

NIMBY Syndrome in Polish Nuclear Energy*

dr inż. Dariusz KLOSKOWSKI

University of Technology in Koszalin, Koszalin, Poland

Correspondence should be addressed to: Dariusz KLOSKOWSKI, dariusz.kloskowski@tu.koszalin.pl

*Presented at the 47th IBIMA International Conference, 29-30 June 2026, Madrid, Spain

Abstract

One of the most important investments in almost every European country today is the construction of a nuclear power plant. In times of energy crisis related to global warming or the crisis caused by the war in Ukraine, such investments are crucial in ensuring the continued functioning of the state without the need to seek support from another country. However, such an expensive and burdensome investment will be associated with social unrest, particularly in the context of the livelihoods of communities in the immediate vicinity. With this in mind, the literature still lacks significant evidence regarding social unrest related to the construction of a nuclear power plant. This topic is not widely discussed, hence a certain gap in research could be observed, partly due to the topic's inconvenient nature. With this in mind, this study attempts to present the NIMBY syndrome in the area of nuclear energy in Poland, focusing on the sentiment of the local community surrounding the investment in question.

The main aim of this article is to illustrate the NIMBY syndrome in the area of nuclear energy, using the example of the construction of the first nuclear power plant in Poland in Choczewo. The research problem in the article is formulated as the following question: Given the current state of the Polish energy sector, could the construction of a nuclear power plant influence positive attitudes among people living in its immediate vicinity? The study utilized secondary analysis of literature and legislative data in Poland and the European Union, as well as a case study approach, which allowed for the analysis of the social attitudes of people living in the area of the nuclear power plant construction.

Keywords: nuclear energy, NIMBY syndrome, sustainable development.

Introduction

From an economic perspective, the energy sector is one of the sectors of the economy that most impacts its competitiveness. The price of electricity used in many industries determines the direction of change, not only in terms of the market, but above all, the development of new technologies [1]. Energy itself shapes the market, including services and manufactured goods, influencing the initiation of various crises, which are reflected in the volatility of prices of raw materials for its production. An example is the energy crisis that has been ongoing in almost all European Union countries since 2021 [2], resulting from the dependence of gas supplies from Russia [4] and the sanctions imposed on the aggressor state [3]. The high degree of use of this raw material for electricity production has recently posed a challenge to ensuring stable supplies across Europe. However, energy security and ensuring the continuity of state operations mean not only ensuring stable supplies of energy or raw materials for energy production, but above all maintaining their prices at levels acceptable to the given country. Therefore, the problem of expensive energy has become one of the most important topics of public debate in 2022 due to the drastic post-pandemic price increase (Figure 1.).

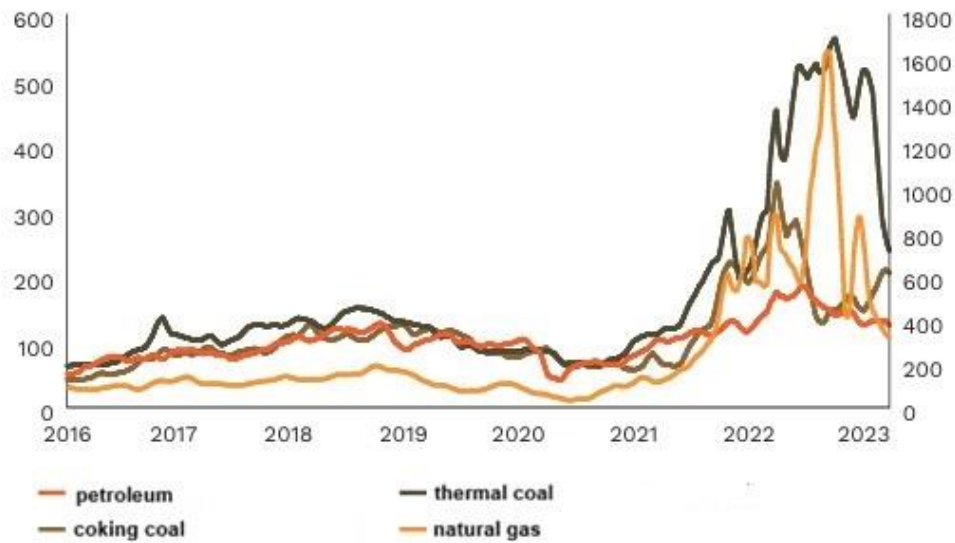


Figure 1. Prices of energy resources on global markets

Source: prepared based on [4]

Analyzing the above chart, it can be concluded that the confluence of several variables: the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic and the outbreak of war in Ukraine, as well as sanctions restricting access to Russian raw materials, led to further increases in energy prices. This situation led to a shift in the perception of other gas supply sources. However, due to the limited number of LNG terminals in Europe, this solution was not effective enough.

The apparent energy crisis has essentially led to a shift towards renewable energy sources becoming a priority. Available data indicate that, when analyzing the response to the energy crisis, approximately 70% of businesses reported experiencing a negative impact of price increases on their operations, and 20% of businesses considered this impact significant. In an attempt to counteract the crisis, businesses have taken various actions, including reducing energy consumption, reorganizing production processes, increasing energy efficiency, investing in renewable energy sources, and seeking alternative energy suppliers. Furthermore, many businesses have declared that they plan to increase their investment in decarbonization and renewable energy sources in the next few years [4].

This situation forced the idea of building a nuclear power plant, which had been discussed in Poland for decades, but in each case the idea ended in failure (Table 1.).

