

Administrative State 2025 Legislation Report

Administrative state 2025 legislation

37 states passed 144 bills and resolutions that decreasing agency power

Launched in May 2024, Ballotpedia's <u>Administrative State Legislation Tracker</u> covers bills across all 50 states that increase or decrease agency authority and influence or otherwise affect the administrative state.

The tracker categorizes bills according to topic and subtopic, bill status, sponsor, state trifecta status, bill number, and more. The tracker also features custom summaries of each bill.

This report presents findings and analysis from the 2025 state and federal legislative sessions on administrative state-related legislation.

Executive summary

Ballotpedia defines the administrative state as the phenomenon of administrative agencies exercising the power to create, adjudicate, and enforce rules.

Ballotpedia tracked 2,038 bills and resolutions in all 50 states related to the administrative state in 2025.

42 states **adopted or enacted 337** of those bills or resolutions (including seven through veto overrides).¹

- 37 states passed 144 that decreased agency control.
- 37 states passed 128 that increased agency control.
- 56 bills and resolutions did not clearly increase or decrease agency control.
- 9 bills and resolutions increased agency control in some ways and decreased it in others.

Many bills that increase or decrease agency power do so for a specific topic, agency, industry, or program, while others – such as those addressing REINS, judicial deference, rulemaking processes, and oversight – apply to all or most agencies in the state.

Partisan breakdown of new laws **decreasing** agency control:

- 19 Republican trifectas passed 92 bills (64%).
- 10 Democratic trifectas passed 26 bills (18%).

¹ Many state bills that increase or decrease agency power do so for a specific topic, agency, industry, or program, while others – such as those addressing REINS, judicial deference, rulemaking processes, and oversight – affect all or most agencies in the state.

8 divided governments enacted 26 bills (18%).

Partisan breakdown of new laws increasing agency power:

- 18 Republican trifectas enacted 73 bills (57%).
- 11 Democratic trifectas enacted 36 bills (28%).
- 8 divided governments enacted 19 bills (15%).

Ballotpedia analyzes administrative agency actions and the policies governing them according to how the agencies interact with the three branches of government, the public, and each other. Ballotpedia calls these the five pillars of the administrative state.

In the <u>legislative control pillar</u>, lawmakers in 23 states passed 47 bills and resolutions addressing legislative review and oversight of agency rulemaking and delegation to agencies.

- These included legislative oversight reforms, such as REINS Acts and sunset review acts.
 - Five (5) states enacted REINS-style legislation this year: <u>Kentucky</u>, <u>Louisiana</u>,
 <u>Oklahoma</u>, <u>North Carolina</u>, and <u>Utah</u>.
 - ^o Other noteworthy bills concerned:
 - Legislative disapproval or nullification of agency rules (<u>Wyoming</u>)
 - Requirements for agencies to notify legislators of agency rules implementing legislation they sponsored (Montana)
 - Legislative oversight of out-of-session agency funding changes (North Dakota)

In the judicial control pillar, lawmakers in nine states passed nine bills.

- Five states (Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas) passed bills to **prohibit or limit judicial deference** to agency interpretations.
- Other legislation in this pillar concerned expanding possible venues for challenges to agency rulings (Nebraska) and directing the review of federal agency regulations upheld through recently overturned federal <u>Chevron deference</u> standards (Utah).

In the executive control pillar, lawmakers in 14 states approved 22 bills.

- This pillar included reforms to the process for appointing and removing agency officials and gubernatorial review and oversight requirements for agency regulations.
- Bills in Oklahoma and Louisiana required gubernatorial approval for rules, and one in Vermont required gubernatorial approval for immigration agreements.

In the <u>public control pillar</u>, lawmakers in 37 states passed 139 bills, including those related to <u>procedural rights</u>, public commentary and transparency, enforcement, adjudication, and topics such as occupational licensing, permitting, and regulatory initiation.

 This pillar included regulatory sandboxes, permitting and licensing provisions, and public notice and commentary requirements. Many bills in this pillar are specific to one topic, certain agencies, or particular industries.

In the agency control pillar, 38 states approved 212 bills.

- These included the creation of regulatory reduction agencies, the elimination and creation of agencies, restrictions on state agencies, and bills related to federal agency rules and guidance.
- This pillar included bills related to government efficiency, including the following reform proposals:
 - ° Some establish an entity in the executive branch to oversee other agencies.
 - Some require agencies to report hiring practices or employee performance metrics.
 - One was designed to prevent the federal Department of Government Efficiency from accessing personal identifying information.

See the section below for a detailed analysis of legislation in each pillar.

Ballotpedia also tracked <u>129 federal bills</u> related to the administrative state in the 119th Congress so far, including legislation related to public disclosure, guidance documents, legislative review of agency actions, and government efficiency initiatives.



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About Ballotpedia's Administrative State Legislation Tracker

Ballotpedia's administrative state legislation tracker is a free, publicly available tool that allows you to view and filter state and federal legislation governing agency structure, authority, oversight, and transparency.

To capture state legislation related to the administrative state, we use:

- Automated keyword searches
- Manual bill review
- Real-time refinements based on keyword results and news monitoring

Ballotpedia's policy experts provide daily updates on bills and other relevant political developments and translate bill text into easy-to-digest summaries.

