Evidence Base for Collaborating, Learning, And Adapting

Summary of the Literature Review, March 2020

EVIDENCE BASE FOR COLLABORATING, LEARNING, AND ADAPTING

A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW UPDATE MARCH 2020

Submitted to:

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ACRONYMS

ADAPT   Analysis Driven Agile Programming Techniques

CLA   Collaborating, Learning, and Adapting

CoP   Community of practice

DAC   Development Assistance Committee

DFAT   Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

DFID   UK Department for International Development

EB4CLA   Evidence Base for CLA

GIZ   German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation

ICT   Information and Communication Technology

IDB   Inter-American Development Bank

IRC   International Rescue Committee

KM   Knowledge management

M&E   Monitoring and evaluation

NGO   Nongovernmental organization

PPL   USAID's Bureau of Policy, Planning, and Learning

SIDA   Swedish International Development Agency

SRH   Self-rated health

TOC   Theories of Change

USAID/PPL   United States Agency for International Development Bureau of Policy, Planning, and Learning

PURPOSE OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

The LEARN contract and the United States Agency for International Development/Bureau of Policy, Planning, and Learning (USAID/PPL) are managing an area of work known as the Evidence Base for Collaborating, Learning, and Adapting (EB4CLA). The purpose of this work is to answer the following key learning questions:

- Does an intentional, systematic, and resourced approach to collaborating, learning, and adapting (CLA) contribute to organizational effectiveness and/or development outcomes?

- If so, how? And under what conditions?

- How do we know? How do we measure any contribution that CLA makes to development results?

As we began this work, we identified the need to conduct a literature review looking at these questions to understand what is known, what remains unknown, and how others have tried to answer these questions to date. We were primarily interested in answering these questions:

- What evidence is there, if any, that collaborating, learning, and/or adapting contributes to organizational effectiveness, development outcomes, or both? What are the strongest pieces of evidence?

- Does the literature identify any factors critical to CLA that are not currently included in the CLA framework?

- Who else is working on measuring the impact of collaborating, learning and adapting?

- What methods and measures did researchers use to study the effects of collaborating, learning, and adapting?

- Where are there gaps in the research relevant to collaborating, learning, and adapting?

- When taken together, what practical guidance does the evidence for collaborating, learning, and adapting offer to practitioners and policy makers to improve organizational effectiveness and development outcomes?

BUILDING THE EVIDENCE BASE

Strengthening the evidence base around CLA's contribution is a key area for further research. The literature confirms our collective experiences that collaborating, learning and adapting can contribute to both organizational effectiveness and development results; it also confirms that it is difficult to measure this impact or contribution. To this end, USAID/PPL and the LEARN contract are pursuing an EB4CLA work stream that includes several complementary lines of inquiry, addressing the questions highlighted above. The work stream includes the following:

- **Updates to the literature review:** We update our literature review semi-annually. We request that interested parties contact us with any articles that should be included or may have been missed at: info@usaidlearninglab.org, with the subject line: Evidence Base for CLA.

- **CLA Case Competition Analysis:** We review cases submitted through the CLA Case Competition to analyze how the CLA approaches have contributed to organizational change and improved development results. The first Case Competition analysis was released in the summer of 2017 and covers entries from the 2015 competition.

- **Learning Network for Implementing Partners:** USAID/PPL and USAID/E3/localworks, the LEARN contract, and the Knowledge-Driven Agricultural Development contract convene and facilitate a learning network aimed at developing methods to measure CLA's contribution to organizational effectiveness and development results. Launched in November 2016, the learning network includes five grantees, whose learning is synthesized and shared via USAID Learning Lab.

- **USAID Learning Dojo:** USAID/PPL and LEARN collaborate with other operating units at USAID, including the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Center, localworks, the Office of Forestry and Biodiversity, and the Global Development Lab to address these key learning questions and leverage the knowledge each operating unit brings to bear about effective CLA and its contributions to development outcomes.

- **Additional studies:** These studies employ a range of methods, including evidence reviews, case studies, theories of change analysis, and contribution analysis, to answer the question of whether an intentional, systematic, and resourced approach to collaborating, learning, and adapting (CLA) contribute to development outcomes.

METHODOLOGY

We began the literature review by identifying and searching for keywords from the CLA framework. Recognizing that CLA is a construct used within USAID and among its stakeholders, the literature review also includes concepts beyond those found within the framework. After identifying keywords, researchers looked for summaries of existing grey and academic literature and prioritized articles related to the international development field.[1] Additional resources were included based on relevant source references and continued keyword searches. Articles were organized according to the CLA framework in an annotated, searchable database with summaries of research methodologies and primary findings, and links to full articles, where possible.

CLA is a new and emerging concept in international development in many ways. As we neared the end of the initial literature review period (August 2016), we came across several grey literature resources that were being updated on a regular basis. As a result, for the first update in April 2017, we focused primarily on relevant grey literature published between August 2016–February 2017. For the second update in November 2017, we focused on relevant literature published in academic journals. For the third update in March 2020, we focused on literature specifically about institutional memory given that we recognized that topic as a gap in the previous version.

We imagine the field will continue to grow as more researchers and practitioners become interested in organizational learning and adaptive management in the international development context. Therefore, the

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[1] The term, "grey literature" refers to research that is either unpublished or has been published in non-commercial form. Examples of grey literature include: government reports. policy statements and issues papers.

literature review will be updated regularly by the LEARN team, and will continue to focus on both academic and grey literature.

KEY FINDINGS

Has there been a comprehensive review of the evidence base on the effect or impact of CLA on development outcomes?

Overall, we found no comprehensive review of the evidence base on the effect or impact of CLA on development outcomes, outside of our efforts. However, the literature review confirms that USAID's CLA approach incorporates practices that have proven valuable in a wide range of sectors and organizational contexts. There are discrete pieces of evidence pointing to the importance of collaborating, learning, and/or adapting on both organizational effectiveness and development outcomes. This evidence is typically in the form of case studies on development programs, though one recent empirical study from the World Bank found a significant and positive correlation between intentional, high-quality monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and development outcomes.

There are also some examples of a more systematic approach to organizational learning in the private sector (for example, Southwest, Ford Lean Manufacturing, Motorola Sigma, and so on), and how these approaches have impacted the effectiveness of these organizations. The most cited and well-known example of a holistic approach to learning within an organization is the Toyota Way. This approach embodies a philosophy that aims at undergirding the company and can be summarized in two key areas: kaizen (the philosophy of continuous improvement); and respect for and empowerment of people. This approach is connected to the concept of "lean manufacturing" in the corporate sector. Despite these cases, most of the literature on CLA and its contributions towards organizational effectiveness and development outcomes remain predominantly theoretical or aspirational. Because of this, practitioners and researchers are calling for more comprehensive and credible studies on the effect and impact of CLA.

Difficulties in measurement are the main reason for the lack of comprehensive evidence about CLA's impact on organizational effectiveness and development.

Researchers frequently noted several methodological challenges and limitations in studying these topics. These challenges include:

1. *Measurement.* Finding a way to measure the results of interventions—such as those that constitute CLA—that include relatively intangible aspects in a way that is meaningful and convincing;

2. *Attribution.* Making causal attributions between CLA and organizational effectiveness or achievement of development outcomes when a variety of other factors could be at play; and,

3. *Aggregation.* Because case studies are often the means by which CLA is studied within the international development context, it is difficult to aggregate across diverse case contexts to reach generalizable conclusions.

Does the literature identify any factors critical to CLA that are currently not included in the <u>CLA framework</u>?

The literature predominantly reinforces the components and subcomponents found in the CLA framework. However, leadership is treated in some of the literature as an independent factor that significantly enables CLA in organizations. The current CLA framework treats leadership as a part of culture (insofar as leaders promote or inhibit organizational norms that may support or hinder CLA efforts), rather than as a discrete influence. In addition, the current CLA framework does not explicitly place value on flatter organizations (which are believed to better support learning), though there is a focus on openness and relationship-building at all levels to support CLA. As it currently stands, the CLA framework does not explicitly address competencies of team members. Emerging literature indicators that both factors may play role in influencing the ability of teams to learn and adapt.

Who else is working on measuring the impact of CLA?

Several international development organizations and donors were found in the literature on CLA and development outcomes. While they are not specifically measuring CLA's impact on development, they are focusing on activities and ideas that are closely aligned with CLA such as feedback loops, knowledge management systems, learning culture, and so on. These include: the Asia Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), the UK Department for International Development (DFID), Feedback Labs, the German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation (GIZ)Harvard's Building State Capacity program, International Rescue Committee (IRC), Mercy Corps, Overseas Development Institute, Oxfam International, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the United Nations, and the World Bank. Specific sectors were also highlighted in the literature because of their prevalence in the research, including governance/public sector management, health management, and climate change.

What are the strongest pieces of evidence pointing to the difference that collaborating, learning, and adapting can make to development?

The literature indicates that CLA's contribution to organizational effectiveness and development outcomes is difficult to measure. Further, we could find no existing research that examines collaborating, learning, and adapting holistically, or looks directly at the combined effects of these approaches. As mentioned above, however, the literature presents evidence confirming that various *aspects* or *components* of collaborating, learning, and adapting matter to development outcomes and organizational performance. Therefore, to understand CLA's effects and effectiveness, it is necessary to combine and compare evidence across the different components or aspects of CLA to gain a more comprehensive understanding.

In gathering evidence, reviewers drew on research from multiple fields including business, development, economics, education, health, psychology and sociology. As this body of work continues to grow, we expect that new findings from multiple sectors will continue to shape and strengthen the evidence of CLA's impact on performance and outcomes. The key findings listed below represent the strongest pieces of evidence in support of aspects of CLA across sectors after the initial scan of the literature. The findings are organized by the learning questions that drive our evidence-building work:

Does a systematic, intentional, and resourced approach to CLA contribute to organizational effectiveness?

1. Strategic collaboration improves performance.

   Zwarenstein, Goldman, & Reeves, 2009; Romer, 1990; Kelly & Schaefer, 2014; Phelps, Heidl, & Wadhwa, 2012; De Meuse, Tang, & Dai, 2009; Hackman, 2002; Katzenbach & Smith, 1993; Rubin, Plovnick, & Fry, 1997; Austin, 2003; Lewis, 2004; Kanawattanachai & Yoo, 2007; Zhang, Hempel, & Tjosvold, 2007; Weick, 1995; Dewar, Keller, Lavoie, & Weiss, 2009; Roghe, Toma, Kilmann, Dicke & Strack, 2012; Ronfeldt, Farmer, McQueen, & Grissom, 2015; Nelson, 2012; Barber, Chijoke, & Mourshed, 2010; Faustino & Booth, 2014; Booth, 2016; Booth, 2015; Drew, 2002; Barnard, 2003; Cassiman, Bruno, & Veugelers, 2002; Morgan & Berthon, 2008.

2. Taking time to pause and reflect on our work is critical to learning and improved performance.

   Hildren & Tikkamaki, 2013; Andrews, 2012; Di Stefano, 2015; Jakimov, 2008; Raelin, 2001; Kahneman, 2011.

3. Continuous learning is linked with job satisfaction, empowerment, employee engagement and ultimately, improved performance and outcomes.

