



**AN UNWAVERING  
PATH FORWARD TO  
HOUSING JUSTICE**  
NATIONAL LOW INCOME HOUSING COALITION

# National HoUSed Campaign Call

November 12, 2024

# Agenda



## **Impact of the Elections: Forecasting 2025 Under a Trump Administration**

*Sarah Saadian, VP of Public Policy and Field Organizing, NLIHC*

*Kim Johnson, Policy Manager, NLIHC*

## **Ways to Take Action**

*Brooke Schipporeit, Manager of Field Organizing, NLIHC*

## **Commitment to Racial Equity and Tenant Leadership**

*Gabby Ross, Project Manager, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion, NLIHC*

*Sid Betancourt, Project Manager, Inclusive Community Engagement, NLIHC*



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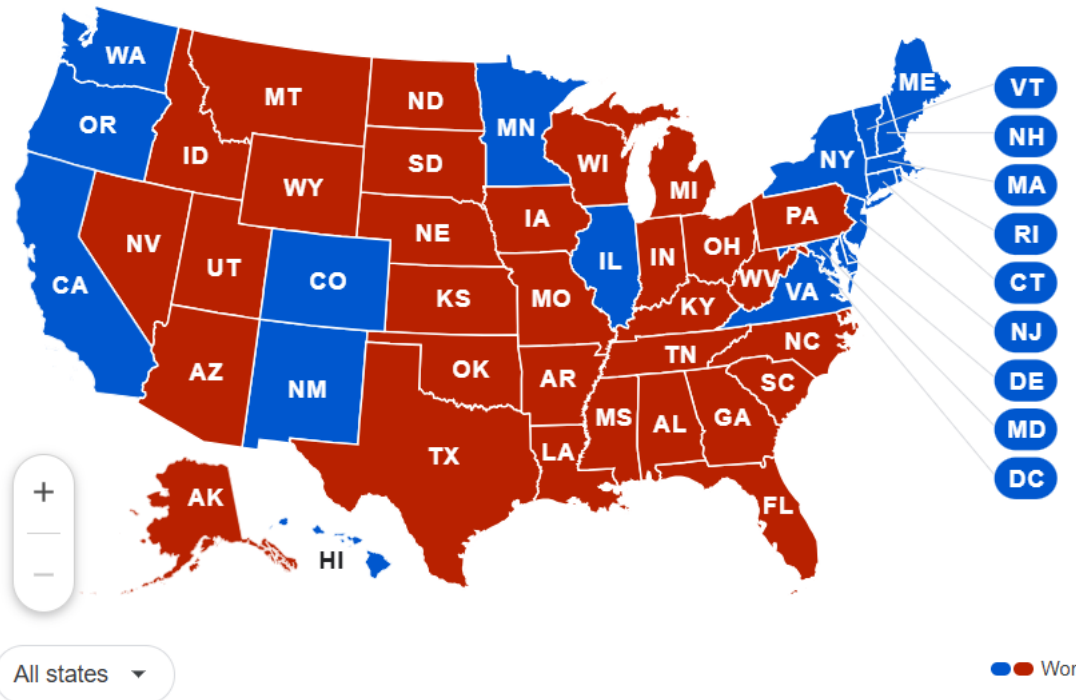
# Forecasting 2025 Under the Trump Administration

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# President-Elect Donald Trump

Trump won both the Electoral College and popular vote, which Republicans view as a clear mandate.



