TOWARDS INCLUSIVE WASH POLICY-MAKING

A Case Study of Exploring Barriers to Adopting Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) in the Water and Sanitation Sector in Cape Town

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Abstract

This study investigates different potential barriers to adopting a Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) approach that aims to address gender inequalities in the WASH sector. The study explores the perspectives of civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives through semi-structured interviews, shedding light on the challenges faced in intensifying gender equality perspectives at the local government level in Cape Town, South Africa. Specifically, the study highlights the impact of lack of transparency, limited multistakeholder cooperation, and restricted gender equality awareness as key obstacles.

Drawing on Feminist Democratic Theory (FDT), and Postcolonial Feminism, the study reveals that these challenges affect the entire policy cycle. Notably, the research uncovers new complexities in relation to transparency, multistakeholder cooperation, and gender equality awareness across the input, throughput, and output stages of the policy process. While previous GRB research has predominantly focused on theoretical aspects and the policy process's output stage, this study delves into the input and throughput stages as well. By examining these stages, the study exposes underlying norms related to gender, race, and socioeconomic status as well as structures related to culture and history, thereby adding layers of complexity to the identified challenges. By comprehending and analyzing these underlying structures and norms, policymakers, politicians, and civil society can effectively confront the barriers, thus increasing the prospects for adopting an inclusive GRB approach.

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Key words: Gender Equality, Gender Responsive Budgeting, Gender Sensitive policymaking, WASH, WASH-Gender Nexus, Water and Sanitation, Cape Town, Feminist Democratic Theory, Postcolonial Feminism

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Figure 1. Photo of a mural by the street art artist Afroivan in Cape Town.

Abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress

CS – Civil Society

CSO – Civil Society Organization

DA – Democratic Alliance

DWS – National Department for Water and Sanitation

FDT – Feminist Democratic Theory

FHH – Female-Headed Households

GAD – Gender and Development

GBV – Gender Based Violence

GRB – Gender Responsive Budgeting

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

SSA – Sub-Saharan Africa

UN – The United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNGA – The United Nations General Assembly

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

WAD – Women and Development

WASH – Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene

WBI – Women Budget Initiative

WID – Women in Development

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1.0 Introduction

On 28 July 2010, the UNGA adopted a historical resolution acknowledging *"the right to safe and clean drinking water and sanitation as a human right that is essential for the full enjoyment of life and all human rights"* (A/RES/64/292, p.2). Furthermore, the establishment of Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 brought even more attention to the water and sanitation agenda since it got its own goal, SDG 6: Clean Water and Sanitation (the Global Goals, n.d.). 2023 is the first year since 1977 that marks the major UN conference dedicated to water and sanitation. Under the conference in March, the *United Nations World Water Development Report 2023* was launched, illustrating alarming numbers. The report states that around 2 billion people worldwide do not have access to safe drinking water, and 3.6 billion people – 46% of the world's population – still lack access to sanitation services (UNESCO, 2023). The numbers indicates that the world has still a long way to go before reaching SDG 6 and ensuring equitable access to safe water, sanitation, and hygiene for all.

The Sub-Saharan African (SSA) region is the worst affected region in the world regarding access to *Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene* (henceforth WASH) (Tsekleves et al., 2022). Despite very different levels of development between countries in the SSA region, almost all countries face significant challenges in securing access to WASH for all residents (Tsekleves et al., 2022). In 1997, three years after the first democratic election in South Africa, the country established *The Water Service Act*, recognizing the equal right to access basic water supply and sanitation is obligatory to ensure health and well-being for all South African citizens (Wiltgen Georgi et al., 2021). Even though South Africa is considered one of the most developed countries on the continent, millions of South Africans still today lack access to dignified and safe water and sanitation, especially people living in pockets of informal settlements (Greenpeace, 2022). Several organizations in the country, including *Sonke Gender Justice*, have identified how lack of access to water and sanitation affects the population disproportionately based on intersections between gender, race, and socioeconomic status (Sonke Gender Justice, 2019). While the *National Department for Water and Sanitation* (DWS) bears the primary responsibility for securing and protecting the country's water resources and supply, the local governments are responsible for providing water and sanitation services as well as building and protecting water and sanitation infrastructure (Social Justice Coalition, 2014). In 2019, one year after a terrible drought in the country, the City of Cape Town adopted a new *Water Strategy – Our Shared Water Future* to accelerate the work of providing safe and dignified water and sanitation

services to all citizens. The strategy consists of five commitments; Safe access to water and sanitation; Wise use; Sufficient water from diverse sources; Shared benefits from regional resources; and A water-sensitive city. The first commitment states that the local government will work hard to ensure safe water and sanitation access to all residents. Further, it also states that the city needs to cooperate with communities in informal settlements and with other stakeholders to increase trust and safety in the process of delivering inclusive water and sanitation access to these areas of the city (City of Cape Town, 2019). Despite policy recommendations from several international organizations (see for example UN Women, 2018a; UNICEF, 2017; UNESCO, 2021) as well as findings from NGOs in the country (see for example Sonke Gender Justice, 2019; Social Justice Coalition, 2014), key water and sanitation documents in Cape Town, including the *Water and Sanitation Strategy*, do not cover the WASH-gender nexus or state how the strategy in Cape Town will work to address gender inequalities in the water and sanitation sector.

Gender Responsive Budgeting (henceforth GRB) as a tool to identify gender blindness in policies, strategies, and budgets and to mainstream gender equality perspectives throughout the policy process has gained more attention in the last decades, not least by international organizations such as UN Women, UNICEF and UNESCO. Many African countries, including South Africa, became pioneers in adopting GRB initiatives nationally during the 1990s and early 2000s. Recognizing gender inequalities in Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) adopted in 2008 (revised in 2018) the *Protocol on Gender and Development*. Article 15 of the Protocol suggests that all member states should promote gender sensitive and responsive micro- and macro-level policies and budgets and ensure equal participation in policy formulation (SADC, 2018). Even if South Africa has initiated several GRB initiatives at a national level, the Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs stated in 2020 that South Africa's national budgets and policies are still largely gender blind (The Republic of South Africa, 2020). The unsuccessful national level initiatives have turned the attention to which role local governments can play regarding GRB in sectors that fall under their mandates, such as water and sanitation. Several countries have proven successful in local level GRB implementation. For example, UN Women has supported provincial and local governments in Serbia and Turkey to adopt GRB. In Serbia, GRB in the Agriculture and Water Management sector of several local governments has had promising results, which are now used as good practices for the UN (UN Women, 2018b). Moreover, realizing a strong GRB

structure and finding good practices at the local level can influence a bottom-up process at the national level.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to widen and deepen the understanding of the WASH-gender nexus in Cape Town and to contribute to the existing research gap in the GRB field (further explained in Chapter 2.). More specifically, the thesis strives to identify barriers to adopting an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector by interviewing civil servants, local politicians, and CS representatives. The study considers mechanisms derived from *Feminist Democratic Theory* (henceforth FDT) in order to emphasize the importance of paying attention to the full policy-process (input, throughput, and output) when identifying barriers to intensify the gender equality perspectives in key water and sanitation policies and strategies. Furthermore, in order to contribute to a greater understanding on how structures of power are embedded in identified challenges, a postcolonial feminist approach guides the study's analysis and discussion.

The aim of the study is guided by the overarching research question:

- *How and why should input, throughput, and output from a FDT lens be considered while identifying challenges to adopt an inclusive GRB?*

This is further divided into the following sub-questions:

- *How and why does transparency influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?*

- *How and why does multistakeholder cooperation influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?*

- *How and why does gender equality awareness influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?*

1.2 Delimitations

This study only focuses on one part of GRB, called *Gender Responsive Logics*. GRB involves, on the one hand, technical tools, and techniques to guide and support budget allocations and decisions and, on the other hand, *Gender Responsive Logics*. The latter refers to making gender

equality issues more visible by promoting gender analyses on a specific sector and including these findings in the key policy documents that further budget decisions, by-laws, and strategies can be based on (Steccolini, 2019). That said, the study does not analyze the challenges to adopting GRB regarding specific tools and techniques. Instead, the study aims to identify challenges to intensify gender analyses and gender equality commitments in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector. Furthermore, the study does not focus on the third component (hygiene) of the WASH-field. The reason behind this delimitation is the fact that the Water and Sanitation Department, the *Water Strategy – Our Shared Water Future* (City of Cape Town, 2019) and the *Integrated Development plan 2017-2022* (City of Cape Town, 2022) only cover the water and sanitation components of the WASH-field. Furthermore, it is worth keeping in mind while reading the study that only a few selected actors' perspectives are covered: civil servants, local politicians, and CS representatives. Therefore, perspectives from other actors such as from the private sector are not included in the study.

2.0 Literature Review

This chapter presents the existing literature relevant to the aim of this study. The literature review maps out current research in the area of WASH in urban South Africa, the WASH-gender nexus, as well as on GRB. At the end of the chapter, the identified research gaps are presented to justify the study's relevance.

2.1 Access to Water and Sanitation Services in Urban South Africa

The water and sanitation infrastructure in South Africa is intertwined with its political history. The unequal distribution of WASH infrastructure can be traced back to the country's apartheid policies and racial segregation practices (Swanson, 1977). During apartheid, the allocation of infrastructure, including WASH facilities, was based on race. Non-white inhabitants were replaced in areas where proper infrastructure was not established.

Following 1994, South Africa's *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP) recognized that only one person in seven had access to adequate sanitation and aimed to provide clean water and sanitation for all. However, even though 56% of the country's population lacked access to adequate sanitation, the RDP did not provide a detailed plan for achieving this goal and only suggested the establishment of a national water and sanitation program (van Koppen, Schreiner & Fakir, 2011). Additionally, because the South African Constitution stipulates that water and sanitation provision matters for local (municipal) governments, the national government has only provided broad guidelines and left implementation to municipalities (Norvixoxo, Schroeder & Spiegel, 2021).

Despite some progress since the end of apartheid, informal settlements across South Africa continue to face inadequate access to water and sanitation (Gounden & Alcock, 2017). Moreover, the growing population in informal settlements increases the pressure on the current water and sanitation infrastructure. Nevertheless, infrastructure in these areas is often overlooked when infrastructure and facilities are planned (Mels et al., 2009). Even if access to water and sanitation has increased in Cape Town since the apartheid era, Norvixoxo et al. (2021) conclude, by using ethnographic data from three of Cape Town's biggest informal settlement areas, that even if Cape Town has for several years developed and tested different water sanitation interventions in informal settlements, residents still lack access to safe, dignified, hygienic sanitation facilities. Eales (2011) suggests that development should be inclusive and

shaped through engagement and dialogue with the users in the most affected areas rather than solely relying on external delivery targets. This approach differs from the traditional engineering and technocratic viewpoint of finding a technical solution to a problem and considering the job done. Repeated social engagement with users is crucial for prioritizing people's dignity over technical assessment criteria and ensuring the socio-cultural functionality of publicly-funded technology.

2.2 The WASH-gender nexus

WASH issues are not gender neutral. For example, evidence suggests that women and girls bear the primary responsibility for household water management (Fonjong & Fokum, 2015) but are also disproportionately affected by limited access to water and sanitation (Bisung et al., 2015; Tantoh & Simatele, 2017; Silvestri et al., 2018). These structures are reinforced by gender norms such as women's socio-economic and cultural roles (Chant, 2013). For example, Moser (1993) has developed a *"triple role"* framework, demonstrating that women adopt *productive roles*, including informal work, to contribute to household income, *community roles*, such as voluntary engagement in community development, and *reproductive roles*, including childcare. In light of the triple role framework, WASH-linked inequalities often disproportionately affect women and girls. In addition, women face unique WASH infrastructure requirements due to various biological and cultural factors such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause. Limited access to water and sanitation can, therefore, have a negative impact on reproductive health (Goddard & Mia, 2020; Kayser et al., 2019). These gender-specific processes demand specific attention and must be addressed in WASH planning to adequately meet women's and girls' needs (Sweetman & Medland, 2017). Further, gender norms also shape how women and girls engage in the water and sanitation dialogue (Sweetman & Medland, 2017). Nonetheless, these gendered infrastructural needs are rarely addressed or considered in informal settlements.

Several studies show how unequally and poorly planned WASH facilities and services also increase the risk of women and girls being exposed to sexual harassment and gender based violence (GBV) (Gonsalves et al., 2025; Scorgie et al., 2016; Kulkarni et al., 2017). Kulkarni et al. (2017) conclude that sanitation-related violence and harassment of women in informal settlement areas of two Indian cities is a broad issue that women and girls face daily. The paper paints a distributive picture of the increased risk for GBV concerning distances to safe sanitation. WASH-related GBV can be identified as Rodger's and O'Neill's (2012) concept of

passive infrastructural violence, which refers to the negative consequences of infrastructural policies on the population. Passive infrastructural violence can both be physical and psychological (Chaplin & Kalita, 2017), where girls miss school or after-school activities as a direct result of not being able to meet sanitation needs or women miss income-generating activities, which will reproduce and accelerate gender-based marginalization. Using in-depth interviews and focus groups with women from poor urban and rural areas in South Africa, Scorgie et al. (2016) describe how women and girls fear being exposed to physical and psychological violence while walking to a pit latrine alone, especially during the night. Furthermore, the article describes how women see menstruation as strongly stigmatized in South African society, which means that women and girls feel a strong need for privacy during menstruation, which in practice means that they may need to walk to a common pit latrine during both day- and nighttime. The physical and psychological violence connected to limited access to WASH infrastructure is identified by Datta and Ahmed (2020) as intimate and structural violence. Barriers to accessing safe and reliable infrastructure could be considered a form of social exclusion. As a response to the WASH-gender inequalities, Carrard et al. (2013) have developed a framework to identify possible factors and initiatives to promote gender equality in the WASH sector, including changes in roles and attitudes at an individual, community, and institutional level as well as stronger relationships between national and local governments, government departments social networks (including women's rights organizations), and the private sector.

