The National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW) Questionnaire for 2022 Local Government Candidates

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

SECTION 1 Candidate Committee Information

Name: Mike Feuer

Candidate for: Mayor of Los Angeles



Background

1. Please list any elected office you currently hold or have held previously.

- 2013 present: Los Angeles City Attorney
- 2006 2012: California State Assembly
- 1995 2001: Los Angeles City Council

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

- Co-founder and Co-Chair, Prosecutors Against Gun Violence
- Board Member, Association of Prosecuting Attorneys
- Board Member, California Common Cause
- Blue Ribbon Panelist, Bring L.A. Home
- Board Member, Los Angeles Business Council
- Chair, Mayor's Housing Trust Fund Advisory Committee
- Visiting Committee Member, Harvard Law School
- Alternative Living for the Aging, Advisory Board Member

3. Briefly describe your educational background and prior work

experience.

I graduated in 1976 from San Bernardino High School where I was President of the Student Congress and a Valedictorian. I then worked my way through college and law school, graduating *Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude* from Harvard College and *cum laude* from Harvard Law School.

I'm currently serving as City Attorney of Los Angeles where I was first elected in 2013 and then re-elected without opposition in 2017.

Previously, I served in the California State Assembly representing the 42nd Assembly District from 2006 to 2012. I was the Majority Leader for Policy and Chair of the Judiciary Committee. Prior to my time in the Assembly, I served on the Los Angeles City Council from 1995 to 2001 where I chaired the City Council's Budget and Finance Committee and led the Council's committees overseeing business tax reform, children's and seniors' issues, and ethics in government. Before serving in elected office, I was proud to be the Director of Bet Tzedek Legal Services, where I oversaw free legal representation for more than 50,000 elderly, poor and disabled clients confronting unlawful eviction, the theft of their homes to scam artists or the loss of their health care. According to the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, I transformed Bet Tzedek into a "national success story," establishing programs to combat substandard housing conditions, help Spanish-speaking Alzheimer's patients, assist victims of the Northridge earthquake and the L.A. civil unrest, and more.

I've also taught leadership at UCLA's School of Public Affairs and pre-trial litigation at UCLA Law School, and practiced law at two of California's leading law firms. While at Morrison & Foerster, I won the ACLU's Education Advocacy Award for my work on *Williams v. California*, the most important education equity case in California in a generation, alleging that low-income students of color had the least access to qualified teachers, books and decent facilities.

I've also served as a judicial clerk for California Supreme Court Justice Joseph Grodin, as Director of Research and Issues for Mayor Tom Bradley's campaign to become the first African-American Governor in California history and been a commentator on National Public Radio member station KPCC.

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 have not been a union member, but I have fought for the rights of working people throughout my career.

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

I am endorsed by civic, business and political leaders and residents from across a broad spectrum, including, among many others, former Howard Berman, former Controllers Laura Chick and Rick Tuttle and Councilmember Bob Blumenfield.

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

raise?

We will raise the maximum amount allowed while pursuing matching funds, which is \$3,329,000 (maximum spending allowed if accepting matching funds). Our last campaign report, through June, 2021, reflected more than \$720,000 raised, none of which is self-funded. This will be updated this month.

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

We have not conducted a poll yet.

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

I would hope NUHW members would volunteer on my campaign, support me at community events, walk door-to-door with me to get out the vote, and more.

SECTION 2 Overview

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

I'm running for Mayor to bring strong, proven, effective, and experienced leadership to a city facing its toughest challenges in many years. My record of accomplishment and extensive knowledge of City government will enable me to hit the ground running on Day 1 as Mayor and lead the City to successfully contend with multiple pending crises. I can't stand by and watch the human tragedy of homelessness continue to escalate on our streets, our affordable housing crisis worsen and huge inequities intensify as our City deteriorates. In this challenging moment, I'm running to bring bold, decisive, unifying leadership to a City desperately in need of leadership that both inspires the public and delivers practical solutions.

I am seeking your support because I cannot do this alone. There are over 100,000 healthcare workers in LA County. NUHW's advocacy on behalf of 15,000 healthcare professionals across the country provides necessary insight into the opportunities and challenges facing our communities that I would be honored to have guiding my policy.

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

With my strong record of proven executive leadership here in Los Angeles, I'm running to bring bold, decisive leadership to the Mayor's Office on Day 1.

