



# **Project 2025's Threat to LGBTQI+ Equality, Safety, and Health, Racial and Gender Equity, and Sexual and Reproductive Health**



**THE FENWAY INSTITUTE**

# Project 2025's Threat to LGBTQI+ Equality, Safety, and Health, Racial and Gender Equity, and Sexual and Reproductive Health

By Sean Cahill and Connor DiBlasi

## Executive Summary: Demonizing transgender and LGBTQ+ people

Project 2025 is the Heritage Foundation's 2025 Presidential Transition Project.<sup>1</sup> It has four main components: a policy agenda, recommended administration personnel, training, and a 180-day playbook titled *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*. Project 2025 is a blueprint for an extreme right-wing administration<sup>2</sup> and has come to dominate political discourse through widespread media coverage of its far-reaching proposals.<sup>3</sup>

Former President Donald Trump has explicitly distanced himself from Project 2025. "I know nothing about Project 2025. I have no idea who is behind it," Trump said in a July 5, 2024 Truth Social post.<sup>4</sup> "I disagree with some of the things they're saying and some of the things they're saying are absolutely ridiculous and abysmal.

Anything they do, I wish them luck, but I have nothing to do with them."

But Trump's running mate Senator J.D. Vance (R-OH) is close to the Heritage Foundation's President Kevin Roberts, PhD, who praised Vance in March, 2024 to *Politico*, saying that Vance "is absolutely going to be one of the leaders — if not the leader — of our movement."<sup>5</sup> Vance also wrote the forward for a

**J.D. Vance wrote the forward for a forthcoming book by Kevin Roberts, who is described by *Axios* as the "Project 2025 architect."**

---

<sup>1</sup> Heritage Foundation. Project 2025: Presidential Transition Project. <https://www.project2025.org/about/about-project-2025/>

<sup>2</sup> Reinhard B. "Trump loyalist pushes 'post-Constitutional' vision for second term," *Washington Post*, June 8, 2024. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/06/08/russ-vought-trump-second-term-radical-constitutional/>

<sup>3</sup> Ordonez F, "It seems like Project 2025 is everywhere. But what is it?"

Morning Edition, National Public Radio, July 11, 2024, <https://www.npr.org/2024/07/11/nx-s1-5035272/project-2025-trump-biden-heritage-foundation-conservative> .

<sup>4</sup> Trump D. Truth Social, July 5, 2024. <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/112734594514167050>

<sup>5</sup> Durkee A, "Trump Campaign Manager Denies Links Between Ex-President And Project 2025: 'Pure Speculation,'" *Forbes*, July 18, 2023, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/alisondurkee/2024/07/18/trump-campaign-manager-denies-links-between-ex-president-and-project-2025-pure-speculation/>

forthcoming book by Roberts, who is described by *Axios* as the “Project 2025 architect.”<sup>6</sup>

Both Trump and Vance enjoy close relationships with Project 2025’s other strategists, which include former Trump Administration officials Paul Dans, Roger Severino, Ken Cuccinelli, Christopher Miller, and Russ Vought. Given these connections, the stated purpose of Project 2025, and the Heritage Foundation’s significant influence over the first Trump Administration’s policymaking,<sup>7</sup> it is likely to be employed as a comprehensive framework for governance in a second Trump administration.

Project 2025’s *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise* contains harsh, dehumanizing language about transgender people and LGBTQ+<sup>8</sup> people in general and proposes to criminalize efforts to support youth who are LGBTQ+ or questioning. It articulates an authoritarian vision for America in which LGBTQ+ people, who comprise nearly 8% of the adult U.S. population (and 22% of Millennials), are stigmatized, marginalized, and relegated to second class status, and in which married mother-father families are privileged. Project 2025 also proposes a radical restructuring of the nation’s public health infrastructure which would weaken the country’s ability to respond to future health threats. It advocates further restrictions on women’s access to reproductive health, ends Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) initiatives, ends initiatives to mitigate climate change, and proposes mass deportations. It sketches out a radical restructuring of the federal government by eliminating the Department of Education, the Department of Homeland Security, and other agencies.<sup>9,10</sup> The American Federation of Government Employees estimates that up to one million federal employees would lose their jobs if Project 2025 proposals are implemented.<sup>11</sup>

As voters prepare to elect the next president of the United States, they should be as informed as possible about the potential impact of a new administration using Project 2025 as its blueprint for governance. Voters must understand the threats posed to all people living in the United States by Project 2025,

**Project 2025 articulates an authoritarian vision for America in which LGBTQ+ people are stigmatized, marginalized, and second class.**

---

<sup>6</sup> Knutson J. “J.D. Vance wrote forward of upcoming book from Project 2025 architect,” *Axios*, July 25, 2024.

<https://www.axios.com/2024/07/25/vance-project-2025-book-trump-heritage-foundation>

<sup>7</sup> Durkee A. “Project 2025 Explained: What To Know About The Controversial Right-Wing Policy Map For Trump—As RNC Kicks Off,” *Forbes*, July 15, 2024. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/alisondurkee/2024/07/15/project-2025-explained-what-to-know-about-the-controversial-right-wing-policy-map-for-trump-as-rnc-kicks-off/>

<sup>8</sup> Variations in acronyms reflect the language used in the sources we cite. The Fenway Institute generally refers to sexual and gender minority health equity as LGBTQIA+ health equity. The Biden Harris Administration and HHS use LGBTQ+ and LGBTQ+. The Heritage Foundation’s Project 2025 document, titled *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, sometimes uses LGBT and sometimes LGBTQ+.

<sup>9</sup> Durkee A. “Project 2025 Explained,” *Forbes*, July 15, 2024.

<sup>10</sup> Shortis E. “Friday essay: Project 2025, the policy substance behind Trump’s showmanship, reveals a radical plan to reshape the world,” *The Conversation*, April 25, 2024. <https://theconversation.com/friday-essay-project-2025-the-policy-substance-behind-trumps-showmanship-reveals-a-radical-plan-to-reshape-the-world-227161>

<sup>11</sup> AFGE, “Project 2025 Seeks to Dismantle Agencies, Terminate Up To 1 Million Federal Workers,” July 15, 2024.

<https://www.afge.org/article/project-2025-seeks-to-dismantle-agencies-terminate-up-to-1-million-federal-workers>

particularly those who are LGBTQIA+, Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC), women, newly arrived to the country, living in poverty, living with disabilities, or otherwise disadvantaged or marginalized.

This policy brief seeks to inform the public of those threats. While other analyses of Project 2025 have examined its broader set of proposals,<sup>12</sup> this analysis focuses on proposals that would affect the rights and safety of LGBTQI+ people, LGBTQI+ health equity, racial and gender equity and equality, and sexual and reproductive health—including HIV and STI prevention and care.

### **A potential plan for a second Trump Administration from influential former staffers and right-wing advocates**

If former President Trump is elected in November 2024, key elements of Project 2025 have a good chance of being implemented. Russ Vought was Director of the Office of Management and Budget in the Trump-Pence Administration. A self-described Christian nationalist, he now runs the Center for American Renewal. Vought, who wrote one section of Project 2025, is being considered for White House Chief of Staff in a second Trump Administration and was recently appointed to Policy Director for the Republican National Committee's 2024 Platform Committee. *The Washington Post* reports that

Trump personally blessed Vought's agenda at a Mar-a-Lago fundraiser for his group and said Vought would "do a great job in continuing our quest to make America great again." ...Vought's long career as a staffer in Congress and at federal agencies has made him an asset to Project 2025, an initiative led by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, to lay the groundwork for a second Trump term. Vought wrote the chapter on the executive office of the president in Project 2025's 920-page blueprint, and he is developing its playbook for the first 180 days, according to the people involved in the effort.<sup>13</sup>

**Russ Vought, who wrote one section of Project 2025, is being considered for White House Chief of Staff in a second Trump Administration and was recently appointed to Policy Director for the Republican National Committee's 2024 Platform Committee.**

Each chapter of Project 2025's *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise* is written by a different individual.<sup>14</sup> The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) chapter, which is

---

<sup>12</sup> Durkee A, *Forbes*, July 15, 2024.

