Economic Empowerment of Refugee Women in Ghana and its Influence on Household Decision Making

Monica Ofosu-Koranteng¹, Pacificah Okemwa (PhD)², Regina Mwatha (PhD)³

¹Doctor of Philosophy Student, Department of Sociology, Gender and Development Studies, Kenyatta, University, Kenya. Email: mofosukoranteng@gmail.com

^{2,3}Department of Sociology, Gender and Development Studies, Kenyatta University

ABSTRACT

This study looked at the economic empowerment of refugee women in the Ampain and Egyeikrom camps and how this influence household decision making. Specifically, the study was concerned with refugee women in camps who have been economically empowered and live in male-headed households. At the same time, these male heads have not been economically empowered and hence have no stable source of income. A case study design was used to conduct the study. A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select 104 refugee women. A semi-structured interview schedule was used to collect qualitative and quantitative data. Focus group discussion guide was used to gather data from spouses of selected refugee women. Data was analyzed and presented in descriptive statistics and verbatim quotations. The results revealed that refugee women have been economically empowered and are mostly the breadwinners in their households. However, economic empowerment has not been reflected in their contributions to household decision making. Refugee men continue to have autocratic powers in household decision making. On the other hand, refugee women are pleased to allow men to hold on to this role in exchange for the companionship and security they require as refugees in another country. Refugee men who are angered by their spouse's new role as the breadwinner use their decision-making authority to bring these women into submission. The paper recommends that refugee women's economic empowerment include components that allow refugee men to be empowered alongside women. Additionally, refugee men should be sensitized on the benefit of the women's economic empowerment to the family and the society, as well as the need for women to equally participate in household decision making to enrich the outcomes and as an issue for promoting women's welfare and human right in the household.

Key Words: Refugee Women, Refugee Men, Economic Empowerment, Decision Making, Household

DOI 10.35942/ijcab.v6i1.238

Cite this Article:

Ofosu-Koranteng, M., Okemwa, P., & Mwatha, R. (2022). Economic Empowerment of Refugee Women in Ghana and its Influence on Household Decision Making. *International Journal of Current Aspects*, 6(1), 73-83. https://doi.org/10.35942/ijcab.v6i1.238

1.0 Introduction

Globally, it has been well established that armed conflict results in large populations' displacement. Those displaced sometimes find themselves within the borders of their country. Some are forced to flee to other countries, searching for a safe place of abode. In the process, displaced persons lose their livelihood, savings, family members, and communities. Among the fleeing population are those with disability and special needs and different gender groups. In the past, the discourse

in the literature has portrayed refugee women as passive, helpless and vulnerable victims of conflict in need of support (Krause, 2014). More recently, however, the discussions are slowly shifting, and recent studies discuss broad topics such as gender roles and relations (Krause, 2014).