Our team manually reviews each bill added to <u>the tracker</u> and categorizes them by topic and subtopic. Our unique bill tracker user interface then allows users to search and filter by state trifecta status, the political party of bill sponsors, the status of the legislation, our system of topics and subtopics, text search, most recent action, and bill number. You can view and analyze the legislation through both map and list views and save or share links directly to your customized queries or noteworthy bills, starting right where you left off.



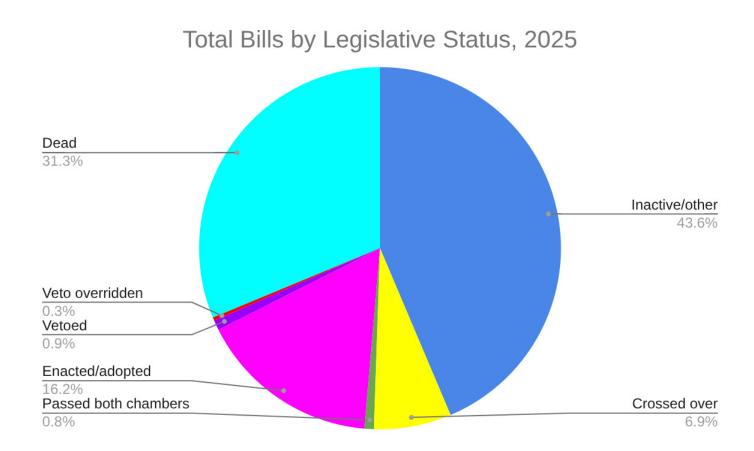
Total bills tracked by legislative status

Most state legislative sessions have adjourned, and all but eleven of the significant administrative state-related bills and resolutions considered in 2025 have either been approved or will likely go no further this year.

Ballotpedia tracked 2,038 bills in 50 states related to administrative agency authority and action in 2025.

- Democratic trifectas considered 850 bills.
- Republican trifectas considered 777 bills.
- · Divided governments considered 411 bills.

Eight state legislatures are in session as of August 20.



Enacted legislation

This section breaks down enacted legislation, including top-line numerical analysis, specific bill highlights, and analysis by the five pillars of the administrative state and state trifecta status.

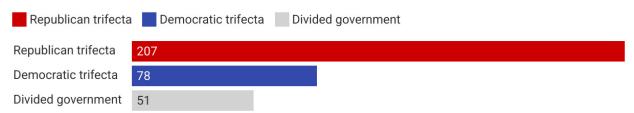
Highlights

42 states **passed 337 bills** related to the administrative state.

- · 144 reduced agency power.
- 128 increased agency power.
- 56 did not clearly increase or decrease agency power.
- 9 afford agencies power in some ways and restrict it in others.

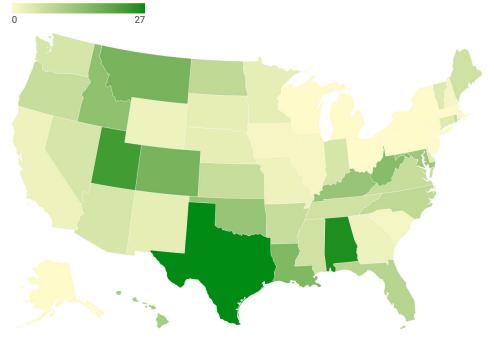
Administrative state-related bills and resolutions passed in 2025

Number of administrative state-related bills or resolutions approved in 2025, broken down by trifecta status



States enacted the most administrative state-related legislation in 2025 as of Aug. 15)

States in darker shades have enacted more bills and resolutions related to agencies and agency authority and influence in 2025 as of Aug. 15.



Eight state legislatures were still in session as of Aug. 15.

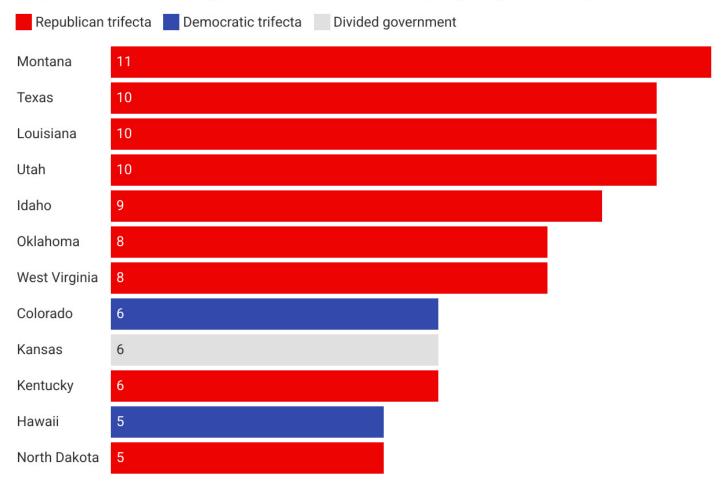
Enacted legislation reducing agency power

37 states passed 144 bills reducing agency power.1

- 19 Republican trifectas passed 92 bills (64%).
- 10 Democratic trifectas passed 26 bills (18%).
- 8 divided governments enacted 26 bills (18%).