# President-Elect Donald Trump



## 2024 Campaign

### **Housing supply**

- Deport millions of undocumented people
- Extend Opportunity Zones tax incentives
- Reduce regulations that prevent housing development
- Open federal land for housing development

# President-Elect Donald Trump



## Record as President (2016-2020)

- Suspended and weakened Fair Housing laws
- Proposed deep cuts to housing investments – **REJECTED**
- Proposed higher rents and work requirements for HUD residents – **REJECTED**
- Proposed allowing shelters to turn away homeless transgender - **UNFINISHED**
- Proposed evicting mixed-status immigrant households - **UNFINISHED**
- Proposed weakening Housing First in homelessness programs – **REJECTED**
- Proposed creating government camps for homeless people - **UNFINISHED**

# President-Elect Donald Trump



## Project 2025

- Weaken fair housing laws
- Deep cuts to housing investments/turn programs into block grants
- Higher rents and work requirements for HUD residents
- Evicting mixed-status immigrant households
- Ending Housing First in homelessness programs
- Replace career staff with political appointees - **NEW**

# President-Elect Donald Trump



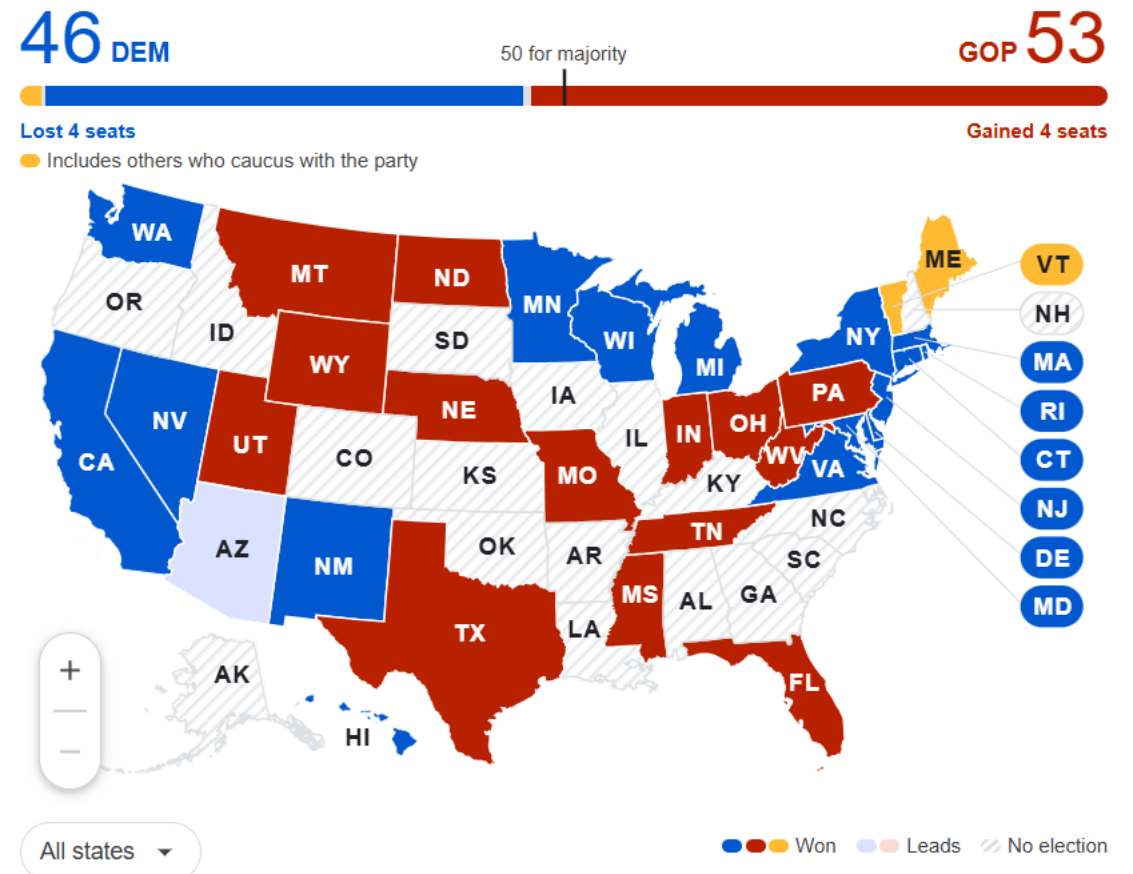
## How Is 2024 Different Than 2016?