   GAO, 2015; OPM, 2016; Fernandez & Moldogaziev, 2013; Dizgah, et. al, 2011; Ugboro & Obeng, 2002; Kirkman & Rosen, 1999; Deloitte University Press, 2016; Egan, Yang & Bartlett, 2004; Islam, Kahan, & Bukhari, 2016; Towers, 2012; Galletta, Portoghese, & Battistelli, 2011; Spector, 1986; Honig, 2015; Denizer, Kaufmann, & Kraay, 2013.

4. Quality knowledge management (KM) systems have a significant and positive impact on project performance.

   Bubwolder & Basse, 2016.

Does a systematic, intentional, and resourced approach to CLA contribute to development outcomes?

1. Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) are positively and significantly associated with achieving development outcomes when incorporated into program management and designed to support learning and decision-making.

   Raimondo, 2016.

2. Adaptive management contributes to sustainable development particularly when it has leadership support, public support, and an adequate investment of time.

   Akhtar, Tse, Khan, & Nicholson, 2016.

3. Locally led development is most effective.

   Booth & Unsworth, 2014; Faustino & Booth, 2014; Booth, 2016; Booth, 2015; Drew, 2002; Barnard, 2003.

If yes, under what conditions?

1. Managing adaptively is more likely to improve outcomes when decision-making autonomy is placed as close to frontline staff and local partners as possible.

   Islam, Kahan, & Bukhari, 2016; Galletta, Portoghese, & Battistelli, 2011; Spector, 1986; Honig, 2015; Denizer, Kaufmann, & Kraay, 2013; Honig & Gulrajani, 2017; "Adapting Aid," 2016; Butel & Watkins, 2000; Rasual & Rogger, 2016; Moynihan & Pandey, 2005; Bernstein, 2012; Hurley & Hult, 1998; Nonaka & Lewin, 2010; Iyer et al., 2004.

2. Evidence-informed decision-making is more likely to occur when decision-makers themselves demand, define, and interpret evidence.

   Bradt, 2009; Breckon and Dodson, 2016; Court, Hovland and Young, 2005; Crewe and Young, 2002; Davies, 2015; Jones and Walsh, 2008; Loes, 2013; Parkhurst, 2017; Segone (ed.), 2005; Young and Mendizabal, 2009.

3. Leaders are essential to creating a learning culture, the foundation of learning organizations.

   Schein, 1992; de Wet & Schoots, 2016; Faustino & Booth, 2014; Hailey & James, 2002; Su-Chao & Ming-Shing, 2007; LaFasto & Larson, 2001; Lencioni, 2002; Dewar, et. al., 2009; Blanchard & Waghorn, 2009; Byrne, Sparkman, & Fowler, 2016; Hailey & James, 2002; Hovland, 2003.

4. Teams that have high levels of trust and "psychological safety" tend to be better at learning and adapting.

   Edmondson, 1999; Bouckaet, 2012; Gulrajani & Honig, 2016; Byrne, et al., 2016; Dughigg, 2016; Hakanen & Soundunsaari, 2012; Costa, 2003; Erdem, Ozen, & Atsan, 2003; Zak, 2017; O'Toole & Meier, 2003; Laschinger and Finegan, 2005; Cho and Poister, 2012; Seal and Vincent-Jones, 1997; De Meuse, Tang, & Dai, 2009; Hackman, 2002; Katzenbach, 1993; Rubin, 1997; LaFasto & Larson, 2001; Lencioni, 2002.

5. Individuals who are curious, have "growth mindsets," and are able to empathize with their colleagues are generally better able to adapt to changing circumstances.

   Bain, Booth, & Wild, 2016; Dweck, Walton, & Cohen, 2014; "Adapting Aid," 2016; Derbyshire & Donovan, 2016; Honig & Gulrajani, 2017.

6. Institutional memory can be utilized within organizations to improve decision-making and maintain organizational culture.
   Anand, V., Manz, C. C., & Glick, W. H, 1998; Ashkenas, R., 2013; Corbett, J., Grube, D. C., Lovell, H., & Scott, R., 2018; Hardt, H. 2017;Hardt, H. 2018; Heideman, L. J. 2016; Lange, M., & Quinn, M. 2003; Morrison, J. 1997; Olick, J. K. 2009; Pollitt, C. 2000; Rusaw, A. C. 2004; Stark, A. 2019.

What are the implications of literature review findings on USAID's and LEARN's efforts to promote CLA?

Based on the findings below, USAID/PPL and LEARN have identified the following key implications for how we can promote greater CLA integration within USAID and among implementing partners, as follows:

Address/consider major institutional barriers to further integrating CLA: The literature highlights certain attributes of learning organizations, such as flexibility in resources (including time), risk-taking culture, and flat (rather than hierarchical) organizational structures that may be at odds with USAID's existing culture for a variety of reasons. How can these institutional barriers be addressed or at least considered in planning? In addition, leadership and organizational culture are heavily emphasized in the literature. It is important to develop a clear strategy to address these aspects of the USAID system.

Invest in collaborating, learning, and adapting practices: The literature indicates that an intentional, systematic, and resourced approach to collaborating, learning, and adapting positively impacts organizational and development outcomes. Given these findings, USAID staff and implementing partners may consider their current investment in CLA practices and identify where additional investments may lead to greater value. These investments could be relatively minimal—using existing staff expertise and refocusing staff time to include opportunities for reflection and learning—or more substantial, including hiring learning advisors or instituting knowledge management platforms.

Focus on learning among local partners and communities. Thus far, KM and learning strategies in development have been based on private sector thinking that is organization centric. Development, however, should focus on learning across all development partners and the field in general. In other words, "knowledge pooling" or knowledge sharing between development partners is encouraged. In addition, the literature speaks to significant power dynamics between northern and southern organizations when it comes to learning and determining whose learning matters. As a result, USAID's CLA efforts should continue to encourage a move away from knowledge flowing only from north to south, and instead support USAID in working more closely with local partners and individuals and building local knowledge into programs and plans. As part of this process, jargon surrounding learning and KM needs to be reduced to be accessible to those both within and outside USAID, including local partners.

Incentivize CLA among implementing partners: The literature highlights the drawbacks of some current donor practices, particularly those for M&E, that focus on accountability rather than learning. This practice often leads to targeting static results that are not easily adjusted during implementation. As a result, implementing partners are not properly incentivized to learn and adapt, for fear of losing future funding. For CLA to advance at the activity level under USAID funding, implementing partners will need appropriate incentives and encouragement from USAID counterparts.

Consider implications of differences in staff capacities: Ultimately, it is individuals who take on the CLA work within organizations and across partner organizations. However, individual personality traits, habits, and competencies can affect who are more likely to take on these behaviors; these habits and competencies need to be considered and intentionally nurtured through coaching and training to incentivize behavior change. As with any change effort, generating trust and buy-in from stakeholders will be critical for CLA. USAID/PPL and LEARN can look to change management champions' literature to more fully understand these implications.

Combine knowledge management and learning with an explicit focus on Southern knowledge realities: In order to avoid a situation where knowledge management primarily works to the benefit of Northern agencies over Southern agencies, Northern agencies could combine knowledge management and learning with an explicit focus on Southern knowledge needs and challenges.

Further invest in building the evidence base for CLA: The literature identified the need to deepen the evidence base about the contribution of organizational learning and adaptive management to performance and, within development literature, better results.

Current gaps in the literature on CLA include:

- studies that analyze collaborating, learning and adapting as a holistic concept rather than as discrete pieces

- quantitative studies on the impact of CLA on development project outcomes

- comparative case studies that include counterfactuals

- action research

- syntheses that draw on the collective wisdom and learning from communities of practice who are utilizing CLA approaches in their work.

This literature review serves as a basis for the focus of USAID/PPL and LEARN's evidence-building efforts. As LEARN is uniquely positioned to understand CLA at USAID, we will primarily focus our efforts on building the evidence base for CLA in the context of USAID.

COLLABORATING

According to the literature, collaboration …

- has **benefits** within and between organizations, such as increasing efficiency, knowledge pooling, and building trust

- is linked with an organization's ability to **share knowledge and learn**

- encourages **innovation and boosts employees' overall performance and loyalty**

- improves **team performance** through a process of building collective capacity and social capital

- **delivers best results** when carried out strategically.

Where is there evidence that collaborating, learning, and/or adapting make a difference?[2]

The literature reviewed provides evidence of the benefits of collaborating within and between organizations. Much of the reviewed literature focuses on the relationship between the production and transmission of knowledge—both explicit and tacit—through collaboration.[3] The benefits of knowledge transmission through collaboration include supporting creativity and innovation, which afford opportunities to adapt and facilitate the capacity to absorb this knowledge. These benefits are linked to improvements in the ability of individuals, teams, and organizations to perform their tasks. Often an additional link, both implicitly and explicitly made, is that collaboration is also linked with improved organizational outcomes (Zwarenstein, Goldman, & Reeves, 2009; Romer, 1990).

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[2] These takeaways synthesize lessons from numerous articles reviewed for the literature review. While in-text citations identify the most pertinent articles that contributed to each takeaway, they are not an exhaustive list of articles found in the literature review.

[3] For an original definition of this distinction see M. Polanyi, 1966, *The Tacit Dimension*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Three additional themes also emerge from the reviewed literature on collaboration, as follows:

- First, scholars have noted the challenge of developing an evidence base on collaboration due to its multifactorial nature. Although there are attempts at measurement, it remains an area for further development (Mitchell, Shakleman, & Warner, 2001; Ansari, Hammick, & Phillips, 2001).

- Second, while the literature discusses the myriad benefits of collaboration, scholars have also noted the inherent challenges in ensuring the right balance of collaboration relative to organizational needs, goals, and incentives (Cross, Rbele, & Grant, 2003; Andersson, 2003).

- Third, collaboration's importance is closely linked to the ability of organizations to collectively learn from each other, a concept noted in the literature on learning organizations (Senge, 1990; Garvin, 1993).

The literature reviewed provides evidence for the role of **internal collaboration** among individuals and groups for innovation, knowledge production, and diffusion. Much of the literature tends to focus on the benefits of staff interacting with one another and transmitting knowledge (Kelly & Schaefer, 2014; Phelps, Heidl, & Wadhwa, 2012; De Meuse, Tang, & Dai, 2009; Hackman, 2002; Katzenbach & Smith, 1993; Rubin, Plovnick, & Fry, 1997). The processes that facilitate collaboration are rooted in psychological and sociological literature that discuss the role of memory, perception, and cognition when processing information with others. One example of this is the ability of staff to develop "transactive (or shared) memory systems," which facilitate group goal performance, or the ability of groups to "sense-make" within an organization (Austin, 2003; Lewis, 2004; Kanawattanachai & Yoo, 2007; Zhang, Hempel, & Tjosvold, 2007; Weick, 1995).

In the **development sector**, documented evidence in support of internal collaboration remains relatively underdeveloped. However, qualitative case studies are beginning to illustrate the indirect benefits of collaboration in facilitating relationship building that, in turn, can spur innovation. For example, in the 2015 ADAPT (Analysis Driven Agile Programming Techniques) program—launched by the IRC and Mercy Corps to research and field test adaptive management techniques in the sector—found that, "relationships and common identity built across the team, including outside work hours, can facilitate collaboration. Quarterly reviews, weekly staff meetings, and even daily briefings provide further opportunities to reinforce this culture" ("Adapting Aid," 2016, p. 6). In one case study that the report analyzed, for example, collaboration across three different teams helped the RAIN program in Uganda develop new loan products.