Table 1. History of nuclear energy in Poland

Date	Action
1971	The government, by resolution of the Council of Ministers, decided to build a nuclear power plant
1972	The Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers has determined the location of the first nuclear power plant in Poland in the village of Kartoszyno
January 1982	The Council of Ministers has decided to build the Żarnowiec Nuclear Power Plant
March 1982	The construction site was handed over to the general contractor, Energoblok Wybrzeże
1983	The Sejm passed the Atomic Law Act - the first such document in Poland
1986	Chernobyl disaster
1989	The government has suspended the construction of the power plant for a year to carry out an analysis.
September 1990	The Minister of Industry in the Polish government recommends the decommissioning of the Żarnowiec nuclear power plant at the Council of Ministers
December 1990	The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the liquidation of the Żarnowiec Nuclear Power Plant
2005	In his speech in the Sejm, Prime Minister Jarosław Kaczyński mentioned returning to the issue of building a nuclear power plant in Poland, based on French assistance

2010	The establishment of Polska Grupa Energetyczna EJ1, a company that will act as the investor in the first Polish nuclear power plant, will take place. The plant's commissioning date is set for 2020 (located in the Choczewo or Gniewino commune)
2013	Signing of an agreement with the Australian company WoreyPerson to carry out environmental studies to determine the location of the power plant
January 2014	The Council of Ministers adopts a resolution on the implementation of the Polish Nuclear Power Plant Program. The plant's launch date has been postponed to 2024.
December 2014	Termination of the contract with WoreyPerson (reason: the company failed to meet the deadlines for completing the work)
2017	Implementation of environmental research by the Polish Energy Group
2020	A declaration was signed regarding the commencement of a new stage of cooperation in the construction of nuclear power plants in Poland.
2021	Determining the location of the first nuclear power plant in Poland in Pomerania – Choczewo Słajszewo
2022	Signing of a letter of intent regarding cooperation in the construction of a nuclear power plant in Pątnów
January 2023	Preliminary research work in the Pątnów area
November 2023	The Polish government chooses Westinghouse technology (AP 1000 reactors) for the first Polish nuclear power plant in Pomerania

Source: own study based on [5]

Analyzing the above, it should be noted that the procedural progress regarding the construction of a nuclear power plant in Poland follows a sinusoidal pattern, with procedural and decision-making acceptances and rejections distinguishable. It can be concluded that decision-makers simultaneously support and reject their decisions. The result of such actions is losses, which, in the event of the Żarnowiec power plant's decommissioning, are estimated at \$500 million to \$700 million. Losses in terms of lost benefits for society hover around PLN 50 billion [5].

The above suggests that the very act of building the first nuclear power plant is a significant and powerful element of the NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndrome. On the one hand, there is willingness and common sense, yet there is no conviction in the complete justification for the investment. Nuclear power plant investment in Poland is a typical phenomenon covered by the NIMBY syndrome, due to the dangers arising not so much from the construction itself, but from subsequent operation and a number of threats, not only to the local community but also to Europe and other continents. Therefore, any such investment will be controversial and, for those seeking peace, quiet, and more space, will be the subject of dispute and a potential conflict [6]. Public protests against a facility such as a nuclear power plant are the focus. This is not about the specific shape or technical parameters of the investment, but about the investment itself, which will always be undesirable for a given community [7]. Therefore, under the influence of an individual or a group of individuals to spark a larger-scale dispute, local communities oppose developments near their homes, which they consider disruptive and detract from the quality of life. At the same time, it should be emphasized that these developments, in their opinion, are much needed by the general public, but should be built elsewhere.

The NIMBY syndrome results in a conflict known as the NIMBY type, which is a sequence of events initiated by a group of residents trying to counteract the construction of an unwanted development. The NIMBY issue is very popular in international literature. Numerous publications have been devoted to social protests against various types of NIMBY facilities, including wind farms [8], [9], [10], waste disposal installations [11], [12], biogas plants [13] and many other investments that divide the environment, even the local one.

Research materials and methods

Analyzing the above, particularly the fact that the Polish energy industry has been struggling with numerous problems for many years, including those resulting from social unrest, it was deemed appropriate to present it in the context of comparing analyses with the actual situation in the indicated area of the first nuclear power plant construction. The main goal of the conducted research is to solely and exclusively expose the NIMBY syndrome in the most controversial area, namely the town of Słajszewo, which is physically closest to the future location of the nuclear power plant in Poland. The study is definitely not intended to raise negative aspects of the construction itself, considering the fact that throughout the European Union, the energy grid in Poland is considered the most harmful, requiring changes, if only due to coal inefficiency due to the increase in mining costs and the decrease

in the competitiveness of mined coal [14]. The study aims to indicate the need for changes in the energy sector due to factors such as climate warming or the rising costs of electricity necessary for production, manufacturing goods, and, above all, human existence.

With this in mind, and the significant gap in the complexity of the topic, this study attempts to present a different perspective, from the perspective of an ordinary citizen whose existence borders on a rather controversial investment.

The main goal of the article is to demonstrate the NIMBY syndrome in the field of nuclear energy, using the example of the construction of Poland's first nuclear power plant in Choczewo as an example.

The research problem in the article is formulated as the following question: Given the current state of the Polish energy sector, could the construction of a nuclear power plant influence positive attitudes among people living in its immediate vicinity?

The following research methods and tools were used in the study:

- Secondary analysis of literature and legislative data in Poland and the European Union – this method allowed for the analysis of available data on the impact of nuclear energy on public sentiment related to nuclear threats;
- Case study method – this approach allowed for the analysis of the public sentiment of people living in the town of Ślajszewo, an area considered one of the most pristine areas in Poland.

Choczewo – as the subject of a NIMBA-type social dispute

Analyzing the history of Polish nuclear power, it can be concluded that in each case, the selection of a potential location for this controversial investment was accompanied by considerable social turmoil. This is primarily due to the fact that selecting the right location is, in each case, one of the key conditions for ensuring the safe operation of nuclear power plants and minimizing their impact on the lives of local residents and the natural environment.