- The incoming administration knows how to navigate, and they can implement changes more quickly than in 2016.
- Fewer establishment Republicans are willing to serve in the administration.
- Fewer Republicans in Congress to push back on harmful proposals.
- President-elect Trump says he wants to fire career staff who may stand in the way of his policies.
- The Supreme Court put in place fewer guardrails to prevent unlawful behavior, and opened the door to criminalization of homelessness.
- Shifts in public opinion, especially around homelessness.



# Senate Results

Republicans pick up  
4 seats!



# Senate Leadership



## Republicans

Senator McConnell (R-KY) is stepping down as Leader

**Who is his replacement?** Thune (R-SD), Cornyn (R-TX), Scott (R-FL)

# Senate Banking Committee



## Republicans

Tim Scott (R-SC) – Chair

Mike Crapo (R-ID)

Mike Rounds (R-SD)

Thom Tillis (R-NC)

John Kennedy (R-LA)

Bill Haggerty (R-TN)

Cynthia Lummis (R-WY)

~~JD Vance (R-OH)~~

Katie Britt (R-AL)

Kevin Cramer (R-ND)

Steve Daines (R-MT)

## Democrats

~~Sherrod Brown (D-OH)~~

Jack Reed (D-RI)

~~Jon Tester (D-MT)~~

Mark Warner (D-VA)

Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)

Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)

Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV)

Tina Smith (D-MN)

Raphael Warnock (D-GA)

John Fetterman (D-PA)

~~Laphonza Butler (D-CA)~~

~~George Helmy (D-NJ)~~

# Senate Banking Committee



## Who is Tim Scott (R-SC)?

ROAD to Housing Act

Credit Access and Inclusion Act

Building Credit Access for Veterans Act

Repeatedly Flooded Communities Preparation Act

CO-ALERTS Act – **NLIHC Endorsed!**

Business of Insurance Regulatory Reform Act

# Senate Banking Committee



## Who is Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)?

American Housing and Economic Mobility Act – **NLIHC Endorsed**

Public Housing Emergency Response Act – **NLIHC Endorsed**

Tribal Rural Housing Access Act

Housing Survivors of Major Disasters Act – **NLIHC Endorsed**

## Other Possible Ranking Members?

Van Hollen (D-MD) or Cortez Masto (D-NV)

# Senate Appropriations Committee



## Republicans

Susan Collins (R-ME) – Full Chair

Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-MS) – THUD Chair

John Boozman (R-AR)

Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV)

Lindsay Graham (R-SC)

John Hoeven (R-ND)

John Kennedy (R-LA)

Jerry Moran (R-KS)

## Democrats

Patty Murray (D-WA) – Full RM

Brian Schatz (D-HI) – THUD RM

Dick Durbin (D-IL)

Jack Reed (D-RI)

Chris Coons (D-DE)

Chris Murphy (D-CT)

~~Joe Manchin (D-WV)~~

Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)

~~Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ)~~

# Senate Finance Committee



## Republicans

Mike Crapo (R-ID) – Chair

Chuck Grassley (R-IA)

John Thune (R-SD)

Tim Scott (R-SC)

Bill Cassidy (R-LA)

James Lankford (R-OK)

Steve Daines (R-MT)

Todd Young (R-IN)

John Barasso (R-WY)

Ron Johnson (R-WI)

Thom Tillis (R-NC)

Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)

## Democrats

Ron Wyden (D-OR) – RM

~~Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)~~

Maria Cantwell (D-WA)

~~Tom Carper (D-DE)~~

~~Ben Cardin (D-MD)~~

~~Sherrod Brown (D-OH)~~

Michael Bennet (D-CO)

~~Bob Casey (D-PA)~~

Mark Warner (D-VA)

Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI)

Cortez Masto (D-NV)

