EVIDENCE BASE FOR COLLABORATING, LEARNING AND ADAPTING

A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW UPDATE, NOVEMBER 2017

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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  United Kingdom 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  theory of change
USAID  United States Agency for International Development
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 or development outcomes?
- If so, how? Under what conditions?
- How do we know? How do we measure CLA contributions to development results?

LEARN undertook a literature review to discover what information exists in the peer-reviewed and grey literature to answer the questions above, as well as the methods others have used to try to answer them. The review posed the following questions:

- What evidence exists to show that CLA 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 USAID’s CLA framework?
- Who else is studying or measuring the impact of CLA? What methods and measures are these researchers using?
- Where are there gaps in the research related to CLA?
- What practical guidance does the literature offer practitioners and policy makers in using CLA 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 that CLA 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 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 in the framework. After identifying keywords, researchers looked for summaries of existing grey and academic literature and prioritized articles related to the international development field. 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 and February 2017. The second update in November 2017 focused on relevant literature published in academic journals.

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

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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.
KEY FINDINGS

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

We did not discover a 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 documented 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 examples of a more systematic approach to organizational learning in the private sector (for example, Southwest, Ford Lean Manufacturing, Motorola Sigma) 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. The Toyota Way is connected to the concept of “lean manufacturing” in the corporate sector. Despite these cases, most of the literature on CLA and its contributions to organizational effectiveness and development outcomes remain predominantly theoretical or aspirational. Practitioners and researchers are therefore 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 methodological challenges and limitations in studying these topics, including:

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 CLA framework?

Learning and Knowledge Management (LEARN)
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 less-hierarchical 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 indicates 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 have contributed to 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, and learning culture. The organizations identified include: the Asia Foundation, the Bill & 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, including governance/public sector management, health management, and climate change, were highlighted in the literature review because of their prevalence in the research.

**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.
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, & Doi, 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, & Moursheed, 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.
   

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

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

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

1. M&E are both 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.
   

3. Locally-led development is most effective.
   

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.
2. Evidence-based decision making is more likely to occur when decision makers 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.


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


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.


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:

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. 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 CLA practices: The literature indicates that an intentional, systematic and resourced approach to CLA 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 KM 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 must 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. Individuals’ personality traits, 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: To avoid a situation where KM primarily works to the benefit of Northern agencies, Northern
agencies could combine KM 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 for 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 CLA 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, and
● Syntheses that draw on the collective wisdom and learning from communities of practice
  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.

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 employee’s 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

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.
additional link, both implicitly and explicitly made, is that collaboration is also linked with improved organizational outcomes (Zwarenstein, Goldman, & Reeves, 2009; Romer, 1990).

The following three themes also emerged from the reviewed literature on collaboration:

- 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.
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 these findings (Zwarenstein, et. al, 2009).

And in the **education sector**, working collaboratively has consistently been linked to professional and student achievement. This result 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).

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 contexts 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 seven 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 keys to success. These actions allow actors to understand the complex development challenges they face, identify and negotiate ways forward and find solutions that are both technically sound and politically feasible. 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 projects employed strategic and informed experimentation and gave decision-making power to frontline staff. The authors also found that flexible, strategic funding allowed local program leaders to work opportunistically and adaptively. In each of the cases, there was also a long-term commitment by the funder and continuity of staffing in 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 using a facilitative approach—one that focuses on indirect interventions at strategic points to strengthen the system and align interests—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 and knowledge management (LEARN)

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).

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 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).

Factors that contribute to good quality M&E are: integrating M&E into programming; using M&E to inform decision making; 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 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.

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

Based on an initial review of the literature, the practice of using theories of change (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. ToCs 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 ToCs 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 development of hypotheses rather than static theories, and learning rather than accountability” (Valters, 2014, p. 19).

According to the literature on sense-making within organizations, “team mind” or “collective mindfulness” is necessary for observing, interpreting and adapting to information as group. Without team mindfulness, teams rely on past categories, act on “automatic pilot,” and fixate on a single perspective without awareness that things could be otherwise (Weick, 1995). Collective mindfulness on a team is generated through a preoccupation with failure rather than success, reluctance to simplify interpretations, understanding of how one area of the organization’s operations affects another, commitment to resilience, and deference to expertise, including senior staff toward junior members of the organization (Weick, 1995; Weick, 2007).

