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The Political Concept of Energy Security: The Case of Jordan

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine the political concept of energy security and its importance to foreign policy in Jordan. The study investigates the importance of energy security in international relations. It clarifies the global concept of energy security. It also highlights the politics of energy security among states. The study based on Jordan as a case study. To put emphasis on this issue, the data have been collected using semi-structured interviews with elite, as well as journals and documents, and have been analyzed through qualitative content analysis using the software NVivo 10. The study shows that the concept of energy security in Jordan is based on two main elements: sufficient energy supply and affordable energy price. It also shows the importance of securing gas for foreign policymakers after the collapse of Mubarak regime in Egypt in 2011. The study concludes that energy security became a major objective for Jordan's foreign policy, particularly after 2006.

Keywords: Energy Security, Jordan's Foreign Policy, Jordan, Middle East.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

By the 21st century, one of the major concerns of international relations is "Energy Security" (Abdurahmonov, 2009; Chester, 2010; Grant, 2008; Kalicki & Goldwyn, 2005; Moran & Russell, 2008; Wesley, 2007; Yergin, 2005). In today's world, each country concerns about securing its energy which is considered the Achilles' heel in every developing or developed state (Campe, 2011).

In a country like Jordan that is located in one of the hottest political spots in the world that includes the Arab-Israeli conflict, Iraq crisis, Syrian civil war, and other revolutions in the region, thus, identifying the foreign policy agenda is vital. This identification will build a political approach in order to deal with the complexity and the vitality of evolving events, where decisions are critical and has a significant impact like no other places in the world. As the political and economic crisis threatens the political and social stability of Jordan, these emerges the urgent need to direct the country's foreign policy for the best interest of Jordanian security in several sections.

Unlike most of Middle East countries, Jordan has

limited energy resources; therefore, current study seems to be vital to validate the view about the politics of Jordan's energy security. Jordan can be classified as a developing energy importer in view of the fact that it imports more than 97% of its energy requirements (Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation [MOPIC], 2013), this as well, worth around one fifth of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (World Nuclear Association [WNA], 2014).

In general, the relation between Jordan's foreign policy and energy security is highly taking in consideration the relation with energy suppliers, specifically, Iraq, the Gulf States, and Egypt. This relates back to the year 1973 when Gulf States particularly, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, used to support Jordan with its energy needs with a favorable price. Such a kind of support made Jordan stress-free to improve its own energy plans (Venegas, 2013). By the 1990s, Iraq started to support Jordan with its oil needs with a price equal to 30% of the global price (Lasensky, 2006), but that privilege ended in 2003, when Gulf States once again supported Jordan until 2006 (Awad, 2009). After that, securing energy became a serious problem in Jordan.

Jordan's foreign policy challenges regarding energy security are connected mainly with gas supply and price especially after the interruption of gas supply from Egypt. The Egyptian gas is very important to Jordan, where the kingdom depends on 90% of its electricity generating on the Egyptian gas (Henderson & Schenker, 2014). This

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supply has been affected by the Egyptian revolution in 2011 and creates more pressure on Jordan's foreign policy to secure gas.

All these circumstances encouraged the identification of the political concept of energy security, which reflects the relation between Jordan's foreign policy and its energy security in one hand, and pointing to any ignorance or concern to this relation on the other hand. This approach is crucial in the case of Jordan.

1.2 Problem of the Study

One of the major concerns of the foreign policy of any nation state is energy security, especially that the major energy sources are located in unstable areas (Helm, 2007). Generally, the most crucial factor among international relations since 1990s is energy security issues (Ghikas, 2009). Securing energy applies more importantly on the countries with limited resources like Jordan that is located in the Middle East.

The economy of most of the Middle East countries depend on the exports of energy resources, but in the case of Jordan, the situation is different. Therefore, this country as an energy importer is in a critical position more than any other country in the region, since it imports more than 97% of its energy needs (Al-Arabiya, 2014; MOPIC, 2013). These imports consumed around 16% of its GDP in 2012 (Qadous, 2012), raised to consume around 20% of its GDP in 2014 (WNA, 2014).

Moreover, as Jordan lies in a hot region like the Middle East, where natural resources are still a potential cause of conflicts and wars, this increases the responsibility of foreign policy decisions in order to secure its energy needs. At the same time, due to energy dependency, it is important to have an effective foreign policy with energy exporting countries and at the same time putting in consideration any possible influence from the energy exporters on Jordan's actions toward the critical issues in the country and the region.

More to the point, as Willrich (1975) argues that countries in term of energy are divided into energy exporters and importers, Jordan can be considered as an energy importer that depends on foreign energy resources. Regarding to the last data provided from Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, the total energy imports are 8029.9 of Tons of Oil Equivalent (TOE), while energy domestic production is only 279.4 (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources [MEMR], 2014). In Addition, energy supply is expected to rise

around 4.4% in the next coming years, while the demand is expected to grow at around 7.4% (Abu Al Foul, 2012; Venegas, 2013). Therefore, the current energy supply in Jordan will not be able to meet the demand in the near future, this puts the country at a very critical situation, which might affect it harshly (Venegas, 2013).

Additionally, such energy sources could be easily affected by the political situation in the region. For example, the Egyptian revolution in 2011 affected the gas supply to Jordan, since the latter depends on 90% of its electricity generating on the Egyptian gas (Henderson & Schenker, 2014). The gas supply dropped sharply, which created more pressure on oil products, so it raised the dependency on oil from 64.9% in 2010 to 80.2% in 2011 (Venegas, 2013).

It should be mentioned that natural gas and oil can be considered the most important energy needs for Jordan, and mostly depends on its neighbors to afford the energy requirements. This dependency caused so many problems for the country. Added to that, the demand on energy increased in the last 4 years after a huge number of refugees have entered the country because of the Syrian internal war and the Arab revolutions (Galbraith, 2014). The sudden increase of the population makes the imports in a way that cannot meet the entire demand; consequently, this situation puts the country under a high danger.

In line with the mentioned issues, the researchers highlighted the importance of identifying a clear political concept of energy security in order to determine the energy security elements for a successful foreign policy strategy to keep a sufficient and stable energy supply. The energy problem leads Jordan nowadays to get in so many political, economic and social troubles as long as the political situation is not stable in the exporting countries (Henderson & Schenker, 2013; Venegas, 2013).

Achieving stable sources of energy is one of the most important issues for policymakers in Jordan, especially after the Arab revolutions (Roznak, 2014). Thus, for political researchers, it is inevitable to act immediately to explain the gravity of this issue.

1.3 The Literature Gap

In the case of Jordan, almost, there is an absence of researches that evaluate the role of foreign policy and politics regarding energy security. It is quite important to discuss foreign policy role by appraising different aspects taking into consideration both; the internal and external

factors (Brand, 1994a, 1994b; Ryan, 2009; Sasley, 2002). role (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999; Rose, 1998).

