Budget Brief

August 2003

PROPOSITION 53: SHOULD CALIFORNIA EARMARK GENERAL FUND REVENUES FOR INFRASTRUCTURE?

Proposition 53, which will appear on the October 7, 2003 ballot, establishes a "pay-as-you-go" mechanism for financing California's infrastructure. This initiative was placed on the ballot by Assembly Constitutional Amendment (ACA) 11, authored by Assemblymembers Keith Richman (R-Northridge) and Joe Canciamilla (D-Pittsburg). ACA 11 passed out of two Assembly policy committees last year, then stalled in the Assembly Appropriations Committee in May 2002. However, on the last night of session the bill was passed by the Legislature as part of the 2002-03 budget package, at the request of Republican legislators. While there is clearly a demonstrated need for investment in the state's infrastructure, this measure joins a growing number of initiatives that tie the Legislature's and Governor's hands by dedicating state revenues for specified purposes.

The following analysis focuses on the fiscal policy issues raised by Proposition 53. The California Budget Project (CBP) neither supports nor opposes this measure. However, the CBP highlights the impact of proposed and pending ballot measures on the budget and budget process, so that voters can make informed policy choices.

WHAT WOULD PROPOSITION 53 DO?

CALIFORNIA

BUDGET PROJECT -

Proposition 53 would transfer an increasing share of General Fund revenues each year to a Twenty-First Century Infrastructure Investment Fund (IIF), created by this measure. The transfers would begin in 2006-07, or the first year thereafter in which revenues increase by at least 4 percent over the prior year, after adjusting for inflation.¹

Proposition 53 outlines a specific schedule for transfers from the General Fund to the IIF. The transfers would initially equal one percent of General Fund revenues as estimated by the Department of Finance, gradually increasing (by 0.3 percent per year) to 3 percent in 2013-14 and thereafter. Half of the IIF would be earmarked for state infrastructure projects and half for local projects. The local share could not be spent for schools or community colleges.

Proposition 53 directs the Department of Finance to prepare an annual plan for how to spend the funds in the IIF, but specific spending decisions would be determined by the Legislature. The initiative does not require the legislative spending plan to follow the Department of Finance's plan. While the original legislation states, "The Legislature shall provide by law a method for the annual allocation of these funds to local governments for their use on projects," it does not require either a plan for local infrastructure needs or coordination of planning for local and state infrastructure needs.²

How Much Funding Would Go to Infrastructure Under Proposition 53?

Due to the various "triggers" and adjustments included in the initiative (discussed below), it is impossible to accurately estimate the exact fiscal impact of Proposition 53. The Legislative Analyst's Office (LAO) estimates that the General Fund transfer to the IIF would be roughly \$850 million in 2006-07, growing to several billions of dollars in future years.³

How Would Proposition 53 Interact with Proposition 98?

The Proposition 98 education funding guarantee would not be directly affected by Proposition 53. Proposition 53 provides that if the percentage growth in the minimum Proposition 98 guarantee exceeds the percentage growth in General Fund revenues, the transfer to the IIF would be reduced by one-half of the dollar difference if none of the other triggers to reduce the transfer are in effect that fiscal year. According to the LAO, such a situation would occur only if school attendance grew faster than the state population, an unlikely event given current projections of slow growth in school attendance.⁴ By earmarking a portion of existing resources, however, Proposition 53 would make it more difficult for the Legislature to "overfund" education by appropriating more than the constitutionally required minimum.

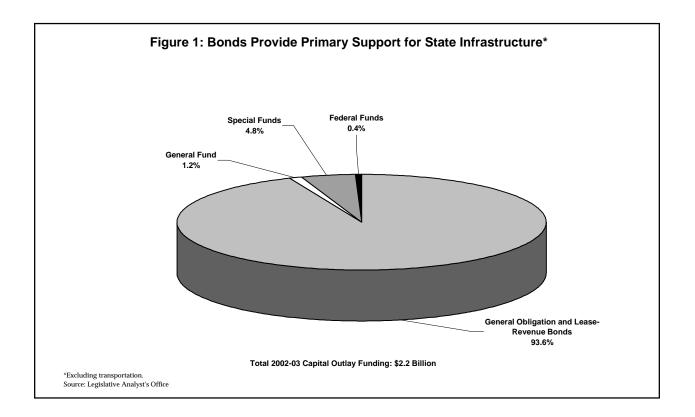
WHAT OTHER PROGRAMS SUPPORT INFRASTRUCTURE?