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 a ToC. This situation often relates to the fact that the term ToC has often had varied meanings. Stein and Valters note that a 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).

The cultivation of a technical evidence base stems from the recognition in the health sector of the need to make decisions based on evidence; this term has since spread to other areas of social fields. 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.

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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.
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 (Wenger, 1998; “Project-based Learning,” 2001; Moreno, 2001; “Doing the Knowledge,” Wesley & Buysse, 2001). This includes resources such as time and administrative support, 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).

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
co-workers or over 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 knowledge of context 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 prioritize locally-led development, they are usually able to influence policy and programming but technical assistance driven from afar impedes organizations’ 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 literature discussing the tension between standardized approaches and the ability to respond to local realities. The tendency within aid organizations to traditionally follow the “best practice” minimizes the ways in which contextual differences affect programming. 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 adapt their approaches to the realities on the ground (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.
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.

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.
A growing body of evidence indicates that aid agencies are most successful when they are able to operate flexibly and manage adaptively (“Managing Complexity,” Valters, Cummings, & Nixon, 2016; Allan & Curtis, 2005; Jones, 2011). Adaptive management combines appropriate analysis, structured flexibility, and iterative improvements in response to contextual complexity. It requires an agile and enabling culture in which organizations use rapid feedback loops to continuously and efficiently process and build on new information to achieve their goals.

In the development sector, practitioners are calling for new ways of working to be effective in complex and changing environments. There is a small but growing trend 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).

The research found that the teams that planned for adaptation in budgets and reporting (two of the biggest constraints), bridged the gaps between programs, operations, and finance teams and created mechanisms for rapid procurement and signing of grants and contracts were better at adaptively management.

Findings from an evaluation of more than 100 grant-funded dialogue projects supported by the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) underscore the importance of adaptive management and planning for change in dynamic contexts. The review found that successful projects tended to use adaptive management practices, which included leveraging connections with communications, local knowledge about norms and customs, iterative decision-making and flexibility in design, during implementation. Overall, the study found that the capacity to reflect, learn, and change course was a key factor in projects’ success (Froude & Zanchelli, 2017).
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 the Lean, Six Sigma, and Agile methodologies. In many ways, insights from the business and natural resource management sectors parallel much of the debate in the development sector. One study found that companies that apply more data-driven and adaptive leadership practices perform better compared to those that 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 leadership, data, patience and public support (Franklin, Helsinki, & Manale, 2007).

The literature discusses the importance of reflecting often 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 subconscious (for example,

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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 giving little consideration to contrary evidence.
making first impressions). 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-based decision-making.

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, 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.

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 from the health sector regarding 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.
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.

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 have been successful because their leaders created a culture that was conducive to collaboration, learning, accountability, and adaptability.

In the development sector, 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 others focused on learning from new technologies and applied research. However, the result they produced 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 accepts mistakes (Englehardt & Simmons, 2002).

Organizational behavioral scientist Amy Edmondson quantitatively measured the connection between “team psychological safety,” learning behavior, and team performance. 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).

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 that psychological safety and emotional behavior were related; as such, conversational turn-taking and showing sensitivity to feelings and needs established productive team norms that promoted 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, empowered employees, and aspects of human resources operations such as 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).

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

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). The literature also indicates that 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). A 2016 report published by Deloitte stated 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 extends beyond technical and systems knowledge. Studies show that it can facilitate a radical shift in approach and vision by molding organizations’ culture.

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

Another study found that organizational learning culture increases psychological empowerment and employees’ 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, empirical studies indicate that aid agencies with more autonomous work environments have more satisfied staff (Honig, 2015). For example, a quantitative study that tested the relationship between World Bank staff assigned to manage projects (called “task team leaders”) and project outcomes found that 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. (Denizer, Kaufmann, & Kraay, 2013).

Rigid hierarchical decision making within organizations 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.
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).

