



American Road
& Transportation
Builders Association

2024 Election Recap

Who Won, Who Lost and
What It Means for
Transportation in the
119th Congress

Executive Summary

GOP Takes White House, Senate; House Control Still Uncertain

What happened: Republicans decisively prevailed in an election billed as a “coin-flip” by taking control of the White House and Senate, with President Trump earning back the presidency and the GOP winning at least four seats in the upper chamber (Montana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia). As of Nov. 8, both parties are still in contention to gain a majority in the House of Representatives, although Republicans have a slight edge in retaining control.

What it means: The remainder of 2024 will largely focus on the transition to a Trump Administration that will take office in January. Among the most high-profile aspects of this process will be President Trump’s nominees for cabinet positions and the naming of White House staff that will largely be charged with implementing his policy priorities.

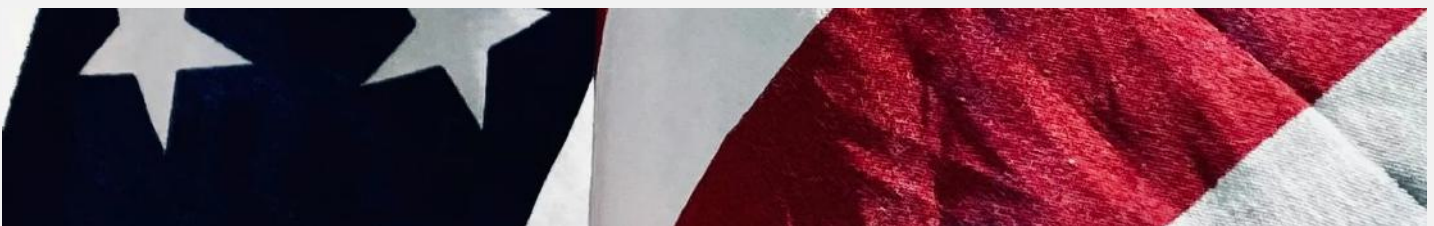
The change in leadership in the Senate is expected to bring some long-time defenders of federal infrastructure investment, and supporters of the 2021 reauthorization of the highway and public transportation programs, to the helm of key committees, including:

- Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.Va.) as chair of the Environment and Public Works Committee, which oversees federal highway and water infrastructure programs,
- Susan Collins (R-Maine) will head up the Appropriations Committee which controls all annual federal discretionary spending, and
- Mike Crapo (R-Idaho), who will chair the Senate Finance Committee that has the purview of tax and revenue measures.

Regardless of who controls the House, bipartisanship will be needed to advance most legislation, as Republicans are unlikely to secure a filibuster-proof 60 votes in the Senate and a narrow margin is expected in the House. The GOP could use budget reconciliation to advance some tax and spending measures.

Republican supporters of the 2021 infrastructure law fared well in the election, with 3 of 3 Republican senators winning re-election and 6 of 6 House Republicans re-elected. Three key Democratic supporters of the law lost re-election--Sens. Sherrod Brown, Casey, and Tester.

What’s next: Determining control of the House will likely take days, if not weeks longer, to resolve. Congress will return the week of Nov. 11 to begin debating how to wrap up the 118th Congress, including the fate of all twelve Fiscal Year 2025 spending bills. Organizing for the 119th Congress, including leadership elections, will also be a focus.



White House

What happened: Former President Donald Trump Nov. 5 won a second term, becoming the first former President in over 130 years to win a second term after losing a first re-election bid. Trump did so in convincing fashion, winning all seven 'swing states' and will likely to be the first GOP presidential candidate to win the national popular vote since 2004.

What's known:

- President Trump has begun naming advisors for his administration, including Susie Wiles, his former campaign manager, as White House Chief of Staff. Wiles will become the first female White House Chief of Staff in history.
- His transition team will be supported by former Administrator of the Small Business Administration Linda McMahon, who will be heading policy, and Howard Lutnick, a Wall Street executive and long-time advisor to Trump who will head personnel efforts.
- Announcements of cabinet nominees and federal agency "landing teams" for the transition are expected to roll out in the coming weeks. These staff appointments are a critical signal as to how the President will govern based on the background of his top advisors.
- While many Republicans in both the House and Senate, and President Trump, have been critical of some of the spending allocated as part of the 2021 infrastructure law, most of that ire has been directed at non-traditional programs.
- Enacting a new tax law that extends some or all of the 2017 tax cuts for corporations and individuals that he enacted in his previous term will be a top priority for the Congress and the administration in 2025. Other revenue provisions, like tariffs on imports, could enter the mix as well.
- Permitting and project delivery reform is not only an issue on which the President campaigned, but also an era of focus for his previous administration. It is widely expected this will central to Trump's second term.