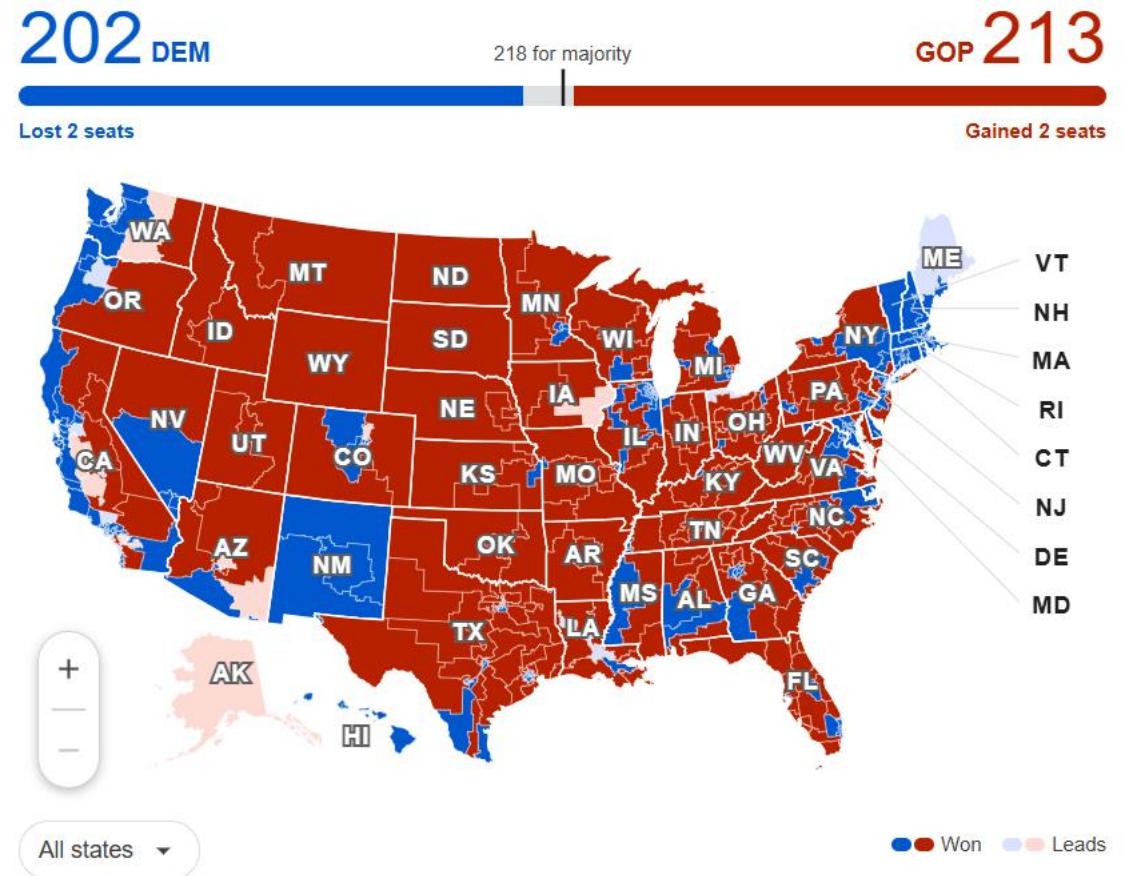
Warren (D-MA)

~~Helmy (D-NJ)~~

Hassan (D-NH)

# House Results

Republicans likely  
win a slim majority.





# House Leadership



## Republicans

Rep. Mike Johnson stays on as speaker.