2.3 Why GRB in WASH Planning?

The gender and development field has come a long way in mainstreaming gender into development interventions. With the shift from early approaches such as Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD), to the approach Gender and Development (GAD), during the late 1980s, women were for the first time viewed as central development agents in creating political and social conditions to reduce gender inequalities (Mahadevia et al., 2019). Over the last 20 years, where GAD has been the primary approach in global gender development studies, gender mainstreaming has been more commonly used by governments, multilateral organizations, and civil society. Gender mainstreaming is based on the idea that men are not only oppressors of women but are also disadvantaged or disempowered by current social norms and arrangements (Mahadevia et al., 2019). According to Fainstein and Servon (2005), gender mainstreaming in planning and decision-making refers to the distinct

requirements of the participation of women and men in all stages of the planning process, together with the development of practical tools with a clear objective of reducing inequalities.

GRB is a strategy for addressing gender inequalities by acknowledging the gender patterns that exist within society (Sushant & Laha, 2021). GRB emerged to mainstream gender issues and ensured more inclusive development within the broader policy framework. GRB is not limited to budgeting. Rather, GRB also includes the broader policy continuum (e. g. whether policies are gender-friendly, neutral, or gender blind) and a valuation of the impacts of strategies and policies on women and men (Elson, 2002). GRB needs to be context and sector-specific and encompasses various methods, tools, and systems that integrate a gender perspective into policymaking to promote gender mainstreamed decisions and policy processes. GRB is often divided into, on the one hand, technical tools and techniques to guide and support budget allocations and decisions and, on the other hand, *Gender Responsive Logics.* The latter refers to the process of making gender equality issues more visible by promoting gender analyses on a specific sector and including these findings in the key policy documents that further budget decisions, by-laws, and strategies can be based on (Steccolini, 2019). When governments and local governments prepare their strategies and policies, they prioritize specific groups based on their social, cultural, ethnic, and economic conditions (Sushant & Laha, 2021). In countries that have adopted GRB, women are mainly the focus group. However, GRB is a tool designed to promote gender equality in society and does not distinguish between men and women by creating separate policies, strategies, or budgets for women but by mainstreaming a gender equality lens into key policies, strategies, and budgets (Budlender, 2003).

Although the recognition of why gender perspectives and gender mainstreaming are essential aspects that should be addressed in development, barriers to women's empowerment remain widespread, especially among socio-economic weak urban areas (Chant, 2013), which hinders the fulfilment of basic human needs and the access to necessary infrastructure, such as water and sanitation. Previous research on GRB initiatives in the water and sanitation sector is limited. However, given the stated gender inequalities in the WASH-gender nexus sector presented in the previous section, the water and sanitation sector is suitable for gender mainstreaming activities, such as GRB (Mahadevia et al., 2017), and can result in several positive results. Firstly, gender mainstreaming processes in the water and sanitation sector can help promote gender equality by ensuring that the policy and budgeting process considers women's and men's specific needs and priorities. This helps address gender-based inequalities in the sector

(Sweetman & Medland, 2017). Gender mainstreaming, such as GRB, can help improve service delivery in the water and sanitation sector by ensuring that resources are allocated to meet the needs of different groups of people (Mahadevia et al., 2019). Thirdly, it can also enhance accountability and transparency in the policy process by making it clear how the government addresses gender equality measures in the water and sanitation sector, which also makes it possible for CSOs and the public to hold the government accountable, as well as monitor policy and budget effectivity and efficiently (Steccolini, 2019). To conclude, the *Gender Responsive Logics* of GRB in the water and sanitation sector provides a pivotal opportunity to integrate gender equality priorities into crucial water and sanitation documents, which can guide the decision-making processes, including the budget process.

2.4 Challenges for Adopting GRB

A certain degree of agreement exists on the positive impacts of GRB among scholars, where initiatives have resulted in revisions of policies, changes in behavior among stakeholders, and resource and service allocation (Mahadevia et al., 2017; Steccolini, 2019). However, despite its positive impacts, the processes to adopt, implement, and maintain GRB are inevitably influenced (and sometimes impeded) by various contextual, cultural, institutional, and political factors (Steccolini, 2019). Consequently, GRB is less widespread than expected, and its full potential has yet to be realized (Mahadevia et al., 2017), which draws attention to identifying possible challenges that need to be addressed to increase and intensify sustainable GRB initiatives.

2.4.1 Lack of Transparency

Budlender (2003) has identified limited transparency as a central challenge for adopting a comprehensive GRB framework. Budoo-Scholtz (2022) exemplifies how the national level GRB initiative in South Africa in 2020 failed due to limited transparency on how the different departmental budgets and key policy documents aimed to address gender inequalities, the amount of money spent on each area, and how present policies and budgets impacted the population. Steccolini (2019) points to the importance of producing necessary gender-disaggregated data on the policy outcomes within a particular policy sector to increase transparency and awareness.

According to Steccolini (2019), increased transparency and explicated gender equality commitment in policies can lead to increased motivation for stakeholders, such as CSOs, to

engage in the work of developing and adopting GRB frameworks. If those who can benefit from the adoption of GRB are aware of gender inequalities related to specific sectors, the possible positive effects of GRB initiatives, and how they can benefit from strengthened GRB frameworks, the multistakeholder engagement in the GRB debate can increase. Improved awareness and transparency in the policy process can also put stakeholders, for example, CSOs, in a position to hold governments accountable (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022).

2.4.2 Lack of Synergies between Stakeholders

Steccolini (2019) has identified the involvement of different stakeholders as one of the main crucial aspects of establishing an effective GRB initiative. CSOs, and other relevant local stakeholders, can play an essential role in providing contextual knowledge and gender equality expertise. However, GRB initiatives on a national level in South Africa have been ineffective due to a lack of synergies and cooperation between key stakeholders; MPs, ministers, CSOs, private sector, among others (Budlender, 2003; Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Budoo-Scholtz (2022) exemplifies the lack of cooperation by using the example of a GRB initiative called the Women Budget Initiative (WBI), which was introduced by the South African Parliament in 2016. The WBI, the most consistent and comprehensive GRB initiative on a national level in South Africa, aimed to assess the impacts of government expenditure on women, girls, men, and boys. The initiative resulted in five books, a wide range of online publications on how different departments' budgets affect women and girls, and recommendations on strengthening the GRB approach. However, even if their reports and publications were considered an essential recourse for the government to continue strengthening the GRB approach, the government referred to almost none of the reports and recommendations in their continued work. Steccolini (2019) argues for strengthened cooperation between key stakeholders to accelerate the GRB framework and avoid wasting resources. For example, if CSOs analyze budgets from a gender perspective, the government departments should refer to this information in their budget and recourse allocation process. The lack of solid cooperation between the local government, civil servants, and CSOs should, therefore, also be a key obstacle for the local government of Cape Town in their work to establish a long-lasting and robust GRB framework since involving women in the program, policy, and budget processes are widely known by multilateral organizations as well as many local and national NGOs as highly important in order for WASH projects and planning to be sustainable and effective and to shift harmful gender rules connected to women in leadership (Sweetman & Medland, 2017).

Policy analysts and researchers have been comparing different water governance regimes to find best practices and identify research gaps. For example, Vaio et al. (2021) have conducted a qualitative systematic literature review to compare current articles on water governance to find best practices. The importance of cooperation and multistakeholder participation in water governance is a recurring pattern among scholars (ibid). Multiple stakeholders are a source of understanding local structures and how water governance affects different groups in society. On this note, several studies have pushed moving from market models and hierarchical structures to governance based on broad networks with cooperation between private, public, and civil actors (Gupta & Pahl-Wostl, 2013).

2.4.3 Awareness and Gender Knowledge

Although the leading international development organizations prioritize recognizing gender perspectives in development, gender equality priorities remain a significant challenge in our time. They are often considered an "additional charge" that falls on overworked officials who primarily work with other conditions (Mishra & Navantina, 2012). Unfortunately, many governments, local governments and political parties worldwide still consider gender equality a low, non-urgent priority (Steccolini, 2019). The lack of political will and the lack of gender equality agenda setting, therefore, becomes a primary challenge to the adoption of GRB. Even if the water and sanitation sector has gained much attention in Cape Town's agenda-setting since the drought in 2018, the gender perspective has not been highlighted as a leading emergency or priority (Tekwa & Adesina, 2023). Government officials working within the water and sanitation sector must understand the gendered nature of the WASH sector to address gender sensitivity in the policies.

External actors, such as CSOs and private actors, can play an essential role in increasing awareness by producing gender-disaggregated data and analysis. However, if the data is produced by external actors such as CSOs or private sectors, governments, local governments, and relevant departments need to be aware of this information and use this knowledge in policy development processes to meet the criteria of GRB (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Therefore, different actors play a prominent role in increasing gender knowledge among policy makers. It is worth noting that data produced by CSOs or private actors might be unstable. Budoo-Scholtz (2022), for example, shows how the South African organization IDASA researched how different government departments' budgets affect women and girls in the country. However, after working with the implementation process of GRB for five years, they stopped their initiative

due to a lack of financial resources. Hence, to ensure long-term commitments, government officials and relevant departments should be involved in the data and research processes (Budlender, 2003). Furthermore, Mishra and Sinha (2012) also identify that internal departmental cooperation can increase gender awareness among government officials. Mishra and Sinha (2012) describe the example from Cambodia, where the Ministry of Women's Affairs established a gender working group where gender focal points from different departments and ministries meet every six weeks to share knowledge, findings, and concerns.

2.5 Research Gap

As discussed in previous sections in this chapter, relevant research for this study is mainly research on the WASH-gender nexus and the GRB research field. While progress has been made in the WASH-gender nexus and GRB research fields, several research gaps still need to be addressed.

Articles in the field of WASH-gender nexus generally focus on understanding the gendered nature of the WASH sector and identifying how gender norms affect access, use, and behaviors of WASH services (Sweetman & Medland, 2017; Rodger & O'Neill, 2012; Scorgie et al., 2016; Datta & Ahmed, 2020). Furthermore, scholars also focus on addressing gender inequalities by developing strategies for promoting gender equality in WASH interventions and development programs (Carrard et al., 2013; Tsekleves, 2022). These strategies often include effective strategies for engaging stakeholders, monitoring, capacity building, and evaluating policy implementation. However, even if several international organizations have identified GRB as a best practice in the WASH sector (UNICEF, 2017; UNESCO, 2019), academic articles focusing on GRB as a possible intervention to address gender inequalities in the WASH sector are strongly limited. Only one article combining the two research fields was identified (Mahadevia et al., 2017). The article focuses on the sectors water, sanitation, housing, and public transportation. By comparing two Indian cities, GRB is identified as a tool for making the sectors more gender equal.

Furthermore, one of the leading gaps in the current research on GRB is the need for adoption, implementation, and effectiveness studies. Many studies have focused on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of GRB. Still, there is a need for more research on the actual adoption and implementation of GRB. For example, this would involve examining the political, cultural, historical, and social factors and norms that influence the adoption and implementation of GRB

and the interests and power dynamics that shape gender sensitive policies, strategies, and budgets. Such research would help identify strategies for overcoming resistance to GRB and ensuring its long-term sustainability. Some studies presented above focus, in line with this study, on the challenges of adopting GRB (Steccolini, 2019; Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). However, these studies focus on a national level, and they do not focus on a specific sector. This study strives to fill a part of that gap by looking at challenges to adopting GRB at a local level in Cape Town within a particular sector (water and sanitation). Furthermore, by applying the FDT and the input, throughput, and output stages of the policy-making process, this study distinguishes between challenges that appear at the beginning, within the policy process, or at the end of the policy process. Such analysis can contribute to the identification of strategies for overcoming multilayered and multi-staged resistance to GRB at a local level.

Furthermore, another gap in the current research on GRB is the limited attention given to the intersectionality of gender with other social categories, such as race and socioeconomic status. While GRB has effectively highlighted the gender dimension of policies and budgets, examining how these policies intersect with other dimensions of social inequality is necessary. This would require a more nuanced understanding of how gender interacts with different social categories and how these intersections can be addressed in policy processes. This study starts to fill this gap by including an intersectional lens from a postcolonial feminist approach in the analysis to understand better what role contextual mechanisms play in the water and sanitation sector in Cape Town.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

In this section, I will build on the contextual mechanisms (transparency, multistakeholder cooperation, and gender equality awareness) identified in the literature review above by connecting them to the FDT. The FDT emphasizes the importance of gender mainstreaming in the entire policy process; input, throughput, and output. Next, the chapter presents a figure of the theoretical framework *(Figure 2)* which guides the structure and organization of the data-gathering process and the analysis in Chapters 4 and 6. Finally, keeping South Africa's apartheid history in mind, the contextual mechanisms (transparency; multistakeholder cooperation; and gender equality awareness) are analyzed from a postcolonial intersectional feminist approach, which is presented at the end of the chapter.