<sup>13</sup> Reinhard B. "Trump loyalist pushes 'post-Constitutional' vision for second term," *Washington Post*, June 8, 2024. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/06/08/russ-vought-trump-second-term-radical-constitutional/>

<sup>14</sup> Dans P, Groves S. *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*. Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, 2023. <https://www.heritage.org/press/project-2025-publishes-comprehensive-policy-guide-mandate-leadership-the-conservative-promise>

the primary focus of this analysis, was written by Roger Severino. Severino is a long-time religious right activist who is currently Vice President of Domestic Policy and The Joseph C. and Elizabeth A. Anderlik Fellow at The Heritage Foundation. Severino was Director of the HHS Office of Civil Rights in the Trump Administration. He is described by *The Atlantic* as “an outspoken advocate against abortion and same-sex marriage,” and by the Human Rights Campaign as “a radical anti-LGBTQ rights activist.”<sup>15</sup> Severino served as legal counsel in court cases opposing marriage equality for same-sex couples.<sup>16</sup> At the Heritage Foundation, Severino has argued that sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) can be changed,<sup>17</sup> that SOGI should not be included in nondiscrimination laws and regulations, and that laws and regulations that do prohibit discrimination on the basis of SOGI violate the religious freedom of conservatives.<sup>18</sup>

**Roger Severino, author of the HHS chapter, is described by the Human Rights Campaign as “a radical anti-LGBTQ rights activist.”**

The Project 2025 Advisory Board is a who’s who of the religious right. Among the organizations advising the project are:

- Alliance Defending Freedom
- American Center for Law and Justice (led by Jay Sekulow)
- Concerned Women of America
- Ethics and Public Policy Center
- Family Policy Alliance
- Family Research Council.

---

<sup>15</sup> Green E. “The man behind Trump’s religious-freedom agenda for health care.” *The Atlantic*. June 7, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Diamond D, Haberkorn, J. “Administration to shield health workers who refuse to perform abortions or treat transgender patients.” *Politico*. Jan. 16, 2018.

<sup>17</sup> Of course an individual’s sexual orientation identity or gender identity can change over the life course. But this is not the point Severino makes. Instead he argues that, through so-called “ex-gay therapy” or “conversion therapy,” homosexual and bisexual people can become heterosexual. See Ring T. “Meet Roger Severino, the Trump bigot working to erase trans people,” *The Advocate*, October 22, 2018, <https://www.advocate.com/politics/2018/10/22/meet-roger-severino-trump-bigot-working-erase-trans-people>

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Severino R, “Proposed Obamacare Gender Identity Mandate Threatens Freedom of Conscience and the Independence of Physicians,” The Heritage Foundation, January 8, 2016. <https://www.heritage.org/health-care-reform/report/proposed-obamacare-gender-identity-mandate-threatens-freedom-conscience>

## **The Project 2025 Advisory Board is a who's who of the religious right.**

The Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) is a leading opponent of LGBTQ+ equality, including marriage equality. Its website vows that it will advocate so that “Marriage and Family are Protected. Ensuring the law respects God’s created order for marriage, the family, and human sexuality.”<sup>19</sup> According to the ADF, this order does not include homosexuality, bisexuality, or

same-sex couple families. Jay Sekulow, who leads the American Center for Law and Justice, is a leading opponent of legal equality for LGBTQ+ people not only in the U.S. but in Europe and elsewhere, where he has helped fund efforts to criminalize homosexuality and restrict the rights of LGBTQ+ people. He also served as former President Trump’s personal lawyer during Trump’s 2020 impeachment trial.<sup>20</sup>

### **Former President Trump and his campaign deny any connection to Project 2025**

Former President Trump and his campaign have said that they know nothing about Project 2025 and that it does not represent a blueprint for a second Trump Administration. According to Politico,

Former President Donald Trump says he knows “nothing about” a conservative policy blueprint and has “no idea who is behind it.”<sup>21</sup>

However, *Politico* reports that a number of former Trump administration officials, in addition to the ones mentioned above, helped write Project 2025’s *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise*: “[T]he authors include Trump’s former Cabinet secretaries, top White House officials, and senior aides — including former Trump appointees to EPA, the Interior Department and the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.”<sup>22</sup> In addition, every second page of the Heritage Foundation’s 920-page *Mandate for Leadership* has a header that reads “2025 Presidential Transition Project.”

**“Project 2025 authors  
include Trump’s former  
Cabinet secretaries, top  
White House officials,  
and senior aides.”**

**- Politico**

---

<sup>19</sup> <https://adflegal.org/about-us>

<sup>20</sup> No author. “US religious right at center of anti-LGBTQ+ message pushed around the world.” *The Guardian*. July 9, 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jul/09/us-religious-right-lgbtq-global-culture-fronts>

<sup>21</sup> Bravender R. “Meet the ex-Trump officials who helped draft Project 2025.” *E&E News by Politico*. July 11, 2024. <https://www.eenews.net/articles/meet-the-ex-trump-officials-who-helped-draft-project-2025/>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

*Forbes* also notes that:

“Trump has listened to the Heritage Foundation in the past: the organization [noted](#) that Trump followed 64% of the policy suggestions it gave him during his first White House stint within the first two years of his term alone. Trump has also released his own suite of policy proposals, known as [Agenda47](#), that he could prioritize in office. Those policies share many commonalities with Project 2025—including railing against transgender rights, emphasizing ‘school choice’ policies, ousting career bureaucrats and undoing climate change initiatives...”<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, the Project 2025 recommendations related to LGBTQ+ health equity, LGBTQ+ equality, and sexual health are consistent with policies implemented in the Trump-Pence Administration, which adopted many anti-LGBTQ+ policies such as repealing SOGI nondiscrimination in health care,<sup>24</sup> banning transgender people from military service,<sup>25</sup> rolling back SOGI data collection on surveys,<sup>26</sup> and promoting religious refusal policies in HHS that enabled anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination in health and human services.<sup>27</sup> Former President Trump also engaged in relentless legislative and judicial efforts to repeal and gut the Affordable Care Act, which helped more than 20 million Americans access health care, a disproportionate number of them people of color, LGBTQ+ individuals, and/or people living with HIV.<sup>28</sup>

**“Trump has listened to the Heritage Foundation in the past: the organization noted that Trump followed 64% of the policy suggestions it gave him during his first White House stint within the first two years of his term alone.” – *Forbes*, July 18, 2024**

---

<sup>23</sup> Durkee A., *Forbes*, July 18, 2024.

<sup>24</sup> Cahill S. “The Best of Times...the Worst of Times”: What *Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia* and the Repeal of Federal Nondiscrimination Rules Mean for LGBT Health. *LGBT Health*. 2020 Oct;7(7):345-348.

<sup>25</sup> Cahill S, Geffen S, Wang T (2018). *One year in, Trump Administration amasses striking anti-LGBT record*. Boston: The Fenway Institute. <https://fenwayhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Fenway-Institute-Trump-Pence-Administration-One-Year-Report.pdf>

<sup>26</sup> Cahill SR, Makadon HJ (2017). If they don’t count us, we don’t count: Trump Administration rolls back sexual orientation and gender identity data collection. *LGBT Health* 4(3).

<sup>27</sup> Cahill S, Wang T, Geffen S (2017). *Executive branch actions promoting religious refusal threaten LGBT health care access*. Boston: The Fenway Institute. <https://fenwayhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Fenway-Institute-Religious-Refusal-Laws-Policy-Brief.pdf>

<sup>28</sup> Cahill, Geffen and Wang, 2018.

## **Proposed actions in Project 2025**

- Criminalize adults who support LGBTQ+ and questioning youth in schools and libraries as sex offenders
- End federal government and private sector diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives to increase racial and gender representation in all levels of the workforce
- Remove any mention of gender or reproductive health in federal policy
- Remove any mention of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) from all federal regulations, laws, grant funding opportunities, etc.
- Stop collecting gender identity data in disease surveillance systems
- Remove SOGI nondiscrimination language from federal regulations, and do not enforce SOGI nondiscrimination
- End federal government racial and LGBTQI+ equity initiatives
- Discriminate against LGBTQI+ families, single mother families, and unmarried families, and privilege different-sex, married couple families
- End gender-affirming care (GAC) for adults, end federal government support for GAC, and portray GAC as harmful
- End support for LGBTQI+ equality in U.S. foreign policy
- Repeal education regulations prohibiting gender identity discrimination in schools
- Allow faith-based human service providers to discriminate against LGBTQI+ families
- Break the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention into two parts, one focused on epidemiology and surveillance, and the other focused on creating policy and promoting public health. Place major limits on the latter.
- Restrict reproductive choice, contraception, and the use of fetal cells in research



## **Irresponsible, incendiary and harsh language describing transgender people**

Project 2025's *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise* employs irresponsible, incendiary and harsh language to describe transgender people, gender identity nondiscrimination policies, and initiatives that support LGBTQ+ and questioning youth, who comprise 26% of U.S. high school students, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2021 Youth Risk Behavior Survey.<sup>29,30</sup>

Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts, PhD, in a forward to *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, states the following:

Pornography, manifested today in the omnipresent propagation of transgender ideology and sexualization of children...Its purveyors are child predators and misogynistic exploiters of women. Their product is as addictive as any illicit drug and as psychologically destructive as any crime. Pornography should be outlawed. The people who produce and distribute it should be imprisoned. Educators and public librarians who purvey it should be classed as registered sex offenders. And telecommunications and technology firms that facilitate its spread should be shuttered.<sup>31</sup>

