



THE STATE OF THE EVIDENCE IN RELIGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

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CHAPTER 5

RELIGIONS, DEVELOPMENT, AND GENDER

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Introduction

Gender and religion have been deeply intertwined in societies across the globe and throughout history, but the development sector has only recently recognized this trend. Traditionally, gender discourses in development have been religion blind.³⁰⁹ The conceptual shift from Women in Development (WID) to Gender in Development (GAD) in 1995 promised to address not only women as individuals but also the structural inequalities they experience. However, development practice today still struggles to engage with the complex ways in which religions and other social forces can shape gender relations. Recent decolonial feminist perspectives challenge the narrow knowledge production of traditional development discourses³¹⁰ and could pave the way for a more nuanced discussion when it comes to religions and gender.

The intersection of gender and religions is relevant to several development issues, including ensuring sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and eliminating violence against women and girls (VAWG).³¹¹ Both are part of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and a priority for many development organizations. Yet, despite the deep entanglement of these issues with religious politics around the globe, the role of religion in GAD issues is routinely overlooked or understudied. A focus on gender and religions would also call out the false developing-developed country dichotomy: the intersection of gender and religions is relevant across the globe and should thus prompt practitioners to consider development issues on a global level.

In the following, we present an overview of the research to date and the inclusion of the religion-gender intersection into development discourses. The first section addresses the major discussions from the last two decades and the second section elaborates on the most important trends and debates of the past five years.

Major discussions from the last two decades

Within development, both gender and religions have a history of being ignored. Prior to the 1970s it was believed that development processes affected men and women in the same way,³¹² while prior to the 2000s religions were a neglected area of study within development, often dismissed as being irrelevant.³¹³ However, there has been increasing recognition within the development community that both gender and religions impact development processes. In terms of gender, Esther Boserup's seminal "Women's Role in Economic Development" (1970)³¹⁴ emphasized that development processes affect women differently and, over time, WID approaches evolved into GAD approaches, reflecting an increasing appreciation of the role of gender in development. This increased recognition

307 Unit for Religion and Development Research (URDR), Faculty of Theology, Stellenbosch University.

308 Goldsmiths, University of London.

309 Nora Khalaf-Elledge, *The Religion-Gender Nexus in Development: Policy and Practice Considerations* (New York: Routledge, 2022), 24.

310 Jessica Horn, "Decolonising Emotional Well-being and Mental Health in Development: African feminist innovations," *Gender & Development*, 28, no. 1 (2020): 85-98.

311 Some feminists prefer the term VAWG over gender-based violence (GBV), as the latter fails to reflect the problems of "male privilege and women's oppression within the prevailing patriarchy." See Coalition of Feminists for Social Change (COEFEM), "Reframing language of 'gender-based violence' away from feminist underpinnings," *Feminist Perspectives on Addressing Violence Against Women and Girls Series*, no. 2, (2017): 2. The idea that GBV encompasses violence against all genders and social groups might falsely suggest that everyone suffers equally. The general and more neutral term GBV could also hamper efforts to provide specialized attention to the needs of women and other distinct groups. See COEFEM, *Reframing Language*.

312 Janet Momsen, *Gender and Development* (London: Routledge, 2004) <https://www.routledge.com/Gender-and-Development/Momsen/p/book/9781138940628>, 11, https://www.routledge.com/Gender-and-Development/Momsen/p/book/9780415422727?gclid=Cj0KCQjwyMiTBhDKARIsAAJ-9VsO1FKwEzX3_7ykeuecJhFWFzPYSXwYi4TnVqFBOdpE3b2G84-f6dgaAhSDEALw_wcB.

313 Séverine Deneulin and Carole Rakodi, "Revisiting Religion: Development Studies Thirty Years On," *World Development* 39, no. 2 (2011): 45-54; Ben Jones & Marie Juul Petersen, "Instrumental, Narrow, Normative? Reviewing Recent Work on Religion and Development," *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 7 (2011): 1291-1306.

