

## The Politics of Shale Gas in Eastern Europe

Fracking is a novel but contested energy technology – so what makes some countries embrace it while others reject it? This book argues that the reason for policy divergence lies in procedures and processes, stakeholder inclusion and whether a strong narrative underpins governmental policies. Based on a large set of primary data gathered in Poland, Bulgaria and Romania, it explores shale gas policies in Central Eastern Europe (a region strongly dependent on Russian gas imports) to unveil the importance of policy regimes for creating a 'social licence' for fracking. Its findings suggest that technology transfer does not happen in a vacuum, but is subject to close mutual interaction with political, economic and social forces; and that national energy policy is a matter not of 'objective' policy imperatives, such as Russian import dependence, but of complex domestic dynamics pertaining to institutional procedures and processes, and winners and losers.

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Energy Security, Contested Technologies and the Social Licence to Frack

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#### **Abbreviations**

ANRE Romanian Energy Regulatory Authority

bcm billion cubic metres
BEH Bulgaria Energy Holding

BFIEC Bulgarian Federation of the Industrial Energy

Consumers

BRUA Bulgaria-Romania-Hungary-Austria interconnector

CEE Central Eastern Europe

CIS Commonwealth of Independent States

CO2 carbon dioxide

COMECON Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

E&P exploration and production EEA European Economic Area EIA Energy Information Agency

ENTSO-G European Network of Transmission System Operators

for Gas

EPA Environmental Protection Agency ETS EU Emissions Trading System

EU European Union

EWRC Energy and Water Regulatory Commission (Bulgaria)

FSU Former Soviet Union

GDOS General Directorate for Environmental Protection

(Poland)

GDP gross domestic product

GECF Gas Exporting Countries Forum

GHG greenhouse gas

GISC Civil Society Initiative Group (Grupul de Iniţiativă al

Societății Civile) (Romania)

IBR Romania-Bulgaria Interconnector IEA International Energy Agency IGB Interconnector Greece-Bulgaria IMF International Monetary Fund

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xii List of Abbreviations

IOC international oil company
LNG liquefied natural gas
LTC long-term contract

MEE Ministry of Economy and Energy (Bulgaria)
MEW Ministry of Environment and Water (Bulgaria)

MMBtu one million British thermal units

MWh megawatt hours

NAMR National Agency for Mineral Resources (Romania)
NAPM National Agency for Environmental Protection

(Romania)

NGO non-governmental organization

NIMBY not in my backyard NOC national oil company

NOKE National Operator of Energy Minerals (Narodowy

Operator Kopalin Energetycznych) (Poland)

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

Development

OPEC Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PGI Polish Geological Institute
PiS Law and Justice Party (Poland)
PKE Polish Ecological Club (Poland)

PO Civic Platform (Poland)

PSD Social Democratic Party (Romania)

RDOS Regional Directorate for Environmental Protection

(Poland)

RIEW Regional Inspectorate of Environment and Water

(Bulgaria)

R/P ratio reserves-to-production ratio
SLO social licence to operate
TANAP Trans-Anatolian Pipeline
TAP Trans-Adriatic Pipeline

Tcf trillion cubic feet

TRC Texas Railroad Commission TSO transmission system operator

TTIP Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership UOKiK Office for Competition & Consumer Protection

(Poland)

URE Energy Regulatory Office (Poland)