**Project 2025 uses irresponsible, incendiary and harsh language to describe transgender people, gender identity nondiscrimination policies, and initiatives that support LGBTQ+ and questioning youth.**

**Project 2025 is breathtaking in its cynicism and dehumanization of transgender people and of adults who seek to support young people who are LGBTQ+ and questioning.**

Project 2025 is breathtaking in its cynicism and dehumanization of transgender people and of adults who seek to support young people who are LGBTQ+ and questioning. There is no such thing as transgender ideology. There *are* transgender and gender diverse people, including young people. According to the Pew Research Center, some 5.1% of young adults age 18 to 29 in the U.S. identify as transgender or nonbinary.<sup>32</sup> Some 1.4% of adolescents age 13 to 17, or 300,000 youth, are

<sup>29</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Table 4: Number and percentage of students, by sexual identity — United States and selected U.S. sites, Youth Risk Behavior Surveys, 2021. [https://www.cdc.gov/healthyouth/data/yrbs/supplemental-mmwr/students\\_by\\_sexual\\_identity.htm](https://www.cdc.gov/healthyouth/data/yrbs/supplemental-mmwr/students_by_sexual_identity.htm)

<sup>30</sup> <https://thehill.com/homenews/education/3975959-one-in-four-high-school-students-identify-as-lgbtq/>

<sup>31</sup> Roberts K, Forward: A Promise to America *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Heritage Foundation, 2023, pp. 4-5.

<sup>32</sup> Brown A. "About 5% of young adults in the U.S. say their gender is different from their sex assigned at birth." Pew Research Center. June 7, 2022. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/06/07/about-5-of-young-adults-in-the-u-s-say-their-gender-is-different-from-their-sex-assigned-at-birth/>

transgender, according to the Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law.<sup>33</sup> Some choose to treat transgender people with compassion and respect, while others promote stigma, prejudice, and harmful stereotypes about transgender people. Research shows that anti-transgender media images related to political attacks on transgender people’s rights can negatively affect the mental health of transgender people.<sup>34</sup>

Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts also urges us to

Look at America under the ruling and cultural elite today: Inflation is ravaging family budgets, drug overdose deaths continue to escalate, and children suffer the toxic normalization of transgenderism with drag queens and pornography invading their school libraries.<sup>35</sup>

The use of terms such as “transgenderism” and “gender ideology” is another way Project 2025 demonizes transgender people. These terms suggest that transgender, nonbinary, and gender diverse identities are simply a new fad, neglecting and delegitimizing the ongoing social justice movement for transgender equality and medical research documenting that gender dysphoria and gender identity are real.<sup>36</sup> Introducing this language into official government documentation, as the Project 2025 authors would do in a second Trump Administration, would help to legitimize these politicized phrases, as occurred recently with the Cass Report on gender affirming care for youth in the UK.<sup>37,38</sup>

Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts was widely criticized recently when he said on Steve Bannon’s “War Room” podcast:

"In spite of all this nonsense from the left, we are going to win. We're in the process of taking this country back," Roberts said. "We are in the process of the second American Revolution, which will remain bloodless, if the left allows it to be."<sup>39</sup>

**The use of terms such as “transgenderism” and “gender ideology” is another way Project 2025 demonizes transgender people.**

---

<sup>33</sup> Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law. “New estimates show 300,000 youth ages 13-17 identify as transgender in the US.” Press release. June 10, 2022. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/press/transgender-estimate-press-release/>

<sup>34</sup> Hughto JMW, Pletta D, Gordon L, Cahill S, Mimiaga MJ, Reisner SL. Negative Transgender-Related Media Messages Are Associated with Adverse Mental Health Outcomes in a Multistate Study of Transgender Adults. *LGBT Health*. 2021 Jan;8(1):32-41.

<sup>35</sup> Roberts K, Forward: A Promise to America *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Heritage Foundation, 2023, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Reisner S, Keuroghlian AS, Potter J. “Gender Identity: Terminology, Demographics, and Epidemiology.” In Keuroghlian A, Potter J, Reisner S (editors). *Transgender and Gender Diverse Health Care*. New York: McGraw Hill. Pp. 7-15.

<sup>37</sup> Mackay F. ‘Gender ideology’ is all around us – but it’s not what the Tories say it is. *The Guardian*. January 19, 2024. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/jan/19/gender-ideology-tories-ministers-schools-conservative>

<sup>38</sup> Cass H. *The Cass Review. Independent Review of Gender Identity Services for Young People*. Commissioned by the National Health Service England. April 2024. <https://cass.independent-review.uk/home/publications/final-report/>

<sup>39</sup> Project 2025 leader promises “second American revolution.” *Newsweek*. July 3, 2024. <https://www.newsweek.com/project-2025-promises-second-revolution-1920506>

A wide range of political observers from both major political parties criticized Roberts’s highly-charged comments.<sup>40</sup>

### **Proposals to end Diversity, Equity and Inclusion initiatives, and any mention of sexual orientation or gender identity in federal policy**

At least two Project 2025 authors call for HHS to repeal SOGI nondiscrimination language in the rule implementing the Affordable Care Act’s Section 1557, the nondiscrimination provision.

Roger Severino calls for the removal of SOGI from the regulation implementing the ACA’s nondiscrimination provision.<sup>41</sup> Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts, PhD calls for removal of the terms sexual orientation, gender identity, DEI, reproductive health, and abortion from all federal laws, regulations, contracts, and grants:

“The next conservative President must make the institutions of American civil society hard targets for woke culture warriors. This starts with deleting the terms sexual orientation and gender identity (‘SOGI’), diversity, equity, and inclusion (‘DEI’), gender, gender equality, gender equity, gender awareness, gender-sensitive, abortion, reproductive health, reproductive rights, and any other term used to deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists.<sup>42</sup>

In a chapter of the Project 2025 agenda titled “Agency for International Development,” Max Primorac uses Orwellian language to describe DEI initiatives and calls for their complete elimination. Now at the Heritage Foundation, Primorac formerly served in the Trump Administration as former Vice President Mike Pence’s Envoy to Iraq and as a deputy administrator in the United States Agency for International Development; he also served in the

---

<sup>40</sup> Brooks E. Heritage faces blowback after ‘bloodless’ revolution comment. *The Hill*. July 6, 2024.

<https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/4757210-heritage-blowback-bloodless-revolution/>

<sup>41</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, p. 475.

<sup>42</sup> Roberts K, Forward: A Promise to America. *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Heritage Foundation, 2023, pp. 4-5.

George W. Bush Administration.<sup>43</sup> Primorac writes that agency-wide DEI efforts have created a hostile work environment:

The upshot has been to racialize the agency and create a hostile work environment for anyone who disagrees with the Biden Administration’s identity politics...The next conservative Administration should dismantle USAID’s DEI apparatus by eliminating the Chief Diversity Officer position along with the DEI advisers and committees; cancel the DEI scorecard and dashboard; remove DEI requirements from contract and grant tenders and awards; issue a directive to cease promotion of the DEI agenda, including the bullying LGBTQ+ agenda; and provide staff a confidential medium through which to adjudicate cases of political retaliation that agency or implementing staff suffered during the Biden Administration. It should eliminate funding for partners that promote discriminatory DEI practices and consider debarment in egregious cases.<sup>44</sup>

**“USAID should eliminate funding for partners that promote discriminatory DEI practices and consider debarment in egregious cases.” – Project 2025**

**“The next conservative President must... [delete] the terms sexual orientation and gender identity (‘SOGI’), diversity, equity, and inclusion (‘DEI’), gender, gender equality, gender equity...out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists.” – Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts**

DEI initiatives aim at increasing gender and racial and ethnic diversity at all levels of a workplace. Such initiatives, which are supported by a majority of American workers, aim to increase the hiring and promotion of women and underrepresented racial and ethnic minority groups, particularly in sectors where they are underrepresented and have experienced discrimination.<sup>45</sup> Striking income and wealth disparities continue to exist in the U.S. along

---

<sup>43</sup> The Heritage Foundation. Max Primorac, Senior Research Fellow, Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom, <https://www.heritage.org/staff/max-primorac>

<sup>44</sup> Primorac M, Agency for International Development, *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Heritage Foundation, 2023, p. 258.

