

TOWARDS A GENDER-AWARE ENERGY POLICY

A Case Study from South Africa and Uganda

Mariëlle Feenstra

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Supervisors;

Prof. Dr. Jaap de Wilde; Department of Public Administration and Political Science

Dr. Joy Clancy; Technology and Development Group

Dr. Nico Schulte Nordholt; Technology and Development Group

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Voor Opa

A women needs a man
Like a fish needs a bicycle
When you're tryin' to throw your arms around the world

'Tryin' To Throw Your Arms Around The World', U2

ABSTRACT

Despite the efforts of South Africa and Uganda to genderize their energy policy, a clear idea what engendering energy policy is about is still lacking. There is not much knowledge on what its main characteristics are and how national governments can genderize their energy policy. Governments, civil society and development organizations, do not know how to realize gender mainstreaming in this area. The experience of South Africa in genderizing their energy policy and the attempts of the Ugandan government to integrate gender in their energy policy document could provide an example for other governments. The main objective of this study is therefore to contribute to the formulation of a gender-aware energy policy, which could help to overcome gender-inequality in national energy policy by developing and defining the main characteristics of gender-aware national energy policy and analyzing under which conditions such a policy can be realized.

To realize this objective, the main research question of this study was formulated as followed; what are the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy and what conditions, based on the experience of South Africa and the developments in Uganda, enable the integration of gender in a national energy policy? To find answers to the research questions, a literature study was carried out, which also provided theoretical background information on gender mainstreaming and on energy policy. The literature offered insights how national governments could genderize their energy policy and the motivations of governments to do this. Furthermore, conditions for and characteristics of genderizing energy policy were identified in the literature. Because gender and energy policy is a little researched area, a literature study could not answer the research question entirely. Therefore two case-studies in Uganda and South Africa were carried out to offer an example of how national governments genderize their national energy policy. In the case studies, the focus is on the energy policy process and the integration of gender into that process.

Five characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy were identified. The first characteristic is gender-mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is a process to ensure that the concerns and needs of both women and men are considered in all planning and policy-making and that all policy-makers are aware of the needs of women and men and their roles and responsibilities. In South Africa as well as in Uganda, this was the case during the energy policy formulation process. The second characteristic is participation. Besides some exceptions, women are generally under-represented at the decision-making level in the energy sector and are rarely consulted regarding energy projects. To react on women's energy needs and concerns and to react on their demand, the government should consult those women and to let them participate in order to formulate an energy policy that reflects their energy demands. In South Africa, the Women's Energy Group did participate in the Energy Policy

formulation process. In Uganda stakeholders were consulted about all the aspects within the energy policy.

A gender-aware energy policy should furthermore recognise women's role in the energy provision and use and their energy needs. The recognition of women's role and their energy needs in the energy policy of South Africa is made explicit in some sections of the policy. However, mostly the policy speaks about households and the 'poor'. This is also the case in Uganda. When integrating gender into energy policy, a fourth character is an integrated energy planning (IEP) approach, which recognizes that energy has multi-disciplinary (political, social, economic and environmental) aspects and which promotes a demand-driven approach towards energy planning. The integrated energy planning approach was the leading approach during the energy policy formulation process in South Africa and in Uganda and is used as the framework for the energy policy. The fifth character of a gender-aware energy policy is gender-disaggregated data on male and female energy use. This can be used as a tool to enlarge the knowledge on women's energy use and demand. In South Africa, there is a lack of disaggregated data and statistical information on energy use. In Uganda, there are gender-disaggregated data available and published, however, not on energy issues.

Six conditions can be identified to realize gender-aware public policy and in the case studies of Uganda and South Africa it was analyzed whether these conditions were achieved. A first condition to be realized is a participatory framework; involving beneficiaries in public policy through stakeholders-participation by working in collaboration and participation of government, development organizations, civil society organizations, etc. A second condition is the availability of a methodological framework. This is necessary to generate and analyze gender-disaggregated data so that policy-makers can have appropriate data so that they can take action to overcome unequal gender relations. Gender awareness of a government, can furthermore be demonstrated by equalizing opportunities by modifying the legal framework. Is the legal treatment of men and women equal? Are men and women equal for the law? Are gender-issues integrated into the constitution? The fourth condition that needs to be fulfilled in order to realize gender mainstreaming is the establishment of a political framework for using targeting measures to narrow the gender gap. To implement the political framework and to monitor the legal framework, an institutional framework for gender issues needs to be established. Finally, a financial framework is crucial for realizing gender-aware policies and to demonstrate political commitment to gender mainstreaming by allocating sufficient resources to gender policies.

These conditions can be considered not only as a way to create an enabling (political) environment within a country for gender-mainstreaming but also as conditions for gender-aware energy policy. When these conditions are realized, a background is established to create a gender-aware energy policy. Fulfilling the conditions mentioned above will demonstrate a commitment within a society to

realize gender-mainstreaming. However, several actors within that society will have their own motivation for aiming gender-mainstreaming. Therefore, several underlying principles for genderizing policy are identified, namely; welfare, empowerment, equality/ equity, efficiency and anti-poverty. Which underlying principle a government chooses to implement gender-aware energy policy determines their motivations and their underlying reasons for realizing that. However, within a government, even within a department of a ministry, several motivations can exist simultaneously. Also several stakeholders in a policy formulation process are participating with different (often conflicting) underlying principles.

The process towards a gender-aware energy policy will therefore start with the conditions for realizing a gender-aware energy policy and fulfilling these conditions will create an enabling background for gender-mainstreaming. Then the process moves on towards the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy. What makes an energy policy gender-aware? The objectives of integrating gender into an energy policy will form the underlying principles of stakeholders in the policy process. However, different stakeholders do have other (mostly conflicting) underlying principles.

GLOSSARY

Energy services	includes lightening, cooking, heating and cooling, pumping water sterilisation, refrigeration, transportation, communication and power for productive purposes
Gender	a system of socially defined roles, privileges, attributes and relationships between women and men, which are not determined by biology, but by social, cultural, political and economic forces.
Gender awareness	ability of persons or policies to understand the implications of a particular programme, project or policy for both men and women, and to plan according to the needs of both.
Gender-aware policy	a policy, which takes into account the social relations of women and men as well as differences in their needs, as opposed to a policy specifically for women or men.
Gender inequality	biases against men or women determined by their gender, such that women's and men's participation in different social, political and economic sectors, and in development in general lead to unequal outcomes and benefits
Gender gaps	statistical and practical indicators of the differences in access to resources and to social and economic benefits for men and women
Gender imbalance	unequal distribution of women's and men's access to and control of resources, services and benefits, and their participation in production and social reproduction
Gender-mainstreaming	process to realise gender awareness within an organization and/or its policies, programmes and projects
Green Paper	policy discussion document in South Africa
Stakeholder	Actor participating in the development process
White Paper	final policy discussion document in South Africa

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress (in South Africa)
ANCWL	ANC Women's League (in South Africa)
CBO	Civil Society Based Organization
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality (in South Africa)
CSD9	Ninth Session of the Commission on Sustainable Development
DMEA	Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs (South Africa)
EADI	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
EAETDN	East African Energy Technology Development Network
ENERGIA	International Network for Gender and Sustainable Energy
EPRET	Energy Policy Research and Training (research project in South Africa)
ERDC	Energy for Development Research Centre, University of Cape Town
GAD	Gender-and-Development method
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH
IEA	International Energy Agency
IEP	Integrated Energy Planning
MEPC	Minerals and Energy Policy Centre (in South Africa)
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OSW	Office of the Status of Women (in South Africa)
PAEP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan in Uganda
PGN	Practical Gender Needs
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme (of South Africa)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SGN	Strategic Gender Needs
TDG	Technology and Development Group, University of Twente
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WBI	Women's Budget Initiative (in South Africa)
WEG	Women's Energy Group (in South Africa)
WID	Women-in-development
WNC	Women's National Coalition (in South Africa)

PREFACE

As a Dutch woman, you don't have to be worried about energy issues like if there is enough available or how much time you will need to collect it. In Uganda however, the situation is quite different. Only 5% of the country is connected to the electricity grid network and 93% of the country is depending on biomass. So when I traveled in the rural areas of Uganda, a hot shower, watching television, recharging the batteries of my laptop, ironing my skirts, was impossible or very difficult. After 6.15 p.m. it was dark, so I had the choice whether to stay at home and try to read a book by candle-light or to go out with the risk of hurting myself walking over dirt-roads in a bad conditions without streetlights lightening my way. As a Dutch woman, only being there for a short time, it is more part of the adventure of being abroad and even nostalgically, than a burden. However, for the men and women living in Uganda, this is every-day-live and although they might be used to that, a lot can be improved. To make an attempt to improve their situation, this study will explore how needs of men and women can be reflected in energy policy.

There are many people and organizations that made my study possible. It is difficult to mention them all by name, because I might forget some. There are however some persons who meant a lot to me in this graduation period. First of all, my family, friends and especially Hylke, who supported me during my study and encouraged me to go my own way. Furthermore a special thanks to my supervisors for their contribution in this study by offering their comments and insights. Especially, I would like to thank Joy Clancy. She not only inspired me to study gender and energy issues, she also gave me the opportunity to work with her as a research-assistant on an annotated bibliography on gender and energy. I would also like to thank you for enabling my field studies and the interviews during the ENERGIA Workshop in Soesterberg.

Furthermore, I want to thank the people who made my field-studies possible and pleasant. First of all, the respondents who were willing to share their experiences with me and gave me essential input for this study. I also want to thank ENERGIA, for enabling contacts, EDRC for the warm welcome and inspiring time in Cape Town and the Women's and Gender Studies Department of Makerere University and EAETDN-Uganda that supported me during my field study in Uganda. There are some people who meant a lot to me during my field studies. First of all, Reint and Alida Bakema who opened their house for me and gave me a home away from home in Kampala. Last but certainly not at least; May Sengendo and Wendy Annecke. Thank you May, for our loving time in Cape Town and all the arrangements you organized for me in Uganda. Wendy, thank you for teaching me how to combine personal commitment to realise gender equality with a scientific view.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Energy is central to current concerns about sustainable human development. Wendy Annecke (1999) points out that, at the local and national levels a reliable energy supply is recognised as being essential to economic stability and growth, jobs and improved living standards. Nevertheless, according to statistics of the World Bank (2000, p.2), approximately 2 billion people in the world still lack access to basic energy services.¹ The need and demand for energy services in developing countries is expected to increase dramatically. As a reaction to that, new policies and projects to provide energy services in developing countries will be developed. By developing these policies, it is important to be aware of another concern of the sustainable development-discourse; gender. Energy is not gender-neutral. Skutsch (1998, p. 946-947) emphasises that a focus on gender and not specifically confined to women is important, because *'gender and energy' implies that it is not only a women's issue, but a concern for the whole society and that the social relations between men and women, and the expectations and roles of both men and women as regard to energy, need to be taken into account.*

Men and women have different levels of access to different energy sources. Changes in the availability of energy, due to policy interventions, have different impacts on men and women. Therefore, gender needs to be taken into account when developing energy policy. Governments should try to integrate gender into their energy policy. This is however not the case; current energy policy can be considered gender blind. One reason for this is the fact that most governments do have not that much knowledge on gender-aware energy policy. They are struggling with questions like; what are the characteristics of such a policy? What makes an energy policy gender-aware? Are governments aware of the gender-aspects of energy and are they willing subsequently to genderize their energy policy? Besides the political will, are there other conditions that need to be fulfilled for realising a gender-aware energy policy? Are there examples of countries with experiences of genderizing their energy policy? What lessons do they provide for countries that want to develop a gender-aware energy policy?

A literature search shows that, there is not much knowledge on gender mainstreaming in energy policy to answer the questions above. However, there are two countries with interesting developments in this field; South Africa and Uganda. South Africa has an energy policy document since 1986, but after the apartheid-period all the policy documents were rewritten so as the energy policy. This was an opportunity to integrate gender-issues into the energy policy document. One of the ways in which the South African government tried to genderize their national energy policy after the apartheid-period,

¹ According to Annecke (1999), energy services include lightening, cooking, heating and cooling, pumping water sterilisation, refrigeration, transportation, communication and power for productive purposes. The delivery of these services begins with the collection of primary energy, which is converted into a form suitable for the user.

was the participation of The Women's Energy Group to the drafting process of the new energy policy. The WEG prepared several contributions to the discussion document-the Green Paper on Energy Policy-that was used to establish energy priorities for the new South African Government. As a result, women and gender needs were integrated in the final White Paper on Energy Policy. Also noteworthy is the fact that South Africa has a female Minister of Minerals and Energy since 1994. Another country with a female Minister of Minerals and Energy is Uganda. However, there are gender-sensitive men and gender-blind women, so having women in decision-making positions does not imply that an energy policy will be gender-aware. Since gender is about the relationship between men and women, the men should be involved as well. They should be trained about gender-issues and how gender-mainstreaming can be applied in an energy policy. Furthermore, a gender-aware energy policy should look at the impact of energy at the relation between men and women and not at women's issues only.

The Uganda Government just finished the drafting of their energy policy document since September 2002. Looking at their energy policy, a substantial part of the investment in the sector goes to electrification. Less than 5 per cent of the Uganda's population of 24.6 million people has access to grid-based electricity. Hence, a major objective for the Uganda government is creating general conditions for improved electricity supply and to increase rural electricity from 2 per cent in 2000 to 4 per cent in 2005. However, electricity does not provide the cheapest solution to the main concern of rural women's energy needs: cooking. This implies an imbalance in the investment in the energy sector, which has its roots in energy policy. The fact that Uganda is drafting their Energy Policy document could be an opportunity to integrate gender-issues in their energy policy, especially since the Uganda government has adopted in 1997 a National Gender Policy. This National Gender Policy as an integral part of National Development Policy complements all sectoral policies and programmes in Uganda.

Despite the efforts of South Africa and Uganda to genderize their energy policy, a clear idea what engendering energy policy is about is still lacking. There is not much knowledge on what its main characteristics are and how national governments can genderize their energy policy. Governments, civil society and development organisations, do not know how to realise gender mainstreaming in this area. The experience of South Africa in genderizing their energy policy and the attempts of the Ugandan government to integrate gender in their energy policy document, could provide lessons for other governments. It might be assumed that these two countries will be compared in this study. However, caution needs to be applied, because these two case areas have different starting points. South Africa has a unique set of circumstances, namely the legacy of the apartheid period and the radical politicisation of the majority population that makes generalisation of the findings of this case study difficult. Uganda also has a set of unique circumstances and in general caution needs to be

comply with generalisation from unique country studies. Therefore, the case studies will be used to complement the literature study to analyse whether the characteristics and the conditions identified in the literature study will be found in the case study. The main research question of this study is the following;

What are the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy and which conditions, based on the experience of South Africa and the developments in Uganda, enable the integration of gender in a national energy policy?

1.1 Research Objective

The main objective of this study is to contribute to the formulation of a gender-aware energy policy, which could help to overcome gender-inequality in national energy policy by developing and defining the main characteristics of gender-aware energy policy and analysing under which conditions such a policy can be realised. The focus of this study is the energy policy process of national governments, with an emphasis on developing countries, in this study South Africa and Uganda. Within this study, the policy process is emphasised instead of in-depth analyses of energy policy. This study could contribute to enlarge the academic knowledge in a little researched area on gender-aware energy policy, by describing two case studies and by defining the main characteristics of gender-aware national energy policy. It will analyse the conditions for successful implementation and realisation of gender mainstreaming in energy policy. Furthermore, it will make recommendations for research on this topic. A social objective of this study is that it offers people working in the energy sector knowledge on gender mainstreaming in their field. Beside that the study could give insights how national energy policy could overcome gender-inequality in access and control over energy resources. It could also help to understand what gender-aware energy policy is about and what its main characteristics are. Additionally, the case studies of South Africa and Uganda could provide lessons for people working in the energy sector in other countries how to genderize their energy policy by complying with certain conditions

1.2 Research Questions

Looking at the main research question, there are four elements that need clarification. First of all, conditions are mentioned for gender-aware energy policy. But before conditions can be formulated, gender-aware energy policy needs to be defined. What makes an energy policy gender-aware and what is lacking in current energy policy, which can be considered to be gender-blind? These questions lead to the second element of the main research question that needs clarification; the characteristics of gender-aware energy policy. Furthermore, in the research question South Africa and Uganda are put

forward as two countries with interesting developments in genderizing their energy policy. What are the experiences and developments of gender-aware energy in these countries and what lessons do these countries provide in this respect? Why can these two countries be an example for other countries? To clarify the main research question, the research question can be divided into four research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of gender-aware energy policy?
2. Under which conditions can a gender-aware energy policy be achieved?
3. What are the experiences of South Africa in genderizing national energy policy and under which conditions is this implemented?
4. What are the developments in Uganda towards gender-aware energy policy and what conditions the realisation?

1. What are the characteristics of gender-aware energy policy?

Research questions can be placed in different categories. Geurts (1995, p.84-86) makes a distinction between a descriptive or explaining character of research questions, depending on the aim of the research. This research question has a descriptive character, because the aim is to describe what the characteristics are of gender-aware national energy policy. In chapter 2, an answer to this research question will be formulated. To describe gender-aware energy policy, the concepts need to be defined first. The concept gender is defined and what it means to have a gender-aware policy, in this case energy policy. A description of energy policy is given and the major energy planning method used by the South African and Ugandan government; the Integrated Energy Planning method. Furthermore, gender-aware energy policy is described and what the characteristics are that makes an energy policy gender-aware. In the literature, the relation between gender and energy policy is described and reasons are given why current energy policy can be considered as gender-blind. By identifying what is missing in energy policy, characteristics and conditions for gender-aware energy policy can be formulated. The next step is to describe the process how gender-aware energy policy can be realised; the second research question.

2. Under which conditions can a gender-aware energy policy be achieved?

In chapter 3 the conditions under which a gender-aware energy policy can be achieved are identified and explained. This research question has therefore an explanatory character. The focus of this chapter is the process towards gender-aware energy policy. When describing the process of making energy policy gender-aware, it is important to bear in mind what the underlying principle is why stakeholders want to genderize an energy policy. Furthermore, stakeholders in an energy policy formulation process can have (and often do have) different conflicting principles. In the literature several underlying principles for realizing gender mainstreaming are identified of which the important ones are equity and equality in gender relations, women's empowerment, efficiency of projects, programmes, policies and

sustainability. To find an answer to the research question, a literature study is carried out. Conditions are also identified by interviewing key-informants on gender and energy issues. In the end of the chapter, a list of conditions will be formulated and whether these conditions are achieved in practice, will be tested in the case studies of chapter 4 and 5. When the conditions formulated in chapter 3 are not achieved in the case studies, then it should be analysed what the explanation could be. There might be something wrong with the model, or there are such unique circumstances in a country that applying a general model is not possible.

3. What are the experiences of South Africa in genderizing national energy policy and under which conditions is this implemented?
4. What are the developments in Uganda towards gender-aware energy policy and what conditions the realisation?

To examine whether the defined conditions in the literature study and characteristics of gender-aware energy policy can be retrieved in practice, a case study is carried out in South Africa, because this country has experiences in genderizing its national policies, as well as energy policy. The South African case study is described in chapter 4. Chapter 5 describes the situation of gender and energy policy in Uganda. In Uganda also key-informants were interviewed in addition to literature study. Both chapters are based on the same methodology; by analysing policy documents and by reading academic publications on the energy policy process, the gender-awareness of the energy policy will be examined and the characteristics and conditions under which it is realised will be identified and compared with the conclusions of chapter 2 and 3.

1.3 Methodology

To find answers to the research questions, a literature study was carried out, which also provided theoretical background information on gender mainstreaming and on energy policy. The literature offered insights how national governments could genderize their energy policy and the motivations of governments to do this. Furthermore, conditions for and characteristics of genderizing energy policy were identified in the literature. The literature study included academic publications, as well as the so-called grey-literature, such as documents of development organisations like the United Nations and the World Bank and publications of NGO's working on gender mainstreaming and on genderizing energy policy. The statistics used in this study are mostly from the World Bank. Because they are using a constant methodology, it is possible to make comparisons between countries. Also statistics from the Ugandan and South African governments are used. The problem with statistics in general is, that it is difficult to assess which methodology was used in their compilation. Therefore numbers are used when available only to support an argumentation.

Because gender and energy policy is a little researched area, the literature study could not answer the research question entirely. Therefore two case-studies were carried out to offer an example of how national governments genderize their national energy policy. In the case studies, the focus was on the energy policy process and the integration of gender into that process. Also the conditions for and the obstacles met are analysed. Since the South African government worked in close co-operation with the university-based Energy for Development Research Centre in drafting their energy policy document, there is quite some academic literature available on this process and on energy policy in general. This was, on the contrary, not the case in Uganda. Besides some publications on gender and energy in general, there is hardly any academic literature on gender and energy policy. Therefore, people from organizations representing civil society, the state and the private sector were interviewed on how these stakeholders influence the policy process. Stakeholders who participate in the policy process are international, national and local actors, private, governmental and non-governmental organisations. Particular interesting is to try to understand how different actors participated, or did not participate in developing national energy policy, and what the actors have done to put gender on the energy agenda and which obstacles they are facing in doing that.

The first case study was carried out in South Africa. In Cape Town the Energy for Development Research Centre is based at the University of Cape Town, where Wendy Annecke is writing her thesis on women, gender and energy policy in South Africa. Cape Town was visited from the 15th of May 2002 till the 3rd of June 2002. In Cape Town most of the literature reviewing was carried out. The focus was on background information on energy and gender policy in South Africa and information on stakeholders-participation in the formulation process of policy-making. During the field study, the work was done at EDRC and in close co-operation with Wendy Annecke. Besides Wendy Annecke, there was also contact with May Sengendo. She is a lecturer at the Women's Studies Department at the Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda and chairperson of the East African Energy Technology Development Network (EAETDN – Uganda).

The case study in Uganda was carried out from 17th of June till the 19th of July; of which 3,5 weeks were spend in Kampala (the capital) and almost 2 weeks in the more rural areas. In Kampala literature was collected and reviewed at the Makerere University, Gender and Women Studies Department but also at the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development and at the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development. Furthermore people working on gender and/or energy issues were interviewed and many organisations working on those issues were visited. During the field study in the rural areas, some projects and organisations in the East, West and Southern part of Uganda were visited and also learned a lot about live in the rural areas. It is something different to read about the lack of rural electrification and to actually experience it.

The research questions could not be answered by literature-study and by case study only. Therefore 21 key-informants in gender and energy were interviewed to provide additional information and insights on integrating gender in energy policy.² As demonstrated in the figure below, of the 21 respondents there were 8 females and 13 males, 10 working with energy-issues, 9 with gender and 2 with gender and energy. Of the respondent 8 were working at the public sector, 5 at universities, 7 at NGO's and 2 at private sector. The respondents were selected by using snowball-sampling; asking respondents if they know other possible respondents. Respondents were interviewed by using two separate questionnaires, one for gender-experts and one for energy-experts. The gender-people were asked about national gender policy and the general background information on gender-issues in their country and what they know about gender and energy policy. The energy experts could provide background information on energy in general and the attempts to integrate gender into energy policy and projects.

Most of these interviews were carried out in Uganda. Four respondents were however interviewed on Tuesday 19th February 2002 in Soesterberg, The Netherlands.³ This was made possible by ENERGIA. ENERGIA was facilitating a workshop in Soesterberg at that time and they enabled the contacts with the four respondents. The findings of those interviews are mostly used in chapter 1,2 and 3.

Figure 1: List of Respondents

Number of respondents	Occupation	Gender/energy	Country
3 (male)	Public sector/ministry	Energy	Uganda
1 (female)	Public sector/Ministry	Energy	
4 (1 female, 3 male)	Public sector/Ministry	Gender	Uganda
3 (2 female, 1 male)	Academic/ University	Gender	Uganda
1 (female)	Academic/university	Gender & Energy	South Africa
1 (female)	Academic/University	Gender & Energy	India
3 (male)	NGO	Energy	Uganda
1 (female)	NGO	Energy	Senegal
2 (1 female, 1 male)	NGO	Gender	Uganda
2 (male)	Private sector	Energy	Uganda

² a list with all the respondents and their occupation is attached in the appendix

³ W. Annecke (South Africa), F. Denton (Senegal), J. Parikh (India), M. Sauturaga (Fiji Islands)

1.4 Content

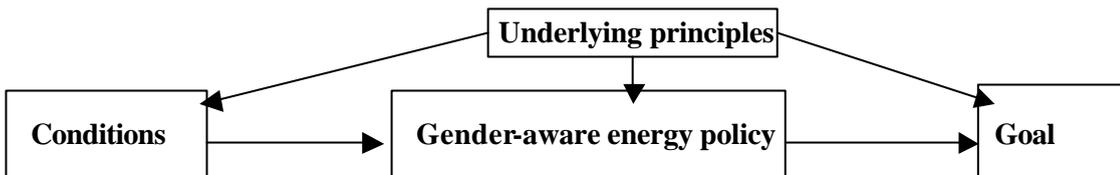
Based on the outline above, this thesis has in summary the following content;

Figure 2: Overview of the Content

Chapter	Topic	Content	Methodology
1: Introduction	Research outline	Problem definition & research methodology	Literature study
2: Characteristics of Gender-aware Energy Policy	Research question 1	Explanation of the relation between gender and energy. Characteristics of gender-aware national energy policy Concepts; gender and energy policy	Literature study Interviews
3: The Conditions for a Gender-aware Energy Policy	Research question 2	Different aims of genderizing energy policy The conditions for realising a gender-aware energy policy	Literature study Interviews
4: The South African case	Research question 3	Background information on gender and energy policy in South Africa Conditions for and characteristics of gender-aware energy policy Energy policy process in South Africa and the attempts to integrate gender into the energy policy	Case study; interviews, literature study
5: The Ugandan Case	Research question 4	Background information on gender and energy policy in Uganda Conditions for and characteristics of gender-aware energy policy Energy policy process in Uganda and the attempts to integrate gender into the energy policy	
6: Conclusions	All research questions	Discussion, conclusions and recommendations	

Besides the overview of the content above, the elements of the research questions can be visualised as below. Since the aim of this study is to offer insights in the process to genderize energy policy, the elements of the research questions can be visualised in a process starting with the conditions for realising a gender-aware energy policy, moving on to the policy itself and what characterises it. Furthermore, several stakeholders participating in the process for genderizing an energy policy will have different underlying principles or motivations to do so. What these conditions, characteristics, and underlying principles are will be identified and analysed in this study.

Figure 3: Process to Genderize Energy Policy



2 CHARACTERISTICS OF GENDER-AWARE ENERGY POLICY

In this chapter the central concepts of this thesis will be explained and defined. The conceptualization correlates with the first research question; *what characterizes gender-aware energy policy?* To identify the characteristics of gender-aware energy policy, the concepts need to be defined first. The main characteristic of gender-aware energy policy is the fact that it is a *policy*, focused on *energy* and that this energy policy needs to be *gender-aware*. Therefore the concept of gender is defined and the relation between gender and policy is explained. After that, energy policy and a gender-aware energy policy are described and the following questions are answered; what makes an energy policy gender-aware and why is it that current energy policy can be considered to be gender-blind? The chapter ends with a section on the process towards a gender-aware energy policy.

2.1 The Conceptual Framework of Gender

Moser (1993) states that the United Nations' Decade for Women (1976-1985) played a crucial role in highlighting the important but often previously invisible role of women in the social and economic development of Third World countries and communities. Since the 1970s, several development projects were designed with only women as target-groups (known as the women-in-development or WID approach), but in line with many others, Moser recognised a shift to a gender-focus since the 1990s. This shift is a positive development, because women were perceived in terms of their 'sex'-namely their biological differences from men-rather than in terms of their 'gender'-that is, the social relationship between men and women. By using the term 'gender' it is possible to acknowledge women's triple role, namely reproductive, productive and community roles. The need to be aware of gender is nowadays recognised by the different actors involved in developing co-operation as a necessary condition for sustainable development. To plan development projects in a gender sensitive way is today a requirement for governments and donor-agencies, like the UN agencies and the World Bank.

