

The Politics of Hydraulic Fracturing: Comparing Colorado, Texas, and New York

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Research with Chris Weible

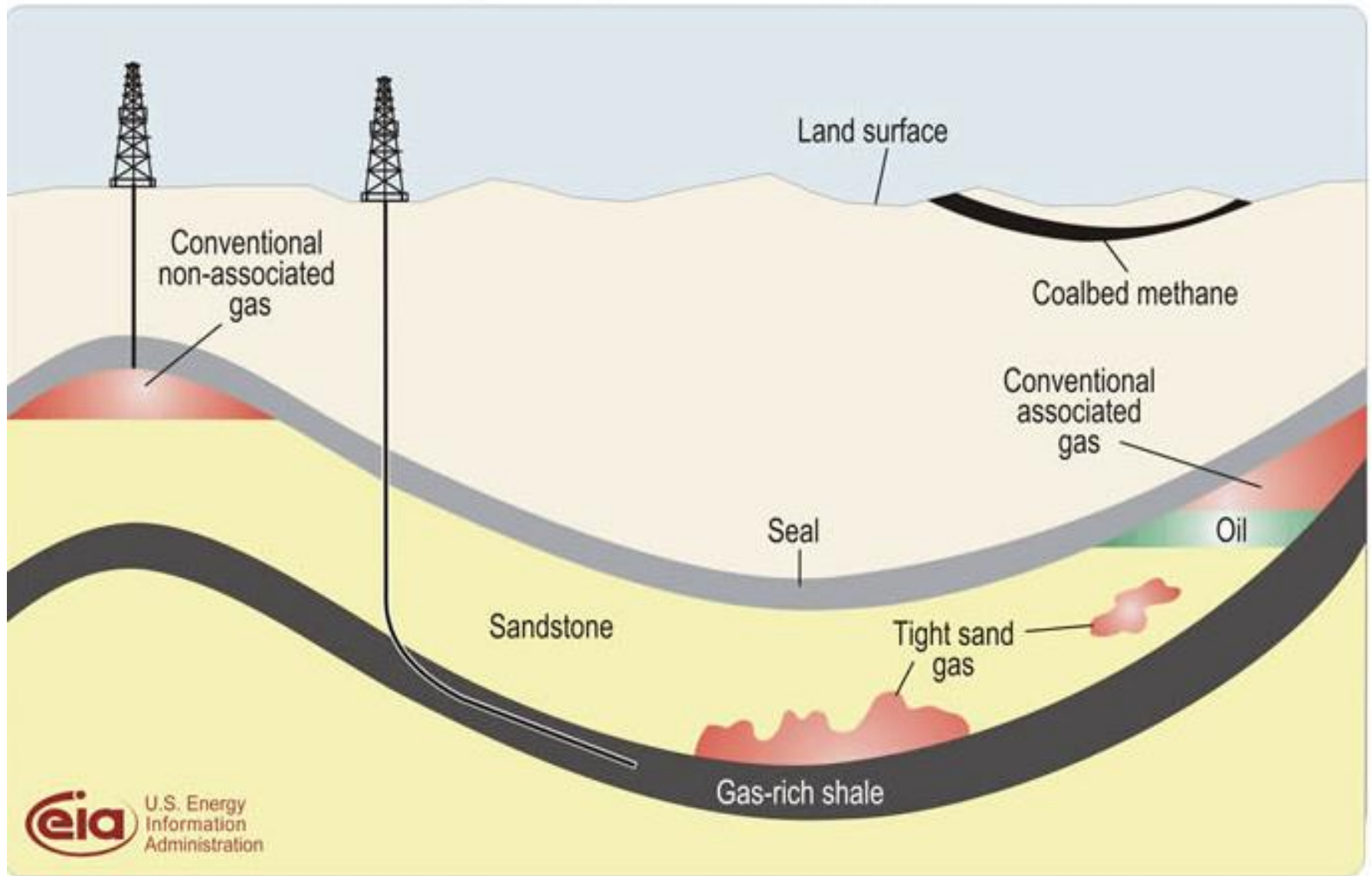
Associate Professors

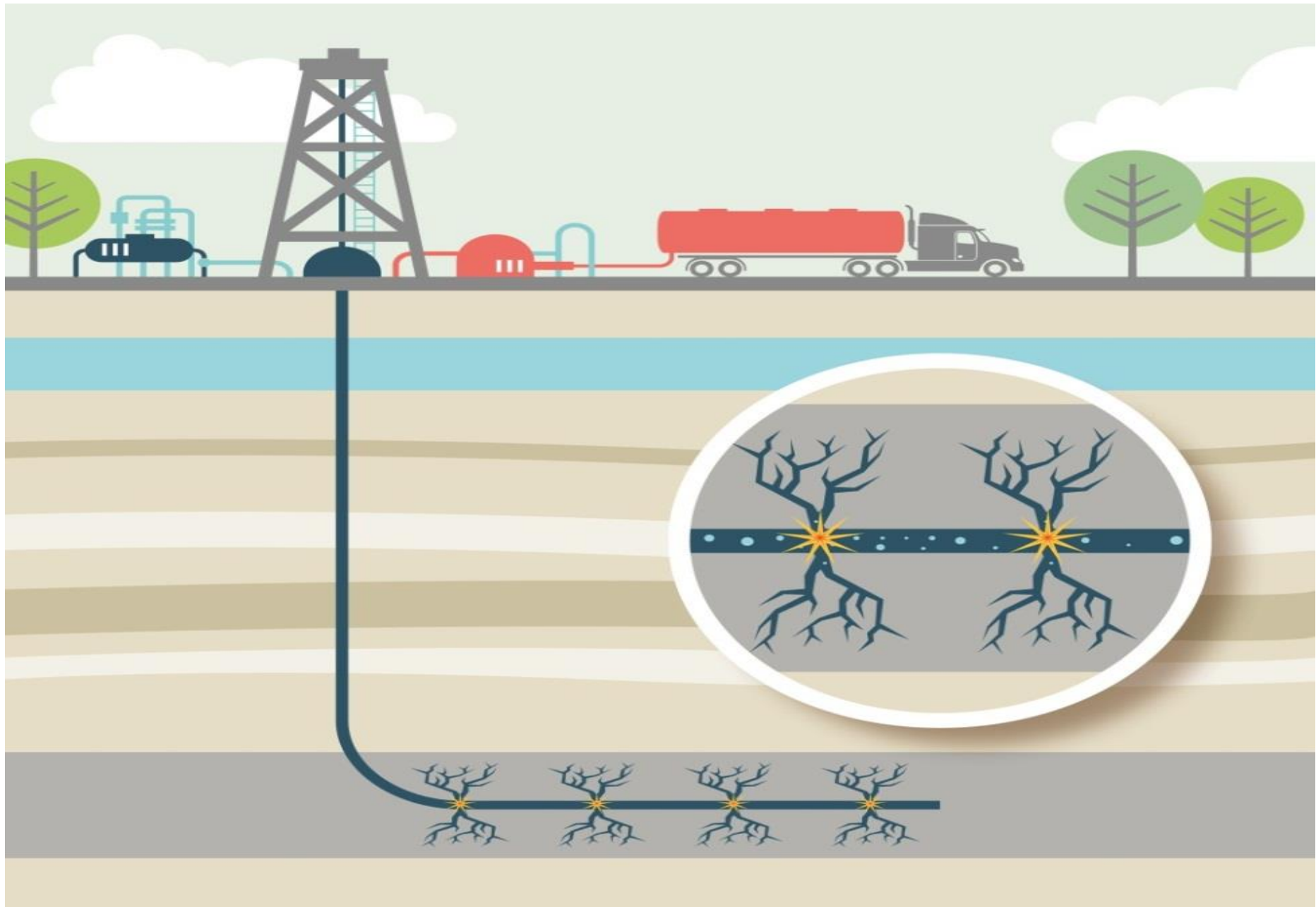
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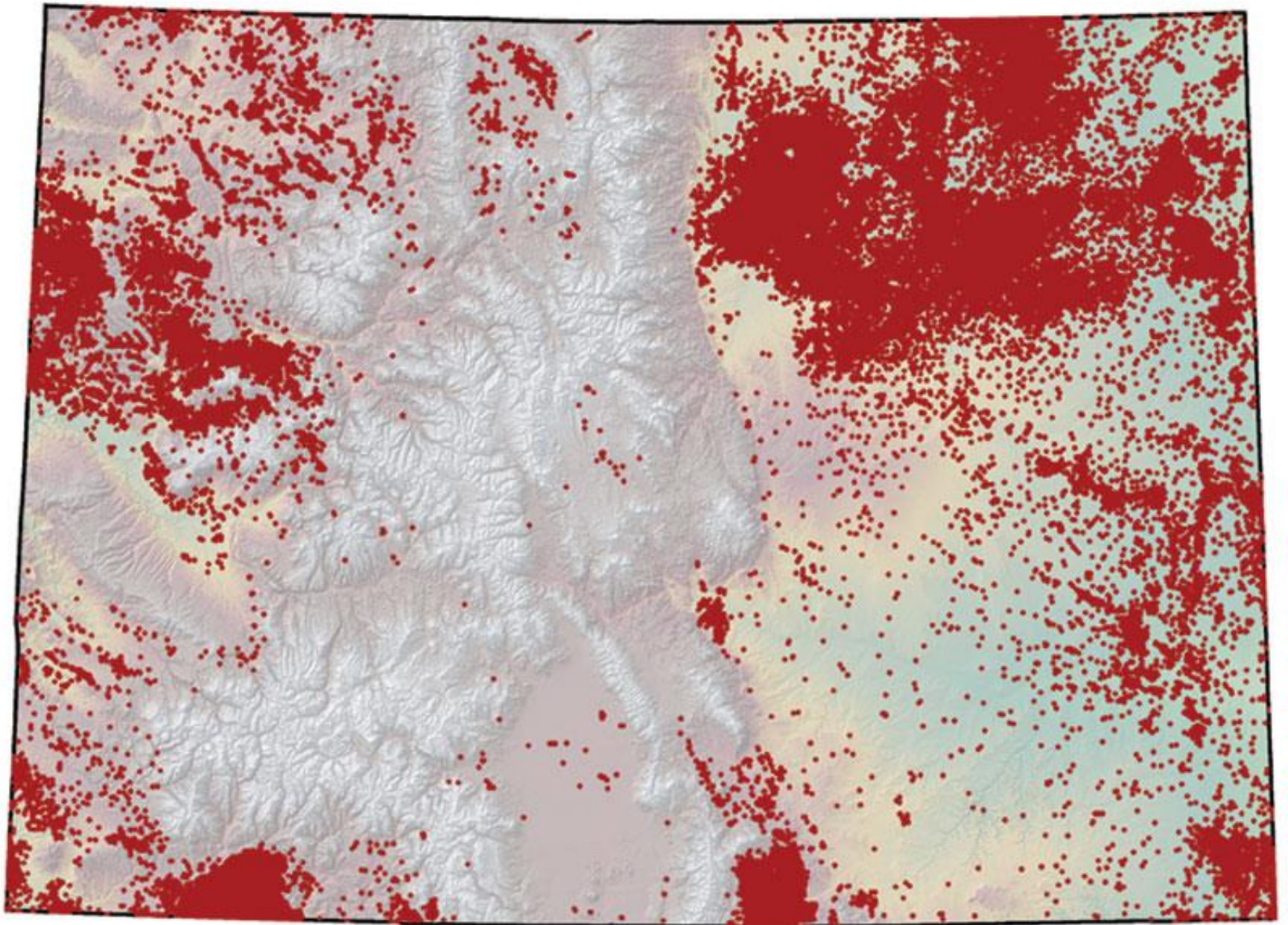
CU-Denver Mini-School for Public Affairs & Public Health

