



Charting Change: The 2024 Election's Role in Shaping Education

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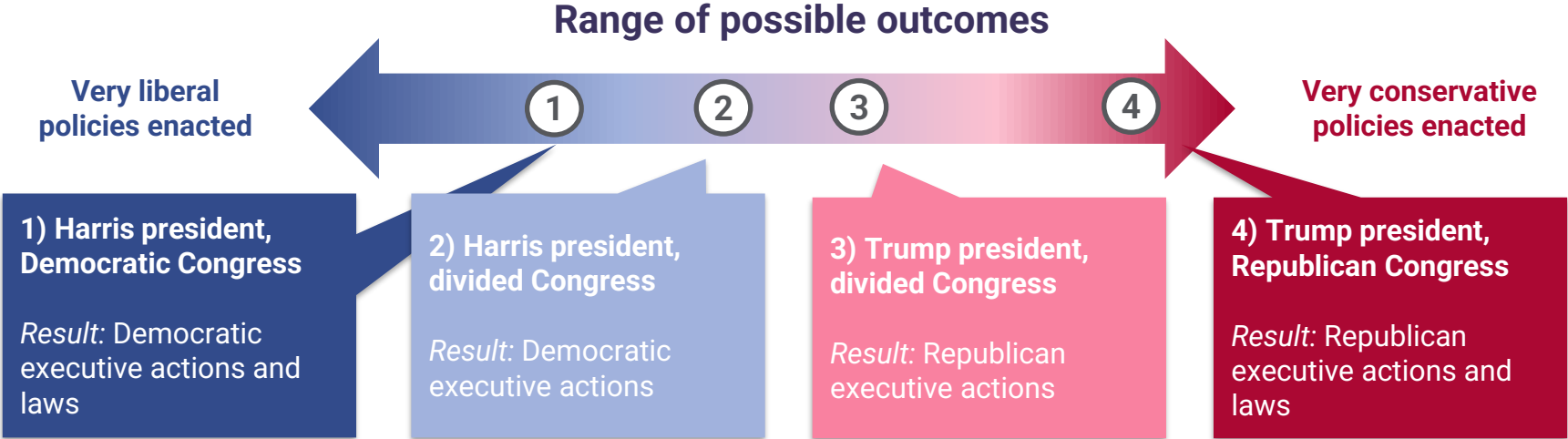
1

What could happen in
the election?

The outcome of the presidential election and the House currently is a toss-up; Senate control leans Republican

Branch	Likely Outcome	Details <i>As of 9/23/24</i>
Presidency	Toss Up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Harris is slightly ahead in national polls, but swing state poll averages are a toss-up The unusually shortened campaign for Harris means swing voter opinions are more unsettled and therefore the outcome is less predictable <u>Economist</u> and <u>Silver Bulletin</u> election models: 53-57% chance Harris wins
Senate	Lean Republican	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democrats currently have a two-seat majority According to the <u>Cook Political Report</u>, Democrats are expected to lose one or two seats (WV and MT), and two more Democratic seats are toss-ups. No Republican seats are very competitive <u>The Hill</u> election model: 70% chance Republicans win Neither party is likely to get a filibuster-proof majority
House	Toss Up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republicans currently have a nine-seat majority <u>Cook</u> identifies 24 races as toss ups—more than enough to swing control either way <u>The Hill</u> election model: 56% chance Republicans win

The range of likely election outcomes is very wide, including divided government or unified control by either party



Overall, there is a high degree of uncertainty and all the scenarios above are quite possible

Both parties' executive and legislative proposals should be considered seriously

Divided government (#2 or 3 above) is the most likely outcome

Unified Democratic control (#1) is less likely. Unified Republican control (#4) is a significant possibility



2

What are the candidates'
policies?

Harris has not released detailed education proposals, but may likely continue Biden Administration policies

- **Education has not been a primary focus** of the Harris campaign to date, and is mostly mentioned in the context of education's impact on **economic mobility**; for example, the education section of Harris' platform is entitled, "Provide a Pathway to the Middle Class Through Quality, Affordable Education"
- VP nominee Walz is a former teacher who made education a major priority of his governorship; it remains to be seen what role Walz would take in Harris' education policymaking
- **Harris' official policy platform has few details**
 - + The education section of Harris' website is a single paragraph
 - + It mentions making childcare, pre-K and college more affordable; funding minority-serving colleges; and expanding career pathways and apprenticeship
- **The DNC platform provides more detailed education policies, but largely represents Biden's vision**
 - + This platform was developed for Biden's candidacy, not Harris'. The final approved version still references plans for "Biden's second term" in a few places
 - + The document is 92 pages long and organized around 9 chapters—none of which are focused on education. Instead, education falls under other priorities (such as "Lowering Costs" and "Growing Our Economy from the Bottom Up & Middle Out")

It's unlikely that Harris will issue additional education policy details during the campaign as education issues are not top of mind for voters in this election.