State infrastructure projects are currently funded through a combination of federal and state funds. State funding comes from the General Fund, special funds (i.e., gas tax revenues), and bonds. Most of the state's debt is repaid from the General Fund. The enacted 2002-03 Budget included \$2.2 billion for capital outlay, not including highways and transit. The largest source of funding for these projects is general obligation and lease revenue bonds (Figure 1).⁵ The capital outlay share of the Department of Transportation (CalTrans) budget came to \$3.3 billion, while roughly \$156 million was budgeted for mass transit capital outlay.⁶

Several dedicated revenue sources pay for highway construction and renovation: state fuel taxes, the state sales tax on motor vehicle fuel (allocated by Proposition 42, passed by voters in 2002), and federal funds. Most other infrastructure programs require either direct General Fund appropriations or rely on voter-approved bonds that are repaid out of the General Fund.

The primary financing mechanisms used for state infrastructure finance include:

- **Pay-As-You-Go Finance.** Pay-as-you-go is the least expensive method to pay for capital outlay.⁷ General Fund expenditures have not kept up with need, due to the scarcity of available resources. The gas tax and truck weight fees pay for road and highway projects. Most state transportation spending is pay-as-you-go, rather than debt-financed.
- *General Obligation (GO) Bonds.* GO bonds are a form of debt backed by the state's General Fund. GO bonds are repaid from the General Fund and have constitutional priority over other spending in the event of a shortfall. State bond measures require the approval of a majority of voters.
- *Lease Payment Bonds.* Lease payment bonds are repaid out of rent payments made to bond holders over the life of a facility. Lease payment bonds are slightly more expensive than GO bonds and do not require voter approval.



• **Federal Funds.** Federal dollars provide a significant share of the state's current pay-as-you-go dollars. The State Highway Construction Program is the largest recipient of federal funds, and is projected to receive an average of \$2.8 billion per year over the next five years.⁸ In addition to highways, other major areas of federal funding include flood control, veterans' homes, and National Guard Armories.

OTHER REVENUE SOURCES FOR INFRASTRUCTURE

Other sources of revenue for infrastructure include:

- **Gas Tax Revenues.** The state Constitution dedicates motor vehicle fuel tax revenues to transportation. Proposition 111 of 1990 increased the gas tax by 9 cents per gallon over a five year period, raising an additional \$1 billion per year for transportation at full implementation. In total, fuel taxes will raise approximately \$2.8 billion in 2003-04.⁹ Approximately one-third of the revenues raised by fuel taxes are allocated to local governments for streets and highways. State law designates the proceeds of the sales tax levied on fuel to the Public Transportation Account (PTA); these revenues can be used to purchase buses or other "rolling stock." The proposed 2003-04 Budget estimated PTA revenues at \$287.1 million.¹⁰ The final budget agreement transferred \$87.1 million of "spillover" sales tax revenue due to higher gasoline prices to the General Fund instead of the PTA.¹¹
- **Infrastructure Bank.** The California Infrastructure and Economic Development Bank, created in 1994, provides funding for infrastructure projects, such as drainage and flood control, parks and recreation facilities, upgrades of utilities, and streets and county highways. Local jurisdictions

must apply to the Bank for assistance and put up matching funds as a condition of receiving aid. The Bank was capitalized in 1998 with a \$50 million allocation from the General Fund and has received a net additional amount of \$198 million.¹²

