CRANFIELD UNIVERSITY

Edith Wilkinson

Resilience and Learning:
A Case Study of the
Department for International Development's
Governance and Transparency Fund

Cranfield School of Defence and Security

PhD Thesis

Academic Year: 2018 – 2019

Supervisor: Dr Annie Maddison Warren

2019

CRANFIELD UNIVERSITY

Cranfield School of Defence and Security

PhD Thesis

Academic Year: 2018 – 2019

Edith Wilkinson

Resilience and Learning:
A Case Study of the
Department for International Development's
Governance and Transparency Fund

Supervisor: Dr Annie Maddison Warren

2019

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Page intentionally left blank.

ABSTRACT

Resilience is often defined as the ability to withstand and recover from shocks, but it can also relate to the ability to renew, re-organise and develop. In the UK, the resilience concept has permeated the policy domain; in particular, the areas of civil contingency and international development have attempted to operationalise the concept. An example of this is the Department for International Development's (DFID) Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF), initiated in 2008 as a one-off £130 million fund to promote resilience through good governance and learning. Its purpose was to help people make their voices heard in order to hold their governments to account. It aimed to achieve this by strengthening the wide range of groups that are able to empower and support citizens. Funding was allocated to 38 programmes around the world, linking 1000 local organisations in over 100 countries. Over and above the core purpose of enhancing capability, accountability and responsiveness in relation to national governance, the GTF had an inbuilt responsibility to ensure the resilience of its programmes, making sure that the experiences, lessons and learning of the 38 programmes were shared. It focused on change through participatory experimentation and learning-centred practices. As such, the GTF placed learning at its heart and promoted a notion of resilience based on experiential learning.

This thesis undertakes a case study of resilience and learning within GTF, designed to investigate whether and how learning for resilience can occur within and between disparate organisations. The thesis considers inter- and intra-organisational learning in order to determine how lessons are captured, interpreted and shared and whether these lessons provide a basis for future resilience, taking the GTF as a case study. The literature review considers two scholarly fields of study. The first is related to resilience, which explores the fundamental importance of adaptation in interconnected environments, based on an emerging body of literature known as the 'social ecological' literature. This branch of enquiry describes the systemic study of interrelations across scales (which are understood as 'natural' levels of analysis where they can be defined spatially, geographically, ecologically, socially, or institutionally), referred to as 'panarchy'. The second literature review relates to learning, more specifically to experiential learning theory (which considers learning processes as closely related to direct experience) and its impact on the design, implementation and evaluation of learning beyond the level of the individual. The aim of this review was to identify learning processes that are applicable at intra-organisational and inter-organisational level. This resulted in the identification of Winswold et al's (2009) 'cycle for adaptation', which proposes

Modes of Governance, which can be summarised as hierarchies, markets and networks, that shape learning processes. The literature also acknowledged that learning processes bear an evolutionary perspective. Lifecycle models are examined and their resonance with social ecological adaptive cycles is highlighted. The dynamics presented in lifecycle models are offered to map innovation and learning within the aid and development sector. Both sets of models were then employed as an analytical framework, which was used in the design of the case study to guide the gathering, organisation and analysis of evidence.

GTF was designed to empower and support citizens by 'demanding accountability from the bottom up'. The GTF placed learning at its heart and promoted a notion of resilience based on experiential learning. Thus, the case study of GTF appears pertinent as it provides evidence and adds to the intersection of both areas of literature. The case study of GTF comprised three main research methods: content analysis and ethnographical analysis, followed by a series of semi-structured interviews. The investigation of GTF learning was approached in a systemic way by exploring each level of analysis (macro, meso and micro) to determine whether a dominant mode of governance had emerged and influenced learning.

The conclusion of this study comes in the form of an answer to the question at its core which was: how does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector? In combining elements of resilience and learning literatures a conceptual framework to understand 'learning for resilience' emerged and definition was coined. The case study showed that in a complex and multi-layered system, such as that represented by the GTF, learning takes place in a variety of ways and is undertaken by various actors. Manifestations of all three Modes of Governance (hierarchies, markets and network) were identified. For example, the overwhelming use of logframes is indicative of hierarchical modes of governance; financial considerations (including Value for Money), which were used as key success indicators, are indicative of market forces at play; and the promotion of networks was explicitly endorsed by all stakeholders in the GTF. When mapping the research findings against the phases of a typical lifecycle, learning dynamics appear complex; yet, drivers for learning at sector level as well as organisational level can be better understood. A Lifecycle Learning Model is drawn up which outlines the interplay between levels and demonstrates how strategies or trends at a given level resonate in another and ultimately provide insights on learning for resilience in the aid and development sector.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the outcome a long journey which would not have happened without the help, support and input of many people.

It was not a deliberate choice of mine, but the four successive supervisors in my project were women. In hindsight, this may not be such a coincidence, since from very early in my childhood and thanks to the examples of my mother and grandmother, strong female personalities have left lasting impressions on me.

I wish to thank Doctor Annie Maddison Warren, who took over the supervision of this research at a critical time and guided me until its end. Her unwavering assistance and her insightful and wise comments have been invaluable to me. I am immensely grateful for her encouragement and the trust she put in me. Other female academics at Cranfield University have provided equally significant and helpful advice along the way; I thank them for the role they played in shaping my thinking and opening my mind to new ideas. I am thankful to Professor Hazel Smith for her decisive initial support and her original direction to this work. I would also like to express my appreciation to Doctor Sylvie Jackson and Doctor Teri McConville for their supervision of this work – albeit brief.

Many colleagues played an important part in shaping this work. Doctor Tom O'Brien and Doctor Julieanna Powell-Turner through constructive feedback as part of my research committee, and Doctor Anastasia Filippidou and Doctor Ifti Zaidi for their support in the last mile; this was greatly valued. Thanks also to Doctor Ahmed Ayad for the exchanges and the long debates!

The research relied on interviews and field work that had taken place in the 'Resilient Governance Initiative'. To all those who kindly accepted to be interviewed and to the AIMTEIC team in Kabul with whom I worked for four years I send my gratitude, sincere appreciation and my very best wishes.

I would like to express my deepest thanks to those close to me who provided me with emotional support and showed faith in me throughout – helping me greatly along the way. I am particularly thankful to Margot, Howard, Françoise and Michel and my close friends in Marlborough who helped me through this doctoral journey.

Last, but by no means least – Manon, I thank you for the inspiration you have been to me!

Page intentionally left blank.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Page intentionally left blank.

TABLE OF FIGURES

Page intentionally left blank.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAQDAS   Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software

CAR   Capability, Accountability and Responsiveness

CBRN   Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear

CCS   Civil Contingencies Secretariat

CU   Cranfield University

DFID   Department for International Development

DRR   Disaster Risk Reduction

EPR   End of Programme Review

FCO   Foreign & Commonwealth Office

GTF   Governance and Transparency Fund

HERR   Humanitarian Emergency Response Review

HMSO   Her Majesty Stationery Office

MSR   Most Significant Results analysis

MTR   Mid-Term Review

M&E   Monitoring and Evaluation

OECD DAC   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee

SES   Social Ecological Systems or Socio Ecological Systems

ToR   Terms of Reference

VfM   Value for Money

Page intentionally left blank.

CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Problem

The research problem at the heart of this thesis is the examination of inter- and intra- organisational learning in order to determine how lessons are captured, interpreted and shared and whether these lessons provide a basis for future resilience, the ability to renew, re-organize and develop, taking the Department for International Development's (DFID) Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF) as a case study. GTF was a one-off £130 million fund to promote resilience through good governance, empowering and supporting citizens to hold their governments to account. Funding was allocated to 38 programmes worldwide, linking around 1000 local organisations in over 100 countries[1]. Aside from the central purpose of enhancing capability, accountability and responsiveness in relation to national governance, the GTF had an inbuilt responsibility to share the experiences and learning of those 38 programmes. It focused on change through participatory experimentation and learning-centred practices. As such, the GTF placed learning at its heart and promoted a notion of resilience based on experiential learning. The purpose of this chapter is to examine this idea of learning leading to resilience, outlining the research problem in order to identify a research question, along with an aim and objectives. The discussion begins by exploring the issues with development aid in order to give context to the GTF before examining learning, organisational learning and systems ideas that relate to learning and going on to consider the concept of resilience and how it fits with learning.

Over the years UK aid has reached millions and has had an undeniable impact on the lives of poor people across the world. There are many examples of quality programmes tackling an array of essential and complex problems such as access to education, the fight against diseases such as malaria or ebola, access to clean water and improved hygiene conditions (HMT, 2015; ICAI, 2015). However, there is a contemporary debate about the effectiveness of aid, which argues that the system may be broken (Moyo, 2009). Although aid has thrived since the Marshall Plan following the Second World War, officially known as the European Recovery Program (ERP) and designed to aid Western Europe, critics increasingly doubt whether aid is effective with some going so far as to suggest that it may even obstruct development (Jakupec & Kelly, 2016). Development theories and

---

[1] A synopsis of the Governance and Transparency Fund can be found at https://www.gov.uk/guidance/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf

interventions have moved away from a purely economic focus and broadened to include social and political issues such as corruption, human rights, gender and so on. Furthermore, the nature of international development assistance is changing rapidly with funding increasingly channelled through agencies that are dedicated to particular targets with new players emerging (including governments of middle-income countries as well as private actors), as discussed by Kharas (2007). He describes a new reality of aid with more resources and more innovative solutions but also highlights that it is becoming increasingly fragmented in its approach (in large part due to the multiplication of actors – donors as well as players in aid delivery). In his view, the overlap and waste faced by donors requires an understanding of how coordination, information-sharing and learning can best be achieved to ensure and assure the delivery of aid.

Recent reviews of DFID's performance in relation to learning call for a change of outlook and an acceptance that initiatives might fail. This is clearly shown by Milligan, Bertram & Chilver's (2016, p.73) assertion that,

> Aid is a risky business. As such, it is critical that donors conceive and regard their investment as portfolios. Where failure occurs, there must be a genuine desire to acknowledge and learn from such experience.

More recently, concern has been expressed over the independence of DFID given suggestions that it should be merged back into the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO), where it was based originally, or the likelihood of a reversal to the commitment of a spending target of 0.7 percent of GDP for aid. According to Clare Short, Secretary of State for International Development and Head of DFID between 1997 and 2003, such questioning of the Department's place and purpose have made it less effective and more defensive in its posture. She has commented that, "the quality of its work has diminished [...and] the hostility has been very destructive in that the department has lost creativity". (Edwards, 2019). This notion of lost creativity is very telling, particularly as there is growing recognition, as Watts et al. (2007) suggest, that for interventions to be more effective in reducing poverty, they need to be in touch with field realities and involve a degree of trial and error. Learning and change are entry points to reflective processes which ought to drive problem solving research and in turn institutional learning. Harvey et al. (2012) indicate that such processes necessitate iterative loops of action and reflection to be realised by an array of actors to co-produce new knowledge so as to draw from a breadth of understanding of development challenges. If creativity is dependent on new experiences and learning, then Clare Short's statement suggests that learning, capturing, interpreting and sharing of lessons is not taking place.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to study the impact of the UK's aid programme nor to define how to measure development interventions. Much has been written about the impact of aid and whether it works. However, little has been written about the learning that takes place within the funded initiatives that deliver this aid. This study highlights the issue of efficient learning partnerships, which Buffardi et al. (2019) describe as having an impact on quality, credibility and/or relevance of the available knowledge in the field of international development. The influence of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) processes on reported evidence and the voices heard is dominant theme (Eyben et al., 2015). Therefore, the focus of this study is the issue of learning and how learning from experience takes place within and between those organisations that work in the aid sector, taking as a case study DFID's GTF initiative.

Created in 2007 and running until 2013, the purpose of the GTF, as stated above, was to reinforce citizenship engagement in developing countries, strengthening the role of the wide range of groups that empower and support citizens. In addition to this central aim and of relevance to this study, the 38 programmes that received GTF funding were also tasked with sharing their experiences and learning in order to examine what had worked, what had not worked, and why (DFID, 2013b; Muir & Rowley, 2014). There was a clear ambition to capture and share the learning that had taken place within and between the funded programmes in order to inform the future funding approach within DFID. The GTF had an inbuilt responsibility to share the experiences and learning of those 38 programmes. After four years, this culminated in workshops and public discussions being held where papers were presented as case studies, as well as being posted on DFID's intranet. Learning visits were conducted in 10 countries, to examine what had worked, what had not worked and why in relation to the GTF programmes that had been implemented in various parts of the world. The purpose was to derive lessons from the GTF projects before the funding came to an end in 2013. It could be argued, therefore, that the ambition of GTF was not in the outcomes that it wished to deliver to citizens so much as its ambition to capture and share the learning that had taken place within and between organisations involved in these 38 programmes, and how learning took place both within and between these organisations. This raises the issue of whether the GTF's aim of encouraging and capturing intra- and inter- organisational learning was feasible and, if so, whether the outcome of this learning was future resilience, the capacity for renewal, re-organisation and development, not only for the organisations involved, but also for DFID itself in terms of its future funding activities.

Therefore, this thesis steps back from examining the outcomes of the GTF to investigate how it operated in terms of its Modes of Governance, the relationship between the organisations involved in these 38 programmes, and how learning took place both within, between and beyond these programmes. Having outlined the context of the problem, the discussion turns to a closer examination of the GTF and its aims, before examining learning, organisational learning and systems ideas that relate to learning, and considering how they relate to resilience, described above as the capacity for renewal, re-organisation and development, in order to articulate the research question that drives this study.

1.2 Resilience and Learning

Resilience is often defined as the ability to withstand and recover from shocks, but it can also relate to the ability to renew, re-organize and develop. In the UK, the resilience concept has permeated the policy domain; in particular, the areas of civil contingency and international development have attempted to operationalise the concept, encompassing resilience into everyday operations. However, employment of the term has tended to relate to crises. Resilience thinking has emerged from the need to characterise approaches to maintaining and restoring function in the face of disruptive challenges. However, as a concept used in the social sciences, it has developed in an unframed and unbounded manner. Its origins are in Psychology, Engineering and Ecology, but agreed or common definitions across disciplines are still difficult to come by. Therefore, there is growing attention to resilience and an increasing published body of research, yet it remains theoretically unbounded. Resilience scholars acknowledge that there is a lack of an agreed definition of the term and that the definitions used are taken from a range of other disciplines (Giroux & Prior, 2012; Bahadur et al., 2013; Downes et al., 2013). However, the term is by no means new and its etymological journey reflects the need to frame the concept (Alexander, 2013).

Views on the practical application of resilience and implementation approaches are equally divergent. However, it is used in a growing number of domains and the professional interest in the concept has gone hand in hand with an increase in academic scholarship. It is a term that is used in international development, disaster risk reduction, civil protection, urban studies and architecture, as well as in the security domains (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011; Prior & Hagmann, 2013; Welsh, 2013). As discussed above, this research examines the concept in relation to the areas of government policy and practice in the UK context.

In this thesis, two policy implementation domains are examined. The first is civil protection, which speaks explicitly of resilience, and the second is international development, which uses different terminology, but which implicitly embraces a resilience-based approach (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011). In the UK, civil protection policies, with their legal basis in the Civil Contingencies Act have illustrated how the government sets out to enhance the UK's potential to deal with man-made or natural emergencies (Cabinet Office, 2004a). Even though the term 'resilience' does not appear in the Act itself, this area is a flagship of UK resilience and the resulting policy instruments and guidance documents that were issued in order to implement the Act make ample use of the term. The domestic 'resilience' activities in the UK are articulated around a common approach based on risk management. These activities comprise assessment of risks, mitigation of risks and emergency preparedness, as well as planning for response and recovery endeavours. The events of 9/11 had a great influence on the UK resilience strategy (Coaffee & Rogers, 2008). The risk of terrorism became a major driver in prevention through scenario planning and the associated development of response capacity. Terrorist attacks in New York, London and Madrid have shaped the type and scale of scenario but also evolved understanding of global impacts, leading to policy instruments that revolve around larger scale events and their effects, with considerable attention paid to the importance of the impact on the private sector and, in particular, on critical infrastructure (Boin & Smith, 2006).

The idea of resilience has also become prominent in the field of International Development and yet core policy documents, including the International Development Acts (DFID, 2002; 2006a) and the White Papers (DFID, 2000; 2006b) that preceded them, do not make explicit reference to resilience, rather they describe the UK's strategy on development assistance within an international perspective where some aspects of the idea of resilience can be recognised (DFID, 2002; 2006a). It is in the humanitarian field that the concept has become more popular. While policies designed to help developing countries to deal with disasters also do not explicitly use the term 'resilience', its presence can be inferred. The Humanitarian Emergency Response Review (HERR) (2011) describes a disaster-centric approach to resilience, whereby preparing and responding to disruptive events are essential activities as are the development and strengthening of capacity around the disaster cycle. More recently, the UK Government has referred to an understanding of International Development that encapsulates change. In the 2006 White Paper entitled *Making Governance Work for the Poor*, 'good governance' is seen as a key element in ensuring that societies are able to

embrace change (DFID, 2006b). Thus, the idea of 'good governance' links to the overlooked aspect of resilience relating to the capacity for renewal, re-organisation and development.

It is noticeable that there is a dispersed understanding of resilience in the public sector with the term often not explicitly stated. However, there is also a clear expression by actors within the humanitarian sector[2] that crises are central to the understanding of the concept. This, combined with a lack of a theoretical framework to guide research, policy and practice, has led to the unbalanced operationalisation of resilience. Welsh (2013, p.15) points out that, "common to most deployments of the concept [of resilience] is the invocation of crisis or trauma as 'the event' acting upon an entity (e.g. ecosystem, a child, an economic region)". Accordingly, resilience interventions tend to concentrate on the capacity to respond to, or to absorb, disturbances; they appear to be dominated by crisis-centric concerns. This distinguishes resilience from the plentiful and possibly more mature literature on sustainability. As Regibeau & Rockett (2013, p.110) summarise, the definitional issue at hand is that,

> Resilience relates to recovery of a system from a shock, sustainability relates to the long-term trajectory – or opportunity set – of a social system. Resilience requires definition of a shock to be applied, whereas sustainability does not.

Nevertheless, whilst 'bounce-backability' appears central to the operationalisation of resilience, another aspect of the concept has been overlooked. This relates to the organisational capacity for renewal, re-organisation and development. The dominance of the idea of resilience as the ability of a system to recover from shocks has ramifications for the definition and design of the policy levers that decision makers are likely to use to manage resilience. This discussion shows that resilience thinking is not independent from risk reduction and crisis response. Therefore, it may be useful to understand to what extent certain types of risk reduction and crisis response lead to systems being able to adapt to future crises (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011).

---

[2] The divide between humanitarian and development aid, which are the most common forms of foreign aid, is important and can be simplified to enlighten its relevance for this research. Acharya (2013) summarises in writing that "humanitarian aid is material or logistical assistance designed to save lives and alleviate suffering in the aftermath of natural or man-made disaster. […] Development aid, conversely, is financial aid given by governments and other agencies to support the social, economic and political development of developing nations over the long term." The controversy in this distinction lies in the question of why development and humanitarian work are funded separately when most crises go on for so long.

However, in the field of social ecological thinking, also referred to as the Social Ecological Systems (SES) framework[3], other aspects of resilience are emphasised, such as adaptation (where systems maintain particular processes and configuration despite being faced by changing internal and external pressures) and transformation (indicating the creation of a fundamentally new system as a result of its structures proving to be untenable in the context of internal and external change). In SES frameworks, therefore, learning (including the capacity to combine experience and knowledge so as to adjust responses and structures to face changing external and internal conditions) is an essential part of the resilience approach. Adaptive cycles are models describing natural patterns of change in systems. They denote a systems' capacity to either maintain a sort of stability or to transform in the context of changing conditions. As such, they convey learning and self-organisation processes (characteristically depicted by four phases: first, growth and exploitation of opportunities, often followed by a conservation phase consisting of testing and choosing optimal solutions which often lead to rigid structures and processes, preceding phases of collapse and reorganisation).

The social ecological literature also offers the idea of 'panarchy', which designates interrelations across the levels of a system. The term refers to an interacting set of hierarchically structured scales and is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of systems (Resilience Alliance, N.D.). The connectivity between adaptive cycles, which can stem from levels either above or below the system in question is at the heart of interactions taking place between the levels in a panarchy and prompting the system to evolve (Garmestani, Allen & Cabezas, 2008). It follows that systems are not stable, and their evolution may take some to the edge of chaos or even collapse. Thus, resilience in this case refers to the ability of a system to remain within a domain of stability. This is linked to its ability to reorganize "when the existing ecological, economic or social structures become untenable" (Garmestani, Allen & Cabezas, 2008, p.1038). Thus, from an SES perspective, systems evolve and adapt through interactions and learning from adaptive cycles. Therefore, determining appropriate governance, including policies or laws to enhance the resilience of social systems is challenging. It can be difficult to appreciate the 'best level' for intervention or policy implementation in socio-ecological systems (Garmestani, Allen & Cabezas, 2008).

---

[3] Berkes and Folke (2000) promoted the use of the social-ecological term to emphasise that, in their proposed analytical framework for the study of relationships between people and their environment and often via institutions, the delineation between social and natural systems was artificial and arbitrary. Thus, the denomination of social ecological (rather than socio-ecological) was employed to emphasise the need to integrate cross-disciplinary thinking to deal with issues of humans-in-nature (initially with a focus on resource management issues)

Given this, the overarching research question that drives this thesis asks,

How does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector?

Based on this overarching question a study aim was formed and enabling objectives identified.

1.3 Aim

The aim of this study is to examine inter- and intra- organisational learning in order to determine how lessons are captured and whether these lessons provide a basis for future resilience, taking as a case study a government programme in the aid and development sector.

The study has the following objectives:

1) To investigate the relevance of learning for resilience in UK policy implementation domains and specifically to analyse how resilience and learning provide complementary frameworks to the study of government policy and practice.
2) To review the resilience and learning literatures in order to produce a conceptual framework through which to assess learning for resilience.
3) To design and carry out a case study appropriate to the examination of learning for resilience in the aid and development sector.
4) To enable the development of a better understanding of learning for resilience through an in-depth case study of DFID's GTF programme.
5) To draw conclusions and make recommendations for both policy and further study.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

In order to structure and guide the research path, a conceptual framework was developed from the literature. Such graphical depictions of the important concepts in the thesis allow key ideas to be summarised and visualised, explicitly identifying them and connecting them to the research question (Robson & McCartan, 2016). The components of the conceptual framework for this study, shown at Figure 1-1, stem from the two theoretical fields discussed above and in more detail in the literature review that follows.
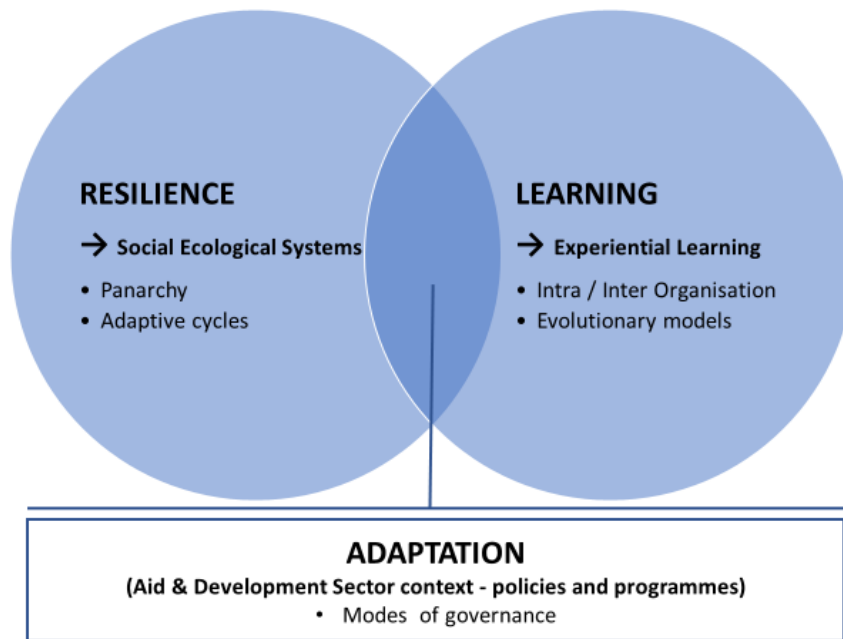
Figure 1-1: Conceptual framework [Source: Author]

The first field is the resilience literature and, more specifically, the scholarship on SES. One advantage of using the SES frameworks is that exponents of this approach recognise that the idea of resilience exists in many disciplines and yet call for the breakdown of arbitrary or artificial disciplinary boundaries. The interdisciplinarity of the SES literature is characterised by interactions between two or more disciplines, which allows researchers to envisage the connections of different phenomena (Krishnan, 2009). However, implementing interdisciplinary research is notoriously difficult and, in the case of resilience, disciplines on both sides of the divide between natural sciences and social sciences are connected. Both hard and soft disciplines are concerned with the concept of resilience. However, these do not necessarily share common methods or meaning, making it difficult to test hypotheses or to validate theories (Olsson et al, 2015). For this research, it was, therefore, deemed important to adopt a cross-disciplinary outlook in order to underpin the case study. The social ecological literature offers an integrated perspective with scholars in this field arguing that the delineation between the social and natural perspectives is arbitrary and artificial, further claiming that the partial insight that is generated through the siloed perspectives adopted in various disciplines leads to unsustainable actions and decisions (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). In this field, the key concepts of interest are adaptive cycles (conveying learning and self-organisation processes in a system in the context of changing conditions) and panarchy (referring to interrelations across systems' levels).

The second component of the conceptual framework comes from the literature on learning and, more specifically, experiential learning (a broad learning philosophy which considers learning processes as closely related to direct experience - involving phases of exposure to experience, and then reflection based on analysis to gain understanding of the new knowledge and, therefore, integrate it). This moves this research beyond a crisis-centric understanding of resilience through the examination of the strategies that are adopted by organisations for managing for change. The literature describes to what extent experiential learning cycles may be extended from individual learning to small group, then to organisational and institutional contexts. Examining aspects of learning 'across – levels', allows links to be made with the concept of panarchy. Furthermore, the idea that learning is at the heart of adaptive strategies is examined. Works that describe an evolutionary perspective on learning show that public policy and social innovation bear connection with SES adaptive cycles (Moore et al., 2012). The pertinence of lifecycles is discussed in terms of their applicability to the domain of policy and across levels. Following the consideration of adaptive strategies and how learning relates to them, the review of the literature exposes the learning–governance interface before turning to the examination of a learning cycle for adaptation envisaged through the lens of each mode of governance. Archetypal Modes of Governance (namely markets, networks and hierarchies) are examined as they potentially influence the steering of policy instruments and interventions. An important focus of interest for this research is then uncovered: whether prevailing Modes of Governance affect learning interaction.