3.1 Feminist Democratic Theory (FDT)

Scholars, policymakers, and international organizations have highlighted the importance of *gender mainstreaming* since the introduction of the *Beijing Conference* in 1995 (Mannell, 2012). Briefly defined, gender mainstreaming is both a form of *policy practice* which covers a clear gender perspective and a *theory development strategy.* As a policy practice, gender mainstreaming aims to promote gender equality by focusing on how policies, programs, and budgets can be more inclusive and fairer and by making the gendered nature of policy processes and outcomes more visible. As a theory, gender mainstreaming could be defined as revising key concepts in existing theories rather than establishing a separate gender theory (Holvoet & Inberg, 2016; Behning & Amparo, 2001). This thesis is employs a FDT lens, a gender mainstreaming theory, based on the ideas of *Deliberative Democracy*. Deliberative Democracy aspires to form a democratic society built on communicative principles to allow citizens to influence policy decisions (Young, 1996, p. 121). Furthermore, Deliberative Democracy goes beyond more traditional branches of representative democracy by placing more significant emphasis on the active involvement of the public in the political process and not only looking at equal voting representation. Hence, Deliberative Democracy models strive to guarantee both citizens vote and voice (Bächtiger, et al., 2014).

The process of creating and adopting GRB approaches are connected to Deliberative Democracy and, more specifically, to FDT. FDT highlights the importance of equal and meaningful participation in agenda-setting and the policy process. Furthermore, the theory also highlights the importance of key policies to reflect societies' intersectional gender challenges

and issues in order to guarantee equity (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Klatzer and Mader (2006) build upon the idea of input, throughput, and output legitimacy often discussed in democratic theories. By distinguishing between the input, throughput, and output through an FDT lens, the importance of gender mainstreaming throughout the policy cycle and not only looking at the gendered nature of policy outcomes are highlighted. Since the core understanding of GRB is to gender mainstream the entire policy process, the idea of input, throughput, and output from FDT must be incorporated in the identification of challenges to deepen the understanding of how contextual mechanisms impact the adoption of a GRB approach and how to face these challenges further (Klatzer & Mader, 2006).

3.1.1 Input Legitimacy

In democratic theories, *input legitimacy* often refers to citizens' political participation and the government's responsibility to create a platform for citizens to actively and inclusively participate in decision-making processes (Majone, 1998; Bellamy, 2010). Input legitimacy from an FDT point of view focuses on political, economic, and social structures that impact agenda-setting and decision-making (McAfee & Snyder, 2007). One cornerstone in input legitimacy from an FDT lens is equal participation in the policy process, where everyone has the same chances to react, initiate speech acts, question, and debate the policy formulation (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Therefore, political structures could, for example, be the efforts taken by the local government of Cape Town to create an active and inclusive participation of CSOs and communities in the water and sanitation policy-making process. Furthermore, social structures, such as social norms on women's empowerment in society and economic structures, such as lack of resources, could also hinder a meaningful influence of citizens. According to Benhabib (1996), democratic decisions should only be legitimized if they include equal participation where everyone has the same opportunity to question and initiate speech acts regarding decision-making. This speaks to the importance of also looking at the possibilities for CSOs to actively participate in the policy process from an intersectional perspective, where intersections between, for example, gender, race, class, ethnicity, and religion are considered.

3.1.2 Throughput Legitimacy

Throughput legitimacy is often defined as the procedural criterion of the democratic process. In more detail, this refers to the quality of internal governing processes of the actors or institutions responsible for policy formulation. In practice, this can be linked to the transparency of the policy-making and decision-making processes and the accountability of the policymakers

and/or decision-makers (Schmidt, 2013). Through the lens of FDT, throughput legitimacy underlines the importance that the government process is open and transparent about how the process includes gender equality perspectives to ensure inclusive and fair policy outcomes (Bodoo-Scholtz, 2022). In the case of water and sanitation planning in Cape Town, this means that in order for the local government to deliver throughput legitimacy, they need to be transparent and open on how decisions regarding water and sanitation are made as well as their efforts to address current gender equality issues concerning water and sanitation in informal settlements in the municipality.

3.1.3 Output Legitimacy

Output legitimacy is a result criterion, which refers to the outcomes and policy effectiveness (Majone, 1998; Bellamy, 2010). According to Scharpf (1997), output legitimacy has both an *objective component* and a *subjective component*. While the objective component is tied to the successfulness of the policy outcome in solving social issues, the subjective component refers to the citizens' satisfaction with the policy content, which is likely tied to the extent to which they can recognize their preferences in the policy (Boedeltje & Cornips, 2004). Furthermore, governments need to be transparent and open with the outcomes of certain policy areas in order for the public to question and react to the policy outcomes. A sufficient group of scholars state that more effective and intelligent policy outcomes are often related to great and inclusive cooperation between different stakeholders (see, for example, Kooiman, 1993; Barnes, 1999). The argument is based on the assumption that no single actor has all information, expertise and knowledge to solve complex social problems on their own (Kooiman, 1993). In this thesis, output legitimacy is connected to both the objective and subjective components. The objective component discusses the local government's transparency of how the current water and sanitation approach impacts the population through a gender lens. The subjective component, e.g., citizens' satisfaction with the policy component, is used in the analysis to show how the current water and sanitation approach fails to cover perspectives from different groups and actors in Cape Town, which is considered a major challenge for adopting a GRB.

3.1.4 The Input, Throughput, and Output Chain

Even though the FDT distinguishes between the input, throughput, and output sections of the policy chain (Klatzer & Mader, 2006), it should be clarified here that all three stages of legitimacy are heavily interrelated. It is essential to look at all three stages of legitimacy in the process of adopting GRB because GRB not only concerns policy output but also consists of the

formulation and process of policies as well as social, political, and economic structures that impact the policy process. For example, GRB requires the government, or local government, to ensure that the policy formulation is mainstreamed, that the formulation and decisions are executed while taking gender equality perspectives into account, and that the output is gender mainstreamed. As demonstrated in *Figure 2*, I have combined the FDT input, throughput, and output stages with the core GRB adoption challenges identified in the literature review. *Figure 2* guides the data-gathering process and analysis to pinpoint how challenges derive from all three policy chain stages.
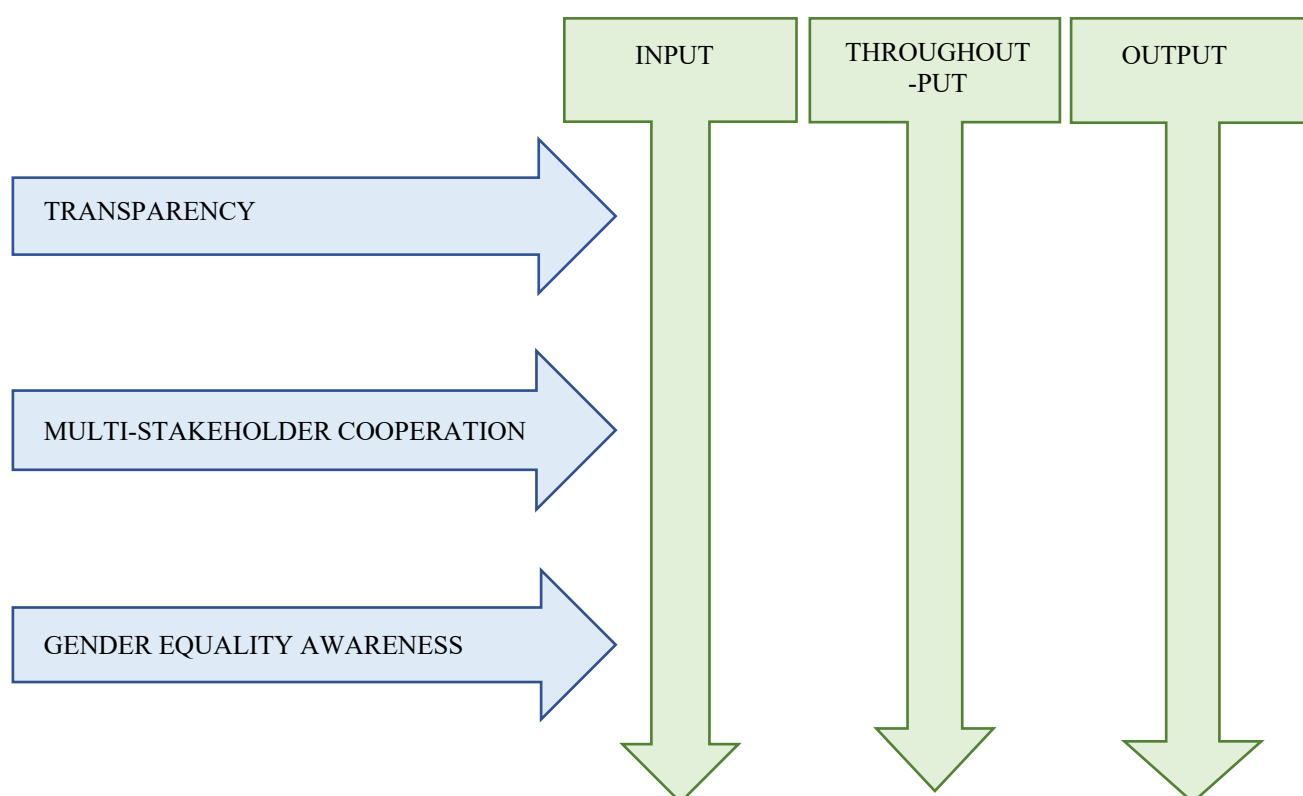
Figure 2. Theoretical framework based on the Feminist Democratic Theory and existing research on challenges to adopt GRB.

3.2 Intersectionality from a Postcolonial Feminist Approach

South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid, as presented in the literature review in Chapter 2, still impacts the WASH facilities in South Africa today. Therefore, it is essential to look at social development from a postcolonial feminist approach that recognizes the intersections between sources of oppression, such as gender, race, and socioeconomic status. Therefore, the analysis in Chapter 6 is guided by the FDT lens *(Figure 2)* that also recognizes the intersections derived from a postcolonial feminist approach.

de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) describe intersectionality as an alternative to gender studies, which so far have constructed gender without considering the inequality based on ideas of race, class, ethnicity, religion, ability, sexuality, and age (p. 7). Intersectionality highlights the problem with defining gender as a power relationship between women and men because power structures are much more multifaceted and complex than that (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005, p. 8). In their work, the authors explain how the intersection between individual actions, structural relations, and institutional practices maintains power positions and creates vulnerability (p. 9). Furthermore, they explain how understanding this analytical concept should focus on the construction of power at different levels of society. Therefore, linkages between structures, institutions, and actors are interesting rather than identifying individual or group characteristics. Focusing on individuals and groups makes them responsible for their subordination. However, turning the focus to the institutional order makes it possible to problematize what causes vulnerability and marginalization (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005, p. 128–129). According to postcolonial feminism, intersectional factors of race and socioeconomic status, and historical and cultural factors must be included while addressing gender equality in order to not exclude certain groups in the feminist movement (Mohanty, 1995; Carby, 1997). Women can experience multilayered oppressive factors based on, for example, gender, race, and socioeconomic status (Carby, 1997) and the core idea of postcolonial feminism is to move away from the Western feminism view that states that patriarchy is "the only" cause of oppression that women experience. Hence, different types of oppression that women can experience also require different methods to address the oppression.

In this study, I will use the perspective of intersectionality from a postcolonial feminist approach to not get stuck in individual causes of marginalization but rather problematize structures at the local government policy level and how this, in turn, impacts the possibilities to adopt an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector.

4.0 Methodological Framework

This chapter presents the methodological framework. First, the section provides a brief background of the case selection, followed by the empirical and analytical methods used to conduct the research for this thesis. The empirical data in this study is based on semi-structured interviews. Since the literature review identifies the importance of multistakeholder partnerships for adopting a GRB approach civil servants, local politicians, and CS representatives have been interviewed. The researcher uses thematic analysis to analyze the empirical data. Furthermore, the chapter also includes motivations for this specific methodological framework. At the end of the chapter, the limitations and quality standards of the chosen research design are discussed.

4.1 Case Selection

Gender equality policy implementation has played a significant role in South African society since the first democratic election in April 1994. President Nelson Mandela highlighted in his liberation speech that freedom and racial oppression can never be achieved without considering gender discrimination (Manjoo, 2005). Even though several legislation and policies addressing gender inequalities have been introduced in post-apartheid South Africa, gender inequality is still an alarming issue that impacts women and girls in private and public spheres all around the country. For example, the country experiences a high level of GBV and unequal distribution of unpaid care work. Furthermore, women are massively overrepresented in the formal unemployment statistics. In addition, the country fails to provide gender-disaggregated data in various sectors, such as poverty, physical and sexual harassment, access to land ownership, and access to water and sanitation (UN Women, n.d.). Because gender equality was highlighted as a cornerstone to address racial and class discrimination in the post-apartheid era, gender equality perspectives were covered in guiding national water and sanitation documents such as the *Water Supply and Sanitation Policy* and the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (the Republic of South Africa, 1994a; the Republic of South Africa, 1994b). However, since providing basic needs and necessities such as water, sanitation, electricity, and refuse for the community falls under the mandate of the local governments in South Africa (the Republic of South Africa, 2022), the recognitions on the national level are not enough in order to address gender inequality in the water and sanitation sector as long as guiding local government water and sanitation documents are gender blind (Abrahams et al., 2011).

