



Grappling with Gendered Crises: Women's Access and Participation in Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Activities at Tongogara Refugee Camp, Zimbabwe

Wisdom Sibanda¹; Melissa M. Hansen²; Geoffrey Mukwada³

¹Department of Geography, University of the Free State, South Africa

²Afromontane Research Unit, University of the Free State, South Africa

³Department of Geography & W.A. Franke College of Forestry & Conservation of the University of Montana, USA

E-mail: sibandawisdom@gmail.com

<http://dx.doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v6i7.1462>

Abstract

This paper analyses the participation of women as primary providers, users and managers of water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) at household level in Tongogara Refugee Camp (TRC), in Zimbabwe. The study argues that the participation of women is essential for the success of WASH projects and for programme sustainability, but the patriarchal nature of the projects has left most women at the periphery of the planning process. Informed by a feminist political ecology (FPE) approach, the study utilises a qualitative methodology in which data were gathered through 68 interviews, five key informant interviews, eight Focus Group Discussions, observations and a desk review. The research findings show gaps in women's access, use and control of WASH facilities. Despite their vast knowledge in water management, women still bear the brunt of water shortages and struggle for power. The study concludes that women still grapple with crises of access, use and control of WASH facilities in TRC. Improving access and availability of WASH facilities will reduce incidences of gender-based violence and the burden of WASH shortages on women in TRC.

Keywords: *Feminist Political Ecology; Patriarchy; Tongogara Refugee Camp; Water Sanitation and Hygiene; Zimbabwe*

Introduction

Everyone has the right to water regardless of nationality, race, colour and religion, but many people across the world still lack access to safe water and sanitation facilities, and the use of effective hygiene practices that are vital for a healthy environment (Als, et. al., 2019). To attain worldwide coverage of safe water and sanitation services, as postulated by the Sustainable Development Goals

(SDGs), having access to water and sanitation is an elementary human need and a critical human right, essential for the dignity and health of all people (Abashidze, et. al., 2017). Lack of safe and accessible WASH facilities will result in the compromised health and self-esteem of billions of people, impacting negatively on the attainment of other human rights (WHO/UNICEF, 2017). The Human Right to Water and Sanitation (HRWS) endeavours to secure access to such facilities for everyone irrespective of race, colour or creed (Water Aid, 2018). Denying people access to water and sanitation will result in the limitation of choices and freedoms leading to ill-health, poverty and vulnerability (Schmitt, et. al., 2018).

Reviewed literature shows that lack of access to safe water and sanitation services is unprecedented among refugees worldwide (Ghosh, 2018). Some studies revealed that refugees have limited freedoms as compared to those vested in citizens of host countries (Sang, et.al., 2018; UNHCR, 2018; Haque, et.al., 2020). McBrien (2017) defines refugees as people running away from war, violence, conflict or persecution and who have crossed an international border in search of peace (Sang, et. al., 2018; Njie-Carr, et. al. 2020). In the same vein, a refugee camp is defined as a temporary accommodation for people who have been forced to flee their home because of violence and persecution (UNHCR, 2018). It is purported that families living in refugee camps face unique challenges due to overcrowding and underserving environments brought about by the accumulation of waste, contaminated water, and communicable diseases (Yates, et. al., 2018). The same refugee women also face a disproportionate threat of violence within refugee camps (Sang, et. al., 2018), that include rape and other forms of sexual assault, human trafficking, and forced sex in exchange for goods or favours (Gengo, et. al., 2018). All these challenges have been reported in refugee camps in Africa, which are characterized by unreliable and erratic rainfall as well as poor infrastructure (Nyoka, et. al. 2017). Although some research aspects of refugee lives have been documented in journalistic and scholarly works (Watol, et. al. 2018; Ramier, 2016; Sang, et., al., 2018; Haque, et. al. 2020), the burden of water shortage which they encounter daily has largely been ignored (Calderon-Villarreal, et. al., 2022), thereby making it worthwhile to explore.

In Africa, water and sanitation in refugee camps are deeply embedded within gendered structures of power (Thompson, et. al. 2017; Watol, et. al., 2018; Ruswa, 2012; ACF, 2012). This assertion was echoed by Nyoka, at. al., (2017), who further noted that most refugee camps in Africa are characterised by a critical shortage of WASH facilities. This has a bearing on women's primary responsibility for collecting, managing and safeguarding household water (Greene, et. al. 2019), viewed as a global water policy, but their role in its use remains an enigma. Across cultures and societies, the gendered inequalities characterised by differing access to and control over resources has seen an escalation in incidences of denial of autonomy and decision-making power for women (Arabi, 2019). The imposition or enforcement of traditional gender roles and expressions through stigmatisation, exclusion or violence (Watol et. al., 2018; Haque, et. al. 2020), is impacting negatively on women's aspirations for power.

This study seeks to explore the extent to which women access, use and control WASH facilities in TRC. The paper argues that the participation of women is essential for the success of WASH projects and for programme sustainability, but the patriarchal outlook of the projects has left women at the periphery of the planning process. One of the major questions the research endeavours to ask is: "What is the role and effectiveness of refugee women's access, use and control of WASH activities in the TRC?" The remaining part of this paper provides a kaleidoscope of WASH goals and targets, the historical background, the theoretical framework, research methodology, the results and discussion, as well as the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

A Kaleidoscope of Wash Goals and Targets

One of the targets of the initial SDGs is to eradicate inequality and discrimination in accessing WASH facilities in all its dimensions, which were instituted as part of the 17 SDGs in 2015 (Halloway,

et. al. 2018; WHO/UNICEF, 2017; WaterAid, 2015; 2018). Wilbur, (2016), opines that despite Goal 6 reaffirming the need for respect, protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all by member states without discrimination, it is yet to produce the desired results. By ensuring that water and sanitation are available and well managed for all by 2030, this goal (SDG 6), aims to ensure its accessibility, suitability and quality (UNICEF/WHO, 2017; WaterAid, 2018). The same goal (SDG 6) strives to ensure adequate access to sanitation and doing away with open defecation, while prioritizing the plight of women and children who have to walk long distances to get water (WHO/UNICEF, 2020). Efforts to improve access to WASH in a transparent manner that ensures accountability and complete involvement of women will most likely have a buy-in from the disadvantaged groups they are meant to serve (Grant, et. al. 2017). If well implemented, SDG 6 can bring equality and a better quality of life in the community (WaterAid, 2018). The challenge is about how to attain the SDGs when serving migrants and transitory populations who are of no fixed abode? But the need to attain the human rights to water and sanitation can only be realised effectively through full, free and meaningful participation in decision-making processes by people affected by the decisions (IASC, 2015). Much as these targets are a pointer to a sustainable WASH future, they remain sectoral, hence the need to investigate the extent to which women access and control WASH facilities in the camp.