October 16, 2014





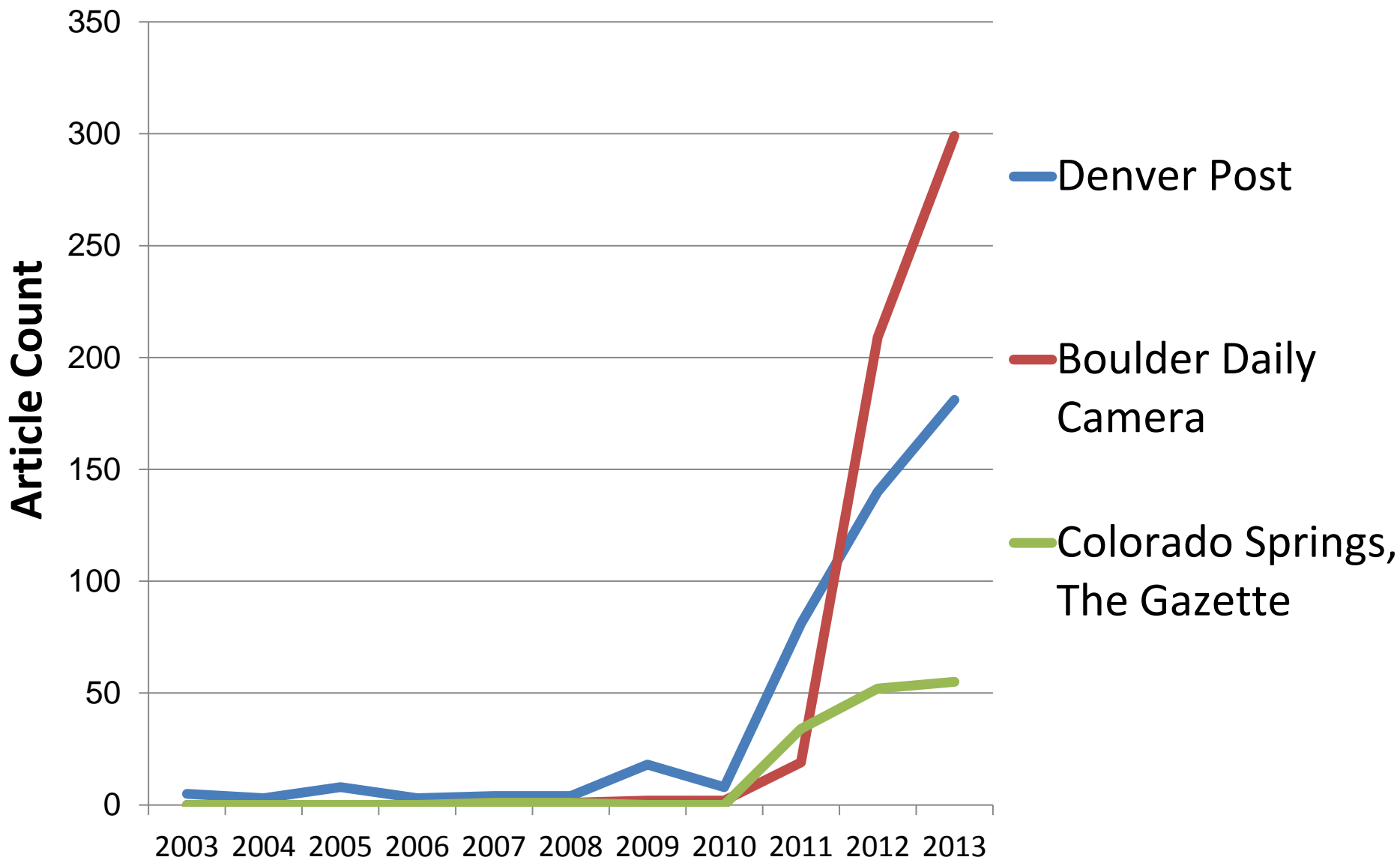




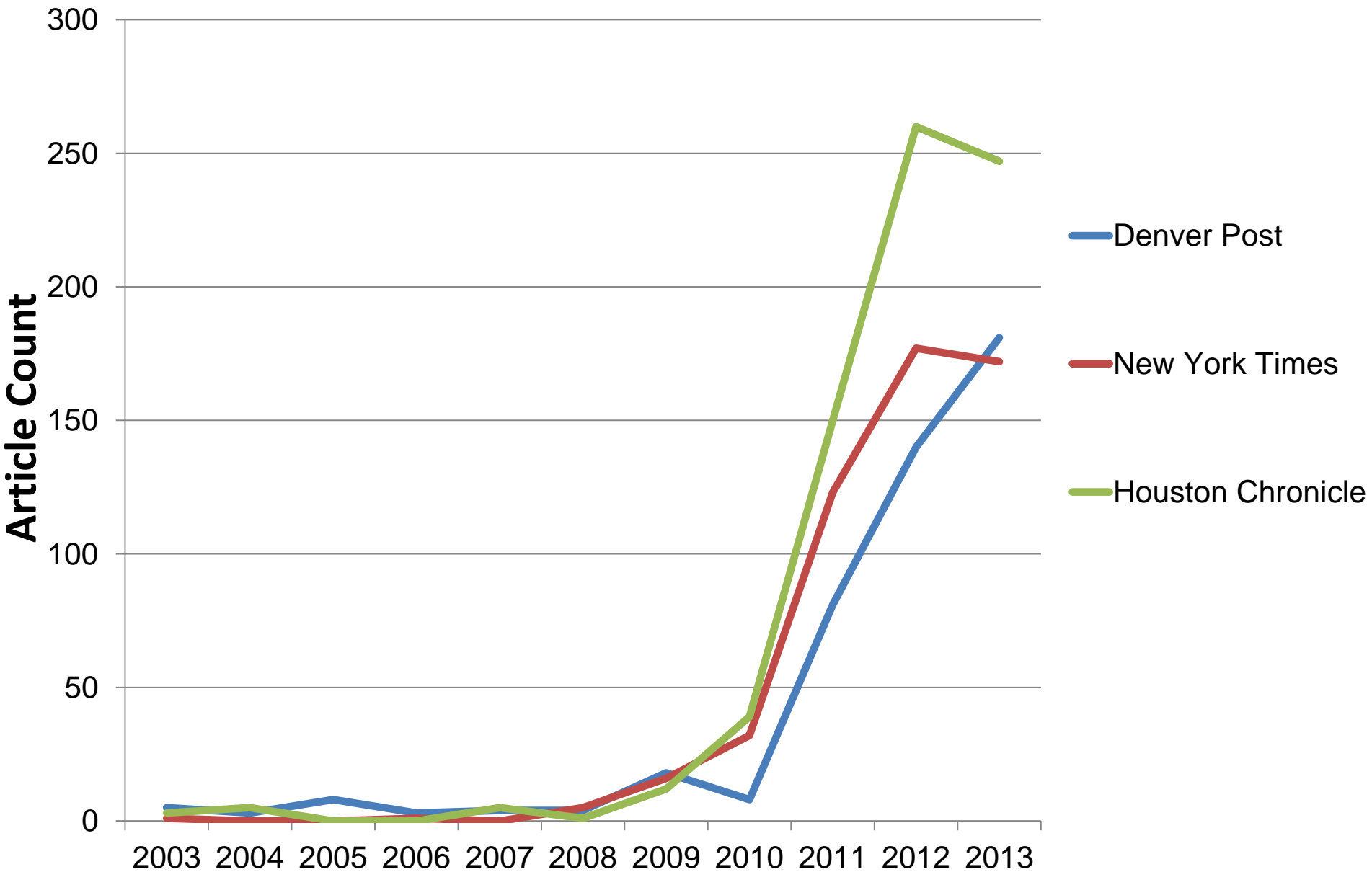
Source: Colorado Geological Survey



Colorado Newspaper Coverage of “Hydraulic Fracturing”, “Fracking”, or “Fracing”