The top 10 states that passed the most bills decreasing agency power are shown on the chart below, shaded by their trifecta status.²

Top 10 states passing the most bills reducing agency authority



¹ Many state bills that increase or decrease agency power do so for a specific topic, agency, industry, or program, while others – such as those addressing REINS, judicial deference, rulemaking processes, and oversight – affect all or most agencies in the state.

² States are ranked based only on the number of bills not based on any qualitative evaluation of the provisions of the bills themselves.

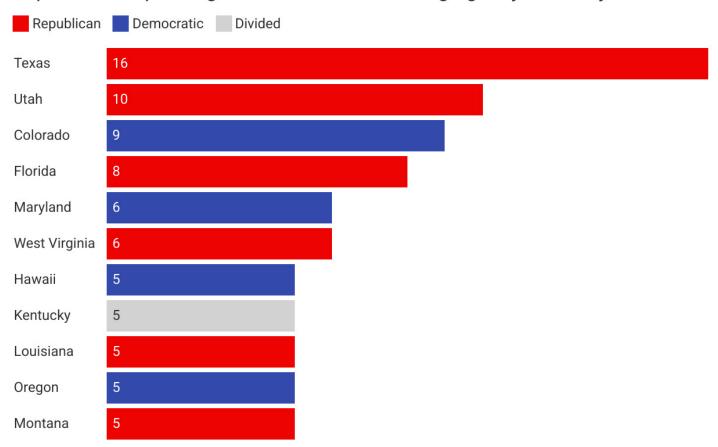
Enacted legislation increasing agency power

37 states passed 128 bills increasing agency power.1

- 18 Republican trifectas enacted 73 bills.
- 11 Democratic trifectas enacted 36 bills.
- 8 divided governments enacted 19 bills.

The top 10 states that passed the most bills increasing agency power are shown on the chart below, shaded by their trifecta status.²

Top 10 states passing the most bills increasing agency authority in 2025



¹ Many state bills that increase or decrease agency power do so for a specific topic, agency, industry, or program, while others – such as those addressing REINS, judicial deference, rulemaking processes, and oversight – affect all or most agencies in the state.

² States are ranked based only on the number of bills not based on any qualitative evaluation of the provisions of the bills themselves.

Legislation enacted through veto overrides

Legislatures in four states overrode gubernatorial vetoes for seven administrative state-related bills in 2025 so far.

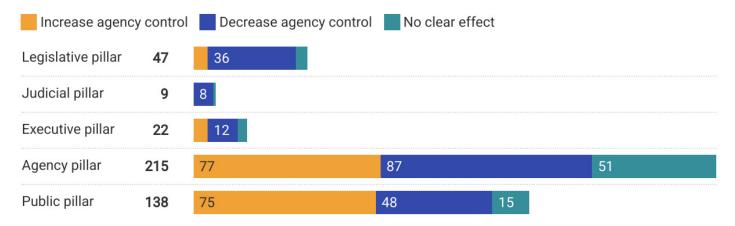
- Kansas legislators overrode Gov. <u>Laura Kelly</u> (D)'s vetoes of three administrative staterelated bills. The Kansas House of Representatives has 88 Republican and 37 Democratic members, and needs 84 votes to override a gubernatorial veto. The Kansas Senate has 31 Republican and 9 Democratic members, and needs 27 votes to override a veto.
 - Output Description of the second of the s
 - HB 2240 requires agencies to receive legislative approval to institute a public assistance program waiver.
 - ° SB 29 restricts disease control rulemaking authority.
- Oklahoma legislators overrode Gov. Kevin Stitt (R)'s vetoes of two bills. The Oklahoma
 House of Representatives has 81 Republican and 20 Democratic members, and needs
 68 votes to override a gubernatorial veto. The Oklahoma Senate has 40 Republican and 8
 Democratic members, and needs 32 votes to override a veto.
 - ° HB2769: This bill modifies eligibility requirements for the office of Adjutant General.
 - <u>HB2164</u>: This bill modifies state ethics laws by requiring heads of state agencies, boards, bureaus, trusts, commissions, councils, departments, systems, or authorities to complete an ethics course.
- North Carolina legislators overrode Gov. <u>Josh Stein</u> (D)'s veto of <u>HB 402</u>, which establishes a REINS-style legislative review requirement for major agency rules. The North Carolina House of Representatives has 71 Republican and 49 Democratic members, and needs 72 votes to override a gubernatorial veto. The North Carolina Senate has 30 Republican and 20 Democratic members, and needs 30 votes to override a veto.
- Wyoming legislators overrode Gov. Mark Gordon (R)'s veto of SF 127, requiring cost-benefit analyses for rules estimated to have an annual economic impact exceeding \$100,000, significant adverse effects on competition or employment, or substantial social and cultural impacts. It requires it to issue a copy to every legislator, and legislators can introduce legislation to prohibit the rule from taking effect. The Wyoming House of Representatives has 56 Republican and 6 Democratic members, and needs 42 votes to override a gubernatorial veto. The Wyoming Senate has 29 Republican and 2 Democratic members, and needs 21 votes to override a veto.