Historical Background and Case Study Description

Tongogara Refugee Camp is situated in the South western part of Chipinge District in Zimbabwe. The study area falls under Natural Region V, which receives very low rainfall (300-600mm per annum), which is considered as very dry (UNHCR/WFP, 2014), making access to water very difficult. Such conditions impact negatively on women, who bear the brunt of fetching water. Today, the camp hosts over twenty two thousand refugees from Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo and lately Mozambique largely because of civil wars (UNHCR, 2021). People of different social, cultural and religious backgrounds have been grouped together in the camp. The camp is managed by UNHCR, an arm of the United Nations, together with the Department of Social Welfare (DSW), which represents the host government (UNHCR/WFP, 2014). At the time of conducting the research, the camp was divided into nine residential sections. At first, refugees were settled according to their countries of origin, but with the continued influx of refugees, they are now settled as they arrive, leading to the creation of a heterogeneous community with a host of challenges associated with differences ranging from language, culture and religion, among others. There is a critical shortage of water and sanitation facilities in the TRC (Calderon-Villarreal, et. al., 2022). While the camp is dotted with pit latrines, the continued inflow of refugees results in an insufficient number of these ablution facilities, a situation which often leads to the practice of open defecation (OD). Although the transit centre has got some public toilets, their use is being manipulated by the dominant groups.

The camp borders a game reserve, along Save River, located on the western side of the camp, where predators like lions and cheetahs prowl, making OD extremely risky. The main source of water for refugees in the TRC is ground water, extracted using 12 manually operated bush pumps, and two solar-powered whilst another two are electric-powered boreholes (Mhlanga et. al., 2016). This is where all the refugees get water for drinking, domestic use, including bathing and sanitation. Water Point User Committees (WPUC) govern these water points (WP). However, the solar panels were stolen in February 2019 and were yet to be replaced by the time of this research, in March 2020, forcing women to look for alternative water sources. By the time this research was conducted, the water allocated per person per day in the camp did not meet the stipulated Sphere minimum standards of 20 litres per person per day (Sphere, 2018). Elsewhere, a number of researchers have carried out studies in refugee settings on WASH (ISCG,2020; Sang, et. al. 2018; Oxfam, 2018; OSCE, 2020; Calderon-Villarreal, et. al., 2022; Spiegel, et. al., 2022), but little has been done to analyze the role of women in WASH governance in a refugee camp, which justifies our focus on TRC using a Feminist Political Ecology theoretical lens.

The camp situation is such that refugees must build their own toilet facilities. Most households don't have toilets. Although the transit centre has public toilets, they are now being privatized by the unscrupulous few, rendering them inaccessible to the general refugee populace. The nearest water point for the Mozambican refugees in Section 7 of the camp is three kilometres away at Chipinge College of Horticulture, outside the camp. Each water point is managed by a Water Point User Committee (WPUC), composed of seven members. These include the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Treasurer, Secretary, Caretaker/security, and 2 Committee Members. Women have their quota of four members in the WPUC.

The WASH projects in the camp are run by two NGOs, GOAL Zimbabwe (GOAL) and Teres des Homes (TDH), who monitor their proper implementation. TDH is responsible for hygiene and disease surveillance, while GOAL ensures the availability of water and sanitation facilities. On paper, these NGOs aim to safeguard the lives of all refugees while ensuring their inclusion in project implementation without discrimination, but in reality on the ground point otherwise. WASH projects being implemented in the camp include construction of latrines, borehole drilling and maintenance, Participatory Health and Hygiene Education (PHHE), formation and revival of Community and School Health Clubs (CHC, SHC), training and capacity building of Health Promoters (HP) and clean-up campaigns. The NGOs also carry out disease surveillance and control, water testing and provision of water treatment tablets.

Theoretical Framework: Feminist Political Ecology

The main theoretical framework advanced in this study is the Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) framework. Scholarship in FPE allowed us to explore women refugees' access, use and control of WASH facilities in TRC, and to unravel the trajectories of inequitable resource access. The framework gives an analysis of the nature and dimensions of resource access struggles and their interlinkages with broader socio-economic, political, and environmental processes (Martinez-Aliar, 2013; Elmhirst, 2015; Thompson, et. al., 2017).

The framework highlights the challenges that women face in trying to access resources and the activities they are involved in to ensure improved WASH performance at household level. Such activities represent an "environmentalism of the poor" (Martinez, 2013). However, the poor should not be treated as a homogeneous group as the pressures of the global political economy often led the poor to exploit their natural surroundings unsustainably (Guha et. al, 2002; Martinez, 2013). Thus, resistance against the unequal use of environmental resources and services by the rich and powerful have seen women and men striving to correct the wrongs that have been committed against the land and water around them (UNEP, 2016). The struggles in defence of the socio-environmental transformations by the poor, brings about conflicts and disputes over access to natural resources entrenched in variances in morals and disparities in influence among groups (Jeff, et. al., 2017). Hence, FPE queries the manner in which control of access to natural resources is being handled (Bankoff, 2018; Chitongo, et. al, 2019). The gender dimension of power difference and divide in environmental discourses in areas where women had no say (Clement, et. al. 2019). Men tend to cast a blind eye on the burden that lack of access to water places on women and have no desire to change the status quo. To this end, the FPE critiques the formation of gender-based winners and losers, as well as how policy outcomes impact females and other vulnerable populations (Cole, 2017). The connections between culture and social relations that give rise to gendered inequalities and access to natural resources (Clement, et. al., 2019), has led to the need to recognize women groups and formations to help in the promotion of women's causes. Their presence gives justice to the ecological and social settings that enhance their lives instead of separating them from the problems (Cole, 2017). The gender and environmental governance literature shows that in highly stratified social formations marked by patriarchy, decision-making, access to and control over water resources is male-dominated (Leder, et. al., 2019; 2018). This helps to challenge the patriarchal society that commands gendered

human–environmental relations (Doubleday, 2020), giving impetus to the need to address the social differences brought about by the gendered norms of the refugee society.