Harris' policies are particularly focused on funding and how education connects to economic issues

Harris' Education Platform Themes

Pre-K and childcare affordability

Subsidize pre-K and restore the child tax credit

Pathways to college and career

Ensure the K12 education system prepares students for college and good jobs

College affordability

Expand financial aid and loan forgiveness

Increased funding

Increase federal education funding, particularly for minority-serving colleges, community colleges and K12 special education

Civil rights

Protect students against discrimination and oppose attempts to limit how race, gender and sexuality are taught

Additional details on these issues begin on slide 27

Project 2025 and Agenda 47 are similar blueprints for a very conservative potential Trump administration

Project 2025 is an unofficial, highly-detailed policy agenda for a potential Trump administration

- Project 2025 is an initiative led by the Heritage Foundation to lay the groundwork for a future Trump administration
- The core of Project 2025 is the *Mandate for Leadership*, a 922-page compilation of conservative policy proposals
- The education chapter was written by a Heritage Foundation official who previously worked for VA Gov. Youngkin's campaign and has affiliations with voucher and charter school organizations
- Trump has repeatedly denied that Project 2025 is his policy platform, and the head of the *Mandate for Leadership* resigned in summer 2024. However, Project 2025's proposals are very similar to Trump's official policy platform

Agenda 47 is Trump's official, less-detailed policy agenda

- Agenda 47 is the official policy platform of Trump and the RNC
- It is only 16 pages long—less than 1/50th the length of Project 2025—and does not include many specifics about how Trump's policy priorities would be enacted
- It is supplemented by nearly 50 videos in which Trump discusses his proposals in more detail

Despite Trump's disavowal of Project 2025, his policy agenda proposes a similar vision of a smaller federal footprint in K12 education, expanded school choice and career pathways and the reversal of Biden's antidiscrimination policies in schools.

Project 2025's education agenda proposes dramatic cuts to federal oversight and funding

Project 2025 Education Agenda Themes

Reduce federal oversight

Reduce federal oversight and administration, eliminate the U.S. Department of Education (USED) and reform the “labyrinthian nature of federal education programs”

Cut federal funding

Eliminate Title I within a decade and cut other major federal funding, devolving it to the states via block grants with minimal regulations

Advance the “culture war”

Advance conservative positions related to gender identity, race and other topics via curriculum or data collection policies and “restor[e] the family as the centerpiece of American life”

Elevate apprenticeships and career training

Elevate apprenticeships and career training, while de-emphasizing higher education. Transfer student loans to the private sector and “reining in” the higher education accrediting agencies

Expand school choice

Expand charters, vouchers and education savings accounts and encourage states to use federal block grants for vouchers

Agenda 47, Trump's official policy document, proposes nine major education "commitments"

- Agenda 47's policy proposals are organized into 10 one-page "chapters," each of which outlines "commitments" in a policy area
 - + There is one chapter on K12 education, which outlines nine policy commitments
- Agenda 47's education proposals are very similar to Project 2025, albeit lacking in detail. **From a policy perspective, Project 2025 and Agenda 47 are largely interchangeable**
 - + Most of Project 2025's proposals are included in Agenda 47. An important exception is that Agenda 47 does not propose cutting major federal funding programs, except to discourage "indoctrination"
 - + Agenda 47 contains a few additional proposals beyond Project 2025's, such as promoting school prayer and arming teachers
- The differences between Project 2025 and Agenda 47 are **more about style than substance**
 - + Agenda 47 is written in a style reminiscent of Trump's tweets, with short sentences and many all-caps phrases. Project 2025 is more technical
 - + Both are relatively vague on implementation details and use provocative language

Agenda 47's Nine Commitments for K12 Education

1. Great principals and great teachers
2. Universal school choice
3. Prepare students for jobs and careers
4. Safe, secure and drug free schools
5. Restore parental rights
6. Knowledge and skills, not CRT and gender indoctrination
7. Promote love of country with authentic civics education
8. Freedom to pray
9. Return education to the states

Despite Trump distancing himself from Project 2025, his Agenda 47 proposes a similar education agenda

TRUMP
POLICIES

Policy Priority	Agenda 47	Project 2025
Eliminate USED and revert control of education to the states	✓	✓
Establish “parental rights” in education	✓	✓
Eliminate “CRT” and “DEI” programs and LGBTQIA+ protections in schools	✓	✓
Expand school choice and education savings accounts (ESAs)	✓	✓
Expand CTE and career pathways	✓	✓
Cut federal funding for Title 1, Head Start and IDEA		✓
Eliminate loan forgiveness programs and revamp the college accreditation system	✓	✓
Allow teachers with permits to carry concealed weapons	✓	
Establish a new teacher credentialing body and hold elections for principals	✓	
Allow prayer and reading the Bible in schools	✓	



3

What policies are likely to be implemented?

What to expect: President Harris and a Democratic Congress



Policy priority	Potential Actions	Notes
Pre-K and childcare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extend and enhance Biden's temporary child tax credit to support families with young children Subsidize pre-K and improve federal coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> These programs are very expensive. However, there may be some Republican support for child tax credits
Pathways to college and career	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase federal funding dedicated to career and technical education (CTE) programs and workforce readiness, via Perkins and Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) Expand federal apprenticeship programs for youth Expand Biden's workforce development programs in infrastructure, clean energy and semiconductors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most of these proposals have bipartisan support and so are likely to advance However, Democrats are more supportive of college pathways and union-affiliated apprenticeships than Republicans
College affordability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expand Pell grants and financial aid, particularly for students attending community colleges and minority-serving institutions Attempt to expand Biden's student loan forgiveness through legislation or administrative rulemaking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Student loan forgiveness and college funding face strong Republican opposition, although some may support career-focused programs at community colleges
Increased funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boost K12 federal funding for Title 1, Head Start and IDEA Increase funding to community colleges Expand discretionary grant programs for programs funded through COVID-recovery funding (ESSER) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republican oppose most federal spending for education, although Trump expanded funding to historically-black colleges and universities in his first term
Civil Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defend Biden's antidiscrimination language protecting LGBTQIA+ students in USED's Title IX rulemaking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republicans are likely to challenge these protections in court