Enacted legislation by pillar and state trifecta status

This section provides an overview of enacted legislation by pillar of the administrative state. Some legislation concerns multiple pillars.

The chart below shows how many of the enacted bills and resolutions in each pillar **increased** agency power, **decreased** agency power, or had no clear net effect one way or the other.

Bills and resolutions passed in 2025 according to the pillars of the administrative state



Legislative pillar - the interplay between agencies and lawmakers and the related reform proposals and legal doctrines, including the **nondelegation doctrine**.

- 47 enacted bills and resolutions were in the legislative pillar. 77% decreased agency control, and 13% increased agency control. The remaining bills did not have a clear net effect on agency power.
 - ° 12 Republican trifectas,
 - ° 7 Democratic trifectas, and
 - 4 divided governments enacted legislation categorized in this pillar.
- These included legislative oversight reforms, such as REINS Acts and sunset review acts.
 - o Five (5) states enacted REINS-style legislation this year: <u>Kentucky</u>, <u>Louisiana</u>, <u>Oklahoma</u>, <u>North Carolina</u>, and <u>Utah</u>.
 - ° Other noteworthy bills concerned:
 - Legislative disapproval or nullification of agency rules (Wyoming)
 - Requirements for agencies to notify legislators of agency rules implementing legislation they sponsored (Montana)
 - Legislative oversight of out-of-session agency funding changes (North Dakota)

Judicial pillar - interplay between agencies and the courts, including the level of **judicial deference** given to agency rules.

- Nine (9) bills and resolutions that were in the judicial pillar of the administrative state were enacted this year. 88% of these bills decreased agency power and the remaining did not have a clear effect. None of the judicial pillar bills that were enacted this year increased agency power.
 - ° 7 Republican trifectas
 - ° 1 Democratic trifecta
 - ° 1 divided government
- These bills relate to how courts oversee agency actions through judicial review and judicial deference.
 - Five (5) states passed bills prohibiting or limiting judicial deference to agency interpretations and requiring courts to hear cases challenging agency actions <u>de novo</u>: <u>Kentucky</u>, <u>Louisiana</u>, <u>Missouri</u>, <u>Oklahoma</u>, and <u>Texas</u>.
 - Utah passed a resolution directing the review of federal agency regulations upheld through recently overturned federal Chevron Deference standards.

Executive pillar - interplay between agencies and the executive branch, including <u>executive</u> <u>control</u> of appointment and removal.

- 22 bills and resolutions related to the executive pillar of the administrative state were enacted this year. 27% of these bills increased agency power, 54% decreased agency power, and 18% had no clear net effect on agency power.
 - ° 8 Republican trifectas
 - 4 Democratic trifectas
 - ° 2 divided governments
- Noteworthy examples:
 - o Vermont SB 44 requires agencies to get approval from the governor or attorney general before entering into any agreement related to immigration.
 - Oklahoma <u>SB 1024</u> requires approval from the governor or the appropriate cabinet member for all agency rules.
 - Louisiana's <u>REINS-style law</u> contains a provision requiring the governor to approve proposed rules if the relevant legislative committee does not review them within 30 days.

Agency pillar - the dynamics among agencies and sub-agencies.

- 212 bills and resolutions were enacted this year that relate to inter-agency dynamics. 39% decreased agency power, and 36% bills increased agency power. The remaining bills did not have a clear effect in either direction.
 - ° 18 Republican trifectas,
 - o 12 Democratic trifectas, and
 - ° 8 divided governments enacted legislation categorized in this pillar.

- This legislation includes bills that create or abolish agencies or sub-agencies that exert authority or oversight on other agencies.
- Several states considered legislation this year creating a state agency or office modeled on
 or in some ways similar to the federal-level Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE)
 initiative. Examples of enacted bills included <u>Texas SB14</u> to establish the Texas Regulatory
 Efficiency Office, North Carolina <u>HB 125</u> to establish the Division of Accountability, Value,
 and Efficiency (DAVE), Additionally, some DOGE-like state efforts were put in place through
 executive orders.

Public pillar - how agencies relate to the **people and organizations** subject to their rules, including **procedural rights**, enforcement, and adjudication.

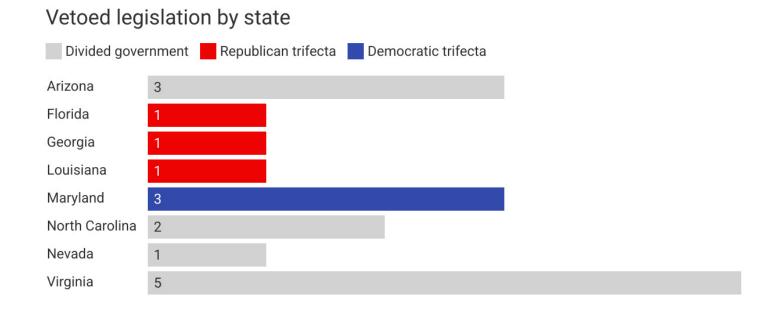
- 139 bills related to how agencies interact with the people and organizations they regulate were enacted in 2025. 54% of these bills increased agency control, 35% decreased agency control, and the others did not have a clear net effect on agency power.
 - ° 18 Republican trifectas
 - ° 11 Democratic trifectas
 - ° 8 divided governments
- This legislation included
 - ° regulatory initiation bills,
 - o regulatory reduction bills,
 - o bills related to occupational licensing, and
 - o bills that require or allow public participation, commentary, and transparency.