> *Much of the literature on collaboration focuses on the benefits of staff interacting with and transmitting knowledge among themselves.*

In the **business sector**, in contrast, there is substantial documented evidence that companies with better collaborative management capabilities achieve superior financial and economic performance. Collaboration encourages innovation and boosts employees' overall performance and loyalty (Dewar, Keller, Lavoie, & Weiss, 2009; Roghe, Toma, Kilmann, Dicke & Strack, 2012).

In the **healthcare sector**, however, research has also found that interprofessional rounds, interprofessional meetings, and externally facilitated, interprofessional audits can lead to improvements in patient care, such as reductions in drug use, length of hospital stay, and total hospital charges. The literature indicates the need for additional research in this area to validate this finding (Zwarenstein, et. al, 2009).

> *The evidence in support of collaboration spans sectors and settings as diverse as schools, hospitals, factories, offices, and battlefields, given the increased ability of groups to sense-make.*

And in the **education sector**, working collaboratively has consistently been linked to professional and student achievement. This change has often been attributed in part to the collective capacity or social capital that is built as a part of collaboration (Ronfeldt, Farmer, McQueen, & Grissom, 2015; Nelson, 2012). A 2010 McKinsey report that analyzed 20 school systems around the world noted that one trait that all the systems studied had was that teachers share and seek to improve their skills together: "School-level flexibility and teacher collaboration become the drivers of improvement because they lead to innovations in teaching and learning" (Barber, Chijoke, & Mourshed, 2010, p. 44).

EXTERNAL COLLABORATION

The literature reviewed also provides evidence for the benefits of collaboration outside an organization, either within the same sector or across sectors (Faustino & Booth, 2014; Booth, 2016; Booth, 2015; Drew, 2002). The mechanisms cited by the literature are often clearly linked to information sharing, "knowledge pooling," and skill transmission between organizations (Barnard, 2003).

In the **development sector**, however, emerging research emphasizes the need for approaches that are embedded in local context, and negotiated and delivered by local stakeholders. This type of development emphasizes learning partnerships between donors and local actors that are based on trust and transparency and where differences in power between actors are acknowledged and addressed. The literature emphasizes "thinking politically," "politically smart," and "locally driven development." Iterative, flexible, and politically informed programming should be pursued. An analysis of case studies of development initiatives conducted by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) found that iterative problem-solving, stepwise learning, brokering relationships, and discovering common interests were key to success, allowing actors to understand the complex development challenges they face, identify and negotiate ways forward, and find solutions that were both technically sound and politically feasible (Booth & Unsworth, 2014). None of the cases started with a blueprint, applying a known solution mapped out in advance. Rather, management involved a process of "muddling through" with definite goals in mind. The successful cases involved strategic and informed experimentation with decision-making power in the hands of frontline staff. The study also found that flexible, strategic funding was a key condition that allowed local program leaders to work

opportunistically and adaptively. In all seven cases, there was also a long-term commitment by the funder, with continuity of staffing for the projects. Overall, the study found that features of the donor agency environment, such as flexibility and transparency, were significant in facilitating success of politically smart, locally-led development initiatives (Booth & Unsworth, 2014). The literature finds that that using a facilitative approach—one that focuses on indirect interventions at strategic points within a system to strengthen the system and align the interests of system actors—can lead to more effective and sustainable development results.

In the **business sector**, however, external collaboration is associated with obtaining information from outside the organization to improve performance and promote innovation. This information is often linked to benefits such as higher returns on research and development investments and the discovery of new, innovative approaches (Cassiman, Bruno, & Veugelers, 2002; Morgan & Berthon, 2008). The literature indicates that often the types of knowledge that are exchanged vary from the transfer of skills to tacit knowledge. Similar to internal collaboration, the literature notes the difficulties in benefiting from knowledge outside of an organization (Escribano, Fosfuri, & Tribó, 2009; Cassiman, et. al, 2002).

LEARNING

According to the literature, learning …

- from **good quality M&E** is positively and significantly associated with project outcomes.

- that **focuses on underlying causes, assumptions, and systems** is often linked to the ability of individuals, teams, and organizations to adapt programming in the most effective and sustainable way.

- through the use of **organizational assessments, evaluations, and reviews** can lead to improved understanding and adaptation.

- is considerably constrained when tools such as a **theory of change are viewed as accountability mechanisms** rather than learning processes.

- occurs through **communities of practice that form organically** and to reflect and learn as a group.

- is more likely to **take place in flatter, non-hierarchical** organizations.

The reviewed literature provides evidence of the role of learning under four areas of the CLA maturity tool: M&E for learning; scenario planning; theories of change; and technical evidence base. Beyond this literature, it is important to note that evidence suggests that there are myriad benefits to organizational learning in general, including adapting to changing conditions and improving organizational performance, which often begins with the individual and team benefits of providing purpose and mastery through learning (Schon, 1973; Senge, 1990).

M&E FOR LEARNING

The modern M&E movement has its roots in the educational and social sectors as a means to track and understand the impact of programs (Hogan, 2007; Stufflebeam, Daniel, Madaus, & Kellaghan, 2000). Almost all organizations that work with international development donor funding are required to carry out M&E in conjunction with their implementation. The literature reviewed identifies the various potential uses of M&E data to improve team and organizational performance (Pritchett, et. al., 2013; Solomon & Chowdhury, 2002; Willemijn, 2010; Wallace & Chapman, 2003; Savedoff, Levine, & Birdsall, 2006). However, despite M&E producing a variety of data and information, it often does not provide opportunities for learning and adaptation. Putting learning at the center of program design and performance management is consistent with a well-established field of rapid-cycle evaluation, sometimes referred to as developmental evaluation (Patton, 2011). However, this approach is fundamentally different from the results-driven agenda that has dominated many donor agencies over the last decade or so.

In the **development sector**, for example, M&E processes often encourage what is known as "single-loop" learning, addressing specific problems and symptoms rather than trying to understand why the problems came up in the first place, a practice known as "double-loop" learning. Double-loop learning focuses on underlying causes, questions assumptions, and seeks to understand systems. Double-loop learning is often linked to the ability of individuals, teams, and organizations to adapt programming in the most effective and sustainable way (Agric & Schön, 1978).

When placed at the center of program design and performance management, learning has a significant impact on individual, team, and organizational outcomes.

Factors that contribute to good quality M&E are: integrating M&E into programming; using M&E to inform decision makinag; and using an M&E design that is relatively simple and straightforward.

The literature identifies organizational assessments, evaluations, and reviews, especially by external organizations, as pivotal tools for learning. For example, a devastating external review of ActionAid led to the development and launch of their successful Accountability, Learning, and Planning System in 2000 (Scott-Villiers, 2002). A June 2016 World Bank study quantitatively analyzed the correlation between the quality of M&E and project outcomes (Raimondo, 2016). It found that good quality M&E is positively and significantly associated with project outcomes. The World Bank report identified a set of simple factors that can improve M&E quality including ensuring that M&E is incorporated into project management and not viewed as a separate activity. Those factors are: M&E is used for learning that informs decisions and enables adapting when necessary; M&E design is not overly complex and is aligned with existing management information systems; data collected are controlled for quality to ensure credibility and ultimately its usability for performance management; and M&E is not an operational afterthought but is supported by a clear division of labor between the World Bank team, clients, and implementing teams.

In the **business sector**, however, the closest corollary to M&E in the reviewed literature would be the philosophies and methodologies of Total Quality Management or Continuous Quality Improvement, Lean, Agile and Six Sigma, the main commonality being the intentional collection of data and information related to processes and outcomes to inform decision-making related to processes, including manufacturing, software

development, and customer-centered industries including health and management consulting. Evidence exists in a variety of places that demonstrates the organizational performance benefits of this approach including improved financial, project management, and health-related outcomes (Fullerton & Wempe, 2008; Dyboa & Dingsoyr, 2008; Vest & Gamm, 2009). As GE's 1997 annual report states, "Six Sigma, even at this relatively early stage, delivered more than $300 million to our 1997 operating income. In 1998, returns will more than double this operating profit impact" ("GE Annual Report," 1997, p. 5).

SCENARIO PLANNING

Scenario planning, originating in the development of military technologies, was introduced as an organizational strategy tool in the 1960s. The use of scenario planning is most often associated with Royal Dutch/Shell during the early 1970s (Wack, 1985; Wilkinson & Kupers, 2014). It has evolved into a process employed by the private sector, and nongovernmental and community organizations.

In the **business sector**, for instance, the literature is conflicted on the value of scenario planning; however, recent evidence indicates that scenario planning can improve financial performance while others note that the value of scenario planning does not lie so much in the creation of scenarios, but in the discussion of consequences (Phelps, Chan, & Kapsalis, 2001; Miller & Cardinal, 1994).

> *The value of scenario planning does not lie so much in the creation of scenarios, but in the discussion of consequences.*

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Based on an initial review of the literature, the practice of using TOCs emanates from an evolution of concepts drawn from the practices of evaluation and informed social action. Some have argued that the tendency to view a TOC as predominantly an upward accountability mechanism considerably constrains attempts to learn from the process. Instead, it is suggested that TOCs be seen as a tool of communication and learning, rather than a method of securing funding. TOC rarely unfold as predicted; they must be adapted and reworked as new information emerges. Moving beyond single- to double-loop learning should be a key element of a TOC.

Double-loop learning will not take place if underlying assumptions and theories are not revisited regularly and critically. While one of the biggest benefits that TOC may bring is greater organizational learning, it requires commitment to a broader model of adaptive and reflective practice (Vogel, 2012; Valters, 2014; Valters, Cummings, & Nixon, 2016). As Craig Valters describes, "a TOC approach needs to focus on process rather than product, uncertainty rather than results, iterative

> *Viewing a theory of change as predominantly an upward accountability mechanism considerably constrains attempts to learn from the process.*

development of hypotheses rather than static theories, and learning rather than accountability" (Valters, 2014, p. 19).

According to the literature on sensemaking within organizations, "team mind" or "collective mindfulness" is necessary for observing, interpreting, and adapting according to information as group. When fewer cognitive processes are activated less often, the resulting state is one of mindlessness characterized by reliance on past categories, acting on "automatic pilot," and fixation on a single perspective without awareness that things could be otherwise (Weick, 1995). In order to have collective mindfulness on a team, there needs to be a preoccupation with failure rather than success, reluctance to simplify interpretations, understanding of how one area of the organization's operations affect another, commitment to resilience, and deference to expertise (Weick, 1995; Weick, 2007). Deference to expertise includes downward to lower ranking members of the organization.

It is also important to note that much of the literature in favor of the TOC approach tends to focus on the perceived benefits for the creator and users of TOC. This situation often relates to the fact that the term "TOC" has often had varied meanings. Stein and Valters note that TOC can serve multiple purposes for the creator and user including strategic planning, M&E, description of the change process, and as a learning tool (Stein & Valters, 2012).