There are many definitions of the concept of 'gender' in the literature. The common view on 'gender' makes a distinction between three roles; the reproductive, the productive and the community role. When somebody is born, nature determines whether it is a boy or girl. This reproductive role is given by nature and is difficult to change. However, society and nurture determine much of the social role (the productive and community role) of an individual. Within a society, there are values and norms how men and women should behave. From the earliest stages of life, individuals are socialised through identification with specific characteristics associated with being male or female. Gender roles are an integral part of social identity and belonging. They influence not only the division of labour, but also access to and control over resources and their ability to address them. They determine power relations

and from the different gender roles different needs are arisen. Mubarak (1998, p.2) summarized this in the following definition; *the concept gender refers to a system of socially defined roles, privileges, attributes and relationships between women and men, which are not determined by biology, but by social, cultural, political and economic expectations.* This definition implies that since the concept of gender is socially defined, the concept is transitory; how gender can be defined changes with time and is culture specific.

The concept of gender adds a dimension to several issues, like gender issues, gender imbalance, gender discrimination and gender gaps. In the literature several definitions of these concepts are given.⁴ Based on these definitions, the following description of the different concepts are used in this paper; *Gender issues* are issues that arise from the fact that society makes a distinction between what women and men can and cannot do, and what they can and cannot have. These historical, social and cultural distinctions, together with biological differentiation give rise to gender issues and concerns. *Gender imbalance* occurs when women's and men's access to and control of resources, development services and benefits, and their participation in production and social reproduction are not equitably distributed. The main cause for gender imbalance is gender discrimination. *Gender discrimination* occurs conscious and unconscious where there are biases against men or women, such that women's and men's participation in different social, political and economic sectors, and in development in general are determined by their gender. Gender discrimination and gender imbalance result in *gender gaps*, which are the statistical and practical indicators of the differences in access to resources and to social and economic benefits for men and women.

However, the concept of gender cannot be used without taking in consideration the following limitations of the concept. Kathy Davis (1991, p.5-6) notices that the stratification and complexity of the concept of gender limits the use of gender as a theoretical category. She offers two explanations. First, gender is a descriptive instead of an explanatory concept. It is possible to describe and predict gender roles, but they are difficult to explain. The concept gender does not give explanations of the dynamics of gender relations. Furthermore, the gender concept seems to imply that relations between the sexes are in some way specific or different from other relations between subordinate and dominant groups (e.g. social class, ethnic background). Since the structured forms of domination are constantly changing, asymmetric power relations are difficult to take apart as the only source of causality. These are useful remarks to take into consideration when using the gender-concept in a theoretical way. However, since Davis wrote the publication in 1991, much has changed and the theoretical knowledge on gender has been increased with a close examination of power relations and the origin of gender-relations and roles.

⁴ e.g. Caroline Moser, Mubarak, May Sengendo, UNDP publications

Another point to take into consideration when using the concept of gender is that gender is a dynamic concept; it is a universal concept but the expressions are unique, differing from place to place and across time. Since gender relationships are social constructions, they vary according to divergent political, social, cultural and economical conditions and history. Gender is cultural and social determined and as such conceptual related to other identities like race, ethnicity and religion. Perceptions of what the definition of identity is, vary between culture and time. That means that varying cultural perceptions of identity represent the different understanding of differences. So the question is whether a Western definition can be applied to African societies. As an answer to that question, Tripp argues for conceptualisation and situation of western feminist discourses of differences in a broader comparative and historical perspective.

Initially, Western debate about differences deconstructed the idea of the generic human to demonstrate that gender mattered. However, the notion of human is gender blind and does not address women's social, economic and political subordinate position. To overcome this gender-blindness, a shift in the theoretical debate emerges during the 1970's towards a women-only-perspective. Women were dealt in isolation of other social differences. In the late 1980s, it was realised that gender intertwined with race, class and other differences and therefore, women were not longer dealt with in a vacuum. Currently there is a theoretical impasse. Some feminist theorists do not like the idea that any generalisation about women masks differences of race, class, etc. Therefore they are arguing for a redefinition of the concept of differences. Anne Marie Goetz (quoted in Aili Mari Tripp, p.651) argues that the emphasis on identity-politics reducing the political to the personal instead of showing how structures of power constitute differences. She believes that scholars need to understand better how oppression is constituted as a system and be able to identify locations where oppressions interconnect. Tripp is reacting on this with the argument that identity politics may lead to relativism that can be political paralysing by 'crippling our capacity to theorize resistance'. This implies that the focus on identity may make it politically impossible to build coalitions, because all oppressions are seen as equal and are requiring similar attention. However, a coalition does not imply the loss of identity. It requires compromise and temporarily subsuming one's oppression in the interests of addressing greater need elsewhere. If all experiences of oppression can be equalised, as relativistic identity politics implies, how do we then understand injustice where political and material imbalances exist, where one group actively oppresses another?

Therefore, there are enormous disjunctions between this feminist discourses of differences and how the idea of differences has been articulated in women's movements in e.g. Uganda or South Africa, where politicisation of differences has resulted in civil war and violent conflict based on ethnic, racial, religious differences. The challenge of the women's movement in these countries is to focus on

commonalities among women and to create coalitions to minimise the difference. The women's movement in Africa has demonstrated to be very active in bridging ethnic, racial and religious differences. But the women's movement in Africa needed to respond to divisiveness; corruption and violence associated with state patronage politics, because they are not benefiting the majority of the women. In highly fractured societies, like Uganda and South Africa, patronage politics resulted in the establishment of networks along narrow lines of ethnicity, religious affiliation, religion, clan, etc. Women's associations have sought for autonomy to build their organizations along broad bases in order to be able to press for an agenda for women that does not simply serve the interests of patronage networks along ethnic, religious, regional lines. As a result, the central characteristic of indigenous women's movements in Africa is the struggle to defend their autonomy and self-governance both against Northern feminism and from oppression within their own societies.

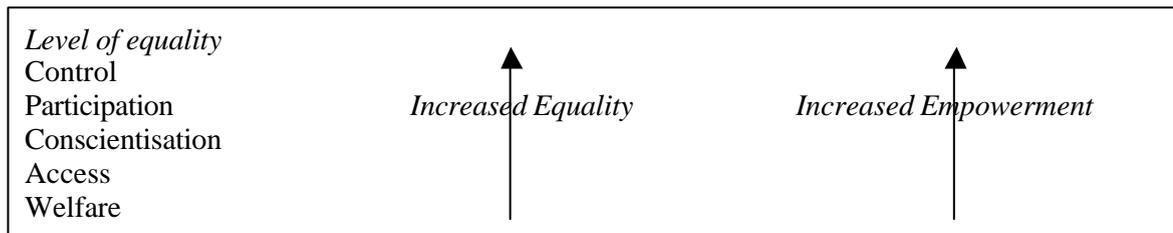
2.1.1 Gender awareness

The major challenge of the women's movement is the translation of its goals and objectives into public policy. As Bonaparth (1982) describes, in the 1970's the women's movement in the North realised that public policy was a good way to achieve their goals, because the government has the resources and authority to change behaviour and attitudes. Furthermore, to overcome gender gaps, gender issues need to be integrated into policies, which need to become gender-aware. A *gender-aware policy* can be defined as a policy, which takes into account the social relations of women and men as well as differences in their needs, as opposed to a policy specifically for women or men. *Gender awareness* is the ability of persons or policies to understand the implications of a particular programme, project or policy for both men and women, and to plan according to the needs of both. The problem concerning gender in energy policy is not that they are deliberately discriminating against women, but the lack of gender-awareness of policy makers and that they do not know how to relate gender to their sector. By realising gender mainstreaming, energy policy makers could become more gender-aware and their knowledge on how gender is linked to their sector will be increased.

Longwe identifies three essential elements in gender awareness. First the recognition that women have different and special needs. Second that they are a disadvantaged group, relative to men, in terms of their level of welfare and access to and control over the factors of production. Third that women's development entails working towards increased equality and empowerment for women, relative to men. She adds that if the central issue in women's development is equality with men, then there is a need to spell out the different forms and levels of equality that constitute development. She identifies the following five levels of equality; welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control (Figure 4).

The level of welfare is about the material welfare of women, relative to men, in such matters as sufficient energy supply. Access contains equal access to energy services between men and women. conscientisation is the understanding of the difference between sex roles and gender roles and that the latter are cultural determined and can be changed. Participation is about women's and men's equal participation in the decision making process, policy making, planning and administration. The highest level of gender equality is control; a utilisation of participation of women and men in decision-making process through conscientisation and mobilisation, to achieve equality of control over energy services.

Figure 4: Levels of Gender Equality



It is suggested in figure 4 that these levels of equality are in hierarchical relationship, so that equality of control is more important for women's development than equality of welfare. It is also suggested that the higher levels of equality are automatically higher levels of development and empowerment. According to Longwe, any social situation becomes a women's issue when one of the above five levels of equality is called into question; it becomes a more serious issue when it is concerned with the higher levels, and a more basic issue when it is concerned with the lower levels.

2.1.2 Gender Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming gender issues is a process to realise gender awareness within an organization and/or its policies, programmes and projects. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy that can be undertaken through different methods, approaches and use of tools. Like the concept of gender, gender-mainstreaming has been defined in different ways by various actors. Kakande and Sengendo (2001, p.9) are giving a broad definition of gender mainstreaming by defining it *as a strategy to ensure that all gender issues in development policies, programmes and projects are identified and addressed, irrespective of the sector type of project, and at all stages from planning and implementation, to monitoring and evaluation, depending on the user*. The term gender mainstreaming is usually used to mean addressing gender inequalities in all aspects of development across all sectors and programmes. Mainstreaming is not the same as 'male streaming', which implies that women's development is simply about ensuring that women's position is improved within the existing frameworks, which are dominated by men. Organisations working at the community level mostly use a definition of gender mainstreaming, which state that mainstreaming is a way of working; it is about how gender analysis is put into what an organization does. Kakande and Sengendo (2001) point out that mainstreaming gender means in

practice addressing gender issues in all aspects of development, including decision-making structures, and planning processes such as policy making, budgeting and programming.

Because gender-mainstreaming is a development strategy that focuses on gender relations and development issues, another name used for this approach is Gender-and-Development (GAD). It has a holistic perspective by including both men and women. The GAD approach aims to analyse unequal power relations and seeks to transform that to equal relations between men and women. According to Lozano et al (1995) GAD allows consideration of economic and political relations, and emphasises empowerment, which is based on satisfaction of all human needs; social, psychological and material. Some organizations are combining GAD and Women-in-Development (WID). This makes it possible to gender-mainstream a policy, programme or project and it also allows designing projects for women only. A WID approach can be necessary to help women to overcome the gender inequality between men and women. To use the GAD and WID approaches simultaneous can sometimes be confusing since they are very distinct. The simultaneous use of both approaches is however mostly unconsciousness. What happens a lot in practice, that organizations claim to use a GAD approach, but in fact they are working with a WID approach. In those cases, it is important to be aware of the differences between the two so that gender policies can be examined if a WID or a GAD approach was used as a reference point.

During the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985), there was an incentive to stimulate the integration of women into development, a strategy that became known as 'women in development' or WID. Jo Beall (1998) criticized in line with many others, the WID approach as being primarily concerned with access and inclusion of women in the existing development process, without challenging that process itself. The Gender and Development (GAD) approach, by contrast, is concerned with making development co-operation more gender-aware and constituted a potential challenge to the process of development itself. The shift from the goal of 'integrating' women into development to on of 'mainstreaming' gender in development was particularly pursued by international agencies. Whereas previously they had funded and implemented women's projects, they now saw themselves as catalysts for advancing gender awareness in development co-operation, both within their own organizations and among their development partners. Mainstreaming included ensuring that women had more influence in determining the overall goals, policies and strategies of development. The mainstreaming approach is central to the Platform for Action adopted at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, which called for the promotion of a 'policy mainstreaming'.

Figure 5: Women in Development versus Gender and Development ⁵

	Women in Development (WID)	Gender and Development (GAD)
Focus	Women	Relations between men and women
Shortcoming of the approach	The exclusion of men	Unequal gender relations that prevent equal development and women's full participation in the development processes
Goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Efficiency by integrating women into the development process ?? Emphasis within women's triple on the productive capacity of women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Equal and sustainable development ?? Mainstreaming gender issues and not marginalize them ?? Sustainable reshaping of the power variables in order to; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Introduce a power balance between men and women, while ?? Giving both a stake in participation and in the benefits of the process so that ?? Women and men share in decision-making
Solution	Integrate women into the existing development process	Empower women and other disadvantaged groups by transforming unequal relations
Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Increase women's productivity and income ?? Improve women's ability to manage households ?? Integrated projects ?? Women's 'participation' in projects without explicitly increase empowerment ?? Improving health, income or resources without increasing empowerment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Strategies are multi-dimensional ?? Combine activities that address practical gender needs and strategic needs ?? Projects that increase women's and men's knowledge of and capacity to negotiate their rights ?? Increase women's capacity and skills to introduce themselves in non-traditional employment ?? Increasing women's capacity to control their own body, time and movement
Critique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Women's multiple roles not considered ?? Miscalculation of elasticity of women's time and labour ?? Men are not integrated ?? Not sustainable in the long term 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Not easy to implement; implies long term commitment ?? Allows for sustainability of the result, and is also efficient but only in the long run

Despite the differences between WID and GAD, some organizations chose to combine them. Their argument is that in order to achieve gender equality some women-only projects are needed to overcome women's subordinate position. By combining WID with GAD men are not longer excluded and there are still opportunities to have women-only projects. Nevertheless, combining WID and GAD blurs the differences between the two. Furthermore, it can be questioned why the organizations are using a combination. Are they just using a combination to make it possible to have women-only projects to improve women's position? Some organizations are working with a WID approach, but in order to achieve more funding, they say that they are using a GAD approach, since the GAD approach is now the most popular one with donor-agencies.

From an energy policy perspective, a GAD approach is the most appropriate approach for genderizing the energy policy since it is aiming at both men and women. Especially when a demand driven

⁵ partly based on Lozano, I, L.A Messner, A.R. Parker, 1995, section 1, p.12

approach of energy policy making is chosen, then energy policy should respond to the needs of both men and women. Furthermore, since GAD is aiming for sustainable reshaping of the power variables, they are aiming at equal participation of men and women in decision-making positions. This could give opportunities for men and women to advocate their energy needs and interests at policymaking level. Since women are the main users and providers of household energy in the South, there must be a way to pay extra attention to women's energy needs. Applying a WID approach is not a sustainable solution and is also not necessary to overcome women's subordinate position. Within the GAD approach there is space to have policies or projects that are aiming at the empowerment of women and other disadvantaged groups in order to transform unequal relations. How gender mainstreaming can be realized in energy policy and how policymakers can react on women's energy needs and how a gender-aware energy policy should look like, is described in the section below.

2.2 Energy Policy

Energy is, as Max Planck defined, a system's capacity to produce external activity. If considered in a purely physical sense, energy appears as mechanical energy (potential energy, kinetic energy), thermal energy (internal energy, enthalpy), chemical bond energy, electrical energy, and electromagnetic radiation energy. For this research energy will be considered in a physical and economic sense that means as a product or production factor. Energy appears in many different forms. A distinction can be made between primary and secondary energy sources. Primary energy sources are fuels (solid, liquid, gaseous), hydropower and all other forms of energy (solar, nuclear, biomass, wind, ocean/wave, geothermal). The main secondary energy forms are electrical energy and heat. Other distinctions appearing in the technical literature are between 'flux energies' (renewable energy sources) and 'stock energies' (non-renewable energy sources). In some literature, e.g. Kleinpeter (1995, p.6-7), words like 'soft energies' and 'hard energies', 'conventional or traditional energies' and 'new energies' are used. But these words are difficult to use because of their ambiguity. Even the expression 'renewables' is ambiguous, since a distinction needs to be made between continually renewable (permanent flux), renewable in short cycles or time periods (e.g. energy for biomass or wood), 'partially' renewable (e.g. geothermal) or 'totally' renewables.

2.2.1 The Integrated Energy Planning Approach

To provide energy services to the people, governments need to plan their energy provision to respond to the energy demand and to react on the shortage or surplus of energy supply. There are several approaches towards energy planning, of which the integrated energy planning (IEP) is one. In the 1980s the concept of integrated energy planning (IEP) was widely discussed. How to define IEP is not unambiguous. Codoni defines IEP as the analysis of energy demand and supply within an integrated

framework.⁶ For Hosier it is the process whereby the physical energy needs of all sectors of the economy are planned in coherence.⁷ Links between the energy sector and the macro-economy are considered as well as links between energy sub-sectors. While much of energy planning and policy analysis still focuses on individual supply sectors (electricity in particular), many now accept that energy planning should start with an analysis of energy end-use demand. Therefore in integrated energy planning, unlike the traditional approach, demand is no longer seen as a market-given obligation determining energy supply planning, with prices as the only mechanism of adjustment. Planning is integrated across sectors and can include a wider range of policy measures to achieve desirable goals. Energy end-use analysis becomes central in IEP. It involves an investigation into what people are using and why, as well as an analysis of their needs.

Eberhard mentions the following arguments for the necessity of IEP. Since energy is an input to all production sectors and adequate energy supplies are an essential precondition for economic development, decisions affecting energy will thus affect other areas of the economy. Energy is also an essential component of consumption and is vital to people's material well being. Improving equity in access, as well as planning for sufficient and affordable energy supplies for households, transport and other services, is corresponding with meeting basic needs and social development. Furthermore, with increased disruptions and uncertainties in energy supply and with rising fuel prices, supply-side planning in individual energy sub-sectors is no longer adequate. End-uses of energy have to be analysed and energy planning must encompass demand management and fuel-switching within and across economic sectors in order to maximise economic and energy efficiency as well as to enhance international competitiveness. Besides, many energy supply projects require very large investments, and sectoral decisions can have a major impact on key macro-economic variables for many years ahead. Energy imports can also consume a large portion of available foreign exchange, and policies, which promote the conservation or development of indigenous supply options, can have far-reaching economic implications. Finally, major environmental costs of energy production and use, such as acid rain, global warming and deforestation, are currently not adequately accounted for within individual energy sub-sectors and have to be incorporated as externalities in the integrated energy planning process.⁸

⁶ Codoni, René, 'Theory and Practice in Integrated Energy Planning; Case Examples in Asia', in; Eberhard, Anton & Theron, Paul, 1992, pp.44-52

⁷ Hosier, Richard, 'Translating Energy Planning and Research into Practice; a Reflection on ten years of African efforts', in; Eberhard, Anton & Theron, Paul, 1992, pp.78-91

⁸ Eberhard, Anton, 'Integrated Energy Planning; a Methodology', in; Eberhard, Anton & Theron, Paul, 1992, pp.11-14

Unplanned disjunctions in energy prices and supply could undermine the achievement of socio-economic objectives such as meeting the basic needs of consumers and providing development opportunities. Developing countries in particular, face the situation of an ever-increasing foreign exchange burden in petroleum imports, and increasing woodfuel scarcities. As a result, fuel prices are increasing and especially poor people will face difficulties in fulfilling their energy need. This so-called 'fuel famine' for the poor is a serious problem; when people do not have sufficient energy, boiling water for purification, cooking food, heating and lightning will be impossible. To integrate the demand-side in energy planning, fuel famine could be prevented or at least adequately managed. A good approach to manage such problems could be therefore the integrated energy planning approach.

In the publication of Eberhard and Theron, the contributors identified many obstacles to the implementation of IEP. For example, in many developing countries there are only few linkages between energy sub-sectors, and few possibilities for substitution; many rural fuelwood and biomass users, for example, do not have access to either electricity or gas. Another obstacle is that there are also limits to energy planning. Much of the decision-making in the energy sector is beyond the realistic control of government. Private companies (like oil companies or solar panel companies) own a part of the energy supply of a country and they determine the supply and a part of the price of these energy sources.⁹ Also external pressures have constrained efforts to implement IEP. The structural adjustment programmes imposed on many developing countries by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank has undermined state energy planning. Furthermore IEP is likely to be more successful if greater attention is given to understanding the institutional and political context of energy planning and to responding to the critical shortage of adequately trained personnel. Planning goals also need to be financially and institutionally sustainable.

Makan (1995) adds to the objections mentioned above, some other shortcomings, especially concerning gender-awareness within the IEP. At a general level, IEP has elements of the basic needs approach to development. However, the basic needs approach has been disparaged because it fails to address unequal power and gender relations within the household, while this is the main characteristic of gender-awareness. Another shortcoming of IEP is in the methodology. By focusing on understanding and representing the end-user, the IEP methodology fails to go beyond the household to define who is the end-user. The end-user is according to IEP a gender-neutral category by assuming that women's and men's energy needs and interests are synonymous. However, this is not the case. Not only within the household but also in the whole society, women and men have different roles and according to that different energy needs. The relation between gender and energy policy is described in section 2.2.2.

⁹ governments also influence price through taxation subsidies

The integrated energy planning approach, is described above and is chosen as a starting point for analysing energy policy, because of the following reasons. IEP is adopted in the 1990's by energy policy researchers in South Africa, who were working towards identifying policies for poor rural and urban households in South Africa. It was the leading approach in South Africa when they were formulating their energy policy. Uganda also used the IEP as background for the formulation of their energy policy, what is also reflected in their energy policy document (see chapter 5). Since these two countries are the subjects of the case studies in this study, it is important to analyse IEP. Furthermore, despite the shortcoming mentioned above, there are enough opportunities to integrate gender within IEP. The main characteristic of IEP is a demand-driven approach towards energy planning. That gives an opportunity to react on women's energy needs in energy policy. Also the fact that IEP recognizes that energy is linked with other sectors of economy and society is an opening for integrating social aspects (like gender) in the energy planning process.

2.2.2 Gender and Energy Policy

In the past, energy policy planning was directed at 'people' or users in general. Makan (1995, p.184) criticised this for *disregarding the fact that men and women have different roles, different access and control over resources in the household, community and society in general and as a result have different energy needs, interests and responsibilities on the basis of gender*. Wendy Annecke (1999) adds that power relations, vested in a variety of social constructions including gender, differentiate access to energy. This implies that between men and women, the distribution of and the power over energy is not equal. Men are in general the decision-makers, planners and producers of energy services. According to Annecke (2001), women have little control over and negotiating power within national energy policy, in relation to pricing, production or convenience of the energy services they require. Mostly men, who traditionally work in the public sphere, make the decisions in the national energy sector. The women working at this level are mainly holding low-status position without any decision-making power as administrators and secretaries and only a few have a technical background. However, some examples can be found of women occupying senior places in the energy sector.¹⁰ Nevertheless, in general energy policy at the policy-making level seems to be a man's world, where at the household-level, women are the primary users and suppliers of energy.

Women are in many households the managers, both in industrialised countries and countries in development. As household-managers, they are the principal users and providers of household energy. In Europe most households are connected to the national gas and electricity network, but in developing

¹⁰ e.g. Susan Mc Dade (UNDP), Dominique Lallement (ESMAP), several female ministers (South Africa, Uganda)

countries most women have to provide their energy needs in other ways.¹¹ In many developing countries, there is hardly any electricity and other energy services available and especially poor women are facing difficulties in satisfying their energy needs (70% of the approximately 1.3 billion people living in poverty are women).¹² Particularly, as Cecelski (1995) explains, the gathering and using of fuel for cooking is causing tremendous problems for women. Women cook on open fires by burning dung, wood or other biomass. The collection and transport of fuel represents a labour-intensive and time-consuming task undertaken mainly by women and children. The health impacts on women by using woodfuel can be, according to Cecelski's study, enormous; burning from open fire, lung diseases caused by smoke and indoor air pollution, neck and back injuries caused by the transportation of heavy woodloads.

Since women are supposed to manage households, some energy analysts are content to include their needs in the household sector. However, Parikh (1995) argues that it is a wrong assumption, that household energy is the only energy need of women. She brings up four arguments to support her statement. First of all, much of women's work goes beyond the household sector and spills into agriculture and food processing, service and manufacturing. Second, households are assumed to consist of entities, which are homogeneous, ignoring the fact that intra-household allocations differ between genders. Third, women are also a part of the energy supply system, because collecting firewood is mostly considered as a women's task. Some women are also earning money by producing and selling charcoal. Fourth, women's role is neglected in designing, adapting and using new and renewable technologies ranging from improved stoves, biogas, solar cookers, etc. The question is whether they will increase women's burden in maintaining them and if women will have sufficient training to use them. Therefore, policymakers should move beyond the 'household' by including men and women and their respective needs and interests in all sectors of energy policy.

2.2.3 Gender-angle of Energy Policy

At the Madrid Congress in September 1992, the World Energy Council defined energy policy as *that part of national (or international) policy that is concerned with the production and supply of energy, its conversion, storage, distribution and utilization and with the formulation of measures aimed at equating anticipated overall demand for energy with the presumed availability nationally and internationally of sources of energy; such a policy would take account of the potential for energy conservation, in particular of finite fuel resources as well as of the environmental impact.*¹³ According to Kleinpeter (1995), energy planning by governments must take into account all the

¹¹ There are however some examples of poor households in the North who are not connected to energy service networks and who are living in energy poverty (Joy Clancy, ENERGIA News, Vol.4 nr.1, p.12-14, 2001)

¹² CSD9

¹³ www.worldenergy.org visited in May 2002

aspects including political, environmental, economic and social considerations depending on available energy resources and their acceptance by society. The Integrated Energy Planning approach also recognizes the multi-disciplinarity of energy. Formulating energy policy in line with IEP implies that four aspects; economic, social, political and environmental should characterize an energy policy. Each aspect has a gender-angle as well.

The political aspect of energy policy is embedded in the fact that it is a policy in which the provision of energy services is regulated. Governments need to plan their energy provision to respond to the energy demand and to react on the shortage or surplus of energy supply. On the supply side, an energy policy could regulate the availability of energy sources. Also political decisions of investments in the energy sector and legislation that makes foreign investment possible, are parts of the supply side. On the demand side of the energy sector, an energy policy can be used to guarantee an equal distribution of energy services between men and women. Since the focus of this study is on energy policy of governments, the political aspects of energy policy are also reflected in the environmental, the economical and social aspects as described below.

That energy policy has an environmental impact is recognized in the UN Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) in Rio in 1992. This led to international consensus on the need for sustainable development, which balances economic growth with concerns for social equity and environmental protection.¹⁴ Although it placed energy concerns mainly in the context of climate change, a change in attitude in energy policy can be seen towards more sustainable use. As a result many governments are promoting the use of renewable energy sources. Although the supply of renewable energy sources like wind and sun is without costs, the initial costs for installation and maintenance costs of solar collectors, windmills and biogas are very high. Renewable energy technology like solar cookers and biogas has the potential to be a substitute for fuelwood and other energy sources women are using.

However, it would be desirable to find out men's and women's opinion on these alternatives. Often, according to Parikh, women are not consulted or the availability of their time-free of costs- is assumed in the cost-benefit analysis of these options. As a consequence, they receive new technologies, without knowing how to use and maintain it or without even want the equipment at all. The new technologies will not be used or not used in the way they are supposed to. Concerning wrong assumptions about the participation of women in the project, the consequences for women could be very negative. Women do have a very busy time-schedule, and have hardly any spare time for themselves. If they have to participate in a project, than they will participate at the costs of their spare time. Furthermore, men

¹⁴ UNDP, "Generating Opportunities; case studies on Energy and Women", 2001, p.8

should be participating in such projects as well. They should be trained how to use and maintain new technologies. Especially in household technologies, equal participation of spouses could increase men's awareness of women's energy needs and visa versa.

Considering energy planning from an economic perspective, Parikh (1995, p.745) identifies three major elements of energy policy; investments, imports and pricing. She explains this by oil import. For those developing countries where imported oil is a substantial source of energy, pricing will inevitable be linked to global oil prices and considerations of rate of return on investments of the energy sector also have an impact on energy pricing policy. Where import, investment and pricing are mostly aimed at guaranteeing the energy supply of a country, these policies do have a gender-angle as well. For example, as Parikh mentions, commercial fuels, mainly used in urban areas, meet only 50% of the estimated cooking fuel needs in Africa and Asia. These countries consume more gasoline than cooking fuels. Despite the fact that there are less than 50 cars per 1000 persons but every household need cooking fuels.¹⁵ In developing countries men mostly own and driving cars and when gasoline prices rise the price for public transport will increase, as a result of commercialization/privatization policies government stops with subsidizing gasoline for public transport. This will have an impact on men and women's mobility, since men mostly own cars and women are more dependent than men on public transport. Concerning prices for cooking fuels, these effect women more than men, because women are mostly responsible for the fuel purchase. Especially for poor women in urban areas, a high price of commercial fuels is problematic, because since there is no firewood available, they have to buy all their energy resources. There is significantly more multiple fuel use (e.g. paraffin for lightening, kerosene or biomass for cooking and heating, batteries for radio's) and spacial stratification of household fuels in urban areas than in rural areas. Households that can afford it are able to select fuels that better match end-uses e.g. electric light but many even from rich households still cook with biomass due to influence on the flavor of food.