Thus, the selection of the case of South Africa, and more specifically Cape Town, was based on several points. Firstly, Cape Town has a history of issues of water governance where the deep segregation of the country has resulted in inequalities in water and sanitation access. Furthermore, throughout the last decade, the city has experienced a substantial migration inflow from other southern African countries and other areas of South Africa. This migration inflow has led to housing issues in the city, and informal settlement areas with low access to and quality of water and sanitation have grown (OECD, 2021). Out of the city's population of 4 million, 1 out of 5 people live in informal settlements. Regarding water use, people living in informal settlements only use between 4%-5% of Cape Town's total water consumption, while people living in formal housing use 66% (OECD, 2021), which indicates inequality in water and sanitation use and access. Most of the interviews accomplished in this research were conducted in two of the biggest townships in Cape Town: Khayelitsha and Langa since CS representatives and local politicians from these areas hold context-specific knowledge. Both these townships have significant pockets of informal settlements with massive issues of water and sanitation (Social Justice Coalition, 2014; RCHI, n.d.). Since Cape Town is home to a diverse range of communities with varying levels of water and sanitation access, making it an ideal location to study the intersectionality of gender, race, and socioeconomic status in providing these essential services. Secondly, the country's extremely high levels of gender inequality, including alarming levels of GBV, imply the need for introducing prevention measures such as GRB. Although South Africa has historically presented several GRB initiatives on a national level, Cape Town has still not presented its own GRB initiatives to address gender equality challenges in the municipality. Furthermore, because the water and sanitation sector falls under the responsibility of the local governments, looking at the adoption process of GRB in the water and sanitation sector requires the involvement of the local governmental level.

4.2 Empirical Method
4.2.1 Case Study
Since the research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of under what contextual mechanisms it is possible to develop an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector, an interview case study design is ideal. The benefits of case studies are their capabilities to produce context-dependent knowledge necessary for increasing awareness on an expert level, for example, among policymakers, politicians, or professionals at international organizations. Furthermore, being close to the real-life situations that case studies entail opens up a possibility for gaining new nuanced insights into reality (Flyvbjerg, 2016). Hence, the

purpose of this thesis is to learn by exploring what civil servants, local politicians, and CS representatives see as the main barriers they observe in order to adopt an inclusive GRB approach in the city, which is not possible to do without gaining in-depth insights to the reality of these peoples' professional lives.

When the researcher draws conclusions, a lack of lucidity or clarity is commonly underscored as a critique against case studies (Yin, 2007). However, to minimize this risk, a well-established analytical tool developed by Bryman (2018) will be applied in the analysis process. Furthermore, to minimize the risk of misleading interpretation of the data, the interviewees will have the opportunity to correct the researcher during and after the interviews (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Further, case studies are commonly criticized for being subordinated to studies with multiple cases. Nevertheless, by linking ideas and conclusions from multiple case studies, even case studies can be multiple in numerous research (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Conclusions drawn from previous research on GRB and water management discussed in the literature review are context-specific since it depends on the regime and state types, cultural and historical contexts, and cannot be generalizable. However, these conclusions can assist in identifying mechanisms and circumstances that impact the development of an inclusive GRB approach. To conclude, case studies are suitable research designs for analyzing contextual conditions, as in this research. By being close to the study object in this research, it is possible to get in-depth insights valuable to the understanding by learning more about the contextual mechanisms that impact the adoption of GRB approaches in Cape Town's water and sanitation planning.

4.2.2 Material and Sampling

In order to get different perspectives on adopting a GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector and a deeper understanding of an inclusive GRB approach that aims to address gender inequalities in the city, the research relies heavily on semi-structured interviews with local politicians, civil servants, and CS representatives. The researcher conducted the interviews during a visit to Cape Town in March and April 2023.

By conducting semi-structured interviews, the aim is to understand perspectives on ongoing discussions regarding GRB in water and sanitation policies. Interviews as a data-collecting method may expose information and knowledge of complex and undiscovered phenomena (Tracy, 2012). While structured interviews do not allow the respondents to elaborate or express further, unstructured interviews are hard to compare due to their lack of similarities. Combining

both interview methods, semi-structured interviews with an interview guide consisting of open-ended questions allows the respondents to tell stories, opinions, and reflections regarding the topic (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015, p. 1-9). Open-ended questions can contribute to the possibility for the researcher to avoid steering the respondents to much in a specific direction (Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 40–41). Furthermore, it also allows the researcher to compare the different interviews in a more structured way compared to unstructured ones (Bryman, 2016, p. 564).

The target study objects are representatives from CS working with gender equality and water and sanitation issues in Cape Town, civil servants, and local politicians working with water and sanitation and public engagements. The reason for selecting to interview different stakeholders is based on the idea that multistakeholder engagements are essential for creating effective water management since different stakeholders can contribute with different insights and knowledge (Gupta & Pahl-Wostl, 2013). After mapping out key stakeholders that work on gender equality and water and sanitation and saving contact information and descriptions of the organizations in an Excel document, the most prominent and relevant people were contacted via e-mail, phone, and social media. Hence, to find a relevant number of interviewees, snowball sampling, or chain referral, was applied. Snowball sampling is the tool used when interviewees refer the researcher to another individual that might be interested in participating in the research and that are suitable for the research aim (Denscombe, 2018). Snowball sampling might result in increased trust from the respondents since they have been connected to the researcher through someone they know (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015, p. 83-101). However, worth keeping in mind is that snowball sampling might limit the target study subject to a particular group (Tracy, 2012). Nevertheless, since the focus is on the ideas and perspectives of civil servants, local politicians, and CS representatives from a relatively limited field (water sanitation from a gender equality approach), snowball sampling is applicable. In total, I interviewed 13 individuals, representing two civil servants, three local politicians, and eight CS representatives (five CSO representatives, two ward committee members, and one community leader) *(see Table 1 and Table 2 for more detailed information)*. Furthermore, the stakeholders represent different sociodemographic backgrounds in order to get different perspectives, understanding, and perceptions of the issue. In column two and three in *Table 1*, the respondents' self-identified race and gender are stated. Two of the respondents used the term "colored", which is a highly discussed term both within and outside South Africa. Under the apartheid system, the state classified people of mixed race as colored and forced them to live in separate townships. Today,

the term is still widely used in South Africa, and both the national government and the local governments still use its race classification system where the terms black, colored, and white are used. However, in 2022 a petition was sent to the government with the aim to delete the wording in all government documents (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2022), but still nothing has changed. The term is used in this study since the respondents self-identified as such.

Table 1. List of respondents

Respondent	Race	Gender	Actor	Organization/ Department	Additional information
1.	White	male	Civil Servant	Public Participation Unit	Responsible for Corporate Services and Citizen Interface.
2.	White	male	Civil Servant	Water and Sanitation Department	Executive Policy Support Officer for Water and Sanitation.
3.	Black	female	CO representative - CSO	Just Grace	Program Manager and Social Worker. Based in Langa Township.
4.	Black	female	CO representative - CSO	Just Grace	Business Development Officer. Based in Langa Township.
5.	Black	female	CO representative - CSO	Social Justice Coalition	CSO based in the township Khayelitsha campaigning for increased security, access to dignified sanitation services, and upgrading housing in informal settlements. Based in Khayelitsha Township.
6.	White	female	CO representative - CSO	Flamingo Sanitation	CSO campaigning towards increasing residents' health and quality of life by addressing the sanitation and pollution issues.
7.	Colored	female	Local politician (DA)	Chair-person of Sub council 20	Member of the Water and Sanitation Committee.
8.	Black	male	Local politician (ANC)	Member of sub-council 9	Based in Khayelitsha Township.
9.	Black	female	CO representative - Ward committee representative	Ward 89	Representing Civic-Based Organizations in Ward 89. Based in Khayelitsha Township.
10.	Black	male	CO representative - Ward committee representative	Ward 89	Representing Safety and Security in Ward 89. Based in Khayelitsha Township.

11.	Black	male	CO representative - Community Leader		Community leader in one of Cape Town's most affected areas when it comes to access to water and sanitation. Based in Khayelitsha Township.
12.	Black	male	Local politician (ANC)	Chairperson Sub council 9	Member in the Council and in Rules and Ethics Committee. Based in Khayelitsha in Township.
13.	Colored	female	CO representative - CSO representative	Sonke Gender Justice	CSO based in Cape Town working towards gender justice and achieving gender transformation through policy development and advocacy. Based in City Centre.

Table 2. List of compilation of respondents

Actor	Number of respondents
CSOs representatives	5
Civil Servants	2
Local Politicians	3
Other CO representatives	3

The interview guides *(See Appendix 10.1 and 10.2)* guided all the interviews. However, it was slightly changed before some interviews to tweak the questions to better suit the mandates of the organizations and departments. The researcher held most interviews in person at the interviewees' offices. Nevertheless, two of the respondents instead preferred to be interviewed over Zoom. Further, all interviews (except one), after consent from respondents, were recorded and transcribed. In the end of each interview, I summarized the key take-aways based on the theoretical framework to give the respondents the chance to confirm or disconfirm my interpretations. This was done in order to minimize the risk of misinterpretations.

4.3 Analytical Method

The data is structured and analyzed through the concept of Bryman's (2018) definition of *Thematic Analysis*. The analytical tool guided the data analyzing process and connected the data to the research questions and research aim.

4.3.1 Thematic Analysis

In accordance with Bryman (2018), thematic analysis does not represent a particular technique or method. Rather, it aims to identify, organize, and analyze data based on several themes (Bryman, 2018, p. 702-707). In this study, a thematic analysis was used to identify recurring themes from the interviews in order to analyze them towards the thematic framework and the previous research.

The first step in the thematic analysis was to transcribe the interview recordings. For the unrecorded interview (Interview 1), the researcher wrote a summary of the interview and sent it to the respondent for clearance. The second step, the coding, was to carefully read through the transcribed material and highlight recurring phrases, sentences, as well as differences in opinions and perspectives relevant in accordance with the research aim (Bryman, 2018, p. 705). After identifying the themes relevant to answering the research questions, the researcher grouped the themes into sub-themes to further structure the analysis. The three themes and corresponding nine sub-themes *(see Table 3)* were identified based on the theoretical framework *(Figure 2)* where each of themes' three sub-themes represent the input, throughput, and output stage of the theoretical framework.

Table 3: Coding: Themes and sub-themes

Theme	Sub-theme (input)	Sub-theme (throughput)	Sub-theme (output)
1. Lack of Transparency	Lack of Information Transparency	Lack of Commitment Transparency	Lack of Impact Transparency
2. Lack of Cooperation	Limited Efforts to ensure Participation with CSOs and Communities	Limited Feedback and Follow-ups with CSOs	Limited use of Stakeholders Impact Analyses
3. Lack of Gender Knowledge	Norms that Hinder an Inclusive Participation	Lack of Gender Awareness and Political Will Among Officials	Lack of Cultural Sensitivity Impact Awareness Raising

4.4 Quality Standards and Limitations

4.4.1 Quality Standards

Quality standards (e.g. Validity and Reliability) for qualitative research cannot be based on measurable data variables as in quantitative research. Instead, following Kuckartz (2013) and Bryman (2016), among others, the quality standards for this paper will be process-oriented, based on the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Bryman,

2016, p. 467). To increase the *credibility* of the portrayal of the social case under study, I gathered as much context-specific information as possible from the respondents to create a good view of the social and cultural structures in Cape Town. Furthermore, when all interviews were conducted, I reverted to all respondents to ensure that the study's perceptions of the situation align with their perceptions. Additionally, in order to increase credibility, I also included several quotes from the respondents in the analysis as a tool of illustrating honest and expressions of the interviewees.

According to Bryman (2016, p. 468), the complexity of *transferability* arises in qualitative research due to its connection to specific contextual cases. However, the researcher will produce "thick descriptions" of the context throughout the paper. Other researchers can use these descriptions as a foundation to evaluate the generalizability of the results to different contexts. Transparency throughout the research project, known as *dependability*, can be regarded as an alternative to the reliability, as noted by Bryman (2016, p. 468). Here the researcher describes all stages of the research: choice of respondents, descriptions of departments and organizations that the respondents represent, interview guides, and decisions regarding data analysis. Further, to secure *confirmability*, I will constantly remind myself not to let personal views steer the analysis of the gathered data. However, it is worth noting that social science research can never reach a stage of total objectivity (Bryman, 2016, p. 470).

4.4.2 Limitations
There are several possible limitations to this study and this methodological framework. First of all, the study was conducted within a 6-month period, which impacted the data-gathering process and the sample size. Including more material and interviews might have changed the course of the findings and the analysis. Since the research is a case study, only looking at the case of Cape Town, the *generalizability* of the project could be discussed. On the one hand, one should be careful of generalizing based on only one case. On the other hand, this critique can be challenged with the argument that case studies can be generalizable through their theoretical hypotheses since the overreaching objective of case studies is theory development through analytical generalization and not statistical generalization (Yin, 2007). The research seeks to build on the FDT by identifying challenges to adopting GRB in Cape Town at different stages of the policy process. By being transparent through the research project and by providing "thick descriptions", the research seeks to contribute to generalizability, at least to some extent, to cases with similar contexts, discourses, and structures as in Cape Town (Bryman, 2016, p. 468).