What to expect: President Harris and a divided Congress



Policy priority	Potential Actions	Notes
Pre-K and childcare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempt to pass a modest child tax credit bill Take executive actions to support pre-K, such as improved pre-K coordination and guidance from federal agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Major new funding programs for pre-K or child tax credits are unlikely to pass Congress
Pathways to college and career	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase federal funding dedicated to CTE programs and workforce readiness, via Perkins and WIOA Expand federal apprenticeship programs for youth Protect Biden’s workforce development programs in infrastructure, clean energy and semiconductors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most of these proposals have bipartisan support and so are likely to advance Republicans may try to block elements of any legislation supporting non-technical colleges, unions or clean energy
College affordability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempt to expand financial aid for career programs at community colleges Attempt to advance student loan forgiveness and financial aid through administrative rulemaking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expansion of funding for non-technical colleges is unlikely to advance Republicans may challenge attempts at advancing loan forgiveness through the courts
Increased funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempt to increase funding to community colleges Use discretionary funding within USED’s grantmaking authority to fund priority initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republican oppose most federal spending for education, so Democrats will be limited to using previously-authorized grant programs
Civil Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defend Biden’s antidiscrimination language protecting LGBTQIA+ students in USED’s Title IX rulemaking Issue non-binding “Dear Colleague” letters from USED to support civil rights protections for LGBTQIA+ students, students of color and others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republicans are likely to challenge these protections in court

What to expect: President Trump and a divided Congress



Policy priority	Potential Actions	Notes
Reduce federal oversight & funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempt to cut funding for K12 and postsecondary education programs Use administrative rulemaking to reverse Biden’s loan forgiveness programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democrats will block large funding cuts, but Republicans may limit some funding using executive authority
Career pathways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase federal funding dedicated to CTE programs and workforce readiness, via Perkins and WIOA Expand federal apprenticeship programs for youth Continue workforce development programs related to semiconductors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most of these proposals have bipartisan support and so are likely to advance However, Republican bills may discourage college pathways, union-affiliated apprenticeships and clean energy workforce programs
School choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase federal funding to private, parochial and homeschools through modifications to the eligibility criteria Incentivize the creation of state-level education savings accounts (ESAs) using discretionary grant programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democrats oppose vouchers but may be unable to block administrative changes to grant eligibility There may be bipartisanship support for charter schools
Parents’ rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempt to pass a federal Parents’ Bill of Rights to provide parents with control over school governance and curricula 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This bill would likely be blocked by Democrats
Culture war issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Issue executive orders banning “CRT,” “DEI,” LGBTQIA+ topics from schools and colleges receiving federal funds Reinstate the 1776 Commission, which advocated for civics education that “promote[s] love of country” Issue guidance supporting prayer in schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> These executive orders would likely face legal challenge The federal government has no direct authority over school curricula

What to expect:

President Trump and a Republican Congress



Policy priority	Potential Actions	Notes
Reduce federal oversight & funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Reduce funding for K12 education programs, including Title I and IDEAReduce funding for postsecondary education programs, including Pell, and reverse Biden's loan forgiveness programsPropose eliminating USED	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Democrats (and possibly some Republican governors) will oppose funding cutsUSED is unlikely to be eliminated; even if it did, its programs would remain
Career pathways	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Increase federal funding dedicated to CTE programs and workforce readiness, via Perkins and WIOAExpand federal apprenticeship programs for youthContinue workforce development programs related to semiconductors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Most of these proposals have bipartisan support and so are likely to advanceHowever, Republican bills may discourage college pathways, union-affiliated apprenticeships and clean energy workforce programs
School choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Increase federal funding to private, parochial and homeschools through new grant programs or modifications to the eligibility criteriaIncentivize the creation of state education savings accounts (ESAs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Democrats oppose vouchers but may be unable to block administrative changes to grant eligibilityThere may be bipartisan support for charter schools
Parents' rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Attempt to pass a federal Parents' Bill of Rights to provide parents with control over school governance and curricula	<ul style="list-style-type: none">If passed, this bill exceeds federal authority and would face legal challenges
Culture war issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Attempt to pass legislation banning "CRT," "DEI," LGBTQIA+ topics from schools and colleges receiving federal fundsReinstate the 1776 Commission, which advocated for civics education that "promote[s] love of country"Issue guidance supporting prayer in schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Democrats are strongly opposed to these legislative proposals, making legislation unlikelyThe federal government has no direct authority over school curriculaSchool prayer directives will face legal challenge

What unified Republican control could look like: Florida under Governor Ron DeSantis



DeSantis advanced a deeply conservative education agenda using a unified government

- Passed two **gag orders** banning public schools and colleges from discussing sexual orientation, gender identity and "divisive concepts" about race. Consequently, the state **blocked forty percent of math textbooks** for violating the ban, mostly for references to social emotional learning or racial bias, **canceled AP African American history courses** and revised middle school history standards on slavery
- **Barred state colleges and universities from spending on most diversity, equity and inclusion programs**
- Enshrined "parents' rights," allowing parents to **challenge any school library book** deemed age or developmentally inappropriate. As a result, Florida has the second-highest number of book bans in the nation
- **Influenced school board races** statewide, funneling over \$2 million into campaigns in 2022

