

United States Senate

HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR AND PENSIONS COMMITTEE

Bernard Sanders, Ranking Member

Minority Staff Report

April 28th, 2026

Justice Denied: How Trump's Office for Civil Rights Reached a 12-Year Low in Protecting Students from Discrimination

I. Executive Summary

Since taking office, President Trump has repeatedly ordered the illegal dismantling of the Department of Education, with devastating consequences for students, schools, colleges, and universities across the country. But nowhere have those consequences been clearer than at the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), the federal law enforcement agency charged with vigorously protecting students from discrimination. In March 2025, Secretary of Education Linda McMahon fired 299 out of 575 OCR staff and shuttered 7 of 12 regional civil rights offices.¹ When courts intervened and forced the administration to rescind those firings, McMahon relented—but the damage was done. OCR has never recovered and thousands of students who were discriminated against have been left without help, without answers, and without justice.

Make no mistake about what OCR does and why it matters. When a child with a disability is denied the education they are legally entitled to, they call OCR. When a child is sexually harassed at school and the school does nothing, they call OCR. When a student is subjected to racial harassment, antisemitism, Islamophobia, or other shared ancestry discrimination, they call OCR. OCR exists because Congress decided decades ago that the federal government has an obligation to protect the civil rights of every student in America. This is a promise to the 65.3 million students enrolled in schools, colleges, and universities across the country.²

One year after Trump signed an executive order to dismantle the Department of Education,³ Senator Bernie Sanders, Ranking Member of the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions

¹ U.S. Dept. of Education, “U.S. Department of Education Initiates Reduction in Force,” March 11, 2025. <https://www.ed.gov/about/news/press-release/us-department-of-education-initiates-reduction-force>

² National Center for Education Statistics, “Learn About the New Condition of Education 2025: Part I,” June 2025. <https://nces.ed.gov/use-work/resource-library/report/compendium/learn-about-new-condition-education-2025-part-i/#postsecondary-enrollments>

³ White House Executive Order, “Improving Education Outcomes by Empowering Parents, States, and Communities,” March 20, 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/03/improving-education-outcomes-by-empowering-parents-states-and-communities/>

Committee (HELP Committee), directed his staff to evaluate what dismantling the Department of Education has meant for students facing discrimination. This report analyzes OCR’s record in helping these students through the most direct public measure of OCR’s civil rights enforcement: resolution agreements. Resolution agreements are legally binding commitments between OCR and schools to remedy violations of students’ civil rights, monitored for years after a complaint is filed. A resolution agreement means OCR identified a problem and required a school to fix it—not just for the student who came forward, but for every student who comes after them. By that measure, OCR's 2025 results have been a disaster.

In February 2026, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) released a report⁴ requested by Senator Sanders finding that the Trump administration’s actions wasted up to \$38 million by paying investigators not to work, while dismissing roughly 90% of discrimination complaints from students without review. This report builds on that analysis with a comprehensive accounting of the resolution agreements OCR has—and has not—reached under Secretary McMahon’s leadership in 2025. The conclusion is inescapable: while thousands of students waited for help, Trump's OCR reached the fewest resolution agreements in at least 12 years.

II. Key Findings:

This report finds that despite OCR receiving an expected record number of civil rights complaints in 2025,⁵ Trump’s OCR reached just 112 resolution agreements—the fewest in at least 12 years. In 2025, Trump’s OCR reached 0 resolution agreements involving sexual harassment, sexual violence, seclusion or restraint, racial harassment, or discriminatory school discipline.

- **Trump's OCR has effectively stopped protecting students, reaching resolution agreements in just 1% of pending cases in 2025.**
 - Despite 11,985 civil rights cases pending on January 14, 2025, Trump's OCR reached just 112 resolution agreements in calendar year 2025—providing meaningful relief to students in just 1 percent of pending cases.
 - OCR reached 0 resolution agreements in 15 states and Puerto Rico in 2025.
 - OCR reached 0 resolution agreements in 2025 for sexual harassment, sexual violence, seclusion or restraint, racial harassment, or discriminatory school discipline—despite 2,705 pending cases across these categories. In 2024, OCR reached resolution agreements in every one of these categories.
- **Trump’s OCR is the least productive OCR in recent history, reaching the fewest resolution agreements of any OCR in at least 12 years and wasting taxpayer funds.**

⁴ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “Department of Education: Full Costs and Savings Estimate Needed for Reduction-in Force and Restructuring of the Office for Civil Rights,” January 29, 2026. <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-26-108320.pdf>

⁵ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Fiscal Year 2025 Budget Request. <https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/overview/budget/budget25/justifications/dd-ocr.pdf>

- On an identical \$140 million budget and similar caseload, OCR’s resolution agreements fell 78%—from 507 in 2024 to just 112 in 2025—the difference between OCR providing meaningful relief to students in 5% of pending cases to just 1%.
- Instead of resolving urgent, pending cases, OCR let nearly \$14.2 million dollars in fiscal year 2025 lapse—letting those funds expire in FY2025 rather than expending them to protect students from civil rights violations.
- In the 25 states and Puerto Rico where Trump shuttered regional offices, OCR reached just 32 resolution agreements—just 0.5% of the 6,837 pending cases, compared to 1.6% in states where offices remained open.
- Compared to Trump's own first term, his OCR in 2025 reached 91% fewer resolution agreements than in 2017.
- **Students with disabilities—whose complaints make up the largest share of OCR cases—have been abandoned.** OCR investigates cases where students with disabilities are denied their legal right to a free appropriate public education (FAPE), bullied or harassed because of their disability, or physically restrained or isolated in ways that violate their civil rights.
 - OCR reached 78.7% fewer disability discrimination resolution agreements in 2025 (83) compared to 2024 (390).
 - In 2025, Trump’s OCR reached resolution agreements in 40 out of 1,887 pending FAPE cases. This is 71% fewer resolution agreements in 2025 than in 2024.
 - In 2025, OCR reached resolution agreements in 1 out of 595 disability harassment cases. This is 93% fewer than in 2024.
 - In 2025, OCR resolved 0 out of 172 pending cases of seclusion and restraint with a resolution agreement, meaning not a single school was held accountable by OCR for physically restraining a child last year.
- **Students facing antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of shared ancestry discrimination in pending cases were left without enforceable relief.** OCR investigates cases where Jewish, Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian students are harassed by students or staff while their schools look the other way.
 - In 2025, OCR resolved 0 out of 141 pending OCR cases of national origin discrimination involving religion (a type of discrimination based on shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics) with a resolution agreement through OCR's standard enforcement process.⁶
- **Under Trump, OCR has failed to secure any resolution agreements protecting girls and women facing sexual harassment or sexual violence.** OCR investigates Title IX cases where students are sexually assaulted by peers or staff and their schools fail to properly investigate, survivors are denied basic protections like counseling or a schedule

⁶ Note: According to OCR's public resolution agreement database, OCR reached 0 resolution agreements regarding national origin discrimination involving religion through OCR’s standard enforcement process outlined in its case processing manual. Outside of OCR, the Trump administration reached agreements with at least 6 universities through a multiagency task force on antisemitism. Whether those agreements resolve any pending OCR cases is unclear.

change to avoid their harasser, and girls' sports teams practice on inferior fields with inferior equipment while boys' teams receive everything they need.