Despite this, refugee women continue to receive priority in the discussions and interventions targeted at refugees with issues affecting them and strategies to alleviate their plight and improve their well-being taking centre stage. Some academic discourse has explained that the attention received by refugee women is principally based on the belief that the state of refugee women's welfare and well-being will inevitably trickle down and affect other household members, their communities and the entire refugee population. Thus stakeholders endeavour to advance improvements in the livelihood of refugee women through various interventions such as promoting their economic empowerment. In particular, refugee women's economic empowerment is a priority for stakeholders for several reasons. Firstly, some scholars note that women suffer different forms of abuse and exploitation, including psychological harm and risk of death as they journey from the conflict zone to a place of refuge, which affects the quality of their lives (Lindsey-Curtet et al. 2004). Secondly, the portrayal of refugee women only as victims of conflict has resulted in prioritizing their economic empowerment, sometimes to the neglect of refugee men (Shekhawat, 2015, Restrepo, 2016). Hence, refugee women become the focus of economic empowerment programmes while men are neglected or do not receive the same attention as women.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The problem with such an approach is seen in the fact that most conflict and refugee-producing countries are patriarchal and male-dominated societies where women traditionally have fewer rights (Krause, 2014). These patriarchal societies promote the dominant and influential role of the father and other male family members (Morrell, 2005). Again, these societies expect men to be providers, protectors, and leaders in household decisions. Even in conflict, due to patriarchally generated perceptions, men are expected to be strong, remain psychologically stable, be fearless and continue to serve as protectors and providers (Naujoks & Ko 2018). Such expectations are so strong and deeply rooted that some researchers have established that during intense conflict when conscription is at its peak, some men have been compelled by these perceptions to join armed groups to fulfil society's expectations of them (Birchall, 2019). The author thus argues that the economic empowerment of refugee women and the neglect of men could disrupt these traditional patriarchal structures and roles and lead to the renegotiation of ascribed gender roles such as decision-making roles while in the refugee camp. Indeed, Boateng (2010) argue that as people become refugees, the learned relations and ascribed roles are deconstructed and renegotiated. These redefined roles could positively affect refugee women and the exercise of their right to participate in household decision-making. While these redefined roles may be a new phenomenon for some refugee women, it can not be assumed that all refugee women suddenly see a shift in the household roles and duties due to displacement (Lokot, 2018). Based on this, the paper sought to find out how the economic empowerment of refugee women without the same for refugee men influence the ascribed gender role of household decision making bearing in mind that men are expected to lead and make decisions in their households before and during conflict and whiles they live in host countries as refugees. The paper is guided by the null hypothesis below:

 H_0 : the economic empowerment of refugee women without the same for refugee men did not significantly influence decision making relations in the household.

2.0 Literature Review

The study was anchored on the resource theory, a recognized framework for studying family power. The theory is based on the understanding that resource consists of anything that one individual member of the family can offer another to help them obtain their needs or attain a goal (Hesse-biber & Williamson, 1984). Accordingly, the respective member of the family who can offer the highest resource has the greater power within the family unit (Hesse-biber & Wiliamson, 1984). This study considers resources as the money household members mostly need to access their needs. Consequently, the study assumes that refugee women who have become economically empowered, whiles their spouses have not benefited from the same, will have the highest financial resource in the household and hence the greatest power. Thus the resource theory was used to analyze the status of refugee women in terms of contributions and influence on household decision making.

The economic empowerment of refugee women in camps and settlements and its effects on their lives have remained an important topic in academic discourse. However, what is missing is the neglect and non-involvement of refugee men in the planning and execution of the economic empowerment process. Critically, the literature does not address how the neglect of men in the economic empowerment process affects the overall aim of interventions to improve the well-being of refugee women. However, considering that most refugee-producing countries are patriarchal societies (Krause, 2014), which determines the subordinated position of women and where control over women is exercised through institutionalized restrictive codes of behaviour (Hadi, 2017), the author postulates that creating a situation where women are more empowered economically relative to men, has the potential to disrupt known family structures and may lead to some friction and possible abuse especially if men perceive that the new economic position of women in the household threaten their traditional position and authority.

The focus of this paper, which is household decision-making relations, fall right in this category. Indeed, traditionally, men are responsible for making the decisions in their households not only as a matter of their fundamental human right but also because of their gender. Women are expected to follow and abide by the decisions taken by men whether or not this was done in consultation with them or with their consent. Due to these deeply embedded traditional gender norms, some scholars, including Yogendrarajah (2013), have argued that for the economic empowerment of refugee women to be considered a success, it should positively reflect on the household decision-making dynamics where women can make equal input as men.

The author suggests that such positive reflections should not necessarily be perceived as the control of one gender over the other but rather as shared rights and responsibilities between men and women in the refugee household. The author further adds that since decision-making dynamics between men and women are essential in measuring women's legitimate power and authority at the household level, economic empowerment is important to enhance this position and relations. El-bushra and Sahl (2005) note that effective economic empowerment of refugee women enhances their decision-making influence and autonomy in the household. Based on these, the author sought to establish how refugee women's economic empowerment has enhanced their contributions to household decision making. This paper focuses on refugees in the Ampain and Egyeikrom camps in Ghana.