- **Transportation Congestion Relief Act/ Proposition 42.** In July 2000, the Legislature enacted AB 2928, the Transportation Congestion Relief Act (TCRA). This legislation dedicated motor vehicle fuel sales tax revenues to transportation for five years and provided additional funding for state and local transportation needs. At the time of passage, the TCRA was expected to provide \$6.8 billion in General Fund monies (an initial General Fund appropriation of \$1.5 billion, plus \$5.3 billion from the transfer of sales taxes on fuel over the life of the Act).¹³ The following year, the Legislature approved a constitutional amendment, ACA 4, to make the TCRA program permanent. ACA 4 was approved by voters in March 2002 in the form of Proposition 42. The initiative, however, included a provision allowing the suspension of the sales tax transfer in a fiscal year in which the transfer could have a significant negative impact on other General Fund programs.¹⁴
- **Local Revenue Sources.** Local government uses the same financing mechanisms for infrastructure as the state. Local bonds are generally repaid through a special rate added to the property tax. Local bonds require a two-thirds approval of local voters.¹⁵ In addition, ¹/₄-cent of the 1¹/₄ cent local sales tax goes to county transportation programs (approximately \$1 billion per year).¹⁶

How BIG IS CALIFORNIA'S INFRASTRUCTURE NEED?: THE STATE'S FIVE-YEAR INFRASTRUCTURE PLAN

AB 1473 of 1999 requires the state to produce a five-year infrastructure plan. Each year, the Governor must submit a proposed infrastructure plan to the Legislature. The legislation assumes that the Legislature will consider and adopt the plan as part of the budget process. The Infrastructure Plan covers state-owned facilities, K-12 schools, community colleges, and local transportation systems.¹⁷ The 2003 Infra-structure Plan estimates the state's infrastructure needs over the next five years at \$54.2 billion, with the largest needs in the area of transportation (Figure 2).

The Infrastructure Plan proposes a mix of federal funds, bonds, special funds, and General Fund monies to fund the state's five-year infrastructure needs (Figure 3). The largest source of proposed funding is bond funds (31.9 percent), followed closely by special funds (27.4 percent) and federal funds (26.2 percent).

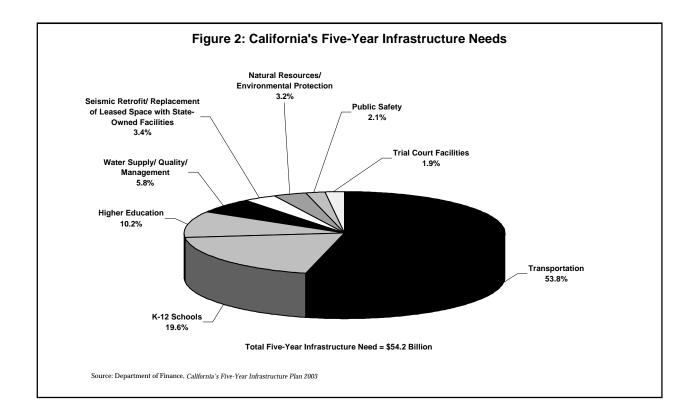
DOES PROPOSITION 53 PROVIDE SUFFICIENT PROTECTION FOR THE BUDGET IN BAD YEARS?

GOOD INTENTIONS: PROVISIONS TO PROTECT THE GENERAL FUND

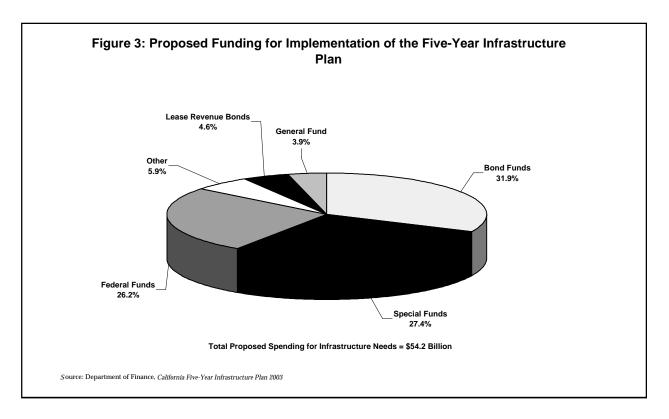
Proposition 53 includes a series of provisions to limit the measure's impact on the state budget in difficult fiscal times:

"Safety Net" for Start Date. Transfers to the IIF from the General Fund would begin in either 2006-07 or the first subsequent year in which General Fund revenues increase by at least 4 percent, after adjusting for inflation.

