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NO. 165/60

Gender planning and  
development:  
Revisiting, deconstructing  
and reflecting

Caroline O. N. Moser

## DPU60 Reflections working paper series

In 2014 the DPU celebrates 60 years of education, training, research, consultancy and knowledge sharing in urban and regional development policy and planning in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. DPU's focus on urban development and planning in what is now often referred to as 'the global south' was unique in the UK and abroad at the time of its establishment at the Architectural Association in 1954, as well as when it moved in 1971 from the AA to UCL. DPU colleagues then actively contributed to a dynamic post-colonial history of development debates, planning practices and planning education, helping to forge alternative, socially just innovations in the emergent field of urban development planning. It is the legacy of this unique urban agenda that the DPU60 Reflections Working Papers Series seeks to collate. The series has been developed in partnership with DPU-Associates, a network which brings together former DPU colleagues who maintain a close relationship with current DPU teaching, research and consultancy. In line with the overarching theme of the DPU60 Anniversary celebrations – Looking Back, Looking Forward – the series seeks to cover a range of topics that have been and continue to be central to the DPU's work, from the vantage point of some of the key historical actors in the debate.

Caren Levy and Barbara Lipietz  
London, June 2014

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# Gender planning and development: Revisiting, deconstructing and reflecting

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this Working Paper, written to celebrate the DPU's 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, along with the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its gender programme, is to revisit gender planning during this period. It deconstructs different phases; from the 'invention' of gender planning in the 1980s, to its widespread 'diffusion' as the 'Moser framework' in the 1990s, followed by a marked 'divergence' between practitioners using the planning framework and feminist theorists critiquing it. By the late 1990s, after the successful Beijing Platform for Action, the paper identifies a 'convergence' associated with the wide-scale adoption of gender mainstreaming by most institutions previously using the different gender analysis frameworks. Since then gender practitioners have focused on gender mainstreaming and empowerment, while for feminist academics the dominant paradigm has been 'gender transformation'. In many respects, the limitations of gender mainstreaming in practice, has meant that gender planning, even if by another name, has come

full circle contributing to a practitioner-focused gender framework that creates awareness for new generations, as well as providing associated methodological tools for policy, planning and project formulation and implementation. At each phase, the paper identifies underlying tensions between the political and technical/instrumental; as well as the divorce between theory and practice, as it reflects on both short and long term impact of gender planning over the past 30 years, as feminists and practitioners have responded both to a changing global macro-economic context as well as further developing gender theory and practice. Today there are new challenges; the divorce between theory and practice appears to be greater than ever, with result-based management and evidence-based policy and planning dominating development practice, counterpoised by 'transformative social relations' as the dominant theoretical academic gender discourse. This raises the intriguing question, where is gender planning?



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# 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

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The purpose of this Working Paper, written to celebrate the DPU's 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, is to revisit gender planning, 'invented' at the DPU 30 years ago, as marked by the inception of the first short course on 'Planning with Women for Urban Development'. During the 1980s gender planning, as one of a portfolio of urban development planning disciplines, was conceptualised and tested through a diversity of short training courses both at DPU, with Northern bilateral agencies and UK NGOs, and with Southern partners. The 1990s saw its 'diffusion' particularly among Northern agencies, as the so-called 'Moser Framework'. This was one of six widely disseminated Gender Analysis Frameworks, each with its own advantages and limitations. One outcome of 'diffusion' was 'dilution', leading to a marked 'divergence' between practitioners using the planning framework and feminist theorists critiquing it. By the late 1990s, after the successful global endorsement of the Beijing Platform for Action, the paper identifies a 'convergence' associated with the wide-scale adoption of gender mainstreaming by most institutions previously using different gender analysis frameworks. Since then practitioners have grappled with gender mainstreaming and its twin-track objectives of equality and empowerment, while for feminist academics it creates awareness for new generations, as well as providing associated methodological tools for policy, planning and project formulation and implementation; however, the dominant paradigm has been 'gender transformation'. In many respects, the problems of implementing gender mainstreaming in practice, has meant that gender planning has come full circle, with its original purpose still relevant today, contributing to a practitioner-focused gender framework that creates awareness for new generations, as well as providing associated tools for policy, planning and project formulation and implementation.

At each phase, the paper identifies underlying tensions between the political and technical/instrumental; as well as the divorce between theory and practice, as it reflects on both the short and long term impact of gender planning over the past 30 years, as feminists and practitioners have responded both to a changing global macro-economic context as well as to developments in their own theory and practice. Today, there are new challenges; the divorce between theory and practice appears to be greater than ever with result-based management and evidence-based policy and planning dominating development practice counterpoised by 'transformative social relations' as the central theoretical academic gender discourse (Eyben 2013; Kabeer 2005). This raises the intriguing question, where is gender planning?

In revisiting gender planning these broad 'phases' provide a heuristic device to deconstruct some of the complexities of its trajectory. At the outset it is important to recognise that, for a number of reasons, this paper represents a very partial view; first, by its very nature, much of the 'grey literature' intrinsic to the field of planning practice is not designed to be presented in the public domain, and therefore has not been accessible for this working paper; second, lack of access to longitudinal information on the impacts of gender planning in the global South – a research project in itself – severely biases this paper towards its Northern impacts; third, this paper reflects my positioning in terms of gender planning from its 'invention' at the DPU through shifts in my professional life as I have moved through an international financial institution, two policy think-tanks and another university. Such reflexivity helps me recognise that my interpretation of reality is grounded in my personal, professional and organisational identity, and the underlying power relations that have shaped this, and that others, differently positioned, may have alternative interpretations (Eyben, 2014; Cunliffe, 2004).

**1.** My sincere thanks to Rosalind Eyben, Henrietta Mier, Michael Safier and Julian Walker for their thoughtful reviewers' comments, also to Jo Beall, Sylvia Chant, Sukey Field, Pat Holden and Caroline Pinder for reflections, and to Caren

Levy for inviting me to present a draft version at the DPU Anniversary Event on 'Gender in Policy and Planning: Mainstreaming, Manipulated or Side-lined?' in London on the 26<sup>th</sup> March, 2014

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## 2. The background context

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As with all new conceptual frameworks, models or approaches, the 'invention' of gender planning was grounded in the specific political and economic development debates and realities of its time, in this case the 1970s and early 1980s. For this reason the paper starts with a brief description of external influences in the broader development context, as well as internally within the urban planning milieu of the DPU.

### 2.1 External influences

At the external level, as Castell's (1983) has commented, the three most important movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were the labour, social and women's movements. In synthesis, the self-styled second-wave feminism, which began in the 1960s in the USA and grew into a worldwide movement, by the 1970s had become critically important in the UK. This saw the resurgence of feminist activity, with the dramatic rise of the women's liberation movement and other mainstream feminist women's groups (Hartmann, 1981).