After the Arab revolutions, energy security issues became so important to Jordan, and securing energy cannot be done without an effective role of foreign policy. Thus, it is significant to analyze the role of foreign policy to achieve energy security.

Prior researchers appraised energy security in the issue of improving domestic energy programs and mostly spotlight on the actual worth of producing energy. This, however, still have a great value in regards to minimizing risk of interruption and what can be done to meet up the energy security. But, to date, energy production in Jordan still weak and cannot be compared with energy imports as long as there are so many internal and external challenges (Venegas, 2013) in addition to the international limitations, especially in regards to nuclear power programs.

The scholars discussed the possible chances of using the renewable energy resources and other domestic energy projects in order to save energy to meet the future challenges taking in consideration the environmental impacts. Some of those scholars are: (Aburas, 1989; Alalim, 2006; Alali et al. 2006; Al-Ghandoor, 2013; Bsieso, 2003; Halasah, 2012; Hamarneh, 2006a; Hrayshat & A-Soud, 2004; Hrayshat, 2007; Jaber Badran & Abu-Shikhah, 2004; Jordan Energy & Mining Limited (JEML), 2010).

Overall, studies that analyze the political concept of energy security and its connection to foreign policy are hard to be found.

1.4 Study Objectives

The current study aims to identify the political concept of energy security and discover the energy security elements in Jordan. It also concentrates on finding out the role of foreign policy to address the energy security elements.

1.5 Questions of the Study

According to the issues mentioned above, the research questions are:

1. What is the political concept of energy security in Jordan?
2. What is the responsibility of foreign policy to address energy security?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study aimed to fill the gap in the literature

concerning the politics of energy security, and the influence of Jordan's foreign policy on the energy security and vice versa, since former studies rarely concerned about this issue. In addition, this study brought recommendations and solutions which could be very useful in order to help foreign policymakers to make stable energy policies, and whether if this helps to achieve a degree of independence in foreign policy decisions. In addition, this study could be useful for other researchers from other countries with the same situation of Jordan.

As a result, the outcomes of this research will be useful also for other countries that face a sudden increase of population in a short period due to the flow of refugees. Furthermore, the findings of the study added a new systematic knowledge in the field of international relations and in political science in general.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study analyzed the politics of energy security in Jordan. This research focused on the period between 2003 and 2014, the reason of choosing this period was that Jordan passed through so many serious and important stages that shaped the current situation. For example, the Iraq war in 2003 and its consequences on Jordan particularly the cut off oil subsidies after the collapse of Saddam regime, the unstable Arab-Israeli conflict, Arab revolutions and its effects on Jordan, the cut off the gas supply from Egypt after 2011, and finally the huge number of Syrian refugees on Jordanian soil fled from the Syrian civil war.

Jordan has been facing huge problems since the Iraqi refugees in 2003 and the Syrian refugees since 2011. The Syrian refugees raised the population about more than 1.3 million (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2015). These huge increases of population caused an increase of price and made a high pressure on services and natural resources and energy.

Finally, although the scope of the study was limited to Jordan's case, the findings in this study are beneficial for those countries that share the same circumstances with Jordan.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Global Political Concept of Energy Security

Today, energy security is considered a political concept; this refers to the global energy market and climate change. Energy security is a high political

concern for states, because it is the basement for the country's economy, and it is connected to the state's far interests (Tyndall, 2013). Further, it is political because it appraises the debate between nations, particularly; the risks over energy became more and more complicated to policymakers which appraise the need for certain policies to secure energy (Helm, 2002).

In the face of the enlargement of the latest researches on energy security, finding a clear definition still hard to do so. Most of researchers spotlight on the energy supply among the definitions, and some of them go into furthermore signs.

According to the literature written in this area, the researchers divide the concepts in two kinds of studies; in the first study, authors focus on keeping the energy supply in the normal average, considering it as an aspect for energy security. While in the second study, authors emphasize to much more aspects for energy security such as energy price.

Regarding the first group of authors who concentrate on the supply of energy, Mason Willrich in his exceptional book *"Energy and World Politics"* determines energy security as the way to have a sufficient amount of energy to keep the country's economic circumstances in an ordinary average (Willrich, 1975). He also mentions that the concept of energy security according to exporters is dissimilar from the concept according to importers. In related, Mikdashi (1976) illustrates that exporters and importers might be developed or developing states, this make both sides depending on each other by different types of products. According to authors' classification, Jordan can be classified as a developing importing country.

Moreover, one of the most notable definitions is: *"Secure energy means that the risks of interruption to energy supply are low"* (Department of Energy & Climate Change [DECC], 2009).

Exceptionally, the literature of energy security concerns on strengthen the demand of gas and oil with a very narrow concern to the other energy sources (Chester, 2010), although electricity still in the 2nd position after oil of the world's energy demand (International Energy Agency [IEA], 2008). For example, Doren (2006) argues the oil should be the major concern for policymakers among countries. While Kalicki and Goldwyn (2005) do not give an exception to any energy resource when they say, *"Energy security means the assurance of the ability to access energy resources required for the continued*

development of national power" (p.9).

Another concept noted by Klare (2008) when he says: *"Energy security means assured delivery of adequate supplies of affordable energy to meet a state's vital requirements, even in times of international crisis or conflict"* (p.484).

The second group concerns more on adding other aspects on the conception of energy security. Therefore, the concept of energy security can be more identifiable according to different aspects such as the energy price. The politics of energy is highly taking in consideration different factors, this will help to clearly identify energy security aspects, as Deese (1979) mentions that internal factors as well as international factors are main elements in identifying the energy security. Here, Oham (1999) agrees when he says there is no difference between domestic and international factors in energy security matters, since all countries in the world are related together and we cannot separate the domestic issues from the international issues. This includes political, economic, and social factors.

Related to that, Hancher and Janssen (2004) identify energy security is the way that all the country's contents can have a trouble-free contact to the energy sources with an ideal cost. This will lead to make them safe from the lack of energy especially in the upcoming days. Also, Bohi and Toman (1993) focus on the effect of the energy price on the economic growth. According to them, energy security means saving the economic from the changing of energy price. Same goes for Mabro (2008) when he argues: *"Security is impaired when supplies are reduced or interrupted in some places to an extent that causes a sudden, significant and sustained increase in prevailing prices"* (p.3).

Moreover, the International Energy Agency (IEA) identified energy security several times; mentioning: *"energy security that it is supplied a suitable amount of energy with good prices"*(IEA, 1985, p.29). Furthermore, the agency argues that low cost price and acceptable supply have a direct link to the situation of the international market (IEA, 2002). Generally, supply and price are the key elements in identifying energy security (Bielecki, 2002; Department for Business Enterprise & Regulatory Reform [DBERR], 2007; Stern, 2007).

