



## **REPORT: Rep. Michelle Steel and MAGA House Republicans Spent the 118th Congress Pushing the Project 2025 Agenda Instead of Californians' Vital Priorities**

*As the 118th Congress draws to a close, it's clear that the MAGA House Republican majority has been historically ineffective, pursuing the MAGA Project 2025 agenda to do Donald Trump's bidding instead of solving the real issues facing Americans. Polling has consistently shown that Americans are most worried about issues like rising costs, health care, and immigration. Yet MAGA Republicans – including the 17 House Republicans in districts President Biden won in 2020 – have spent their majority crafting bills that would harm investment and consumer spending, damaging the economy while making everyday essentials less affordable.*

*House Republicans like Rep. Michelle Steel (CA-45) spent the 118th Congress pushing Project 2025, Trump's political agenda, and working up legislation that would take away food aid and Medicaid from tens of millions of Americans, impose restrictions on investing, rip away hundreds of billions of dollars from businesses' climate subsidies, and raise health care costs for over 100 million Americans with pre-existing conditions. Rep. Steel and her fellow MAGA House Republicans have spent the past 90 weeks using Congress as an arm of the Trump campaign – all while blatantly ignoring their campaign promises and turning a blind eye to the wishes of their constituents.*

**Michelle Steel And The House Republicans Spent Their Majority Pushing the Project 2025 Agenda.** Instead of addressing Americans' vital priorities, House Republicans like Michelle Steel are serving as an arm of the Trump campaign, attacking their political enemies and amplifying the MAGA Project 2025 agenda. Ever since they took charge of the House of Representatives in January 2023, Rep. Steel and her MAGA allies have utterly failed to address the pressing concerns of the American people. The House GOP's voting record – including its most vulnerable members representing the 17 congressional districts that voted for President Biden in 2020 – shows that, instead of addressing these top priorities, MAGA Republicans are choosing to push the Project 2025 agenda through partisan stunts.

Table 1: Rep. Michelle Steel's Record of Voting With the Project 2025 Agenda

<b>Issue Area</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Vote</b>	<b>Project 2025 Position</b>
Health Care	<a href="#">H.R. 5376</a>	<u>N</u>	N
	<a href="#">H.R. 2811</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
Abortion	<a href="#">H.R. 8296</a>	<u>N</u>	N
	<a href="#">H. R. 4368</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H.R. 26</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H.R. 6914</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
Immigration	<a href="#">H.R. 8281</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H.R. 7109</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H. Res. 863</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H.R. 2</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
Workers and the Economy	<a href="#">H.R. 2811</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H. J. Res. 98</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H.J. Res. 30</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
Weaponizing the Federal Government	<a href="#">H. Res. 1292</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H. Res. 1344</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
Education	<a href="#">H. Res. 864</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
	<a href="#">H.R. 5</a>	<u>Y</u>	Y
<b>Project 2025 Score</b>		<b>100%</b>	

Health Care

- H.R. 5376: Voting Against Lower Costs and Better Health Care.** Even before the 118th Congress, Steel voted in line with the MAGA Project 2025 agenda to raise costs and make health care less accessible. In August 2022, she [voted](#) against the Inflation Reduction Act, which has lowered health care costs by thousands of dollars annually for millions of Americans by allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices, issuing inflation rebates for drug company price hikes, ending co-pay cost caps for seniors, and more.
- H.R. 2811: Taking Away Medicaid and Food Aid From Millions of Low-Income Americans.** Steel [voted](#) for the Limit, Save, Grow Act, which was [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025 and included proposals to [cut](#) key federal programs and services, block student debt relief, partially repeal the Inflation Reduction Act, and [take away housing vouchers, food aid, and Medicaid coverage](#) from tens of millions of Americans.