The study focuses on how a government department, such as DFID, envisages managing the capacity for renewal and re-organisation, and, therefore, how it learns. Incorporating learning into the development of new strategies is fundamental to a government department and it is through this process that policy is implemented. The type of learning in this context is sophisticated, requiring attention to multiple forms of knowledge and governance, and the incorporation of feedback or information from diverse actors and stakeholders (Krasny, Lundholm & Plummer, 2010). However, Garmestani, Allen & Cabezas (2008) warn that learning approaches should steer away from 'passive adaptive management,' where decision making is geared towards optimisation. For them, learning strategies in policy making should derive from long-term outlooks and deliberate attempts should be made to gain information as part of the decision-making process. In this context, 'active adaptive management' reflects decisions that are made in anticipation of learning and to influence structural or processual change.

1.5 Contribution to Knowledge

It is customary to highlight the value of a research project and examine the extent to which it contributes to existing knowledge by adding original insights onto a research problem. This thesis, by adopting a multidisciplinary approach adds to the common emerging discussions in the fields of Resilience and Learning. Although both scholarly areas have established debates on the topics of adaptation, little has been written combining both concepts to examine the specific context of the aid and development sector. In addition, a key contribution lies in the in-depth investigation of a public Fund such as GTF and its role in shaping future public policy and developing implementation frameworks. From a practitioner's perspective, this study adds to the understanding of the use of collaborative programmes to diffuse knowledge and support learning at multiple governance levels. The establishment of a Lifecycle Learning model brings light to the drivers for learning at sector level as well as at organisational level. It illustrates sector level and organisational level strategies to adapt by internalising changes in structures and routines to organisational or sectoral contexts.

In addition, the definition that this study puts forward for the idea of Learning for Resilience (See Chapter 2 Section 2.3 Defining Learning for Resilience) fills a gap in the scholarship on resilence. Such definition extends the study of resilience and enhances the understanding of this concept within social sciences. When combining learning and governance within the frame of panarchy, the findings of this study become all the more meaningful.   By envisaging the effects of modes of governance on learning from multiple angles, and manifestations of 'resilience dynamics' are highlighted.

1.6 Structure of Thesis

Beyond this introduction, Chapter 2 is devoted to the establishment of the two theoretical lenses used in this research. It reviews the social ecological literature, which brings an understanding of resilience that goes beyond the processes of response to, and recovery from, incidents. It emphasizes the fundamental importance of adaptation in interconnected environments and interrelations across scales (understood as 'natural' levels of analysis where they can be defined spatially, temporally, geographically, ecologically, socially, or institutionally), referred to as panarchy, as discussed above. This literature brings new impetus and direction to characterising management approaches to resilience. This chapter also reviews the literature in the field of

learning and the centrality of experience in learning. Experiential learning theory and its impact on the design, implementation and evaluation of learning beyond the level of the individual are investigated. In addition, evolutionary perspectives are investigated through the review of lifecycles. This allows an interpretation of adaptive cycles applied to the domain of policy.

Chapter 3 then describes the selected research strategy and design. The GTF provided an ideal case study to investigate the suitability of making use of experiential learning frameworks in the international development context. The cycle for adaptation was employed at various levels of analysis within the GTF to collect and organise data. It enabled the assessment of the model and whether it could assist in understanding learning processes in relation to the international development programmes managed within the GTF.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the case study. The initial section sets out a chronology of the inception of the GTF and is then where secondary sources are examined in terms of their overall purpose and key content. Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis was used to undertake a detailed examination of secondary sources relating to the progress of the GTF after its inception. This analysis focuses on three types of secondary GTF sources (core, external and periphery) to provide insights from various perspectives (views of the GTF on itself, independent views of the GTF and the wider impact of the GTF). Throughout the analysis of secondary sources, the aim was to highlight the manifestation of Modes of Governance and how these may have influenced learning within the GTF panarchy. A third section in this chapter adopts a research approach derived from ethnography to generate a retrospective account of a GTF programme run by Cranfield University, which was titled 'The Resilient Governance Initiative'. The final section in this chapter describes the primary data collection through semi-structured interviews. This phase focused on guided conversation to collect views from the perspective of GTF programme managers.

Chapter 5 summarises and discusses the key findings in the light of an evolutionary interpretation. The discussion leads to the identification of a Lifecycle Learning Model for the aid sector, which provides a means to decipher the influence of Modes of Governance on learning processes.

Finally, Chapter 6 reviews the research question and its relevance, in particular how it connects to current literature and debates. The chapter then summarises the discussion themes, answers the research question, draws conclusions and makes recommendations.

CHAPTER 2   RESILIENCE AND LEARNING: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The research problem outlined in Chapter One is the examination of inter- and intra- organisational learning in order to determine how lessons are captured, interpreted and shared and whether these lessons provide a basis for future resilience, the ability to renew, re-organize and develop, taking the Department for International Development's (DFID) Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF) as a case study. As already discussed, resilience is often defined as the ability to withstand and recover from crises or shocks, but it can also relate to the ability to renew, re-organize and develop. One of the key roles of the GTF was to make sure that the experiences, lessons and learning of its 38 programmes were shared, placing learning at its heart and promoting a notion of resilience based on experiential learning. This chapter reviews the two scholarly fields relating to the two overarching topics that frame this study, resilience and learning, which were outlined in Chapter One. The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to identify what is currently known about these topics and to identify those gaps in knowledge that are relevant to this study; secondly, to identify key concepts which will be combined in the design of an analytical framework to answer the research question, which asks 'how does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector?' and, thirdly, to identify a definition for the notion of 'Learning for Resilience'.

The literature review is a critical part of the research process. Beyond assembling the scholarly contributions and debates relevant to the research topic it helps to map the gaps in understanding and identifies possible directions for research in a field. As Yin (2003, p.9) states,

> Novices may think that the purpose of the literature review is to determine the answers about what is known on a topic; in contrast, experienced investigators review previous research to develop sharper and more insightful questions about a topic.

The chapter structure follows the logic of the conceptual framework initially presented in Chapter One, Section 1.3, Figure 1-1 but reproduced below.

RESILIENCE

→ **Social Ecological Systems**

• Panarchy
• Adaptive cycles

LEARNING

→ **Experiential Learning**

• Intra / Inter Organisation
• Evolutionary models

ADAPTATION
(Aid & Development Sector context - policies and programmes)
• Modes of governance
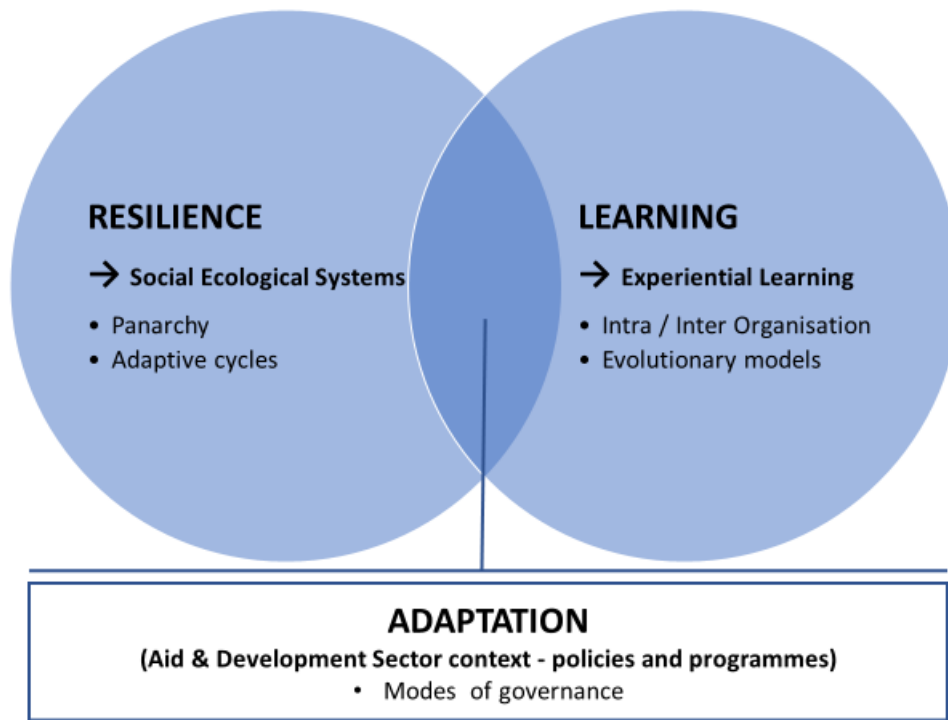
Figure 2-1 (Reproduced): Conceptual framework [Source: Author]

Firstly, the resilience literature is overviewed leading more specifically to the scholarship on social ecological systems and its relationship to resilience, focusing specifically on panarchy and adaptive cycles, which are particularly relevant to the GTF experience. The second component of the conceptual framework comes from the literature on the process of learning and, more specifically, experiential learning, then concentrating on intra and inter-organisational learning and evolutionary models, which have particular resonance in relation to the problem under review. Finally, the issue of adaptation is examined with particular consideration given to Modes of Governance and the impact they have on learning processes.

2.1 Resilience

The concept known as 'resilience' has risen in popularity in recent decades and has become a lens applied in many academic fields and disciplines (Baggio, Brown & Hellebrandt, 2015; Folke, 2016). As resilience research has intensified, its reach into diverse areas of practice, policy, and business has become wide-ranging. Given this, the literature review presented in this section does not focus on resilience in its entirety and is, therefore, not all inclusive. The discussion broadly outlines and defines resilience before moving into the more recently adopted social ecological perspectives on resilience.

As a concept, resilience is present in multiple disciplines and represents a growing literature and varied epistemologies (Folke 2016). Brand and Jax (2007, p.3) argue that the original descriptive and ecological meaning of resilience (one which sees resilience as a "measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same functionality" now lacks conceptual clarity[4] which, in turn, has implications for its practical relevance. They go on to suggest that the increasing normative dimensions (meaning that resilience is becoming a way of thinking to analyse social-ecological systems) ought to be made explicit. Despite these criticisms of the rise of resilience thinking, the concept is thought by others to be more worthy of consideration. According to Pugh (2014), resilience is seen an essentially neo-liberal concept (a term used to describe a form of liberalism that favours free-market capitalism) and, as such, it fails to challenge the status quo, downplays the role of social relations and the importance of conflict whilst adopting a de-politicised view of the world. Bourbeau (2018) suggests that the discontent of those reproving the arrival of resilience in world politics should be met with caution. The increasing dominant view that resilience is a predetermined consequence of neoliberal perspectives and discourses needs to be counterbalanced by outlooks of resilience as a way of introducing agency and empowerment.

2.1.1   Resilience in Policy

To set the scene and illustrate the background for this research, this section focuses on how the concept of resilience has been understood in the domain of policy. Examining the lines of implementation depicts the context for this research. It considers two broad contemporary areas of policy: firstly, civil protection and emergency response and, secondly, international development. Whilst the field of civil contingencies is not directly related to the context at hand in the present study, it exposes a visible contrast with the approaches taken in international development. The former approaches resilience in a crisis-centred manner whilst the latter seeks to adopt adaptive

---

[4] Brand and Jax argue that the original descriptive and ecological meaning of resilience has become ambiguous through widespread use of the term in a diluted way. For them, the "descriptive concept of resilience excludes normative dimensions. Resilience may be viewed as either desirable or undesirable in a specific case; this depends on the state of concern" (2007, p.6). In addition, Duit (2016) notes that this implies that there is "no single theoretical framework under which all resilience-related research is subordinated. Instead there is a rather diverse set of approaches and fields of analysis that can be loosely grouped under the resilience banner. Thus, many SES resilience scholars are reluctant to speak of a 'resilience theory' and prefer the term 'resilience thinking' for denoting a group of works that share a set of core assumptions about how nature and society are interacting" (Duit, 2016 p.368) This lack of conceptual clarity has implications for its practical relevance. Brand and Jax (2007) suggest that the normative dimensions ought to be made explicit.

and transformative stance to its policies. The literature surveyed in this section considers texts covering the area of civil contingencies and emergency response in the past 20 years and international development in the past 30 years.

To begin with, this section focuses on how the UK government has understood or defined resilience. The policy domain of civil contingencies and emergency response has developed a comprehensive framework for disruptive events, in order to improve business continuity, infrastructure and community resilience within the UK. This approach has been mainly driven by the Cabinet Office (OECD, 2015). Alongside this, the development of resilience in relation to international development is under the remit of the DFID and provides a framework for the building of the resilience of societies against shocks and stressors, including disaster risks. In so doing, the UK takes a critical position in relation to the resilience of the formulation of its development agenda and embeds it as a policy priority in its own programmes and operations (OECD, 2014). Although the climate change strategy is out of the scope of this thesis, leaving it out entirely is difficult, given the link with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the field of disaster risk management currently within the remit of DFID.

The importance of organisation and planning became paramount in the West. Nations gave increasing attention to catastrophic scenarios. Alexander (2002. p.212), explains that,

> The equipment requests now include antidotes for anthrax, bomb detection devices, protective suits capable of resisting Sarin gas attacks, and other expensive hardware; the objectives and methods of medical and logistical training are under review; evacuation is topical once again; tall buildings have ceased to appear as safe, benign environments; and command structures are changing to reflect the need to manage huge numbers of people.

The idea of National Resilience has emerged, referring to those activities which governments undertake in order to strengthen their societies, as well as to better manage crises in the event of major disruptions (Omand, 2010). O'Brien & Read (2005, p.354) indicate that the "term resilience brings together the components of the disaster cycle – response, recovery, mitigation and preparedness, utilising a range of structural and non-structural approaches." Therefore, it appears to accentuate a technocratic and crisis centred approach to the concept.

In the UK, resilience in the context of UK civil contingency relates to civil protection policies. These were originally a legacy of Second World War strategies (Alexander, 2002; O'Brien & Read, 2005; Sahin, Kapucu & Unlu, 2008) based on authoritarian management instruments set out in the Civil Defence Act of 1948. To some extent, these instruments enabled civilian populations to be

controlled, restricting individual freedoms as required in the event of warfare and conflict. However, following the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as well as a number of events which disturbed the UK significantly in the early 2000s (for example, the fuel crisis of 2000; floods of 1998 and 2000, foot and mouth outbreak of 2001 and the Fire Service strikes of 2002-03), the Government set out to enhance the UK's potential to deal with man-made, as well as natural, emergencies. The Civil Contingency Secretariat (CCS), which sits within the Cabinet Office, drove UK strategy by passing the Civil Contingencies Act in 2004. The Act explains local arrangements for civil protection and clarifies the responsibilities of government agencies in relation to emergency planning and response (Cabinet Office, 2004a).

It should be noted that the term 'resilience' does not appear in the Civil Contingencies Act itself but in its associated Regulations, where it is used in referring to 'Local Resilience Areas'. A more formalised use of the term 'resilience' was found on the Civil Contingencies Secretariat (CCS) website, which is now archived[5] and which was entitled 'UK Resilience'. Again, the term was not defined explicitly on the website, but the prime objective was to *"reduce the risk from emergencies so that people can go about their business freely and with confidence"* (National Archives, 2013)*.* To achieve this objective, the main activity of the CCS revolves around the Civil Contingencies Act and its agenda is broken down into two broad areas of activities. The first relates to emergency preparedness and the second to emergency response and recovery, in order to fulfil their duties as described in the Contingency Planning Regulations (Cabinet Office, 2005). These are to assess risks and create risk registers at national and community levels, develop and maintain plans, as well as to exercise those plans, to inform and advise the public, and to offer assistance to business and voluntary organisations. The first set of activities relates to the area of preparedness and is delivered through a complex capability programme; it is aimed at enhancing capability in order to respond to, and recover from, civil emergencies, regardless of whether those emergencies are caused by accidents, natural hazards or man-made threats. The second broad area of implementation of the Civil Contingencies Act relates to Emergency Response and Recovery. The streams of activity seek to develop key frameworks for response and the bulk of the tools deployed in this area display a centralised approach to this response, including the characterisation of the Central Government's Concept of Operations through which direction, coordination, expertise and financial support are

---

[5] The history of the Civil Contingency Secretariat and its reference to Resilience is not easy to uncover. However, the archived website showed the clear embracing of the term by Civil Contingency Secretariat in its early days.

delivered in response to no-notice or short notice incidents requiring UK central government engagement (Cabinet Office 2010a; Cabinet Office 2010b). There is also guidance and best practice in the definition and application of the principle of Lead Government Department (Cabinet Office 2004b; Cabinet Office 2010a; Cabinet Office 2010b). The Lead Government Department list was set up to describe roles and responsibilities to be taken during an incident. However, where an emergency occurs that does not permit straightforward designation of a Lead Government Department categorisation, then it is the responsibility of the Civil Contingencies Secretariat to appoint the most appropriate Lead Government Department. Where the incident is due to a threat or caused by terrorism, then the initial response is led by the Home Office.

In 2011, a National Framework on Community Resilience was set up in order to encourage communities to help themselves in an emergency (Cabinet Office, 2011). This document promoted greater community self-reliance and empowerment by encouraging volunteering and community activity. MacKinnon & Derickson (2013, p.257) explain that,

> Policy-makers in the UK have also placed an increasing emphasis on the social and community aspects of resilience in recent years, seeking to raise public awareness of potential threats and to encourage increased 'responsibilization' by involving citizens and communities in their own risk management.

This national framework fills gaps in the provision of civil protection in the UK (O'Brien and Read, 2005; HERR, 2011). At local level, the Civil Contingencies Act sets out new duties for local responders to develop Community risk registers. The subsequent prioritisation process is underpinned by risk assessments based on expert and practitioner's advice. The Government recognises its responsibility in communicating risks as a way of ensuring transparency and public scrutiny, both crucial to the validity and acceptability of the process. However, O'Brien & Read (2005) question the effectiveness of the two-way communication around the prioritisation of risks, pointing out that the public does not seem to accept official or expert information regarding risks at face value[6]. MacKinnon & Derickson (2013) further question the effect of top-down approaches to dealing with risks. In actual fact, these strategies "invariably place the onus on individuals, communities and

---

[6] "Perceptions indicate that public distrust is deep and both government and the local response agencies will have to work hard if they are to convince the public." (O'Brien & Read, 2005, p.357)

places to become more resilient and adaptable" (Mackinnon & Derickson, 2013, p.254)[7]. Other authors, such as Alexander (2002), denote the danger of an over-centralised approach which could undermine the ethos of civil protection[8]. Perhaps in response to such critique, an amendment to the Civil Contingencies Act was introduced (Cabinet Office, 2012). This included a new requirement for the Minister for the Cabinet Office to review the operation and effect of the statutory instrument on facilitating learning. As a result, the aspiration is that a report is presented to Parliament after each review. In addition, an impact assessment of the effect of this Instrument on the costs of business and the voluntary sector is carried out and made available. The Minister decides whether the Regulations should remain as they are, or whether they should be amended or revoked. Therefore, having reviewed how the UK Government understands resilience in the areas of civil contingencies and emergency response, this section turns to the international development policy area where resilience is also noticeable, albeit implicitly. This perspective is relevant as the case study of DFID's GTF is used to exemplify the concept of resilience in the area of development policies.

Barder (2005,) notes that, since its establishment in 1997, DFID has developed as a bilateral development agency, acting as a model for rich countries. He charts how the role of aid changed radically with the success of the Marshall Plan in setting Europe on the path to recovery after the Second World War. The plan greatly influenced the perception that economic assistance is an effective tool for development. He goes on to explain that development and aid policies in the UK have fluctuated with the political views of the parties in power. In addition, the institution in charge of overseeing these policies shifts from independence to being attached to other government departments, such as the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO). Strategies have also swung from linking aid to trade or to the balance of payments or, previously, to serving strategic security interests in the Cold War era. More recently, the trend has increasingly been to direct aid towards countries demonstrating efforts in democratisation and good governance. Barder (2005) argues that the establishment of DFID as an independent ministry marked a significant change in UK policy. Concurrently, poverty reduction became central to aid and development strategies, not only in the

---

[7] MacKinnon & Derickson (2013, p.254) go even further by arguing that these strategies serve "to reproduce the wider social and spatial relations that generate turbulence and inequality".

[8] "All that is certain is that any resort to authoritarian methods of controlling members of the public will damage the truly civilian disaster response network that has been constructed so painstakingly over the last two decades. It would be a pity to have to relearn the lesson that disaster can only be mitigated successfully if ordinary people are empowered to take responsibility for their own safety"(Alexander, 2002, p.212).

UK but internationally[9]. Another crucial change was the requirement for policy coherence placed on the formulation of policies in related areas such as trade, foreign relations and defence. In the light of these recent developments, this review of international development literature is limited to texts that have been published since 1997, which relate to these policy changes.

The White Paper on International Development was published in 1997; whilst it does not make any explicit reference to resilience, the idea of resilience can be recognised within it (DFID, 1997). For example, in her Foreword to the document, Clare Short, then Secretary of State for International Development, refers to factors such as population growth, environmental degradation, and conflict and disease which combine and lead to increased pressures upon the planet. Ideas such as this recognise the importance of system dynamics that are core to social ecological understandings of resilience. For example, interactions across temporal and spatial scales are explicit identified when DFID states that,

> Decisions taken in London, New York or Tokyo can have a profound effect on the lives of millions far away. We travel to distant places and trade with people of whom our grandparents knew little. We are mutually dependent. If our grandchildren are to have a safe future, we must improve opportunities for all the children of the world (DFID, 1997, p.10).

Similarly, the notion of self-organisation, greatly valued by social ecologists, can be read as implicit in the following statement,

> Poor men and women apply enormous creativity, strength and dynamism on a daily basis to solve problems that those who live comfortably can hardly begin to understand. Poor people have assets – in their own skills, in their social institutions, in their values and cultures and in their detailed and sophisticated knowledge of their own environment. (DFID ,1997, p.11).

The White Paper also recommends pursuing sustainable development by building partnerships with poorer countries and working closely with the private and voluntary sectors and the research community, as well as collaborating with multilateral development organisations (DFID, 1997). This indicates the need for learning by embracing local knowledge and participation as well as recognising the importance of networks and structures.

---

[9] "Poverty reduction - broadly defined - was identified as the overarching objective of aid and development policy; and quantifiable and measurable global targets were identified by which to track progress towards this objective, based on the International Development Targets (which later became the Millennium Development Goals)" (Barder, 2005, p 14)

In 2002, the International Development Act (DFID, 2002) was introduced to help countries outside the UK by setting up international financial institutions providing development assistance with a view to reducing poverty. The Act supports actions furthering sustainable development, improving the welfare of the population or alleviating the effects on the population of a natural or man-made disaster or another emergency. It is clearly extensive in its remit and focuses UK's efforts in international development on poverty reduction on,

In 2006, the International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act was passed (DFID, 2006a). This extended the 2002 International Development Act by seeking to enhance transparency through annual reporting on

> Expenditure on international aid and on the breakdown of such aid, and in particular on progress towards the target for expenditure on official development assistance to constitute 0.7 per cent of gross national income; to require such reports to contain information about expenditure by country, about the proportion of expenditure in low income countries and about the effectiveness of aid expenditure and the transparency of international aid; and for connected purposes (DFID, 2006a, p.1).

Therefore, this Act firmly sets the UK's strategy on development assistance within an international perspective. Through this legislation, the UK's targets were set in pursuit of the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals and it was mandated that progress against those goals was to be reported.

Interestingly, there is no mention of the resilience idea in these two core legislative texts or in the 1997 and 2000 White Papers which preceded them; yet some notions that are formulated in these documents draw near to the concept, if only in broad terms. For instance, development assistance needs to be thought of in terms of lasting effects. This pursuit of long-term development action is promoted at the expense of programmes encouraging short-term commercial interests and in particular is tied to aid. There is a broadening of understanding of development mechanisms and a fundamental recognition that development is a problem that crosses temporal and spatial boundaries. This means that defining strategies in isolation is likely to be ineffective. DFID endorses a view that "Britain could make only a modest difference on its own; but that there was much that the international community could do by working together" (Barder, 2005, p15). This enlargement of outlook in time and space approaches the idea, albeit not explicitly, that some kind of systems theory approach may be relevant to the issues of development.

A significant area where the resilience idea is also developed is the proposal that recovering from disaster is an integral part of international development (DFID, 2002, p2). In this field, the notion of resilience is possibly at its most visible and an array of humanitarian-related papers then adopted the term[10]. Examinations of activities to help developing countries deal with disasters refer to their contribution to resilience, for example. This is encapsulated in the statement by Justine Greening, then International Development Secretary, that,

> Resilience means boosting a country's ability to deal with disasters - whether it is helping people in earthquake zones build to withstand shocks or helping poor farmers to grow drought-resistant crops. Reducing the impact of natural disasters saves money, lives and livelihoods, especially in developing countries. (DFID, 2015)[11]

DFID's action in relation to humanitarian assistance includes the co-ordination of the UK's response to emergencies, helping countries to protect themselves against future disasters and the implementation of international humanitarian principles and policy [12]. Yet some analysts warn of the limitations of the concept, pointing out that, "it is not a pro-poor concept and the objective of poverty reduction cannot simply be substituted by resilience building" (Béné et al., 2012, p.3).

A characterisation of the notion of resilience was made prominently in the Humanitarian Emergency Response Review (HERR, 2011). Lord Ashdown, chair of this independent review, stated that,

> We need to place the creation of resilience at the heart of our approach both to longer-term development and to emergency response. This will require DFID to make humanitarian response a part of its core development work, engaging more closely with local people and institutions so as to strengthen local capacity (HERR, 2011, p.4)

This document describes a disaster-centric approach to resilience, whereby preparing and responding to disruptive events are seen as essential activities, as are the investment in infrastructure, the structure and capacity of governments, and the strengthening of human

---

[10] The 2005 World Conference on Disaster Reduction held in Kobe, Japan was a key date due to the adoption of a Framework for Action seeking to Build the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters. This initiative firmly connected the idea of resilience and Disaster Risk Reduction.

[11] See the DFID website https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/helping-developing-countries-deal-with-humanitarian-emergencies/supporting-pages/helping-countries-protect-themselves-against-future-disasters, accessed 7 July 2015.
[12] See https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/helping-developing-countries-deal-with-humanitarian-emergencies accessed 7 July 2015

capacity, which should be geared around the disaster cycle. In particular, a risk approach is suggested whereby the analysis of risks along with the capacities to respond and recover underpins development processes. The report expresses the view that,

> Ultimately development is the answer to being able to cope with disasters […] but getting to development can depend on being able to bounce back from disasters. (HERR, 2011 p.16).