Protection in Years with Small Revenue Increases. The annual 0.3 percent increase in the transfer from the General Fund to the IIF would be delayed in any year in which revenues do not increase by inflation plus 4 percent.



"Triggers" for Years with Revenue Shortfalls. Proposition 53 includes a series of triggers to protect the state against full and/or increased transfers from the General Fund to the IIF in years in which revenues fall.



- If January or May revenue estimates are below the revenue level assumed when the budget was originally enacted, that year's transfer will be reduced by 25 percent if revenues are revised downward by 2 to 5 percent, or by 50 percent if revenues are revised downward by more than 5 percent.
- If revenues decline in a fiscal year as compared to the prior fiscal year, the transfer would be suspended for that fiscal year. In addition, the transfer for the following fiscal year would be reduced to one-half the amount otherwise required.

As discussed below, these triggers may not be sufficient. The initiative does not include a provision, for example, to suspend the transfer altogether in years with very large revenue shortfalls.

Provision to Loan Funds from the IIF to the General Funds When Necessary. Proposition 53 provides for "unencumbered funds" in the IIF to be loaned, interest-free, to the General Fund in years where revenues decline compared to the prior fiscal year, "provided that these loans do not result in the delay of any previously funded projects."¹⁸ The initiative does not specify a repayment period. The loan provisions would apply only to the state's share of funds; local governments' share could not be transferred.

Provision for Bond Debt Service. Proposition 53 provides that the percentage of General Fund revenues transferred to the IIF would not exceed the difference between 7.5 percent and the prior fiscal year's bond debt payments as a percentage of General Fund revenues. According to the LAO, although the debt service ratio is currently below the level that would trigger this provision, various factors could push it high enough by 2006-07, the year of the first scheduled transfer under Proposition 53, to trigger a reduction in the transfer.¹⁹

THE REAL WORLD: PROTECTIONS MAY NOT BE SUFFICIENT

Despite its various triggers and other provisions, Proposition 53 could require significant appropriations even in years when the state faces a serious budget crisis. According to the LAO, if Proposition 53 had been in effect during the 1990s, the transfers from the General Fund to the IIF would have occurred even in years in which the state faced a significant shortfall at the time of the May Revision (Table 1).²⁰ In 1991-92, for example, the state faced an estimated \$14.3 billion gap between spending and revenues in May. Yet, a Proposition 53 transfer of \$285 million would still have been required. And in 1994-95 and 1995-96, as the state still faced shortfalls, General Fund transfers of \$1.4 billion would have been required under Proposition 53.

HOW MUCH OF THE BUDGET IS ALREADY LOCKED IN?

Earmarking state resources for specific purposes reduces the state's ability to respond to changes in fiscal circumstances and to adapt state spending to changing needs and priorities. In order to evaluate the impact of earmarking additional state General Fund resources, it is useful to examine how much flexibility the Legislature currently has over state spending. State revenues include those dedicated to special funds, which must be spent for specific purposes, and General Fund revenues that can be spent for any purpose.

One way to determine the level of legislative flexibility is to look at how the state spends General Fund revenues. There is no precise definition of which state expenditures are mandatory and which are discretionary. At minimum, mandatory expenditures would include those required by or specified in

