

State of Decline

Cuts to State Pollution Control Agencies Compound Damage from the Dismantling of EPA



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Acknowledgments:

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The Environmental Integrity Project:

The Environmental Integrity Project is America's environmental watchdog. We are a nonprofit organization dedicated to protecting public health and our natural resources by holding polluters and government agencies accountable under the law. We advocate for tough but fair environmental standards and empower communities fighting for clean air and clean water.

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Despite environmental challenges from a growing petrochemical industry, Texas cut funding for its environmental quality agency by a third from 2010 to 2024, when adjusted for inflation. Shown here is the Houston Ship Channel, a center of the petrochemical industry. Photo by iStock.

State of Decline

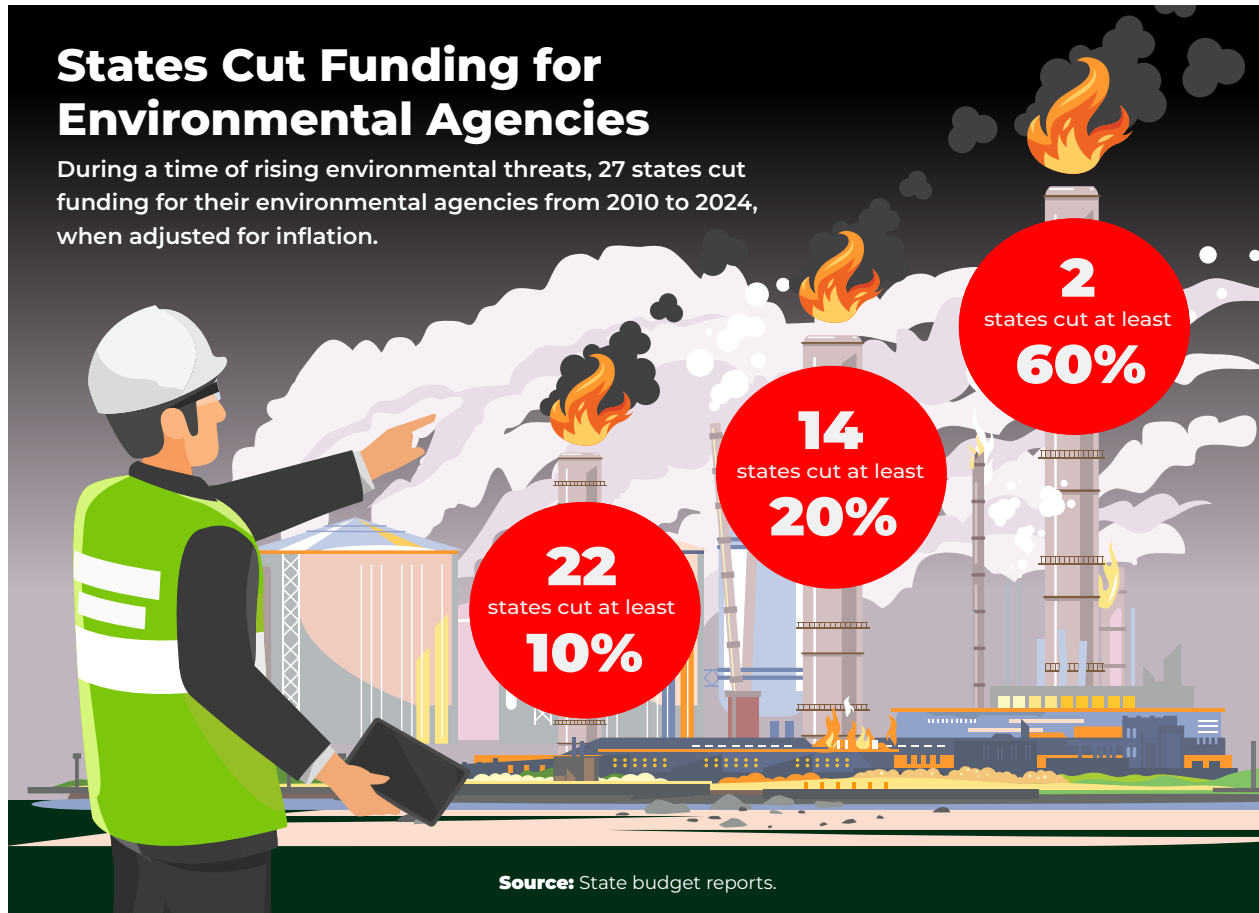
Cuts to State Pollution Control Agencies Compound Damage from the Dismantling of EPA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At a time when the Trump Administration is proposing draconian cuts to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), claiming that states can take on more responsibility for environmental oversight, more than half of states (27) have cut the budgets of their own environmental agencies over the last 15 years, according to an examination of state budgets by the Environmental Integrity Project (EIP).

Seven states, including rapidly-growing Texas, have reduced their pollution control funding by at least a third, when adjusted for inflation. Mississippi slashed its environmental agency's budget by 71 percent from 2010 through 2024 and South Dakota by 61 percent during this time. Almost two thirds of states (31) also cut the staffing of their environmental agencies, eliminating 3,725 positions over this time period (or about 13 percent of jobs at these state agencies).¹

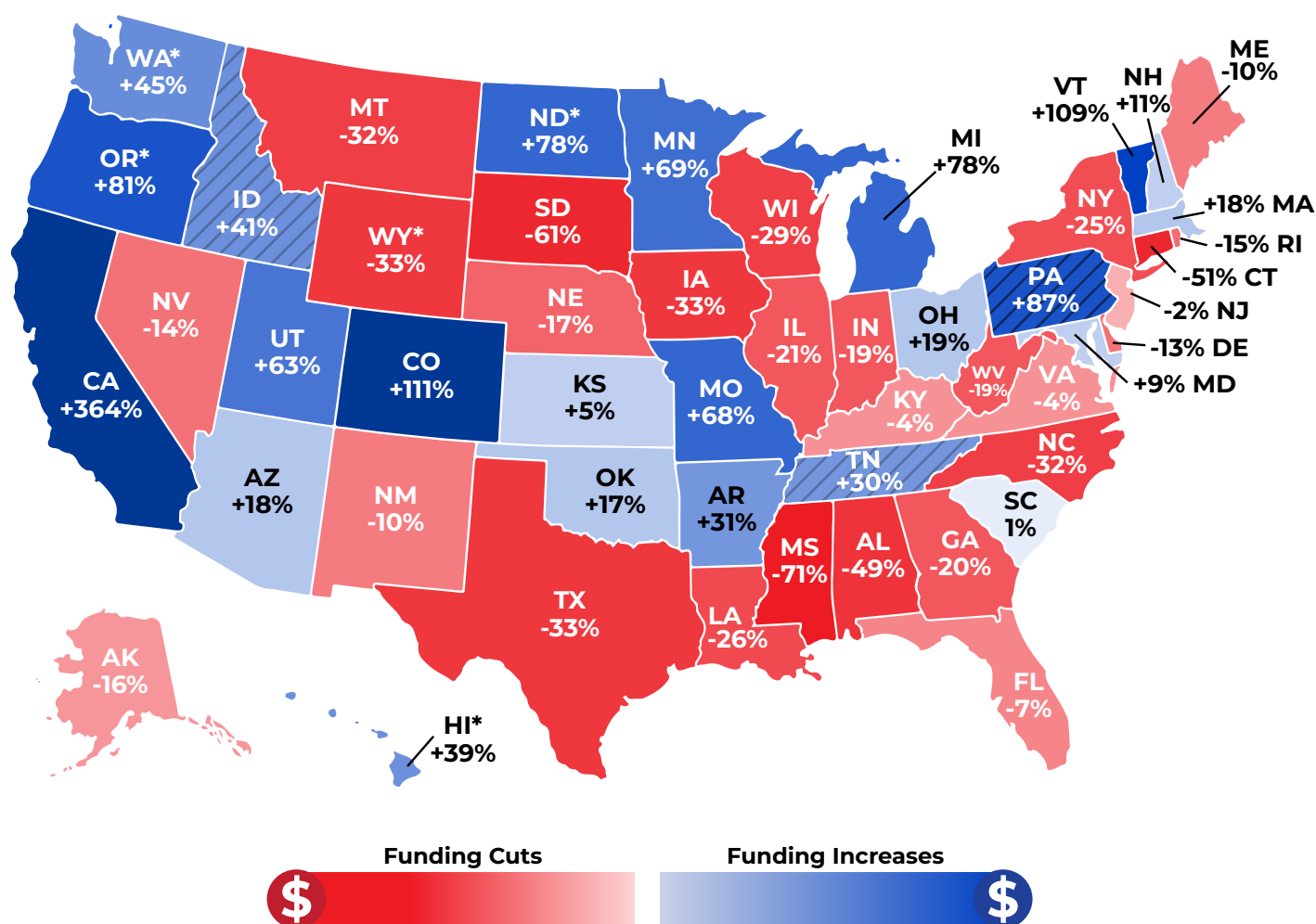
These deep reductions mean that the Trump Administration's proposed downsizing of the EPA would have an increased impact on pollution control efforts across the country. Not only will the federal pollution cop no longer be on the beat, state authorities may not show up either. Many states will not be able to shoulder more environmental oversight responsibilities because of years of their own cost-cutting, with a gradual erosion of their capacity for managing pollution often as bad or worse than the downsizing at the federal level.



EIP's study of state environmental agency budgets across the U.S. revealed that some states with rapidly growing oil and gas industries dramatically cut their environmental oversight during a period when the fracking boom expanded the industry's footprint. In Louisiana, governors and lawmakers slashed 222 positions from the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality (a 24 percent cut, among the steepest in the U.S.) over the last 15 years, during which the liquefied natural gas (LNG) and petrochemical industries expanded rapidly. (For case studies on Louisiana and Texas, see pages 22 to 27.)

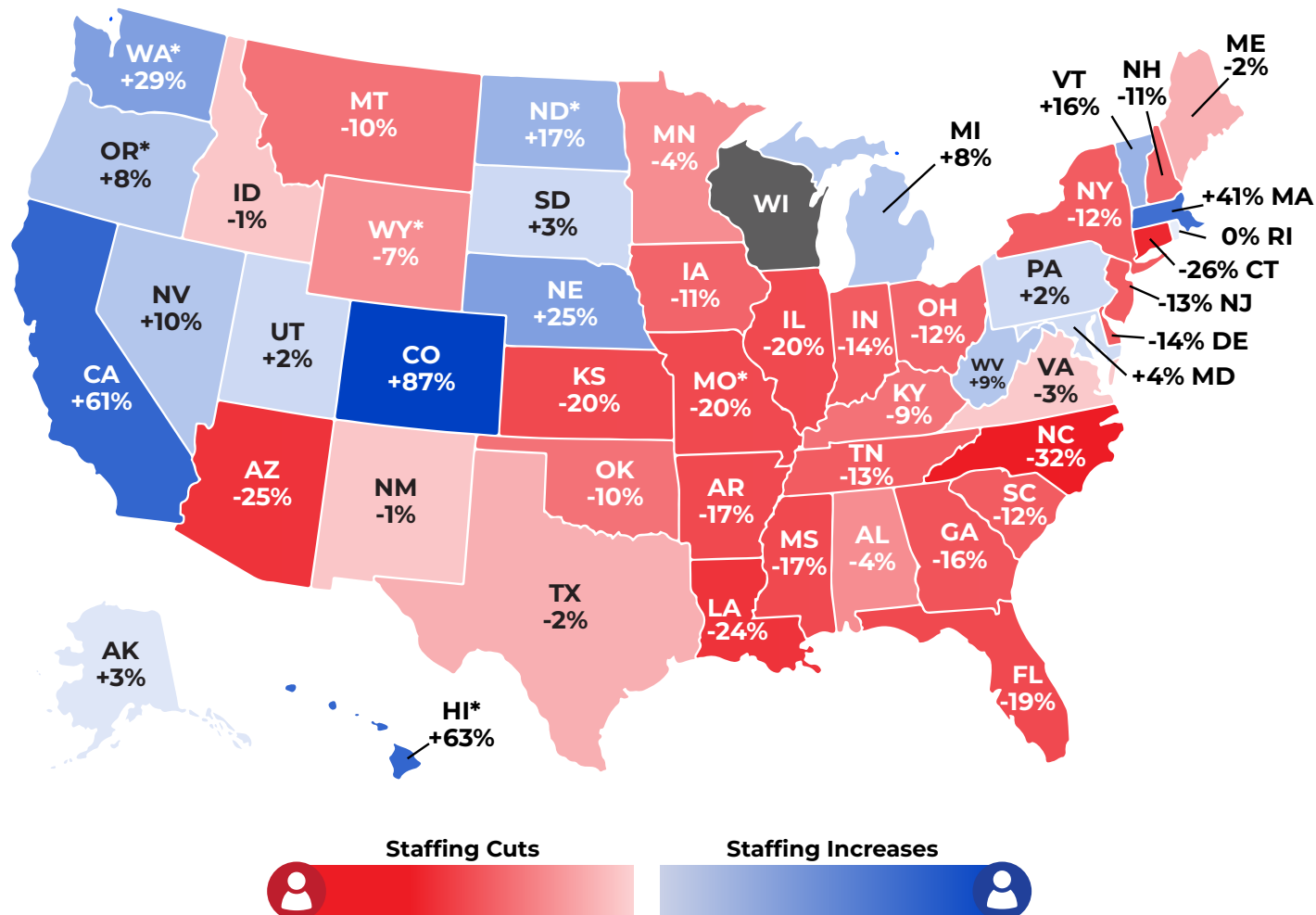
Meanwhile, a handful of other states — including California, Colorado, and Massachusetts — moved sharply in the opposite direction and built up their state environmental agencies. California, for example, has quadrupled its state spending on pollution control programs over the last 15 years and hired an additional 2,769 workers at the California EPA, a 61 percent jump. (For a case study on California, see page 28.) Over this same period, the state's greenhouse gas emissions fell significantly while its economic productivity grew.²

Map 1. Changes in Funding at State Environmental Agencies, 2010-2024



trimmed its environmental agency budget by 21 percent over the last 15 years, when adjusted for inflation, even more than Indiana or West Virginia, which had 19 percent cuts. (For a case study on Illinois, see page 35.) And North Carolina has chopped its environmental agency staff by almost a third, the highest percentage of any state, eliminating 386 jobs. (For case study on North Carolina, see page 33.) For a spreadsheet of data on all 50 states, [click here](#).