What's to be determined:

- Trump campaigned in 2016 on improving infrastructure, though was unsuccessful in working with Congress to get a major transportation investment measure enacted. Other priorities have been the focus of Trump's campaign, leaving his support for a new infrastructure law unknown.
- Neither the president nor his team have indicated plans to repeal or redirect spending already authorized or appropriated for highway, public transportation and highway safety programs.
- The former president's stance on illegal immigration is expected to be front and center next year. It's unclear how this focus could affect efforts to promote legal immigration of skilled labor to help address transportation construction industry workforce challenges.



U.S. House

What happened: The Nov. 5 elections ushered in dozens of new members of Congress, to the House of Representatives, but control of the chamber is still too close to call with more than 20 races still counting votes. Regardless of which party controls the House, a narrow margin is expected.

What it means for the transportation construction industry:

- More than 60 new members will be sworn-in on January 3rd. While this class is similar in size to recent elections, briefing them on the transportation construction industry's priorities will be top of ARTBA's agenda in 2025.
- Many new members were elected, but very few seats changed hands between parties. At time of publication, just nine seats flipped.
- Party leadership is expected to remain the same for the 119th Congress. Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) will continue as Republican Leader, as will Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) for the Democrats.
- All Republican supporters of the infrastructure law were unanimously re-elected. Reps. Don Bacon (R-Neb.), Brian Fitzpatrick (R-Penn.), Andrew Garbarino (R-N.Y.), Nicole Malliotakis (R-N.Y.), Chris Smith (R-N.Y.), Jeff Van Drew (R-N.J.) will return for the 119th Congress.

What's next:

Control of the House could take weeks to decide. The House is returning the week of Nov. 11 to hold leadership elections and begin work on remaining legislative items for the Lame Duck session, including year-end spending legislation. Speaker Johnson has indicated opposition to an omnibus spending package.

| | 119th Congress | 118th Congress* |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Republicans | 211 | 220 |
| Democrats | 199 | 212 |
| | 25 races undeclared as of Nov. 8. | *Includes 3 vacancies |

Musical Chairs: House

A new Congress brings new faces to the nation's capital, including leadership atop key committees. While control of the House is still unclear as of Nov. 8, the top Republican and Democrat on key infrastructure-related committees are expected to be.

House Appropriations Committee

Republican: Rep. Tom Cole (R-Okla.)
Democrat: Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-Conn.)



House Transportation & Infrastructure Committee

Republican: TBD
Democrat: Rep. Rick Larsen (R-Wash.)

House Ways and Means Committee

Republican: Rep. Jason Smith (R-Mo.)
Democrat: Rep. Richard Neal (R-Mass.)



House Republicans are expected to hold elections Nov. 13 to decide leadership posts for the 119th Congress. Democrats have not yet announced a date for their elections, but they are expected later in November.

U.S. Senate

What happened: Republicans flipped four seats in the U.S. Senate, giving them control of the upper chamber beginning in January 2025. While there are two seats still undecided in Arizona and Nevada, the GOP will have at least 53 seats.

What it means for the transportation construction industry: The four seats that will flip from Democrats to Republicans are all currently held by members were supportive of the 2021 surface transportation law. However, 15 of the 19 Republicans that voted for the infrastructure law will still be members of the Senate in 2025.

The incoming chairs of the three key committees with responsibility for oversight and spending under core highway and bridge programs will be helmed by long-time supporters of infrastructure: Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.Va.) at the Environment and Public Works Committee (EPW), Susan Collins (R-Maine) at the Appropriations Committee and Mike Crapo (R-Idaho) at the Finance Committee.

