

EURASIAN RESEARCH JOURNAL
ERJ, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 29-48, Autumn 2024

<https://doi.org/10.53277/2519-2442-2024.4-02>

IRSTI 44.01.17

ISSN 2519-2442, KAZAKHSTAN

Research Article

**AS ONE OF THE MAIN REFERENCE OBJECTS OF POST-MODERN
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES: ENERGY**

Ali AYATA ¹

¹ Karamanoglu Mehmetbey University, 70100, Karaman, Türkiye

aayata@kmu.edu.tr

ORCID: 0000-0002-6469-6866

Halil KARATAS ²

² Independent Researcher, Türkiye

hllkrt7225@hotmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-6274-5222

Received: 24.07.2024

Corresponding Author:
Halil KARATAS

Accepted: 14.10.2024

ABSTRACT

Energy is one of the issues that have remained at the forefront throughout history as one of the basic needs of great importance for humanity. For this reason, the energy phenomenon is one of the most important phenomena that must be secured in the international system. In this study, the energy phenomenon will be discussed in terms of security and the security of the phenomenon in question will be underlined, and the importance of energy in the international system will also be emphasized. Energy will be tried to be included in expanded security studies, to which a great contribution has been made especially by the Copenhagen School, by considering both its 4 A's (Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability and Affordability) and its supply, demand and transition dimensions. As a result of all these efforts, it is aimed to introduce the 'energy security' sector into the literature, where energy is discussed alone in the security dimension, independent of other energy sectors.

Keywords: Energy, Security, Securitization, Supply, Demand, Transition.

INTRODUCTION

Security is a phenomenon that inherently contains various contradictions and can be described as one of the basic needs of human beings. While the contradictions within it can be explained in the context of the ‘security dilemma’ (Herz, 1950); The fact that it is one of the basic human needs can be explained in the context of Maslow’s ‘hierarchy of needs’ (Maslow, 1943). With an inductive approach, if states are viewed as individuals of the international community; It is seen that the security situation and security relations of the individual within the society and the security situation and security relations of the state within the international system are similar. States, just like individuals, develop various relationships with other individuals/states in society in line with their security needs and interests. In short, security is one of the basic needs of the state as well as the individual. All states that have existed throughout human history have continued their existence by taking short or long-term security measures or producing security policies depending on the conditions they are in.

The phenomenon of security, which is of great importance for the discipline of international relations and is one of the main themes in almost every field of the discipline, is as old as human history. Because it is a basic need, security has been a concern since the earliest humans. Of course, many different ideas and theories have been developed in various fields on this long-standing human issue. It is possible to come across predictions, ideas and theories about security in all human-centered fields such as history, sociology, psychology and politics. Although the discipline of international relations is not as old as the phenomenon of security, it stands out as a discipline in which security has been discussed and discussed from many different perspectives on a historical level, due to its close ties with political science (Ringmar, 2019). It is possible to find traces of security in all theoretical approaches developed in the context of both political science and international relations. Although many different approaches to the phenomenon of security have been exhibited throughout history, security literature has been dominated by realist approaches based solely on military security for most of human history (Bakan and Sahin, 2018). Because the security of the state in the entire process from the first established states to today’s unitary states; The human community that created it has been at the forefront in terms of the lands it rules and the shared values. It is in line with historical norms that armies established to protect all these and maintain stability are at the center of security approaches, or in modern terms, to come to the fore as the reference object of security (Baldwin, 1997).

When the security phenomenon is examined chronologically, it will be witnessed a significant cumulative progress that has constantly changed and developed throughout the historical process and reached today’s level. Because the process from the protection of caves from external factors to the introduction of air defense systems contains a significant accumulation of knowledge. It is appropriate, and even necessary at some points, in the context of historical

norms, for realist views to dominate a large part of this process. However, this does not have the power to change the fact that humanity, which develops over time and changes depending on this development, must approach old phenomena in new ways. As in every field, there have been developments and changes in the field of security, and liberal, critical and constructivist views have begun to find a place in the literature along with realist views and at almost the same level of influence (Acharya, 1994; Buzan and Weaver, 1998; Farrel, 2012). The development of the literature in this direction is also reflected in security practices. The Peace of Westphalia, the Age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution, which are important turning points in human history in terms of security, have led to important developments in security both theoretically and practically. Yorulmaz explained the impact of the critical turning points mentioned in his study on the perception of security as “sovereignty descending from the sky to the earth and the formation of a nation gaining value” (Yorulmaz, 2014: 103). This definition is an important indicator that the perception of security has reached a more concrete dimension. Birdisli took an important step and turned a cornerstone in the security studies literature by examining international security in three different periods: Primitive security period (1648 BC-AD), modern/systemic security period (1648-1990) and post-modern security period (after 1990). He emphasized the importance of hotspots and the changes in security perception from a different perspective (Birdisli, 2020).