Policies for energy investments should start, according to Parikh (1995, p.753), with asking the following questions. What type of energy supply systems would women prefer? What will increase their productivity and reduce their drudgery? A choice not to invest in low-cost energy supply systems in rural areas has a result that women are still using firewood for cooking with all the associated problems, such as those mentioned earlier. Investing in renewable energy like PV systems will not mean a reduction in women's drudgery because it can not provide sufficient power for the three tasks which are significant contributors to women's drudgery; fuelwood collection, grain preparation and water purification. Especially cooking on electrical devices is very expensive for the very poor households. They will continue to cook on wood. A striking example is investment in electricity for

¹⁵ Parikh, Jyoti K., 1995, p. 752

lightening. This has positive as well as negative effects for women. So will lightening mean more safety in the house and street-lightening better safety on the street, furthermore women will have the opportunity to work during the evenings and generating some income. However, this is not a reduction of women's drudgery since women's working hours are extended.

Parikh (1995, p.751) proposes nine objectives of energy pricing;

1. pricing should promote efficiency of energy use
2. pricing should be such that capital costs are recovered over a stipulated period and variable costs are fully covered
3. pricing should be fair to customers
4. pricing of certain premium fuels could be up to what markets can bear
5. pricing should consider the needs of disadvantaged groups
6. pricing should promote substitution between alternative fuels in the desired direction i.e. relative pricing of fuels should be carefully considered
7. items 4 and 5 suggest that pricing could be used for cross-subsidization of weaker groups. Cross-subsidies have to be balanced at all times so that subsidy for the weaker groups does not exceed that provided by the stronger groups, i.e. there is no net subsidy (at least not for longer periods)
8. pricing should promote societal goals; be they to reduce pollution or inequity in access or control over energy sources or promote efficiency in the use of energy
9. pricing should consider externalities caused by the use e.g. environmental damage, international repercussions such as global warming or international price variations

Especially items 3, 5, 7 and 8 provide openings to integrate gender into energy policy. Customers are men and women, so pricing should be fair for men as well as women. Because of gender inequality, women and especially poor women, belong to a disadvantaged group. The needs of women should therefore be considered in energy pricing.

From a social perspective, energy planning needs to consider equity issues. As Eberhard (1992) argues, the market has failed to provide adequately for the basic needs of the poor. That makes selective intervention and planning to overcome historical imbalances politically and socially necessary. Therefore the political intervention in energy planning is focussing on formulation and implementation of energy policies, which ensure an equal distribution of energy. The social perspective also provides opportunities for integrating gender into energy policy. However, energy policy-makers are not used to work with gender issues and as a result energy policy is accused of being gender-blind. Possible reasons for this gender-blindness are given in 2.2.4.

2.2.4 Gender Blindness of the Energy Sector

According to Annecke (1999), the energy sector has been rather slower than other development sectors, such as water, land and health, to understand the necessity of involving women in project and policy design and implementation in order to achieve maximum benefit and ensure the sustainability of development goals. As a consequence, energy policy is accused of being blind for the gender roles and women's energy needs. Clancy (1999) gives as a possible reason, the fact that energy is not recognised by energy professionals as being a 'basic need'. She emphasises that the concept of 'basic need' has both a physical dimension and a social dimension. The physical dimension is the field of science and technology, whereas the social aspects are the objects of social science. Even though, energy is an essential input into all activities, it is not recognised and accepted as a basic need, as are water and food. In the early years of development co-operation, the focus was specific on satisfying the basic needs of people. As a result, technologists of the water and agriculture sector needed to co-operate with social scientists in development projects and hence they have learnt to work with the social dimension of their sector. This could be a reason for the awareness of gender-issues and willingness to address these within their sector. Clancy states that this co-operation between technologists and social scientists is not found in the energy sector, which is dominated by macroeconomics and technologists.

Several publications point out that gender-blindness by energy professionals could also be caused by the fact that energy statistics are not gender-disaggregated. Parikh (1995) explains that the fact that there are no gender specific data available in the energy sector-one of the most quantified sectors-is largely due to lack of concern and understanding about gender issues by energy policy makers and analysts. Energy use patterns of households and of men and women separately, are therefore invisible for decision-makers and planners. Besides that, the use of biomass and woodfuel is mostly not included in the national statistics. Cecelski (1995) adds to Parikh's arguments that women's survival tasks, based on their own metabolic energy inputs, are invisible in energy statistics, as are their contributions in the informal sector excluded from the economic statistics. As a consequence, the energy input of women's enterprises, which are mostly part of the informal sector, is missing in energy statistics. It can be concluded that the energy needs of women are invisible and therefore the consequences for women who rely on biomass fuels are not known. Clancy (1999) adds that, policy makers at a national level could be more aware of women's energy needs when users are disaggregated into male and female to analyse different patterns of use. In the next section the process towards a gendered national energy policy will be described.

2.3 Towards a Gender-aware Energy Policy

Because women are the primary end-users and managers of energy in the home, and in rural areas also the main suppliers of energy, Makan (1995) argues for a policy which is based on an interactive process directly informed by women and men and their respective needs, interests and knowledge. Women and men should directly influence policy by being involved and represented at the policy research, planning and implementation levels. In current energy policy this is not the case. Energy policy formulation generally seems to take place entirely at the national level, in a top-down manner. This can be explained partly because; energy policy formulation in the past has been supply-side dominated. There was no need to consult people, although citizens might have preference about what energy source they prefer to use. Whereas policy formulation should be the result of a process of broad consultation as part of a democratic process, it seems that politicians only consult technocrats and macro-economists on energy matters. They are considered as experts, who know how to react on the energy needs of the people. They could be right considering the technical realisation of energy policy, but for successful implementation public support is necessary and therefore the opinion of the target group needs to be taken into consideration as well.

Beside that, the current energy sector is dominated by macro-economics and scientists, which are mainly men. This makes the energy sector a men's world and the few women working in the energy sector are mainly holding positions with less decision-making power as administrators and secretaries. However, the number of women working in the energy sector is growing, especially in the North. Nevertheless the presence of women is not a guarantee that attention is paid to gender issues. There are gender blind women and gender sensitive men. For example, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development in Uganda is dominated by men, but can be considered to be gender-aware. They have a lot of knowledge on gender issues, as demonstrated in the interviews. Promoting women to decision-making positions can be a start to genderizing energy or at least to a more equal distribution of labour, power and access to energy services between men and women.

There are some examples of participation in energy policy formulation of women's or gender organizations. Some networks on gender and energy advocate at the national and international levels for putting gender-issues on the energy agenda. These networks are trying to raise awareness on gender-issues in energy by information sharing and capability building and lobby national governments, and international development agencies, to genderize their energy policy. An example is the Women's Energy Group in South Africa that contributed to a draft discussion document -The Green Paper- that was prepared to establish energy priorities for the South African Government, and argued for national policies targeted to women's needs. ENERGIA, the International Network on

Gender and Energy, has advocated to gender and energy in a number of International Fora and participated in the Ninth Session of the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD9) and in the Earth Summit on Sustainable Development (Rio +10) in Johannesburg, August 2002.

An important step towards gender mainstreaming in energy policy is the African Ministerial Workshop on Women in Energy, 11-13 December 2000, Durban, South Africa. Common theme at this workshop was the dichotomy between women's major role as energy users in Africa and their minimal representation in decision-making and project implementation. Thirty-two African countries and the USA signed the Durban Declaration on Women in Energy. This declaration recognizes that women are the main consumers and users of household energy resources and services but are marginalized in as far as the energy issues are concerned. Their participation in energy policymaking and formulation should be promoted. Furthermore, the countries have signed the Durban Declaration. A pledge that they will support integrated and sustainable energy development and utilisation, which will have a positive impact on women's lives in terms of their health, income generation, status and overall welfare.

Besides participation in workshops like the Durban one, the government should also show some initiative to mainstream gender in their national energy policy. Brouwers et al (1993) describe two strategies for genderizing national policy; the 'access or mainstream' strategy with emphasis on including women's interests in regular policies and institutions and the 'parallel' strategy with emphasis on separate policies, programs and structures. They recommend that in a gender policy both the access strategy as the parallel strategy need to be applied. The parallel strategy can be a first step for women to get organised and voice their specific concerns; the access strategy will bring the claims of women into the mainstream of political, social and economic life. In line with many others, Makan warns for adopting sectoral approaches to energy issues. She is in favour of a more holistic perspective, which addresses the needs of the most disadvantaged in terms of access to energy. Women's energy needs and interests cannot be addressed in isolation from particular socio-economic, political and cultural contexts, since gender as well as energy has a multi-dimensional character. Makan (1995, p.193) illustrates this by describing a situation where government information on energy efficiency did not reached the women, because there is a high illiteracy rate among women and listening to the radio is mostly a male privilege.

In addition to Maken, Wendy Annecke (1999) has identified, based on survey studies in Africa, five aspects to bear in mind when formulating energy policy in a gender-sensitive way;

1. Access; intra-community and inter-household relationships may determine access to energy services. These may not be the same for all women or men in the community, and are one of the areas where the differences between gender may be visible. Annecke (1999) points out that status, income, age and stage of life-cycle (whether they have children, work or are sick), as well as individual relationships, may affect access.
2. Availability; the availability of a variety of energy services, so that women and men can select according to their own criteria which to use, is the ideal.
3. Affordability; by definition poor women and men have small, often irregular cash incomes and multiple demands on them, and their choices are constrained by what they can afford. Because of their irregular income alternatives for pay-systems of energy services need to be developed by the government. Also a government can influence energy prices and provide subsidies for poor people.
4. Security; Annecke identifies two aspects of security. The first is the one of a dependable supply. This is more an availability issue. Women need energy for cooking and income-generating activities. When there is not enough energy available, they cannot prepare food and purify water for themselves and their families. Men will also not be able to generate enough income, if they need energy to do so. Another aspect of security is men's and women's personal security in ensuring a secure environment for them to collect wood and/or conduct their business. Also health impacts by using toxic fuels or high flammable fuels is a danger for men and women who are using them.
5. Sustainability; the energy services available to men and women should not only be secure, affordable, accessible and available but also sustainable over time. An energy policy should not only promote the sustainable use of energy but also train men and women how to realize that. Furthermore the promotion of renewable energy sources should be laid down in the energy policy, but women should be consulted what energy option they prefer and they should be trained as well as men how to use and maintain new technologies.

When formulating a gender-aware energy policy, policy-makers should focus on the aspects mentioned above to address within the content of the policy the energy needs of women and men. Working with a multidisciplinary and participatory approach towards energy planning, will give opportunities to integrate gender issues and women's needs in energy policy. In the conclusions below, a combination is made between the five points of Annecke above and the four aspects of energy policy; political, environmental, economical and social.

2.4 Conclusion;

The Characteristics of the Content and Process of a Gender-aware Energy Policy

The aim of this chapter was to answer the first research question by describing the characteristics of gender-aware energy policy. To answer this question some background information was given by defining the concepts and explaining the relation between gender and energy. When describing the relation between gender and energy, a need towards more gender-awareness in the energy sector was identified. In current energy policy, gender-issues are receiving no attention and therefore energy policy can be accused for being gender-blind. To overcome this gender blindness, energy policy-makers should try to mainstream gender issues. As described above, gender mainstreaming is a process to ensure that the concerns and needs of both women and men are considered in planning and policy-making and that all policy-makers are aware of the needs of women and men and their roles and responsibilities. A gender-aware energy policy should therefore ensure that the energy needs and energy concerns of both men and women are considered. Within gender mainstreaming of energy policy, five levels of gender equality can be identified; welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control. These levels are hierarchical related to each other, so the process of gender mainstreaming in energy policy should start with guaranteeing equal material welfare between men and women and ends with equal control over energy sources and services. Gender mainstreaming is the first character of five aspects that characterise the process towards a gender-aware energy policy.

The second characteristic to genderize energy policy is to increase the participation of both men and women in the sector. Besides some exceptions, women are generally under-represented at the decision-making level in the energy sector and are rarely consulted regarding energy projects. When a government chooses to use the integrated energy planning approach for formulating energy policy, they need to focus on the demand-side of the energy sector. As household managers, women are the primary consumers and providers of household energy. To react on women's energy needs and concerns and to react on their demand, the government should consult those women and to let them participate in order to formulate an energy policy that reflects their energy demands. Men, especially male energy experts and energy policy-makers, should also be trained in gender-issues in order to make them more aware of women's energy needs and uses. Furthermore, they should be trained in how to use and apply gender analytical tools.

However, what are the energy needs and concerns of women compared to men and are there besides participation other ways of awareness raising of these concerns by energy policy makers? An answer to this question can be formulated by gender disaggregation. One way to enlarge the knowledge on women's energy use and demand compared to that of men is to collect gender-disaggregated data on

male and female energy use. The fact that women are using and collecting fuelwood for household purposes or for small enterprises is not visible in the statistics, since they are not using energy services provided by government or companies. They might be interested in those energy services like electricity or other forms of energy, but since their users pattern is not reflected in statistics, energy planners do not know what women's energy demand is and can therefore not design appropriate energy policies. This third characteristic of the energy policy process seems a contradiction; in order to achieve more gender equality you have to discriminate between men and women. But it is a way to analyse gender relations and to increase knowledge and awareness on gender inequality. It does not imply that it is temporarily measure, that it is not longer useful when gender-awareness and gender equality is realised. Gender disaggregated data is a way to distinguish energy users and to react on energy demands and needs. Demands, needs as well as gender are dynamic concepts that change in time, so gender analysis is a tool to identify and to react on these changes. It is also a useful tool for applying energy pricing and subsidises for disadvantaged users.

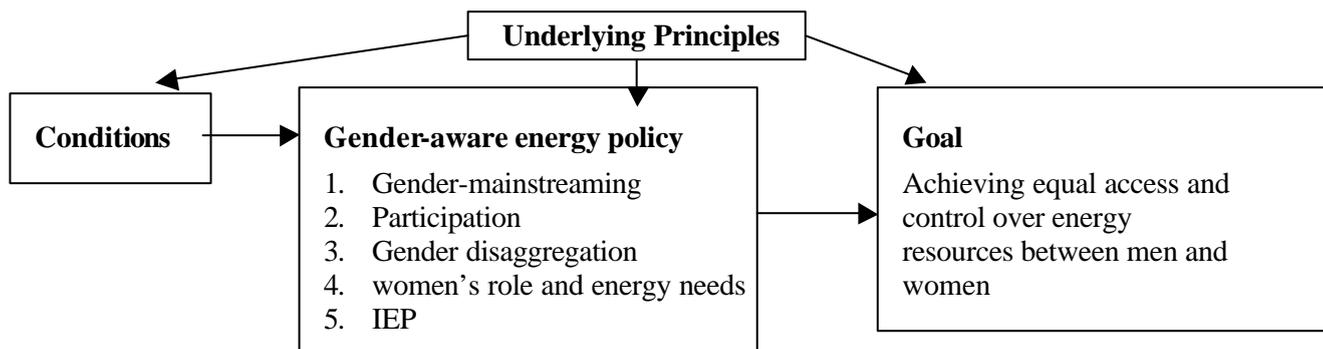
The fourth aspect to take into consideration when formulating a gender-aware energy policy is the recognition of women's role in the energy provision and use and their energy needs. Women fulfil a triple role in society; namely; a productive, reproductive and a community role. They will have energy needs according to those roles, like cooking, energy for income generating activities, lighting, etc. This aspect seems to be conflicting with the first character; gender mainstreaming, since gender mainstreaming is about the needs of men and women. But especially in energy, there is gender inequality in the access and control over energy resources and it can be said that women have a special role as household-energy managers. To react on women's role in energy supply and demand, special attention to women's role and their energy needs should be paid in energy policy. Furthermore, it could contribute to overcome the current gender-blindness of the energy sector by increasing awareness on the need to integrate gender issues.

When integrating gender into energy policy, a multi-disciplinary, interactive approach combine with the integrated energy planning approach should be the guideline. As highlighted above, gender is a crosscutting issue and energy also has multi-disciplinary (political, social, economic and environmental) aspects. A multi-disciplinary perspective towards energy policy-making will provide a framework to look at gender and energy from all these different angles and it will help to understand the relation between gender and energy and what the impact of certain energy policy decisions will be on women in relation to men. The interactive, participatory approach will provide ways for women, as mentioned above, to influence energy policy formulation and to advocate for the integration of their needs into the energy policy. Furthermore the main feature of integrated energy planning is the demand-driven approach towards energy planning. This gives an opportunity to react on women's and men's energy needs in energy policy. The fact that IEP recognizes that energy is linked with other

sectors of economy and society is an opening for integrating social aspects (like gender) in the energy planning process. Therefore the fifth character of a gender-aware energy policy is a integrated energy planning approach towards the energy policy formulation process.

What can be concluded from above is that in Figure 3 of the process towards a gender-aware energy policy the cell of the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy can now be filled in.

Figure 6: Process to Genderize Energy Policy



These characteristics should be reflected in the content of a gender-aware energy policy. When formulating a gender-aware energy policy, five aspects are needed to take into consideration; access, availability, affordability, security and sustainability of the energy services. Combine with the multi-disciplinarity of energy policy, the following matrix (Figure 7) can be formed. The cells of the matrix contain examples of how they can be interpreted and translated into policy objectives. The matrix can be used as a model of how to reflect gender issues into the content of an energy policy.

Figure 7: Model for gender-aware energy policy; content

Issues	Political	Economical	Environmental	Social
Access	Control of resources	Pricing	Access to renewables	Participation in decisionmaking
Availability	Guaranteeing equal access and distribution of energy resources	Prices reflect supply and demand Subsidies for marginalized groups in society	Availability of renewables	Equal distribution of energy sources in society
Affordability	Promote affordable energy services	Pricing and subsidizing	Subsidised price of renewables	Subsidising energy services for the poor
Security	Regulate use of unsafe energy sources Promote safe energy	Sanction unsafe use of toxic energy sources Subsidise use of safe energy sources (like renewables)	Promote use of non-polluting energy	Protect men and women in collecting energy in unsafe areas
Sustainability	Promoting alternative energy sources Enabling (by legislation) use of renewable energy	Subsidising renewable energy	Energy efficiency	Gender equality

3 CONDITIONS FOR GENDER-AWARE ENERGY POLICY

Under which conditions can a gender-aware energy policy be achieved? This is the central research question in this chapter. Based on literature study an answer to this question will be formulated. The conditions for gender-aware energy policy identified in the literature will then be examined in practice during the field studies in South Africa and Uganda in the next chapters. The focus of this chapter is the process towards gender-aware energy policy. However, to describe this process the underlying principles of the different stakeholders to realize a gender-aware energy policy needs to be defined first. Then the conditions that need to be fulfilled to realise gender-aware energy policy will be identified and the trajectory that needs to be followed in achieving these conditions.

3.1 The Underlying Principles for Genderizing Energy Policy

When describing the process of making energy policy gender-aware, it is important to bear in mind what the underlying principles are of different actors. In the literature several aims of gender mainstreaming are identified of which the important ones are equity and equality in gender relations, women empowerment, efficiency and sustainability. Which rationale a government has to implement gender-aware energy policy determines their way of and their underlying reasons for realising that. However, within a government, even within a department of a ministry, several underlying principles can exist simultaneously. Also several stakeholders in a policy formulation process could participate with different (often conflicting) goals they are aiming for. For example, women's organisations could focus more on women's empowerment, donors more on sustainability of energy policies and government more on efficiency of the policy. All these categories provide strong reasons for gender sensitivity in policies. The distinctions are useful in identifying possible obstacles and opposition, and also instances where particular measures serve more than one goal. It is therefore important to make a distinction between the several goals and to be aware of the differences between them. A main difference between the several objectives is whether they challenge practical or strategic needs. Therefore this distinction is described first.

3.1.1 Gender Needs

Men and women have different roles in society, do different types of work, have different access to and power over resources and therefore they have different needs. Between the different needs of human beings, a distinction can be made between strategic needs and practical needs. Practical gender needs are needs women and men have coherent to their roles in society. They focus on the basic needs like employment, food, water and health care and, according to a discussion earlier in this study, also energy. The practical gender needs are easy to identify, tend to be short-term and are material. The strategic gender needs are more difficult to identify, because they tend to be long-term and are

ideological. These needs are about improving the unequal position of some gender groups and the need to imply change in power relations between men and women. The table below, based on Lozano and Messner (1995, section 1, p.9) lists the differences between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs.

Figure 8: Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

Practical Gender Needs (PGNs)	Strategic Gender Needs (SGNs)
?? Represent what people require to get or to have in order to carry out their gender roles more easily and effectively.	?? Represent what women or men require in order to equalise their position or status with regard to each other.
?? Do not require a change in gender roles, only coherence between roles and cultural patterns.	?? Tend to refer to social relations between women and men.
?? Tend to be easy to identify because of the direct demand of society that women and men live by their gender roles.	?? Satisfaction of these needs means that women and men are able and free to define their own roles and responsibilities; that each one's gender is recognised as holding values and rights, both social and legal; that one person is not subject to another because of her/his gender.
?? Addressing PGNs does not ensure that other needs will be met, nor that access to meeting those needs will be sustained.	?? SGNs are less visible and obvious than PGNs
	?? Addressing SGNs requires action over the long term because it demands changes in attitudes, behaviour and power structures.
	?? Addressing SGNs is conducive to greater satisfaction or practical needs.
	?? Raising these needs or addressing them might bring about resistance from men and women.

The distinction between practical and strategic needs is criticised by Wieringa (1998) because of the following reasons. Firstly, she considers that it is unnecessary to introduce another binary opposition. In social science there are already too much binary oppositions and to introduce the contrast of practical versus strategic needs is not a way of explaining reality but to control and normalise it. Nevertheless, the distinction of practical and strategic gender needs is essential for gender-aware project planning and policymaking. Many development projects and policies are focused on satisfying the practical gender needs and are ignoring the strategic needs. By only satisfying practical needs, it is impossible to contribute to the development process in the long run. Besides planning development projects in a gender sensitive way, sustainable development is also (even more) a requirement for donor-agencies and governments. Therefore, it is important to distinct practical from strategic gender needs to ensure that both needs are considered in their own right and not being blurred.

Secondly, Wieringa thinks that it is impossible to make the distinction empirical and she questions the universality of the analytical approach. The context in which the needs exist and the political motivation to change them, influence the way in which the needs are tried to be improved. To make the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs empirically can indeed be difficult, however there are several analytical tools developed (like the Gender Needs Assessment Framework) for measuring and assessing different gender needs. The universality of the theory can be questioned indeed. Needs, despite whether or not they are strategic or practical, are very individual. So they not only depend on the context in which they exist or the political motivation to change them, they are

also influenced by culture and individual motivations. Nevertheless, by using analytical methods in a consistent way, it might be possible to discover some universal gender needs. Furthermore, gender needs might not be universal, but as gender is socially and culturally determined, within a society and especially within a community with the same cultural background, gender needs might be the same. That means that for a government it might be possible to respond on gender needs within their state. Whether they will address practical or strategic needs depend on the objective they are aiming for.

3.1.2 The Underlying Principle of Genderizing Policy

Welfare

Developed in the 1950s, this approach was the first approach in which women were recognised as participants in the developing process. The programs and projects within this approach are focused only on women and do not consider the specific gender relations. The aim of this approach is, according to Skutsch (1998) to increase women's welfare by lightening women's daily problems, but not to change their roles structurally or to open new doors for them. Nevertheless, large changes begins with small steps, so by improving women's welfare could give women the opportunity to empower themselves. For example, building a drinking water facilitation increase women's welfare, because they do not need to spend time by fetching and transporting water. So they could have some more spare time for other activities like education or paid labour, what could empower them.

The welfare approach has some strengths and weaknesses. Its strength lies in the following features. First, it is the earliest policy approach, which concerns women as participants of the developing process. Another feature is that it recognised women reproductive role and tries to visualise women domestic tasks. By seeking to meet practical gender needs, it tries to enlighten women's daily life and women's welfare in general. Because of the traditional point of view of women as mothers and by only seeking to meet practical instead of strategic gender needs, the welfare-approach is non-challenging. That is the reason of its popularity and why it was accepted during the 1950s. It is political neutral, because it does not questioning women traditional role, and maybe that is still the reason why it is still widely used.

However, the welfare-approach has many weaknesses. It sees women as passive recipients of development rather than participants, which could be involved in the developing process in an active way. It recognised women reproductive role, that is a good thing. But the problem is that is ignores women's triple role and is only focused on motherhood as the most important role of women. It assumption that childrearing is the most effective role for women in all aspects of economic development, is wrong and the reality shows that women contribute to the global economy by all kind of economical activities. Another weakness is that the welfare-approach hinder women's empowerment. Free goods and services are handed out in a top-down way, which created dependency.

On the other hand, by meeting practical gender needs, a start could be made by challenging strategic gender needs. The most important failure of a top-down approach is the lack of participation for the people. Also handing out free goods and services, is not a sustainable method for improving welfare in the long term.

The most important concern of the welfare-approach is to guarantee the family physical survival. Women are the targets for improving the family welfare. This is done through training of non-working housewives and mothers, also by food aid and nutrition education. Food aid is of course not a sustainable method for guaranteeing the family welfare and can therefore be criticised. Nevertheless, nutrition education can improve family welfare in the long term. Another program of the welfare-approach is the birth-control-projects. The problem with these projects is the women-centred point of view. Men are not involved by the education in birth control, while they have their contribution in childbearing too. However, birth control can also be realised by education and paid work of women.

A reaction to the welfare-approach, was the in 1975 United Nations Women's Year Conference. Other approaches were developed such as the equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment approaches. The similarities between these approaches are that they share many common origins. That they were formulated during the same decade, that they are not entirely mutually exclusive and that they are categorised together as Women-in-Development-approaches.

Equity

Equity is the original Women-in-Development-approach, introduced within the United Nations Women's Decade (1975-1985). Its purpose is to gain equity for women in the development process. Skutsch (1998) makes a clear distinction between equity and equality. Equity implies an agreed upon and fair system of distribution of rights, power and money between men and women. Equality implies equal shares of these things. Applied to energy policy, the distribution of and the power over energy resources is not equally distributed between men and women. Men are in general the owners and producers of commercial and non-commercial (like biomass) energy services; women are the consumers. National policy should aim an equal share of (power over) energy between men and women. As Annecke (2001) points out, for a variety of reasons, women have little control over and negotiating power in relation to pricing, production or convenience of the energy services they require. Men, who traditionally work more in the public sphere than in the domestic sphere, make these decisions.

The strengths of the Equity-approach lies in the fact that it puts equity for women in the development process on the agenda. Women need to be seen as active participants in the development process and the women's concern therefore need to be taken into account in gender-aware project planning.

Another strength is that it seeks to meet strategic needs through direct state intervention. They want to give women political and economical autonomy and try to reduce women's inequality with men. It is thus the first approach, which really challenges women's subordinated position to men.

It is criticised by governments as Western feminism. To challenge women's subordinated position, makes the equity-approach not political neutral that is why this approach is unpopular by governmental organisations. It is also questioned if it is appropriate to apply western values regarding women's economical and political position in Third World-countries. Another failure of the equity-approach is to acknowledge and utilise women's productive role. It is mainly concentrated as women political position and women's reproductive role. It is even said that the equity-approach reinforces values, which restrict women to the household.