TECHNICAL EVIDENCE BASE

The cultivation of a technical evidence base stems from the recognition in the **health sector** of the need to make healthcare decisions based on evidence; this term has since spread to other areas of social fields.[4] Based on an initial review of the literature, there appears to be a tension between cognitive learning, which is unobservable, and behavioral learning, which is observable, or between knowledge as an object that can be passed from person-to-person versus knowledge as something that is created in the interaction between people. Essentially, there is a tendency to reduce learning down to observable behaviors precipitated by new systems and requirements, but less focus appears to be made in the literature on knowledge being created (Huber, 1991; Chen & Edgington, 2005; King & McGrath, 2003). Limiting learning to downward flows of knowledge does not seem to be effective.

Communities of practice are most effective as a tool for reflection and learning when they form organically.

One attempt noted in the literature at bridging this divide is the formation of groups of experts or practitioners known as Communities of Practice (CoPs). CoPs are collaborative, interactive networks of individuals within a generally defined topic of knowledge. CoPs arose as a tool to facilitate knowledge sharing in a learning environment. The literature found that CoPs are more effective as tools for reflection and learning when they form organically. However, the literature also notes that leaders need to facilitate these organically formed learning groups, bringing them out of silos, supporting them, and disseminating their knowledge across the rest of their own and other organizations

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[4] For one of the seminal inspirations, see A. Cochrane, 1972, "Effectiveness and Efficiency: Random Reflections on Health Services" (PDF), the Nuffield Provincial Hospital Trust. Retrieved February 1, 2014.

(Wenger, 1998; "Project-based Learning," 2001; Moreno, 2001; "Doing the Knowledge," Wesley & Buysse, 2001). This support includes resources such as time and administrative support and recognition such as rewards. The literature recommends that for learning to take place, interactions should be emphasized and all individuals should learn from each other.

In the **development sector**, however, procedures set up in NGOs and development organizations to promote organizational learning often consider knowledge more as an object that can be transferred from one person to another rather than something that is created in interactions. The organizations have difficulty moving from cognitive information management to people-centered learning processes. A recent study of NGOs concludes that the "widespread and tangible outputs of knowledge and learning work tend, thus far, to be based on improved information systems, rather than improved processes or changed behaviors," and that, as a consequence, their learning structures are "more supply-led than demand-driven" (Ramalingam, 2005, p. 14). A tendency was noted among these organizations to "point to information systems as the "'end product" rather than specific processes for knowledge and learning" (Ramalingam, 2005, p. 15). An example of a people-centered process is the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Bank Networks (CoPs) that emerged organically around different themes/sectors. These groups are self-organized, set their own objectives, and their membership is largely voluntary and self-selected. They offer a space for dialogue among those working on similar issues, and there is a general belief among network participants that fostering these communities will result in more rapid organizational learning, more effective decision-making use of lessons learned, and more rapid and effective problem solving (Moreno, 2001).

> *To share and create knowledge, teams must intentionally set aside time to learn from one another, a procedure that may be integrated into existing meetings and processes.*

In the **business sector**, in contrast, some have noted the benefit of research and development in supporting organizational learning by increasing the company's "absorptive capacity," that is, its ability to assimilate knowledge from its environment (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990). As such, CoPs appear in the private sector with a variety of terms used to describe them. The often-cited example in the private sector of a CoP in action is a group of photocopier technicians within Xerox discussing problems with colleagues in the warehouse or over a coffee and receiving information for effective solutions (Seely Brown & Duguid, 2000).

According to management literature, not all organizational interventions require a deep understanding of context. However, the delivery of foreign aid is clearly one where context knowledge is critical (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017). In 2015, AidData released "Listening to Leaders: Which Development Partners Do They Prefer and Why?" which found that when development practitioners put the "locally led development" principle into practice, they are usually able to yield greater influence, whereas reliance on technical assistance that is not locally-led impedes a development partner's ability to shape and implement host government reform efforts (Custer, Rice, Masaki, Latourell, & Parks, 2015). The study also found that host government officials rate multilaterals more favorably than Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and non-DAC development partners on all three dimensions of performance: usefulness of policy advice, agenda-setting influence, and helpfulness during reform implementation. Moreover, the study found that official development assistance that is allocated to technical assistance was negatively correlated with all three indicators of development partner performance. These findings lend strong support to an emerging consensus in the donor community that technical assistance alone is a generally ineffective form of aid

delivery because, in comparison to locally-led approaches, it weakens country ownership and diminishes incentives for host governments to pursue broader reform efforts.

There is a great deal of management literature on the organizational tension between standardized approaches and the ability to respond to local realities. The tendency within aid organizations to traditionally follow the "best practice" strand of management literature minimizes the role of contextual differences. This is one of the reasons why the literature on contingency theory stresses the emerging focus on "best fit" rather than "best practice" approaches, where donors need to make use of the information they gather to adapt their projects to the realities they face (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017; Ramalingam, Laric, & Primrose, 2014).

Technical assistance alone is generally ineffective form of aid delivery because it weakens country ownership and diminishes incentives for host governments to pursue broader reform efforts.

ADAPTING

According to the literature, adapting...

- that occurs on **organizations and teams that apply more data-driven and adaptive leadership practices perform better** compared to those which focus less on those practices.

- in project management, **can be achieved, but only slowly, with the key ingredients** of leadership, data, patience, and public support.

- is **highly related to individual personalities**, which in turn drive office culture and institutional appetite for change.

- is carried out most effectively by **individuals who have "growth mindsets"** rather than "fixed mindsets," are inquisitive by nature, trusting, and have flexible competencies and skill sets.

- is facilitated by **group reflection which builds mutual understanding and shared trust** that aids collaboration and increases evidence-based decision-making.

The literature reviewed provides evidence in favor of adapting in response to new information and changing circumstances. Adapting or adaptive management can be traced back to ideas of scientific management pioneered in the early 1900s. Various perspectives on adaptive management are rooted in parallel concepts found in the business sector (such as total quality management and learning organizations), industrial ecology, systems theory (for example, feedback control), software development (for instance, agile methods), and experimental science (for example, hypothesis testing). The concept has attracted attention across sectors as a means of linking learning with policy and implementation. Although the idea of learning from experience and modifying behavior based on that experience has long been reported in the literature, the specific concept of adaptive management as a strategy has gained traction in the past few decades.

A growing body of evidence indicates that that aid agencies are most successful when they are able to operate flexibility and manage adaptively ("Managing Complexity," Valters, Cummings, & Nixon, 2016; Allan & Curtis, 2005; Jones, 2011). Adaptive management is an approach that combines appropriate analysis,

ADAPTIVE MANAGEMENT

structured flexibility, and iterative improvements in response to contextual complexity. It requires an agile and enabling culture that helps organizations use rapid feedback loops to continuously and efficiently process and build on new information to achieve their goals.

In the **development sector**, for example, practitioners are calling for new ways of working to be effective in complex and changing environments. There is a small but growing trend in the field to create programs that are more dynamic, flexible, and attuned to realities on the ground, but there is sparse evidence in support of this approach. However, there have been several case studies that demonstrate the potential of adaptive programming as a development approach. For example, the aforementioned 2015 ADAPT program launched by the IRC and Mercy Corps set out to research and field test adaptive management techniques in the development sector. The research found both positive and negative aspects of adaptive practice in each case. However, the study identified a set of five factors across six cases that form the basis for an initial set of lessons about making adaptive management a reality. These factors are: dynamic and collaborative teams; appropriate data and reflective analysis; responsive decision-making and action; agile and integrated operations; and trusting and flexible partnerships ("Adapting Aid," 2016).

> *Five factors that facilitate adaptive management are:*
>
> *Dynamic and collaborative teams*
>
> *Appropriate data and reflective analysis*
>
> *Responsive decision making and action*
>
> *Agile and integrated operations*
>
> *Trusting and flexible partnerships*

The research found that the teams that could plan for adaptation in budgets and reporting (two of the biggest constraints on adaptation); bridge the gaps between programs, operations, and finance teams; and create mechanisms for rapid procurement, grants, and contracts, could better adaptively manage in the face of changing circumstances.

Findings from an extensive evaluation of more than 100 grant-funded dialogue projects supported by the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) underscore the importance of adaptive management, planning for change, and dynamic contexts. The review found that more successful projects tended to use adaptive management practices during implementation. These practices included being able to leverage connections with communications, local knowledge about norms and customs, iterative decision-making and flexibility in design. Overall, the study found that the capacity to reflect, learn, and change course was ultimately a key factor for project success (Froude & Zanchelli, 2017).

> *Solution/recommendation: USAID can continue to build in time and budget space for adaptation through pilot/inception phases that enable a range of strategies to be tested in "small bets."*

Although these findings are just an initial set of lessons, they corroborate research that has been conducted in the business sector on the effect of adaptive management on team performance and outcomes from the use of Lean, Six Sigma, and Agile methodologies. In many ways, insights from the business and natural resource

management sectors parallel much of the debate in development practice. One study recently found that companies that apply more data-driven and adaptive leadership practices perform better compared to those which focus less on those practices (Akhtar, Tse, Khan, & Nicholson, 2016). Another study found that change brought about by adaptive management can be achieved, but it can only be achieved slowly, with an adequate investment of time, and it requires key ingredients. Those key ingredients are: leadership, data, patience, and public support (Franklin, Helsinki, & Manale, 2007).

The literature discusses the importance of reflecting often and changing course and adapting as needed to improve outcomes (Hilden & Tikkamaki, 2013; Andrews, 2012). The adage, "experience is the best teacher" is not entirely true. Researchers have found that it is reflection on experience that teaches the most (Di Stefano, 2015). Reflective practice requires development stakeholders to: reflect on development processes; challenge previous assumptions and instill dynamism in discourses; include multiple voices through a critical view of power relations; facilitate the creation and actualization of multiple approaches at the local level; and create opportunities for these local imaginings to be synthesized at regional and global level, to enable a better understanding of global issues and advocate for the transformation of global regimes (Jakimov, 2008).

The literature found that organizations and projects are much more likely to be successful if they adopt such practices and increase their agility. In addition, public reflection by individuals and government agencies is a useful strategy to enhance accountability and create a stronger onus for change (Raelin, 2001).

Recent discoveries in the **health sector**, specifically in the field of neuroscience, further support the need for group reflection within organizations. We now know from research on how our brains process information and that we are vulnerable to confirmation bias.[5] We mistake the repetition of the same thing over and over as confirmation of its truth. According to the latest research, our brain has two systems for processing information: system 1 (fast), and system 2 (slow). System 1 thinking is stored in the associative memory part of the brain and so processing is pretty much automatic and

> *Reflection on experience is a more useful learning practice than the accumulation of additional experience.*

subconscious (for example, making first impressions). While system 2 thinking requires deeper concentration to understand different viewpoints, examine assumptions, and negotiate solutions. System 1 thinking is automatic while system 2 thinking is effortful. Unless intentionally called forth, our brains will revert to using system 1 thinking over system 2, opting for quick fixes over deliberative decision-making. Research has found that groups are better than individuals when it comes to avoiding the biases and errors of system 1 thinking. That's because it is much easier to "identify a minefield when you observe others wandering into it than when you are about to do so" (Kahneman, 2011, p. 417). The literature shows that reflecting as a group builds mutual understanding and shared trust that aids collaboration and evidence-informed decision-making.

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[5] Confirmation bias is the tendency to search for, interpret, favor, or recall information in a way that confirms our preexisting beliefs and prejudices, while considering contrary evidence.