The majority of literature on KM 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, and successful in achieving their goals.

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 KM 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 has received a lot of attention in this field, but
the literature cautions against making KM only about technology and information storage. Instead KM should be people-centric and include a focus on knowledge utilization.

A recent study conducted by RWTH Aachen University in Germany (Bubwolder & Basse, 2016) quantitatively tested the proposed relationship between KM and ramp-up performance. The study showed that KM could significantly affect the success of ramp-up projects. The study findings are in line with KM theory—as researchers found strong linear relationships between the elements constituting KM (knowledge accumulation, creation, sharing, internalization, and utilization).

This finding indicates that learning from previous ramp-up projects is a potential resource in increasing the understanding and 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

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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.
is a lack of 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 individuals’ skills within a team (Kharabsheh et. al., 2016).

The literature on KM also notes 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 networks of individuals interested in the same issues (Malhotra, 2001; Stacey, 1995). These scholars suggest that to support and strengthen 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 KM literature about the ability to sense-make and draw connections.

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 authors most frequently cited regarding KM and learning issues base their ideas on experiences as management consultants for Northern companies (Argyris, 1992; Senge, 1990; Nonaka, 1995; Levitt & 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 is crucial to reduce poverty (Surr et al., 2002).

In the development sector, there is a growing interest in policies and practices that are informed by evidence. There is widespread enthusiasm for “evidence-based decision-making” but limited recognition of the difficulties in integrating evidence into policy and use. However, there is much to be learned from other sectors, as utilizing evidence to inform professional practice is commonplace in the healthcare, education, social services, and criminal justice sectors.

Much of the literature recognizes the challenge of defining “evidence” (Bradt, 2009; Loes, 2013; Davies, 2015) and acknowledging the different definitions is important to ensure that evidence is used in decision-making (Davies, 2015 and Breckon & 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).

The literature mentions a number of factors, including political considerations, that often influences decisions alongside an assessment of the evidence. These can include beliefs and ideology, decision makers relationships with the individuals or organizations who produce the evidence, as well as timing and resources that influence the relevance and salience of evidence (Crewe and Young, 2002; Davies, 2015; Young and Mendizabal, 2009). The notion of ensuring that evidence is received at the “right time” is emphasized (World Bank, 2005; EuropeAid, 2014; Segone (ed.), 2005). The literature also notes the need for continuing resources for research to generate evidence for use (Institute of Development Studies, 2007; Segone (ed.), 2005; Ravallion, 2009). 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 on eminence and expertise is also discussed in the literature (Bradt, 2009; Young, 2003), as is the influence of cultural attitudes toward use of evidence and the potential need to make sense of evidence in a particular context (Johnson, Greenseid, Toal, King, Lawrenz & Volkov, 2009).

The literature mentions several theories around application of evidence, including innovation diffusion, social marketing, social incentives, and identity cues and “nudges” (Nutley, Walter & Davies, 2002; Herie and Martin, 2002). Many principles to ensure the use of evidence in decision making are also discussed,
such as understanding and engaging with the target audience, 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, & Matomela, 2016).

A lack of trust or perceived lack of credibility or usability of information are often cited as barriers to using evidence (Court, Hovland & Young, 2005; Jones & Walsh, 2008). Trust-based relationships and knowledge intermediaries can help make academic evidence useful for practitioners (Jones & Mendizabal, 2010; DFID, 2014; Crewe & Young, 2002; Laney, 2003). Studies also discuss the importance of tailoring messaging and ensuring user-friendly and accessible communications to encourage the use of evidence (Barnard, Carlile, & Ray, 2007), as well as the use of social media and design thinking (Langer, Tripney, & Gough, 2016). In addition, products with practical recommendations or solutions are linked to the greater use and application of evidence (Ramalingam, 2011; Court & Young, 2003).

Finally, the need to continue to be persistent, flexible and adaptive in any approach was underlined in the literature as essential to encouraging the use of evidence in decision making. For example, one study highlighted the concept of “strategic opportunism”, or mapping contexts to identify windows of opportunity for impact/influence (Sumner, Ishmael-Perkins & Lindstrom, 2009).

