Federal Updates: A Whole New Ballgame?

Julia Martin jmartin@bruman.com

National Title I Conference 2017



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Shifts in Power and Powers

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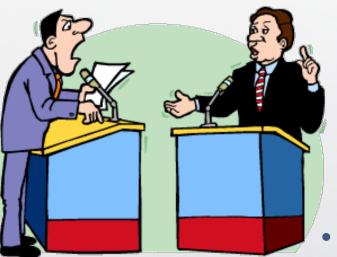
Federalism

- Concept of shared governance between federal government and States
 - Dates back to early days of Republic when colonies were joined together
- Congressional/Presidential powers explicitly outlined in Constitution
- 10th Amendment: powers not explicitly granted to federal government are reserved for the States

Limits to Federalism

- Congress can enact laws that:
 - Are thought to outline compliance with Constitutional Rights (e.g. Civil Rights Act of 1964)
 - Necessary and Proper Clause
 - Fall under one of the other Congressional powers
 - Interstate Commerce Clause
 - General Welfare Clause
 - Trade compliance for federal funds
 - E.g. Medicaid, ESSA
 - "carrot and stick" federalism

Setting the Stage



- Republicans
 - Limited federal government (in size and scope)
 - Limited regulation/restriction
 - Idea that market controls behavior of corporations/individuals
 - Democrats
 - Strong role for federal government in enforcing rights/norms
 - Strong social safety net

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Incoming Administration

- President Trump (for the most part) tows
 Republican party line on limiting government
 - Promised to limit size of federal agencies
 - Promised to take power away from Washington and give it back to "the people"
 - Most likely through State enforcement mechanisms
 - Promised to eliminate or rescind overly restrictive laws and regulations

What to Expect from the Administration

7

- Executive Order on rulemaking and guidance (1/20)
 - Prohibits agencies from sending any new regulations or guidance for final publication
 - Delays effective date of recently finalized regulations until 60 days post-inauguration
 - Urges agencies to further delay/review individual
 - "Regulations" includes guidance documents of "general applicability and future effect"
 - Exceptions for health/safety/ national security

What to Expect from the Administration

- General instruction for agencies to "review questions of fact, law, or policy"
 - Purpose is to identify changes that can be made with minimal disruption
 - Or rules that can be withdrawn entirely



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What to Expect from the Administration

- Close control of
 - Agency social media/ press
 - Responses to inquiries
 - Webinars
 - Correspondence with Congress
- Ability to offer grants (EPA)
- So far applicable to USDA (FNS), EPA, HHS



9

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Impact on ESSA Rollout

- Will impact some regulations:
 - Accountability/ State plan regulations → effective date now March 21st
 - Could potentially affect Impact Aid regulations
- Assessment regulations outside window effective date had already passed by the time order was issued.

Impact on ESSA Rollout

- No real immediate impact even with 60-day delay, regulations would still be in place in time for 2017-18 school year
- Delay could interfere with April 3rd due date for State plans
 - 17 States plus DC plan to submit in April
 - Other deadline is in December

Impact on ESSA State Plans

- Biggest impact is uncertainty
 - Agency could potentially change rules at any time
 - Regular rulemaking as "interim final" rule that supersedes existing rule
 - Order to rescind rule
 - Guidance modifying how rule will be enforced/interpreted
 - Could come in time for 2017-18 school year, or not until 2018-19

What to Expect from Congress



- Additional action on regulations
 - Backward-looking: Congress can rescind/nullify regulations through the Congressional Review Act
 - Forward-looking: Congress is considering legislation that would allow it to control new regulations

What to Expect from Congress

- Congressional Review Act
 - Reaches back 60 <u>legislative</u> days
 - New Congress given an additional 15 days
 - Likely means everything issued since May/June 2016
 - Only useful during Presidential transition
 - Rescinds regulation
 - Prohibits agency from ever issuing "substantially similar regulations" on the same legislative text
 - What is "substantially similar?" unclear
 - Only used once on DoL ergonomics regulations in 1996