The 1970s was also a critical time for women working in the development 'business'; again US influence was important, with the formulation of the Women in Development (WID) model or approach, drawing on the liberal egalitarianism of 'second wave' Northern feminism to challenge the male bias in development assistance. As I wrote in 1993;

*'WID was coined in the early 1970s' by the Women's Committee of the Washington DC Chapter of the Society for International Development, a network of female development professionals who were influenced by the work on Third World Development undertaken by Ester Boserup and other 'new anthropologists' (see Boserup 1970, Tinker, 1982; Maguire 1984). The term was very rapidly adopted by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in their so-called WID approach, the underlying rationale of which was that women are an untapped resource who can provide an economic contribution to development' (Moser, 1993, 2).*

Despite the historical success of the 1973 Percy Amendment<sup>2</sup>, the WID approach was soon challenged. Thi-

World<sup>3</sup> women participating in the NGO meeting linked to 1975 First Conference in Mexico at the onset of the UN Decade for Women '*rejected feminism as hostile to men and believed that economic exploitation by the North, not patriarchy, was the major cause of women's oppression*' (Jaquette and Staudt, 2006, 22). Equally, within the development community, criticism with the limitations of WID began to grow on the basis that this largely sought to give women a place within existing modernisation structures and paradigms, rather than challenging gender hierarchies, confronting or seeking to transform gendered inequalities more directly (Parpart, 1993).

In the late 1970s in the UK, the IDS 'Subordination of Women (SOW) Workshop', under the guidance of feminist social anthropologists such as Kate Young and Ann Whitehead played an important role in shifting the approach from 'women' to 'gender'. Drawing on the work of Rubin (1975), Oakley (1972) and others they posited three fundamental assumptions: that the study of women and development cannot start with the viewpoint that the problem is *women*, but rather men and women, and more specifically the socially constructed relations between them; second, that the relations between men and women are *socially constituted*, historically specific and not derived from biology; third that these socially constructed relations are not necessarily harmonious and non-conflicting but may be ones of opposition and conflict, with women's subordination rooted in patriarchy (Whitehead, 1979). It was out of this groundswell of criticism of WID that the alternative model or approach of Gender and Development (GAD) developed, playing a crucial role in the formulation of gender planning.<sup>4</sup>

### 2.2 Internal influences in the DPU: The urban development planning context

The invention of gender planning was also fundamentally influenced by the conjuncture of a number of characteristics of the DPU, itself a uniquely 'alternative institution' during the 1970s and 1980s when compared to university departments. A DPU promotion booklet produced at the time summarises its mandate as follows:

*'The DPU is an international centre for education, training research and consultancy in the field of urban and regional planning in devel-*

*oping countries. It pursues its aims principally through graduate and mid-career professional training programmes in London and Overseas (DPU, n.d.1)<sup>5</sup>*

First, at a time when development was almost entirely perceived as rural development both in academic research and in the allocation of international donor aid, the DPU's focus was on cities and urbanisation<sup>6</sup>; second, its discipline was urban planning<sup>7</sup>. This was not urban planning created in the North and then transferred to the South, as taught by the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, within which the DPU was institutionally situated. In contrast, **urban development planning**, pioneered by Otto Koenigsberger and DPU architect and planning colleagues, was grounded in their planning practice in southern cities (particularly India) and conceived of as comprising four mutually reinforcing development planning components, namely the economic, social, spatial and organisational, with a multiplier effect between them (Safier, 2014); third, for both professional and financial reasons it prioritised training courses, rather than academic teaching or research.

Finally, the decision to move forward with a gender planning short course was pragmatically influenced by an assessment of a 'gap in the market', and the constant pressure on the DPU, as a self-financing Unit, to generate its own income<sup>8</sup>. At that time the only other gender-focused course, was provided by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (as UK's lead development institute, IDS was supported by core funding from the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) during this period). Based on its SOW work, this course was targeted primarily at feminists in academia and those working in women's organisations in the South. The DPU short course was designed after considerable consultation with IDS Director, Kate Young, and with its practical gender planning focus and its constituency of Southern government planners and practitioners, it was intended to complement the IDS's programme.

Grounded in this reality, from its inception gender planning was entirely urban in focus<sup>9</sup>. Although Boserup's rural, African influence still dominated much of WID/GAD focused policy<sup>10</sup>, by 1980, even if obscure, there was body of academic research on women, gender and urban development. This had not occurred in isolation; rather it reflected changing macro-economic development models and theoretical development paradigms<sup>11</sup>. A 1995 review of urban gender research (Moser 1995; Moser and Peake 1995) identified first a gender-blind period (primarily the 1960s-70s); a second 'add women and stir' period (during the 1970s-1980s) that focused on 'proving' that women were important in the urban development agenda and making them visible within a WID framework; finally, a third period (from the 1980s onwards) that shifted from women per se to gender, focusing on the ways in which urban life was gendered, and how the social construction of gender relations differentially constrained men and women's access to, and participation in, areas of urban life.

Research on such issues as gendered basic needs and the informal sector, as well as women's urban struggles around infrastructure and housing influenced the gender planning framework<sup>12</sup>. However most of this research was discipline-based and academic in such fields as geography, economics, anthropology and sociology. Notable exceptions included the WID-focused Population Council's 'Women, Low-Income Households and Urban Services' project with research groups established in Jamaica, Mexico and Peru (Schmink, Bruce and Kohn 1986), USAID's applied research on housing with headship the most common criterion for differentiation (Lycette and Jaramillo 1984), and the path breaking GAD-based study by Marianne Schmink on the Belo Horizonte (Brazil) transport system where route assignments meant women living in peripheral settlements had longer routes and changed transport more often than men (Schmink, 1982).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

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**2.** The 1973 Percy Amendment to the United States Foreign Assistance Act enshrined the principle that US development assistance should improve the status of women by integrating them into the development process (Parpart 1993)

**3.** Replacing the dualism of the UN's term 'developed / less developed' or 'developing, was the term 'Third World', with its origins in the term 'Third Estate' used by many non-aligned countries during the Cold War. Its impreciseness with political changes in the 1990s led to widespread adoption of the term Global South which includes all countries classified as low, and middle-income countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013, 13)

**4.** For historical accounts of WID/GAD and their development, see Razavi and Miller 1995; Rathgeber 1990. For later assessments see Elson 1995; Kabeer 1994. For a gender concepts and definitions resource for the 1980-2000 period, see Reeves and Baden, 2000.

**5.** Note the difference in emphasis in the DPU's current website which states that the DPU '*conducts world-leading research and postgraduate teaching that helps to build the capacity of national governments, local authorities, NGOs, aid agencies and businesses working towards socially just and sustainable development in the global south. We are part of The Bartlett: UCL's global faculty of the built environment*'.