To sum up, despite of several concepts of energy security, most of researchers have a common point related to an enough supply as a major framework to identify energy security (Klare, 2008). At the same time,

we can clearly notice the importance of price, in addition to supply when trying to outline energy security. So that, as long as there is a responsible price with sufficient supply, the market will stay stable, and the energy relations between exporters and importers will stay stable. To simplify it, decreasing the supply will raise the demand which will make the price high (Scheepers, Seebregts, Jong, & Maters, 2007). Therefore, DBERR (2007) suggests finding a self-regulating and viable international energy markets.

2.2 Energy Security Inside the Foreign Policy Frame

In the latest years, the scholars start to have more interest in studying the relation between foreign policy and energy security. For example: Baev (2008), Cesnakas (2010), Orttung and Overland (2011), Shaffer (2011), Sorbello (2011b) and Stone (2010), have all pointed to the relation in a political scientific method. Those scholars focus on specific countries as case studies.

Before the end of the cold war, there is no notable literature about this relation except some works; such as Wilson (1987), who discussed the international relations and foreign policy to identify the security of energy markets, and Willrich (1975) when he argues that energy has a main influence on politics, telling that energy is one of the political issues as a rule. Furthermore, Miller (1977) has an important book about energy and foreign policy during the oil crisis at 1970's, talking about "*Energy and World Politics*" by Willrich (1975), she mostly represents the bureaucratic politics theory, and discussed the relation between foreign policy and energy security, giving a priority to the role of the statesmen. Same approach has been discussed by Greenberger (1983). However, Adelman (1972) connect energy with foreign policy according to the realism. He concludes that countries cannot do anything toward energy security because the issue related to secrets between great powers.

On the other hand, Yergin (1990), in his book "*The Prize: Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*" discussed the relation according to geopolitics. Later on, Yergin (2006) illustrates the relation between energy security and foreign policy saying "*energy security does not stand by itself, but is lodged in the large relations among nations and how they interact with one another*" (p.69).

Add to that, Legro and Moravcsik (1999) put the relation according to realism theory, although this theory related directly to the military power, but according to them, natural resources could be one of the main factors

in realism. Same for Bayramova (2012) in her thesis, "*The Role of Energy in Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy*" when she argues that energy is a central foreign policy instrument. According to Bayramova, the relation can be understood in both realism and liberalism theories. She says having power in politics should use energy, giving an example about Azerbaijan, as the country trying to expand its good relation with EU against the regional powers; Russia and Iran. She argues that identifying the energy relations, especially in that region can be considered according to realpolitik. While Strange (2009) puts, foreign policy is a main mean to secure the energy supply. According to Strange, foreign policy should focus on saving energy countries and transit countries from threats.

On the other side, Bosworth and Gheorghie (2011) illustrate that the big energy importing countries can highly affect the energy security globally. At the same time, there are so many directions and factors between suppliers, consumers, and transit countries. All these make the analysis of the energy security very difficult according to the large number of players. Same for Chester (2010) who believes that the relation between energy security and foreign policy is much more sophisticated because of the high telecommunications all over the world. Therefore, he adopts the idea telling major energy importers are allies in energy security case, because this will make their foreign policies focus toward achieving their energy security.

Some of researchers debate about the appropriate energy tool that can be used in foreign policy such as cutting the energy or controlling the price. For example Shaffer (2011), in her book, "*Energy Politics*", concludes energy and politics are always together, they are linked with a strong chain. The author concludes that international relations have a major heaviness on the global market and vice versa. Furthermore, she argues energy can be used as a military tool during wars, especially cutting the gas supply since gas trade mostly happen in the same region directly from countries whether they are suppliers or consumers. While using oil as a military tool could be not sufficient because the trade of oil is wider between nations. Additionally, oil is much easier to be carried out through so many ways (Stone, 2010). Here, Stone (2010) goes deeper and adds that trading oil and gas all over the world make energy security connected to foreign policy. His emphasis that gas trading does not have a common global price among

the countries in the world, so the price of gas depends on the relations between countries in a specific region. Unlike oil, that has a global price among countries.

In the same issue, Shaffer (2011) adds, using energy as military tool will be more effective in independent countries. Victor, Jaffe, and Hayes (2006) agree with Shaffer, they say that gas could put policymakers in a very high pressure since gas trading depends mostly on pipelines between countries.

Hayes (2007) tries to mention the disadvantages of the other methods of gas exporting that might reduce the effectiveness of pipelines method on the neighbor's relations, especially avoiding transit countries. This method called "Liquefied Natural Gas" (LNG), which means liquefying gas then carrying it with ships, this method faces so many problems such as the high cost of building, and insurance. In addition to that, the exporters demand to sign a long-term agreement in order to save their trade. This considered as a problem for decision makers in the importing countries.

On the other side, some of scholars have different view to the energy tool that can be used in foreign policy. For example, Guillet (2011) disagrees and says gas cannot be a tool according to different relations between countries. While Sorbello (2011b) adopts the "price" as a major tool in the relation between energy security and foreign policy; as the price has a sufficient influence changing relations between suppliers and consumers. Similar to Strange (2009) who argues importers and exporters concern more with the price as well as the stability of energy supply.

In today's world, several of international relations theories are applied to understand the politics of energy security; the most important theories are: neoliberal institutionalism and neorealism, these theories are competing in the field. Neoliberal institutionalists believes that this approach will help in assuring the delivery of energy sources (Campe, 2011), while neorealists believe of the possibility of using energy sources as a power to achieve foreign policy goals (Dunne & Schmidt, 2008).

2.3 Energy Security in Jordan

After 1973, the notable rises on Gulf States' economic growth according to oil trade, opens the door widely between Jordan and these states. These states sharply need professional minds from Jordan to meet the huge demand of labor shortage. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were the most

dependent countries on Jordan. According to this dependency, Jordan's foreign policy was sufficient of gaining a financial support, as well as cheap oil price. The negative influence of this gaining is that Jordan shows clearly a low interest in regards to securing its energy. Nowadays, Jordan pays a high price because of that.

In 1980, the oil exports were affected because of the Iran-Iraq War. This situation caused a huge demand of oil, made Gulf States and other Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) countries raise their production. Therefore, the supply was much more than demand, which leads to a severe fall in oil price. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait economy highly affected by this situation, which makes both of them reduce their financial help to Jordan to the minimum level (Venegas, 2013).

As a result, Jordan's foreign policy turned toward Iraq, which was a supplier of cheap energy. Iraq wanted Jordan for an international policy support, while Jordan's needs cheap energy and a new market for its produced goods. The relation between the two countries became much stronger than before after the Second Gulf War 1990-1991, when Saudi Arabia completely stopped supporting Jordan with oil, and expelled all the Jordanian labors, not even in Saudi Arabia but in all Gulf States (Alquraan, 1995). Until 2003, Jordan used to import oil from Iraq with a very large discount which is equal to a third of the international price (Lasensky, 2006).