FEEDBACK LOOPS

When properly implemented, feedback loops can be a tool for learning and adapting as well as for reporting and accountability. Several studies have sought to measure the impact of feedback loops and citizen engagement on democratic and development outcomes. So far, evidence for feedback loops has not yet caught up to theory or practice, but it is slowly beginning to emerge.

In the **development sector**, for example, the strongest evidence for feedback loops exists in the area of community-based monitoring. A 2016 report published by Feedback Labs outlines the ways in which feedback loops have directly and indirectly contributed to development outcomes (Sarkisova, 2016). In one study covered in the report, a citizens' report card in Uganda led to a 16 percent increase in utilization of health facilities and a 33 percent reduction in under-five child mortality (Bjorkman & Svensson, 2007). In another experiment in Uganda, a report card initiative that allowed constituents to design their own indicators outperformed the standard one. Researchers attribute the success of the participatory scorecard to the fact that it encouraged participants to "constructively frame the problem" by identifying the underlying causes (such as, teacher assignments, housing, and so on) and not just the symptoms (for example, teacher absenteeism) of development challenges.

> *Feedback loops are "smart" when the donor has the willingness and capacity to respond, when people are sufficiently empowered to fully participate, and when contextual factors—such as personal bias, access to information, and technical experience— are taken into consideration.*

This finding also supports a movement in the **health sector** toward "self-rated health" (SRH) and in the psychotherapy field towards "feedback-informed treatment," which is the practice of providing therapists with real-time feedback on patient progress through the entire course of treatment but from the patient's perspective. Studies have shown that "asking patients to subjectively assess their own wellbeing and incorporating this feedback into their treatment results in fewer treatment failures and better allocative efficiency" (Minami, Tak & Brown). The emerging results from "feedback-informed treatment" suggest that when patients self-rate and participate in their own diagnosis and treatment, this can lead to positive behavior change which contributes to improved outcomes. These findings also support emerging evidence coming out of the health sector on the effectiveness of using multi-dimensional self-assessments for measuring outcomes (Benyamini, 2011).

While these studies show promise, it is important to note that feedback loops are not always effective and can sometimes do more harm than good (Bonino & Warmer, 2014; Holloran, 2014). The latter is especially true when feedback loops don't "close," meaning that people's voices were solicited but not acted on in a way that changed their circumstances. In other instances, feedback loops can be closed but factors such as personal bias, access to information, and technical know-how have reduced or negated any possible positive impact (Sarkisova, 2016). To capture local knowledge and voices, the 2016 Feedback Labs report suggests that feedback loops are "smart" when the donor and/or government agency has the willingness and capacity to respond, when people are sufficiently empowered to fully participate, and when contextual factors—such as personal bias, access to information, and technical expertise—are taken into consideration.

ENABLING CONDITIONS WITHIN THE CLA FRAMEWORK

The following section covers the enabling conditions within the CLA Framework: culture, processes, and resources. Enabling conditions directly and indirectly influence CLA and play a role in determining CLA success and sustainability in different contexts. The evidence on enabling conditions reiterates some of the points made earlier, which lends credence to the notion that these factors are all interrelated.

CULTURE

According to the literature, culture...

- on teams that encourages **honest discourse and debate and provide an open and safe space** for communication is positively linked with innovation and improved performance.

- is **primarily defined by leaders** and "learning leaders" are the foundation of learning organizations.

- that fosters **team psychological safety**, the belief that a team is safe for interpersonal risk-taking, is **positively linked to learning behavior**, which in turn affects team performance.

- that encourages individuals to trust one another is critically important because **high trusting teams are generally also high-performing**.

- that rewards team members who show **sensitivity to feelings and needs and practice conversational turn taking** leads to improved performance.

The management theory literature points to an organization's culture as central to institutionalizing change. Behaviors must be rooted in social norms and shared values to take hold (Kotter, 1995). Culture is key, and leaders shape culture. The literature discusses the importance of a learning culture as the foundation for learning organizations and the role that leadership plays in fostering a learning culture (Schein, 1992; de Wet & Schoots, 2016; Faustino & Booth, 2014; Hailey & James, 2002; Su-Chao & Ming-Shing, 2007; LaFasto & Larson, 2001; Lencioni, 2002; Dewar, et. al., 2009; Blanchard & Waghorn, 2009). The literature discusses how organizations that encourage honest discourse and debate, and provide an open and safe space for communication tend to perform better and be more innovative. Leaders are central to defining culture, and "learning leaders" are generally those that encourage non-hierarchical organizations where ideas can flow freely.

> *Culture is key to institutionalizing change. Behaviors must be rooted in social norms and shared values to take hold.*

At the heart of a learning organization is a learning leader who enables non-hierarchical relations. Leaders are, of course, particularly influential members of an organization, and their opinions and moods are quickly picked up by other members. Their views therefore permeate most organizational processes. Requirements for a learning culture include: decentralized/non-hierarchical decision-making processes; availability of slack resources (including time); communities of practice; strong and enabling leadership; a risk-taking culture (experimentation); and KM and sharing systems. Southwest, Netflix, and other companies were successful because their leaders created a culture that was conducive to collaboration, learning, accountability, and adaptability.

In the **development sector**, for instance, the 2016 BEAM report on adaptive programming found that practical leadership that inspires adaptive programming has the following qualities: insistence on substantive engagement by all staff; an open embrace of failure; an ability to create incentives for internal reciprocity and integration; celebration of staff who are willing to be honest about results when speaking with leadership; and an overriding curiosity and enthusiasm for the task of adaptive programming that demonstrates desired behaviors in way that instructions cannot (Byrne, Sparkman, & Fowler, 2016).

Research conducted in the **business sector**, in contrast, indicates that one of the most important characteristics of a learning leader is an ability to understand and work within a changing and complex environment. Indeed, research has shown that this ability is far more important than the specific learning strategies that they advocate. Some of the learning leaders emphasized formal learning, others emphasized informal processes, while yet others focused on learning from new technologies and applied research. However, the result they were able to produce was similar in all cases, namely: their organizations were able to respond to changing circumstances to carry forward their vision (Hailey & James, 2002; Hovland, 2003).

Managing adaptively requires a level of group tolerance for risk-taking, which by extension is contingent on teams having trusting relationships. Much of the literature on organizational learning focuses on the positive impacts of learning from others and learning by doing. Many authors note that experimentation is a fundamental and powerful part of learning by doing, and should be supported in an environment that encourages experimentation and accepts mistakes (Englehardt & Simmons, 2002).

Organizational behavioral scientist Amy Edmondson quantitatively measured the connection between "team psychological safety," learning behavior, and team performance.[6] She found that team psychological safety is positively linked to learning behavior, which in turn affects team performance. Examples of learning behavior include seeking feedback, sharing information, asking for help, talking about errors, and experimenting. Teams with high levels of psychological safety are more likely to participate in risk-taking learning behavior and, by extension, proactive learning-oriented action, because they trust that the team will not embarrass, reject, or punish someone for speaking up (Edmondson, 1999). Not only is this finding consistent with organizational learning theory, but it also received consistent empirical support across several analyses and independent measures. The cross-cutting theme of "trust"' is prominent in the general management literature as well as in development-specific theory and practice (Bouckaet, 2012; Gulrajani & Honig, 2016; Byrne et al., 2016).

Trust on teams is positively linked with increased learning behavior, such as seeking feedback, sharing information, asking for help, talking about errors, and experimenting.

The importance of team psychological safety and trust is further supported by the research conducted by Google's Project Aristotle. Researchers found that the highest performing groups were those that had the following characteristics: psychological safety; dependability; structure and clarity; meaning of work; and impact of work. The study also found the psychological safety and emotional behavior were related; as such, conversational turn- taking and showing sensitivity to feelings and needs established team productive norms that promoted team psychological safety and contributed to improved performance (Duhigg, 2016).

This outcome aligns with what other studies have found across sectors—that high-trusting teams are generally also high-performing (Hakanen & Soudunsaari, 2012; Costa, 2003; Erdem, Ozen, & Atsan, 2003). This is, in part, because trust is associated with the release of oxytocin in our brains, meaning that the more we trust, the higher satisfaction levels we experience, which relates to an improved propensity to collaborate and perform well on teams (Zak, 2017). Other drivers of trust include organizational stability, more empowered employees, and a range of human resources practices like the fairness of performance appraisal, career development opportunities, and perceived autonomy (O'Toole and Meier, 2003; Laschinger and Finegan, 2005; Cho and Poister, 2012; Seal and Vincent-Jones, 1997).

Research conducted in the **business sector**, however, has found that components of successful teamwork include: external orientation; continuous learning; "straight talk" (honest, direct communication); and team orientation (De Meuse, Tang, & Dai, 2009; Hackman, 2002; Katzenbach, 1993; Rubin, 1997; LaFasto & Larson, 2001; Lencioni, 2002). Effective teams are built on applying outstanding functional skills to address complex challenges or opportunities and leveraging strong, trusting relationships to deliver innovation and results.

Learning is more likely to take place in organizations that empower their workers, and where critical thinking, analysis, and creativity is encouraged and rewarded.

A growing body of evidence from both private and public sector organizations recognizes employee engagement as critical to successful organizational performance (GAO, 2015; OPM, 2016) and indicates that

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[6] Team psychological safety is defined as a shared belief that the team is safe for interpersonal risk-taking.

employee and team empowerment helps improve job satisfaction, commitment, innovativeness and organizational performance (Fernandez & Moldogaziev, 2013; Dizgah, et.al, 2011; Ugboro & Obeng, 2002; Kirkman & Rosen, 1999). In a 2016 report, Deloitte found that "learning opportunities are among the largest drivers of employee engagement and strong workplace culture" (Deloitte University Press, 2016). As such, learning-driven behavior change doesn't only extend to technical or systems knowledge; studies show that it can facilitate a radical shift in approach and vision through molding of an organizational learning culture.

This is in part because engaged employees are more motivated to transfer learning. One study examined the relationship of organizational learning culture, job satisfaction and organizational outcome variables with a sample of information technology (IT) employees in the United States. It found that organizations with a strong learning culture are associated with high employee job satisfaction and motivation to share learning within their teams (Egan, Yang, and Bartlett, 2004).

Another empirical study found that organizational learning culture increases psychological empowerment and sense of autonomy, which drives a collaborative team culture, high levels of commitment, and employee retention (Islam, Kahan, & Bukhari, 2016). Empowered and engaged employees are also more productive (Towers, 2012). Having the ability to share and apply learning to effect change leads to greater autonomy, which is associated with greater job satisfaction, greater commitment to the organization and lower employee turnover (Galletta, Portoghese, & Battistelli, 2011; Spector, 1986). In the development context specifically, empirical studies indicate that aid agencies with more autonomous work environments have more satisfied staff (Honig, 2015). For example, one study found that World Bank project success depends more on the unobservable features of individuals leading projects than on many of the observable features of the project or environment (Denizer, Kaufmann, & Kraay, 2013). This study quantitatively tested the relationship between World Bank staff assigned to manage projects (called "task team leaders") and project outcomes. It found that, for World Bank projects, task team leader quality is more strongly and significantly correlated with project outcomes than fixed observable features of the environment or project itself. This finding further emphasizes the relationship between employee empowerment and outcomes.