Vetoed legislation

Eleven governors vetoed 24 administrative state-related bills in 2025. As we covered in the section above, legislators overrode seven of the vetoes. Legislatures in eight states did not override 17 of the vetoes.

Of the 17 vetoes that legislatures did not override, 11 were in <u>divided government states</u> (Arizona, Nevada, North Carolina, and Virginia), three were in <u>Republican trifectas</u> (Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana), and three were in Maryland, which is a <u>Democratic trifecta</u>. Arizona and North Carolina have Democratic governors and Republican legislatures, while Nevada and Virginia have Republican governors and Democratic legislatures.

Nine of the vetoed bills were designed to decrease agency control, and eight were designed to increase agencies' power.



Click here to see all of the vetoed bills in the legislation tracker.

Noteworthy topics, bills, and states

REINS-style bills

What does it do?

REINS-style state laws, modeled after a federal legislative proposal titled the **REINS Act**, require a cost-benefit analysis and preemptive legislative action on an agency rule estimated to exceed certain financial or economic thresholds. REINS-style laws differ by economic threshold and type of legislative action required.

REINS-style proposals are part of the legislative pillar of the administrative state. They are designed to increase legislative oversight of administrative agency rulemaking.

How many were tracked?

17 states considered 23 different REINS-style bills or resolutions in 2025.

Five (5) were enacted in <u>Kentucky</u>, <u>Louisiana</u>, <u>North Carolina</u>, <u>Oklahoma</u> (two bills were enacted to create REINS-style legislation), and <u>Utah</u>. Three were enacted in Republican trifectas (Louisiana, Oklahoma, Utah) and two in divided governments (Kentucky and North Carolina, both through veto overrides).

- <u>Utah HB 474</u>: Requires statutory approval of rules with implementation and compliance costs of \$2 million or more over a five-year period, as well as legislative review of rules costing \$1 million or more over a five-year period.
- Oklahoma <u>SB 995</u> and <u>HB 2728</u>: Require legislative approval for all rules, including major ones defined as costing \$1 million or more over five years.
- <u>Louisiana SB 59</u>: Requires legislative subcommittee approval for rules estimated to cost \$200,000 per year or \$600,000 over three years, though if the committees do not review a rule for more than 30 days, the governor can approve the rule.
- <u>Kentucky HB 6</u>: Requires legislative approval for new rules, with some exceptions for rules with an economic impact below \$500,000 over a two-year period. The Kentucky legislature overrode the veto of Gov. Andy Beshear (D) on March 27, 2025.
- North Carolina HB 402: Requires legislative approval for rules with an estimated economic impact of \$20 million or more within five years. It requires boards and commissions to approve proposed rules with estimated costs above \$1 million with a two-thirds majority and requires unanimous approval for those estimated to exceed \$10 million. The North Carolina legislature overrode the veto of Gov. Josh Stein (D) to enact the bill into law on July 29, 2025, with two House Democrats voting with the Republicans in support of the override.

¹ Wyoming also enacted a bill which was introduced with REINS-like features, but which after amendments was passed in a form which Ballotpedia does not classify as REINS-like. The Wyoming bill was also enacted through legislative override of a gubernatorial veto.

Status of 2025 REINS legislation

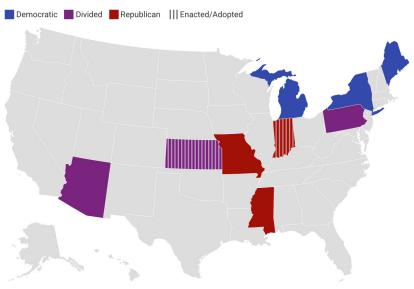
- Signed into law 3
- Veto overridden 2
- · Vetoed (not overridden) 0
- · Not approved 18

2024 vs. 2025

The maps below compare legislative activity on REINS-style bills in 2024 and 2025.

REINS-style state bills introduced in 2024

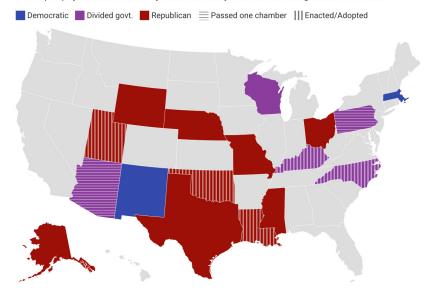




*Note: AZ. Gov Katie Hobbs (D) vetoed a REINS-style bill, and AZ voters defeated a ballot measure that would've enacted a REINS-style law.

REINS-style state bills introduced in 2025

This map displays states with REINS-style state law activity and includes state legislative trifecta status.



* Note: Wyoming's bill was not classified as a REINS-style state law but included legislative oversight provisions and a cost-based threshold.