3.0 Methodology

This study was undertaken in the Ampain and Egyeikrom refugee camps in Ghana. These two camps host refugees who arrived in Ghana in 2010 when violence erupted after the presidential election in Ivory Coast. The study adopted a case study design. The case study research design was deemed appropriate because it enabled the author to identify, analyze, and provide in-depth explanations of real-life issues regarding how refugee women's economic empowerment influences household decision-making in the refugee households in the Ampain and Egyeikrom camps. Again, focusing on refugees in Ampain and Egyeikrom camps, the case study design allowed the author to provide a deeper understanding and context-specific information about women's economic empowerment and how this influences household decision-making since refugee men do not benefit from economic empowerment.

The study population consisted of 104 refugee women in the Ampain and Egyeikrom camps in Ghana's Western and Central regions. In addition, the women also lived in male-headed households, had benefited from economic empowerment interventions implemented by ADRA and were involved in income-generating activities. Other participants were the refugee men whose spouses and partners have benefited from the economic empowerment interventions. The study involved refugee women who benefited from economic empowerment interventions implemented by the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) and funded by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). The study employed purposive sampling to select the Ampain and Egyeikrom refugee camps where residents originated from the same country and had minimal infiltration of other cultures. These would provide useful and valuable responses to the research questions.

Primary and secondary data were collected for the study. Primary data was collected using semi-structured interview schedules and a focus group discussion guide. Semi-structured interview schedules were used to collect in-depth quantitative and qualitative data from the refugee women. Of the interview schedules conducted, 48 (46%) were from the Egyeikrom camp, and 56 (54%) were from the Ampain camp. A Focus group discussion guide was used to collect primary data from refugee men whose spouses and partners have benefited from the refugee women's economic empowerment planning and were involved in income-generating activities. A total of four focus group discussions were held, two in each refugee camp. It involved refugee men in the camp whose spouses or partners have benefited from economic empowerment interventions implemented by ADRA in the camps. Key informant's interviews were also held with the elected Presidents of the two refugee camps involved in the study, namely Ampain and Egyeikrom.

A letter introducing the author was obtained from Kenyatta University graduate school and submitted to the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), the governmental agency authorized to permit research involving refugees and Ghana. Upon submitting this letter, the GRB prepared a research permit allowing the author to undertake the study in Ampain and Egyeikrom refugee camps. A work plan was developed outlining the sequence for meeting stakeholders, data collection, handling, cleaning, analysis, storage, and conveying feedback to the Ampain and Egyeikrom refugees. The author and research assistants held consultative meetings with the leadership and management of the refugee camps, refugee women who participated in the study and their spouses or partners, and other stakeholders. The purpose of these meetings was to obtain the consent and support of stakeholders to enable the research to go on smoothly

Ethical consideration was achieved through informed consent. The author obtained a letter from Kenyatta University Ethical Clearance Committee, and participants were requested to read and give their consent before commencing each interview. For those who could not read, research assistants explained the letter's contents to them through the interpreters. Participants were assured of anonymity. Those who chose to participate appended their signature or thumbprint as evidence of consent before proceeding with the interview.

Quantitative data from the semi-structured interview schedule were cleaned, coded, and then entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics were used to analyze and interpret the socio-demographic characteristics of participants and constructs through frequency tables, percentages, means, and standard deviations. Where appropriate, the data were also presented using graphs, tables, verbatim quotations, and narratives. For inferential statistics, the Chi-square test was used to analyze relationships between the study. Qualitative data gathered through key informant interviews and FGDs was recorded in a field notebook and audio-recorded as a backup. Audio-recoding allowed the author to eliminate errors such as omissions and misinterpretation of facts and data gathered. The audio recordings were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using content analytical steps. The content analytical approach also helped reduce complications associated with bulky data and transform significant texts into a concise summary of key results (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017).