Beuchler, et. al, (2017), examined the position of gender in the political ecological landscape, and identified gender as a factor in ecological and political relations. They analyzed gendered experiences of women and their viewpoints on environmental livelihoods and social relations (Sundberg, 2015). Thus, gender is advocated as a vital cog in the class, race and radical natural life that informs access to, control over, and knowledge of natural resources (Cole, 2017). The framework views women and men as actors who affect environmental management, resource use, and the creation of policies (Elmhirst, 2015). Such gender differences in environmental impact are not biologically rooted, but linked to the social constructs of gender, changing due to culture, class, and geographical location of individuals and societies (Beuchler, et. al., 2017).

Dianne Rocheleau, et. al (1996) observed the gendered labour patterns and the negative effects brought about by environmental challenges on women. The study endeavoured to include women in the research area giving justice to the "ecological and social contexts that sustain their lives", rather than separating them from the context, rendering them invisible (Rocheleau et. al, 1996:461). It has been further asserted that gender determines the different roles, responsibilities and access to resources (Rocheleau et. al, 1996; Abdasi, 2019). People assign each other different roles as they reproduce and materialize meanings about their gendered and social selves (Resurreccion, et. al., 2019). Such traditional gender roles impact women's access to resources and their education (Goodrich, et. al., 2019), limiting their accessibility to productive resources as compared to men (Mollett, et. al., 2018). This makes the research necessary considering that access to water and gender are interrelated issues particularly in developing countries (Leder, et. al., 2019). Thus, the rights to resource access by women and other marginalized groups aggravate gender inequalities in affected communities (Lamb, et. al. 2017), further justifying the need for the current study.

Methodology

The study is based on field research undertaken in TRC between August 2019 and March 2020. A pilot study to test the interview questions was conducted in September 2018, as the researchers were still gathering information on the topic, with the final guide being approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Free State in July 2019. The study is based on a qualitative research design in which eight Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), 68 interviews and five key informant interviews, observations and a desk review were employed to gather data. A case study research method was utilized because of its advantages of tapping into the details of a particular area of study.

All interviews and FGDs were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of the respondents were withheld by mutual consent. For accountability and to ensure the reliability of the results, verification of the findings was done by triangulation between different types of sources that include the key informants, participant interviewees and FGD participants. Data were coded according to emerging themes that include access use, control, gender equality and gender-based violence. A thematic approach to data analysis was also adopted which entailed sifting of the collected data according to these emerging themes. The household interviews generally lasted forty-five to ninety minutes, with the proceedings being recorded, noted and transcribed for analysis. The reading of transcripts was done several times (on average 10 times).

Along with secondary data, information was collected through sixty-eight household interviews conducted in the nine residential sections and five in-depth interviews with key informants, local NGOs (GOAL Zimbabwe and Terres des Homes), and government representatives (Camp Administrator, Engineer and the Environmental Health Technician). Of the eight FGDs conducted, seven had eight

women participants representing seven major countries present in the camp (Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Mozambique) whilst the eighth group was unique in that it had nine participants across the gender and selected national divides of TRC refugees, to ensure transparency. This brought the total of FGD participants to sixty-five. The study had to use purposive sampling to select households according to country of origin and to get equal representation from all sections. Snowball sampling was also used as it saved on time.

Findings

The research findings were organized under the following normative thematic areas; access, control and use, and gender and power dynamics in WASH in the TRC. Findings presented this way could positively inform the UNHCR, government planners and policy makers in framing policies that are user-friendly to women and their lived realities.

Access, Use and Control of WASH Activities by Women

Research findings show that the distribution of water points in the camp is uneven. Some sections access water from standpipes for only 2 hours on a normal day. Water rationing starts at 6 am. to 8 am for Sections 1 and 2 of the camp, 1 pm to 3 pm. for Sections 3 and 4. Sections 5, 6 and 9 rely on manual boreholes, while Sections 7 and 8 are supplied by a solar powered pump, whose panels are yet to be replaced since they were stolen in early 2019. Thus, refugees in the TRC obtain water rations over a two-hour window on a daily basis, depending on availability of electricity and other unforeseen conditions such as occurrence of disasters resulting from cyclones and drought. The absence of daily water rationing has been as a result of the current power outages being experienced throughout Zimbabwe, as well as the failure by GOAL Zimbabwe (a local NGO working in the camp) to replace the stolen solar panels to the borehole pumps that serve Sections 7 and 8. Lack of control of water rationing modalities by women leaves them to grapple with the crisis of water shortage. In addition, the research findings show that control of WASH facilities by men in TRC remain polarized on gender lines as men dominate decisions in the WASH programmes. As one woman from the FGDs with Section 2 has this to say:

We are the majority in the camp. Traditionally, the responsibility for water availability in the home rests on our shoulders. Lack of water and sanitation facilities in the camp places the burden on us. However, the WASH facilities in the camp are polarized on gender lines as men tend to dominate decision making in WASH programmes,

[Interview Participant]

For instance, men are responsible for the construction and siting of latrines, whilst excluding women who are the majority in the camp. Women are left out of WASH decision making and their contributions are not considered in activity plans. The domination of men in WASH projects is a creation of GOAL Zimbabwe staff who defended their reliance on men in the siting and excavation of toilets as being prompted by the ever-increasing demand that requires urgent action. This resonates with the FPE proponents who query the manner in which control and use of natural resources are handled in society to the detriment of women.

It was gathered that the distance between residential areas and water points; queuing time at water points; source of water against users; safe and appropriate way for all users; and access to water points, as enshrined in the Sphere Guidelines, were not considered by the NGOs. Participants were in agreement that water sources must be near and easily accessible to every household. However, research findings show that water facilities are inaccessible for different reasons. Chief among these factors is the uneven distribution of water points as they are far away from some homesteads, making it a burden for some

women as they are forced to walk long distances in search of the valuable commodity. The research findings also revealed that sharing of water between people from different sections is creating many challenges. Participants blame it on lack of consultation by the NGOs during the siting of these water points, hence the distances involved, as one-woman participant complained:

We were never consulted in the siting of these water points by men leading to some standpipes being sited near toilets. They forget about our presence during such times but only think of us when there is no water in the home. Men tend to control the use of water in the camp.

[Interview Participant]

The above quotation shows that women suffer discrimination of various kinds, including in decision making, access to resources, control and their use in the home. In other words, women bear the burden of sourcing water from long distances, but they are not in control of this valuable resource.

