

Have Democrats lost their education edge?

Also: Why haven't Black Trump supporters changed their minds?



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Fewer black voters moved to Trump in 2024 than Hispanic or Asian voters. But the ones who did are mostly sticking with him. (Photo by Albin Lohr-Jones/Pacific Press/LightRocket via Getty Images)

For the longest time, it was the Democrats who held a commanding edge on education. Even in the reddest of areas, with no Democratic Party, bench, or liberal culture to speak of, Democrats would pull scores of conservative voters for elections concerning public schools.

If *The Argument's* newest survey is any indication, that advantage may have been wiped out. We asked registered voters a series of questions about parenting and schools and discovered that Republicans now hold a slight advantage on education.

Who holds a trust advantage on K-12 education?

"Thinking about issues concerning K-12 education, which party's approach do you think better reflects your values?"

	<input type="checkbox"/> The Democratic Party	<input type="checkbox"/> The Republican Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Neither party	<input type="checkbox"/> Not sure
Trump 2024	74%	15%	6%	
Harris 2024	71%	20%	7%	
Black	59%	11%	16%	14%
Hispanic	43%	27%	21%	9%
White	29%	43%	20%	8%
White/No College	25%	46%	20%	10%
White/College+	37%	38%	18%	6%
All	35%	36%	20%	9%

The Argument's survey of 1,521 registered voters was fielded nationally between Dec. 5-11, 2025. The margin of error is plus or minus 2.7 percentage points. Subgroup sizes: n=178 (Black), n=175 (Hispanic), n=1070 (White), n=683 (White/No College), n=387 (White/College+), n=665 (Trump 2024), n=645 (Harris 2024)
Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument



When it comes to parenting and parents' rights, this gap is even wider — Republicans hold a 37% to 32% issue advantage.

Tellingly, much of the Democratic deficit is being driven by the party's own voters. Just 65% of Harris voters — and just 49% of Black voters — actually believe that the

Democratic Party aligns with them on matters of parenting.

Who holds a trust advantage on parenting?

"Thinking about issues concerning parenting, which party's approach do you think better reflects your values?"

The Democratic Party The Republican Party Neither party Not sure

Trump 2024	75%			13%	8%
Harris 2024	65%			22%	9%
Black	49%	10%	26%	14%	
Hispanic	40%		32%	18%	11%
White	27%	43%		19%	10%
White/No College	24%	45%		20%	12%
White/College+	34%	39%		19%	9%
All	32%	37%		20%	11%

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Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument



It’s difficult to pinpoint the cause for this disconnect, but our survey does offer some clues that point to Democrats’ stance on social issues. For instance, although 78% of liberal Harris voters believe that the party aligns with them on parenting, just 49% of moderate or conservative Democratic voters agree. ¹ (The main silver lining for Democrats here is that their voters are refusing to align with Republicans, even when they disagree with the party’s stances.)

We included some issue questions that better illustrate what’s driving this. For example, 36% of Harris voters and majorities of Black and Hispanic voters oppose “allowing students to use the restrooms for the gender they identify with, even when that differs from the gender they were assigned at birth.”

How voters feel about school bathroom policies

For each of the following policies, please indicate whether you support or oppose them: Allowing students to use the restrooms for the gender they identify with, even when that differs from the gender they were assigned at birth

Strongly support Somewhat support Somewhat oppose Strongly oppose

Trump 2024	5%	7%	13%	74%
Harris 2024	33%	31%	19%	17%
Black	18%	23%	22%	36%
Hispanic	22%	26%	19%	33%
White	17%	17%	15%	51%
White/No College	15%	15%	15%	56%
White/College+	22%	21%	15%	42%
All	18%	19%	16%	46%

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Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument



Moreover, 45% of Harris voters — and 53% of moderate or conservative Harris voters — believe parents should be able to opt their kids out of classroom lessons they disagree with (like those regarding race, sex education, and gender). Importantly, these are all policies where Democrats are on the opposite side of public opinion.

How voters feel about parental rights in the classroom


"For each of the following policies, please indicate whether you support or oppose them: Allowing parents to opt their child out of certain classroom lessons (for example, on sex education, race, and gender) when they disagree with the content"

☐ Strongly support ☐ Somewhat support ☐ Somewhat oppose ☐ Strongly oppose

Trump 2024	52%	31%	6%	11%
Harris 2024	12%	33%	27%	28%
Black	22%	36%	17%	25%
Hispanic	25%	37%	19%	19%
White	34%	30%	16%	20%
White/No College	36%	30%	14%	20%
White/College+	31%	31%	18%	20%
All	31%	32%	17%	20%

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This analysis is descriptive, not prescriptive. In any case, Democrats lead the generic ballot on the same exact survey, *despite* all of this, so it's clear that the party *can* win regardless. But it's also clear that the Democrats have lost the advantage on an issue they used to decisively win on, and the question is whether the party's base believes it to be worth the cost.