4.0 Study Results and Discussions

A total of 104 refugee women from the Ampain and Egyeikrom refugee camps participated in semi-structured interview schedules. Out of this number, 48.46% were from Egyeikrom in the Komenda Edina Eguaafo municipal area in the Central Region, and 56.54% were from the Ampain refugee camp in the Ellembelle District in the Western region of Ghana. The refugee women who participated in the study were aged 20-60. The breakdown is as follows: 50% between 31 to 40 years, 2%) were between the ages of 41-50 years, 20.2% were aged 20-30 years and 8.7%) were aged 51-60. Among these women, 64.4% are married, 35.6% were in a marriage-like relationship. All participants had lived in the refugee camp since it was built in 2010. The paper sought to establish the household decision-making structure before becoming refugees. To this end, the refugee women were asked to indicate which household member had a major say and led or had the authority to make household decisions. The results obtained are presented in figure 1 below.

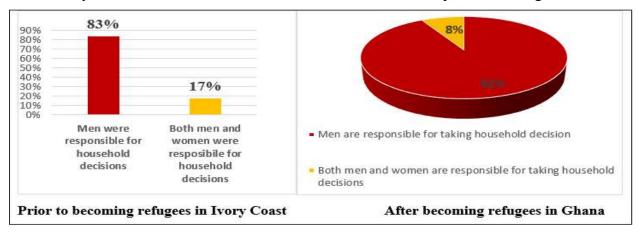


Figure 1: Household Decision Making Before and After Becoming Refugees

Figure 1 shows that for most refugee women (83%), their spouses were responsible for making or leading major household decisions in Ivory Coast. The remaining 17% indicated that household decisions were jointly taken by both men and women when they lived in Ivory Coast. When further requested to indicate any change in decision-making structure after becoming refugees, most women (92%) show that the men are making or leading major household decisions since becoming refugees. The rest of the women (8%) indicated that men and women jointly make household decisions since becoming refugees. Interestingly, none of the respondents indicated that the woman took major household decisions before becoming refugees when they lived in their home country of Ivory Coast or after becoming refugees and settling in Ghana. However, the number of men responsible for major household decisions increased from 83% before becoming refugees to 92% after becoming refugees, as indicated in figure 1. The percentage of women involved in household decisions declined from 17% before becoming refugees to 8% after becoming refugees. This was despite the economic empowerment of the refugee women, whose aim is, among other things, to increase the decision-making powers of the women at the household level.

The women were further requested to clarify the major decisions in the household on the following category of items, namely, large purchases such as television, refrigerator and furniture, routine purchases including food items, sanitary and cleaning items, and household budget and expenditure. The women were further requested to indicate the extent of change in each of these variables using a three-point Likert scale: 3-large extent, 2-medium extent, and 1 low-extent. The result is presented as follows.

Table 1 Household Decision-making Structure

Subject of decision Decisions on large household purchases	3	(20%)	1 (16%)
	(64%)		
Decisions on routine household purchases	(60%)	(22%)	(18%)
Decision on the household budget	(69%)	(21%)	(10%)
Decision on household expenditure	(66%)	(23%)	(11%)