Furthermore, thirteen interviews do not represent all civil servants, local politicians, and CO representatives in Cape Town. Additionally, only interviewing civil servants, local politicians, and CSOs representatives may exclude other stakeholders' perspectives, such as private sector representatives and community members. However, the researcher attempted to approach participants with different backgrounds and positions to provide more nuanced views, which was extra important due to the intersectionality perspective of the study.

Lastly, interviewing political actors also create a risk of several limitations. Political actors may have vested interests, agendas, or political affiliations that can influence their responses. They may present themselves in a favorable light, which creates biases in the data. The researcher interviewed local politicians from African National Congress (ANC) and Democratic Alliance (DA). Since it is general elections in South Africa next year (2024), there is a risk that party representatives want to deliver socially desirable answers to gain votes. Furthermore, the study does not discuss how the respondents' answers are connected to the two parties' ideologies and priorities.

5.0 Ethical Considerations

The research will follow well-established research ethical principles by Vetenskapsrådet (2017). The respondents received information about the aim and use of the study in the introduction of each interview. Furthermore, the respondents have also been given consent regarding the recording of the interviews and have been given the information that it is always okay to neglect to answer specific questions or call off the whole interview during the interview (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017). Before the interviews, I sent out an information letter to the interviewees to allow the respondents to consider and think about their participation *(see Appendix 10.3)*. The information letter states the research aims, how the interviewees' participation will contribute, and why the researcher conducts this study. Furthermore, the information letter also includes the research questions to give the respondents a sense of what kind of topics and questions the researcher will ask during the interviews. Lastly, the information letter also covers ethical rights during the interviews and highlight that the participation is anonymous. All respondents are anonymous in the study. However, all departments and organizations are mentioned in agreement with all respondents. Tracy (2012) underlines the importance of seeing interviewees as whole persons and not only as a subject that will deliver an interesting story (p. 245). The researcher kept this perspective in mind throughout the research and the importance of valuing the respondents' contributions to the study.

Another aspect is to reflect on how the study benefits the local community of Cape Town. My ambition with the research is to contribute to a two-way interaction process between the respondents and me. For example, regarding the interviews with civil servants and local politicians, I do not want to give the impression that I am there to point out that they need to do more regarding adopting an inclusive GRB approach in its water and sanitation policies. Instead, the study highlights how lessons learned from different stakeholders can contribute to a broader discussion regarding water governance and GRB in and outside South Africa. It is worth noting that several African countries, including South Africa, have more knowledge and experience on GRB than some Nordic countries. *The Nordic Council of Ministers* has stated that the Nordics have much to learn regarding GRB in blue and green economic sectors (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2022). The researcher will share the final thesis with all stakeholders that have been participating with their valuable insights for them to use further. Lastly, the

researcher will also orally present key findings to stakeholders interested in the study's conclusions.

5.1 Positionality

When conducting international research fieldwork, it is crucial to be attentive to histories of colonialism, development, local cultures, and values, and maybe most importantly, in this study, the history of apartheid. Furthermore, it is essential for me, as a foreign researcher, to respect ethics throughout all research stages to avoid exploitative research and the reproduction of structures of dominance and supremacy.

Throughout the research, I have constantly reflected on my role as the researcher and how my identity might impact the research process and the results. The researcher is a white, Swedish, privileged woman, which might create a risk of bias. Magnusson & Marecek (2015) state that qualitative interview studies are tied to a degree of subjectivity since the interpretation of the respondents is a set step in the analyzing process. Furthermore, the collected data is somewhat influenced by the researcher's interests and experiences. One potential risk is that power structures will impact how respondents contribute to the interviews and what they are willing to share (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015, p. 83-101). Even though it is impossible to create complete impartiality, recognizing existing biases is the best way to minimize the risk of negative impacts on the research (Bourke, 2014). Furthermore, I have also been very conscious while picking literature to include in the background, literature review and theoretical framework. It has been meaningful to use as much literature as possible written by female black and colored South Africans to ensure these perspectives as a frame for the research.

6.0 Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the empirical material and discusses the findings based on the study's research question "*How and why should input, throughput, and output from a FDT lens be considered while identifying challenges to adopt an inclusive GRB?*", as well as the three sub-questions. As described in Chapter 4, the material is organized into themes and sub-themes based on the theoretical framework *(Figure 2.)*. The first theme Lack of Transparency primary answers the first sub-question, the second theme Lack of Cooperation answers the second sub-question, and the third theme Lack of Gender Knowledge answers the third sub-question. However, worth keeping in mind while reading this chapter, is that all three themes and its sub-themes are strongly intertwined and overlap with each other.

6.1 Challenges in Adopting GRB in Cape Town's Water and Sanitation Sector

In Cape Town, the *Water Strategy – Our Shared Water Future* (City of Cape Town, 2019) and the *Integrated Development Plan 2017-2022* (City of Cape Town, 2022) are the two most recently adopted documents that create a framework for the Water and Sanitation Department and the city's work of providing water and sanitation services to all citizens. However, despite the fact that all respondents state that they have noticed the WASH-gender nexus in Cape Town and the fact that the population is disproportionately affected by limited access to water and sanitation based on gender, none of the key water and sanitation documents incorporate a gender equality perspective. Under the interviews with civil servants, local politicians, and CS representatives, the respondents discuss several possible explanations for this disconnect as well as current and future challenges for adopting a GRB approach in the city's water and sanitation sector. Three main themes discussed through the interviews were transparency, multistakeholder cooperation, and gender equality awareness, in accordance with the theoretical framework *(Figure 2)*. This section presents these themes through an FDT approach by including the discussion of input, throughput, and output legitimacy. Furthermore, to better understand the multidimensional layers of the challenges, a postcolonial feminist lens is applied.

6.1.1 Lack of Transparency

Budlender (2003) identifies limited transparency as a central challenge for adopting a comprehensive GRB framework nationally in South Africa, which resulted in the first sub-question of this study: *How and why does transparency influence the adoption of an inclusive*

GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?

Budlender (2003) identifies limited transparency of how policies impact the population from a gender equality perspective and lack of openness on how different departments aim to address gender inequalities as main concerns connected to transparency. However, by introducing the FDT and the focus on the entire policy cycle, other challenges related to transparency can also be identified. The barriers of lack of transparency on how policies impact the population, determined by Budlender (2003), is linked to the output stage of the FDT since it refers to the successfulness of the policy outcome to solve social issues. Furthermore, the lack of openness on departments' gender equality commitments is linked to the throughput stage since it covers the internal governing processes of the actors responsible for policy formulation (Schmidt, 2013). Nevertheless, throughout the interviews, the respondents also discuss transparency issues related to policy input by paying attention to structures that impact the level of transparency and, therefore, also the process of in future adopting GRB.

6.1.1.1 Input: Lack of Information Transparency

Input legitimacy from an FDT point of view focuses on political, economic, and social structures that impact agenda-setting and decision-making (McAfee & Snyder, 2007). The interviewees discuss transparency at the input stage from different views and perspectives.

On the one hand, R1 (civil servant), R2 (civil servant), and R7 (local politician, DA) highlight that input transparency should not always be considered an issue on a local level in South Africa. In line with this, R1 (civil servant) argues that the policy and budget process in South Africa, which by law allows for input by interest groups and civil society (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, n.d), is a tool for increasing transparency. For example, the budgetary process in Cape Town is open for public participation and feedback when the drafted budget is published at the city's public libraries in March each year (City of Cape Town, n.d). Furthermore, as highlighted by R2 (civil servant), the Water and Sanitation Department also allows feedback from the public when they draft new water and sanitation policies and strategies, which speaks for input transparency. These transparency initiatives could, therefore, be considered evidence of the excellent quality of input legitimacy and decent political systems since the initiatives aim to create an open platform for the public to participate in policy formulation (Majone, 1998; Bellamy, 2010).

On the other hand, even if the policy process formally, is transparent, the input legitimacy is not guaranteed. Input legitimacy can only be ensured when citizens can inclusively and equally participate in decision-making (Majone, 1998) and where everyone has the same opportunity to react, initiate speech acts, question, and debate (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Therefore, it is essential to examine how political, economic, and social structures in Cape Town impact the intersectional perspective of accessibility to the policy process. Several respondents deliberate in line with this and state that due to the lack of accessibility and awareness for certain groups, the level of input transparency is still questioned. R8's (local politician, ANC) views reveal that power dynamics are at play in the policy process and that certain groups are excluded from policy formulation due to systematic barriers. He has noticed a clear gap in Khayelitsha regarding citizens' participation in the policy and budget process, which could be considered an example of how colonial legacies and power dynamics continue to shape contemporary policy processes in Cape Town since the policy structure does not recognize the nature of oppression and exclusion connected to the historical past (Mohanty, 2002, p. 18). For example, even if the process is transparent in how it allows people to provide feedback, people living in the townships are usually unaware of the possibilities to engage due to the city's communication tools which usually are social media platforms and newspaper advertisements. R8 (local politician, ANC) states:

> If the communication techniques that they [the local government of Cape Town] use are excluding, the transparency could be questioned. Not many people in these impoverished communities buy the newspaper or have access to internet and a computer, some of them cannot even read or write. The city should stop being so proud of their transparency efforts since it is clearly not successful in practice (R8).

The information and communication gap regarding how the public and interest groups can impact the water and sanitation policies is also highlighted by R2 (civil servant), who underlines that the upcoming policy on the water and sanitation sector (not published yet) only received 12 comments from the public. The lack of accessibility for certain groups in society testifies that social and political structures limit the input legitimacy since not everyone has the same opportunity to engage in the policy and budget process (McAfee & Snyder, 2007). These discriminatory structures create a barrier to adopting an inclusive GRB approach in the water and sanitation sector since the most affected people who live in townships and informal

settlements have limited social and political capital to speak up and question the policy formulation.

6.1.1.2 Throughput: Lack of Commitment Transparency

Throughput legitimacy, defined as the procedural criterion of the democratic process, refers to the quality of the accountability of the policy-makers and decision-makers and the transparency and openness of the government process (Schmidt, 2013). The respondents discuss transparency issues, linked to the limited openness of the local government's gender equality commitments, as a significant issue in strengthening the gender sensitivity in the water and sanitation sector. For example, R5 (CSO representative) sees the lack of transparency of the commitments as a problem, mainly when it comes to CSOs' limited opportunity to hold the local government accountable without any substantial insights into how the city works to ensure that gender equality perspectives are taken into consideration while developing the water and sanitation approach.

Conversely, R7 (local politician, DA) highlights that the city does not cover gender equality perspectives or reveal specific gender equality commitments in key policies due to its inclusivity objective:

> As a government we produce policies that tempt to speak to all its residents, and especially when it comes to basic services. That's the purpose why gender sensitivity is not covered in the wording in water and sanitation policies in the city. However, Cape Town's water and sanitation approach is gender sensitive in its nature since it seeks to improve the access to water and sanitation to all its resident, women and girls included. It is not a way of trying to avoid a gender sensitive focus, but the city sees its inclusive approach to actually promote gender sensitivity (R7).

However, even if the city's objective is to be as inclusive as possible, according to R7 (local politician, DA), the decision not to explicitly mention gender equality in the city's water and sanitation policies ignores the fact that gender inequality is a structural issue that requires explicit attention in order to be addressed. The ignorance can be seen as institutional practices that maintain power positions and creates vulnerability in the way it shapes how issues are framed and addressed. These institutional practices risk reproducing the marginalization of certain groups in society (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005, p. 9) since gender equality interest groups' opportunity to question the decision-makers is restricted due to a lack of explicit commitments. Respondents such as R5 (CSO representative), R6 (CSO representative), and

R13 (CSO representative) state that as long as the local government does not cover gender equality perspectives in the policies and strategies, it is challenging for NGOs and CSOs to hold the local government and the Water and Sanitation Department accountable when they fail to provide dignified water and sanitation based on different needs from a gender equality perspective. If society is able to hold the leaders accountable, they can demand more justified service delivery and thus question the whole scope of socioeconomic arrangements (Abrahamsen, 2000, p. 58). Hence, leaving out the gender equality commitments create a barrier to intensifying the gender equality work in the water and sanitation sector, such as adopting GRB.

6.1.1.3 Output: Lack of Impact Transparency

As covered in the literature review, Budlender (2003) identifies the lack of impact transparency as a main challenge for adopting a comprehensive GRB framework on a national level in South Africa. Similarly, the lack of precise analyses on how the current water and sanitation approach in Cape Town impacts the population from a gender equality perspective is a recurring theme during the interviews. The lack of information on how the water and sanitation sector impacts the population from a gender lens effects the awareness of the problem among the population and officials, creating a significant challenge for further intensifying gender equality perspectives and adopting GRB.

R2 (civil servant) and R5 (local politician, DA) emphasize that monitoring the city's progress is complex and almost impossible since the Water and Sanitation Department is not producing analyses or data on how its policies impact the population from a gender perspective. SADC guidelines on GRB recommend that all national and local departments publish sex-disaggregated data on how policies and programs impact women and men. The guidelines further recommend that policies are developed to mirror the findings of the departments' gender sensitive analyses (SADC, 2014, p. 54-58). In line with the SADC guidelines, R11 (community leader) and R12 (local politician, ANC) state that the local government can only develop gender sensitive policies if they first conduct proper analysis and sex-disaggregated data within the sector. R12 (local politician, ANC) means that the lack of proper gendered analyses within the water and sanitation sector in Cape Town is a serious issue since the local government can continue to avoid addressing the problem as long as the issues are not coming up to the surface.