314 Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).

arguably culminated in the 1995 Fourth UN World Conference on Women and the Beijing Platform for Action.³¹⁵ In terms of religions, the increasing interest in religions and development is generally ascribed to the enduring popularity and importance of religions globally, the increase in religious radicalization and violent extremism, the role and impact of faith-based development organizations globally, and the championing of broader, holistic theories of development.³¹⁶

Nevertheless, many in the development community continue to consider religions and gender as controversial and sensitive. Each step in gaining recognition for the relevance of gender in development has faced considerable resistance, with the concept of gender equality consistently being challenged³¹⁷ and deprioritized in development practice.³¹⁸ 'Religionophobia'³¹⁹ continues within the development sector, with acknowledgement of the role of religions in development often not leading to meaningful engagement with religions.³²⁰ Gender has been a particular issue of concern in the context of faith-partnerships. Some have argued that practitioners have not sufficiently considered the gender implications of faith-partnerships and warn of the gender regressive effects of such efforts.³²¹ For example, there are fears that faith engagement may be overly focused on male religious leaders and in the process further entrench their patriarchal authority and views. Meanwhile, minority-status women are propagating feminist views that challenge the tendency of some Western feminists to dismiss religions as inherently disempowering of women.³²²

Nevertheless, there has been progress especially over the last ten years in further exploring this intersection between religions and gender in development. International faith-based development organizations, such as World Vision International, Tearfund, and Islamic Relief Worldwide, have a long history of developing and implementing faith-based programming promoting gender equality and non-violence in many different countries. While it is less common for governmental ministries and intergovernmental agencies to implement and/or fund such programming, there are notable exceptions. For example, the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women recently showcased the work done and lessons learnt from projects they funded that worked with faith actors on VAWG prevention,³²³ while the Spotlight Initiative, a global multi-year partnership between the European Union and UN, is funding several projects that engage intentionally with religions and faith actors to end gender inequality and VAWG. UN Women has recognized the importance of engaging with faith actors to achieve gender equality,³²⁴ while UNFPA has hosted several key events on the role of faith actors and reproductive health, family planning, and women's rights.³²⁵

This hopefully bodes well in terms not only of a change in global development attitudes and practice, but also in increased research and a growing evidence base. Three key discussions within the existing evidence base on the intersections between religions and gender in development are highlighted here.

First, the existing evidence recognizes the dual nature of religions in relation to advancing and hindering gender equality and VAWG. On the one hand, the patriarchal nature of most religious traditions influences how societies

315 Rosalind Eyben, Promoting Gender Equality in the Changing Global Landscape of International Development Cooperation," in *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Development*, eds. Anne Coles, Leslie Grey, and Janet Momsen (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), 515-526; Gita Sen, *Neolibs, Neocons and Gender Justice: Lessons from Global Negotiations* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2005).

316 Deneulin and Rakodi, *Revisiting Religion*, 45-54; Jones and Petersen, *Instrumental, Narrow, Normative?*, 1291-1306; Emma Tomalin, ed., *Gender, Faith and Development* (Oxford: Oxfam and Practical Action, 2011); Emma Tomalin, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development* (London: Routledge, 2015).

317 Eyben, *Promoting Gender Equality*, 515-526; Sen, *Neolibs, Neocons and Gender Justice*.

318 Andrea Cornwall, Elizabeth Harrison, and Ann. Whitehead, eds., *Feminisms in Development: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges* (London: Zed Books, 2009).

319 Jill Olivier, "Hoist By our Own Petard: Backing Slowly Out of Religion and Development Advocacy," *HTS Theological Studies* 72, no.4 (2016): 1-11.

320 Olivier, *Hoist By our Own Petard*, 1-11; Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, "Sustainable Development and Religion: Accommodating Diversity in a Post-Secular Age," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 14, no. 3 (2016): 101-105; Elisabet Le Roux and Lize Loots, "The Unhealthy Divide: How the Secular/Faith Binary Potentially Limits GBV Prevention and Response," *Development in Practice* 27, no. 5 (2017): 733-744.

