Energy security and climate change.

Riccardo Rosselli - MSc GECP, SOAS, University of London

The energy security discourse has been traditionally dominated by the national concern of securing enough oil supply, while, at the same time, avoiding dependence on a single provider (Kruyt, et al., 2009). The concept, though, has evolved through time, and nowadays it has started to encompass new concerns over the climate impacts associated with prolonged and growing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. If the role that energy plays in affecting climate change is clear and well understood (IPCC a, 2014), the reciprocal impacts of climate change on global energy security general, and on energy production, transportation and consumption in particular, have only recently begun to be addressed (Klare, 2015). Most importantly, climate change does not hold a substantial position in national energy agendas and it is not yet part of an integrated approach to energy security, as the latter is still determined by national priorities.

Since the early years of the 20th century, energy security became a critical aspect of national security and policy making (Symons, 2012). Through time, developed nations became increasingly dependent on cheap oil from new independent nations (Cherp & Jewell, 2011) for military, transport, manufacturing, electricity generation and so on. The fragility of this system became apparent when numerous Arab countries cut oil exports in 1973, triggering a severe economic crisis and threatening the security of several. These events led to the development of a new global energy security framework based on three different elements: a new international organisation – the International Energy Agency (IEA) –created to coordinate an emergency response from OECD countries in case of sudden disruption of supply from producing nations, a new US foreign policy projecting its military and political power to oil exporting countries in order to secure 'the free movement of Middle East oil' (Klare, 2006) and the creation of a global oil market to reduce the monopoly of the Gulf countries (Yergin, 2011).

Although the sovereignty and military dimensions of securing supplies are still fundamental aspects (Bochkarev & Austin, 2007) (Yergin, 2011), the concept has expanded materially (to other

resources, primarily natural gas, and to new energy-thirsty countries, i.e. China, India) and conceptually, developing in fields other than geopolitics (Cherp & Jewell, 2011). The increasing technical complexity, and therefore vulnerability, of energy systems have generated the need for a scientific and engineering thinking and dimension of energy security (Cherp & Jewell, 2011) (Farrell, et al., 2004) while the creation of a global market fostered by the US and the conceptualisation of energy as a market commodity has raised the relevance of an economic one. Therefore, the notions of preserving 'affordable prices' to secure 'economic welfare' are now embedded in the current definitions of energy security: the adequate, reliable and affordable supply of energy to support the functioning of the economy (Saddler, 2012) (Yergin, 2006). Finally, the need to decarbonise our energy systems have created the environmental dimension (Alhajii, 2007) (Sovacool & Brown, 2010) (von Hippel, et al., 2011).

Each dimension (energy supply, economic and environmental) is constantly in a state of tension commonly called the 'energy trilemma', or, in other words, the conflicting goals that governments face in securing affordable and sustainable energy supplies (WEC, 2011). The key challenge is the concern about the potentially negative impacts on one or more of the trilemma dimensions while pursuing the others. For instance, a focus on reducing GHG emissions upscaling power generation from renewables may impede affordable energy access, while a focus on increasing access to modern energy through the implementation of cheap fossil fuels may impact environmental sustainability (WEC a, 2015). The energy trilemma, however, will unfold differently in different countries and contexts. And as the effects of climate change impact national energy systems differently (Gunningham, 2013), as national energy security policies vary between states in relation to their specific conditions (Christoff, 2012). Consequently, even if climate change has conceptually entered the notion of energy security, it does not mean that energy security is fundamentally about climate change.

Indonesia represents a good example of a country favouring the economic and security sides of the trilemma over the environmental one. It is the world's fourth most populated country, south-east Asia's largest economy, and one of the fastest growing economies in the world (WB, 2016). The country is also extremely rich in terms of energy resources: it hosts one of the world's biggest coal as well as considerable quantities of gas and oil, on which Indonesia has substantially relied to fuel its power plants. However, the high population and economic growth rates have steadily inflated national energy demand, forcing the government to import large quantities of oil and worsening the energy security profile of the country (Gunningham, 2013). Additionally, only 35% of the population has access to electricity, while the government has set a target for 2025 to connect 95% of all households to the grid (IEA, 2011). Indonesia has tackled these issues by expanding its coal-based electricity capacity, disregarding the environmental consequences, as this resource could facilitate the increase in energy demand and at an acceptable price in terms of fuel, technology and infrastructural costs (AERC, 2007).

On the contrary, there are some synergies between the elements of the energy trilemma. The European Union represent a good example in this sense. Virtually 100% of the entire region has access to electricity, while the concerns about climate change and energy security, especially for what concerns natural gas, are high on the agenda. Yet, in 2008 the EU has taken a path in which diversification of energy resources, which includes the expansion of renewables, a successfully contained energy consumption growth, and investments in energy efficiency, forms an integrated policy effectively tackling GHG emissions and energy security issues at the same time (WEC b, 2015).

In conclusion, energy security is still understood as a goal of national policy making (Yergin, 2006). Countries typically pursue their own energy policies which will consequently find different balancing solutions to their specific energy trilemma. Even though in the 21st century the concept of energy security is extremely more comprehensive than the original one, and new attention has been given to climate change even within energy security organisation such as the IEA, we see discrepancies between climate policies needed and advanced globally and the energy policies implemented nationally.

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