# Financial Services Committee



## Republicans

~~Patrick McHenry (R-NC) – Chair~~

## **Who will replace him?**

French Hill (R-AR)

Andy Barr (R-KY)

Bill Huizenga (R-MI)

## Democrats

Maxine Waters (D-CA) – Ranking Member

## **Other Changes?**

Rep. Nickel (D-NC) – lost his seat

Rep. Mooney (R-WV) – ran for governor

**Rep. Luetkemeyer (R-MO) – retired**

Rep. Posey (R-FL) - retired

# House Appropriations Committee



## Republicans

Tom Cole (R-OK) – Full Chair

Steve Womack (R-AR) – THUD Chair

Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL)

John Rutherford (R-FL)

Tony Gonzales (R-TX)

David Valadao (R-CA)

Ben Cline (R-VA)

Ryan Zinke (R-MT)

Juan Ciscomani (R-AZ)

David Joyce (R-OH)

## Democrats

Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) – Full RM

Mike Quigley (D-IL) – THUD RM

Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ)

Norma Torres (D-CA)

Pete Aguilar (D-CA)

Adriano Espaillat (D-NY)

~~Jennifer Wexton (D-VA)~~

# House Ways and Means Committee



## Republicans

Jason Smith (R-MO) – Full Chair

## Democrats

Richie Neal (D-MA) – Full RM

# Agenda for 2025



## Administration

- Deport undocumented immigrants
- Sign EO to eliminate birthright citizenship
- Ramp up oil production and roll back environmental regs
- Reverse Biden policies on DEI, LBGTQ, and civil rights
- Fire DOJ special counsel and pardon January 6 convictions
- Reclassify federal career staff to be “at-will”
- Impose tariffs on foreign-made goods

# Agenda for 2025



## Congress

- Extend 2017 Trump tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy
- Roll back environmental investments in the Inflation Reduction Act
- Lifting the debt ceiling/negotiating for spending cuts
- Make changes to the Affordable Care Act

# New Members of Congress



## **11 New Senators**

Alsobrooks (D-MD)

Banks (R-IN)

Blunt Rochester (D-DE)

Curtis (R-UT)

Justice (R-WV)

Kim (D-NJ)

McCormick (R-PA)

Moreno (R-OH)

Schiff (D-CA)

Sheehy (R-MT)

Slotkin (D-MI)

# New Members of Congress



## **63+ New Reps**

Figures (AL-02)

Ansari (AZ-03)

Hamadeh (AZ-08)

Liccardo (CA-16)

Rivas (CA-29)

Freedman (CA-30)

Cisneros (CA-31)

Hurd (CO-03)

Crank (CO-05)

McBride (DE-01)

Haridopolous (FL-08)

Jackson (GA-03)

Stutzman (IN-03)

Shreve (IN-06)

Messmer (IN-08)

Schmidt (KS-02)

Olszewski (MD-02)

Elfreth (MD-03)

Barrett (MI-07)

McDonald Rivet (MI-08)

Morrison (MN-03)

Bell (MO-01)

Onder (MO-03)

Downing (MT-02)

McDowell (NC-06)

Harris (NC-08)

Harrigan (NC-10)

Knott (NC-13)

Moore (NC-14)

Fedorchak (ND-01)

Goodlander (NH-02)

Conaway (NJ-03)

Pou (NJ-09)

Mclver (NJ-10)

Gillen (NY-04)

Latimer (NY-16)

Reilly (NY-19)

Mannion (NY-22)

Kennedy (NY-26)

Taylor (OH-02)

Rulli (OH-06)

Dexter (OR-03)

Mackenzie (PA-07)

Bresnahan (PA-08)

Biggs (SC-03)

Goldman (TX-12)

Turner (TX-18)

Gill (TX-26)

Johnson (TX-32)

Maloy (UT-02)

Kennedy (UT-03)

McGuire (VA-05)

Kiggans (VA-07)

Subramanyam (VA-10)

Baumgartner (WA-05)

Randall (WA-06)

Wied (WI-08)

Moore (WV-02)



# Lame Duck

## The Biden administration and Congress will need to:

- Pass a final spending bill or Continuing Resolution by December 20
  - House: 3% cut to HUD funding
  - Senate: 10% increase to HUD funding
- Enact disaster recovery funding bill

# Lame Duck



## Pre-Election Speculation:

- Speaker Johnson opposed to omnibus spending bill → Congress would pass disaster recovery bill, CR lasting to February or March