Map 2. Changes in Staffing at State Environmental Agencies, 2010-2024



Source: State budget documents, 2010 to 2024. Note: States marked by asterisks have caveats to their data. Staffing data was not available for Wisconsin (shaded gray). See Appendix A for the caveats and methodology.

In just 10 months, the Trump Administration’s efforts to shrink EPA’s size and regulatory oversight have already been substantial. During a press conference on March 12, EPA Administrator Lee Zeldin said that he intended to fundamentally shift the focus of the agency to “unleash American energy, revitalize the auto industry...and give power back to the states.”³ This kind of a dramatic change is not consistent with the law because it ignores EPA’s mission to protect human health and the environment and its obligation to implement environmental statutes and provide critical oversight of state programs. EPA is also uniquely positioned to tackle complex environmental problems that impact multiple states or cross state lines.⁴ But on a more basic level, this kind of handoff – from federal to state – can only work if the teammate receiving the baton has not been hobbled, as many state environmental agencies have been, by budget cuts.

It’s not yet clear what the future will hold for EPA. Following an impasse in Congress over government funding, lawmakers on November 12 voted to end a 43-day government shutdown. But the short-term funding measure

postponed a vote until January on the 2026 budget for EPA and the rest of the federal government. Even before the shutdown, thousands of EPA staffers had been eliminated so far in Trump's second term through firings, layoffs, and resignations, with one estimate of attrition so far hitting 33 percent.⁵

Next year could bring even sharper budget and staffing reductions at EPA. The White House has been seeking a budget for fiscal 2026 that would slash EPA's budget by 55 percent, or \$4.2 billion, leaving the agency with funding levels not seen in four decades.⁶ House Republicans have proposed more modest cuts, suggesting an EPA budget for the 2026 fiscal year that is 23 percent smaller than the previous year.⁷ Meanwhile, the Republican-led Senate Committee on Appropriations voted in favor of only a five percent cut for EPA.⁸ At the time of this report's writing, it remains unclear how many employees and how much funding EPA will have next year.⁹ During the first Trump Administration, Congress kept EPA's budget fairly constant even as the president pushed for dramatic cuts.¹⁰

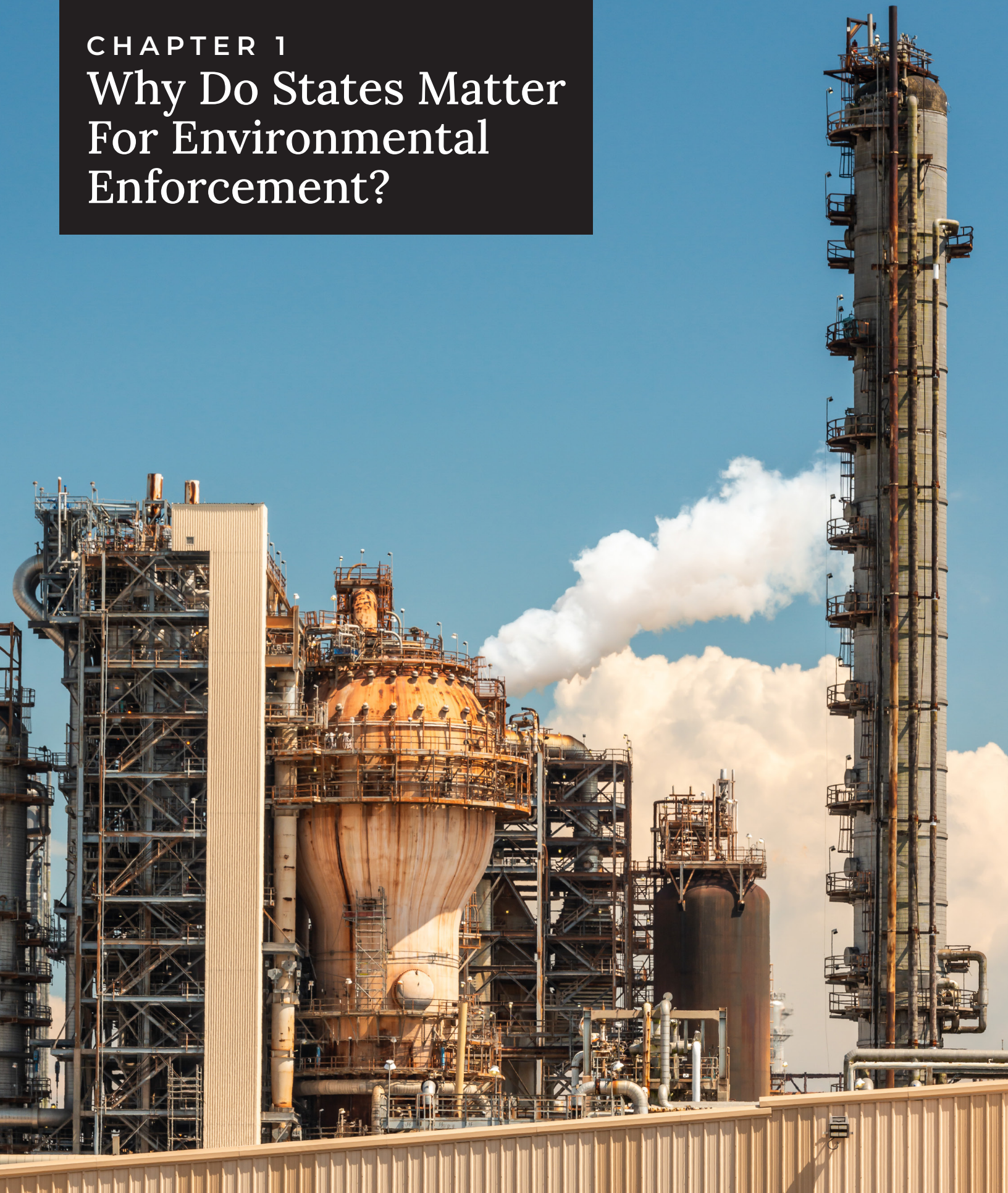
The evidence presented in this report bolsters the case against further cuts to EPA's budget and staff, because many states have already weakened critically important programs that are supposed to protect our nation's waters, lands, and air. If both lines of defense fail – with harsh cuts to environmental agencies at both the federal and state level – public health, our natural resources, and the global climate will suffer grave harm.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	3
Chapter 1: Why Do States Matter For Environmental Enforcement?	8
Chapter 2: The National Picture: Budget Cuts and Staffing at EPA Over the Last 15 Years	10
EPA Administrator Pursuing “the Biggest Deregulatory Action in U.S. History”.....	12
Chapter 3: The Shrinking Capacity of State Environmental Agencies	13
States That Increased Funding For Environmental Agencies.....	16
Chapter 4: Staffing Level Trends	18
Chapter 5: Case Studies	21
Texas: Big Growth, Big Cuts.....	22
Louisiana: Polluter’s Paradise.....	25
California: The Outlier.....	28
Pennsylvania: Growing Challenges in the Keystone State.....	30
North Carolina: Fowl Waste.....	33
Illinois: Green Cuts in the Prairie State.....	35
Chapter 6: Conclusion	38
Appendices	
Appendix A: Methodology.....	40
Appendix B: Detailed Notes by State.....	44

CHAPTER 1

Why Do States Matter For Environmental Enforcement?



In a move that reduced oversight at refineries and petrochemical plants, Louisiana lawmakers cut staffing at the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality by 24 percent from 2010 to 2024. Pictured here is the Shell Norco Refinery near the Mississippi River west of New Orleans. Photo by Garth Lenz.

Why Do States Matter For Environmental Enforcement?

Environmental protection in the United States relies on a cooperative system and shared responsibility between federal and state governments. Under this framework, EPA sets national standards for controlling pollution under the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, and other federal laws. While the EPA provides oversight for these programs, has its own enforcement program, and frequently leads research efforts, the federal agency delegates to the states responsibility for routine implementation and enforcement of environmental regulations and permits.

This delegation of authority means that state agencies are responsible for issuing permits, monitoring pollution sources, conducting inspections, and ensuring compliance with laws and regulations. According to the Environmental Council of the States, approximately 90 percent of environmental oversight programs have been delegated to state agencies, making them the primary actors in America's pollution control efforts.¹¹

The success of this system depends on the capacity, legal authority, and political will of state agencies to ensure that federal environmental standards are met under the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, and other environmental laws. To do this work, states partially depend on federal funding through EPA grant programs, including EPA's State and Tribal Assistance Grants program (which funds wastewater and drinking water infrastructure projects) and through what are called "categorical grants" that are used to staff and support a variety of state environmental programs. Since 2010, funding for these categorical grants has decreased by 30 percent, when adjusting for inflation.¹² On top of this, the Trump Administration has proposed an additional 91 percent cut to these grants.¹³

Many states also have environmental programs that depend on fees paid by industrial permit holders, like businesses that have air pollution control permits. And in some cases these fees have been on the decline as states have failed to update the fee amounts to match inflation or adjust to account for how pollution sources have changed over time, among other reasons.¹⁴

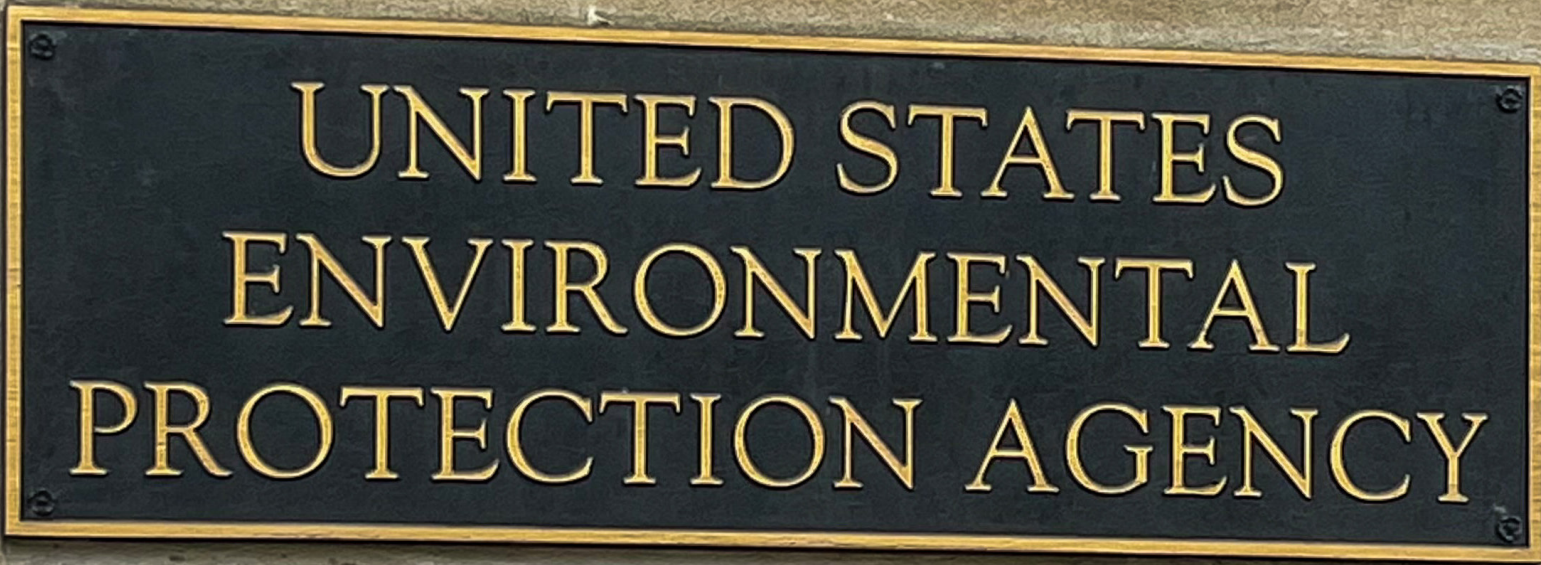
Recent proposed cuts to federal funding that supports the work of state agencies, along with reductions in some state budgets, threaten to severely limit the capacity of state environmental agencies going forward. These funding constraints jeopardize states' ability to protect air quality, prevent water pollution, clean up toxic waste sites, and carry out other essential activities that safeguard public health and the environment. Many state environmental agencies are already understaffed, and many are behind in their legal obligations to review and update Clean Water Act discharge permits every five years to ensure these permits reflect new regulatory requirements and improvements in technology.¹⁵ Cuts to federal funding for state environmental agencies – as proposed by the Trump Administration – will only make these state permit backlogs worse, meaning that more pollution could flow into our waterways than if the permits were updated as required.

90%

of environmental oversight programs have been delegated to state agencies, making them the primary actors in America's pollution control efforts.

CHAPTER 2

The National Picture:
Budget Cuts and
Staffing at EPA Over
the Last 15 Years



UNITED STATES
ENVIRONMENTAL
PROTECTION AGENCY

The National Picture: Budget Cuts and Staffing at EPA Over the Last 15 Years

Inflation-adjusted funding for EPA has been on a gradual decline for about two decades, during both Republican and Democratic administrations. From 2010 to 2025, Congress and the President cut the agency's budget by 40 percent from \$15.1 billion in fiscal 2010 to \$9.1 billion in 2025, when adjusting for inflation.¹⁶ Over the same period, EPA's workforce shrank by at least 18 percent (or by 3,148 full-time equivalent positions), declining from 17,278 to 14,130. This does not include the thousands of more staff – an additional 25 to 33 percent – who have retired early, quit, or been fired since President Trump's second inauguration on January 20.¹⁷

During this same period, from 2010 to 2025, enforcement of the nation's environmental laws has also been trending downward, in part because there are fewer enforcement personnel at EPA.¹⁸ For example, the number of civil cases referred by EPA to the U.S. Justice Department fell from 278 in 2010 to just 60 in 2024, according to annual enforcement reports published by EPA.¹⁹ Among other indicators, the number of inspections of polluting industries by EPA fell from 11,211 in 2013, under President Obama, to 8,173 in 2019 under President Trump, and 3,200 in 2020, before rebounding somewhat during the Biden Administration to 8,533 in 2024.