Note: 3 - large extent 2 - to a medium extent 1 - low extent

Table 1 revealed that in relation to large household purchases, the majority of the women (64%) indicated that decisions regarding large household purchases such as television, refrigerator and furniture have changed in favour of men to a large extent from both man and woman to only the man. Some women (20%) indicated that this role has changed to a medium extent. Only 16% indicate that this role has changed to a low extent. Regarding decisions on routine household purchases, table 1 shows that most women (60%) indicated that decisions on routine household purchases such as food items sanitary and cleaning agents have changed in favour of men to a large extent. Some women (22%) indicate that this has changed to a medium extent, and a few women (18%) suggested that this role has changed to a low extent. Again table 1 revealed that with regards to decisions on the household budget, most women (69%) indicated this role has changed in favour of men to a large extent. For other women (21%), this role has changed to a medium extent, and fewer women (10%) indicated that this role has changed to a low extent. It also emerged from table 1 that concerning the decision on household expenditure, the majority of women (66%), this role has changed in favour of men to a large extent. Other women (23%)

indicated that this role has changed to a medium extent and a few women (11%) indicated that this role has changed to a low extent.

From these results, the study notes that the emerging trend is that decision-making powers have reduced for the women in Ampain and Egyeikrom since becoming refugees. For these women, they explain that the powerlessness of their husbands resulting from their inability to find jobs and provide for their financial needs is frustrating for these husbands. Consequently, the women allow these men to compensate for this shortfall by giving them the room to make decisions. On the other hand, the women comply with these decisions to support their husbands. To this, the following was said:

Whether he is empowered or not, it is alright if my husband wants to make the major decisions he made when we were in Ivory Coast. Suppose that will make him happy and less frustrated and keep our family together. How else will he show everybody that he is the man since he does not make any money? (Refugee woman Egyeikrom)

This response indicates several issues from the women's economic empowerment planning in Ampain and Egyeikrom. First, although the planning approach allows women to access financial resources for use in households, this has hardly influenced decision-making relations as this remains under the control of men. This result arises because the men want to hold on to this power. The women willingly relinquish decision-making power to men even though they provide all the household finances. The women devised this strategy to help men deal with their perceived diminishing powers, authority, and position in the household. This finding is justified because women in the above response indicate that it is alright if the men take major household decisions as they did in Ivory Coast.

The women assume that this strategy will keep the men less frustrated and keep the family together. Based on these responses and their interpretations, the study underlines that the aspect of the resource theory, which says that the respective member of the household who can offer the highest resource has the greatest power within the family unit (Hesse-biber Williamson, 1999), does not apply to the refugee women in Ampain and Egyeikrom camps in Ghana. The study finds that the refugee women in Ampain and Agyeikrom camps have another need: the protection they derive from the companionship and presence of their male spouses and partners. They are willing to give away the power and influence associated with their economic empowerment for this need. Thus the resource theory may not always be applicable, a case in point being the refugee women and their households in Ampain and Egyeikrom camps.

The consistency of this finding with established literature is mixed. For example, most refugee women in the Kurdistan region of Iraq indicated that since coming to their camp and becoming empowered economically, they now have greater autonomy and increased voice in the household activities such as taking financial decisions with or without their spouses (Kaya & Luchtenberg, 2018). Other studies underline that refugee women do not gain any decision making powers even after being empowered economically.

For example, Harvey *et al.* (2013) reported that among Syrian refugees in Lebanon, men retained their positions as household heads and continue to have total authoritative and decision-making powers even after the women are empowered economically and men do not have jobs. There is also evidence in the literature to show that when refugee women are empowered economically, their capacity to make decisions is cast into doubt when their preferences do not align with

prescriptions of liberal feminism (Turner, 2018).

Asaf (2017) observed that in some instances, refugee men who cannot occupy this position of major decision-makers might take their frustration on their spouses and other household members, leading to domestic violence. Indeed incidences of domestic disputes were reported in some households in refugee camps in this study. These were related to misunderstandings about decisions taken by men to which the women may not agree or do otherwise, as indicated in a key informant in the following words:

On countless occasions, the camp leadership has settled some domestic disputes between a husband and wife. Sometimes, it involves deciding how the man wants to spend the money versus what the woman thinks is urgent. When the woman disagrees with the man, it can lead to a fight in the house (Camp President 1).