Such an approach is described by some as 'paternalistic' as it adopts reactive styles and directs activities through supply rather than demand (Manyena, 2006).

When considering DFID's overarching purpose of reducing poverty, the HERR (2011) raises the point, stating that disaster risks expose the poorest disproportionately. Given that evidence has emerged showing that Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) strategies produce good returns, the review puts forward the notion that disaster management activities are fundamental at all levels of societies (HERR, 2011, p.16). It also emphasizes the dilemma related to the funding available for humanitarian and DRR activities where funds are often released after an event when those budgets would be more impactful if they were made available for the preparation and prevention phases. DFID's (2011a, p.6) response to the HERR shows the Government's intention to embrace resilience explicitly, stating that,

> UK Government will develop a new and vital component to its humanitarian and development work. We will commit to making resilience a core part of the work of all our country offices and show international leadership on this important area of work. Being more anticipatory and innovative will be a part of this. In the medium to long term this will result in more lives saved, and faster and more efficient response to major disasters.

DFID (2011a, p.6) further goes on to state that,

> The Government strongly endorses the emphasis in the HERR on resilience and the need to make resilience a central element of our work. DFID will take a leadership role in this important new area of work, developing the ideas in the HERR into practical action and committing resources to its implementation. It requires us to analyse global, regional, national and local resource stress and make sure our investments do not increase vulnerability.

DFID followed up this response by publishing the UK's Humanitarian Policy (DFID, 2011b). The purpose of this policy is to guide programmes of countries and to shape DFID's funding arrangements with international organisations. It also defines policy goals and provides a framework for the building of resilience in relation to disaster and conflicts (DFID, 2011b). The

definition of resilience in this document takes a similar line to the resilience programme that was run by the Cabinet Office, which was discussed earlier, whereby a risk approach is endorsed and coordination of humanitarian response is seen as a priority. However, the emphasis in this policy domain is on linking resilience to conflict and climate change. For DFID (2011b), connecting the area of disaster risk reduction to climate change and conflict prevention is part of a broad approach to resilience.

Aid management has been devolved through the decentralization of DFID's management; this has led to the development of strong field offices, which operate with significant delegation of authority in order to enhance the dialogue with recipient countries (Barder, 2005, p.16). Once more, this can be perceived as a realisation that learning by considering local approaches and feedback from the local level is imperative. This is in line with the self-organisation and adaptive mechanism that the social ecological scholars see as being fundamental to resilience, which is described later (see Section 2.1.3). It follows that the establishment of multiple levels of participation in the design of resilience-based development policies appears to be increasingly important (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Sharing lessons and learning from what works 'in the field' is increasingly of interest to DFID. Gasteen (2010) wrote a document, published by DFID's Research and Evidence Division, that characterising systematic reviews, including how they contribute to evidence-based policy so as to form the basis of policy decisions. Rose & Battcock (2012, p.6) note that there is a research-policy disconnect and that "asking review teams to produce policy briefs did not work well"; they explain that these team lacked "a detailed understanding of what policy makers need". They point out that the use of systematic reviews in relation to policy development has been limited, even though the prospective benefits of their use are significant. They argue that the potential users of review findings should be involved from the start and should then remain involved throughout. DFID (2013) responded to Rose & Battcock's (2012) report, clearly stating its commitment to generating the quality of reviews which would produce bodies of evidence around key questions of interest to DFID.

2.1.2   Relevance of Social Ecological Systems Theories of Resilience and Debates

The increasing importance of integrated understandings of natural sciences within those of social sciences is a trend that has been observed since the 1970s (Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2003). Gradually, social science fields have included connections to the environment in the framing of their issues. This has happened in recognition that "about half the world's population now lives in cities

and depends on connections with rural areas worldwide for food, water, and waste processing" (Chapin, Folke & Kofinas, 2009, p.1). Multiple facets of social sciences, be they cultural, historical, political, economic or ethical, for example, now expose the resilience phenomena in the context of social–ecological adaptations. Interest has grown in extending "ecological thinking to the social sphere [...and noting] that human society should mimic the decentralized and resilient processes of nature" (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013, p.258). Resilience in this body of scholarly texts, referred to as Social Ecological Systems (SES) framework, is thought to enable discussions of the dynamics of complex systems in social contexts and contribute to understanding of the nature–social relationship. The SES framework, which emanates from ecology, provides the primary perspective for this part of the literature review, although other social science texts have also been examined when considered relevant. In particular, consideration has been given to the way that social ecology guides the operationalisation of resilience.

There are intense debates about whether SES understandings of resilience offer the idea as a boundary object or bridging concept between disciplines and whether SES perspectives present appropriate pathways in the operationalisation of the concept. Scholars have noted the increasing trend in attempting to integrate natural sciences in the analysis of social phenomena (for example, Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011; Davoudi, 2012; MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013) and, whilst some welcome it, many also warn that this infiltration has implications (Davoudi, 2012; Alexander, 2013; Olsson et al., 2015). Concerns have been voiced about the spread of the concept. Resilience is seen as an essentially neo-liberal concept which fails to challenge the status quo, downplays the role of social relations and the importance of conflict whilst adopting a de-politicised view of the world (Pugh, 2014). The extension of ecological thinking is thought to be fundamentally failing to take into account critical social relationships and to accommodate the critical role of the state and politics (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). Another difficulty is the presumed self-emergence mechanism and homeostatic properties of systems, which tend to negate or obscure the role of human agency (Bene et al., 2014).

Despite the critiques made relating to the expansion of resilience thinking, the concept is thought by others as to be worthy of consideration. Bourbeau (2018) suggests that the discontent of those who are against the arrival of resilience in world politics should be met with caution. The increasingly dominant view that resilience is a predetermined consequence of neoliberal perspectives and discourses needs to be counterbalanced by outlooks of resilience as a way of introducing agency and empowerment. By the same token, after highlighting deficiencies of the SES resilience

paradigm, Duit (2016) points to areas where the framework could be useful for public administrations. These include investigations into social mechanisms that generate resilience-related phenomena (such as emergence, thresholds, and self-organisation). Duit et al. (2010) note that wholesale imports of complex adaptive systems concepts that are well understood in natural sciences have not migrated easily the social realm[13]. Yet, they observe that more sensitive contributions are permeating the social science domain by including themes such as power, discourses, and also by introducing the view that "human-made governance systems consisting of institutions, networks, bureaucracies, and policies as examples of complex systems in which adaptive agents respond to external and internal impulses" (Duit et al. 2010; p.364). For Chandler (2013; 2014a) resilience extends the reach of power beyond representative institutions and the policy programmes they govern by. For him, resilience discourses "no longer articulate threats or risks as external to the practices or behavioural choices of the subject or of society, but understand these threats as a product of societies' 'internal functioning' and, thereby, as requiring new forms of 'biopolitical' governance" (Chandler, 2013, p. 278);

Brown (2014) investigates problematic views relating to the transfer of ecological systems ideas into the realm of social sciences. She focuses on areas where the social dimensions of resilience are expanding (such as community resilience, transformational change and processes to foster radical change) and concludes that, whilst the jury is still out on the appropriateness and suitability of social ecological frames in social sciences, these frameworks bring "meanings and interpretations [*which*] can – and should – result in rich scholarship and discussion" (Brown, 2014, p. 114). It allows domains such as international aid to embrace complexity science in policy and practice by incorporating interconnectedness of elements and multiple dimensions (Ramalingam et al., 2008). For instance, Bene et al. (2014, p.604) explain that "many would agree that one of the most useful characteristics of resilience is its ability to help frame problems within a systemic approach and to think 'holistically', a characteristic that is particularly relevant in the specific context of development". For these authors, the emphasis on multi-scale views and interdependence of system components is of relevance when dealing with development issues.

The extent of policy domains into which the idea of resilience has permeated is wide (Baggio, Brown & Hellebrandt, 2015; Folke, 2016). This means that there are a number of possible policy areas to

---

[13] In reality, Duit et al (2010) highlight the fact that the idea of system has existed in social sciences for decades since Pasons in the 1950s and Easton in the 1960s. The notion was developed around the examination of bureaucracies and led to structural functionalist analyses of societies. However, this movement collapsed as its models were incapable of explaining change. (Duit et al 2010; p.364)

apply the concept. What has been noticeable is a broadening of the scope of policies that come under the resilience umbrella. MacKinnon & Derickson (2013) explain that policy-makers and expert advisors have embraced the concept in a wide spectrum of public policy fields, such as national security, financial management, public health, economic development and urban planning. The idea of resilience has migrated from the domain of "physical sciences into the social sciences and public policy as the identification of global threats such as economic crisis, climate change and international terrorism has focused attention on the responsive capacities of places and social systems" (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). Therefore, it is not surprising that resilience policies appear unbounded in their remit. Equally noticeable is an increasing call for the business community as well as the public to engage in their own protection by becoming better prepared (Coaffee & Peters, 2008; Tanner, Bahadur & Moench, 2017). The process is driven locally by government institutions set to deliver improved performance through,

> National minimum standards for emergency arrangements; improved multi-agency working and cross-institutional training; the promotion of business continuity to local organisations; and, the statutory requirements to develop enhanced scenario-building and tests for new emergency plans (Coaffee & Peters, 2008, p.104).

It is clear from the above discussion that the concept of resilience has acquired some backing over time, although it is still not sufficiently clear in its definition and substance. This can create confusion, particularly when resilience is used to describe interventions in the shape of outcomes. For example, Manyena (2006, p.435) states that,

> Resilience has gained currency in the absence of philosophical dimensions and clarity of understanding, definition, substance [...]. There is a danger of current usage extending further into the practitioner end of disaster and development work in order to describe the quality of 'end' products of disaster-risk reduction interventions.

This argument demonstrates that the blurred lines between the desired outcomes and the processes leading to those desired outcomes may result in inadequate conceptual and practical applications of the resilience approach. Yet, Manyena (2006) evidently recognises an evolution in the characterization of the resilience concept from an outcome-oriented to a more process-oriented understanding. After analysing a variety of definitions and identifying a move away from a traditional perspective within the sphere of disaster management (which according to him appeared to display a more reactive stance in the face of disruptions), Manyena (2006) acknowledges that resilience, as a process, leads to a more positive or constructive perspective that goes beyond just

being able to cope and puts a positive outlook on people's roles and aspirations. He indicates that the concept of resilience extends the understanding of risk and vulnerability to include social, organisational and institutional aspects. This is demonstrated when he writes that, "this necessitates looking beyond the capacity to respond or to absorb the impact and considering the essential and non-essential elements of community systems able to adapt to and survive the shocks" (Manyena, 2006, p.436). This consideration of what constitutes a process or outcome-oriented understanding of resilience is central to this discussion. Given this, a response-centric approach will be taken to signify outcome orientation whilst the idea that resilience is a process will generally be seen to embrace learning-centred practices and adaptive management approaches, including participatory experimentation.

However, the SES framework is relevant and the literature within it presents novel perspectives. Folke et al. (2005) explain that this branch of research emerged in order to study the relations between social and ecological systems whilst taking into consideration both dimensions in an integrated way. He later claimed that studies in this field are helpful as they address the understanding of the resilience concept with a less narrow interpretation than in the conventional ecology literature and, importantly, they embrace the notion of systems and their dynamics (Folke, 2006). He emphasizes the importance of inter-connectedness between human societies and the ecosystems upon which they rely. The approaches emerging from the social ecological field of research address the challenges of sustainable relationships of coupled social and ecological processes (Anderies, Janssen & Ostrom, 2004; Folke, 2006). Furthermore, the relevance of this body of literature is emphasised in the field of development studies because, as discussed above, the world's most vulnerable communities are reliant on ecological services for their livelihoods and on connections with rural areas worldwide for food, water, and waste processing, which are essential to half of the world's population which now lives in cities (Chapin et al., 2009). This makes the examination of ecological dimensions all the more relevant to this study of resilience.

There are advantages to adopting a systemic approach to resilience. In particular, Béné et al. (2012) point out that recognising cross-scalar processes and dynamics that affect people and their environments appears to be particularly relevant in accounting for complex phenomenon, such as rural-urban or even trans-boundary migration. The framework takes account of the interactions between ecological and social processes that are so important in today's context for the management and planning of sustainability of natural resources (Chapin et al., 2009). They address the challenge of developing the "governance systems that make it possible to relate to

environmental assets in a fashion that secures their capacity to support societal development for a long time" (Folke, 2006, p.253). Nevertheless, the social ecological body of literature of interest in this review presents some limitations. The focus tends to be the issue of resources and the social-ecological systems in which they are embedded (Ostrom, 2009). Ostrom (2009) points out that broadening the scope to include other issues, such as the economic, political or the developmental context, which is of interest in the social sciences, rather than limiting the framework of analysis to resource management, is necessary. She further argues that the development of theoretical models to analyse the variety of aspects of resource problems requires scholars to dissect and harness complexity (including other spatial and temporal scales), rather than eliminating it from such systems and prescribing universal solutions. In this sense, Ostrom (2009) identifies the challenges inherent to such frameworks.

Pritchard & Sanderson (2002) note that the study of resource management varies and this tends to relate to the political economy traditions from which it stems. One approach focuses on agency and choice, which are at the heart of decision-making and political action. From this perspective, "institutions and organisations are not the mere sum of their parts but they are some sort of complex resultant of the economic motivations of their components" (Pritchard & Sanderson, 2002, p.148). Another perspective considers the institutions and their structures through which interactions between actors are expressed. In this case, the core interests are the patterns of *"domination, suppression and the entrainment of the fast variables (political behaviours, such as voting or regulation or protest) by the slow ('captured' organisations, social classes)"* (Pritchard & Sanderson, 2002, p.148). This point of view is echoed by Olsson et al. (2015) who take note of the lack of attention to the concepts of agency, conflict, knowledge and power that are so central to the social sciences. Ultimately, the disciplinary tensions between the social and natural sciences prevent the usage of resilience as a 'unifying framework', which was how it was envisaged by the ecological and environmental sciences in the social science disciplines (Olsson et al., 2015).

The SES framework also raises issues of discourse (Davoudi, 2012; Shaw, 2012; Tanner et al., 2017). New narratives have appeared with the advent of the 'new ecology'. Pritchard & Sanderson (2002, p.150) summarise the tenets, noting that,

> Ecosystems are dynamic (change is the only constant), ecosystems are spatially heterogeneous (all ecology is local) and humans are part of the ecosystems (we are everywhere). [...] current states of nature are extremely path dependent.

However, these paths are difficult to work out, which means that making the right decision for management and adaptation is problematic. The idea of self-organisation is equally difficult to transfer to social systems because the premises of the 'invisible hand' and of 'self-reliance' are supported by governments' retreat from their responsibilities. These premises are said to underpin the neoliberal approaches that are at the heart of growing objections to the resilience framework (Davoudi, 2012; Olsson et al., 2015). Related to this is the fundamental idea that the continually changing process required to reach resilience also assumes a form of homeostasis (or a return to a form of equilibrium to resume similar functions). This is equally criticised as a current trend, which ultimately denies communities protection, whilst seeking to optimise the long-term protection of the systems' functions (Alexander, 2013). The use of the term resilience to describe homeostasis in systems is at variance, however, with the 'resilience ideology' of people and communities that need to be protected by means of dynamic changes (Alexander, 2013; Zebrowski, 2013).

Voß & Bornemann (2011) identify a setback in the social ecological area of research, noting that attempts to embrace the multi-dimensional nature of SES and their dynamics tends to block out the political dimension of these systems.[14] They go on to suggest that this approach tends to ignore the macro level of politics where actors address values, interests, and ideas, perhaps paying too little attention to the 'nasty' side of politics. An approach that concentrates on functional imperatives to maintain resilience can be perceived as simplistic (Voß & Bornemann, 2011). Béné et al. (2012) claim that the lack of consideration for the social dimension makes the resilience approach unsuitable, while others, such as Welsh (2013, p.5), find that,

> Resilience discourses are situated in, and help reproduce, broader neoliberal practices of security that shift from state-based to society-based conceptions of distributed risk and reaction. Such effects are most explicitly captured in government policy and programmes relating to 'the emergency', international development, environment, and security, where a resilience approach that emphasises adaptation, flexibility and functional continuity (e.g. of critical infrastructure) is promoted.

Chandler (2014b, p.55) captures the essence of the criticism of Resilience from a political studies perspective, writing that,

---

[14] "A general observation is that the discussion about A[daptive] M[anagement] does not make extensive use of a language that reflects political phenomena. Politics is certainly mentioned in early contributions [..]. However, the reflection of politics does not seem to be at the conceptual core of A[daptive] M[anagement]" (Voß and Bornemann, 2011, p2).

Limitations of neoliberal frameworks, which have sought to govern ever more from the 'bottom-up', through bringing state and market rationalities together to facilitate regulatory governing agendas, is at the heart of the rise of resilience-thinking.

Thus, for him, recent developments in British government policy-making practice and policy thinking emphasise,

[…] the shift from seeking to acquire a greater knowledge of hierarchical and deterministic processes of social interaction, based on the episteme of 'bottom-up' governing techniques, to emphasising the centrality of the 'unknown unknowns', which require much more self-reflexive forms of governance. (Chandler, 2014b, p.56)

2.1.3 Adaptive Cycles and Panarchy

This section provides an overview of key tenets of resilience in the SES framework which are subsequently used in the design of the analytical framework for the study. A first core feature is the idea that systems function in a domain of stability that is sometimes described as a set of possible configurations of stable equilibria. This rejects the idea that there is a single state of equilibrium but suggests that multiple configurations exist that enable systems to function in a particular regime. These regimes or domains of stability can be understood as a range of configurations that are possible around each state of equilibrium (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011). However, internal dynamics and external influences cause the structures and functions of systems to change over time (Walker et al., 2006). Events or disruption cause the stability processes of systems to be affected and this can lead the system to flip (when thresholds are passed) into another stability domain. The significantly different conditions of the new 'basin of attraction'[15] can have great consequences for the system (its communities, people, organisations, institutions within it). From a social ecological perspective, it is, therefore, fundamental to understand how change occurs in complex systems and how resilience could be gained or lost under different circumstances (Walker et al., 2006). In his seminal work, Hollings (1973, p.17) explains how multiple equilibrium and multiple thresholds relate to resilience by proposing a description of system dynamics,

…the behaviour of ecological systems could well be defined by two distinct properties: resilience and stability. Resilience determines the persistence of relationships within a system and is a measure of the ability of these systems to absorb changes of state variables, driving variables, and parameters, and still persist. In this definition resilience is the property

---

[15] The SES framework embraces systems thinking. In this framework, systems are understood as dynamic. Their evolution is thought to follow an archetypal sequence of phases over time. Evolution takes systems close to, or past, thresholds. These designate transitions of systems from a particular regime into an alternate regime – signalling a system of a different nature. The range of configurations of a system in a particular regime is the basin of attraction.

of the system and persistence or probability of extinction is the result. Stability, on the other hand, is the ability of a system to return to an equilibrium state after a temporary disturbance. The more rapidly it returns, and with the least fluctuation, the more stable it is. In this definition stability is the property of the system and the degree of fluctuation around specific states the result.

In other words, Holling (1973) indicates that the sustainability of a system rests on a dual set of processes. On the one hand, the response processes allow a return to a state of equilibrium following a disturbance and, on the other, the adaptive processes allow the absorption of future disruptions, however uncertain they are. This signifies that systems exist in several stable states because the sub-systems or components that *"make up a system can exist in multiple configurations or 'regimes' and crucially may at some point fundamentally change – characterised as a regime shift"* (Welsh, 2013, p.3). Over time, different forms of equilibrium are displayed whilst the system maintains the same functions. Fluctuation caused by disturbances leads to adaptation and self-organisation. Therefore, the persistence of a system and its functions through its adaptive processes characterise its resilience.

The corollary to the notion of multiple states is that thresholds exist, some of which are described as irreversible. Understanding alternate states and the mechanisms of regime shifts is important because, as Walker & Meyers (2004, p.1) state, "the phenomenon whereby systems can exhibit a big change from one kind of regime to another" relies on studying the thresholds between them. Exploring breaking points should bring a greater appreciation of what they are and, in turn, may have profound implications on the management and governance of systems (Walker & Meyers, 2004). Furthermore, the transformation of systems is an area in need of further investigation. The continuum of change or transformation which social systems display is not as easily characterised in natural systems. The question of "what constitutes a transformation of one social ecological system into another" can genuinely be asked (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.5).

A second fundamental idea about the SES framework relates to the processes of self-organisation and the adaptive cycle. Folke (2006, p.260) claims that the *"concept of resilience in relation to social–ecological systems incorporates the idea of adaptation, learning and self-organisation in addition to the general ability to persist disturbance"*. This expands Holling's (1973) idea by recognising the capacity to re-organise as a measure of a system's resilience (Perrings, 1998; Walker et al., 2002; Folke et al., 2005; Folke, 2006; Walker et al., 2006). The self-organizing capacity refers to processes within systems that are without system-level intent or centralized control (Walker et

al., 2006, p.83). Yet, there is nothing in the literature that describes in great detail the mechanisms for self-organisation. The degree to which self-organisation can be facilitated in social systems requires further examination (Walker et al., 2002, p.207). Walker et al. (2002) note that engineering self-organisation through management and control interventions can introduce errors. Nevertheless, there tends to be a consensual view amongst social ecological scholars that resilience can be seen as the outcomes of a process where feedback and learning allow the system to adopt pathways to sustainability (Walker et al., 2002; Folke et al., 2005; Walker et al., 2006). In short, 'learning' by systems in response to disturbances promotes resilience (Bahadur, Ibrahim & Tanner, 2010, p.5).

Change or renewal in most systems seems to take place in a typical cycle (Walker et al., 2002; Folke, 2006; Walker et al., 2006). It is referred to as the 'adaptive cycle', as shown at Figure 2-2.
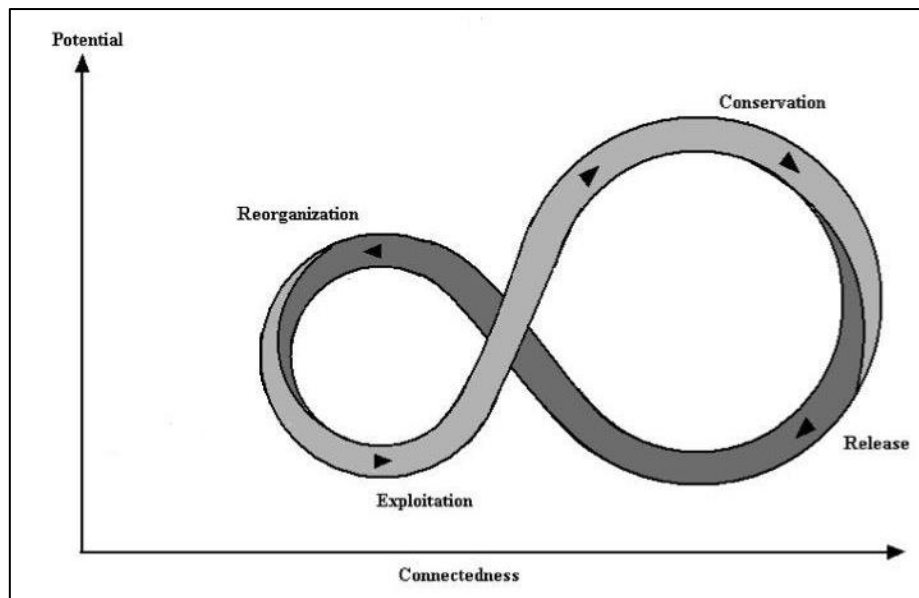
Figure 2-2: The adaptive cycle and its phases [Adapted from Berkes et al. 2003, p.17]

The cycle covers a succession of phases: "the forward and back-loop dynamics of the adaptive cycle correspond to the successive phases; these focus either on managing for production or managing for sustainability" (Walker et al., 2002, p.208). The fore-loop in the cycle consists of a period of growth referred to as the exploitation phase. This phase is characterised by readily available resources leading to the accumulation of structures to access and exploit them. It is a phase characterised by organisation and increasing competition leading to gains in efficiency. This phase is followed by a period of growing rigidity, often called the conservation phase, when increasing interconnections and consolidation in the system reduce flexibility and responsiveness. In this initial period, the system is able to avoid re-organisation. This sequence of gradual change is followed by

a sequence of rapid change, triggered by disturbance. The back-loop comprises of periods of readjustments and collapse. This is described as the release phase when resources are freed and structures collapse. Following this is a period of re-organisation and renewal in which novelty can appear and lead to a new growth phase in a new cycle (Walker et al., 2002; Folke, 2006; Walker et al., 2006).

Another essential idea notable in the SES framework that was identified as of use in this research is the dynamics of interconnections of adaptive cycles across spatial and temporal scales, which is captured by the concept of 'panarchy'. This concept is closely related to the idea of the adaptive cycle in that it clarifies "how adaptive cycles are simultaneously taking place within system components at different scales" (Bahadur, Ibrahim & Tanner, 2013, p.56). The usefulness of this concept is that it indicates that attention should be paid at all levels of the systems (Berkes & Ross, 2013). In other words, the idea of panarchy suggests that the resilience of a community relates to that of the social–ecological resilience of regional, national, and even global systems (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.6). Panarchy implies the study of cross-scalar effects focusing on the slow and fast variables, which combine to move the system to domains of stability. The interactions and interdependencies within and across scales are complex and do not necessarily respect boundaries as defined between authorities and jurisdictions (Cosens, 2013).