The 20th century has been an extremely active period for security studies, both theoretically and practically. In this century, which can be seen as the intersection of the modern and post-modern periods in the periodic classification made by Birdisli, the two World Wars, the Cold War, the decolonization process, energy crises, economic crises, and the increase in environmental problems have become security issues that have serious consequences both nationally and internationally (Birdisli, 2020). The field of security studies, which emerged in America in 1945 with the aim of producing politically oriented knowledge and was called ‘strategic studies’ or ‘national security studies’ when it first emerged, in the first 10 years of its existence (1945-1955) saw that security issues were no longer only military-focused but also focused on other areas. It also paved the way for focused analysis. Later, with the influence of the theoretical policies developed on the military dimension of security and the mass response strategy put forward in 1954, security studies experienced its golden age between 1955 and 1965 (Wells, 1981; Walt, 1991). In this period when security studies have increased, the fact that the issues seen as security problems relate to a wide variety of areas has led to the criticism of the security approach centered on state and military security in different dimensions. Because in the modern security period, along with the understanding of security in which state-centered and military security is prioritized as the main reference object, new security approaches have also developed as different concepts have become the subject of security. Security problems, which increased in both quantity and quality

especially in the 1970s, were effective in the concentration of social science disciplines in general and international relations discipline in particular on the field of security.

International security approaches developed within the scope of the discipline of international relations have increased significantly in terms of both quantity and quality towards the end of the modern security period. The transition to the post-modern security era has occurred with new and greater developments in the security studies literature. The most important of these developments is the inclusion of the concept of human security in the United Nations' Human Development Report. The new security emphasis and approach in the report is a clear indicator of the new era that has begun in the context of security studies and practices (UNDP, 1994).

The developments experienced at the beginning of the new era in security studies, which started with the official conceptualization of "Human Security" at the international level, are of great importance in terms of conceptualization and concretization of security issues. During this period, the Copenhagen School came to the fore in terms of security studies. Founded in 1985 with the establishment of the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute to promote research on international security, the Copenhagen School has proven itself as a harbinger of the initiation of new ways of thinking beyond traditionalism on security and defense issues (Oliviera, 2020). Copenhagen School thinkers, who entered the new era of security studies with a new way of thinking, pioneered a major step forward in the security studies literature with the concept of 'securitization' they developed. This concept, developed under the leadership of Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jap de Wilde, went down in history as the move that opened the door to a real 'new way of thinking' in terms of security studies (Collins, 2016).

With the introduction of the concept of securitization, the focus of security studies has expanded and new events and facts, specific to reference objects, have begun to become security issues in the theoretical context. This has paved the way for a significant development and expansion in security studies. One of the important steps of this expansion was the security sectors developed by Copenhagen School thinkers. Security sectors, which are revealed as economic, social, military, political and environmental security sectors, refer to reference objects that are securitized with a certain methodology. The methodology in question is that in every sector, certain threats threaten a reference object and the object in question becomes a security issue (Buzan et al., 1998).

Although the security sectors developed by the thinkers of the Copenhagen School have provided a significant expansion in terms of security studies, they have not been able to prevent the theoretical generalization of security issues at some points, as they contain certain generalizations. It is possible to say that there are thousands of potential reference objects in contemporary security studies. Therefore, since evaluating any phenomenon under one of the five

sectors in the context of security studies may mean limiting the study in certain dimensions, evaluating each phenomenon in its own securitization process will be a good way both in terms of contemporary security studies literature and in terms of solving security issues. Because many issues associated with a single sector may actually be the subject of more than one security sector (Ballin et al., 2020). For this reason, it is necessary to consider each phenomenon as a separate security sector according to its position and importance in the international system. It is even possible to say that some phenomena are both related to all security sectors and have the potential to cover all of them. 'Energy' is one of these phenomena.

Energy, just like security, is one of the basic needs of humanity. Similar to security, this need must be met at an optimum level and continuously. From prehistoric times when animal and plant-derived substances were used to obtain energy; The period until the millennium, when atoms and molecules were used to obtain energy, is the product of cumulative knowledge and experience, as is the process in which the understanding of security changed and developed. For this reason, instead of considering the energy phenomenon as a branch of any of the other security sectors, it is necessary and important for security at both national and international levels to consider energy as a reference object and to evaluate it as a different security sector (Smill, 2004). In this study, inspired by the effort to create a different security sector under the name of 'Energy Security' by introducing the energy phenomenon into the securitization process, the securitization concept will be discussed in necessary details, the energy phenomenon will be explained in this context, and after the energy phenomenon is included in the securitization process, the 'Energy Security' sector will be mentioned in the international security studies literature. The necessity of its existence as a separate security sector will be discussed.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND SECURITIZATION

The literary emphasis of Thomas Hobbes for security in *Leviathan*, one of the cult works of realism, is quite interesting. According to Hobbes, without security; There is no industry, no art, no literature, no society (Hobbes, 1946). Where there is none, there is only constant fear and danger of violent death; lonely, miserable and short human life can be mentioned. This is exactly the case at the international level. Geographies where there are no or minimal security problems are places with high welfare and quality lives compared to regions where security problems are constantly experienced and insecurity is greater than security. The 'North-South Gap', which stands out as one of the important concepts in the discipline of international relations, is one of the most important examples of this situation (Chisiridis et al., 2018). In this context, it is possible to say that one of the most important factors determining the living standards of the citizens of any country is security. The first priority in terms of security for each

state is to ensure national security. The transfer of the concept of national security, which is defined (Osisanya, 2020) by the United Nations as the ability of a state to protect and defend its citizens, to the international level, refers to international security. Paul D. Williams' definition of security as "an important political tool used by governments to bring priority issues to the fore in the race for attention" (Williams, 2008) also supports this view.