Other noteworthy legislative oversight bills

Ballotpedia also <u>tracked</u> bills requiring legislative oversight of agency actions, but which do not fit the definition of REINS-style bills. This includes an enacted Wyoming bill that was introduced as a REINS-style bill but that was passed, after amendments, with features that Ballotpedia does not classify as REINS-like.

How many were tracked?

39 states considered 189 different bills that involved legislative oversight of agency actions. Of these, 33 were passed or enacted by veto override. Some notable examples included:

- Wyoming SF0127: Requires the Legislative Service Office to analyze major regulations (defined as having an economic impact of \$100,000 or above), and provides a mechanism for legislators to introduce legislation to prevent a regulation from taking effect. This bill was introduced with REINS-like features, but does not meet Ballotpedia's definition of a REINS-like law as enacted. The Wyoming legislature overrode the veto of Gov. Mark Gordon (R) to enact the bill into law on March 6, 2025.
- Montana HB592: Requires agencies that make a rule to implement legislation to notify and provide official explanations to the lawmaker who sponsored the legislation, and empowers the sponsor to request an economic impact statement.
- Oregon HB3569: Requires agencies that make a rule to implement legislation to invite the legislative sponsor as a non-voting member of an advisory committee.
- Nebraska LB660: Requires "a review of all existing and pending rules and regulations" for state agencies, to be repeated every five years, and to be reported to the legislature.

Judicial deference

What does it do?

Judicial deference, in the context of administrative law, is when a court yields to an agency's interpretation of the law. The level of deference that state or federal courts give to agency rules can be set by law or through legal precedent. Laws can require or allow a certain level of deference, or they can require <u>de novo</u> judicial review of agency actions or rules without deference to a previous agency interpretation.

How many were tracked?

21 states considered 34 different judicial deference-related bills or resolutions in 2025.

Five were enacted that prohibit or limit judicial deference, requiring courts to give a level of *de novo* review to agency interpretations:

- Kentucky Divided government
- · Louisiana Republican trifecta
- Missouri Republican trifecta
- Oklahoma Republican trifecta
- <u>Texas</u> Republican trifecta

This was more than twice the legislative activity we tracked in 2024 concerning limiting or prohibiting judicial deference.

One bill, <u>Utah SJR 6</u>, calls on state agencies to reassess federal mandates in light of the Supreme Court's decision in Loper Bright v. Raimondo, which limits judicial deference to federal agency interpretations. Utah has a Republican trifecta.

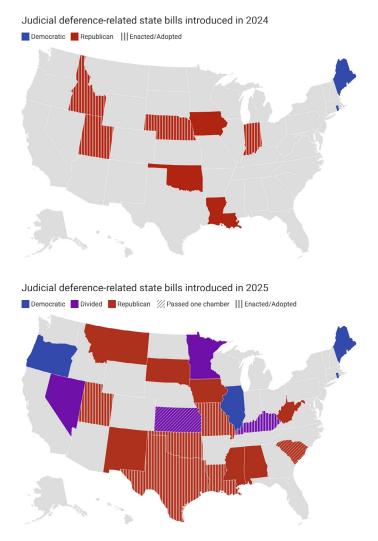
One bill in Maine was considered that required courts to defer to the interpretation of an ambiguous statute or rule by the agency charged with its implementation.

Status of 2025 judicial deference bills

- Enacted 5
- Vetoed 0
- Veto overridden 0
- Not approved 29

2024 vs. 2025

The maps below show state legislative activity on bills banning or limiting judicial deference in 2024 compared to 2025. The first map shows 2024 activity, and the second map shows 2025 activity.



Regulatory budgets and regulatory sandboxes

What does it do?

Regulatory budget policies limit the cost that agencies can impose through rulemaking. Regulatory budgets often include deleting a certain number of rules or regulations for each new one created; some require states to keep total state regulatory costs below a specific monetary threshold.

Regulatory sandboxes are programs exempting new businesses from certain regulations, usually for a specified amount of time, to test products in the market with reduced licensure or permitting requirements.

How many were tracked?

18 states considered 29 different regulatory budgets and regulatory sandbox bills or resolutions in 2025. 3 were enacted:

• Kansas: Divided government

• Texas (2 bills): Republican trifecta

Status of 2025 regulatory reduction bills

- Enacted 2
- Vetoed 1
- Veto overridden 1
- Not approved 25

Government efficiency and state-level DOGE bills

What does it do?

State-level government efficiency bills are designed to increase the efficiency and reduce the costs of government agencies, programs, or regulations. The proposals differ significantly.

Several bills were designed to create executive branch entities focused on increasing efficiency within the branch, in some cases modeled after the federal-level Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) initiative.

 North Carolina enacted <u>a bill</u> to establish the Division of Accountability, Value, and Efficiency (DAVE) within the Department of the State Auditor, with a mandate to assess the efficiency of other state executive agencies.

Other proposals related to government efficiency included:

- Creating a legislative task force to study and make recommendations to increase executive branch efficiency (Kentucky, Missouri, North Dakota, Washington).
- Increasing agency reporting on hiring or employee performance metrics (Illinois, Kentucky).
- Allowing the public to recommend ways to improve government efficiency (Connecticut, South Carolina, Washington).