<sup>45</sup> Pew Research Center, *Diversity, Equity and Inclusion in the Workplace*. May 17, 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2023/05/17/diversity-equity-and-inclusion-in-the-workplace/>

lines of race and ethnicity,<sup>46,47,48</sup> and women earn less than men. Women are more supportive of DEI initiatives than men. Overwhelming majorities of Black, Latino and Asian American workers support DEI initiatives in the workplace. Majorities of each age cohort support DEI. Strong majorities of the general population support DEI policies and say that DEI trainings are helpful to them.<sup>49</sup>

The removal of any mention of gender or reproductive health in federal policy reflects an extreme policy of misogyny and disregard for women’s equality, women’s health care needs, and the equality and health care of transgender, nonbinary and gender diverse individuals. Women earn, on average, 82 cents on the dollar to what men earn. This disparity has not budged in the past 20 years.<sup>50</sup> Black and Hispanic women earn on average 64 cents and 57 cents on the dollar, respectively, compared to what White men earn.<sup>51</sup>

National Institute of Health (NIH) grant announcements routinely ask applicants to explain whether or not women will be included in their research, and if not why not.<sup>52</sup> This is to address the historical underrepresentation of women in health research, for example research related to cardiac health and cancer. The historic lack of inclusion of women in research resulted in a lack of evidence to inform health care for women. Intentionally including women in health research has led to improvements in care. Disallowing any mention of gender would have a devastating effect on health care, health research, and health equity.

**The removal of any mention of gender or reproductive health in federal policy reflects an extreme policy of misogyny and disregard for women’s equality, women’s health care needs, and the equality and health care of transgender, nonbinary and gender diverse individuals.**

Both former President Trump and Senator Vance have taken positions in opposition to women’s equality and access to reproductive health care. Trump has a long history of making offensive

---

<sup>46</sup> Kochhar R, Cilluffo A, “Key findings on the rise in income inequality within America’s racial and ethnic groups,” Pew Research Center, July 12, 2018. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2018/07/12/key-findings-on-the-rise-in-income-inequality-within-americas-racial-and-ethnic-groups/>

<sup>47</sup> Boen C, Keister L, Aronson B. Beyond Net Worth: Racial Differences in Wealth Portfolios and Black-White Health Inequality across the Life Course. *J Health Soc Behav.* 2020 Jun;61(2):153-169.

<sup>48</sup> Hernandez Kent A, Ricketts LR, “The state of U.S. wealth inequality,” Federal Reserve Bank of Saint Louis, May 3, 2024. <https://www.stlouisfed.org/institute-for-economic-equity/the-state-of-us-wealth-inequality#:~:text=Black%20families%20had%20about%20%24983%2C000,19%20cents%20for%20every%20%241.>

<sup>49</sup> Pew Research Center, May 17, 2023.

<sup>50</sup> Aragao C. “Gender pay gap in U.S. hasn’t changed much in two decades,” Pew Research Center. March 1, 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/03/01/gender-pay-gap-facts/>

<sup>51</sup> Center for American Progress, *Women of color and the wage gap*, November 17, 2021, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/women-of-color-and-the-wage-gap/>

<sup>52</sup> Balch B, American Association of Medical Colleges, “Why we know so little about women’s health,” AAMC.org, 2024. <https://www.aamc.org/news/why-we-know-so-little-about-women-s-health>

and belittling comments about women who are political opponents, journalists, and celebrities.<sup>53</sup> He also appointed three U.S. Supreme Court justices who overturned *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court opinion which protected the right to terminate a pregnancy in the first trimester.<sup>54</sup> Senator Vance opposes exceptions to laws banning abortion that permit the termination of pregnancies resulting from rape or incest, saying “two wrong[s] don’t make a right” and describing such pregnancies as “inconvenient.”<sup>55</sup> Vance also criticized no-fault divorce as “making it easier for people to shift spouses like they change their underwear,” in a 2021 speech before a Christian high school.<sup>56</sup> He said that even though some marriages “were maybe even violent,” ending them was not in the children’s best interest.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to calling for the removal of SOGI from all federal regulations, laws, grant funding opportunities, etc., Roger Severino calls on the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to stop collecting gender identity data in disease surveillance systems, such as HIV surveillance:

“The CDC should immediately end its collection of data on gender identity, which legitimizes the unscientific notion that men can become women (and vice versa) and encourages the phenomenon of ever-multiplying subjective identities.”<sup>58</sup>

**The removal of SOGI from all federal policy, including nondiscrimination regulations and grant funding opportunities, would have a devastating impact on LGBTQI+ individuals.**

---

<sup>53</sup> Schwartz R, Lange J, “74 things Donald Trump has said about women. The former president has a long history of controversial remarks about the opposite sex.” *The Week*, July 22, 2024, <https://theweek.com/donald-trump/655770/61-things-donald-trump-has-said-about-women>

<sup>54</sup> Messerly M, “Trump brags about ending Roe. No one’s talking about it in Milwaukee,” *Politico*, July 18, 2024. <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/07/18/trump-abortion-rnc-00169304>

<sup>55</sup> Wagner J, “Ohio Senate candidate J.D. Vance argues against need for rape and incest exceptions in abortion laws,” *The Washington Post*, September 24, 2021, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/vance-abortion-rape/2021/09/24/c3007318-1d32-11ec-8380-5fbadb43ef8\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/vance-abortion-rape/2021/09/24/c3007318-1d32-11ec-8380-5fbadb43ef8_story.html)

<sup>56</sup> Hesse M, “Did JD Vance say women should stay in abusive marriages?” *The Washington Post*, July 25, 2024. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/style/power/2024/07/25/jd-vance-marriage-abuse-comment/>

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Balch, AAMC, 2024.

The removal of SOGI from all federal policy, including nondiscrimination regulations and grant funding opportunities, would have a devastating impact on LGBTQI+ individuals. While some HIV prevention research has examined sexual orientation disparities in sexual health, broader LGBTQI+ health research, including research on sexual minority women and transgender people, is of relatively recent origin. Many federal surveys and disease surveillance systems have only recently added SOGI questions.<sup>59</sup> SOGI data was not collected in COVID-19 testing, treatment, or vaccination.<sup>60</sup> We are only just beginning to document LGBTQI+ health disparities and their intersection with racial and ethnic and other disparities.<sup>61</sup> Intervention research to reduce and eliminate such disparities is critically needed. Forcing the removal of SOGI from notices of federal funding opportunities would halt recent critical progress in research, health care, and human services toward better understanding and promoting LGBTQIA+ health equity. The CDC warns that, “Without this information [SOGI data], lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) patients and their specific health care needs cannot be identified, the health disparities they experience cannot be addressed, and important health care services may not be delivered.”<sup>62</sup>

**The CDC warns that, “Without this information [SOGI data], lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) patients and their specific health care needs cannot be identified, the health disparities they experience cannot be addressed, and important health care services may not be delivered.”**

The inclusion of SOGI in federal nondiscrimination regulations and laws is critically important to ensure access to health care and the socioeconomic resources required to thrive and be healthy. LGBTQI+ people experience widespread social discrimination: more than one in three LGBTQI+ Americans faced discrimination in past year.<sup>63</sup> Because they experienced discrimination in health care, more than one in five LGBTQI+ Americans surveyed report postponing or avoiding medical treatment due to discrimination.<sup>64</sup> Anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination

---

<sup>59</sup> National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine; Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education; Committee on National Statistics; Committee on Measuring Sex, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation. (2022). *Measuring Sex, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation* (N. Bates, M. Chin, and T. Becker, Eds.). The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/26424>

<sup>60</sup> Cahill SR, “Still in the Dark Regarding the Public Health Impact of COVID-19 on Sexual and Gender Minorities.” *Am J Public Health*. 2021 Aug 19; e1-e4.

<sup>61</sup> Acklin III CE, *Understanding intersectional data equity from the sexual orientation gender identity sexual characteristics (SOGISC or SOGI) lens*. Washington, DC: National LGBTQ Task Force, April 2024. [https://dataequitycoalition.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Understanding-Intersectional-Data-Equity-From-The-SOGISC-Or-SOGI-Lens\\_April-2024.pdf](https://dataequitycoalition.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Understanding-Intersectional-Data-Equity-From-The-SOGISC-Or-SOGI-Lens_April-2024.pdf)

<sup>62</sup> Cirruzzo C. “The CDC could shrink under a second Trump administration.” *Politico*. March 11, 2024. <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/03/11/cdc-dismantle-trump-administration-00146035>

<sup>63</sup> Medina C, Mahowald L, *Discrimination and Barriers to Well-Being: The State of the LGBTQI+ Community in 2022*. Center for American Progress, 2023. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/discrimination-and-barriers-to-well-being-the-state-of-the-lgbtqi-community-in-2022/>

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

negatively affects the health of LGBTQ+ people and functions as a barrier to care.<sup>65</sup> It exacerbates medical mistrust, and likely contributes to health disparities experienced by LGBTQ+ people, such as higher prevalence of kidney disease,<sup>66</sup> cardiovascular disease,<sup>67</sup> diabetes,<sup>68</sup> HIV,<sup>69</sup> and cancer.<sup>70</sup>