Poverty reduction

This second Women-in-Development-approach, also called the 'toned down' version of equity, is introduced from the 1970s onwards and is introduced by the World Bank. Its purpose is to ensure that poor women increased their productivity so that they earn more income, which help them to overcome their poverty. The strength of the poverty-reduction-approach is that it tries to ensure to increase the productivity of poor women and that it recognises the productive role of women. It sees women's poverty as a problem of underdevelopment, not of subordination. By not challenging the social position of women, it is a popular approach to apply. Especially in energy policy, poverty reduction of woman-headed households is a reason to integrate gender-issues in a policy, project or programme. The focus on women-headed households has arisen at least in part because of the difficulties in differentiating most household data. Women-headed households have been used to represent the mostly missing gender aspect in energy policy and data. Nevertheless, the category of women-headed households needs to be unpacked to understand the patterns of vulnerability and their causes and to design appropriate policies to deal with them. Budlender (1997, p.527) distinguishes four categories in South Africa; households headed by women who are partnered and where both partners are in the household; woman-headed households where the partner is absent; woman-headed households where the woman is not married; and woman-headed households where the woman head is absent.

The poverty-reduction-approach is criticised because it isolated poor women or poor women-headed households as a separate category. It is not challenging the gender relations and therefore it might improve women's economical situation, but not women's social and political situation. It tries to meet women's practical needs without addressing the strategic gender needs. However, by improving women's economical position, some strategic needs could be met. Income gives women the opportunity to afford all kind of services, like electricity, health-care, education for themselves and

their children. Nevertheless, the approach does not recognise women's triple role by concentrating only on women's productive role.

Efficiency

Efficiency is the third, and the predominant WID approach since the 1980s debt crisis. Its purpose is to ensure that development is more efficient and effective through women's contribution. Its main concern is the efficiency of development projects. A project manager is responsible for meeting the goals of the project within time and within budget. As Margaret Skutsch (1998) point out, awareness that men and women have different perspectives, needs and constraints can lead to a better fit of project intervention with the clients and thus greater management efficiency in terms of transfer. Gender is thus used as an instrument to increase the efficiency of a project or policy. For example, many energy-providing projects have failed because they did not consult the energy-users. What people can and will afford for energy is then assumed, and often miscalculated. And when they did consult energy-users to estimate household-energy-patterns, they mostly approach the men (as head of the household?) instead of the women. The efficiency of the implementation of these projects could have been increased when they had consulted women, because as household-managers they can better estimate domestic energy use pattern than men.

The strength of this approach lies in the fact that it is the first approach, which has the aim to improve project efficiency so that development aid really could make a difference. Another strong point is that it tries to meet practical gender needs in context of decreasing social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time. These projects are trying to give women access and control over resources and empower them by training them how they can manage things. The weakness however is that it not challenges women's strategic needs. A failure is the assumption of the efficiency-approach that women's time is elastic. The hours that women are working do not decrease, but the time is allocated to different activities. The need to have access to resources has forced women to allocate more time for productive and community roles. Reproductive tasks are lifted over to mostly female family members. Therefore, it only meets practical gender needs at the cost of longer working hours and increased unpaid work.

Empowerment

Empowerment is the most recent Women-in-Development-approach. Its purpose is to empower women through greater self-reliance translated into skills building and actions on all needs and aspects of life. This approach is articulated by Third World-women who see the subordination of women not only as the problem of men, but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression. It is an almost complete approach, by recognising women's triple role and by meeting strategic gender needs indirectly through bottom-up mobilisation around practical gender needs. It is potentially challenging by putting the

subordinated position of women on the agenda. This challenging character is a strength of the empowerment approach, since it The weakness is that it is largely unsupported by governments and agencies because of its challenging character, so empowerment of women could be a long-term process. According to Skutsch (1998) the empowerment approach is rapidly growing world-wide, both at the grass roots, in local women's organisations which are fighting for a greater say for women, and among NGOs and political parties which are striving more generally for human rights and development.

Figure 9: Overview of the different underlying principles for Gender-mainstreaming

Issues	Welfare	Equity	Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Empowerment
Origins	Earliest approach; residual model of social welfare under colonial administration	Original WID approach; failure of modernisation development policy	Second WID approach; linked to redistribution with growth and basic needs	Third WID approach; deterioration of the world economy, emphasis on women's contribution to economic development	Most recent approach; arose out of failure of equity approach, especially used by grassroots organisations
Period (most popular)	1950-1970, still widely used	1975-1985	1970-onward, still limited popularity	Post 1980s, popular in the nineties	1975-onward, still limited popularity
Purpose	To bring women in development as better mothers (this is seen as the most important role of women)	To gain equity for women in the development process, women are seen as active participants	To ensure poor women increase their productivity, women's poverty is seen as problem of under-development	To ensure development is more efficient and effective, women's participation is seen as associated with equity	To empower women through greater self reliance
Needs of women and roles recognized	To meet PGN* in reproductive role (food aid, malnutrition, family planning)	To meet SGN* in terms of triple role-directly to state top-down intervention, giving political and economical autonomy	To meet PGN in productive roe, to earn income in small scale income generating projects	To meet PGN in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time	To reach SGN in terms of triple role-indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN as a means to confront oppression
Comment	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development, focus on reproductive role, non challenging, popular by traditional governments and agencies	Identifies subordinate position of women in terms of relations to men, challenging, not popular with governments, criticised as Western feminism	Poor women isolated as separate category, tendency only to recognise the productive role, popular at NGO level	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day, approach both with governments and multilateral agencies	Potentially challenging, emphasis on self reliance, largely unsupported by governments and agencies, criticized as Western feminism

PGN*: Practical Gender Needs, SGN*: Strategic Gender Needs

Within the literature, there is quite some discussion about how to use and define the different approaches of gender. Especially the efficiency-equity dichotomy receives a lot of discussion. According to Budlender (1997), the equity argument sees women, or people, as the end while the efficiency argument sees them as a means to an end. The equity argument says that justice requires action to ensure that the current gender imbalances are corrected. The efficiency argument is that restricting the opportunities and development of over half the population constraints the development and welfare of the country as a whole. Bina Agarwal (1995, p.271-277) provides an alternative breakdown to the equity-efficiency dichotomy. She distinguishes four interrelated arguments for dealing with gender issues, which she terms welfare, efficiency, equality and empowerment. According to Budlender, the first two arguments (welfare and efficiency) could be seen as different aspects of efficiency. Welfare concerns the benefit to the poorest and most disadvantaged, while efficiency is about the size of overall output irrespective of how it is distributed. Agarwal's second two arguments (equity and empowerment) could be seen by Budlender as aspects of equity. Agarwal's equality can be seen as the promotion of equity in the short term. She defines empowerment as a process that enhances the ability of the disadvantaged (powerless) individuals or groups to challenge and change (in their favour) existing power relationships that place them in subordinate economic, social and political positions.

A more interesting discussion within the context of genderising energy policy, is that of how the motivation for participation can be combined with the underlying principle for a gender perspective. Participation of different stakeholders in the energy policy formulation process is an important character of a gender-aware energy policy (chapter 2). However, as Skutsch et al reveal, the objectives with regard to participation are quite different among the various actors involved. Every stakeholder has its own motivations for participating in the process and their own rationale for integrating gender. Skutsch emphasises that especially the power of some funding agencies should not be forgotten. They exercise their influence in (temporary) adjustment of the formal objectives, strategies, approaches and methods of the other sectors involved (money talks). The benefits of a participatory and gender-sensitive approach in terms of equity and empowerment are recognised and supported by the donors and by some NGOs but are rarely supported by local people and their organizations. Their motivations are more focused at increasing welfare of women and efficiency of the project.

3.2 Conditions for Gender-aware Energy Policy

In this section, the emphasis is on how gender-aware energy policy can be realised and under which conditions. Six conditions can be identified to realise gender-aware public policy. These points can be considered not only as a way to create an enabling (political) environment within a country for gender issues but also as conditions for gender-aware energy policy. When these points are realized then the

circumstances are available to make an energy policy gender aware. A trajectory can be proposed in which order these points should be realised to realise gender-mainstreaming. A possible trajectory is the following:

1. A first condition to be realised is a participatory framework; involving beneficiaries in public policy through stakeholders-participation by working in collaboration and participation of government, development organisations, civil society organisations, etc.
2. The second step is to create a methodological framework. This is necessary to generate and analyse gender-disaggregated data so that policy-makers can have appropriate data so that they can take action to overcome unequal gender relations. Using gender analysis will also create more gender awareness among stakeholders.
3. Gender awareness of a government, can be demonstrated by equalizing opportunities by modifying the legal framework. Is the legal treatment of men and women equal? Are men and women equal before the law? Are gender-issues integrated into the constitution? Part of this legal framework is also the legal and political commitment of governments in international conventions, treaties etc
4. The fourth condition that needs to be fulfilled in order to realise gender mainstreaming is the establishment of a political framework for using targeting measures to narrow the gender gap. Gender inequality prevent an economy from realizing its full potential, targeting to women can be an effective strategy for increasing production and output. Another reason is that where gender differences are wide, targeting could capture social gains and increases internal efficiency. Gender targeting is mostly translated into a gender policy, a national action plan for women or an affirmative action policy for women.
5. To implement the political framework and to monitor the legal framework, an institutional framework for gender issues needs to be established. For example the creation of a ministry for Women's Affairs or a Gender Ministry, also called national machinery for women.
6. Financial framework is crucial for realising gender-aware policies and to demonstrate political commitment to gender mainstreaming by allocating sufficient resources to gender policies. One way to give sufficient financial support is by gender budgeting. Gender budgeting gives governments the opportunity to redirecting public policies and expenditure to promote gender equality. In principle, public expenditure on social services and infrastructure are allocated on a gender-neutral basis, in practice, women and men use services differently. Government's budgets should therefore be gender disaggregated.

The six conditions are described and analysed in detail in the section below and whether they are achieved in practice and in which hierarchy they are realised, will be analysed in the case studies of the following chapters.

3.2.1 Participation

Since gender-awareness is aiming at equal distribution over power between men and women, women should participated in equal numbers as men in decision-making positions. However, women are in general under-represented in decision-making positions. This under-representation could lead to invisibility of women's needs and gender-blindness at policy level. Therefore, an increase of women's participation could lead to more gender-awareness at policy level. There are several explanations for the under-representation of women (identified during interviews Soesterberg). First of all, women have low self-confidence, mostly as a result of a low level of education and a lack of experience. Furthermore, gender biases and cultural constraints hinder women not only to develop their experiences in public life but also to occupy public decision-making positions. The gender biases also result in a heavy domestic workload for women, so that they do not have the time to participate in decision-making processes or in public consultation meetings. Besides, even if they are allowed to participate, there are some financial obstacles as well. They mostly do not have property of their own and they have limited resources so that they are not able to afford public transport to come to meetings or to pay for membership of a political party.

However, increasing women's participation in public positions is not unproblematic. A gender study described by Maude Mugisha (2000) and implemented in 1996/1997, in support of the Lira District¹⁶ Development Plan 1996/2000, noted major constraints that women face in public positions. Among their overall work load when combining a community task with the household/reproductive tasks and the moral pressures and negative attitudes of both men and women towards women in leadership. As a result many women were not willing to accept nominations for leadership positions. The study showed that for women to be able to participate meaningfully in democratic processes, including local politics, more support would be required for candidates for political positions at household as well as community levels. At the household level, women would need support and assistance with domestic chores, like the collection of firewood, in order to release time to participate in local politics. At community level, local councilors be they men or women, would need to better understand the existence of gender biases against women's participation in local participation processes and their role and responsibilities to counter such biases. These findings do not only represent the situation in the Lira District in Uganda, but are applicable for women in many African communities.

From a gender-perspective, decentralization of a public administration opens up new possibilities to stimulate women's participation in local decision-making processes. It is usually easier to familiarize oneself with local issues, thus lowering the threshold for women to step forward and do something about it. Furthermore, decentralization of a public administration means a revision of all standard

¹⁶ Lira district is a district in the Northern part of Uganda

administrative procedures, opening up possibilities to integrate gender issues in the planning and implementation processes within administration. Maude Mugisha (2000) reveals in a case study, based on the Gender and Decentralisation Programme implemented in Lira District, that while there were ample opportunities for women to participate in local leadership, there were social, cultural and economical circumstances (as mentioned above) that hamper them to utilize these openings. Cultural and societal impediments prevent women from full participation in political processes. Women expressed a general feeling that they lacked the support and consent of men both at household and community levels in order to participate in local leadership.

As Brouwers et al (1993) state, the objective of participation is to bring individuals and their families into societal life. Through participation new webs of relationships may be woven between groups previously encapsulated in their regional, ethnic or religious communities. This development of civil society has great value in its own right, it broadens and deepens the totality of actors, social layers and institutional dimensions between those who govern and the governed. Thus, participation strengthens the foundation for genuine democracy and equity. Interventions to increase participation have not been very successful, even at micro levels. Brouwers (1993) gave as reasons for this failure; top-down manipulation by governments, political parties and other agents; internal differentiation among the participants themselves; limitation of participation in projects to their implementations rather than in the project cycle as a whole.

3.2.2 Methodological Framework

Since the Integrated Energy Planning approach assumes that energy planning should start with an analysis of energy-end-use demand, it becomes important that sufficient resources are allocated to the collection of the necessary data. Emphasis on IEP could lead as Bouille demonstrates, to improved information systems and analytical models.¹⁷ Although, as Codoni describes, it is often difficult to obtain disaggregated data on the full range of energy end-uses or on the use of traditional fuels.¹⁸ This is especially the case for gender disaggregated data. Women's role in the collection and use of traditional fuels is invisible in energy statistics. Traditional fuels, like wood and dung are not included in energy statistics. Women's energy needs and interests are therefore invisible for energy planners and policy makers. One way to make the relation between women and energy visible is applying gender analysis.

¹⁷ Bouille, Daniel, 'Integrated Energy Planning in countries with highly skewed incomes and unequal access to basic energy services', in; Eberhard, Anton & Theron, Paul, 1992, pp.53-77

¹⁸ Codoni, René, 'Theory and Practice in Integrated Energy Planning; Case Examples in Asia', in; Eberhard, Anton & Theron, Paul, 1992, pp.44-52

The importance of gender analysis is that it makes it possible to generate data that are disaggregated by gender, it enhances the understanding of social issues and relations of production. This understanding of who actually does what, who has access to, controls, and who owns what resources is important in economical policy formulation and development programme design, especially poverty reduction programmes. Gender analysis can also be used to identify gender-specific activities and needs. This enhances accuracy in planning for specific target groups.

Statistics on men and women is a tool for gender sensitisation and advocacy. It is necessary to have a periodical assessment and documentation of the level of involvement of both men and women throughout the development process. It can be monitored through collection, analysis and dissemination of accurate, timely, relevant and user-oriented statistics on the situation of men and women in all areas of human development. The ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development of Uganda organized in cooperation with the Uganda Bureau of Statistics series of workshops to target data producers and users working in sectors at national and district level on gender statistics to initiate a dialogue between data producers and users.¹⁹ A daily activity profile needs to be drawn, then you have an idea of how much time a specific activity takes, who performs it, what resources are used, who have access to these resources, who controls and who owns them. To draw such a daily activity profile you need to gender analysis.

Gender training is, according to Kakande and Sengendo (2001), after the gender policy the second most common used method to mainstream gender in policy and programmes in Uganda. This is basically due to the fact that gender practioners feel that it is important to teach gender mainstreaming skills to the policy planners in order to enable them to do gender mainstreaming in policies and programmes themselves. Tools used in gender training include; training materials, gender statistics booklets, bulletins or newsletters and case studies. What Kakande and Sengendo have realised is the fact that stakeholders have faced challenges with gender training as the major tools used in gender mainstreaming. Apart from terminology used in the gender discourse, the challenge persists on how to set up an agreed upon definition of the concept gender mainstreaming. Although the national gender policy can be considered as the main tool for guiding gender mainstreaming, most stakeholders pointed out that it is difficult to relate it to what they 'do' in specific sectors. The multi-disciplinarity of the sector policies and programmes therefore bring challenges when policy planners and implementers try to visualise gender mainstreaming as a discipline on its own.

Budlender (1997) argues for including time calculations in policies, because it will encourage policies to take into account the value added by unpaid work as well as the burden and constraints it places

upon those who perform it. It will discourage policy-makers from assuming that the supply of such labour is completely elastic. In addition to valuing such work, policies need to take account of current rigidities and imbalances as to who does and can perform it.

3.2.3 Legal Framework

Barbara Mbire-Barungi (1999, p.435) argues that in order to have effective public policy aimed at promoting gender equity and empowerment, national and local politics should embrace the international principles of women's rights as human rights. Western and international feminist movements may have put women on the map internationally for example through the Beijing declaration and Plan of Action; locally there are specific and particular issues that need to be addressed. Therefore there is strong call for national governments to address women's issues and gender inequality. Most women are still not aware of their legal rights embedded in the constitution or in international treaties. Where the customary law conflicts with the statutory laws, women and in some cases men tend to be highly disadvantaged. However, many women are now in a position to do something about it, since they are more represented in e.g. parliaments, civil society organizations, ministries. Nevertheless, the laws need to be enforced as well, otherwise it will not make a change for women on the grassroots. This law enforcement might be more difficult in the South than in North, since, civil society is weaker in the South than in the North.

The UNCED Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) in Rio in 1992 led to, according to UNDP (2001), international consensus on the need for sustainable development, which balances economic growth with concerns for social equity and environmental protection. Although it placed energy concerns mainly in the context of climate change, a change in attitude in energy policy can be seen towards more sustainable use. The conference major energy recommendations involved promoting the energy transition, energy efficiency, renewable energy and sustainable transport. Agenda 21 produced by the Rio Conference, called attention to the central role of women in environmental issues. Agenda 21 emphasised that gender should be integrated in all activities, actions, projects and policies arising from the Rio Conference.

In 1995, The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing emphasised the central role of women in sustainable development and the need to promote opportunities for women. At the Conference, also called the Beijing platform of action, a more active role for women within science and technology development is aimed. With regards to energy, governments were stimulated to provide equal access to energy services and to aim for active participation of women in the energy sector. At both conferences, energy policy has been considered as part of gender, science and

¹⁹ Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, "Gender Statistics workshop Western Region", Mbarara,

technology for sustainable development. The conferences have led to increased recognition within international fora of the linkages between women and sustainable development and there is a growing widespread interest in understanding the issues and formulating appropriate strategies, which relate to women and energy.

3.2.4 Political Framework

To facilitate gender mainstreaming a government could formulate a national gender policy. The Ugandan government has chosen to formulate a National Gender Policy as a tool for realising gender mainstreaming in their country. As set out in the preface of the National Gender Policy of Uganda, *the National Gender Policy is a policy document which prescribes the basic principles of mainstreaming gender in all sectors and sets target areas of action at national, sectoral, district and community level. The goal of the policy is to mainstream gender concerns in the national development process in order to improve the social, legal, civic, political, economic and cultural condition of females and males in the country. As the main guideline for gender mainstreaming in policy and program at national level, the implementation of the National Gender Policy has to be done by all stakeholders in gender mainstreaming. These include all ministries, NGOs, CBOs and communities.*²⁰ The Ugandan National Gender Policy can be used as an example for other countries that want to formulate a gender policy.

Affirmative action is often seen as synonymous with non-discrimination or with equal opportunity programmes. Non-discrimination or equal opportunity policies work to ensure that people have equal access to appointments, promotions or training irrespective of race, sex or disability; the theory underpinning non-discrimination is that all individuals should be treated equally. On the other hand, the argument behind affirmative action is that to create equality, some people are needed to be treated differently for a period of time, since employment decisions are made within the context of established patterns of discrimination and inequality. In sum; affirmative action is a process or strategy to achieve greater employment equity or equal employment opportunity. According to Ruiters (1994) employment equity is the desired end-result and affirmative action or the advancement of specific groups are strategies to achieve it.

Ruiters also points out that affirmative action can be defined broadly or narrowly. Broad definitions are aimed at accelerated creation of a balanced society, a society where there is equality in participation at all levels in political life, professions, in the economy and in other fields. Narrowly defined definitions focus on employment and employment equity in the workplace. Ruiters warns that affirmative action often generates acrimony and passion and therefore needs to be dealt with in a

1998

²⁰ The National Gender Policy, Republic Uganda, preface, 1997

sensitive way. All staff need to be sensitized to affirmative action, and communication about the process needs to be happen on an ongoing basis. The more informed people are the less likelihood there is of misinterpretation and irrational aggrievement.

3.2.5 Institutional Framework

Since the UN Decade for Women, countries started with the formation of a national machinery for gender and mostly women's issues. They have taken the form of Women or Gender Ministries or Women's Desks within a Ministry. According to Beall (1998) the national machineries established under the WID approach were particular fragile. Their main achievement was to raise public and sometimes government awareness of women's welfare concerns, but they failed to persuade government bureaucracies of the need to link those welfare concerns with the major economic, social and political concerns of their countries.

Brouwers et al (1993) state that the impact of a national machinery in terms of changing gender relations varies, but is generally disappointing. A number of factors can be identified which contribute to the lack of success. First of all, national machineries for women often have a low hierarchical status within the government administration system. That means that the decision-making power and the influence of the machinery at policy-making at higher levels are limited. Another result of the low hierarchical status is the lack of resources allocated to the machinery. That limits the number of staff they can afford. The lack of staff and resources can be overcome by giving the women's machinery a higher hierarchical position. As Brouwers et al describe, the machinery is merely installed as an act of good will towards the international community, resulting in women's desks that are placed in the ministries with a low hierarchical status like Social Affairs or Community Development. Denton (interview) agrees with this statement, by arguing that national women's machineries mostly have a cosmetic function rather than a practical one. If a government is really willing to address gender issues, then they have to install a gender machinery with sufficient resources and decision-making power.

However, a single structure for gender mainstreaming is not always preferable. Budlender (1997, p.513) fears that a single structure such as a Gender Ministry could be sidelined or marginalized. Also a single structure could too easily be seen as the only body, which needs to consider gender issues. Gender is a crosscutting issue and every policy area has a gender angle. Therefore every ministry and governmental department should try to integrate gender into their policies. In genderizing energy policy, the problem is that a combination needs to be made between two fields. Some governments have a gender-policy and working on gender-mainstreaming in their social departments, but they do not connect this with the energy sector, which is a separate policy issue in the technological /economic section of public administration.

3.2.6 Financial Framework

Within the financial framework, budget impact analyses are possible. Budget impact analyses examine any form of public expenditure, or method of raising revenues and link national policies and their outcomes to the distribution, use and generation of public resources. By identifying the implications for one group in society (or the economy) compared with another, or one sector (energy) to another (environment) these budget analyses can highlight the gaps between reaching policy goals and the resources committed for their implementation. In fact, analyses of the budget and its impact can help governments to achieve desired outcomes of policy goals by identifying obstacles for reaching objectives stated in policy documents. Budlender (2001) points out that budget analysis sometimes even let to a reprioritisation of expenditures and revenue raising and to a restructuring of the budgetary process.

Budget analysis can also be applied to gender; gender analysis of budget. A gender analysis of budget determines impact on women and men within the context of any given policy outcome or objective. It examines methods of revenue raising, distribution of expenditure and access to resources and opportunity and how these have different impacts on the livelihood and wellbeing of women as compared with men. Gender (responsive) budgeting is a budget process that ensure the inclusion of the gender-related implications and can be carried out at national, provisional and municipal levels and can cover all sectors of the budget. Such initiatives began in Australia in the mid 1980s and was followed by more the 40 countries, of which South Africa and Uganda.

The aim of gender budgeting is to strengthen the capacity of governments to apply a gender analysis to planning, monitoring and evaluating the impacts of revenue raising and expenditure allocation at national, provincial and/or local levels. This process will, according to Budlender (2001), enhance the outcomes of critical social, economic and poverty alleviation programmes for women. Secondly, gender budgeting can develop and implement strategies for women's participation in economic decision-making through their engagement in budgetary processes. Furthermore, the integration of gender in budget can engender economic governance processes by increasing their transparency, holding global and national actors accountable to their policy commitments to women.

3.3 Conclusions; the Conditions for realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy

In this chapter an answer to the second research question is formulated by identifying and defining the conditions for realizing a gender-aware energy policy. Below a summary of these conditions is given and the elements that they contain (Figure 10). The order, in which they are described, is reflecting a

proposed trajectory for realising gender-mainstreaming. Whether these conditions will be achieved in practice and in which order, will be analysed in the case studies in the next chapters.

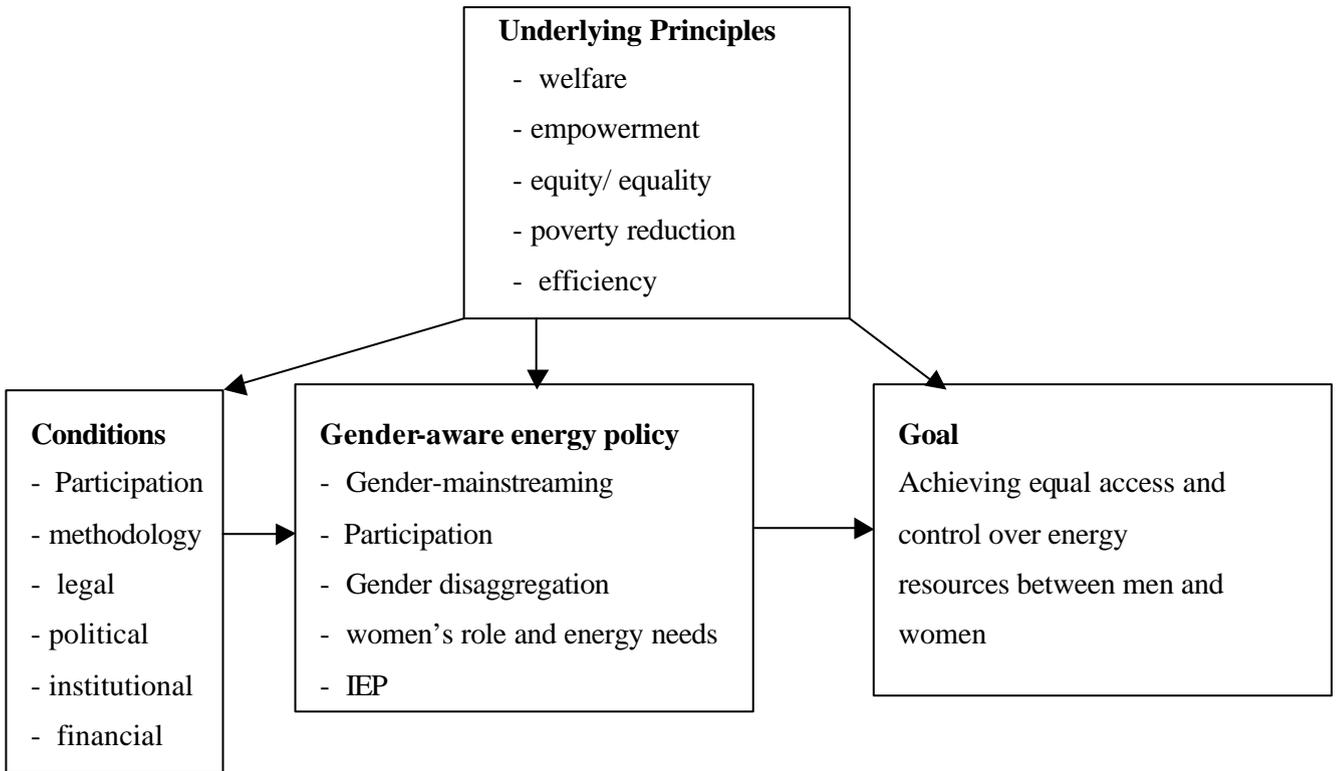
Figure 10: the Conditions for realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy

Condition	Elements
Participatory framework	?? Number of women working in energy sector ?? Participation of women's movements in the political arena
Methodological framework	?? Gender disaggregated data ?? Tools and gender analytical methods
Legal framework	?? Position of gender issues in the constitution ?? Signed and ratified international conventions on gender and/or energy issues
Political framework	?? Existence of a gender policy and/or affirmative action policy ?? Policy formulation and implementation ?? Integration of gender into energy policy
Institutional framework	?? Existence of a national machinery for women
Financial framework	?? Gender budgeting; the allocation of resources to gender issues

When these conditions are realised, a background is established to create a gender-aware energy policy. Fulfilling the conditions mentioned above will demonstrate a commitment within a society to realise gender-mainstreaming. However, several actors within that society will have their own motivations for aiming at gender-mainstreaming. Therefore, in the beginning of this chapter several underlying principles for genderizing policy are defined and described, namely; welfare, empowerment, equality/ equity, efficiency and anti-poverty. Which underlying principle a government has to implement gender-aware energy policy determines their way of and their underlying reasons for realising that. However, within a government, even within a department of a ministry, several motivations can exist simultaneously. Also several stakeholders in a policy formulation process could participate with different (often conflicting) motivations. Therefore within the case studies, the rationale of the several stakeholders participating in the energy policy formulation process will be identified.