What to Expect in Congress

- Midnight Rules Relief Act (proposed)
 - Allows regulations to be bundled for the purposes of the CRA
 - Could significantly expedite process of rescinding/nullifying rules

What to Expect from Congress

- Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny Act (REINS Act) (proposed)
 - Expands definition of "major rule"
 - Congress has 70 legislative days to vote on new rule
 - If they don't approve, doesn't take effect
 - President can require rule to take effect for 90-day period in an emergency
 - Subjects all portions of rulemaking process to judicial review

What to Expect in Congress

- Regulatory Accountability Act (proposed)
 - Health and safety standards must also take cost into account, adopt "least costly" rule
 - Agencies must analyze "substantial alternatives" submitted by "interested persons" during rulemaking
 - Ends "Chevron deference"

What to Expect from Congress



 Congress still has the power to render regulations unenforceable through appropriations

 Uses "power of the purse" to prohibit resources from being spent on certain items

The Holman Rule

- First adopted in 1876, previously eliminated in 1984
- Adopted through change to House rules in January
- Allows lawmakers to bring an amendment on an appropriations bill that may
 - "retrench" agency spending
 - Reduce the number of federal employees in a particular agency or
 - Cut the salary or "compensation of any person paid out of the Treasury of the United States."

Conflict to Come

- Note pull between executive branch (President/agencies) and Congress over policy
 - President: regulations and executive orders
 - Congress: control over past/future regulations
 - States: role unclear may shift more authority/responsibility down to the States?



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On the Policy Agenda in Congress

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Confirmations

- Many more cabinet positions
 - Require hearings, votes
- Non-cabinet political appointee positions
 - Often voted in a package
- Supreme Court nominee



- Fiscal Year 2017
 - Current CR Expires April 28th
 - Likely will not finalize full-year FY 2017 funding until then → continuing uncertainty
 - Will most likely finish out year with full-year CR rather than program-specific appropriations bill
 - Potential for smaller, across-the-board cuts

Budget vs. Appropriations

- Budget
 - 10-year outlook
 - Not binding beyond next fiscal year
 - Only top-line spending numbers governmentwide
 - "big ideas" process
 - Process starts in March/April

- Appropriations
 - 1-year outlook
 - Binding for that year
 - Individual program-level funding
 - "detail-oriented" process
 - Process starts in June/July



- Sequestration
 - Still technically operational until 2025
 - Sets caps on <u>budget</u> for Defense and Non-Defense discretionary sectors
 - Does not impact individual accounts (e.g. Labor-HHS-ED) or programs
 - If cap is breached by appropriations bill, sequestration requires an automatic, across the board cut to reach cap

- Sequestration
 - Pressure from Republicans in Congress to increase Defense spending
 - Could mean shifting burden of sequestration from Defense to non-Defense discretionary category
 - Meaning: across-the-board cuts to education programs
 - Or targeted cuts to high-dollar programs

- Fiscal Year 2018
 - President has said that he may or may not send a proposed budget to Congress in February (per tradition)
 - Desire to further cut federal budget through cuts to non-essential social or arts programs
 - NEA, NEH, CPB, etc.
 - Less potential for direct cuts to formula-funded programs like Title I
 - Less potential for direct cuts to mandates like IDEA

Appropriations Issues for Education

- Less money at the LEA level for Title I?
 - After School Improvement set-aside, Direct Student Services
- Less money overall for Title IV
 - Block granting
- Reauthorization of child nutrition programs (temporary extension instead)
- Rider on ESSA regulations?

Other Budgetary Issues

- Potential reform of "entitlements"
 - Medicare/ Medicaid/ Social Security
- Potential repeal of Affordable Care Act
- Need to appropriation additional money for nonbudget expenses
 - E.g. border wall

... even if done outside the budgetary process, these will impact amount of available funds

K-12 Education



- ESSA was passed December 2015
 - Bipartisan, called a "Christmas miracle"
 - Little appetite for change
- Little interest in reauthorizing/changing IDEA
 - Focus is on funding law, not law's requirements
- Potential for action limited here

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School Choice?