The study also established that women's security was threatened by the frequent violence that often break out among users at most water points. Hence, the task of fetching water was about "the survival of the fittest" arena, since women had to be brave and strong enough to withstand the "warfare". Women blame the NGOs operating in the camp for failing to drill enough boreholes to avert water shortages. Thus, women still grapple with an opportunity to ensure that they control the use of water in the home as a fulfilment of their traditional role, hence they are directly affected by its inadequate supply. The water crisis did not spare the vulnerable, including children, the aged, chronically ill, pregnant women, and people living with disability (PLWD), further impacting on their right to use water. They are also affected by the physical layout of the camp and the manually operated boreholes that are not user-friendly to children and PLWD, hence the need for more piped water schemes. Significant variabilities were also noticed in water collection practices across the camp according to the country of origin. For instance, women from Burundi and Mozambique store their water in clay pots to retain its original taste and coldness. All these findings are evidence that women carry the greatest knowledge and responsibility for water collection in the camp, a phenomenon that resonates with the FPE framework that views gender as vital in the cascading of knowledge on access, control and use of natural resources (Cole, 2017). This was iterated by one elderly woman from Burundi:

The WASH situation in the camp is not all inclusive. The sanitary facilities do not cater for the pregnant women, the elderly, people living with disability, menstruating girls and women. There is no soap in toilets. The toilets are also not lockable and do not have ramps for the disabled. Although women have the knowledge and responsibility for water collection in the camp, they still lack decision making powers.

[Interview Participant]

Women participants also complained about the distribution of sanitary facilities and their where they face, which they suggest favour men who can urinate in the open while their women counterparts cannot do likewise as they value their privacy. However, the inadequacy of toilets and their deplorable state has seen most women resorting to the use of the bush, thereby promoting OD. Where toilets are available, they are not safe for use by children or night visits due to the roaming wildlife. The use and control of WASH facilities by men has also seen most women being put on the periphery of decision making. In the context of women experiencing a critical shortage of toilet facilities, the use shared ablution facilities have created its own share of problems. Some shared facilities were not well maintained given that there is no cleaning roster, which makes them unfit for human use. This poses a health hazard to users, particularly those with special needs that include children, the elderly, PLWD, pregnant women, chronically ill and their care givers. Interviews held with GOAL staff confirmed that toilets might be shared facilities or household specific. The WASH conditions in the TRC are so dire that the NGO's

capacity to cope with the ever-increasing demand for toilets is unsatisfactory. The staff explained that the availability of a latrine does not necessarily mean its allocation to a particular homestead but that it should be shared. However, the state of WASH facilities in the camp fall short of the minimum acceptable requirements necessary for achieving the Human Right Principle as more than forty people share a single squat hole while over five hundred people share one water point, which is double the acceptable minimum sphere standards. The Sphere Standards recommends a minimum of 15 litres of water per person per day, and a maximum of 40 people per squat hole, in emergency situations.

It was observed that there are no public latrines in the camp, except in schools and church premises, which are usually under lock and key, thereby prohibiting free access. Even at the Transit Camp, a settlement where refugees are vetted after arriving at TRC. There was supposed to be public toilets, but they have been privatized by some unscrupulous families who have successfully monopolized the facilities along ethnic lines. This has forced other users to resort to the use of the bush toilet, arguably another potential health hazard in the camp.

Due to lack of adequate access to toilets in the camp, women in Sections 1-4 have developed strategies that enabled them to cope with the prevailing situation. Some women either request neighbours' for permission to use toilets or "hold it till dark" when they can use the bush. In overcrowded sections of the TRC, where construction of toilets is impossible, women had to go out into the bush in groups, as they often do when looking for firewood when intending to relieve themselves. They have developed bush visiting timetables that they follow in order to minimize chances of being attacked by predators from the Save Conservancy. Similarly, fear of being raped or assaulted force women to travel in groups when they intend to relieve themselves. Nevertheless, the disgrace and humiliation of defecating in the open also impacts negatively on women's self-respect. Being seen maneuvering themselves to the bush in order to relieve themselves takes all the dignity away from them. As one participant from section 2 narrates:

We have no toilets. We used to access the public toilets around the Community Hall, but these toilets have since been demolished after they got filled up. We have no option in this section but to practice OD, since our houses are too crowded with no space to build a toilet. The government has ordered us to move to Section 8, a new residential area with bigger stands, but we refused because we wanted them to first build houses and toilets for us. Those who opted to move out are enjoying fresh air and better sanitation facilities.

[Interview Participant]

The sentiments expressed in the above quotation show that there are some practical challenges that people in the camp are facing, some of which are a result of the resistance to relocate by some families. However, the fact that some people resort to OD is a clear indication that there is an enduring WASH challenge that requires urgent attention in TRC.

This study also established that there were sections with insufficient ablution facilities but with abundant space. For instance, the inadequacy of sanitary infrastructure in Sections 7 and 8, has been blamed on GOAL's delay in addressing the WASH crisis. The communities in these sections complained that GOAL is not providing enough monitoring of its projects in the camp, which has resulted in the theft of cement meant for the construction of toilets in the camp. The need to be responsible and accountable in resource access, use, control and distribution resonates with the FPE proponents who acknowledged the existence of power struggles in resource access and distribution (Elmhirst, 2015).

Research findings also revealed that women and People Living With Disability (PLWD) faced challenges in accessing the toilets at the UNHCR offices. In fact, in the case of women, the toilets are not women-friendly to enable them to change, wash and dispose their sanitary pads hygienically and secretly. The facilities do not have locks and there is no signage, forcing women to use the nearby bush to avoid

intruders when accessing these toilets. Nevertheless, the bush is equally dangerous as most people visiting the offices frequent this area, thereby risking being assaulted. Ideally, there is need to prioritize the safety and the privacy of women, hence WASH projects need to include menstrual hygiene management (MHM). Pertaining to PLWD, it was also observed that there are no disability-friendly toilets in the camp, including at the UNHCR offices. Access to toilets by PLWD is greatly compromised, on the one hand, due to lack of ramps, and due to the fact that they compete with the able-bodied women, on the other hand. These challenges force some of them to practice OD. These challenges facing women in trying to access resources and ensuring an improved WASH situation in the camp reminds one of the “environmentalism of the poor” (Martinez, 2014), which manifests itself through ecological conflicts involving impoverished populations struggling against conditions that threaten their livelihood.