- Trump's OCR resolved 0 sexual harassment cases and 0 sexual violence cases via resolution agreement, despite 777 and 334 cases pending, respectively.
- OCR reached resolution agreements in 4 out of 199 Title IX athletics cases. This is 78% fewer than in 2024.
- **Title VI enforcement against racial discrimination has come to a complete halt.** OCR investigates Title VI cases where students are subjected to racial harassment that their schools fail to address, where students of color are disciplined more harshly than white students for identical conduct, and where English language learners are denied equal access to educational programs.
 - In 2025, OCR resolved 0 racial harassment cases and 1 case involving English learners' access to education via a resolution agreement, despite 949 and 123 cases pending, respectively.
 - OCR resolved 0 school discipline discrimination cases with a resolution agreement, despite 473 pending cases.

III. Introduction

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) was established in the wake of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* to vigorously enforce civil rights to ensure equal access to education. Authorized under the Department of Education, OCR is responsible for preventing, identifying, ending, and remedying discrimination against students in elementary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities.

Complaints from students facing discrimination have been rising sharply. **In fiscal year 2025, OCR received an estimated record-breaking 23,879 discrimination complaints, more than three times the number from 2003 and nearly double the number from a decade ago.**⁷

When students and parents file civil rights complaints with OCR, OCR assesses whether the complaint falls within its jurisdiction and contains sufficient information to warrant investigation. If it does, OCR is legally required to open a case and investigate the complaint. Unlike civil rights offices at other federal agencies, ED OCR does not choose which cases to pursue. Instead, every complaint within OCR's jurisdiction must be opened as a case and investigated.

Once a case is open, OCR can "resolve" it in several ways:

- **Resolution agreement:** A legally binding, written contract between OCR and the school specifying corrective actions, timelines, and reporting requirements to remedy student

⁷ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Fiscal Year 2025 Budget Request.
<https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/overview/budget/budget25/justifications/dd-ocr.pdf>

harm. OCR must monitor the school's compliance. This is the only outcome that guarantees a student receives concrete relief.

- **Dismissal:** Closing a case that does not meet the threshold for a full investigation.
- **Insufficient evidence:** Closing a case after investigation because no violation was found.
- **Mediation:** An agreement between the complainant and the school reached during the investigation.
- **Administrative enforcement action:** Taking steps to withhold federal funding, with a hearing process in accordance with OCR's regulations.
- **Department of Justice (DOJ) referral:** If a school refuses to come into compliance, OCR can refer the case to the Department of Justice (DOJ) to pursue legal action.

Not all “resolutions” are equal. GAO found that from March 2025 to September 2025, 90% of OCR's case resolutions were dismissals⁸—meaning most cases were simply closed, not remedied during the Trump administration. Meanwhile, recent data from Trump's own OCR shows that nearly three-quarters of complaints received in 2025 were left pending for over 180 days. This means that under McMahon's watch, thousands of students who reached out to the federal government for help have been left waiting with no response.⁹

Because resolution agreements are legally binding, require ongoing monitoring, and are regularly posted in a public database, they are the only OCR outcome that delivers enforceable, publicly verifiable relief to students. This report analyzes the Trump administration's track record in reaching resolution agreements in 2025 using OCR's resolution agreement database,¹⁰ the only regularly updated, publicly accessible measure of the agency's enforcement activity.

IV. Trump's OCR has effectively stopped protecting students, resolving just 1% of pending cases with resolution agreements in 2025.

When Trump took office in January 2025, **OCR had 11,985 pending civil rights cases,¹¹ with more than 10 cases in every state in the country.** These cases represent students who came to the federal government for help. Resolution agreements don't just help one student; they require schools, districts, and colleges to fix systemic problems that protect every student in that institution.

⁸ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “Department of Education: Full Costs and Savings Estimate Needed for Reduction-in Force and Restructuring of the Office for Civil Rights,” January 29, 2026. <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-26-108320.pdf>

⁹ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Fiscal Year 2027 Budget Request. <https://www.ed.gov/media/document/fy-2027-congressional-justification-office-civil-rights-113545.pdf>

¹⁰ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Office for Civil Rights Recent Resolution Search,” data pulled March 6, 2026. <https://ocrcas.ed.gov/ocr-search>

¹¹ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Pending Cases Currently Under Investigation at Elementary-Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools,” data last updated on January 14, 2025. <https://ocrcas.ed.gov/open-investigations>

In 2025, Trump’s OCR resolved only 112 of the 11,985 pending cases—just 1%—through resolution agreements. The rest were dismissed, closed without resolution, resolved through mediation or remain pending, without the monitored relief that resolution agreements provide. That is **78% fewer resolution agreements from 2024 (507), despite a comparable caseload.**

In 2025, **OCR also reached 0 resolution agreements in 15 states and Puerto Rico**, leaving students in 1,862 pending cases with no enforceable protection in Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, and Wisconsin. *(See Appendix Table #1 For State-by-State Data on Pending OCR Cases)*

OCR failed entirely to reach resolution agreements for complaints across several types of discrimination in 2025, **reaching 0 resolution agreements in pending cases involving sexual harassment, sexual violence, seclusion or restraint, racial harassment, or discriminatory school discipline.** *(See Appendix Table #2 For Further Data on Pending vs. Resolved Cases Via Resolution Agreement During the 2nd Trump Administration)*

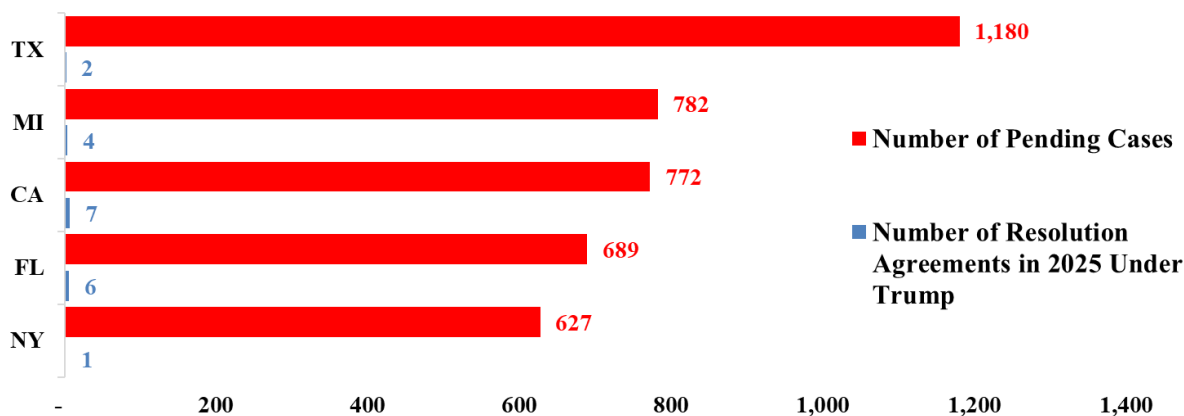
Table 1. Number and Percent of Pending Cases Resolved via Resolution Agreement in 2025 by the Trump Administration, by Discrimination Type.