So far, during President Trump's second term, the brief but modest recovery at EPA under Biden has reversed itself – and the downward trend has accelerated. In the first six months of Trump's second term, civil lawsuits filed by the Justice Department for violations of environmental laws fell by 77 percent, from 30 under Biden's first six months in office to just seven during Trump's first half year.²⁰ Over the same period, settlements in civil cases against major polluters fell 59 percent, to 25, compared to 61 during Biden's first six months in office. Notably, the Justice Department's Environment and Natural Resources Division's Environmental Enforcement Section, which is responsible for civil environmental enforcement cases, has lost around a third of its staff in 2025, falling from 120 to 80 attorneys, with more departures expected by the end of the year.²¹

On May 2, the Trump Administration released a proposed budget for the next federal fiscal year that would reduce EPA's funding by 55 percent, or \$4.2 billion, leaving the agency with funding levels significantly lower than even during the Reagan Administration.²² Among other things, the proposed budget would decimate EPA's Clean and Drinking Water State Revolving Funds, which help local governments pay for clean water, cutting \$2.5 billion from current levels. EPA would also cut about half the money the agency spends for toxic waste management under its Superfund program. The proposed budget also trims EPA's science spending by half, eliminating more than 1,000 science positions and undermining the research that both EPA and the states rely on to protect public health.²³

In mid-July, House Republicans proposed a 2026 fiscal year budget for the EPA of \$7 billion, representing a 23 percent cut from 2025 enacted levels. This was a significantly smaller reduction than the White House's proposed cut to EPA and just the first step in the congressional review process.²⁴ In late July, the Senate Committee on Appropriations voted in favor of legislation that would provide \$8.6 billion for the EPA in 2026, representing only a five percent cut from fiscal 2025 levels.²⁵ However, then the EPA's staff and budget were thrown into uncertainty on October 1 with a Congressional impasse over government funding and a 43-day government shutdown. Lawmakers on November 12 voted to reopen the government but postponed a vote until January on the 2026 budget for EPA and the rest of the government.²⁶

EPA's budget was cut

40%

from 2010 to 2025, when adjusted for inflation.

The agency's workforce shrank by at least

18%

—a loss of 3,148 staff.

EPA Administrator Pursuing “the Biggest Deregulatory Action in U.S. History”

On top of staff and funding cuts at EPA, the Trump Administration is also attempting to roll back and eliminate regulations that require companies to measure, report, and prevent pollution.

On March 12, 2025, EPA Administrator Zeldin issued a flurry of press releases that proclaimed the Trump Administration is launching “the biggest deregulatory action in U.S. history.”²⁷ Zeldin said the agency plans to roll back 31 environmental rules and programs, including by undermining EPA’s power to combat climate change, weaken rules for power plants, revising wetlands protections, ending incentives for electric vehicles, and terminating environmental justice programs meant to clean up lower income neighborhoods and communities of color. In an accompanying video, Zeldin declared that the Trump Administration is shifting the focus of EPA. Instead of adhering to its mission of protecting the environment and public health, under President Trump, the EPA will focus on working to “unleash American energy, lower costs for Americans, [and] revitalize the American auto industry.”²⁸

Among other areas of backward motion on pollution control rules, the Trump EPA is helping industrial polluters seek two-year Presidential pollution exemptions from hazardous air pollution control rules under the Clean Air Act and is reconsidering numerous emissions standards for both hazardous pollutants and greenhouse gases.²⁹ The Trump EPA is also delaying until 2031 the enforcement on limits in drinking water of “forever chemicals” PFOA and PFOS, which have been linked to a variety of health impacts, including weakened immune systems and developmental delays in infants.³⁰

At the same time the Trump Administration is weakening federal pollution standards, Zeldin has called for a shifting of more responsibilities to state environmental agencies to advance “cooperative federalism,” which some conservatives have taken up as a slogan to mean simply shifting responsibilities from the federal government to the states. “Cooperative Federalism is a main pillar of the Powering the Great American Comeback initiative,” Zeldin said on March 25.³¹ “States are best positioned to work with unique communities and implement laws.”

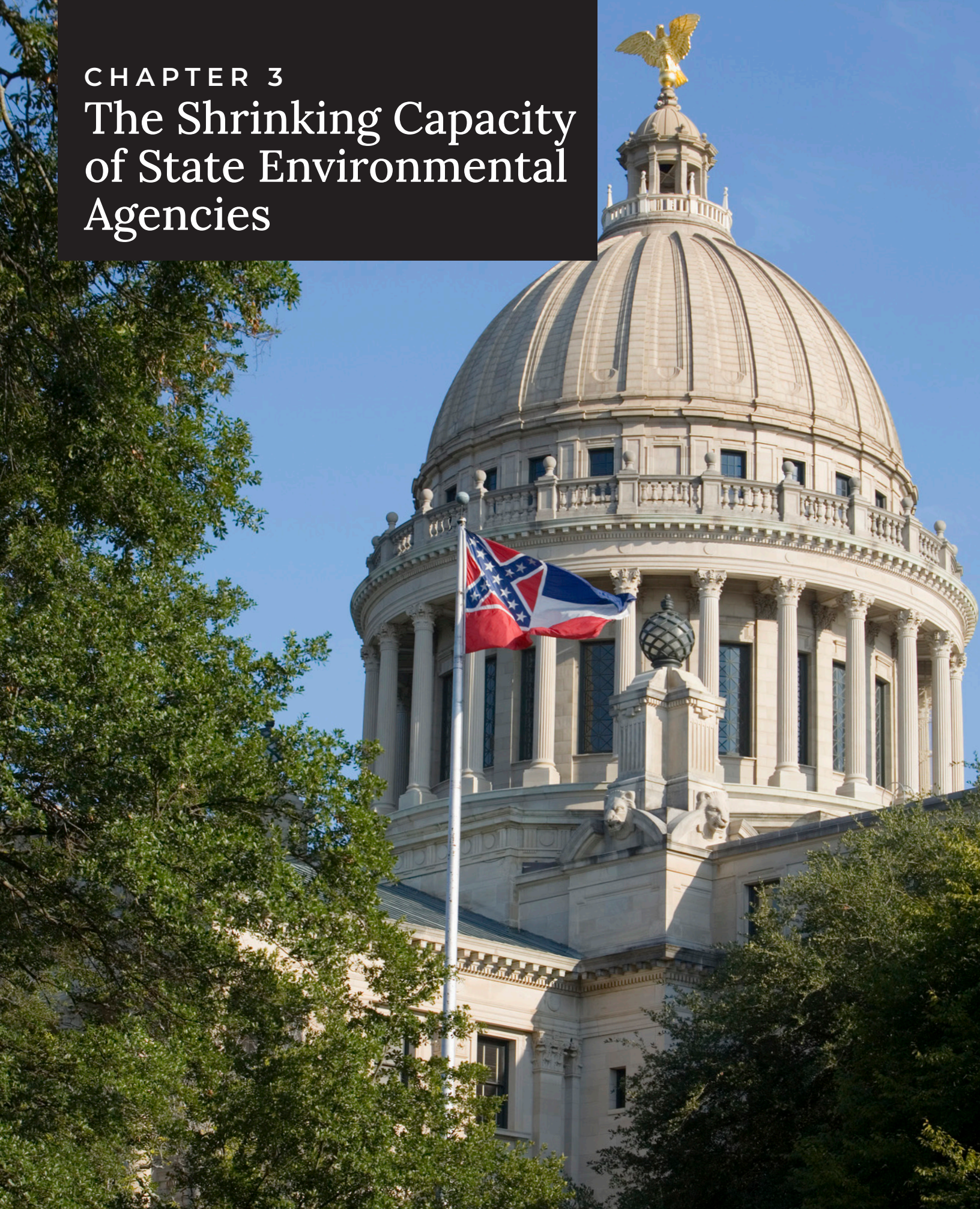
But how well are the states really positioned to take on this increased load?



EPA Administrator Lee Zeldin has said that states like Texas are best positioned to deal with local pollution control issues. But Texas lawmakers have cut the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality's budget by a third from 2010 to 2024, when adjusted for inflation. Shown here is the Pemex Deer Park Refinery in Houston. Photo by Garth Lenz.

CHAPTER 3

The Shrinking Capacity of State Environmental Agencies



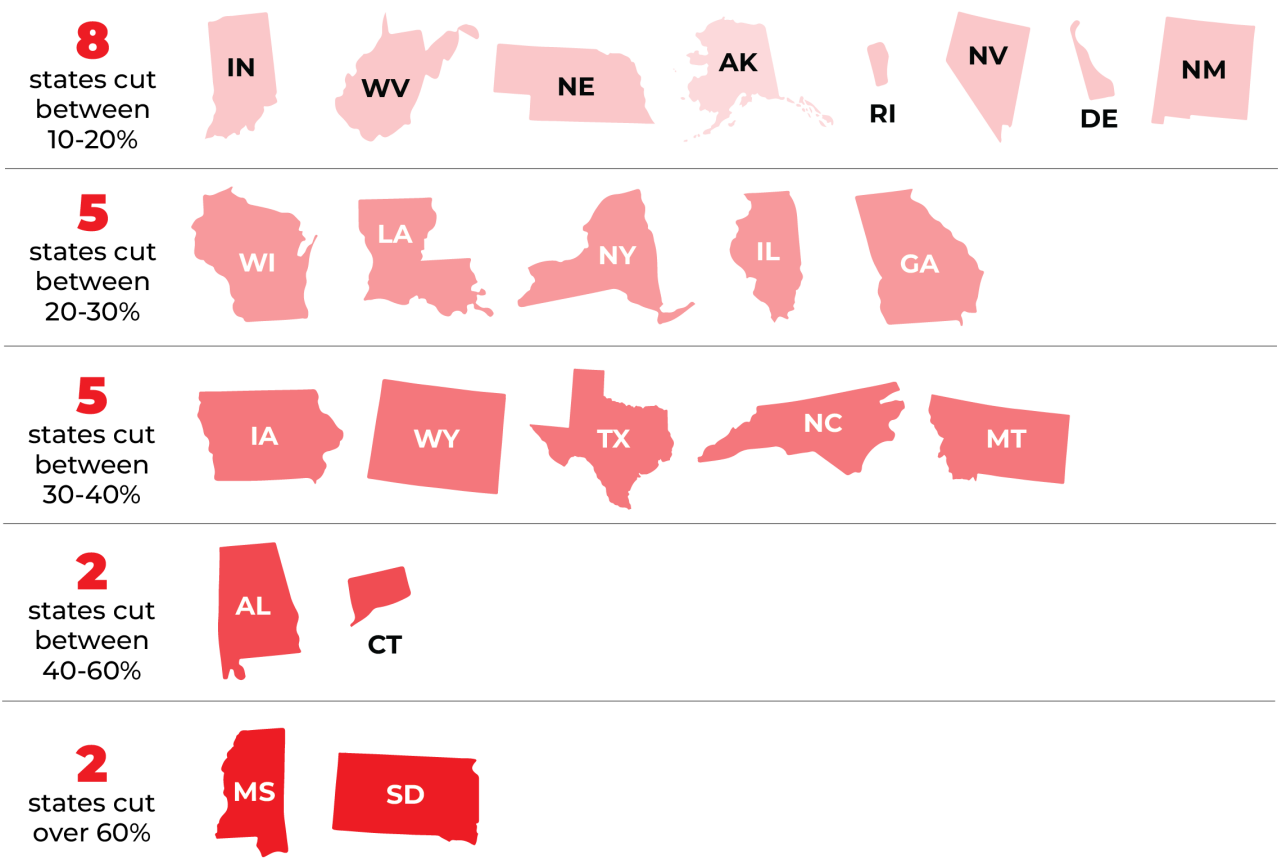
Elected officials in Mississippi slashed funding for the Mississippi Department of Environmental Quality by 71 percent from 2010 to 2024, the most of any state. Shown here is the Mississippi State Capitol Building. Photo by iStock.

The Shrinking Capacity of State Environmental Agencies

To examine the question of how well state environmental agencies could shoulder additional responsibilities shifted to them with the shrinking of EPA, the Environmental Integrity Project analyzed annual budget and staffing data for state environmental agencies across all 50 states. Our analysis surveyed annual expenditures and staffing levels from fiscal year 2010 to 2024 for state agencies that protect public health and the environment from all forms of pollution. Because all state environmental agencies are different – for example, some combine oversight of parks and wildlife management with pollution control into one agency, while others break these functions into separate agencies – our analysis focuses on pollution control functions – where possible – and excludes funding for programs that, for example, manage hunting or parks. In some cases, certain functions – like plugging old oil wells – are handled by the state’s environmental agency, while in other cases, these functions are handled by separate agencies. (For a more detailed discussion, read our methodology section in Appendix A and detailed notes about each state in Appendix B.)

In general, we found that more than half of states – 27 – cut the budgets of their environmental agencies from 2010 through 2024, when adjusted for inflation. Nine of these states cut this pollution control funding by about a third when comparing 2010 to 2024. Here is a more detailed breakdown.

Size of Budget Cuts to State Environmental Agencies, 2010-2024



Note: Budget cuts are based on inflation-adjusted numbers from state budget reports.