Gender and Power Dynamics in WASH Activities in the Camp

The research findings reveal that in a family setup, men are tasked with the running of the family through making important decisions while women ensure water availability. However, the role of women and their interests in the management of water are overlooked. Women participants mentioned the patriarchal system that portray them as second-class citizens to men as a major obstacle. Hence, their work goes unnoticed as men control how water is used in the household. Thus, the patriarchal system inherent in the camp has seen men dominating the decision-making processes in all WASH projects in TRC. Such patriarchal tendencies have eroded the social fabric in the camp to the extent that women resent attending meetings that unconsciously rubber stamps the male dominance. Women also complained that men treat them as second class citizens as their voices were not taken seriously in decision-making. As one woman vehemently remarked:

We are never equal in real sense. Once you are married you must know that there is a head of government who dictates the pace in the house. There is nothing like equal rights as men are the heads of households and their decisions are final. Patriarchy has forced most women to decline being involved in Water Point User Committees as their husbands cannot have any of that. As women, we have to comply

[Interview Participant]

The above quotation captures a general concern that women have regarding the reality of gender inequality in TRC. Due to traditional stereotypes, norms, and practices, where women are not allowed to take part in certain events without the approval of their male counterparts, has placed them at the mercy of their husbands. The authority of men in the home is final and is not challenged. In this context, the theoretical lens of FPE comes to the fore where it critiques gender-based winners and losers, in this case, men and women, respectively (Cole, 2017). Put differently, the connections between culture and social relations that give rise to gendered inequalities result in a patriarchal society that exudes gendered relations (Leder, et. al., 2019; Doubleday, 2020). Hence, there is need to address the social differences brought about by the gendered norms of the refugee community in TRC.

The study also established that water collection takes women’s time as some of them walk more than 3 kilometres to Chipinge College of Horticulture, an independent and private entity outside TRC, in search of this precious commodity. This is the case with most households in Section 7 where there is no borehole who had to rely on water from the College of Horticulture. The fact that some refugees are outsourcing water from outside the camp is a tip of the iceberg on the inadequacy of WASH facilities and existential unresolved social ethnic scuffles in TRC. Along these lines, it was gathered that due to the patriarchal dispositions, most men did not sacrifice to accompany their wives when they travel such long distances through thickets, which exposed them to sexual harassment and violence. One group that has been at the centre of this crisis are Mozambican women because Section 7, where they reside has no water supply. Therefore, the challenge facing these women presents a double blow because they will be

trying to avoid conflict at the camp standpipes, with women from the DRC. This shows that there are instances where some women refugees are oppressed by other women in their quest to access, use and control WASH resources in TRC. Women also fear the long distance they traverse the bushy area of “Mayeba” (Chipinge College of Horticulture) exposes them to sexual harassment.

This research study also revealed that access, use and control of WASH facilities are affected by culture, class, race, and geographical location of individuals and communities. Interviews with the Mozambican participants pertaining the accessibility and availability of toilets show that the male community does not value the construction of toilets or their use. They prefer using the bush. They trust their traditional knowledge where faeces are disposed through the cat system, which buries the human waste in the ground. Cultural influence has also made them to resort to sprinkling ash on faeces that would have been deposited around the homestead, as a way of reducing the transmission of communicable diseases by flies. To them, the construction of toilets is not a priority, as evidenced by what this old woman had to say:

Zimbabweans might be smart in every respect, but their unbecoming is when they give prominence to “faeces” by building them “houses” [toilets] while human beings live in shacks. This is unbecoming behaviour. Is man inferior to faeces? Why did they take us from the border where we were living comfortably only to dump us in this camp without houses? Let them build houses and the toilets for us and not to bother us to construct some.

[Participant Interview]

Therefore, it can be learnt that the standard ablution facilities are not a priority to this ethnic group, something which creates challenges in the camp, health-wise. It was also revealed that whilst Mozambican refugees preferred the bush toilet, they despised their DRC counterparts for using “flying toilets.” By “flying toilets”, the respondents were referring to a practice whereby some adults from the DRC ethnic group relieved themselves in plastic bags in the comfort of their houses and disposed them onto the streets without taking any due caution of potential health implications this might have. It was in reference to this infamous practice of “flying toilets” among DRC refugees that the Mozambican counterparts described the former’s behaviour as “inhumane, primitive and taboo for an adult to sit on a bucket in front of kids, defecating.” In this study, it was observed that women held the responsibility of teaching their children on the correct use of toilets. However, since it requires proper teaching and mentoring of children by their mothers it can be concluded that such form of socialisation was absent in most refugee families, especially those from Mozambique and the DRC. Apparently, their participation in the right choice of standard ablution facilities has a bearing on culture and grooming. Previous research has shown that men dominate decision making in the home while women usually perform social roles of caring for the sick and looking after children. In this study, it was revealed that women reported that the prescribed gender roles in the home make it difficult for them to participate fully in decision making processes pertaining their lives. Even in WPUCs men occupy positions of authority due to their gender to the detriment of women. Women mentioned that their role in WPUCs was being overshadowed by men who make decisions in these committees. One woman had this to say:

Our contribution in decisions pertaining the running of the WPUCs are very insignificant as men are at the helm of the committees. We are there to meet our quota of 4 members as required by the donors. It is men who make decisions on what should be done, or about the purchasing spares or about when to hold the next meeting. We are the majority in the camp, but traditional cultural beliefs have seen us being under the leadership of men

[Interview participant]

The above sentiments show that women feel sidelined in the WPUC meetings as they are never invited to preside over such meetings. Thus, women view such meetings as mere time wasting meant to rubber stamp the influence of men. Although findings show that women are the majority in the camp, the cultural norms deprive them the opportunity to take up positions of authority.

It was gathered that the power dynamics in the home and the need for gender equality has led to gender-based violence (GBV), because some men deny their wives the chance to participate in WASH meetings or assume positions of authority. Women are responsible for cleaning of WASH facilities in the home, whilst men supervise such activities. Although the women who sit in WPUCs ensure that water users pay their subscriptions for maintenance, the money collected is kept in the custody of men who occupy influential positions. Research findings reveal that the money is used to repair the water pumps in the event of a breakdown, as well as purchase some spare parts. Gender inequality has led to the exclusion of women from pump mechanic training workshops and the builders' course that was organized in the camp, all of which are continually deemed to be a preserve for men.