Security policies are the most effective policies that any government in the world can use to ensure national support (Dedeoglu, 2008). When examined in the context of the basic elements of the nation state, it will be seen that the security phenomenon is of vital importance in order to preserve the unitary structure in every sense. The security policies of governments governing nation states gain importance in this context, as each state has the potential to internationalize the security policies in its domestic policy agenda according to the level of international effectiveness. At this point, the concept of securitization comes to the fore. This situation is not about the extent to which the issue falls within the context of security, but to what extent it can be securitized. Securitization has been defined by Copenhagen School theorists as "the process by which state actors in international relations and national politics transform issues from ordinary political issues into 'security' issues (Buzan et al., 1998). Securitization has paved the way for generating ideas by synthesizing realist and constructivist views in security studies (Williams, 2003). Thus, in the security studies literature, different objects were addressed as special security issues and the way was opened for the expansion of the literature.

As can be understood from its definition, securitization is an actor-context relationship that expresses a transformation process. Therefore, this process begins and ends with the execution of a certain methodology within a certain framework. In the process of securitization, there are two separate concepts: securitizing actor; securitized refers to the context. The application of the securitization methodology, which starts with the acquisition of speech, is to take a non-political issue into the political area (politicized) and then turn it into a security issue. Or discursive advocacy, in which an actor claims that an object of reference is existentially threatened, envisions extraordinary measures to deal with this threat, and convinces the interlocutor that this threat is valid. It is the process by which it is dramatized as a topic of highest priority. If the state is considered as the securitizing actor in the securitization process, the issue in question is not on the state's agenda at the beginning of the process, in other words, the administration is not interested in the issue and this issue cannot be included in public discussions, this is the part where the issue is in the non-political area. When this issue, which is wanted to be securitized or should become a subject of security later on, starts to come to the fore in the public opinion, it begins to be managed within the standard political system, and now the politicized issue becomes a part of the public debate, so the government should now decide on this issue, allocate resources to

this issue and put the issue into the governance mechanism. The politicized issue included in this mechanism is presented as a security issue through the act of securitization, at which point a securitizing actor presents the issue as a threat and the securitization process ends (Buzan et al., 1998).

The Copenhagen School, which introduced the securitization approach to the literature, supported the paradigm shift that started in the 1990s by introducing new security sectors. These sectors represent five separate security areas: military security, political security, social security, economic security and environmental security, which are put forward as analytical tools to identify different dynamics (Buzan et al., 1998). These security sectors, which were created by considering different reference objects in line with the methodology determined by the securitization theory, can be described as the first and most important steps of the post-modern security studies period.

With securitization theory and security sectors, the scope of classical security studies has expanded, and the analysis of new reference objects has brought a new vision to security studies. Security studies literature now overlaps more with the developments in practice, and the way for more reference objects to come to the fore due to these developments has been opened. These developments have allowed many different phenomena to become reference objects. However, although different objects are considered as the subject of security, the security sectors put forward by the Copenhagen School are perceived as the main framework of security studies, so the objects in question are put into the context of these security sectors. Although this situation is critical in determining the boundaries of security studies, it can be seen as a narrowing effect against studies that tend to expand. Therefore, it is understood from the fact that these objects are not included in the literature as separate security sectors that there are hesitations about considering the reference objects, which gained more importance especially in the period immediately after the Cold War and at the beginning of the 21st century, as separate security sectors.

In the context of international security issues, the phenomenon of ‘energy,’ which has experienced a consistently rising trend from the Industrial Revolution to the present, is one of the referent objects that should be recognized as a separate security sector in the security studies literature. However, it is often examined in association with other security sectors. When energy is evaluated in terms of its resources, usage patterns, application areas, and international policies, it becomes evident that it possesses a complex structure that cannot be fully addressed under the umbrella of any single security sector. Although it is most commonly linked with the economic security sector, considering energy as a distinct security sector would significantly contribute to both the literature in security studies and practical applications in the international energy market. This is due to the fact that energy, today, can be associated with all security sectors at various levels (Karatas, 2022).

ENERGY SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS BASIC ELEMENTS AND SECTORS

Energy security is defined by the International Energy Agency as “the uninterrupted availability of energy resources at an affordable price” (IEA, 2023). As can be understood from its definition, sustainability and economy are the main factors in energy security. However, the issue of energy security is not just about sustainability and economy. In their study, Cherp and Jewell evaluated the issue of energy security in a broad context by grounding it in the context of some elements. In the study by the questions: Security for whom? Security for which values? and Security against what threats? 4 basic elements of energy security were determined by making some evaluations and these are availability, affordability, accessibility and acceptability (Cherp and Jewell, 2014).

Each of the basic elements of energy security has its own and different levels of importance in terms of energy security. At this point, the comprehensiveness of the energy security concept emerges and its relationship with all other security sectors is seen. When examined in the context of its basic elements, it can be seen that energy security can be related to all other security sectors in different ways. This situation reveals the need to examine energy security in the context of different security sectors. The phenomenon of energy security, where each element affects it in different ways, should be examined in three separate sections: supply, demand and transit security sectors, in the context of these elements. A broad and beneficial vision of energy security is presented by explaining each element within the context of the sector it affects.