As Mayor, I will continue to focus on improving the lives of ALL Angelenos by:

• Tackling homelessness and addressing the need for affordable housing. I will work aggressively to make shelter available for all in the next five years, while ensuring our public spaces are safe and accessible to everyone. I will declare a Homelessness State of Emergency; create a Homeless and Affordable Housing Strike Team in City Hall and make General Managers' jobs contingent on cutting the time it takes to site an approve that housing; change our street engagement strategies; deeply collaborate with the County to dramatically upgrade mental health and substance abuse services; and prevent people from falling into homelessness in the first place. I will also pursue a ten-point affordable housing development strategy focused on building on transportation corridors, repurposing office buildings as affordable housing and more;

- Making L.A. a safer city for all. I will continue to work to reform and expand the LAPD and make needed additional investments in public safety. That includes deepening community policing partnerships like the Community Safety Partnership Program; investing in training to de-escalate use of force by LAPD; making crisis intervention teams led by trained mental health professionals the first responders to mental health crises on the street; drawing down new federal resources to expand violence interruption and prevention strategies; creating a civilian ambassador program at LAPD stations to enhance service to the public; and creating a Neighborhood Solutions Program that will work across departmental lines to address key community priorities. And I will continue my career-long leadership to prevent gun violence, creating a Mayor's Gun Violence Prevention Task Force.
- Leading an economic recovery from the pandemic. I will lead L.A. to recover quickly, safely, and equitably from the COVID-19 pandemic. I will lead a major effort with the private sector to infuse significant capital and investment in underserved communities, working closely with affected community members to establish priorities and ensure equitable implementation. I will ensure that City resources and services are directed toward small business recovery and workers who need them most, appointing a Deputy Mayor focused on Small Business Recovery, and an Economic Development and Job Creation Cabinet to help guide the City's economic development policies.

3. What do you believe distinguishes you from your opponent(s) as the best candidate for this office?

I have the extensive experience and record of accomplishment right here in Los Angeles to enable me to shake up the status quo and hit the ground running on day 1 as Mayor. I know our city and am the only candidate to have won citywide office in Los Angeles. I have by far the most deep and extensive record of accomplishment on the issues that matter most in L.A. of any candidate, and a much more specific and pragmatic set of concrete policy proposals than my competitors. (You can find this record and set of proposals for L.A.'s future on my website, mikeforla.com.)

Having led the City Attorney's nearly 1000-person office, I know what it takes as an executive to build a common vision in a large public organization. In the case of the City Attorney's office, that meant inculcating a culture of excellence, attracting high-quality staff, focusing on a mission that included being deeply-focused on neighborhoods by tripling the Neighborhood Prosecutor Program, creating a Neighborhood Justice Program, focusing on neighborhood school safety and eliminating sources of blight and crime from communities wracked with gang and gun violence. It meant becoming a national leader on gun violence prevention and criminal justice reform that makes neighborhoods safer by reducing repeat offenses. It meant dramatic upgrades to consumer and environmental protection. Here is what the *Los Angeles Times* wrote about my vision and how I've effectuated it:

"...[H]e has been good for Los Angeles and has set a standard that future city attorneys should strive to meet. He has done what several of his predecessors set out to do or claimed, inaccurately, to have achieved: He has made the L.A. city attorney's office one of the city's top-flight law firms — a destination not merely for career City Hall lawyers, but for sharp young law school graduates and seasoned lawyers in the private sector. That has helped him use the office to curb improper housing practices, combat crimes that until recent years were assigned by law to the district attorney, protect consumers from abusive practices (as in his action against Wells Fargo), and take national leadership in the fight against gun violence...Feuer has succeeded not merely because he is a good lawyer but because he is a good politician, and yes, there is such a thing... 'I'll be damned if I'm ever going to say, 'It's not my job,' Feuer told the Times editorial board. We like that attitude. All L.A. residents should."

I will bring this same brand of innovative, unifying, effective leadership to the Mayor's Office. The Mayor not only selects Department General Managers. The Mayor must hold them accountable for effectuating a common vision of a better City. I work with managers to develop goals and establish time frames within which to accomplish them, then hold them accountable for performance so our city can build a brighter future for all Angelenos. I know that my peers in this race cannot provide the same level of executive leadership or knowledge of city issues.

SECTION 3 <u>Free and Fair Elections, Protecting the Right to Vote</u>

Free and fair elections where a citizen's right to vote is protected and made easy to exercise are essential to ensuring that the United States has a functional, representative, and genuinely inclusive democracy.

In recent years, before and since the outcome of the 2020 Presidential election, Donald Trump and others have been trying to undermine democracy by employing ever more aggressive Jim Crow-style tactics that create barriers to voting access, as well as by deploying false and misleading information to cast doubt on legitimate election results.

Question A: Please list the steps you would take to maximize voter registration and participation in your jurisdiction, particularly among communities historically underrepresented in the electoral process. (Some examples: expanding the number of early voting sites and ballot drop-off locations; increasing the extent of information made available by mail and online in all of the jurisdiction's ballot languages; allowing <u>non-citizens to</u> <u>vote for school board</u> and/or other local offices in which they are key stakeholders.)

