PART 1: How to Influence Policy Makers, with Marj Plumb
August 18, 2022
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HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW (HABBAL) IN CALIFORNIA

THURSDAY, AUGUST 18
6:00-7:30PM PT

Marj Plumb, DrPH, MNA
Plumbline Coaching and Consulting
www.marjplumb.com
AGENDA

Introductions

How A Bill Becomes A Law

How the Budget is passed each year

Next Webinar Overview
Over forty years of nonprofit management experience

- ED of SF Bay PSR and Maine PSR

Over twenty years teaching policy and leading policy campaigns

- Solis (Women’s) Policy Institute-CA State & Local
- Black to the Future Public Policy Institute
- Coalition for a Strong Nebraska
- UCSF Reach the Decision Makers National
Solis Policy Institute
- Over 480 participants in my 16 years passed 40 laws, issues included criminal justice, environmental justice, reproductive justice, and economic justice.

Led or mentored significant legislation
- California Breast Cancer Treatment Program: $40m budget ask (2001)
- Campus Action for Reproductive Equity: $10m Senate Bill 24 (Leyva, 2021)
INTRODUCTIONS

Put in Chat
Who you are, what do you do, why you are here?
This is a lecture. I’m explaining a complicated process to you so that you can be a better advocate for your community. You will get a link to the video and a copy of the slides to review.

I’m addressing you as if you are going to run your own bill. You should. And being a good advocate for someone else’s bill will be enhanced, if you know what’s happening and what’s next.

I’m not a proponent of this system. I think it’s secretive and inaccessible. Learn it and then change it.
FOCUS: CALIFORNIA STATE
CALIFORNIA STATE OVERVIEW

- Over 200 agencies
- Over 1000 departments, boards & commissions
- State budget of $286.4 billion
- State economy of $3.2 trillion (2019)
  - 5th largest economy in the world
- 260,000 state personnel
WHAT ARE FOUR TARGETS FOR PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY?

- The Legislature
- The Administration
  - Governor/ Executive Branch
  - Departments & Agencies
- The Judiciary/Courts
- The Public
  - Initiatives
**When I say Policy Makers**

- **The group who votes**
  - State legislators

- **Staff**
  - Office staff, committee staff, agency staff (usually not district office staff)

- **Who signs/vetoes**
  - Governor
    - *Agencies and Departments*
Legislators are “Authors” (co-authors, etc.)
Organizations are Sponsors or Supporters

Two-year sessions

- Begins first Monday in odd year
- Bills can be held from 1st year to 2nd year

Majority vote

- An urgency bill or a bill with tax increases requires a two-thirds vote
- Two-thirds vote required to override a veto
California Legislature Trifecta

California Senate (SB)
- 40 districts, two 4-year terms

California Assembly (AB)
- 80 districts, three 2-year terms

California Governor
- 4-year term, 2 times

*Prop 28 (2012) max of 12 years in either house
4,848 BILLS INTRODUCED IN 2019-2020

- Senate = 1,474
  - 808 (54%) Passed first house
  - 483 (32%) Enrolled*
  - 413 (28%) Chaptered*
  - 70 (5%) Vetoed

- Assembly = 3,374
  - 1470 (43%) Passed first house
  - 987 (29%) Enrolled*
  - 829 (25%) Chaptered*
  - 158 (5%) Vetoed

*Understand archaic, made-up terms.
RESOLUTIONS

A concurrent resolution (ACR or SCR)

- Passed by each house to state the Legislature’s position on an issue.

Joint resolutions (AJR or SJR)

- Passed by each house to state the Legislature’s opinion on a federal matter.

A house resolution (AR or SR)

- Used to adopt rules for the individual house. They only require passage in that one house.

https://www.capimpactca.com/2020/05/resolutions-in-the-california-legislature/
SO HOW DOES A BILL BECOME LAW?
HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Although the procedure can become more complicated, this chart shows the essential steps for passage of a bill.