321 Mariz Tadros, *Faith-based Organizations and Service Delivery: Some Gender Conundrums*. (Geneva: UNRISD, 2010); Mariz Tadros, "Religion, Rights and Gender at the Crossroads," *IDS Bulletin* 42, no.1 (2011); Ayesha Imam, Shareen Gokal, and Isabel Marler, "The Devil is in the Details: A Feminist Perspective on Development, Women's Rights, and Fundamentalisms," *Gender and Development* 25, no.1 (2017): 15-36.

322 Orit Avishai, "Doing Religion" In a Secular World: Women in Conservative Religions and the Question of Agency," *Gender and Society* 22, no. 4 (2008): 409-433; Saba Mahmood, *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Maria Jaschok, "Gender and Religion: 'Gender-Critical Turns' and Other Turns in Post-religious and Post-secular Feminisms," in *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Development*, eds. Anne Coles, Leslie Grey, and Janet Momsen (Oxon: Routledge, 2015): 48.

323 Elisabet Le Roux and Selina Palm, *Learning from Practice: Engaging Faith-based and Traditional Actors in Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls* (New York: United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women, 2021).

324 UN Women, *Religion and Gender Equality* (New York: UN Women, 2016, <https://jliifc.com/resources/religion-gender-equality/>).

325 UNFPA, "Religious Leaders Call for Action on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Reproductive Rights at UN," *United Nations Population Fund*, September 19, 2014, accessed March 14, 2022, <https://www.unfpa.org/news/religious-leaders-call-action-sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-reproductive-rights-un>; United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Church of Sweden, "Women, Faith and Human Rights," (New York: UNFPA; Uppsala: Church of Sweden, 2016), <https://www.comminit.com/unfpa/content/women-faith-and-human-rights>

view and value men and women.³²⁶ This means that religious beliefs and actors can be key drivers of gender inequality and VAWG, as documented by numerous studies.³²⁷ At the same time, religious beliefs and actors have also been shown to play a key role in promoting gender equality and non-violence.³²⁸

Second, **the influence and reach of religious leaders has been recognized.** As they hold and leverage access, social and spiritual capital, they are considered a critical dimension of engaging with religions and religious communities around gender equality and non-violence.³²⁹ At the same time, intentional engagement with the various levels of religious hierarchies (formal and informal) can also be an important step in ensuring the promotion of SDG 5 (Gender Equality) within religious communities, especially where top-level religious leaders are all male.³³⁰

Third, in terms of reflecting on approaches that are used in practice when working with religious leaders and communities to promote gender equality and non-violence, **a scriptural/theological approach has emerged as an important tool in religious communities that abide by a central sacred text.** Sacred scriptures are then re-read and reinterpreted in ways that promote gender equality and oppose violence, thus leveraging the authority of sacred scripture for the promotion of SDG 5.³³¹

It is important to highlight two issues around the existing evidence base. First, it is heavily skewed towards Christianity and Islam, with the vast majority of evidence on religions and gender emerging from engagement with these two religious traditions. Western development organizations in particular have traditionally had closer ties with members of the Christian faith.³³² Second, the existing evidence does not appear to be influencing secular development practice, as many key so-called secular development institutions and practitioners continue to remain hesitant towards engaging with religions and with faith actors on gender specifically.³³³ The extent to which development practitioners consider religions and are willing to engage with it is closely related to their personal attitudes towards religion, with religions often seen as “unpredictable, uncontrollable, impulsive, operating outside of norms and civility, and capable of sabotaging development’s agenda.”³³⁴

What we see is that, over the past 20 years, the relevance and importance of the intersections between religions and gender within international development have received increasing attention. Yet, it remains an emerging field of study.

Important trends and debates over the last five years

Today, **SRHRs remain one of the most contentious subjects involving gender and religions.** Conflicting religious viewpoints on SRHRs have become increasingly apparent since the 1994 UN Population and Development Conference in Cairo, which pushed reproductive rights to the center of discussions around family planning. Arguably, most of the opposition to reproductive rights has been in the context of abortion debates in the aftermath of the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women and is particularly driven by conservative Christian voices.³³⁵

326 Elisabet Le Roux, *Religion, Development, and GBV: Suggestions for a Strategic Research Agenda* (Washington, DC: Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities, 2019).