What's next: The GOP caucus is slated to hold leadership elections the week of November 11. Current Republican leader Mitch McConnell is stepping aside from the top leadership spot, opening the door for a new party leader for the first time in nearly 18 years. Senators John Thune (R-S.D.), John Cornyn (R-Texas) and Rick Scott (R-Fla.) are vying for the position. Former EPW Chairman John Barrasso (R-Wyo.) will be the majority whip and number two in leadership in the 119th Congress.

The Senate will spend much of the first few months of 2025 confirming or dismissing the cabinet and other senior level positions of a president's administration. Meanwhile, work will begin at the committee level on key priorities for the incoming President and the new Republican majority. Vice President-elect J.D. Vance (R-Ohio) will resign his Senate seat and Ohio GOP governor Mike DeWine is expected to appoint a temporary successor shortly thereafter.

| | 118th Congress | 119th Congress |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Democrats* | 51 | 45* |
| Republicans | 49 | 53 |
| Undeclared | | AZ, NV |

New Members: U.S. Senate

At least 11 new senators are headed to Congress next year. Here's who they are and where they stand on infrastructure.

Angela Alsobrooks (D-Md.)

Sen-elect Alsobrooks is a former county executive, who was elected to succeed Sen. Ben Cardin. She campaigned on continuing the investments of the infrastructure law.

Jim Banks (R-Ind.)

Sen.-elect Banks was elected to the seat vacated by Mike Braun after serving in the U.S. House of Representatives since 2016. As chair of the House Republican Study Committee, Banks opposed the infrastructure law as "radical" and "woke."

Lisa Blunt Rochester (D-Del.)

Sen.-elect Blunt Rochester was elected to seat formerly held by Sen. Tom Carper. She was elected to the House in 2016 and also served as Delaware's Labor Secretary. She supported the 2021 infrastructure law.

John Curtis (R-Utah)

Sen.-elect Curtis was elected to the seat vacated by Sen. Mitt Romney. He was formerly the mayor of Provo, elected to the House in 2016. The former congressman opposed the infrastructure law in 2021.

Jim Justice (R-W.Va.)

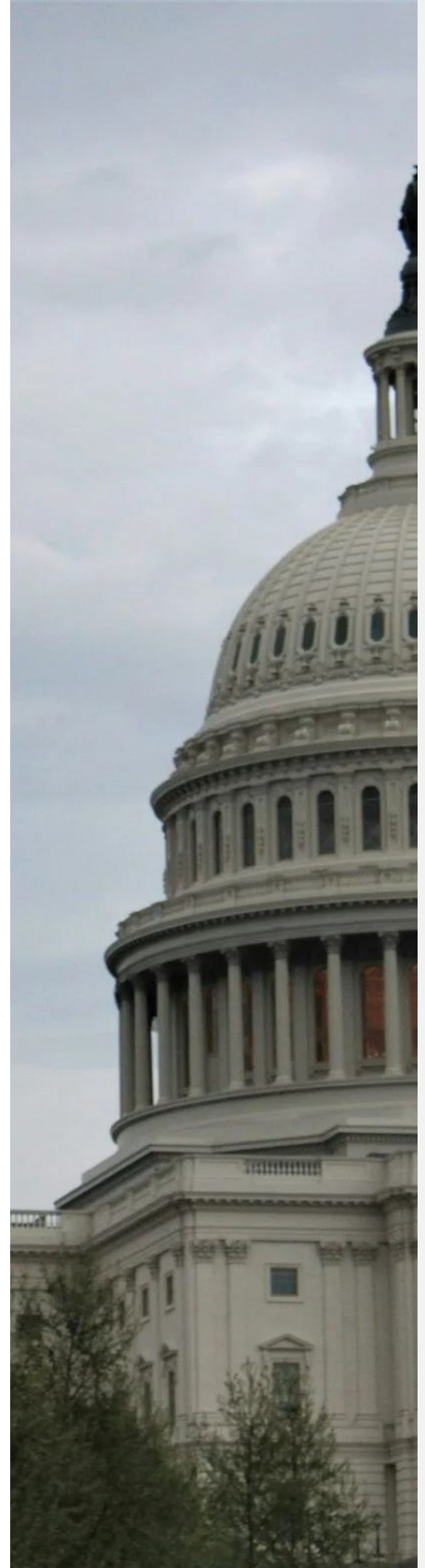
Sen.-elect Justice was a two-term governor, first elected in 2016, who won the seat vacated by Sen. Joe Manchin. As governor, Justice signed legislation supporting infrastructure projects

Andy Kim (D-N.J.)