**6.** A decade later, the ODA supported 'Development Studies in Britain: A Selected Course Guide' for the years 1991-92 and

1992-3, listed only three out of 23 UK Development Departments, Centres or Institutes as running urban studies and planning courses – Birmingham, Loughborough and DPU, of which the majority were at the DPU (Conference of Directors of Special Courses, 1990).

**7.** Given terminological confusions about the definition of planning, in 1993 I wrote as follows: 'if policy is about what to do, then planning is about how to do it, and the organisation of implementation is about what is actually done. The term 'planning process' describes the interrelated stages of policy, planning and the organisation of implementation' (Moser, 1993,6).

**8.** Along with its nine-month Diploma course and 12-month Masters course, the DPU ran 10-15 short courses annually (DPU n.d.).

**9.** This was also reinforced by my discipline background in urban anthropology.

**10.** For instance, in the 1980s when first undertaking gender training at SIDA, their Gender Advisors requested that any urban focus be omitted from the course contents.

**11.** This included modernisation and the growth of cities (1950-60s), redistribution with growth in cities; basic needs (1970s-early 1980s) and subsequently would reflect management of cities (early 1980s), responses to cities in crises – associated with structural adjustment programmes (late 1980s-1990) and urban globalisation (post 2000).

**12.** A further period focused on the urban consequences of 'male bias' in Structural Adjustment Policies (Moser 1995, 229).

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## 3. The 'invention' of gender planning at DPU

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### 3.1 First stages

The DPU's discipline emphasis on urban development planning, and its prioritisation of practice and its associated training – rather than academic research and teaching – meant that from its conception gender planning focused on **planning**, and following DPU practice, used **short course 'training'** as the testing ground to conceptually develop and operationally assess its viability. From the outset the course received support from DPU Emeritus Director Otto Koenigsberger. As Patrick Wakely, later also a Director, recalled at the staff meeting when I originally introduced my idea, Otto commented *'What a brilliant idea! Why didn't we think of it before?'* While most of my DPU all-male colleagues were quizzically intrigued, others, particularly Michael Safier, made a fundamental contribution to its conceptualisation, as did Caren Levy who joined the DPU to assist with the first Short Course.<sup>13</sup>

When I approached the two social development advisors at UK's ODA for short course start-up financial support in 1993, they declined, arguing that if the existing portfolio of short courses were any good, WID would already be integrated into all ongoing courses. While US institutions such as the Inter-American Foundation, Rockefeller and ICRW, all heavily USAID-WID focused, also declined support, in stark contrast was the Ford Foundation, whose visionary programme officer, Kate McGee, awarded the DPU a \$34,000 grant<sup>14</sup>. This allowed me to visit to a number of African and Asian countries in order to explore the potential interest of government planners and practitioners both in gender planning and in such a short course; the grant also provided financing for setting up the DPU Gender and Planning Working Paper Series (which continues to this date) as well as administrative staffing support for early training.

### 3.2 The gender planning framework

In developing gender planning I proposed that, as a planning discipline, gender planning was based on the premise that women and gender were marginalised in planning theory and practice and therefore there was a need to develop gender planning as a planning discipline in its own right, with its own methodology. Reasons

for this problem included the fact that most authorities responsible for development planning only very reluctantly, if at all, recognised gender as an important planning issue; the divorce between theory and practice, meant that the concern of feminist academic research, by its very nature, had been to highlight the complexities of gender relations and divisions of labour in specific socio-economic contexts, rather than to simplify such complexities so that methodological tools could be developed to enable practitioners to translate gender awareness into practice; and finally because it had proved remarkably difficult to 'graft' gender onto existing planning disciplines (Moser 1989; 1993).

By design, the underlying conceptual rationale of gender planning was based on a simple question, namely 'can we plan for the needs of low-income households generally, or is it necessary to plan for the needs of women in their own right?' (Moser 1993, 15). This allowed for recognition that because men and women have different positions within the household and different control over resources, they not only play different and changing roles in society, but also often have different needs<sup>15</sup>. Gender planning challenged assumptions in current stereotypes based on Western planning theory still prevalent in the 1980s relating to the structure of the household (assumed to be nuclear), the divisions of labour within them (man as the 'breadwinner'; woman as the 'homemaker'), and to power and control over resource allocations within the household (the conceptualisation of the household as a joint utility function).

Building on the challenges these three planning assumptions presented, the gender planning framework comprised an integrated set of three methodological tools of roles, needs and policy approaches, **linked together by a coherent internal logic**. First was the concept of the triple role, derived from feminist debates, the research of Marianne Schmink (1982), as well as from my grounded anthropological research in Guayaquil that identified the reproductive, productive and community managing roles of women, as against the primarily productive and community politics roles of men (Moser 1987). Second, building on Maxine Molyneux's seminal feminist research (1985) on gender interests as prioritised concerns, was their translation into planning needs, as the means by which their concerns were satisfied, with the differentiation between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs.

The third gender planning tool was the five-fold typology of 'ideal type' policy approaches to WID/GAD along a continuum from welfare, equity and anti-poverty to efficiency and empowerment. At the macro-level each policy approach was linked to an economic development policy; methodologically as a policy formulation and evaluation tool, its purpose was to identify the relationship between a particular policy approach, the gender roles on which it focused and the gender needs it aimed to meet. For instance welfare policy tended to focus on women's reproductive role and to meet practical gender needs associated with reproductive responsibilities. Of particular importance was the empowerment policy approach; first articulated by Third World women, influenced by DAWN<sup>16</sup>, it questioned fundamental assumptions concerning the interrelationship between power and development, and stressed the importance of women's self-reliance, internal strength and group-level cooperation as means of empowerment (Moser, 1993).

Tools relating to the conceptual rationale for gender planning were first popularised in the 1980s through training and an article in *World Development*, not only in the English-speaking world, but also in Latin America through its translation into Spanish. In 1993, drawing on teaching, training and advisory work, I finally brought this together in the publication of a book, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*, that incorporated the conceptualisation of further methodological tools relating to the implementation of gender planning practice. These included the institutionalisation of gender planning, operational procedures for implementing gender policies, programmes and projects, and training strategies for gender planning (Moser 1993)<sup>17</sup>.

### 3.3 The importance of gender planning training during the 1980s

Reflecting the positioning of a Northern-based training unit, as Short Course Director, with Caren Levy, I shared the gender planning framework with Southern practitioners in the three-month DPU Short Course. Together we tested the framework's viability and usefulness in terms of the professional realities of their planning practice. These were not feminist academics but in the main were committed women professionals interested in better understanding WID/GAD issues and participating in a transfer of knowledge relating to the implementation of the tools in planning practice. Their contribution was invaluable in modifying, adapting and further developing the framework, in an iterative process that continued throughout the years that the short course ran<sup>18</sup>.