The panarchy, which is shown at Figure 2-3, describes complex systems where cross-scale, cascading effects can occur and produce change in the system, both bottom-up and top-down (Garmestani et al, 2008). The 'revolt' interactions and feedbacks in the shape of novelty cause critical change to cascade up from the faster cycles to the larger and slower ones. 'Remembered' interactions and feedbacks stabilise the overall system by drawing on the memory that has been accumulated and stored in larger and slower cycles (Berkes et al. 2003).
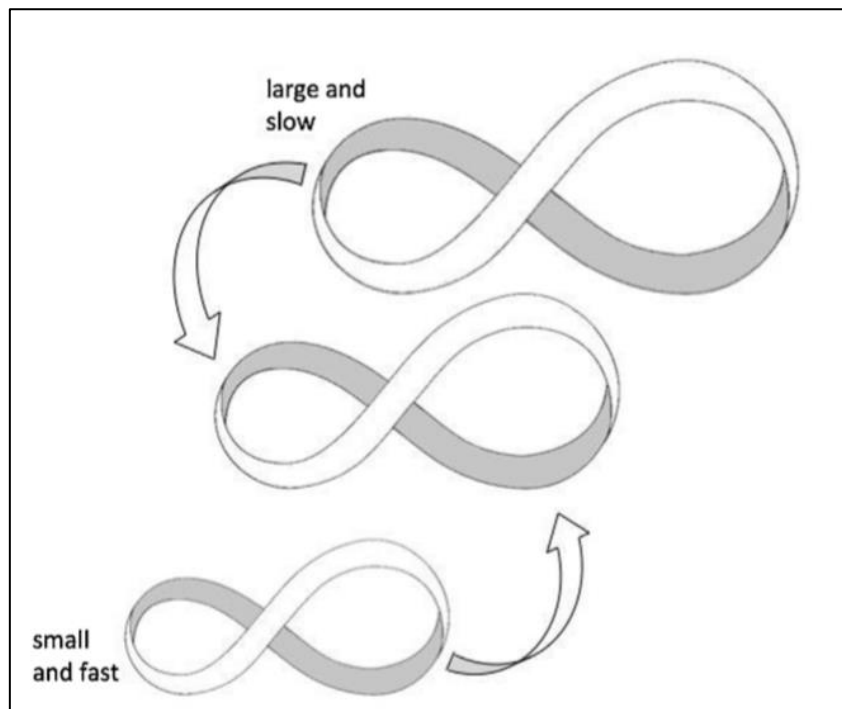
Figure 2-3: Panarchy effects across temporal and spatial scales [Source: Berkes & Ross 2016, p.187]

2.1.4   Adaptive Management and Governance

The combination of system dynamics (adaptive cycles across panarchy levels) and unidentified and broadly unknown thresholds implies that there is an imperative for management. However, the type of management to which SES authors refer is one that is not set on control to maintain a status quo but one that embraces adaptation. Looking at adaptive management and governance enables to relate the theoretical tenets of resilience as seen in Section 2.1.3 and the domain of policy implementation which is relevant this research. Thus, this section examines the idea of adaptive management in more details.

From the above discussion, it transpires that resilience acknowledges that organisations or social systems are subject to non-linear interactions, where inputs do not necessarily result in predicable outputs or transformations, as Pugh (2014, p.317) indicates,

> Indeed, resilience embraces the importance of adapting and navigating our way through the precarious nature of complex life through self-organisation.

Thus, the uncertainty and unpredictability that is caused by these non-linear interactions along with cross-scale dynamics and emergent properties are inherent to complex systems, such as

organisations, and need to be incorporated into their management. In the management of response, decision makers must therefore consider the role of individuals, groups and societies and their capacity to adapt to ecosystem change (Walker et al., 2006). This type of management, which is dealing with the adaptation of SES and is central to the study of resilience, is often referred as 'adaptive management'. It has mobilised efforts to build theoretical foundations, which enable scientists and policy makers to develop explanatory models and suggestive policies (Folke, 2006). Some authors note a lack of conceptual clarity between adaptive processes and resilience (Bahadur, Ibrahim & Tanner, 2010, p.19), whilst others observe the increasing interest in conceptualising resilience in a more dynamic way (Béné et al. 2012). Manyena (2006) remarks that the ideas of 'adaptation' or 'adaptive capacity' are at the heart of the literature that sees resilience as process-oriented. For him, this is important as a more outcome-oriented view of resilience, which focuses on coping, withstanding or absorbing negative impacts, is reactive. Adaptive management requires the organisational leaders to concentrate on learning to manage change, rather than simply adopting reactive approaches (Folke, 2006; 2016). Dynamic learning processes combined with the exercise of cooperative management across organisational levels lead to a form of adaptive co-management which allows systems to become more resilient (Walker et al., 2002). Adaptive management differs from decision analysis approaches because it gears decision-making processes away from optimisation strategies. Resilience analysis, which sits at the heart of adaptive management, is described "as an approach that highlights the fact that the assumptions underpinning conventional decision analysis frequently do not hold" (Walker et al., 2002, p.204). This proposed analysis is a way to look at future pathways and compare them. However, the stakeholders in this process need to bear in mind fundamental assumptions born out of social ecological theories. These include the existence of thresholds and, thus, irreversible changes, the uncertainties over key decision variables that are aggravated by imperfections of knowledge and market-based mechanisms, and the fundamental impossibility of delineating markets for important ecological goods and services where well-defined property rights do not exist (Walker et al., 2002, p.204).

It is evident from the discussion so far that the adaptive management approach is broadly defined and still evolving. Lebel et al. (2006) mention the importance of openness to learning, to the inevitability of change, and having the ability to treat interventions as experiments. They claim that the best possible adaptive approaches are based on public participation and deliberation within polycentric, multi-layered, accountable and just institutions (Lebel et al., 2006). However, Béné et

al. (2012) denote the limitations of the resilience framework in capturing social dynamics, highlighting that the notions of agency and power are not explored in the social ecological literature. In addition, individual choices, their influence on the system and their possible effect on the resilience of the system are not represented. Mackinnon and Derickson (2013) go as far as to say that adaptive management subordinates individuals and communities to the imperative of greater resilience. This idea is increasingly shared by scholars in disciplines that are close to political studies (Davoudi, 2012; Alexander, 2013; Zebrowski, 2013; Chandler, 2014b).

The question of adaptive management is closely related to public administration and considerations of structures. For Duit (2016), the SES literature offers new ways to conceive public bureaucracies. These consist of "multiple organisational units in non-hierarchical networks with overlapping jurisdictions and cross-scale linkages [with] spare capacity to use in times of crisis [and] relies on multiple types of knowledge (e.g. scientific and experience-based) and sources of information; it encourages stakeholder participation; and it uses trial-and-error policy experiments and social learning to keep the policy system within a desirable stability domain." (Duit 2016, p. 364). Therefore, governance of SES relates to structures as well as processes that arise during and after disruptions. Institutionalisation occurs through the embedding of formal rules, processes and institutional settings during periods of development (Folke et al., 2005; Chaffin & Gunderson, 2015). Chaffin & Gunderson (2015, p.83) claim "that forms of [governance] appear as 'emerging' or 'institutionalizing' and correspond to the stages of SES development within which the governance is imbedded."

Another issue regarding structures is highlighted by Anderies, Janssen & Ostrom (2004). They emphasize the difference between systems that are engineered and those that self-organise. They argue that engineered systems can be assessed in terms of their robustness, whilst the self-organised ones are measured in terms of resilience (Anderies, Janssen & Ostrom, 2004). This differentiation of the two concepts of 'robustness' and 'resilience' is useful in emphasising the role of human design. The human construct will imply trade-offs in terms of performance due to internal dynamics within the components of a SES and the important links between the components (Anderies et al., 2004). Accordingly, as Walker et al. (2002, p.208) note that "just as there are costs and benefits involved in diversifying an investment portfolio, so there are costs and benefits involved in building resilience and we need to understand the trade-offs and synergies between production and resilience". Consequently, the design of interventions from the resilience

perspective shifts policies from driving engineered change towards more subtle instruments to allow change to happen and to shape it in a more organic way (Folke, 2006).

It appears appropriate at this point to mention the linkage resilience has with resource management. Much of the SES literature includes consideration of the productivist resource management theories (Welsh, 2013, p.3). It is argued that the more complex the system, the less straightforward the self-organisation process. Ostrom (2009, p.419) argues that "accepted theory has assumed that resource users will never self-organize to maintain their resources and that governments must impose solutions", but points out that governments can get it wrong and sometimes accelerate resource destruction whilst communities of resource users are able to conceive sustainable solutions to their resource problems. This challenges Hardin's (1968) view of the tragedy of the commons, in which he expressed concerns that overpopulation combined with private profit made through the exploitation of common resources would unavoidably lead to ruin[16]. Subsequently, Ostrom (2009) predicts that theses of abuse, over-harvesting and collapse of resource supply in open access systems that are not supported. This would occur in places where various stakeholders are encouraged to self-organize and set effective rules to manage the resources.

Adaptive management is, therefore, presented as a mechanism to avoid degradation of a system's resilience or even as a means by which pathways can be generated for societal development. Participatory approaches are considered more effective than conventional management methodologies (Lebel et al., 2006; Liu et al., 2007; Cosens, 2013). In this sense, issues of governance become central and, for that matter, a necessary component of any change will bring "attention to assuring that increased flexibility is exercised in a manner that is legitimate and responsive to the social system" (Cosens, 2013, p.1). The complexity related to resource dependencies is also commented on by others. For instance, Berkes & Ross (2013) point out that social ecological literature scholars more often refer to 'social ecological systems' rather than using the term 'communities', which sits at the heart of resilience studies in the field of health and psychology. They argue that resource-dependent communities offer a useful entry into the study of their resilience. The adaptive cycle puts crisis at the heart of change, yet, Pritchard & Sanderson (2002)

---

[16] Hardin (1968, p.1244) wrote that "Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a common brings ruin to all."

find ambiguity in determining whether such crises produce panic which in turn lead to maladaptive responses to symptoms. The underlying question is the role of crisis as a driver for change. Potentially, the manipulation and influencing of the ecosystem's management practices deprive local people of their control over resources (Pritchard & Sanderson, 2002). This brings about another set of questions on structures relating to issues of centralisation versus decentralisation.

Bourbeau (2018) also notes that resilience thinking unlocks processual approaches. This involves a process-oriented understanding of resilience which recognises the importance of context in the resilient actions of a community or governing body. Such perspectives enable agency to be included whereby not just external interveners are able to act, but the locally based individuals and communities are also empowered. It follows that resilience strategies need to be associated to structures that promote the growth of social capital and networks.

Governance questions in relation to SES frameworks link to the institutional and political challenges encountered when cross-scale, temporal and unpredictable dynamics are unfolding in cascading crises. Galaz et al. (2011) note that institutional arrangements to deal with navigated change require forms of organisation that promote predictability, stability and efficiency. These often differ from the demands of crisis management in rapidly evolving and uncertain contexts which require traditional public administration to demonstrate flexibility, learning and network responses that cut across boundaries. Polycentricity theory provides a solution put forward by Galaz et al. (2011) as it addresses global governance challenges through mechanisms allowing information sharing to coordinated action and conflict resolution.

Amongst the current themes found in the literature that are relevant to the operationalisation of resilience into policy is the issue that resilience is not a specified outcome but rather that it relates to generic features of systems which policy could aspire to promote (in a continual process). Bahadur, Ibrahim & Tanner (2010) address this question by providing a practical guide to the characteristics of resilient systems with a view to enlightening policy. The chosen methodology for the review and its limitations is discussed in a subsequent paper (Bahadur, Ibrahim & Tanner, 2013, p.56). Both papers describe 10 characteristics of resilience, noting that a degree of subjectivity was involved in their identification and their overlapping features. A summary of their study is shown at Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: Characteristics of resilient systems [Source: Adapted from Bahadur et al. (2013)]

Characteristics	Description
Diversity	Risk management through diversification can be interpreted as the inclusion of a variety of stakeholders for the continued operation and success of a project; the diversity of scenario when planning and assessing impact of various response and recovery options; the range of functional groups within a system; the voices included in a resilience-building policy process; the partnerships within a community;
Institutions	Structures to ensure effective governance and control mechanisms are described as essential to systems' resilience. Institutions must be seen as legitimate to be effective. This implies a display inclusivity and connection with the needs of communities and local realities. In this sense decentralised and multi-layered organisational structures are proposed as more flexible and better adapted for societies to share power and collective decisions. Over and above their structure, they have a role in facilitating learning so as to include new knowledge into policy.
Acceptance of uncertainty and change	This features as an essential characteristic. How this is embedded in systems is loosely understood. Systems can promote on the one hand flexibility in their response mechanisms by decentralising decision making for example or on the other hand develop memory and encourage remembering mechanisms.
Local knowledge and participation	Characteristic supported through co-management approaches. This characteristic overlaps or closely relates to the one on institutional structures. Community engagement and ownership is particularly relevant to the management of resources.
Preparedness and readiness	Capacity of response is another key characteristic. Planning for disturbances on the one hand recognises uncertainty but also allows partial failure of systems. The processes involved here can present elements of decentralisation so that in the case of failure of the central authority the system is not led to complete collapse.
Equity	An understanding of equity relates to the exposure to risk. Corollary to this are social implications; it emerges that systems based on equal distribution of wealth and assets are more sustainable and better equipped to building resilience.
Social values and structures	Promoting trust and networks are important. Shared community values contribute to cultures, attitudes and motivations which make communities disaster-resilient.
Non-equilibrium system dynamics	This view suggests that recognising the transient nature of systems is key to managing their resilience. Indeed, systems configurations are ever-evolving. It is the persistence of relationships between key components of the system that determine their resilience.
Learning	This highlighted as a characteristic of resilient systems. Iterative learning is thought to be critical. This implies that learning from mistakes, exercises and past disturbances are central to the effectiveness of this process.
Cross-scale perspective	Transcending the local view of events and contexts is important and is achieved through the building and use of global networks.

Bene et al. (2014, p.611) also build on this list of characteristics by highlighting the connection that these issues have with SES literature, namely "uncertainty and change, non-equilibrium, non-linear, and multi-scales dynamics, and adaptive learning". The last three characteristics (non-equilibrium system dynamics, learning and cross-scale perspective) are pertinent to the present study.

Despite the growing interest in resilience, the issue of the operationalisation of resilience is not described abundantly in the literature. In particular, there is little consideration given to the set up or change of structures and institutions that are necessary to ensure that an organisation is fit for adaptation. Earlier discussion established that adaptation is a key theme but discussions have largely taken place in the natural sciences, only recently permeating the sphere of social sciences (Dovers & Hezri, 2010). Policy-oriented adaptation research is undeveloped, but attention is growing. Having proposed a nomenclature for institutions and policy processes, Dovers and Hezri (2010) turn their attention to change and adaptation in relation to the climate. They argue that durable institutions display a balance between predictability and adaptability, allowing support to policy interventions as well as sensitivity and responsiveness to evolving contexts. They note that changing policy is more difficult than changing policy instruments, despite the fact that it is likely to have a greater impact. In addition, regular or customary occurrences that act on institutions (such as new legislation, government or budgetary changes) offer different opportunities than unpredictable occurrences (such as sudden political change or environmental crises), which may lead to more radical change, but which are often based on decisions made in haste and reliant on partially defined options. Thus, the definition of agreed goals is vital prior to characterising the policy intervention.

Dovers and Hezri (2010) then identify key themes which inform policy and institutional change, resulting in adaptation. Learning is the one of them. The importance of understanding learning from policy interventions to allow long-term insights is highlighted. However, Dovers and Hezri (2010) recognise that drawing and transferring lessons from disparate sectors or contexts in an appropriate way is difficult and not always possible. For instance, this can be particularly challenging when electoral calendars dictate pace and terms, often imposing a short-term view (Dovers & Hezri, 2010). Equally, there are diverse forms of policy learning relating to what is learned, by whom and to what effect. Instrumental learning relates to how well policy instruments have performed; government learning refers to how well the administrative arrangements have displayed effective processes; social learning is concerned with how desirable and useful policy constructions and goals are; and, finally, political learning is about how to engage and influence political processes (Dovers & Hezri, 2010).

Another theme relevant to resilience thinking is the manifestation of uncertainty and its relationship with policy interventions. Uncertainty in the policy arena blurs responsibilities and prevents decision makers or policy actors from clearly owning or leading adaptation approaches. This is a challenge

when a level of confidence is required before policy is introduced (Dovers & Hezri 2010, p.225). It follows that another set of issues relating to policy implementation concerns theorizing about policy. Ultimately, the object of policy being to determine how best human action can bring about positive outcomes thereby changing contexts and lives. Generalising models and relationships to encapsulate understandings of the world can be difficult and is further complicated by the fact that clear chains of causation are often not identifiable. For Barrett (2006), key factors influencing the success of policy implementation include the number, coordination and communication between the actors and agencies involved in the delivery as well as their diverse values, perspectives and priorities.

Having looked at institutions and policy instruments, it is useful to turn to the legal challenges that are related to the operationalisation of resilience. This area of operationalisation is concerned with defining governance for a cluster of institutions by means of a set of rules and regulations. The issue of collaborating across boundaries, be they functional or geographical, presents considerable challenges in turning panarchy into policies and efficient administrative arrangements. Ruhl (2012) explains that defining the legal framework for resilience in a context of multilevel arrangements presents difficulties and unresolved issues. For example, he explains that, "the principal goal of law is to establish and maintain the relatively stable contexts within which other social systems (e.g., banking, health care, education, etc.) can operate over time" (Ruhl, 2012, p.481). This may oppose the very essence of the adaptive management regimes that panarchy embodies. He goes on to describe the basis on which the design of law for panarchy can be established as follows,

> [T]he essence of adaptive management theory is an iterative, incremental, decision-making process built around a continuous flow of monitoring the effects of decisions and adjusting decisions accordingly. [...] Adaptive management requires institutionalization of monitoring-adjustment frameworks that allow incremental policy and decision adjustments at the back end, where performance results can be evaluated and the new information can be fed back into the ongoing regulatory process (Ruhl, 2012, p.482).

With this statement, Ruhl (2012) argues that conventional administrative law diverges from the decision-making cycle of adaptive management. He suggests that most administrative agencies engage in a greater amount of front end or pre-decisional activities before promulgating a rule or adjudicating a decision. In addition, in the conduct of judicial reviews, courts appear to expect a strict application of procedures and robust explanations on the rationale for agency from

administrative agencies prior to any decisions. This reinforces the front-end style of decision making rather than the back-end adjustments, which Ruhl (2012) judges to be archaic. He then concludes that it is for the lawyers to operationalise panarchy theory, putting it into practice through statutes, regulations and other hard law. Holling (2012) replies to Ruhl (2012), emphasizing that laws assure the persistence of social and economic relationships in societies. He states that,

> (The) relationships range from the transient and local such as fads, through slower routines, still slower contracts and administrative rules, to, finally, laws and constitutions. Laws therefore represent relationships that cover large areas and long durations. They are persistent and embracing guides for and inhibitions to actions (Holling, 2012, p.36).

Having recognised the stabilising effects of law on societies, Holling (2012) emphasises the need for experimentation to take place in the light of looming crises which may cause widespread transformation or collapse. He warns that laws may not have as much to contribute to novel solutions as "local designs collaboratively initiated that cross scales [which] have a central role." (Holling, 2012, p.37).

2.2 Learning

This section examines the literature relating to learning and relates it to the context of complex adaptive systems. Learning has been studied and debated by many and for a long time. It would be impossible as well as ineffectual to produce an exhaustive review of all the learning theories and frameworks in existence. Instead, a useful starting point is Knowles et al. (2012). This recapitulative effort explores learning and summarises the behaviourist versus constructivist worldviews. The former describes a mechanistic (elemental) view whilst the latter, at an opposite end, an organismic (holistic) view of the natural and the human reality is proposed. They go on to note that appreciation of this multi-faceted concept is essential to managers and policy makers who have an interest in developing curricula or defining educational pathways. In their view, theories shed light on a variety of issues such as the purpose of education, the desirable values underpinning learning, the implications of learning in relation to organisational development, and defining learning experiences to lead to desired outcomes (Knowles et al., 2012). Learning and educational practices should be built upon theory and should achieve the desired end-state. Over four decades earlier, Knowles (1973) had started working on adult learning, noting that agreed definitions of the term 'learning' are difficult to come by. However, as a starting point, he proposed that "learning is

essentially change due to experience" (Knowles, 1973, p.7). In other words, the learning experience (the process) normally leads to an outcome (the change in behaviour). Newig et al. (2010) emphasize that learning can only be understood as having taken place when cognitive development has resulted in behavioural changes.

Consideration of the definitions of education and learning extends the distinction between understanding learning as either a process or as an outcome. 'Education' highlights the role of the educator whereas 'learning' focuses on the person at the heart of the change. However, it is fair to say that the relationship between teaching and learning is not yet fully understood (Fry, Ketteridge & Marshall, 2009). Senge et al. (1999, p9) see the relationship between learning and change as organic, with a connection which originates in the understanding of the dynamics of growth. Even if intentions are fundamental to change and thus learning initiatives, it is not enough to support these intentions with sound governance structures and top-down approaches. Motivational factors and cultural enablers are also essential elements of learning (Senge et al., 1999, p.25). The emphasis that is placed on either the process or the outcome of learning reflects the underlying worldviews.

The elemental standpoint is one where systems are viewed as an arrangement of discrete elements and the relation between these elements produces chain-like sequences of events that produce reality (Reese & Overton, 1970, cited in Knowles et al., 2012). From this rather linear perspective, reality is susceptible to prediction and quantification. The learning theories that are pertinent to this mechanistic model tend to ascribe importance to stimuli and responses to those stimuli, including theories such as Thorndike's connectionism, Pavlov's conditioning and Guthrie or Hull's behaviourism (all cited in Knowles et al., 2012). A common feature of all of these theories is the importance given to quantifiable measurements of observations which in turn produces evidence to support theoretical claims (Knowles et al., 2012).

In contrast, a holistic view sees the world as a "unitary, interactive, developing organism" (Knowles et al., 2012, p.22). This implies organisms are defined by their active function rather than seen as reactive. This viewpoint does not see the universe as predictable. Rather, theories based on the holistic model examine learning through some of its critical elements in terms of the learner, such as retention, motivation and transfer. For instance, Dewey's (1896) functionalism promotes development of the learner though independence and interaction with his or her environment. Field theory, proposed by Lewin also envisages the interplay of the 'life-space' forces operating in the learners' environment (Knowles et al., 2012). Thereby, Lewin raises a particular point of interest, which is the influence of the group and institutional dynamics on individual learning.

Contemporary approaches to learning are 'constructivist' in nature, which means that changes in behaviour and more importantly individual growth and development come about through a deep process of higher order understanding (Fry, Ketteridge & Marshall, 2009). This implies that learners construct knowledge for themselves in an individual manner but that it is shaped by social influences. Constructivist believe that all students are active participants in a learning process that consists of constructing their own knowledge and seeking to give meaning to their own experiences (Boghossian, 2006, p.715). This framework brings flexibility in terms of the selection of material and experiences that can be brought to bear in the learning process (Moon, 2004).

This section focuses on experiential learning and investigates their extension from individual learning to group, organisational and institutional contexts. It begins by considering Kolb's (1984) experiential learning cycle and how it may be extended for individual learning to group, organisational and institutional contexts. Aspects of learning 'across – levels' relating to the social ecological idea of panarchy are examined. The second section explores the idea that learning is at the heart of adaptive strategies, highlighting recent works that have emerged alongside the social ecological body of literature. This survey deliberately covers adaptive strategies and how learning relates to them; it also investigates the learning–governance interface before turning to the examination of a learning cycle for adaptation envisaged through the lens of each mode of governance. Finally, the third section brings together definitional elements which are potentially valuable to characterising learning for resilience.

2.2.1 Experiential Learning

There are many contexts and situations that provide lenses through which to study learning. Many scholars in this field focus on relatively formal situations where learning takes place. Yet, it is acknowledged that everyday learning activities and situations also exist (Moon, 2004). For Moon (2004), the essence of learning is reflection and experience. Nevertheless, she notes that there is a useful distinction to make between 'learning from experience' and `experiential learning'. She describes:

> [L]earning from experience as taking place in the life world of everyday contexts. In contrast, […] 'experiential learning' is a key element of a discourse which constructs experience in a particular way, as something from which knowledge can be derived through abstraction and by use of methodological approaches such as observation and reflection. (Moon, 2004, p.104).

Kolb's (1984) well-known model of experiential learning provides an approach to structuring management and facilitating learning situations starting from experience and then by undergoing a sequence of activities. Kolb (2015) described the centrality of experience in learning at individual and small group learning "as a continuing enquiry into the nature of experience and the process of learning from it". This process is characterised as a continuous cycle, demonstrating that understanding is not fixed. An individual's own ideas, beliefs and practices all come into play in the forming of new experiences. In turn, reflection turns experiences into learning through examination and analysis. New ideas, theories and logic are then shaped and integrated into the individual's own understanding (Kolb, 1984). These are then used to solve problems or enlighten decision-making and to form a feedback of the initial concrete experience. And so, on goes the cycle of learning: continuous and evolving. For Kolb (1984) and those concerned with experiential learning, the emphasis is, therefore, placed on the centrality of experience. The definition that arises from this is that "learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb, 1984, p.49). Individuals learn as a result of a combined process of grasping experience and then transforming it. The centrality of personal experience is, therefore, worthy of note, implying that the process of learning is of a personal and subjective nature (Lewin in Kolb, 1984, p.21). This process assumes a development continuum whereby experience (amalgamating observation, judgement and action) is integrated and built upon (Dewey in Kolb, 1984, p.22). This development phenomenon further spreads expanding scientific knowledge through the recurring interactions between the learner and his or her environment, leading to worldly-wise knowledge that is then turned into 'intelligent adaptation' (Piaget in Kolb, 1984, p23). An important implication arises from this, which is that learning is, in effect, relearning. In other words, it can either take the form of integration of new ideas and concepts or substitution with old beliefs with new ideas.

This process is depicted in a cycle which follows a four-stage course and, if adhered to or completed by individuals, leads to effective learning, as shown at Figure 2-4. The phases of the cycle are referred to as concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation. A continuous process, this brings about a succession of stages of action and reflection, opposed modes of adaptation and problem solving. These involve making connections between what is known and understood, before testing and grounding it through further experience. In essence, this process requires an engagement with a set of competing learning tensions that involve knowledge acquisition and transformation (Kayes, 2002).
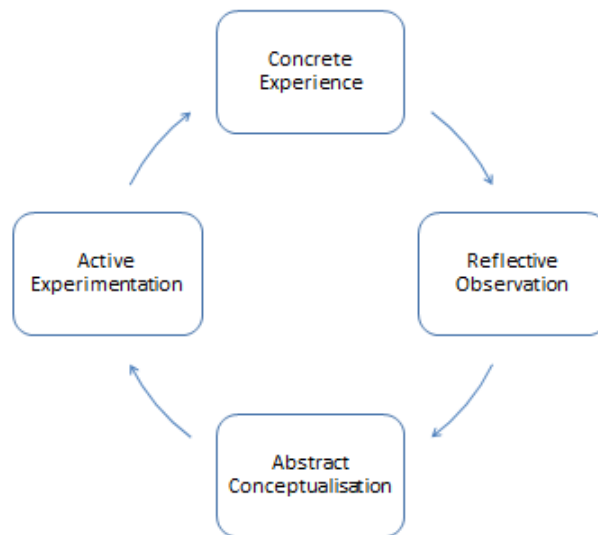
Figure 2-4: Kolb's experiential learning cycle [Source: Kolb, 1984; p.51]

Completing the whole cycle means that knowledge is being continuously created and recreated. In addition, the process empowers the learner to tap into their experience in order to assert ownership of their own learning (Kolb, 1984). Britton (2005) suggests that a great part of the success of the experiential learning theory lies in its correspondence to the commonly accepted four stage planning cycles.