R5 (CSO representative), R6 (CSO representative), R11 (community leader), R12 (local politician, ANC), and R13 (CSO representative) have noticed several different aspects of how the current water and sanitation approach impacts the population from a gender perspective that the local government fails to cover and report on. The three most discussed issues in the current water and sanitation sector were sexual violence, gender norms, and health issues. R2 (civil servant) describes how one of the most recurring concerns the Water and Sanitation Department receives from a gender equality perspective is that women and children living in informal settlements with limited access to water and sanitation do not feel safe enough to reach water and sanitation services by night. R5 (CSO representative) also states that the safety concern is well discussed in Khayelitsha, especially in informal settlement areas where women and girls must walk 100-200 meters to reach water and sanitation facilities. As stated in the literature review, WASH-related GBV can be seen as a form of passive infrastructural violence (Rodger & O'Neill, 2012) and is an issue of structural characteristics (Datta & Ahmed, 2020).

Another form of psychological, structural violence that several respondents discuss is how deeply rooted gender roles lead to the disproportionate impact of limited access to water and sanitation on women and girls compared to their counterparts. For example, R5 CSO representative) continues to explain that women and girls bear the primary responsibility over water fetching in most of the households in many communities in Cape Town, which impacts women's and girls' possibilities to spend time on schoolwork, after-school activities, income-generating jobs and caring for family members. Norms such as women's socio-economic and cultural roles reinforce these discriminatory structures (Chant, 2013). R2 (civil servant) recognizes that the employment figure in Cape Town, where more women compared to men are unemployed, could be seen as both a root cause and a result of the deeply rooted gender roles which result in women's and girls' responsibility over household duties, including collecting water. Nevertheless, R5 (CSO representative) expresses frustration that traditional gender norms are not considered in the local government's water and sanitation strategy. Hence, intersectional perspectives connected to cultural and historical factors must be included in gender equality interventions (Mohanty, 1995).

Respondents that operate in informal areas underline the health component throughout the interviews (R5, R6, R11, R12). R12 (local politician, ANC) expresses how the city's excluding water and sanitation approach will lead up to catastrophic health outcomes:

> People have their rights to dignified water and sanitation, no matter where they live in the city. We are sitting in a ticking bomb, and if we do not act now the city will soon face a massive health catastrophe and the local government will be held accountable and responsible. The city needs to bring water and sanitation services to people in informal settlements (R12).

R5 (CSO representative) and R11 (community leader) describe how health problems such as diarrhoeal and skin diseases have increased in recent years, especially among young children living in informal settlement areas. The connection between bad water and sanitation facilities and diseases such as diarrhoeal is also identified by Nguyen et al. (2021). These health issues connected to a lack of safe water and sanitation negatively impact children's school attendance. Furthermore, R5 (CSO representative) also describes how her organization has notified that children's health problems affect women's mental health. Women report on increased mental illness and stress due to their children's health issues since it burdens the household duties, especially for women living in female-headed households (FHH). Furthermore, as stated in the literature review, limited access to water and sanitation also tends to lead to poor sexual and reproductive health outcomes for women and girls (Goddard & Mia, 2020; Kayser et al., 2019). R5 (CSO representative) explains how people living in impoverished communities give birth at home on a larger scale due to cultural norms and limited access to infrastructure, which in turn increases the risk of unsafe pregnancies and births if access to safe water and sanitation is restricted.

Without a robust gender analysis, policy developments tend to overlook the concerns of the most affected groups in society and reproduce gender inequality (Steccolini, 2019). Furthermore, transparency in how policies impact the population from a gender equality perspective can also increase awareness among the population about the gendered nature of certain sectors (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). For example, R2 (civil servant) highlights that the lack of awareness among the population on the gendered nature of WASH is a primary challenge in adopting a GRB, which can be solved through a proper gender equality analysis. R13 (CSO representative) also underlines that transparency in how the current water and sanitation approach impacts the population would also increase the opportunity for NGOs and CSOs to cooperate and jointly advocate for more comprehensive gender equality commitments and the adoption of GRB. Worth keeping in mind is that respondents continuously come back to the intersectional component on how the water and sanitation approach impact the population from

a gender equality perspective, where women living in black communities and women from low socio-economic backgrounds are affected the most (R2, R3, R4, R5, R8, R9, R10, R11, R12, R13). The intersectional nature of the WASH sector in Cape Town requires, therefore, an analysis that recognizes gender equality and the intersection between different sources of oppression (Carby, 1997) to enable external actors to advocate for a GRB approach that is inclusive.

6.1.1.4 Lack of Transparency: Concluding Remarks

To conclude, the interviewees identify a lack of transparency in all three stages of the policy cycle as a significant challenge for adopting a GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector. While the policy process in South Africa is designed to be transparent and open for public participation, certain groups in society face limited accessibility and engagement opportunities, which is seen as a sign of limited input legitimacy by several respondents. Since people living in impoverished areas are the most affected when it comes to water and sanitation, the limited space for these voices to express their concerns limits the local government's ability to adopt an inclusive GRB approach in the water and sanitation sector. Furthermore, the lack of explicit gender equality commitments in key policy documents and a proper analysis of how the water and sanitation sector impacts the population from a gender equality perspective limits the public awareness about the problem and CSOs' ability to hold the local government accountable for gender equality commitments, which are concerns of throughput and output legitimacy and causes barriers for adopting GRB.

It emerges from the empirical data that institutional practices through unequal opportunities for the public to participate in the policy dialogue, limited focus on gender equality issues in key water and sanitation documents, and non-existing gender equality data in the water and sanitation sector, maintain power structures that reproduce oppressive norms (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005, p. 9), which in turn form main challenges for adopting an inclusive GRB approach. Moreover, power dynamics are embedded in complex networks, where the social, political, and historical structures impact how the water and sanitation approach affects the population. To assume that the city is gender sensitive in its approach since the aim of the water and sanitation sector is to improve access to water and sanitation for all residents can therefore be seen as a simplified reasoning.

6.1.2 Lack of Cooperation

This section analyses the second sub-question: *"How and why does multistakeholder cooperation influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?"*. Almost all interviewees highlight the lack of long-term and inclusive cooperation with various actors as the most prominent obstacle for the local government to establish a long-lasting, inclusive GRB framework. The importance of involving different actors in program, policy, and budget processes is widely known by multilateral organizations as well as many local and national NGOs as highly important for WASH planning to be sustainable and effective (Sweetman & Medland, 2017), since multistakeholder cooperation is a source of understanding local structures and norms that might impact the access to WASH facilities (Gupta & Pahl-Wostl, 2013).

The importance of internal and external cooperation, with a clear gender lens, is linked to all three stages of the policy cycle: input, throughput, and output. At the input stage, the need for more efforts to ensure proper participation with CSOs and communities, from an intersectional perspective, is highlighted as a primary challenge. Furthermore, at the throughput and the output stages, the lack of openness on how different stakeholders' recommendations have been taken into consideration and the local government's limited use of relevant stakeholders' research, data, and recommendations are identified as possible challenges.

6.1.2.1 Input: Efforts to Ensure Cooperation with CSOs and Communities

As highlighted in Chapter 3, FDT builds upon Deliberative Democracy Theory, which emphasizes the need for a political system that allows consultation and influence from the public that goes beyond only establishing democratic elections (Bächtiger et al., 2014). In order to invite citizens into the policy process, societies have to strengthen input legitimacy. From an FDT point of view, input legitimacy focuses on political, economic, and social structures that impact the equal participation of the public and CSOs in the policy process (McAfee & Snyder, 2007). Therefore, a solid good governance civil society platform is characterized as a platform where the various groups of the society have the same possibilities to further the cause of "the people" (Abrahamsen, 2000, p. 56).

A common denominator in all the interviews with representatives from CSOs and local politicians operating in townships and informal settlements is that they express a disconnect

between the policymakers and the most affected communities, as well as with relevant CSOs that operate in these areas. Furthermore, the disconnect is highlighted as an underlining aspect of why the water and sanitation approach in Cape Town does not mirror the real-life situation. For example, R3 (CSO representative) expresses the disconnect:

> I believe that if they [the Water and Sanitation Department] would come to the ground and actually speak and communicate with the people and see what organizations and people struggle with on a daily basis, I am sure that they would create more inclusive policies (R3).

SADC GRB guidelines state that CSOs should collaborate with departments in the policy and budget process and be reactive to the process (SADC, 2014, p. 57-58). However, several respondents state that even though CSOs want to collaborate in the policy process, the local government's efforts to provide a platform for CSOs to engage in the policy process in the water and sanitation sector is limited (R3, R4, R5, R12, R13). According to Benhabib (1996), democratic decisions should only be legitimized if they include equal participation where everyone has the same opportunity to question and initiate speech acts regarding decision-making. This reasoning speaks to the importance of looking at the possibilities for CSOs to actively participate in the policy process from an intersectional perspective, where intersections between, for example, gender, race, and socioeconomic status are considered. R12 (local politician, ANC) summarizes the need for stronger cooperation through an intersectional lens:

> Governments, including the local government here in Cape Town, cannot win the battle on their own. The local government does not have a monopoly of wisdom necessary to create inclusive policies. Here in South Africa, we define governments as "government for the people, by the people" which indicates that the decision-making process needs to be inclusive. The city has so many excellent CSOs in the townships and in disadvantages areas that have *contextual knowledge* and extensive networks which are highly useful for the city to tackle intersectional challenges. Therefore, the city needs to establish better cooperation with these communities and CSOs in order to make the water and sanitation policies *inclusive* and *culturally sensitive* (R12).

R5 (CSO representative) emphasizes how women and girls in impoverished communities in Cape Town mobilize to a less extent compared to other parts of the city. In postcolonial settings, cultural contexts also result in different experiences of speaking up among women due to historical suppression, exclusion, and marginalization of the voices of certain groups of women based on for example race and socioeconomic status. Since it is immoral to assume that all solutions are equally suited to all women in society Carby (1997), Cape Town needs to find solutions to build a stronger relationship with the most affected communities and with CSO operating in these areas in order to gain all valuable perspectives and information needed to form an inclusive GRB in the water and sanitation sector. As stated by Sikhakane and Reddy (2011), municipalities in South Africa should strengthen consultation and information-sharing

to address development challenges and build trust in society. In line with this, R2 (civil servant) and R8 (local politician, ANC) state that mistrust is a central issue in adopting GRB in Cape Town since decades of excluding policies have resulted in civic apathy.

In order to try to bridge this partnership gap, R2 (civil servant) explains how the Water and Sanitation Department has established a new workshop initiative to invite representatives from different sectors to present different water and sanitation solutions. Furthermore, they sometimes invite different actors for workshops to discuss specific document content when a new policy, by-law, or strategy has been drafted. However, R7 (local politician, DA) highlights that only well-known and well-established actors are often invited to these workshop opportunities. The exclusion of certain groups in society can, therefore, create a barrier for these groups' perspectives to be heard. Furthermore, this could be considered as an example of an oppressive institutional practice that reproduces segregation in the city (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005).

6.1.2.2 Throughput: Feedback and Follow-ups with CSOs

As described in the previous section, the interviewees express concern about the disconnect between the local government of Cape Town, CSOs and affected communities regarding policy development in the water and sanitation sector. While input legitimacy refers to the efforts of the local government to create a platform for citizens to participate in the policy process, throughput legitimacy refers to the transparency of the policy process (Schmidt, 2013). Concerning multistakeholder cooperation from an FDT lens, the policy development process needs to be transparent in how the local government considers different stakeholders' recommendations and expertise within the policy process.

The interviewees discuss the lack of feedback and follow-up initiatives from the local government's side as one of the biggest concerns about multistakeholder throughput legitimacy and, therefore, also a key barrier for adopting an inclusive GRB approach (R3, R4, R9, R10, R11, R12). For example, R9 (ward committee representative), R10 (ward committee representative), and R11 (community leader) underscore how gender equality perspectives and the need for Cape Town's water and sanitation approach to address these perspectives are frequently discussed by both organizations and within sub-councils and wards. For example, in sub-council 9, gender equality measures are discussed monthly in the sub-council meetings, and they have raised the concerns several times with various departments in the city. However,

R12 (local politician, ANC) continues to express frustration that the city has not responded to the concerns that have been discussed on a community level for decades. The problem of not including external stakeholders in the development process and not providing feedback to stakeholder which have presented recommendations to the Water and Sanitation Department was also highlighted by R2 (civil servant). Furthermore, R2 (civil servant) also highlights that the vacuum of lack of follow-up and feedback is a policy issue in the city that is connected to poor communication and information. For example, R2 (civil servant) describes how CSOs and communities often raise concerns regarding access to water and sanitation, housing, electricity, infrastructure, and safety measures simultaneously. Hence, the CSOs and communities often do not receive comprehensive feedback on all concerns due to insufficient synergies and communication between departments.