Very soon the demand for training grew beyond the DPU, both from bilateral donors, such as ODA (now DFID) and Swedish SIDA, as well as Northern based NGOs includ-

ing VSO, OXFAM and Christian Aid. On the one hand this reflected the expansion of training programmes associated with professionalisation of development that occurred during the 1980s; on the other hand it was associated with lip service to WID in a range of development-focused institutions, as the 1975-1985 Decade of Women in Development moved towards closure with the 1985 Nairobi Conference. Therefore, there was enthusiastic buy-in from gender/social development advisers with the mandate of implementing training to meet the specific demands of their institutions.

In a climate of at worst intense resistance, or at best deep cynicism around WID, let alone GAD, it seemed important to develop a non-threatening framework that was perceived to be 'technical' and non-political in order to convince technocrats, whether economists, planners or engineers to change how they saw the world<sup>19</sup>. One successful method to reduce tension at the outset was to distinguish between the 'professional, the 'personal' and 'political' and to emphasise that gender planning started with the 'professional'. The emphasis on technical skills to improve professional competence allowed participants to accept different tools, while ultimately the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs required them to re-examine 'political' positions relating to women's subordination.

From the outset the tools were grounded in a political subtext relating to gender power relations. As an NGO co-trainer during this period recently reflected;

*'Although sessions did not specifically cover 'power relations' and responsibilities, these would inevitably emerge 'bottom-up' in the discussions.'*

She recalled, for instance, how the 24-hour day time diary exercise not only focused on women's role in childcare/family work or income-generating projects, but also identified who took responsibility for welfare, money and food. Discussions often highlighted that men had responsibility with power (over family income, education, birth control), while women had responsibility without power – over childcare and housework; in mixed group training this could lead to confrontation, while in all-women groups it tended to result in 'cynicism' or resignation. Another interesting comment related to strategic gender needs, which by definition were designed to 'empower' 'and change women's status in the community or society. Inevitably discussions would centre on whether more power for women meant taking power from men. Thus often,

*'When re/designing projects the trend would be to avoid meeting SGN as these were considered too difficult and contentious'*

Although gender planning was originally conceived of as a framework for Southern urban planners, it simultane-

ously filled a vacuum in the North; consequently by the end of the 1980s the framework was widely known, in both the UK and European development world, while incrementally taking root in the South. For instance, for a number of years, Swedish SIDA senior field staff undertook a three-day residential training attached to their summer home-leave, while at ODA, Chris Patten, Minister of Overseas Development, prioritised gender along with population and environment training for all professional staff<sup>20</sup>. Reflecting 25 years later, Rosalind Eyben, then the Social Development Adviser at ODA, commented that

after the failure of earlier gender training using role-play which required,

*'middle-aged men to pretend they were African women... the DPU training was refreshing – it could go somewhere. It worked with 'good-hearted' technical people; they benefited since the training identified issues they had not noticed. In contrast social relations training was not successful. It was too philosophical and people did not get it'.*

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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**13.** The then-Director, when viewing through the glass window the first Short Course participants, remarked, 'What are you doing in there?'

**14.** Her endorsement of the DPU short course to Ford Foundation's regional offices in for instance, Egypt, India, Peru and Kenya, ensured grant support to urban practitioners to attend the DPU short course during the 1980s.

**15.** By the 1980s the concept of 'needs' was widely recognised by development practitioners. Influencing this was World Bank's President, Robert McNamara's endorsement of Redistribution with Growth (RwG) as an anti-poverty development policy (Steeton et al 1981), with its associated strategy of urban basic needs, an 'approach which gives priority to meeting the basic needs of people' (including self-help housing, water and basic services) (Stewart 1985,1).

**16.** Development Alternatives for a New Era (DAWN) was created as a South-South international network to identify and debate Third World Women's concerns around the 1985 Nairobi Conference that concluded the UN decade for Women (DAWN 1985).

**17.** My career move out of the DPU, first to LSE and then to the World Bank reduced my opportunity to further test the implementation of these methodological tools.

**18.** The short course began at a modest scale and with a 'hands on' approach; six women professionals from Peru, Pakistan, Colombia, Venezuela, Egypt and the USA, participated in the first course in 1984; the second short course with 15 participants, included three Nicaraguan Sandinista government planners from the Atlantic Coast, who I met at Heathrow Airport with warm clothes to assist them with the weather changes.

**19.** For a detailed description and analysis of both the principles and practice of gender planning training, see Moser 1993, chapter 8.

**20.** This is reflected in a 1989 British council booklet that identified 19 courses 'designed specifically for women'. These ranged from the DPU and IDS courses mentioned above, through to an Intermediate Technology Development Group three-week 'Stove training course', and an Institute of Child Health one-week course on 'Women and the health of mothers and children' (British Council 1989)

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## 4. Diffusion: From gender planning to the ‘Moser Framework’

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### Multiple gender analysis frameworks

After the ‘invention’ of the early 1980s, came its ‘diffusion’ during the late 1980s and early 1990s, in what might be termed the ‘golden age’ of gender frameworks, and their associated training methodologies. Diffusion resulted in epistemological shifts in language, as well as the ‘dumbing down’ or over-simplification of inherently sophisticated frameworks, often to fit the needs of training. In the case of gender planning this was reflected in its change in identity from ‘DPU’ to ‘Moser’, and its metamorphosis from ‘gender planning’ into a ‘gender analysis framework’. Most significant was that the term ‘planning’ was dropped, and in so doing it ceased to be a framework, however incipient, that grappled with the complexities of the planning process, reducing it to an analysis framework.

In the period leading up to the 1995 Beijing Conference, the so-called Moser Framework was included in a menu of six gender analysis frameworks all linked to training, and widely disseminated particularly among the NGO community through copious guidelines and training manuals (Rao 1986; Royal Tropical Institute 1998). A 1999 OXFAM ‘short-guide’ publication (originally produced as packs that were translated into five languages) that *‘responded to a demand for practical instruments’* epitomised this, bringing together a stand-alone resource in which it discussed the following:

*‘...methodologies of the best known analytical frameworks which have been used to integrate gender considerations into development initiatives. It gives practical examples of each framework, and provides accessible commentaries discussing the framework’s potential usages,*

*advantages, and limitations, as well as recent adaptations’* (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999, 8)

Frameworks introduced came from the North and South and reflected conceptual and methodological changes in WID/GAD over the previous decade as well as differences in positioning. The first framework, mentioned above, was the early Harvard’s Gender Roles Framework, published in 1985. Second, was the Moser Framework, described above, Third and fourth were two later Southern-based gender frameworks; Rani Parker’s Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) first developed with practitioners in a Middle Eastern NGO as a community-based assessment technique (Parker, 1993); Longwe’s Women’s Empowerment Framework developed by Sarah Longwe, a GAD consultant based in Zambia, focused on women’s empowerment and equality (Williams 1994); a less-widely disseminated framework was the Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework (CVA) designed for use in humanitarian interventions and for disaster preparedness (Anderson and Woodrow, 1989). Finally, was the Social Relations Approach, with its roots in IDS SOW project (discussed above), developed by Naila Kabeer, academic colleagues and activists from the South (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1999).