After the war on Iraq in 2003, Saudi Arabia, UAE and Kuwait, started to support Jordan with same price privilege, this was not permanent since it ended in 2006 (Awad, 2009). After 2006, Jordan started to face a real energy security challenges since it has to take its oil needs with the global price. While it still takes the gas from Egypt with half of the market price. This was also not permanent, since Mubarak's regime collapsed in 2011. Later in July of the same year, Jordan signed a new 20 year agreement with Egypt, with a price very near to the global market price (Kotb, 2011). As Jordan depends on the Egyptian gas for nearly 90% of its electricity generating, the new treatment with new Egyptian regime increased the gas budget to 30% more (Henderson & Schenker, 2014). As a result, in November 2012, the government intended to increase the oil and gas price, which made huge protests with unusual violence.

2.3.1 The Arab Spring and Gas Crisis

In 2011, the government had allocated around \$225 million for bread subsidies (Khriashy, 2015, p. 7). This

was not enough since the prices of several products became high. As a result, unusual protests arose in the country in different cities calling for reforms.

Then, the King ordered the reduction of prices and taxes on food and fuel, even though the Jordanian economy was not strong enough to handle such cuts. But due to unstable situation in the region, the government preferred to cut the high prices to minimize the risk and violence in Jordan. Further, in an effort to console the public, the king also changed the government although it was somehow new and just started its work.

The continuous interruption of the Egyptian gas pipeline to Jordan affected Jordan's gas imports terrifically. The pipeline carrying natural gas to Jordan has been attacked 26 times since 2011 (Hussien, 2014). This caused a rise in fuel prices, which naturally caused greater instability due to economic difficulties.

In July 2012, the IMF loaned \$2 billion to Jordan for the next three years. While this provided a short-term relief for Jordan, several experts raised the concern that the loan might increase economic problem in the long run (Buck, 2012).

After the protests had quieted down for some time, Jordan cut down its subsidies for fuel and oil in November 2012 to secure IMF loan (Al-Khalidi, 2012a). The government was in a situation that has to do that in order to maintain the supply of energy as well as maintaining the public services. As a result, protesters went back to street in a huge way that seriously threat the regime (Al-Khalidi, 2012b).

All these show the fact that Jordan as an energy importer is in a real trouble especially that its economy is weak and can hardly afford the energy price. The revolution in Egypt cause the interruption of gas supply which makes Jordan depends on oil to generate electricity, this cause a high pressure on the economy because of the high cost of producing electricity.

In this light, Schenker and Henderson (2014), suggests that the Israeli gas is an option for Jordan since Israel is almost ready to export gas from two fields. In this case, Israel will be glad to sell out its gas since Jordan is a nearby customer. However, this option is under a big debate in Jordan.

2.3.2 Refugees Pressure

Jordan is the third largest refugee-hosting country in the world (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2014). These refugees create a

threat to the economy and social stability in the country (Adnegard, 2014). In 1948, Jordan welcomed a large number of Palestinian refugees, and in 1967 another large number of Palestinian refugees came to Jordan because of the war. While by the years 1990-91, about 350,000 Palestinian refugees came from the Gulf States to Jordan.

In 2003 and after, around 300,000 Iraqi refugees settled in Jordan, half of them settled legally. Jordan welcomed more Iraqi seeking for protection because of the war, this rise the number of refugees to be around half million. Most of these refugees were given healthcare and education even of their illegal residency. Yet, the number of Iraqi refugees decreased to 130,000 by the year 2015 (DOS, 2015). Additionally, Jordan hosted hundreds of thousands refugees from Lebanon due to the Lebanese Civil War in 1975.

Mainly, the largest number of refugees in Jordan is the Syrian refugees who came to the country due to Syrian civil war. About 1.3 million refugees are living already in the country. All those refugees are living among 6.6 million Jordanians (DOS, 2015).

This huge number of refugees changed the social structure in some areas in Jordan; for example, Za'atari camp for Syrian refugees became the 5th largest population in the country, while Al-Baq'a camp became a city that host the third-generation of Palestinian refugees.

The Syrian civil war and its human conditions pushed Jordan to open its borders for the refugees. Jordan opened around 25 different crossing points for Syrians. Over 622,000 had registered with UNHCR as refugees by the year 2013 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2014), and around 1.3 million in 2015 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2015). The refugees have been lived in Jordan since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War (Fibla, 2015). This huge number of refugees caused a massive pressure on natural resources and services. This situation affected the economy and the energy demand

The main problem is that Jordan has a weak economy and has to afford the refugees which make a pressure on several sectors; mainly the education sector, healthcare, and energy.

The aid presented by the United Nations still not enough, as the financial cost for hosting the Syrian refugees alone is around \$2 billion, and Jordan still paying a third of this cost (UNHCR, 2014). However, the government and people in Jordan look at the refugees' situation from a humanitarian side, and that's why

refugees are welcome and borders are open although of Jordan's hard conditions.

Regarding the study topic, the refugees' impacts on energy resources is so high since almost third of the population is not Jordanians. This sudden increase of population pushes the government to maintain a continuous energy supply. In this term, the United Nations has to support Jordan especially in economic terms to afford the demand pressure; otherwise it is so hard for Jordan to afford that alone.

2.4 Scholars Views toward Jordan's Foreign Policy and Energy Security

Several scholars focus on the energy demands and usage in the future. The scholars discussed the possible chances of using the renewable energy resources in order to save energy to meet the future challenges. In addition, they analyzed what kind of domestic energy projects could be replaced instead of oil and gas which they are considered as foreign energy sources. Also, they take in consideration the environmental impacts (Aburas, 1989; Alalim, 2006; Alali et al. 2006; Al-Ghandoor, 2013; Bsieso, 2003; Halasah, 2012; Hamarneh, 2006a; Hrayshat & A-Soud, 2004; Hrayshat, 2007; Jaber Badran & Abu-Shikhah, 2004; Jordan Energy & Mining Limited (JEML), 2010).

However, Shaffer (2013) studies in her article the elements that could have an influence on natural gas supply, and how those elements could meet the foreign policy aims. The case studies are the Egyptian natural gas supply to Israel and Jordan during 2008 to 2011. The other case is Russia and Caucasus according to the gas cutoff in winter 2012.

Shaffer argues that transit or consumer states can play a role of cutting the supply as well as the supplier states. According to the author, the political relation between suppliers, consumers, and even transit countries is a factor that could affect the energy supply. Therefore, the author puts the gas supply relations in three forms. First, neither state depends on gas trade. Second, one state depends on gas trade. Third, both states depend on gas trade. In related to the degree of dependency, the country that has a less dependency on the trade could have a large possibility to achieve its foreign policy goals in a sufficient way.