Organizations with rigid hierarchical decision-making may hamper learning. Learning is more likely to take place in organizations that empower their workers, and where critical thinking, analysis, and creativity is encouraged and rewarded (Su-Chao & Ming-Shing, 2007; McGregor & Doshi, 2015). A foundational culture of investigation, debate, and agility needs to be supported and reinforced by a broad set of tools (both technical and managerial), processes (such as recruitment) and systems (such as finance, procurement and M&E).

PROCESSES

According to the literature, processes...

- that can **generate, capture, share, and utilize knowledge effectively** make teams more productive, innovative, and successful in achieving their goals.

- in the form of quality knowledge management systems have a **significant impact on project performance**.

- are **influenced by interpersonal characteristics and relationships**; high levels of trust and emotional intelligence correlate with high levels of knowledge sharing.

KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

A very large proportion of literature on knowledge management and organizational learning is developed by, and geared toward, the corporate sector. The literature discusses how organizations that can generate, capture, share, and use knowledge effectively are more productive, innovative, adaptive, and successful in achieving their missions (Ramalingam, 2005; Cummings, 2003; Barnard, 2003; King & McGrath, 2003).

Knowledge management (KM) facilitates reflection and learning, and is important for making good decisions and designing effective programs. Overall, much of the literature on KM and learning focuses on the importance of thinking about processes and connections between information. The current literature agrees that knowledge management improves various dimensions of organizational performance, such as innovativeness, competitiveness, and ultimately, financial performance (Andreeva & Kianot, 2016). However, there is a shortage of studies examining the interrelations of several KM practices in their contribution to organizational performance. The role of information and communication technology (ICT) has received a lot of attention in this field, but the literature cautions against making knowledge management only about

technology and information storage. Instead KM should be people-centric and include a focus on knowledge utilization.

People act as knowledge nodes. As such, human interaction is the basis of knowledge-sharing.

A recent study conducted by RWTH Aachen University in Germany (Bubwolder & Basse, 2016) quantitatively tested the proposed relationship between knowledge management and ramp-up performance.[7] The study showed a significant effect of knowledge management on the success of ramp-up projects. The study findings are in line with knowledge management theory—as researchers found strong linear relationships between the elements constituting knowledge management (knowledge accumulation, creation, sharing, internalization, and utilization).[8]

This finding indicates that learning from previous ramp-up projects is a potential resource in increasing the understanding and eventually performance of such projects. The study found that it was not beneficial to skip parts of KM (accumulation, creation, sharing, internalization and utilization) to save effort, as it may harm the entire result. Moreover, the study also found that the most important indicator for an increase in ramp-up performance was knowledge accumulation, followed by knowledge creation, knowledge sharing, and knowledge internalization. While this study focused solely on small and medium manufacturers in Germany, it found that potential factors, such as company size, product complexity, or applied technology, did not reveal significant influence on outcomes (Bubwolder & Basse, 2016).

Research has shown that knowledge sharing is positively related to reductions in production costs, faster completion of new product development projects, team performance, firm innovation capabilities, and firm performance, including sales growth and revenue from new products and services (for example, Arthur & Huntley, 2005; Collins & Smith, 2006; Cummings, 2004; Hansen, 2002; Lin, 2007; Mesmer-Magnus & DeChurch, 2009). While many organizations have invested considerable resources in KM systems, at least $31.5 billion has been lost per year by Fortune 500 companies because of failure to effectively share knowledge (Babcock, 2004). Studies indicate that one important reason for this failure is a lack of

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[7] "Ramp-up" performance is a term used in economists to describe an increase in production ahead of anticipated increases in product demand.

[8] The study used the definitions of the terms knowledge accumulation, creation, sharing, internalization, and utilization outlined in, K.C. Lee, S. Lee, and I.W. Kang, 2005, "KMPI: Measuring Knowledge Management Performance," Information & Management, 42(3), 469-482. The authors acknowledged other KM frameworks, such as the one USAID commonly uses, but explained that they chose this framework given its use in other similar studies. Knowledge creation deals with a variety of knowledge, whether tacit or explicit and is accelerated by interrelations of individuals from diverse backgrounds. Knowledge accumulation is the process of gathering and storing knowledge. Knowledge sharing promotes the diffusion of knowledge and contributes to making work processes knowledge intensive. Knowledge utilization occurs at all levels of management activities and involves putting knowledge into practice. Knowledge internalization occurs when individual workers discover relevant knowledge, obtain it, and then apply it. In that way, internalization may give rise to new knowledge and provides a basis for active knowledge creation.

consideration for how organizational and interpersonal characteristics influence knowledge sharing (Carter & Scarbrough, 2001; Voelpel, Dous, & Davenport, 2005).

A recent study conducted by the Applied Science University in Bahrain, the Institut fur Fernstudien in Switzerland, and Hashemite University of Jordan, found that certain environmental factors such as the organization's knowledge values, its cultural and structural characteristics, and the characteristics of individuals and teams help promote knowledge sharing (Kharabsheh, et al., 2016). In addition, the study found a positive relationship between knowledge sharing and the following factors: the existence of an innovation culture; a commitment to learning; open-mindedness; a shared vision; an expectation of reciprocity among colleagues; management support (implicit and explicit); a less-centralized structure that creates opportunities for social interactions; facilitative leadership (rather than impositional leadership); non-monetary rewards (such as recognition and appreciation); a higher number of interpersonal relationships; and better integration of different skills of a person on a team (Kharabsheh et. al., 2016).

> *Knowledge sharing on teams is positively related to the following factors:*
>
> *Innovation culture*
>
> *Commitment to learning*
>
> *Open-mindedness*
>
> *Shared vision*
>
> *Expectation of reciprocity*
>
> *Management support*
>
> *Less-centralized structure*
>
> *Non-monetary rewards*
>
> *High number of interpersonal relationships*
>
> *Integration of different skills across the team*

The literature on KM also includes the perspective that the most important learning processes within an organization are those that cannot be managed. Some scholars draw on chaos theory to describe how innovation often takes place in informal 'shadow' networks of individuals interested in the same issues (Malhotra, 2001; Stacey, 1995). These scholars suggest that in order to support and strengthen this creativity, organizations should allow staff room to act on incomplete information, trust their own judgment and feed input from informal sources into formal structures. This echoes a larger theme in the literature on knowledge management about the ability to sense-make and draw connections.

> *Higher levels of trust on teams correlates with higher levels of knowledge sharing.*

Among the factors that aid knowledge sharing, researchers emphasized trust, which also emerged as an important factor in creating a culture conducive to learning and adapting. They found that higher levels of trust among colleagues led to higher levels of knowledge sharing. As discussed in the above section on culture, studies have found that, "it is critical to establish a trustful and caring environment for knowledge sharing, since individuals that feel safe and trusted are more likely to share knowledge" (Kharabsheh et al., 2016, p. 5). The literature reviewed also found a positive correlation between knowledge sharing and job satisfaction, indicating that knowledge sharing contributes to improved team performance by increasing job satisfaction (Kianto, 2016; Kasemsap, 2014). Another empirical study conducted by the University of Pannonia in Hungary found a positive relationship between emotional intelligence and willingness to share knowledge among colleagues, further emphasizing the role that interpersonal relationships and skills play in knowledge sharing (Obermayer & Kovari, 2016).

Many of the most significant and frequently cited authors on KM and learning base their ideas on experiences as management consultants for Northern companies (Argyris, 1992; Senge, 1990; Nonaka, 1995; Levitt and March, 1988; Schein, 1992). As such, much of the literature on KM is focused on improving Northern KM practices and approaches. However, evidence indicates that the capacity of developing countries to generate, acquire, assimilate and utilize knowledge form a crucial part of their strategies to reduce poverty (Surr et al., 2002).

INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY

Institutional memory, commonly referred to as organizational memory, plays an important role in learning organizations. Coined in the late 1970s, "institutional memory" refers to information that is stored within an organization and can be shared across time and space for future individual and organizational use (Anand and Glick, 1998; Hardt, 2017; Walsh and Ungson, 1991; Morrison, 1997; Rusaw, 2004). The literature on institutional memory is largely not sector-specific and mostly comes from the broad field of organizational development.

While much of the research on memory is primarily associated with individuals, the research on institutional memory currently includes a wide range of components that provide insight into the processes and culture of an organization. These components may include, but are not limited to, internal lessons, narratives, social structures, history, and past solutions (Corbett et al., 2018; Heideman, 2016; Walsh and Ungson, 1991). Morrison (1997) posits that this information exists on a continuum within organizations, broadly ranging from informal understandings to concrete facts.

Researchers have identified three means of remembering within organizations: archival memory (rules, procedures, documents, manuals, standard operating procedures, meetings, events, etc.), human memory (shared assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, behaviors, etc.), and electronic memory (electronic files, web-based information, etc.) (Rusaw, 2004; Stark, 2019; Hardt, 2017; Heideman, 2016; Walsh and Ungson,1991). Purposeful recall of these memories can effectively assist in decision-making and organizational learning (Stark, 2019; Rusaw, 2004; Corbett et al., 2018; Morrison, 1997).

According to the literature, there is sound reasoning for organizations to maintain and utilize institutional memory. First, institutional memories are crucial for allowing learned solutions to reemerge from the past and, in some cases, be used again. In this vein, what organizations remember and recall may directly affect the way they frame the future (Corbett et al., 2018). Therefore, researchers argue, organizations are able to be most effective when they develop a robust institutional memory that can inform present and future decisions. Second, the literature suggests that organizations in fact need institutional memory to justify their existence and guide their actions (Olick, 2009). Third, some studies suggest a correlation between the development of institutional memory and operational effectiveness, specifically during strategic realignments, as understanding memory can assist in identifying and preventing past missteps (Hardt, 2017; Walsh and Ungson, 1991).

The reviewed literature suggests that the content of institutional memory, and therefore an organization's institutional memory as a whole, is not a static concept, but a dynamic one, ebbing and flowing as time passes and the organization grows (Stark, 2019; Corbett et al., 2018). In addition, stakeholders, coalitions, and even the organization itself are continuously engaging with institutional memory by adding to and drawing from its

resource base (Corbett et al., 2018; Morrison, 1997). As such, researchers such as Walsh and Ungson (1991) argue that long-tenured individuals are best suited not only to contribute to the bank of institutional memory but also to facilitate the retrieval of timely and relevant information.

While the literature largely supports cultivating and maintaining institutional memory at large, it notes that this process is not without its challenges. Hiring freezes, downsizing, and high staff turnover are a few of the key challenges to creating and preserving institutional memory (Lange and Quinn, 2003; Hardt, 2017; Rusaw, 2004). Without institutional memory, organizations are at risk for utilizing only short-term perspectives in decision making. Relying too heavily on short-term perspectives is dangerous, as doing so can undermine organizations' ability to develop the contextual knowledge and analytical capacity they require in order to be effective (Lange and Quinn, 2003). Morrison (1997) identifies three additional challenges to institutional memory: motivating individuals to share their knowledge even when doing so is not an explicit part of their job; motivating individuals to appropriately record sensitive information; and encouraging the creation of group memories out of abstract items such as processes, rationales, and culture.