Combined with chapter 2 the energy policy formulation process is now described. Starting with the conditions for an enabling environment, moving on towards the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy and ending with the goal. The underlying principles of the stakeholders for gender mainstreaming in energy policy are influencing the whole process. The figure is now completely filled in as visualized below.

Figure 11: the Process towards a Gender-aware Energy Policy



4 CASE STUDY SOUTH AFRICA

In this chapter, research question 3 will be answered. What are the experiences of South Africa in genderizing national energy policy and under which conditions is this implemented? The first section will describe the situation of gender and energy in South Africa. The next section describes the condition available in South Africa for realising gender-aware energy policy; the political participation, the institutionalisation of gender issues and the legal, political and financial framework for gender issues. In the last section, the developments in the energy policy towards a gender-aware energy policy are described and analysed. The drafting process of the energy policy will be describes and the attempts to integrate gender into the energy policy.

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Gender in South Africa

A central issue in the concept of gender is that it is socially and culturally determined, that means that every community has its own interpretation of gender. In South Africa, the concept gender does not only mean the social relation between men and women, but also the differences in race. During the apartheid-period, the government introduced a hierarchy; white people at the top, Africans (black people) at the bottom and the Indian and coloured community in between. Policies were formulated according to this hierarchy. In apartheid South Africa, policies were designed for the average citizen assumed to be a white male, while the majority of the population is neither male nor white. Not only the assumption that the average South African citizen is white and male is not corresponding with reality, also the assumption that policies should be formulated for an average citizen is not reflecting the differences in a society. As Budlender (1997, p.528) argues, *in reality there is no 'average' citizen. Gender analysis, which does not get beyond a simple dichotomy of 'women' and 'men' is too blunt an instrument with which to shape effective policy.* Did the gender analysis start with a dichotomy of men and women, today it is widely recognized that it is more complex. In order for policies to be responding to differences between people in society, gender needs to be taken into account and policy makers should be aware of what the concept of gender contains in their country, e.g. South Africa.

However, as described above, policy in apartheid South Africa did not reflect different groups in society. This was not only the fact within the government but also the party fighting for liberation of the apartheid-regime, was more focused on racial and class differences than on differences between men and women. Race and class have always defined the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. Gender inequalities have taken a second place, as Suzanne Williams (1991, p.118) explains; *the place of woman has been to remain alongside her man, supporting him in the struggle, participating in the organisations, serving time in detention-but also almost exclusively responsible for the maintenance of the social fabric of home and children in the face of the terrible destructiveness*

*of the apartheid system.*²¹ Only in the late 1980s, due to the pressure of women's groups and some international and national recognition of the importance of gender issues in the construction of a democracy, has the term 'non-sexist' been added to the list of aims of the struggle. To prove that the ANC is committed to the emancipation of women in the new South Africa, the ANC Women's League was relaunched in the country in August 1990. Furthermore, the National Executive Committee of the ANC issued a statement on The Emancipation of Women in South Africa in May 1990. This document constituted a break with earlier thinking, reflecting a gender-relations perspective. This provided the foundation for moving the agenda for gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment forward and for unifying women identifying with the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) and the autonomous women's movement.

After the apartheid-period, a series of conferences held from 1992 onwards debated how gender issues might be institutionalised in post-apartheid South Africa. They were strongly influenced by the ANCWL but drew on a wide range of women's organisations and international expertise. The process of consensus building was particularly facilitated by the emergence in 1992 of the Women's National Coalition (WNC). This is a broad, autonomous federation, which provided a forum for the articulation of non-partisan gender interests. According to Beall (1998), the WNC managed to position itself strategically as the voice of organized women, despite a range of internal problems related to building an alliance of women's organizations across the divided racial and political spectrum, which characterizes South Africa. Beall writes that the role of the WNC proved to be critical in winning a place for women at the negotiating table and for demonstrating how women's political leverage could be increased through strategic alliances.

4.1.2 Energy in South Africa

South Africa has abundant energy resources. Fossil fuels, such as coal, uranium, liquid fuels, and gas, play a central role in the socio-economic development of the country. They also simultaneously provide the infrastructural economic base for the country to become an attractive host for foreign investments in the energy sector. Despite the high number of connections to the electricity network, biomass still forms the main energy source in the rural household sector. There are some developments in exploring renewable energy sources like solar power, wind power, pumped storage and in hydro-power schemes. The government launched some initiatives to promote energy efficiency.

Much of the economic development of the past 20 years has been based on the comparative advantage enjoyed by South African industry through very low energy prices, especially those of coal and electricity. There are many aspects of the South Africa's economic and energy systems that are

²¹ Williams, Suzanne, "From 'Mothers of the Nation' to women in their own right; South African women in the

distinctive to the country, making international comparisons difficult. In economic terms, the present extreme inequity of income and wealth distribution along race lines is likely to change and this will play a critical role in future developments. As a consequence of the legacy of Apartheid, South Africa is a country with the highest levels of inequities in wealth and access to basic services in the world, according to the IEA study. A striking example of this is that while South Africa produces 60% of Africa's total electricity output, the majority of South Africans, over 60% of the population do not have access to this basic service.²² These factors will also play a critical role in the development of energy trends. The natural wealth of South Africa has made the provision of ample and cheap energy possible to industry and to the privileged part of the population that can afford the use of commercial fuels. That 40% of the population has electricity is high compared to other African countries. However, the majority of the population does not even have access to electricity, because they can not afford it and/or are not connected to the network.

Another legacy of apartheid that the IEA (1996) identified is that energy policy-making was strongly dominated by the objective of energy supply security, mainly for industrial demand and military requirements. Policy-making was generally performed in an informal and non-transparent way, with little or no public debate of the issues, relying to a great extent on the expertise of the large private companies that dominated the sector and requiring little energy policy-making capacity with the government. With the end of the UN sanctions in 1993 and the elections and formation of the Government of National Unity in 1994, the old policy imperatives were replaced by a set of new directions; equitable access for all people to basic energy services, adequately and economic energy supply to industry to facilitate economic growth, and sustainable energy use that minimises environmental impacts.

The fact that energy policy was controlled by the large private energy companies, is demonstrated by the fact that state involvement in the energy sector was consolidated for the first time in 1980 with the creation of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs (DMEA). The DMEA is responsible for the promotion of the optimal utilisation of energy resources and its main activities are amongst others to; advise the minister, administer specific energy acts, develop policy and to manage the projects programme. Wrenelle Ruiters (1994) describes that the involvement of the state in the sector was limited to regulation, with the DMEA having jurisdiction over the liquid fuels, electricity and nuclear sub-sectors. The coal sub-sector was regulated until the mid-1980s when the state controlled the pithead, wholesale and retail prices of coal, its distribution and export. In 1987 price control was abolished when the pithead price of coal was deregulated.

transition to democracy”, in; Wallace T., Candida March (eds), 1991

4.1.3 Gender and Energy in South Africa

During the apartheid, South Africa emerged as a country with a high level of inequality in wealth and access to basic services, like energy and water. The unequal distribution of the energy services can be partly explained by the security-driven and supply-oriented energy policy of the South African government during the apartheid -era. Because of the international trade embargo, they were forced to be self-sufficient. However, the supply-oriented approach, totally disregarded the demands and needs of the majority of the people. After the apartheid-period, the South African government demonstrates its commitment to address socio-economic inequalities through its Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). In this plan, the government pledge to provide basic services such as housing, education, health, water, sanitation and energy to the people who previously were denied access. The term 'energy' refers in that plan not only to electricity distribution but also to paraffin (kerosene), gas, coal, wood fuel and renewable energy sources.

The RDP was worked out in sectoral policies, of which energy development plans. In the development of these plans, much effort has been directed to tackle the disparity in access to energy services. These have culminated in a two-year project called the South African Energy Policy Research and Training Project (EPRET). EPRET's primary objective was to design policies, which widen access to adequate and affordable energy services for poor urban and rural households. At the same time, the project was intended on developing energy policy options, which redressed racial and gender inequalities. However, as Makan (1995) argues, a shortcoming in the EPRET approach has been the neglect of gender issues. This has resulted in gaps in its policy recommendations. One of the reasons of not integrating gender and women's needs in the energy policy recommendations is that there was hardly any empirical data which advocate for women and energy in South Africa.

To overcome this lack of information, a number of qualitative household studies with a central focus on gender were undertaken in both urban and rural contexts in South Africa during the early 1990s. One of the first studies in South Africa to explore women's energy use and priorities was undertaken by Annecke (1992). Her study confirmed that women are still primarily responsible for managing household energy budgets and the acquisition of fuel and food, but found that women are not unproblematically the primary domestic decision makers with regard to energy, due to the relations of power and authority within the households. Unequal gender relations still exist in South Africa. There are however, some developments towards gender-aware policies and a political commitment towards more gender equity.

²² International Energy Agency, "Energy Policies of South Africa; 1996 Survey", OECD, France, 1996, p.33-34

For energy policy-makers and researchers, 'equity' concerns the need to redress the imbalances, which have arisen due to apartheid and colonial policies, which neglected to provide electricity and energy to the majority of the people in the country. There are however some remarks to be made concerning the use of 'equity' as a policy objective in South Africa. Bronwyn James (1998) argues that, although it is easy to assume that redressing inequality would mean that the same energy service should be provided to all, that is equality in energy services across racial boundaries, the key equity issues do not mean this. As argued earlier in chapter 3, equity should not be confused with equality. Achieving social equity is equivalent to social justice or fairness, while equality refers to being equal or having equal quantity or quality. Furthermore, if energy planning is to aim at equity and sustainable growth, it needs to be particularly sensitive to the needs and interests of black women. In the South African context, this broad category comprises African, Indian and 'coloured' women. Generally, South African black women face multiple oppression by virtue of class, race, gender and on the basis of their own identities. Makan (1995) argues that effective energy planning needs to recognise these complex dynamics and to address the particular needs and interests of women at the grassroots. It should also ensure that women are involved and represented at the policy research, planning and implementation levels.

4.2 Conditions for Realising Gender-aware Energy Policy

4.2.1 Participatory Framework

According to Tripp (2000), the women in South Africa used their autonomy to minimise differences among themselves in order to build broad movements and coalitions united around common gender concerns. Especially the common cause of women's rights, united many women of diverse backgrounds. In the 1940's and 50's women of all races in South Africa, joined in a coalition in the campaign against pass laws for women. Pass laws were laws that allowed the government to control the movement of black people to urban areas. The women's movement in South Africa created multi-ethnic and multi-racial linkages, what resulted in the 1991 Women's National Coalition. The WNC has 81 affiliated organisations, 13 regional alliances of women's organisations, 3 million women participants in focus groups.²³ One of the outcomes of these focus groups is the Women's Charter of 1994.

Many civil society organizations of which many women's organisations had a close relationship with ANC during the apartheid-struggle. In the transition period, boundaries between civil society and government became blurred, because many activists moved into government. Activists' viewpoints were therefore integrated in the development of new policies. Nowadays, Debbie Budlender (2001)

²³ Aili Mari Tripp, Spring 2000, p.655-656

argues that possibilities of influencing the government are more limited than they were in the early years of the new democracy. She explains that by using Marion Stevens' term 'soft boundaries' to refer to the easy access, which South African activists had to people in the government and parliament after the 1994 elections given that all had been together in the struggle. Several years later the boundaries have been hardened, and government itself is no longer so willing to do everything differently. Further, as in many other countries, central government officials are struggling to cope with implementing many other new procedures and many have no time for what they see as 'extra's', like putting new issue on the political agenda.

There is a sense that South Africa politics after the anti-apartheid struggle and the transition period is moving into an era in which, as Krista Johnson (2002) argues, clear boundaries are being drawn in between the political and the economic spheres and between political society and civil society. She explains that by describing the distinction of two frameworks to conceptualize relationship between state and civil society; the liberal perspective and the popular school. In the liberal perspective there are clear boundaries between political and civil society and it promotes civil society to act as a counterweight to the state. The popular school focuses on popular organizations and movements in Africa that emerged during the struggle for democracy. It seeks to understand the ways in which the anti-colonial/anti-apartheid struggle attempts to recast the relationship between the state and society and relationship between ruler and ruled. At the moment, the liberal perspective is the most popular. According to Johnson, they stress for a vibrant and independent civil society as the basis for ensuring democracy and holding the state accountable. The end result is to reduce democracy to pluralism plus an accountable state whose task is to balance the various interests in civil society.

There are however some problems with this approach of the role of civil society. Krista Johnson (2002) identifies the following problems; firstly its proponents fail to recognize that a vibrant civil society is perfectly compatible with an authoritarian and bureaucratic state. Furthermore, liberal perspective fails to explain how the state will be held accountable if the people are once again removed from the public domain. Thirdly, by relegating to the state the role of regulating relations between voluntary organizations, national and local government, this framework opens the possibility that the state will become the exclusive definer or guarantor of a general or national interest. Johnson also warns, that given the fact that many of the strongest institutions in civil society operate in the marketplace, there is a danger that the people-driven approach may be overwhelmed by a market-driven approach to growth and development.

Although, civil society organisations and especially women's organisations are trying to put gender issues on the political agenda, these initiatives are not adequately translated into government policies. Debbie Budlender (2001) identifies as the greatest weakness the lack of advocacy. One reason for this

may be that the research does not spell out clearly enough a few key issues that could form the basis of advocacy. Secondly, especially during the early years after apartheid, some of the issues were taken up without advocacy when Ministers or officials who had the necessary decision-making power recognized specific issues in the society. A third reason could be a general weakness in civil society in finding ways of influencing policy from outside now that the simple opposition tactics used during apartheid are no longer appropriate. Despite these obstacles for putting women's issues on the political agenda, women in South Africa are participating in high numbers in the political arena. Also women who are not actively involved in politics, show some interests in politics since they voted in high numbers in the past-apartheid elections.

As Jo Beall (1998, p.525-526) describes, women in South Africa voted in the same numbers as men in the 1994 elections. She explains that this was partly because of its status as an historic election and the high hopes they attached to it, and partly because of the massive campaign of voters' education throughout the country, which particularly targeted women. The ANC, which was the majority party, provided for a 25 per cent quota of women on their electoral list (a form of proportional representation). After the election, women entered parliament in unprecedented numbers with 111 of the 400 National Assembly seats, or 27 per cent of the total, being held by women, compared to less than three per cent prior to 1994. Out of a total of 38 ministers and deputy ministers, 4 ministers and 8 deputy ministers were women. They were not only found in the social sector ministries but those concerned with setting the economic policy framework. While non of these women were elected specifically to represent women, many have a background in the women's movement and are actively committed to ensuring that government commitments to gender equality are met.

4.2.2 Methodological Framework

A lack of good data is a major weakness in the energy policymaking process in South Africa and is also hinders transparency in the energy sector. In the past the government severely restricted energy-related information and statistics prohibited publication or dissemination of information on the source, manufacturing, consumption or stock level of oil products produced or acquired by South Africa. This prohibition appears to have influenced the government's lack of commitment to collect and publish energy data. Although the restrictions were withdrawn in December 1993, only limited data collection takes place, with no laws requiring industry to report. The present system of energy statistics in South Africa is a mix of private and public information gathering and dissemination. Currently no other government body than the Central Statistics Service (CSS) has legislative power to collect energy statistics. While the CSS collect monthly, quarterly and annual energy data, limited resources mean that the level of detail and timeliness of data available from the CSS do not satisfy the needs of energy policy makers, researchers and analysts.

The IEA (1996) recommends the South African government that legislation should be enacted to provide the government power to collect appropriate energy statistics, subject to normal confidentiality provisions. Appropriate penalties for non-compliance should be included in such legislation, although these should not substitute for an effective climate of co-operation. Widespread agreement on what data should be reported will promote compliance. Government and industry should therefore seek a consensus on the range and detail of data to be reported to meet both public policy and commercial needs. Collection of energy consumption data; the DMEA should develop a programme for regularly collecting data directly from end-users on energy consumption for all fuels and across all economic sectors. In addition, arrangements for the regular collection of prices paid by end-users should be put into place. Concerning the responsibility for collection of energy statistics, the CSS should continue to collect energy data where it is appropriate to do so in conjunction with national economic statistics. However, a separate body, either within or reporting to the DMEA should bear primary responsibility for the definition of energy data requirements and their collection.

4.2.3 Legal Framework

The new Constitution came into effect in February 1997. It provided a basis for the establishment of a society in which equality was a primary and non-negotiable principle. Section 9 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic South Africa states that *everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law*. Further section 9(3) declares; *the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more ground, including race, gender, ...* This section specifically outlawed discrimination based on sex and provided a legal base for affirmative action to rectify historical imbalances, on the basis of both race and gender

According to Debbie Budlender (1997), the South African Constitution embodies a conception of substantive rather than formal equality. Formal equality attempts to confer equality on those who are the same. Substantive equality recognises that people are not alike, and that measures to promote equality can therefore not always treat them in the same way. Affirmative action can therefore be seen as part of the right to equality. Karthy Govender (1998) argues that affirmative action programs must promote the achievement of substantive equality and be designed to protect and advance people disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. The problem is however, that in apartheid South Africa the people disadvantaged by unfair discrimination were the African, coloured and Indian people. Affirmative action in South Africa is therefore firstly focused on these groups in community and women (especially 'white' women) are the last that are eligible for these programmes. So the question is if women in South Africa are benefiting of the new openings for achieving equality.

At 8 September 1997, the heads of state or governments of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) of which South Africa is a member, signed a declaration in which they

recognized that women are the majority of the poor and that disparities between men and women exist in the SADC countries according to legal rights, power sharing, decision-making, access/control over productive resources, education, health. Therefore, in the 1997 declaration, the SADC countries pledged that gender equity is a fundamental human right and in order to support that, SADC countries should sign and ratify CEDAW. South Africa signed the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) on the 29th of January 1993 and acceded the Convention on the 15th December 1995 and admitted the first report to the CEDAW Committee in 1998. Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini is representing South Africa as a member of the 23 experts who are forming the CEDAW Committee.

Another statement within the SADC declaration is that gender mainstreaming should be implemented in all SADC programmes. Some attempts are already been realised within the administrative system of the SADC. In 1990, the SADC council of Ministers have given the SADC secretariat the mandate to explore the best ways to incorporate gender issues in SADC programme and work. Since 1996, gender-issues are co-ordinated by the secretariat and in 1997 the SADC gender programme was approved and adopted by the SADC council of ministers. The aim of these developments was to function as a example for the SADC countries to follow up in their own country and to stimulate gender mainstreaming in the region.

Another stimuli for gender-mainstreaming in South Africa was the Beijing Conference and related NGO Conference of September 1995 in South Africa. These conferences provided a focus for much mobilisation of women and gender issues, both before and after the event. On returning from Beijing the delegation leaders asked each ministry to state how it would try to implement the lessons learned in Beijing. According to Budlender (1997,p.517), *the resultant commitments were something of a mixed bag*. Many commitments gave most attention to internal reform of the departments, some were vague, some omitted key considerations, several commitments made magnificent but virtually unfulfillable promises. A few revealed an incorrect understanding of the position of women and men in their sphere of interest. Nevertheless, the commitments provide a starting point both for measuring and for developing better gender-aware policy. Even before these promises were made, several departments introduced policies of significant benefit for women, and others have done so since then.

4.2.4 The Political Framework

There is no national gender policy in South Africa. In early 1995, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Office employed a consultant to draw up a gender policy for the government as a whole. Submissions were requested from all departments as well as from civil society organisations. These were collated according to departmental responsibilities and incorporated, together with a discussion of optimal gender machinery, into a draft Women's Empowerment Policy.

However, the policy has not been completed. One of the reasons Budlender (1997) mentions is the closure of the RDP Office and the resultant temporary 'disappearance' of a gender co-ordinating mechanism.

There is however a Green Paper; a conceptual framework for affirmative action and the management of diversity in the public service. Section 195 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, is identified as the affirmative action section for the public service. It demands that: *public administration must be governed by the democratic values and principles enshrined in the Constitution, including the following principles: public administration must be broadly representative of the South African people, with employment and personnel management practices based on ability, objectivity, fairness, and the need redress the imbalances of the past to achieve broad representation.* The aim of this framework is to attain and maintain a public service, which is marked by the principles of inclusiveness, diversity, responsiveness and equality, which are reflected in the culture of the organisation, the composition of the organisation, human resource management practice, and in the service delivery.²⁴

The target set by the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service (November 1995) is that within four years at least 30 per cent of new recruits to middle and senior management should be women. However, affirmative action has its limitations. Firstly, having women in high positions does not ensure gender sensitivity, or even sensitivity to women's needs. Nevertheless, a greater number of women in high positions increases the likelihood of some sensitivity to the fact that the majority of potential beneficiaries are very different from the stereotypical and privileged 'citizen' served by most previous policies. Secondly, breakdowns which give the number of black women in such posts would be more useful, according to Budlender (1997), than a female-male dichotomy. Without a race-gender perspective, affirmative action can too easily promote white women and black men, while black women continue to be ignored. Thirdly, the majority of women civil servants will not necessarily benefit if public service reform is only concerned with the upper layers, most women working in the public service are working in lower sections with low wages and no decision-making power at all. However, some progress has been made. Before 1994, fewer than 3 per cent of national parliamentarians were women. In 1997, 24 per cent were women.²⁵

4.2.5 Institutional Framework

Both before and after the 1994 elections there were workshops, conferences, discussions and documents dealing with the ideal 'national gender machinery' to promote and enhance gender

²⁴ A Conceptual Framework for Affirmative Action and the Management of Diversity in the Public Service - May 1997

²⁵ Budlender, Debbie, December 1997, p.515

equality. According to Debbie Budlender (1997), the overwhelming consensus was that the country should mainstream gender and that a package of institutions rather than a single structure was necessary. The fear was that a single structure, such as a Gender Ministry or a Ministry of Women's Affairs, could be sidelined or marginalized. Also a single structure could too easily be seen as the only body, which needs to consider gender issues. According to these ideas, a structure to promote and enhance gender issues was established. Below some elements of the gender structure within the South African government are described.

The South African constitution provides for a Commission on Gender Equality (CGE). This is an independent monitoring body, appointed by the President and required to report to parliament. According to Debbie Budlender (1997), the CGE provision in the constitution of the South African government was a result of a last-minute horse-trading in the constitutional negotiations. It was given in return for concessions on traditional leaders –most of whom are men. The process of drafting the necessary legislation to establish the CGE and what its tasks and decision-making power were, dragged out over years. The CGE eventually came into operation in early 1997, with a budget significantly lower than other similar commissions.

Inside the government the central structure concerned with gender is an Office of the Status of Women (OSW). Unlike the CGE, OSW staff members are civil servants. The strength of the OSW is that it coordinates and assists with gender integration in other departments. The weakness is however the lack of staff. Debbie Budlender (1997, p.516) describes that *when posts were advertised in late 1996, there were only two positions available, for a director and an administrative assistant. Such a small staff severely limits –if it does not completely undermine- anything the OSW can achieve.* As Jo Beall described in 1998, the OSW is under-resourced and has been encouraged by government to seek support from international development agencies. She criticises this way of fund raising because it should be government, not donors, committing resources to OSW, on the ground that they should take responsibility for the commitment they made towards promoting gender equality.

Besides the OSW and the CGE, by the end of 1996 most line departments had gender units, or at least individuals responsible for gender issues. However, these gender units are not always able to influence policy and to mainstream gender in their departments. According to Budlender (1997), the main reason for this is the abilities and capacity of the staff working at the gender units. Often these civil servants also have other duties, besides gender issues. They need therefore to divide their time over several other issues. It depends then how much they prioritise gender. Another reason for a lack of policy influence is, that many of these gender unit's staff are not at a sufficiently high level to have an authoritative impact on either policy or budget.

4.2.6 Financial Framework

The South African initiatives to gender budgeting are closely linked to the end of the apartheid era and the introduction of a constitution and ethos that put race and gender discrimination among the most important issues to be tackled. The idea of examining budgets from a gender perspective was raised during the negotiations that preceded the first democratic elections. The Women's Budget Initiative (WBI) was established in mid-1995 and is a joint project of the parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Finance and several NGOs. The initiative analyses the gender implications of national and provincial budgetary allocations and the policies, which they reflect. In looking for the gender implications of department budgets, the Women's Budget Initiative starts with a set of broad questions designed to highlight possible gender imbalances. The key questions are as follows;

?? How much is to be spent on what?

?? How are services to be delivered?

?? Who is going to benefit in terms of access to services and in terms of public sector employment?

?? What is the impact on poor women in terms of access to more time, better nutrition, better health and better skills?

?? What are the hidden assumptions regarding how society is organised, and what are the implications of these for those who do not conform to the norm?²⁶

Government has shown some interest in taking gender initiatives further in relation to finances. In the 1996 Budget Speech Chris Liebenberg, then Minister of Finance, committed the Department of State Expenditure to disaggregation of data by gender, the implementation of targets and indicators of gender equality, and the development of a performance review mechanism with regard to gender. Budlender says that till 1997 none of these has been tackled.

Having started as a state-society initiative, the WBI has moved into government with funding support from the Commonwealth Secretariat. The reason for this funding is that the Commonwealth has chosen South Africa for a pilot study in engendering macro-economic policy and saw the WBI as an important entry point. The funding from outside the government for WBI was necessary, because the government did not allocated enough budget to WBI to function properly. These financial partnerships are common in developing countries. When financial commitment to national machineries and to processes facilitating women in governance on the part of government is poor, the assistance of international agencies is usually sought. Jo Beall (1998) argues that this is not necessarily a problem, but the consequences of leaving donors to fund 'gender mainstreaming' initiatives is to run the risk of leaving the agenda-setting to them as well. Women in governments and civil society organisations need to drive the agendas.

²⁶ Budlender, Debbie, December 1997, p.518-519

4.2.7 What are the Conditions in South Africa for Genderizing Energy Policy?

What can be concluded from above is that the conditions listed in the figure below were available in South Africa that created a background for gender-aware energy policy. Concerning the trajectory in which gender-mainstreaming was realized in South Africa, the following remarks can be made. Gender-mainstreaming started with participation of different women's groups in the political process. However, since the South African government decided not to use a single structure for mainstreaming gender, initiatives to mainstream gender are not centrally coordinated. For example, the Commission on Gender Equality consists together with the Office of the Status of Women. Besides the existence of an Affirmative Action Policy, a gender policy was developed as well. Therefore it can be concluded that it seems that the South African government did not really follow a trajectory in achieving gender-mainstreaming.

Figure 12: Conditions for realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy in South Africa

Condition	Elements
Participatory framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Participation of women's movements in the political arena ?? Close relationship civil society organizations and government ?? Number of women working in political arena
Methodological framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Lack of gender disaggregated data in energy sector ?? Tools and gender analytical methods available
Legal framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Gender issues integrated in the constitution of 1997 ?? Member of SADC declaration to promote gender mainstreaming ?? Signed (1993) and ratified (1995) CEDAW ?? Participated in the Beijing Conference ?? Hosted the Earth Summit (2002) in Johannesburg
Political framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of an affirmative action policy since 1995 ?? No single gender policy yet ?? Integration of gender into energy policy
Institutional framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? No single structure but more institutions involved in gender mainstreaming ?? Commission on Gender Equality since 1997 ?? Office of the Status of Women
Financial framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Gender budgeting available (since 1995) and reviewed

Remarkable is that despite a strong legal commitment to gender issues, political participation of women and the existence of gender budgeting initiatives, South Africa does not have a single institutionalised structure for gender issues. Furthermore, although there were initiatives to create a gender policy and the fact that there is an affirmative action policy, there is not a gender policy yet. Also remarkable is the lack of gender disaggregated data. Maybe that can be explained by a reluctant position of South Africa towards disaggregation since the Apartheid regime was based on differentiating social groups. However, to achieve gender equality, gender inequality should be identified and in order to do so, gender-disaggregated data can be a tool.