But the philanthropic and education communities fought back

- Students across Florida staged **school walkouts** protesting a prohibition on discussions of sexual orientation and gender identity in primary schools
- Civil rights groups, on behalf of Florida students and parents, **challenged DeSantis's gag orders in court**, reaching a settlement clarifying that the law does not prohibit teachers from identifying as LGBTQ+ or using texts with "incidental" references
- The National Association for Family, School and Community Engagement (NAFSCE) **launched initiatives in response** to divisive political agendas
- **Funder collaboratives came together to push back.** The [Ed Future Fund](#) (Raikes, Hewlett, Schusterman and Kellogg) "[defends] against censorship efforts and [mitigates] the chilling effect on educators and system leaders;" the [Invest Together Fund](#) (Raikes, Nellie Mae, Hewlett and Schott) invests "in a proactive, offensive strategy for racial justice reform in our public education system"

We are tracking three legal issues in the federal judiciary that may impact K12 policy

Summary	Implications
<p>Deference to federal agencies: In <i>Loper Bright Enterprises v. Raimondo</i>, the Supreme Court of the U.S. (SCOTUS) overturned the 40-year-old Chevron Doctrine, which required courts to defer to federal agencies' regulations when statutory language was ambiguous</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Litigation to delay education agendas from either party▪ New challenges to existing USED regulations on student loans, disabilities and LGBTQIA+ protections
<p>Affirmative action: In <i>Students for Fair Admissions Inc. v. Harvard and University of North Carolina</i>, SCOTUS held that race-conscious admissions at both public and private universities, like Harvard and UNC, are unconstitutional, violating the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ New cases to more broadly test whether the Constitution blocks diversity efforts that do not explicitly involve race, including admissions policies (e.g., VA magnet school) and DEI efforts (e.g., a venture capital fund for women of color; diversity fellowships at elite law firms)
<p>Religion in public schools: SCOTUS has traditionally upheld the "separation of church and state," rejecting religious involvement in public schools. However, in <i>Makin v. Carson</i> (2022), the Court allowed public funds for religious private schools, and in <i>Kennedy v. Bremerton School District</i> (2023), it sided with a coach who led post-game prayers with students</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ New state legislation supporting Christianity in public schools, openly inviting legal challenges (e.g., states requiring the Ten Commandments in classrooms and using the Bible in lessons)▪ Efforts to introduce religion into schools, such as vouchers and curricula, may face fewer legal barriers

State elections will impact education policy—Watch candidates in NC and NH, and ballot initiatives in FL, MA, KY and NV

There are **11 gubernatorial races this year**, but New Hampshire's is the only one considered a "toss-up"

There are **12 competitive elections in the state legislatures**, out of a total of 85 elections this year

Of the twelve states that elect their state superintendent or education commissioner, only **four are holding elections this year**

There are **sixteen education-related ballot initiatives**, four of which impact key policies

- North Carolina's race is second-closest and is considered a "Likely D." Their current governor is a Democrat, but the Republican candidate is a strong proponent of parents' rights, school choice and opposes increasing school funding
- Of the 11 elections, eight currently have Republican governors and three have Democratic governors. Besides NH and NC, the other races are considered safe for their incumbent party, so education policies should not change significantly
- Of the 12 competitive chambers, Republicans are defending more: seven chambers are currently held by Republicans, four by Democrats and one is cross-partisan
- NC, MT, ND and WA are holding state superintendent elections this year
- North Carolina's poses the greatest potential change – the Republican candidate has a background in nursing rather than education and is a proponent of school choice, homeschooling and a Parents' Bill of Rights
- Ballot initiatives to track include: school board elections become partisan (FL), state funding to non-public schools (KY), eliminating a test requirement for graduation (MA) and transferring higher education governance to the state legislature (NV)



4

What are the implications
for your organization?

Organizations should act now to prepare for election impacts, regardless of the outcome

Assess the potential impact to your organization

- Assess how much of your organization's work would change, depending on who wins national or state elections
- Consider the implications to your organization both **upstream** (your funding sources), **downstream** (the people you serve) and **within** (your organization's culture)

Develop contingency plans

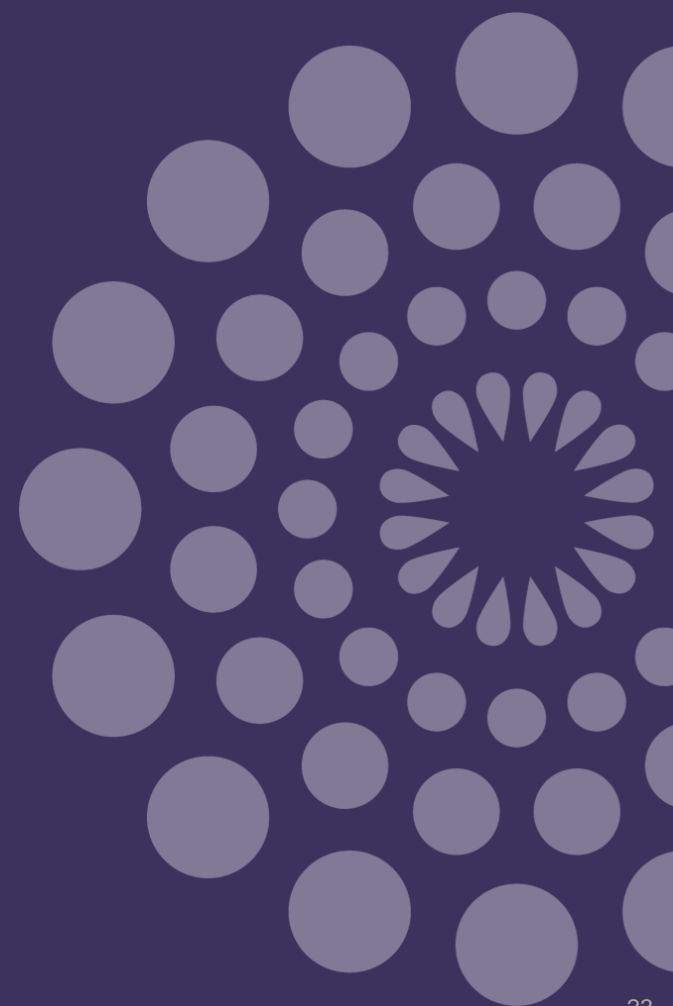
- This election is a "**known unknown**": we do not know who will win, but we do know there is much uncertainty. We therefore know that we need to prepare for either outcome
- Prepare a "**Red Folder**" and "**Blue Folder**" with action plans tailored to the outcomes of either a Republican or Democratic win
- If you start strategic planning now, you will not be caught flat-footed in either scenario