327 Elizabeth Gish, “Producing High Priests and Princesses: The Father-Daughter Relationship in the Christian Sexual Purity Movement,” *Religions* 7, no. 33 (2016): 1–22; Nora Khalaf-Elledge, *Scoping Study: Looking Back to Look Forward. The Role of Religious Actors in Gender Equality Since the Beijing Declaration* (Washington, DC: Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities, 2021); Sarah de Roure and Chiara Capraro, “Faith Paths to Overcome Violence Against Women and Girls in Brazil,” *Gender & Development* 24, no. 2 (2016): 205–218; Sukhwant Dhaliwal and Pragna Patel, “Desecularisation and the ‘Faith Agenda’ in an Era of Austerity: Their Impact on Women’s and Girls’ Rights in the UK,” *Gender & Development* 25, no.1(2017): 85–102; Heidi M. Levitt and Kimberly Ware, “Anything With Two Heads Is a Monster’: Religious Leaders’ Perspectives on Marital Equality and Domestic Violence,” *Violence Against Women* 12, no. 12 (2006): 1169–1190.

328 Sunday A. Adedini, et al., “Role of Religious Leaders in Promoting Contraceptive Use in Nigeria: Evidence from the Nigerian Urban Reproductive Health Initiative,” *Global Health: Science and Practice*, 6, no.3 (2018): 500–514; Lillian K. Kaviti, “Impact of the Tamar Communication Strategy on Sexual Gender-based Violence in Eastern Africa,” *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* 2, no. 3 (2015): 492–514; Rizwana Habib Latha, “A Re-shaping of Gender Activism in a Muslim Context – Senegal,” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 83 (2010): 55–67; Elisabet Le Roux, et al., “Engaging with Faith Groups to Prevent VAWG in Conflict-affected Communities: Results from Two Community Surveys in the DRC,” *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 20, no. 27 (2020).

329 Selina Palm & Carola Eyber, *Why Faith? Engaging the Mechanisms of Faith to End Violence Against Children*. (Washington, D.C., Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities EVAC Hub, 2019); Elisabet Le Roux & Brenda Bartelink, *No More ‘Harmful Traditional Practices’: Working Effectively with Faith Leaders* (Washington DC: Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities, 2017); Le Roux and Palm, *Learning From Practice*.

330 Le Roux and Palm, *Learning from Practice*; Elisabet Le Roux and Selina Palm. “What Lies Beneath? Tackling the Roots of Religious Resistance to Ending Child Marriage,” Research Report (London: Girls Not Brides, 2018); Dhaliwal and Patel, *The ‘Faith Agenda’*, 85–102.

331 Le Roux and Bartelink, *Working Effectively With Faith Leaders*

332 Gerard Clarke, “Agents of Transformation? Donors, Faith-based Organisations and International Development,” *Third World Quarterly*, 28, no.1 (2007): 77–96.

333 Nora Khalaf-Elledge, “It’s a Tricky One” – Development Practitioners’ Attitudes Towards Religion,” *Development in Practice* 30, no. 5 (2020): 660–671; Le Roux and Loo, “The Unhealthy Divide,” 733–744; Elisabet Le Roux, *Religion and Gender in Donor Policies and Practice. A Reflection on Government Ministry and Intergovernmental Agency Engagement with Religious Actors in Pursuit of SDG 5*. (Washington: Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities, 2021).

334 Khalaf-Elledge, *It’s a Tricky One*, 660–671.

335 Global Philanthropy Project (GPP), “Religious Conservatism on the Global Stage: Threats and Challenges for LGBTI Rights” (New York: Global Philanthropy Project, November, 2018), <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/religiousconservatismreport/>