Discrimination type	Number of Pending Cases Nationwide as of January 2025	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Open Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump
TOTAL	11,985	112	1%
<i>Disability</i>	5,794	83	1.4%
<i>Religion/National Origin/Shared Ancestry</i>	141	0*	0%
<i>Title IX</i>	2,821	31	1.1%
<i>Title VI</i>	3,248	6	0.2%

**Note: According to OCR's public resolution agreement database, OCR reached 0 resolution agreements regarding national origin discrimination involving religion through OCR's standard enforcement process outlined in its case processing manual. Outside of that process, the Trump administration reached agreements with at least 6 universities through a multiagency task force on antisemitism. Whether those agreements resolve any pending OCR cases is unclear.*

The scale of this failure is staggering: **in the 5 states with the most pending civil rights cases, with 4,031 pending investigations, OCR resolved just 0.5% of them through resolution agreements in 2025.** Thousands of students who asked for help have been ignored or dismissed by the federal government.

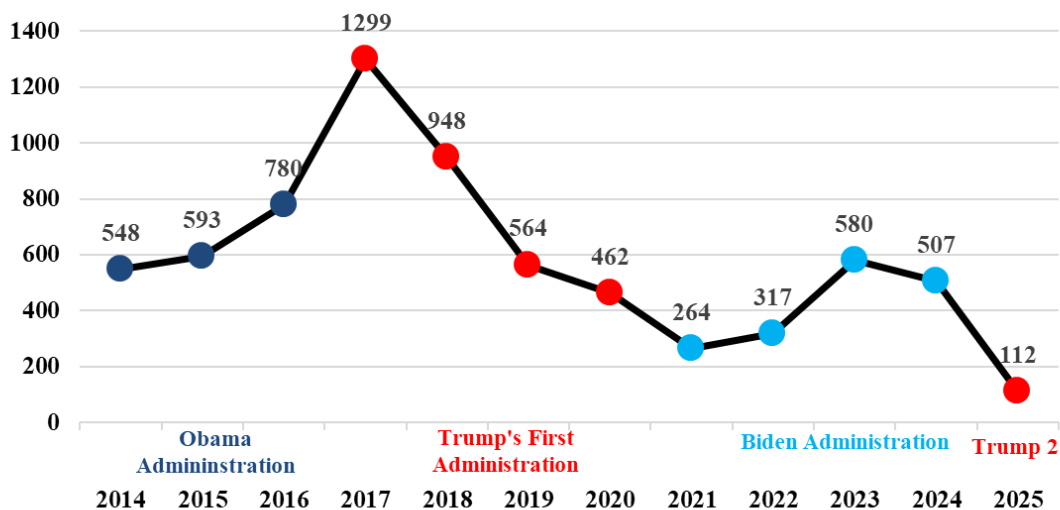
Figure 2: 5 States with the Most Pending Cases, Pending Cases vs. Resolution Agreements Reached by Trump’s OCR in 2025



V. Trump's OCR is the least productive in recent history, reaching the fewest resolution agreements of any OCR in at least 12 years and wasting taxpayer funds.

In 2025, Trump’s OCR secured the fewest number of resolution agreements protecting students in 12 years, the lowest productivity in the entire period for which public data are available.

Figure 3: Number of OCR Resolution Agreements Per Year.



See Appendix Table #3 For Trend Data on OCR Resolution Agreements by Selected Discrimination Type, From 2014 to 2025.

Trump’s OCR has received the same amount of taxpayer funds as in years past, yet it is doing a fraction of the work. In both fiscal years 2024 and 2025, Congress appropriated \$140 million on a bipartisan basis to OCR to fulfill its mission of protecting students from discrimination. On an identical budget and a comparable caseload, Trump's OCR reached 78% fewer resolution agreements than the year before—dropping from 507 in 2024 to just 112 in 2025. That is the difference between reaching resolution agreements in 5% of pending cases and 1%.

To put that in context: in February 2024, OCR had 10,185 pending cases and reached 550 resolution agreements over the following year—providing enforceable relief in 5.4% of cases. By January 2025, the caseload had grown to 11,985 cases, yet Trump's OCR reached just 112 resolution agreements—less than 1%.

Figure 4: Comparison of Pending and Resolved Cases via Resolution Agreements in 2024 and 2025

Year	Pending Cases	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreements	Percentage of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement
2024	10,185 ¹²	550	5.4%
2025	11,985	112	1%

Note: This table uses pending case snapshots from February 20, 2024 and January 14, 2025, to calculate resolution rates across a full calendar year because no other pending case data are publicly available. Calendar year totals (507 resolution agreements in 2024, 112 in 2025) are used throughout the rest of this report.

While thousands of students waited for OCR to act on their civil rights complaints, Secretary McMahon chose to allow over 10% of OCR's entire FY2025 budget to expire. Trump’s OCR reported that \$14.194 million appropriated by Congress in fiscal year 2025 expired.¹³ Instead of hiring additional OCR investigators, processing cases more effectively, or delivering justice to students with disabilities, survivors of sexual assault, or students facing other forms of discrimination, Secretary McMahon let funding appropriated on a bipartisan basis to carry out OCR’s crucial mission simply disappear.

OCR's collapse in enforcement was not inevitable. It is a direct result of decisions made by Secretary McMahon and the Trump administration. In 2017, the first year of Trump's first term, OCR entered into a record-high number of resolution agreements, averaging 818 per year across

¹² K-12 Dive, “Federal discrimination complaints continued upswing in 2023 with no signs of slowing,” February 22, 2024.

<https://www.k12dive.com/news/discrimination-complaints-increased-again-in-2023-no-signs-of-slowing-in-2/708187/>

¹³ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Fiscal Year 2027 Budget Request. <https://www.ed.gov/media/document/fy-2027-congressional-justification-office-civil-rights-113545.pdf>

the entire first term. In 2025, Trump’s OCR reached just 112. This is the same administration and the same agency. The difference is not the caseload, the budget, or the legal environment. The difference is that in 2025, McMahon decided to fire 299 out of 575 OCR staff and shutter 7 of 12 regional civil rights offices.¹⁴

Compared to 2017, OCR in 2025 reached:

- 92.7% fewer resolution agreements in disability cases
- 94.7% fewer in Title VI cases
- 77.9% fewer in Title IX cases

The consequences of McMahon’s decision to gut OCR staff were immediate and severe. OCR staff were fired mid-investigation. Students received no notice of whether their cases had been reassigned. Schools were left without a point of contact. For months, families heard nothing. The harm was not limited to new complainants. Students already in the middle of OCR-monitored resolution agreements lost their protection too.