Availability ranks first among the essential elements of energy security. Because the primary input that must exist for the formation of any energy equation is the energy source. For this reason, the element of presence, which can be expressed as the existence of the energy source, is of great importance (Hatipoglu, 2019). Energy resources are of varying degrees of importance due to their existence in the region where they are located, with their forms and quantities. Regions where the presence of the most used energy resources in the international energy sector, such as oil, natural gas and coal, are also focal points for energy security. In this context, the connection of the presence factor with other elements of energy security emerges. Because without the existence of a source, it is not possible to reveal the relationship of the source in question with other elements. The availability element is of great importance as it can be directly associated with supply security, which is one of the sub-sectors of energy security. Since the existence and quantity of the resource is the main factor that directly affects its supply in the market, it can be said that supply security and availability are directly linked.

Affordability or affordability stands out as an important element of energy security in the context of capital and need. The main determinants of this element are resource availability and the value of these resources in the international

energy market. Any relationship that arises at this point falls within the scope of energy security (Hatipoglu, 2019). In order for a physically existing resource to be integrated into the market, it must be supplied under market conditions and be at a level that can be purchased by demand authorities. The affordability element can be associated with both supply and demand sectors of energy security, as it is an element associated with both supplying and demanding authorities. Due to this feature, it is possible to see the affordability element as economy in many different sources.

Accessibility is the element of energy security that refers to the access between the source's origin and destination. One of the main reasons why the factor of accessibility is taken into account in energy security is the effect of access opportunities between supply and demand authorities on energy trade and therefore on energy prices. At this point, access opportunities that vary according to source forms become important (Kartal, 2022). The expansion of pipelines in oil and natural gas transportation, the production of high-capacity tankers or the transportation of energy resources by converting them into different forms can be listed as facilitating developments in terms of accessibility. All of the measures taken and developments regarding accessibility are directly related to energy transition security. Therefore, it can be said that an important criterion for the affordable level of supply of existing resources to the market is the provision of security of passage, both technically and socially.

Acceptability, or social acceptability in different sources, which is among the basic elements of energy security, expresses the social and somewhat political side of the energy issue (Kartal, 2022). While each of the actors in the global energy market is in commercial relations, they also have social and political relations. This situation is also reflected in the items traded at some points. Support or opposition for political and social reasons creates an element of acceptability in terms of energy resources. This element can be associated with all sectors of energy security. Because any of the supply, demand and transition situations sequentially involved in energy resource exchange has the potential to be affected by acceptability. In a situation of social acceptability between two states, these two states may be supplying and demanding the resource, or it may be one or more states on the route. Therefore, the acceptability factor is of great importance in energy security.

This is how the basic elements and sectors of energy security emerge in terms of the relations arising from energy resources in the global energy market. The inclusivity of the issue of energy security, which is of particular importance in the context of each element and sector, and its place on the agenda of the international system increase in direct proportion to the increase in resource use. Therefore, energy security should be considered as a separate security sector. It is necessary and important that energy security, which can be associated with all five security sectors in the security studies literature in different ways, emerges as the sixth one by dividing mitosis from these five structures, and that the

security studies literature is expanded in this direction. This is only possible by securitizing the phenomenon of 'energy'.

A NEW SECURITY SECTOR: ENERGY SECURITY

Security studies have started to develop seriously on the theoretical level, especially since the middle of the 20th century. The handling of classical approaches in line with modern needs and the beginning of new contributions to the theory have greatly advanced the security studies that accelerated in this period, especially at the international level. The development of international security approaches in parallel with general security paradigms has contributed significantly to the literature. The developments that took place in the second half of the 20th century allowed the security concept to be restructured. The international system built on the basis of liberal values and each of the institutions within this system have come to the fore as important elements that support the emergence of security approaches based on a separate theme.

The cold war that continued in the second half of the 20th century and each of the developments that occurred as a result of it stand out as proof that a total security approach has lost its functionality at the international level. At this point, the contribution of expanded security studies is undeniable. Expanding security studies under the leadership of the Copenhagen School, the concept of 'human security', which began to gain importance in the first half of the 90s, and other security sectors subsequently introduced to the literature are concrete evidence of the expansion in security studies (Jolly and Ray, 2006).

The Berlin Wall, which collapsed in 1989, was an important turning point in international relations and therefore international security. This destruction has opened the door to new beginnings at the international level. Along with the Berlin wall, many facts have taken their place in the dusty pages of history. From the perspective of security studies, it is possible to define this as the rejection of classical approaches and the rise of modern approaches. In the 90s, when the approaches of realism and liberalism at both the state and institution levels were modernized with new approaches such as structuralism and constructivism, the paradigm shift created by security studies and the practical reflections of these studies in the context of international security took place in extremely harsh and definitive lines (Merand et al., 2011).

The developments in the context of security studies and the benefits of the innovations resulting from these developments in terms of literature are indisputable. The contribution of these innovations to international security practices should also be underlined. However, in the current situation, it is seen that some basic issues in the context of international security are still not examined, although they need to be examined on a separate level, both in the literature and in practice, or even if they are examined, it is understood that the

necessary attention has not been paid yet. It is necessary and important to consider these issues as a stand-alone security sector in the context of international security and to examine them independently, both in terms of literature and in practical terms. In order to solve any issue before it becomes a security problem, it is critical to take a proactive approach to the relevant issue and find solutions to possible problems before they occur. In today's international system, one of the most important issues that is the subject of security but has not yet been discussed properly is 'Energy'.