Another dimension to the gender and power dynamics in WASH activities in the TRC is noted where men are in charge of the distribution of Non-Food Items (NFIs) that include menstrual hygiene kits. Women complained that they are the target of abuse by the male dominated NFI distribution teams who often deny them access to menstrual hygiene kits. It was gathered that lack of access to menstrual hygiene management materials has led some female refugees to settle for old clothing or diapers that cause skin rashes. Observations show that female refugees receive dignity kits in the form of soap, underwear, sanitary pads, a wrapping cloth, toothpaste, a razor, a plastic bucket and cup. However, the limited availability of kits and personal items has led to negative coping strategies such as transactional sex and early marriages for one to be considered for supply, which might result in teenage pregnancies and the spread of STIs, including HIV. Men deprive women the opportunity to access reproductive health facilities such as birth control treatment as these are seen to take away the prospect of adding more members to their "cash list". This means that the more family members one had the more ration cards one would get. Thus, women have to grapple with the hardship of bearing more children, even in old age, to cover-up for those lost during displacements and migration. Now we turn to the discussion section of the paper.

Discussion

As powerless and marginalized people, women are not involved in decisions that pertain to their health as they struggle to access, use and control WASH facilities in the camp. While the UNHCR and the SDGs are advocating equal access to the use and opportunities in the implementation of WASH facilities by all, collection of water in TRC remains the domain of women. As such, women are primarily responsible for the management of water sanitation and hygiene at the household level. The domination of the decision-making processes by men make access to WASH facilities to be determined along gender lines, a phenomenon that contradicts the FPE proponents who advocate gender equality in decision making platforms, as well as SDG 6. Equality in accessing resources by all without discrimination would ensure equitable water resource access without discriminating on gender lines. Although there is no equality in access and control of WASH facilities in the camp, more can be done towards the achievement of such by the NGOs. Thus, equal participation by all groups in WASH activities irrespective of gender, race or creed, would bring about equity in access and use of such facilities. However, as portrayed by the results of this study, women are still deprived of their rights contrary to the 2002 Beijing Platform for Action that encourages gender mainstreaming in all projects (Halloway, et. al., 2019).

Patriarchy and traditional cultural beliefs have dealt a heavy blow on women's ascendancy to power in TRC's WASH activities. The gendered cultural norms and the negative effects brought about

by environmental challenges on women, tend to separate them from the WASH context, hence rendering them invisible. This contradicts the FPE phenomena which endeavours to include women in the echelons of power, giving justice to the "ecological and social contexts that sustain their lives" (Rocheleau et. al, 1996:461). However, women do not only resent the power structures prevalent in the camp, but they also feel powerless to challenge men. Giving equal opportunities to both men and women is not the solution to this embargo but an affirmative action to the rights of women in WASH structures will ensure cooption of more women into the structures. The straight jacket approach to the problems being faced by women does not mean their complete eradication, since they are not homogenous. A gradual participatory approach to the implementation of gender policies in WASH activities will ensure their acceptance into the WASH structures. Such an idea will do away with the top-down approach seen as mere "window dressing" to meet the quota for women without them occupying influential positions. However, merely adding numbers in WASH structures does not guarantee participation as lack of political will on the part of men to have their wives assume positions of authority in the WPUCs, has been the major hinderance. Women have to seek the approval of their husbands as well to participate in such meetings as they are bound by patriarchy. Moreover, women are hardly consulted on matters pertaining to water policies and strategies, neither are they involved in strategic water-related decision making. To narrow the gender gap in leadership, women should be allowed to occupy positions of authority and have greater involvement in decision making as postulated by Elmhirst, (2015). Merely adding women to a process does not address questions of power and authority, hence the need to actively involve them to ensure competitiveness and empowerment. Ensuring women participation in the operation and maintenance of WASH facilities and services will go a long way in sustaining WASH projects.

It is women who grapple with shortages of WASH facilities in the camp but there seems to be no urgent plans by UNHCR and the host Government to improve their plight. The traditional gender roles of women as caregivers, limit their personal ambitions, talents and interests, and make them vulnerable to gender-based violence (GBV) and abuse. Lack of adequate resources has resulted in some early child marriages, limit of personal autonomies and capacities among women to contribute to their communities free from intimidation, violence and coercion. Denying women refugees access to resources to construct latrines has made them vulnerable to the risk of violence or rape when looking for a place to defecate. Thus, a lack of sanitation is affecting the lives of women in the camp. This resonates with Sommer, et. al. (2014) who says that women are forced by extenuating circumstances to "hold it" until the night to relieve themselves.

Better access to and use of better-quality water sources by women would allow them to plan how water could be used and the number of hours each section in the camp could access piped water, thus, ensuring an indiscriminate access to such a resource. Although the Sphere Guidelines advocate an average of 15 litres per person per day of potable water collected at household level (Sphere, 2018), this cannot be achieved in TRC. In as much as this is a noble FPE framework, the water situation in the camp points otherwise. The sanitation situation in the camp is in a deplorable state, not even near the sharing standard. Sharing of communal toilets might promote disease transmission thereby interfering with adequate hygiene practices. It is imperative to ensure that the necessary conditions to end open defecation in the camp are implemented with the plight of the vulnerable in mind. The toilets do not meet the needs of women and ignore the cultural diversities inherent in the camp, hence the need to involve women in WASH design and planning processes. There is need to give precedence to cultural and religious beliefs when setting up such structures to ensure diversity. Signage on the few facilities at the main offices would improve privacy, security and the health requirements, especially for menstruating women. The provision of suitable sanitation facilities in the camp would ensure their optimum use by women who would appreciate having their basic hygiene needs met. The use of the nearby bush by women to change sanitary pads, where they risk violence or intrusion by other users who will be relieving themselves in the bush, must be condemned at all cost. Although this has been aggravated by the failure to avail proper sanitary facilities at the UNHCR administration offices, there is need to prioritize women's access and use of

WASH facilities at these offices. The absence of women-friendly facilities in TRC results from the exclusion of women from positions of authority and failure to push for women's agenda and priorities during project design, planning and implementation.

However, the provision of improved basic sanitary amenities per household in the camp is a mammoth task that cannot be attained overnight. The critical shortage of sanitary facilities in the camp, due to the ever-increasing number of refugees, calls for the need to mobilize more resources. Despite recommendations for sharing of latrines by refugees by GOAL, there is evidence that the facilities are far from enough. This calls for more action to ensure the attainment of the 2030 Agenda of access and use of an improved sanitary facility by all to ensure sustainability and a safe hygiene environment as stated in SDG 6.2 (Wilbur, et. al., 2019).