- In Pennsylvania, a school district that had entered into a resolution agreement with OCR to address a racially hostile environment reported that every email sent to OCR since January 2025 bounced back unanswered, a climate survey required by the agreement was never approved, and therefore never administered.¹⁵
- In Michigan, OCR had helped the family of a seventh grader who developed memory loss after epileptic seizures negotiate a mediation agreement with Detroit Public Schools requiring the district to provide outside tutoring. But when the district stopped replying—and when the Trump administration shut down the regional office handling Michigan cases—the family had nowhere to turn.¹⁶

While all students have suffered under McMahon’s leadership, students in states where McMahon shuttered regional offices fared significantly worse. To this day, OCR has not provided Congress or the public with an updated average number of cases assigned to each OCR investigator.

- **In the 25 states and Puerto Rico where OCR shuttered regional offices, just 0.5% of pending cases (32 out of 6,837) were resolved through resolution agreements in 2025.**

¹⁴ Senator Sanders, “NEW REPORT: Trump Leaves Over 46 Million Students Without Protection from Discrimination,” March 27, 2025.

<https://www.sanders.senate.gov/press-releases/new-report-trump-leaves-over-46-million-students-without-protection-from-discrimination/>

¹⁵ 90.5 WESA, Pittsburgh’s NPR News Station., “With less federal oversight, what’s next for civil rights enforcement in Pennsylvania schools?”

March 19, 2026. <https://www.wesa.fm/education/2026-03-19/future-student-civil-rights-enforcement-pennsylvania>

¹⁶ Chalkbeat Detroit, “Michigan parents of students with disabilities feel ‘hopeless’ as civil rights cases remain in limbo,” April 14, 2025.

<https://www.chalkbeat.org/detroit/2025/04/14/hundreds-of-michigan-civil-rights-cases-impacted-by-federal-cuts/>

- In states where regional offices remained open, 1.6% of pending cases (80 out of 5,148) were resolved through resolution agreements.

Figure 5: Comparison of Pending Cases and Resolution Agreements in States Affected by Closed OCR Regional Offices in 2025 by the Trump Administration

States	Pending Cases at Start of Trump’s 2 nd Term	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Open Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Estimated Number of Remaining Cases Without a Resolution Agreement
25 States and Puerto Rico whose OCR regional offices were closed in March 2025 (CA, CT, DE, IA, IL, IN, KY, LA, MA, MD, ME, MI, MN, MS, ND, NH, NJ, NY, OH, PA, PR, RI, TX, VT, WI, WV)	6,837	32	0.5%	99.5%
25 States and DC not affected by OCR regional closures (AK, AL, AR, AZ, CO, DC, FL, GA, HI, ID, KS, MO, MT, NC, NE, NM, NV, OK, OR, SC, SD, TN, UT, VA, WA, WY)	5,148	80	1.6%	98.4%

VI. Students with disabilities—whose complaints make up the largest share of OCR cases—have been abandoned.

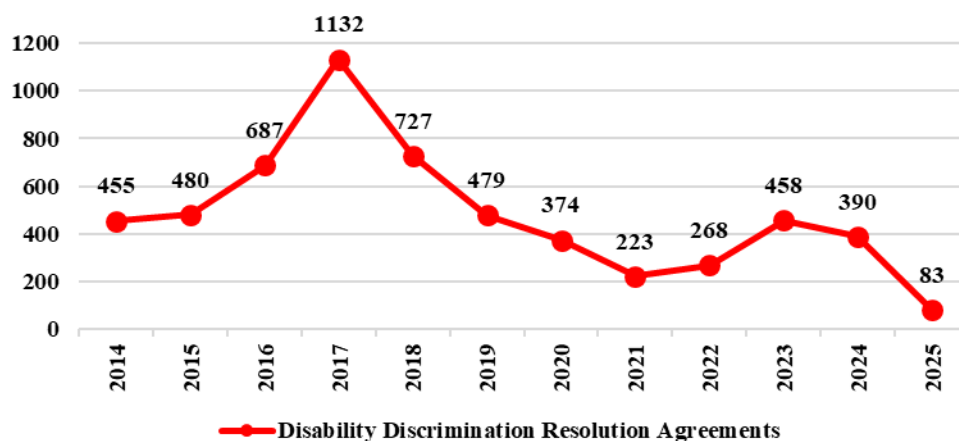
Disability discrimination makes up the largest share of OCR’s complaints, cases, and resolution agreements. Between 2021 and 2024, OCR received 27,620 disability-related complaints, with their number rising by 78% during that same period.¹⁷

¹⁷ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Protecting Civil Rights: Highlights of Activities, Office for Civil Rights 2021-2025,” January 2026. <https://www.ed.gov/media/document/protecting-civil-rights-109409.pdf>

At the start of the second Trump administration, there were 5,794 pending cases under investigation for disability discrimination. These pending cases involve alleged conduct like classmates recording a student with a physical disability and bullying them on social media, a teacher taping over a student’s mouth because of his disability-related behavior, and a school district capping the number of students who can be evaluated for learning disabilities—turning children away from receiving the legally required evaluation and supports they are entitled to. Under prior administrations, OCR reached resolution agreements in cases like these, requiring schools to evaluate students for compensatory services, train staff, and change the policies that allowed this conduct to occur.

In 2025, resolution agreements for students facing disability discrimination were at a 12-year low: Trump’s OCR reached just 83 disability discrimination resolution agreements in 2025—78.7% fewer resolutions than the 390 agreements reached in 2024.