Table 1. States With Largest Percent Decreases in Environmental Agency Funding

Rank	State	FY 2010 Budget (millions, 2024 \$)	FY 2024 Budget (millions \$)	Percent Decrease [†]
1	Mississippi	373	107	-71
2	South Dakota	86	33	-61
3	Connecticut	184	90	-51
4	Alabama	163	84	-49
5	Iowa	85	57	-33
6	Wyoming*	106	71	-33
7	Texas	615	413	-33
8	North Carolina	159	108	-32
9	Montana	89	61	-32
10	Wisconsin	121	85	-29

Note: The FY 2010 budget figures are adjusted for inflation to 2024 dollars. *Wyoming reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2009/10 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2023/24. [†]Every state in this table except Iowa cut environmental agency funding in a majority of years between 2010 and 2024.

Mississippi had the largest percentage decrease in its environmental agency budget, with a 71 percent cut when comparing 2010 to 2024. It also had the largest decrease in total dollars, with an inflation-adjusted budget of \$373 million in 2010 plummeting to just \$107 million by 2024, an almost \$270 million decrease. Seven of the 10 states with the largest budget decreases from 2010 to 2024 had Republican governors in a majority of these 15 years, while three had mostly Democratic governors.³² Collectively, the 27 state agencies with budget decreases had their budgets cut by \$1.4 billion (or about 33 percent), when adjusted for inflation, over the last 15 years.

In some of the states with declines in funding (18 of 27), the lower funding levels in 2024 were part of a long-term downward trend.³³ Some of these states, like Illinois and Montana, have had consistent cuts from year to year. Others, including Mississippi and Alabama, had steep declines over just one or two years and have never recovered to 2010 levels.



Lawmakers in South Dakota cut funding for the Department of Environment and Natural Resources by 61 percent from 2010 to 2024, when adjusted for inflation. Shown here is a construction site of the Dakota Access Pipeline in Campbell, South Dakota.
Photo by Lars Plougmann, Flickr.

States That Increased Funding For Environmental Agencies

On the other side of the ledger, 23 state environmental agencies enjoyed an increase in funding when comparing 2010 to 2024. The states with the largest increases are listed below:

Table 2. States With Largest Percent Increases in Environmental Agency Funding

Rank	State	FY 2010 Budget (millions, 2024 \$)	FY 2024 Budget (millions \$)	Percent Increase
1	California [†]	1,801	8,347	364
2	Colorado [†]	80	169	111
3	Vermont [†]	54	113	109
4	Pennsylvania [†]	848	1,582	87
5	Oregon ^{*†}	255	463	81
6	Michigan [†]	366	651	78
7	North Dakota [*]	75	134	78
8	Minnesota	258	435	69
9	Missouri	255	428	68
10	Utah [†]	80	130	63

Note: The 2010 budget figures are adjusted for inflation to 2024 dollars. * North Dakota and Oregon both report their budgets on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25. [†]These states increased environmental agency funding in a majority of years between 2010 and 2024.

California, the most populous state in the country, experienced both the largest percentage increase and the largest overall increase in budget for its environmental agency over this time period, with an inflation-adjusted budget of \$1.8 billion in 2010 increasing 339 percent to \$7.9 billion in 2024. Four of the top five states (and half of the top 10) with the largest increases in environmental agency budgets had Democratic governors in charge for a majority of the years from 2010 to 2024.

Collectively, the 23 state agencies with increases to their budgets over this time period experienced a \$9.0 billion (or 247 percent) increase in funding when adjusted for inflation. But if you exclude California – which more than quadrupled its environmental agency’s budget, accounting for more than two thirds of the total national increase – the other 22 states experienced a collective \$2.9 billion (or 120 percent) increase over 15 years.

Overall, the total gain for the 23 states with budget increases to their environmental agencies over this 15 year period was far higher than the cuts to the agencies in the other 27 states, with the wide gap aggravating uneven environmental protections for people who live in different states. It's EPA's job to serve as a backstop when states don't fulfill their duties under the Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act – but the agency can't perform that critical function if it is crippled by cuts.

Also, some of what appears to be increases in funding for state agencies – if you look only at the years 2010 compared to 2024 – could be misleading, because some increases are not consistent or long-term. Only about half (11 of 23) of states with higher funding levels in 2024 compared to 2010 increased their budgets in a majority of the years during this 15 year period.³⁴ These states include Arkansas, California, Colorado, Massachusetts, Michigan, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, and Vermont.



In part to address the challenges of climate change, California more than quadrupled funding for its environmental protection agency from 2010 to 2024. Shown here is the Marathon Refinery in Carson, California. Photo by iStock.

Even if states have increased their environmental budgets in recent years, many continue to struggle to meet basic permit renewal deadlines and keep up with emerging pollution sources and other environmental threats (see the case studies about Pennsylvania and California on pages 28 and 30). Almost every state has failed to issue timely wastewater discharge permits in 2024, according to EPA records, and four of the states in the top 10 for percent budget increases — Pennsylvania, Missouri, Colorado, and Michigan — also had some of the highest number of backlogged, overdue permits that need to be updated.³⁵

In many cases, increases in state budgets over the last 15 years have been short-lived and inconsistent. For example, three states reported recent jumps in funding — Pennsylvania, Idaho, and Tennessee — from short-term federal grants during the Biden Administration, including those made available through the Inflation Reduction Act and the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act.³⁶ These temporary boosts in federal funding for state environmental agencies are not likely to continue under the Trump Administration, meaning that these states could see sharp declines in federal support for their state environmental agencies in upcoming years. Across the U.S., many recent increases in federal funding to states have been linked to specific projects, like addressing forever chemicals in drinking water or advancing environmental justice, without boosting support for core programs like environmental permitting and enforcement.³⁷

CHAPTER 4

Staffing Level Trends



Almost two thirds of states cut staffing at their environmental protection agencies from 2010 to 2024. Thirty one states eliminated a total of 3,725 positions, or about 13 percent of jobs in pollution control and related environmental programs. Photo by iStock.

Staffing Level Trends

Because staffing levels at environmental agencies are closely tied to the overall budgets for the agencies, it is not surprising that a similar percentage of states – more than half – cut the number of employees working to control pollution from 2010 to 2024. Thirty-one state environmental agencies saw a decrease in full-time equivalent positions, with some eliminating hundreds of positions. The states with the largest staff reductions are below.

Table 3. States With Largest Percent Decreases To Environmental Agency Staffing Over The Last 15 Years

Rank	State	FY 2010 Staff	FY 2024 Staff	Jobs Eliminated	Percent Decrease
1	North Carolina [†]	1,201	815	386	-32
2	Connecticut [†]	1,008	751	257	-26
3	Arizona	471	355	116	-25
4	Louisiana	933	711	222	-24
5	Kansas	500	398	102	-20
6	Illinois [†]	953	760	193	-20
7	Missouri ^{*†}	814	652	162	-20
8	Florida [†]	2,096	1,702	394	-19
9	Arkansas [†]	396	328	68	-17
10	Mississippi	523	433	90	-17

Note: Staffing shown as number of full-time equivalent employees. *For Missouri, the most recent year of full-time equivalent data available was FY 2023. [†]These states cut environmental agency staff in a majority of years between 2010 and 2024.

North Carolina had the largest percent decrease in staffing, with a 32 percent decrease, or the elimination of 386 environmental agency jobs. But it was Florida that saw the largest decrease in the total number of positions eliminated at its environmental agency, losing 394 positions and a pollution control staff shrinking from 2,096 in 2010 to 1,702 employees in 2024. Collectively, the 31 state agencies that cut staff over this time period lost 3,725 employees.

Of the 10 states with the largest percentage decreases to environmental agency staff from 2010 to 2024, six had Republican governors for the majority of those years: Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, Florida, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Four of the states with the biggest staffing decreases had Democratic governors the majority of the time from 2010 to 2024: North Carolina, Connecticut, Louisiana, and Illinois.

Table 4. States With Largest Percent Increases To Environmental Agency Staffing Over The Last 15 Years

Rank	State	FY 2010 Staff	FY 2024 Staff	Percent Increase
1	Colorado [†]	396	743	87
2	California [†]	4,551	7,320	61
3	Massachusetts [†]	593	833	41
4	Washington*	1,774	2,280	29
5	Nebraska [†]	218	273	25
6	North Dakota*	156	182	17
7	Vermont [†]	289	336	16
8	Nevada [†]	231	253	10
9	West Virginia	827	898	9
10	Oregon*	790	855	8

Note: Staffing shown as number of full-time equivalent employees. *North Dakota, Oregon, Washington all report their budgets on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25. [†]These states increased environmental agency staff in a majority of years between 2010 and 2024.

Only 17 state environmental agencies saw an increase in staffing levels over the last 15 years. Colorado had the largest percent increase in staffing, with an 87 percent increase, but it was California that saw the largest increase in overall staffing figures, with a staff of 4,551 in 2010 to 7,320 in 2024, an increase of over 2,750 employees (see case study on California on page 28.) Of the 10 states with the largest percentage increases to environmental agency staff from 2010 to 2024, six had a Republican governor for the majority of those years: Massachusetts, Nebraska, North Dakota, Vermont, Nevada, and West Virginia. Four of 10 states with the greatest staffing increase had a Democratic governor for a majority of those 15 years: California, Colorado, Washington, and Oregon. Collectively, the 17 state agencies that grew their environmental staffing levels gained 4,583 employees in the last fifteen years (although if you exclude California, they gained only 1,814.)³⁸

Budget and staffing trends are a key indicator of a state's capacity to implement and enforce environmental laws. However, comparing budgets and staffing from state to state is not always an apples-to-apples exercise, and policy and organizational decisions can influence annual changes and long-term trends. For more information about our methods, see Appendix A.

The following are six case studies of states with unique environmental challenges that experienced different levels of cuts – or increases – in state spending and staffing over the last decade and a half.

CHAPTER 5

Case Studies



Near the banks of the Mississippi River west of New Orleans, the smokestacks of the Marathon Garyville Refinery loom over the surrounding community. Despite environmental challenges from facilities like this, Louisiana lawmakers have cut more than 200 jobs from the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality over the last 15 years. Photo by EIP.

TEXAS

Big Growth, Big Cuts

Funding for Environmental Agency Cut
as Number of Polluting Facilities Increased



A plastics chemical manufacturing plant, the Gulf Coast Growth Ventures ethane cracker north of Corpus Christi, Texas, is an example of the complex and growing environmental challenges faced by Texas. Photo by Garth Lenz/Flight SouthWings.

Texas, the country's second-most-populous and second-fastest-growing state, has seen a drop in its main environmental agency's budget and stagnating staff levels, even as its workload grows.

Over the past decade, the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality (TCEQ) has had its budget slashed by 33 percent, when adjusted for inflation. Meanwhile, the number of polluting facilities in the state has increased in recent years. For example, the number of facilities with air pollution control permits, including for the oil and gas industry, grew by 15 percent from 2016 to 2024, from 2,690 to 3,091.³⁹

To keep up with the state's growth, in September 2024, the agency requested nearly \$60 million in additional funding from the Texas Legislature and 153 more full-time equivalent positions.⁴⁰ The legislature partially approved the request, allocating \$47.4 million and up to 67 additional full-time equivalent staff as part of the agency's budget for 2026 and 2027, not significantly changing the long term trend in the TCEQ's budget.⁴¹

"Although TCEQ strives to serve the state and its residents in a timely, protective, and efficient manner, with its top priority being customer service, the agency is concerned that some functions may begin to suffer due to the constraints under which it is currently operating," a summary of the agency's request states.⁴²

Texas is a rapidly-growing state with a large industrial sector with all three branches of government controlled by the Republican Party since 2003.⁴³ "We will continue to expand job growth through our business-friendly policies,

low taxes, and strategic investments in innovation and education,” Governor Greg Abbott’s most recent budget proposal to the Texas Legislature said.⁴⁴ The document does not mention controlling pollution as a priority for the state.

The TCEQ, meanwhile, has struggled with retaining employees. According to the TCEQ’s request to the legislature last year, 30 percent of its workforce has less than two years of experience, and half have less than five years.

Kathryn Guerra is a former TCEQ employee who now directs a TCEQ watchdog campaign for Public Citizen, a consumer advocacy group. While working for the agency’s Fort Worth office, she saw a “constant turnover” of agency employees.⁴⁵

“The pay is not competitive with private sector consulting,” Guerra said. “So a lot of folks would get onboarded with the TCEQ, they would learn as much as they could, and after a year, they would take that to the private sector.”

Texas’ growth in facilities that need TCEQ permits and oversight is partly the result of an oil and gas boom first unleashed in the early 2000s by advances in drilling and hydraulic fracturing technologies that allowed previously inaccessible underground shale rock formations to profitably produce energy.

In Texas, oil and gas drilling is regulated and inspected by a separate agency – the confusingly-named Texas Railroad Commission, which has nothing to do with railroads – which approves permits for wells, pipelines, and the exploration and production of petroleum.⁴⁶ By contrast, TCEQ regulates midstream and downstream oil and gas industry facilities such as gas processing plants and refineries. The TCEQ also responds to spills, leaks, and other environmental emergencies.



Flare at Dow Chemical Sabine River plant in Orange, Texas.
Photo by Garth Lenz/Flight SouthWings.

The TCEQ also oversees air and water quality permitting of Texas’ vast petrochemical industry, mostly concentrated along the Gulf Coast, already home to some of the world’s largest and oldest oil refineries.

One area of dramatic growth is in facilities that break oil and gas into the basic building blocks of plastics. From 2012 to 2024, 33 plastics complexes were built or expanded in Texas.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, Texas has also seen a massive housing boom, driven by population growth, with the state adding more than 560,000 new residents from July 2023 to July 2024.⁴⁸ This has meant more drinking water systems and sewage treatment plants that TCEQ must ensure meets environmental laws. From 2022 to 2024, water quality permit applications grew from 50 per month to 80 per month, according to the TCEQ’s 2024 funding request.