(As a liberal myself, I don't find the findings from this poll particularly comforting. My personal belief is that children should be allowed to use the restroom of the gender they identify with, and I think that opting your kid out of lessons on sex ed and racism seems like a bad idea. But it seems like I'm in the minority.)

You can see all of our crosstabs on views on parental punishment, when it's appropriate to call Child Protective Services, and on standardized education below the paywall. We'll also be publishing more articles on our poll findings in the coming weeks, so make sure to subscribe. But now, for some subgroup analysis.

Why are Democrats lagging with Black voters?

By this point, it is well established that Democrats are doing **much better** with nonwhite voters in this cycle, relative to 2024. But "nonwhite" is a big category, and averages can sometimes obscure a lot of interesting variation going on under the surface.

In *The Argument's* new poll, fielded Dec. 5 to 11, Democrats led the generic ballot by two percentage points among registered voters — a lead that shrinks to one percentage point when undecided voters are pushed, ² but grows to five percentage points when looking solely at respondents self-identifying as likely to vote. ³

Democrats lead on the generic ballot


The Democratic Party leads on the generic congressional ballot for *The Argument's* December survey

☐ Dem ☐ Rep ☐ Don't know

All registered voters	44.2	42.1	13.7
All registered voters (with undecideds pushed)	50.6	49.4	
Probably/Definitely will vote (with undecideds pushed)	52.4	47.6	

The Argument's survey of 1,521 registered voters was fielded nationally between Dec. 5-11, 2025. The margin of error is plus or minus 2.7 percentage points.

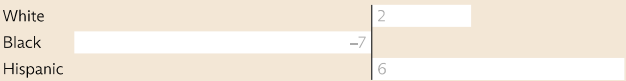
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Here’s something interesting in that survey: although Democrats gain a tiny bit of ground with white voters and a *lot* of ground with Hispanic voters, they don’t gain at all with Black voters. In fact, in the December survey, the party actually *loses ground* on Kamala Harris’ 2024 margins with this group.

How do Democrats do with each demographic, relative to 2024?

How do Democrats do with all registered voters, relative to Kamala Harris' 2024 margins with each group?



The Argument's survey of 1,521 registered voters was fielded nationally between Dec. 5-11, 2025. The margin of error is plus or minus 2.7 percentage points. Subgroup sizes: n=178 (Black), n=175 (Hispanic), n=1070 (White)
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If you’re skeptical, I don’t blame you. This is, after all, a sample of 178 Black voters. While that’s not nothing, it’s also simply not enough data to make sweeping pronouncements about the party’s potential problems. But this isn’t the first time we’ve seen Black voters behave differently from other nonwhite voters in our tracking.

Let’s zoom out and look at the whole picture, aggregated across the five surveys we’ve conducted since August. With a significantly larger sample to analyze (n=7,662), it’s clear that Democrats are gaining the most ground with Asian (n=313) and Hispanic (n=873) voters. Meanwhile, with Black voters (n=908), things are less rosy.

How are Democrats doing with each subgroup?

How much ground are Democrats gaining or losing among registered voters of each group, relative to Kamala Harris' 2024 margins?



Data taken from The Argument's aggregated national registered voter survey data between August and December, 2025. Subgroup sizes: n=7662 (all voters), n=908 (Black), n=873 (Hispanic), n=313 (Asian), and n=5385 (White). All data shown is two-way margin, comparing the generic congressional vote (with undecideds pushed) to the 2024 two-way recalled vote among those who voted for either major party candidate.
Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument



In other words, the shift in voting patterns among Black voters appears very different from the shift seen among Hispanic and Asian voters. Democrats don’t outperform Kamala Harris’ margins at all with Black voters.

Of course, no election ever has 100% turnout. What matters more is how you do among the people who actually show up. And we know that Black voters who didn’t vote in 2024 were *far less Democratic* than those who did.

I zeroed in on voters who self-identified as likely to vote in 2026 and compared how Democrats were doing with those voters relative to their 2024 margins with each demographic. Here, it becomes clear that the enthusiasm edge Democrats have within the Black voter pool helps. But Black likely voters still lag Hispanic and Asian likely voters (as well as the overall likely voter pool) in their swing toward Democrats.

Where do Democrats gain the most (with engaged voters)?

How much ground are Democrats gaining with each subgroup relative to 2024, looking only at those who say they will "probably" or "definitely" vote?



Data taken from The Argument's aggregated national registered voter survey data between August and December, 2025. Comparison is done between 2024 two-way presidential margins among all voters who cast a ballot and 2026 generic ballot numbers among those who say they "probably" or "definitely" will vote. Subgroup sizes: n=6119 (all voters), n=654 (Black), n=657 (Hispanic), n=230 (Asian), and n=4440 (White).

Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument



Why? One major reason is that in 2024, Democrats **lost more ground** with Hispanic and Asian voters than they did with Black voters. The theme of the 2026 blue wave has been the “reconstruction” of the Democratic coalition, and there is simply a larger pool of ex-Democratic Hispanic and Asian voters to regain.

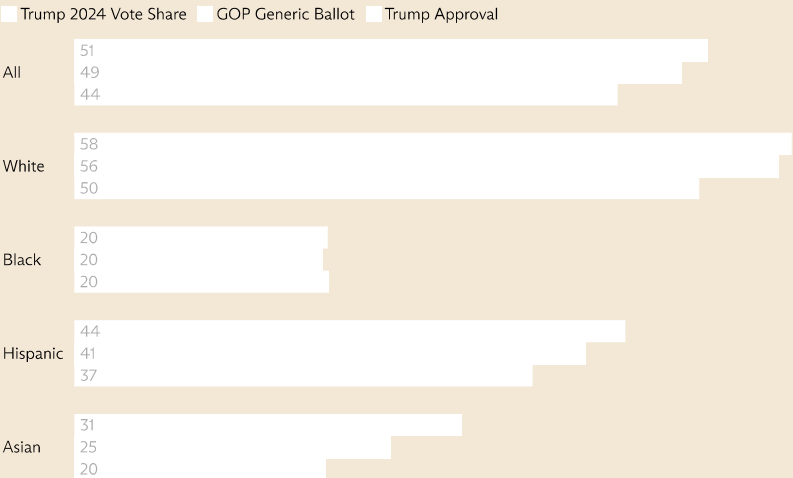
But that’s not the whole story. While Democrats have gained back much of the ground they lost from 2020 in our polling with Hispanic and Asian voters, they’re *far* short of that with Black voters.

Unlike Hispanic and Asian Trump 2024 voters, Black Trump supporters just haven’t turned on Trump. Consider this: In our sample, among Black voters, Trump’s two-way approval is virtually identical to his 2024 two-way vote share, and to the Republican 2026 congressional vote share.

With Hispanic and Asian voters, the picture is very different.

Where Trump (and Republicans) are losing ground

How Republican generic ballot numbers compare to Trump's approval numbers and 2024 vote share



Data taken from The Argument's aggregated national registered voter survey data between August and December, 2025. Subgroup sizes: n=7662 (all voters), n=908 (Black), n=873 (Hispanic), n=313 (Asian), and n=5385 (White). All data shown is two-way margin, comparing the generic congressional vote (with undecideds pushed) to the 2024 two-way recalled vote among those who voted for either major party candidate. All approval is two-way.

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In other words, Democrats are going to need to figure out how to peel back the Black voters who have drifted to Trump, because he hasn’t really slipped much with them at all.

This may be harder than it looks. Black voters are substantially more conservative than their Democratic lean indicates. (Just 32% identify as “liberal” or “very liberal”, despite Democrats winning more than 80% of the group.)

How do Black voters identify?

How do Black voters identify, ideologically speaking?



Data taken from The Argument's aggregated national registered voter survey data between August and December, 2025.
n=908 (Black voters)

Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument



And they're also the only conservative group of voters who Democrats win.

How different demographics vote by ideology

How Democrats do with liberal, moderate, and conservative voters by subgroup



Data taken from The Argument's aggregated national registered voter survey data between August and December, 2025.
Subgroup sizes: n=1378 (liberal white), n=1815 (moderate white), n=2158 (conservative white), n=289 (liberal Hispanic), n=315 (moderate Hispanic), n=230 (conservative Hispanic), n=289 (liberal Black), n=433 (moderate Black), and n=170 (conservative Black)

Chart: The Argument • Source: The Argument • Embed



Methodology notes

Our poll was fielded between Nov. 10 and 17, 2025, and surveyed 1,508 registered voters across the nation. The sample was weighted to be representative of the universe of registered voters in the United States by race; age; gender; education; census region; race by gender; age by gender; race by education; modeled presidential partisanship by education, by age, and by gender; and 2024 vote choice. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. The design effect of the survey, which measures the loss of statistical precision due to weighting and design, was 1.12. Accounting for the design effect, the full margin of error was plus or minus 2.7 percentage points.

This survey was designed and weighted by *The Argument*. Data collection was performed by Verasight, and voter file data and weighting targets were obtained from Catalist. A full methodology statement is available on the last page of the survey PDF. A detailed explanation on how our surveys work is available [here](#).

Thanks to Josh Kalla, Guy Molyneaux, and Carroll Doherty for reviewing this month's polling language. As part of The Argument's polling advisory committee, these experts have provided comments to ensure the rigor and objectivity of this polling project. They are not responsible for the ultimate language choices made by The Argument, and all errors are our own.

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