

The (Re) Federalization of Fracking Regulation

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Federalism Choice

A tall, illuminated oil rig stands against a dark night sky, its lights reflecting on the water in the foreground. The rig is a complex structure of metal and pipes, with several bright lights at various levels. The background shows a dark landscape with some trees and a few distant lights.

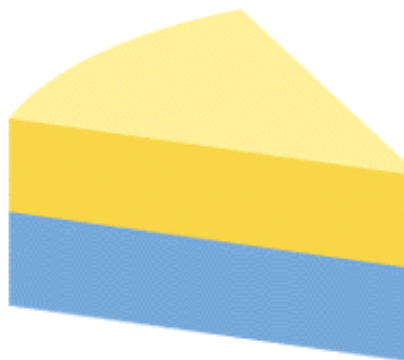
Legislators and regulators have options available to answer the question:

Should regulation of a given activity (e.g., hydraulic fracturing) or impact from an activity (e.g., contamination of groundwater) flow from a global, national, state, or local level?

Traditional Responses

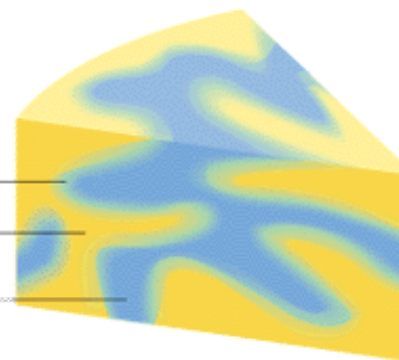
Dual Federalism

Cooperative Federalism



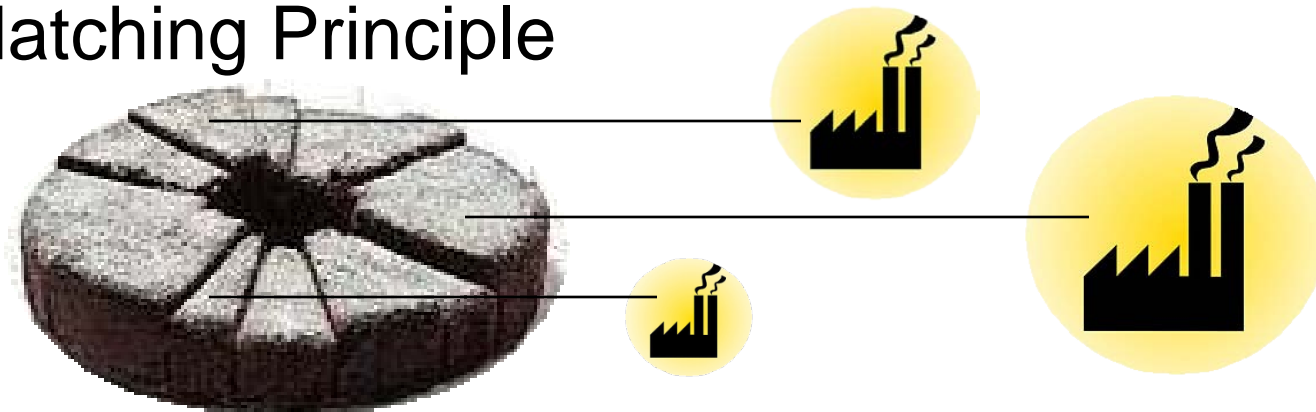
Dual Federalism:
The Layer-Cake Metaphor

Shared by state
and national levels
National level
State level



Cooperative Federalism:
The Marble-Cake Metaphor

The Matching Principle



Conventional Federalism Choice Analysis

Centralization Values

Addressing Externalities

Countering Race to the
Bottom

Efficiency of Uniformity

Resource-pooling

Interest Group Diversity

National Moral Imperative

Conventional Federalism Choice Analysis

Decentralization Values

Increased Democracy

Race to Top or Efficient Regulation

Responding to Local Environmental Conditions

Experimentalism/New Governance Regimes

Innovations of Diversity

Competition

Responding to Local Preferences

Arguments for State Regulation of Fracking: Theoretical

Values:

Local Tailoring: Environmental and Democratic

States as Laboratories of Experimentation

Increased Democracy

Matching Principle



Arguments for State Regulation of Fracking: Actual

ALEC

American
Legislative
Exchange
Council

RESOLUTION TO RETAIN STATE AUTHORITY OVER HYDRAULIC FRACTURING

WHEREAS, Hydraulic fracturing is a proven technology with a long history of environmentally safe use in the completion of oil and gas wells; *and*

WHEREAS, The oil and gas producing States regulate hydraulic fracturing as a component of their regulatory programs for the drilling, completion, operation, and plugging of oil and gas wells; *and*

WHEREAS, The reservoirs that produce oil and gas are highly variable geologically and separated geographically across the oil and gas producing States such that State regulatory agencies are best suited by local expertise and experience to effectively regulate hydraulic fracturing; *and*

WHEREAS, State regulatory agencies are the most appropriate regulatory bodies to provide oversight and protection of hydrologically and environmentally sensitive localities as they relate to hydraulic fracturing; *and*

WHEREAS, The regulation of hydraulic fracturing under the Federal Safe Drinking Water Act would add burdensome and unnecessary regulatory requirements to the drilling and completion of oil and gas wells, thereby increasing costs of producing domestic natural gas resources without any ancillary benefit to public health, safety or the environment; *and*

WHEREAS, The increased cost of producing domestic natural gas resources will reduce domestic supplies of natural gas, increase utility prices, and other costs to consumers, reduce tax and royalty revenues for local, State, and federal governments; and increase the nation's dependence on foreign energy imports; *and*

WHEREAS, The Interstate Oil and Gas Compact Commission (IOGCC) conducted a survey of oil and gas producing States, which found that there were no known cases of ground water contamination associated with hydraulic fracturing, and set forth its opposition to federal regulation of hydraulic fracturing under the underground injection control program in Resolution 09.011, dated January 7, 2009, "Urging Congress Not to Remove Exemption of Hydraulic Fracturing from Provisions of the Safe Drinking Water Act;"; *and*

WHEREAS, the states' public utility commissioners represented by The National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners adopted a similar resolution in July 2009;

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Legislative Exchange Council supports continued jurisdiction of the States to conserve and properly regulate oil and gas production in their unique geological and geographical circumstances.

Arguments for Federal Regulation of Fracking: Theoretical

Cooperative Federalism Regime Under the SDWA Answers All of the Relevant Theoretical Pro-Decentralization Arguments:

State Primacy

The Experiment Can Continue:

- No Ceiling Preemption
- Regulatory Gaps Will be filled

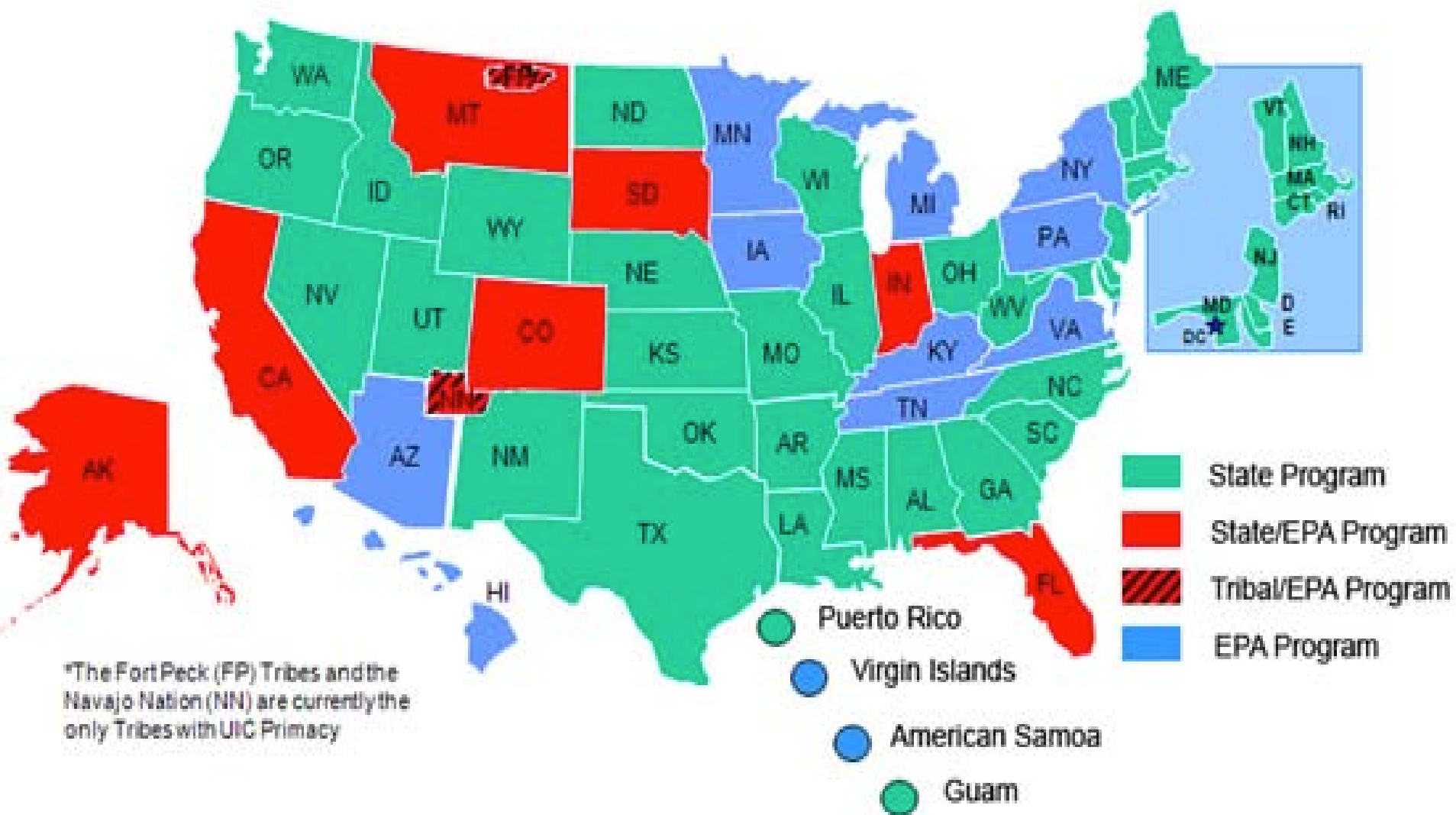
The SDWA Reflects Pre-Existing Federalism Choices on Scale:

- Interstate Impacts
- National Concern about Drinking Water

Rapid Spread of Fracking Creates New Concerns:

- Cumulative Impacts
- Impacts on Rural America

State Primacy



State Primacy

States Regulating Oil and Gas (Class II) UIC Wells Under SDWA Section 1425

Alabama	Louisiana	Oklahoma
Alaska	Mississippi	Oregon
Arkansas	Missouri	South Dakota
California	Montana	Texas
Colorado	Nebraska	Utah
Illinois	New Mexico	West Virginia
Indiana	North Dakota	Wyoming
Kansas	Ohio	

Source: CRS Report, adopted from information from EPA

State Primacy

States where EPA Implements the UIC Class II Program

Shale Gas Producing States

Pennsylvania

New York

Michigan

Kentucky

Tennessee

Virginia

Others

Arizona

District of Columbia

Florida

Hawaii

Iowa

Minnesota

Multiple tribes, few territories

Source: CRS Report adapted from information from EPA

Fracking and Regulatory Experimentation

Fracking Bans & Moratoria

DRAFT

- Statewide ban
- Statewide moratorium (de jure/de facto)
- Past statewide moratorium
- Local bans/moratoria
- No ban/moratorium
- Not in study