Concurrently by 1990 the DPU, under Caren Levy’s leadership, shifted from gender planning to a broader focused gender policy and planning programme. This extended the original framework to emphasise men’s gender needs, gave greater recognition to the fact that negotiation and decision-making processes reflect power relations between men and women, extended the original five policy approaches to 10. In addition, it identified 13 elements of the ‘web’ as a diagnostic and operational framework for the institutionalisation of a gender perspective in development policy, planning and practice (Levy, 1996).

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## 5. Divergence between academic gender theorists and policy and project-level practitioners

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By the 1990s, gender planning, as originally ‘invented’ in the political and economic climate of the early 1980s, had been overtaken both by wider global events and by feminist GAD discourses. Alongside ‘diffusion’, a marked ‘divergence’ crystallised between practitioners using a diversity of gender frameworks (including the Moser Framework), to grapple with the challenges of introducing gender into their development-focused institutions, and academic theorists critiquing both development and planning in general, and gender analysis and planning frameworks and their associated training, in particular.

### 5.1 Background economic and development planning context

The 1990s saw fundamental changes in the global political economy, well beyond the scope of this paper. As background, nevertheless, it is useful to flag those of greatest contextual significance in grounding the critique of gender planning. At the economic level was the fundamental shift in macro-economic global development models from modernisation to neo-liberalism, with its associated structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) rolled out by the World Bank and IMF as market-oriented solutions to establish western-style economics in the Global South. Associated with this was the widespread criticism of SAPs, with gender analysts taking on a strong economic focus, challenging ‘male bias’ in macro-economics, development, and demanding that economic restructuring focus on a ‘restructuring of the social relations that constrain women’ (Elson 1995,1); Moser 1996). Also linked to neo-liberalism, was globalisation with its promotion of liberalisation and deregulation, again giving prominence to the work of feminist economists in focusing on the gendered process of globalisation (Beneria 2010). In response to these macro-economic changes, was the World Bank’s ‘rediscovery’ of poverty, and its systematic implementation of (participatory) poverty assessments and country-level poverty reduction strategies and programmes (PRSPs). GAD rapidly returned to WID, with a focus on the feminisation of poverty (Chant 2003), with the outcome the vindication of WID in

*‘congruence with neoliberal development agendas in which fundamental questions of structural, intersubjective and personal power relations remain unaddressed’ (Cornwall, 2003, 1326)*

At the planning level, the 1990s witnessed its dramatic demise, both epistemologically, and as a discipline of development practice. This reflected a shift from the 1947-68 post-second World War reconstruction and development period, during which planners and engineers with their Master Plans were welcomed into developing countries, to an increased dominance of economic determinism in the IFIs and associated institutions. The decline in importance of Ministries of Planning, the departure of architects, engineers and planners from development agencies, and the shift out from strategic or comprehensive city-level planning into the simplistic project cycle (Baum 1982) all impacted on the discipline of planning. Following on from this by the end of the 1990s, the introduction of PRSPs and then the Millennium Development Goals resulted in the introduction of sector-level programmatic direct budget support and an increased focus on private sector interventions. These complex, interrelated processes all served to delegitimise planning and reinforce frameworks focusing on policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. The domain of planning, including gender planning, shifted to NGOs and civil society organisation, particularly those associated with participatory planning.

Concurrently this period saw a profound postmodern political critique of development, questioning whether *‘western political, social and economic institutions and practices (whether liberal or socialist) hold the answers to the Third World’s development problems’* (Parpart, 1993, 452). Drawing on the role of discourse in the construction of power and knowledge systems, this argued that development is embedded in ethnocentric and destructive colonial (and postcolonial) discourses designed to perpetuate existing hierarchies rather than to change them. In the case of planning, Escobar, for instance, identified the historical roots of planning as lying in an ideological process of domination in which *‘... planning lent legitimacy to ... the development enterprise ... the concept of planning embodies the belief that social change can be engineered and directed, produced at will’* (Escobar, 1992, 132).

Mirroring this, during the 1990s was a ‘revived’ influential trend, namely a critique of the pitfalls of development expertise from the perspective of Northern practitioners. Coining the term ‘Aidland’, Mosse (ed, 2011) characterised this as ‘travelling orthodoxies’ that applied universal policy models to diverse contexts. As described

by Eyben, the particular characteristics of development institutions ensured that manuals, policy guidelines and planning frameworks had more power than in other bureaucracies to standardise judgments and promote particular diagnoses and solutions (Eyben, 2013, 20).

## 5.2 Feminist critique of gender planning and gender planning training<sup>21</sup>

These then were some of the complex trends that contextualised the feminist critique of gender planning and its linked training in the 1990s. Leading this were feminist academics, both Northern and Northern-based Southerners, based primarily in European academic institutions and policy think-tanks. Designing gender planning as a training-based conceptual framework in an urban planning unit, rather than as a theoretical course in an academic department meant that from the outset there were a number of inherent, inter-related tensions and contradictions in its framework and associated methodological tools. By the 1990s both had become a source of debate and critique.

In a 1992 review of three different gender frameworks, including gender planning<sup>22</sup>, Naila Kabeer commented that:

*'Like all conceptual efforts training frameworks seek to draw boundaries around complex empirical realities in order to focus attention on issues considered important'. They therefore involve simultaneously suppressing some information and privileging others. Limitations stem from what they suppress, and what they privilege (1992, 3).*

Implicit in this was the tension between *complexity and simplicity*, with a fundamental disjuncture between academic interpretations of the 'emic' complexities of the social construction of gender relations<sup>23</sup> and the 'etic' requirements of policymakers to categorise and simplify complex realities in order to advocate appropriate interventions<sup>24</sup>.