Violence against women in TRC WASH projects can only be reduced if women are given control of such activities. Although the NGOs and government are making an effort to conscientize the refugee community on the effects of GBV, their campaigns seem to fall on deaf ears. The fact that the perpetrators use intimidatory tactics that inflict fear on the victims, has seen most cases going unreported. The use of women in the distribution of WASH kits will also go a long way in solving the issue of taboo and stigma surrounding the distribution of MHM kits by men who are not their husbands. Women will be comfortable receiving their kits from other women. Thus, the introduction of methods and strategies to overcome gender-based barriers to women's equal participation in WASH projects will ensure the recognition of women's contribution in WASH management.

Conclusion and Recommendations

While comprehensive research on access to WASH among refugee women in TRC has remained a challenge, this study has shown that women play a significant role in the provision and management of WASH at household level. However, their vital roles in the improvement of the WASH projects in the camp remain unrecognized as they live with issues of water scarcity forcing them to travel long distances daily, risking being sexually harassed or falling prey to wild animals. Despite efforts that have been made to reduce gender inequality in WASH activities in the camp, this study concludes that women still grapple with crises of access, control and use of WASH facilities in TRC. Improving access and availability of WASH facilities will reduce incidences of GBV and the burden of WASH shortage on women in TRC. Thus, it is essential for water to be readily available and accessible to women by locating boreholes and taps centrally as water sources located far away inflict physical burden of water collection on women. In addition, to reduce incidences of GBV as well as fist fights at water points, it is essential to involve women in the design and siting of WASH facilities, since they are the ones who usually collect water for their households. As demonstrated by the study, the need to access WASH facilities often subjected women to GBV perpetrated by men, thereby subordinating, disempowering, punishing or controlling them. In this way, such gender imbalances are confirmed by the tenets of FPE whereby gender determines the different roles, responsibilities and access to resources. Put differently, traditional gender roles impact on women's access, use and control to resources as compared to their male counterparts.

Therefore, in light of the findings and conclusion, the study makes the following recommendations:

- The siting and construction of toilets must guarantee privacy and security to all the users.
- To curb incidences of GBV, there is need for women-friendly latrines that are lockable.
- Women should access MHM kits by doing away with societal taboos, secrecy, and embarrassment.
- There is need to consider the protection and dignity issues of the women and PLWD on WASH resources.

References

- Abashidze, A. K., Solntsev A. M., Kiseleva, E. V., Koneva A. E., Kruglov D. A. 2017. Achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (2016-2030): International Legal Dimension; *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*, Vol 9(37), DOI: 10.17485/ijst/2016/v9i37/102168.
- Als D, Meteke S, Stefopoulos M, et al. 2020. Delivering water, sanitation and hygiene interventions to women and children in conflict settings: a systematic review. *BMJ Global Health*: e002064. doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2019-002064.
- Arabi, M. 2019. Water, sanitation and hygiene in the Minawao refugee camp, Far North Cameroon *International Journal of Resource and Environmental Management Vol. 4, No. 1*.
- Buechler S., Hanson Anne-Marie. 2017. Towards a feminist political ecology of women, global change, and vulnerable waterscapes, In book: A political ecology of women, water and global environmental change Publisher: Routledge Editors: A Political Ecology of Women, Water and Global Environmental Change, edited by Stephanie Buechler, and Anne-Marie S. Hanson, *Taylor and Francis*, ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uaz/detail.action?docID=1982456>. Created from uaz on 2017-08-28 11:59:16.
- Calderón-Villarreal1, A., Schweitzer, R and Kayser, G. 2022. Social and geographic inequalities in water, sanitation and hygiene access in 21 refugee camps and settlements in Bangladesh, Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe. *International Journal for Equity in Health* 21:27 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-022-01626-3>.
- Chitongo L., Tagarirofa J., Chazovachii B., and Marango T. 2019. Gendered impacts of Climate Change in Africa: The case of Cyclone Idai, Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, March 2019. *The Fountain – Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*. Vol. 3, Issue 1.
- Clement, F. Harcourt, W. Josh, D. Sato, C. 2019. A feminist political ecologies of the commons and the communing (Editorial to the Special feature), *International Journal of the Commons*, 13(1), 1-15, DOI: <http://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.972>.
- Cole S. 2017. Water worries: An intersectional feminist political ecology of tourism and water in Labuan Bajo, Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 67. 14-24.
- Doubleday, K. F. 2020. Tigers and “Good Indian Wives”: Feminist Political Ecology Exposing the Gender-Based Violence of Human–Wildlife Conflict in Rajasthan, India, *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 110:5, 1521-1539, DOI: 10.1080/24694452.2020.1723396.
- Elmhirst, R. 2015. Feminist Political Ecology; The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology_London UK: *Routledge*. 519-530. Chapter in Book/Conference proceeding with ISSN <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315759289.ch40>.
- Gengo R.G., Oka, R C., Veremu V., Gulitko M., Gettler L T. 2018. Positive effects of refugee presence on host community nutritional status in Turkana County, Kenya, Wiley, *American Journal of Human Biology* DOI: 10.1002/ajhb.23060.
- Ghosh, N S. 2018. Access to Water and Sanitation is Not Enough, but their Management to End the Crisis, *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR) ISSN: 2319-7064*.
- Goodrich C. G. and Namchu C. V. 2019. Identities, affiliations and gendered vulnerabilities in the Mid-hills of West Bengal *Environmental Development* (31) 78–87.