It is commonly accepted that, beyond the individual level, learning takes place at successively more complex, collective levels: Team, Organisation and Inter-organisation. In the workplace, as in many other contexts, work is carried out by groups or teams of individuals with different skills performing different tasks in order to achieve a common purpose. Understanding how learning takes place at group or team level and beyond the individual is an important basis to understand the experiential approach to team learning. Kayes et al. (2005, p.332) purport that "to learn from their experience, teams must create a conversational space where members can reflect on and talk about their experience together." In addition, Kayes et al. (2005) highlight the interplay of three conditions: a pivotal role given to reflective conversations; the acknowledgment of functional role leadership; and the recognition of the experiential learning process as the key to team development. Teams become effective learning systems as they engage in the experiential learning cycle and take advantage of the diversity of members' skills and capabilities. The idea is to cover the cycle — experiencing, reflecting, thinking, and acting - from 'all bases'.

2.2.2 Intra- and Inter- Organisation Learning

Beyond the level of the individual and small groups, experience is central in learning at the level of organisations. Learning in a collective context refers to changes in social structures, either formal or informal, implying that collective learning can derive from changes in the way institutions are shaped and function. This is demonstrated by the manner in which collective decisions are taken and implemented or in the norms and beliefs which guide collective purpose (Newig et al., 2010).

Learning in organisations is, therefore, highly social, although it is acknowledged that the individual remains at the root of learning theories. Scholarship in this field has evolved beyond the study of collaboration and teamwork towards the conceptualisation of how organisations define processes that encourage learning within and across organisational structures. For Vinke-de Kruijf et al. (2017), learning in organisations takes a journey that can be initiated in cooperative project interactions to later become embedded in the organisational structures. However, some conditions (such as the project's relevance) appear to be necessary and/or sufficient for organisational learning to take place. An organisation's strategy to learn from past experiences is often considered through Argyris' (1992) theory on multiple-loop learning. He states that learning strategies can be categorised into either 'single loop' approaches to correct and modify practices in response to errors or 'double loop' approaches which aim to increase the organisation's capacity to create and innovate. Finally, 'triple loop' approaches challenge the organisation's principles and assumptions. Double loop learning, and the even more far-reaching triple loop learning challenge strongly held positions and organisational power structures. Therefore, they can encounter obstacles as individuals or groups seek to avoid the exposure of organisational problems (Britton, 2005). For Argyris (1977, p.116), organisational learning is understood to be,

> A process of detecting and correcting error. […] When the process enables the organisation to carry on its present policies or achieve its objectives, the process may be called single loop learning.

And he goes on to say that, if the process is capable of,

> Detecting error as well as questioning the underlying policies and goals as well as its own program […] then, this] more comprehensive inquiry; hence it might be called double loop learning.

The importance of double loop learning is thereby a matter of survival for organisations. However, Argyris (1977, p.117) warns that this type of learning is rare and only occurs in certain conditions, such as a crisis precipitated by exogenous events, or a revolution generated from radical policies

within (such as a new management) or from without (political interference or takeover) or a premeditated shake-up of the organisation. The issue of creating structures that act as learning laboratories and promote communities of learning also exists in the field of international development. For Roper and Petit (2002), writing in this context, the challenge is to allow actors (NGOs or local partners) to negotiate with official donor agencies and funders in order to acknowledge new development paradigms which are associated to novel practices (based on bottom-up learning and a people-driven, rather than donor-dominated, development practice).

Despite growing interest in the role of experience for organisational learning, little can be found on the Kolb-inspired perspective and the application of experiential learning theory and models at organisational level. Levitt and March (1988) examine to what extent the experiential cycle applies to organisations by looking at how organisations make sense of experience, encoding and storing it into the organisational memory. Learning by doing in organisations can be observed though experience curves (for example, plotting costs of production over time, hence capturing the effects of learning on improving manufacturing costs). However, there are difficulties in breaking this learning into basic elements. Interpretation of experience is complex and subjective because it is subject to the influence of the paradigms and cultural frames that are in play within the organisation. The understanding of success in organisational trial-and-error experiments can be ambiguous for numerous reasons (Levitt & March, 1988). In the same vein, developing organisational memory that transcends individual memory is challenging. However, embedding experience into routines goes some way to allowing organisations to record learning that is important to them. However, sometimes knowledge remains tacit and may not lead to formally shared understandings. This leads to the difficulties of learning from the experience of others. The mechanisms of diffusion of knowledge and practices are related to forms of authority and governance in organisations. Institutionalisation of learning relates to power, dynamics of imitation and to issues of legitimacy (Levitt & March, 1988).

Dixon (1992; 1999) is one of the few authors expanding Kolb's (1984) ideas beyond the group level, into the context of the organisation. For Dixon, organisations are a collection of individuals but, despite this, their knowledge is not a mere addition of individuals' know-how. Rather like orchestras or basketball teams, the "performance of a symphony or the winning of a game cannot be attributed to individuals alone or even to the sum of individuals' knowledge" (Dixon, 1992, p.31). It is essential at this point to clarify the links between organisational learning and knowledge management, which may not be so clear in Dixon's (1992) model. Whilst Knowledge Management can be understood as

the systematic processes by which organisations handle knowledge to support the organisational learning processes, organisational learning is the intentional use of collective and individual learning processes to continuously transform organisational behaviour in order to solve problems or address. In that sense, organisational learning provides a purpose for the use of knowledge (Britton, 2005). Dixon (1992) makes a connection between organisational learning and Kolb's (1984) experiential learning cycle. The phases of learning which take place at individual level can be replicated within the collective context. Dixon also observes that in Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Theory, the individual learning journey tends to begin with new sensorial experience yet experiences alone do not produce learning. They need to be thought about or reflected upon in order to construct meaning by connecting various ideas together. This raises questions about where and how the 'sensory' and 'processing' tasks are performed within an organisation. Dixon (1999) provides some answers through his four-phase model, as shown at Figure 2-5, which was inspired by Kolb's (1984) learning cycle and his attempt to fit this within the organisational context.
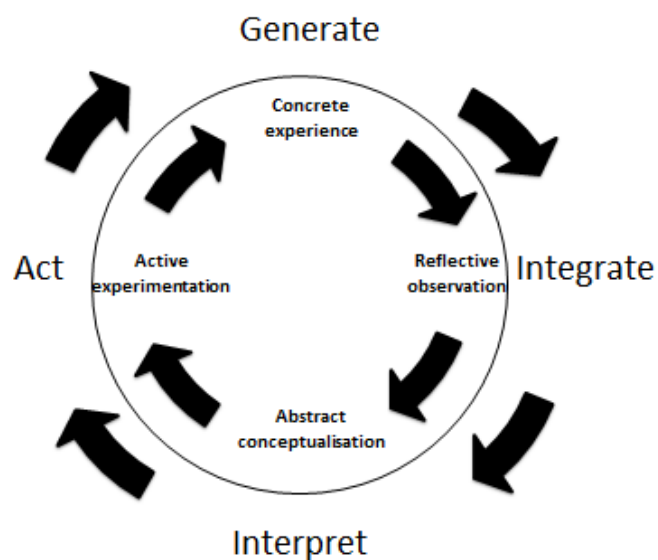
Figure 2-5: The organisational learning cycle and the experiential learning cycle [Source: Dixon, 1999, p.65]

For Dixon (1992, 1999), organisational learning meshes information acquired from external sources or generated internally. The process entails collecting information on successes and mistakes, integrating the outlook on experience to make sense of complex situations, developing innovative solutions and, finally, creating experiments to accomplish the organisation's tasks and take action. Learning is embedded in the organisation as the know-how and experience become a shared understanding for the collective. Accordingly, the learning process involves the development of norms, behaviours and beliefs that influence what information the organisation attends to and ultimately accepts. Dixon (1999) emphasises the need for egalitarian values within organisations

50

and depicts the generation of information as dual in nature. Information is either originated beyond the boundaries of the organisation through external interactions (with customers, suppliers, regulators, etc.) or developed through internal processes, including experimentation as well as analysis of undertakings in view of self-correction and adaptation. For the purposes of integration, the focal issue is one of meaning, whereby the organisation ensures that the information along with its accurate and complete meaning is shared. Context becomes central and a 'silo' phenomenon is to be avoided. Particular attention needs to be paid to the potential obstructions to the building of collective meaning, such as routing, summarising, delaying and modifying information.

Collective interpretation also relates to the creation of collective meaning. Dixon (1999, p104) states that although "it may not develop a definitive answer; if organisational members fully invest themselves […] they will understand the parameters of the problem more clearly". For efficient collective interpretation to occur, information and expertise need to be distributed rather than concentrated amongst a few individuals or groups. It follows, therefore, that egalitarian values are crucial. For instance, freedom to express oneself openly (regardless of the position or status of the person or group) and respect for other perspectives are important tenets for organisational learning. Once collective interpretation has occurred, the sense of what needs to be done becomes clear to those who share the knowledge. Thus, action needs to ensue and this implies that empowerment is crucial. Dixon (1999, p121) is emphatic in stating that, "if organisational members are to act responsibly, then they must have enough discretion in their actions to make changes when and where they are needed".

Another perspective into learning in a collective sense is to look at the institutional context[17] and the learning culture. Schein (2010) tackles the culture of learning and its implications for leadership in an age of globalisation, characterised by increasing complexity and fast-paced knowledge creation. He notes that cultures that are normally a stabilising and conservative force need to adopt a flexible stance in order to equip their members for the requirements of a changing world (Schein,

---

[17] The distinction between institutions and organisations is not easy to convey. North (1990) suggests that a "crucial distinction in this study is made between institutions and organizations. ... Conceptually, what must be clearly differentiated are the rules from the players. The purpose of the rules is to define the way the game is played. But the objective of the team within that set of rules is to win the game--by a combination of skills, strategy, and coordination; by fair means and sometimes by foul means. Modelling the strategies and the skills of the team as it develops is a separate process from modelling the creation, evolution, and consequences of the rules" (North (1990) in Khalil,1995, p.445). In North's example institutions are the games (their rules) and their associated federations to govern them whilst organisations are teams. This brings us to take institutions as structures or tools that govern the behaviour of human beings in a particular society whilst organisations are groupings organized collection of people, with a common goal and identity associated with an external environment. The concepts present many similarities as well as difference – but these will not be explored in this study.
.

2010, p.365). Hence, 'learning cultures' will display dimensions, such as proactivity, commitment to learning to learn and the dual belief that human nature is capable of learning for survival and improvement, as well as the conviction that the environment can be managed. At institutional level, where arguably culture is established, changes taking place reflect the quality of interactions between organisations in terms of how they relate to each other in a given context. For Hargadon (2013), interactions within specific sectors, domains or fields produce shared understandings and give rise to fitting actions. Inter-organisational dynamics create constraining (isomorphic) effects, but they also generate favourable conditions for innovation. Such inter-organisational experience is built over time through dense and continuous interactions between organisations, leading to maturing into an institutional environment. At this level of analysis, the emphasis can be placed on the "role of the state in coordinating and carrying through long-term policies for industry and the economy" (Freeman, 1995, p.7). Here, learning becomes critical in shaping public policy and developing implementation frameworks (Heikkila and Gerlak, 2013). The use of collaborative programmes to diffuse knowledge to organisations and public authorities at multiple governance levels has been recently studied. Vinke-de Kruijf and Pahl-Wostl (2016, p3) discuss the relevance of using publicly funded programmes to promote network and societal learning amongst a variety of actors, be they "academics, practitioners, experts, citizens or policy makers in the same region or country, in other countries, regions or cities as well as at other governance levels". They go on to discuss how this might in turn lead to changes in institutions (in terms of informal and formal rules as well as values) and in the relations among actors. Equally, institutional learning can be driven by market forces in determining comparative advantage. Often, economics is perceived as the way to appreciate learning at this level, generally considering innovation, competence building and learning (Freeman, 1995). In the same way, where networks and alliances prevail in influencing how organisations acquire and integrate knowledge, the institutional context is shaped differently. Networks and partnership arrangements determine how learning takes place (Beeby & Booth, 2000). Beeby and Booth (2000) draw linkages between a Kolb-like cycle (Experiencing-Processing-Interpreting-Taking Action) and inter-organisational learning. They argue that inter-organisational learning can be fostered by addressing divergences of perspectives and cultures between organisations. Arguably, the wider debates at this level are not so much framed in terms of learning cycles but are dominated by the characterisation of key influences over the learning processes. This point is also made by Winswold et al. (2009) who are interested in learning strategies with a view to adaptation. For them, the integration of knowledge from various sources will depend on Modes of Governance in play, which is discussed later at Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4.

2.2.3   Evolutionary Models

The importance of education and learning in the face of non-linear dynamics of systems and irreversible thresholds which lead to unpredictable outcomes is becoming increasingly clear amongst ecologists and social ecologists (Krasny, Lundholm & Plummer, 20103). Learning is seen as part of the strategy for managing change. At the heart of social ecological interest in learning is the "interplay between disturbance and reorganisation, contextualised by system dynamics and cross-scales interaction" (Krasny, Lundholm & Plummer, 2010, p.466). Thus, there is a fundamental recognition that resilience has roots at the individual level which in turn contributes to the resilience of SES.

The idea of adaptive cycles and thresholds was explored in Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3 above. These are central to the social ecological understanding of resilience. Walter & Salt (2006) suggest these two ideas cannot be related to one another in a straightforward way. Adaptive cycles refer to the dynamics and sequence of phases in which systems usually behave over time. Thresholds designate transitions of systems from a particular regime into an alternate regime with new structures and feedbacks – signalling a system of a different nature. According to Walter & Salt (2006, p119) managing a system's resilience can be achieved either by improving its adaptability or by "moving the current state of the system away from or toward a threshold or making a threshold more easy or difficult to reach". Alternatively, its transformability can be enhanced in cases where it is "impossible to manage the threshold or the system's trajectory if it is stuck in an undesirable basin of attraction" (Walter & Salt, 2006, p119). For Walter & Salt (2006), whilst adaptation occurs within system boundaries and allows systems to adjust to disturbance, transformation refers to the creative capacity to change the system's configuration into a fundamentally new system. The proposed characterisation of adaptive capacity, comprising both adaptation and transformation capacities of systems, is echoed by Lof (2010), who indicates that the distinction between adaptation and transformation is useful. She notes that whilst adaptation seeks to maintain the current system's regime, transformation adopts a more active and forward-looking perspective. Nevertheless, Lof (2010) warns that adaptive action can produce unintended consequences, which in turn may lead systems into deeper transformative trajectories that are difficult to control. She points out that learning needs to be considered as a way of navigating systemic change which allows decision makers to understand the underlying mechanisms and potential trade-offs between adaptation and transformation (Lof, 2010).

Lof (2010) proposes a depiction of system variations according to the degree of intent and the extent of change achieved, as shown at Figure 2-6. In doing so, learning acts as a bridging concept and "learning and governance are inherent components of adaptability: without learning we can neither adapt nor transform, and without governance we neither act on nor institutionally embed learning experiences" (Lof, 2010, p.530). This view is echoed by Winswold et al. (2009, p.477) who agree that governance is in many ways linked to learning and adaptation, pointing out that,

> Adaptation does not necessarily follow from successful learning, as adaptation requires both the capacity to learn and the capacity to act. We therefore also discuss the relation between governance and the capacity to act, and moreover the relation between learning and taking action.
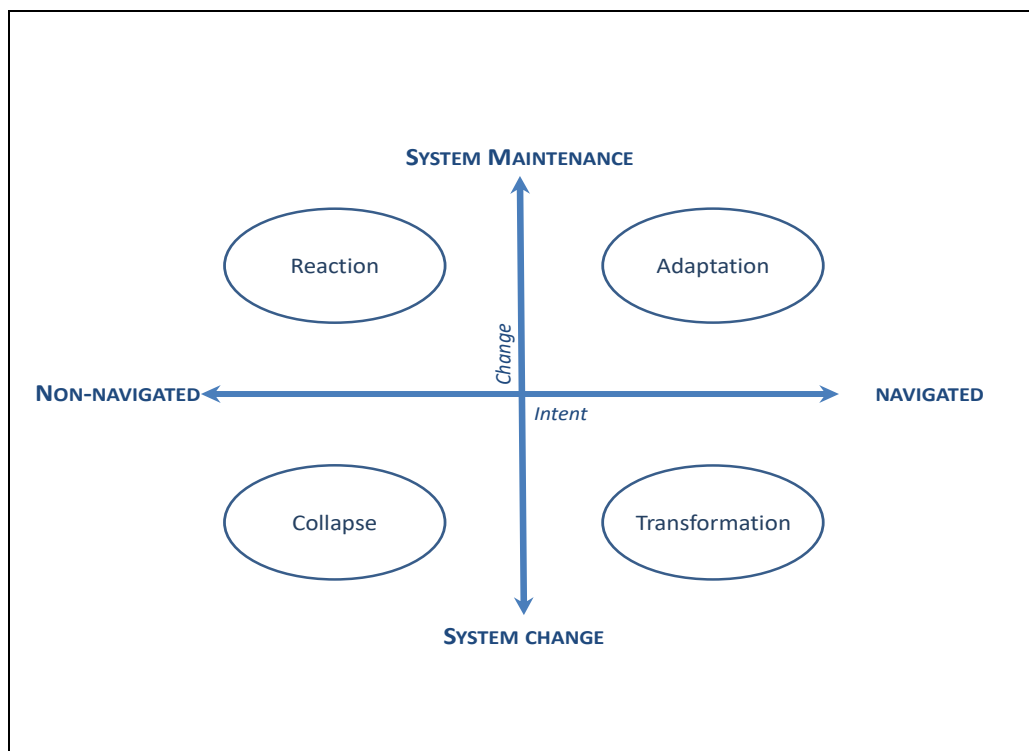
Figure 2-6: Change and intent in the adaptive capacity of systems [Adapted from Lof 2010 p.532]

Furthermore, Pritchard & Sanderson (2002) observe that political structures are instrumental to monitoring, learning and adapting. In the context of social ecological studies, constructing models where natural resources and social structures coexist in harmony usually encounters issues of legitimacy. They describe political power in the context of ecological complexity, discussing how uses and abuses of power shape political dynamics.

This leads the consideration of lifecycle models which bring an evolutionary perspective to learning. Moore et al. (2012) explore public policy and social innovation by using resilience theory and more specifically by applying the adaptive cycle to the domain of policy. For these authors, social innovation is linked to learning as it enables the emergence of new ideas, which in turn keep a society adaptable, flexible. Their study is particularly relevant as it focuses on the conditions that enable innovation to emerge within the sphere of public sector policy. Social innovations are initiatives which lead to systemic change, including alteration of routines, resources and authority flows, as well as fundamental beliefs. The durability and impact of the changes are signs of the innovation's success. (Moore et al. 2012) In this regard, the concept of social innovation and learning appear to be aligned. Table 2-2 shows Moore et al's (2012) effort to transcribe the adaptive cycle (as discussed in Section 2.1.3) into a social context.

Table 2-2: Applying SES literature to dynamics of innovation and learning [Adapted from Moore et al., 2012, pp.92-93]

REORGANISATION PHASE	EXPLOITATION PHASE	CONSERVATION PHASE	RELEASE PHASE
• Emergence of viable innovation • Restructuring of individuals around the visions for newly generated innovations. (p.93) • Selection of the best options, and attempt to establish some level of order without dampening the creative process. (p.93)	• Reorganized groups leverage the resources that are needed (p.93) • Establishment of legislation or rules to govern activity. (p.93) • Search financial support to launch and scale up the innovation. (p.93)	• Building of formal rules, norms, skill sets, and routine efficiencies as the innovation now becomes mature. (p.93) • The new status quo sets in. • The reorganized social system becomes so rigid with its rules, structures, and dominant authorities and resources that it becomes vulnerable to external threats. (p.93) • Events may create a disruption, sending the system back into the release phase. (p.93)	• Collapse of rigid, powerful rules and institutions (p.92) • New interactions and creative (re)combinations of ideas, people, and other resources. (p.93) • New innovations take place as resources are released from previous structures and organisations. (p.93)
⇨ INCEPTION & EARLY STAGES	⇨ GROWTH	⇨ SHAKE OUT & MATURITY	⇨ DECLINE OR RENEWAL

Moore et al. (2012) build on the SES literature and its adaptive cycle to explore how policy initiatives could be shaped to be effective in each of the different phases. In the (re)organisation phase, they contend that policies rewarding the generation of novel ideas and practices also involve an evaluation to choose sustainable initiatives, should be implemented. Whilst in the exploitation

phase, the policy focus should be on facilitating access to resources and scaling up from local successes to broader systemic change. Such policies involve the promotion of markets or demand for innovation by addressing structural barriers. In the conservation phase, policies are required that assist in the examination of viability and sustainability of innovations along with horizon scanning to enable prioritisation in the face of future change. In the release phase, the authors suggest that policies to support processes promoting interactions and building trust between actors help to foster social innovations.

In the field of management, the development and growth of organisations has long been studied and authors have given attention to generic lifecycles, which bear some similarities with the SES adaptive cycle shown above at Table 2-2. It is therefore of interest to examine the dynamics of lifecycles in organisations (Lippitt & Schmidt, 1967; Greiner, 1972; Phelps, Adams, & Bessant, 2007), which are sometimes in conjunction with industry lifecycle models (Porter, 2008) and map innovation and learning. Riddell (2014, p.2) proposes that generic lifecycles can be recognised across the professions and are relevant to lawyers, accountants, consulting engineers, management consultants and others. Such a comparison allows a broad reading of what a maturity lifecycle might look like. Scott & Bruce (1987) present a model where the organisational growth of small businesses is set against the backdrop of the industry's lifecycle. The use of lifecycle models in analysing an organisation's strategy or that of a sector is often qualified as linear, sequenced and deterministic (Phelps et al., 2007). It is, however, valuable to consider how well these models match observations of reality and if there are patterns between problem types and their resolution in a lifecycle phase.

Multiple sources relating to lifecycle models in the context of organisation and sectors (such as Lippitt & Schmidt 1967; Greiner 1972; Porter 2008; and Riddell 2014) were combined in order to create the lifecycle, which is shown at Table 2-3 (below). Much debate exists amongst scholars about the typical number of phases in a lifecycle and the delineation of boundaries between them. Here, it was decided to opt for five phases (such as those of Greiner 1972 and, Riddell 2014).

Table 2-3 Applying Management literature to dynamics of innovation and learning (Adapted from Lippitt & Schmidt 1967; Greiner 1972; Porter 2008; and Riddell 2014)

	INCEPTION & EARLY STAGES	GROWTH	SHAKE OUT	MATURITY	DECLINE OR RENEWAL
SECTOR LEVEL (Global trends)	• Emerging markets. • Fragmented offer of services.	• Offer of services becomes more directed. • Some large actors but new entries in the sector still occur.	• Growth of sector slows down. • Increased rivalry and exit of actors from the sector. • Consolidation through Mergers & Acquisition.	• Low or no growth. • Strong and informed buyer or sponsor. • Networks develop to alter the balance between suppliers and buyers.	• Extreme rivalry where price and Value for Money (VfM) are key measures. • Exit of actors in the sector.
ORGANISATION LEVEL (Strategies at organisational level)	• Focus on defining needs and the services or actions to meet them. • Consideration of how best to deliver the service.	• Processes for the management of resources are refined. • Initial steps in the definition of efficiency and quality.	• Standardisation of practices. • Financial strength is essential to growth. • Diversification.	• Niche services and offers. • Proliferation of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) to ensure internal quality. • Internal systems increasingly sophisticated to allow planning and coordination of complex operations.	• Networks and emergent collaborations as new ways of problem solving.

The phases of the inception and early stages, growth and finally decline or renewal correspond to the phases of reorganisation, exploitation phase and release of the adaptive cycle in the SES literature. However, the conservation phase is split into two phases known in the field of management as phases of shake out and maturity. In addition, the idea of panarchy has been superimposed on the lifecycle, so that each phase is described at a sector level and organisational level.

2.2.4 Adaptation

In this section, the learning–governance interface is explored in order to fill the gap between the two areas of literature discussed above (Resilience at Section 2.1 and Learning at Section 2.2). The aim is to highlight how both sets of literature can provide elements that are useful to the design of an analytical framework for this study.

Patterns of organisations are reflected in governance structures (Powell, 1990). The archetypal models of governance correspond to steering modes through which interactions take place. Distinct Modes of Governance, such as markets and hierarchies, have long been studied[18] and certain modes of governance indicate attempts to reduce transactions costs and uncertainty. For instance, within the remits of their hierarchies, organisations grow and place all the exchanges and activities that represent either high transaction costs or risks if they are left to market forces. This polarised view of the continuum of economic exchanges being either coordinated by the market or controlled through a centralised authority within the boundaries of organisations is challenged. For example, Powell (1990, p.299) suggests that authoritative controls are put in place though stringent contractual agreements within the context of market exchanges. Conversely, the boundaries of operations within firms are not always confined to internal exchanges; for example, guilds, trading partnerships, cartels and other forms of loose connections can be found. Thus, Powell (1990) points to the fact that the original dichotomy between hierarchies and markets leaves a gap often filled by networks.

The three modes of governance, which are markets, hierarchies and network, provide stylised descriptions of the kind of interactions that take place amongst actors in a system. The behaviour and interest of the actors are expected to follow some patterns, although these are not always perfectly reflective of reality (Powell, 1990). Beyond organisational settings, the three Modes of Governance can apply to broader contexts. For example, Pahl-Wostl (2009) describes how governance regimes have evolved from simply thinking about 'government' in social ecological settings in relation specifically to policy processes and decision making about natural resources. Governance regimes can be classified according to the degree of the formality of institutions and the degree of involvement of state and non-state actors, as shown at Figure 2-7. Institutions can act either formally or informally in their activities of codification, communication and enforcement (shown on the vertical axis). In relation to this, Pahl-Wostl (2009, p.357) states that,

> Formal institutions are linked to the official channels of governmental bureaucracies. They are codified in regulatory frameworks or any kind of legally binding documents. Correspondingly they can be enforced by legal procedures. Informal institutions refer to socially shared rules such as social or cultural norms. In most cases they are not codified or written down.