The most important tension was between the political and the technical. This was not new; writing in 1993, (Moser, 1993,7), I described the ongoing debate in planning as one in which it was identified either as 'contextless' and 'contentless' a neutral, apolitical technical set of procedures acting in the 'public good', or essentially political in nature, (Thomas 1979). As Grindle (1980) reflected at the time, people and groups aiming to transform social relationships generally meet with opposition from groups whose interests they threaten. While implicit in the design of gender planning, this tension became more explicit along with the framework's 'dumbing down', turning into a concern about the simplification of the GAD debate in gender planning – such

that planners would miss the diversity of women's experiences and the conflicting, at times contradictory, nature of their interests. Comments from academics included the following:

*'What began as a political issue is translated into a technical problem which the development enterprise can accommodate with barely a falter in its stride' (White, 1996, 7; quoted in Cornwall, 2003, 1326)*

*'As feminist theories are pointing out the enormous complexities, the debates within gender planning "are becoming closer to recipes and pills" (Anderson, 1992,13).. ..following Foucault (1976), this is another attempt not to explain reality, but rather to control and normalise it' (Weiringa, 1994, 835)*

In terms of specific tools it was the dualist distinction between women's practical and strategic gender needs that provoked the greatest reaction. A widely endorsed critique, by Kabeer, related to the political implications of the shift from Molyneux's conceptualisation of 'interests' to gender planning's articulation of 'needs'. She argued on both ideological and epistemological grounds, that while the politics of needs is a 'perspective from above', that of interests denotes 'a view taken from below'. Replacing SGI with SGN 'serves to obscure important aspects of gender politics common to many institutions' or 'to problematise the planning process as a site of gender politics' (Kabeer 1992,32-33).

Interestingly, this critique served to complicate rather than clarify the terminology with three alternatives still in current use; while most feminist academics now refer to practical and strategic interests, the majority of practitioners still use the gender planning language 5.3of needs; in the middle are those who mix the two referring to strategic gender interests and practical gender needs – which incorporates the politics of gender along with the realities of planning practice (Young 1986).

Another tension was that between academics' critique and practitioners' positivism. While academia is more grounded in the analytical critique 'of what's wrong', the mandate of practitioners is to implement 'what's right', requiring policies to ensure virtuous rather than vicious cycles. In this way, for instance, Kabeer critiqued the triple roles tool, in terms of a lack of analytical distinction between categories of resources, and categories of relations. She argued that while in the case of productive and reproductive roles it is the kind of resource produced, community roles include both a category of resources (formally and informally constituted claims) as well as a particular category of social relations through which resources are produced (collective rather than private) (Kabeer, 1992, 10).

A final critique, not specific to, but including gender planning, related to the ‘undifferentiated other’ with Third World feminists accusing Northern scholars for creating Southern women as an undifferentiated ‘other’, oppressed by gender and Third World underdevelopment – uniformly poor, powerless and vulnerable – and thereby distorting multiple realities (Mohantry 1988; Parpart 1993). Since then, recognition of the conflicts of interest between women from different classes, races, ethnicities, ages and sexual preferences in which one group’s increased power or self-reliance may impinge on that of other groups has increasingly been incorporated into feminist research on the conceptualisation and practice of intersectionality (Wieringa, 1994, 842; Sen, 2012).

### 5.3 Critique of training: From ‘quick fix’ panacea to ‘ubiquitous’ problem<sup>25</sup>

Writing about the challenges of gender training, in 1993 I stated:

*Gender training is a complex, sensitive and sophisticated field of work, conceptually, methodologically and, and above all in its practice. The ‘first generation’ of gender trainers has already learnt through bitter experience, that despite the immense demand for such training,*

*neither ‘quick fixes’ nor ‘quick sales’ of guidelines, manuals and packages provide the panacea to gender planning problems (Moser 1993, 173).*

Gender planning training was never intended to be the panacea but by the 1990s, the ‘hunger’ was such that with its dissemination, gender planning began to develop a life of its own; its popularity related to it the logic of a framework that allowed practitioners not only to grasp the importance of WID/GAD, but also to talk to each other using a common language both within and across institutions. The ‘dumbing down’ was inevitable as trainers and consultancy teams increasingly delivered shorter, more technocratic courses. The consequences were inevitable: training in time came to be termed ‘instrumentalist advocacy’ by those concerned with the transformation of social relations (Eyben, 2013,17), while for development-focused institutions who saw it as an ‘add-on’, the failure to deliver on the early expectations of its perceived fast-delivery potential led to a decline in their expectations of training.

Other factors that also affected this decline included the increased professionalisation of staff in development agencies and NGOs, and with their assumed awareness of gender, a greater demand for technical skills relating to programme management and logical framework, along with requirements for sex disaggregated statistics. With the move towards evidence-based results the demand for training in the formulation of measureable gender indicators and markers became a greater priority.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

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**21.** During this period, my professional and political positions were conflated, with inferences that a move in my professional career delegitimised a framework developed a decade earlier, ‘Moser, herself a senior World Bank Policy Specialist, advocates the distinction between PGN and SGN... her definition has gained wide acceptance in gender planning’ (Wieringa, 1994, 835). Jaquette and Staudt commented, ‘GAD advocates were sought after by donor agencies, Moser took a position in the World Bank’ (2006, 31). This was institutionally incorrect, since I was hired by the World Bank to work in the impacts of SAPs on poor households and never held an institutional position on gender.

**22.** Confusingly, the gender planning framework is referred to as the “Triple Roles Framework”.

**23.** Disciplines based on ‘emic’ methodologies, more reluctant to translate research results into practical solutions, dispute ‘whose narrative and vision of the world can be considered more persuasive or valid’ (Arce and Long, 2000, 3).

**24.** This debate concerning contradictions between theory and practice was further elaborated in policy-focused research on Latin American urban violence (Moser and McIlwaine, 2004).