One of the most-cited challenges to building and maintaining institutional memory is its direct counterpart, institutional amnesia. The literature unanimously suggests that institutional amnesia, or memory loss, is a serious issue that quietly undermines organizational performance (Stark, 2019; Lange and Quinn, 2003; Rusaw, 2004; Pollitt, 2000). Key factors of organizational memory loss include organizational and technological restructuring, necessary and strategic forgetting, lack of absorptive capacity, and insufficient historical storytelling (Stark, 2019; Pollitt, 2000). When organizations go through a restructuring, they are likely to get distracted and caught up in the newness of the process, causing them to shift their focus away from learning from the past. Another key factor of organizational memory loss is when organizations strategically forget aspects of their institutional memory so they can prioritize other issues or stakeholders. Stark explains, "political agents can be seen encouraging amnesia in agents and organizations around them, either through rhetorical framing efforts or the use of specific institutions that foreground one historical interpretation and downplay another" (p. 147). Another key factor of organizational memory loss is an organization's lack of absorptive capacity. When organizations lack absorptive capacity, they lack the ability to maintain their memory and create a foundation upon which it can rest. When an organization can quickly hardwire new reforms into its preexisting machinery, this is a sign of absorptive capacity. This is important in terms of memory loss because it can mean that reforms do not get intentionally "lost" or "stuck" before they are properly embedded (Stark, p. 152). Another key factor of organizational memory loss is insufficient historical storytelling. When this happens, individuals are not able to presently recall an organization's institutional memory and relate it to others to inform the "why" of an organization's culture. A dimension of organizational memory loss is therefore measured through the absence of storytellers who can speak to an organization's history. When actors in senior positions engage in storytelling that recalls the "why" behind ways of doing things, organizational memory loss can be reduced (Stark, p. 155).

The reviewed literature cautions against institutional amnesia, citing that organizations experiencing a loss or lack of institutional memory face heightened likelihood of the following factors: poor policy-learning, depletion of mentors and coaches, decreased analytical capacity, superficial and inadequate problem-solving, and internal inconsistencies (Lange and Quinn, 2003; Rusaw, 2004; Pollitt, 2000).

To combat these challenges to institutional memory, Ashkenas (2013) offers the following advice: create explicit strategies to address, develop, and uphold institutional memory; clearly identify employee

expectations regarding their contribution and utilization of institutional memory; and, where possible, use technology to support the capture, curation, and distribution of institutional knowledge.

In the last few years, institutional memory has begun to receive greater attention in the development sector. Much of the research conducted about institutional memory in the development sector focuses on how individual organizations can contribute to field-wide institutional memory. The literature suggests that on the ground, international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) have great potential to contribute to the international development community's institutional memory as a field (Lange and Quinn, 2003). Despite this potential, however, researchers have found that international actors, including INGOs, largely overlook their role in contributing to the institutional memory of the sector. Moreover, Heideman (2016) argues that institutional amnesia is often built directly into the structure of international interventions, given high staff turnover and due to the temporary nature of most interventions. Typically, following program or intervention closeout, records are removed from the field, contracts expire, and websites are refreshed with more current information, resulting in forgetting. To counteract this memory loss, INGOs can take active steps to improve institutional memory, such as publicly publishing online reports and archives (Heideman, 2016). While this can help donors and development actors store their knowledge, archiving information does not necessarily equate to consulting it and using that knowledge to inform decision-making.

In addition, the literature reviewed here suggests that whether or not and how organizations contribute to field-wide institutional memory is heavily influenced by a variety of factors, such as international politics, influence, and interpersonal relationships. A study on institutional memory in the development sector involving North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) practitioners sought to identify sources that encourage international organization elites to contribute to institutional memory in a crisis management context. Through a series of interviews, the study found that practitioners prefer to share knowledge through informal processes, including interpersonal communications, private documentation, and crisis simulations (Hardt, 2017).

A subsequent study by Hardt (2018) finds that a critical step in an international organization's ability to learn and sustain institutional memory in a crisis management context is willingness to acknowledge the occurrence of strategic errors. Hardt states that, "institutional memory affects an organization's ability to both prevent the repetition of errors and increase operational effectiveness" (2017, p. 122). Therefore, the absorption of historical strategic errors into institutional memory may inform the reformation and evolution of effective response operations and organizational decision-making.

Furthermore, the study, which surveyed 120 NATO elites, found that international politics and influence directly affect organizations' willingness to contribute to the field-wide institutional memory base. For example, Hardt (2018) found that "the US government's provision of knowledge about an error led NATO elites to be less likely to record knowledge of an error for themselves or successors and less likely to share the knowledge with colleagues" (p. 475). These results were accounted for by lingering international skepticism about the U.S. Government's credibility regarding unbiased, non-politicized intelligence, specifically following the 2003 Iraq war (Hardt, 2018).

In conclusion, the practices, processes, and applications of institutional memory can be tactfully utilized within organizations not only to maintain but to improve organizational culture, processes, and decision-making. This collective knowledge, however, requires individual participation and contribution to avoid institutional

amnesia. A long-term institutional memory better positions organizations and individuals to aptly recall memories and knowledge, which they can apply to present and future thinking.

DECISION-MAKING

There is a growing interest in the development sector in policies and practices that are better informed by evidence. There is widespread enthusiasm for "evidence-based decision-making" but limited recognition of the difficulties of devising effective strategies to ensure that evidence is integrated into policy and utilized in practice. However, there is much to be learned from other sectors, as utilizing evidence to inform professional practice has become a priority in in the areas of healthcare, education, social services, and criminal justice.

Much of the literature recognizes the challenges present in defining the term "evidence" (Bradt, 2009; Loes, 2013; Davies, 2015). Often the need to use the differences of opinion over the term are mentioned as important to ensuring the use and application of evidence in decision-making (Davies, 2015 and Breckon and Dodson, 2016). The literature alternative framings of the use of evidence such as "evidence-informed" and a recognition of the other political factors present in making decisions (Parkhurst, 2017).

A number of overarching factors are often mentioned in the literature regarding the types of political considerations that are often considered alongside an assessment of the evidence. These can include the role of beliefs and ideology as well as considerations such as the type of relationship between the evidence producer, along with the timing and resources that may influence the relevance and salience of evidence (Crewe and Young, 2002; Davies, 2015; Young and Mendizabal, 2009). Relatedly, the notion of ensuring that evidence is received at the "right time" was emphasized (World Bank, 2005; EuropeAid, 2014; Segone (ed.), 2005). In addition, the literature also notes the need for continuing resources for research efforts to generate evidence for use (Institute of Development Studies, 2007; Segone (ed.), 2005; Ravallion, 2009). Another theme in the literature was the need to take into consideration the wider context and culture of a particular organization or technical area, such as humanitarian work, where decisions can be based to a greater degree of eminence and expertise (Bradt, 2009; Young, 2003). Furthermore, the literature notes cultural attitudes toward use of evidence and the potential need to make sense of evidence in a particular context (Johnson, Greenseid, Toal, King, Lawrenz and Volkov, 2009).

The literature mentions a number of theories around application of evidence. These include theories related to innovation diffusion, social marketing, social incentives, and identity cues and "nudges" (Nutley, Walter and Davies, 2002; Herie and Martin, 2002). There are a number of principles identified in the literature for ensuring the use of evidence in decision making. These include understanding and engaging with the target audience throughout, assessing the needs and identifying specific demands of users, and ensuring ongoing engagement with and between users and producers of evidence (Breckon and Dodson, 2016; Shaxson, Datta, Tshangela, and Matomela, 2016). This relates to an often cited barrier to the use of evidence being the lack of trust, perceived lack of credibility or usability of the evidence (Court, Hovland and Young, 2005; Jones and Walsh, 2008). The role of relationships, networks and knowledge intermediaries is a recurrent theme. This ranged from the importance of trust-based relationships to the need for knowledge intermediaries to support the translation of evidence that may be more academic in nature for the use of practitioners (Jones and Mendizabal, 2010; DFID, 2014; Crewe and Young, 2002; Laney, 2003). Beyond the relationships, the role

of communications in support of evidence use was also a focus of some studies. The importance of tailoring messaging, ensuring user-friendly and accessible communications, was underlined (Barnard, Carlile, and Ray, 2007). The use of new and social media and design thinking to inform the development and choice of products was also a theme (Langer, Tripney, and Gough, 2016). In addition, the need for any products to have practical recommendations or solutions was linked to the greater use and application of evidence (Ramalingam, 2011; Court and Young, 2003). Finally, the need to continue to be persistent, flexible and adaptive in any approach was also underlined by the literature. For example, the concept of "strategic opportunism" was also invoked, describing the role of mapping contexts to identify windows of opportunity for impact/influence (Sumner, Ishmael-Perkins and Lindstrom, 2009).

The literature also mentions a series of constraints and enablers for evidence-informed work. Firstly, much of the literature on evidence-based practice is focused on the individual psychology of decision-making and the different types of research or knowledge utilization. For example, a distinction has been drawn between the instrumental use of research (which results in changes in behavior and practice) and conceptual research (which brings about changes in levels of knowledge, understanding and attitude) (Huberman, 1993). The literature focuses heavily on the gap between research and practice in which evidence of what works in a particular field is not translated appropriately into actual practice (Nutley, Walter, Davies, 2002). Research shows that evidence cannot be separated from its social context. Even when good-quality, relevant, and reliable research is available, straightforward application is difficult. That is largely because research is rarely self-evident to the practitioner and its interpretation varies according to the context in which it is received and deployed. Individuals tend to make decisions based on the interaction between explicit and tacit knowledge gathered through previous experience. Several studies suggest that successful implementation of research involves a focus on local ideas, practices, and attitudes and to engage the interest and involvement of decision-makers (Nutley, Walter, & Davies, 2002).

Secondly, at the organizational level, the literature mentions the need for organizational incentives to apply evidence (Scott, 2011) and the lack of social norms around evidence use in development (Langer, Stewart, and de Wet, 2015). The importance of internal organizational leadership, including individuals who champion the use of evidence in decision-making (Jones, Jones, Steer and Datta, 2009) along with the need to ensure that evidence producers have credibility with their audiences was emphasized (Ryan, 2002; Jones, Nicola and Walsh. 2008). In addition, the needs for specific decision tools, knowledge translation and change management strategies (Ferguson., Mchombu, and Cummings, 2008; Knaapen, 2013; USAID, 2016) were all cited as important to support evidence-informed decision making. Others noted the importance of appropriate processes. In the development context, the literature indicates that successful adaptation is more likely to occur on teams that placed decision-making authority as close to the frontline staff and partners as possible and kept organizational boundaries between implementing partners and donors permeable ("Adapting Aid," 2016). This concept is aligned with literature on complexity theory and contingency theory, which says that when tasks cannot be routinized (completed in standard, pre-defined ways), more control needs to be in the hands of the agents, rather than the managers (Butel & Watkins, 2000). Contingency theory also stresses that responding to uncertainty works best with fewer formal rules and structure and more empowered sub-organizational decision-making. In the development context this means that when environments are unstable or the course of events is unpredictable, more decisions will need to be made at the local level. Evidence from both aid agencies and developing country governments supports this conclusion, suggesting that greater autonomy helps project adaptability and flexibility (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017).

Understanding the social construct of knowledge involves assessing the knowledge and power dynamic that underpins practice (Polanyi, 1967; Foucault, 1977, Giddens, 1987). One study on changes in childbirth practices found that health professionals were successful not because they applied abstract scientific research but because they "collaborated in discussions and engaged in work practices that actively interpreted its local validity and value" (Wood et al, 1998). More recently, evidence application has been re-conceptualized as a learning process, whereby practitioners "tinker" with research findings to adapt them to practice (Hargreaves, 1998). In the health sector, research indicates that facilitation may be the key variable, and that the strength of the evidence may not always be that relevant to its uptake (Kitson et al., 1998).