The controversy surrounding SRHRs in the US illustrates how the religion-gender intersection is as powerful and prevalent in high-income countries as it is in low-income countries. Many of the conservative Christian voices opposing reproductive rights originate in the US³³⁶ and US politicians frequently base their opposition to abortion and contraceptives on religious arguments to appease these large conservative segments of society.³³⁷ Conservative views can be carried abroad via international NGOs, government aid policies, or other state funding. Rights organizations have flagged the “disastrous effects” of US aid policies on gender issues worldwide, specifically, the systematic censorship of information about human sexuality and risk reduction, the promotion of medically inaccurate information and “miracle cures” through charismatic faith, the undermining of sex education, and in some instances, the unintended consequence of encouraging early marriage.³³⁸ The dominance of conservative voices in recent years has arguably obscured internal dynamic debates of religions and more liberal standpoints when it comes to reproductive rights. Other high-income countries, for example in Europe, have also experienced a rise in conservative politics focusing especially on reproductive rights.³³⁹ Nevertheless, given the dominant role of the US in the global development sector and its influential religious political right, a conversation about religious pushbacks on gender equality must include US foreign aid policy, its restriction of SRHRs worldwide, and support of grassroots anti-choice initiatives.

The issue of LGBTIQ+ rights is subject to similar debates among religious voices. In the Global North, some countries have introduced so-called religious freedom or religious exemption laws legalizing the discrimination of LGBTIQ+ people.³⁴⁰ In the Global North and South alike, LGBTIQ+ people continue to be targets of discrimination and violence often driven by conservative groups using religious arguments. The 2018 report by the Global Philanthropy Project (GPP) found that while Christian and Muslim groups can be highly suspicious of one another when it comes to sexual politics, they unite in their fight to protect “traditional family values.”³⁴¹ Other religious leaders attempt to counteract anti-homosexuality campaigns in the name of religions.³⁴²

The diverse viewpoints between and within religious traditions are routinely overlooked **since development organizations prefer to build religious partnerships over building their own religious literacy.**³⁴³ Religious literacy, a relatively young discourse in development, highlights the context-specific nature of religious practices. It provides a useful analytical framework to conceptualize the diverse – and sometimes conflicting – roles faith actors play in advancing or hindering gender equality. Even though over the past decade, development organizations have been urged to promote a better understanding of religious discourses throughout their organizational structures, in practice the extent of engagement with religions rarely moves beyond partnering with faith actors. These partners are then expected to do the religious literacy work. This can be problematic, both because being religious does not equal understanding the way religions impact gender politics,³⁴⁴ but also because development organizations need a certain level of religious literacy to better design projects and form meaningful partnerships in the first place. In the absence of religious literacy, development organizations continue to generalize, misrepresent, or confuse concepts such as “social norms,” “cultural practices,” or “religious laws,” and use them interchangeably. New research suggests that most issues that are labeled or generalized as “religious” in development reporting, are in fact a function of patriarchal power structures that can be found across societies and are subject to change.³⁴⁵ For example, practices such as female genital mutilation, foot-binding, or child marriage are a result of patriarchal norms rather than divinely ordained rules.³⁴⁶ Most societies today are still patriarchal in practice.³⁴⁷ This might explain some of the continuous hesitance of development practitioners to engage with these subjects. Naturally, challenging one of the most deeply entrenched powers systems in the world will be controversial and generate backlash, which development organization rarely consider to be “politically expedient.”³⁴⁸

336 GPP, *Religious Conservatism*.

337 Thomas A. Hirschl, et al., *Politics, Religion, and Society: Is the United States Experiencing a Period of Religious-Political Polarization?* *Review of European Studies*, 4, no. 4 (2012): 95-109.

338 Imam, Gokal, and Marler, *Devil is in The Details*, 30; John S. Santelli, Ilene S. Speizer, and Zoe R. Edelstein, “Abstinence Promotion Under PEPFAR: The Shifting Focus of HIV Prevention For Youth,” *Global Public Health* 8, no. 1 (2013): 1-12.

339 Linda Woodhead, “Gender Differences in Religious Practice and Significance,” in *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed James A. Beckford and Jay Demerath (London: Sage, 2007), 550-570.