CSOs can build links both upward and downward in society and bring a broader spectrum of perspectives and ideas to the policy process (Abrahamsen, 2000, p. 53). However, without any proper insight of the policy process and meaningful and honest follow-ups from the local government, according to R3 (CSO representative) and R13 (CSO representative), it is almost impossible for CSOs to fill that mediation role. Therefore, several respondents, including R3 (CSO representative), R4 (CSO representative), R5 (CSO representative), and R13 (CSO representative), highlight that the city needs to improve its follow-up channels to ensure that CSOs can play a mediation role and push for GRB initiatives.

6.1.2.3 Output: The use of Stakeholders' Impact Analyses

Budoo-Scholtz (2022) argues for a more substantial use of different stakeholders' outputs and research on how current policies and budgets impact the population from a gender equality lens in order to adopt GRB nationally in South Africa. The issue of not using existing information and recommendations that external stakeholders produce is a challenge of output legitimacy, which refers to the outcomes and policy effectiveness (Majone, 1998; Bellamy, 2010). By using different stakeholders' analyses, the local government can save resources by not repeating the same analyses that stakeholders such as CSOs have already done. For example, if CSOs analyze policies from a gender perspective, the government departments should refer to this information in their policy re-formulation, budgetary re-prioritizing, and re-allocation (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Several respondents highlight the need for the use of different stakeholders' outputs and analyses on how the current water and sanitation approach in Cape Town impacts the population. For example, one organization that aims to increase access to healthy, safe, and

dignified water and toilets for residents of informal settlements in Cape Town have published several reports and analyses on the situation. However, R5 (CSO representative), who represents the organization, underlines that even though the organization has tried to impact the local government, the local government has never referred to reports conducted by the organization. A good group of scholar state that more effective and intelligent policy outcomes are often related to excellent and inclusive cooperation between different stakeholders (see, for example, Kooiman, 1993; Barnes, 1999), which is based on the assumption that no single actor has all information, expertise and knowledge to solve complex social problems on their own (Kooiman, 1993).

Nevertheless, two respondents mention examples of where the local government has used external stakeholders' analyses and expertise in the water and sanitation sector. For example, R2 (civil servant) raises the first example of a partnership between the Water and Sanitation Department and the organization Flamingo Sanitation Solution where the two actors work together on a pilot project to provide dry toilets to affluent areas in Cape Town. Furthermore, R12 (local politician, ANC) describes a project between sub-council 9 and a local organization that works to increase awareness of the human rights of disabled people in Khayelitsha. The organization assisted the sub-council in providing data and mapping out how many families and people with special needs need additional support when accessing safe and dignified water and sanitation. The sub-council then communicated this data and information with the Water and Sanitation Department. However, R12 (local politician, ANC) states that neither the sub-council nor the organization received feedback on if or how the department used their data.

6.1.2.4 Lack of Cooperation: Concluding Remarks

The lack of long-term and inclusive cooperation with a wide range of different actors, including the local government, civil servants, and CSOs, poses a key challenge for the local government to establish an inclusive GRB framework according to the respondents.

Throughout the policy cycle's three stages (input, throughput, and output), the importance of internal and external cooperation with a clear gender lens is emphasized. The input stage's primary challenge is the need for more efforts to ensure proper participation with CSOs and communities from an intersectional perspective to ensure that various viewpoints on the WASH sector are considered. At the throughput stage, the limited openness and information on how different stakeholders' recommendations have been taken into consideration may cause unequal

insights into the policy development process. Finally, the local government's limited use of relevant stakeholders' research, data, and recommendations is identified as a possible challenge in the output stage. The lack of stakeholder cooperation creates a limited opportunity for policy-makers to gain contextual knowledge. Therefore, it also causes an issue for the policy-makers to gain information on why a GRB approach in the water and sanitation sector should be advantageous. These findings correspond with Budoo-Scholtz's (2022) conclusions on identifying a need for more synergies between stakeholders as a primary challenge in adopting a GRB approach nationally in South Africa.

6.1.3 Norms and Lack of Awareness

This section analyzes the third and final sub-question: *"How and why does gender equality awareness influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?"*. The view that gender equality priorities are often considered a non-urgent issue also leads to the down-prioritizing of gender equality on the political agenda (Mishra & Sinha, 2012). The problems with the lack of gender awareness in the water and sanitation sector in Cape Town can cause barriers to adopting GRB at different stages of the policy cycle. Throughout the interviews, challenges linked to input legitimacy are social, political, and cultural norms that hinder equal participation in the policy dialogue. At the throughput stage, the lack of understanding and knowledge of gender dynamics among officials working in the water and sanitation sector is considered a main challenge. Lastly, in the output stage, the local government's limited cultural sensitivity awareness raising initiatives is identified as a key challenge to adopting an inclusive GRB approach.

6.1.3.1 Input: Social, and Cultural Norms

Respondents discuss social and cultural structures as a possible challenge to adopt an inclusive GRB in the water and sanitation sector, which in the FDT literature is identified as input legitimacy (McAfee & Snyder, 2007). For example, R11 (community leader), describes how the ward meets weekly to discuss issues and projects in the area. However, R5 (CSO representative) and R13 (CSO representative) emphasize that not everyone has the possibility to actively participate in the community meetings. For example, R5 (CSO representative) explains how the ward and community meetings often take part during the evenings, which limits the possibilities for women to participate since household duties traditionally fall under women's responsibilities. Women are, traditionally, expected to prioritize household duties over

their participation in community engagement. This can prevent women from attending meetings and taking leadership roles in water and sanitation management or advocacy work according to R5 (CSO representative). R13 (CSO representative) also underscores that discrimination and increased risk for sexual harassment and violence during night-time, especially in disadvantages areas, also impact women's mobility, which results in less engagement and participation of women in community meetings. Structures that prevent active participation of women limits perspectives to be heard which may negatively impact the gender awareness among the population in the city, and is therefore a major challenge for intensifying gender equality perspectives in the city's water and sanitation approach.

Furthermore, R5 (CSO representative), R10 (ward committee representative), and R11 (community leader) refer to South Africa's history and how structures from the apartheid still limit Cape Town's full development. The water and sanitation infrastructure in South Africa is intertwined with its political history. The unequal distribution of WASH infrastructure can be traced back to the country's apartheid policies and racial segregation practices (Swanson, 1977). During apartheid, the allocation of infrastructure, including WASH facilities, was based on race where most people with limited access to water and sanitation infrastructure and services in Cape Town live in informal settlements and other disadvantaged areas, such as several townships (Social Justice Coalition, n.d.). R10 (ward committee representative) highlights the de-prioritizing of black and colored communities:

> We see clear racist elements within the city and the local government, and that is why our black communities are always and have always been left behind. The water and sanitation infrastructure in these areas are old and not well-planned. And when we report issues and problems to the city, it always takes a long time for them to react. But, if you look at the water and sanitation infrastructure in some of the wealthier parts of the city, there is no such problems (R10).

According to R10 (ward committee representative), the de-prioritizing, rooted in the country's historical past, results in deep-seated mistrust between different racial groups. The mistrust between groups also complicates long-term and influential cooperation between communities and decision-makers. Moreover, R5 (CSO representative) explains that it is important to recognize that apartheid was not only a brutal racial discrimination system, but also gendered in its nature (Carby, 1997). For example, especially black women were exposed to high levels of sexual violence during the apartheid system, and this past has normalized GBV which still

influences the society today. Furthermore, R5 (CSO representative) continues to describe how South Africa's brutal past and liberation movement have taught black women not to speak up. Since the racial segregation is still a reality today, black women can be accused for "splitting" the fight while speaking up against the patriarchy instead of the racial oppression. From a postcolonial lens, McEwan (2001) argues that black women do not want to separate the fight against racism and oppressive structures since they, traditionally, stand united in solidarity with black men.

Social, political, and cultural norms are considered a barrier to adopt an inclusive GRB approach since it hinders cultural sensitivity gender equality awareness in the city as well equal participation in the policy dialogue. Furthermore, as identified in the literature review, equal participation to guarantee that different perspectives are considered is key in order to adopt an inclusive GRB approach (Steccolini, 2019).

6.1.3.2 Throughput: Lack of Awareness and Gender Knowledge

Although the leading international development organizations follow the GAD discourse which recognizes that gender perspectives in development are vital, many governments, local governments and political parties worldwide still consider gender equality a low, non-urgent, priority (Steccolini, 2019). The lack of political will and the lack of gender equality awareness, therefore, becomes a primary challenge to the adoption of GRB.

Challenges regarding limited awareness and gender knowledge among officials and local politicians are linked to the throughput stage of the policy process since it, from an FDT perspective, is a quality of governance issue (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). Several interviewees identify the lack of awareness and political will among officials working with policy formulation and development, as well as among politicians in the local government, as a potential challenge to adopting an inclusive GRB approach (R1, R2, R8, R9, R10, R12, R13). R2 (civil servant) expresses concern about the lack of gender sensitivity and gender awareness within the Water and Sanitation Department. Most of the employees working in the department come from an engineering background, and the work at the department is highly focused on developing infrastructure and achieving business goals. However, according to R2 (civil servant), the department does not adopt inclusive thinking on how the infrastructure development might impact different groups in the city into the work. R2 (civil servant) emphasizes that it is a lack of both gender equality expertise as well as contextual knowledge:

> Most of the officials working at the various departments in the city live in the Southern and Northern Suburbs which means that they do not really see informality on a daily basis, which also adds to the disconnect and the blindness on how our work impacts the population from a gender perspective (R2).

Moreover, R1 (civil servant) highlights that the challenge is not only the blindness on how the water and sanitation approach impacts the city's residents but also the lack of awareness on how a GRB approach and more established gender equality commitments can accelerate the development in the city and how it will most likely have positive impacts on all residents. The lack of a strategic and effective collaboration between the city's various departments has also been discussed as a potential barrier to adopting an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector. For example, R1 (civil servant) emphasizes that adopting the GRB approach will only be effective if the concept, definition, and best practices are mainstreamed through all city departments. The underlining argument that he presents to back up this statement is that different policy areas overlap, which requires stronger cooperation. One overlapping area, according to R13 (CSO representative), is how the risk of being subjected to sexual violence and other forms of crimes while walking to toilets or water pipes in informal settlements increases when the electricity infrastructure is not developed or when areas experience load shedding[1]. Therefore, a more robust dialogue between the Water and Sanitation Department and Electricity Generation and Distribution Department can create opportunities to increase awareness of how an effective GRB approach can reduce crime levels.

6.1.3.3 Output: Lack of Cultural Sensitivity Awareness Raising

As described in Chapter 3, output legitimacy has both an objective and subjective component, where the latter refers to citizens' satisfaction with the policy content, which is likely tied to the extent to which they can recognize their preferences in the policy (Boedeltje & Cornips, 2004). R5 (CSO representative), R10 (ward committee representative), and R12 (local politician, ANC) problematize the lack of cultural sensitiveness in key water and sanitation documents, where people living in the townships and informal settlement areas have expressed that they do not recognize their perspectives in key policy documents. R2 (civil servant) and R7 (local politician, DA) also recognize the issue of how the city formulates its policies and strategies. For example, R2 (civil servant) describes how the Water and Sanitation Department needs to

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[1] Load shedding is a method od reducing the demand on energy by switching off the energy to certain geographical areas. In 2023, certain areas in Cape Town experience approximately 6-8 hours of power blackouts each day (Businesstech, 2023).

improve at tweaking policy documents to suit cultures and contexts in the most affected communities. Furthermore, R7 (local politician, DA) also describes how policies that do not talk to the people on the ground, based on a cultural and context-sensitive lens, tend to create a barrier for people in certain areas to engage in policy development since certain groups may feel left out, which leads to decreased citizen satisfaction (the subjective component of the output legitimacy).

Moreover, R13 (CSO representative) states that the city needs to prioritize awareness-raising campaigns and educational programs to increase the understanding of how and why the water and sanitation sector impacts the population differently depending on cultural and social belonging. The need for awareness raising to overcome structural challenges in the country is also highlighted in the *National Development Plan,* which states that the national government, local governments, and non-government actors need to promote awareness and produce context and culturally sensitive information (Republic of South Africa, 2013). In order to be able to raise awareness about how the water and sanitation sector impacts the population from a culturally sensitive lens, R12 (local politician, ANC), highlights that the first step is to start producing data and analyses on how the water and sanitation sector impacts the population different depending on cultural and social differences. However, such data is not available today, which, according to R12 (local politician, ANC) and R13 (CSO representative), creates a knowledge gap among the population, which limits the possibility for the public to advocate for more culturally sensitive approaches. Furthermore, the second step, according to R12 (local politician, ANC), is the need for the city to use such information in educational programs in order to raise public awareness about the issue, which in turn can create a possibility for citizens to mobilize and advocate for a more inclusive water and sanitation sector, including an inclusive GRB approach.

6.1.3.4 Lack of Awareness and Gender Knowledge: Concluding Remarks

During the interviews, challenges to adopting GRB in the water and sanitation sector in Cape Town liked to social, political, and cultural structures and norms were discussed. These norms have resulted in unequal participation in decision-making processes, with women being less likely to participate due to traditional household responsibilities and increased risk of violence during night-time meetings. The lack of gender equality awareness from an intersectional approach among officials and local politicians is also identified as a significant challenge in adopting an inclusive gender responsive approach, linked to the throughput stage of the policy

process. Furthermore, the lack of cultural sensitivity awareness raising campaigns to increase the public's awareness about the complexity of how the water and sanitation sector impacts the population differently based on cultural and social belonging may also hinder the possibilities for the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach. Overall, the importance of recognizing and addressing social, political, and cultural norms that hinder equal participation and the adoption of gender responsive policies in the water and sanitation sector was recognized during the interviews. It calls for increased gender awareness and political will among officials and local politicians to ensure a more inclusive approach towards gender equality.