I am the author of California's same-day voter registration law, which I wrote to encourage voter participation in California in the face of voter suppression efforts in other states. As City Attorney I helped organize and participated in training sessions for jurisdictions across the nation on steps to protect free and fair elections and will continue this leadership as Mayor.

SECTION 4

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 continue unabated and workers' organizing efforts are squashed more often than not.

Question A: <u>Yes or no</u>, would you urge employers to respect workers' freedom to choose a union by either or both of the following methods:

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");

Yes. I have a long record of supporting workers' freedom to choose a union.

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?

Yes.

Question B: 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.

Yes, I have done so as part of the Justice for Janitors campaign. I have also led my office to write L.A.'s Labor Peace agreements.

Question C: What legislation have you supported in the past or do you support currently to strengthen workers' freedom to choose a union, and what other steps would you take to strengthen the labor movement using the power and platform of your office, if elected?

I have supported numerous bills throughout my career as a member of the California Assembly to protect and strengthen workers' freedom to choose a union.

Question D: Do you support H.R 842, the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act, which improves employment protections related to employees' rights to organize and collectively bargain in the workplace?

Yes.

SECTION 5 <u>Industry Standards, Wages, Benefits, and Working Conditions</u>

At the beginning of the 21st century, organized healthcare workers throughout California established common standards for wages, benefits, and working conditions across much of the state's healthcare industry. These standards benefited both workers and patients, but some of the state's largest healthcare employers have spent the past decade fiercely undermining them.

In recent rounds of collective bargaining, major healthcare industry employers have pushed to implement pernicious policies that hurt both workers and patients, including but not limited to:

- Subcontracting, which often reduces wages and benefits and eliminating workers' union representation while increasing workforce turnover and harming the quality of services;
- Cuts in healthcare and retirement benefits for remaining employees;
- Reductions in staffing levels;
- Closing facilities in underserved communities and cutting low-margin medical services in favor of building out high-end medical centers and growing profitable surgical specialties;
- Weakening workplace safety standards.
- Use of independent contractor employment models under which healthcare workers do not presently have the legal right to organize and bargain as a union.

While these threats persist, they have been eclipsed for the time being by the more immediate and pressing threats posed by COVID-19 and the multiple failures of healthcare employers and government authorities to respond to the pandemic effectively, responsibly, and transparently.

As the COVID-19 pandemic surged in the spring of 2020, frontline healthcare employees suffered from chronic shortages of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), employers' failures to follow infection control protocols, and a lack of timely, accurate, and complete information about the incidence of COVID-19 at their facilities, as well as significant negative economic consequences from their own illnesses, and from the inability of providers to meet coronavirus surges without closing down other services.

In response, NUHW adopted a *COVID-19 <u>Healthcare Workers' Bill of Rights</u> to protect worker, patient, and community safety and worked for its adoption through collective bargaining and by legislative and regulatory action. While we made considerable gains in areas such as PPE, additional paid leave, and safer work environments, there is still progress to be made on several elements of our agenda, including mental healthcare, input and accountability, and safe staffing, and some of the protections that have been established are only temporary and are not guaranteed to be observed in the case of future public health emergencies.*

Question A: Will you sign a pledge to support NUHW's COVID-19 Healthcare Workers' Bill of Rights? What concrete actions will you take to urge its adoption by employers, and to establish laws and regulations as may be necessary to ensure its implementation?

Yes. Over **50,000** healthcare workers in Los Angeles County tested positive for COVID in **2019** alone. The strain on these workers and the resulting impacts on

their families cannot be overstated. Healthcare workers are caring for and tending to our communities in the face of harrowing challenges, even while they risk infection, illness and possibly death. I would work with NUHW to support a Healthcare Workers' Bill of Rights and reach out to L.A. healthcare providers to urge their support for it.

Question B: What concrete actions have you taken since the pandemic started to help ensure the safety of healthcare workers and patients in your community?

I was the first local official to call for vaccine mandates in public places like bars and restaurants. I continue to believe that the most effective mandates are imposed countywide, because that creates the most consistency and clarity throughout our region. But in the absence of a countywide approach, I have proposed and strongly supported vaccine mandates in public locations including restaurants, bars, gymnasiums and entertainment venues. I have also strongly supported vaccine mandates for City employees, including first responders, and have led my office to win multiple victories in court on this issue. These mandates help reduce the spread of the virus and protect all of us. (Indeed, I have also supported vaccine mandates for domestic air travel as a means of slowing the pandemic and called on members of Congress to do the same. No local member of Congress has done so.)