According to the TCEQ’s most recent annual report, the agency received more than 10,000 complaints in 2024.⁴⁹ More than half – 5,302 complaints – took 30 days or longer to investigate.

A 2022 report by the Texas Sunset Advisory Commission, a state agency charged with periodically reviewing other state agencies and recommending whether to reform or shut down those agencies, described the problems facing

the TCEQ as a result of Texas' rapid growth. As industrial growth spreads into more rural areas, "members of the public place increasing demands upon TCEQ as the most visible state agency protecting the environment."⁵⁰

"Agency staff are spread thin responding to everything from overturned tanker trucks and smoking gas flares to dust and bad smells in the air – whether or not a potential source of contamination exists or is under TCEQ's jurisdiction," the report states.

The Sunset Commission also described the agency's commissioners as "reluctant regulators." The three positions at the head of the agency are appointed by the Texas governor to make key decisions on major permits and decide on fines and enforcement actions for violators.

"The commission often acts more as a final arbiter, delegating much of the initial decision making to staff and, to a certain extent, encouraging industry members to self-govern and self-police," the report states.

Some advocates said that giving the TCEQ more resources will not be enough to improve the agency's performance. Instead, it might need a political and cultural shift that can only come from a change in leadership.

Annalisa Peace, executive director of the Greater Edwards Aquifer Alliance, who has closely observed the TCEQ for roughly three decades, said the agency's staff are not given the support they need to be more effective.⁵¹

"They do have a lot of people who want to do good, but they make it very hard on them," Peace said of the agency's leadership.



Staff at the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality are stretched thin despite significant growth of petrochemical plants. Shown here is the OxyChem Ingleside plant in Gregory, TX. Photo by Garth Lenz/Flight SouthWings.



LOUISIANA

Polluter's Paradise

State Slashes 222 Environmental Agency Jobs
During Time of Booming LNG Industry Growth

The number of state regulators at the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality is shrinking even as their workload grows rapidly. For example, the Venture Global Plaquemines LNG terminal south of New Orleans, shown here, is planning a major expansion. Photo by EIP.

At a time when Louisiana's oil and gas industry was growing rapidly, governors and lawmakers slashed 222 positions from the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality from 2010 through 2024, cutting the agency's staffing by 24 percent, among the most of any state in the U.S.

The number of employees at LDEQ tumbled from 933 in 2010 to 711 in 2024, according to state records. Over the same period, funding for the agency's pollution control activities declined 26 percent, when adjusted for inflation, from \$217 million in 2010 to \$161 million in 2024.

"That's a huge cut," said James Hiatt, Executive Director of For a Better Bayou.⁵² "The staffing was inadequate to begin with, really — so you are cutting what you already don't have enough of. It's an invitation to disregard the health and well-being of the community and the environment."

Almost all of these cuts to LDEQ came during the administration of Republican Governor Bobby Jindal (2008-2016), when Republicans also held control over both chambers of the Louisiana State Legislature. Jindal bragged about slashing state spending and bureaucracy as a top political goal, declaring during a 2015 Presidential Primary debate: "We've cut 26 percent of our budget. We have 30,000 fewer state bureaucrats than the day I took office. I don't think anybody has cut that much government anywhere, at any time."⁵³

His successor, Democratic Governor Edwards (2016–2024), inherited a more than \$1 billion budget shortfall, with Republicans still in control of the legislature.⁵⁴ Under Edwards, both staffing and funding at LDEQ crept upward a few percentage points – but both still remain far below the levels before the deep cuts of the Jindal Administration.⁵⁵

The cuts to LDEQ came at a time of extraordinary growth for the liquefied natural gas (LNG) industry in the state, which has required not only the inspections of massive new industrial facilities but also reviews of complex applications for future terminals.

Since 2010, four new LNG export terminals have been built in Louisiana – making the Bayou State the biggest gas exporter among U.S. states. The new terminals include the world’s largest, the Sabine Pass LNG Terminal in southwestern Louisiana, which began operating in 2016; the Cameron LNG export terminal, south of Lake Charles, in 2019; the Calcasieu Pass LNG terminal, in 2022; and the Plaquemines LNG terminal, southeast of New Orleans, in 2024.

Most of these facilities have a track record of poor environmental compliance. The first three reported a combined total of 142 pollution release incidents since beginning the startup process and each was hit with two enforcement actions for air pollution violations over the last five years.⁵⁶ The terminals also have had a combined 36 water pollution violations from July 2020 through June 2025.

But despite these chronic pollution compliance problems, the industry is asking LDEQ for permits to build and expand. Eleven new LNG terminals are proposed in Louisiana, along with three expansions.⁵⁷

“Louisiana’s environmental agencies have never been given the staff or funding needed to fully protect our communities, yet they’re being handed even more responsibility with all of the proposals for new petrochemical and oil and gas facilities,” said Matt Rota, Senior Policy Director for Healthy Gulf.⁵⁸ “With EPA also cutting its own budget and shifting duties to the states, the result is a system designed to fail – one that leaves communities vulnerable.”



Construction underway on an expansion of the Venture Global Plaquemines LNG terminal in Louisiana. Photo by EIP.

LNG is not the only industry that is expanding in Louisiana, requiring more permit reviews by a shrinking staff at LDEQ. Overall, the number of industrial facilities with air pollution control permits rose 29 percent between 2016 and 2024, from 1,481 to 1,906.⁵⁹

Among many other proposals now in the works, developers of a 17,000 acre project called the RiverPlex Mega Park, in Ascension Parish along 10 miles of the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, are trying to buy out local residents for an industrial park that would include steel and ammonia manufacturing and a power plant.⁶⁰

Anne Rolfes, Director of the Louisiana Bucket Brigade, said that the state already lacks enough air pollution monitoring to protect the public from the pollution that will come from projects like this. LDEQ also lacks the staff to carefully scrutinize permit applications and hold companies accountable for controlling their pollution.⁶¹

She said it is disturbing that LDEQ, to make up for its budget shortfalls, allows companies to pay the overtime of state employees, if they agree to review the companies permit applications more quickly through a special “expedited permitting program” at the agency.⁶²

“When you cut the resources of the agencies, you further depend on the companies themselves as the source of payment for permit writers – and that is an inherent conflict,” Rolfes said. “When you have the company paying your overtime, you are just not going to ask the questions and scrutinize it the way you would if your salaries were being paid by the public.”

Cynthia Robertson, Executive Director of the Micah 6:8 Mission, an organization that works at the intersection of environmental and disaster justice in a section of southwest Louisiana with numerous petrochemical plants, said that LDEQ’s failings go beyond staffing numbers to what appears to be a lack of willingness to challenge or vigorously investigate powerful industries.⁶³

“I’ve made complaints [to LDEQ] and not had their people come out on day one,” Robertson said. The inspectors don’t show up until after pollution release incidents are over. “Then they come on out and say, ‘Well, we don’t smell anything and nothing shows up on our air monitors, Ms. Robertson.’ It’s almost like they don’t expect to resolve anything.”

The Louisiana Legislative Auditor released a report in 2021 that said LDEQ is understaffed and could do more to strengthen its air monitoring and enforcement.⁶⁴ Louisiana still has the highest toxic air emissions per square mile of any state and LDEQ does not take enforcement actions in a timely manner, sometimes taking years to address violations, according to the report. These problems can be partly explained by a decreased staff. In 2019, there were only 10 staff handling all the air enforcement actions at 500 major facilities and hundreds of other minor facilities.



BASF Geismar Chemical Complex in Geismar, LA. Photo by Garth Lenz/Flight SouthWings.

CALIFORNIA

The Outlier

The Golden State's Pollution Control Budget
Has Quadrupled as Others Have Withered



California has increased funding and staffing for its state environmental protection agency in part to combat climate change and air pollution. Shown here is a wildfire in the Pacific Palisades in Los Angeles. Photo by iStock.

Home to nearly 40 million people, California is an economic and industrial powerhouse – the state's economy is the fifth largest in the world, just behind Japan.⁶⁵ California is also the second largest greenhouse gas emitter of any state other than Texas, which is responsible for nearly twice the greenhouse gas pollution as the Golden State.⁶⁶

The state's lack of fresh water, susceptibility to wildfires, long coastline, and existing climate make it especially vulnerable to the impacts of global warming. California has set a greenhouse gas reduction goal, aiming to achieve carbon neutrality by 2045 and a 40 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions below 1990 levels by 2030, and also set up a carbon trading scheme to help meet those targets.⁶⁷ California's cap-and-trade program, run by the California Air Resources Board, which is part of California Environmental Protection Agency (CalEPA), is a key element of the state's strategy to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and a big reason why the state's pollution control budget has grown so much since 2010.

From 2010 to 2024, California had the largest increase in state environmental budgets of any state, from \$1.8 billion to \$8.3 billion (364 percent), with a major leap around 2018 with every subsequent budget \$6 billion or higher. The state environmental agency, CalEPA, also had the third-largest percentage increase in staffing in the U.S. from 2010 to 2014, with a 61 percent increase from 4,551 to 7,320 full-time equivalent positions. Over the same period, the state's greenhouse gas emissions fell significantly while its economic productivity grew.⁶⁸

In 2017, then-Governor Jerry Brown signed Assembly Bill 617 into law directing the California Air Resources Board and local air districts to take measures to protect communities disproportionately impacted by air pollution.⁶⁹

Spending of cap-and-trade revenues to reduce pollution started in 2015, even before the 2017 legislation approved a significant amount of funding from cap-and-trade revenues to address air and water pollution. The funding helped pay for low emission vehicles, new green grant programs, and provided additional support for the state's Safe Drinking Water program.

According to a July 2025 California Air Resources Board progress report, more than four million Californians in some of the state's most polluted communities are seeing improving air quality thanks to the "Community Air Protection" program established by AB 617, which has directed \$632 million to more than 9,000 projects over the last eight years.⁷⁰

As the impacts of climate change on the state become more apparent, including the devastating winter 2025 Los Angeles County wildfires, Californians remain committed to both mitigating climate change, reducing air pollution, and adapting to a changing climate. In 2024, voters approved Proposition 4, a ballot initiative that provides \$10 billion in funding for various water and other environmental infrastructure projects including \$232 million for dam safety and climate resilience and \$183 million for water quality, safe drinking water, and cleaning up contaminated groundwater in 2025-2026 alone.⁷¹

The California Air Resources Board has also received significant funding for electric vehicle incentives as part of the state's effort to combat climate change and improve air quality. The funding also supports the deployment of thousands of zero-emission trucks and buses to communities hit hardest by the impacts of pollution from medium- and heavy-duty vehicles.⁷²



The California Air Resources Board has received significant funding for electric vehicle incentives as part of the state's effort to combat climate change and improve air quality. Photo by iStock.

Bill Magavern, the policy director for the Coalition for Clean Air, a statewide organization working on air quality issues, said a lot of funding for the state's environmental protection budget is coming from Proposition 4, which helps fund climate adaptation and resilience.⁷³

Magavern said with the federal government abandoning enforcement and encouraging polluters, he's concerned about whether the state will continue to invest enough in environmental enforcement, especially in years when there isn't a budget surplus, which is currently the case.

"A lot of the budget infusions that we've seen over the last decade or so have come when the state budget was in surplus," Magavern said. "Decisions were made to provide funding mostly on a one-time basis into environmental programs, especially those that are climate related."

Magavern said the Trump administration's rollbacks on vehicle emissions standards are going to result in a lot more air and climate pollution in California. The state is still trying to figure out how to respond to the changes.

"Cutbacks in incentives for clean energy and clean transportation will make it more difficult for California to reach its climate targets," said Magavern. "With the state budget in a challenging situation and federal money going away, we could see state funding for environmental and climate programs drop drastically in the future."



PENNSYLVANIA

Growing Challenges in the Keystone State

While DEP Budget Has Increased,
Commonwealth Faces Challenges of
Gas Boom and Chesapeake Bay Cleanup

A hydraulic fracturing well site in Westmoreland County, PA, outside of Pittsburgh. Photo by Ted Auch, FracTracker Alliance.

Pennsylvania, a state with a long industrial history, has been transformed over the past two decades because of a natural gas boom, with environmental regulators struggling to keep pace with legacy problems and new industrial growth.

Drilling in the Marcellus and Utica shales have made Pennsylvania second in natural gas production in the U.S.,⁷⁴ with new wells also bringing new pipelines, compressor stations, processing plants, and power stations. However, the state's Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) has struggled to keep pace, according to agency data. Faced with the increased demands of all this industry growth, the DEP trimmed its staff by 91 employees (almost 4 percent) from 2010 to 2023, while increasing its budget by an average of about 1 percent a year over these 13 years, when adjusted for inflation.

Then, in 2024, DEP's budget rocketed upwards by 62 percent in just one year. This was mainly because of a one-time injection of funds that Pennsylvania received from the Biden Administration's climate and infrastructure initiatives (the Inflation Reduction Act and Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act). The number of full-time equivalent DEP employees increased by 136 (or 5.5 percent) in one year. But even with this increase, staffing still remains similar to what it was a decade and a half ago, before much of the fracking boom. DEP had 2,552 employees in fiscal 2010 and 2,597 employees in 2024.

So while DEP's funding appears to have risen substantially – with the fourth biggest percentage increase in the country from 2010 to 2014 – most of that growth was a one-time influx of federal funds in 2024 that will not be repeated under the Trump Administration, which has promised sharp cuts to federal funding for state environmental agencies. And staffing at the state agency has barely budged, raising the possibility that Trump-era cuts could hit Pennsylvania hard.

Meanwhile, the DEP's workload has increased over the last decade and a half, with more than 33,000 wells drilled in Pennsylvania from 2007 to 2023.⁷⁵ The number of facilities with air pollution control permits regulated by DEP increased 30 percent, from 2,993 in 2016 to 3,888 in 2024, including for the oil and gas industry.⁷⁶

DEP's oil and gas program alone must now oversee more than 120,000 active well permits,⁷⁷ while also being responsible for plugging anywhere from 100,000 to 560,000 orphaned or abandoned wells.⁷⁸

Federal funding makes up a large share of the DEP's budget. Pennsylvania state Rep. Greg Vitali, the Democratic chair of the legislature's Environmental Committee, argues that the state is still not investing enough in environmental protection.