## Abortion and Reproductive Health Care

- **H.R. 8296: Refusing To Codify Abortion Protections.** Even before the 118th Congress, Steel [voted against](#) codifying *Roe v. Wade*'s abortion protections ([H. R. 8296](#)), paving the way for a wave of extreme and draconian state-level abortion laws in the wake of the MAGA Supreme Court's ruling. Project 2025 celebrates the end of *Roe v. Wade* and [pushes](#) for further restrictions.
- **H. R. 4368: Banning Mail Delivery of Abortion Medication.** In September 2023, Steel supported another [top Project 2025 priority](#): restricting medication abortion. She [voted](#) in favor of [H. R. 4368](#), an appropriations bill that included a rider [repealing](#) an FDA measure allowing abortion medication to be sent to patients by mail.
- **H.R. 26: Voting In Line With the Think Tank Behind Project 2025 on Abortion Provider Restrictions.** In January 2023, Steel [voted](#) in favor of [H.R. 26](#), a bill imposing restrictions on reproductive health providers that was [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025 – the Heritage Foundation.
- **H.R. 6914: Voting to Shame and Stigmatize Pregnancy Outcomes.** In January 2024, Steel [voted](#) in favor of [H.R. 6914](#), an anti-abortion law seeking to limit students' reproductive health care decisions just like Project 2025 would. The law pushed anti-choice language designed to [shame and stigmatize](#) people for their pregnancy outcomes.
- **H.R. 431: Pushing Project 2025's Mission to Destroy Abortion Access.** Rep. Michelle Steel initially co-sponsored [H.R. 431](#), a total abortion ban without any exceptions, [putting](#) IVF treatments at risk. She kept her name on it for nearly two months, then [withdrew](#) only after facing heavy backlash for her stance on IVF.

## Immigration and Border Security

Republicans have been using immigration and border security as a talking point for well over a decade, taking little action to address the situation at the southern border. During the 2022 midterm elections, Steel [campaigns heavily](#) on the issue and promised to address it if Republicans won a House majority. They spent millions campaigning on border issues and putting on [elaborate political stunts](#) like sending migrants to Martha's Vineyard to critique policies imposed or exacerbated by the Trump administration – but instead of coming to the table with solutions to help fix our immigration system, Republicans refused to take action and have exploited the crisis for political gain.

- **H.R. 8281: The MAGA Conspiracy-Based SAVE Act.** In July 2024, Steel and every member of the Biden-Harris 17 [voted](#) for a dangerous, unnecessary bill fueled by MAGA election conspiracy theories known as [H.R. 8281](#), or the SAVE Act. The bill, which was [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025, would have required documentary

proof of American citizenship to register to vote in federal elections – even though a citizenship requirement is already constitutionally mandated – in an effort to promote fear-mongering and push Trump’s lies about non-citizen voting. As the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights [concluded](#), “The SAVE Act is both unnecessary and dangerous. Our electoral system already deploys processes to ensure that our elections are secure and that only eligible voters are participating in our democracy. Voters in every state are already required to affirm or verify their citizenship status when registering to vote. State election officials already have in place existing systems to verify an individual’s voter eligibility and ensure voter rolls are accurate.”

- **H.R. 7109: Politicizing The Census To Attack Non-Citizens and Pass Unconstitutional Reforms.** In May 2024, Steel and every member of the Biden-Harris 17 [voted](#) to bar non-citizens from counting toward Electoral College/congressional district tabulations and to politicize the census by including a citizenship question. The House GOP passed [H.R. 7109](#) 206-202. The bill was [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025 and was labeled a “[voter suppression bill](#)” by pro-democracy groups. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights [noted](#) that the bill would have violated the 14th Amendment, which requires Congressional apportionment and the Electoral College to be based on “the whole number of persons in each State,” not merely the number of citizens in each state. The bill also would have undermined Census accuracy by reducing response rates.
- **H. Res. 863: Impeaching Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas.** In addition to threatening President Biden with impeachment, MAGA Republicans like Michelle Steel also impeached Secretary of Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas by passing [H. Res. 863](#). After twice failing to secure enough support, Republicans finally passed the resolution months after introducing articles of impeachment, 214-21. There was bipartisan opposition to the impeachment effort, which was [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025, but in the end, Steel and every member of the Biden-Harris 17 [voted](#) for the MAGA agenda. The Senate [immediately rejected](#) the bogus articles.
- **H.R. 2: The MAGA Border Bill.** In May 2023, Steel voted for the MAGA House GOP’s extreme, destructive bill known as [H.R. 2](#) – which was [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025 – despite facing bipartisan opposition and concerns from [numerous immigration groups](#). As UnidosUS [noted](#), the bill would have “hurt the economy, do[ne] nothing to address our outdated immigration system or resolve the status of DACA recipients or other undocumented people with deep roots in the United States.” Even though several House Republicans [voted against](#) H.R. 2, Steel supported it, and the bill passed 219-213.