New York, Texas, Colorado Newspaper Coverage of “Hydraulic Fracturing”, “Fracking”, or “Fracing”



Study Population: ‘Policy Actors’ (Govt., NGOs, Industry, Consultants, Academics, etc.)

Study Locations: Colorado, New York, Texas

Methods: Interviews, Surveys, Media/Document analyses, Hyperlink analyses

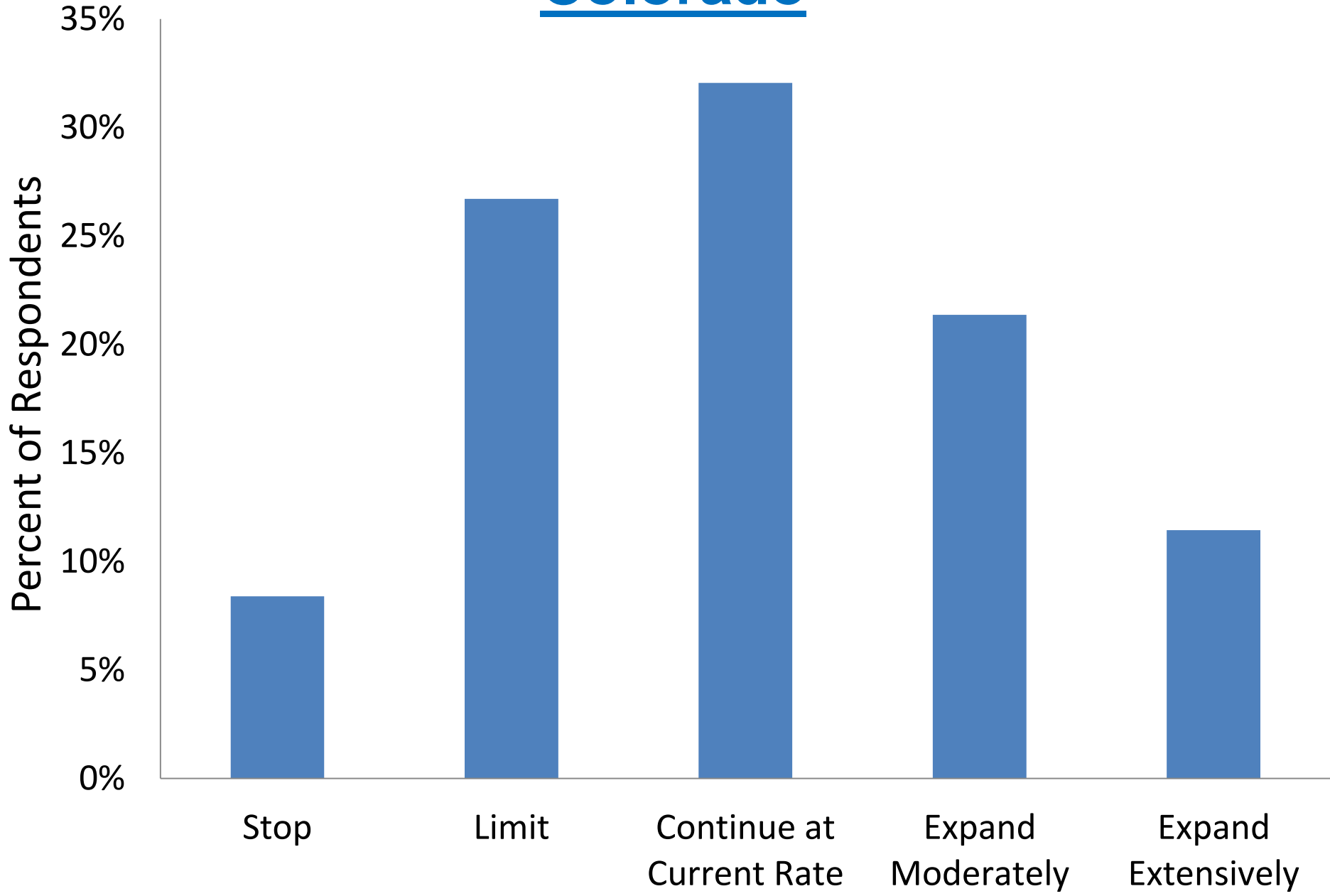
Key Questions: General positions, problem perceptions, preferences for who addresses problems, evaluation of recent regulations and policies

Guiding Framework: Advocacy Coalition Framework

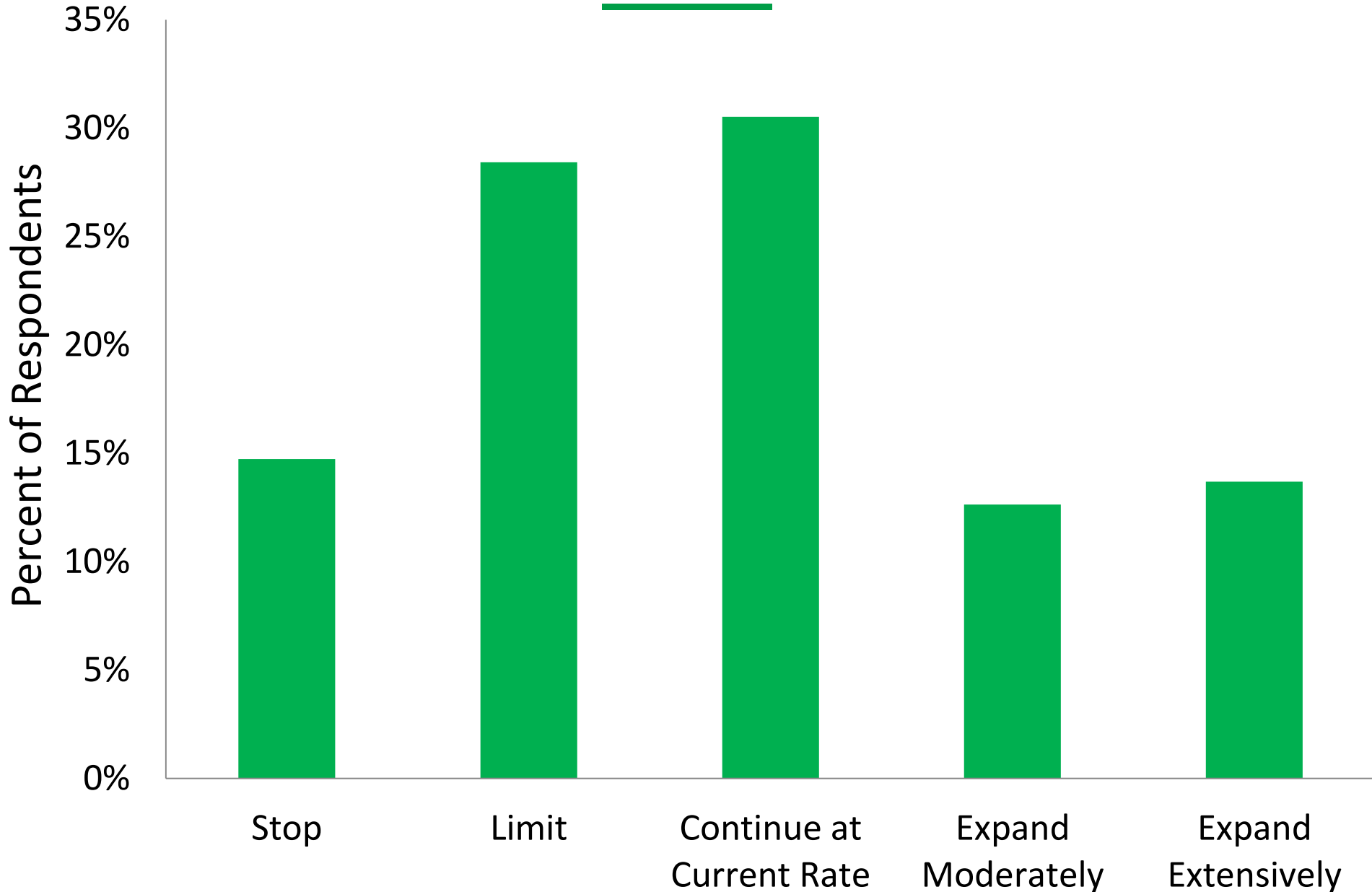
Research Team: Jon Pierce, Sam Gallaher, Jennifer Kagan, Ben Blair, and Kristin Olofsson

