# VETO REQUEST - SB 799 (Portantino) - JOB KILLER





CONE TO VALLEY























CHAMBER of COMMERCE



CHAMBER





September 14, 2023

The Honorable Gavin Newsom Governor, State of California State Capitol Sacramento, CA 95814

SUBJECT: SB 799 (PORTANTINO) UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: TRADE DISPUTES: ELIGIBILITY FOR BENEFITS

The California Chamber of Commerce and the organizations listed respectfully urge you to **VETO SB 799** (**Portantino**), which has been labeled as a **JOB KILLER**. This bill would effectively require employers to subsidize striking workers, even if those workers or labor strikes had nothing to do with the employer.

By forcing employers to pay unemployment insurance (UI) payments to striking workers, **SB 799** would also raise taxes on employers across California, overturn more than 70 years of precedent, and put California's UI program at risk of violating federal law.

#### Background on Unemployment Insurance: Eligibility, Who Pays, and Where Are We Now?

Unemployment insurance (UI) payments are intended to assist employees who, through no fault of their own, are forced to leave their employment. Federal law sets out the basic requirements for individuals to qualify, including being "ready and willing to immediately accept work" and "totally or partially unemployed," and "actively looking for work." These claimants are paid from their particular former employer's reserve account in the UI Fund. <sup>2</sup> In other words, each employer is incentivized to minimize turnover in their workforce because they pay for any individuals who they terminate that end up seeking UI benefits – and employees who lose employment through no fault of their own are assisted in their transition to other work. If the fund becomes insolvent, <u>all</u> employers face steadily increasing UI taxes. These taxes increase by \$21 per employee per year, until they reach a maximum of \$434 dollars per employee.

Presently, California is in historic debt (approx. \$18 billion³) due to the COVID-19 pandemic and state-wide shutdown that it caused. As a result, California employers are already paying increased UI taxes pursuant to federal law, and are likely to face ongoing tax increases until approximately 2032.<sup>4</sup>

#### SB 799 Would Worsen California's UI Fund Crisis – and Increase the State's Interest Payments.

**SB 799** would give striking workers the ability to claim unemployment after two weeks of striking – and thereby add the cost of those benefits to California's outstanding \$18 billion in federal loans. Though the amount that such strikes would add to the UI Fund debt is hard to calculate specifically – due to uncertainty as to how many strikes occur, how long they last, and how many workers take part – it is undeniable that **SB 799** would add more debt to the state's federal loans.

We estimate that, if **SB 799** had been in effect during the previous twelve months, it would have added approximately \$215 million to the UI Fund's debt. Additionally, we would expect it to add approximately \$30 million per week if it were in effect now. Notably, these estimates are based on present striking – but present labor dispute levels do not reflect the changes to incentives that **SB 799** will create. In other words – we believe SB 799 is likely to encourage labor disputes, and its costs must be considered with that possibility in mind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See 42 USC 503(a)(12); <a href="https://www.edd.ca.gov/unemployment/eligibility.html">https://www.edd.ca.gov/unemployment/eligibility.html</a>; CA Unemployment Insurance Code § 1251 *et seq*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Employers are required to pay into their UI Account annually based on their Experience Rating, which changes if more or less claims have been filed recently against the employer. For more information regarding the mechanics of UI payments, see https://www.edd.ca.gov/pdf pub ctr/de231z.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Up-to-date information on California's UI Fund debt is available here: https://oui.doleta.gov/unemploy/budget.asp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This 2032 estimate is taken from LAO's February 15, 2022 budget analysis, presuming a "high cost" scenario, but no recession occurring in the interceding years. Text available here: <a href="https://lao.ca.gov/Publications/Report/4543">https://lao.ca.gov/Publications/Report/4543</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Most recent data on California's UI Fund debt available here: https://oui.doleta.gov/unemploy/budget.asp.

In addition to adding to employers' tax burden's, **SB 799** will also add to the state's general fund obligation regarding the UI Fund. For example, in 2023-2024, the interest payment is expected to cost the state approximately \$300 million – and similar payments will continue until the UI Fund returns to solvency. **SB 799** will only add to those payments if passed.

#### SB 799 Would Force Uninvolved Employers to Pay Striking Workers.

**SB 799** creates a fundamental unfairness by forcing employers with <u>absolutely no involvement in any</u> strikes to pay for labor disputes that <u>they have no involvement in</u>. UI Fund loans from the federal government are paid off via tax increases on all employers across the state – not just employers who have striking workers.

Though individual strikes will have different facts – some caused by unreasonableness on one side of a negotiation, some caused by new technology or new conditions – they are part of a negotiation between two parties. Taking money from every other employer in the state (small employers included) and forcing those uninvolved parties to pay the costs of one side of a labor dispute is profoundly unfair.