### Workers and The Economy

- **H.R. 2811: Voting Against Cracking Down on Wealthy and Corporate Tax Cheats.** In April 2023, Steel and every member of the Biden-Harris 17 [voted](#) for [H.R. 2811](#), also known as the Limit, Save, Grow Act, which was [supported](#) by the think tank

behind Project 2025. The bill, which passed the House 217-215 despite bipartisan opposition, was a proposal to [cut](#) key federal programs and services, including rescinding federal funding for the IRS to go after wealthy and corporate tax cheats.

- **H. J. Res. 98: Voting to Roll Back Labor Protections.** In January 2024, Steel [voted](#) in favor of [H. J. Res. 98](#), a bill seeking to [roll back](#) National Labor Relations Board protections for workers with joint employers. The anti-labor Project 2025 would also strip worker protections, [enabling](#) companies to stop paying Americans for their overtime work and [eliminating](#) federal rules that protect children from working in mines, meatpacking plants, and other dangerous workplaces.
- **H.J. Res. 30: Voting to Impose Restrictions on Responsible Investing.** In March 2023, Steel and every member of the Biden-Harris 17 [voted](#) in favor of [H.J. Res. 30](#), a joint resolution [supported](#) by the think tank behind Project 2025 nullifying a Labor Department regulation allowing companies to offer investment plans taking into consideration environmental, social, and governance (ESG) metrics. Legislative [analysts](#) and [pension fund managers](#) estimated that legislation punishing financial institutions for using ESG metrics would cost millions or even billions of dollars, harming the economy and reducing investment just to forward the MAGA agenda. The joint resolution was ultimately [vetoed](#) by President Biden.

### *Weaponizing the Federal Government Against Political Opponents*

Project 2025 includes proposals to radically reshape the federal government in Trump’s image, giving the President far greater control over the executive branch. As part of this, Project 2025 weakens and undermines the independence of the Department of Justice and FBI by allowing political appointees to terminate “major active FBI investigations” at will. Throughout the 118th Congress, MAGA Republicans like Steel have worked tirelessly to target federal law enforcement and threaten the independence of the DOJ.

- **H. Res 1292 & 1344: Threatening DOJ Independence By Holding Attorney General Merrick Garland in Contempt of Congress.** In summer 2024, Steel [twice voted](#) to hold Attorney General Merrick Garland in contempt of Congress, first voting for [H. Res. 1292](#) to recommend contempt charges and then voting for [H. Res. 1344](#) to hold him in “inherent contempt.” This baseless vote to fine the Attorney General – the top law enforcement official in the country – for doing his job, was done [at the behest of Trump](#).

### *Education*

- **H. Res. 864: Cutting Education Funding For Low-Income Students.** It’s no secret that Project 2025 wants to gut the American education system. Project 2025 pushes for universal private school vouchers, privatizing the federal student loan portfolio, and even abolishing the Department of Education entirely. Steel has already signaled that she’s willing to vote in line with the Project 2025 agenda on education. In

November 2023, she [voted](#) in favor of [H. Res. 864](#), an appropriations bill cutting billions of dollars in funding for low-income students. Similarly, Project 2025 would discontinue federal funding for schools serving low-income children.

- **H.R. 5: Voting to Allow Discrimination Against LGBTQI+ Students.** Project 2025 explicitly endorses [H.R. 5](#), the so-called “Parents Bill of Rights Act,” which Steel [voted](#) for in March 2023. Project 2025 would give school employees [free license](#) to [discriminate against](#) LGBTQ+ students and bar certain students from using school bathrooms and participating in publicly funded athletics programs.