***What are policy actors'
positions on oil and gas development
that uses hydraulic fracturing?***

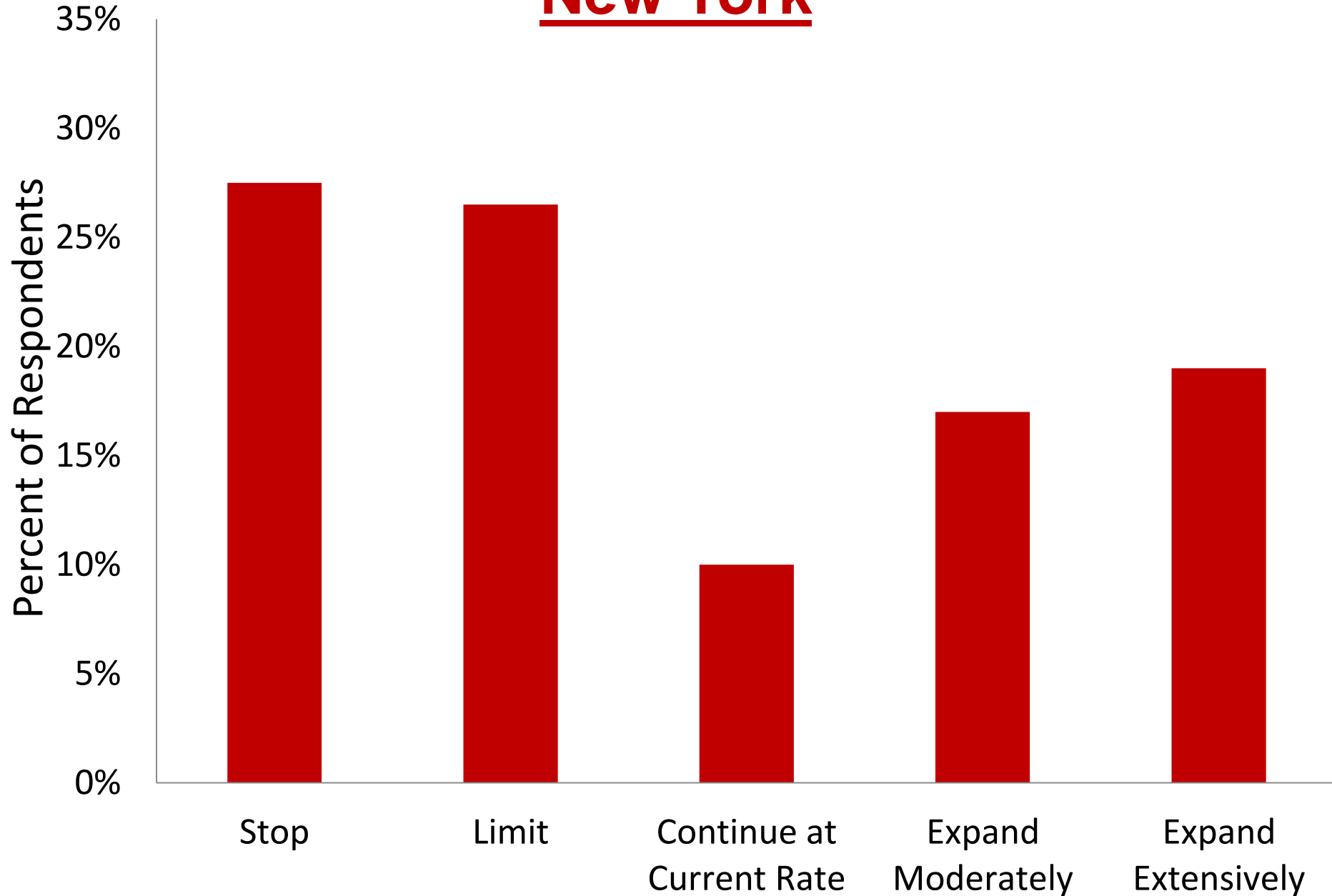
Positions on Hydraulic Fracturing in Colorado



Positions on Hydraulic Fracturing in Texas

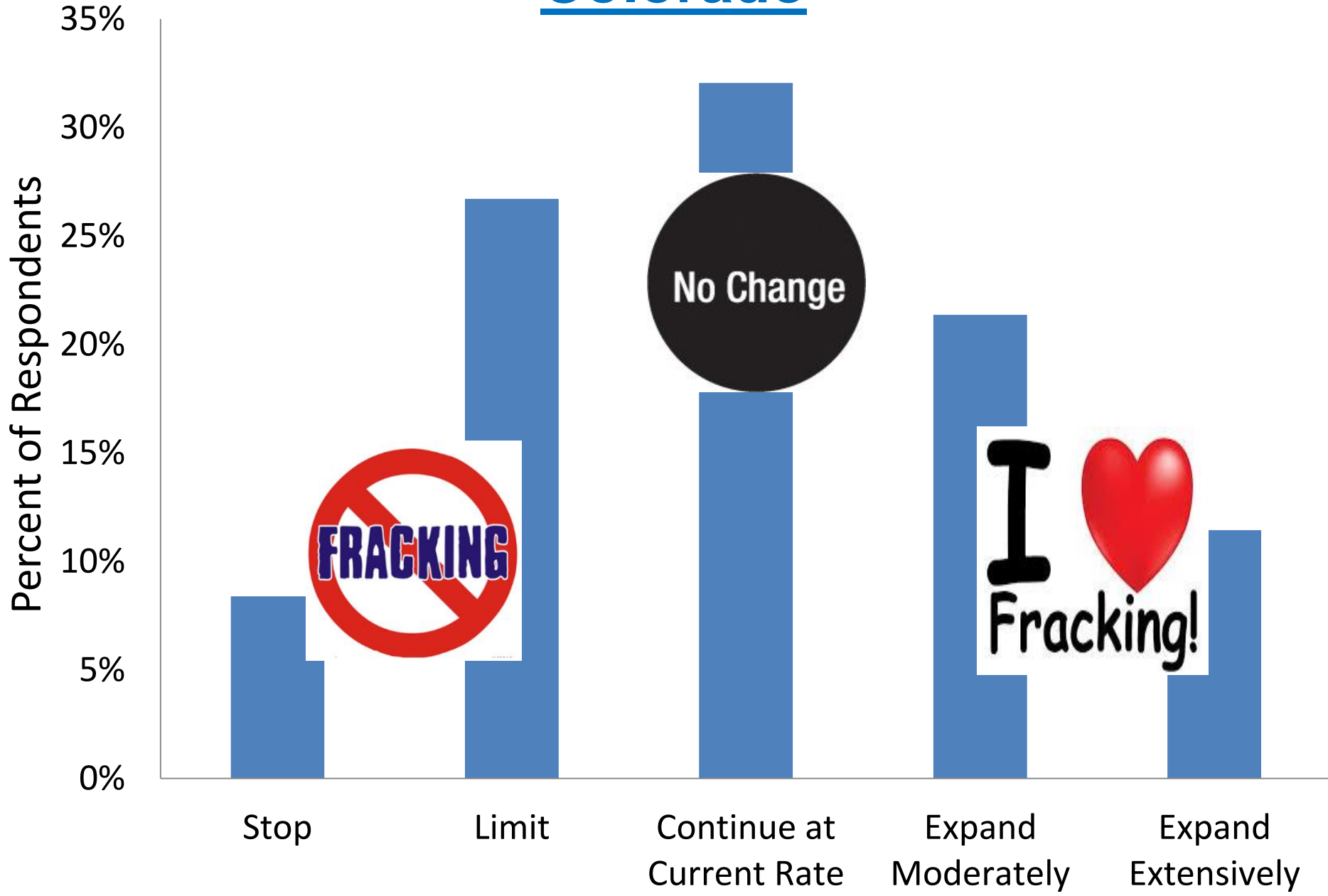


Positions on Hydraulic Fracturing in New York



Who are these policy actors?