Jordan is a consumer country and a transit country as well, since the gas pipeline came from El Arish in Egypt has two lines, one for Israel and the other one is for

Jordan. The Jordanian pipeline named "Arab Gas Pipeline" crosses Jordan to Syria and Lebanon. As the Egyptian gas considered the only source for Jordan, it formed around 90% of electricity production. In this case, Egypt does not depend on the gas trade, while Jordan highly depends on the Egyptian gas. After the fall of Mubarak regime, several attacks happened to the pipeline which interrupted the supply. This gives the new regime in Egypt a chance to get rid of the old agreement and be free from paying any financial penalty for not fulfilling its commercial commitments.

Shaffer (2013) argues that this could be used as a possible foreign policy tool. However, in the case of Jordan, Shaffer puts that gas supply can be affected despite the good political relation between Egypt and Jordan. In her article, Shaffer discussed the Egyptian foreign policy as a supplier country that uses the gas as a tool to reach its foreign policy goals. Shaffer also argued that a country with a less dependent on gas trade could have a large possibility to achieve its foreign policy aims in a sufficient way.

On the other side, El-Anis (2012) puts, in order to identify Jordan's energy security, the country must rely on political, economic and social factors between the Middle East and the whole world as well. El-Anis says "Energy security policies are seen to be interconnected with domestic policies relating to economic growth and stability, the raising of living standards, reducing poverty, the provision of public services, political stability, and to some extent environmental protection" (p.26). The author suggests that Jordan has only one choice to get energy security, which is focusing on domestic energy programs and at the same time limits the dependency on the foreign energy. He says this can be considered the main challenge of energy security, because Jordan has very limited influence in the international relations. The author writes that Jordan's foreign policy concerned in making the region stable in order to achieve its own energy demand. El-Anis (2012), in his article, points to the domestic factors and international factors in identifying energy security. To sum up, El-Anis points that Jordan should focus on the domestic factors to reach energy security, mainly nuclear energy. This article focuses mainly on the possible future solutions in regards to the nuclear power plants.

A notable study made by Venegas (2013) who argues that Jordan depends mostly on foreign energy, especially from neighbor countries, while, using domestic natural

resources still weak. This kind of energy dependency caused problems with the political system and affected negatively the social stability. He argues that Jordan starts to face more danger according to the instability in energy exporting neighbors after the “Arab Revolutions.” According to the author, domestic demand is so high and energy supply cannot meet the demand. For example, demand is increasing 3% much higher than the supply each year.

Venegas’s study mentions that Jordan should face such a problem with three main ways: first, it should focus on the domestic consumers and try to reduce the demand. Second, the government should keep the stability of supply. Third, the government should focus on building domestic energy sectors, especially in oil shale and nuclear energy. The author argues Jordan builds such a high dependency on foreign energy sources because of the regional political economy. The study focuses on the domestic projects and the energy production in Jordan. The study is not foreign policy oriented, and it goes quite far from foreign policy and its impact on energy security. It does not focus on the ways to extend relations with energy exporting countries and keep the stability of foreign energy supply, for example, the relation with Egypt, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. However, it focuses more on the domestic factors and the current energy situation and its effect on the social stability.

3. Methodology

3.1 Qualitative Approach

The current study adopts a qualitative approach to the data, as this scientific method allows exploring the issue of the study and gives a deep understanding of the phenomenon. It explores how the interviewees identify the politics of energy security. In that way, the method examined the political concept of energy security and its relation with foreign policy, which helped in answering the study questions.

This paper is a qualitative study because it considers the conceptions of energy security and foreign policy as context concepts. While, the quantitative method does not pay attention to the context (Cherp & Jewell, 2011).

The qualitative method is effective in discovering the view of the interviewees, which is essential in order to gain a high quality data about the study topic (Kvale 1994), which could not be achieved by adopting the quantitative method. In addition, the qualitative method helps in meeting key figures about the issue of the study,

and they give a unique and new data that could not be obtained by quantitative method (Gram, 2014).

Qualitative approach became more effective to insight on the latest information through questions. Such information will be more new, and at the same time reflect the actual situation according to the scholar’s aim. In addition, this approach was useful in such a study, since it is more flexible and interpretive (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2004).

As each study needs a specific analysis method, depending on that, the researchers adopted thematic content analysis scheme. Content analysis is considered as a comprehensive approach to data analysis (Kohlbacher, 2006). Recently, content analysis scheme became more valuable in political studies, as it gives flexibility to be used in different ways, especially in the discipline of international relations such as political statesmen, elites, electronic and printed media, and geopolitical dialogue, etc. (Hermann, 2008).

Content analysis concerns in analyzing and testing the content. The general idea of the text must be understood by analyzing the whole text, while identifying the whole text requires dividing it into several sections. Content analysis focuses on the main idea of the text (Patton, 2004). And one of the most powerful tools in content analysis is that it allows dividing the data into categories (Eriksson, 2011; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In addition, it allows finding the relation between these categories.

3.2 Collection of Data

3.2.1 Sample of Interviewees

The current study depends mainly on the data taken from ten semi-structured interviews with elite in Jordan. For choosing the interviewees, following Thomas (2006) statement, non-probability sampling technique is more useful for qualitative researches, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques has been employed in order to obtain the ideal sample size, which fulfills certain criteria. This combination is useful in elite interviewing (Tansey, 2007). An initial list of desired interviewees, considered to reflect the different positions in Jordan’s foreign policy and energy security in the period 2003 to 2014, was then determined (Tansey, 2007). Then snowball sampling, which is more common in elite studies has been started (Burnham, Gilland, Grant, & Layton-Henry, 2008). This means that the researchers began with an initial list of interviewees whom he has identified them according to the selected criteria

(O'Leary, 2005; Tansey, 2007). Then ask them to name other individuals that fit the selected criteria (Burnham et al., 2008), as each interviewee was asked to nominate another interviewee, then the latter nominee another, and so on. The process continued until the researcher covered the purpose of the study (Tansey, 2007) and further interviewees did not add much new knowledge (Kvale, 1994).

Consequently, the former and current official persons in the government were considered for sampling purposes.

The criteria for choosing this sample were connected to the study's purpose, which was related to foreign policy and energy security. The criteria represented the most people who were involved in foreign policy

decisions, and energy security issues.

The Major Criteria for the Elite are Fixed to:

1- Current and former official statesmen in government: Prime Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

2- Parliament and Upper House of Parliament (Senate House) members, who are involved in three committees; Committee of Energy, Foreign Affairs Committee, and Law Committee.

3 - Experts in energy and environment issues.