- Trump/DeVos suggest more money for school choice/vouchers
 - Would require Congressional action
- Recent History not positive
 - A-PLUS Act (which would have allowed States to take ESSA money as block grant)
 - Offered as amendment to ESSA
 - Killed by Republican leadership, including Alexander over worries it would sink bill
 - Has calculus changed now?
 - Lack of time/interest key

Perkins

- House passed legislation to reauthorize the law 405-5 early in September 2016
- Senate markup postponed, reportedly over Democrats' concerns regarding Secretarial authority
- Will be picked up in spring
 - Will Congress have time?
 - Will Senate be able to assuage Democrats' fears of Secretarial restrictions?

Perkins

- Sample Secretarial limitations (more throughout draft Senate bill):
 - Can't promulgate regulations that would:
 - Add new requirements "inconsistent with or outside the scope of this Act"
 - Add new criteria "inconsistent with or outside the scope of this Act"
 - "Be in excess of statutory authority granted to the Secretary"
 - Can't prescribe:
 - Specific performance indicators, targets, or levels of performance
 - Indicators or measures of teacher/faculty education or quality
 - "The role of the Secretary in the identification and dissemination of the State target levels of performance ...shall be limited to providing technical assistance"

Child Nutrition: House

- Partisan legislation passed House Committee in May 2016
 - Controversial issues:
 - CEP threshold from 40% ISP to 60% ISP
 - Rokita: don't want to be giving wealthy kids free meals
 - In exchange for increase in breakfast reimbursement?
 - Fresh fruit and vegetable changes
 - 3 year administrative review cycle \rightarrow 5 years
 - Loss of carryover?
 - Exempts student group fundraisers from standards
 - Removal of paid lunch equity provision
 - Pelosi: will see House floor "over my dead body"

Child Nutrition

- Senate bill introduced, passed Committee in January 2015
- Legislation passed House Committee in May 2016
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 - Exempts student group fundraisers from standards
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Child Nutrition

- House and Senate Committees both say they want to resume work
 - But is it a priority?
 - Can they come to an agreement with Democrats?

The New Department of Education

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Shift in Focus

Equity → Deregulation and States' Rights

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The New Department of Education

- Secretary as an "outsider"
 - Despite "insider" aides
 - Controversy over nominations hurts credibility
 - Structural impacts
 - Elimination of ED as cabinet-level agency?
 - Reduce size of federal agencies, including ED
 - Hiring Freeze
 - "Brain drain"





The New Department of Education

- Surrogates have suggested that OCR will be target for shrinkage
 - Especially policies targeting disparate impact, transgender student guidance
 - Place enforcement responsibility on U.S. GAO, States
 - Per December interview with Virginia Foxx (R-NC)

Impact on Policy

ESSA Rollout

- Text of statute likely to be unaffected product of bipartisan compromise
- "ground game" of implementation may be target
 - Emphasis on State/local autonomy, Secretarial restrictions
 - Review of accountability regulations?
- Focus on (and take credit for) areas of flexibility
 - Charter school grants
 - Revisit guidance
 - Local funding flex pilot

Future of Regulations?

- ESSA Assessment regulations are final, not subject to executive order on delay
 - But could still be modified
 - Guidance may be issued changing slant of regulations
 - Mode or strength of enforcement?

Future of Regulations?

- Accountability/State plan Regulations subject to 60-day delay
 - Currently scheduled to take effect March 21st
 - Subject to change
 - Could also be modified by new administration, or nullified by Congress
 - Use as guidelines, but be aware this is a moving target

Future of Regulations?

- Supplement, not Supplant
 - Regulations withdrawn shortly before inauguration
 - Will not go into effect or move forward in rulemaking process
 - Likely withdrawn due to threats of rescission under CRA
 - New administration could draft new regulations on this, but likely won't

Overall

- Uncertainty
 - Regulations/ laws/ funding subject to change
- Less policy work in Congress
- Less money for federal programs
- Turf war over federal powers



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