Position on Hydraulic Fracturing in Colorado





Stop/Limit (n=48) Environmental groups, local government actors, organized citizens

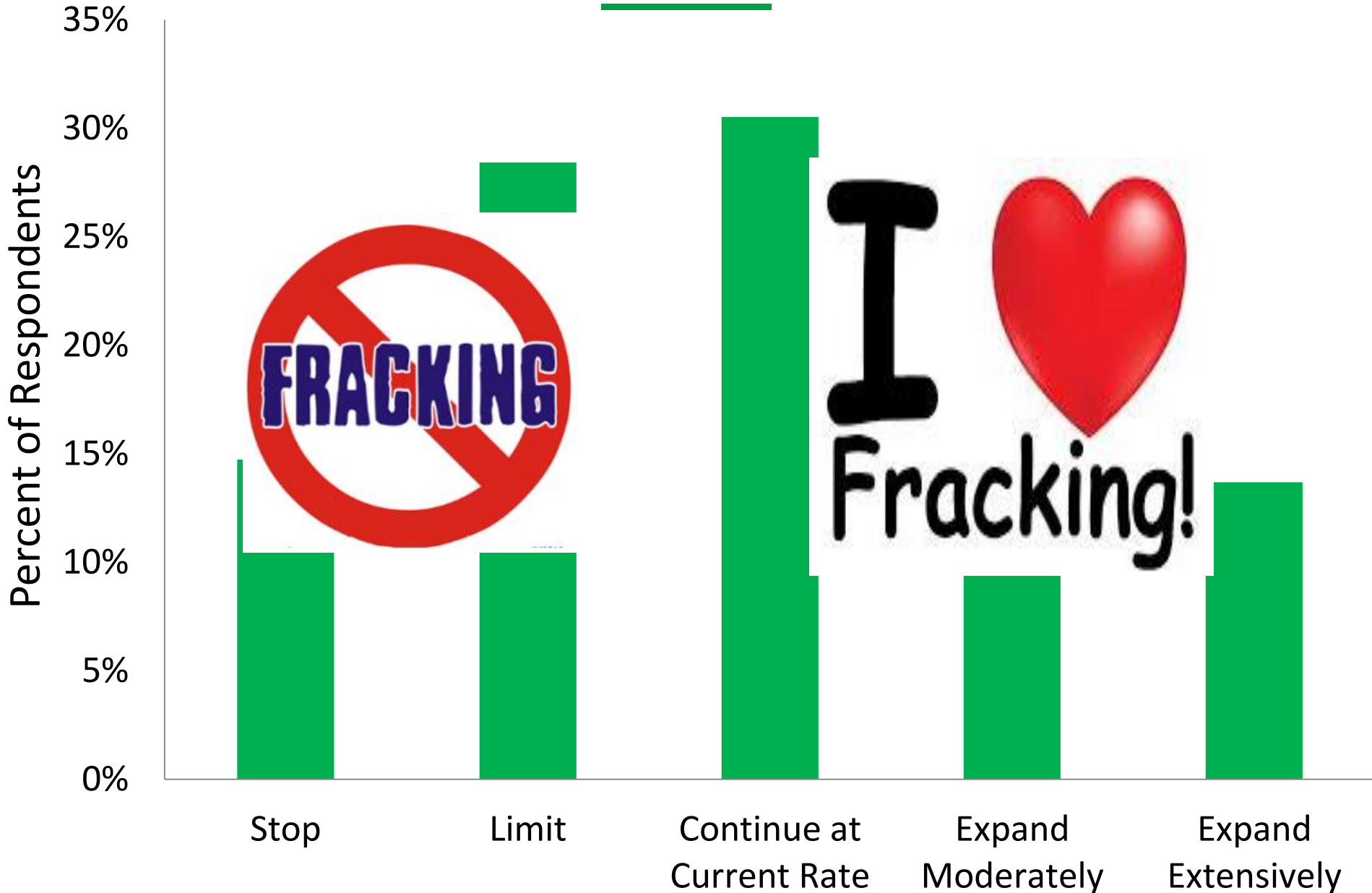


Continue at Current Rate (n=43) Local governments, oil and gas operators, federal and state government actors



Expand (n=46) Oil and gas operators, some local government actors, industry associations

Positions on Hydraulic Fracturing in Texas



Organizational Affiliation by Positions in Texas



Stop/Limit (n= 35) Organized citizen groups, environmental groups; some local and state government actors

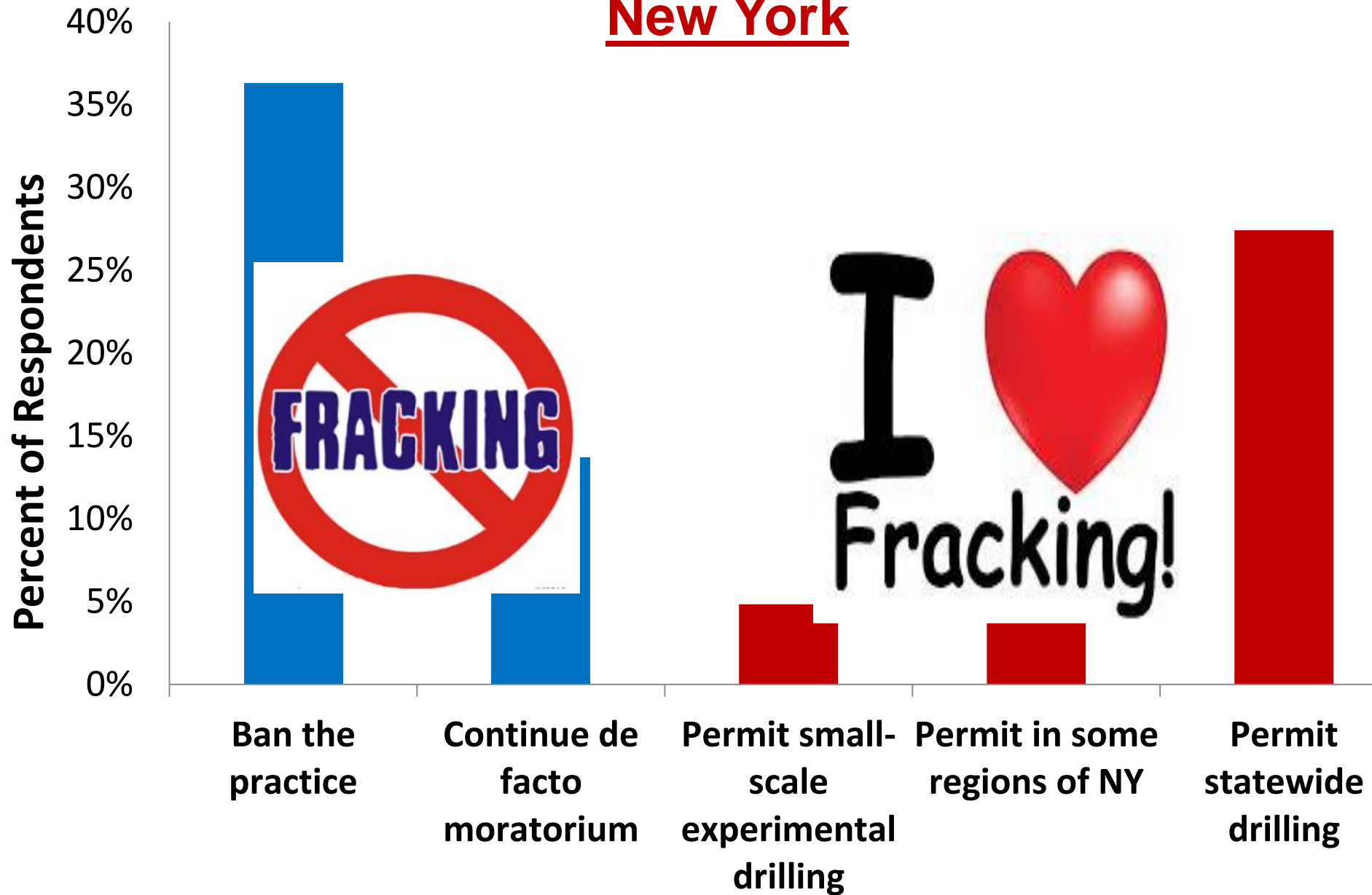


News media and academics & consultants are in both groups



Expand (n=43) Oil and gas industry; local, state and federal government actors

Position on Hydraulic Fracturing in New York



Organizational Affiliation by Positions in New York



Stop/Limit (n= 67) Environmental groups, organized citizen groups, federal government



Local government actors and academics & consultants are in both groups



Expand (n=57) Oil and gas industry, mineral rights groups, state government actors

What are policy actors' perceptions of environmental problems?

Perceived Environmental Problems: Colorado

Severe



Moderate



Not at all

Air quality degradation

Competition over water supplies

Nuisance from well site

Contamination of ground & surface water

Perceived Environmental Problems:

Texas

Severe



Moderate



Not at all

Air quality degradation

Competition over water supplies

Nuisance from well site

Contamination of ground & surface water

Perceived Environmental Problems: New York

Severe



Moderate



Not at all

*Air quality
degradation*

*Competition
over water
supplies*

*Nuisance from
well site*

*Contamination
of ground &
surface water*

What are policy actors' perceptions of political problems?