- Grant, M. 2017. Gender Equality and Inclusion in Water Resources Management, *Global Water Partnership*, Institute for Sustainable Futures, Australia, ISBN 978-91-87823-40-4.
- Greene, M. C., Rees, S., Likindikoki, S., Bonz, A. G, Joscelyne, A., Kaysen., D., 8, Reginald D. V. Nixon, R. D. V., Njau, Tankink, T. A. M., Tiwari, A., Ventevogel, P., Mbwambo, J. K. K. 4 and Tol, A., W. 2019. Developing an integrated intervention to address intimate partner violence and psychological distress in Congolese refugee women in Tanzania. *BMC*, New York, NY.
- Halloway, K., Stavropoulo, M. & Daigle, M. 2019. Gender in Displacement, The state play, *HPG Report/Working Paper*. ODI. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.
- Haque, S. S., Pagans, M. Y., Granada, Y. A. & Joseph, G. 2020. Water and sanitation in Dhaka slums: access, quality, and informality in service provision, *Water International*, 45:7-8, 791-811, DOI: 10.1080/02508060.2020.1786878.
- Inter-Agency Standing Committee. 2015. *Guidelines for Integrating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Action: Reducing risk, promoting resilience and aiding recovery*.
- Jeff, R & Corey, J. 2017. Homelessness, nature, and health: toward a feminist political ecology of masculinities, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24:7, 991-1010, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2017.1347559.
- McBrien J. L. 2017. "Refugees, asylum seekers, and other immigrants: Help for teachers with problematic definitions", *Social Studies Research and Practice*, Vol. 12 Issue: 2, pp.113-124, <https://doi.org/10.1108/SSRP-03-2017-0001>.
- Lamb, V., Schoenberger, L., Middleton, C., & Un, B. 2017. Gendered eviction, protest and recovery: a feminist political ecology engagement with land grabbing in rural Cambodia, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 44:6, 1215-1234, DOI: 10.1080/03066150.2017.1311868.
- Leder S., Sugden F., Raut M., Ray D and Saikia P. 2019. Ambivalences of collective farming feminist political ecologies from Eastern India and Nepal *International Journal of the Commons*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 105-129.
- Martinez-Alier, J. 2013. The environmentalism of the poor. *Geoforum*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/04.019>.
- Mollett, S and Kepe, T. 2018. Land Rights, Biodiversity Conservation and Justice. Rethinking Parks and People. *Routledge Studies in Sustainable Development*; Routledge. London.
- Nyoka R, Foote A M, Woods E, Lokey H, O'Reilly C E, Magumba F, et al. 2017. Correction: Sanitation practices and perceptions in Kakuma refugee camp, Kenya: Comparing the status quo with a novel service-based approach. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321958758_Correction_Sanitation_practices_and_perceptions_in_Kakuma_refugee_camp_Kenya_Comparing_the_status_quo_with_a_novel_service-based_approach [accessed Apr 02 2020].
- Resurrección, Bernadette P., and Edsel E. Sajor. 2015. "Gender, Floods and Mobile Subjects: A Postdisaster View." In *Gendered Entanglements: Revisiting Gender in Rapidly Changing Asia*, edited by Ragnhild Lund, Philippe Doneys, and Bernadette P. Resurrección, 207-34. Copenhagen: *Nordic Institute of Asian Studies*.
- Rocheleau D., Slayster T.B. & Wangari, E. 1996. *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences*. London and New York: *Routledge*.

- Rocheleau, D., and Nirmal. P. 2015. Feminist Political Ecologies: Grounded, Networked and Rooted on Earth; *Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*; London.
- Sang, D. 2018. One year on: Time to put women and girls at the heart of Rohingya response. Oxfam Briefing Paper. *Oxfam International*. Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK. ISBN 978-1-78748-319-4.
- Sato C. and Alarcon J. M. S. 2019. Toward a postcapitalist feminist political ecology's approach to the commons and communing. *International Journal of the Commons*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 36-61
Published by: International Journal of the Commons Stable URL:
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26632712> Accessed: 18-06-2019 23:48 UTC.
- Schmitt M. L, Clatworthy D. I. D, Ogello T and Sommer M. 2018. Making the Case for a Female-Friendly Toilet, *Water*, www.mdpi.com/journal/water.
- Sommer M, Ferron S, Cavill S and House S. 2014. Violence, gender and WASH: spurring action on a complex, under documented and sensitive topic; *Environment and Urbanization* Vol 27(1): 105–116. DOI: 10.1177/0956247814564528 www.sagepublications.com.
- Souyeon, N. 2018. Toward everyday practices of gender: Implications of feminist political ecology for gender mainstreaming in Korean ODA Department of International Development and Cooperation, Sungkyul University, Gyeonggido, South Korea . *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* ; Seoul Vol. 24, Iss. 4, 463-488.
- Sphere Association. 2018. The Sphere Handbook: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response, fourth edition, Geneva, Switzerland. www.spherestandards.org/handbook
- Sundberg, J. 2015. *Feminist Political Ecology: The International Encyclopedia of Geography*, Wiley-Blackwell & Association of American Geographers, USA.
- Sulley, R. 2018. Re-Conceptualising Gender and Urban Water Inequality Applying a Critical Feminist Approach to Water Inequality in Dhaka; *Bartlett Development Planning Unit*, London. www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/latest/publications/dpu-papers
- Thompson, J. A., Gaskin, S. A. & Agbor. M. 2017. Embodied intersections: Gender, water and sanitation in Cameroon, *Agenda*, 31:1, 140-155, DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2017.1341158.
- UNEP. 2016. Environment, Religion and Culture in the Context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. *United Nations Environment Programme*, Nairobi.
- UNHCR (2021) UNHCR Zimbabwe fact sheet, September 2021. Geneva: *UNHCR*.
- UNHCR. 2019. "Refugee women and children face heightened risk of sexual violence amid tensions and overcrowding at reception facilities on Greek islands". *UNHCR*. Retrieved 25 October 2019.
- UNHCR and WFP, 2018. Joint Assessment Mission-Kenya Refugee Operation 2018. Turning Promises into Action: Gender Equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. New York.
- UNHCR & WFP, 2014. Joint Assessment Mission Report: Tongogara Refugee Camp, Zimbabwe, *UNHCR*, Harare.
- WaterAid. 2018. The Water Gap – The State of the World's Water, www.wateraid.org .

- Watol, B. S. & Assefa, D. T. 2018. The Socio-Economic Impact of Refugees on the Neighboring Countries: The Case of Sherkole Refugee Camp, Western Ethiopia *Global Journal of HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: E Economics* Volume 18 Issue 4 Version.
- Wilbur J. 2016. Mainstreaming Equity and Inclusion in WaterAid: An overview for key triggers for success and challenges; Ensuring availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for All; 39th WEDC Conference, Kumasi, Ghana; *Water-Aid* 47-49 Durham Street, London, S11 5JD.
- WHO/UNICEF. 2020. State of the World's Sanitation: An urgent call to transform sanitation for better health, environments, economies and societies. New York: United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization, Published by *UNICEF and WHO Programme Division/WASH 3* United Nations Plaza New York, NY 10017 USA www.unicef.org/wash.
- WHO/UNICEF. 2017. Progress on Drinking Water, Sanitation and Hygiene: Update and SDG Baselines. Geneva: World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2017. Licence: CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IGO.
- Yates, T., Allen, J., Leandre Joseph, M. and Lantagne, D. 2017. WASH interventions in disease outbreak response. Humanitarian Evidence Programme. *Oxford: Oxfam GB*.

Copyrights

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the journal.

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).