Sen.-elect Kim was elected to the Senate, following the resignation of Sen. Robert Menendez. Kim served in the U.S. House of Representatives since 2019 and voted for the infrastructure law.

Dave McCormick (R-Pa.)

Sen.-elect McCormick is a businessman and Bush administration official, who defeated long-time Sen. Bob Casey. In Nov. 2023, he proposed repealing the infrastructure law if the GOP controls Washington.



New Members: U.S. Senate (cont'd)

Bernie Moreno (R-Ohio)

Sen.-elect Moreno, who defeated Sen. Sherrod Brown, is a businessman from Ohio. Moreno brands himself as a "conservative outsider" and supports federal transportation investment that enhances state and local initiatives.

Adam Schiff (D-Calif.)

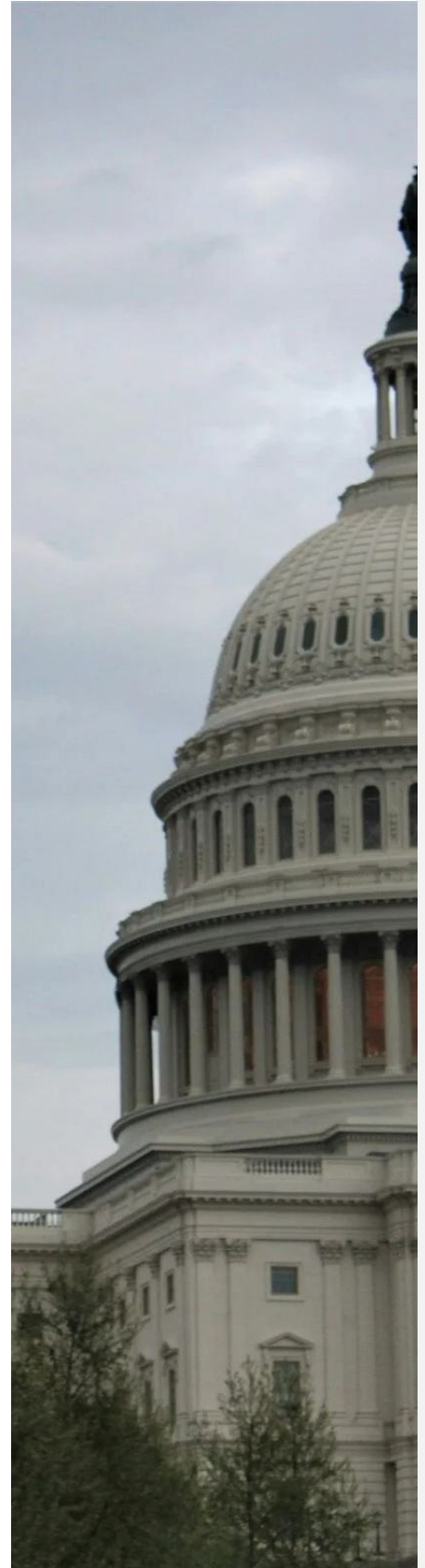
Sen.-elect Schiff won the seat previously held by Sen. Laphonza Butler, who finished the term of Sen. Dianne Feinstein, following her death in 2023. Butler chose not to run for re-election. Schiff supported the infrastructure law in 2021.

Tim Sheehy (R-Mont.)

Sen.-elect Sheehy is a former Navy SEAL, elected to the seat formerly held by Sen. Jon Tester. Sheehy is new to public office, following a career in the military and as a small business owner.

Elissa Slotkin (D-Mich.)

Sen.-elect Slotkin won the seat vacated by the retiring Debbie Stabenow. Slotkin was elected to the House of Representatives in 2018 and supported the infrastructure bill in 2021.