In the development context, a study of Nigerian civil servants highlights the more complex a project, the more delivery benefits from greater autonomy for decision-making (Rasual & Rogger, 2016). This echoes findings from the broader public management literature that decentralized authority is associated with better performance (Moynihan & Pandey, 2005). Higher levels of individual autonomy for decision-making are also associated with greater levels of organizational innovation and learning, particularly where contextual knowledge is critical (Bernstein, 2012; Hurley & Hult, 1998; Nonaka & Lewin, 2010). However, achieving more autonomy is not simply about changing decision structures. Multiple "levers" (e.g., promotion systems, performance management, recruitment, job design, motivation, etc.) need to be addressed simultaneously to change the capacity of an organization to work adaptively (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017). Moreover, the literature indicates that in highly fluid environments, delegating decision-making to lower levels of a hierarchy help firms respond to fast changing conditions (Iyer et al., 2004).

Finally, within the development context, the literature discusses two common documents used in evidence generation: systematic reviews and evaluations. While systematic reviews have utility in other sectors, such as health, the importance of understanding their limitations in the development sector was mentioned (Malletta , Hagen-Zankerb , Slaterc and Duvendack, 2012; Boaz, Ashby, and Young, 2002). The literature mentions the need in development for reviews that included qualitative data in order to understand development relevant concerns such as "when", "why", "how' and "for whom" the interventions "work" (Davies, 2015; Hansen, Trifković, 2015). Literature on evaluations emphasizes the importance of timing and context for uptake and use of evaluation recommendations (Johnson, Greenseid, Toal, King, Lawrenz and Volkov, 2009; EuropeAid, 2013). At USAID, it was noted that often evaluations feed into Project and Activity designs (USAID, 2016). In addition, the quality of the evaluation and the credibility of the evaluator were commonly cited as important to uptake (Sandison, 2003; Johnson, Greenseid, Toal, King, Lawrenz, and Volkov, 2009).

While there is still much work to be done to organize the dispersed literature on evidence-based practice, one thing is clear: in complex and constantly shifting environments, simple models of decision-making (rational, linear, sequential, with clear separation between evidence and utilization) have limited support in facilitating the use of evidence in practice.

RESOURCES

According to the literature, resources...

- needed to support collaboration, learning, and adapting is **relatively sparse in the literature**.

- strongly influence **power dynamics in funding relationships** that affect the implementation and impact of collaborating, learning, and adapting.

- that **support mutual learning partnerships and projects rooted in local knowledge** and adapted to local contexts are emphasized in the literature.

- when leveraged strategically, are positively linked with significant gains in **social capital and knowledge sharing by collaborating partners**.

Studies conducted in the business sector have found and that an initial resource investment in collaboration can result in profitable returns.

The CLA framework identifies organizational resources such as staff time allocations and financial support as important enabling conditions for effective CLA integration. The existing literature on the resources needed to support CLA, however, is relatively sparse.

In their study of "How DFID Learns," the Independent Commission for Aid Impact noted that the agency made considerable financial and staffing investments to prioritize organizational learning, but few efforts reviewed the costs, benefits, and impact of these investments ("How DFID Learns," 2014). Other studies have focused on the benefits of resource investment in CLA approaches. For example, Todeva and Knoke's (2005) literature review of corporate strategic alliances and models of collaboration highlighted the significant gains that collaborating partners received from leveraging resource capabilities, social capital, and knowledge sharing. They suggested that initial resource investments in effective collaboration can result in profitable returns. CISCO (2010) found similar positive returns on investments in collaborative technologies, tools, and culture, including savings in operations, improved employee productivity, efficiency and innovation,

and positive shifts in corporate strategies, including entering new markets; building new business models; accelerating innovation cycles; and making faster and better decisions (Wiese, 2010).

Bryan and Carter (2016) suggest several lessons from contract theory for practitioners of adaptive programming; they emphasize that to introduce flexibility into program implementation and resource management, objectives and methods cannot be fully pinned down in advance. They define an "adaptive contract" as one that encourages experimentation, learning, and adaptation, which has taken hold in several sectors, though does not come without its own unique challenges.

An individual's cognitive skills/traits (that is, attitudes towards using evidence and intrinsic learning motivation) affect a person's willingness and ability to learn and adapt. Some individuals may get defensive and closed to the idea of change when presented with reflection and learning opportunities.

In the **development sector**, however, one of the clearest findings of the 2016 research that the BEAM Exchange conducted was that the ability to be flexible and adaptive is highly related to individual personalities, which, in turn, drive office culture and institutional appetite for change (Byrne, Sparkman & Fowler, 2016). The research suggests that there are many reasons for this, but a good starting point is to understand what individual behaviors are rewarded and sanctioned in the office (such as having all the answers versus adapting in response to new information). This study also found that because a culture conducive to adaptive management is both personality-driven and decentralized, it is extremely difficult to replicate. Therefore, if adaptive management approaches are considered desirable, then clear signals need to be given to indicate this (such as praise in meetings for changes based on new information, leadership encouragement of trying new things, and so on).

In addition to having a high comfort level with "not knowing all the answers," the report, "Doing Development Differently," found that individuals that function well in highly complex and fluid environments, "rarely work alone and have strong teamwork skills, working collectively to solve problems inside and outside their institutions" (Bain, Booth, & Wild, 2016, p. 24). The report also references the work of neuroscientists who found that highly adaptive individuals have "growth mindsets" rather than "fixed mindsets" (Dweck, Walton, & Cohen, 2014). Similarly, the 2015 ADAPT study found that hiring those with "adaptive mindsets" (such as being inquisitive by nature and able to ask the right questions, and having flexible competencies and skillsets) as well as hiring local had an impact on a team's ability to effect change ("Adapting Aid," 2016).

> *Solution/recommendation: When hiring for key positions, place value on an adaptive mindset, soft skills, and change management experience.*

Moreover, a 2016 study on DFID-funded adaptive programming in practice found that the effectiveness of an adaptive approach depends critically on getting the right staff. For example, SAVI (a DFID-funded program in Nigeria) recruited staff who had a strong commitment to reform, and were able to facilitate rather than direct, to work as part of a team, and to develop relationships of trust. SAVI also prioritized recruiting staff from the state they were working, meaning that team members had a personal stake in reform. They found that these character traits and competencies (such as curiosity, facilitation, teamwork, the ability to trust, and so on) were directly related to the ability of teams to achieve their outcomes. When reflecting on their collective approaches, the SAVI and LASER programs concluded that, "overall, the human element is critical to effectiveness" (Derbyshire & Donovan, 2016, p. 30).

In order to achieve organizational adaptation and flexibility in response to local contexts, organizations must move to different models of managing and motivating personnel (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017). The "how" is just as important as the "what" and the "why." In the development context, change in organizational practice that achieves contextual knowledge, adaptation, and flexibility must start with internal processes. In his paper, "Making Good on Donors' Desire to Do Development Differently," Dan Honig argues that agent-level factors such as autonomy, motivation, and trust are critical in allowing contingent[9] ways of working to emerge within an organization (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017).

POWER RELATIONS, FUNDING & COMPETITION

Beyond the organizational literature, international development studies discuss broader concerns about how power dynamics in funding relationships affect CLA implementation and impact. The literature discusses structural inequalities in aid and development systems based on the north-south flow of resources that strongly impact the shape of partnerships and learning dynamics (Takahashi, 2003). For example, unequal resources and power relations between northern and southern institutions often result in knowledge transfer from northern organizations to the southern ones, rather than projects rooted in local knowledge and adapted to local contexts. The literature highlights the benefits and importance of mutual learning partnerships (Drew, 2002; Vincent & Byrne, 2009; Booth & Unsworth, 2014). In addition, southern organizations' competition for and dependence on limited funding from northern donors often hamper collaboration and partnerships among local organizations. Recognizing these concerns, international development organizations have increasingly taken steps to invest resources and shape policies to promote local partnerships and locally led development.

> *Unequal power relations based on funding can hamper collaborating, learning, and adapting.*

CONCLUSIONS

Where, within the CLA framework, is there not much evidence?

- **CLA Resources:** There is some literature on staffing for learning, particularly on how rotating staff can benefit from learning (Bourgeon, 2003). This literature, however, is also related to internal collaboration. While there may not be a heavy focus on resources, given that the literature does emphasize the importance of CLA, in general, and specific aspects of CLA in particular, one can infer that the resources required to make CLA happen are also important.

- **Scenario Planning:** Most of the evidence is in the private sector, and many of the articles are by consulting firms or businesses. The most-cited example is of when Royal Dutch/Shell used scenario

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[9] Used here, contingent means in line with contingency theory. Contingency theory is an organizational theory that claims that there is no best way to organize a corporation, to lead a company, or to make decisions. Instead, the optimal course of action is contingent upon the internal and external situation.

planning to anticipate the drop in oil prices in 1986. Scenario planning is also used for urban and public policy, but there is little evidence/research on scenario planning in development. Further research in the private sector, however, may demonstrate the value add of this approach to organizational effectiveness outside of the development sector (Schwartz, 2012; Diffenbach, 1983; Wilkinson, 2013).

What methodologies have been used to study whether collaborating, learning, and adapting makes a difference?

- **Primary methodology:** Case studies have used qualitative and inductive research techniques to review specific activities within organizations, or specific projects and collaborations across organizations.

- **Organizational surveys:** Quantitatively, some researchers have used propensity score matching and employed organizational surveys to conduct multivariate analysis and develop statistical modeling systems (for example, using structural equation modeling). These measures have been used to determine if continuous improvement systems affect organizational learning and whether these two factors (independently and jointly) affect organizational performance.

- **Statistical research:** Quantitatively, some researchers have employed both descriptive and inferential statistics to explore relationships between data collected in support of their hypotheses (such as partial least squares regression).

- **Ethnographic research:** Some has been done, specifically regarding CoPs, and social and knowledge networks.

- **Action research: This** type of research, in which the researcher takes an active part in the process that s/he studying, has been used to reflect on the experiences of development agencies (White, Cardone & Moor, 2004).

Where are people calling for more research?

First and foremost, there is a need to expand the evidence base on the effect, impact, and/or contribution of CLA practices to organizational effectiveness and development outcomes. Specifically identified areas of research include the following:

- How to measure the impact of adaptive management practices on programs and development outcomes

- Empirical examinations of the impact of organizational learning on development initiatives

- How contracting mechanisms impact project performance and outcomes

- The relationship between locally-driven, politically smart projects and sustainable development

- The role of feedback loops in facilitating continuous learning and sustainable development

- The impact of evidence-based decision making on development programming and outcomes

Within CLA as a technical area, the additional areas for research include the following:

- Who controls and drives learning? Why? And for whom?

- How is continuous learning strategically managed and directed in fluid, constantly changing environments?

- Given the role of contracting mechanisms in development programming success, how can development initiatives be structured to encourage learning, flexibility and improved outcomes?

- How do individuals and organizations make decisions based on evidence?

- Given the more limited research in resources for CLA and scenario planning, what resources are needed to implement CLA and planning for scenarios?

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