This unfairness would not end when California's UI Fund returns to solvency. Employers who have a high volume of UI claims will see their experience rating (and related UI taxes increase)... <u>but only to a certain point</u>. Employers experience rating can "max out" – after which their taxes cannot rise any higher. This leads to socialization of fund costs amongst other employers. In other words – in dramatic and lengthy strikes, costs of that strike will <u>not</u> necessarily be limited to that employer, depending on if their experience rating is already at its maximum value.

#### SB 799 Would Raise Compliance Issues with Federal Law – Putting Our UI Program at Risk.

Moreover, we are concerned that **SB 799** may violate federal law. Federal law governs all states' UI programs – including California's. Most notably<sup>6</sup>, federal law requires that workers be "able to work, available to work, and actively seek work." We are concerned because this basic tenet of federal UI eligibility appears in conflict with the situation of a strike - where workers <u>have a job</u>, but are <u>choosing not to work to create economic leverage.</u>

The potential consequences of the Federal Department of Labor determining that California's program is non-compliant are devastating. California could lose all of the benefits that the federal benefits assist with our UI program,<sup>7</sup> including:

- Funds to help administer the UI program via the Employment Development Department
- Loans in the event a state fund is insolvent but still needs to pay UI benefits

Proponents argue that two democratic states (New York and New Jersey) have recently made similar changes, and emphasize that the Supreme Court reviewed New York's program in a 1979 case. Because those two programs have not been decertified, they assert that SB 799 must be acceptable under federal law. This argument is incorrect. Though New York's program was reviewed in 1979 by the Supreme Court, that case did not consider today's federal law. To the contrary, that case considered whether allowing striking workers to collect unemployment violated the National Labor Relations Act because government was weighing in on a labor dispute – and held narrowly that NY's program did not violate the NLRA.8

Since the applicable law was changed in 2012 to require claimants be "able to work, available to work, and actively seeking work", there does not appear to be any judicial review or Department of Labor guidance approving New York or New Jersey's program – meaning the matter remains unresolved and would be in the discretion of future Secretaries of Labor. Should an unfriendly federal administration take office, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 42 USC 503(a)(12) - state programs must include "[a] requirement that, as a condition of eligibility for regular compensation for any week, a claimant must be <u>able to work, available to work, and actively seeking work.</u>" (emphasis added). Introduced in 2012, as part of the Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act (PL 112-96).

<sup>7</sup> 42 USC 503(b) - "(b) Failure to Comply; Payments Stopped: When the Secretary of Labor .... finds that [there is] a failure to comply substantially with any provisions ... the Secretary of Labor shall notify such State agency that further payments will not be made ... until the Secretary of Labor is satisfied that [the program is in compliance]."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Department of Labor's memorandum summarizing the decision available at https://oui.doleta.gov/dmstree/uipl/uipl79/uipl\_2479.htm.

Department of Labor could move to decertify California's UI program, which would be cataclysmic for California's budget and California's truly unemployed claimants.

### Re-writing Benefit Eligibility Would Slow EDD's Present Post-COVID Overhaul

Presently, California's Employment Development Department (EDD) is in the process of overhauling their benefits eligibility determination process. This significant overhaul (termed "EDDNext") is a response to the inadequacies revealed during the COVID-19 pandemic, when many unemployed Californians struggled to get their well-deserved benefits and fraudsters successfully siphoned off billions of dollars in benefits. Notably, the State Auditor recently identified EDD as a "high-risk" agency due to its failings during the COVID-19 pandemic and ongoing struggles since. 10

As California employers, we will be paying down the UI Fund's \$18 billion debt – including the portion caused by fraudulent claims which were paid by EDD – for years to come.<sup>11</sup> As a result, we believe it is critical that EDD's much-needed overhaul move forward swiftly so that claims can be paid accurately and quickly in the coming years. However, we are concerned that the EDDNext overhaul will be slowed by **SB 799**, which will add an entirely new category of UI claimant (a person on strike). In order to verify this new claimant is properly qualified, EDD will need to develop new processes to investigate what strikes are ongoing, how long those strikes have been ongoing, whether the covered individual is engaged in such a strike, and potentially also monitor when those strikes end. We believe EDD has enough work on its plate with improving its process to ensure truly unemployed claimants get benefits – and that process should not be slowed by introducing an entirely new class of claimants who are employed but choosing not to work.

## Being Unemployed is Fundamentally Different Than Being on Strike.

**SB 799** fundamentally alters the nature of UI by providing unemployment to workers who still have a job and have chosen to temporarily refuse to work as a negotiating tactic. Striking is obviously a federally protected right and has historically been a key strategy in labor disputes. But – to put it simply – being on strike is not the same as being terminated.

Striking workers generally have the right to return to their position at the conclusion of the labor dispute, under both federal law and union contracts. In contrast, an employee who has been terminated has no similar job waiting for them and is truly facing an uncertain future — which UI helps by providing some support while they look for new work. Striking workers have a job — they are just choosing not to work in order to create economic pressure and negotiate. That is not the same as having no idea where your next paycheck comes from.