Table 1: How Would Proposition 53 Have Worked During the 1990s?* (Dollars in Millions)										
Fiscal Year	Nominal General Fund Change	Actual Real General Fund Change	General Fund Revenue	Proposition 53 Transfer Rate	Prior- Year Debt Ratio	Required Proposition 53 Transfer	Size of Budget Gap at May Revise			
1990-91	4.0%	-1.2%	\$40,345	0.0%	1.8%	\$0	-\$3.6 billion			
1991-92	26.7%	22.3%	\$45,601	2.5%	2.5%	\$285	-\$14.3 billion			
1992-93	3.3%	0.0%	\$42,723	0.0%	3.1%	\$0	-\$11.2 billion			
1993-94	-0.7%	-2.4%	\$40,070	0.0%	3.9%	\$0	-\$8.0 billion			
1994-95	9.8%	7.9%	\$41,364	2.8%	4.1%	\$579	-\$4.5 billion			
1995-96	1.8%	0.3%	\$42,771	1.9%	5.6%	\$813	-\$1.8 billion			
1996-97	3.7%	1.3%	\$47,573	1.9%	5.6%	\$904	(Surplus)			
1997-98	6.6%	4.5%	\$52,396	2.6%	4.9%	\$1,467	(Surplus)			
1998-99	5.1%	2.5%	\$57,304	3.0%	4.4%	\$1,719	(Surplus)			
1999-00	7.5%	4.3%	\$62,602	3.0%	4.1%	\$1,878	(Surplus)			
2000-01	13.1%	8.3%	\$80,043	3.0%	4.0%	\$2,401	(Surplus)			
2001-02	-20.2%	-22.4%	\$67,186	0.0%	3.4%	\$0	-\$5.7 billion			

*Assumes Proposition 53 was enacted in 1982-83.

Source: Legislative Analyst's Office

the state Constitution (including revenues dedicated to specific purposes in the Constitution), expenditures mandated by voter-approved initiatives, and expenditures necessary to fulfill federal matching requirements. Even this definition is difficult to apply. For example, voters approved the "Three Strikes" initiative (Proposition 184 of 1994) imposing lengthy prison terms on repeat offenders. While longer sentences increase state costs for corrections, there is no way to determine how much goes for costs related to prisoners who committed crimes with sentences that could be modified by the Legislature.

Using a very minimal definition of mandatory spending, approximately two-thirds of state spending is mandatory and one third (35 percent) is discretionary, i.e., expenditures over which the Legislature has control through the annual budget act. However, this estimate treats as "discretionary" all expenditures for programs that are fundamental to the operation of the state, such as the court system, transportation (including the Department of Motor Vehicles), higher education (other than Community College expenditures covered by the Proposition 98 guarantee), and corrections, among others. In reality, the Legislature is much more constrained in its ability to reallocate General Fund spending. In addition, Proposition 49, passed by voters last November, requires the state to spend up to \$550 million for after school programs beginning in 2004-05.

A modestly expanded definition of "mandatory" spending that includes Legislative, Judicial, and Executive branch functions, tax collections, state air and water boards, forest fire protection, the Department of Motor Vehicles, corrections, and benefits paid to retired state employees, leaves 23 percent of state General Fund expenditures as discretionary. Even this expanded definition treats all state expenditures for the University of California and the California State University systems, housing, and most state expenditures for environmental protection, among others, as discretionary. In reality, the Legislature has the ability to allocate a relatively small share of the state's General Fund revenues.

BALLOT MEASURES EARMARK AN INCREASING SHARE OF REVENUES

Proponents of Proposition 53 argue that "California has lost its commitment to funding the infrastructure needed to maintain our high quality of life and prepare for another 15 million people by 2020."²¹ While the need for increased investment in infrastructure is well documented, Proposition 53 raises a number of policy issues that apply to any initiative that earmarks spending for a new or expanded program without providing commensurate new revenues. This measure differs, for example, from Proposition 10 of 1998, which established the framework for a new program (early childhood development) and simultaneously raised funds to pay for that program (a surtax on cigarettes and other tobacco products). Proposition 53, and others like it, would divert funds that are currently used to pay for programs supported by the state's General Fund. The initiative:

- Significantly changes the way programs have traditionally been funded by earmarking funds for a specific program area. This sets a precedent for advocates of other programs funded by the General Fund to bypass the annual budget process by seeking to earmark General Fund monies through another initiative.
- Does not take into account demographic factors that will impact the General Fund over the next decade and beyond, such as the substantial growth in college-age youth, which is expected to place increased demands on higher education, and the rise in the number of elderly Californians, which will increase costs for programs such as In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS) and Medi-Cal.
- Cannot be changed without subsequent voter approval. If budget priorities change, the Legislature cannot alter the funding allocation.