## Post-Election Speculation:

- Republicans may want to start Trump Administration with a “clean slate,” finalize FY25 by 2025
- Republican leaders in Congress consulting with incoming administration on strategy

**Urge Congress to finalize a FY25 spending bill with significant increases to HUD's programs**

## Disaster Recovery Funding Bill

- “\$50-100 billion” for communities impacted by Hurricanes Helene and Milton, continued recovery efforts in Maui, other disaster-impacted areas
- Opportunity to potentially advance the Reforming Disaster Recovery Act

**Urge Congress to support the Reforming Disaster Recovery Act**

# Appropriations



## **The Trump administration proposed:**

- Deep cuts to HUD funding, ranging from 15% to 18.3%
- Eliminating housing vouchers for 160,000-250,000 households
- Zeroing out funding for construction (PH, HTF)
- Eliminating USICH

**These proposals were rejected by Congress, but led to a historic 35-day government shutdown**

**Regardless of who controls the White House, Congress must reach a bicameral agreement on annual spending.**

## **In 2017, President Trump signed into law a tax bill:**

- Cutting taxes for the wealthy and corporations
- Doubling the standard deduction and limit MID
- Weakening demand for LIHTC, leading to a temporary increase of 12.5%
- Establishing Opportunity Zones

**Regardless of the outcome of the election, Congress must take up tax issues in 2025. Republicans will use the “budget reconciliation” process to bypass Democrats.**

# Housing Supply



## Focus on zoning, but mixed messages

- Signed EO establishing White Housing Council on Eliminating Barriers to Housing Development
- Decried efforts to increase housing density and reform single-family zoning laws as attempts to “fundamentally change the nature of some communities”
- Trump has called zoning regulations “a killer” of affordable housing construction

## The Trump campaign calls for

- Opening federal land for development
- Reducing regulations to encourage more development

# Homelessness & Housing First



## **President Trump undermined solutions to homeless:**

- Replaced USICH head with Robert Marbut
- Proposed to shift HUD funding away from HF in homelessness programs
- Proposed to allow shelters to discriminate against transgender unhoused people
- Proposed “camps” for unhoused people to “earn” the right to sleep indoors

**The President has broad authority to shift focus within homelessness programs, unless Congress stops them.**

## **The Trump administration proposed to evict mixed status immigrant households and discourage access to housing benefits**

- Released HUD's Mixed-Status Immigrant Household NPRM – would put housing at risk for tens of thousands of households, including 55k children
- Published a final Public Charge rule

**Trump calls for the mass deportation of undocumented people.**



# Tenants' Rights



## The Trump administration proposed to:

- Increase rent on HUD households
- Triple minimum rent for “working households” and increase minimum rent for elderly and disabled families
- Proposed allowing HUD to change rent policies without protections for renters
- Proposed allowing work requirements

**Many policy changes require Congressional action, though federal agencies have the authority to take action**

# Fair Housing



## The Trump administration

- Suspended and replaced the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing rule
- Undermined the “Disparate Impact” rule
- Failed to bring major enforcement actions/investigations of fair housing violations