7.0 Concluding discussion

This chapter covers a concluding discussion of the findings presented in Chapter 6. Overall, based on the findings, the chapter discusses why challenges to adopting GRB should be considered through the lens of FDT. Furthermore, the chapter deliberates why an intersectional perspective derived from a postcolonial feminist approach is necessary while discussing the case of Cape Town. The following overarching research question has guided this study:

- *How and why should input, throughput, and output from a FDT lens be considered while identifying challenges to adopt an inclusive GRB?*

The findings in Chapter 6 indicate that the need for a GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation is unmistakable. All interviewees clearly recognized the gendered nature of the WASH sector in Cape Town. Furthermore, the findings state that lack of transparency, lack of cooperation, and lack of gender equality awareness are all barriers to the adoption of GRB in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector, along with the national level findings defined in the literature review (Budoo-Scholtz, 2022). However, by incorporating input, throughput, and output from an FDT point of view in this study, new perspectives on transparency, lack of cooperation, and lack of gender equality awareness have emerged. By paying attention to all stages of the policy process and pinpointing challenges connected to all three components (input, throughput, and output), the challenges of transparency, multistakeholder cooperation, and gender equality awareness become more complex and multilayered. First and foremost, most of the previous GRB research has focused on the theoretical component of GRB as well as the output stage of the policy process by analyzing how different sectors and policies impact the population from a gender equality perspective (see, among others, Mishra & Navanita, 2012; Mahadevia, 2019; Sushant & Moumita Laha, 2021). However, since the concept of GRB also involves the procedures and process of formulating policies and decision-making, this study argues for the importance to also pay attention to norms and structures at play that impact the policy process.

In most of the interviews, norms connected to gender, race, and socioeconomic status as well as structures connected to culture and history were recurring themes, and several respondents highlighted that these structural barriers are complex challenges to adopting an inclusive GRB approach in the water and sanitation sector in Cape Town. These structural challenges, linked to transparency, cooperation, and awareness issues, were revealed by paying attention to the

input, throughput, and output stages of the policy process. Furthermore, by incorporating a postcolonial feminist lens that recognizes the intersections between gender, race, and socioeconomic status it became clear in the analysis that challenges, especially on the input and throughput side of the policy process, are connected to institutional exclusion. New additional perspectives on challenges identified in previous research appeared thanks to the theoretical framework *(Figure 2)* that clearly distinguished between input, throughput, and output. Hence, the overarching research question *"How and why should input, throughput, and output from an FDT lens be considered while identifying challenges to adopt an inclusive GRB?"* has been answered since the findings expose how the barriers of transparency, multistakeholder cooperation, and gender equality awareness become more multidimensional while examining the whole policy process.

Identified challenges related to the output stage, such as the lack of impact transparency, the local government's restricted use of other stakeholders' recommendations and information, and the lack of culturally sensitive awareness-raising campaigns, could be considered as more "technical issues". Technical issues can be solved and overcame by investments in the water and sanitation sector, by releasing more resources for monitoring how the sector impacts the population from a gender equality perspective, and to improve management practices within the water and sanitation sector to guarantee that officials take advantages of already existing outputs provided by external stakeholders. On the other hand, challenges connected to the input and throughput stages have more structural characteristics. Structural issues stem from social, cultural, historical, and political factors that affect participation in the policy dialogue and unequal access to water and sanitation services. Hence, these challenges, linked to the policy process's input and throughput stages, should be addressed from a more holistic view based on the complexities identified in the findings. Addressing social and historical structures that reproduce patriarchal, discriminating, and racist structures that the interviewees discuss emphasizes the need for "home-grown" solutions. Hence, improving the partnership and dialogue between the local government, affected communities, and CSO, as identified as a significant challenge by the interviewees, can be considered a key solution to overcome several other barriers. For example, greater cooperation can decrease tunnel vision and ignorance among civil servants and local politicians, leading to a greater understanding of the need for GRB and how cultural differences need to be embedded in a GRB approach for it to be inclusive. The findings indicate that a comprehensive strategy is needed to address both technical and structural challenges in the water and sanitation sector. This requires a

combination of technical interventions and broader efforts to address underlying social, historical, and political factors embedded in the water and sanitation sector. Moreover, the fact that several respondents keep coming back to South Africa's history and how it still impacts the real life for people living in townships and informal settlements also reveals that challenges in adopting a GRB are context-specific and a "one-size-fits-all" approach solution in adopting GRB is therefore not possible.

To sum up, the findings in this study indicates that input, throughput, and output from an FDT lens should be considered while identifying challenges to adopting GRB. Recognizing the full policy process while looking at challenges are, according to the findings, especially essential in sectors and cases that are strongly connected to social, historical, and cultural norms, such as the water and sanitation sector in South Africa. By looking at the input, throughput and output stages of the policy process, more multi-intertwined barriers have been identified, which can assist policymakers in finding ways to overcome such challenges to increase the possibilities to adopt an inclusive GRB, to secure more inclusive and effective policies and strategies in various sectors. To conclude, I hope that the findings and discussion in this study have contributed to a greater understanding of the multidimensional aspects of the challenges to adopt a GRB approach in the WASH sector. Information essential for policymakers, politicians, and civil society to gain in order to push for an inclusive GRB approach that can address inequalities in the WASH sector.

8.0 Future Research

During the interviews, several interesting reflections and opinions appeared that I have not been focusing on in this study due to the limited scope of time and the specific research aim. As stated in the Chapter 2, there is a need for more adoption and implementation research in the GRB field. This study has contributed to star filling that gap by looking at adoption challenges. However, the GRB field still lack implementation research, which is essential for establishing real life changes.

For future research, it would have been interesting to analyze more actors' opinions, attitudes, and thoughts regarding challenges to adopting GRB in the water and sanitation sector in Cape Town. Since the private sector plays a major role in the water and sanitation sector in South Africa, the views from the private sector would add a meaningful contribution to the research field (the Republic of South Africa, n.d.). During the interviews, the importance of looking at the problem as well as the solutions from an intersectional perspective was emphasized. However, this study has mainly been including intersections between gender, race, and socioeconomic status to understand better how historical and cultural structures still impact the access to water and sanitation services and the participation in the policy development process of the population today. Other challenges and barriers would, therefore, probably appear if examining other intersections, such as sexuality and disablement.

9.0 References

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10.0 Appendix

10.1 Questionnaire for CS Representatives

Opening questions:
- How does your organization see the WASH-gender nexus problems?
- How does your organization work with the WASH-gender nexus in Cape Town?
    - ⇒ Especially in Cape Town's informal settlements?
    - ⇒ Does your organization apply an intersectional lens to the work? If so, how do you define intersectionality?
- Does your organization use the definition gender-responsive budgeting? If so, how do you define it?
- What are your assumptions about how the local government handles water and sanitation from a gender equality perspective in Cape Town?
- Do you see the need for more comprehensive initiatives to address gender equality issues concerning water and sanitation in Cape Town?
    - ⇒ If so, what kind of efforts do your think would be inclusive and effective?

Input questions:
- Does your organization have access to relevant and reliable data on how water and sanitation policies in Cape Town impact women, men, girls, and boys?
    - ⇒ If so, where do you access such data?
- Does your organization have access to information on how CSOs can participate and influence water and sanitation policy-making in Cape Town?
- How does your organization cooperate with the local government and other stakeholders when it comes to Cape Town's policy-making, with a gender equality perspective?
    - ⇒ What can your organization contribute to the water and sanitation planning in Cape Town?
    - ⇒ Is your organization satisfied with how the local government cooperates with CSOs, why/ why not?
- Do you think that social, political, and economic structures impact the possibilities and/ or challenges for CSOs to participate in the water and sanitation decision-making process?

Throughput questions:
- Does your organization think that the local government is transparent with resource allocation?
- Is your organization aware of what gender equality commitments/ efforts the city has made in the WASH sector?
    - ⇒ If yes, what kind of commitments/ efforts?
- Is your organization aware of what kind of data, inputs, and stakeholder cooperation decision-makers build their decisions and policies on?
- Does your organization are aware of how decisions regarding Cape Town's water and sanitation are made?

Output questions:

- Is your organization satisfied with existing data/ information on the issue?
  - ⇒ Whose responsibility do you think it is to produce reliable data?
- Does your organization produce its own analysis and data on the issue?
  - ⇒ To whom is it shared, and do you know how other stakeholders (including the local government) use such knowledge?
- Has your organization provided the local government with any recommendation/inputs?
  - ⇒ How was this received, and do you know if it has been used?
- What does your organization see as the main challenges for Cape Town to implement a GRB approach?

Concluding question:
- How have you experienced the interview? Do you want to add anything that you think is relevant for the research?

10.2 Questionnaire for Civil Servants and Local Politicians

Opening questions:
- How does your department/council see the WASH-gender nexus problems in Cape Town?
- How does your department/council work with the WASH-gender nexus in Cape Town?
    - ⇒ Especially in Cape Town's informal settlements?
    - ⇒ Does your department/council apply an intersectional lens to the work? If so, how do you define intersectionality?
- What is your department's experiences with gender-responsive budgeting and how do you define the concept?
    - ⇒ Does your department discuss the concept in relation to water and sanitation?
- What are your assumptions about how the local government handle water and sanitation from a gender equality perspective in Cape Town?
- Do you see the need for more comprehensive initiatives to address gender equality issues concerning water and sanitation in Cape Town?
    - ⇒ If so, what kind of efforts do your think would be inclusive and effective?

Input questions:
- Does your department/council have any efforts to provide information towards CSOs on how they can participate and influence water and sanitation policy-making in Cape Town?
    - ⇒ If so, what kind of efforts?
- How does your department/council cooperate with the CSOs, other departments/councils and other stakeholders when it comes to Cape Town's water and sanitation policy-making, with a gender equality perspective?
    - ⇒ How does your department work with intersectional perspectives in stakeholder engagement?
- Do you think that multistakeholder engagement is important and possible in order to adopt an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town? Why/why not?
    - ⇒ Is your department satisfied with the cooperation between stakeholders, why/ why not?
- Do you think that social, political, and economic structures impact the possibilities and/ or challenges for CSOs to participate in the water and sanitation decision-making process? If so, what kind of structures?

Throughput questions:
- What is your department's/council's role in the policy-process regarding water and sanitation?
- Is your department/council aware of the gender equality commitments/ efforts the city has made in the WASH sector?
    - ⇒ If yes, what kind of commitments/ efforts?
- Does your department/council think that the local government, including your department/ council, is transparent in the water and sanitation policy process?
    - ⇒ How does your department work with transparency?

- Is your organization aware of what kind of data, inputs, and stake-holder cooperation decision-makers build their decisions and policies on?
- What kind of data, inputs, and multistakeholder cooperation does your department use in the water and sanitation work?
- Do you think that the public is aware of how decisions regarding Cape Town's water and sanitation are made?

Output questions:
- Is your department/ council satisfied with existing data/ information on the issue?
  ⇒ Whose responsibility do you think it is to produce reliable data?
- Does your department/council produce its own analysis and data on the issue?
  ⇒ To whom is it shared, and do you know how other stakeholders use such knowledge?
- Has your department received any recommendations/ inputs from CSOs and other stakeholders?
  ⇒ If so, how have such information been used?
- What does your organization see as the main challenges for Cape Town to implement a GRB approach to water and sanitation planning?

Concluding question:
- How have you experienced the interview? Do you want to add anything that you think is relevant for the research?

10.3 Information Letter to Respondents

The aim of the research:
The aim of this study is to widen and deepen the understanding of the gender-WASH nexus in Cape Town. More specifically, the thesis strives to identify barriers to adopting an inclusive Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector by interviewing civil servants, local politicians, and representatives from civil society. The interviews will be conducted in Cape Town between the 2nd of March and the 1st of April.

Research questions:
The analysis will be guided by the overarching research question:
- *How and why should input, throughput, and output from a Feminist Democratic Theory lens be considered while identifying challenges to adopt an inclusive GRB approach?*

This is further divided into the following sub-questions:
- *How and why does transparency influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?*
- *How and why does multistakeholder cooperation influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?*
- *How and why does gender equality awareness influence the adoption of an inclusive GRB approach in Cape Town's water and sanitation sector according to civil servants, local politicians, and civil society representatives?*

Practical information:
As a respondent, you can decide how you prefer to structure the interview and if you want to meet in person, via video call, or over phone. The interviews will take around 1 h but can be adapted to your preferences. The interview will be recorded and transcribed. The material will only be used in this specific research project, and all recordings will be deleted when the thesis is completed in June.

Everyone participating in the study, will be anonymous in the paper if nothing else is preferred. You have always right to choose to refrain to answer questions during the interview. The MA thesis will be presented in June, and it will be sent to all respondents that have participated in the study.

Nora Mårtensson, the researcher and interviewer, is a Master's student from the program International Administration and Global Governance at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

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If you have any questions related to the research program, the University, or on me as a researcher, please contact my supervisor Ms. Amy Alexander, Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science: amy.alexander@gu.se