The investor of Poland's first nuclear power plant, Polska Grupa Energetyczna in 2011, presented a list of three potential locations for the future power plant on November 25, 2011. The list included Choczewo, Gąski, and Żarnowiec (Fig. 2). From the very beginning, the NIMBY syndrome was very strong in Gąski, where there was strong opposition from local communities and local governments to the proposed nuclear power plant location. On February 12, 2012, a municipal referendum was held in Gąski, resulting in over 94% of voters opposing the investment [15].



Figure 2. Proposed nuclear power plant locations

Source: www.nuclear.pl

The above public sentiment was deemed significant, and the construction of the power plant in Gąski was abandoned. It can be concluded that this public sentiment yielded fruitful results, as in early 2013, Polska Grupa Energetyczna signed a PLN 252 million contract with the WorleyParsons consortium to conduct detailed site studies. That same year, the Pomeranian municipalities of Gniewino, Choczewo, and Krokowa, home to two nuclear power plant sites: Żarnowiec and Choczewo, were selected for further studies. On December 22, 2014, the company terminated the contract with the WorleyParsons consortium, announcing the continuation of the studies. In May 2015, the company announced that it was considering moving the boundaries of the potential Choczewo site several kilometers west, which would limit the project's impact on the Natura 2000 area and the Lubiatowska Dune. In February 2016, it was decided to conduct environmental and location studies for the construction of a nuclear power plant in two locations: Lubiatowo-Kopalino (Choczewo commune, Słajszewo and Jackowo villages) and Żarnowiec (Krokowa and Gniewino communes). After conducting analyses, including a preliminary habitat inventory and hydrogeological analyses for the "Lubiatowo-Kopalino" and "Żarnowiec" locations, further work at the Gąski location was ultimately abandoned in favor of developing the construction of a nuclear power plant in the "Lubiatowo-Kopalino" location, and a final decision was issued on the preferred location for the power plant, near the sea near the town of Słajszewo (Fig. 3.).



Figure 3. Proposed location of the nuclear power plant in Choczewo

Source: prepared based on [15]

From the analysis of available data, it can be concluded that the Choczewo nuclear power plant location is characterized by a relatively low population density, estimated at approximately 32 inhabitants/km², compared to the average population density in Poland of 122 inhabitants/km². There are no residential buildings within the restricted use area, therefore, there is no need for displacement related to the construction of the power plant in this area. Preliminary analyses indicate that, thanks to its location near the sea coast, there is sufficient water to implement the reactor cooling system. The Choczewo location area therefore offers exceptionally favorable conditions for the construction of this investment, and therefore, work has begun to adapt the land for construction..

Analysis of support for the construction of a nuclear power plant based on materials available on the Internet

Analyzing public support for the construction of a nuclear power plant, it should be noted that it is not stable. In each analyzed period, it is likely that there are more supporters than opponents, and vice versa. An example is the war in Ukraine, which caused problems in the fuel market and price increases, which contributed to increased acceptance of plans to build nuclear power plants in Poland and other European Union countries. However, analyzing the years 2010-2020, it can be concluded that plans to build a nuclear power plant were rather unfavorable, primarily due to the Fukushima disaster in 2011. The public sentiment expressing support and opposition to the construction of a nuclear power plant in Poland is shown in the figure below [16].

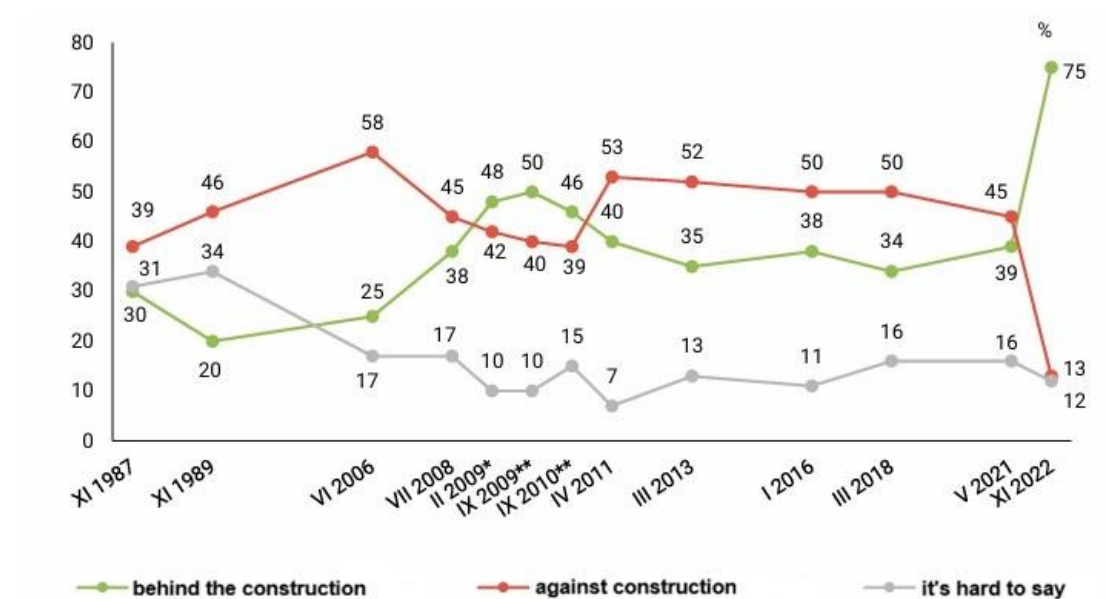


Figure 4. Support for the construction of a nuclear power plant in the immediate vicinity

Source: prepared based on [16]

The above-mentioned research conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center Foundation indicates that support for the construction of a nuclear power plant in Poland was dominant in almost all socio-economic areas. The turning point was undoubtedly the year 2021, when an increase in interest in nuclear power can be observed, even among communities living very close to the planned construction site of the first nuclear power plant in Poland (Fig. 5.).