Figure 6: Number of Resolution Agreements Reached on Disability Discrimination, 2014-2025



In 2025, enforcement in every subcategory of disability discrimination collapsed. Compared to 2024, Trump’s OCR reached settlement agreements in:

- 92% fewer cases involving academic adjustments
- 93% fewer disability harassment cases
- 71% fewer cases regarding FAPE
- 33% fewer accessibility cases
- 100% fewer seclusion and restraint cases

Figure 7: Number and Percentage of Disability Discrimination Cases Pending or Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 by the Trump Administration

Disability Discrimination Type	Pending Cases at Start of Trump’s 2 nd Term	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Open Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Estimated Number of Remaining Cases Without a Resolution Agreement
Academic Adjustments	358	2	0.6%	99.4%
Accessibility	285	22	7.7%	92.3%
Disability Harassment	595	1	0.2%	99.8%
Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE)	1,887	40	2.1%	97.9%
Restraint and/or Seclusion	172	0	0.0%	100.0%

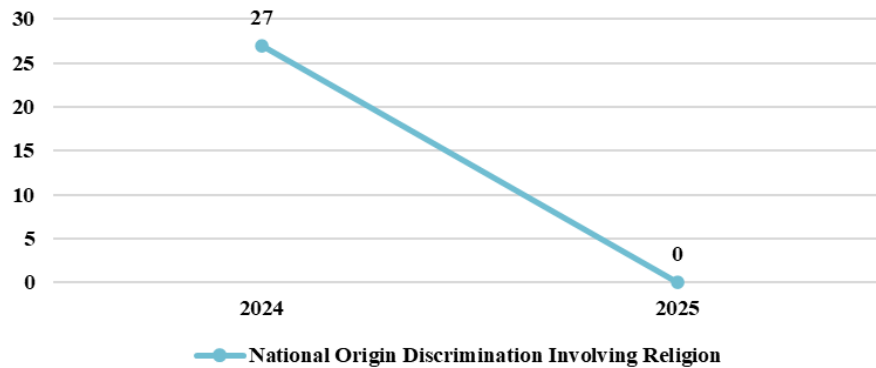
VII. Students facing antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of shared ancestry discrimination were left without enforceable relief.

At the start of the second Trump administration, there were 141 pending cases at OCR of national origin discrimination involving religion—a form of shared ancestry discrimination prohibited under Title VI that includes antisemitism, Islamophobia or anti-Palestinian discrimination. **Under Trump, 0 of the 141 pending cases have been resolved via a resolution agreement** through OCR’s standard enforcement process described in OCR’s case processing manual.¹⁸

These pending cases involve alleged conduct like Jewish students being subjected to Nazi costumes and swastikas in school hallways or Palestinian students being labeled “terrorists” by school counselors and ignored. In 2024, OCR reached 27 resolution agreements requiring schools where this type of conduct occurred to change their policies, train their staff, and ensure it never happened again.

¹⁸ U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Case Processing Manual (CPM), effective February 19, 2025. <https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/ocrcpm.pdf>

Figure 8: Number of Resolution Agreements on Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and Other Forms of National Origin Discrimination Involving Religion, 2024 and 2025.



In 2025, Trump’s OCR sent letters to 60 colleges for alleged antisemitism.¹⁹ It is not clear that those letters resulted in any enforceable protection for students.

President Trump also illegally froze and canceled billions in research funding, demanding politically motivated concessions from universities in exchange for money Congress had already appropriated.²⁰ Outside of OCR’s standard enforcement process, the Trump administration, through a multiagency task force, extracted agreements from at least 6 universities that compromise academic freedom and the free speech of students, faculty, and staff to unfreeze federal funds.²¹

It is unclear whether any of the resolutions extracted by the Trump administration outside of OCR’s standard enforcement process resolve any pending OCR cases. However, the data clearly show that OCR failed to reach any resolution agreements protecting K-12 students or addressing Islamophobia or anti-Palestinian shared ancestry discrimination.

In one particularly stark example, the Trump administration replaced a 2024 OCR resolution agreement with Brown University²² that had documented anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab discrimination—removing those protections without explanation—and replaced it with an agreement focused on eliminating diversity programs and targeting transgender students.²³

¹⁹ U.S. Dept. of Education, “U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights Sends Letters to 60 Universities Under Investigation for Antisemitic Discrimination and Harassment,” March 10, 2025. <https://www.ed.gov/about/news/press-release/us-department-of-educations-office-civil-rights-sends-letters-60-universities-under-investigation-antisemitic-discrimination-and-harassment>

²⁰ Senator Sanders, “Trump’s War on Free Speech,” January 7, 2026. <https://www.sanders.senate.gov/press-releases/news-sanders-releases-new-report-delineating-trumps-war-on-free-speech-on-college-campuses/>

²¹ NYTimes, “How Universities Are Responding to Trump,” February 5, 2026. <https://www.nytimes.com/article/trump-university-college.html>

²² Rhode Island PBS, “Brown reaches agreement to resolve complaint alleging antisemitism,” July 8, 2024.

<https://thepublicsradio.org/education/brown-reaches-agreement-to-resolve-complaint-alleging-antisemitism/>

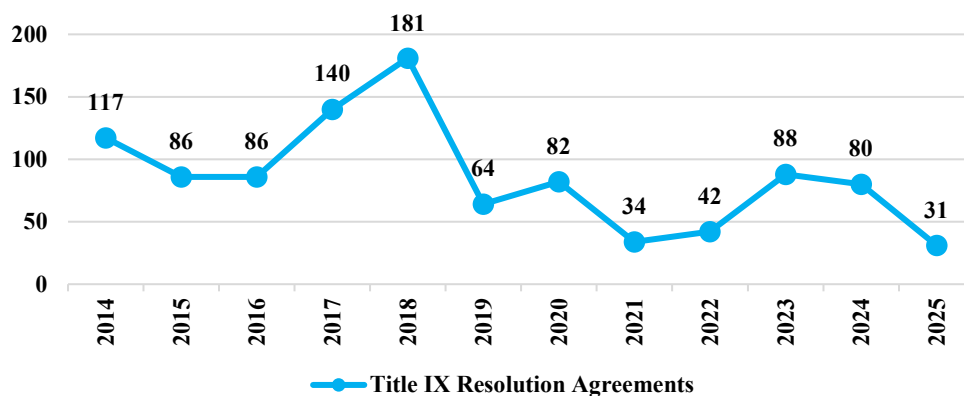
²³ U.S. Dept. of Education, “Secretary McMahon Statement on Brown University Deal,” July 30, 2025. <https://www.ed.gov/about/news/press-release/secretary-mcmahon-statement-brown-university-deal>

Instead of resolving any pending cases, under McMahon’s leadership, OCR turned its back on students who were discriminated against and turned its power against colleges and universities to coerce them to conform to the Trump administration’s ideological agenda.

VIII. Under Trump, OCR has failed to secure any resolution agreements protecting girls and women facing sexual harassment or sexual violence.

The Trump administration has repeatedly claimed to be the champion of women and girls under Title IX, but McMahon’s record tells a different story. Trump’s OCR has done virtually nothing to protect survivors of sexual assault, victims of harassment, and female athletes denied equal opportunities under Title IX. Instead, it has directed its limited enforcement resources almost exclusively toward investigating schools for their policies on transgender students.

Figure 9: Number of Resolution Agreements Reached on Title IX, 2014-2025.



At the start of the second Trump administration, there were 2,821 pending Title IX cases under investigation. These pending cases involve alleged conduct like a student reporting a sexual assault on campus and a school administrator dismissing it based on how the survivor looked, a teacher grooming underage female students on social media while a school stayed silent, and girls’ athletic teams practicing on inferior fields a mile from school while boys play in a renovated school stadium next door.