Although energy is examined in the context of security in conjunction with other sectors, especially the economic security sector, it stands out as one of the fundamental issues that need to be researched and examined as a security sector on its own. Energy is one of the most basic needs in today's world. The consequences of any problem in meeting this need have been experienced in past developments, are being experienced today, and seem likely to be experienced in the future. It is important and necessary for the phenomenon of 'energy' to be included in the literature as a separate security sector in order to prevent these problems from occurring by taking a proactive approach or at least to overcome the problems that occur with the least damage.

It can be seen in the literature that the energy phenomenon is subject to security in different contexts. The fact that some aspects of economy, politics and military security are directly related to energy is one of the important factors leading to this situation. However, this situation prevents the energy phenomenon from being securitized alone and treated as a separate security sector, especially in the security studies literature. Although energy is an important part of the economy, an important tool of politics and an important resource of the military, the issue of energy security should also be underlined. When the historical process is examined chronologically, it is seen that energy has an increasing place in the international system with its security dimension day by day. Therefore, the literature should be designed in a way that can interpret the developments in practice. This design is only possible if the energy phenomenon is handled and interpreted as a separate security sector.

The initial step in this study, motivated by the aim to establish energy as a new security sector and introduce 'Energy Security' to the literature as the sixth security sector alongside the five defined by Copenhagen School scholars, will involve incorporating energy into the securitization spectrum. Although energy is materially significant, historical developments have also contributed to shaping the energy security sector. The securitization spectrum expresses the methodology when putting securitization theory into practice. Securitization provides a space for understanding how and why a particular public issue becomes a security issue. Any public issue can be placed across a broad spectrum, from nonpoliticized to politicized to securitized (Mis, 2014). Energy also stands out as a critical phenomenon that should be placed in a unique

position in the context of security due to its historical adventure and material importance.

Securitization of energy represents a historical process. Namely, the energy resources used to meet basic needs until the age of enlightenment and the subsequent industrial revolution, although they were used in many different areas, have become more needed resources due to the invention of steam machines, the start of mass production processes in the industrial field and the sudden increase in energy needs. Beyond the increase in need, the inadequacy of existing resources was also clearly felt during this period. At this point, both the race to possess existing resources and efforts to diversify resources have accelerated. Imperial powers, which were in a relentless colonial race for coal deposits in various geographies of the world until Edwin Drake's discovery in Pennsylvania in 1859, now found a new resource to compete to possess with Drake's discovery of oil. The discovery of oil is an important turning point both industrially, economically and politically. This discovery is of great importance for the world energy market as it is a rapid response to the increasing energy need and creates a more effective resource alternative. The discovery of oil is of great importance not only as an alternative energy source, but also because it can be used as a raw material in industrial production. The discovery of oil, which is one of the most important turning points for the energy sector, stands out as a major turning point in the industry. Because oil is both a high potential energy source and the raw material of the industry, it has been and continues to be of great importance for the overall market.

When we look at the discovery of oil from the perspective of energy security, it will be seen that it falls in the middle of the chronology of securitization. While the concept of energy security really entered the agenda in the 18th century, oil was discovered and entered the market in the 19th century, and the race for oil continued harder and in relatively larger areas than the previous dominant resource, coal. From the perspective of securitization, it is possible to say that the energy phenomenon, which was previously outside the political sphere, gradually became politicized with the struggle for coal resources due to the increasing energy need with the industrial revolution, and became a phenomenon fully in the political sphere with the discovery of oil. Following this stage, all the developments in terms of energy phenomenon can be expressed as the process that takes place in the security field of energy and the securitization spectrum is completed. The fact that the struggle that increased with the discovery of oil was added to the ongoing struggles in different areas has caused many turmoils and conflicts in both economic and political areas around the world. It is possible to find traces of the race to possess energy resources in almost all of the world wars that started at the beginning of the 20th century and caused a depression of almost half a century, and in almost all of the large and small problems that occurred during these wars.

The periods when energy resources were used indirectly as a policy tool in the global equation started with the industrial revolution, where the importance of these resources increased. In these periods, when realism had a dominant effect on global politics, resource assets came to the fore as one of the most important power centers in the hands of states. During these periods, the concept of energy security gradually developed in the background and finally, with the 1973-74 OPEC oil crisis, it fell like a bomb on the agenda. The oil crisis and the events that followed deeply shook the actors of the international system and a new security issue was underlined with thick lines. It is revealed that a new phenomenon has emerged in terms of security studies that started in the second half of the 1940s and went through its golden age just before the oil crisis, or that the energy phenomenon, which is not new but manifested as a stand-alone security incident for the first time, should now be accepted as a security issue. has come out. However, despite all these developments, the issue of energy security has not been discussed separately, neither within the discipline of security studies nor in studies on international security. In the post-World Wars period, when international security expanded in the context of threats and actors, even after the Cold War, energy security was not considered as a separate security issue, although many crises, large and small, were experienced. Although the Copenhagen School's expansionist contribution to the literature in the 1990s and the new security sectors it introduced provided an opportunity to evaluate and examine energy security within different sectors, energy security has now reached a scope and depth that cannot be fully addressed under the economic, military, or political security sectors.