---

[18] Powell (1990) traces the roots of these in the literature back to the 1930s, when the basis of transaction costs economics was first exposed.

The influence of the State versus non-state actors is depicted by the horizontal axis of Figure 2-7. Pahl-Wostl (2009, p.357) suggests that influence and power has shifted away from the State, noting that, "this may be attributed to increasing globalization and to a strengthening of civil society in general." This shows that participatory approaches found in networks are increasingly important and represent an evolution of the nature of democratic processes. This appears to fill gaps that other modes of governance cannot.   By presenting solutions with reduced resistance in policy implementation processes, they offer attractive approaches to dealing with uncertainty and complexity (Berkes et al., 2003; Pahl-Wostl, 2009).
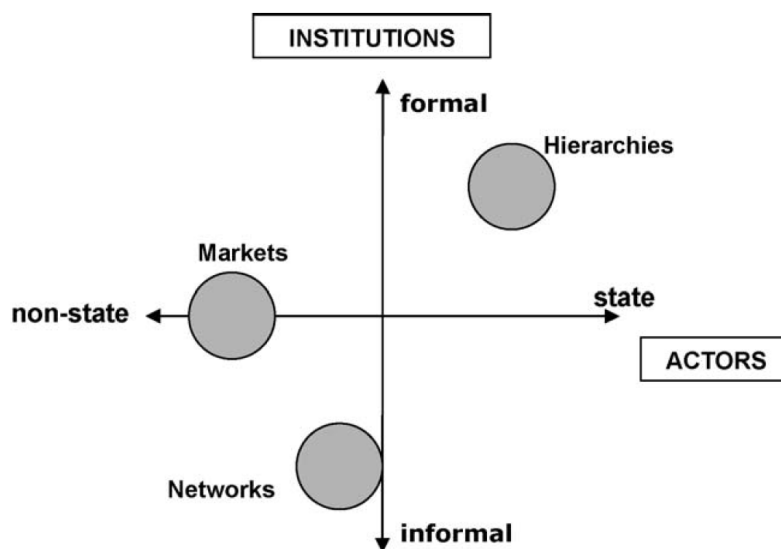
Figure 2-7: Governance regimes [Source: Pahl-Wostl, 2009, p.358]

Schout (2009, p.1128) relates the Modes of Governance to the steering instruments favoured in each mode. For example, markets are generally associated with a context of competition and, therefore, instruments involving soft-coordination and incentives are suitable. Hierarchies are generally thought of as coercive contexts where direction is provided through regulation, while networks relate to contexts of communication and are guided through information strategies. For Schout (2009), the nexus between governance and learning involves changes within an existing mode or a reorientation towards another mode. This can be achieved by integrating new insights into strategy or policy instruments and their designs. Winswold et al. (2009) use the categorisation of the three Modes of Governance to examine the issues of complex coordination problems, which exist between actors and which result in adaptation. In their words, their intention is to investigate the governance models, which are described as,

A hierarchical mode in which coordination of different actors is ensured through formal regulations, command and control; a market mode in which coordination of actors is ensured by the price mechanism of the market; and a network mode of governance in which coordination ideally happens through arguing and bargaining among involved actors (Winswold et al., 2009, p.476).

Having examined how Modes of Governance affect the steering of systems as well as the relationships between actors within them, it is likely that learning and its associated instruments and mechanisms reflect the dominant mode of governance. The next section turns to a model that proposes a learning cycle, which takes into account how steering modes influence the learning processes.

Winswold et al. (2009) present a learning cycle that resembles the experiential learning cycles described above at Section 2.2.1. The cycle describes the phases by which knowledge from different sources (framed as either expertise or local understanding) is processed in view of enhancing adaptive capacity. The learning model for adaptation presented depicts learning in a Kolb-like cycle, as shown at Figure 2-8. The interesting addition is that integration of knowledge from various sources in adaptive strategies depends on the Modes of Governance in play. The way that the modes influence the learning processes of the various actors is examined and, for Winswold et al. (2009, p.478), it is essential to consider the "potentials and limitations of markets, hierarchies and networks in meeting the coordination needs that arise from the knowledge and action aspects of adaptation". In other words, the learning from independent actors does not cumulate into an institution's learning but the rather complex process by which learning travels through multiple loops reflects the "encoding in organisational routines of lessons learnt from experience" (Winswold et al., 2009, p.479). Admittedly, Winswold et al. (2009) concentrate their attention on the specific issues of adaptation to climate change and urban development, yet some of their findings are equally useful in the context of resilience.

The learning cycle for adaptation is shown at Figure 2-8. Adaptation arises when signals received from the 'outside world' are interpreted as requiring adaptive action (Interpretation phase). A search for solutions is then engaged (Search phase) and a set of alternative options are articulated and embedded in the system (Articulation phase). Finally, the adaptation is assessed, and feedback allows further alteration (Feedback phase) (Winswold et al. 2009 p.481).
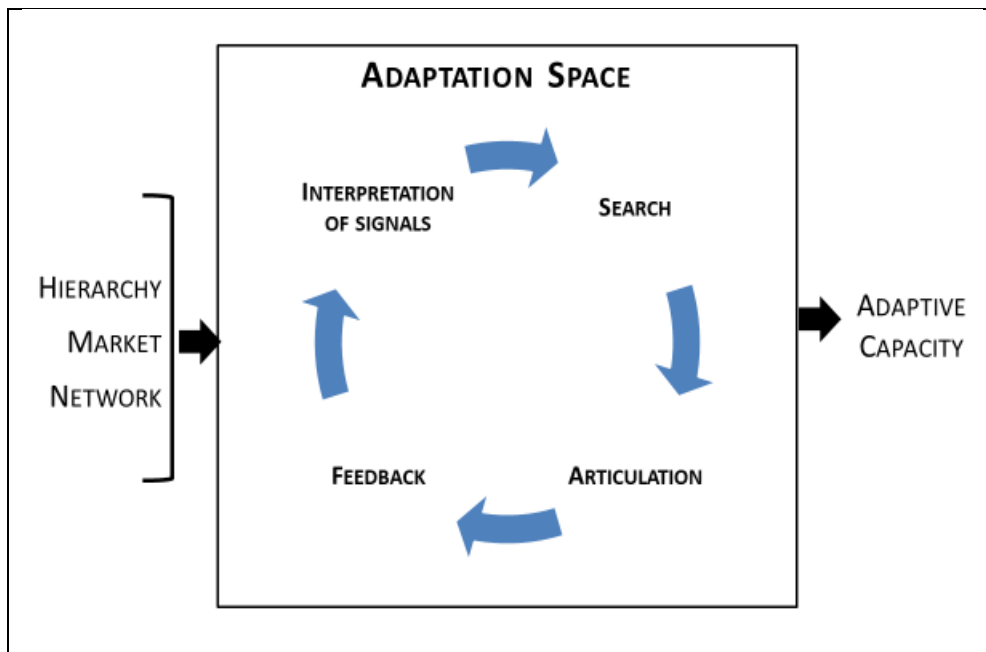
Figure 2-8: Learning cycle for adaptation model [Source: Winswold et al. 2009, p.481]

In the hierarchical mode of governance, decision-making and coordination rely on a central authority, which exerts control through a chain of command and has an ultimate compliance oversight. The signals for adaptation are interpreted through the lens of centrally defined goals, which ultimately frame which problems are important. The legitimate authority also sanctions the searches for solutions - often within the organisation - and then articulation is achieved through "codified, binding prescriptions that are passed on to the hierarchically subordinate actors by means of legislation, regulations, instructions and so forth" (Winswold et al., 2009, p.481). The centre of the hierarchy requires broad knowledge and it defines the relevance of issues and solutions. Within a hierarchical context, subordinate actors often only require narrower knowledge related to implementation. Feedback in such a context is dependent on how well established formal mechanisms actually perform. The outcome is that,

> "hierarchy is in its generalised form not designed to exploit local knowledge, creativity and competence to their fullest extent. This may prove a serious limitation to adaptation given its complexity" (Winswold et al., 2009, p.482).

Levitt & March (1988, p.324) echo this view by suggesting that in such hierarchical contexts, "stories, paradigms, and beliefs are conserved in the face of considerable potential disconfirmation; and what is learned appears to be influenced less by history than by the frames applied to that history".

Markets as a mode of governance are characterised by their self-adjustments that result from the interplay of the various actors and their communication over supply and demand, which ultimately determines prices. Adaptation is thus a result of mechanisms whereby suppliers try to meet the evolving demand at the most cost-effective price. In this mode, learning for adaptation is seen as a cost-bearing activity necessary to develop future profitable solutions. It follows that,

> Feedback mechanisms are well developed and respond rather quickly to new signals amongst customers. Developers may also learn from one project to the next. However, such feedbacks may not result in appropriate adaptation measures because of a biased preference for profitable solution (Winswold et al., 2009, p.482).

Levitt and March (1988) observe the difficulty in assessing learning amongst competitive communities of organisations principally because sharing practices and knowledge (often held as secrets) requires trust. Learning by experience in such contexts also takes another form: it relates to enduring the effects of competitors' actions on each other. For Porter (2008), competitive strategies that focus on dimensions other than price (such as reputation or brand, quality of product or service and so on) can ultimately improve the value offered to the consumers. Furthermore, rivalry does not always take place on the same dimensions – whereby competitors are aiming to meet different consumers' needs. Such segmentation of markets offers a shift of competition towards a more positive direction.

In a network type mode of governance, actors operate autonomously but are mutually interdependent. They are not centralised and they present informal self-regulating interactions. Learning is coordinated informally through consensual practices where actors recognise the commonalities of their problems. Agreement over goals, priorities and solutions appears in the interpretation and search phases of the learning cycle in the form of bargaining interaction between participants. In a network, the articulation of the solution arises from voluntary action rather than authority. Consequently, as Winswold et al. (2009, p.483) state,

> (The) search for adaptation solutions will be discussed among the different actors in order to arrive at common solutions. It is likely that such a governance mode may result in a high capacity to find innovative and comprehensive solutions. On the other hand, networks are vulnerable because of their unstable nature and because of the absence of an authority that may enforce the implementation of solutions agreed on.

The point raised by Winswold et al. (2009) is to note the aptitude of networks for innovation through partnerships in problem solving and consensus building in the search for mutual benefits. Pahl-

Wostl (2009) concurs in finding that the capacity for exploration of alternative solutions and system configurations appears to be a key characteristic of network governance. She suggests that evidence shows that the existence of an informal network is essential to the early phases of change. Nevertheless, the dilemma is that the more informal networks (in particular the more spontaneous and ephemeral ones) bring about creative thinking, yet their creative capacity does not automatically infer a strong linkage to policy cycles nor an actual capacity for implementation. Newig et al. (2010) argue that networks foster learning at both individual and collective level through the functions of information transmission and deliberation. However, it is possible that some 'stable' or mature networks (displaying strong relational ties between actors) present obstruction to double loop learning through the effect of 'groupthink'. Deeper learning may be facilitated in the (re-)formation phases of networks (Newig et al., 2010).

The relevance of the model proposed by Winswold et al. (2009) resonates with the way governments or supra-national political systems select their preferred steering modes for policy-making and then learn from them (Schout, 2009). In studying the European Union's multi-level governance system and examining its steering modes, Schout (2009) has noted that the three modes (hierarchies, markets and networks) offer ways to design, co-ordinate and implement policy and should be seen as interconnected, rather than independent. Nevertheless, generally, markets are associated with a context of competition and, therefore, instruments involving soft-coordination and incentives are suitable. Hierarchies are broadly thought of in terms of coercive contexts where direction is provided through regulation. Networks necessitate the establishment (or existence) of agencies and relate to contexts of communication and are guided through information strategies.

2.3   Defining Learning for Resilience

The examination of the learning literature in Sections 2.2 exposes the centrality of experience in learning as well as the importance of adaptive strategies in a social ecological perspective and how Modes of Governance might affect these strategies. This section turns to the definitional elements of learning for resilience and identifies key components prior to proposing a definition for this concept.

The first element fundamental to learning for resilience appears to be the dynamic tension that exists in the learning process between 'taking action' and 'observation and reflection'. The study of change interventions through action research is described by Kolb (1984; 2015) as being relevant to large organisations and community systems. Research has looked into the linkages between theory

and practice. Kolb (1984) pinpoints the importance of the 'dialectic tension' between the experience and the conceptual framework to which it relates. In other words, the learning process requires concrete experience to challenge theoretical models through analytical feedback processes. Feedback is used to assess deviation between what is expected and the actual outcomes. Kolb (2015) subscribes to the view that it is difficult to reconcile the tensions in the learning process, and that being active and reflective simultaneously can be polar opposites. This conflict-filled process gets resolved through the confrontation within each mode of experiential learning and gives way to adaptation, creativity and growth. In contrast, ineffectiveness in organisations can be traced back to unsuccessful feedback that leads to divergence between observation and action (Kolb, 1984).

In the context of organisations, Dixon (1999) also alludes to the useful differences and unique perspectives which are held by individual members and that can be used to confront others (such as other departments within the organisation) and to construct different meanings. Diversity is thus encouraged, in particular when dealing with external information collected from multiple sources (Dixon, 1999). Undoubtedly, diversity is a source of tensions that need to be managed. Dixon (1999) suggests that upholding egalitarian or democratic values will help in resolving these tensions. Sense making, which arises through interpretation, needs to be wary of power differences. Thus, the hierarchical relationships that exist in organisations should be counterbalanced through norms so as to reduce their impact. Holmqvist (2003, p.96) summarises this dialectic tension in learning in organisational as well as inter-organisational contexts. Learning from experience needs to take place "in two interrelated, yet disparate ways. They must create variety in experience. This is exploration. They must create reliability in experience. This is exploitation."

The second important element of learning for resilience is the recognition that change requires effective management to drive it. Organisations need to promote inter-level activities and communication, which allow learning to take place between and across each level (Coghlan, 1997). In that sense, promoting a learning culture bears some relation with leadership (Schein, 2010) and requires the vision and ability to drive change. Senge et al. (1999) note that organisations that fail to engage in change processes are ultimately faced with reduced options when confronted with crises. When considering why change initiatives fail, it appears that commitment is crucial (shared and comprehensive commitment as opposed to compliance) (Senge et al., 1999). Developing a shared commitment requires organisations to nurture their collective learning capabilities. However, the study of successful learning initiatives in organisations has shown that learning

capabilities are not the only necessary ingredient and that, all too often, what is missing is an understanding of growth processes and their limitations (Senge et al., 1999). Senge et al. (1999, p16) offer a definition of the type of leadership required for change as "the capacity of a human community to shape its future, and specifically to sustain the significant processes of change required to do so." The idea of communities, which is introduced in this definition, is instrumental to developing learning capabilities.

Interestingly, the way in which systems are organised reflects how leadership functions are performed and, further, how change is steered. Bennis, Spreitzer & Cummings (2001) delve into these issues to note that hierarchical organisations use their robust structures to reinforce or replace interpersonal trust. Individual responsibilities are inscribed in roles and everyone's position translates into dependable arrangements based on the 'rule of law', which is used as a substitute for persuasion. This is not the case in networks where, as Bennis, Spreitzer & Cummings (2001, p.69) observe,

> People operate informally, outside the rule of law. Relationships therefore depend much more on cooperation than on control. Cooperation, in turn, depends on trust.

This suggests that, in a hierarchical context, individual competence, based on proof of expert knowledge and ability, will be a key factor that leaders use to assign people to a function. However, in a networked context, leaders rely on communities of practice to validate competence. In effect, this means that these communities of practice allow cooperative and effective development processes, thereby avoiding more competitive and political leadership and its pitfalls.

Nye (2008) notes that the increasing importance and ubiquity of networks has an effect on leaders and leadership. Needless to say, different types of network have different outcomes and effects. Strong networks (strength being related to the frequency and reciprocity of contacts within them) allow valuable exchange of information possibly more directly relevant whereas networks based on weaker ties will more likely provide novel information (Nye, 2008). In the context of networks, leadership, therefore, needs to grasp the subtleties of identity formation. Organisations and governments increasingly rely on market mechanisms and outsourcing, with leaders turning to soft power resources as command and control are becoming increasingly ineffective (Nye, 2008). This means that hierarchies are becoming flatter and less relevant as a means of organisational structure, given that they hamper the collaborative nature of the networking style of working.

A third element in learning for resilience is the need to learn from incidents and experimentation. Drupsteen et al. (2013) propose a model for learning from incidents, recognising the importance of the double-loop learning phenomena (Argyris, 1977) and the need for continual improvement (Senge, 1999), which is structured in a process inspired by Kolb's (1984) experiential cycle. The step-by-step process consists of successive phases of "acquiring information, investigation and analysis, planning interventions, intervening and evaluating" (Drupsteen et al., 2013, p.352). Each phase presents potential bottlenecks that limit learning capacities and result from a range of factors, including a lack of reporting or insufficient information regarding incidents to cultural barriers involving blame, lack of trust or resistance to change. Some of the points that Drupsteen et al. (2013) highlight resonate with broader contexts and can be applied to wider policy implementation contexts. In the first phase, barriers to reporting include the implications of time restraints (imposed by the pressures of response priorities in a crisis situation) and difficulties in interpreting the risk of certain situations and assessing near misses. The diverse understanding of risks across the organisation leads to misalignment in terms of what should and should not be reported. Similarly, cost implications associated with investigating breakdowns appear to be a key barrier to the second phase. This can be deeply rooted in the belief that such practices cannot be justified to clients and stakeholders. Another issue preventing successful investigations is the particular focus on direct causes and human action. This bias leads to a blind eye being turned to the cultural context of incidents. In the planning phase, limitations can be associated with the dominance of certain professional profiles and a tendency to formulate recommendations from the perspective of their own area of expertise. For instance, in some cases, technical suggestions are easier to generate than spotting and correcting problems in human and cultural factors. Therefore, corrective action may be limited to reinforcing existing rules and procedures. Lack of clarity in terms of who owns the action to be taken has a direct effect on the planning stages as well as on the intervention itself (Drupsteen et al., 2013).

Nye (2008, p102) notes that "crises provide teaching moments and open windows of opportunities for change." He also points out that the sense of urgency that crises create can be used by leaders. The acute need to act may, in fact, be artificially emphasised for political motives. Therefore, from a leadership perspective, crises can be seen from two angles: the routine crisis and the novel crisis. Nye (2008) suggests that, in the face of uncertainty (the novel crisis), hierarchy and authority only matter in terms of execution or implementation of the decision taken. However, the understanding and the design of solutions will normally be primarily the remit of frontline staff. This leads to an

emphasis on the qualities of autonomous, critically reflective learning to promote independent and informed decisions. Learning, therefore, requires a strong real-world orientation, particularly in local contexts, and to be based on participative approaches and experiments in order to identify novel solutions when and where they are needed (Sterling, 2010).

It follows that learning for resilience balances action, including experimentation, and reflection in order to embed lessons that enable a system to withstand disruption, to change and to adapt for the maintenance of function and purpose. Underpinning this definition are three key points: i) there is a tension between taking action' and 'observation and reflection'; ii) change has to be motivated and driven and so requires strong leadership; and iii) a crisis should be viewed as providing an opportunity for action, experimentation and reflection in order to learn.

2.4   Summary

In this chapter, two bodies of literature were examined: the Resilience literature, looking in particular at the SES perspective of resilience and the Learning literature with specific attention paid to experiential learning as well as its correspondence to aspects of the SES frameworks. The examination of resilience began by focusing on policy domains; more specifically on how the UK government's understanding of resilience has operationalised the concept. It considered two broad areas: civil contingencies, and emergency response and international development. Both areas show an expansion of policy frameworks regarding disruptive events and shocks stressors. The subsequent section reviewed the SES literature. Social ecological sources bring an understanding of resilience that goes beyond the processes of response to and recovery from incidents; at their heart is adaptation, which is of fundamental importance in interconnected environments.

The underlying systemic approach of the literature means that an emphasis is placed on studying interrelations across scales (temporal and spatial). Systems constantly evolve and display multiple equilibriums, but the existence of irreversible thresholds, referred to in social ecological theory, implies that, in some cases, unforeseen events may lead systems into configurations that are undesirable. On the other hand, efforts have been made to characterise management approaches to resilience. Scholars have been interested in finding ways to enhance the response as well as the adaptive capacities of complex systems. Increasingly, there have been attempts to operationalise the resilience concept in a less reactive manner. The adoption of strategies where learning is central is spreading. Although the literature offers interesting insights, its critics argue that it is limited in its capacity to embrace all the social, political and legal dimensions of problems. As noted above, in the

UK, the resilience concept has permeated the policy domain in the areas of civil contingency and international development. In both domains, policies were initially designed around a risk-based approach. The development of a response and recovery capacity to mitigate specified risks has been a key driver in strategic designs. Yet, more recently, strategies are displaying a shift in focus with risk reduction approaches increasingly being combined with learning policies. Governance and participatory schemes have been promoted and communities have been given greater prominence. The notion of feedback across scales seems to be rising in its appeal to policy makers.

The review of the Learning literature in Sections 2.2 has shown the centrality of experience in learning at all levels of focus (from individual learning to group, organisational and institutional contexts). It also highlighted the importance of adaptive strategies from a social ecological perspective and how Modes of Governance might affect these learning strategies. This section then turned to defining the elements of learning for resilience in Section 2.3 and identified components prior to proposing a definition for this concept. Instrumental views of learning describe a relatively simple and linear process. However, this review has described a perspective that values the learning experience and highlights the importance of contextualised knowledge in the light of experience. Learning for resilience, therefore, brings together the idea that learning is vital for social–ecological systems and their well-being. This type of learning needs to have a strong, real-world orientation with contemporary strategies also being considered in the face of uncertainty. Currently, some learning approaches that seek to change behaviours take place as a result of embedding lessons learnt from past experience (or past crises), yet active experimentation and search for novel solutions in the light of future scenario are similarly important approaches. Learning that is scenario-based and envisages change on the basis of future happenings can be difficult. The degree of uncertainty attached to this form of scenario-based adaptation makes the activity, and the choices that derive from it, highly value laden and political in nature. Despite this, these remain important learning approaches.

It follows that learning for resilience balances action, including experimentation and reflection in order to embed lessons that enable a system to withstand disruption, to change and to adapt for the maintenance of function and purpose. Underpinning this definition are three key points: i) the is a tension between 'taking action' and 'observation and reflection'; ii) change has to be motivated and driven and so requires strong leadership; and iii) a crisis should be viewed as providing opportunity for action, experimentation and reflection in order to learn. As a final point, the review of these two disparate (yet overlapping) scholarly fields has enabled the identification of models

which can be used as a prism to look at adaptation. In other words, this provides two analytical frameworks through which the case of the aid and development sector can be examined. One is the proposed lifecycle describing the dynamics of innovation and learning at organisation and sector levels (see Section 2.2.3, Table 2-3) and the other is the learning cycle for adaptation considering the steering modes (or Modes of Governance) and their influence on policy-making and learning (See Section 2.2.4, Figure 2-8).

Page intentionally left blank.

CHAPTER 3   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In line with the conceptual framework described in Chapter 1, Section 1.4, Figure 1-1, the review of the literature in the previous chapter investigated two bodies of literature, asking how does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector. These were the Resilience literature, in particular, the Social Ecological Systems (SES) theories of resilience and the Learning literature with specific consideration to Experiential Learning as well as its correspondence to aspects of the SES frameworks. Whilst the former field brings an understanding of resilience focused on adaptation and an emphasis placed on studying interrelations across scales, the latter concentrated on the centrality of experience in learning and highlighted how Modes of Governance might affect these learning strategies. The combined review of these two areas of literature led to the identification of two models which are used to create an analytical framework through which the case of the aid and development sector will be examined. The first model of interest is the proposed lifecycle describing the dynamics of innovation and learning at organisation and sector levels (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3, Table 2-3) the second is the learning cycle for adaptation considering the steering modes (or Modes of Governance) and their influence on policy-making and learning (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4, Figure 2-8). This chapter is divided into three parts. The first section discusses the determination of the research framework, including the philosophical standpoint of this research project and how it fits into the wider research philosophy perspective. The second section considers the research methods, describing and justifying the selected research strategy and design. The third and final part looks at the specific issues related to ethics.

At the heart of the application of the scientific method is the assumption that rules exist and that a certain cause will indubitably lead to a certain effect. Consequently, the investigation of cause and effect relationships scrutinises how the same set of circumstances leads to the same result and conversely, how, when one single parameter is changed, the result is also affected. Experimentation allows researchers to isolate causal factors and change single parameters whilst also controlling other elements (Hunt & Colander, 2014). In social science, controlled experiments are more problematic as the subject of study revolves around people, culture and their social, political and economic structures. Social science disciplines examine forces and relationships (such as development, power, inequality, conflicts or violence) that are in no way controllable; however, scientific knowledge from the social science perspective should still be "…systematically gathered,

classified, related and interpreted" (Hunt & Colander, 2014, p.1). This description reveals the underlying standardised approach of the social sciences, which shows that they have been shaped by the approach of the natural sciences over time (Flick, 2009). With this in mind, this research is firmly rooted in the social sciences. Hence, the current chapter is markedly about the context in which this research was carried out and is not just a general exposition on research methodology.

3.1 Research Perspective

Given the social science basis of this research, it is useful to begin this discussion by considering where it fits in terms of its research paradigm. The spectrum of epistemological perspectives, which represent systems of beliefs and assumptions and provide a framework for the development of knowledge (Saunders et al, 2012), will typically reveal the ontology favoured in research (this relates to the researcher's view of the nature of reality in a certain field). The discussions on this topic then tend to relate to the different ways to reach valid knowledge with a simplified view placing quantitative and qualitative methods at either end of a continuum (Flick, 2009, p. 69). The positivist epistemological paradigm derives from the natural sciences and, as such, uses quantitative methods to make deductions (or inferences that originate in specific theory or rule) from empirical evidence collected either to corroborate or refute theoretical statements. The reliability and validity of such research is related to the collection of evidence through rigorous design, sampling and the conduct of replicable tests (Saunders et al., 2012). On the other hand, the social constructionist paradigm conceives social phenomena as induced by human behaviour and action. This paradigm presumes that reality is a production of social actors, structures and interactions. Accordingly, taking this perspective, research needs to be interpretive (taking into consideration non-quantifiable elements such as culture, beliefs, feelings etc.) in order to propose understandings and insights in relation to the studied phenomenon. In the interpretivist perspective, the value of pure quantitative methods is contested, and qualitative frameworks are favoured as they provide insights into subjective realities (which consist of experiences and are determined by context) (Flick, 2009; Saunders et al., 2012; Easterby-Smith, 2015). Commonly in social constructivist research, induction (generating patterns or conceptual models that emerge from the collected data rather than identifying patterns or conceptual models beforehand and testing their relevance to the context) is used to establish theories about the subjective, social world.