Typical committee actions are used to simplify charting the course of legislation.

Some bills require hearing by more than one committee, in which case a committee may re-refer the bill to another committee. For example, bills with monetary implications must be re-referred to the proper fiscal committee in each House before they are sent to the floor for consideration and vote.

A bill may be amended at various times as it moves through the Houses. The bill must be reprinted each time an amendment is adopted by either House. All bill actions are printed in the DAILY FILES, JOURNALS and HISTORIES.

If a bill is amended in the opposite house, it is returned to the House of Origin for concurrence in amendments. If the House of Origin does not concur, a Conference Committee Report must then be adopted by each House before the bill can be sent to the Governor.

COMPLIMENTS OF
SENATOR JACKIE SPEIER
How a Bill Becomes Law

1. As introduced
2. As amended in committee
3. As amended on second reading
4. As enacted
5. As funded by joint budget committee
6. As implemented by the state agency
7. As reported by the media
8. As understood by the public
9. What was actually needed
Ideas from: Citizens, Advocates, Nonprofits, Lobbyists, Legislators, State Agencies [Anytime, fall is best]

Bill Drafting: Bill ideas (or drafts) are sent from the bill author to the Office of Legislative Counsel (LegCounsel) for drafting. [by third Friday in January]

Bill Introduced: Assemblymembers (AB) or Senators (SB) introduce their bill in their own house [by third Friday in February]
HOW TO FIND A BILL AUTHOR

Research which legislators would be good for your bill idea

• **Knowledge**: It’s important that the bill author understands the topic.
• **Positional Power**: It’s better if author is a committee chair so the bill will go through or has power in the legislature.
• **Personal Power**: It’s good to go with an author who has a good relationship with others, is considered a good legislator.
• **Committed**: Each author carries many bills, so try to find a legislator who will make this a priority.

Capitol staff are always looking for ideas

• Look on the website or call the office to speak with a staff person who works on your issue.
• Remember, district staff handle constituent concerns, not legislation.
INTERACTING WITH THE ADMINISTRATION

- Go early and often to Governor’s office to address their concerns.
- This means working with:
  - The agency that will administer the bill
  - The Department of Finance if there is a cost to the bill
  - The Governor’s policy staff
- The agencies send an analysis and recommendation on all bills in their jurisdiction to the Governor. These are not public.
If a legislator wants to be your author, but you aren’t ready by these deadlines, the author can have Leg Counsel draft a “spot bill” with minimal language.

- Spot bills must be amended and heard in policy committee by the deadline for bills to pass policy committees.

- If you haven’t found a legislator to author your bill, any legislator can introduce an “unbacked” spot bill.
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BillIntroduced: Assemblymembers (AB) or Senators (SB) in own house [by third Friday in February]*

House of Origin - AB or SB
- Rules Committee [Feb]
- Policy Committee(s) [March-May]
- Appropriations Committee [May]
- Floor [May]

Refers bill to committee of jurisdiction. Rules committee could refer to the bill to multiple committees, which means bill has to be handled and heard more quickly.

Each house has their own calendar! Get that in early January!
POLICY COMMITTEES

ASSEMBLY
- Accountability and Administrative Review Committee
- Aging and Long-Term Care Committee
- Agriculture Committee
- Appropriations Committee
- Arts, Entertainment, Sports, Tourism, and Internet Media Committee
- Banking and Finance Committee
- Budget Committee
- Business and Professions Committee
- Communications and Conveyance Committee
- Education Committee
- Elections Committee
- Emergency Management Committee
- Environmental Safety and Toxic Materials Committee
- Governmental Organization Committee
- Health Committee
- Higher Education Committee
- Housing and Community
- Development Committee
- Human Services Committee
- Insurance Committee
- Jobs, Economic Development, and the Economy Committee
- Judiciary Committee
- Labor and Employment Committee
- Local Government Committee
- Military and Veterans Affairs Committee
- Natural Resources Committee
- Privacy and Consumer Protection Committee
- Public Employment and Retirement Committee
- Public Safety Committee
- Revenue and Taxation Committee
- Rules Committee
- Transportation Committee
- Utilities and Energy Committee
- Water, Parks, and Wildlife Committee