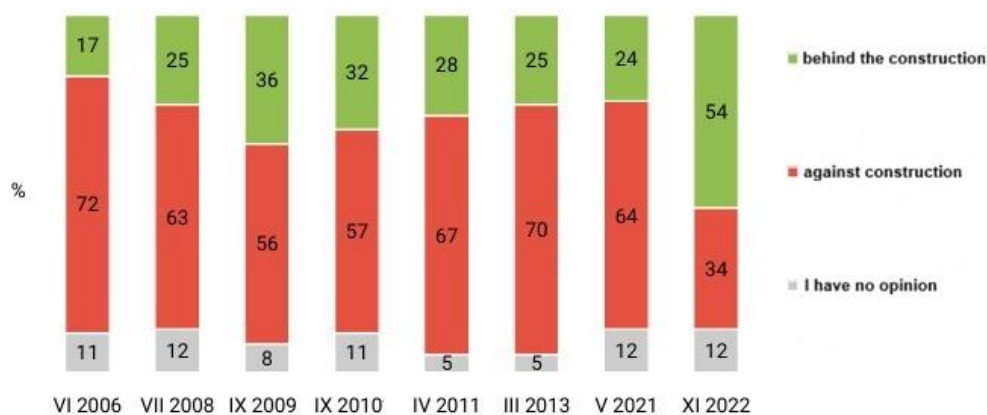


Figure 5. Support for the construction of a nuclear power plant in the immediate vicinity

Source: prepared based on [16]

Considering the above, it can be said that the construction of a nuclear power plant near one's place of residence is met with the greatest opposition. It's worth noting that the above study was conducted across Poland, not just in the Pomeranian Voivodeship, the planned location of the nuclear power plant. Therefore, if we consider both the general attitude towards the construction of nuclear power plants in our country and the location of such an investment near one's place of residence, we can say that 53% of respondents support the construction of such plants both in general and in their area. 22% approve of the development of nuclear energy in Poland but would not agree to the construction of a power plant in their place of residence or have doubts about this matter [16].

A completely different picture was taken by the research on the attitudes of local and supra-local communities towards the construction of the first nuclear power plant in Poland, conducted by PBS [17], a Polish research agency based in Sopot. It is worth mentioning that the company, which provides quantitative and qualitative research services and specializes in Custom Research, i.e., research designed to meet individual customer needs, conducted research on attitudes towards nuclear energy on behalf of Polish Nuclear Power Plants.

The research methodology was implemented using Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI), a technique that involves generating direct (face-to-face) interviews in which the interviewer records the respondent's responses on an electronic device (tablet, laptop, smartphone) instead of traditional paper-based methods. Residents of all villages within the selected study area participated in the study. Interviews were conducted at the respondent's place of residence, but it is worth noting that weights were used in the analysis of the results to allow for additional adjustments to the population of the studied communes, based on age, gender, and place of residence (commune). The study sample consisted of: residents of the location communes n=1,254 (Choczewo n=550, Gniewino n=350, Krokowa n=354), and residents of neighboring communes n=752 (Łęczyce n=251, Nowa Wieś Lęborska n=251, Wicko n=250). Interviewers conducted face-to-face interviews in the homes of respondents selected for the study using the starting point method, to reach a population as dispersed and representative as possible. The final results are presented in the figure below.



Figure 6. Support for building a nuclear power plant in the immediate vicinity

Source: prepared based on [18]

„No” - sum of „definitely not” and „probably not” responses
 „Yes” - sum of „definitely yes” and „probably yes” responses
 „I don't know”, „It's hard to say”

Based on the above research, it can be concluded that public support for building a nuclear power plant in the immediate vicinity of the Choczewo commune, the site of the new nuclear power plant, is 67%. Other coastal communes in the energy investment area also report high levels of public support. It is worth emphasizing that the survey was conducted after obtaining environmental and location decisions, as well as after intensifying cooperation with the American consortium Westinghouse-Bechtel, which was confirmed by the Polish Nuclear Power Plant (PKJ), the company responsible for preparing the investment process and acting as the investor [17].

In the PBS report, the survey of attitudes toward building a nuclear power plant near the respondents' homes is noteworthy. The data shows that they are essentially a faithful replica of the surveys of support in the immediate vicinity, as presented in the figure below.