ENERGY SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES

Central Asia is a region of immense geopolitical significance, primarily due to its vast reserves of natural resources, particularly oil, natural gas, and coal. Countries like Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan possess considerable energy wealth, which plays a critical role in their economies. Despite these riches, these nations face numerous challenges in achieving energy security. Their dependence on foreign markets and transit routes, aging infrastructure, and the geopolitical competition for influence in the region significantly affect their energy security landscape. The state of energy security in Central Asian countries, focusing on key factors such as resource abundance, geopolitical dynamics, infrastructural deficiencies, domestic supply challenges, renewable energy potential, and regional cooperation.

Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are among the most resource-rich countries in the world. Kazakhstan, for instance, holds approximately 30 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, making it the largest oil producer in Central Asia. The country's Kashagan, Tengiz, and Karachaganak oil fields are some of the most productive in the world. Besides oil, Kazakhstan also possesses significant

natural gas resources, much of which is exported to neighboring countries such as China and Russia. Turkmenistan, home to the world's fourth-largest natural gas reserves, is a key player in global energy markets. The Central Asia-China Gas Pipeline, which runs through Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, has become one of the most crucial pipelines for Turkmenistan's gas exports, with China as its primary customer. Uzbekistan, while not as energy-rich as Kazakhstan or Turkmenistan, also holds considerable natural gas reserves, which play a pivotal role in its economy. The country exports natural gas to Russia, China, and other regional neighbors (Dorian, 2006).

Despite this wealth, the economies of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are heavily reliant on energy exports, which make them highly vulnerable to fluctuations in global energy prices. The 2014 collapse in oil prices and the more recent disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic exposed the risks of over-dependence on oil and gas exports. Moreover, the landlocked nature of Central Asian countries exacerbates their vulnerability, as they must rely on transit routes through neighboring states like Russia and China, which could disrupt energy flows due to geopolitical tensions. Geopolitical factors significantly influence the energy security of Central Asian countries. Historically, Russia has been the dominant player in the region's energy infrastructure, controlling key oil and gas pipelines that transport Central Asian resources to international markets. For instance, Russia manages the Central Asia-Center (CAC) gas pipeline system, which delivers Turkmen and Uzbek gas to Europe via Russia. This gives Moscow substantial leverage over the energy policies of Central Asian states (Grigoriev et al., 2011).

However, the growing presence of China has changed the regional power dynamics. Through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China has made significant investments in Central Asia's energy sector, particularly in building oil and gas pipelines. The Central Asia-China Gas Pipeline is a prime example of China's increasing influence, as it transports natural gas from Turkmenistan to China. Consequently, Turkmenistan now relies almost exclusively on China for its gas exports, diminishing its dependence on Russia but creating a new vulnerability vis-à-vis Beijing (Yenikeyyef, 2011).

While China's involvement has provided Central Asian countries with alternative markets, it has also raised concerns about excessive reliance on China. For example, Turkmenistan's overdependence on China for gas exports means that Beijing holds considerable influence over Turkmenistan's energy policies. This shift has made it necessary for Central Asian countries to carefully manage their relationships with both Russia and China, aiming to diversify their energy markets and assert greater control over their energy resources. The European Union (EU) also views Central Asia as a potential alternative to Russian energy supplies, especially natural gas. The EU's support for the Southern Gas Corridor, designed to transport gas from the Caspian region to Europe, reflects its interest in diversifying its energy sources. However,

unresolved disputes, such as those related to the legal status of the Caspian Sea, have slowed the progress of such initiatives, limiting Central Asia's energy export options to Europe (Peyrouse et al., 2012).

Another critical issue impacting Central Asia's energy security is its aging and inefficient energy infrastructure. Much of the region's infrastructure dates back to the Soviet era, particularly in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, and is in dire need of modernization. Outdated pipelines, refineries, and power plants suffer from inefficiencies and frequent breakdowns, leading to substantial energy losses and periodic shortages, particularly during peak demand. Turkmenistan, for example, has a highly centralized but outdated natural gas infrastructure, resulting in inefficiencies in the production, transmission, and distribution of gas. Uzbekistan also faces similar problems, struggling to meet rising domestic demand for electricity and gas due to an underdeveloped and poorly maintained energy grid. Frequent blackouts and gas shortages have been common in Uzbekistan, underscoring the need for significant infrastructure upgrades. Kazakhstan has made more progress in modernizing its energy infrastructure, particularly in the oil sector, where foreign investment has played a key role. Major international oil companies such as Chevron and ExxonMobil have invested in Kazakhstan's oil fields, helping to develop more advanced extraction and transportation technologies. However, challenges remain in the natural gas and electricity sectors, where infrastructure investment has lagged behind (Kumar and Chatnani, 2018). To improve energy security, Central Asian countries must invest in modernizing their energy infrastructure. By reducing inefficiencies, modernized infrastructure can ensure more reliable domestic energy supplies and maintain stable energy exports.