"The DEP needs more boots on the ground to engage in inspection activity and more compliance personnel to enforce environmental laws and regulations," Vitali wrote in a March 31 op-ed.⁷⁹ "DEP is not doing its job well now."

On March 12, Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro announced that his administration had plugged 300 abandoned or orphaned oil and gas wells since he took office in January 2023. However, the state has identified 1,154 wells as abandoned since 2022.⁸⁰ That means "wells are being abandoned at double the rate they are being plugged," Vitali wrote.



Tens of thousands of natural gas wells have been drilled in Pennsylvania over the last 15 years, increasing the workload for inspectors at the state Department of Environmental Protection. Shown here are gas valves on a gas pipeline in a Western Pennsylvania field. Photo by iStock.

Enforcement actions against major polluters in Pennsylvania have decreased dramatically in recent years, with the number of enforcement actions – including fines and formal notices – dropping 57 percent from 2016 to 2024.⁸¹

However, the DEP has shown that it is capable of rigorous enforcement. One recent example was the collection of \$660,000 in penalties from Sunoco for numerous violations during the construction of a natural gas pipeline called Mariner East II in the southern part of the state.⁸² In 2018, the agency stopped all construction work on the pipeline after Sunoco violated conditions of its permits.

Alex Bomstein, executive director of Philadelphia-based Clean Air Council, said the agency acted after his group and others “put enormous pressure on the DEP to take action.”⁸³ Aside from the record-high fines against Sunoco, the agency was able to get the company to agree to environmental protections that “in certain ways were a lot stronger than the status quo,” Bomstein said.

“I’m not saying that any of this was perfect, but they did a pretty strong job there, and that was because they put the resources into it,” Bomstein said.

Aside from regulating an influx of fracking-related industry, the DEP struggles to make progress on long-running environmental problems such as water pollution.

Pennsylvania has been failing in its commitments to reduce water pollution into the Chesapeake Bay, the largest estuary in the U.S. Among the regional states, Pennsylvania is by far the largest source of pollution in the Bay, and the Susquehanna River that flows through the commonwealth is the estuary’s largest tributary.⁸⁴

In 2010, Pennsylvania, five other states, and Washington, D.C., pledged to significantly reduce their nitrogen, phosphorus, and sediment pollution into the Bay by 2025. But Pennsylvania lagged so far behind its commitments of funding and action to meet those targets that Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia in 2020 sued EPA for its failure to hold Pennsylvania accountable.⁸⁵ That lawsuit ended in a settlement in July 2023, with EPA promising to step up its oversight of Pennsylvania’s lagging efforts to control water pollution.⁸⁶

Air pollution also continues to be a problem in parts of Pennsylvania. While air quality has improved since the 1970s, following the passage of the Clean Air Act and other environmental laws, the state’s big cities continue to experience unhealthy air because of ozone or smog and fine particulate matter, which can trigger asthma and heart attacks.

Philadelphia, Bucks, and Berks counties, all part of the Philadelphia metro area, scored an F on the American Lung Association’s most recent “State of the Air” report card for ozone pollution. For particulate matter, 17 of the state’s 67 counties scored F grades.⁸⁷

Enforcement actions
against major polluters fell
57%
from 2016 to 2024
in Pennsylvania.

An aerial photograph of a large-scale poultry Concentrated Animal Feeding Operation (CAFO) in North Carolina. Three long, white, rectangular buildings with dark roofs are arranged in a row. To the right of the buildings is a large, irregularly shaped pond with a deep purple or reddish-brown hue, likely from animal waste. The surrounding area is a mix of green grass, dirt paths, and dense green trees. A road or path runs along the left side of the image.

NORTH CAROLINA

Fowl Waste

As Factory Farms and Climate Change
Present Growing Challenges, State Cuts
Environmental Agency

State officials in North Carolina have slashed hundreds of jobs at the state Department of Environmental Quality even as pollution threats have grown, including from the growing number of Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations. Photo of a poultry CAFO by Larry Baldwin, Crystal Coast Waterkeeper.

Because of budget cuts, the North Carolina Department of Environmental Quality is ill-positioned to confront the growing pollution footprint from the state's rapidly expanding factory farming industry or the threat of climate-driven storms and flooding in its coastal communities.

From 2010 to 2024, the North Carolina Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) suffered the largest staffing cuts, by percentage, of any state environmental agency in the U.S., losing nearly a third of its staff, or 386 jobs. State lawmakers and governors slashed the agency's annual budget by 32 percent over this period, shrinking it from \$159 million to \$108 million, when adjusted for inflation.

The largest staffing and budget cuts to the DEQ came under both Democratic Governor Bev Perdue (2009-2012) and Republican Governor Pat McCrory (2013-2016), who each eliminated more than 200 jobs. More recently, during Democratic Governor Roy Cooper's two terms, from 2017 to 2025, cuts to staffing and budget at DEQ were minimal, with the agency shrinking some years and growing slightly in others. Republicans controlled the state legislature during this entire period.

As part of the 2015-2016 state budget, Gov. McCrory renamed the North Carolina Department of Environment and Natural Resources as the Department of Environmental Quality, a move that included shifting several programs to the Department of Natural and Cultural Resources.

While promoted as a means to improve government efficiency, former University of North Carolina Professor of Public Law and Policy Richard B. Whisnant called the reorganization part of an erosion in size and power of North Carolina's main environmental agency over the last twenty-five years that was so striking as to count as "defenestration."⁸⁸ Republican state leadership "can feel some pride in having kicked out the jambs, or blown out the windows, or (choose your favorite demolition metaphor)," at the environmental agency, wrote Whisnant. "The downsizing of DENR sends a clear message of dislike and distrust."

In general, the state grew during this period of cuts to the environmental agency – growth in population, the size of its state budget, and the size of its economy.⁸⁹ And one major area of expansion in North Carolina has been the state's factory farming industry. As of March 2025, there were 8.1 million hogs in concentrated animal feeding operations, also known as CAFOs, making the Tarheel State the third largest producer of hogs in the nation, behind only Iowa and Minnesota.^{90, 91} North Carolina's factory farms also produce nearly a billion chickens a year for sale as meat, making it the fourth largest state for broiler chicken production.⁹²

A 2024 study by the Environmental Working Group calculated the poultry industry in North Carolina produced over 3.2 million tons of manure in 2022, which is loaded with nitrogen, phosphorus, and bacteria.⁹³ The waste from poultry CAFOs is sometimes dumped in open-air heaps and intermingled with carcasses and feathers, producing a noxious eyesore, with the rain washing pollutants into nearby streams. People living near these waste sites are at a greater threat of getting sick from contaminated drinking water and developing health problems from breathing polluted air.⁹⁴ The manure runoff can also feed toxic algae blooms.⁹⁵

Key lawmakers on state House and Senate Agriculture & Natural Resources Appropriations Committees, which have been cutting the environmental agency's budget, are from CAFO-heavy districts and allied with the agriculture industry, said Grady McCallie, Policy Director for the North Carolina Conservation Network. McCallie said that the factory farming industry does not want state oversight or a well-funded state Department of Environmental Quality.⁹⁶

"In practice, that means any serious regulation of CAFOs by the state environment agency puts the agency's appropriated funding at risk," said McCallie.

Drew Ball, Director of the Natural Resources Defense Council's Southeast Campaigns team, said there's a regulatory vacuum in the state when it comes to factory farms.⁹⁷ "The unchecked expansion of hog and poultry farms has left the state environmental agency unable to even evaluate the cumulative impacts," Ball said. "At this point, policy experts and advocates can't even get the information they need to protect the public. You can't respond if you don't know what's coming online."

Ball said he's especially worried about the state's low-lying communities like Wilmington and Fayetteville because everything flows downstream. "We need to think a lot harder about keeping track of potential pollution and what it could mean for downstream communities," he said.



Flooding in Burke County, North Carolina after Hurricane Helene, Sept. 2024. Photo by NCDOT.



ILLINOIS Green Cuts in the Prairie State

Heavily Reliant on Industry Fees for Funding,
Illinois Cut its Environmental Agency Despite
Increase in Major Polluters

The Illinois EPA gets much of its funding from the industries it is supposed to police and has suffered cuts. Shown here is the ExxonMobil Joliet Refinery in Channahon, Illinois. Photo by iStock.

Over the last 15 years, the Illinois government trimmed its state Environmental Protection Agency's budget by 21 percent, when adjusted for inflation. This was even more than West Virginia or Indiana, which cut their environmental agencies by 19 percent.

However, the current governor, Democrat JB Pritzker, has been more favorable to the agency since he took office in 2019, approving some increases in staffing. But the agency still remains far smaller than when his predecessor, Republican Bruce Rauner, took office in 2015.

The Illinois EPA's shrinking budget is partially due to the state's failure to contribute general state funds to the agency, which have not been provided since 2003. This forces the agency to rely mostly on fees paid by industry and federal grants, which are less reliable, according to a 2019 report by the University of Chicago's Abrams Environmental Law Clinic.⁹⁸

Nationally, seven of the 10 states with the largest percent budget decreases to their environmental agencies from 2010 to 2024 had Republican governors in a majority of these 15 years, while only three had mostly Democratic governors.⁹⁹

In Illinois, by contrast, Democratic governors have been in charge for 11 of the last 15 years during a time of generally reduced funding for IEPA. Democrats have been in control of both the Illinois Senate and House for all the last 15 years.

However, the deepest staffing cuts to the Illinois EPA during this period came during the term of Republican Gov. Bruce Rauner (2015-2019), whose administration cut jobs at the agency by 17 percent. Rauner pledged to slash bureaucracy, proclaiming in 2016: “By cutting the red tape, we are creating an environment where [businesses] can succeed.”¹⁰⁰

His successor, Pritzker (2019 to present) partially reversed the cuts, adding at least 143 employees at the agency so far (a 23 percent increase) and expanding climate programs, public outreach, and other environmental efforts, including to help control “forever chemicals” or PFAS.

Robert Weinstock, Clinical Professor of Law and Director of Northwestern University’s Environmental Advocacy Center said that under Governor Pritzker, “Illinois EPA had a change in leadership, adding talented public servants.” While noting that these recent developments are positive, Weinstock also said that IEPA “needs more resources to make up for the federal government’s retreat in environmental enforcement and monitoring.”¹⁰¹

Environmental enforcement has increased in recent years. Under the Pritzker Administration, the Illinois EPA has referred an average of 120 environmental enforcement cases a year to the state Attorney General’s Office, up from an average of 80 a year under former Governor Rauner, according to a Chicago Tribune investigation.¹⁰²

In general, however, the IEPA has been shrinking and remains smaller than it was 15 years ago. In 2010, the agency had 953 full-time equivalent positions. After cuts by Democratic Governor Pat Quinn and the legislature, by 2015, the agency fell to 773 staff. Under Governor Rauner, it decreased again to 617 by 2019 before creeping back up to 760 under Pritzker in 2024, according to state records.



Because of budget cuts, the Illinois EPA is significantly smaller than it was 15 years ago. That means it has less staff to inspect and oversee polluting facilities like the CITGO Lemont Refinery in Will County, shown here. Photo by Michael Kappel, Flickr.

Meanwhile, the number of major polluters that the state agency is responsible for regulating has increased in recent years, rising by almost eight percent since 2016.¹⁰³ As the number of facilities the agency permits and oversees grows, it becomes more difficult for an under-staffed agency to inspect all of the industrial facilities. These plants, including oil refineries and manufacturers, release large amounts of air and water pollution, and in some cases are responsible for dangerous fires and explosions.

For instance, on June 14, 2021, the Lubrizol-owned Chemtool Manufacturing Plant in Rockton, caught fire and exploded, requiring an evacuation for all residents within two miles.¹⁰⁴ It took fire crews nine days to put out the last of the flames. By that time, an estimated 700 tons of carbon monoxide and 58 tons of volatile organic compounds were released.¹⁰⁵

“If we had more robust inspections of industrial sites, accidents like these would be less likely to happen,” said Jennifer Walling, Executive Director of the Illinois Environmental Council.¹⁰⁶

Illinois also struggles with nitrogen and phosphorus pollution in its waterways, mainly caused by farm and suburban runoff. The state’s plan to reduce this nutrient pollution has a long-term goal of reducing nitrogen and phosphorus runoff by 45 percent.¹⁰⁷ But the most recent report shows these nutrients in state waterways are increasing.¹⁰⁸ Global warming has increased the frequency and severity of rainstorms in Illinois, which has worsened nutrient loading to waterways.¹⁰⁹

Illinois’ waters are also harmed by plastic manufacturing facilities and the release of plastic pellets called “nurdles,” and microplastics which IEPA is not sufficiently staffed to regulate.¹¹⁰

“There are many pieces of IEPA that need funding to improve the agency,” said Walling. “The Bureau of Land could be doing more proactive education on waste issues, but they can’t because they don’t have the staffing. There are also serious environmental justice issues related to air quality, but the Bureau of Air doesn’t have the staff to take a closer look.”¹¹¹

“If we had more robust inspections of industrial sites, accidents like these would be less likely to happen.”

– **Jennifer Walling**
Executive Director of the
Illinois Environmental Council

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion



Thirty-one states have cut the staffing of their environmental agencies over the last 15 years, reducing their capacity to assume more responsibilities to protect public health if the Trump Administration guts the federal EPA. Shown here is the Shell Monaca plastics plant in Beaver, PA. Photo by Mark Dixon, Flickr.