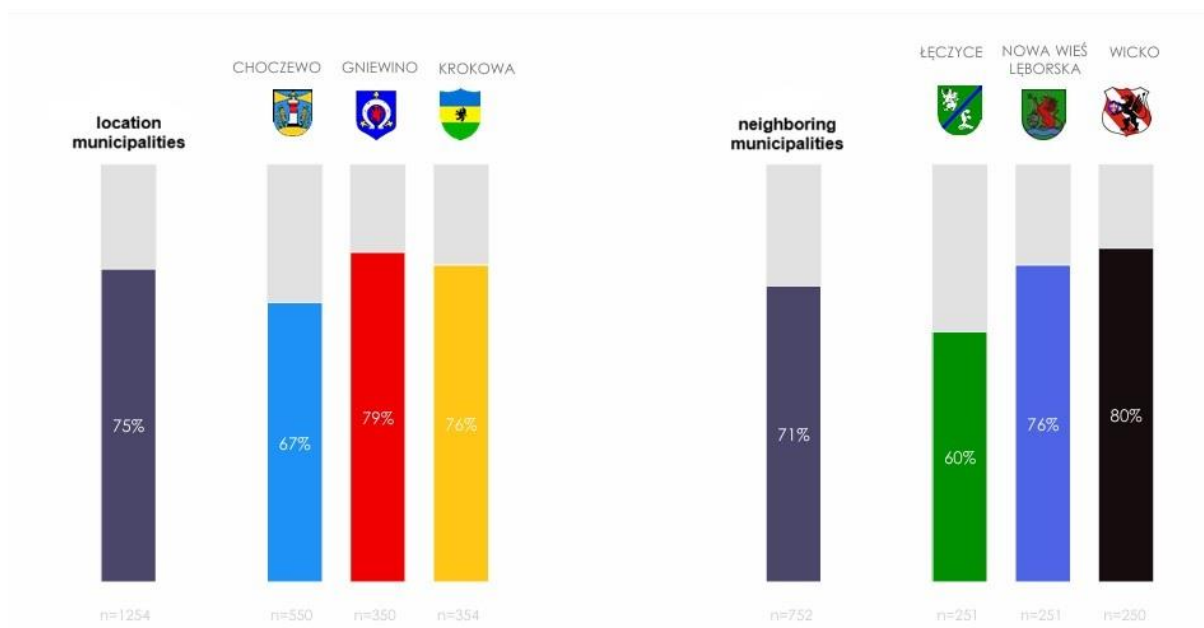


Figure 7. Support for building a nuclear power plant near one's place of residence

Source: prepared based on [18]

„no” - the sum of the answers „definitely not” and „probably not”, „I don't know”

„yes” - the sum of the answers „definitely yes” and „rather yes” (this and all other colors)

Analyzing the above, it can be concluded that the situation towards support for the construction of the first nuclear power plant in Poland is significantly improving. This is evidenced by a survey published on government websites in November 2024, which indicates that 92.5% of respondents express support for nuclear power plants in Poland. Nearly 67.9% are strongly in favor of this investment, and only 5.9% are of the opposite opinion. As can be learned from the report, the majority of respondents, almost 80%, support locating a nuclear power plant in the immediate vicinity of their place of residence, and only 18.8% are of the opposite opinion. The survey was conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Industry by DANA E between November 12th and 28th, 2024, using the CATI method on a group of 2,060 respondents [19] (Figure 8.).

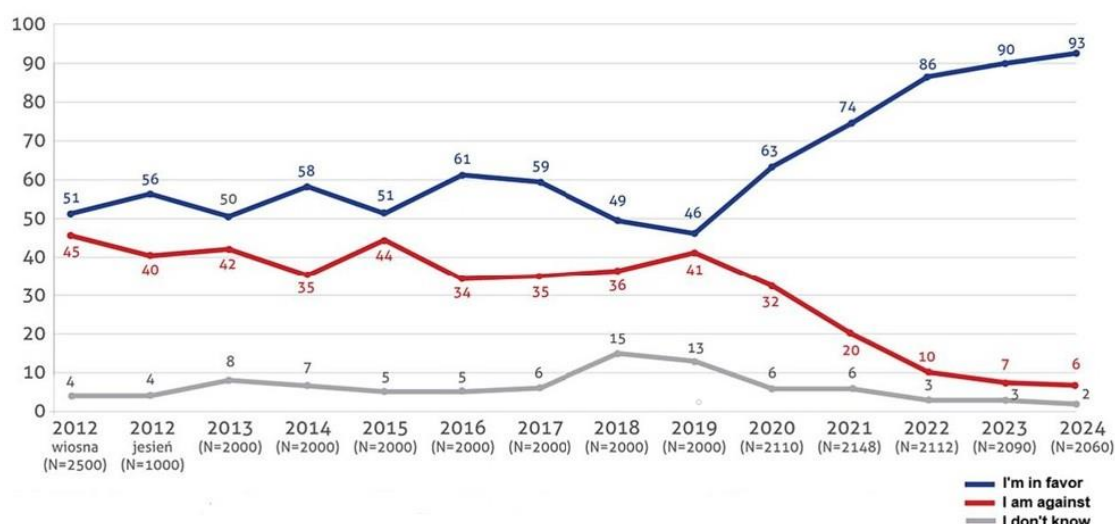


Figure 8. Support for the construction of a nuclear power plant in Poland

Source: prepared based on [19]

The NIMBY Syndrome on the Example of the Nuclear Power Plant in Choczewo

The selection of a location for a planned new nuclear power plant should be preceded by very thorough analyses, which are important in terms of the impact on the environment and will also result in problems such as unnecessary transport costs, difficulties in supplying raw materials, loss of competitive advantage, or ecological disasters [20]. Therefore, special attention is paid to such criteria as: availability of water resources, mainly for cooling the reactor, availability of transport systems, as well as distance from population centers, due to safety issues resulting mainly from radiation [21].

When considering the NIMBY syndrome in the context of the construction of a newly planned nuclear power plant in Poland, it's worth emphasizing that the very issue of construction by the community, including those living near the construction site itself, isn't a new issue, let alone a new, unprecedented social dispute. When planning such an investment, it was likely believed that a dispute would arise, and analytically, consideration was given to where it would be least controversial. There are no good decisions in this type of construction, because it will always and in every case affect nature and the people living nearby.

Considering the available data on concerns related to the construction of the power plant in Choczewo, it can be seen that they concern the site itself, which is currently very untouched and has a low level of development and habitation. Therefore, the emerging negations concern health and environmental degradation (Figure 9.).