The U.S. Supreme Court 2020 ruled in *Bostock v. Clayton County* that anti-gay and anti-transgender discrimination in employment constitutes sex discrimination, which is prohibited by federal law.<sup>71</sup> In 2024 the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office for Civil Rights (OCR) issued a final regulation implementing Section 1557 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (the ACA). This update interprets the federal law's prohibition of sex discrimination to prohibit discrimination on the basis of SOGI (HHS.gov).<sup>72</sup> Project 2025 promises to repeal this regulation.<sup>73</sup>

**Anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination negatively affects the health of LGBTQ+ people and functions as a barrier to care.**

### **Attacks on LGBTQI+ equity and gender affirming care**

Other examples of anti-LGBTQI+ content in *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise's* chapter on the Department of Health and Human Services, written by former Trump Administration appointee Roger Severino, include:

“Radical actors inside and outside government are promoting harmful identity politics that replaces biological sex with subjective notions of ‘gender identity’ and bases a person’s worth on his or her race, sex, or other identities. This destructive dogma, under the guise of

---

<sup>65</sup> Ahmed Mirza, Shabab and Rooney, Caitlin. *Discrimination Prevents LGBTQ People from Accessing Health Care*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, 2018. Available at <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/discrimination-prevents-lgbtq-people-accessing-health-care/>

<sup>66</sup> Chandra M, Hertel M, Cahill S, et al. Prevalence of Self-Reported Kidney Disease in Older Adults by Sexual Orientation: Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System Analysis (2014-2019). *J Am Soc Nephrol*. 2023;34(4):682-693.

<sup>67</sup> Caceres BA, Makarem N, Hickey KT, Hughes TL. Cardiovascular Disease Disparities in Sexual Minority Adults: An Examination of the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (2014-2016). *Am J Health Promot*. 2019 May;33(4):576-585.

<sup>68</sup> Beach LB, Elasy TA, Gonzales G. Prevalence of Self-Reported Diabetes by Sexual Orientation: Results from the 2014 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System. *LGBT Health*. 2018 Feb/Mar;5(2):121-130.

<sup>69</sup> Becasen JS, Denard CL, Mullins MM, Higa DH, Sipe TA. Estimating the Prevalence of HIV and Sexual Behaviors Among the US Transgender Population: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis, 2006-2017. *Am J Public Health*. 2019;109(1):e1-e8. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2018.304727

<sup>70</sup> Matthews AK, Breen E, Kittiteerasack P. Social Determinants of LGBT Cancer Health Inequities. *Semin Oncol Nurs*. 2018;34(1):12-20.

<sup>71</sup> Cahill S. "The Best of Times...the Worst of Times": What *Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia* and the Repeal of Federal Nondiscrimination Rules Mean for LGBT Health. *LGBT Health*. 2020;7(7):345-348.

<sup>72</sup> Department of Health and Human Services, Office for Civil Rights (OCR). Section 1557 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. *U.S. Department of Health and Human Services*. Published April 29, 2024. <https://www.hhs.gov/civil-rights/for-individuals/section-1557/index.html#:~:text=Consistent%20with%20the%20Supreme%20Court's,the%20basis%20of%20gender%20identity>.

<sup>73</sup> Berry J. Department of Labor and Related Agencies. *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, Pp. 584-585.



‘equity,’ threatens American’s fundamental liberties as well as the health and well-being of children and adults alike.”<sup>74</sup>

Equity approaches to health care and other social goods, such as education, do not claim that a person’s “worth” depends on their demographics. *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines equity as:

a: justice according to natural law or right *specifically* : freedom from bias or favoritism<sup>75</sup>

According to the National Association of Colleges and Employers:

The term “equity” refers to fairness and justice and is distinguished from equality: Whereas equality means providing the same to all, equity means recognizing that we do not all start from the same place and must acknowledge and make adjustments to imbalances. The process is ongoing, requiring us to identify and overcome intentional and unintentional barriers arising from bias or systemic structures.<sup>76</sup>

According to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, health equity is defined as: “...the state in which everyone has a fair and just opportunity to attain their highest level of health.”<sup>77</sup>

### **Attacks on LGBTQI+ families and proposals to privilege different-sex married couple families**

Elsewhere Severino criticizes LGBTQ+ equity and promotes policies that privilege different sex, married couple families:

“Goal #3: Promoting Stable and Flourishing Married Families. Families comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation and healthy society. Unfortunately, family policies and programs under President Biden’s HHS are fraught with agenda items focusing on ‘LGBTQ+ equity,’ subsidizing single-motherhood, disincentivizing work, and penalizing marriage. These policies should be repealed and replaced by policies that support the formation of stable, married, nuclear families.”<sup>78</sup>

Such policies were promoted by religious right organizations in the 1990s and early 2000s, and would provide preferential treatment in social benefits to different sex, married couple families.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, p. 450.

<sup>75</sup> <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/equity>

<sup>76</sup> <https://www.nacweb.org/about-us/equity-definition>

<sup>77</sup> CDC, “What is health equity?” June 11, 2024. [https://www.cdc.gov/health-equity/what-is/?CDC\\_AAref\\_Val=https://www.cdc.gov/healthequity/whatis/index.html](https://www.cdc.gov/health-equity/what-is/?CDC_AAref_Val=https://www.cdc.gov/healthequity/whatis/index.html)

<sup>78</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, p. 451.

<sup>79</sup> Cahill S.R., Jones K.T. (2001). *Leaving Our Children Behind: Welfare Reform and the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community*. New York: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute.

At another point Severino hints at implementing restrictions to limit the ability of same-sex couple families, LGBTQ+ individuals, and single individuals to access parenting through in vitro fertilization and surrogacy:

“In the context of current and emerging reproductive technologies, HHS policies should never place the desires of adults over the right of children to be raised by the biological fathers and mothers who conceive them.”<sup>80</sup>

According to the International Surrogacy Center, at least five states restrict access to surrogacy.<sup>81</sup>

### **Attacks on gender-affirming care, and misrepresentation of what gender identity nondiscrimination means for providers**

Severino repeatedly calls on HHS to declare gender-affirming care (GAC) harmful, and to end support for GAC, not just for adolescents but for adults. Severino calls on the Health Resources and Services Administration’s Ryan White HIV/AIDS Program to rescind guidance allowing the use of funds for GAC. He also calls on the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services to issue a strong policy opposing GAC and portraying it as dangerous to an individual’s health.<sup>82</sup>

Severino falsely claims that HHS regulations force providers to provide gender affirmation surgery against their will:

### **Severino repeatedly calls on HHS to declare gender-affirming care (GAC) harmful, and to end support for GAC, not just for adolescents but for adults.**

“HHS needs to restore and enhance conscience protection regulations that allow medical practitioners to participate in federal health care programs without being compelled to provide sex changes or similar services.”<sup>83</sup>

In fact, no provider is forced to provide gender affirmation surgery or other forms of gender affirming care. They *are* expected to provide basic health care services to transgender patients.<sup>84</sup>

### **Severino hints at implementing restrictions to limit the ability of same-sex couple families, LGBTQ+ individuals, and single individuals to access parenting through in vitro fertilization and surrogacy.**

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> <https://www.internationalsurrogacycenter.com/become-a-surrogate/surrogacy-by-state/>

<sup>82</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, pp. 474-492.

<sup>83</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, p. 464.

<sup>84</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Section 1557 Final Rule: Frequently Asked Questions*, May 20, 2024. <https://www.hhs.gov/civil-rights/for-individuals/section-1557/1557faqs/index.html>

## Ending support for LGBTQI+ equality in U.S. foreign policy

Project 2025 also seeks to end the promotion of LGBTQI+ equality through U.S. foreign policy, a key innovation of the Obama and Biden Administrations.<sup>85,86</sup> According to *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise*:

“In Africa...the U.S. ‘should focus on core security, economic, and human rights’ rather than impose radical abortion and pro-LGBT initiatives. Divisive symbols such as the rainbow flag or the Black Lives Matter flag have no place next to the Stars and Stripes at our embassies.<sup>87</sup>”

According to the Council for Global Equality, Project 2025 also calls for ending:

“...the U.S. Refugee Admission Program (USRAP) which provides life-saving opportunities for the most vulnerable refugees, including at-risk LGBTQI+ refugees, from claiming expedited protection through an orderly application process abroad, thereby avoiding the risks associated with seeking refugee protection at our Mexican border. ‘The federal government’s obligation to shift national security–essential screening and vetting resources to the forged border crisis will necessitate an indefinite curtailment of the number of USRAP refugee admissions.’”<sup>88</sup>

**Project 2025 also seeks to end the promotion of LGBTQI+ equality through U.S. foreign policy, a key innovation of the Obama and Biden Administrations.**

---

<sup>85</sup> Cahill, S., Schaefer, N., & Valadez, R. (2013). Promoting HIV Prevention and Research with Men who have Sex with Men (MSM) through U.S. Foreign Policy. *Global HIV/AIDS Politics, Policy, and Activism: Persistent Challenges and Emerging Issues. Volume 2: Policy and Policymaking*. (Raymond Smith, editor). Westport, Connecticut: Praeger. 69-86.