When COVID-19 shook the city, my office led the charge to combat false and misleading claims regarding tests, preventions and cures. We battled price gouging online and in stores; protected victims of domestic violence trapped with their abusers; and worked to raise awareness and prevent hate crimes targeting our Asian-American communities. We have been perhaps the most impactful government law office in the nation on these issues.

Question C: What if any other steps will you take to ensure that healthcare workers, patients, and communities continue to be protected from COVID-19 now, and in the event of future public health emergencies?

I will continue to follow the science and aggressively establish and enforce vaccination mandates, ensure tests, preventions and cures are authentic and based in sound science and work with health care providers to promote best practices that keep frontline healthcare workers safe.

Question D: Will you commit to standing against local employer outsourcing and municipal worker outsourcing that has the effect of reducing workers' wages and benefits, eliminating their union representation, and harming the quality of services? Yes or no, explain.

Yes.

Question E: The pandemic has highlighted local government's role in protecting public health. As a local elected leader, what capacities would you drive your jurisdiction to enhance so it can better monitor and respond to future public health emergencies?

The City needs to lead on issues of public health to protect citizens while conducting effective education and outreach so that all residents understand the role they play in protecting the city's collective health outcomes.

As I mentioned in the earlier question, I was the first local official to call for vaccine mandates in public places like bars and restaurants. I continue to believe that the most effective mandates are imposed countywide, because that creates the most consistency and clarity throughout our region. But in the absence of a countywide approach, I support vaccine mandates in public locations including restaurants, bars, gymnasiums and entertainment venues.

I have defended vaccine mandates for City employees, including first responders in court and have won all three cases challenging the city's jurisdiction.

This quote from the Los Angeles Times report of one of our victories sums up my position: "The ruling is 'a victory for public health and safety in Los Angeles,' City Atty. Mike Feuer said in a statement. "The Court recognized the emergency we're in, and the harm that enjoining implementation of the vaccine mandate could have caused," Feuer said. "Beyond this case, the presence of the new, highly contagious variant here in L.A. underscores the importance of vaccinating our first responders — indeed, of vaccinating everyone."

I have learned from the pandemic how important it is for local leaders to act quickly and decisively, imposing mandates directed by science. As Mayor I will continue to lead in this way.

Question F: In the wake of the pandemic and the widespread experience of enhanced health risk, burnout from overwork, and PTSD from exposure to

unprecedented numbers of deaths and serious illnesses, <u>there is a growing</u> <u>shortage of healthcare workers in California. This challenge presents an</u> <u>opportunity to create job pipelines for locally-trained, well-compensated,</u> <u>unionized health care workers</u>. What steps would you take to develop such pipelines and which local institutions would you engage to help?

LA's future depends on providing good jobs, and affordable housing so young people have an opportunity to work and build their lives here. The shortage of healthcare workers presents both a cautionary tale and an opportunity. I will work with public and private sector actors, non-profit groups, and labor organizations to develop and support vocational, career-technical and job training programs that not only prepare people for the healthcare industry, but also connect them with prospective employers so they have a job lined up and a guaranteed source of income after they complete their training. I will also continue leading our municipality to comply with the science so that professional challenges arising from the strenuous workload from COVID-19 cases can diminish with greater vaccine adoption. No industry should need to continuously sacrifice the physical and mental health of its workers, as has happened to healthcare workers during the pandemic.

SECTION 6

Supporting Comprehensive Campaigns

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 win employers' agreement to industry standards. Since COVID-19 and the need for social distancing have constrained our ability to engage in the full range of campaign tactics we might normally undertake, support from our elected and community allies has become even more critical to ensure we secure justice.

To support workers and patients NUHW supporters engage in the following activities:

- A. Meet with the union organizing committee and bargaining committee members; YES
- B. Sign public letters of support for the union's organizing rights or bargaining proposals; YES
- C. Place phone calls to and meet with employer representatives on the union's behalf; YES

- D. Attend negotiations with employers to support and help present the union's position; Possibly; depends on circumstances
- E. Conduct facility walk-throughs to engage both workers and employers on issues; YES
- F. 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
- G. Participate in picket lines, marches, rallies, and vigils; YES
- H. Assist in outreach to other government agencies and community-based organizations and faith-based groups; YES
- I. Use the government's power as a purchaser, contractor, or other market participants to guarantee workers' right to organize and win fair employment conditions? If possible.

Question A: Would you be willing to participate in any of the actions listed above (virtually when required for participants' safety/in person when conditions will allow). Please check-off those actions you would be willing to take, and please describe any such actions you have taken to support workers in the past?