The list of interviewees reflects different current and former political positions in foreign policy and energy security. The final data in table 1 consists of interviewees' information.

Table (1) Sample of Elite

Name of Interviewee	Position
Samir Al-Rifai	Prime Minister of Jordan (14 December 2009 to 9 February 2011). Currently, the head of Foreign Affairs Committee in Senate House.
Samir Murad	Minister of Labor (2010 to 2011). Currently, the chairman of Damman Energy Investment Co., board member of Jordan Strategy Forum and Economic Policy Development Forum.
Mohammed Taisir	Current Secretary-General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Former ambassador to Iraq (2010 – 2014).
Mohammed Hamed	Current Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources.
Ala Batayneh	Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources in the cabinet of Prime Minister Abdullah Ensour on 11 October 2012. Currently, Senator in the upper House of Parliament since 2013 and member of Energy Committee in Senate House.
Khaled Touqan	Current chairman of the Jordan Atomic Energy Commission, he served previously as the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources (2011).
Khaled Al-Irani	Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources (2009 - 2010), Minister of Environment (2005 - 2009). Currently, Senator in the Upper House of Parliament and member of Energy Committee.
Hind Al-Fayez	Current Parliament member and member of Energy Committee. Former member of Foreign Affairs Committee.
Raouf Al-Dabbas	Environment and Energy Expert. Currently, Consultant in Ministry of Environment.
Mustafa Al-Amawi	Current Parliament member and the head of Law Committee in Parliament.

The interviews were conducted in Amman in the following dates:

1. Samir Rifai: 18-2-2015

2. Samir Murad: 28-1-2015

3. Mohammed Taisir: 26-3-2015

4. Mohammed Hamed 5-2-2015

5. Ala Batayneh: 2-2-2015
6. Khaled Touqan: 2-2-2015
7. Khaled Al-Irani 1-2-2015
8. Hind Al Fayez: 12-1-2015
9. Raouf Dabbas: 12-1-2015
10. Mustafa Amawi: 29-1-2015

With 10 interviewees, the current study conforms to Kvale's (1994) observation 5 - 25 interviews.

3.2.2 Elite Interviews

The interviews with key informants formed an "elite group" (Kvale, 1994, p.108) as the interviewees are key figures in the Jordanian society and the government. Elite persons are defined as: "a group of individuals, who hold, or have held, a privileged position in society and, as such are likely to have had more influence on political outcomes than general members of the public" (Richards, 1996, p.199).

Elite interviewing is one of the major data collection methods in qualitative research in political science (Dexter, 2006). Increasingly, political scientists consider elite interviewing as the best method in political researches to gather unique information about the study issue. This type of interviewing is not only valuable for discovering a center political issue or process, but also it allows the researcher to mark out policies in the political events (Boucher, Maboob, & Dutcher, 2013). Further, Elite interviews will give political science researchers a very comprehensive and inclusive data that helps in identifying the complicated political issues (Beamer, 2002).

Elite interview is the best way to get information about the decision-making process (Burnham et al., 2008). Thereby, this method of data collection is sufficient to understand a political phenomenon. The researchers chose this method because it will provide information about an issue that we know little about it and cannot be taken from official documents or media. So that, it gave unique direct information related to the relation between foreign policy and energy security in Jordan. Another advantage of this method is that those people are the finest people who could explain clearly the topic of the research through an actual and real insight to the political framework. As elite are experts in their field, this helped the researchers to gain a very specific and detailed information (Ethridge, 2002).

The researchers had a local advisor who is His Excellency Samir Murad, a former minister of labor,

currently Chairman of Damman Energy Investment Co., Board Member of Jordan Strategy Forum, and Economic Policy Development Forum.

According to Minister Murad previous and current position, his help was extremely important as he has a very influential voice in Jordan. He provided the researchers with interviewees' phone numbers, and helped the researchers to take appointments with them. Without such a help it would be so hard to meet such key figures.

The interviewees were selected according to their direct position in Jordan's decision-making regarding foreign policy and energy security considering the scope of the study.

According to that, the interviewees provided sufficient information directly related to the research topic.

The interviewees were on the relationship between foreign policy and energy security, and they had the direct knowledge and influence on it. Their talk considered to be "*of strategic importance*" (Flyvbjerg, 2010, p.474) for such a research (Gram, 2014). Therefore, they provided very important and comprehensive information related to the research topic.

3.3 Analysis Procedure

As mentioned, the study adopted a qualitative content analysis. The researchers used a qualitative analysis software program, NVivo 10. The software developed by QSR International Pty Ltd. The software does not analyze for the researcher, it just makes the analysis more accurate and trustworthy (Kaefer, Roper, & Sinha, 2005).

The analysis first step is coding themes; the primary themes (nodes) have been set according to the main research questions. Then these themes were refined after reading the collected material.

The next step began, so that the responses of the questions were retested and examined. Then were coded according to the primary themes, and some extra themes were added.

The coding brought new patterns (child-nodes), this confirmed the importance of some themes over others. The themes cover the stages of the research phenomenon.

The major idea of data analysis is to get ideas and answers from the whole collected data (Tesch, 2013). The analysis is essential to find out the common keywords among the data to reach to the appropriate concepts. In consequence, the researchers used the query stage in

NVivo software by using “text search query” which allows determining certain concepts which are most often raised. The “word frequency query” is used to know the concepts that interviewees point to most often. These queries can be used on both; the interview or on certain nodes. This will help in evaluating the significant themes and the context –in earlier stages- wherever they appear.

Depending on the new composition of nodes and their supposed significance, additional analysis and reorganization of nodes were required. Upon completing the coding process, matrix coding and compound queries were run to compare coded material across nodes. These queries revealed potential relationships among nodes. After the researchers clarified the relation between all nodes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), therefore, in the memo stage, the researchers created memos to save the results and the ideas about each participant and theme to make a comparison between respondents.

4. Findings

4.1 The Concept of Energy Security in Jordan

After 2006, energy security became one of the most important targets to Jordan’s foreign policy (Samir Murad, personal communication, January 28, 2015; Samir Rifai, personal communication, February 18, 2015). Achieving stable sources of energy is one of the most important issues for policymakers in Jordan, especially after the Arab revolutions (Roznak, 2014).

To date, energy production in Jordan is insufficient, and foreign energy imports still the major issue (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015). Further, Jordan is facing international and internal challenges, especially in regards to nuclear power programs (Khaled Irani, personal communication, February 1, 2015).

After the Arab Spring, natural gas can be considered the most important energy needs for Jordan, and the kingdom used to depend on Egypt to afford the gas requirements (Mohammed Hamed, personal communication, February 5, 2015). This dependency caused so many problems for the country. The sudden increase of the population makes the imports in a way that cannot meet the entire demand; consequently, this situation puts the country under a high risk (Hind Al-Fayez, personal communication, January 12, 2015).