Perceived Political Problems: Colorado

Severe



Moderate



Not at all

Insufficient capacity to regulate or monitor

Landowner or mineral rights owner conflicts

Public Distrust of Oil & Gas Industry

'Scare tactics' on fracking

Perceived Political Problems:

Texas

Severe



Moderate



Not at all

Insufficient capacity to regulate or monitor

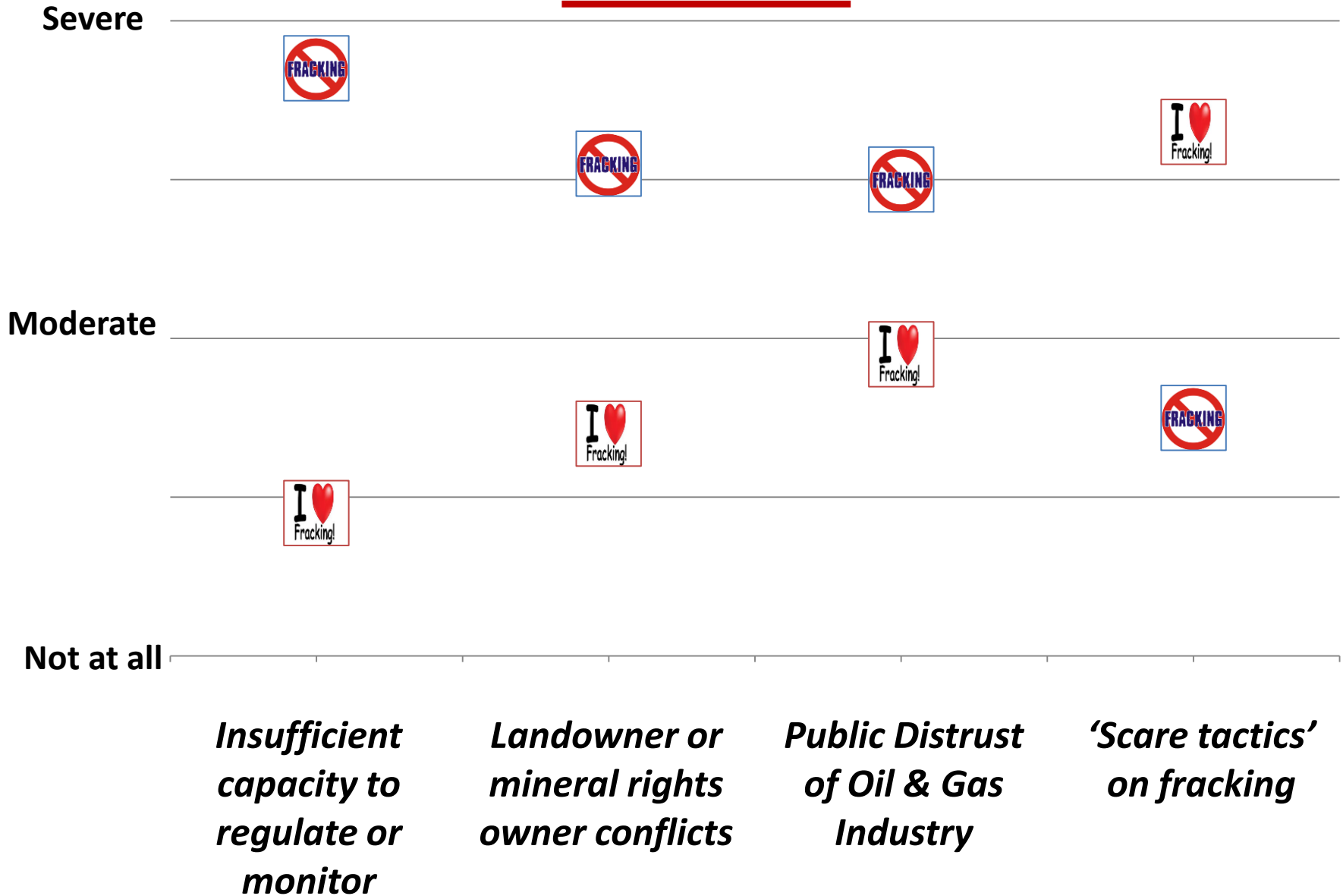
Landowner or mineral rights owner conflicts

Public Distrust of Oil & Gas Industry

'Scare tactics' on fracking

Perceived Political Problems:

New York



How do policy actors evaluate recent state-level policies?



“Colorado fracking chemicals subject to mandatory disclosure rule; potential trade secrets loophole still exists”

Huffington Post
(Dec. 13, 2011)

“The new oil and gas setback buffer will not please the industry.”

Colorado Energy News
(Feb. 11, 2013)

2011 Disclosure Rule Resolving Problems: Colorado

Strongly
agree

Agree

Neither
agree or
disagree

Disagree

Strongly
disagree



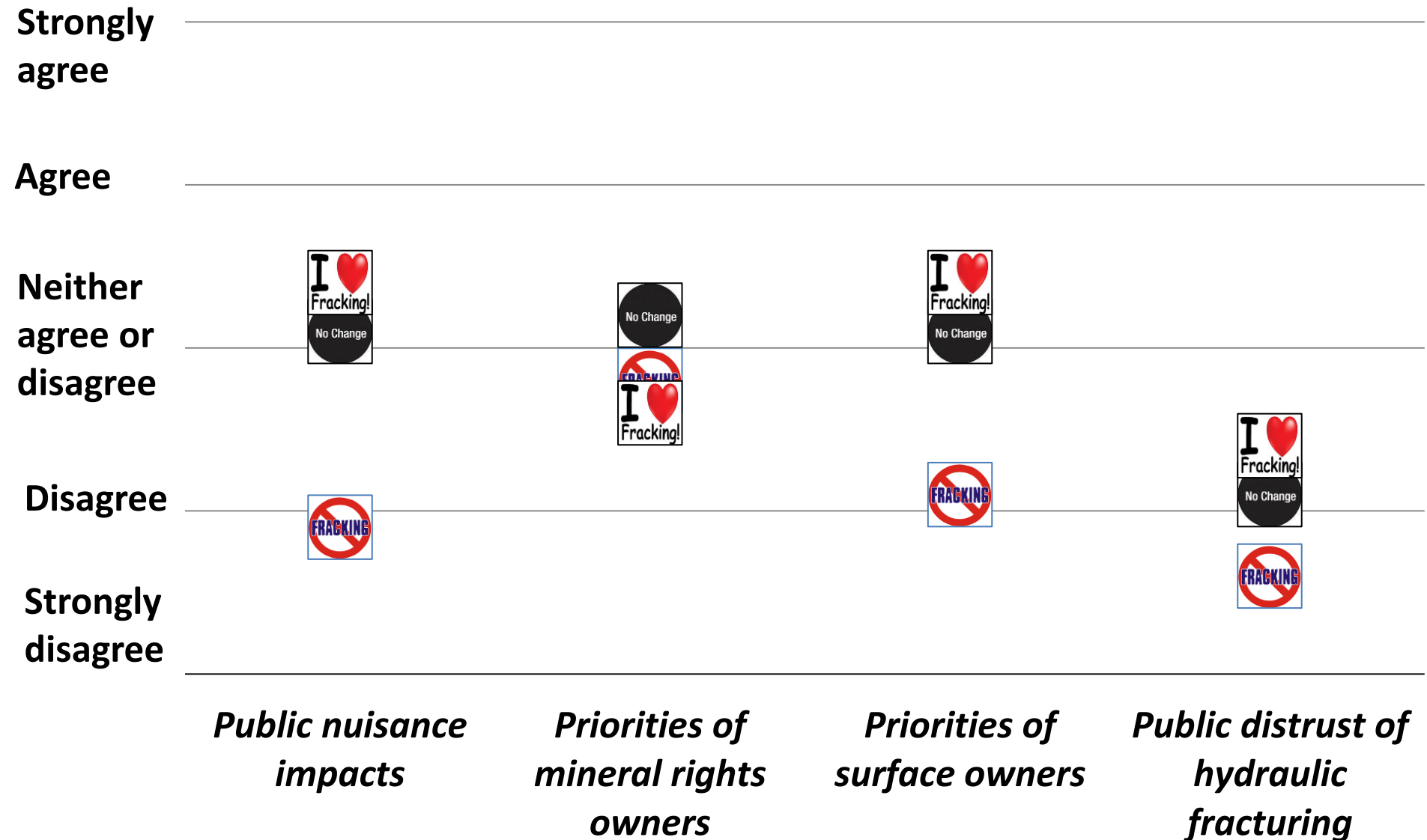
*What chemical
information must
be disclosed*

*Protection of
trade secrets*

*Disclosure of
chemical
information in an
emergency*

*Public distrust of
hydraulic
fracturing*

2013 Setback Rule Resolving Problems: Colorado



2011 Disclosure Rule Resolving Problems

Texas

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree or disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree



What chemical information must be disclosed

Protection of trade secrets

Accessibility of chemical information to the public

Public distrust of hydraulic fracturing

Perceived Impact of Moratorium: New York

Positive
Impact



No
Impact



Negative
Impact

Env Quality

Public Health

Political
Debates

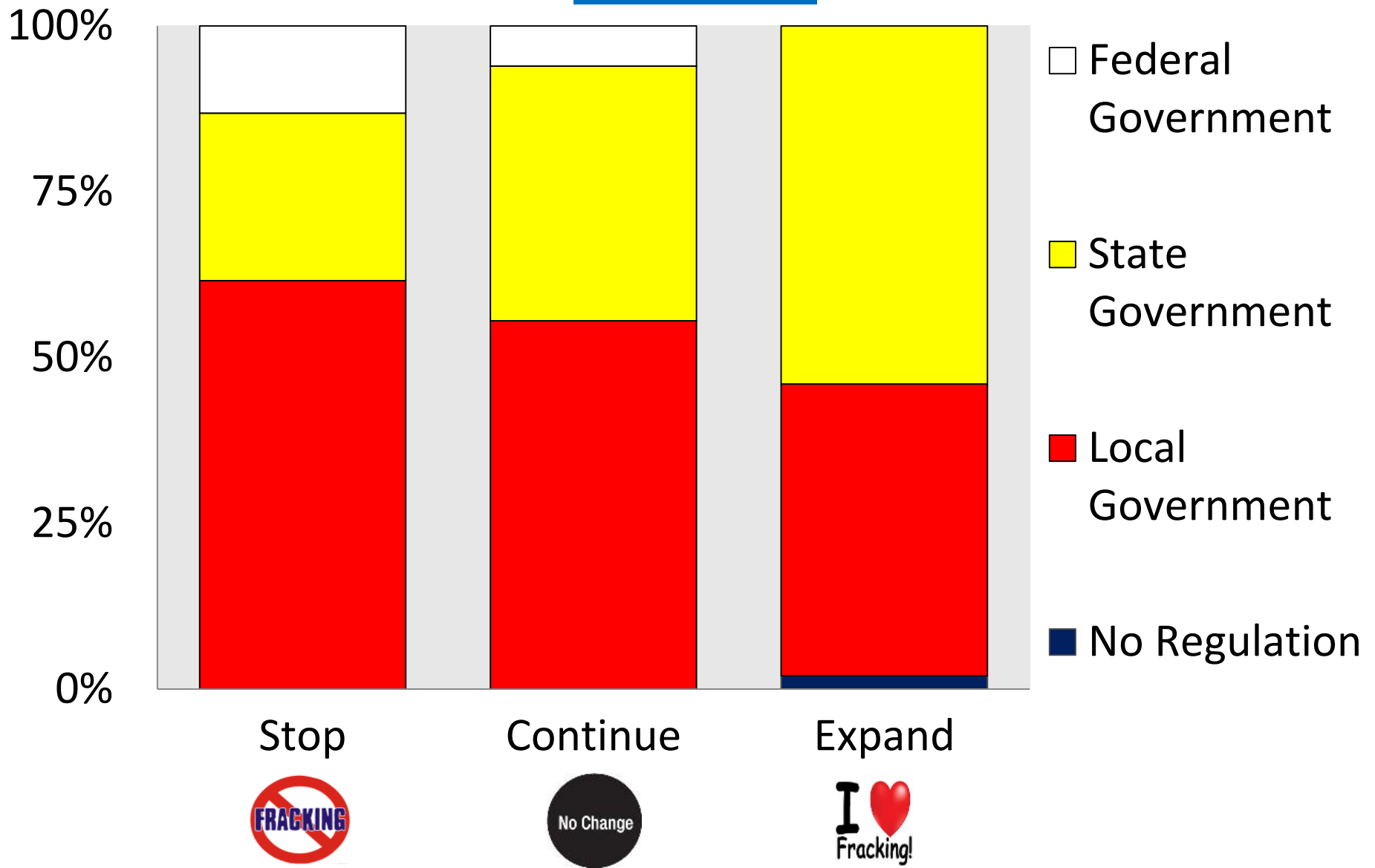
Trust in Gov

Econ
Vitality

What Are Policy Actors' Perceptions of the Appropriate Level of Government for Responding to these Problems?

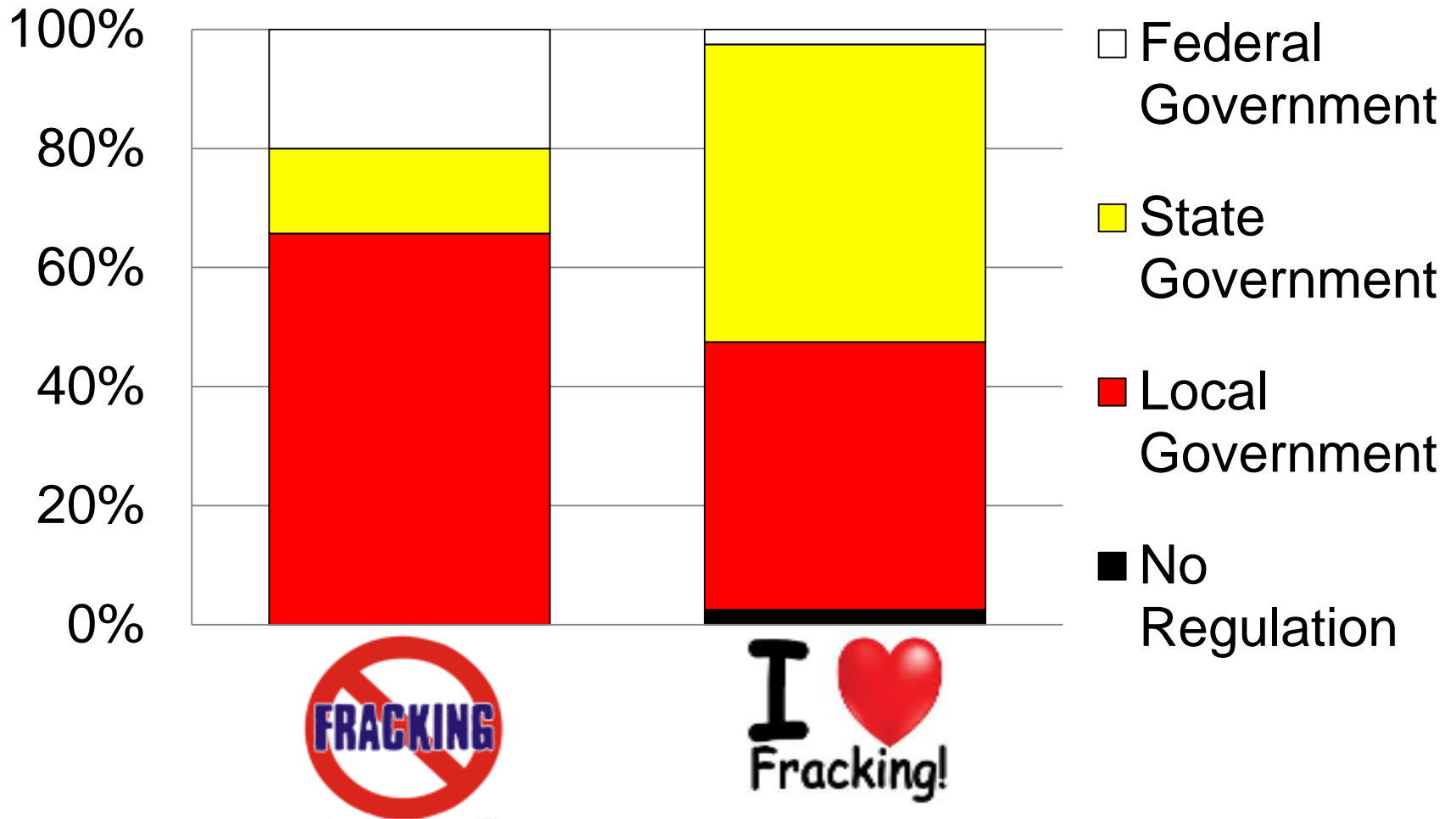
Preferred Level of Government for Mitigating Public Nuisances