In 2025, just 31 of 2,821 pending Title IX cases resulted in a resolution agreement—61.3% fewer than the 80 resolution agreements OCR reached in 2024.

- Trump’s OCR reached 0 sexual harassment resolution agreements despite 777 pending cases.
- It entered into 0 sexual violence resolution agreements despite 334 pending cases.

- This administration has spent enormous political energy claiming to defend girls’ and women’s access to sports. Yet Trump’s OCR reached **just 4 Title IX athletics resolution agreements** despite 199 pending Title IX athletics cases.

Figure 10: Number and Percentage of Title IX Discrimination Cases Pending or Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 by the Trump Administration

Title IX Discrimination Type	Pending Cases at Start of Trump’s 2nd Term	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Open Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Estimated Number of Remaining Cases Without a Resolution Agreement
Sexual Harassment	777	0	0.0%	100.0%
Sexual Violence	334	0	0.0%	100.0%
Athletics	199	4	2%	98.0%

Public reporting shows that **OCR during the second Trump term has opened fewer than 10 sexual violence investigations since March 2025.**²⁴ The Trump administration isn’t just failing to resolve cases or barely opening new ones. Worse, it is also using taxpayer funds to void existing Title IX resolution agreements to remove protections already in place for LGBTQ+ students.

- In April 2026, the Trump administration rescinded portions of 6 Title IX resolution agreements, declaring it would no longer monitor or enforce protections for transgender students that the prior administration had secured. Students at these schools promised federal protection have had that protection taken away.

IX. Title VI enforcement against racial discrimination has come to a complete halt.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits racial discrimination in every publicly funded school, college, and university in America. The Trump administration has effectively abandoned that enforcement and is weaponizing the law against the very students it was written to protect.

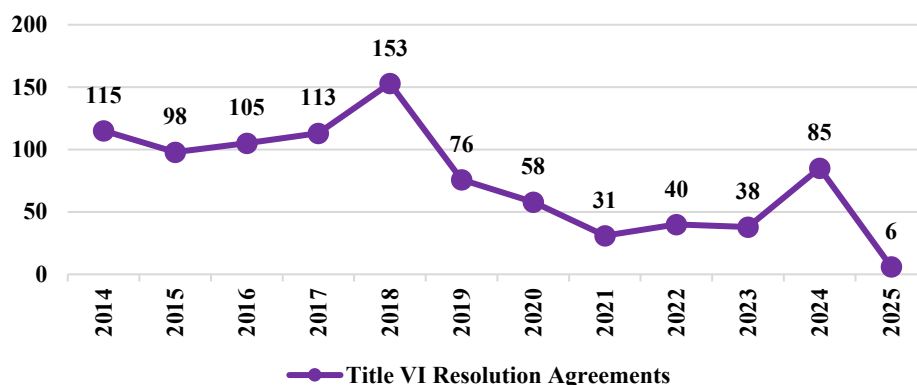
²⁴ Collin Binkley, AP News, “The Education Department is opening fewer sexual violence investigations as Trump dismantles it,” January 16, 2026. <https://apnews.com/article/trump-education-department-sex-assault-investigations-c01ffc379de6ca543043c1a17955bb47>

At the start of the second Trump administration, there were 3,248 pending Title VI cases under investigation. These pending cases involve alleged conduct like a Black student being called the n-word daily by classmates while teachers did nothing, Native American students being disciplined ten times more harshly than white students for the same offense, and English learners being placed in a study hall instead of receiving actual language instruction. Under prior administrations, OCR reached resolution agreements in cases like these, requiring schools to overhaul discipline policies to remove bias, provide compensatory services to students who were harmed, and conduct climate surveys and implement reforms to ensure it never happens again.

In 2025, Trump’s OCR reached just 6 Title VI resolution agreements out of 3,248 pending cases—92.9% fewer than the 85 reached in 2024. In 2025:

- Of 949 pending racial harassment cases, OCR resolved just 0 through a resolution agreement.²⁵
- Of 473 pending school discipline discrimination cases, OCR resolved 0 cases through a resolution agreement.
- Of 123 pending cases involving English learners’ access to education, OCR reached just 1 resolution agreement.

Figure 11: Number of Resolution Agreements Reached on Title VI, 2014-2025.



While abandoning students facing racial harassment and discrimination, the Trump administration has simultaneously weaponized Title VI to advance its political agenda.

- In February 2025, OCR issued a “Dear Colleague” Letter threatening to cut funding from public schools that did not certify their compliance with the Trump administration’s unlawful interpretation of Title VI. A federal district court vacated the letter after

²⁵ Note: A resolution agreement on racial harassment was entered into by OCR and District of Columbia Public Schools on 01/21/2025 and therefore was excluded from this report’s analysis of resolution agreements entered into by the Trump administration. U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Resolution Agreement OCR Case No. 11-23-1172,” January 21, 2025. <https://ocracas.ed.gov/sites/default/files/ocr-letters-and-agreements/11231172-b.pdf>

litigation challenged it as a violation of the First Amendment rights of students and educators.²⁶

- In March 2025, Trump’s OCR launched an investigation against the Ithaca City School District for hosting community-building events for students of color that were open to all students.²⁷ Since then, OCR has launched similar targeted investigations.

While the Trump administration has targeted schools based on a political agenda, students who filed Title VI complaints seeking protection from discrimination have been ignored. Additionally, the Trump administration weakened protections for English learning by firing nearly all the staff at the Office of English Language Acquisition, closing the office, and transferring programs to support English learners to the Department of Labor.²⁸

Figure 12: Number and Percentage of Title VI Discrimination Cases Pending or Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 by the Trump Administration

Title VI Discrimination Type	Pending Cases at Start of Trump’s 2nd Term	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Open Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Estimated Number of Remaining Cases Without a Resolution Agreement
Discipline	473	0	0.0%	100.0%
English Language Learners	123	1	0.8%	99.2%
Racial Harassment	949	0	0.0%	100.0%

X. Conclusion

The facts of this report are damning and make clear that the Trump administration has turned the Office for Civil Rights—an agency created to protect the most vulnerable students in America—into a tool for political persecution rather than student protection. After firing half of its staff and shuttering 7 of 12 regional civil rights offices, Trump’s OCR reached the fewest resolution agreements in at least 12 years, leaving students in nearly 12,000 cases who came to the federal government for help without enforceable relief in 2025. Not a single student who reported sexual

²⁶ Hunton, “Federal Court Vacates US Department of Education Guidance on Title VI,” September 3, 2025.

<https://www.hunton.com/insights/legal/federal-court-vacates-u-s-department-of-education-guidance-on-title-vi>

²⁷ EdWeek, “Trump Admin. Tells Schools: No Federal Funds If You’re Using DEI,” April 3, 2025. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/trump-admin-tells-schools-no-federal-funds-if-youre-using-dei/2025/04>

²⁸ Education Week, “Ed. Dept. Moves to Shutter Its Office for English Learners,” April 14, 2026. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/ed-dept-moves-to-shutter-its-office-for-english-learners/2026/04>

harassment or sexual violence received a resolution agreement. Not a single school was held accountable for physically restraining a child. Not a single case of racial harassment resulted in a resolution agreement. Thousands of students of color, students with disabilities, and survivors of sexual assault have been abandoned while Secretary McMahon let over \$14 million in federal funds appropriated for their protection expire.