**SB 799** is a profound departure from UI's history, and a significant tax increase on California's employers, including those who have no involvement in any labor disputes. Moreover, with a recession potentially in our future, **SB 799** risks compounding UI's insolvency – which will weigh heavily on the State, California's employers, and California's truly unemployed.

For these reasons, we respectfully urge your VETO of SB 799 (Portantino) as a JOB KILLER.

Sincerely.

Ben Golombek

Executive Vice President and Chief of Staff for Policy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Though the majority of the approximately \$20 billion in fraudulent unemployment insurance claims drew from the federal Pandemic Unemployment Assistance program (PUA), the administration of that program's eligibility was still handled by EDD, making those benefits determinations a reflection on EDD's then-existing claims process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Information related to the State Auditor's determination available here: <a href="https://www.auditor.ca.gov/reports/2023-601/index.html#contents0">https://www.auditor.ca.gov/reports/2023-601/index.html#contents0</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Though the 2022-2023 budget proposed paying a small portion of the UI Fund debt down (\$750 million), and a small tax credit to help cover tax increases (\$500 million) for smaller employers, both aids were removed in the 2023-2024 budget. With no state aid, it is anticipated this debt will take ten years to pay off, assuming no recession occurs during that time.

California Chamber of Commerce on behalf of

**Acclamation Insurance Management Services** 

Agricultural Council of California

Alameda Chamber of Commerce

Allied Managed Care

American Council of Engineering Companies

**Anaheim Chamber of Commerce** 

**Associated General Contractors** 

Associated General Contractors – San Diego

Association of Western Employers

**Auto Care Association** 

Bay Area Council

BizFed Los Angeles County Business Federation

Brea Chamber of Commerce

Building Owners and Managers Association (BOMA California)

Calforests

California Asian Pacific Chamber of Commerce

California Association of Licensed Security Agencies, Guards & Associates

California Association of Sheet Metal and Air Conditioning Contractors National Association

California Association of Winegrape Growers

California Attractions and Parks Association

California Bankers Association

California Building Industry Association

California Business Properties Association

California Business Roundtable

California Chamber of Commerce

California Employment Law Council

California Farm Bureau

California Fuels and Convenience Alliance

California Golf Course Owners Association

California Grocers Association

California Hospital Association

California Hotel & Lodging Association

California League of Food Producers

California Manufacturers & Technology Association

California Restaurant Association

California Retailers Association

California Staffing Professionals

California Taxpayers Association

California Tire Dealers Association

California Travel Association

California Trucking Association

Can Manufacturers Institute

CAWA - Representing the Automotive Parts Industry

Coalition of Small and Disabled Veteran Businesses

Construction Employers' Association

Corona Chamber of Commerce

**Dixon District Chamber of Commerce** 

El Dorado County Chamber of Commerce

El Dorado Hills Chamber of Commerce

Elk Grove Chamber of Commerce

Family Business Association of California

Family Winemakers of California

Flasher Barricade Association

Folsom Chamber of Commerce

Fremont Chamber of Commerce

Fresno Chamber of Commerce

Gateway Chambers Alliance

Greater Coachella Valley Chamber of Commerce

Greater Conejo Valley Chamber of Commerce

Greater High Desert Chamber of Commerce

Hawthorne Cat

**HOLT** of California

Housing Contractors of California

**Huntington Beach Chamber of Commerce** 

Laguna Niguel Chamber of Commerce

Livermore Valley Chamber of Commerce

Lodi Chamber of Commerce

Lomita Chamber of Commerce

Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce

Manteca Chamber of Commerce

Murrieta/Wildomar Chamber of Commerce

NAIOP California

National Electrical Contractors Association

National Federation of Independent Business

Northern California Allied Trades

Norwalk Chamber of Commerce

Orange County Business Council

Orange County Taxpayers Association

Palos Verdes Peninsula Chamber of Commerce

Paso Robles Templeton Chamber of Commerce

Peterson CAT

Peterson Power Systems

Peterson Tractor

Peterson Trucks

Rancho Cordova Area Chamber of Commerce

Resource Recovery Coalition of California

Ridgecrest Chamber of Commerce

Roofing Contractors Association of California

Roseville Area Chamber of Commerce

Sacramento Metro Chamber of Commerce

Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce

Santa Barbara South Coast Chamber of Commerce

Santa Clarita Valley Chamber of Commerce

Santa Maria Valley Chamber of Commerce

Silicon Valley Leadership Group

Simi Valley Chamber of Commerce

Southwest California Legislative Council

**TechNet** 

Torrance Area Chamber of Commerce

Tri County Chamber Alliance

Tulare Chamber of Commerce

Twenty First Century Alliance

United Chamber Advocacy Network

Vacaville Chamber of Commerce

Vista Chamber of Commerce

Walnut Creek Chamber of Commerce

West Ventura County Business Alliance

Western Carwash Association

Western Electrical Contractors Association

Western Growers Association

Yorba Linda Chamber of Commerce

Yuba-Sutter Chamber of Commerce