Musical Chairs: Senate

A new Congress brings new faces to Washington, D.C., including leadership atop key committees. With a flip in the Senate to Republican control, there will be new chairs atop many of the key committees of jurisdiction for transportation issues. Among those playing leadership roles in 2025 are:



Senate Appropriations Committee

Chairman Susan Collins (R-Maine)
Ranking Member Patty Murray (D-Wash.)

Senate Banking Committee

Chairman Tim Scott (R-S.C.)
Ranking Member: TBD



Senate Commerce, Science & Transportation Committee

Chairman Ted Cruz
Ranking Member Maria Cantwell

Senate Environment and Public Works Committee

Chairman Shelley Moore Capito
Ranking Member Sheldon Whitehouse



Senate Finance Committee

Chairman Mike Crapo (R-Idaho)
Ranking Member Ron Wyden (D-Ore.)

What's Ahead for Transportation



Lame Duck Session

November 12-December 20
(tentative)

Congress is expected to reconvene the week of Nov. 11. While leadership elections and new member activities will consume portions of the agenda, Representatives and Senators currently serving also has significant legislative work they must accomplish before the end of the year. It remains to be seen if these outstanding matters will be addressed before the end of the year or postponed until 2025.

Among the issues to be resolved are:

- **Government Funding:** Congress passed a continuation of existing funding levels for transportation and other government programs through Dec. 20. Given the changeover in the Senate and White House, there is a potential that Congress opts to kick the can to the new Congress, rather than finishing the job on Fiscal Year 2025 spending bills.
- **Water Resources Development Act:** The House and Senate each passed biannual legislation in support of major flood control, navigation and port improvement projects. Each passed on a wide bipartisan margin, signaling strong prospects for final approval of consensus legislation in the lame duck.
- **Tax Extenders:** Each year, Congress attempts to extend expiring tax provisions, like the tax credit for research and development and bonus depreciation. A bipartisan House-passed bill failed in the Senate earlier this year, but could be resurrected in the lame duck to help pave the way for broader 2025 tax reform.
- **Other items:** Annual defense authorization legislation, disaster relief funding, the Farm bill, energy permitting reform, judicial confirmations, and a host of other bills could find their way to the president's desk, depending on the length and productivity of the lame duck session.

Any legislation that does not pass by the end of 2024 will be scrapped and must be re-introduced in 2025

119th Congress

January 3, 2025



The 119th Congress will convene with a long 'to-do' list:

- **Appropriations:** If Congress does not finish Fiscal Year (FY) 2025 appropriations before the end of December, tackling the annual spending bills will be a top priority. Once that work is completed, Congress will have to immediately turn to FY 26 spending bills, with the goal of completing them by Sept. 30 of next year.
- **Debt Ceiling:** The United States will statutorily hit the ceiling on how much money it can borrow on Jan. 1, 2025. However, the Treasury Department will take measures to buy time for Congress and the new administration to act, likely extending the debt ceiling into the future. This can be a controversial measure for some, particularly on the far right of the GOP. With slim majorities in both the House and Senate, it will remain to be seen if Republicans can come to agreement among themselves or potentially partner with Democrats to get a deal.
- **Tax Reform:** Many provisions of the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, enacted into law by President Trump, are set to expire at the end of 2025. Republicans in the House and Senate have been preparing for months to move quickly on a tax package, and President Trump has made tax reform a major issue on the campaign trail. If the GOP holds on to the House, the machinations to write a tax bill using the budget reconciliation process – a procedural step that allows for a waving of the 60 vote threshold in the Senate – will begin in earnest. ARTBA will push Congress and the Trump administration to use tax reform to address the ongoing Highway Trust Fund revenue shortfall.
- **Surface Transportation Reauthorization:** The current highway and public transportation program authorization law expires Sept. 30, 2026 and the next Congress will be charged with writing a new law. Expect hearings and other behind the scenes work on the measure to begin in 2025.

View from the States

Governorships

Republicans were narrowly favored in state houses prior to the elections with Republicans in control of 27 and Democrats in control of 23. This election cycle, just 11 states voted on governors' races with 8 incumbents either term-limited or foregoing a run for re-election. The party breakdown of governors' mansions will remain unchanged.



Delaware-D

Gov.-elect Matt Meyer, former New Castle County executive, was elected after John Carney was term-limited.