Rather than protecting students, the Trump administration has weaponized the Department of Education to pursue its political goals, issuing an unlawful Dear Colleague Letter declaring diversity programs illegal, launching targeted investigations into schools to advance an ideological agenda that violated Americans' First Amendment rights, and unlawfully rescinding existing civil rights protections for students.

Any child in America should be able to go to school safely and be treated with dignity regardless of their race, disability, or sex. The Trump administration has broken that promise. That is a betrayal of every student, every parent, and every working person in America and it must end.

XI. Ranking Member Sanders' Previous OCR Oversight Work

This report is part of an ongoing effort by Ranking Member Bernie Sanders to hold the Trump administration accountable for its systematic dismantling of civil rights enforcement at the Department of Education.

- In March 2025, Sanders released a report²⁹ finding that the administration's reckless layoffs at OCR would leave more than 46 million students in 27 states and territories without dedicated investigators to protect their educational civil rights.
- In January 2026, Sanders released a report³⁰ revealing that the president had violated or likely violated the First Amendment in 17 cases related to college campuses, according to federal courts.
- In February 2026, the Government Accountability Office released a report³¹ requested by Sanders, which found that the Trump administration's efforts to illegally dismantle the Education Department wasted up to \$38 million by paying investigators at its Office for Civil Rights (OCR) not to work while it dismissed roughly 90% of discrimination complaints from students nationwide without review.

²⁹ Senator Sanders, "NEW REPORT: Trump Leaves Over 46 Million Students Without Protection from Discrimination," March 27, 2025. <https://www.sanders.senate.gov/press-releases/new-report-trump-leaves-over-46-million-students-without-protection-from-discrimination/>

³⁰ Senator Sanders, "Trump's War on Free Speech," January 7, 2026. <https://www.sanders.senate.gov/press-releases/news-sanders-releases-new-report-delineating-trumps-war-on-free-speech-on-college-campuses/>

³¹ U.S. Government Accountability Office, "Department of Education: Full Costs and Savings Estimate Needed for Reduction-in Force and Restructuring of the Office for Civil Rights," January 29, 2026. <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-26-108320.pdf>

XII. Appendix

Table 1. State-by-State Comparison of Pending OCR Cases to Resolution Agreements Under Second Trump Administration				
		Trump Administration (Term 2)		
State/Territory	Number of Open OCR Cases as of 01/14/25	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Open Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Estimated Percentage of Cases Without a Resolution Agreement
Total	11,985	112	1%	99.0%
AK	11	0	0.0%	100.0%
AL	284	2	0.7%	99.3%
AR	93	8	8.6%	91.4%
AZ	268	7	2.6%	97.4%
CA*	771	7	0.9%	99.1%
CO	221	5	2.3%	97.7%
CT*	127	0	0.0%	100.0%
DC	96	4	4.2%	95.8%
DE*	48	0	0.0%	100.0%
FL	689	6	0.9%	99.1%
GA	584	4	0.7%	99.3%
HI	32	1	3.1%	96.9%
IA*	72	1	1.4%	98.6%
ID	50	1	2.0%	98.0%
IL*	327	0	0.0%	100.0%
IN*	265	0	0.0%	100.0%
KS	145	10	6.9%	93.1%
KY*	116	0	0.0%	100.0%
LA*	200	3	1.5%	98.5%
MA*	307	1	0.3%	99.7%
MD*	271	1	0.4%	99.6%
ME*	30	1	3.3%	96.7%
MI*	773	4	0.5%	99.5%
MN*	129	0	0.0%	100.0%
MO	208	4	1.9%	98.1%
MS*	125	2	1.6%	98.4%
MT	63	0	0.0%	100.0%

NC	528	4	0.8%	99.2%
ND*	27	0	0.0%	100.0%
NE	60	1	1.7%	98.3%
NH*	51	1	2.0%	98.0%
NJ*	326	1	0.3%	99.7%
NM	56	3	5.4%	94.6%
NV	92	4	4.3%	95.7%
NY*	626	1	0.2%	99.8%
OH*	518	2	0.4%	99.6%
OK	134	7	5.2%	94.8%
OR	122	2	1.6%	98.4%
PA*	330	2	0.6%	99.4%
PR*	28	0	0.0%	100.0%
RI*	40	1	2.5%	97.5%
SC	237	0	0.0%	100.0%
SD	33	0	0.0%	100.0%
TN	270	0	0.0%	100.0%
TX*	1,172	2	0.2%	99.8%
UT	67	0	0.0%	100.0%
VA	570	1	0.2%	99.8%
VT*	36	0	0.0%	100.0%
WA	222	2	0.9%	99.1%
WI*	78	0	0.0%	100.0%
WV*	44	2	4.5%	95.5%
WY	13	4	30.8%	69.2%

* Denotes states served by one of the seven OCR regional offices closed by the Trump Administration

Description: State-by-state data comparing the number of open OCR cases as of January 14, 2025 (the most recent data available at the time of publication) to the number of OCR resolutions reached under the second Trump Administration.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Pending Cases Currently Under Investigation at Elementary-Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools” (<https://ocrcas.ed.gov/open-investigations>) Data last updated on January 14, 2025 (the most recent data available at the time of publication); U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Office for Civil Rights Recent Resolution Search” (<https://ocrcas.ed.gov/ocr-search>). Data pulled March 6, 2026. Note: 2025 data reflect only resolution agreements entered on or after January 20, 2025 (the start of the second Trump Administration) and do not include resolutions from January 1–19, 2025.

Table 2. OCR Open Cases vs. Resolution Agreements by Discrimination Type Under Second Trump Administration

		Trump Administration (Term 2)			
Statute	Discrimination Type	Number of Pending Cases Nationwide as of January 2025	Number of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Percentage of Cases Resolved Via Resolution Agreement in 2025 Under Trump	Estimated Percentage of Cases Without a Resolution Agreement
All	Total	11,985	112	1%	99%
Disability	All Disability Cases	5,794	83	1.4%	98.6%
Disability	Academic Adjustments	358	2	0.6%	99.4%
Disability	Accessibility	285	22	7.7%	92.3%
Disability	Disability Harassment	595	1	0.2%	99.8%
Disability	FAPE	1,887	40	2.1%	97.9%
Disability	Restraint and/or Seclusion	172	0	0.0%	100.0%
Title IX	All Title IX Cases	2,821	31	1.1%	98.9%
Title IX	Sexual Harassment	777	0	0.0%	100.0%
Title IX	Sexual Violence	334	0	0.0%	100.0%
Title IX	Athletics	199	4	2%	98.0%
Title VI	All Title VI Cases	3,248	6	0.2%	99.8%
Title VI	National Origin Discrimination Involving Religion	141	0*	0.0%	100.0%
Title VI	Discipline	473	0	0.0%	100.0%
Title VI	English Language Learners	123	1	0.8%	99.2%
Title VI	Racial Harassment	949	0	0.0%	100.0%

* Note: According to OCR's public resolution agreement database, OCR reached 0 resolution agreements regarding national origin discrimination involving religion through OCR's standard enforcement process outlined in its case processing manual. Outside of that process, the Trump administration reached agreements with at least 6 universities through a multiagency task force on antisemitism. Whether those agreements resolve any pending OCR cases is unclear.