SENATE
- Appropriations Committee
- Banking and Financial Institutions Committee
- Budget and Fiscal Review Committee
- Business, Professions and Economic Development Committee
- Elections and Constitutional Amendments Committee
- Energy, Utilities and Communications Committee
- Environmental Quality Committee
- Governance and Finance Committee
- Housing Committee
- Labor, Public Employment and Retirement Committee
- Natural Resources and Water Committee
- Agriculture Committee
- Appropriations Committee
- Agriculture Committee
- Education Committee
- Governmental Organization Committee
- Health Committee
- Human Services Committee
- Insurance Committee
- Judiciary Committee
- Military and Veterans Affairs Committee
- Public Safety Committee
- Rules Committee
- Transportation Committee
POLICY COMMITTEES

- Each committee has its’ own office and staff, overseen by the committee chair.
- Staff are responsible for writing the “bill analysis”
  - Call the committee your bill was assigned to and ask who is assigned to manage the bill.
  - You can call, visit, email the staff with information about the bill.
  - Upload your letter of support/opposition in the main or committee portal.
  - Bill analysis will list organizations who have sent in letters but not individuals names.
  - Committees can amend bills with or without author and sponsor’s agreement.
Committee hearings

- Submit a letter in support or opposition before the hearing (ask staff for deadline).
- Author’s office decides who gives testimony in support of the bill during hearing.
- Anyone can do a “me too” - name, affiliation, support or oppose.
- Lobby committee members before hearing.

Committee votes

- If there is a quorum, they will take the vote in the hearing.
- Committees can recommend amendments.
- Committees decide whether to “do pass”* or hold/defeat the bill.

*Understand archaic, made-up terms.
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House of Origin - AB or SB [Jan]

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- Policy Committee [March]
- Appropriations Committee [May]
- Floor [May]

If “do pass” from policy committee(s), and you have financial costs to the state, you go to Approps!
Supposed to focus on the costs only
- It’s best if you have an identified source of money for your bill or ways to cut costs.

Committee has staff with issue specific expertise
- You can call, email, or visit the staff if you have information for them as they write their analysis.
- Analyses are usually short, don’t include supporters, etc.

Hearings are fast and efficient
- Authors can waive the hearing if it seems the bill will be fine.
- Committees can amend bill without author or sponsor’s approval usually to lower cost.
- All bills that exceed a specific amount go on the “Suspense File” which is taken up at the deadline for passing bills.
MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE DO NOT VOTE A BILL UP OR DOWN.

Each legislator is asked to give the committee chair a list of which bills it is prioritizing. Be on that list.

Decisions are made by the chair and the leader of the house.

Chair will announce bills “do pass” on “A” roll call (unanimous), B roll call (Dems only), “held” in committee (Assembly) or silent (Senate).
The policy committee (first policy committee if multiple referred) is responsible for writing up the floor analysis.

- Call, write, email the staff member responsible.
- Ask the authors’ staff if they would like your help with the authors' floor statement.
- Only legislators can be on the floor.

Do a “Floor Alert” which is generally a one-page flyer on what the bill does, arguments in support, and who supports it.

If there has been opposition to the bill, you will need to lobby offices – authors’ office will help with this.
There Oughta Be a Law!

Ideas from: Citizens, Advocates, Nonprofits, Lobbyists, Legislators, State Agencies [Anytime]

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[Jan]
Rules Committee [Feb]
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Floor [May]

Opposite House [June]
Rules Committee [July]
Policy Committee [July]
Appropriations Committee [Sept]
Floor [Sept]

Same but different!
Concurrence!