Decide whether to "play offense or defense"

- Decide ahead of time how you will respond to an unfavorable election result:
- **Play offense**: take proactive steps to fight unwanted changes by supporting litigation, advocacy or opposing initiatives. Consider new potential coalitions and partnerships
- **Play defense**: diversify your organization's strategies and funding sources to include more bipartisan or politically-insulated work so that you can better "weather the storm"



Appendix



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1 Harris' policies

Potential impacts of Harris winning the presidency in 2024

Policy Priorities

Fully fund pre-K for every 4-year-old nationwide to ensure all children have access

Potential legislative actions

Potential executive actions

- **Provide funding for universal pre-K** via new legislation or a reauthorization of Head Start legislation* ↓
 - + A pre-K program for just four-year-olds would cost \$196 billion over 10 years and slightly increases long-run GDP, if that program is made permanent
 - + Each new preschooler requires about \$21,000 in new facilities construction costs
- **Extend and enhance Biden's temporary child tax credit** to support families with young children ↓
 - + This does not directly impact Pre-K but may help parents offset Pre-K costs
 - + Harris' plan would cost \$1.1 trillion over a decade
- **Improve federal coordination** to support Pre-K* ↑
 - + Establish a taskforce with federal, state, and early childhood experts to compile resources and propose potential federal guidance to support universal Pre-K
 - + Streamline federal guidance related to Pre-K
- **Communicate the importance** of funding universal Pre-K to state policymakers through a Dear Colleague letter from USED* ↑

Policy Priorities

Expand funding for federal programs (including **Title 1, Head Start and IDEA**), investments in new **policy solutions that followed the pandemic**, and move away from federally-supported voucher programs.

Potential legislative actions

Potential executive actions

- Boost federal funding for **Title 1 and Head Start** and ensures USED quickly and efficiently distributes those increased funds ↓
- Expand funding for **evidence-based interventions** for chronic absenteeism, including SEL supports, literacy programs and tutoring ↓
- Enact legislation to invest in and support **community schools** ↓
 - + The Biden Administration provided \$443 million of funding for community schools
- Review and update the **Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)** to increase support and funding for students with disabilities ↓
- **Establish or expand discretionary grant programs** for community schools, social-emotional learning, literacy initiatives and tutoring services ↑
- Improve **support and oversight** for the effective application of IDEA funding and policies ↑
- **Reverse Trump-era policies that incentivize vouchers** and "other schemes that divert taxpayer funds away from public education" (DNC Platform) ↑

Policy Priorities

Expand **CTE and workforce development** programs.

Note: Harris and Trump have very similar policy priorities in this area.

Potential legislative actions

- Increase federal funding dedicated to Career and Technical Education (CTE) programs and workforce readiness ↑
 - + This could be accomplished through a reauthorization of **Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA)***
 - + **Perkins**, the federal CTE law, does not need reauthorization (Trump signed Perkins V in 2018), but its funding could be increased
- Expand **federal apprenticeship programs** for youth, either through a revision of the National Apprenticeship Act or new apprenticeship legislation* ↑

Potential executive actions

- Expand discretionary **grants for pathways** and career-connected learning. ↑
 - + Harris may continue Unlocking Career Success, Biden's signature pathways initiative*
- Support increased discretionary **grants for youth apprenticeships*** ↑
- Continue Biden's **workforce development programs** in infrastructure (through the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law), clean energy (through the Inflation Reduction Act), and semiconductors (through the CHIPS Act) ↑

Policy Priorities

Make **higher education more affordable** through loan forgiveness, tuition assistance for low-income students, subsidized tuition to HBCUs and free community college.

Potential legislative actions

- Introduce new legislation focused on making higher education more affordable, such as revisiting Democrats' proposed **America's College Promise Act** from 2021* ↓
 - + This could include measures for tuition assistance, financial aid and free community college ↓
 - + Workforce-related community college funding may get bipartisan support ↑
- Advance legislation to build on the Biden Administration's efforts to provide comprehensive **student loan forgiveness** ↓
 - + This may involve expanding eligibility criteria, increasing the forgiveness amount, or simplifying the application process
- **Subsidize tuition at all Minority-Serving Institutions** for families earning less than \$125,000 a year ↓

Potential executive actions

- **Increase federal student loan forgiveness** by expanding eligibility or modifying repayment plans ↑
- Continue **investing in HBCUs** or prioritizing them in federal grantmaking ↑
 - + Harris is an HBCU graduate herself, and speaks highly of HBCUs

Policy Priorities

Create strong **policy and legal protections for LGBTQIA+ students** and support **curricula that is inclusive, culturally-sustaining** and fosters civic engagement

Potential legislative actions

- *No clear legislative proposals*

Potential executive actions

- Maintain or strengthen antidiscrimination language in USED's **Title IX** rulemaking, continuing Biden's actions ↑
- Release a Dear Colleague letter with **guidance on LGBTQIA+ student protections**, particularly in states aiming to emulate Florida's "Don't Say Gay" legislation* ↑
- Launch **grant programs** to fund inclusive curriculum development or antidiscrimination training* ↓

Policy Priorities

Raise teacher pay, expand supports for teachers, and increase the **diversity** of the teacher workforce.