- Top 5 states by # gas wells*
 - States with no gas wells*
- *2011 EIA data

Source: Resources for the Future, Center for Energy Economics and Policy

Fracking and Regulatory Diversity

General Casing/Cementing Depth



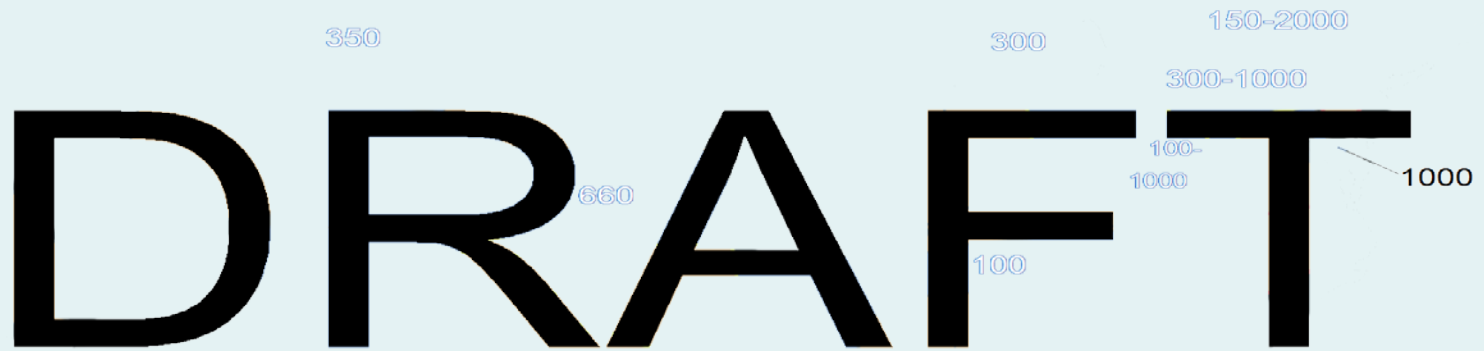
- Min. casing/cementing depth (ft. below water table)
- Performance standard
- Addressed in permit
- No evidence of regulation found
- Not in study

- Top 5 states by # gas wells*
 - States with no gas wells*
- *2011 EIA data

Source: Resources for the Future, Center for Energy Economics and Policy

Fracking and Regulatory Gaps

Setback Restrictions: Water Supplies



- Water supply setback restriction (ft)
- Discretionary standard
- No evidence of regulation found
- Not in study





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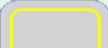
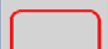
Source: Resources for the Future, Center for Energy Economics and Policy

Fracking and Regulatory Gaps

Cement Type Specifications

DRAFT

-  Cement type requirements
-  Addressed in permit
-  No evidence of regulation found
-  Not in study

-  Top 5 states by # gas wells*
 -  States with no gas wells*
- *2011 EIA data

Source: Resources for the Future, Center for Energy Economics and Policy

Existing Federalism Choices

History: SDWA resulted from

- Increasing national concern associated with incidents of waterborne illness
- Publication of *Community Water Supply Study*
- Publication of reports documenting risk of exposure to carcinogens in drinking water.

Legislative History: "The purpose of the legislation is to assure that water supply systems serving the public meet minimum national standards for protection of public health." H.R.Rep.No.93-1185

New Concerns

- Cumulative Impacts
- Rural Impacts



Arguments for Federal Regulation of Fracking: Actual

- Fracking is “underground injection”
 - *LEAF v. EPA*, 118 F.3d 1467 (11th Cir. 1997); *LEAF v. EPA*, 276 F.3d 1253 (11th Cir. 2001)
 - FRAC Act of 2009
 - *CBD v. California DOGGR*, complaint filed in Alameda County, Jan. 24, 2013

Arguments for Federal Regulation of Fracking: Actual

- EPA Draft UIC Permitting Guidance for Hydraulic Fracturing using Diesel Fuel
- EPA drafting Proposed Rule to Amend Effluent Limitation Guidelines for Discharges of Wastewater from HF
- EPA Air Emissions Standard for Oil & Gas E&P
- Petition to Require Toxicity Testing and Reporting under TSCA
- Petition to Regulate Wastewater under RCRA
- Petition to Regulate Disclosure under the TRI

In Short...

- Regulation of hydraulic fracturing properly falls under existing cooperative federalism regimes
- But for unjustified legislative and regulatory exemptions there would be far less controversy
- Ongoing study should be thought of as relating to whether hydraulic fracturing “endangers” drinking water supplies under the SDWA, *not* whether the federal or state governments should regulate



Contact Information

The background of the slide is a photograph of an oil pumpjack (jack-o'-lantern) in a field. The pumpjack is a large mechanical device used for extracting oil from a well. It has a long, angled arm with a bucket at the end, which moves up and down as the pumpjack operates. The pumpjack is painted in shades of green and yellow. In the foreground, there are several pipes and valves, some painted in bright colors like red and green. The background shows a flat, open landscape under a cloudy sky.

“The (Re) Federalization of Fracking Regulation”

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