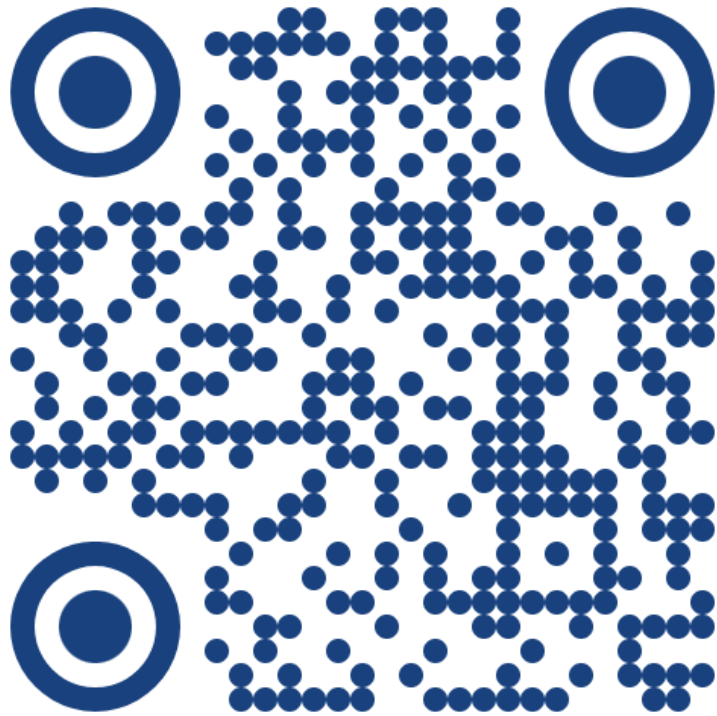
**The administration has a lot of authority to influence fair housing, while Congress has shown less interest.**



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# Ways to Take Action

*Brooke Schipporeit, Director of Field Organizing*  
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[www.nlihc.org/take-action](http://www.nlihc.org/take-action)