340 Human Rights Watch, “All We Want is Equality. Religious Exemptions and Discrimination against LGBT People in the United States” (New York: HRW, February 19, 2018), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/02/19/all-we-want-equality/religious-exemptions-and-discrimination-against-lgbt-people>

341 GPP, *Religious Conservatism*, 36.

342 Dawes Cooke, “African Voices for Equality: Reverend Christopher Senyonjo,” *Human Rights First* (blog), April 10, 2014, accessed March 13, 2022, <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/blog/african-voices-equality-reverend-christopher-senyonjo>

343 Nora Khalaf-Elledge, *The Religion-Gender Nexus*, 69.

344 Diane L. Moore, “Diminishing Religious Literacy: Methodological Assumptions and Analytical Frameworks for Promoting the Public Understanding of Religion” in, *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, eds. Adam Dinham and Matthew Francis (Bristol: Policy Press, 2015), 37.

345 Khalaf-Elledge, *The Religion-Gender Nexus*, 95.

346 Sharmon Lynnette Monagan “Patriarchy: Perpetuating the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation,” *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2010): 160; Le Roux and Palm, *What lies beneath?*

347 Craig Lockard, *Societies, Networks, and Transitions: A Global History* (Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2015), 88.

348 Khalaf-Elledge, *The Religion-Gender Nexus*, 34, 142.

Any effort to build religious literacy within development organizations must begin by **overcoming the fear of engaging with issues connected to gender and religions**. Research with gender staff from major development organizations indicates that gender-related issues continue to be side-lined despite the requirements by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to mainstream gender.³⁴⁹ This emphasizes the need for a truthful implementation of GAD and tangible engagement with gendered power structures, including the roles of religions. Recent decolonial feminist discourses may help in this process. They call for development approaches to recognize their colonial roots to avoid repeating gender stereotypes and orientalist depictions of women and men.³⁵⁰ Abu-Lughod warned that Western simplified depictions of religious women in developing countries can have dangerous effects,³⁵¹ pointing to the repeated portrayal of Muslim women as oppressed, which served as justification for the War on Terror and America's invasion of Afghanistan while simultaneously covering up messy historical and political dynamics that have perpetuated inequality. Development policies, especially bilateral aid, are situated within the same political sphere and as such equally susceptible to prevalent Western-centric notions of gender and religions. New decolonization discourses also reframe development as a global project. They acknowledge that gender equality is not a Western invention, likewise, religious politics are not unique to the Global South. These discourses "highlight the shared experience of high- and low-income countries and seek to even the playing field, allowing marginalised voices to become the centre of development."³⁵² This was one of the key calls from the Beijing conference 25 years ago and may pave the way for understanding the religion-gender nexus as a global phenomenon.

Conclusion

*"The religious politics of gender has become one of the most important issues facing humanity worldwide and is likely to remain an issue of increasing relevance for the foreseeable future."*³⁵³

Concluding, we highlight three final points important to keep in mind when reflecting on gender and religions in development.

- First, 'gender' should not be viewed as a subsection, or specialized area of interest or approach, within religions and development. Gender affects all the issues around which religions and development meet. Whether the focus is on religions and poverty, environment, health or conflict, views on gender will be relevant to and impactful on the development process.
- Second, it is essential to constantly keep in mind that the challenges and controversies of gender and religions in development are not limited to the Global South – as the current reproductive health debate in the US has so aptly illustrated. The intersection between religions and gender affects development gains in the Global North, too, even to the extent of reversing such gains.
- Third, engaging on gender and religions remains challenging as it is subject to many different forces, including bilateral country relations, diplomacy, and personal biases and attitudes. This highlights that intervention focused on gender and religions in development will require awareness of and engagement at various levels, including international development staff and not only religious leaders and communities.

349 Khalaf-Elledge, *The Religion-Gender Nexus*, 121.

350 See for example, Jessica Horn, "Decolonising Emotional Well-being and Mental Health in Development: African Feminist Innovations," *Gender and Development* 28, no. 1 (2020): 85-98; Elisabet Le Roux, "Can Religious Women Choose? Holding the Tension Between Complicity and Agency," *African Journal of Gender and Religion* 25, no. 1 (2019): 1-19.

351 Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others," *American Anthropologist*, 104, no. 3 (2002): 783-790.

352 Khalaf-Elledge, *The Religion-Gender Nexus*, 45.

353 José Casanova and Anne Phillips, "A Debate on the Public Role of Religion and Its Social and Gender Implications," Paper no. 5. (New York: Gender and Development Programme, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2009).

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