Description: Data comparing the number of open OCR cases last updated on January 14, 2025, to the number of OCR resolutions reached under the second Trump Administration on selected discrimination types under disability, Title VI, and Title IX.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, "Pending Cases Currently Under Investigation at

Elementary-Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools” (<https://ocr cas.ed.gov/open-investigations>) Data last updated on January 14, 2025, the most recent data available at the time of publication; U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Office for Civil Rights Recent Resolution Search” (<https://ocr cas.ed.gov/ocr-search>). Data pulled March 6, 2026. Note: 2025 data reflect only resolution agreements entered on or after January 20, 2025 (the start of the second Trump Administration) and do not include resolutions from January 1–19, 2025.

Table 3. OCR Resolution Agreements by Selected Discrimination Type From 2014 to 2025														
		Obama Administration			Trump Administration (Term 1)				Biden Administration				Trump Administration (Term 2)	
Statute	Discrimination Type	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	% Change from 2024 to 2025
All	Total	548	593	780	1,299	948	564	462	264	317	580	507	112	-78%
Disability	All Disability Cases	455	480	687	1132	727	479	374	223	268	458	390	83	-78.7%
Disability	Academic Adjustments	46	53	43	60	60	41	23	19	17	24	24	2	-92%
Disability	Accessibility	63	68	306	566	190	97	105	33	98	219	33	22	-33%
Disability	Disability Harassment	33	50	34	45	55	7	25	8	1	8	14	1	-93%
Disability	FAPE	207	230	215	239	303	234	170	118	107	144	137	40	-71%
Disability	Restraint and/or Seclusion	7	2	4	15	5	2	7	2	3	7	6	0	-100%
Title IX	All Title IX Cases	117	86	86	140	181	64	82	34	42	88	80	31	-61.3%
Title IX	Athletics	22	21	13	35	24	21	29	14	13	42	18	4	-78%
Title IX	Sexual Harassment	37	32	33	64	111	21	17	5	5	11	25	0	-100%
Title IX	Sexual Violence	10	8	6	15	58	10	9	2	1	15	23	0	-100%
Title VI	All Title VI Cases	115	98	105	113	153	76	58	31	40	38	85	6	-94.7%
Title VI	National Origin Discrimination Involving Religion	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	27	0	-100%
Title VI	Discipline	5	4	2	13	22	3	1	0	1	3	4	0	-100%

Title VI	English Language Learners	15	17	21	17	25	10	7	10	12	12	10	1	-90%
Title VI	Racial Harassment	28	31	24	37	45	16	12	5	4	8	24	0	-100%

Description: Number of OCR resolution agreements reached annually from 2014 to 2025 on selected discrimination types under disability, Title VI, and Title IX.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights, “Office for Civil Rights Recent Resolution Search” (<https://ocrcas.ed.gov/ocr-search>). Data pulled March 6, 2026. Note: 2025 data reflects only resolution agreements entered into on or after January 20, 2025 (the start of the second Trump Administration) and does not include resolutions from January 1–19, 2025.

XIII. Methodology

This report compares the number of resolution agreements reached in 2025 under the Trump Administration to the number of civil rights cases pending when President Trump took office. HELP Committee Minority Staff conducted this analysis using publicly available data from the U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights’ websites.

- Reviewed OCR’s “Recent Resolution Search” resolution agreement database. The data analyzed in this report covers OCR resolution agreements between 2014 and 2025. Data was retrieved on March 6, 2026.
- Disaggregated resolution agreements by resolved date, state, and statute: Title VI (race and national origin discrimination), Title IX (sex discrimination), and disability discrimination.
- Analyzed resolution agreements by statute and selected discrimination type, including: racial harassment, school discipline, English language learners, and national origin discrimination involving religion; sexual harassment, sexual violence, and athletics; and FAPE, disability harassment, seclusion and restraint, academic adjustments, and accessibility.
 - **Note:** 2025 resolution agreements reached under the Biden administration between January 1 and January 19, 2025, were excluded to provide an accurate measure of resolution agreements reached under the Trump administration. The number of resolution agreements reached by the Trump administration from January 20, 2025 to January 21, 2026 is 0.
 - **Note:** Category totals for disability, Title IX, and Title VI resolution agreements reflect all resolution agreements OCR reached under each statute—not just the selected discrimination types under each statute analyzed in this report. This means summing the number of resolution agreements under each selected discrimination type will not yield the category totals.

- **Note:** A single resolution agreement may address multiple types of discrimination and be included in multiple total counts.
- **Note:** Certain types of discrimination investigated by OCR are not analyzed in this report, including under the Boy Scouts of America Equal Access Act of 2001 and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975.
- Cross-referenced resolution data with OCR’s “Pending Cases Currently Under Investigation at Elementary-Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools” database (last updated January 14, 2025) to estimate resolution rates and the volume of pending cases not resolved via resolution agreement in 2025.³² Pending case counts were deduplicated prior to analysis, removing 84 duplicate records from the raw database.
 - **Note:** OCR has not updated its pending cases database since January 14, 2025. Under the second Trump administration, OCR has not released its annual report for fiscal year 2025 as required by law, responded to Congressional requests for data, responded to FOIA requests, or responded to press inquiries regarding OCR’s enforcement.³³ Cases opened after January 14, 2025, are therefore not captured in this report's analysis.
 - **Note:** Pending case counts are available by state and discrimination type, as OCR's pending cases database includes individual case records tagged with both fields. Resolution agreement counts by discrimination type are available at the national level only; state-level resolution agreement data reflect total agreements per state across all discrimination types, as OCR does not publish resolution agreement data in a format that allows state-level cross-tabulation by discrimination type.

³² U.S. Dept. of Education, Office for Civil Rights “Pending Cases Currently Under Investigation at Elementary-Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools” (<https://ocrcas.ed.gov/open-investigations>).

³³ ProPublica, “ProPublica Sues Education Department for Withholding Records About Discrimination in Schools,” March 2, 2026. <https://www.propublica.org/article/education-department-civil-rights-office-foia-lawsuit>