Absolutely. I have noted my responses above and have engaged in many of these actions in my career.

SECTION 7 <u>Behavioral Health – Mental Health and Substance Use Disorders</u>

The National Union of Healthcare Workers has played an integral role in highlighting the severity of the behavioral health crisis in the American health care system at large and at Kaiser Permanente statewide. NUHW believes that the disparity of quality, access, and affordability between behavioral health care and care for other medical conditions is a systemic issue that requires a systemic solution.

NUHW has played an outsized role in raising behavioral health care standards in California. Over the past two years, NUHW has exerted increasingly strong leadership in the fight for behavioral health parity, helping to preserve and pass key elements of California's new omnibus behavioral health parity law (SB 855 – Wiener), and sponsoring and passing legislation to guarantee timely follow-up appointments to behavioral health patients in ongoing courses of care (SB 221 – Wiener).

Question A: While there have been great strides made to improve awareness of growing behavioral health needs and deficiencies in access to

services, there is still much work to be done in order to achieve parity with care for other medical conditions.

Among other challenges: a) There is an acute shortage of therapists to provide linguistically and culturally appropriate care to Californians in underserved communities; b) There is a broader shortage of therapists willing to take patients whose care is paid for by HMOs and insurers due to low reimbursement rates, excessive administrative burdens, and other bureaucratic obstacles to providing quality care; and c) Both demographics and increased demand will create an overall shortage of therapists in the near future unless we recruit more behavioral caregivers and retain more incumbents.

What steps will you take to require and support insurers and providers to 1) hire more therapists capable of providing linguistically and culturally appropriate care to Californians in underserved communities; 2) improve reimbursement rates and streamline administrative procedures to increase the number of therapists willing to take patients whose care is paid for by HMOs and insurers, and 3) meet California's future needs by engaging in greater behavioral workforce development and retention efforts?

As Mayor I will direct those who negotiate the City's health care plans with providers to emphasize access to behavioral care. I will work with public education system leaders—including the LAUSD, the Community College system, the State College system and University of California to create curricula, mentorships, internships, job training and career opportunities in behavioral health.

Question B: Have you led any prior policy initiatives or engaged in any other previous activities to improve behavioral health access statewide or locally? Please give details.

I have a strong record in support of access to quality health care. As a member of the California Assembly I wrote the law, before Obamacare, to require health insurance companies to cover children with pre-existing conditions. I was a co-author of legislation to create a single-payer healthcare system in California to expand access to healthcare.

Question C: Although there are enough behavioral health clinicians across the industry in California, rural areas and BIPOC communities specifically are lacking in accessible behavioral health care. What would you do to prioritize resources for these underserved communities?

Our health outcomes should not be dictated by the zip code we are born into. As Mayor I will work with County leaders (who oversee the public health system, including mental health) to prioritize equitable behavioral health care. I will also continue my leadership as City Attorney on the issue of addressing the impact of trauma on childhood brain development in underserved communities. My Children Exposed to Violence program, for example, connects kids exposed to the trauma of gun violence with immediate therapeutic interventions.

Question D: No patient gets well in a prison cell. Our members believe that elected leaders should expand access to quality behavioral health care in community-based settings by increasing resources for these services rather than allocating more resources to the prison industrial complex. Do you agree with this position? Explain.

I strongly support expanding access to quality behavioral health care in community-based settings. The L.A. County jail has been called the County's largest mental health facility. Providing those services in the first instance can prevent crime and ensure individuals have the opportunity to fulfill their potential.

Question E: Most of California's local governments either purchase their own health coverage for their thousands of public employees or participate in CalPERS. Costs of public employee health plans continue increasing every year, all while provider networks continue to narrow and access to behavioral health services remains persistently challenging. <u>What steps</u> would you take to leverage your jurisdiction's purchasing power or voice in CalPERS to improve access to behavioral health care?

Every day we are learning more about the importance of parity for behavioral care in our healthcare system—and about how broken the behavioral healthcare system is. As Mayor I will seek to coordinate with leaders of other major cities so that we combine our leverage to improve access to behavioral care.

SECTION 8 <u>Single-Payer Healthcare Reform and Public Financing for Healthcare</u> <u>Services</u>

Obamacare has been 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 policies through Covered California, millions of working Californians remain uninsured. Meanwhile, employers who fail to provide affordable, quality health insurance for their employees face only limited penalties, incentivizing further reductions in employer-sponsored coverage as costs rise. By bringing so many more people into a publicly financed, publicly governed system of care, Obamacare set 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.