In 2002 alone, voters approved seven initiatives that increase demands on the state budget (Table 2).²² Two of these, Propositions 42 and 49, earmark existing revenues for transportation and education programs.²³ The others are bond initiatives, which impose long-term General Fund costs in the form of annual debt service payments over the life of the bond.

Setting state budget priorities through the initiative process encourages voters to consider spending for one area, such as infrastructure, in isolation from other state spending. While many voters may support spending for new infrastructure projects and maintenance, they might prefer to spend less than required by the measure if they knew that it could result in cuts to health or higher education or increases in taxes. As it would take a subsequent ballot measure to reduce the funding level required by Proposition 53, voters must carefully consider the impacts of setting future priorities based on current conditions.

CONCLUSION: QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

Voters may wish to consider the following questions:

• **Can the State Afford to Lock Up More of Its General Fund Revenues?** As discussed above, only a small share of the General Fund budget is discretionary. In tight fiscal years, this lack of discretion makes budget-cutting decisions even more difficult. While there is a documented need for investment in the state's infrastructure, a large deficit could force policymakers to cut other basic programs, such as assistance to the elderly, blind, and disabled or public safety, in order to meet the requirements of Proposition 53.

		Table 2:								
2002 Ballot Initiatives that Increase Demands on the State Budget										
Ballot Initiative	Initiative Type	Description	Fiscal Impact	Election						
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Initiatives that Earmark Existing Revenues										
Proposition 42	Legislative (ACA 4, Chapter 87, 2001)	Dedicates the sales tax paid on gasoline to transportation, effective July 1, 2003.	Total state cost: Beginning in 2008-09, transfers roughly \$1.4 billion in gasoline sales tax revenues, increasing annually thereafter, from the General Fund to transportation purposes. (Current law allocates these revenues until 2007-08.)	March 2002						
Proposition 49	Initiative Statute	Requires the state to spend up to \$550 million per year on after-school programs beginning in 2004-05.	Total state cost: Additional annual costs of up to \$455 million.	November 2002						
Bond Initiatives (Require Debt Service Payments from General Fund Revenues)										
Proposition 40	Legislative (AB 1602, Chapter 875, Statutes of 2001)	Provides \$2.6 billion for water and air quality; coastal/ open space/ farmland/ wildlife habitat preservation and protection; historical/ cultural resource restoration; park safety.	Total state cost: \$4.3 billion over 25 years to pay off principal and interest. Average annual payment: \$172 million.	March 2002						
Proposition 41	Legislative (AB 56, Chapter 902, Statutes of 2001)	Provides \$200 million for modernization of local voting systems.	Total state cost: \$255 million over 10 years. Average annual payment: \$26 million.	March 2002						
Proposition 46	Legislative (SB 1227, Chapter 26, Statutes of 2002)	Provides \$2.1 billion for state housing programs.	Total state cost: \$4.7 billion over 30 years. Average annual payment: \$157 million.	November 2002						
Proposition 47	Legislative (AB 16, Chapter 33, Statutes of 2002)	Provides \$13.1 billion for K-12 and higher education facilities.	Total state cost: \$26.2 billion over 30 years. Average annual payment: \$873 million.	November 2002						
Proposition 50	Initiative Statute	Provides \$3.4 billion for a variety of water projects.	Total state costs: \$6.9 billion over 30 years. Average annual payment: \$230 million.	November 2002						

Source: Secretary of State

• How Will Infrastructure Funding Be Allocated? As noted above, although the Department of Finance is required to develop a general infrastructure plan, specific allocations are to be made by the Legislature (presumably as part of the budget agreement). The only specific requirements are that the funds must be allocated to "capital outlay purposes," and that half must go to state projects and half to local projects. There is no requirement that state allocations must be made according to the Department of Finance's Infrastructure Plan, and no planning requirements at all for local project funding. This poses the question of how state and local project priorities will be determined. In addition, the LAO observes that the Legislature "could decide to use these funds as a substitute fund source for current local assistance programs involving infrastructure," much as Proposition 46 funds have been substituted for General Fund support of housing programs in this year's budget.²⁴

ENDNOTES

¹ The initiative does not specify which inflation measure shall be used. Several different measures exist; for example, the California Necessities Index could be used, or the national or state Consumer Price Index – which can vary by a percentage point or more. ² ACA 11 (Richman), Resolution Chapter 185, 2002.