One resolution from Montana was designed to prevent the federal DOGE from acquiring Montana citizens' personally identifiable data.

How many were tracked?

28 states considered 68 different government efficiency bills or resolutions in 2025. Nine were enacted, four in <u>Texas</u>, three in <u>Montana</u>, and one each in <u>Kentucky</u> and <u>North Dakota</u>. <u>Eight of these bills</u> came from Republican trifectas, and <u>one</u> from a divided government. <u>Four bills</u> had bipartisan sponsorship, <u>four had Republican sponsorship</u>, and <u>one</u> had Democratic sponsorship.

Status of 2025 government efficiency bills

- Enacted 9
- Vetoed 0
- Veto overridden 0
- Not approved 59

Artificial intelligence (AI)

What does it do?

Several states have enacted artificial intelligence (AI) legislation related to the administrative state function and authority. The reforms included, but aren't limited to:

- Establishing guidelines for state agencies using Al
- · Creating regulatory sandboxes for Al innovation
- Creating executive branch task forces or agencies related to Al
- Charging specific agencies with overseeing or developing AI resources in the state

Because the reforms vary, they are related to both the agency and public control pillars of the administrative state.

How many were tracked?

Nineteen (19) states considered 26 bills related to artificial intelligence and state agencies or commissions. Ten were enacted, two from <u>Delaware</u>, two from <u>Texas</u>, and one each from <u>Indiana</u>, <u>Kansas, Kentucky</u>, <u>Mississippi</u>, <u>Montana</u>, and <u>New Mexico</u>. <u>Five of these bills</u> came from Republican trifectas, <u>three</u> from Democratic trifectas, and <u>two</u> from a divided government. <u>Five bills</u> had bipartisan sponsorship, and <u>three</u> had Republican sponsorship.

Status of 2025 Al bills

- Enacted 10
- · Vetoed 0
- Veto overridden 0
- Not approved 17

Federalism highlights in 2025 administrative state legislation

What do they do?

Legislation related to federalism and the administrative state addresses how authority is shared and exercised between state and federal governments. These laws often seek to assert or clarify state control over certain policy areas with federal regulations, limit or require state or local cooperation with federal directives, or increase transparency around federal influence on state agencies. This section highlights selected enacted laws from 2025 that reflect these dynamics. Some measures apply statewide, while many others are agency-specific—particularly in areas like healthcare and immigration.

How many were tracked?

A total of 180 bills related to federalism and the administrative state were tracked across 35 states in 2025. Of those, 31 were enacted in 14 states. Republican lawmakers sponsored 18 of the enacted bills, Democrats sponsored six, five were bipartisan, and two had other sponsorship. Utah passed the most with nine, followed by Montana with three, and Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia with two each.

Status of 2025 federalism bills

- Enacted 31
- Vetoed 3
- Veto overridden 1
- · Not approved 1

Noteworthy enacted bills

Federal funding oversight

- Indiana SB 5 requires Indiana executive agencies to obtain budget committee review before accepting federal funds that carry mandates, reinforcing legislative oversight of administrative compliance with federal conditions.
- <u>Nebraska LB 660</u> mandates that state agencies compile and submit a comprehensive inventory of all federal funding, including attached mandates, to improve legislative oversight of federal-state fiscal interactions.

Limits on enforcing federal mandates

- <u>Utah HB 380</u> requires federal jurisdiction to be affirmatively demonstrated before state cooperation, limiting state agency enforcement of certain federal directives.
- <u>Utah SB 265</u> authorizes the Legislature to prohibit enforcement of federal directives it finds unconstitutional, expanding administrative restrictions to additional public employees and requiring attorney general consultation.

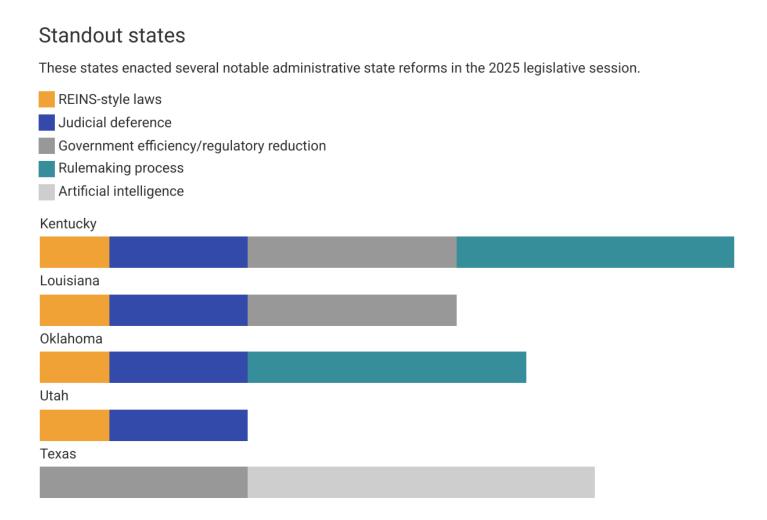
Agency transparency and review

 <u>Utah HB 488</u> expands the Federalism Commission's oversight role and requires state agencies to review and report on federal jurisdiction issues, integrating federalism monitoring into administrative operations.