4.3 Gender and Energy Policy in South Africa

4.3.1 Energy Policy Process in South Africa

In 1995 the South African energy policy discussion document, better known as the ‘Green Paper’ was finalised. The 4th of June 1998 the draft White Paper was published. The final White Paper on Energy Policy in South Africa became into action in December 1998. The development of a White Paper on energy policy was rather slower and also started later than other policy areas. The first White Papers were finalised in 1993 and are the White Paper on intelligence; reconstruction and development; water supply and sanitation and the White Paper on housing and policy strategy. This demonstrates that the new South African government did not consider energy to be a basic need (like water, sanitation and housing) and did not prioritise energy as they did with intelligence and the Reconstruction and Development White Paper.

The Energy White Paper (December 1998) points out in the preface that *the government is committed to the promotion of access to affordable and sustainable energy services for small businesses, disadvantaged households, small farms, schools, clinics, in our rural areas and a wide range of other community establishments. As provided for in our Constitution, the state must establish a national energy policy, which will ensure that the national energy resources shall be adequately tapped and developed to cater for the needs of the nation. Energy should therefore be available to all citizens at an affordable cost. Energy production and distribution should not only be sustainable, but should also lead to improvement of the standard of living for all of the country’s citizens. For this to become a reality, the state should ensure that energy production and utilisation are done with maximum efficiency at all times.*²⁷

Governance is defined in the South African Energy Policy Discussion Document (1995, green paper) as *the complex processes and control relationships, which occur between the various players in the energy sector*. In line with the IEA (1996, p.64), the South African government recognises the following aspects of governance. Governance is a process by which policy is formulated and implemented. Furthermore, governance is about how public authorities interact, both at central government level and between the various layers of government. In South Africa the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs (DMEA) headed by a minister, is the primary government department responsible for energy sector issues. The part of DMEA dealing with energy is the Chief Directorate Energy. The DMEA formulated its mission as followed; sustainable development and growth through minerals and energy resources for the benefit of ALL South Africans. Its mission is to ensure responsible exploration, development, processing, utilisation and management of minerals and energy

²⁷ White Paper on the Energy Policy in the Republic South Africa, December 1998, preface

resources. Its mandate is the provision of services for effective governance of minerals and energy industries for economic growth and development, thereby improving the quality of life. Some of the key values are integrity and equity. One of the key objectives is to address past imbalances to promote equitable redistribution of benefits from exploitation of minerals and energy resources.

The energy policy making capacity of the DMEA is considered to be weak, in part due to the fact that historically most energy policy making in South Africa has de facto been performed by the energy industry itself. The DMEA is thus not the only stakeholder in the energy policy formulation process. Other government bodies with a say in energy sector matters include among others the departments of constitutional development and provincial affairs (oversees local governments, which are involved in electricity distribution), environment and tourism (develops and administers environmental legislation affecting the energy sector), finance (administers energy sector taxes), transport (has an important say in the liquid fuels sector), housing (administers the RDP housing programmes, in which energy efficiency standards could play an important role), trade and industry (involved in industrial development) and the national electricity regulator.

These stakeholders were also playing a role in the energy policy formulation process. During the policy formulation process, the government created several stakeholders (government/industry/labour) forums to discuss specific issues in the energy sector. The DMEA has organized these forums in an attempt to involve groups with previously little voice in the policy making process, such as small energy users. These groups served as a resource for the consultation process in the energy policy discussion document (green paper). In general, reaction by stakeholders to the new openness has been positive. However, there has been the complaint of consultation fatigue by stakeholders and concern that trying to include everyone's views in the outcome has led to significant delays in taking urgently needed policy action.

Production of the discussion document was primarily carried out by the Minerals and Energy Policy Committee (MEPC) and the Energy for Development Research Centre (EDRC), two of the country's leading non-governmental energy policy think tanks. The EDRC, part of the Energy Research Institute (ERI) at the university of Cape Town, was supported by DMEA to develop into an independent think tank in 1990, with a five-year funding commitment. The Johannesburg-based MEPC, also independent, and with a three-year funding commitment by the Dutch Government, was initially conceptualised within the ANC in exile as a research resource for an incoming government. The initiative to create the MEPC in 1993 was supported by the EDRC.

A shortcoming of the DMEA in the energy policy formulation process identified by the IEA (1996) is that the DMEA's efforts at consultation have not been very effective, due to its inexperience in such

activities. Historically, most energy policy making in South Africa has been de facto performed by industry. The large private companies that dominate the sector communicated their wishes to the government in an often informal, non-transparent process. There is therefore a lack of policy-making capacity within the DMEA. The DMEA is understaffed and under-skilled for the policy agenda it faces and for undertaking the policy-making role. This continues to be the case in part because civil service remuneration does not compete with that of industry for qualified personnel. Civil service salaries have been significant lower than those offered by industry. Maintaining this disparity will make it difficult to solve the recruitment problem and serve to continue the dependence on non-governmental bodies for policy advice. Another reason is the perception that civil service is part of the 'old order'. Moreover, the new politically setting in South Africa is partially the result of consultation between parts of South African society and industry with the then-exiled ANC that necessarily circumvented the civil service and administration.

4.3.2 Gender and Energy Policy Process in South Africa

The Women Energy Group has played an important role in asserting the need to take account of gender issues in the energy sector in South Africa. Initiated by a group of women activists in 1993, WEG aimed; *to ensure that energy provision to 'disadvantaged groups' was gender-sensitive and contributed towards sustainable development; to educate women in communities on the safe and economically sound utilisation of energy; and to address the need for women to gain skills and pursue careers in technical energy fields* (WEG, 1994). While funding was secured for various activities and EDRC allocated space from which WEG could operate, the time of the women involved was not resourced. The success of the organization was largely dependent on the unpaid labour of its chairperson, who held the organization together and co-ordinated its activities. WEG membership drew from a broad spectrum of South African women, including members of poor rural and urban communities, non-governmental organization (NGO) staff, academics, researchers, women working in the energy industry and parliamentarians. This broad association reflected an attempt to link poor rural and urban women with those women engaged in the sector, bridging the gap between research, governance, technology development and the end-users of energy.

As Bronwyn James (1999) describes, WEG made several interventions in regard to the representation of women on policy-making and negotiating forums during 1993 and 1995. WEG also lobbied for women's representation on the boards of decision-making and regulatory bodies. Underlying this strategy was the notion that it was more likely that the energy needs of poor women would be addressed if women were represented on these structures. Attempts were made to ensure that the women who were nominated had an understanding of the energy problems and needs of poor women.

Effective energy planning needs to recognise these complex dynamics and address the particular needs and interests of women. It should ensure that women are involved and represented at the policy research, planning and implementation levels. Women should directly influence policy. Another encouraging sign is the fact that the Women Energy Group was housed at the University of Cape Town, which has committed itself to correct gender imbalances in the energy sector. This group sees as its role to advocate women's participation in energy policy formulation. As Flora Mosaka-Wright (1995) points out EDRC *will strive to bridge the gap between energy and technology research and the actual needs of women end-users; act as a resource group to enhance women's capacity and participation in energy planning at the national, provincial and local levels; make energy and technology information women-friendly; and encourage young women to develop careers in technical fields.*

4.3.3 A Gender-aware Energy Policy?

In the conclusion of chapter two, five characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy were identified. One of those is participation. The Women's Energy Group did participate in the Energy Policy formulation process, as did other stakeholders. However, Bronwyn James mentions that there was a naive belief in the notion that an effective process of consultation would result in an energy policy, which would address the interests and needs of the marginalized South Africans. In the face of the complex political processes, which were played out in developing a White Paper, the WEG intervention had a minimal effect on the content of the policy. All versions of the draft White Paper, including the one that was finally published, reflect a significant shift towards achieving goals of social equity. However, as James argues, the policies proposed are not far-reaching enough. The focus is predominantly on supply-side energy policies, despite the commitment to social equity and the lengthy policy statement under the household demand sector.

The recognition of women's role and their energy needs in the energy policy of South Africa is made explicit in some sections of the policy, like *although most household consumers are women, past energy policy has largely ignored their needs (section 3.3.1)*. However, the policy mostly speaks about households and the 'poor'. Considering the fact that the majority of the poor people are women, these sections in the policy are indirectly aimed for women. Furthermore the remark need to be made, that in the South African case 'gender' also means the dichotomy between black, coloured and white people. So when documents or policies are using the word 'gender' it is not always clear if they mean men/women or another dichotomy. The energy policy does recognize women's productive role in promoting affirmative action for women working in the energy sector and it acknowledges women's role in the energy economy.

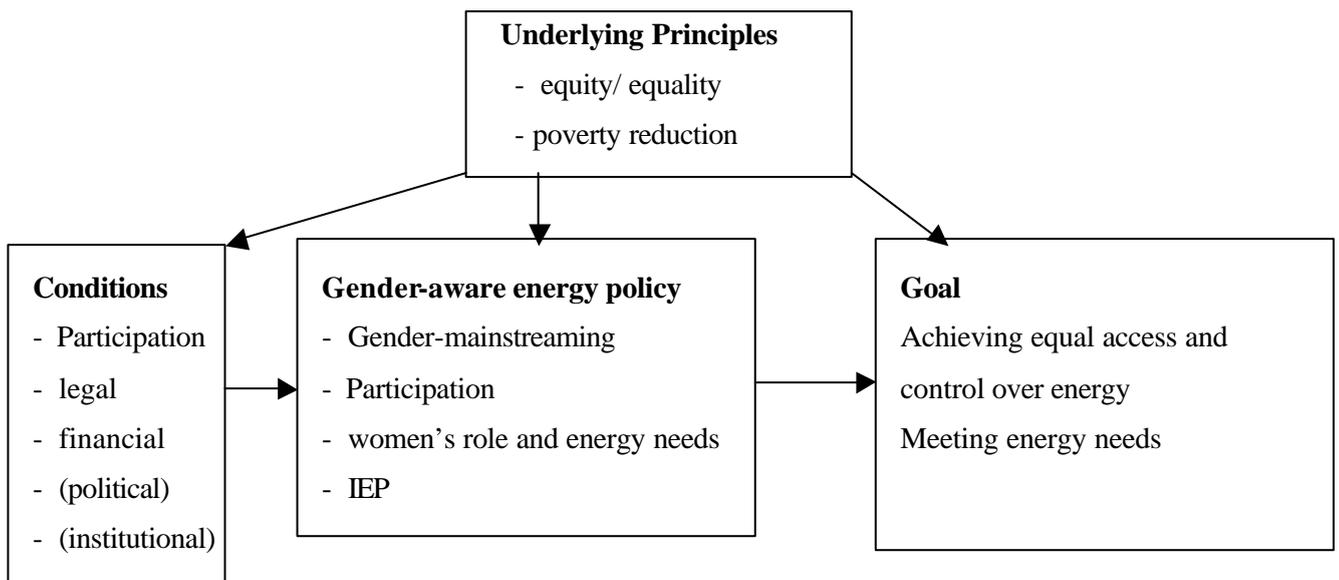
The integrated energy planning approach was the leading approach during the energy policy formulation process and is used as the framework for the energy policy. One of the main characteristics of an integrated energy planning is that it is recognized that energy is linked with other sectors of a society and that energy has a multidisciplinary character. Both aspects are recognized within the White Paper on Energy Policy of South Africa, by mentioning the economical (e.g. financing and pricing), social (e.g. human resources), political (e.g. governance and institutional capacity) and environmental (e.g. environment and energy efficiency) aspects of energy policy and by linking it to sectors like agriculture, industry and transport. Since IEP is the framework, there is a need for a database. This need is recognized as well as the lack of disaggregated data and statistical information in South Africa. In order to improve that, development of statistics and research is promoted in the energy policy.

Looking at the five points (availability, affordability, accessibility, sustainability and security) of Annecke that needs to be taken into consideration when integrating gender into energy policy, they are all mentioned several times in the content of the White Paper on Energy Policy. Section 3.3.1 acknowledged that *basic energy needs must consider costs(affordability), access and health (security)*. Concerning the affordability-aspect; the South African *Government will promote access to affordable energy services for disadvantaged households, small businesses, small farms and community services(section3.2.2.1)*. One of the sections within the energy policy that is aiming at security is section 3.2.2.4; *Government will promote access to basic energy services for poor households, in order to ameliorate the negative health impacts arising from the use of certain fuels*. Section 7.1.1. (vision for the electricity supply industry) points out that environmental sustainability in both the short and long-term usage of natural resources should be the objective.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, research question 3 is studied; What are the experiences of South Africa in genderizing national energy policy and under which conditions is this implemented? The figure below is visualizing the process of realizing a gender-aware energy policy in South Africa. As analysed in section 4.2, the conditions were available in South Africa to create a background for realising a gender-aware energy policy. Especially the legacy of apartheid contributed to a background in South Africa that encourages gender equality and affirmative action for marginalized groups. This is also reflected in the White Paper on Energy Policy. The content and the formulation process are demonstrating a commitment to realize a gender-aware energy policy.

Figure 13: the Process of Realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy in South Africa



During the apartheid-period, South Africa was a country with a high degree of inequality between men and women, but especially between different groups in society (white, black, coloured people). One way in which this inequality was reflected, was the unequal control and access to energy resources. This was intensified by the supply-oriented approach towards energy planning, since South Africa was economically and politically boycotted by the international community. In the transition-period, there was a close co-operation between several stakeholders in developing new policies to overcome gender-inequality and to promote affirmative action for disadvantaged groups. As a result, an enabling background was created to integrate gender into an energy policy, especially since the Integrated Energy Planning approach became the framework for energy planning. This approach promotes a demand-side approach towards energy planning, which is in contrast to the supply-oriented approach of the apartheid-regime. During the energy policy formulation process, the Women in Energy-Group participated in the stakeholders-forum and advocated for the integration of gender and women's issues in the energy policy. As a result, gender and especially women's role in energy is acknowledged in the White Paper, although it can be questioned whether the results are progressively enough.

However, the legacy of apartheid did not only work as a catalyst for enabling gender-mainstreaming in South Africa. Paradoxically, it also forms an obstacle in achieving gender-equality. Since during the apartheid-regime the society was divided along racial lines, the emphasis is more on differences between white, coloured and black people than on men and women. So in the transition-period after the apartheid-struggle, the emphasis in affirmative action policies were more on black people and black women than on women in general. Gender-equality is one of the major goals for the new government, but the fact that gender contains racial differences as well as differences between men

and women, is something to take into account when analysing and studying gender-issues in South Africa. Furthermore, the legacy of apartheid is also demonstrated in an inequality in the access and control over basic energy services, like energy. A lack of gender-disaggregated data and statistics on energy use in general are also caused by the apartheid-regime.

What can be concluded is that South Africa has experience in realizing a gender-aware energy policy. The conditions for realizing a gender-aware energy policy are available and the process and content of the White Paper on Energy Policy are reflecting the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy. However how gender-aware the energy policy is depends for a large part on the implementation of the policy and the elaboration of policy objectives into concrete projects. Within the time-frame and within the scope of this study, it was however not possible to analyse the implementation of the White Paper. Concerning the formulation phase of the energy policy in Uganda, it can be said that the legacy of apartheid worked as a catalyst for realizing the conditions and creating gender-awareness in South Africa, that enabled a background for developing a gender-aware energy policy. Paradoxically, the legacy of apartheid also forms a huge obstacle in the realization of gender-equality in South Africa and is identified as an obstacle for the implementation of the White Paper on Energy Policy.

5 CASE STUDY UGANDA

In this chapter, research question 4 will be answered. What are the developments in Uganda towards gender-aware energy policy and what conditions the realisation? The chapter describes the status of gender-issues in Uganda, the rise of the women 's movement, the institutionalisation of gender issues into the national machinery of women and the legal and political framework for gender issues, which lead to the development of the National Gender Policy. In the last section the development of an energy policy is described and analysed. Starting with the energy policy formulation process in Uganda, then moving on to the drafting process of the energy policy and the section ends with the attempts to integrate gender into the energy policy.

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Gender in Uganda

Since the concept of gender is socially and culturally determined, the concept of gender will have a specific interpretation in Uganda. In line with Barbara Mbire-Barungi (1999), three characteristics of the position of gender in Uganda can be identified. First, there is the guarantee of equality as laid out in the constitution. Second, there is the promotion of women's participation in decision-making from grassroots to national levels through the quota systems within local governing councils. Thirdly, there are entrenched cultural and religious rights and traditional authorities, which implicitly discriminate against women. There is a contradiction between the first two characteristics and the third one. Despite political commitment towards gender issues and increase in gender-equality by the position of gender-issues in the constitution and the quota-system to increase women's political participation in Uganda, there are still some constraints related to culture and tradition that hampers gender equality and the participation of women. Patriarchy still exists in the Ugandan society and forms a major obstacle for achieving gender equality and a gender-aware energy policy. Lopez (1991, p.114) states that *the existence of sexist cultural patterns in the education system, the mass media, religion and other social institutions, created cohesive ideological and cultural pressures which limited the effective participation of women.*²⁸ Patriarchy is something that exists across the whole structure of society and influences the law, social norms and attitudes, social and economic activities, cultural forms and personal relations.

5.1.2 Energy in Uganda

Looking at Figure 14, some characteristics of energy use in Uganda can be identified. Biomass is the most utilised source of energy in Uganda (93%). Households mostly use biomass, especially for

cooking (98% of the domestic requirements is firewood for cooking). However, using firewood can cause indoor air pollution and unsafe situations for women and children. Burns from open fires, head and back injuries from carrying firewood and lung diseases are only some of the health risks of using biomass. The problem is that especially poor households in rural areas do not have alternative energy sources for biomass. The bulk of energy consumed in rural areas is wood-fuel for cooking and kerosene for lighting. The use of portable solar panels and diesel generator sets for recreational purposes is increasing among rural communities. However, the equipment is expensive and the maintenance costs are high. Most households own radios and would like to power it using electricity other than expensive batteries. However, the rural areas are far from the grid and have therefore no access to electricity. Renewable sources of energy are a possibility, but not without limitations. Hydroelectricity, despite the huge potential, will be less than 5% of the energy consumption by 2015 and requires a lot of technical and financial input as well as skills training. Solar systems can be a good alternative for biomass, but the initial costs are very high and they are not suitable for cooking. Solar PV panels are producing low watt electricity, which does not provide enough capacity for cooking. Solar cookers can be used for cooking but there is evidence that this does not benefit women and could even have a disempowering effect.

Figure 14: Indicators for the energy sector (based on the Uganda Energy Balance 2000):²⁹

Utilisation energy sources by type:	
Biomass	93%
Oil products	6%
Electricity	1%
Energy consumption per capita (kgOE)	307.9
Commercial energy consumption per capita (kgOE)	22.0
Number of electrified rural households	80 000
Representing of rural electrification rate	2.1%
Number of electrified urban households	170 000
Representing of urban electrification rate	21%
Value of output wood production	US\$ 15 803 million (in 1988) US\$ 17 347 million (in 1999)
Percentage wood consumption for household energy	60%

As demonstrated in the figure above, Uganda has an electricity deficit. From the different energy sources available in Uganda, only 1% of the utilization of energy sources is electricity. Electrified rural households are only representing 2,1% of the rural electrification rate and urban households only 21% of the urban electrification rate. To respond to the increasing demand for electricity, the Ugandan government has to extend the electricity-capacity. Besides, as Simonis argues for, more capacity is needed to catch the huge electricity-demand between 6.00pm and 8.00pm. To overcome the power deficit, the Government of Uganda is planning to build a new power-generation dam at the

²⁸ Lopez, Eugenia Piza, "Overcoming the Barriers: Women and Participation in Public Life", in; Wallace, T.; Candida March (eds), 1991

²⁹ Rosetti Nabbumba Nayenga, 2002

Bujagali Falls near Jinja. However, Uganda has a dubious reputation with the construction of dams. For the construction of the extension of the Owen Falls Dam by 20 megawatt an unknown Chinese contractor was assigned, but that company went bankrupt surrounded with bribe scandals. Bribe scandals around the construction of the Bujagali Falls Dam are also on the front page of the Uganda Newspapers. In November 1999, the Government made an agreement with an American company for the construction of the dam. The contract is controversial largely because of the way the parliament has granted its permission. Critical members of parliament were sent away so that they could not participate in the session of approval. Despite the controversy around the construction of the Bujagali Dam, President Musevi is a strong advocate for the building of the dam. He assumes that the dam will increase Uganda's electricity supply and the surplus will be exported, which help to reduce Uganda's poverty.

The building of a new dam will not overcome the energy poverty of the majority of the Ugandan people. The dam will only overcome power deficits in the capital Kampala and the industrial city Jinja. According to Simonis, the main problem with the electricity supply in Uganda is that the location of the power-plants are very centralized in the major cities, and the Northern part does not have a grid-plant at all. Besides, the network that does exist is not developed. In Uganda only 15% of the population are living in the cities and the people living in the rural areas are widespread over the country and are not concentrated in villages. Therefore it is difficult to provide electricity by extending the grid. Alternatives for grid-systems need to be developed, like diesel-generators, micro-hydro and PV-systems. The advantage of these systems is that the power-distribution in a sparsely populated area is not that difficult and expensive. Those stand-alone systems will be sufficient for providing energy in the rural areas, since the consumption of electricity at rural level is very low and basically used for lighting, small income-generating activities, TV, radio's, etc. Nevertheless, using these stand-alone systems for rural electrification is not unproblematically. As mentioned earlier, the initial costs are high and there is a need to develop a local technical network for the maintenance.

5.1.3 Gender and Energy in Uganda

Simonis (interview) means that energy and gender are closely linked in Uganda. 93% (figure Figure 14) of the energy used in Uganda is consisting of biomass. Household energy use is representing the biggest energy-using sector in Uganda of which women are the main users and providers. Nevertheless, women might be the suppliers and users of the bulk of energy used in Uganda that does not imply that they have access and control over the energy resources. Furthermore, it can be questioning if they have decision-making power over which energy source to use and how to use it. Women and their needs should not only be represented at the policy level in an energy policy, even at community level the integration of gender and women's energy needs is lacking.

Gakwaya (2002) identifies four barriers for women's participation in energy issues in Uganda. First of all, in the Ugandan culture there are energy-related taboos in the home. A survey carried out by the Integrated Rural Development Institute (2000) on factors affecting adoption of fuel-efficient domestic stoves, identified that there are many taboos in different regions of the country that hindering the adoption of these stoves. One taboo is that there are certain activities that are culturally deemed masculine while others are feminine. As a result, women are reluctant to get involved in activities that are according to the cultural norms 'unacceptable' or 'inappropriate' for women. Women are for example not supposed to construct the improved stoves that they have learned to build in a project, because the husband or another men can only make a domestic stove. Since men in general do not prioritise cooking as a household issue, many homes will have to continue using an unhealthy and polluting stove. Another issue that affect the adoption of fuel-efficient stoves is that the taste of the food could change. For example, matooke is the traditional main dish in Uganda. It is made of bananas steamed in banana leaves on a small, low-heat charcoal fire. This dish is difficult to make when using another stove then the traditional one and especially when the fire is to heat. Furthermore, the smoke of the charcoal fire gives the matooke its unique and typical taste.

A second argument why women are overlooked in energy issues is that in general women's income is lower then that of men. As a result, women cannot play an active role in improving the household energy. For example, the initial costs of the installation of biogas is Ushs 330.000,-³⁰ which may seem large to men who does not use it and may be impossible to save for rural women. Subsidies from the government or funding from donors could lower the price and make the purchase of improved household energy systems for women better affordable. A third obstacle mentioned by Gakwaya is the lack of awareness on gender and energy issues. Consequently, energy is not high on the agenda of women's organizations and that of donor-agencies. Furthermore, awareness raising on energy issues had largely been left to NGOs, which often do not have the financial and human capacity to sponsor prolonged programmes capable of fostering change. The last obstacle Gakwaya mentioned is policies. The under representation of women at policy level leads to development of technologies that are less acceptable to the majority of women. To overcome these obstacles, gender-aware energy policy could provide an answer. Therefore, the next section will be focusing on how to achieve gender-aware energy policy and specifically which conditions are available in Uganda to realise it.

³⁰ in July 2002, 1 US\$ was 1800 Ushs

5.2 Conditions for a gender-aware energy policy

5.2.1 Participatory Framework

Uganda does not have a feminist movement or a feminist tradition. However, the absent of a feminist tradition does not imply that there is no awareness on gender issues or women's position in society. At present, according to Barbara Mbire-Barungi (1999), addressing the more explicit gender imbalances is a common cause in Uganda. Since 1986 the Women's movement in Uganda is one of the strongest mobilized societal forces. Its history started during the colonial period and they continued to grow after independence under the first Milton Obote regime (1962-1971). Amin suppressed the women's organizations, so they re-emerged under Obote's second regime (1980-1985). When the National Resistance Movement resumes power, the women's movement revived and the National Resistance Movement was willing to listen to them. For example, the women's movement pressured the National Resistance Movement to elevate women for key positions in government. This resulted in the appointment of the first female vice-president in Africa and 18% of the representatives in parliament are women since 1989 and the 1995 Constitution demands that one-third of the local governmental representatives are female. The Women's movement was actually aiming that the enclosure of the one-third percentage was a minimum, but in practice it more used as a maximum.

What Tripp (2000) identifies as the remarkable character of the women's organizations in Uganda, is the minimal importance they attach to religion, race, ethnicity and political affiliation. When they do want to make a difference then the differences mattered are ethnicity, religion and region. Especially ethnicity plays an important role in the patriarchal society of Uganda. However, in rural Ugandan context, local women's groups tend to cut across patriarchal ties partly because married women from patrilineal societies often find it easier than men to form associations that cut across ethnic clan and kinship ties. Tripp gives as a possible reason that women mostly marry men from another clan. They will then become a member from the husband's clan, but will always been an outsider to that clan, because they were not born in that clan. In urban areas, the inter-marriages will even be more because the cities are gathering-places for people from all kind of clans, religions and identities. So the women's organizations need to work across patriarchal ties to influence the political agenda effectively.

Statistics collected by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2000) demonstrate that despite an increase in women's political participation and involvement in decision-making, women's participation in political processes and activities related to undertake decisions at various levels is still not equal with that of men in Uganda. An possible explanation mentioned by Tripp (2000) is that women's organizations do not want to be associated with politics and will deny their political involvement.

Politics in Uganda is still very strongly associated with military, repression, civil war and sectarian fighting and a domain of men. Another obstacle for women to participate in politics is the patriarchal society. The society sets up stereotyped divisions of responsibilities, roles and norms, which marginalize women. To encourage women to participate more, the government issued an affirmative action policy. This was not very successful because few women are able to participate in political positions. Women are facing great opposition from societies where relational attachments determine behaviour. Women politicians are receiving personal attacks and constantly reminded about their reproductive roles and implications of performances of a politician. Furthermore, different opportunities in resource allocation, is the reason that women lack productive resources and have no rights over property. They are not able to pay for political participation, for example the registration fee candidates need to pay. Although, the registration fee for a candidate was uniform for both men and women, it is more difficult for women to raise the amount.

5.2.2 Methodological Framework

To make people aware of gender inequality, a lot has been done to increase this awareness and to enlarge the knowledge on gender issues on all levels; from the grassroots to governmental level. A major tool for awareness raising used in Uganda is training of people on gender issues and the consequences of gender inequality. In the interview with Kabonesa, she told that some of the academics of the Gender and Women's Studies Department of the Makerere University were involved in training of NGOs and CBOs in addressing gender issues in their communities. After these trainings, NGOs and CBOs carried out awareness raising projects and gender training themselves. For example, there is the Federation of Women Layers, who have been heavily involved in awareness raising on women's rights and rights in general and they did not only train women but also men.