³ Legislative Analyst's Office, *Proposition 53: California Twenty-First Century Infrastructure Investment Fund, Resolution Chapter 185, Statutes of 2002 (ACA 11, Richman)* (August 11, 2003), downloaded from <u>http://www.lao.ca.gov/initiatives/qryPropositions_by_election_10-2003.asp</u> on August 11, 2003.

⁴ Legislative Analyst's Office, *Analysis of the 2003-04 Budget Bill* (February 2003), p. G-37. However, growth in school attendance exceeded population growth during the early 1990s.

⁵ Legislative Analyst's Office, California Spending Plan 2002-03: The Budget Act and Related Legislation (September 2002), p. 66.

⁶ Personal communication with Legislative Analyst's Office (August 8, 2003).

⁷ Capital outlay is "The expenditure of funds to acquire land or pay the cost of planning and construction of new buildings, or additions to and modification of existing buildings, and the equipment which is related to such construction." Department of Finance, *Governor's Budget Summary 2003-04* (January 2003), p. A-3.

⁸ Department of Finance, California Five-Year Infrastructure Plan 2003, p. 201.

⁹ Department of Finance, Governor's Budget Summary 2003-04 (January 2003), p. A-27.

¹⁰ Department of Finance, Governor's Budget Summary 2003-04 (January 2003), p. A-59

¹¹ Department of Finance, California State Budget 2003-04 (August 2003), p. 15.

¹² Personal communication with Legislative Analyst's Office (August 4, 2003).

¹³ Department of Finance, *Governor's Budget Summary 2003-04* (January 2003), p. 173.

¹⁴ 2003-04 budget trailer language (AB 1750) transferred only \$289 million to the Transportation Investment Fund under the Transportation Congestion Relief Act, retaining the remaining \$856 million in the General Fund.

¹⁵ Except school bonds, which require a 55 percent approval of local voters.

¹⁶ For further discussion of state and local infrastructure funding, see California Budget Project, *California's Public Investment Gap: Financing Infrastructure: Issues and Implications* (September 1999).

¹⁷ Department of Finance, California's Five-Year Infrastructure Plan 2003 (March 2003), p. 7.

¹⁸ ACA 11 (Richman), Resolution Chapter 185, 2002.

¹⁹ Legislative Analyst's Office, Analysis of the 2003-04 Budget Bill (February 2003), p. G-37

²⁰ Chart adapted from Legislative Analyst's Office, *Analysis of the 2003-04 Budget Bill* (February 2003), p. G-39. Budget gap column compiled by CBP per Legislative Analyst's Office *Spending Plans*, 1990-91 through 2000-01 and *Overview of the 2001-02 May Revision* (May 16, 2001).

²¹ Assembly Appropriations Committee analysis of ACA 11 (May 21, 2002).

²² Election results downloaded from Secretary of State at <u>http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/elections_elections.htm</u> on July 30, 2003. Voter information guides downloaded from Secretary of State at <u>http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/elections_bp.htm#bp</u> on July 30, 2003.

 ²³ For more details on these initiatives, see California Budget Project, Should the Sales Tax on Gasoline Be Constitutionally Dedicated to Transportation? (December 2001) and What Would Proposition 49, The After School Education and Safety Program Act, Mean for California? (July 2002) at www.cbp.org.

²⁴ Legislative Analyst's Office, Analysis of the 2003-04 Budget Bill (February 2003), p. G-40.

Erin Riches prepared this brief. The California Budget Project (CBP) was founded in 1994 to provide Californians with a source of timely, objective, and accessible expertise on state fiscal and economic policy issues. The CBP engages in independent fiscal and policy analysis and public education with the goal of improving public policies affecting the economic and social well-being of low- and middle-income Californians. Support for the CBP comes from foundation grants, publications and individual contributions. Please visit the CBP's web site at www.cbp.org.