Potential legislative actions

- Increase funding for **teacher professional development** and support programs (potentially via Title II*) ↓

Potential executive actions

- Provide **incentives to attract and retain teachers** such as loan forgiveness eligibility criteria and grant programs to SEAs and LEAs* ↑
- **Provide grants** to incentivize strategic staffing and teacher diversity programs* ↑
- Strengthen the **collective bargaining rights** of teachers unions through the Department of Labor* ↓



2 Trump's policies

Potential impacts of Trump winning the presidency in 2024

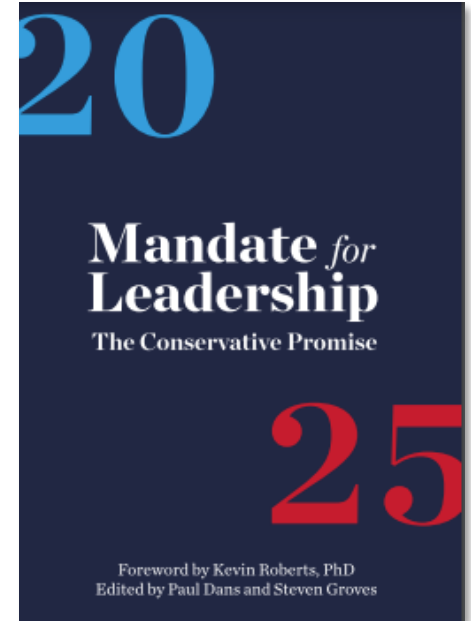
Project 2025 is a 922-page policy and personnel handbook for a potential Trump Administration

Project 2025 jumpstarts operations for a new administration, addressing a perceived failure of the previous Trump administration. **In addition to policy recommendations, the Mandate includes:**

- **A personnel database** that allows potential future Trump administration appointees to be collated and vetted, streamlining the president's future appointment process
- **A training system for potential appointees**, The Presidential Administration Academy, that teaches potential appointees how to navigate government systems and provides in-person seminars for potential senior leaders
- **A (future) transition plan for each agency** (a.k.a. The Playbook, not-yet-released)

The core document of Project 2025, *The Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise* was **spearheaded by the Heritage Foundation** and a coalition of 110 conservative organizations advocating for policy and personnel recommendations.

Trump denies that Project 2025 represents his policies. Instead, he released a brief official policy document called Agenda 47.



Policy Priorities

Eliminate the U.S. Department of Education and devolve education authority to the states. **Cut federal funding** to schools that “engage in inappropriate political indoctrination.”

Potential legislative actions

- Introduce legislation to **dismantle USED** and redistribute its departments among other agencies ↓
 - + Prior Republican administrations have threatened eliminating USED, but these efforts have not progressed in Congress
 - + Even if this legislation were to pass, its impact would likely be more symbolic than practical
- Project 2025 proposes **converting Title I and IDEA to state block grants**, and gradually **eliminating Title I** over 10 years ↓
 - + Agenda 47 does not include this proposal

Potential executive actions

- Agenda 47 proposes **eliminating federal funding to schools that teach “leftwing propaganda”** ↓
 - + Most major federal education funding sources are formula-based, so the president cannot unilaterally cut funding for specific schools
 - + Such cuts would require executive orders or formal rulemaking, which would face significant legal challenges

Policy Priorities

Expand **schooling that prepares students for jobs and careers**. Support “proven career training programs” and project-based learning.

Note: Trump and Harris have very similar policy priorities in this area

Potential legislative actions

- Increase federal funding dedicated to Career and Technical Education (CTE) programs and workforce readiness ↑
 - + This could be accomplished through a reauthorization of **Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA)***
 - + **Perkins**, the federal CTE law, does not need reauthorization (Trump signed Perkins V in 2018), but its funding could be increased
- Expand **federal apprenticeship programs** for youth, either through a revision of the National Apprenticeship Act or new apprenticeship legislation ↑

Potential executive actions

- Expand discretionary grants for **CTE and career pathways** ↑
 - + Trump would likely abandon Biden’s Unlocking Career Success initiative, but may continue its policies
- Support increased discretionary grants for **youth apprenticeships** ↑
 - + Trump aimed to reduce the role of unions in federal apprenticeship programs in his first term
- **Cut clean energy workforce development programs** related to clean energy that were funded through Biden’s Inflation Reduction Act)* ↑

Policy Priorities

Offer **universal school choice**, such as via **education savings accounts (ESAs)**, and ensure private and homeschooling options are included as schools of choice. Create a **Parents' Bill of Rights** and give parents the power to elect principals and review school spending. Promote **"patriotic" civics curricula**.

Potential legislative actions

- Create a **national school choice program** that includes private schools, religious schools and homeschools ↓
- Enact a law establishing a **Parents' Bill of Rights** ↓

Potential executive actions

- Increase federal funding to private, parochial and homeschools (possibly through ESAs) using **new grant programs or modifications to the eligibility criteria of existing grants** ↑
- Incentivize the creation of **state-level ESA programs** ↑
- **Reinstate the 1776 Commission**, which advocated for civics education that "promote[s] love of country" ↑
 - + While the Commission can be easily reinstated, it has no direct authority over school curricula
- Issue an **executive order** to establish and promote a **Parents' Bill of Rights**, including mechanisms for parental involvement in school governance and oversight ↓
 - + Local governance falls outside federal authority

Policy Priorities

Establish a new accreditation body so that colleges and universities are no longer spaces of “radical left indoctrination.” **Create a new online national university, investigate DEI programs and roll back antidiscrimination protections** for LGBTQ+ students. **Restrict loan forgiveness** programs.