Healthy California NOW is currently working to align: a) best practice recommendations for a unified healthcare financing system forthcoming from the Healthy California for All Commission; b) Newsom administration initiatives to engage the federal government in waiver discussions for the use of federal healthcare dollars; and c) concepts for healthcare cost containment, quality improvement, and access expansion advanced by unions and consumer advocates over recent years to craft concrete steps that can be advanced by the State Legislature as pillars upon which to build a single payer, Medicare for All system, consistent with the core principles set forth in AB 1400 (Kalra).

Question A: Yes or no -- Do you support the establishment of a single payer healthcare system - a publicly financed system of health care for all with a uniform standard of coverage that reduces costs by eliminating the profiteering, administrative waste, and marketing expenditures that accompany private insurance?

Yes. As a member of the California Assembly, I was a co-author of legislation to create a single-payer healthcare system in California.

Question B: Upon review of the activities listed in Section 6 "Supporting Comprehensive Campaigns", what actions would you be willing to take to support the campaign to achieve a single payer system?

I am willing to engage in legislative advocacy to achieve the objective of a single payer system.

SECTION 9 <u>The Struggle Against Pervasive Racism, Anti-Blackness, and White</u> <u>Supremacy, and Overcoming Racial Disparities in Health Care Access and</u> <u>Delivery</u>

It is fundamental to the identity of NUHW as a militant, democratic, and progressive trade union to oppose racism in all of its manifestations – systemic and institutional, economic and social, cultural and ideological – as an immoral and destructive force, inimical to human freedom and development, and as a key weapon wielded by employers to divide workers from each other. Equally, it is central to NUHW's identity to recognize the unique and supremely damaging role of anti-Blackness in American life: a role that has persisted unbroken and continues to evolve from the horrors of the enslavement of Africans to the terror of Jim Crow; to the denial of equal access to education, jobs, housing, and health care; to the structural violence of the criminal justice system and the carceral state.

As a union formed first of service and maintenance workers in hospitals and nursing homes, NUHW's history has always been bound up with the struggles for dignity and justice – on and off the job – of the many Black workers who occupied those positions, and the union's modern-day success has in large measure been inspired by and modeled on the Black freedom movement. At this moment of crisis and opportunity, when Donald Trump has fanned the flames of white supremacy more aggressively than any U.S. leader in a generation, and when the Movement for Black Lives, in the wake of George Floyd's brutal and brazen murder, has called the planet to conscience and built unprecedented demand for fundamental change throughout the world, NUHW is recommitting itself to the struggle against pervasive racism, anti-Blackness, and white supremacy, and is calling on all of its labor, community, and elected allies to join in this priority.

Question A: Have you explicitly endorsed or taken concrete steps to support the work of Black Lives Matter and the Movement for Black Lives? If so, describe the steps. If not, please explain.

I have. In addition to my lifelong work for equity and social justice, I have led the City Attorney's office to create a top staff position in charge of diversity, equity and inclusion, and organized internal working groups composed of more than 120 of my staff members to advance equity, diversity and justice reform, both internally and externally.

Question B: Some elected officials have forsworn the endorsements and contributions of police, sheriffs, and correctional workers' unions, and will continue refusing them unless and until these groups recognize and begin working to root out racism in their own institutions and in society at large. Will you join in this incipient boycott of criminal justice union

endorsements and contributions? If not, how will you challenge these groups to play responsible roles in the fight against racism?

I will not accept donations or endorsements from police unions.

Question C: Racial disparities in U.S. health care access and delivery have been documented in great detail, from differences in rates of health insurance coverage to differences in availability of primary and specialty care to differences in the quantity and quality of geographically accessible hospital infrastructure to differences in the courses of treatment for many disease conditions and the pain associated with them, to major differences in maternal and children's health outcomes. These differences have been placed in stark relief recently based on the higher rates of COVID-19 illness and death suffered by Blacks and Latinos in comparison to their white counterparts. What steps would you prioritize to redress racial disparities in health care access and delivery? Please cite specific initiatives undertaken by government officials and provider systems.

From my days leading Bet Tzedek I have fought to address these disparities, not only in the legal system but in the health care system as well. Thousands of our clients at Bet Tzedek, the majority of whom were senior citizens of color, faced the loss of their health care without our intervention. As a member of the Los Angeles City Council in the 1990s, I proposed a study of emergency medical service calls for non-emergency events to demonstrate that most of these non-emergency calls were concentrated to underserved communities without access to decent health care—and then proposed that the county site more health care clinics in communities in which those non-emergency calls to the EMS system were clustered. As a member of the California Assembly, I not only was a co-author of legislation mandating a single-payer health care system, but I also wrote California's law, before Obamacare, requiring health insurers to provide insurance for children with pre-existing conditions—a bill that was especially important to families of color. While the City of Los Angeles does not operate a health care system, as Mayor I will closely collaborate with County officials to advance racial equity in the deployment of health care resources.