Indiana-R

Gov.-elect Mike Braun, a former U.S. Senator, was elected. As senator, he opposed the infrastructure law.



Missouri-R

Gov.-elect Mike Kehoe, former lieutenant governor, was elected after Mike Parson was term-limited.



Montana-R

Governor Greg Gianforte was elected to a second term.



New Hampshire-R

Former senator Kelly Ayotte was elected governor of the Granite State.



North Carolina-D

Gov.-elect Josh Stein, who currently serves as Attorney General, was elected to replace Gov. Roy Cooper.



North Dakota-R

Gov.-elect Kelly Armstrong, former congressman, was elected to the seat formerly held by Doug Burgum.



Utah-R

Governor Spencer Cox was re-elected to a second term. Cox is a supporter of the 2021 infrastructure law.



Vermont-R

Governor Phil Scott was re-elected to a fifth term.



Washington-D

Gov.-elect Bob Ferguson, currently the state Attorney General, will succeed Jay Inslee.



West Virginia-R

Gov.-elect Patrick Morrisey, former state attorney general, won the seat formerly held by now-Senator Jim Justice.

View from the States

State and Local Ballot Initiatives

Voters Nov. 5 approved **77 percent of 370 transportation funding measures** on state and local ballots throughout the country, according to initial results compiled by ARTBA's Transportation Investment Advocacy Center (TIAC). The measures will generate an **estimated \$41.4 billion** in new and renewed funding for roads, bridges, trails, and rail.

Some revenue will be available immediately through bond agreements, while most will be generated through sales, property, or other taxes collected gradually over as much as 30 years.

Transportation funding measures appeared on ballots in at least 25 states, with 23 states approving at least one statewide or local question.

What Stands Out

In Washington state, voters chose to keep the state's carbon credit market, a portion of which is used for its transportation budget on projects to improve transit, electrify ferries, advance high-speed rail, and for initiatives to improve pedestrian safety.

Voters in California rejected a statewide measure that would have lowered the threshold required to pass local bonds and special taxes from 66.67 percent voter approval to 55 percent voter approval. This would have eased the burden on counties, cities, and towns seeking revenue to maintain and improve roads, bridges, trails, and other transportation-related infrastructure.

Other notable local measures include:

- Four out of nine counties in South Carolina renewed or enacted a local sales tax for transportation purposes, approving \$11.7 billion in funding for roads, bridges, and transit over the next 25 years.
-
- Nashville, Tenn. voters invested \$3.1 billion in the city's transit system, sidewalks, and roads after voters overwhelmingly approved a half-cent sales tax increase.
-
- Voters in Seattle, Wash. renewed a local property tax for a \$1.55 billion investment in the city's transportation infrastructure over eight years.
-
- Maricopa County, Ariz. renewed a half-cent transportation sales tax, which will generate \$14.9 billion for another 20 years.

Historical Trends

Nationally, support for transportation-related ballot measures has remained high over the last decade. Since 2014, voters in 43 states approved 84 percent of nearly 3,000 state and local measures on general election ballots.

What's Next

Twenty-two measures are still pending results. Final results will be certified over the next few weeks.



Contact Us:

As additional race results and control of the House is decided, this report will be updated and recirculated.

In the meantime, ARTBA is available to help you decipher the election results and what they may mean for infrastructure investment and your business.

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Appendix: New U.S. House Members

Majority in the House is currently too close to call with more than 20 races outstanding, and narrow majorities are expected to continue, regardless of which party prevails. Here's a look at those members not returning, as well as those replacing them, as of 11/08. Seats highlighted red or blue represent a switch in party.