Potential legislative actions

Potential executive actions

- **Restructure the college accreditation system**, through a modification of the Higher Education Act (HEA), to allow accreditors to exert more ideological oversight ↓
 - Introduce legislation to **ban DEI or equity-related trainings** at colleges and universities ↓
 - Establish and fund the **American Academy**, a new national online university that will provide a free education to citizens and grant credentials that all federal agencies and contractors must recognize ↓
 - + While Democrats would likely be skeptical of this plan, there is bipartisan support for new, lower-cost higher education models
- Renew Trump's executive order **banning diversity training** at colleges and universities that receive federal funding ↑
 - **Halt all the loan forgiveness programs** begun under Biden ↑
 - **Fire the "radical Left accreditors"** that allow progressive ideas to dominate at many universities ↓
 - + College accreditors are approved by the Secretary of Education under HEA

Policy Priorities

Eliminate teacher tenure and establish a **new credentialing system** to control teacher ideology.
Establish **merit pay** to encourage high-quality teachers.

Potential legislative actions

Potential executive actions

- **Modify federal grant programs** to establish merit pay for teachers* ↓
 - + Project 2025 proposes converting Title I to state block grants, which could be used to fund these programs. This is unlikely to pass Congress
- **Provide incentives** to states and districts to establish merit pay for teachers ↑
 - + This could be achieved through competitive grant programs
 - + There may be some bipartisan support for this
- **Eliminate teacher tenure** and create a new teacher credentialing system ↓
 - + States, not the federal government, oversee teacher credentialing and tenure policies

Policy Priorities

Ensure socially conservative values are upheld in schools, including allowing **school prayer**, reversing antidiscrimination rules related to **gender and race** and permitting adults to have **guns in schools**.

Potential legislative actions

Potential executive actions

- Explicitly **allow prayer** or Judeo-Christian iconography in public schools* ↓
 - + This would challenge the Supreme Court's current interpretation of the First Amendment regarding the separation of church and state
 - + Louisiana recently passed a bill along these lines, which required the display of the Ten Commandments in public schools
- Issue **guidance supporting prayer** in schools ↑
- Propose an executive order to "cease all [federal] programs that promote the concept of **sex and gender transition**" ↑
 - + Schools and teachers would face potential civil rights violations and lose federal funding if they are found to be supporting gender-affirming care
- **Revoke Biden's executive order about racial equity** in federal programs (EO 13958) ↑
- Roll back Biden's new **Title IX** protections for LGBTQIA+ students in both K12 and college ↑
- Investigate schools and colleges with **DEI programs or forms of affirmative action** ↑



3 Judiciary

Potential impacts of recent Supreme Court decisions

A recent Supreme Court ruling gives courts new authority to overturn regulations drafted by government agencies

Summary of the Case: *Loper Bright Enterprises v. Raimondo*

The Supreme Court recently overturned a longstanding precedent requiring federal courts to defer to government agencies' interpretation of ambiguous statutory language

- Last month, SCOTUS overturned a 40-year precedent called the **Chevron Doctrine**. Under this doctrine, when resolving ambiguities in statutory language, courts were required to give deference to regulations drafted by federal government agencies (e.g., the EPA or USED) unless those regulations were arbitrary or capricious
- SCOTUS overturned the Chevron doctrine this year in ***Loper Bright Enterprises v. Raimondo***. From the majority opinion: "Agency interpretations of statutes — like agency interpretations of the Constitution — are not entitled to deference...It thus remains the responsibility of the court to decide whether the law means what the agency says"

Implications for K12 Policy

This ruling may have significant, albeit still undetermined, implications for federal policy-making

- Expect uncertainty in the short term as courts, agencies and school systems figure out what *Loper* means
- If Harris wins and has an ambitious federal education agenda comparable to Race to the Top, Republicans could try to delay implementation of that agenda by litigating regulatory language; Democrats could use the same tactic to delay implementation of Project 2025 in a Trump administration
- Several states—including Florida, Indiana and Tennessee—have repealed or amended Chevron-like laws at the state level and the sky hasn't fallen, suggesting that *Loper* may have smaller impact on the legislative process than expected
- However, *Loper* is enabling legal challenges to some of the USED's regulations concerning student loan forgiveness, accommodations for students with learning disabilities and extending protections from discrimination to LGBTQIA+ students

SCOTUS has determined that race conscious admissions policies violate the constitution, a case that could have wide-ranging implications

Summary of the Case: *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. Harvard and University of North Carolina*

The Supreme Court held that affirmative action policies used in admissions at public and private universities are unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment

- In 2023, the Supreme Court weighed in again on the constitutionality of university admissions policies that take into account an applicant's race. As recently as 2016, in *Fisher v. University of Texas*, the Court had held that racial quotas are unconstitutional but race-conscious recruitment and admissions policies are permissible
- The Supreme Court heard arguments about the admissions policies at Harvard University and the University of North Carolina and held that race-conscious admissions policies at both public and private universities violate the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution

Implications for K12 Policy

Although this case pertained to affirmative action policies in the higher education context, its reasoning could be applied more broadly in ways that affect education organizations