A major concern for researchers is to adopt an approach that will allow generalisation of the findings as much as possible. However, the formulation of general findings is limited by the difficulty in establishing the validity of those generalisations. Sheer complexity prevents the study of social phenomena in isolation. Typically, in a social context, it is not possible to control variables or to identify their independence. Consequently, the quality of this type of research will not necessarily be its generalisation, but its transferability from one context to another (Flick, 2009, p.15). The findings can then become theoretical propositions, which can be generalised or transferred to other contexts through analytical processes rather than statistical ones (Yin, 2003, p.10). The alternative to an inductive logic in research is to adopt a deductive logic where theoretical models lead to the construction of hypotheses and subsequent empirical investigations to challenge known theories. Flick (2009, p.12) notes that deduction is becoming increasingly difficult in social science due to issues of differentiation (whereby studied objects, contexts and phenomena are so diverse that transferability of findings can only be limited) and thus, researchers are led to inductive approaches.

The research design for this study was influenced by a pragmatist philosophy, particularly as it seeks to be relevant to professional practice. The argument justifying its suitability for this study is encapsulated by Saunders et al. (2012, p.130) who state that,

> Pragmatism argues that the most important determinant of the research philosophy adopted is the research question- one approach may be 'better' than the other for answering particular questions. Moreover, if the research question does not suggest unambiguously that either a positivist or interpretivist philosophy is adopted this confirms the pragmatist's view that it is perfectly possible to work with both philosophies. This mirrors a theme which recurs in this book. This is that mixed methods, both qualitative and quantitative, are possible, and possibly highly appropriate, within one study.

This pragmatist stance emphasises the importance of ideas in relation to their practical consequences. Pragmatism recognises that meaning is closely linked to experience and, as such, it has intricate connections to the theories of learning. It is a valuable perspective for this research with its focus on the relationship between learning, resilience and adaptation as "it focuses on processes that are particularly relevant to studies of knowledge and learning" (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015, p.32). Moreover, as Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) assert, pragmatism provides a, thus circumventing difficult epistemological and ontological issues. The positioning of the research undertaken for this study is shown at Table 3-1 below.

.

Table 3-1: Study approach in a wider philosophical spectrum [Author, adapted from Saunders et al. (2012 and Easterby-Smith et al. (2015)]

Positivist perspective	Pragmatist perspective (Current Study)	Social Constructionist perspective
✓Objectivity of research sought through independence of researcher.	✓Researcher's involvement recognized thus independence not fully achieved. Impartiality through design	✓Subjectivity acknowledged as researcher is part of what is being observed.
✓Research aims to demonstrate causality or correlation. Verifies or falsifies theory.	✓Research seeks to establish existence of relationship and characterize it.	✓Research aims to increase general understanding
✓Research uses hypotheses and deduction.	✓Research propositions rooted in theoretical perspectives. Questions guide collection of rich data.	✓Research through gathering of rich data from which ideas are induced. New insights and theory are generated.
✓Key concepts are defined in such way that they can be measured.	✓Stakeholders perspectives are envisaged against pre-determined concepts and models .	✓Concepts and their interpretations are examined from various perspectives.
✓Generalisation ensured through statistical probability using large random samples	✓Data from mixed methods is collected systematically classified, related and interpreted	✓Transferability of findings from a small number of selected cases achieved through theoretical abstraction

This table is adapted from the representations of the contrasting implications of positivism and social constructionism in research in Saunders et al. (2012) and Easterby-Smith et al. (2015). It clearly shows that the approach taken for the current study is located in between the continuum that moves from positivist to social constructionist philosophies. The research design is based on qualitative research, which means that it does not treat the data collected in quantifiable terms and adopts an interpretive approach. This means that texts and narratives are investigated, and meaning is ascribed to them. However, this research is designed to enable that the way in which meaning is ascribed can be scrutinised. There was considerable effort to ensure a rigorous and systematic gathering, classification, analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

The social ecological approach to resilience identifies that it presents problems and questions that cannot be addressed by using a single disciplinary lens. Linked to this, Franklin and Blyton (2011) argue that undertaking cross-disciplinary research requires a widening of the disciplinary framing of research. Not only must bridges be built between the natural and human sciences but also the

research should be designed coherently so that the interests of the multiple stakeholders in the research and its outcomes are acknowledged (Franklin and Blyton, 2011). The social dimensions need to be examined using research methods that can handle inter-disciplinary enquiry (Evans, 2011). This means that laboratory-type experiments are impractical in studies of the 'human world' as the ability to control variables is, at best, partially, if not fundamentally unachievable. In addition, the variables exerting influence on social phenomena are multiple and the relationship between them constantly evolves. Consequently, changes bring about concerns regarding the rigour, validity and usability of research which in turn relate to ethical considerations. It is important that at all stages of the research attention is paid to objectivity and integrity (Saunders et al.,2012). In some cases, ethical decision making in social science research will entail that a long-term view of the stakeholders' engagement needs be adopted. The independence of the researcher should be ensured, and researchers also need to be cautious of enthusiasm and passions, which often drive the research interest to 'make a difference' and 'make the world a better place' (Franklin & Blyton, 2011). Therefore, this research stems from a pragmatist perspective with a view to making real world differences. Having identified the underlying belief system, the next stage of consideration in terms of the research methodology was the research design.

3.2   Research Design

The central research question asks how learning for resilience occurs within and between disparate organisations. Unpacking this question is essential in determining the methodological choices made in this research. The research problem is framed around the relationship between learning, resilience and adaptation, as expressed in the conceptual framework (Chapter 1, Section 1.4, Figure 1-1). In order to guide the research, an analytical framework was drawn up, which is shown at Figure 3-1. It explains how the roots of the problem have led to the identification of the case study and, in turn, the models that have been combined to produce an analytical guide to facilitate sense making and understanding of the problem.
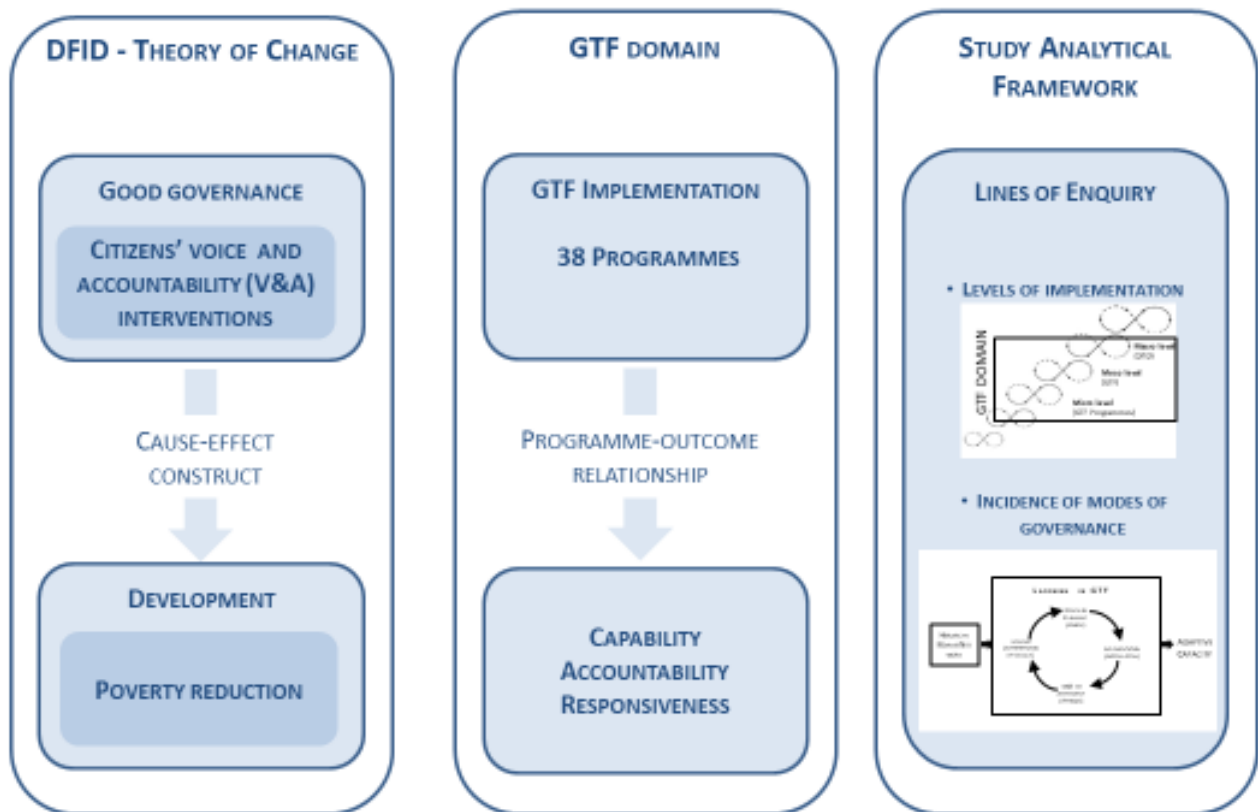
Figure 3-1: Study Analytical Framework [Source: Author]

The first element of the analytical framework is represented by the left-hand block of Figure 3-1. This depicts the central problem and provides the broader context within which this research sits. DFID's (2006) White Paper entitled *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Governance Work for the Poor* clearly spells out its underpinning idea that interventions promoting citizens' voices and accountability can lead to poverty reduction. The roots of its theory of change are encapsulated in the statement that,

> Good governance requires: capability – the extent to which government has the money, people, will and legitimacy to get things done; responsiveness – the degree to which government listens to what people want and acts on it; and accountability – the process by which people are able to hold government to account. (DFID, 2006, p.ix)

The second element of the analytical framework introduces how DFID sought to operationalise its theory of change, which linked governance to development through the Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF), as shown in the middle block of Figure 3-1. The GTF also has its roots in DFID's (2006) White Paper, as the preface of the document announces,

> The UK will …..help to build states that work for poor people… [It will] adopt a new 'quality of governance' assessment to guide the way in which we give UK aid, and launch a new £100 million Governance and Transparency Fund (DFID, 2006, p.xi).

Thus, through GTF, DFID intended to assess its central theory of change. The implementation of GTF sought to produce evidence on the measures of 'good governance' specifically through the Capability, Accountability and Responsiveness (CAR) framework. This middle block in Figure 3-1 also indicates that GTF had an inbuilt concern to promote learning through the sharing of the experiences of its 38 programmes. To meet this critical aim, the GTF produced indicators for the monitoring and evaluation of frameworks for accountability intervention as well as to generate evidence of the impact on development outcomes (Holland et al. 2009). Finally, the right-hand block of Figure 3-1 shows the key models that have been adopted for the framing and the analysis of the research. The purpose of this chapter is to establish lines of enquiry or research methods that collect data relating to the concepts of resilience, learning and adaptation that were identified through the articulation of the research problem in Chapter 1, Sections 1.2 and 1.3 that were explored through the literature review presented in Chapter 2. The design of the case study of GTF leans on two models. The first one considers the distinction of levels of implementation echoing the panarchy concept of the social ecological literature. The second focuses on the incidence of Modes of Governance on learning.

The crisis-centric understanding of resilience has led to the dominance of response-centred strategies, while the social-ecological literature suggests a reading of the concept that is grounded in the notion of complex adaptive systems. This view sees resilience as connected to the idea of panarchy (a term that describes systems embedded in multiple spatial and temporal scales) where interactions and influences between the various levels allow adaptive evolution. The concept of panarchy casts doubt on the prevailing reactive response processes and proposes that learning is central to resilience, favouring the adoption of adaptive management approaches based on experimentation and feedback across all the scales of the panarchy. Chapter 2, Section 2.2 examines the idea that learning is a process through which experience is transformed. The cycle of experiential learning, which is derived from Kolb (1984), is seen as a blueprint for adaptation and change. Furthermore, learning depends on Modes of Governance, given that governance structures affect the way in which knowledge from various sources is integrated (Winswold et al., 2009). Learning for adaptation can therefore be described as a number of archetypal governance modes (referred to as markets, networks and hierarchies). These Modes of Governance form the insights, enrich the

strategies and supply the context in which instruments are designed to steer these resilient systems (Schout, 2009). The purpose of the research is to examine learning at the various levels of the panarchy.

Given the philosophical approach is based on pragmatism and qualitative data collection, rather than investigating a cause-effect relationship, the research seeks to establish the nature of the link between learning, adaptation and resilience. It specifically investigates cross-scalar learning from the perspective of Modes of Governance. Given the GTF's inbuilt responsibility to ensure the resilience of its programme by making sure that the experiences, lessons and learning of the 38 programmes were shared, it provides a suitable case study for this research, a point that is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 Section 4.1. It is important to note that the GTF is based on the premise of a causal relationship: the connection between 'good' governance and development is the one under review within GTF and the keystone theory of change, which guided the operationalisation of the GTF. This led to the programmes being designed in such way that the cause-effect relationship could be observed and, to some extent, measured. In accordance with Yin's (2003) prescribed use of case studies, such an approach enables deep examination of contextual conditions. Moreover, the GTF offers multiple sources of data, each of which was suitable for independent data collection. Case studies can be exploratory, explanatory or descriptive, but crucially, the method requires rigour in terms of its design in order to limit the risk that the representativeness of the research and the validity of the results may be compromised (Evans, 2011). Furthermore, the application of a rigorous approach to case study allows "investigation into a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003, p.13). The approach differs from other qualitative methods (such as grounded theory) in that an initial theoretical standpoint guides the research design (Evans 2011). The diversity of evidence upon which the case study relies (data collected from multiple sources) is drawn together and this form of triangulation is in-built to the method (Yin, 2003).

In terms of the temporal perspective of this study, it displays features that are common to longitudinal studies. The GTF programmes and projects had repeated collection cycles over their lifetimes. In some cases, a baseline was established to allow an assessment of the process of change. Overall, the duration of the programmes was between 3 and 5 years, which DFID considered to be too short to observe definitive patterns. In terms of other perspectives, this research cannot be seen a cross sectional as the study was undertaken over seven years. Therefore, the research sits at an

intermediate point where time is taken into consideration yet not over a sufficiently extended period to observe the full extent of change.

The selection of DFID's GTF as a case study is justified by the fact that it placed learning at its heart and sought to examine "what works, what does not work, and why" (DFID, 2013c). A one-off fund, it examined the change induced by participatory experimentation and learning centred policies. Critically, it promoted a construction of resilience based on empirical learning and displayed a particular interest in the feedback mechanism around the 'demand-side' of governance. The first element of the conceptual framework that structures this study is, therefore, resilience and, within that, the idea of social-ecology and panarchy. The GTF is emblematic of this interpretation of resilient system because it spans multiple scales of analysis, as shown at Figure 3-2. This figure shows the domain of enquiry in relation to this research into GTF. At the macro level, there are fundamental beliefs in the value of democracy and the fight against poverty (DFID, 1997, 2002). The meso level of analysis corresponds to the underpinning policies and strategies that drove the GTF, which were epitomised by GTF's outcomes. At the micro level, portfolio/programmes or projects created activities and inputs which were thought to produce outputs.
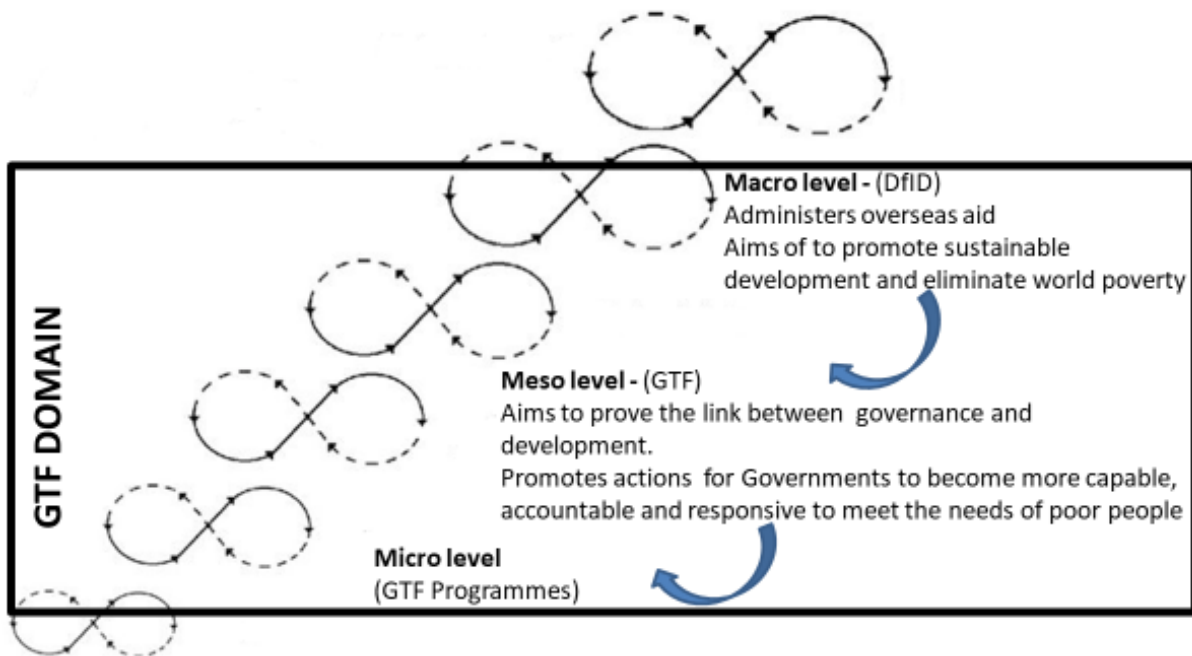
Figure 3-2: GTF domain of enquiry [Source: Author]

In this study, the investigation of GTF learning is approached in a systemic way by looking at each of these three levels in turn: macro, meso and micro. The learning cycle and the influence of Modes of Governance (Market, Hierarchy or Network) are investigated. This uses Winswold et al's. (2009) model, which was shown at Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4, Figure 2-8. The model suggests that each mode may generate distinct learning approaches and adaptive capacity. The study examines the capture of lessons, how they flow through the adaptive cycle and how they are fed into a system's 'backloop' (which ensures that experience is captured, interpreted and shared as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1). These lessons may originate from errors, dysfunction or innovative design, but present the opportunity for system change and adaptation, referring to the point in the adaptive cycle at which the system enters a release and reorganisation phase. As such, the research extends over several levels in the panarchy, examining relationships between the various levels to ascertain whether particular Modes of Governance were predominant at certain levels and whether they, therefore, influenced learning. Figure 3-3 shows how this mixed method approach was applied.
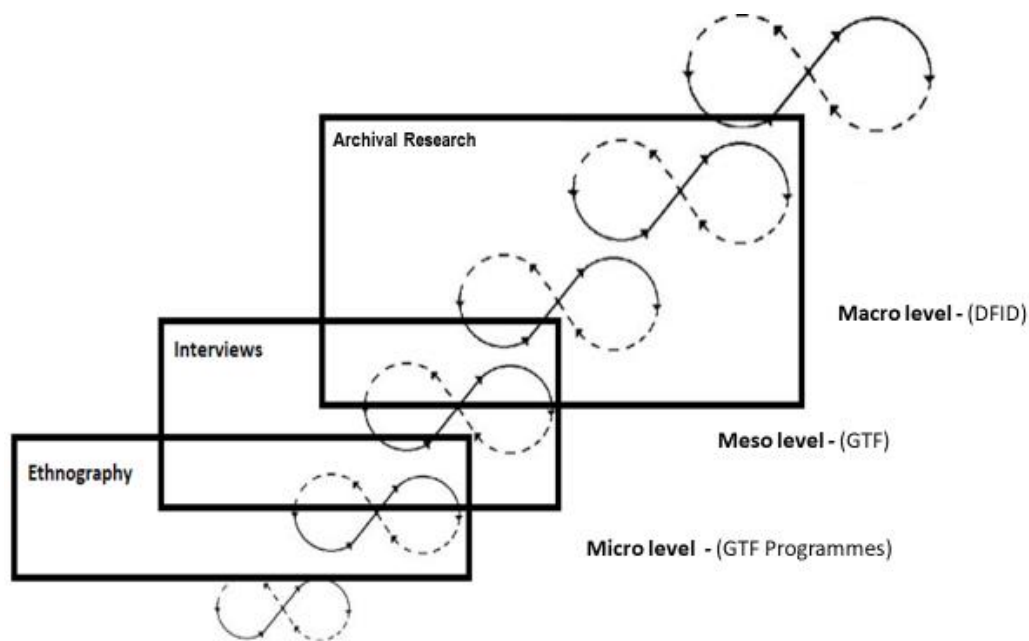
Figure 3-3: Research methods employed to examine the 'GTF Panarchy' [source: Author]

This mixed methods approach allowed for the triangulation of the findings. It is however recognised that the study has limitations, as discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.4. Although this exploratory research provides an inadequate basis from which to generalise, it provides nonetheless a contribution in terms of combining the field of Learning and Resilience in a single study, a unique approach in this field. Table 3-2 provides a summary of each proposed research method.

Table 3-2: Research methods employed for each data source [Source: Author]

RESEARCH METHOD		PURPOSE	PROCESS	DATA SOURCES
1	**ARCHIVAL RESEARCH**	**Chronology** [Findings discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3] The focus was to ascertain the original intent and implementation arrangements of GTF.	Investigation of secondary sources (10 key documents) prior to the inception of GTF to establish a chronology.	Open source archival documents (DFID, GTF Documents, websites): • Official documents including acts of parliament, white papers, annual reports; • Grey literature (e-mails, meeting memos and other unpublished material).
		Content Analysis using Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) [Findings discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3] The focus at this level is to: • Use CAQDAS tools to assist with qualitative analysis. • Carry out Content Analysis of three types of secondary GTF sources to gain insights from various perspectives.	Use of NVivo software to support qualitative analysis. The analytical themes were: • The manifestation of Modes of Governance; and • The identification and sharing of lessons within the GTF panarchy.	Open source archival documents (DFID, GTF Documents, websites): • GTF Mid-term Report & Final Report; • Evaluations; • Reports on DFID learning strategies; • Grey literature (e-mails, meeting memos and other unpublished material).
2	**ETHNOGRAPHY**	**Retrospective ethnographic account** [Findings discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.4] The focus at this level is to generate rich description of a programme to provide a retrospective analysis and interpretation.	Production of a retrospective ethnographic account of the specific GTF programme run by Cranfield University, called the Resilient Governance Initiative.	Participant observation and a variety of the Resilience Governance Initiative (RGI) (one of GTF 38 programmes run by Cranfield University) programme documents, including e-mails, correspondence, reports, presentations and other archival documents.

3	PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION	**Pilot Interview** [Discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1] It was undertaken to refine the design and wording of semi-structured questions.	Identification of questions to identify: • The manifestation of Modes of Governance; • The identification and sharing of lessons within the GTF panarchy.	Programme Documents and website (Mid-term Report & Final Report) Pilot interview: Participant P
		Interviews [Findings discussed in Chapter 4, 4.5.2] The focus at this level is to enable a focused and guided conversation in order to collect the views of GTF programme managers.	Key themes were: • Lessons and Learning - Has project learning contributed to the learning of the overall programme? - Has programme learning contributed to Fund learning? • Modes of Governance - Is there a differing approach in terms of Modes of Governance at project level, programme level and fund level? - Has this affected the learning processes and their alignment?	GTF Programme Documents and websites (Mid-term Report & Final Report) Four Interviews: • GTF Participant 1 • GTF Participant 2 • GTF Participant 3 • GTF Participant 4
	VALIDATION	**Validation Interview** [Findings discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3] The focus was to validate and verify the key findings.	The validation interview was conducted by presenting the main findings to the interviewee and running through the same themes as were presented to the interview of participants from the GTF programme.	Validation interview: Participant V. DFID Official responsible for the GTF Management.

Table 3-2 shows the research methods employed in the present study; their purpose and the processes they entail. The first set of methods used in the case study are Archival Research instruments. They are used to scrutinise the macro level environment of GTF and to explore how DFID promotes sustainable development and administers overseas aid. To begin with, the establishment of a chronology enabled the background of the GTF to be apprehended from multiple angles. Furthermore, it enables an understanding of how the operational arrangements of GTF unfolded and it gives an insight into how DFID envisaged policy implementation. The subsequent method uses the software NVivo to support qualitative analysis of three types of archival sources in order to build insights into the GTF from various perspectives (views from the GTF on itself, along with independent views of the GTF and its wider impact). This instrument presented an extension of the research focus from macro level to meso. Through data sources related to GTF, it was possible to study how GTF sought to promote actions to prove the link between governance and development. The data sources were analysed through the prism of pre-identified themes, which were the manifestation of modes of governance and the identification and sharing of lessons within the GTF panarchy.

The second method (in that it was carried out after the first set of archival research instruments) is an ethnographic study. This tool was used to scrutinised GTF at a micro level. The objective was to produce a retrospective ethnographic account of a GTF programme run by Cranfield University: 'The Resilient Governance Initiative'. It leads to a reflective analysis and interpretation from an insider's perspective (from the point of view of a participant-as-observer) of a GTF programme. Primary data collection through interviews represented the third research method. It covered the meso level of understanding the GTF domain of enquiry. Five interviews were conducted, one of which was a pilot aimed at fine-tuning the design of subsequent interviews. The other four were carefully selected out of the pool of 38 GTF programmes. These semi-structured interviews were conducted according to a predefined frame. The rich data collected was then transcribed, coded and analysed.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethics refers to the appropriateness of the researcher's behaviour in relation to the rights of those who become the subjects of the research (Saunders et al., 2012). Ethical issues are defined as "the moral principles, norms or standards of behaviour that guide moral choices about our behaviour and our relationship with others" (Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2005, p.92). The research in this thesis was guided by Cranfield University's Ethics Policy, which states that the research student in consultation with the supervisor should consider ethical issues and seek approval by the Ethics

Committee (Cranfield University, 2018a; Cranfield University, 2018b). Ethical approval was gained in August 2015. Both the information sheet and the consent form feature in Appendix 2 -

The primary ethical principle is that participants should be protected from potential physical, psychological or personal harm. Kervin (1992; p.38) suggests the following checklist for assessing this:

- Will the research process harm participants or those about whom information is gathered (indirect participants)?
- Are the findings of this research likely to cause harm to others not involved in the research?
- Is accepted research practice being violated in conducting the research and data analysis, and drawing conclusions?
- Are community standards of conduct being violated?