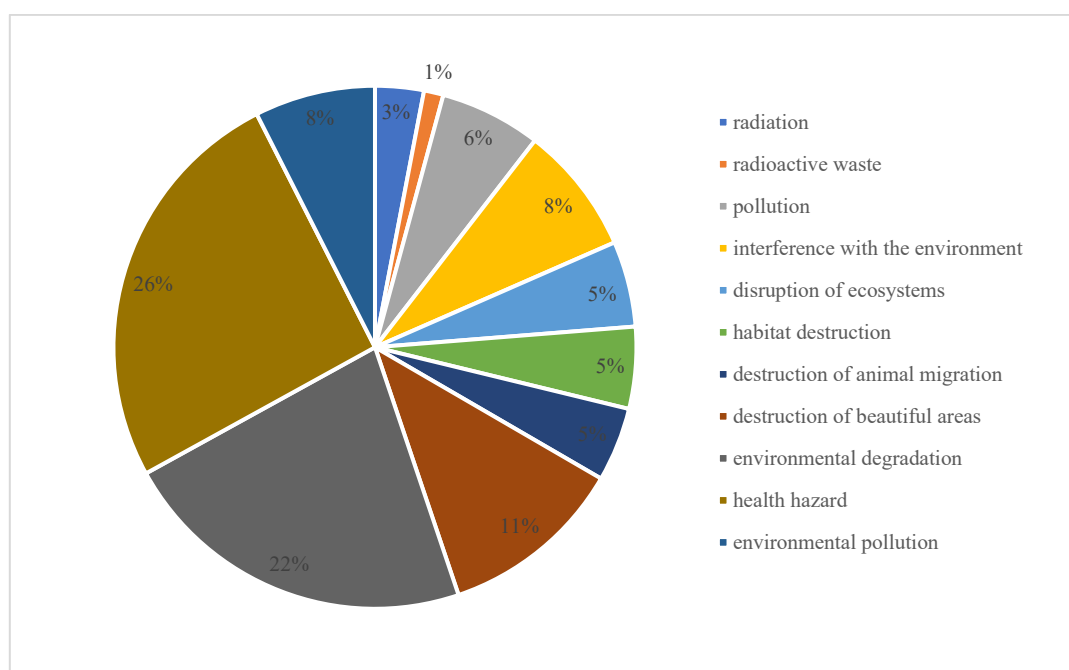


Figure 9. Public concerns about the construction of a nuclear power plant in Choczewo

Source: own study

Public opposition, therefore, represents a synergy of many factors, not only health threats and environmental degradation, but also the problem of general environmental pollution, the destruction of bird and animal habitats, the destruction of beautiful and pristine areas, and the disruption of ecosystems. This is confirmed by the facts emerging from the fact that 350 hectares of forest have been designated for clearing for the construction of the first nuclear power plant. Additionally, another 300 hectares are planned for clearing for supporting infrastructure, such as roads, railway tracks, and transmission lines. Including the fact that nearly 120 hectares of forest have been designated for clearing for offshore wind farm construction, a total of nearly 800 hectares of forest will be lost in the Choczewo area [22].

This situation determines the negative mood not only of the residents closest to the town, i.e., Słajszewo, but also of other residents of nearby towns and neighboring municipalities adjacent to the construction of the first nuclear power plant. However, it should be acknowledged that the community in the Choczewo area is very divided. On the one hand, there are significant development opportunities, including new jobs, modern infrastructure, and recovery programs to address capital outflows due to lost profits, such as tourism. On the other hand, the community expresses concerns about their health. This is clearly visible in the content of interpellations and

inquiries, as well as the objections expressed to the investor. Among the 825 comments examined regarding the construction of a nuclear power plant near Słajszewo, the dominant concerns are: health hazards, environmental destruction, environmental degradation, devastation of the surrounding area, environmental interference, and environmental pollution (Figure 10.).

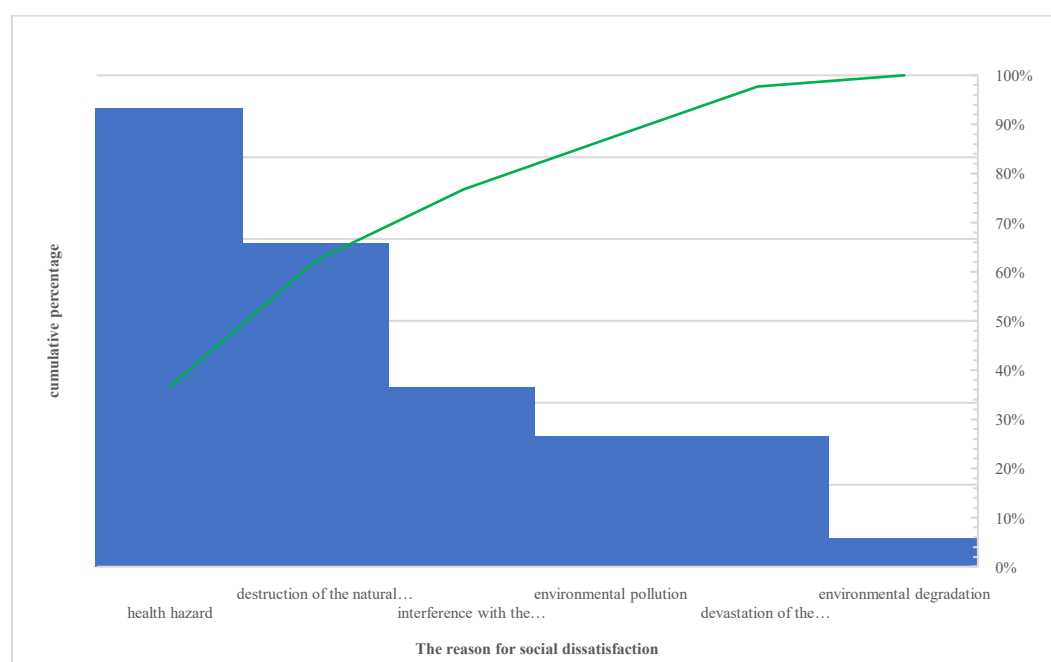


Figure 10. Reasons for dissatisfaction with the construction of a nuclear power plant in Poland

Source: Own study

Based on the above Pareto chart, which was used to identify the most important problem-causing factors in the NIMBY syndrome in Choczewo, it can be concluded that the most common reasons for dissatisfaction related to the construction of a nuclear power plant stem from health concerns, followed by environmental damage. The problem itself cannot be clearly identified as an economic one. Protesters tend to avoid the issue, although it is common knowledge that acceptance of energy sources other than coal exists throughout Poland and the European Union. The same applies to the political context. It is unlikely to be a case of animosity towards the government, especially since, throughout the process of reaching the decision, which is already a foregone conclusion in Choczewo, various political parties expressed willingness to take action and, at other times, expressed rejection of the idea of building a nuclear power plant.