- The Supreme Court may soon consider whether the Constitution bars efforts to increase diversity, even if those efforts do not expressly take race into account. Conservative activists are challenging the admissions policy at a selective public magnet high school in northern Virginia for discrimination against Asian American students
- Conservative activists are also challenging the legality of diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) efforts at various organizations including a venture capital fund that invests in businesses led by women of color and "diversity fellowships" at elite law firms for historically underrepresented groups in the legal profession

SCOTUS has muddied the waters regarding the "separation of church and state" in public schools

Summary: Recent Establishment Clause Cases

Recent Supreme Court decisions have been more sympathetic to claims involving religious practice in public schools

- Traditionally, the Supreme Court has held the line on the “**separation of church and state**” and rejected attempts to introduce religion into public schools on the grounds that students are particularly susceptible to coercion and indoctrination in the classroom
- The conservative majority on the Supreme Court has muddied the waters regarding the separation of church and state. In **Makin v. Carson** (2022), the court held that public funds (i.e., school vouchers) could be used by students at private schools that provide religious instruction; and in **Kennedy v. Bremerton School District** (2023), the court found in favor of a high school football coach who lost his job for leading post-game prayers with students at the 50-yard line in violation of district policy pertaining to the **establishment clause of the U.S. Constitution**

Implications for K12 Policy

State legislatures have been more emboldened to pass laws introducing Christianity in public schools, in hopes that the laws will be appealed to and upheld by the Supreme Court

- GOP-led state legislatures are seizing upon these signals from SCOTUS to pass legislation that more directly challenges the separation of church and state in public schools. For example, Louisiana legislators passed a law requiring the Ten Commandments be displayed in all public school classrooms, and in Oklahoma, the state superintendent of schools issued regulations requiring public school teachers to use the Bible in their lessons. Louisiana's Republican governor said, "I can't wait to be sued," suggesting the legislation is intended to further erode the separation of church and state
- Generally, we expect efforts to introduce religion into public schools—through, for example, vouchers for religious schools or curriculum—to encounter fewer legal obstacles with the current Supreme Court



4 States

Potential impacts of state-level elections

Several state ballot measures this fall have implications for education policy, including school funding and accountability

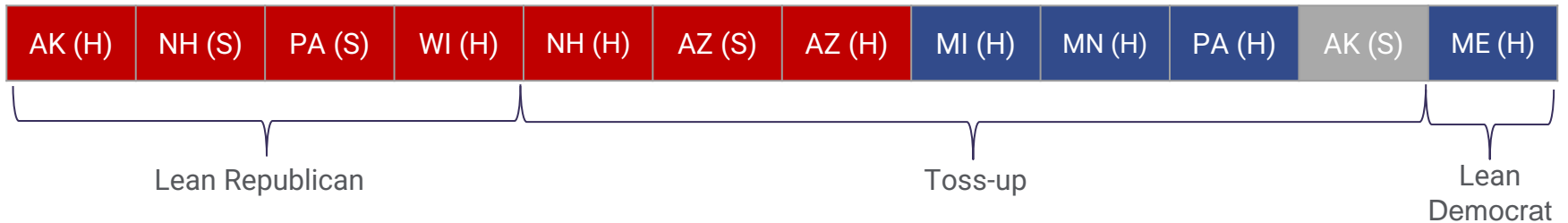
Most education-related state ballot measures this year are related to funding, bonds or taxes. However, those highlighted below have broader policy implications:

State	Ballot measure	Implications
FL	Changes school board elections from nonpartisan to partisan	Impacts local school board elections and increases party influence
KY	Allows the state to provide funding for non-public education	Paves the way for Education Savings Accounts for private schools
MA	Removes requirement for students to achieve a certain competency level on statewide testing to graduate high school	Changes assessment and accountability structures
NV	Removes the Board of Regents as the governing power for Nevada's state universities, transferring governance to state legislature	Reduces the higher education system's independence from state politics
UT	Allows revenue from taxes on income or intangible property to be used on areas not related to students with disabilities or public or higher education systems	Opens the door to funding being diverted from education

There are 12 competitive state legislative chambers

This year, **85** of 99 state legislative chambers (**44** states, or **78%** of total seats) are holding elections

Close elections: The Center for Politics identifies 12 chambers as competitive, with seven toss-ups



Implications: In Arizona and New Hampshire, both chambers are competitive and may flip from unified Republican control. Alaska also has two competitive chambers

Current state: Most state legislatures currently have unified party control



North Carolina's election for state superintendent is contentious, and the result will guide its education policy for the next four years

In the United States, twelve states elect their state superintendent or education commissioner. This year, **four states (NC, MT, ND and WA) are holding elections**, and **North Carolina's poses the greatest potential change**.

North Carolina's current state superintendent is **Republican**. The November election features two new candidates, and both have vastly different stances on education.

Mo Green (D):

Background in education and district leadership, and has mainstream education policies

Michele Morrow (R):

Already defeated incumbent, has a background in nursing, proponent of school choice, homeschooling and a Parents' Bill of Rights

A Morrow win will drastically change the direction of the state's education policy

Other races for state superintendent:

1. Montana [*O'Brien (D) vs. Hedalen (R)*]: Both candidates are fairly mainstream
2. North Dakota [*Baesler (Incumbent) vs. Heitcamp*]: Baesler received 55% of the vote in the general primary
3. Washington [*Reykdal (Incumbent) vs. Olson*]: The election is focused on the state's chronic absenteeism, academic performance, and mental health crises; the challenger wants a parents' bill of rights and to curtail "woke-ism"