- In the first house, changes made by committees, the previous committees must concur.
- If the bill changes in the second house, the first house must concur.
  - If "substantive" then policy committees can request “off the floor hearing.”
- Once passed out of the second house, the bill is enrolled to the Governor!
**THERE OUGHTA BE A LAW!**

**Governor’s Desk! [Sept]**
Sign (chapter)
Veto (2/3 override)
Let become law without signature (LOL)

- Governor has staff with expertise in specific area.
- Try [to what?] before introduction but also as your bill is moving through the legislature.
**THERE OUGHTA BE A LAW!**

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- Policy Committee [July]
- Appropriations Committee [Sept]
- Floor [Sept]

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- Sign (chapter)
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- Let become law without signature (LOL)
California Government Spending, 1977-2020
Blue = General Fund, Orange = Special Funds, Grey = Bonds, Yellow = Federal
Governor’s May revise

Leadership irons out differences between houses
The budget is the only legislation that starts in both houses simultaneously.

Two budget committees and multiple subcommittees
- Senate has 5 subcommittees and Assembly has 6

The budget package consists of one or more budget bills plus budget-related trailer bills.
- Kind of like a spreadsheet with numbers and a bunch of word documents explaining how the numbers should be spent.
- Advocates should pay attention to both!
WHY DO SOME BILLS PASS AND SOME FAIL?
SIMPLE: POLICY MAKERS MUST AGREE

There is a problem

There is a solution

It’s important (or ok) to solve the problem
RESEARCH THE PROBLEM

- What do you know about the problem?
- What reports or statistics are available about this problem?
- What stories do you have about the problem?
- What do affected people think about the problem?
- Who agrees/disagrees that this is a problem?

- Your own clients and community members
- Researchers and academics
- Policy advocacy organizations and think tanks
- Legislative Committee analyses and staff
RESEARCH POLICY OPTIONS

- Look at other states and similar CA programs
- Researchers and academics
- Leg website for state law and similar bills
- Discuss your values to determine what you can live with
- Legislative Committee analyses and staff
- Who will implement and what do they think?

- What is the best policy solution to fix the problem?
- What are other options to fix the problem?
- What is the existing law on this issue?
- If you had to limit your solution, what could you live with?
- Are there potential negatives to your solution?
How much will this cost?

What do constituents think about the problem and solution?

Will this bring positive press or negative press?

Has this been tried in other states?

- Legislators' websites and press releases
- Previous legislative attempts and votes
- Other states attempts
- Policy and budget thinktanks
- Legislative and Department staff
- Governors' office
SOME CAVEATS

- Be the expert but not the know it all!
  - Ask people for help to make sure you have everything you need.

- Understand that policy makers need money and votes; policy staffers need less work!
  - Don’t get thrown off if you are told “No, Never, Can’t.”
  - Do your research before you approach.
  - Offer support to the folks you need to support you.
**BE CAREFUL**

- If it’s in writing, it’s public
  - Sometimes you need a “paper” trail.
  - Sometimes it’s best to pick up the phone.

- The walls are thin
  - There is often bureaucratic division between legislature and administration.
  - When it comes to policy making, you need both.

- Leverage
  - Leverage allies (advocacy groups, funders, staff).

- Don’t be mean
  - Treat everyone with respect.
  - Reputations are currency.
RESOURCES

- Glossary of Legislative Terms
  - http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/glossary.html

- Legislature/Legislation Website
  - https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov
    - Sign up for bill notices
    - Committee analysis

- Position Letter Portal
  - https://calegislation.lc.ca.gov/Advocates/faces/index.xhtml

- Senate and Assembly
  - https://www.assembly.ca.gov
  - https://www.senate.ca.gov

- LegiScan (other states)
  - https://legiscan.com/CA/legislation/2021
NEVER TOUCH THE BEAR!
This workshop will help you understand how to craft your own message when you are speaking to a policy maker or sending an email or letter in support of a bill.

It will include how to write policy advocacy materials, including fact sheets and policy briefs, support or opposition letters, emails, testimony, etc.
THANK YOU!