By following the global concept of energy security, The suitable concept that matches Jordan’s foreign policy view should put in consideration the fact that Jordan is a

developing energy importer (Samir Rifai, personal communication, February 18, 2015); hence the definition among energy exporters is different than the definition among importers (Willrich, 1975). As an energy importer, Jordan has to focus on different aspects to determine the concept of energy security, such as the “price of energy” (Samir Rifai, personal communication, February 18, 2015). because it affects importers (Sorbello, 2011), and the “supply of energy” (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015), because it can be considered as a main concern for importers also (Strange, 2009). Further, Jordan has to concern on its domestic energy projects to assure supply (Khaled Touqan, personal communication, February 2, 2015); having alternative energy sources is sufficient in such a case (Mikdashi, 1976; Willrich, 1975; Yergin, 2006).

In short, achieving the balance between supply and good price depends on the ability of the countries’ policymakers (Samir Murad, personal communication, January 28, 2015), and how much their foreign policy could meet the energy security challenges. In the case of Jordan, policymakers should put in mind how to balance between the foreign policy with suppliers and global powers in order to meet the energy demand with good price (Khaled Irani, personal communication, February 1, 2015), and at the same time, what can be done domestically in order to reduce the dependency on the foreign energy according to the energy belongings; which are the capital, human, and natural resources (Venegas, 2013).

On these grounds, and since there is no fixed universal definition for energy security, Thereby, the researchers analyzed various aspects of energy security related to the case of Jordan. Thus, energy security in Jordan means:

“All possible and legal policies to have a continuous and sufficient energy supply with an adequate price, at all times”

Therefore, the political concept of energy security in Jordan is connected to two main basis; sufficient energy supply and affordable energy price (Samir Murad, personal communication, January 28, 2015; Samir Rifai, personal communication, February 18, 2015). Mohammed Taisir assured the connection between Jordan’s foreign policy and energy security, as these

aspects are totally connected to foreign policy. Jordan's foreign policy puts into consideration the importance of assuring the supply by developing the country's relations with energy exporters (personal communication, March 26, 2015).

However, the Arab Spring created more pressure on Jordan's foreign policy in regards to gas supply, which takes the main concern nowadays (Samir Murad, personal communication, January 28, 2015; Samir Rifai, personal communication, February 18, 2015).

So, foreign policy is important to keep a sufficient and stable gas supply.

4.4 The Responsibility of Foreign Policy to Address Energy Security

4.4.1 Diversifying Energy Sources

Most of interviewees confirmed that foreign policy should work more on improving domestic energy programs by making contracts regarding oil shale extraction, wind, and solar. In addition, the most important thing is that Jordan's foreign policy must look for alternative energy suppliers and diversify sources to assure the supply and reduce the influence of energy dependency on foreign policy. Gas supply is the most important issue in the current time.

The dilemma in Jordan is to choose the suitable country, and it has to decide in this matter since it does not have the privilege of time. Building gas terminals in Aqaba port will assure the supply and store gas. Jordan's foreign policy is free to move according to the legal system and flow of money. The big idea is foreign policy should move fast as the demand grown 7.5% each year while the global average is about 2.2%. Jordan has to import the technology needed for domestic projects and asking for aid to develop these projects. Bringing the technology and choosing the right country is a mission of foreign policy.

It is important to diversify types and sources, and it is possible for Jordan, because Jordan does not have any type of absolute dependence on any country (Khaled Touqan, personal communication, February 2, 2015; Samir Murad, personal communication, January 28, 2015; Samir Al-Rifai, personal communication, February 18, 2015). For Samir Al-Rifai the Egyptian case highlighted the importance of looking for alternative gas suppliers much more than oil, "*since oil has an open market and can be affordable globally*" (personal communication, February 18, 2015). Similar to Samir

Murad, who argued:

"Our experience with Egypt is that our electrical energy turbines were totally dependent on gas from Egypt. Now, when the pipeline no longer has the gas we required, Jordan has to go to the international market and buy heavy fuel in order to generate electricity. This significantly affected the economy. The lesson learned from there; I think we should have different types of energy and different sources, so when one source fail, it will not significantly affect us. We should also find an alternative without serious and significant impact on the economy" (personal communication, January 28, 2015).

Ala Batayneh, pointed to the importance of assuring gas supply since gas is clean and reliable and the best technique to generate electricity. Depending on oil to generate electricity will affect the budget sharply. It is Jordan's right to have more than one source (personal communication, February 2, 2015).

However, Hind Al-Fayez, agreed that it is a must for Jordan to look for gas alternative suppliers, but she pointed that Jordan has to avoid the Israeli gas as an option, since there are other alternatives like Qatari or Algerian gas, and the gas terminals will be ready then Jordan will have the choice to import gas from any country. She assured the importance of buying gas from an "*Arab Country.*" Al-Fayez confirmed, "*We do not have any technical problems for importing gas from Qatar. Our problem is the energy price.*"

Al-Fayez emphasizes that having gas from Israel will influence foreign policy in a negative way, since Jordan will be under the Israeli control as it might cut the supply. Jordan failed in that because of the pressure from external powers, as Jordan's foreign policy is cooperating strongly with the U.S. She believed that the government is slow, since for example, the gas terminals in Aqaba is supposed to be finished by June/July 2015. Such Terminals will allow importing gas through LNG from Qatar.

However, Al-Fayez argues that the people in Jordan is making a pressure on the government to maintain the energy prices low, so the government should use this to convince the global powers to support Jordan. The U.S. and other regional powers surely fear from any turmoil in Jordan as they have benefits from maintain the situation stable in the country.

The internal opposition will support foreign policy, because street pressure will solve the foreign policy problem regarding so many issues including energy security. In addition, Jordan has to diversify energy sources in two different levels: domestic projects and taking gas from Arab countries (personal communication, January 12, 2015).

However, Ala Batayneh looks at the issue with Israeli gas as an international issue, and Europe is willing to take gas from Israel (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015). By analyzing neighbor gas suppliers, the Iraqi gas is hard to be seen because of the internal problems and wars in Iraq. Further, Jordan cannot import from Gaza due to the political issues. In Saudi Arabia, they are not in rush to produce gas from their new fields (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015). Therefore, Jordan does not have the privilege of time, so policymakers have to decide. Jordan has a peace agreement with Israel, and people fly over Israel and sharing water. Yes, Jordan prefers an Arab source, but the choice is not available, and gas is needed so fast to save the industry (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015).

While, for Raouf Al-Dabbas, Jordan should not buy energy from Israel, even if it is free, because Israel is an enemy, and Jordan now is facing a problem regarding gas supply, not oil. Thus, Jordan should bring gas from harmless countries. For example, he stated:

“If Jordan gets gas from Israel, the Israeli will have the privilege to do bad actions in Jerusalem, and Jordan cannot do anything because it depends on its gas. Jordan should study each country carefully” (personal communication, January 12, 2015).