Awareness raising is an important step towards gender equality, recognised by Sara Longwe as the third step out of five; conscientisation. As described in chapter 2, conscientisation or awareness raising is the understanding of the difference between sex roles and gender roles, and that the latter can be cultural and can be changed. When awareness is raised, equal participation of men and women will be the next step towards gender equality. However, as described in chapter three, different actors in the development process have different underlying principles for integrating gender issues. As a result different actors have different approaches towards gender and that is reflected in their training material. For example, the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development has its own training materials in which a specific approach towards addressing gender issues is the guideline. However, some NGO's and international donor organisations have also training programmes and women or gender projects in the country. They could have another approach towards gender issues. For example, some women's organisations are more focussing on women's empowerment while some NGO's

dealing with energy issues are more focussed on sustainability or efficiency goals. This could result in confusion by the people who are trained or who participating in projects from different organizations.

Besides training there are other ways to increase more awareness on gender issues. One of the major reasons for a lack of awareness is a lack of knowledge on what gender is and how gender inequality can be overcome. An objective way to create more awareness is to provide gender disaggregated data. The Ugandan government recognised the importance of gender disaggregated statistical information and how this can be used to assess the extent to which equal opportunities for women and men has been achieved. In this regard, the Directorate of Gender in the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development and the Statistics Department initiated a collaborative process for collecting gender disaggregated data on Uganda. In 1998, a national publication was produced entitled 'Women and Men in Uganda; Facts and Figures 1998'. This has been followed by the production of sectoral series booklets, which provided detailed information on women and men in specific sectors studied both at national and district level. These booklets are free available and are also available online.

5.2.3 Legal framework

At national level, the 1995 Constitution of Uganda provides a legal basis for ensuring equality and equity between men and women in all aspects of life. Recognized, as a general and all embracing principle, is women's triple role in society.³¹ This principle is to create positive attitudes in society, for it to become fully considerate and just in the treatment of women. The constitution also addresses the protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms. It affirms the equality of all persons, women and men, before and under the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and in every other respect. It specifically prohibits any discrimination in the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms based on sex or other considerations.

There is only 'positive' discrimination in the form of affirmative action. Article 32 (1) states that; *notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the State shall take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalized on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them.* Apart from this provision for affirmative action, every chapter and provision in the constitution applies equally to both women and men. Another achievement of the women's movement is the use of non-sexist, all-inclusive language throughout the Constitution. A very important article for women's representation in the constitution is Article 3 paragraph VI, which states that; *the state shall ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalized groups on all constitutional and other bodies.* This implies that it is unconstitutional to have any public body where women are not fairly represented. Article 78 b

³¹ Women's 1) reproductive, 2) productive and 3) community roles

allows one woman district representative in Parliament, while article 180 b ensures that one third of the members of each local government council is female.

From the points mentioned above, it could be concluded that the Ugandan constitution provides several opportunities for women. In Maude Mugisha's opinion (2000), this was achieved only through a strong women's lobby and the support of gender sensitive men during the constituent assembly debates. Women's movement major achievement in the constitution-making process is that there is no discrimination in any way against women anywhere in the preamble, the national objectives, the nineteen chapters and seven schedules of the constitution. The achievements are however still in theory and the real test of the value of these provisions for women will be the implementation of the legislation and policies. As Maude Mugisha (2000) points out it still remains a challenge to alter all Uganda's laws written in an all inclusive, non-sexist language. The same challenge is extended to the country's mass media, books, constitutions of associations at all levels, and above all, in books used in schools.

The Uganda government committed itself to several (international) conventions and political statements, which promote the role of women and focus on gender issues. These (international) documents form together a legal and political framework for the empowerment of women and gender equity in Uganda. The first document the Uganda government signed in this respect was the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985, they ratified it in the same year without any reservations to the original text. CEDAW prohibited discrimination against women and proposed measures for its elimination in civil, political, economic and social and cultural spheres. It also advocated the need for temporary affirmative action measures to accelerate the equal participation of women and men in public life. When ratifying CEDAW, member states are legally bounded to implement the proposed measures what the Ugandan Government did in their Constitution of 1995.

The Beijing Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing China in 1995, set out an agenda for removing obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life. This was to be achieved through ensuring their full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. The Uganda government participated in the Beijing Conference and showed initiative to follow it up. The Uganda government prioritised 6 areas of concern for women's advancement; poverty, health, education, the girl-child, mechanisms of the advancement of women and legal rights and decision-making for women which they worked out in the National Action Plan for Women (1999).³² This plan has the goal to achieve equal opportunities

³² Ministry of Gender and Community Development, UNFPA, December 1995

for women by empowering them to participate in, and benefit from, the social, economic and political development. It is a five-year plan, which sets out the critical areas of concerns, objectives, actions and indicators to monitor the process of implementation of the Action Plan. It sets priority areas for women empowerment through four priority areas of concern. These include; 1) poverty, income generation and economic empowerment; 2) reproductive health and rights; 3) legal framework and decision-making; and 4) the education of the girl child.

Among the other political or legal bounded documents the Ugandan government signed is the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development formulated in 1995, which among others addressed itself to the establishment of Gender Management Systems in member countries and integration of gender concerns into macro-economic policies. Others include the 1994 African Platform for Action (5th regional conference in Dakar); the Rio Conference on Environment and Development (1994), the Cairo Conference on Population and Development (1994) and the Social Summit (1995) all of which reaffirm the centrality of gender issues in all aspects of development. Concerning gender and energy issues, the Ugandan government not only participated in the Rio Conference, but also in the Earth Summit in Johannesburg (2002) and the Durban Ministerial Workshop on Gender and Energy. By identifying with the above international policy/legal instruments, Uganda has committed itself to addressing gender concerns in all aspects of development, of which energy. Although not all documents are binding, the documents provide a basis for policy formulation and legislation.

5.2.4 Political Framework

The National Gender Policy (1997) of the Government of Uganda forms the political framework for addressing gender issues and to increase gender equality. Article 4.1 points out that *the overall goal of the National Gender Policy is to mainstream gender concerns in the national development process in order to improve the social, legal/civic, political, economic and cultural conditions of the people in Uganda in particular women*. The National Gender Policy is a legal document binding for the government, its agencies and institutions. It is a part of the National Development Policy framework. The aim of the gender policy is to guide and direct planning and resource allocation at National, District and Sectoral levels. It emphasizes government's commitment to gender responsive planning and is designed to ensure integration of gender perspectives in all mainstream areas of development.

The policy intends to achieve its objectives through a range of strategies, which include gender sensitisation and training in gender analysis skills, promoting WID and GAD approaches and promoting a holistic, integrated approach to development planning. Remarkable is the fact that the Gender Policy makes a combination of GAD and WID approaches. The gender policy proposes this combination, because projects specifically for women within gender-mainstreaming are still very

important to overcome the gender gap in Uganda. However, the use of these two approaches simultaneously is a weakness of the gender policy. According to Madanda (interview), they say that they are using a GAD-approach but in most cases they are using the WID-approach. So in practice they are mostly talking about women's issues without comparing between men and women.

According to respondents, the gender policy has several strengths. First of all it conceptualizes the main gender-inequalities that exist in the country and to make that the focal point for development. The policy offers a framework within which gender mainstreaming can be implemented within the country. It proposed the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, the so-called national machinery, to be the steering institution to implement the gender policy. That ministry should work in co-operation with the ministry of finance, planning and economical development to ensure that all development programmes taking into account gender and that resources are provided. Since the Ugandan government is promoting decentralization, the gender policy highlights areas with gender issues for local governments as well. So the policy commits all governmental levels and sectors to gender-mainstreaming.

A second strength of the Gender Policy is that the awareness of the existence and the content of the Gender Policy is available at the governmental level and among academics, development workers and donor organization. They are applying that policy when drafting projects. What contributed to this awareness was the timing of the release of the policy. It is a part of the National Development Policy, which received a lot of international and national attention. It was recognised by different actors that in order to stimulate the development process in Uganda more attention to gender issues was needed. The timing of the release was also positive since the Ministry of Gender was operational and was embedded in the government institutions. The Ministry was not only the initiator of the Gender Policy, they also had enough experience to implement it. Today, the Ministry is revising the gender policy, to examine how the gender policy can be fit into the other programmes the Ugandan Government came up with. For example there is the Poverty Eradication Action Plan, which needs to be bring into the gender policy context to be able to really address the issues of the poor people effectively.

However, a weakness of the gender policy is the lack of implementation. The National Gender Policy acknowledges that its implementation requires an effective, institutionalised monitoring and evaluation system with appropriate feed-back mechanisms. It calls for all sectors to have internal checks and balances to ensure that gender concerns are adequately addressed at all levels and in all sectoral activities. However, according to Assumpta Tibamwenda Ikiriza (2001) resource constraints, a heavily reliance on sector wide approaches to planning and rapid policy shifts especially in the decentralised governance have slowed down the implementation of the gender policy. This has in turn led to a lack of gender mainstreaming in ministries. The Ministry of Gender and Community

Development developed therefore guidelines for monitoring of gender-oriented policies in line with Ministries (February 1997). Among those guidelines are that there will be co-operation between the ministries and the Ministry of Gender in the establishment of gender oriented policies. Furthermore, those ministries should be willing to participate gender-sensitisation training, in which the gender issues that are relevant to their own sectors will be identified. After identifying, the ministries will be able to translate these gender issues into policy statements, or that they will seek the necessary support to do so. A final guideline is that ministries should establish indicators of success or progress for each objective, and determine how this success or progress can be measured and verified.

However there is another obstacle for the implementation of the gender policy; the attitude of people. The problem with a reluctant attitude towards gender issues are not only at grassroots level, even in government institutions there are people, men and women, that are not gender-sensitive and who are not supporting gender mainstreaming. A possible reason for this attitude mentioned in the interviews is the fact that some people in the governmental institutions have been working in those institutions for a very long time. They have a certain style of working and they might consider women's issues and gender issues not positively. There will always be a fear of what will happen when working on those issues. If they are working on gender mainstreaming, they might get criticism from their families who have a traditional opinion towards gender roles and relations. However, when they are refusing to work on gender issues, they might lose their job. So in the end they will be willing to work with gender issues but they still have a negative attitude towards it. One solution to improve this situation is by sensitising governmental institutions. The tendency is that the people at key-positions send their junior-assistant to gender-sensitising workshops. But the juniors are not making the decisions. It is the people in key-positions that need to be gender-sensitive and as long they are not, it is difficult to implement the policy; because those are the people who allocate the budget, who design the projects.

5.2.5 Institutional Framework

The institutional framework for gender issues is in Uganda the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. Article 6.1 of the National Gender Policy points out that *the National machinery, which is the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, is charged with the responsibility of spearheading and co-ordinating gender responsive development and in particular ensuring the improvement of women's status.* In Uganda, the national machinery is part of the government. It provides policy guidelines on gender and it gives technical support in gender mainstreaming to stakeholders. It is involved in the development of gender policies in other sectors, acting both as a catalyst and a facilitator/expert on gender issues. A major task of the Ministry is to organize seminars and workshops to sensitise different categories of policy makers and programme planners to gender issues. The target group is ministers, permanent secretaries, senior officials, members of district development planning committees; men and women.

Figure 15: The development of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development

1987; Women's Desk at NRM secretariat
1988; Department for Women in Development
1991; Department for Women in Development is upgraded to the Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and Culture
1994; creation of Ministry of Gender and Community Development
1998; change to the present Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development

As demonstrated in Figure 15, the development of the National Machinery started in 1987 when a women's desk was established at the NRM secretariat. The mandate was to mobilise women and to empower them politically. The task was to raise women's political awareness and to work on the political education of women. Following a strong lobby from National Women Council and women NGO's, the women's desk evolved in a Department for Women in Development. Their mandate was to dismantling all barriers of tradition and the practice of legislation in path of women's advancement to equality. However, when the Ministry was just established, it was facing several difficulties in executing this mandate. Kawesi (1990) mentions the fact that when the ministry was created, the creation was not anticipated in current budgetary provisions. Furthermore there was a need for a comprehensive survey on women's needs before appropriate policies could be formulated. This study has to be aware of the fact that the needs of women in different parts of the country are different, because of the different levels of development and resources.

When the Ministry was just established, the ministry adopted the Women in Development (WID) approach, which focused on the advancement and empowerment of women. However, the ministry realised in line with the international debate that women could not be treated in isolation from men and the overall social context with which they interact. Hence, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was adopted alongside the WID approach. By adopting the GAD approach, it was possible to work with different sectoral ministries to review existing policies and programmes and formulate sector policies from a gender-perspective. The Ministry, having realised the need for using a combination of the GAD and the WID approach, has two departments, one for gender development and the other for women in development. This institutionalisation ensures that both the 'strategic needs' and 'practical/welfare needs' of women are addressed. However, Kakande and Sengendo mention in their study that the fact that these are mere departments in a bigger ministry has limited the staffing positions in these departments and therefore reduced scope and effectiveness of the planned implementation of activities. With this limited capacity, due to a lack of resources and staff, the national machinery can not provide adequate professional and technical guidance to other stakeholders.

5.2.6 Financial Framework

Despite the efforts of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development to try to implement the policy at all levels in all institutions, it is not implemented yet in all the institutions, in all districts and ministries. According to Kabonesa, besides the reasons mentioned above, the reason for this lack of implementation is that there is a lack of funding. The Ministry does have a lot of initiatives (like the monitoring guidelines) to implement the policy, but they need resources to implement it. The funds they received are not enough to fund all the projects they have. The political will of the Ugandan government to promote gender mainstreaming is there. But that political needs to be supported with sufficient funding as well. At the moment, the gender policy is reviewed and in this reviewing-process the lack of funding is identified as one of the reasons for the hampering in implementation. Hopefully, the government will allocate some funds to implement the reviewed policy. An opportunity for increasing funding for gender issues is a project in the country that is looking at gender budgeting. That project is assessing the national governmental budget and examined how much is going to gender-specific areas. According to Kabonesa, there are a number of ministries that reacted positively on this project. For example the Ministry of Health was very positive. They have implemented some of the recommendations. That could be a good example for the other ministries and could help the effective implementation of the gender policy.

5.2.7 Conditions for genderising energy policy in Uganda

The fact that Uganda has tried to integrate gender into their energy policy is influenced by a political commitment from the government to mainstream gender and also by the National Gender Policy. However, there were other elements as well that conditioned the environment in which the energy policy was formulated. Those elements were put in the framework of chapter three of this study (Figure 10). The trajectory of gender-mainstreaming in Uganda is different then that proposed in chapter three. In Uganda, the process towards gender-mainstreaming started indeed with participation of women's groups, but the next phase was the establishment of an institutional framework, namely the Ministry of Gender. The process moved on with a financial framework, since the Ministry needed resources to operate. The legal framework for mainstreaming gender was embedded in the Constitution of 1995 and a political framework was established with the publication of the National Gender Policy in 1997. One of the issues mentioned in the Gender Policy is gender-disaggregated data. The establishment of a methodological framework was therefore the last phase in the gender-mainstreaming process of Uganda.

Figure 16: the Conditions for realizing a gender-aware Energy Policy in Uganda

Condition	Elements
Participatory framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Participation of women’s movements in the political arena ?? Participation of gender-sensitive men ?? Strong women’s movement ?? The goal of one-third of local government representatives to be women
Methodological Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? There are gender disaggregated data available and widely published since 1998 ?? Government staff is trained to use gender analytical tools and methods
Legal framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Strong position of gender issues in the constitution of 1995 ?? Signed and ratified CEDAW in 1985 ?? Participated in the Beijing Conference ?? Signed the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development in 1995 ?? Participated in the Rio Conference (1992) and in the Earth Summit (2002)
Political framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of a National Gender Policy since 1997
Institutional framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of a national machinery for women since 1987 and since 1994 a separate Ministry of Gender
Financial framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Budget is allocated to the Ministry of Gender and to the implementation of gender policies and programmes

5.3 Gender and Energy Policy Uganda

5.3.1 The Energy Policy Process

In the early 1990s the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development identified areas in the energy sector that needed extra attention. One of these areas was electricity. The main focus of the Ministry was first to develop a policy framework dealing with the supply and demand of electricity. This was necessary because the Ugandan government had an ambitious economic recovering programme with a lot of economic development projects and economic reforms, especially in the industrial sector. When the recovering was going on and with more private sector involvement, there was a lot of pressure on the electricity supply capacity that was available. As a consequence of the years of political instability in the country, the whole infrastructure of the power sector was destroyed. With the pressure of the economic recovering programme, there was a need to develop policies and guidelines to increase the power supply. As a result, the ministry started with the development of the Power-sector Strategy Plan in the mid 1990s, which provided the framework for the policy, strategy and action plan for the power-sector. The main issues in this action plan were the increase of the power generation, the development of new power plants and the privatization of the Uganda Electricity Board. The plan was based on an already existing power strategic plan, but several stakeholders in the energy policy process found that that plan not sufficiently covered all the problems in the power sector, like involving the private sector in the energy supply and distribution.

Around 2000, with the assistance of consultants from GTZ, they started with developing a National Energy Policy. Previously, annual ministerial policy statements have driven Uganda's energy sector on the budget. However, the importance of the energy sector in the economy requires the adoption of a long-term planning approach for energy development. In particular, the liberalization of the energy sector, in line with the overall macro-economic policies, required the availability of a clear, long-term policy to encourage project development and to harmonize sector activities. The need for an appropriate energy policy is also recognized by the Constitution, which states that; *the State shall promote and implement energy policies that will ensure that people's basic needs and those of environmental preservation are met.* The Energy Policy should therefore support the government's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which recognizes energy as having a direct impact on poverty alleviation. As a result, an integrated energy policy was developed, not only looking at one sector of energy, but at all the sectors related to energy; petroleum (both upstream and downstream), supplies, new and renewable sources of energy, energy efficiency.

The energy policy formulation process was driven by the experiences and knowledge available in the ministry. Various groups of expertise within the ministry formed a task force, which collected data by stakeholders through participation and consultation on rural energy, power, electrification, petroleum also including several aspects of gender, like access to resources and energy use of men and women. After consulting the stakeholders, the taskforce discussed priority issues and started formulating a first draft. The latter was carried out mainly by members of staff of the Ministry for Energy and Mineral Development and the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Then a couple of workshops with the taskforce and some operators in the sector were organized to put the findings in a rapport and send the draft of the energy policy to the stakeholders for comments. After receiving the comments from the stakeholders, the draft version of the energy policy was adjusted to the comments. The final document was publicized in September 2002. Through the stakeholders participation it was possible to achieve an inclusive type of document, but the problem with the energy sector is that it is so diverse, that it is difficult to collect all the information and to reflect the interests of all stakeholders.

Looking at the obstacles for the formulation and eventually the implementation of an energy policy Simonis mentions as a challenge the linkages of the energy policy with other policies. From a ministry point of view, one of the problems that were faced in the formulation of the energy policy is the fact that there is no single officer who is in charge of the energy policy at the district level. There are people in charge of water, education, environment, etc. but nobody for energy. Looking at the district plan, energy is not mentioned. So despite the decentralization policy of the Ugandan government, it is difficult to involve the decentralized governmental levels in energy policy. Another challenge for the Ministry for Energy and Mineral Development is to see how to integrate energy into the development plan as a whole. Energy stands high on the PEAP, and it is recognized as having a direct impact on

poverty alleviation. Furthermore, the Ministry should also identify how the National Energy Policy could be linked with the National Gender Policy. Some of the attempts are described in the section below.

5.3.2 Genderizing Energy Policy learning from the Gender Policy

One of the strong points of the National Gender policy, according to Mubarak, is that it calls upon everybody, everywhere in addressing gender inequality. All governmental levels and all sectors within the Ugandan society should mainstream gender. It is fixed on women-in-development-approaches, those that are focussing on women alone in order to accelerate a place where gender equality is achieved. Under the WID-approach, special interventions that address women only are possible. But it also aims at mainstreaming gender in the development process. Especially the mainstreaming approach can be considered as strength of the gender policy in the sense that it is trying to achieve this result through several actors. *If you have strategies that are focussing on women only and within one specific institution, then you are not achieving considerable results. But at the moment you are talking about gender mainstreaming, then you are making anyone accountable to address gender inequality.*³³ Paradoxically, the strength of the Gender Policy is also its weakness. By focusing on everything and everywhere could turn out to be ambitious. That can be in itself be a weakness, because the volume of work then becomes enormous. Coupled with the fact that not all people working in the public sector have skills in gender analysis. Not everyone has the capacity to be able to identify gender issues and design appropriate interventions to address them.

A major obstacle in the implementation of the gender policy what also will be an obstacle for gender aspects in the energy policy is culture; Uganda is a patriarchy society. *When you go to the grassroots, when you are talking about gender equality, people think that you are challenging patriarchal values.*³⁴ Even some people who need to implement the policy do not believe in equality of women and men and give it therefore minimal attention. The problem is also that most of the decision-makers are men. Not to say that all men are gender insensitive or that all women are gender sensitive. In Mubarak's opinion, the concerns about gender inequality are adequately addressed at national level. With the new decentralisation policy, at the national level there are only a few high-level goals left like policy formulation, capacity building, support supervision, monitoring implementation. The rest is the responsibility of the local governments. They are closer to the communities, so they might know better what the concerns are at a local level. The problem is however, that at the local level people are strongly cultural patriarchal.

³³ interview Mubarak

³⁴ interview Mubarak

5.3.3 A Gender-aware Energy Policy?

Looking at the five characters of a gender-aware energy policy identified in chapter three, the following remarks can be made. First of all, stakeholders were able to participate during the energy policy formulation process, since they were consulted about all the aspects within the energy policy. These stakeholders were not only public institutions, but also international development organizations, NGO's, CBO's and private companies dealing with energy issues. One of the stakeholders was the East African Energy Technology Network. They participated with as one of the objectives to integrate gender and women's issues into the policy. However, specific organizations aiming at women empowerment or gender equality did not participated in the consultation process. Furthermore, although the Minister of Energy and Mineral Development is female, there are hardly women who work in decision-making positions within the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development. The knowledge on gender issues was nevertheless available as well as awareness on gender and energy issues.

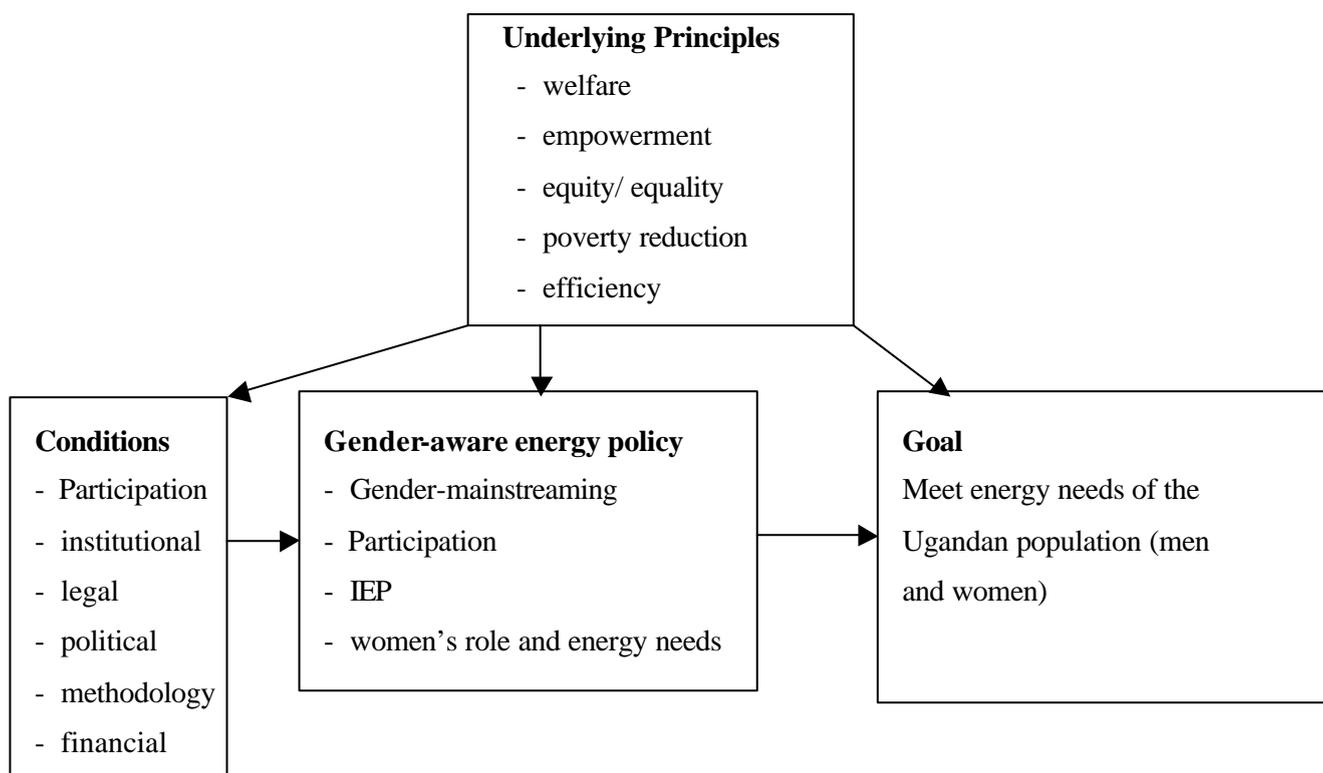
Since the household sector is the biggest energy-using sector in Uganda and women are the primary users and providers of household energy, an energy policy should react on this situation by acknowledging women's role in the energy sector. Furthermore, since they are the main users of energy sources, they represent the demand side of the energy sector in Uganda. Formulating energy policy from an integrated energy planning perspective, what the Ugandan government has done, emphasis is on the demand side. The recognition of women's role and energy needs in the energy policy of Uganda is made explicit in some sections of the policy, but mostly the policy speaks about households. Considering the fact that women are the main users and providers of household energy, these sections in the policy are indirectly aimed for women. However, women's productive role is neglected in the energy policy. Furthermore since the electricity rate is very low in Uganda, the main energy source used in households is biomass and wood. Since it is women's task to collect this firewood and since cooking is women's responsibility, some people working in the Energy Ministry considered an energy policy in Uganda as gender-sensitive in nature. However, it is not that simple. Women's role and their energy needs according to that are needed to be explicitly mentioned in an energy policy. An energy policy will be the framework for designing energy programmes and projects. To ensure that these projects are implemented in a gender-sensitive way and that they integrate women's needs, the role of gender according to energy is needed to be mention very clearly in an energy policy document.

Looking at the five points (availability, affordability, accessibility, sustainability and security) of Annecke that needs to be taken into consideration when integrating gender into energy policy, the following is achieved within the content of the energy policy. The main policy goal in the energy sector is *to meet the energy needs of the Ugandan population for social and economic development in an environmentally sustainable manner*. This main goal is worked out in five objectives of which objective 1 is *to establish the **availability**, potential and demand of the various energy resources in the country*. Objective 2 is *to increase **access** to modern **affordable** and **reliable** energy services as a contribution to poverty eradication*. To combine these objectives with the points of Annecke, they are all mentioned in the energy policy (the words in bold). Also the multi-disciplinarity of energy policy is acknowledged by mentioning not only the political side of energy policy but also the economical, environmental and social aspects (the underlined words). The matrix proposed in the conclusion of chapter two could now be used to translate these objectives into concrete policies for implementation.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, research question 4 is studied; what are the developments in Uganda towards gender-aware energy policy and what conditions the realisation? The figure below is visualizing the process of realizing a gender-aware energy policy in Uganda. As analysed in section 5.2, the conditions were available in Uganda to create a background for realising a gender-aware energy policy. Especially the existence of a National Gender Policy is a demonstration of the political commitment towards achieving gender equality. According to the National Gender Policy, all governmental levels and sectors need to encourage gender-mainstreaming. An energy policy should therefore acknowledge gender and women's issues. Although women are hardly mentioned in the National Energy Policy, the content and the formulation process are however reflecting the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy.