On their part, ADRA indicated that there are pockets of domestic disputes, some of which are related to money. However, this is outside their jurisdiction, and it is usually handled by the community task force and other elders in the community, such as church leaders. This is what a key informant from ADRA said:

Some domestic dispute occurs from time to time. Although not all, some of these disputes are related to money. Primarily, the men may decide on the use of money, and the woman may disagree. But these issues are resolved by the community task force members because it is not part of the mandate of ADRA (ADRA programme officer 1)

Refugee men in FGDs confirmed that although women make all the household income, men continue to take the major household decisions, giving them hope that the women have not taken over their authority.

My wife makes most of the money we need to run the house. But she still allows me to be the man to take major decisions like the way it has always been. (Refugee man 2 Egyeikrom camp)

Another refugee man added the following:

At least if I can not perform the responsibility of providing money, I can perform the other one, which is to lead the family by taking major decisions. That means all hope is not lost. I am still the man, and my wife recognize that and give me the room to operate even though she brings in the money (Refugee man 12, Ampain camp)

These responses reveal that refugee men's position of taking major household decisions remains untouched even when they do not provide household income. The men continue to lead and control decision-making in the household even though they do not provide for their financial needs. This finding corroborates El-Bushra and Gardner (2016), who underlines that decision-making responsibilities and powers in the household are still dominated and led by men among Somali refugees despite the well-known fact that their wives provide all household finances. Thus, the financial position of men does not stop them from holding and maintaining leadership positions and headship in their households. In the same breath, the financial position of refugee women in the household does not necessarily challenge patriarchal structures in society that places them in

the background only to be seen but not heard and men in the frontlines where they are heard and seen and heard.

Further, the study compared the means and standard deviations of the independent variables influencing decision making relations in the refugee households in Ampain and Egyeikrom. The breakdown of the results is presented in table 2.

Table 2 Refugee women's economic empowerment and its significance on decision-making relations in the household

Variables	Mean	SD	R	P-value
Decision on large household purchases	2.13	.872	.110	.269
Decision on routine household purchases	2.11	.884	009	.932
Decision on household budget	2.26	.771	154	.717
Decisions on household expenditure	1.95	.910	062	.538

Notes: M = Mean. SD = Standard Deviation. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 and 0.05 level (2-tailed)

From table 2, the independent variable with the highest mean and the lowest variability was household budget (M = 2.26 SD = 0.771). This was followed by decisions on large household purchases (M = 2.13 SD = 0.872), decisions on routine household purchases (M = 2.11 SD = 884) and lastly decisions on household expenditure (M = 1.95 SD = 0.910). Among these independent variables, the Pearson's Rank revealed that the variable with the highest influence was decisions on large household purchases (R = 0.110, P = 0.269). The other variables showed negative values, implying that as one variable increases, the other variables decrease. Based on these, the study failed to reject the null hypothesis, which states that:

 H_0 : The economic empowerment of refugee women without the same for refugee men did not significantly influence decision making relations in the household.

5.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the above findings and discussions, this paper postulates that it is important to ensure that refugee women's economic empowerment does not leave refugee men behind and out of the process. The economic empowerment of refugee women is intended to improve their overall welfare, including their decision-making powers and position in the household. However, the author has established that this has not been so for the refugee women in Ampain and Egyeikrom. Their economic empowerment has not changed their decision-making position in the household. Refugee men continue to hold this position as a right and a role.

The study also established that this results from the inability of refugee men to perform their financial roles. These men use their decision-making roles to stamp their authority and position in the household. This author believes that such a phenomenon can best be described as a strategy to intimidate women and bring them into submission, thus trampling their fundamental rights. On the other hand, Refugee women have no option but to go through such abuse and intimidation in exchange for the security and companionship provided by the presence of these men.