In this matter, Mohammed Hamed emphasized that Jordan has to diversify energy sources, and now the country is planning to take gas from Israel with lower cost, and later, after building the LNG terminal in Aqaba this will allow to take gas from other sources like Qatar and Cyprus (personal communication, February 5, 2015).

The government has to maintain a very secure environment, so foreign policy can gain international funding and international private sector to invest. Moreover, to have a fair legal system, free flow of money. All these elements have to be in line with foreign

interest (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015; Samir Murad, personal communication, January 28, 2015; Samir Al-Rifai, personal communication, February 2, 2015). From 2007 until 2020, the energy strategy is focusing on developing energy by the help of the private sector (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015).

Here, Khaled Al-Irani explained the role of foreign policy in domestic energy programs, he noted:

“Foreign policy has to create relationships with many energy countries to bring technology from other countries and providing grants to develop our domestic resources. In the future, we will diversify energy from other countries, and develop renewable energy and oil shale” (personal communication, February 1, 2015).

Mustafa Al-Amawi explored the issue that domestic projects are must for Jordan, especially oil shale, solar, and wind (personal communication, January 29, 2015).

After 2007, the energy strategy provided national energy mix target that focusing on developing domestic resources, the government plan by 2020 is to use 10% of the country’s energy mix from renewable resources. The government adopted the renewable energy law in 2010 and Jordan’s foreign policy is working, as the country needs the technology from outside. For example, technology from Estonian regarding oil shale by direct burning to generate electricity, that influences Jordan’s foreign policy to deal with Estonia. Consequently, bringing technology and choosing the right country is a mission of foreign policy. Each part of energy mix has a particular policy to achieve it, so energy security is depending on Jordan’s external policies. Like gas, oil, technology, nuclear, and bringing cheaper energy. Foreign policy makes it clear for us from where should Jordan bring and where to go and what to do (Khaled Al-Irani, personal communication, February 1, 2015).

Jordan needs 10-15 billion in the next coming 10 years to meet the demand as it has grown 7.5% per year and the world average is around 2.2% , so this alarming. Some of it due to the influx of refugees, and some of it due to the lack of awareness of energy conversation, so Jordan has to raise the awareness of energy conversation to work on energy efficiency not only production.

Foreign policy should be faster regarding the local projects, as it does not have the luxury of time. Regarding

price, it is international. And for supply, Jordan has to act fast again to diversify energy, especially gas supply since Jordan does not have it more from Egypt. Moreover, Jordan should be fast to finish building the four gas terminals in Aqaba, so the country will be open for the global energy market (Ala Batayneh, personal communication, February 2, 2015).

In this issue, Khaled Touqan noted:

“Diversifying energy is a must, either from other countries or internally; now we are working hard to build a nuclear reactor” (personal communication, February 2, 2015).

To Khaled Al-Irani, Nuclear has many challenges, internally and internationally. Regarding opposition, Jordan can succeed in the political challenges, but technical and financial challenges are harder. It is important to go through all the roots: gas, oil shale, and renewable energy (personal communication, February 1, 2015).

To Raouf Al-Dabbas, it is not a matter of challenge; it is that Jordan actually does not need nuclear reactors. Nuclear reactors need to be near a sea or a river, and Jordan wants to build it in the desert. Jordan is one of the poorest countries of water. However, the danger later, that even if Jordan passed the opposition, those countries who will give Jordan the enriched uranium will have influence over Jordan’s foreign policy. Raouf Al-Dabbas did not see a big opposition against the project from other countries, while the biggest opposition is internally (personal communication, January 12, 2015).

Concisely, policymakers in Jordan showed the importance of the political affinity regarding energy security. They all share the same point of view that Jordan is facing a huge problem regarding energy and every policy in the country should focus on diversifying energy sources on either the domestic level or the international level.

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Conclusion

The study has highlighted the concept of energy security in international politics. It also emphasized the foreign policy affinity with energy security. And mainly, it determined the aspects of energy security in Jordan.

According to policymakers, “energy supply” and “energy price” are the two core aspects of energy security in the country.

The government has a considerable task to make energy independence by developing the domestic energy projects. This is a key point to minimize the risk of energy interruption. However, in the near future, the country will still dependent on foreign energy resources. From this point, policymakers, particularly, give gas supply a greater concern in term of securing energy.

Additionally, the policymakers showed the main role of foreign policy to diversify energy resources, and what should be done in this case. Effective international relations are essential in the case of Jordan.

It seems rational to conclude that energy security became a major objective to Jordan’s foreign policy particularly after 2006.

The current study is unique since it depends on the elite interviewing, as this method allows getting exceptional and new information. The study also analyzed several journals and documents in the issue. Through the discussion with the respondents, it was noticeable that energy security has been largely ignored for several years, which cause the absence of such studies in the kingdom. Recently, researchers have started to pay more attention to the politics of energy.

The study suggests that it would be handy to study energy security especially in a conflict region like the Middle East as many factors play roles in the issues of energy security. Additional studies are suggested to explore in details the variables have been examined by this current work. On the other hand, this might also give a light to focus on Jordan’s relation with energy exporting countries outside the region.

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المفهوم السياسي لأمن الطاقة: الحالة الأردنية

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ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد المفهوم السياسي لأمن الطاقة وأهميته بالنسبة للسياسة الخارجية في الأردن. وتدرس أهمية أمن الطاقة في العلاقات الدولية. وتوضح المفهوم العالمي لأمن الطاقة. كما أن هذه الدراسة تلقي الضوء على سياسة أمن الطاقة في الدول. تعتمد هذه الورقة البحثية على الأردن كحالة دراسة، ومن أجل توضيح هذه القضية تمت عملية جمع البيانات من خلال إجراء المقابلات شبه المنظمة مع النخبة السياسية، بالإضافة إلى الدراسات والوثائق. وقد تم تحليل البيانات بواسطة تحليل المحتوى النوعي باستخدام برنامج NVivo 10. أظهرت النتائج أن مفهوم أمن الطاقة في الأردن يركز إلى عاملين أساسيين وهما: كميات تزويد كافية من الطاقة، وأسعار مناسبة للطاقة. كما أظهرت الدراسة أهمية تحقيق أمن الغاز بالنسبة لصانعي السياسة الخارجية في الأردن خاصة بعد إنهيار نظام مبارك في مصر عام 2011. وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن أمن الطاقة أصبح هدفاً أساسياً للسياسة الخارجية الأردنية تحديداً بعد عام 2006.

الكلمات الدالة: أمن الطاقة، السياسة الخارجية الأردنية، الأردن، الشرق الأوسط.

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