SECTION 10

Immigration and Immigrant Rights

NUHW has pledged to do everything in its power to protect all of its members, their families and their patients regardless of their immigration status. A few years ago NUHW declared itself a sanctuary union, joining an expansive network of institutions

committed to ensuring the safety and security of all members of their communities regardless of immigration status.

Question A: Please state your position on DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) and TPS (Temporary Protective Status) Do you support a pathway to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented people living in the US and the continued protection of DACA and TPS holders?

I unequivocally support a pathway to citizenship, DACA and TPS, and have exercised national leadership on this issue: As City Attorney, I led my office's efforts to write legal briefs in key cases throughout the nation on behalf of cities and counties across America against the Trump Administration and in support of DACA and TPS.

Question B: While federal immigration policies test the well-being of immigrant communities across our state, California is leading the way with its One California program that provides immigration assistance, services for citizenship and support for remedies from deportation. Can we count on you to protect and expand on programs like One California that are protecting immigrant communities in California? What ideas do you have to provide local assistance to immigrants seeking a more secure future in your city?

I have long been an advocate for immigrant communities and a strong supporter of a pathway to citizenship. As City Attorney, I have led my office to be among the most aggressive in the nation on immigrants' rights, suing the Trump Administration (or joining with other jurisdictions to do so) on a wide range of cases designed to advance the rights of immigrants, including litigation:

- To prevent the Trump Administration from stopping DACA;
- To prevent the Trump Administration from stopping Temporary Protected Status;
- To prevent the Trump Administration from coercing local complicity in civil immigration enforcement;
- To prevent Trump Administration efforts to prematurely stop the Census;
- To prevent the Trump Administration from including a citizenship question in the Census; and
- To stop the Trump Administration's family separation policy.

I have also led my office to target unscrupulous notarios who prey on immigrants seeking to obtain citizenship, and will continue these efforts as Mayor. In

addition, as Mayor I will continue to promote LA as a "City of Sanctuary" for immigrants. I oppose privately run immigrant detention centers in Los Angeles.

Question D: Please share whether you support or oppose the cooperation of state and local governments with Federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials and explain why.

As City Attorney I led my office to successfully sue the Trump Administration over its efforts to coerce the LAPD to participate in civil immigration enforcement.

SECTION 11 Housing and Homelessness

Californians have faced a worsening housing and homelessness crisis over the years. The public health crisis we're facing with the pandemic intensifies the need for housing solutions. However, landlords and real estate/land use activists have consistently blocked reforms to housing policy and utilized established law like the Ellis Act (1985) and the Costa-Hawkins Act (1995) to prevent housing solutions. In effect, working people are priced out of their homes by increased rents and rising housing costs.

Question A: What is your definition of affordable housing and how would you work to increase the affordable housing stock and create more inclusionary zoning?

Making Los Angeles more affordable is one of my top priorities. More than half of renters in L.A. County are rent-burdened, spending over 30% of their incomes on rent, which threatens to tip even more Angelenos into homelessness. Affordable housing should be attainable for all: for very low-income individuals dependent on federal housing vouchers, for low-income families struggling to make ends meet, for working people including health care workers, teachers and others relegated to long commutes because they cannot afford to live close to their jobs in Los Angeles—for everyone.

The fact is, L.A. is not building enough housing for our growing population. Over the past five years, the L.A. metro area has built just one housing unit for every 3.2 jobs created—meaning it is building 44% more slowly, per person, than the United States as a whole. As a city, Los Angeles has not done nearly enough to build new affordable housing or to preserve what we have. Less than 10% of our new housing in recent years has been affordable, and the covenants that currently keep thousands of housing units affordable will expire in the next few years. L.A. is now hundreds of thousands of housing units short, making our city less affordable, less livable, and less sustainable.

Our housing crisis has multiple causes and multiple consequences. The root cause is scarcity in general, and scarcity of housing that is affordable to low and middle-income residents, in particular. Our housing crisis fuels homelessness. It intensifies poverty, with ever-increasing percentages of paychecks devoted to shelter alone. It makes it impossible for working families to afford to live close to their jobs in urban centers. It prevents younger Californians from even contemplating home ownership.

I have a strong record on these issues and will build on that as Mayor. At Bet Tzedek, I led the protection of tens of thousands of renters who would have lost their affordable tenancies had we not successfully intervened on their behalf. On the L.A. City Council, I was the co-author of the Affordable Housing Trust Fund, establishing a revolving pool of money devoted to creating affordable housing. I later Chaired the Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Fund. I was also a leader in programs to improve substandard conditions in rental units, including playing a key role in establishing the City's rental unit inspection program. In the State Assembly I was a joint author of the Homeowners Bill of Rights, working closely with then-Attorney General Kamala Harris. As City Attorney I have led efforts to sue landlords who seek to convert rent-stabilized apartments into short-term rentals that reduce our affordable housing stock.