<sup>86</sup> President Joseph R. Biden, *Memorandum on Advancing the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Intersex Persons Around the World*, February 4, 2021. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/02/04/memorandum-advancing-the-human-rights-of-lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-queer-and-intersex-persons-around-the-world/>

<sup>87</sup> No author. The Common Defense. *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, p. 89.

<sup>88</sup> Skinner KK, The State Department, *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, p. 178. Cited in The Council for Global Equality, *WHAT IS PROJECT 2025? THE CONSERVATIVE PLAN FOR AUTOCRATIC AND MINORITY RULE*, February 2024, p. 3. <http://globalequality.org/storage/documents/cge-project2025-digital.pdf>

The State Department chapter of Project 2025's *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise* was written by Kiron K. Skinner, PhD, Professor of International Relations and Politics at Pepperdine University and fellow at the Hoover and Heritage Foundations.<sup>89</sup> From September 2018 to August 2019, Dr. Skinner served as Director of Policy Planning and Senior Adviser to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo at the U.S. Department of State during the first Trump Administration.<sup>90</sup> According to *Politico*, Dr. Skinner was fired from her role at the State Department after less than a year

...over what officials described as her 'abusive' management style, including making homophobic remarks and accusing people of having affairs, according to two people... according to State Department officials, she also was such a poor manager that almost a third of the 20-plus member staff quit or moved to other positions during her time at the helm. Another five people recently threatened to leave if she wasn't ousted, the officials said.<sup>91</sup>

**“In Africa...the U.S. ‘should focus on core security, economic, and human rights’ rather than impose radical abortion and pro-LGBT initiatives. Divisive symbols such as the rainbow flag or the Black Lives Matter flag have no place next to the Stars and Stripes at our embassies.” – *Project 2025 blueprint for a conservative administration***

---

<sup>89</sup> Hoover Foundation, Kiron K. Skinner, PhD, W. Glenn Campbell Research Fellow, <https://www.hoover.org/profiles/kiron-k-skinner>

<sup>90</sup> Heritage Foundation, Kiron K. Skinner, PhD, <https://www.heritage.org/staff/kiron-k-skinner>

<sup>91</sup> Toosi N, Johnson E. Top State Department adviser fired over 'abusive' management style. *Politico*. August 2, 2019. <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/08/02/top-state-department-adviser-fired-1444894>

## **Proposed repeal of SOGI nondiscrimination regulations governing health care, and nonenforcement of SOGI nondiscrimination**

A chapter titled Department of Labor and Related Agencies by Jonathan Berry calls for an end to regulations prohibiting anti-LGBTQI discrimination:

- “Restrict the application of *Bostock*. The new Administration should restrict *Bostock*’s application of sex discrimination protections to sexual orientation and transgender status in the context of hiring and firing.
- Withdraw unlawful ‘notices’ and ‘guidances.’ The President should direct agencies to withdraw unlawful “notices” and ‘guidances’ purporting to apply *Bostock*’s reasoning broadly outside hiring and firing.
- Rescind regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics. The President should direct agencies to rescind regulations interpreting sex discrimination provisions as prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, sex characteristics, etc.
- Direct agencies to refocus enforcement of sex discrimination laws. The President should direct agencies to focus their enforcement of sex discrimination laws on the biological binary meaning of ‘sex.’”<sup>92</sup>

Jonathan Berry was Acting Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor during the first Trump Administration.<sup>93,94</sup>

## **Proposed repeal of education regulations prohibiting gender identity discrimination**

Project 2025’s *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise* also calls for a number of other policy changes that would hurt LGBTQIA+ people. The Department of Education chapter, written by Heritage Foundation researcher Lindsey E. Burke,<sup>95</sup> calls for:

**The State Department chapter was written by Dr. Kiron Skinner, a Trump Administration appointee who was alleged fired in 2019 due to her “abusive” management style, which included making homophobic remarks, according to Politico.**

---

<sup>92</sup> Berry J. Department of Labor and Related Agencies. *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, pp. 584-585.

<sup>93</sup> Boyden Gray Staff. “Regulatory Executive and Litigator Jonathan Berry Joins Boyden Gray & Associates as Partner.” Boyden Gray PLLC. April 20, 2020.

<https://boydengray.com/regulatory-executive-and-litigator-jonathan-berry-joins-boyden-gray-associates-as-partner/>

<sup>94</sup> 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary SHRM. Better Workplaces, Better World. <https://conferences.shrm.org/presenter/jonathan-berry>

<sup>95</sup> <https://www.heritage.org/staff/lindsey-burke-phd>

- the repeal of Title IX regulations implemented by the Biden Administration that expanded protections for transgender youth in schools.<sup>96</sup>
- language preventing teachers from using names or pronouns with students that do not correspond to what is on their birth certificate
- forcing teachers to notify parents if a child reveals they are questioning their gender or asks to be called by a different name or pronoun
- Congress should repeal the National Education Association charter.<sup>97</sup>

A second Trump Administration would revert back to an anti-transgender interpretation of Title IX regulations that were put forth by the Department of Justice under the first Trump Administration.<sup>98</sup> Sex would be defined as strictly the biological sex recognized at birth, and protections for faith-based organizations would be strengthened. Project 2025's *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise* claims that Title IX regulations trample women's and girls' athletic opportunity and due process on campus, threaten free speech and religious liberty, and erode parental rights in elementary and secondary education regarding sensitive issues of sex.<sup>99</sup> Former President Trump recently promised to repeal the recent Biden Administration's Title IX regulation "on day one" of his second term.<sup>100</sup>

**Project 2025 would force teachers to notify parents if a child reveals they are questioning their gender or asks to be called by a different name or pronoun.**

---

<sup>96</sup> Alfonseca K, Gomez J. "Biden expands Title IX protections for pregnancy, trans people and sexual assault victims. The Biden administration reversed some Trump-era changes to Title IX." *ABC News*. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/biden-expands-title-ix-protections-pregnancy-trans-people/story?id=109422988>

<sup>97</sup> Lindsey M. Burke, Department of Education, *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, pp. 319-337.

<sup>98</sup> Somashekar S, Brown E, Vucci E. Trump Administration rolls back protections for transgender students. *Washington Post*. February 22, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/trump-administration-rolls-back-protections-for-transgender-students/2017/02/22/550a83b4-f913-11e6-bf01-d47f8cf9b643\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.11ef42f0311c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/trump-administration-rolls-back-protections-for-transgender-students/2017/02/22/550a83b4-f913-11e6-bf01-d47f8cf9b643_story.html?utm_term=.11ef42f0311c)

<sup>99</sup> Lindsey M. Burke, Department of Education, *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, p. 333.

<sup>100</sup> Migdon B. "Trump vows to reverse transgender student protections 'on day one.'" *The Hill*. May 10, 2024. <https://thehill.com/homenews/lgbtq/4656405-donald-trump-transgender-students-athletes-title-ix-lgbtq/>

The repeal of the Biden Administration’s Title IX regulations would make it more difficult to enforce sex nondiscrimination in schools in ways that support transgender students.<sup>101</sup> This

**One of the religious right organizations involved with Project 2025 is Moms for Liberty, a group that calls supporters of initiatives to reduce anti-LGBTQ+ violence victimization “groomers.”**

could erode the privacy, autonomy, and safety of transgender and gender diverse (TGD) youth as they explore their gender identity. Furthermore, some gender-questioning children may come from family environments that are not supportive of their gender identity. These children may be susceptible to family rejection or even victimization after their parents are notified of their gender concerns by their teachers.<sup>7</sup> *Education Week* notes that one of the religious right organizations involved with Project 2025 is Moms for Liberty, a group that advocated for Florida Governor DeSantis’s “don’t say gay” law in Florida.<sup>102</sup> Moms for Liberty leaders have accused people who support Safe Schools Initiatives to end anti-LGBTQ+ violence

victimization in schools of being “groomers.”<sup>103</sup>

**Calls to allow faith-based human service providers to discriminate against LGBTQ+ families**

Roger Severino also calls for the “protection” of faith-based adoption agencies that refuse to place a child in a household with a same-sex couple or LGBTQ+ parents. He calls for the Administration for Children and Families (ACF) and the Assistant Secretary for Financial Resources (ASFR) to repeal 2016 regulations that impose SOGI nondiscrimination conditions on agency grants.<sup>104</sup> Severino argues that this would allow these organizations to receive federal grants and refuse to place children with LGBTQ+ families without the threat of lawsuits.