Conclusion

The Trump Administration's planned downsizing of the EPA will add strain to already underfunded pollution control efforts across the country. With more than half of states having cut the budgets of their environmental agencies over the last 15 years, many will be unable to shoulder additional environmental oversight responsibilities thrust upon them in the wake of the Trump Administration's efforts to shrink EPA. Years of cost-cutting at the state level, with a gradual erosion of the states' capacity for managing pollution, have in some cases been as damaging as the cuts at the federal level.

Our study of state environmental agency budgets across the U.S. revealed that some states with rapidly growing oil and gas industries, such as Texas have dramatically cut their environmental oversight agencies during a period when the fracking boom accelerated the industry's growth.

Meanwhile, a handful of states – such as California, Colorado, and Massachusetts – have moved sharply in the opposite direction and built up their pollution control agencies.

The breakdown doesn't always fall neatly along political lines and states controlled by both Democrats and Republicans have slashed their state environmental agencies over the last 15 years, meaning that local residents could be exposed to significantly more pollution if the Trump Administration succeeds at slashing the EPA's budget.

In just over six months, the Trump Administration's efforts to shrink EPA's size and power have already been substantial. Thousands of EPA staffers have left the agency since Trump's second inauguration, with one recent estimate putting the staff reductions so far at as much as 33 percent, a loss of thousands of workers.¹¹² A vote in Congress is expected in January on the 2026 budget for EPA and the rest of the federal government – and the Trump Administration has been pushing for a 55 percent cut to EPA's budget, while Republicans in the Senate and House have proposed more modest trims.

While some states may be better prepared than others to absorb cuts in federal support and EPA oversight, cuts to federal funding will undermine every state's ability to protect against new pollution threats and carry out core functions like permitting and enforcement.

Our nation can't afford more cuts or layoffs at EPA because many of our states have already weakened their capacity to protect our waters, lands, and air.

Appendix A

Notes and caveats for data maps on pages 4 and 5

Map 1. Changes in Funding at State Environmental Agencies, 2010-2024

- **Hawaii:** The earliest year of budget data available was FY 2012.
- **North Dakota:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25.
- **Oregon:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25.
- **Washington:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25.
- **Wyoming:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2009/10 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2023/24.

Map 2. Changes in Staffing at State Environmental Agencies, 2010-2024

- **Hawaii:** The earliest year of FTE data available was FY 2012.
- **Missouri:** The most recent year of FTE data available was FY 2023.
- **North Dakota:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25.
- **Oregon:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25.
- **Washington:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2010/11 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2024/25.
- **Wisconsin:** The state did not have readily available FTE data for analysis.
- **Wyoming:** Reports its budget on a biennium cycle, meaning each report covers two years of appropriations. The baseline biennium covers FY 2009/10 and the most recent biennium covers FY 2023/24.

Methodology

The Environmental Integrity Project examined the budgets of the environmental agencies of all 50 states. For a spreadsheet of our data on all the states, [click here](#). Our analysis surveyed annual expenditures and staffing levels from fiscal year 2010 to 2024 for state agencies that protect public health and the environment from all forms of pollution. Their responsibilities include monitoring and investigating pollutants found in the air as well as in rivers, streams, lakes, groundwater, and drinking water supplies; developing rules and writing permits; providing technical assistance to regulated industries and local governments; managing the cleanup of contaminated sites; and conducting inspections and bringing enforcement actions.

Our analysis does not include programs that manage state parks or recreational areas, or state wildlife or fisheries programs. While critically important, these functions are often handled by separate agencies with missions that align more closely with the U.S. National Park Service or Department of the Interior. Most states consolidate pollution control and cleanup programs in a single agency, like Indiana's Department of Environmental Management or the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency. In a few states, pollution control and cleanup programs are housed within state agencies that encompass more than just environmental protection work, like a natural resources department or a department of public health. The table below identifies the states where this occurred. In such cases, we identified and excluded spending for those functions unrelated to pollution control and cleanup programs from the department's overall budget. Additionally, in some cases we removed programs from the final budget that conducted both environmental and unrelated work, usually administration departments within the agencies. Further information can be found in Appendix B, where we detail all methods used for each individual state in the report, along with any adjustments or exclusions we made.

Table 5. States With Environmental Protection Programs Within Broader State Agencies With Other Functions

State	Agency
Colorado	Department of Public Health and Environment
Connecticut	Department of Energy and Environmental Protection
Delaware	Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Control
Georgia	Department of Natural Resources
Hawaii	Department of Land and Natural Resources
Iowa	Department of Natural Resources
Kansas	Department of Health and Environment
Missouri	Department of Natural Resources
Nevada	Department of Conservation & Natural Resources
North Carolina	Department of Environment and Natural Resources & Department of Environmental Quality
North Dakota	Department of Environmental Health & Department of Environmental Quality
Pennsylvania	Department of Environmental Protection (provides oversight of oil & gas production)
South Carolina	Department of Health and Environmental Control
South Dakota	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
Tennessee	Department of Environment and Conservation
Washington	Department of Health & Department of Ecology
Wisconsin	Department of Natural Resources

Additionally, our analysis only includes budget and staffing data from traditional state environmental agencies, but states also conduct some environmental oversight within other state agencies. Therefore, the budgets presented here may not reflect all money spent on environmental work by each state. For example, the Texas Railroad Commission is responsible for permitting and inspecting oil and gas drilling wells and pipelines, but does not issue air pollution control permits for gas processing plants or oil refineries, which are handled by the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality. Some states oversee pesticide use through environmental agencies, others through agricultural agencies.

The data presented reflects each agency's annual operating expenditures, and does not include capital spending. Operating budgets include payroll for the agency's workforce of scientists, engineers, inspectors, lawyers, and other professional and administrative staff; overhead costs, e.g., building maintenance; outside technical support, e.g., for lab analysis or information technology; or grants to local governments. Capital expenditures usually involve large loans or grants to upgrade sewer systems or drinking water treatment plants. We excluded these capital costs where possible because they can vary widely from one year to the next, and do not measure a state's capacity to implement federal requirements that limit pollution from a wide range of private and public sources. In some cases, these capital expenditures are included because it was not possible to isolate and exclude them in light of state reporting.

The dollar amounts for each state reflect actual expenditures where we were able to obtain that information, and amounts appropriated by state legislatures or estimated expenditures in the remaining cases. Agency expenditures and staffing levels were primarily obtained from online sources that included documents prepared by or for the state's budget office or legislature. Where necessary, EIP submitted public records requests to obtain additional

data. We shared the data with all states in draft form. Only eleven states responded either by suggesting corrections based on more accurate or recent information not available through online sources, or by confirming the numbers and methodology used were accurate. This report includes available data for all states and Appendix B explains the adjustments we made in response to comments we received."

The start and end date of fiscal years vary across states. The federal fiscal year runs from October 1st to September 30th, and while some states follow the federal calendar, others do not. For example, the Texas fiscal year runs from September 1st to August 31st, while the Florida fiscal year runs from July 1st to June 30th. Regardless of the start and end dates, each fiscal year is a 12-month period. Additionally, four states (North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming) report biennium budgets, meaning two years worth of budget. We compared the first biennium to the last biennium, rather than dividing the bienniums in half to get an annualized number.

We were unable to obtain staffing data for Wisconsin.

To supplement our analysis comparing 2010 and 2024 staffing and budget levels, we applied the Mann-Kendall trend test to the full 2010–2024 series for each state, to assess longer-term patterns. The test evaluates whether there is an increase or decrease over time beyond what would be expected from random year-to-year variation and is robust to outliers and non-normal data.

We adjusted expenditures for inflation to 2024 dollars, using the [CPI Inflation Calculator](#) from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The inflation factor comparing 2010 to 2024 was 1.42. For Hawaii, since 2012 was the first year of data readily available online, the inflation factor from 2012 to 2024 was 1.36. Finally, since the biennium report for FY 2010 for Wyoming was made up of FY 2009 and FY 2010, the inflation factor used was 1.46. This represents the adjustment from 2009 dollars to 2024 dollars.

There are a number of factors that should be taken into account when evaluating budget comparisons across different state environmental agencies, which include:

- A difference in scale across environmental agencies. For example, California's budget for 2024 was over a hundred times larger than Nevada's. This is why we compared percent changes in staffing and budget, rather than the actual budget and staffing level values.
- Individual states are likely to prioritize different programs due to their unique geographies and environmental challenges. For example, Florida dedicates funds to coastal management and hurricane response, whereas Kansas is a landlocked state without any coastline or exposure to hurricanes.
- States also vary in the number and types of regulated facilities and industrial sectors they oversee, and may have different regulatory requirements for those facilities.
- States vary in both geographic size and population.

In addition, it is not possible to predict the performance of an environmental agency based on budget and staffing levels alone. Beyond just numbers of employees, the legal authority of environmental agencies, policy direction, and organizational design may impact performance. For example, program reorganizations can create the appearance of sharp drops or spikes in staffing even when capacity is unchanged. When the Kansas Health and Environment Laboratories shifted from the Division of Environment to the Division of Public Health, the Division's staffing totals fell on paper, but the underlying laboratory functions continued under the health agency. Technology also matters: modern e-permitting, electronic reporting, and remote sensing may increase productivity with lower staffing levels and costs. Organizational culture also impacts agency performance.

Another reason it is difficult to rely solely on budget and staffing data to gauge how effective states uphold environmental regulations is that these metrics may move in opposite directions. For example, Nebraska's

environmental agency saw a 17 percent decline in operating budget from 2010 to 2024, but staffing increased by 25 percent over that time. In contrast, Arkansas's environmental agency recorded a 31 percent budget increase but a 17 percent drop in staffing. In some cases, these divergent patterns may signal shifts in programs, technology, or labor markets rather than just simple expansions or contractions of state agencies.

Appendix B: Detailed Notes by State

The notes below contain information about the data we used for each state, including whether we used actual expenditures, the programs included in the analysis, and whether or not we were able to identify and remove the Clean Water Act (CWA) and Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA) revolving funds, or other capital expenditures, from our analysis for that particular state.

Alabama – Actual expenditures used. The reported total for Alabama is the sum of the allotted accounts at the Department of Environmental Management and does not include CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Alaska – Actual expenditures used. Total comprises all programs within Alaska's Department of Environmental Conservation and excludes the CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Arizona – Actual expenditures used. After a conversation with a staff member at AZ DEQ, we were informed that the most accurate representation of their operating expenses would exclude non-appropriated funds. Therefore, the total only includes expenditures for appropriated programs, which excludes funds like the Clean Water Revolving Fund and Drinking Water Revolving Fund.

Arkansas – Actual expenditures used. Total includes all of the expenditures for the Department of Environmental Quality and excludes the CWA and SDWA revolving funds. Biennium reports include a more detailed breakdown of the budget but were not collected.

California – Actual expenditures used. The total expenditures from the Proposed Budget include the following programs from the Environmental Protection Agency: Air Resources Board, CA Integrated Waste Management Board, Department of Pesticide Regulation, State Water Resources Control Board, Department of Toxic Substances Control, Resources Recycling and Recovery, and Environmental Health Hazard Assessment. There were two other programs within CalEPA, but they did not report numbers in the Proposed Budget, and therefore actual expenditures for these programs could not be found. They were Environmental Protection and Secretary and General Obligation Bonds-Environmental. Clean Water and Drinking Water revolving funds were removed from each year. Our numbers and analysis were confirmed by CalEPA.

Colorado – Actual expenditures used. Total includes the Air Pollution Control, Water Quality Control, and Hazardous Materials and Waste Management divisions at the Department of Public Health and Environment. Programs not included in the total (Division of Environmental Health and Sustainability, Consumer Protection Division, and Administration) were removed because they also included public health and sustainability activities and the environmental portions of those programs could not be parsed out. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds, as those are distributed within the state by the Colorado Water Resources & Power Development Authority, not DPHE.

Connecticut – Actual expenditures used. The total is the sum of federal funds and appropriated funds. Excluded funding from: Private Contributions, Private Contributions & Other Restricted, Passport to Parks Fund, Siting Council, Carry Forward Funding, Bond Funds and Non-Appropriated Special Funds. Excludes CWA and SDWA revolving funds, as those are distributed within the state by the Department of Public Health.

Delaware – Actual expenditures used. From FY 2011 onward, the total is every program within Department of Natural Resources' Office of Environmental Protection. From 2011 to 2024, this always includes Air Quality, Water, and Waste and Hazardous Substances. In 2011, the total also includes the Community Services program. The Climate/Coastal Energy Development program was removed from the totals, as it's not related to pollution control. Based on the amounts the state received for the CWA/SDWA Revolving funds, those totals are not included in the Office of Environmental Protection's budget.

Prior to 2011, the relevant programs were sub-programs of DNR, so we identified and aligned the sub-programs with the current programs.

- For the Water Resources program, Environmental Laboratory, Surface Water Discharges, Ground Water Discharges, Water Supply, and Wetlands & Subaqueous Lands were totaled, as they closely aligned with the Water program from 2011 on. Management/Support-Water and Watershed Assessment programs were excluded.
- For the Air & Waste Management program, we used Air Quality Management to match with Air Quality, and Waste Management to match with Waste and Hazardous Substances. Management and Support-Air and Waste and Emergency Prevention and Response programs were also included in the Waste and Hazardous Substances category.

Florida – Operating budget used, as we were unable to find actual expenditures. We used the state’s online budget tool. Since our analysis focuses on operating expenses, we excluded all Fixed Capital Outlay expenses from Florida’s DEP budget. This included the following:

- CWA and SDWA revolving funds – removed from every year
- Everglades Restoration funds – removed from every year
- Recreation and Parks (budget and staffing) – removed from every year
- State Lands (budget and staffing) – removed from every year
- American Rescue Plan funds – removed from water programs in 2022 and 2023
- Horizon Oil Spill funds – removed from water programs in 2016, 2018, 2019, and 2022-24
- VW Settlement funds – removed from air program from 2019-24

Georgia – Actual expenditures used. Total includes all line items for the Environmental Protection program within the Department of Natural Resources. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds. Our numbers and analysis were confirmed by Georgia’s DNR.