Central Asia's energy resources have historically been geared towards exports, often at the expense of meeting domestic energy needs. Both Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have prioritized energy exports to generate revenue, which has led to underinvestment in domestic energy infrastructure. As a result, energy shortages are common, particularly in the winter when demand for heating spikes. Uzbekistan has recognized the need to balance export priorities with domestic energy security. The government has initiated reforms aimed at increasing energy efficiency, modernizing power plants, and expanding renewable energy production to meet rising domestic demand. Additionally, plans to expand gas storage capacity are underway, which will help the country manage energy supply during peak periods. Kazakhstan also faces challenges in meeting its domestic electricity demand, despite being a leading coal producer. The country's outdated power plants and transmission lines have contributed to electricity shortages. To address this, Kazakhstan has set ambitious renewable energy targets, aiming to diversify its energy mix by increasing the share of renewables such as wind and solar power (Zakhidov, 2008).

As the world transitions towards renewable energy and a decarbonized future, Central Asia has begun exploring its own renewable energy potential. The region

is particularly well-suited for solar and wind energy development. Kazakhstan, for example, is actively pursuing renewable energy goals, with plans to generate 50% of its electricity from renewable sources by 2050. The country has attracted foreign investment for several large-scale renewable projects as part of its broader Green Economy Concept, launched in 2013. However, the energy transition faces several obstacles. Central Asian economies remain heavily reliant on fossil fuels, especially coal and natural gas, making it difficult to shift toward renewables without significant investment. Moreover, the regulatory frameworks in countries like Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are not yet fully developed to support renewable energy initiatives. In addition, the global transition away from fossil fuels could impact Central Asia's energy-export-driven economies. As demand for coal, oil, and gas declines globally, Central Asian countries may struggle to find new markets for their resources. This poses long-term economic challenges, particularly for nations like Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, whose economies are heavily dependent on energy exports (Rassoulinezhad et al., 2022).

Improving energy security in Central Asia also depends on regional cooperation. The region's energy networks are interconnected, with countries depending on each other for electricity and gas supplies. Despite this, political tensions and historical rivalries have hindered efforts to promote deeper regional energy integration. International organizations, such as the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) program, have attempted to foster greater collaboration. CAREC has supported initiatives aimed at improving energy infrastructure, enhancing energy efficiency, and promoting cross-border electricity trade. However, significant challenges remain, and much progress is still needed to fully integrate the region's energy systems (Mekhdiev, 2018).

The energy security landscape in Central Asia is shaped by its resource abundance, geopolitical positioning, infrastructural deficiencies, and growing need for renewable energy. While countries like Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are key players in global energy markets, their long-term energy security depends on modernizing infrastructure, reducing reliance on exports, and embracing renewable energy. Moreover, regional cooperation and strategic management of relationships with global powers such as Russia and China will be crucial for maintaining energy security in this evolving geopolitical landscape.

CONCLUSION

Energy security has become an issue that requires more thought and effort for the international system, especially due to recent developments. It is obvious that the energy phenomenon, which has started to become a security issue since the early 1800s, has now reached the maturity level that can be a security issue on its own. Therefore, energy security issues should be examined and analyzed within a certain framework and within a certain systematic.

This situation is just like mitosis division of a biological cell. Mitosis, which enables reproduction in single-celled organisms and growth and development in multi-celled organisms, is one of the important examples that can explain the need for energy security to emerge as a new security sector. If the international system is considered as a complex multicellular biological structure, the security phenomenon can be evaluated as a fabric of this structure. There are many different cells similar to each other in this tissue. These cells are structures formed by mitosis of the original cell. Each cell forming the tissue in question creates the tissue by appearing as different cells, containing the same heredity as the original cell, but containing the same codes. If the security phenomenon is considered as the first cell of the tissue, the tissue also develops with the growth and development of the international system, or in other words, the biological structure in which the tissue is located.

As a result, the share of the security phenomenon within the international system is increasing day by day as the system develops both in theory and in practice. In other words, the security fabric is developing day by day. This development can be seen as a result of the growth and development of each cell that makes up the tissue. The expansionary contribution of expanded security studies to the security fabric of the international system represents the last mitotic division. However, developments since the last division have increased the density in the most recently emerged security-based cell, and the cytoplasm of the cell in question has reached a level where it cannot handle this density. For this reason, another mitotic division must take place in the field of security, first in theory and then in practice, and with this division, the way for the healthy growth of both the security fabric and the international system structure must be paved. This will only be possible by introducing 'Energy Security' as a new security sector and analyzing energy issues alone within a new framework.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, Amitav (1994). Third World and Security Studies. Paper presented at the conference Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies, Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto, 12-14 May 1994.
- Baldwin, David A. (1997). "The Concept of Security". *Review of International Studies*, 23(1): 5–26.
- Ballin, Ernst H., Huub Dijkstra and Peter de Goede (2020). "The Extension of the Concept of Security". In E. H. Ballin, H. Dijkstra and P. de Goede (Eds.). *Security in an Interconnected World*: 13-39. Springer (Research for Policy book series).
- Birdsli, Fikret (2020). "Uluslararası Güvenliğin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Post-Modern Güvenlik Dönemi". *Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi*, special issue: 235-260.
- Buzan, Barry and Ole Wæver (1998). *Liberalism and Security: The contradictions of the liberal Leviathan*. Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner.
- Chisiridis, Konstantinos, Kostas Mouratidis and Theodore Panagiotidis (1998). The north-south divide, the euro and the world. IOS Working Papers, No. 377, LeibnizInstitut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung (IOS), Regensburg.
- Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison (2005). *Research methods in education*. London: Routledge.
- Collins, Alan (2016). *Contemporary Security Studies* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Dedeoğlu, Beril (2008). *Uluslararası Güvenlik ve Strateji*. Yeni Yüzyıl Yayınları.
- Dorian, James P. (2006). "Central Asia: A Major Emerging Energy Player in the 21st Century". *Energy Policy*, 34(5): 544-555.
- Farrell, Theo (2002). "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program". *International Studies Review*, 4(1): 49–72.
- Gocer Sahin, Sakine, Derya Cakici Eser and Selahattin Gelbal (2018). The interaction effect of the correlation between dimensions and item discrimination on parameter estimation. *Journal of Measurement and Evaluation in Education and Psychology*, 9(3): 239-257. <https://doi.org/10.21031/epod.402992>
- Grigoriev, Leonid, Martial Foucault and Bastien Irondele (2011). "Russia, Gazprom and the CAC: Interests and Relations". In A. Dellecker, T. Gomart (Eds.), *Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy* (pp. 147-169), Routledge.
- Hatipoğlu, Emre (2019). "Enerji Güvenliği". *Güvenlik Yazıları Serisi*, No. 44.
- Herz, John H. (1950). "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma". *World Politics*, 2(2): 157-180.