**25.** For use of this term, in an extensive critique of gender training, see Cornwall et al (2008, 1)

## 6. Convergence: Beijing and gender mainstreaming

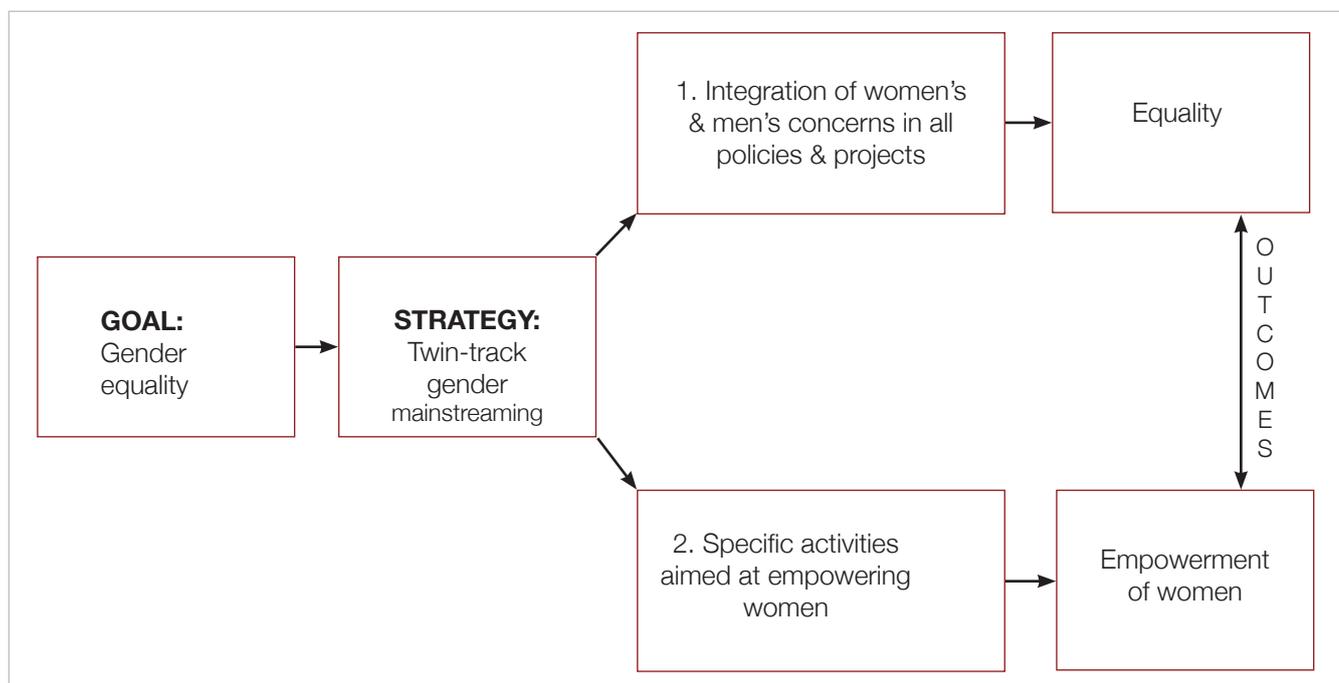
It could be argued that the ‘diffusion’ of gender analysis frameworks really ceased after 1995, with gender mainstreaming ‘parachuted’ in as a strategy to integrate gender and development into the UN system, governments across the world endorsed a policy to promote gender equality and empower women in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (PfA). Gender mainstreaming was identified as the most important mechanism to reach the PfA’s ambitious goals. Very rapidly it became the dominant operational approach, replacing the gender analysis frameworks discussed in Chapter 4. In 1997 the UN adopted gender mainstreaming as the approach to be used in all policies and programmes in the UN system, while governments and civil society organisations across the world sought to implement the PfA by developing gender mainstreaming policies, strategies and methodologies.

Gender mainstreaming was an agreed UN political compromise, and represented a victory for feminists, mostly from the South who, in what was a highly contested negotiation, had called for such an approach<sup>26</sup>. Therefore, it ranked as an important global achievement and rapidly became the framework adopted by governments,

donors and NGOs alike<sup>27</sup>. A detailed critique of gender mainstreaming is beyond the remit of this paper. Two issues, however, are relevant: first, the extent to which in its formulation, gender mainstreaming integrated concepts from gender planning; and second, discussed in Chapter 7 below, whether some of the limitations in implementation could have been avoided by the introduction of a more robust, and ‘logical’ gender planning process. In fact prior to Beijing some donor agencies had already adopted gender mainstreaming (Jahan 1995; Moser 1993, 129), and since by the mid-1990s much of the gender planning language had entered the general discourse, attribution of the two so-called ‘twin-track’ gender mainstreaming components is difficult to isolate. Nevertheless, the diagrammatic representation in Figure 1 assists in identifying the extent to which gender planning concepts were integrated into its two components as follows:

- *Integration of women’s and men’s concerns throughout the development process in all policies and projects;* despite a more neutral language of ‘concerns’ rather than ‘interests’ or ‘needs’, this component was similar to strategic gender needs.

**Figure 6.1:** Components of a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy. Source: Moser (2005, 10)



- *Specific activities aimed at empowering women;* while the allocation of specific resources to civil society/women's organisation was intended to support advocacy initiatives for transformative change, closely mirroring gender planning's articulation of the relationship between strategic gender needs and empowerment policy (Moser 1993, 56-57), the twin-track approach was soon eroded when only modest resources were allocated to it, and these to address specific practical needs.
- In addition, the implementation of both strategies combined equality and empowerment outcomes. The term 'equality' was adopted, rather than 'equity', preferred in USA-WID circles (identified as one of five gender planning policies), as well as, mentioned above, countries such as Iran and the Vatican.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

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**26.** For instance, the Vatican backed by some Middle Eastern and Latin American countries, contested everywhere it appeared in the Beijing PFA (Jaquette and Staudt 2006, 34).

**27.** See Moser and Moser (2005) for a desk review of the implementation of gender mainstreaming as the dominant policy approach in 14 of the main bilaterals, IFIs, UN and INGOs (International Non-Governmental Organisations)

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## 7. Mainstreaming empowerment or transforming gender relations

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The adoption of gender mainstreaming as a global strategy by the UN, 'turned a radical movement idea into a strategy of public management'. Not only were there 'conceptual confusions'<sup>28</sup>, there was also no single 'blueprint' for implementing gender mainstreaming. The past two decades, therefore, have witnessed a replication of the dualism of the 1990s; while 'instrumental' practitioners have grappled with the 'messy' business of mainstreaming empowerment, with its complex processes and interrelated analytical and operational components, feminists have continued to seek to change the paradigm and transform gender relations.

Post-Beijing, gender planning did not entirely 'disappear', with gender mainstreaming frameworks often incorporating gender planning concepts<sup>29</sup>. However, the real challenge in gender mainstreaming has proved to be its institutionalisation and implementation into practice, and here, as illustrated by Figure 1, there is a vacuum in terms of the necessary nexus linking gender mainstreaming and the highly political gendered planning processes. Despite its limitations, gender planning had a strong coherent logic; without this, as a gender consultant recently commented,

*'Different components of gender planning are adopted randomly, even retrospectively throughout the programme cycle. Gender experts can be asked to 'engender' a logframe after its design, or to carry out a 'gender evaluation' on a programme that has not been designed with any gender input. Without the logical flow of planning this can create significant confusion'.*

Gender mainstreaming has proved stronger in gender analysis than in its implementation. This was personally illustrated by a gender audit of DFID Malawi's Programme, contextualised within the discourse of 'gender mainstreaming has failed' due to a lack of on-the-ground gender equality impact. My conclusion was that the gender analysis at policy level was excellent, but that the failure to translate this into planning practice resulted in three different outcomes, namely:

- **Evaporation:** when good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice.
- **Invisibilisation:** when monitoring and evaluation procedures fail to document what is occurring 'on the ground'.
- **Resistance:** when effective mechanisms block gen-

der mainstreaming, with opposition essentially 'political', based on gender power relations, rather than on 'technocratic' procedural constraints (Moser 2005).