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------|-----|----|-----------|----------------|-----|
| Colin | Allred | (D) | TX | Julie | Johnson | (D) |
| Kelly | Armstrong | (R) | ND | Julie | Fedorchak | (R) |
| Jim | Banks | (R) | IN | Marlin | Stutzman | (R) |
| Dan | Bishop | (R) | NC | Mark | Harris | (R) |
| Earl | Blumenauer | (D) | OR | Maxine | Dexter | (D) |
| Lisa | Blunt Rochester | (D) | DE | Sarah | McBride | (R) |
| Jamaal | Bowman | (D) | NY | George | Latimer | (D) |
| Larry | Bucshon | (R) | IN | Mark | Messmer | (R) |
| Michael | Burgess | (R) | TX | Brandon | Gill | (R) |
| Cori | Bush | (D) | MO | Wesley | Bell | (D) |
| Tony | Cardenas | (D) | CA | Luz Maria | Rivas | (D) |
| Matt | Cartwright | (D) | PA | Rob | Bresnahan | (R) |
| John | Curtis | (R) | UT | Mike | Kennedy | (R) |
| Anthony | D'Esposito | (R) | NY | Laura | Gillen | (D) |
| Jeff | Duncan | (R) | SC | Sheri | Biggs | (R) |
| Anna | Eshoo | (D) | CA | Sam | Liccardo | (D) |
| Drew | Ferguson | (R) | GA | Brian | Jack | (R) |
| Mike | Gallagher | (R) | WI | Tony | Wied | (R) |
| Ruben | Gallego | (D) | AZ | Yassamin | Ansari | (D) |
| Bob | Good | (R) | VA | John | McGuire | (R) |
| Kay | Granger | (R) | TX | Craig | Goldman | (R) |
| Garret | Graves | (R) | LA | TBD | | |
| Sheila | Jackson Lee | (D) | TX | Sylvester | Turner | (D) |
| Jeff | Jackson | (D) | NC | Tim | Moore | (R) |
| Dan | Kildee | (D) | MI | Kristen | McDonald Rivet | (D) |
| Derek | Kilmer | (D) | WA | Emily | Randall | (D) |
| Andy | Kim | (D) | NJ | Herb | Conaway | (D) |
| Ann | Kuster | (D) | NH | Maggie | Goodlander | (D) |

Appendix: U.S. House (cont'd)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|-----|----|-----------|-------------|-----|
| Doug | Lamborn | (R) | CO | Jeff | Crank | (R) |
| Jake | LaTurner | (R) | KS | Derek | Schmidt | (R) |
| Barbara | Lee | (D) | CA | TBD | | |
| Debbie | Lesko | (R) | AZ | Abraham | Hamadeh | (R) |
| Blaine | Luetkemeyer | (R) | MO | Bob | Onder | (R) |
| Kathy | Manning | (D) | NC | Addison | McDowell | (R) |
| Patrick | McHenry | (R) | NC | Pat | Harrigan | (R) |
| Cathy | McMorris Rodgers | (R) | WA | Michael | Baumgartner | (R) |
| Marc | Molinaro | (R) | NY | Josh | Riley | (D) |
| Alex | Mooney | (R) | WV | Riley | Moore | (R) |
| Grace | Napolitano | (D) | CA | Gil | Cisneros | (D) |
| Wiley | Nickel | (D) | NC | Brad | Knott | (R) |
| Bill | Pascrell | (D) | NJ | Nellie | Pou | (D) |
| Donald | Payne | (D) | NJ | LaMonica | Mclver | (D) |
| Greg | Pence | (R) | IN | Jefferson | Shreve | (R) |
| Dean | Phillips | (D) | MN | Kelly | Morrison | (D) |
| Katie | Porter | (D) | CA | TBD | | |
| Bill | Posey | (R) | FL | Mike | Haridopolos | (R) |
| Matt | Rosendale | (R) | MT | Troy | Downing | (R) |
| Dutch | Ruppersberger | (D) | MD | Johnny | Olszewski | (D) |
| John | Sarbanes | (D) | MD | Sarah | Elfreth | (D) |
| Adam | Schiff | (D) | CA | Laura | Friedman | (D) |
| Elissa | Slotkin | (D) | MI | Tom | Barrett | (R) |
| Abigail | Spanberger | (D) | VA | Eugene | Vindman | (D) |
| David | Trone | (D) | MD | TBD | | |
| Brad | Wenstrup | (R) | OH | David | Taylor | (R) |
| Jennifer | Wexton | (D) | VA | Suhas | Subramanyam | (D) |
| Susan | Wild | (D) | PA | Ryan | Mackenzie | (R) |
| Brandon | Williams | (R) | NY | John | Mannion | (D) |
| | New Seat | | AL | Shomari | Figures | (D) |
| | Open Seat (Boebert) | | CO | Jeff | Hurd | (R) |