As Mayor, it will be essential that I continue to lead on these efforts.

To reduce the time and expense of siting and constructing new units, I'll create a Strike Team in City Hall to slash the time it takes to site and approve affordable and homeless housing. I'll tie General Managers' jobs to the success of this effort.

I will expand the City's Transit-Oriented Communities program to incentivize more housing near public transit. For example, I will pursue TOC incentives for housing close to a single transit stop, rather than limit the program to locations where two stops intersect. I will work to extend the distances from public transit stops where density bonus/affordable housing incentives apply. I will fast-track inspections and approvals of TOC projects and explore making them ministerial. And I will make the program permanent.

I will expedite efforts to transition underutilized office buildings into both low-income and middle-class housing. Since the pandemic, many commercial tenants have vacated office buildings and will never return, preferring business models that rely principally on telecommuting. All or parts of these buildings can be repurposed and transformed into long-term affordable housing units. I support expanding the concept of "adaptive reuse" to the greatest extent possible, so we can streamline the process of converting these buildings into housing.

I will pursue reforms of outdated regulations. Among other things, I will explore by-right approvals of affordable housing projects; eliminate discretionary site plan review for developments with 100 or fewer units; reduce minimum parking requirements in projects close to transit; and explore zoning changes to promote "co-housing" developments with shared common areas.

I will work with LAUSD to create affordable housing on underutilized school sites.

I will promote an expansion in the production of accessory dwelling units (ADUs), incentivizing homeowners to construct units and rent them to people formerly experiencing homelessness. I will also promote the use of SB 9 to facilitate home ownership of ADUs. This is especially important in BIPOC communities, where residents historically have confronted discrimination in efforts to become homeowners.

I will work to incentivize and streamline the construction of modular, prefabricated housing—it can be done less expensively and more rapidly—for affordable projects.

And I will pursue the acquisition of existing rental housing units and cap rents at reasonable levels.

Question B: What would you do to curb evictions? What actions have you taken so far to help fix the current housing affordability crisis?

I have a strong record on preventing evictions and ensuring Angelenos stay housed. As the Director of Bet Tzedek I led the representation of tens of thousands of people who were unlawfully evicted. As a member of the Los Angeles City Council, I co-authored the creation of the Affordable Housing Trust Fund; later I served as Chair of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Affordable Housing Trust Fund. As a member of the State Assembly, I wrote the Sargent Shriver Civil Counsel Act, dramatically expanding access to free legal services for tenants and others; and as City Attorney, I have led the City's legal defense of the Covid Eviction Moratorium in the face of multiple court challenges and created LA Represents with Mayor Garcetti, to expand free legal services for tenants and others enduring hardships caused by COVID.

As Mayor, I will continue my leadership on this issue. I support a robust emergency fund to keep tenants on the precipice of eviction, because of COVID-related job losses, housed. I will implement a vigorous public education campaign in multiple languages to ensure tenants know their rights and to deter landlords from violating those rights. I will explore adding investigative resources to the Housing and Community Investment Department (HCID) which currently does not have adequate resources to investigate tenant's claims. There are also too few private free legal services attorneys to vindicate these rights.

I will also aim to address displacement caused by gentrification in communities. By separating ownership of the land from rental or ownership of the buildings, and by keeping ownership of the land in a non-profit, CLTs can keep housing more affordable for the long term.

Question C: Do you support rent control and the repeal of Costa-Hawkins?

Yes.

Question D: The crisis of homelessness is aggravated when insecurely housed individuals who suffer behavioral health issues cannot get the care that they need but instead face criminalization. If elected, what would you do to ensure people with behavioral health needs facing homelessness receive adequate care and resources?

People experiencing homelessness require more than just shelter. They often need access to physical and mental health services, substance abuse rehabilitation, legal counsel to help them remove outstanding fines or citations, or professional guidance when applying for public benefits. It's imperative that these services address the needs of the whole person. As Mayor, I will promote programs that treat physical and mental health and help unhoused Angelenos become productive members of their communities. An example is the "Trieste model" that has been proposed for Hollywood, which would not only focus on traditional physical and mental health treatment, but also help individuals establish meaningful community connections, process experiences of trauma and inequity, and pursue employment. I will also work to expand deployment of teams of mental health experts, nurses, and housing navigators to homeless encampments to speed up the transition of people into shelters and help them get back on their feet.