The paper thus concludes that the economic empowerment of refugee women without the same for men is not a good way to ensure the welfare of refugee women in the housed. Furthermore, the

aspect of the resource theory which indicates that the respective member of the family who can offer the highest resource needed for family members to satisfy their needs has the greater power within the family unit (Hesse-biber & Wiliamson, 1984), does not hold for the refugees in Ampain and Egyeikrom camps based on the current research. It is thus recommended that refugee men be made part of the process and receive education, sensitization, and economic empowerment to ensure that the approach is holistic so that these men do resort to other means of intimidation of empowered women. Additionally, the paper recommends that refugee men should be sensitized on the benefit of the women's economic empowerment to the family and the society, as well as the need for women to equally participate in household decision making to enrich the outcomes and as an issue for promoting women's welfare and human right in the household.

References

- Asaf, Y. (2017). Syrian women and the refugee crisis: surviving the conflict, building peace, and taking new gender roles. *Social Sciences*, 6(3), 110.
- Boateng, A. (2010). Survival Voices: Social Capital and the Well-Being of Liberian Refugee Women in Ghana Survival Voices: Social Capital and the Well-Being of Liberian Refugee *Women in Ghana*. January 2015, 37–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2010.522465
- El-Bushra, J., & Gardner, J. (2016). The impact of war on Somali men: Feminist analysis of masculinities and gender relations in a fragile context. Gender & Development, 24(3), 443-458.
- El-Bushra, J., & Sahl, I. M. G. (2005). Cycles of violence: Gender relations and armed conflict (Acord Paper).
- Erlingsson, C., & Brysiewicz, P. (2017). A hands-on guide to doing content analysis. African *Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 7(3), 93–99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.afjem.2017.08.001
- Hadi, A. (2017). Patriarchy and gender-based violence in Pakistan. *European Journal of Social Science Education and Research*, 4(4), 289-296.
- Harvey, C., Garwood, R., & El-Masri, R. (2013). *Shifting Sands: Changing gender roles among refugees in Lebanon*. Oxfam International.
- Hesse-biber, S., & Williamson, J. (1984). Resource theory and power in families: Life cycle considerations. *Family Process*, 23(2), 261-278.
- Kaya, Z., & Luchtenberg, K. (2018). Displacement and women's economic empowerment: voices of displaced women in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.
- Krause, U. (2014). Analysis of empowerment of refugee women in camps and settlements. *Journal of internal displacement*, 4(1), 28-52.
- Lokot, M. (2018). Syrian refugees: thinking beyond gender stereotypes. *Forced Migration Review*, 57, 33-35.
- Morrell, R. (2005). Youth, fathers and masculinity in South Africa today. Agenda, 30(8), 84-87.
- Naujoks, J., & Ko, M. T. (2018). Behind the Mask-Masculinities, Gender, Peace and Security in Myanmar. *Yangon: International Alert, Phan Tee Eain (Creative Home) and Tingaha Gender Organisation*.
- Restrepo, E. M. (2016). Leaders against all odds: Women victims of conflict in Colombia. *Palgrave Communications*, 2(1), 1-11.
- Shekhawat, S. (2015). Conflict, peace and patriarchy: female combatants in Africa and elsewhere. *conflict trends*, 2015(4), 3-10.
- Turner, L. E. (2018). Challenging refugee men: humanitarianism and masculinities in Za'tari refugee camp (Doctoral dissertation, SOAS University of London).
- Vasileiou, K., Barnett, J., Thorpe, S., & Young, T. (2018). Characterizing and justifying sample

Size sufficiency in interview-based studies: systematic analysis of qualitative health research over a 15-year period. *BMC medical research methodology*, 18(1), 1-18.

Yogendrarajah, R. (2013). Women empowerment through decision making. Yogendrarajah, Rathiranee, (2013), Women Empowerment through Decision Making, The International Journal of Economics and Business Management, 3(1).

This is an open-access article published and distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License of United States

unless otherwise stated. Access, citation and distribution of this article is allowed with full recognition of the authors and the source. Copyright, content ownership and liability for content herein remain with the author(s).