Figure 17: the Process of realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy in Uganda



The National Gender Policy was the result of a number of processes. It was in line of several commitments of the Uganda government. In the first place, it is committed to improve the situation of vulnerable, marginalized groups. The government has ratified several international conventions on human rights and the rights of marginalized groups. Among these groups, women were identified as one of the marginalized ones. As a response to these international requirements and also to the domestic recognition of the importance of the role of those documents, women's rights and gender equality are laid down in the constitution of Uganda. That makes the constitution the domestic implementation of government's recognition of gender equality and women's subordinate position. In order to realise gender mainstreaming, the government has realized several initiatives. In the first place, they established a Ministry on Gender, Labour and Social Development with the concern to implement and monitor gender-mainstreaming. There is a tendency to emphasize women, because empirical statistics are showing that women have a disadvantage position compared to men. So when the Ugandan government is talking about gender-mainstreaming, the emphasis is on women just to address the imbalance, which cannot be addressed by being gender neutral. Furthermore, statistics show that women do not have equal access to and control over productive resources. The government recognises that that inequality has negative implications for the government and the country in general. Hence, the government is committed to make considerable progress in promoting the social and economic development of women. As a result, the National Gender Policy is adopted in 1997,

which is part of the National Development Policy and the development of an institutionalised policy framework to address gender and women's issues. Consequently, the issue of gender-inequality is no longer a matter of a few interests groups, NGOs, or women's organizations, but it became a matter of national policy. The National Gender Policy is a cross-cutting policy, all actors in the development process are required to take action in those specific areas that address gender inequality. It is policy that has a crosscutting relevance and application and therefore an energy policy should also integrate gender issues.

During the field study it was observed that there is quite some awareness on gender issues in Uganda, especially on governmental level and among academics and development workers from NGO's and international donor organizations. This gender awareness is more expected by organizations working on gender-issues, but the field study reveals that gender awareness also existed in organizations working on energy. Even some private companies dealing in solar energy equipment were aware of women's energy needs and were trying in their way to contribute to a more equal distribution of energy resources between men and women. They organise for example training for men and women in installing and maintaining solar energy equipment and offer credit-schemes to men and women who want to buy solar energy equipment. However, as explained in chapter three of this study, different actors are participating in gender-mainstreaming of an energy policy with different underlying principles.

Private companies in Uganda consider women as potential customers and an extension of their market. So their motivation for integrating gender is to increase efficiency. The underlying principle of the government, reflected in the National Gender Policy, to realize gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality or equity. This seems to be the underlying principle to integrate gender into the Energy Policy. However, anti-poverty is also a motivation of the government. Empowerment is a principle mentioned by NGO's and especially of Women's Organizations. International (donor) organisations reflected something of a mixed bag concerning their underlying principles. Gender equality and poverty reduction were often mentioned as reasons to integrate gender into energy policy. Efficiency could be a motivation as well, however this motive was mostly not mentioned directly by international organizations.

What can be concluded is that the developments towards a gender-aware energy policy are promising in Uganda. The conditions for realizing a gender-aware energy policy are available and the characteristics of the National Energy Policy (process and content) are reflecting the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy. However, how gender-aware the energy policy is depends for a large part on the implementation of the policy and the elaboration of policy objectives into concrete projects. Since the Ugandan Energy Policy is only recently finalized (September 2002), they are just

started with the implementation phase, so it is not yet possible to analyse that phase. Concerning the formulation phase of the energy policy in Uganda, it can be said that the availability of a National Gender Policy worked as a catalyst for realizing the conditions and creating gender-awareness in Uganda, that enabled a background for developing a gender-aware energy policy. However, patriarchy forms a huge obstacle in the realization of gender-equality in Uganda and is identified as an obstacle for the implementation of the National Gender Policy. Consequently, it can be expected that patriarchy will form an obstacle for the implementation of a gender-aware energy policy and some stakeholders already identified patriarchy as an obstacle in addressing gender-issues in the energy sector.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the efforts of South Africa and Uganda to genderize their energy policy, a clear idea what engendering energy policy is about is still lacking. There is not much knowledge on what the main characteristics are of such a policy and how national governments can genderize their energy policy. Governments, civil society and development organisations, do not know how to realise gender mainstreaming in this area. The experience of South Africa in genderizing their energy policy and the attempts of the Ugandan government to integrate gender in their energy policy document could provide an example for other governments. The main objective of this study is therefore to contribute to the formulation of a gender-aware energy policy, which could help to overcome gender-inequality in national energy policy by developing and defining the main characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy and analysing under which conditions such a policy can be realised. To realise this objective, the main research question of this study was formulated as followed; What are the characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy and which conditions, based on the experience of South Africa and the developments in Uganda, enable the integration of gender in a national energy policy?

6.1 Conclusions

6.1.1 The Characteristics of a Gender-aware Energy Policy

First of all, five characteristics of a gender-aware energy policy were identified. The first characteristic is hidden in the name; gender-awareness. When describing the relation between gender and energy, a need towards more gender-awareness in the energy sector was identified. In current energy policy gender-issues is receiving no attention and therefore energy policy can be accused for being gender blind. To overcome this gender blindness, energy policy-makers should try to mainstream gender issues. Gender mainstreaming is a process to ensure that the concerns and needs of both women and men are considered in all planning and policy-making and that all policy-makers are aware of the needs of women and men and their roles and responsibilities. A gender-aware energy policy should therefore ensure that the energy needs and energy concerns of both men and women are considered. In South Africa as well as in Uganda, this was the case during the energy policy formulation process. Both governments were aiming to improve unequal control and access over energy resources and to reflect the energy demands of men as well as women in their energy policy. Also bound by their constitution in which gender equality was laid down, both governments were committed to realize gender equality in all sectors and at all levels of society. As a result, gender-mainstreaming should also be realized in the energy sector and be reflected in the energy policy.

The second characteristic of mainstreaming gender into energy policy is to increase the participation of women and men in the sector. Besides some exceptions, women are generally under-represented at the decision-making level in the energy sector and are rarely consulted regarding energy projects. When a government chooses to use the integrated energy planning approach for formulating their energy policy they need to focus on the demand-side of the energy sector. As household managers women are the primary consumers and providers of the household energy. To react on women's energy needs and concerns and to react on their demand, the government should consult those women and to let them participate in order to formulate an energy policy that reflects their energy demands. In South Africa, the Women's Energy Group did participate in the Energy Policy formulation process, as did other stakeholders. All versions of the draft White Paper, including the one that was finally published, reflect a significant shift towards achieving goals of social equity. However, the focus is still predominantly on supply-side energy policies, despite the commitment to social equity. In Uganda stakeholders were able to participate during the energy policy formulation process, since they were consulted about all the aspects within the energy policy. These stakeholders were not only public institutions, but also international development organizations, NGO's, CBO's and private companies dealing with energy issues. However, specific organizations aiming at women empowerment or gender equality did not participated in the consultation process. Furthermore, although the Minister of Energy and Mineral Development is female, there are hardly women who work in decision-making positions within the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development.

A gender-aware energy policy should furthermore recognise women's role in the energy provision and use and their energy needs. Women fulfil a triple role in society; namely; a productive, reproductive and a community role. They will have energy needs according to those roles, like cooking, energy for income generating activities, lighting, etc. The recognition of women's role and their energy needs in the energy policy of South Africa is made explicit in some sections of the policy. However, mostly the policy speaks about households and the 'poor'. Considering the fact that the majority of the poor people are women, these sections in the policy are indirectly aimed for women. Furthermore the remark needs to be made, that in the South African case 'gender' also means the dichotomy between black, coloured and white people. So when documents or policies are using the word 'gender' it is not always clear if they mean men/women or another dichotomy. The energy policy does recognize women's productive role in promoting affirmative action for women working in the energy sector and it acknowledges women's role in the energy economy. The recognition of women's role and energy needs in the energy policy of Uganda is made explicit in some sections of the policy, but mostly the policy speaks about households. Considering the fact that women are the main users and providers of household energy, these sections in the policy are indirectly aimed for women. However, women's productive role is neglected in the energy policy.

When integrating gender into energy policy, an integrated energy planning (IEP) approach should be the guideline. Gender is a crosscutting issue and energy also has multi-disciplinary (political, social, economic and environmental) aspects. A multi-disciplinary perspective towards energy policy-making will provide a framework to look at gender and energy from all these different angles and it will help to understand the relation between gender and energy and what the impact of certain energy policy decisions will be on women in relation to men. Furthermore the main feature of the integrated energy planning is the demand-driven approach towards energy planning. That gives an opportunity to react on women's energy needs in energy policy. Also the fact that IEP recognizes that energy is linked with other sectors of economy and society is an opening for integrating social aspects (like gender) in the energy planning process. The integrated energy planning approach was the leading approach during the energy policy formulation process in South Africa and is used as the framework for the energy policy. One of the main characteristics of an integrated energy planning is that it is recognized that energy is linked with other sectors of a society and that energy has a multidisciplinary character. Both aspects are recognized within the White Paper on Energy Policy of South Africa, by mentioning the economical (e.g. financing and pricing), social (e.g. human resources), political (e.g. governance and institutional capacity) and environmental (e.g. environment and energy efficiency) aspects of energy policy and by linking it to sectors like agriculture, industry and transport. The Ugandan Energy Policy also recognized the multi-disciplinarity of energy in several sections of their energy policy and used IEP as their framework.

One way to enlarge the knowledge on women's energy use and demand is to collect gender-disaggregated data on male and female energy use. The fact that women are using and collecting fuelwood for household purposes or for small enterprises is not visible in the statistics, since they are not using energy services provided by government or companies. They might be interested in those energy services like electricity or other forms of energy, but since their users pattern is not reflected in statistics, energy planners do not know what women's energy demand is and can therefore not design appropriate energy policies. Since IEP is the framework for the development of an energy policy in South Africa and Uganda, there is a need for a database. In South Africa, this need is recognized as well as the current lack of disaggregated data and statistical information on energy use. In order to improve that, development of statistics and research is promoted in the White Paper on Energy Policy. In Uganda, there are gender-disaggregated data available and published, however, not on energy issues. There are statistics available on energy, but these are only very general and not disaggregated at all. Within the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Developments, as well as in the National Energy Policy the need for more detailed and gender-disaggregated data is recognized.

6.1.2 The Conditions for realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy

Six conditions can be identified to realise gender-aware public policy and in the case studies of Uganda and South Africa it was analysed whether these conditions were achieved.³⁵ A first condition to be realised is a participatory framework; involving beneficiaries in public policy through stakeholders-participation by working in collaboration and participation of government, development organisations, civil society organisations, etc. In South Africa during the apartheid-struggle and the transition-period there was a strong women's movement, which participated in the political arena. The political participation of women and the existence of a women's movement were also available in Uganda. Furthermore, in both countries there were affirmative action policies to increase the number of women in several sectors in the society and within the governmental institutions.

A second condition is the availability of a methodological framework. This is necessary to generate and analyse gender-disaggregated data so that policy-makers can have appropriate data so that they can take action to overcome unequal gender relations. Using gender analysis will also create more gender awareness among stakeholders. This condition is lacking in South Africa, but existing in Uganda. In Uganda several booklets are publicized with fact and figures on the status of men and women in Uganda. These publications are containing gender-disaggregated data, so there is a methodological framework in Uganda. The importance of gender-disaggregated data should not be underestimated. It is an important tool to demonstrate gender-inequality and to make policy-makers and other decision-makers aware of the importance to integrate gender into their policies. Furthermore, it is also a framework for monitoring the process towards gender-equality.

Gender awareness of a government, can be demonstrated by equalizing opportunities by modifying the legal framework. Is the legal treatment of men and women equal? Are men and women equal before the law? Are gender-issues integrated into the constitution? A positive answer to these questions can be given in the case of Uganda and South Africa. Both countries forbid discrimination and committed themselves to gender-equality. Part of this legal framework is also the legal and political commitment of governments to international conventions. Both countries signed and ratified CEDAW and participated in the Beijing Platform of Action and the Earth Summit in Johannesburg (2002).

The fourth condition that needs to be fulfilled in order to realise gender mainstreaming is the establishment of a political framework for using targeting measures to narrow the gender gap. The South African government started with the development of a gender policy, but did not finalize it yet. They do however have an affirmative action policy to promote people from disadvantaged groups. Uganda however, has a National Gender Policy since 1997. The existence of a National Gender Policy

³⁵ the appendix contains an overview-figure (figure nr. 19) of the conditions realized in Uganda and South Africa

is a demonstration of the political commitment towards achieving gender equality. According to the National Gender Policy, all governmental levels and sectors need to encourage gender-mainstreaming.

To implement the political framework and to monitor the legal framework, an institutional framework for gender issues needs to be established. For example the creation of a ministry for Women's Affairs or a Gender Ministry, also called national machinery for women. The South African government decided not to use a single structure for mainstreaming gender; as a result initiatives to mainstream gender are not centrally coordinated. For example, the Commission on Gender Equality consists together with the Office of the Status of Women. In Uganda since 1987, there is a separate institution with the concern to implement and monitor gender-mainstreaming; the Ministry on Gender, Labour and Social Development.

Finally, a financial framework is crucial for realising gender-aware policies and to demonstrate political commitment to gender mainstreaming by allocating sufficient resources to gender policies. One way to give sufficient financial support is by gender budgeting. Gender budgeting gives governments the opportunity to redirecting public policies and expenditure to promote gender equality. In principle, public expenditure on social services and infrastructure are allocated on a gender-neutral basis, in practice, women and men use services differently. Government's budgets should therefore be gender disaggregated. In South Africa and in Uganda there are initiatives to realize and implement gender-budgeting.

These conditions can be considered as trajectory to create an enabling (political) environment within a country for gender-aware energy policy. When these points are realized then the circumstances are available to make an energy policy gender aware. A trajectory can be proposed in which order these points should be realised to realise gender-mainstreaming. A possible trajectory is the following; participation, methodological framework, legal, political, institutional and financial framework. Concerning the trajectory in which gender-mainstreaming was realized in South Africa, the following remarks can be made. Gender-mainstreaming did started with participation of different women's groups in the political process. However, since the South African government decided not to use a single structure for mainstreaming gender, initiatives to mainstream gender are not centrally coordinated. It seems that the South African government did not really follow a trajectory in achieving gender-mainstreaming. In Uganda, the process towards gender-mainstreaming started indeed with participation of women's groups, but the next phase was the establishment of an institutional framework, namely the Ministry of Gender. The process moved on with a financial framework, since the Ministry needed resources to operate. The legal framework for mainstreaming gender was embedded in the Constitution of 1995 and a political framework was established with the publication of the National Gender Policy in 1997. One of the issues mentioned in the Gender Policy is gender-

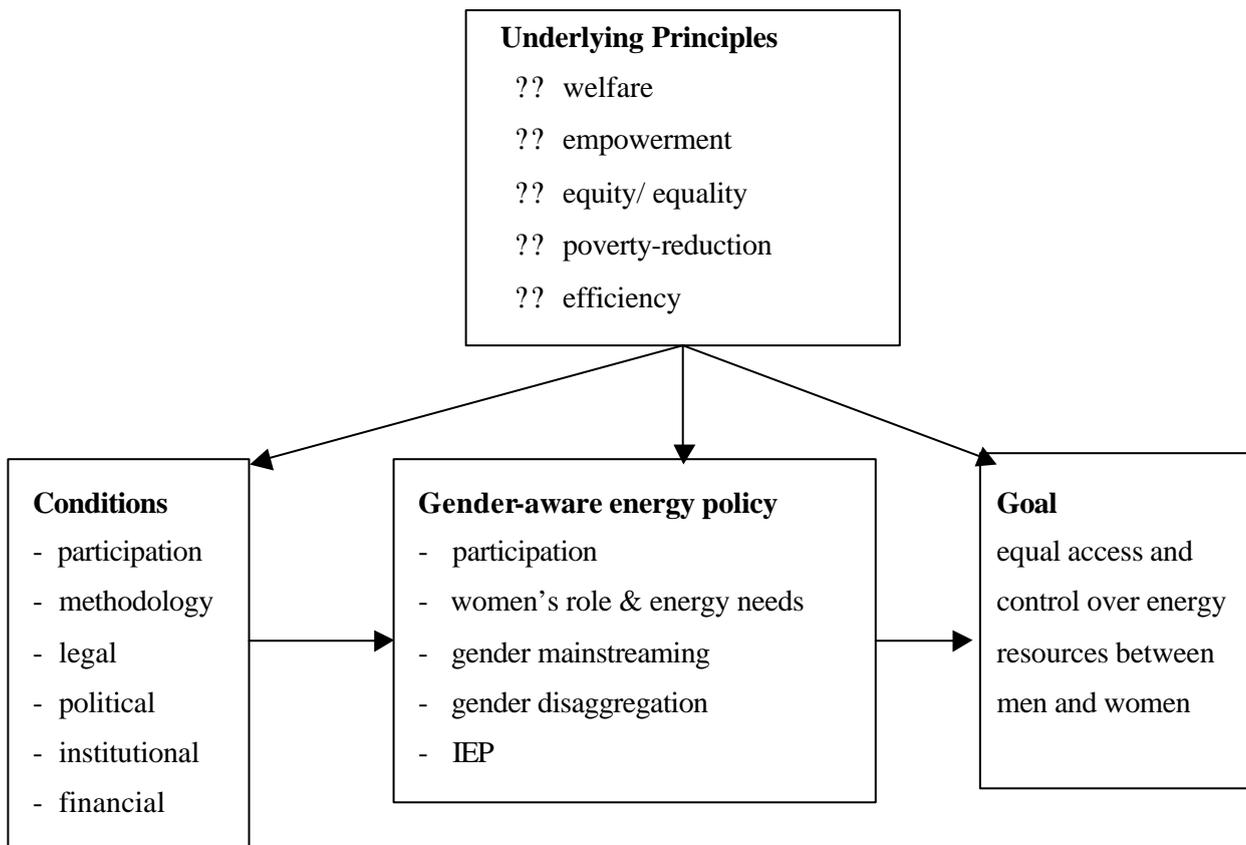
disaggregated data. The establishment of a methodological framework was therefore the last phase in the gender-mainstreaming process of Uganda.

When these conditions are realised, a background is established to enable the creation of a gender-aware energy policy. Fulfilling the conditions mentioned above will demonstrate a commitment within a society to realise gender-mainstreaming. However, several actors within that society will have their own underlying principle for aiming or opposing gender-mainstreaming. Therefore, several underlying principles for genderizing policy are identified, namely; welfare, empowerment, equality/ equity, efficiency and anti-poverty. Which rationale a government chooses to implement gender-aware energy policy determines their motivations and their underlying reasons for realising that. However, within a government, even within a department of a ministry, several motivations can exist simultaneously. Also several stakeholders in a policy formulation process are participating with different (often conflicting) motivations. The case studies revealed that in general private companies are more participating with an efficiency-motive, while NGO's (especially women's organisations) are more aiming at women's empowerment. International (donor) organizations do have different underlying principles for genderizing energy policy, of which poverty reduction and gender-equality. The South African and Ugandan government had as their main motivation for realizing a gender-aware energy policy gender equity/equality and this motivation is also reflected in their energy policy. Because of the differences between motivations of stakeholders, it can be questioned whether multi-stakeholder-participation is effective.

6.1.3 The Process towards a gender-aware Energy Policy

Since the aim of this study is to offer insights in the process to genderize energy policy, the elements of the research questions can be visualised in a process starting with the conditions for realising a gender-aware energy policy, moving on to the policy itself and what characterises it and ends with the final goal; equal access and control over energy resources. Furthermore, several stakeholders are participating in the process and they have their own underlying principle for genderizing an energy policy. These underlying principles are influencing the whole process. The process for realizing a gender-aware energy policy is therefore as followed;

Figure 18: the Process for realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy



Identified in the case studies is the effect of catalysts and obstacles. The legacy of apartheid worked as a catalyst for enabling gender-mainstreaming in South Africa. After the apartheid-struggle the government was committed to increase gender-equality and to empower the during the apartheid marginalized groups Paradoxically, the legacy of apartheid also forms an obstacle in achieving gender-equality within the energy sector. Concerning the formulation phase of the energy policy in Uganda, it can be said that the availability of a National Gender Policy worked as a catalyst for realizing the conditions and creating gender-awareness in Uganda, that enabled a background for developing a gender-aware energy policy. However, patriarchy forms a huge obstacle in the realization of gender-equality in Uganda and is identified as an obstacle for the implementation of the National Gender Policy. Consequently, it can be expected that patriarchy will form an obstacle for the implementation of a gender-aware energy policy and some stakeholders already identified patriarchy as an obstacle in addressing gender-issues in the energy sector.

6.2 Recommendations

First of all, what can be recommended is to do more case studies in order to assess whether the findings of this study can be applied to other countries as well. There might be countries with a gender-aware energy policy that have other characteristics or other conditions that forms the background in which it was formulated. Case studies of countries without a gender-aware energy policy is also interesting, because more in-depth knowledge is needed on why a gender-aware energy policy is needed and what hinders the formulation of a gender-aware energy policy. It would also be interesting to compare countries with a gender-aware energy policy with countries that do not have such a policy, but do have considerable gender-equality in their energy sector. It is assumed in this study that in order to realize equal access and control over energy resources between men and women, a gender-aware energy policy is necessary. But maybe, there are other ways to achieve that.

Since the scope of this study was on the formulation phase of the energy policy process, no conclusions can be drawn on the success or failure of the implementation of a gender-aware energy policy. A policy can be looking good on paper, but implementation will prove whether policy objectives will be achieved. Looking at the five points (availability, affordability, accessibility, sustainability and security) of Annecke that needs to be taken into consideration when integrating gender into energy policy, they are all mentioned several times in the content of the White Paper on Energy Policy of South Africa and also in the Energy Policy of Uganda. However, these five points should also be considered when transforming policy objectives into concrete projects or programmes to implement the energy policy. Combine with the multi-disciplinarity of energy policy, the matrix of Figure 7 can be formed. The cells of the matrix contain examples of how they can be interpreted and translated into policy objectives. The matrix can be used as a model of how to reflect gender issues into the content of an energy policy.

During this study more questions arise than could be answered. Genderizing energy policy is multi-dimensional since gender and energy have different aspects (social, economical, political, legal, cultural). When analysing an energy policy on its gender awareness, more in-depth research is necessary on these aspects. How do they contribute to the gender mainstreaming an energy policy and how are they reflected within the policy? This study focuses on the formulation stage of the energy policy process. A next study should also try to assess what the experiences are of implementing a gender-aware energy policy. Also the relation between gender mainstreaming and the existence of a gender-aware policy needs to be analysed then. Maybe it is possible to implement policies that are not

explicitly gender-aware by projects that are gender-aware, so that the end goal of gender-mainstreaming is still realised.

Finally, what are the underlying principles of the different actors to aim for a gender-aware energy policy and can these be realized? Does the situation of poor rural women improve when there is a gender-aware energy policy? Is giving them a say in the policy process, a guarantee of the reflection of their needs and interests in a national (energy) policy? Is providing women with sufficient, safe and affordable energy services a release of their burden or is it just one part? Do women and men really prioritise energy issues and do they really care whether a national energy policy is reflecting their needs and interests or are they more worried how to feed their kids, how to take care of the businesses or which soccer-team will win the game? An article in a newspaper, nevertheless demonstrated that energy has a high priority in Uganda. In a major accident with a bus and a petrol-truck, 78 people died. The journalist mourned the victims, but also regretted the loss of so many litres petrol. This does not prove that life and energy are giving equal priority; it does demonstrate however that energy is recognized as a basic need, at least by one journalist!

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APPENDIX

List of interviewed persons:

- ?? Ms. Wendy Annecke, PhD on Women, Gender and Energy in South Africa, EDRC, Cape Town, South Africa
- ?? Mr. Moses Byamhanga, Coordinator Energy Development Programme, Uganda Rural Development and Training (URDT), UGANDA
- ?? [Dr. Fatma Denton](#), Researcher and Project Coordinator Energy Programme, Enda Tiers Monde (ENDA), Dakar, SENEGAL (interviewed in Soesterberg)
- ?? Ms. Jane Ekapu, Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development, UGANDA
- ?? Dr. Mr. Jessen, Senior Expert, GTZ, Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development , UGANDA
- ?? Dr. Ms. Consolata Kabonesa, Gender and Human Development Specialist, Makerere University, Department of Women and Gender Studies, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Richard Kanyike, General Manager, Solar Energy Uganda ltd., UGANDA
- ?? Ms. Sheila Khan, Programme Officer, UNDP-Uganda, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Josh Mabonga-Mwisaka, Manager, Uganda Renewable Energy Association (UREA), UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Musooka Kiwanuka A., General Manager, Solar Energy for Africa Ltd., UGANDA
- ?? Mr. James Macbeth, Senior Expert, GTZ, Promotion of Children and Youth, Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Aramanzan Madanda, Assistant Lecturer, Makerere University, Department of Women and Gender Studies, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Mabuys Mubarak, Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Eng. Paul Mubiru, Assistant Commissioner for Energy, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Elisha Mutyaba, Vice-President of EAETDN – Uganda, UGANDA
- ?? Prof. Dr. Jyoti Parikh, Senior Professor at the Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), New Delphi, INDIA, (interviewed in Soesterberg)
- ?? [Ms Makereta Sauturaga](#), Project Manager Department of Energy, Suva, FIJI ISLANDS (interviewed in Soesterberg)
- ?? Mr. Philippe Simonis, Energy Advisor, GTZ, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, UGANDA
- ?? Mr. Godfrey Rweihunga Turyahikayo, Commissioner for Energy, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, UGANDA
- ?? Ms. May Segendo, Chairperson EAETDN-Uganda and lecturer at the Makerere University, Department of Women and Gender Studies, UGANDA

?? Mr. John Turyatembe, Coordinator Gender and Education, Uganda Rural Development and Training (URDT), UGANDA

Visited Organisations:

In Uganda;

- ?? CEEWA-Uganda; Council for Economic Empowerment for Women in Africa
- ?? EAETDN-Uganda; East African Energy Technology and Development Network
- ?? FIDA; Association of Uganda Lawyers
- ?? GTZ-energy, GTZ-gender
- ?? IRDI; Integrated Rural Development Initiatives
- ?? ISIS-WICCE; Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange
- ?? Kilembe Mines Ltd.
- ?? Makerere University; Department of Women and Gender Studies, Faculty of Social Science, Department of Public Policy, Forestry Department
- ?? Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development
- ?? Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development
- ?? Solar Energy for Africa Ltd.
- ?? Solar Energy Uganda Ltd.
- ?? UNDP Uganda; United Nations Development Programme
- ?? URDT; Uganda Rural Development and Training
- ?? UREA; Uganda Renewable Energy Association
- ?? UWTPM; Uganda Women's Tree Planting Movement
- ?? WETSU; Women Engineers, Technicians and Scientists in Uganda
- ?? Worldvision Uganda

In South Africa;

- ?? African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town
- ?? Energy and Development Research Center, University of Cape Town

Figure 19: Conditions for realizing a Gender-aware Energy Policy compared

	Elements	South Africa	Uganda
Participatory framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Number of women working in energy sector ?? Participation of women's movements in the political arena 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Participation of women's movements in the political arena ?? Close relationship civil society organizations and government ?? Number of women working in political arena 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Participation of women's movements in the political arena ?? Strong women's movement ?? The goal of one-third of local government representatives to be women
Methodological Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Gender disaggregated data ?? Tools and gender analytical methods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Lack of gender disaggregated data in energy sector ?? Tools and gender analytical methods available 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? There are gender disaggregated data available and widely published ?? Government staff is trained to use gender analytical tools and methods
Legal framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Position of gender issues in the constitution ?? Signed and ratified international conventions on gender and/or energy issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Gender issues integrated in the constitution ?? Member of SADC declaration to promote gender mainstreaming ?? Signed (1993) and ratified (1995) CEDAW ?? Participated in the Beijing Conference ?? Hosted the Earth Summit (2002) in Johannesburg 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Strong position of gender issues in the constitution ?? Signed and ratified CEDAW in 1985 ?? Participated in the Beijing Conference ?? Signed the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development in 1995 ?? Participated in the Rio Conference (1992) and in the Earth Summit (2002)
Political framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of a gender policy and/or affirmative action policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of an affirmative action policy ?? No single gender policy yet ?? Integration of gender into energy policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of a National Gender Policy since 1995 ?? Affirmative action policy to promote women's political participation
Institutional framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of a national machinery for women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? No single structure but more institutions involved in gender mainstreaming ?? Commission on Gender Equality ?? Office of the Status of Women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Existence of a national machinery for women since 1987 and since 1994 a separate Ministry of Gender
Financial framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Gender budgeting; the allocation of resources to gender issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Gender budgeting available and reviewed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ?? Budget is allocated to the Ministry of Gender and to the implementation of gender policies and programmes