Post-Beijing, feminists in turn critiqued gender mainstreaming on the grounds that, despite the adoption of the language of empowerment and equity, it is diluted and routinized in terms of its political dimension of power as it relates to gender, its strategies for empowering women and challenging the status quo (Goetz, 1994), and its 'streaming gender away' (Mukhopadhyay 2004). Consequently gender mainstreaming is perceived as 'instrumental' (a term that has superseded technical) in its implementation. Linked to this critique, has been an increased focus on institutions and the transformation of gender social relations within them; with transformation itself identified as a process, rather than a distant goal (Kabeer 2005).

At the same time, the debate about gender transformation itself is complex; as Jane Parpart says, 'Its willingness to consider fundamental *social transformation does not sit well with large donor agencies who prefer government-to-government aid*' (Parpart, 1993, 450). Parallel with this are those that identify gender mainstreaming as a site around which global gender politics operates. This means it cannot be defined *a priori* but takes on meaning through implementation processes and institutional structures such that, '*the implementation of gender mainstreaming then becomes part of global politics*' (Prugl and Lustgarten, 2006, 54).

### 7.1 What's happened to training? Who needs it in the age of the Internet?

Gender training in multiple forms in fact survived its perceived demise in the 1990s, though sometimes changing its name to capacity building. The ILO and Canadian CIDA have led the field with impressive sustainable gender training programmes, particularly in the South. A cursory Internet search in 2014 reveals the wide range of institutions, from UN agencies, through Government Ministries, to large INGOs and smaller civil society organisations, that have taken ownership of gender training, often using the internet to disseminate manuals, guides and notes<sup>30</sup>. Reflecting the continuing complexity (and confusion) of approaches to WID/GAD, the majority has

adopted an eclectic 'mix and match' approach, appropriating different tools from the six training methodologies, often seemingly without logical coherence. And of course there is no accountability in a virtual world.

Thus World Vision's guide is 280 pages, UNESCO's approach is interactive modules, the Kenya 2008 Gender Equality elearning programme appears to be a private company, while its Ministry of Gender, Children and Social

Development has a modest short programme, downloadable from the Internet. Again this has raised criticism that such training is depoliticised and technified, but as with gender planning training in the 1990s, it has developed a life of its own (Cornwall et al 2008; Rao et al 2005). Simultaneously alternative more transformative capacity development approaches have gained currency, identifying complex processes, and facilitating reflective practices based on Freireian principles (Cornwall 2003).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

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**28.** Angela King, the special advisor to the UN secretary-general on gender matters, listed conceptual confusion among the main constraints inhibiting gender mainstreaming (Prugl and Lustgarten, 2006, 53)

**29.** The 2007 DFID Gender Manual, for instance, throughout uses the language of 'needs', stating that '*Policy commitments*

*and actions are needed to address women's and men's needs, and promote access by both to services, resources and opportunities'* (DFID, 2007, 17).

**30.** See, for instance, DFID's three-page description of instrumental gender training in its 2007 Gender Manual (DFID 2007).

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## 8. Where is gender planning?

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How do we measure the impact of gender planning and its associated training? While some of its short-term impacts are mentioned in the course of the paper, its longer-term impacts are more difficult to assess. Although academic outputs are straightforwardly computed on Google scholar<sup>31</sup>, they tell us nothing about whether, and how, this has influenced people's practice. Nor does it measure the impact of training. Indeed, such an assessment would be a challenging future project.

The original objective of gender planning and its training was to raise awareness of GAD and provide methodological tools for those involved in urban practice. As such, gender planning met a need at a time and a place and so was taken up and rolled out across institutions linked to urban development; as a practical programme its constituency was never conceived of as academic feminists. The simplification and perceived 'technification' of gender planning was a conscious decision in the highly hostile climate in which it was developed both to reach practitioners, and to provide operational tools they could implement. Some feminists, such as US academics Jane Jaquette and Kathy Staudt 'got it', commenting:

*Moser's desire to avoid contentious confrontations over gender power relations within donor bureaucracies is also visible in her substitution of gender needs for Molyneux's more provocative gender interests (2006, 52).*

Thirty years on it is useful to reflect whether it was politically irresponsible to have done so; interestingly, as mentioned above, in the 1980s there was enthusiastic buy-in from WID/Social Development Advisors in Northern bilaterals and NGOs, and indeed from Southern practitioners who continued to attend the evolving DPU gender policy and planning courses until they were discontinued around 2000. This does not excuse one's responsibility, but undoubtedly reinforced a conviction that at the time this was the correct political strategy.

In the 1980s, for most the priority was getting buy-in through coherent frameworks and practical tools; not for focusing on transformative changes in social relations.

That came later once a generation had been through training and a 'comfort' level reached – illustrated by the wide global consensus that pushed through the PfA at Beijing. By the 1990s the tide had turned, with development thinking opening up to notions of social transformation, social justice, rights and the politics of aid. Along with this came changes in approaches to gender and associated feminist critiques. As a feminist development colleague recently commented, '*gender planning became the whipping boy for a wider critique of the aid industry*'. Yet in contrast, many practitioners particularly working at the programme and project level then, as now, continue to use components of the gender planning framework precisely because of its straightforwardness in drilling down on 'the politics of gender relations' in non-confrontational ways through the identification of roles, responsibilities, interests and needs.

I ceased participating in gender planning training in 1990, partly because I burnt out as a trainer, but also because I considered the gender planning framework as 'invented' in the 1980s had run its course; others would take it further, while for me at that time new priorities beckoned around the gendered impacts of SAPs and gender mainstreaming. Thirty years on, as discussed above, the world has changed fundamentally, and with it, approaches to gender. The early optimism of the 1980s has been replaced by recognition that analytical frameworks are far easier to create, critique and redesign, than to implement in planning practice. Today there are new challenges; the divorce between theory and practice appears to be greater than ever, with result-based management and evidence-based policy and planning dominating development practice counterpoised by 'transformative social relations' as the dominant theoretical academic gender discourse. Ironically, problems in implementing gender mainstreaming or transformation in practice, has meant that gender planning, its principles and practices, has come full circle, with its original purpose still relevant today, contributing to the continuing demand for practitioner-focused gender frameworks to create awareness among new generations, as well as providing associated tools for policy, planning and project formulation and implementation.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

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**31.** For instance, my Gender Planning cited publications in Google Scholar include:

- 1) *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training* (1993) Citations: 1,763 : Still in print after 21 years, now available on Kindle! Translated into Spanish (1995); Japanese (1997); Italian (1997); Arabic; Vietnamese, Chinese.
- 2) 'Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical

and Strategic Gender Needs', *World Development*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1989) Citations: 1,014: Known translations Spanish, Chinese.

- 3) *Women, Human Settlements and Housing*, London, (edited with L. Peake) T (1987) Citations: 300.

- 4) Google reference on Gender planning: First entry is Wikipedia entry: Moser Gender Planning Framework.

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