- Hobbes, Thomas (1946). *Leviathan*. In M. Oakeshott (Ed.). Basil Blackwell.
- IEA (2023). Energy security. Retrieved from <https://www.iea.org/about/energy-security>. Accessed: 17.06.2023.
- Jolly, Richard and Deepayan Basu Ray (2006). The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports-NHDR Occasional Paper 5. UN.
- Karatas, Halil (2022). “Enerji Güvenliğinin Arz Talep Ve Geçiş Güvenliği Bağlamında İncelenmesi”. *SDE Akademi Dergisi*, 2(5): 40-69.
- Kartal, Gokhan (2022). “Are the Effects of Energy Security on Economic Growth Symmetric Orasymmetric in Turkey? An Application of non-Linear ARDL”. *Ege Academic Review*, 22(4): 487-502. doi:<https://doi.org/10.21121/eab.952967>
- Kumar, Sunik and Niti N. Chatnani (2018). “Achieving Energy Security through Cross Border Investments: China’s Energy Infrastructure Investments across Russia & Central Asia and Lessons for India”. *Academy of Strategic Management Journal*, 17(4): 1-13.
- Maslow, Abraham H. (1943). “A Theory of Human Motivation”. *Psychological Review*, 50, 370-396.
- Mekhdiev, Elnur T. (2018). “Regional Integration in Central Asia in the Energy Sector”. *Теория и проблемы политических исследований*, 7(1A): 99-108.
- Mérand, Frédéric, Martial Foucault and Bastien Irondele (Eds.). (2011). *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall*. University of Toronto Press.
- Mis, Nebi (2014). “Güvenlikleştirme Teorisi ve Siyasal Olanın Güvenlikleştirilmesi”. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 6(2): 345-381.
- Oliveira, Victor (2020). The Copenhagen School and the Securitization Theory. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/@victoroliver/the-copenhagen-school-and-the-securitization-theory-2d0588a8c6f5>. Accessed: 04.05.2023.
- Osisanya, Segun (2020). National Security versus Global Security. UN.
- Peyrouse, Sébastien, Jos Boonstra and Marlène Laruelle (2012). “Security and development approaches to Central Asia: The EU compared to China and Russia”. *EUCAM Working Paper*, 11(1): 1-23.
- Rasoulinezhad, Ehsan, Jinsok Sung, Ainur Talipova and Farhad Taghizadeh-Hesary (2022). “Analyzing Energy Trade Policy in Central Asia Using the Inter-country Trade Force Approach”. *Economic Analysis and Policy*, 73: 441-454.
- Ringmar, Erik (2019). *History of International Relations: A Non-European Perspective*. Open Book Publishers.
- Selahaddin Bakan and Sonay Sahin (2018). “Uluslararası Güvenlik Yaklaşımlarının Tarihsel Dönüşümü ve Yeni Tehditler”. *The Journal of International Lingual Social and Educational Sciences*, 4(2): 135-152.
- Smil, Vaclav (2004). “World History and Energy”. *Encyclopedia of Energy*, 6: 549-561.
- UNDP (1994). Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security. New York.

Walt, Stephen M. (1991). The Renaissance of Security Studies. *International Studies Quarterly*, 35(2): 211–239.

Wells, Samuel F. (1981). “The Origins of Massive Retaliation”. *Political Science Quarterly*, 96(1): 31-52.

Williams, Michael C. (2003). “Words, Images, Enemies, Securitization and International Politics”. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(4), 511-531.

Williams, Paul D. (Ed.). (2008). *Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge.

Yenikeyeff, Shamil M. (2011). “Energy Interests of the ‘Great Powers’ in Central Asia: Cooperation or Conflict?”. *The International Spectator*, 46(3): 61-78.

Yorulmaz, Murat (2014). Değişen Uluslararası Güvenlik Algılamaları Bağlamında Türkiye-Yunanistan İlişkilerinde “Değişmeyen” Güvenlik Paradoksu. *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 3(1): 103-135.

Zakhidov, Roman A. (2008). “Central Asian Countries Energy System and Role of Renewable Energy Sources”. *Applied Solar Energy*, 44: 218-223.