- <u>Utah SB 198</u> mandates that state agencies publicly disclose federal guidance letters within 15 days, increasing transparency over federal influence on state administrative actions.
- <u>Utah SJR 6</u> reaffirms state sovereignty under the Tenth Amendment and calls on state
 agencies to reassess federal mandates in light of the Supreme Court's decision in *Loper Bright v. Raimondo*, which limits judicial deference to federal agency interpretations.

Standout states

The following states enacted significant legislation related to the noteworthy topics above.1



¹ Utah's bill in the judicial deference category has to do with reviewing federal agency regulations upheld through federal judicial deference, not any limitation or prohibition on state court deference to state agencies.

Federal legislation highlights

Ballotpedia tracked 129 **federal bills related to administrative state reform** in the 119th Congress as of August 2025.

The One Big Beautiful Bill Act

One bill, H.R. 1 – the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, became law on July 4, 2025. It appropriated \$100 million to the Office of Management to find budget and accounting efficiencies in the executive branch. Early versions of the bill included the following provisions that were amended out before passing in the House:

- <u>REINS Act</u> provisions that would have required agencies to submit new major rules (those with an annual economic impact of \$100 million or more) to Congress for review and approval,
- a <u>Midnight Rules Relief Act</u> provision that would have amended the <u>Congressional Review Act</u> to allow Congress to reject multiple agency rules using one <u>resolution of disapproval</u> if the rules were submitted during the final year of a president's term, and
- **Sunset review provisions** that would have required any active rules not approved through a joint resolution of Congress to expire within five years.

Notable bills in committee

The Guidance Out of Darkness (GOOD) Act

What's the status?

The <u>Guidance Out of Darkness (GOOD) Act</u> passed the House of Representatives on March 3, 2025, and is in committee in the Senate.

What would it do?

This bill would require all federal agencies to publish all guidance documents on a centralized website. It's part of the agency control pillar of the administrative state.

Who's sponsoring it?

Republicans sponsored the bill.

The <u>Separation of Powers Restoration Act (SOPRA)</u>

What's the status?

Both the <u>House</u> and <u>Senate</u> had versions of SOPRA in committee as of August 2025. The bill was first introduced during the 114th Congress and has been reintroduced in the 115th, 116th, and 118th Congresses.

What would it do?

SOPRA would require courts to decide de novo—or without deference to an agency's interpretation— all questions of law regarding agency actions, including the interpretation of

constitutional and statutory provisions, rules made by agencies, interpretative rules, general statements of policy, and all other agency guidance documents.

It's part of the judicial control pillar of the administrative state.

Who's sponsoring it?

Republicans sponsored the bills in both chambers.

The Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny (REINS) Act

What's the status?

Both houses of Congress had versions of the REINS Act in committee as of August 2025. Though versions of the REINS Act have passed the U.S. House of Representatives, it has never passed the Senate.

Both the <u>House</u> and <u>Senate</u> had versions of the Saving Privacy Act in committee as of August 2025, which include REINS provisions.

What would it do?

The Senate version of the REINS Act would:

- Require agencies to gain legislative approval for rules and guidance documents with an annual estimated impact of \$100 million or more before they can take effect.
- Allow the public to sue for an injunction on the enforcement of a major regulation if the promulgating agency did not gain legislative approval for the regulation.
- Exempt what the bill calls deregulatory actions from legislative approval requirements.
- Require the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to establish a regulatory budget specifying the net amount of incremental regulatory costs allowed by the federal government and at each federal agency for the next fiscal year.

The House version of the REINS Act would:

- Require agencies to gain legislative approval for rules with an annual estimated impact of \$100 million or more before they can take effect.
- Require agencies to conduct a cost-benefit analysis for proposed rules.
- Identify and repeal or amend existing rules to offset any costs of new rules to the U.S. economy.

These are part of the legislative control pillar of the administrative state.

Who's sponsoring it?

Republicans sponsored the bills in both chambers.

The DOGE Codification Act

What's the status?

The **DOGE Codification Act** was in committee as of August 2025.

What would it do?

The DOGE Codification Act would codify all actions, regulations, and guidance issued by the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) into law.

This bill is part of the agency control pillar of the administrative state.

Who's sponsoring it?

Republicans sponsored the bill in the House.

What's left?

Eight state legislatures are still in regular session as of August 2025:1

- California adjourning September 12, 2025
- North Carolina adjourning November 5, 2025
- · Massachusetts adjourning November 19, 2025
- Michigan adjourning December 31, 2025
- New Jersey adjourning December 31, 2025
- Ohio adjourning December 31, 2025
- Pennsylvania adjourning December 31, 2025
- Wisconsin adjourning December 31, 2025

The 119th United States Congress legislative session is set to end on January 3, 2027.

Significant active state bills

Significant bills that are still active include <u>five REINS-style laws</u> in Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; <u>12 bills related to government efficiency</u> in California, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; <u>seven sunset review measures</u> in California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; and <u>six regulatory reduction bills</u> in Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina.

¹ Texas held a special legislative session that started July 21 and ended August 20.