Colorado

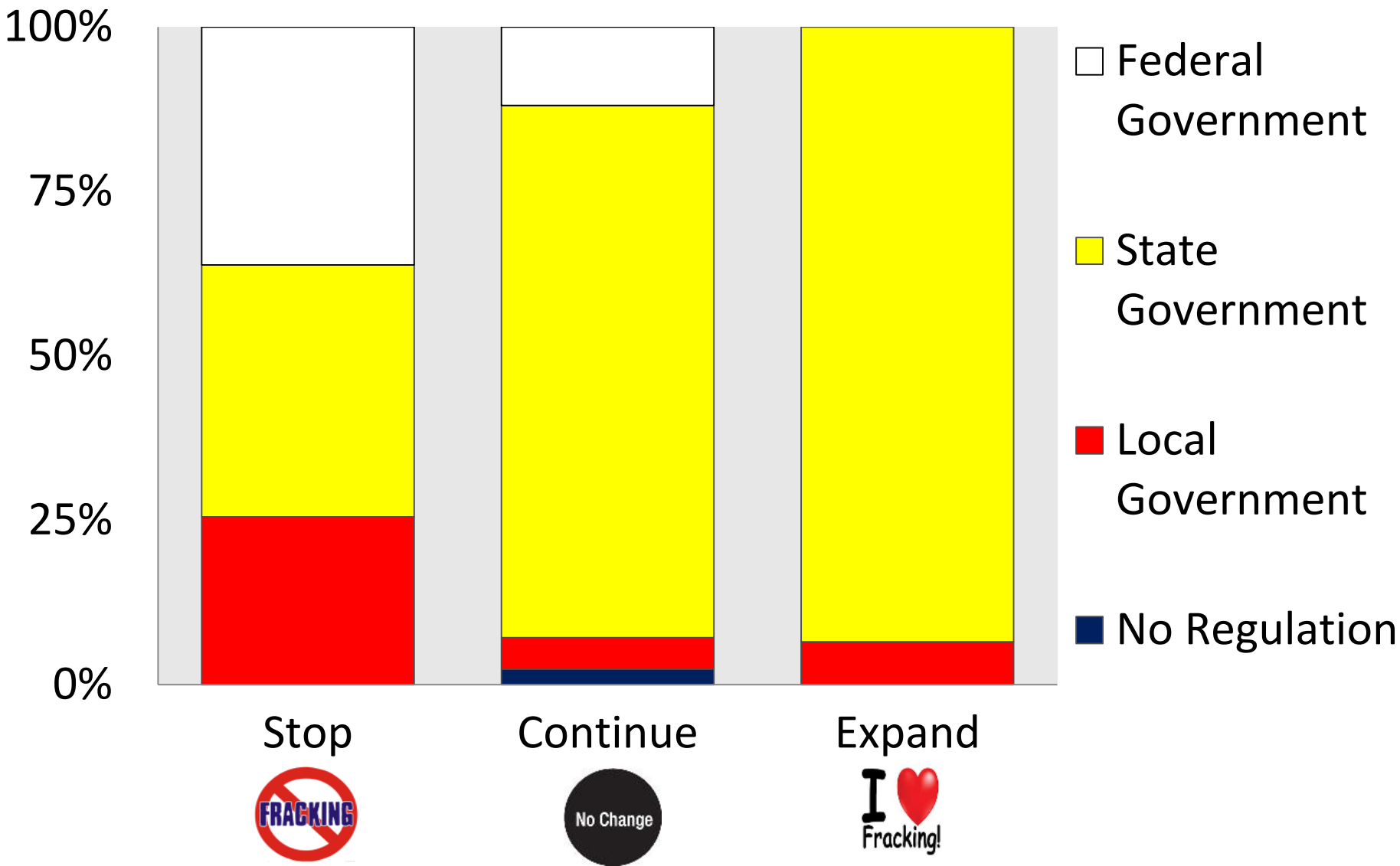


Preferred Level of Government for Mitigating Public Nuisances

Texas

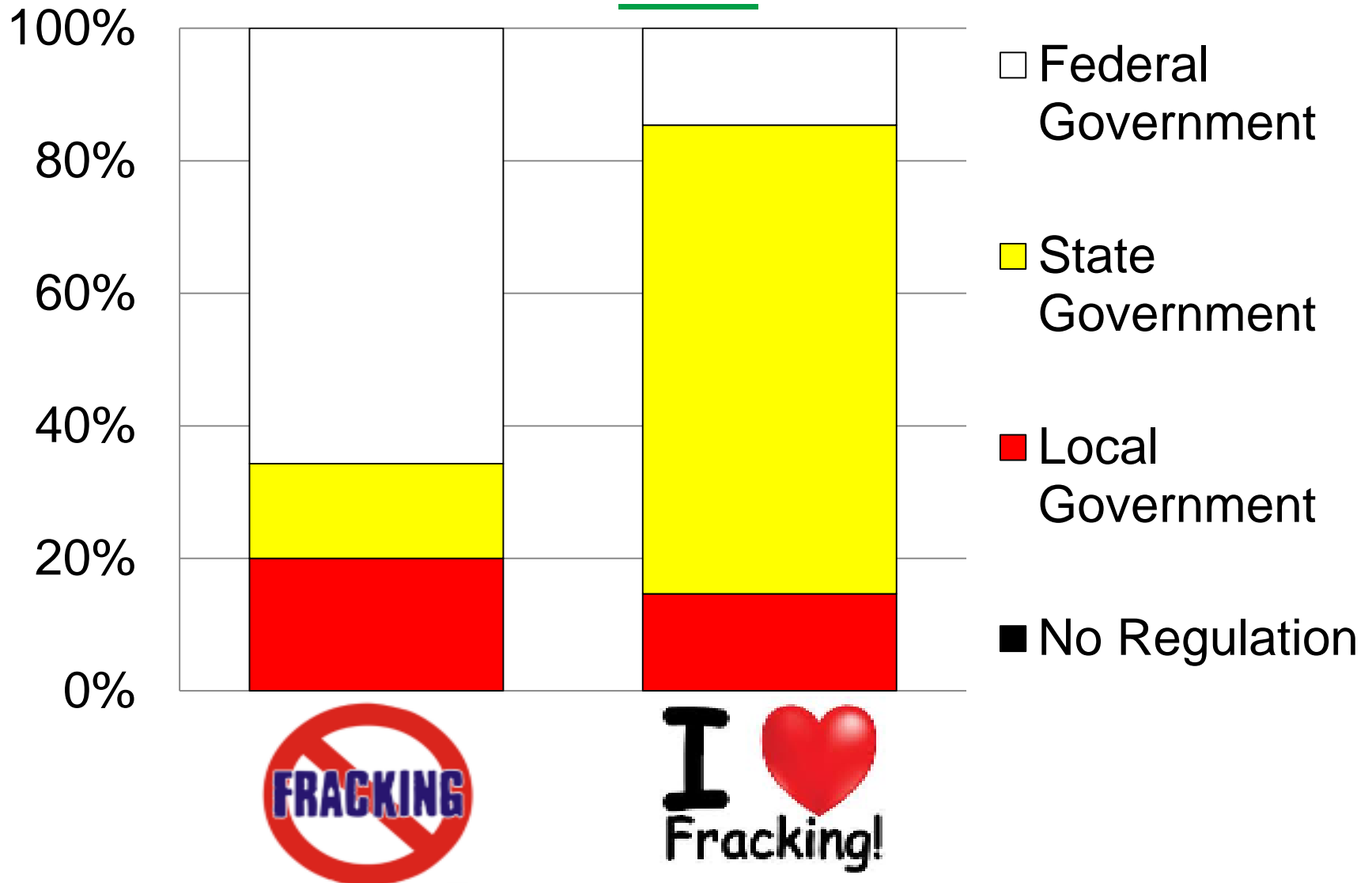


Preferred Level of Government for Monitoring Water Quality Colorado










Preferred Level of Government for Monitoring Water Quality

Texas



How do policy actors compare in their capacity to use or mobilize different resources to achieve their goals?








Policy Actors' Mean Level of Resources

	Colorado			Texas		New York	
							
Financial resources (staff)	2.2	2.5	2.6	1.8	2.8	2.2	2.4
Support from the media	3.2	3	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.8
Support from govt. officials	3.3	3.2	3.2	2.3	3.3	3.1	2.9
Support from the public	3	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.7	3.3	3.1
Technical expertise	2.6	2.6	2.3	3.2	3.6	3	3.1

1 = no capacity; 2 = Limited capacity, 3 = Moderate capacity, 4 = Substantial capacity

Who do policy actors regularly interact with to achieve their goals?

Percent of Policy Actors Interacting with the Following Actor Types:

	Colorado			Texas		New York	
							
Local Government	79%	63%	70%	58%	26%	61%	35%
State Government	69%	81%	80%	48%	50%	25%	29%
Federal Government	52%	51%	54%	36%	20%	10%	18%
Oil & Gas Industry	42%	72%	87%	45%	69%	9%	46%
Environmental Orgs.	79%	58%	52%	87%	37%	83%	27%
Citizen groups	71%	37%	30%	81%	15%	83%	29%
News Media	50%	35%	50%	81%	47%	53%	30%
Academics	58%	35%	46%			60%	29%

Summary:

***How does the political landscape
compare across Colorado, Texas, and
New York?***

Positions and Problem Perceptions

Positions

- CO and TX less polarized than NY

Environmental Problem Perceptions

- CO and TX share concerns about public nuisances
- Concerns about water competition are highest in TX
- All states polarized on surface and ground water contamination and air quality degradation

Political Problem Perceptions

- All states share concerns about public distrust of the industry
- All states polarized on sufficient regulatory capacity and on conflicts between surface and mineral right owners

Preferred Levels of Government

- Some agreement that local governments should regulate nuisances in both CO and TX

Impacts of State Policies on Resolving Problems

Disclosure vs. Setbacks in CO

- More polarization about whether disclosure rule resolved problems
- Neither group agrees that the setback rule resolved problems
- Common concerns that neither rule has improved public trust

Disclosure CO vs. Disclosure TX

- Similar polarized patterns between CO and TX
- Common concerns that the disclosure rules did not improve public trust

De Facto Moratorium in NY

- Those against hydraulic fracturing see positive impacts on environmental issues and neutral impact on political/economic issues
- Those for hydraulic fracturing see neutral impact on environmental issues and negative impact on political/economic issues

Policy Actor Resources and Interactions

Resources Available to Achieve Policy Goals

- Those in favor report more financial resources than those against in TX and NY and more technical resources in CO and TX
- Those against report more public support in CO & NY

Interactions of Those Against Hydraulic Fracturing

- All states - frequent engagement with environmental orgs and citizens groups, plus:
 - CO - frequent engagement with state and local government
 - TX - frequent engagement with media
 - NY – frequent engagement with academics

Interactions of Those In Favor of Hydraulic Fracturing

- All states – frequent engagement with industry, plus:
 - CO – frequent engagement with state and local government

What are some of the lessons learned from other natural resource conflicts that can inform how we deal with debates over hydraulic fracturing?

Lessons learned from Other Natural Resource Conflicts

- More technical and scientific information is not always the answer, as it is often used as political salvo
 - *Start by understanding citizen priorities, values, and interests*
- Learning can occur in professionalized forums
 - *Requires shared rules of transparency, negotiations, and representativeness*
- Consensus is often undesired and negotiations are unlikely until there is a “hurting stalemate”
 - *Look for possible brokers to help and develop conflict mitigation strategies*
- Threats, risks, and benefits of the issue spill across levels and jurisdictions of government
 - *Consider “polycentric” arrangements*



Thank You

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