Therefore, there remains an ethical aspect in which the actions taken will not be contrary to the functioning of society, not only in the immediate vicinity, but also with the community living throughout Poland, and even in the entire area affected by the threat resulting from a possible reactor explosion. The threat of contamination of the Baltic Sea waters remains a significant issue. This element is essentially passed over in silence. Scientists tend to comment on this issue, expressing warnings and concerns about the possible effects of Baltic Sea contamination (Table 2.).

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, support for the construction of a future nuclear power plant, both in the immediate vicinity and beyond, among residents of the Choczewo, Gniewino, and Krokowa municipalities, fluctuates cyclically and is at varying levels. Residents generally recognize the investment potential and benefits of the nuclear power plant's construction. However, their awareness changes with each stage of construction. An example is each forest clearing, which changes public sentiment and reignites the conflict, thus creating a NIMBY syndrome from the beginning. The dispute is tempered by the presentation of financial benefits, such as the proposal to house construction workers in the local community, the offer of new jobs at the power plant, or the provision of services by local communities for the entire investment.

Taking the above into account, and in particular the main goal of the study, focused on an attempt to show the NIMBY syndrome in the field of nuclear energy using the example of the construction of the first nuclear power plant in Poland in Choczewo, it should be considered achieved. The answer to the research problem posed in the form of a question: Can the construction of a nuclear power plant, in the current state of the Polish energy sector, influence the positive attitudes of people living in its immediate vicinity? is probably the constantly increasing support for the construction of a nuclear power plant itself and the promotional activities for the construction of the plant, focused on the benefits associated with it:

- job development in the municipality,
- implementation of new investments in the municipality,
- obtaining cheaper electricity,
- opportunities for business development,
- improvement of the standard of living in the municipality,
- tourist attractions in the area of the reactor construction site.

However, considering the data related to the negative impact on the ecosystem of the Southern Baltic Sea, it is worth emphasizing that they are not widely available and are only sporadically reported in the media, focusing on [23]:

- an increase in cyanobacteria, which will result in less food, for example for water birds from the Natura 2000 area;
- an increase in anoxic areas as a result of the discharge of a huge amount of water into the Baltic Sea;
- an increase in the water temperature in the Baltic Sea, by up to about 10°C, due to the pumping of Baltic water through the cooling system at a rate of about 150 m³ per second, which will ultimately disrupt ecosystems in the Baltic Sea;
- an underestimation of the size of the heat spot that will be created in the Baltic Sea due to the adopted open-loop cooling system, which will cause even greater warming of the Baltic Sea than before;
- failure to investigate the impact of the power plant on the upwelling phenomenon, associated with the vertical mixing of water in the Baltic Sea, which may result in oxygen deficiency in deeper zones of the Baltic Sea. The Baltic Sea, which may result in the degradation of ecosystems at this depth level;
- probable overconcentration of electrical power in one area resulting from the future operation of a nuclear power plant (capacity of 3.7 GW) and offshore wind farms (capacity of 6.3 GW), which accounts for approximately one-third of the power demand for Poland as a whole.

Analyzing the NIMBY syndrome developed based on the nuclear power plant project in Choczewo, Poland, it should be noted that further escalation of the conflict will likely subside as construction progresses. Public sentiment has already stabilized somewhat, for example, due to new reports about job market development and the construction of new transportation infrastructure. However, it should be noted that any problem, even a subdued one, can erupt in a situation where the slightest uncontrolled disturbance to domestic peace occurs in the area of the investment. And such a situation can occur at any time. Furthermore, it should be noted that public opinion regarding pollution and the environmental impact of the investment is still lacking. The NIMBY syndrome will likely return when the first unit of the power plant is launched and warm water is discharged into the Baltic Sea.

Literature

- *Energy in a Nutshell*, (2016), Ministry of Energy, www.gov.pl/web/polski-atom/publikacje2, (dostęp: 16.02.2026 r.).
- Prokopowicz, D., (2022). *The energy crisis in Poland as a result of the war in Ukraine*, in: Cieślak E., Maj J., Pająk K., Prokopowicz D., Radomyski A., Soroka P., Sledź P., *The Course and Consequences of the Russian Aggression against Ukraine: Geopolitical, Economic, and Military Aspects*, Elipsa Publishing House, www.researchgate.net/profile/Dariusz-Prokopowicz/publication/368521191_Gospodarcze_skutki_wojny_w_Ukrainie/links/63ecdd1551d7af0540289516/Gospodarcze-skutki-wojny-w-Ukrainie.pdf, (access: 15.02.2026 r.).
- Górka, A., Skwarek, M., (2024), *The energy crisis in Poland and the Russian aggression against Ukraine*, in: *Between the energy and economic crisis - problems and challenges*, Publishing House of the Old Polish Academy of Applied Sciences in Kielce, Kielce, pp. 39-54, www.books.google.pl/books?hl=pl&lr=&id=d1T_EAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA39&dq=kryzys+energetyczny+w+polsce+i+w+europie&ots=QfvPYWYh8a&sig=gnH9_V4mIIExoAMadRfW8q3YmU&red

ir_esc=y#v=onpage&q=kryzys%20energetyczny%20w%20polsce%20i%20w%20europie&f=false, (access: 13.02.2026 r.).