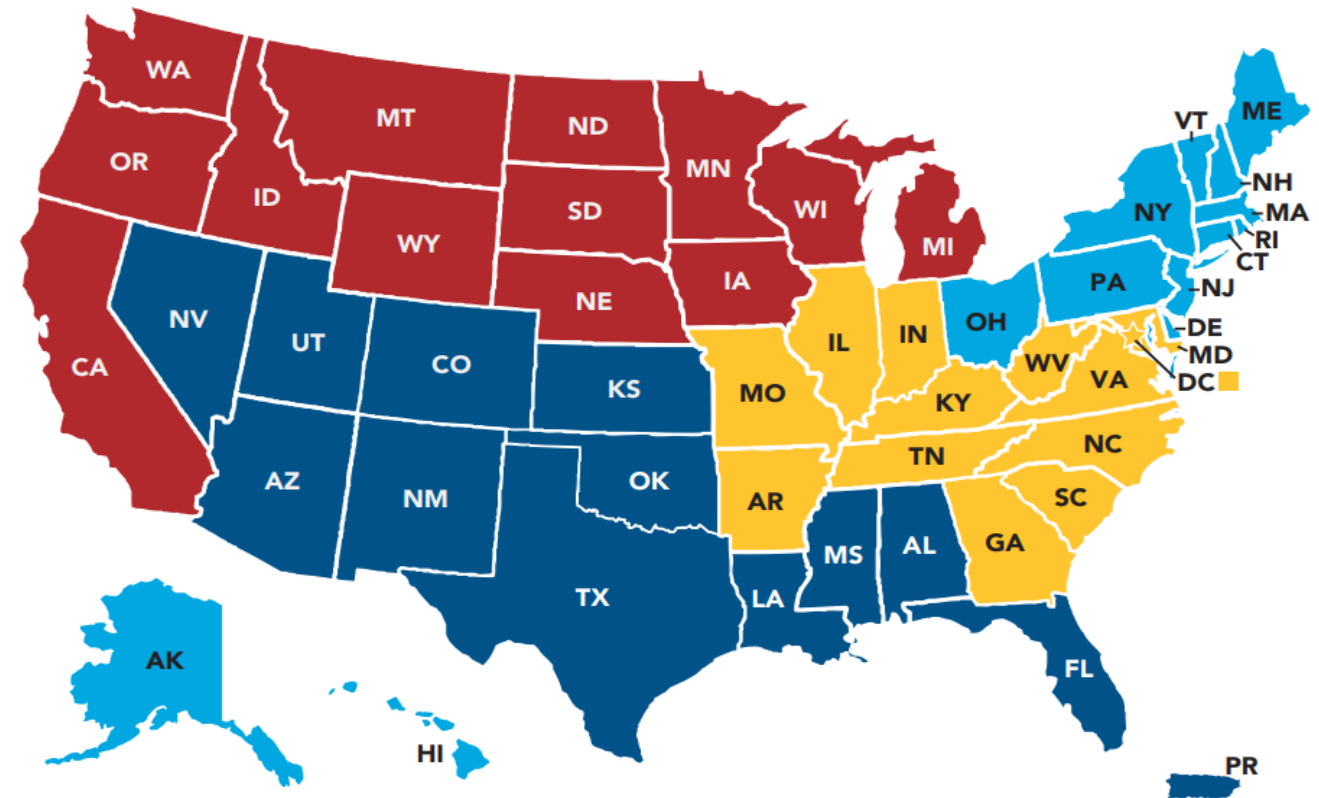
## One-Stop-Shop for Advocates

- Policy priorities & related actions
- Resources for new and seasoned advocate's
- Ways to connect with NLIHC & our partners

# Advocacy Hub: Get Connected

- NLIHC's Field Team
- Sign up for NLIHC alerts
- Join weekly calls and working groups
- Learn more about and connect with NLIHC's various projects and campaigns

## FIELD TEAM MEMBERS BY STATE



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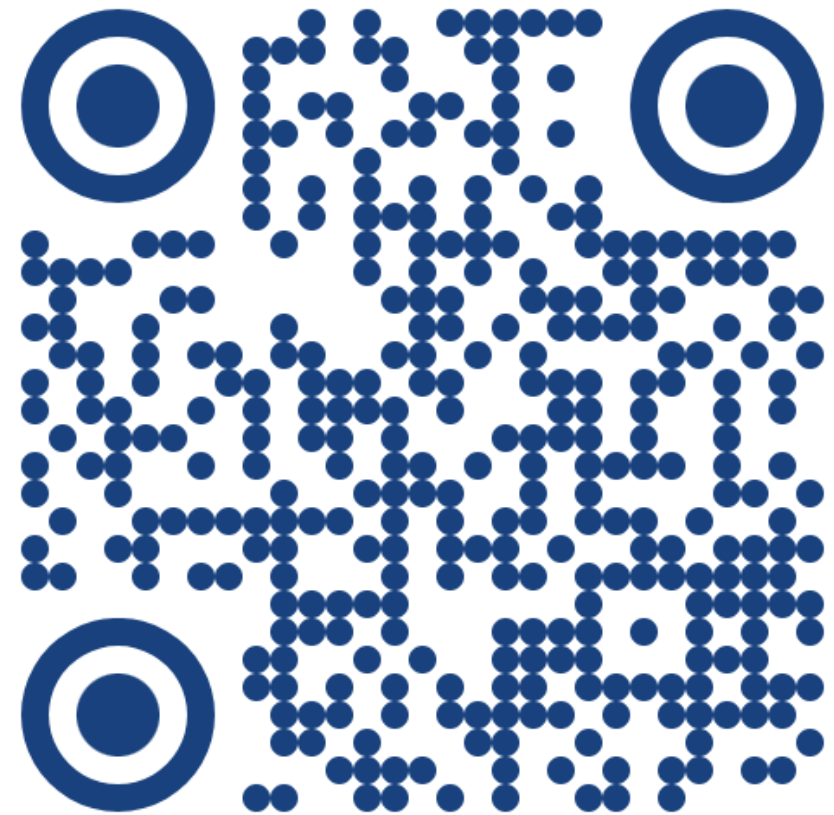
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# Support NLIHC: Become a Member!



## Why Join NLIHC?

- Discounted tickets to NLIHC's annual Housing Policy Forum in DC
- Exclusive access to quarterly members-only Policy Advisory Committee meetings
- Discounted rates for print publications
- Prioritized support from NLIHC staff to advance affordable housing solutions
- Support NLIHC in advancing our mission



[www.nlihc.org/membership](http://www.nlihc.org/membership)



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# Commitment to Racial Equity and Tenant Leadership

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Questions?