructure to make sure the City can handle not only the current population, but the projected increases over time as well. That means making developers pay not just for inclusionary affordable units, but for improvements to transit infrastructure as well. It's something we have not seen from the current Mayoral administration, or from the Mayor's allies on the Board of Supervisors.

As Supervisor, I will champion increasing our MUNI capacity to prevent overcrowding; new rail and rapid bus lines; and a way to make transportation network companies pay more to make sure our public infrastructure can be improved.