- Dębowska, K., Klucznik, M., Maj, M., Szymańska, A., Wejt-Knyżewska, A., (2023), *Business Responses to Energy Shock*, Polish Economic Institute, Warsaw, www.pie.net.pl/65-proc-firm-wyniku-kryzysu-energetycznego-podnioslo-ceny/, (dostęp: 15.02.2026 r.).
- [www.orka.sejm.gov.pl/opinie9.nsf/nazwa/841_20230308/\\$file/841_20230308.pdf](http://www.orka.sejm.gov.pl/opinie9.nsf/nazwa/841_20230308/$file/841_20230308.pdf), (access: 14.02.2026 r.).
- Żylicz, T., (2007), *NIMBY Syndrome*, *Aura*, 4, pp. 8-9, www.coin.wne.uw.edu.pl/tzylicz/0704AURA.pdf, (access: 11.02.2026 r.).
- Matczak, P., (1996), *Social Conditioning of Eliminating the NIMBY Syndrome*. The Subjectivity of Local Communities. Practical Development Support Programs, R. Cichocki, Ed. Poznań: Media-GT, www.dlwqtxtslxzle7.cloudfront.net/44748491/Matczak_spoleczne_uwarunkowania-libre.pdf?1460694064=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3Dspoleczne_uwarunkowania_eliminacji_syndr.pdf&Expires=1771184976&Signature=UK6AUQZ7WsBb-v9i6EpQg31EjTYw2dbEmIx81iefUPEnFZZbbhOTdKmKfbdtJ6yQGYtU3Xm8dQg0sj-iKUepMhvdKnL8t7Jdqqsk9ZSH8PDtqFle8UNtCii2Hdi96aBh~SNaUiA8DFcZUIuCa7nJAZeHSI6LwRXmHndpgQKiYsieihgKgFtO0dgEl~5JDKHeE2TTdYE11GaQyb5zU8Wf0c1vXECXZkyQ8uityi-e6l8JamouztRU4uMZ4VcUB2mtb~Znu8h35hOSleEBujwv~ileiCtAwryRy6IObm6phyN6EEpld0Dsn~Xwdz2fWaKeNsLl1~pUIowNdsKxGpzznw__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA, (access: 11.02.2026 r.).
- Wolsink, M., (2000), *Wind power and the NIMBY-myth: institutional capacity and the limited significance of public suport*, *Renewable Energy* 21, pp. 49-64, 10.1016/S0960-1481(99)00130-5 (access: 12.02.2026 r.).
- Wolsink, M., (2006), *Theory of abnormality hinders our understanding: a critique of the persistence of NIMBY language*, *Institute of British Geographers Collection*, 31(1), pp. 85-91, DOI:10.1111/j.1475-5661.2006.00191.x (access: 13.02.2026 r.).
- Bednarek-Szczepańska, M., (2016), *Wind energy as a subject of location conflicts in Poland*. *Energy Policy*, 19(1), pp. 53-72, www.bibliotekanauki.pl/articles/283721, (access: 11.02.2026 r.).
- Rahardyan, B., Matsuto, T., Kakuta, Y., Tanaka, N., (2004), *Resident's concerns and attitudes towards Solid Waste Management facilities*. *Waste management*, 24(5), pp. 437-451, doi.org/10.1016/j.wasman.2003.11.011 (access: 12.02.2026 r.).
- Rahardyan, B., (2004), *Resident's concerns and attitudes towards Solid Waste Management facilities*. *Waste Management*, www.independent.academia.edu/BennoRahardyan (access: 12.02.2026 r.).
- Bishnu Raj Upreti, Dan van der Horst, (2004), *National renewable energy policy and local opposition in the UK: the failed development of a biomass electricity plant*, *Biomass and Bioenergy*, Volume 26, Issue 1, pp. 61-69, [doi.org/10.1016/S0961-9534\(03\)00099-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0961-9534(03)00099-0) (access: 12.02.2026 r.).
- Michalak D., Szyja P., (2022), Opportunities and barriers to the development of nuclear energy in Poland in the context of the effects of PM10 and PM2 dust immissions, 5, <https://212.191.64.21/handle/11089/44501> (access: 12.02.2026 r.).
- www.nuclear.pl/polska,lokalizacja,lokalizacja-elektrowni-jadrowej,0,0.html (access: 14.02.2026 r.).
- *Poles on the development of a nuclear power plant*, Research report, CBOS, ISSN 2353-5822, Nr 151/2022, www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2022/K_151_22.PDF, (access: 15.02.2026 r.).
- www.pbs.pl, (access: 14.02.2026 r.).
- *Attitudes towards nuclear energy. Presentation of survey results among residents of the location and neighboring municipalities*, Sopot, December 2022, www.pej.pl/dla-mediow/materialy-do-pobrania/#, (access: 14.02.2026 r.).
- www.gov.pl/web/polski-atom/925-proc-polakow-za-budowa-elektrowni-jadrowych-w-polsce, (access: 14.02.2026 r.).
- Erdodan M., Kaya I., (2016), *A combined fuzzy approach to determine the best region for a nuclear power plant in Turkey*. *Applied Soft Computing*, Volume 39, pp. 84-93, doi.org/10.1016/j.asoc.2015.11.013, (access: 14.02.2026 r.).
- Buta1, K., Kloc-Połukord, Z., (2023), *A nuclear power plant in Poland – selected logistical challenges*, *Economics and Organization of Logistics* 8 (2), pp. 5-15, doi: 10.22630/EIOL.2023.8.2.9 (access: 13.02.2026 r.).
- www.gramwzielone.pl/energia-wiatrowa/20306129/setki-hektarow-drzew-pod-atom-i-offshore-energetyka-obecna-w-lasach (access: 15.02.2026 r.).
- www.naukawpolsce.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C103763%2Cnaukowcy-elektrownia-jadrowa-w-gminie-choczewo-moze-negatywnie-wplynac-na (access: 15.02.2026 r.).