Hawaii – Earliest budget and staffing data available is 2012. The total includes the operating costs from the Environmental Protection and Water Resources programs within the Department of Land and Natural Resources, as these programs were most aligned with the environmental protection programs we’re focusing on for this project. We excluded capital expenditures, which also excludes CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Idaho – Actual expenditures used. Total includes all programs at the Department of Environmental Quality. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Illinois – Actual expenditures used. Total includes everything under the IL EPA except we removed CWA and SDWA revolving funds from Bureau of Water total, which are listed as the “Water Revolving Fund” in the budget.

Indiana – Actual expenditures used. Total includes every program within the Department of Environmental Management. Excludes CWA and SDWA revolving funds, as those are distributed within the state by the Indiana Finance Authority.

Iowa – Actual expenditures used. The total for Iowa is a subtotal of programs within the Department of Natural Resources. It includes Groundwater Protection, Air Quality, Hazardous Waste, Air Contaminant Source Fund, and Water Quality Protection. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds, as those are distributed within the state by the Iowa Finance Authority Fund, not DNR. The FTE numbers from 2010 through 2018 came from IA DNR, while we obtained FTE information for 2021 through 2023 from an Environmental Council of the States [analysis](#).

Kansas – Actual expenditures used. For FY 2017, we obtained the expenditures via an email from Kansas Department of Health and Environment, which we used because we were unable to find actual expenditures for FY 2017 in the budget documents. The total represents all programs within the Division of Environment, which is a part of the Department of Health & Environment. Unable to remove/identify CWA and SDWA revolving funds. Our numbers and analysis were confirmed by Kansas' DHE. Kansas provided additional context to the decrease in staffing, in that it was almost entirely attributable to a program (Kansas Health and Environment Laboratories) moving from the Division of Environment to the Division of Public Health. In this context, the FTE weren't so much lost, as they were moved to a different division. That program's budget was also moved to the Division of Public Health, but other programs saw a noticeable increase in funding during this transition, so the decrease in funding isn't as obvious as the decrease in staffing.

Kentucky – Actual expenditures were used for FY 2010 through FY 2023, but FY 2024 dollars were obtained from the revised budget. Our total represents all of the Department of Environmental Protection, including the Petroleum Storage Tank Environmental Storage Fund. Capital expenses, debt services, and construction costs were removed. Staffing numbers were obtained from a FOIA request submitted by EIP. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Louisiana – Existing operating budgets used. Total includes every program within the Department of Environmental Quality. Excludes CWA and SDWA revolving funds, as those are distributed separately within the annual budget.

Maine – Unable to locate actual expenditures, so appropriations were used. The total represents all of the Department of Environmental Protection. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Maryland – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all of the Department of Environment. The Water Management and Science Services programs at MDE were listed individually until FY 2018, when they were combined. For the sake of computing, the combined total was placed in the Water Management line for FY 2018. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Massachusetts – Actual expenditures used, but FTE numbers are from appropriations. Total represents all of the Department of Environmental Protection. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Michigan – Unable to locate actual expenditures, so appropriations were used. In 2011, the DEQ and DNR data was presented together, and it was too difficult to parse out information for DEQ, which is why 2011 is not included in our analysis. Money or FTE from the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative are not included in the totals. Total appropriations exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Minnesota – Operating expenses for the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency, not including capital expenditures, as reported by the CFO. This information was gathered in a FOIA request sent in by EIP. For FY 2018, the total given does not include a settlement that MPCA received from a lawsuit against 3M over PFC pollutants in drinking water, which the state agency has since been giving out to pay for clean water projects by local governments and entities. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Mississippi – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all programs within the Department of Environmental Quality, except for the Construction Grants program, which includes the CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Missouri – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all the Environmental Programs within the Natural Resources Department. These programs include Water Protection, Soil and Water Conservation, Air Pollution Control, Waste Management, Environmental Remediation, Regional Offices, and Environmental Services. The Water Protection Program administers the Clean Water and Drinking Water state revolving funds, and it is not possible to isolate these funds so they are included in the total.

Montana – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all programs within the Department of Environmental Quality. Capital expenditures, which includes CWA and SDWA revolving funds, were not included in the total. This information was gathered in a FOIA request sent in by EIP.

Nebraska – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all programs within the Department of Environmental Quality/Department of Environment and Energy. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Nevada – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all programs within the Environmental Protection Division of the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, except for the following: DEP Municipal Bond Bank Fund (3183), DEP Safe Water Drinking Act (3211), CNR Grants to Water Purveyors (4163), and Mining Regulation/Reclamation (3188), DEP Reclamation Surety Account (3182). FTEs come from Executive Budget Document and include FTEs from: Administration, Air Quality, Water Pollution Control, Waste Management and Corrective Action, Revolving Fund Admin, Water Quality Planning, Safe Drinking Water Regulatory Program, Water Quality CAP Improvement, and Industrial Site Cleanup. Even years are actual FTEs and odd years are “work program” FTEs. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

New Hampshire – Actual expenditures used for even years, and adjusted authorized appropriations were used for odd years. Total includes all programs within the Department of Environmental Services. The total was obtained from the Governor’s Executive Budget Summary for each biennium. FTE numbers came from the Governor’s Operating Budgets. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

New Jersey – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all the Department of Environmental Protection, except for expenditures from the Natural Resource Management program within DEP, as well as capital projects and debt service. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

New Mexico – Actual expenditures used. Total represents the entire Department of the Environment’s uses, except for “Other Financing Uses.” NMDE told EIP that this use should be excluded from our analysis. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

New York – Available expenditures used, as actual expenditures were not found. The total represents the Department of Environmental Conservation, but excludes the following programs: Fish, Wildlife, and Marine Resources and Forest and Land Resources. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

North Carolina – Certified line item budgets used for the odd years and actual expenditures used for the even year. Since neither certified nor actuals were available for 2018, appropriations were used. The total excludes those programs we determined were focused on natural resources conservation, rather than pollution control. The excluded programs include line items like marine fisheries, forestry, state parks, coastal management, etc. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

North Dakota – Actual expenditures used from FY 2006 through FY 2021, the appropriation used for FY 22/23, and the total budget request for FY 24/25. North Dakota reports their budget every two years. The total represents the budget for the Environmental Health Section of North Dakota’s Department of Health. During FY 2019, North Dakota founded their own DEQ, which is where all the environmental programs that were previously administered by the Department of Health are now located. Excludes CWA and SDWA revolving funds, as those are distributed separately within the annual budget.

Ohio – Actual expenditures used. The total represents all of Ohio’s Environmental Protection Agency. Total expenditures exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds. FTE totals for FY24 and FY22 are actuals, while FTEs for FY19, FY20, FY21, and FY23 represent estimates.

Oklahoma – Actual expenditures used and were gathered from the “Expenditures by Object” table for the Department of Environmental Quality. Capital outlay and special projects were not included in the total. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Oregon – Actual expenditures used except for FY 2024 and FY 2025, where the legislatively approved budget was used. The totals represent all of the Department of Environmental Quality, except for the “NL Other Funds”, and are reported every two years. The “NL Other Funds” are revolving funds for wastewater grants, thus excluded from the totals.

Pennsylvania – Actual expenditures used. CWA and SDWA revolving funds are excluded from total, as they are recorded elsewhere in the budget, not under DEP. We removed funds related to energy, like the State Energy Fund, Energy Development, and the ARRA State Energy Program, as they’re not related to pollution control. Similarly, we removed all the IIJA and IRA funding related to energy projects from the 2023 and 2024 budgets.

Rhode Island – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all programs within the Bureau of Environmental Protection, which is a division of the Rhode Island Department of Environmental Management. CWA and SDWA revolving funds excluded from total, as they are recorded elsewhere in the budget.

South Carolina – Appropriations used. Total only represents the air, water, land, and waste programs at the Department of Health and Environmental Control. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds. Source: Governor’s Executive Budget for each fiscal year.

South Dakota – Budgeted numbers used, not actuals. The total includes all of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. Unable to remove/identify CWA and SDWA revolving funds. In 2020, the state environmental and agricultural agencies merged, creating the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources. We were mostly able to remove the funds for agriculture from our analysis, except in 2023 and 2024, where the Environmental Services line item reflects “Agriculture & Environmental Services,” with no way to parse out the agricultural budget. Additionally, due to the restructuring of the budget and state agencies, FY2021 through FY2024 used appropriated funds.

Tennessee – Actual expenditures used for every year except FY 2008 through FY 2010, where estimates were used because actuals were not available. The following programs were removed from the total: Used Oil Collection Program, TN Dry Cleaners Environmental Response Fund, Fleming Training Center, Geology, Division of Mineral and Geologic Resources, WTRBA, WTRBA Maintenance, DOE oversight, Office of Energy Programs, State Facility Utility Management, Radiological Health, and Abandoned Lands. The Department of Environment and Conservation agency administration budget was also not included as it covers administration for more than just the environmental programs. CWA and SDWA revolving funds excluded from total.

Texas – Actual expenditures used, except for FY 2024 where estimated expenditures were used. We removed the following programs from the total: Occupational Licensing Programs and River Compact Programs. In 2021, the Texas Emission Reduction Program (TERP) was separated from TCEQ’s budget and became its own trust fund that TCEQ was allowed to access. For FY 2021 through 2024, EIP added the TERP trust fund expenditures to TCEQ’s total expenditures.

Utah – Total represents all of the Department of Environmental Quality, which used revised budget numbers, since actuals were not available. Removed American Rescue Plan funds from FY 2022 total. CWA and SDWA revolving funds excluded from total.

Vermont – Actual expenditures used, except in FY 2014, where appropriations were used. The total includes all programs within the Department of Environmental Conservation except for the Tax-Loss Connecticut River Flood

Control and Fed-SRF programs. Unable to isolate and exclude CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Virginia – Appropriations used, instead of actual expenditures. The total represents all of the Department of Environmental Quality, except that the following funds were removed from the Environmental Financial Assistance program at DEQ: Virginia Water Facilities Revolving Fund Loans and Grants and Virginia Water Quality Improvement Fund.

Washington – Department of Ecology: Actual expenditures used for FY14/FY15 – FY22/FY23. Enacted budget used for FY24/25. Appropriations used for every year prior to FY14/FY15. Department of Health: For the Department of Health, the agency provided actual expenditures for the Environmental Public Health Division in response to our request. Totals are reported every biennium and we used operating costs, excluding capital costs. We combined the general fund and state appropriations, as they were reported for each fiscal year. The two departments of interest in Washington are the Department of Health and the Department of Ecology. Both of these departments have programs that are concerned with environmental matters, and both have programs that aren't concerned with environmental matters. Our totals for each department are made up of those programs that are focused on pollution control. The overall total includes all the environmental programs at both the Department of Health and the Department of Ecology. Drinking Water Assistance account under the Department of Health removed. CWA/SDWA revolving funds removed from DOE total. Actual FTEs were used for all years, using [this resource](#). The total FTE was used for the Department of Ecology, but only the FTE from the Environmental Public Health program at the Department of Health was used.

West Virginia – Actual expenditures used. Total represents all of the Department of Environmental Protection, except for the removal of the Oil and Gas Conservation Commission. CWA and SDWA revolving funds excluded from total, as they are recorded elsewhere in the budget.

Wisconsin – The total includes actual expenditures for funds within the Department of Natural Resources focused on environmental remediation, water quality improvement, air quality, etc. The data was put together for EIP by the Department of Natural Resources and excludes CWA and SDWA revolving funds.

Wyoming – Appropriations used. The total represents the following programs at DEQ: Administration, Air Quality, Water Quality, Land Quality, Industrial Siting, Solid Waste Management, and Landfills. The following programs were removed from our totals: Uranium NRC Agreement and Abandoned Mine Reclamation. Note that Wyoming State Biennium Budgets are offset by one year (for example, the data for FY06.FY07 is pulled from the 2005-2006 Biennium).

References and Endnotes

- ¹ Budget and staffing data was collected from annual state budget reports and the Consumer Price Index Inflation calculator was used to adjust dollar values for inflation. For more information on how this study was conducted, see Appendix A.
- ² California Air Resources Board, “California Greenhouse Gas Emissions from 2000 to 2022: Trends of Emissions and Other Indicators,” September 20, 2024. Link: https://ww2.arb.ca.gov/sites/default/files/2024-09/nc-2000_2022_ghg_inventory_trends.pdf; Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, “Real Gross Domestic Product: All Industry Total in California,” September 26, 2025. Link: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/CARGSP>.
- ³ U.S. EPA, “Press release: EPA Launches Biggest Deregulatory Action in U.S. History,” March 12, 2025. Link: <https://www.epa.gov/newsreleases/epa-launches-biggest-deregulatory-action-us-history>.
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- ⁵ Elizabeth Blum and Chris Sellers, “Trump administration is on track to cut 1 in 3 EPA staffers by the end of 2025, slashing agency’s ability to keep pollution out of air and water,” *The Conversation*, September 29, 2025. Link: <https://theconversation.com/trump-administration-is-on-track-to-cut-1-in-3-epa-staffers-by-the-end-of-2025-slashing-agencys-ability-to-keep-pollution-out-of-air-and-water-265249>; Chris Sellers et al., “Burning Down the EPA: Documenting the Second Trump Administration’s Historic Assault,” *The Environmental Data & Governance Initiative (EDGI)*, September 3, 2025. Link: <https://envirodatagov.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/Burning-Down-the-EPA.pdf>; Lisa Friedman, “How the Government Shutdown Could Affect Environmental Agencies,” *The New York Times*, October 3, 2025. Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/10/02/climate/how-the-government-shutdown-could-affect-environmental-agencies.html>.
- ⁶ Miranda Willson, “Trump aims to slash 55% of EPA’s budget,” *Greenwire*, May 2, 2025. Link: <https://www.eenews.net/articles/trump-aims-to-slash-55-of-epas-budget/>.
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