**Roger Severino also calls for the “protection” of faith-based adoption agencies that refuse to place a child in a household with a same-sex couple or LGBTQ+ parents.**

---

<sup>101</sup> Stone M. What Would Happen to K-12 in a 2nd Trump Term? A Detailed Policy Agenda Offers Clues. *Education Week*. Published March 25, 2024. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/what-would-happen-to-k-12-in-a-2nd-trump-term-a-detailed-policy-agenda-offers-clues/2024/03#>

<sup>102</sup> Stone M. “What Would Happen to K-12 in a 2nd Trump Term? A Detailed Policy Agenda Offers Clues.” *Education Week*. March 25, 2024. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/what-would-happen-to-k-12-in-a-2nd-trump-term-a-detailed-policy-agenda-offers-clues/2024/03#>

<sup>103</sup> GLAAD. “Moms for Liberty Uses False and Inflammatory Language to Vilify LGBTQ People.” December 5, 2023. <https://glaad.org/moms-for-liberty-groomer-rhetoric-anti-lgbtq/>

<sup>104</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, 2023: The Heritage Foundation, pp. 477-478.

## Harsh criticism and proposed radical restructuring of the CDC and NIH

Roger Severino argues that our nation's public health system lost trust due to its alleged mishandling of COVID-19 and should be fundamentally restructured. He singles out Dr. Anthony Fauci for especially harsh criticism: "Unaccountable bureaucrats like Anthony Fauci should never again have such broad, unchecked power to issue health 'guidelines' that will certainly be the basis for federal and state mandates," Severino writes. "Never again should public health bureaucrats be allowed to hide information, ignore information, or mislead the public concerning the efficacy or dangers associated with any recommended health interventions because they believe it may lead to hesitancy on the part of the public."<sup>105</sup>

Severino is very critical of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC): "COVID-19 exposed the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) as perhaps the most incompetent and arrogant agency in the federal government."<sup>106</sup> Severino proposes splitting the CDC into two pieces, one focused on collecting and analyzing state epidemiologic data, the other focused on making public health recommendations and policy (although with much weaker authority), claiming there is a conflict of interest by having both in one agency.<sup>107</sup>

There should be a firewall between the two new agencies that would be created by splitting the CDC, Severino says. The new piece of the CDC focused on public health and policy should have "a severely confined ability to make policy recommendations."<sup>108</sup>

One section of his chapter underlines how religious considerations shape Severino's thinking towards public health policies during a global pandemic:

"The CDC can and should make assessments as to the *health* costs and benefits of health interventions" Severino argues, "but it has limited to no capacity to measure the *social* costs or benefits they may entail. For example, how much risk mitigation is worth the price of shutting down churches on the holiest day of the Christian calendar and far beyond as happened in 2020? **What is the proper balance of lives saved versus souls saved?** The CDC has no business making such inherently political (and often

**"How much risk mitigation is worth the price of shutting down churches on the holiest day of the Christian calendar and far beyond as happened in 2020? What is the proper balance of lives saved versus souls saved?"**  
- Roger Severino, emphasis added

---

<sup>105</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, 2023: The Heritage Foundation, 2023, pp. 451-452, 464.

<sup>106</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, pp. 451-452.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, pp. 451-452.

<sup>108</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, p. 453.



unconstitutional) assessments and should be required by law to stay in its lane.”  
(emphasis added)<sup>109</sup>

Severino’s proposal to split the CDC into two agencies and severely restrict its ability to make public health policy would weaken the country’s public health infrastructure by hindering its ability to respond to a future outbreak of infectious disease. Public health experts warn that the proposal to split up and shrink the size of the CDC would be devastating for public health in the event of a future pandemic. As *Politico* recently reported:

...such an agency reorganization could have far-reaching consequences on the CDC’s ability to offer strategies to prevent or mitigate the spread of disease and, according to one former CDC director, slow down its coordination when tracking and stymieing an outbreak.

“If you have different agencies, you’re not going to make it easier to deal with an outbreak. You’re going to make it harder to deal with an outbreak and you’re going to reduce the likelihood that Americans will be resilient and healthy enough to withstand it,” said Dr. Tom Frieden, who led the CDC under the Obama administration.<sup>110</sup>

**The proposed reorganization of the CDC “could have far-reaching consequences on the CDC’s ability to offer strategies to prevent or mitigate the spread of disease and, according to one former CDC director, slow down its coordination when tracking and stymieing an outbreak.” - *Politico***

### **Policies restricting reproductive choice, contraception, and the use of fetal cells in research**

Severino criticizes the CDC for policies related to reproductive health and gender identity:

“Respect for Life and Conscience. The CDC should eliminate programs and projects that do not respect human life and conscience rights and that undermine family formation.”<sup>111</sup>

Severino criticizes the use of fetal cells in COVID-19 vaccine research. He writes that the CDC should fund research into the alleged health risks of abortion and into the benefits of “modern fertility awareness–based methods (FABMs) of family planning.”

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Cirruzzo C. “The CDC could shrink under a second Trump administration.” *Politico*. March 11, 2024. <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/03/11/cdc-dismantle-trump-administration-00146035>

<sup>111</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, pp. 454-456.

As for the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Severino calls for the FDA to rescind approval of mifepristone and misoprostol for medical termination of pregnancy up to 10 weeks: “Stop promoting or approving mail-order abortions...”<sup>112</sup> Severino also calls on Congress to prohibit fetal tissue research, and says that the FDA should end its human embryonic stem cell registry.<sup>113</sup>

An unsigned introduction to the section of Project 2025’s *Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise* in which Severino’s chapter is found describes the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the National Institutes of Health as “villains,” and implies that there is a conflict of interest between Dr. Anthony Fauci, who for many years directed the National Institute for Allergies and Infectious Diseases, and other NIH leaders, on the one hand, and pharmaceutical companies, on the other hand.<sup>114</sup> Severino faults Dr. Fauci and other NIH leaders, including Dr. Francis Collins, former Director of NIH, for NIH’s participating directly in COVID-19 research with Moderna and sharing the patent for its COVID-19 vaccine. He also faults NIH leaders for allegedly receiving royalties from pharmaceutical companies.<sup>115</sup>

Severino calls for term limits for high-level career professionals at NIH, for ending NIH’s “monopoly” on funding health research and calls on Congress to block grant NIH funding to states. However, most states do not have the research expertise to manage biobehavioral

**Most states do not have the research expertise to manage biobehavioral research, clinical trials research, and other kinds of scientific research essential for public health and national security.**

research, clinical trials research, and other kinds of scientific research essential for public health and national security.

**Severino calls for the FDA to rescind approval of mifepristone and misoprostol for medical termination of pregnancy up to 10 weeks.**

---

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, pp. 457-459.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p. 461.

<sup>114</sup> Author unknown, *The Common Welfare, Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise, 2023*, p. 284.

<sup>115</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise, 2023: The Heritage Foundation*, pp. 461-462.

Severino also calls for decommissioning the NIH and CDC Foundations due to a large number of contributions from pharmaceutical companies, which he claims influences research decisions and health policy. He also denounces the “woke policies” that allegedly hold sway at NIH, calls for abolishing NIH’s Office of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion, and claims that the “NIH has been at the forefront in pushing junk gender science.” Instead, Severino writes that it should fund research on the alleged harms caused by gender affirmation.<sup>116</sup>

Dr. Fauci has been a leader in HIV research and care since the outbreak of the HIV epidemic in 1981, and helped advocate for increased government HIV research funding and more involvement of gay men living with HIV in HIV research in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>117</sup> During the Mpox outbreak starting in May 2022 Dr. Fauci met with LGBTQ health advocates on a regular

**Dr. Fauci has been a leader in HIV research and care since the outbreak of the HIV epidemic in 1981, and helped advocate for increased government HIV research funding and more involvement of gay men living with HIV in HIV research in the 1980s and 1990s.**

basis to share information, help LGBTQ+ community members access vaccines, testing and treatment, and reduce infections.<sup>118</sup>

Severino also hints at drastic cuts in funding for Medicaid, which provides health insurance coverage for nearly 83 million low- and moderate-income people and people with disabilities in the U.S. Nearly 38 million of these individuals are children.<sup>119</sup> :

“The dramatic increase in Medicaid expenditures is due in large part to the ACA (Obamacare), which mandates that states must expand their Medicaid eligibility standards to include all individuals at or below 138 percent of the federal poverty level (FPL), and the public health emergency, which has prohibited states from performing basic eligibility reviews.”<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p. 462.

<sup>117</sup> On Point with Meghna Chakrabarti, July 16, 2024 interview with Dr. Anthony Fauci, WBUR, Boston.

<sup>118</sup> Cahill S. Lessons Learned from the U.S. Public Health Response to the 2022 Mpox Outbreak. *LGBT Health*. 2023 Aug 2. doi: 10.1089/lgbt.2022.0274. Epub ahead of print. PMID: 37527421.