The literature mentions a series of constraints and enablers for evidence-based work. 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 (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, largely because the interpretation of results can vary 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 results requires a focus on local ideas, practices, and attitudes and engagement of decision-makers (Nutley, Walter, & Davies, 2002).

At the organizational level, the literature mentions the need for incentives to apply evidence (Scott, 2011) and the lack of social norms around evidence use in development (Langer, Stewart, & de Wet, 2015). The importance of internal leadership, including individuals who champion the use of evidence in decision-making (Jones, Jones, Steer & Datta, 2009) and the need to ensure that evidence producers have credibility with their audiences are emphasized (Ryan, 2002; Jones, Nicola & Walsh. 2008). In addition, the literature cites the need for specific decision tools, knowledge translation and change management strategies (Ferguson., Mchombu, & Cummings, 2008; Knaapen, 2013; USAID, 2016) as well as appropriate processes to support evidence-based decision making.

Successful adaptation is more likely to occur on teams that place decision-making authority as close to the frontline staff and partners as possible and keep 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 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 structures 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 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 projects adapt as necessary (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017).

Understanding the social construct of knowledge involves assessing the power dynamics (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 in the use of evidence, and that the strength of the evidence may not always be relevant to its uptake (Kitson et al., 1998).

In the development context, a study of Nigerian civil servants found that the more complex a project, the more it benefits from staff having greater autonomy for decision-making (Rasual & Rogger, 2016). This echoes findings from the broader public management literature, which state 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). In highly fluid environments, delegating decision-making to lower levels of a hierarchy help firms respond to rapidly changing conditions (Iyer et al., 2004). 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 build the capacity of an organization to work adaptively (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017).

Finally, within the development context, the literature discusses two common ways in which evidence is generated: systematic reviews and evaluations. While systematic reviews have utility in other sectors, such as health, the literature discusses the importance of understanding their limitations in the development sector (Malletta, Hagen-Zanker, Slaterc & Duvendack, 2012; Boaz, Ashby, & Young, 2002). Qualitative data that answer concerns such as “when,” “why,” “how,” and “for whom” the interventions work are needed in development contexts (Davies, 2015; Hansen, Trifković, 2015). The literature emphasizes the importance of timing and context for uptake and use of evaluation recommendations (Johnson, Greenesid, Toal, King, Lawrezn and Volkov, 2009; EuropeAid, 2013), as evaluations often feed into the design of projects and activities (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, Greenesid, Toal, King, Lawrezn, & Volkov, 2009).

While there is still much work to be done to organize the literature on evidence-based practice, it is clear that in complex, constantly shifting environments, simple models of decision-making that are
rational, linear, sequential, and have clear separation between evidence and utilization are limited in their ability to facilitate the use of evidence in practice.

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. 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 comes with its own unique challenges.

An individual’s cognitive skills and traits (that is, attitudes towards using evidence and intrinsic learning motivation) affect their willingness and ability to learn and adapt. Some individuals may be 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 research conducted by the BEAM Exchange in 2016 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 which 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 desired clear signals must be given to indicate this (such as praise in meetings for changes based on new information and leadership encouragement to try new things).

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 individuals 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).

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, and the ability to trust) 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).

If organizations are to adapt in response to local contexts, they 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 paper, Making Good on Donors’ Desire to Do Development Differently, the authors argue that agent-level factors such as autonomy, motivation and trust are critical in allowing contingent⁹ ways of working to emerge within an organization (Honig & Gulrajani, 2017).

Beyond the organizational literature, international development studies discuss broader concerns about how power dynamics in funding relationships affect the implementation and impact of CLA activities. The literature discusses structural inequalities in aid and development systems based on the flow of resources from North to South, which strongly impacts 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 hampers 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.

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

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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.
scenario 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 this approach adds 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?

Expansion is needed in the evidence base on the effect, impact and contribution of CLA practices on organizational effectiveness and development outcomes. Specific areas where research is needed 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 limited research on resources for CLA and scenario planning, what resources are needed to implement CLA and planning for scenarios?
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