<sup>119</sup> Medicaid.gov. *March 2024 Medicaid & CHIP Enrollment Data Highlights*. <https://www.medicaid.gov/medicaid/program-information/medicaid-and-chip-enrollment-data/report-highlights/index.html>

<sup>120</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise, 2023: The Heritage Foundation*, pp. 466-467.

Severino also calls for the federal government to “[r]eplace the enhanced match rate with a fairer and more rational match rate.”<sup>121</sup> According to an analysis by Georgetown University’s McCourt School of Public Policy Center for Children and Families, the “Project 2025 Blueprint Also Includes Draconian Cuts to Medicaid.” This analysis notes that Project 2025’s “proposals to radically restructure and deeply cut Medicaid” mirror those previously proposed by the Republican Study Committee in Congress. These include capping federal funding to block grants or per capita caps, cutting the federal Medicaid matching rate (FMAP) to 50% (it is currently 76.9% for Mississippi and 76% for Puerto Rico), eliminate state use of provider taxes to finance their Medicaid programs, allow states “to drop coverage of nursing home care and the Early Periodic Diagnostic Screening and Treatment (EPSDT) benefit for children,” and so on.<sup>122</sup>

## **A Georgetown University analysis warns that the “Project 2025 Blueprint Also Includes Draconian Cuts to Medicaid.”**

Medicaid is a program that promotes racial and economic health equity. Black, Hispanic, Native American/Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders are less likely to have private health insurance and are disproportionately likely to be Medicaid enrollees.<sup>123</sup> People with HIV, who found it difficult to obtain health insurance before the Affordable Care Act, have benefitted greatly by the expansion in Medicaid eligibility adopted by most states. About 40% of non-elderly people living with HIV are insured through Medicaid.<sup>124</sup> People with HIV in the U.S. are disproportionately gay and bisexual men, transgender women, Black and/or Hispanic.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Park E. *Project 2025 Blueprint Also Includes Draconian Cuts to Medicaid*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University McCourt School of Public Policy, Center for Children and Families. June 17, 2024. <https://ccf.georgetown.edu/2024/06/17/project-2025-blueprint-also-includes-draconian-cuts-to-medicaid/>

<sup>123</sup> Pillai A, Hinton E, Rudowitz R, Artiga S. *Medicaid Efforts to Address Racial Health Disparities*. Washington, DC: Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF). July 1, 2024. <https://www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/medicaid-efforts-to-address-racial-health-disparities/#:~:text=As%20Hispanic%2C%20Black%2C%20AIAN%20and,racial%20disparities%20in%20disenrollment%20rates.>

<sup>124</sup> Dawson L, Kates J, Roberts T, Chidambaram P. *Medicaid and people with HIV*. March 27, 2023. Washington, DC: Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF). <https://www.kff.org/hiv/issue-brief/medicaid-and-people-with-hiv/>

<sup>125</sup> HIV.gov. *U.S. Statistics*. December 7, 2023. <https://www.hiv.gov/hiv-basics/overview/data-and-trends/statistics>

## **Given the rise in sexually transmitted infections in the U.S., including increases in syphilis and gonorrhea, defunding Planned Parenthood would be devastating for health equity and for the nation’s public health.**

Severino also calls on policymakers to “end taxpayer funding of Planned Parenthood,” prohibit Planned Parenthood from receiving Medicaid funds, and issue guidance allowing states to prohibit the use of Medicaid funds for the organization.<sup>126</sup> Planned Parenthood is the nation’s largest provider of sexual and reproductive health care, with more than 2 million patients accessing care through 600 locations. Most patients are low- to moderate-income.<sup>127</sup> It also provides hundreds of thousands of patients with mammograms and Pap tests each year to screen for and prevent cancer.<sup>128</sup> Given the rise in sexually transmitted infections in the U.S., including increases in syphilis and gonorrhea, defunding Planned Parenthood would be devastating for health equity and for the nation’s public health.<sup>129</sup> Other proposals to reduce funding for safety net health care

and to weaken public health and research infrastructure could be devastating for vulnerable populations, especially given the rise of treatment-resistant gonorrhea<sup>130</sup> and syphilis.<sup>131</sup>

### **Conclusion and call to action**

Project 2025 articulates an authoritarian, discriminatory policy agenda for the federal government that would roll back recent advances in racial equality and equity, women’s equality, access to reproductive health care, LGBTQIA+ equality and health equity, and HIV and STI prevention and care. It is a blueprint for an America in which efforts to reduce racial and sex discrimination are banned, LGBTQIA+ people and especially transgender people are demonized and stigmatized, LGBTQIA+ youth live in fear and silence, and millions cannot access basic healthcare, including reproductive healthcare and STI prevention and treatment. Its proposals would undermine our nation’s public health infrastructure that is in critical need of

---

<sup>126</sup> Roger Severino, HHS chapter of *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise, 2023: The Heritage Foundation*, p. 471-472.

<sup>127</sup> Planned Parenthood. Who We Are. <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/who-we-are>

<sup>128</sup> Planned Parenthood. *HERE FOR A REASON 2020-2021 Annual Report*.

[https://cdn.plannedparenthood.org/uploads/filer\\_public/40/8f/408fc2ad-c8c2-48da-ad87-be5cc257d370/211214-ppfa-annualreport-20-21-c3-digital.pdf?\\_gl=1\\*1at00h2\\*\\_ga\\*MzA5NzYxNjg2LjE3MjE0ODU0NDc.\\*\\_ga\\_ENXC8KHJL8\\*MTcyMTQ4ODg2NC4yLjEuMTcyMTQ4OTAwOC4wLjAuOTQ3MTk0NTM](https://cdn.plannedparenthood.org/uploads/filer_public/40/8f/408fc2ad-c8c2-48da-ad87-be5cc257d370/211214-ppfa-annualreport-20-21-c3-digital.pdf?_gl=1*1at00h2*_ga*MzA5NzYxNjg2LjE3MjE0ODU0NDc.*_ga_ENXC8KHJL8*MTcyMTQ4ODg2NC4yLjEuMTcyMTQ4OTAwOC4wLjAuOTQ3MTk0NTM).

<sup>129</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. *Sexually Transmitted Infection Surveillance 2022*. “CDC’s 2022 STI Surveillance Report underscores that STIs must be a public health priority.” January 30, 2024. <https://www.cdc.gov/std/statistics/2022/default.htm#:~:text=Overall%2C%20in%202022%2C%20more%20than,in%20the%20past%20five%20years>.

<sup>130</sup> CDC. *Drug-resistant gonorrhea*. February 15, 20204. <https://www.cdc.gov/gonorrhea/hcp/drug-resistant/index.html#:~:text=That%20means%20the%20germs%20are,to%20treat%20this%20common%20infection>.

<sup>131</sup> Orbe-Orihuela YC, Sánchez-Alemán MÁ, Hernández-Pliego A, Medina-García CV, Vergara-Ortega DN. “Syphilis as Re-Emerging Disease, Antibiotic Resistance, and Vulnerable Population: Global Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis.” *Pathogens*. 2022 Dec 15;11(12):1546.

strengthening, weaken health research, and weaken Great Society safety net programs and the Affordable Care Act, which have provided tens of millions of Americans access to health care and kept them out of poverty.

Former President Trump and his campaign are strategically distancing themselves from this effort. Don't believe it. Project 2025 authors are former and likely future Trump Administration officials. Their proposals are simply a more extreme version of policies from the first Trump Administration. These proposals are key priorities of the Religious Right, which is a core constituency of the GOP coalition.

We must be honest about the threats Project 2025 poses to all people living in the United States, particularly those who are LGBTQIA+, BIPOC, women, newly arrived to the country, living in poverty, living with disabilities, or otherwise disadvantaged or marginalized. It is imperative that voters understand just how much of a threat Project 2025 is to basic human rights, health, and safety.

**Project 2025 is a blueprint for an America in which efforts to reduce racial and sex discrimination are banned, LGBTQIA+ people and especially transgender people are demonized and stigmatized, LGBTQIA+ youth live in fear and silence, and millions cannot access basic healthcare, including reproductive healthcare and STI prevention and treatment.**

## **Acknowledgements**

Written by Sean Cahill, PhD and Connor DiBlasi.

Research, editing, and graphic design assistance by Whitney Crebase, MPH.

Reviewed by Amy Ben-Arieh, JD, MPH, Adrianna Boulin, MPH, Kenneth H. Mayer, MD, and Jennifer Potter, MD.<sup>132</sup>

Copyright 2024 The Fenway Institute.

---

<sup>132</sup> Cahill is Director of Health Policy Research at the Fenway Institute. DiBlasi was Research Fellow at the Fenway Institute in spring 2024. Amy Ben-Arieh is Executive Director of the Fenway Institute. Adrianna Boulin is Director of Racial Equity, Social Justice and Community Engagement at Fenway Health. Kenneth Mayer and Jenny Potter are Co-Directors of the Fenway Institute.