The answer to these questions was negative. In addition, reference was made to the six key principles of ethical research, as defined by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), which are shown at Table 3-3, along with an assessment of the adherence of this research to these principles.

Table 3-3: ESRC Framework for research ethics [Source: ESRC 2015]

Principle	Adherence to Principle
1. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality and transparency.	Responsibility for conduct of this research taken by the researcher in association with the supervisor, guided by Cranfield University Ethics Policy and approved via the Cranfield University Research Ethics System (CURES)
2. Research participants must normally be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved.	Research participants fully advised before interview and during the interview process, as well as in an email sent which contained a Participant Information sheet and a Consent Form.
3. The confidentiality of information supplied by research participants and the anonymity of respondents must be respected.	Participants who were interviewed in the course of this research are not identified. The nature of the sample meant that the respondents were not identifiable.
4. Research participants must take part voluntarily, free from any coercion.	All interviewees were invited to take part and accepted to engage willingly in the research process, and this was confirmed by the amount of time that they were willing to allocate to it.
5. Harm to research participants must be avoided in all instances.	There was little likelihood of physical, psychological or personal harm to participants in this research.
6. The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit.	This was clarified during the introductory session of the interview and in the email containing the link to the survey.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, philosophical standpoints were discussed, and it placed the research in a pragmatist perspective. This philosophy seeks to be relevant to professional practice and undertakes cross-disciplinary research using mixed methods as this allows research to be built around 'what works'.

It follows that the research design was developed using an analytical framework (Figure 3-1). It explained how the research problem relates to formulation of the case study and, in turn, what the research methods are included research strategy and design.

The third and final part examines ethical considerations in this research.

Page intentionally left blank.

CHAPTER 4 THE GOVERNANCE AND TRANSPARENCY FUND: A CASE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to present the in-depth Case Study of GTF using the mixed method approach, which was defined in Chapter 3, Section 3.2. The components of the research are depicted in Figure 3-3: Research methods employed to examine the 'GTF Panarchy' [source: Author] and a summary of each method was then given in Table 3-2: Research methods employed for each data source [Source: Author] This mixed method approach allows a thorough investigation of GTF through multiple angles. The figure is reproduced below.
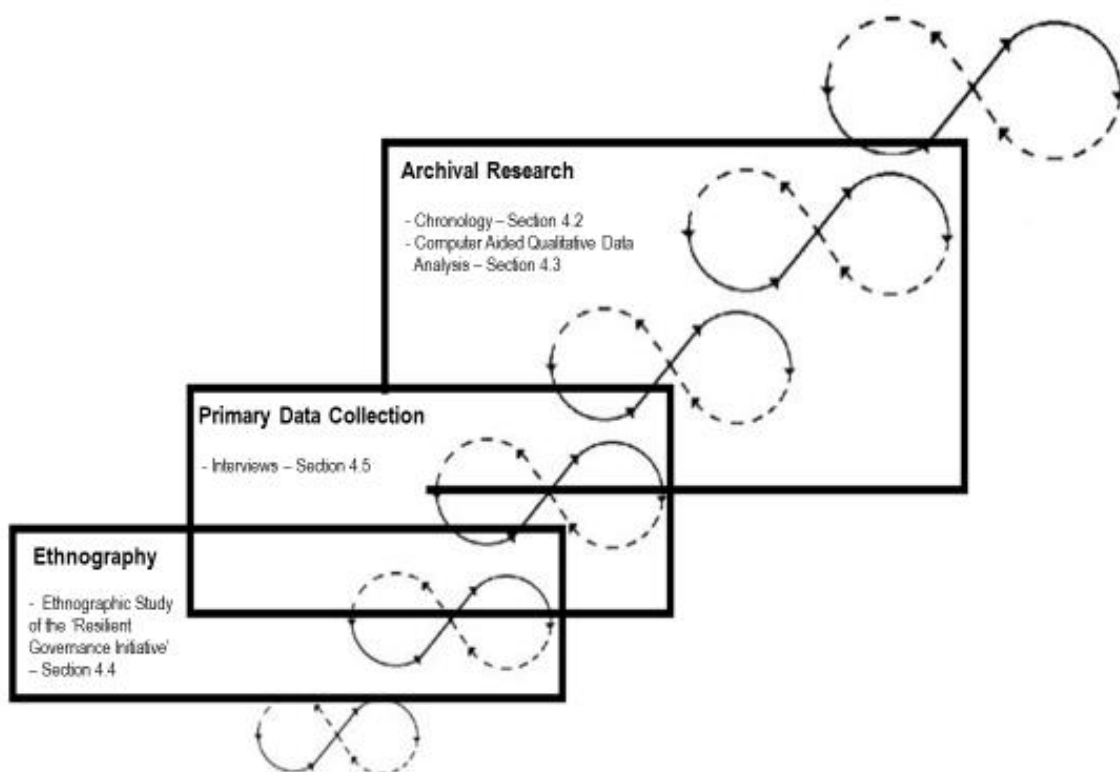
The Chapter begins with an overview of GTF (Section 4.1), which sets the scene prior to presenting a combination of archival research methods. The content analysis of secondary sources relating to the inception of the GTF allows the establishment of a chronology, which shows original intent and implementation arrangements of GTF. (Section 4.2). The next section of this chapter involves Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis of the GTF after its inception and the analysis of secondary sources (Section 4.3), looking specifically at the manifestation of Modes of Governance

and how these may have influenced learning within the GTF panarchy; The subsequent section focuses on a retrospective ethnographic account of a GTF programme ran by Cranfield University: the 'Resilient Governance Initiative' (Section 4.4) and the final component of the approach features the findings from primary data collection through interviews with GTF grantees (Section 4.5).

The results of each data collection method are presented in turn with a view to answering the research question that drives this study, which asks,

How does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector?

The aim of the research is to examine intra- and inter-organisational learning in order to determine how lessons are captured and whether these lessons provide a basis for future resilience, taking the GTF as a case study.

4.1 Overview of DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF)

DFID affirmed its resolution to promote good governance in its White Paper, entitled 'Making Governance Work for the Poor' (DFID, 2006b). Hilary Benn, then Secretary of State for International Development, declared that in order "to achieve lasting improvements in living conditions for large numbers of people, the capacity and accountability of public institutions needs to be strengthened" (DFID, 2006b, p.ix). The White Paper then paved the way for positive action on designing a framework of global governance. DFID backed its declaration in support of good governance by announcing the adoption of "a new 'quality of governance' assessment to guide the way in which we give UK aid, and launch a new £100 million Governance and Transparency Fund" (DFID, 2006, p.xi). The £130 million GTF fund was launched in 2007 with 38 programmes aimed at improving governance and transparency largely through the strengthening of civil society. The diversity of programmes selected involved a range of bodies, including citizens, civil society groups, parliamentarians and the media, in strengthening the demand-side of governance (Burge, 2010).

In September 2006, DFID officials began working on the management of the GTF. The initial 12 weeks of open public consultation served to define criteria and guidelines for concept notes as well as launching a selection process to identify a manager to administer GTF (House of Commons, 2007). In June 2007, it was announced that KPMG had won the contract to lead a Consortium to manage the GTF (National Archives, 2009). The Terms of Reference for the Fund Manager explained that the overall tasks included technical appraisal, performance assessment and all day-to-day administration of GTF (DFID, 2007). The call for proposals produced nearly 450 concept notes of which 293 were assessed as having met the basic eligibility criteria and whose authors were then asked to submit a full proposal (House of Commons, 2007). Subsequent appraisal of these full proposals included assessments of their technical merits, programme and financial risks as well as their relevance to DFID country offices and posts. The appraisals were managed by the KPMG-led consortium with DFID senior staff approving the final list of programmes. Table 4-1 shows the themes applicants to GTF offered to work on in order to link good governance to development. The key themes feature in the left-hand column whilst the proportion per theme assessed and then funded in the accepted concept notes are shown in the right hand columns of Table 4-1.

Table 4-1: Key Themes in GTF concept notes and projects [Source: House of Commons, 2007]

	Key themes of all assessed concept notes		Key themes of all supported programmes	
	Number of projects	%	Number of projects	%
Reform/Access to Public Services	51	29.0%	11	28.9%
Administrative Reform/Access to Admin Reform	34			
Access to Justice, Safety and Security/Human Rights	74	25.3%	8	21.1%
Controlling Corruption/Increasing Transparency	37	12.6%	4	10.5%
Public Financial Management/Public Expenditure monitoring	28	9.6%	5	13.2%
Access to Information/Open Press/Media	28	9.6%	4	10.5%
Decentralisation and Local Government	19	6.5%	3	7.9%
Electoral Monitoring and Democratisation/ International Governance	6	2.0%	1	2.6%
Conflict Prevention/Peace Building	3	1.0%	2	5.3%
Climate Change and the Environment	3	1.0%		0.0%
Enabling Business, Trade and Investment	10	3.4%		0.0%
TOTAL	**293**		**38**	

The three characteristics for good governance were identified as State Capability, Accountability and Responsiveness (DFID, 2006). These are commonly known in GTF circles as the CAR framework, which measures how well the GTF delivers change. This framework is replicated in the logical frameworks (or 'logframes') for each of the programmes, forming the basis for the GTF general logframe (DFID, 2009). Figure 4-1 shows an overview of the GTF's main logframe compiled from three sources: DFID (2009), KPMG (2011) and KPMG (2012).
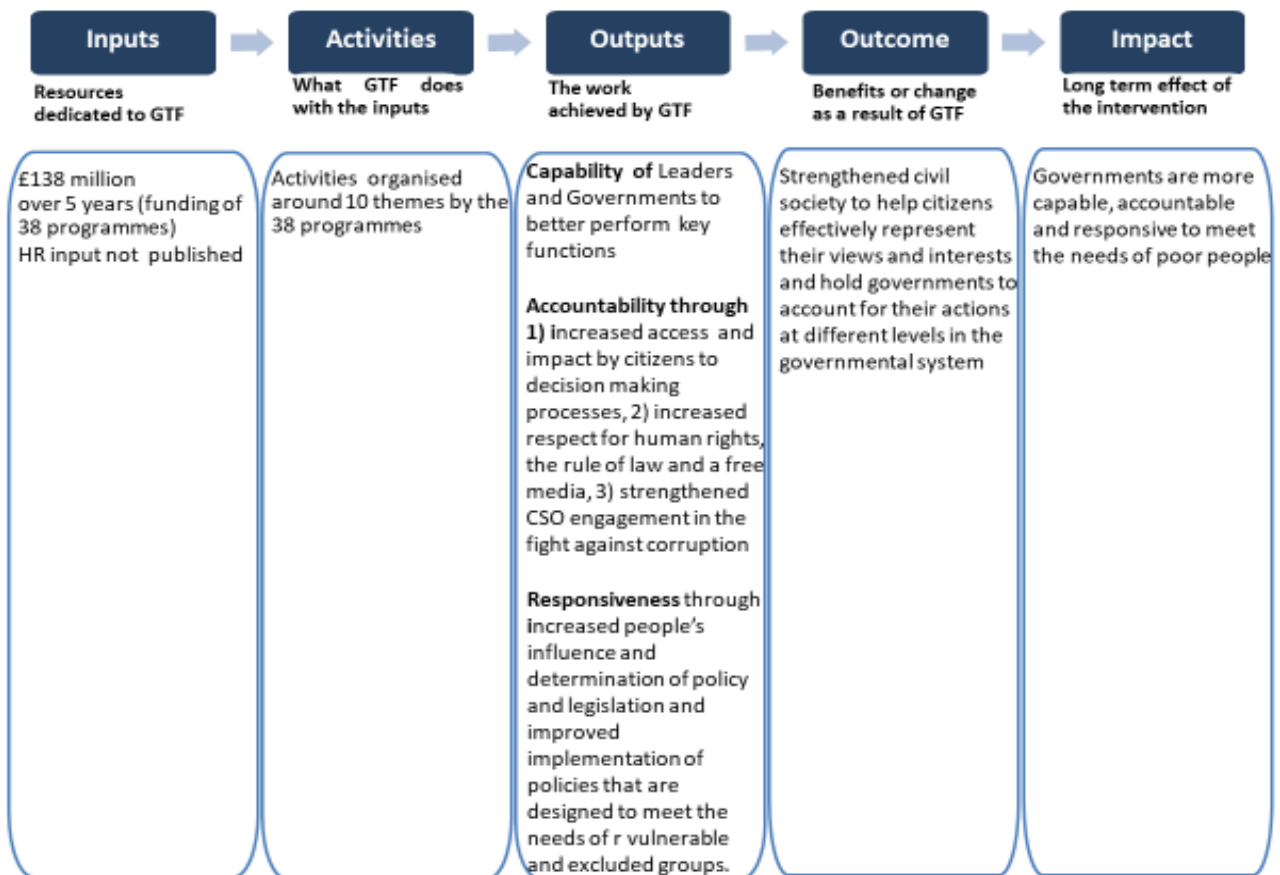
Figure 4-1: Overview of GTF general logframe [Source: Author adapted from DFID (2009), KPMG (2011) and KPMG (2012).]

As Grove and Zwi (2008) explain, a log frame is a four-by-four matrix with four rows corresponding to a hierarchy of project objectives (goal, purpose, output, activities) and four columns, describing the objective, its indicators and how to measure them, and critical assumptions. In the case of the GTF, it was expected that an increased demand for governance at community level would drive governments into being more responsive and having to increase their supply for better governance and, ultimately, public goods and services to their citizens. Figure 4-1, which is the basic format of the GTF logframe shows the impact, outcomes, output, activities and inputs but does not describe

the broader objectives, indicators to measure them and the related critical assumptions. This is due to the late appearance of the logframe in terms of the overall implementation of the GTF. The span of control for the GTF resides in the planned work i.e. the inputs, the activities and, to some extent, some of the outputs. However, the outcome and impact belong to a domain of intended results, which are often beyond the reach of policy makers. Gasper (2000) and Bakewell & Garbutt (2005) recognise the benefits of using logframe approaches in international development but highlight a shortcoming of this approach. They claim that the importance given to objectives often leads to overemphasizing control to the detriment of flexibility in implementation. A key problem is that 'tunnel vision' sets in and there is an emergence of a certain "blindness to effects other than the stated objectives" (Gasper, 2000; p.2).

4.2 Chronology and Background of GTF

This section sets out a chronology of GTF and reviews key milestones and related documents prior to its inception. In doing so, it aims to identify the influences that have shaped GTF since its beginning. Appendix 4 - presents the 10 documents investigated for the study, describing them in chronological order to allow analysis of the original intent behind the creation of GTF and then how implementation arrangements unfolded. The review in this section uses principally government documents, covering activities undertaken and policies developed at various levels. Some of these documents are published parliamentary documents but others were not published and emerge from correspondence or formal public presentation relating to GTF management. The full categorisation of the documents is shown at Appendix 1. Reviewing a range of documents allows the background of the GTF to be understood from multiple angles. For instance, policy is examined through DFID's (2006b) White Paper, whereas policy implementation is investigated by means of House of Common's annual reports. Similarly, official documents that were used to frame the competitive tender exercise (for example, call for proposals, concept notes as well Terms of Reference for the Fund Manager) enable the investigation of the detailed management of GTF. Non-official documents (such as the BOND review (Hillman, 2009) were included amongst the papers surveyed by virtue of their impact on GTF (see DFID's formal response by Kerby (2009)). The search for and selection of documents was undertaken by arbitrarily assessing their relevance in shaping GTF, its management and, ultimately, setting its direction. The in-depth analysis of each document focused solely on the sections which were relevant to GTF.

As described in Appendix 4 - , a call for concept notes was distributed after the setting out of a strategy for GTF. Over 400 concept notes were received and the selection process for the single round of applications was then carried out jointly by DFID and KPMG, one of the Big Four accounting organisations and the selected managing agent. Reference to DFID's strategy is noticeable in their observation that, "we were clear about what we wanted out of the scheme and what key issues we wanted to cover" (House of Commons, 2007, ev 5). The strategy originates in DFID's 2006 White Paper and was conveyed to applicants in the opening paragraph of the GTF criteria and guidelines (DFID, 2007b). However, contention over the choice of KPMG, the managing agent, highlights issues relating to their capacity to deliver the defined strategy. Chakrabarti[19] (House of Commons, 2007, ev 5) asserted that KPMG was chosen as the GTF managing agent because of its suitability in relation to the clearly defined strategy. However, this clarification came as a result of controversy over the development credentials of KPMG and whether in fact they were poaching DFID staff to gain a better understanding of the processes and methodologies of development (House of Commons, 2007, ev 5). If this were true, it would suggest that there may be incentive for management consultancies such as KPMG to grow their business in the field of development. This supports the argument that an element of market forces was at play in drawing newcomers into a worthwhile area of work.

The criteria and guidelines provided to applicants by DFID are deliberately "intended to set a framework for those initiatives and allow innovation, rather than create a prescriptive programme design" (DFID, 2007b, para 1.4). They are clear about their intention to foster "applications from consortia that would encourage synergies between different sectors and activities [...and] therefore don't think it would be helpful to divide up GTF's resources into rigid pre-determined allocations" (DFID 2007b, para 1.2). In addition, the guidelines encourage a larger portfolio which it was thought would "bring different perspectives, encourage synergies between projects, and add to the diversity of partnerships". (DFID, 2007b, para 1.5). Ultimately, DFID (2007b, para 1.10) encapsulates its vision for GTF, stating that,

> Forging new links between organisations from different traditions and backgrounds has the potential to play an important part in a broader more inclusive approach to addressing governance and transparency issues. Consortia applicants should set out the added value of the consortium and the different role of each organisation within it.

---

[19] Sir Suma Chakrabarti was Permanent Secretary of the Department for International Development from 2002 to 2008.

The aspiration DFID expresses through these criteria and guidelines does not suggest a hierarchical approach to guiding GTF. Clearly, DFID wished to promote the development of healthy and sustainable networks where innovation and sharing of good practice was of foremost importance. This flexible approach is further enhanced by the fact that proposals appear not to need to specify the full range of local partnerships and projects intended but to only lay down the initial ones. Local partners are given particular weight, as all applications had to demonstrate that 85% of any money they received under GTF would be granted to Southern based organisations. However, the generous weighting given to local partners was offset by the uncertainty over the destination of funding over the whole duration. In some ways, the unintended consequence of this was that applicants *de facto* had a bargaining advantage over their 'Southern partners' through their ability to withhold the allocation of money as the projects unfolded (DFID, 2007b, para 2.1). It could be argued that this introduced a form of hierarchical relationship between applicants and local partners.

An informal paper distributed to UK NGOs entitled 'Governance and transparency – some thoughts!' (DFID, 2007c) sought to help potential applicants to the GTF by offering some ideas about governance and transparency and, as such, provides a perspective that governance is multifaceted and more specifically that there is a need to strengthen the 'demand-side':

> Countries need to create their own institutions, and these evolve through a process of contestation and bargaining between the state and citizens within different country contexts. [...] What is also needed is an understanding of how power structures and struggles impact on the day-to-day lives of poor people at the local level. These local political relationships are in turn framed within complex power relations at the national and international level. (DFID, 2007c, p.1)

In focusing on the demand-side, GTF sought to reinforce accountability mechanisms, in particular through the involvement of civil society and media organisations. This approach denoted the underpinning idea that local networks of civil society organisations with the assistance of the media played a key role in allowing marginalised and disempowered groups to find a way to have their voices heard. Locally, this demonstrated that GTF conceived its front-line work as a network. However, whether it behaved as one and produced effective networked systems is investigated in this case study.

After public consultation on the draft criteria of GTF, the final call was subsequently launched in February 2007. Once the call was initiated, DFID engaged in a tender exercise for a Fund Manager, whose role would be to appraise concept notes and proposals (including budgets and logframes)

and afterwards to provide guidance to Grant Holders, appraise all programme-related reports and submit annual progress reports to DFID on GTF as a whole (DFID, 2007a). This way of proceeding suggests that DFID was eager to 'listen to' and 'embed' a wide range of perspectives on Governance and Transparency, from organisations based in the UK as well as those overseas (DFID, 2007a). This is indicative of DFID's wish not to approach the implementation of GTF in a prescriptive manner and, conversely, to allow and enable novelty. However, in the Terms of Reference for the GTF Fund Manager, it transpires that DFID delegated almost its entire authority to the Fund Manager (DFID, 2007a). Responsibilities included undertaking technical appraisals of proposals and recommendations for funding (although the final decision to support or reject proposals remained the responsibility of DFID) and extensive aspects of Fund management. The Fund Manager was expected to negotiate, agree and issue all approved grants as well as to verify and authorise all claims. This in effect amounts to managing GTF budget. In addition, the Fund Manager was responsible for the quality control process for all grant reporting. Any issues of concern were to be raised and an overall report on the performance of GTF was to be delivered on a regular basis. An interesting point in this document is the absence of reference to an overall GTF logframe, a coherent system for monitoring and evaluation. It appears that the Logical Frame Approach (LFA) was not initially regarded as necessary. The fact that an overall GTF logframe appeared later in GTF's life suggests that it may have been an initiative of the Fund Manager. This implies an underlying wish to impose a form of top-down and controlled project management, for which LFA is notorious. Logframes are often described as a managerial method derived from New Public Management, which was preoccupied principally with accountability to donors. In that sense, their use does not offer a learning-oriented evaluation (Rowlands,2003; Aune, 2003).

In both of the documents relating to the announcement of GTF allocations and the selection process, both KPMG and DFID record the fair-minded approach taken to selecting down from 272 proposals to 38 supported programmes (MacDonald, 2008; Robinson, N.D.). As expected of any competitive tendering process of this kind, financial criteria feature prominently. In the case of the GTF, it appears that financial considerations were considered from two perspectives: firstly, as part of the technical merit of programmes through the assessment of budgets and, secondly, through the appraisal of financial risks. This denotes the particular emphasis given to financial issues and may have possibly enhanced the idea amongst applicants that market forces were overwhelmingly at play. Of interest, DFID admitted that the number and quality of proposals exceeded expectations. Hillman (2008) corroborates this, noting that KPMG did not appreciate how wide DFID had made

the criteria and that this led to an unexpected amount of good proposals coming in, many of which were from non-UK based organisations about which DFID knew very little. As the bidding process ended, DFID realised that many good proposals would have to be turned down. This prompted them to enter into discussions with the World Bank in order to seek support to fund further high-quality proposals. Again, this characterises the extremely competitive environment the applicants were facing at the proposal stage. The level of response further incited DFID to promote the setting up of an enduring mechanism with potential to act as an independent funding entity and to identify the scope for systematic learning, evaluation and lesson sharing. DFID recognised that the amount and breadth of proposals would encourage learning through experimentation (Robinson, N.D.). However, the retro-engineering of the GTF to formalise or structure the learning was likely to be difficult at this late stage. Nevertheless, DFID may have realised that funds such as the GTF could be seen as 'test beds' for novel developmental ideas and this is in itself was a positive outcome.

The inclusion of the BOND Review of DFID Governance and Transparency Fund in this document analysis is principally due to the effect that it is thought to have had on DFID. BOND (a body constituted of predominantly UK-based, non-governmental organisations working in international development) is an influential network and, whilst the review was self-instigated, it provoked a reply from DFID in the form of a letter to BOND signed by Peter Kerby, the Acting Head of DFID's Civil Society Department (Kerby, 2009). Amongst the noticeable points made by the review are the numerous comments on the openness of the process inciting organisations to be innovative. Some noted that,

> "[The application process] gave a variety of organisations the chance to think creatively and home in on the less obvious. GTF also encouraged partnership and innovation, particularly at the local level" (Hillman, 2009, p.20)

Others that,

> It made organisations think differently about the different kind of partners they could work with. It generated a lot of original thought, energy and interest about the process of promoting governance and transparency and provided a vehicle through which organisational discussions could be structured in this area. (Hillman, 2009, p.21).

Whilst it appears that most applicants welcomed the broad and open approach to defining governance programmes, it brought about a great deal of competition. A number of applicants commented on the sheer amount of successful Concept Notes that were subsequently invited to

write up Full Proposals. For example, "[there] was far too much competition in the full proposal round, with very little qualitative feedback on the concept note to work from" (Hillman, 2009, p.15). As a result, "due to the huge amount of interest in the Fund (and in the interests of fair competition) DFID could not meet individually with organisations to discuss proposals" (Hillman, 2009, p.26). This extremely competitive tendering was also criticised because,

> It was only requesting large proposals (large funding requests – proof of history of handling large amounts of funding) which in turn meant that many organisations that support work on the ground, at the community level, like ours were competing with very large organisations. (Hillman, 2009, p. 23).

Applicants advised that, in the future, the "design of these funds [should seek] to achieve maximum developmental impact, rather than ease of administration [and shouldn't] make the minimum bid so big as to exclude small NGOs who offer quality and innovation" (Hillman, 2009, p.29). In other words, it did not appear to be a level playing field for smaller organisations.

Another aggravating factor was the subcontracting of GTF Management. Hillman (2009, p.15) reports that, "what was also problematic was the combination of DFID contracting out the selection process (thereby drastically diminishing direct contact with DFID) as well as lack of clarity in the guideline". He goes on to say that,

> Because DFID has outsourced the administration of the fund, DFID staff will not be learning anything from the challenges facing NGOs involved in the different projects. Furthermore, there seems to be no mechanism for NGOs involved in different projects to learn from each other (Hillman, 2009, p.27).

The lack of direct access to and dialogue with DFID was perceived to act as a barrier to learning and to the smooth management of programmes. The overriding observation coming from the BOND review is that the applicants perceived the application stage of the GTF as being extremely competitive. However, unlike conventional market-like contexts, price considerations did not appear to have overly bearing importance in the design of proposals by applicants. Conversely, the importance of bringing about innovation and creative ideas appears to have played an important part in shaping the Concept Notes and Proposals (Hillman, 2009).

In essence, DFID's reply to the BOND review (Hillman, 2009) denotes some divergence of opinion between the two institutions. DFID reinforces its position and the decisions taken in the GTF application process and rejects the basis for BOND's recommendations (Kerby, 2009). There are

areas where DFID concedes that their approach for future funds was likely to change as a result of the lessons from the GTF. For instance, DFID accepts that consulting with stakeholders in the sector to establish a narrower scope based on more focused definitions would be of benefit (Kerby, 2009). Ironically, the openness of GTF and its lack of a prescriptive approach is a point which many applicants raised as being valuable. Innovative approaches seem to have been a hallmark of GTF's application process. Nevertheless, DFID appears to acknowledge (albeit implicitly) that the sheer amount of original Concept Notes was unmanageable and perhaps wasteful.

The issue of outsourcing fund management is one that highlights the insoluble divergence of views. Noticeably, DFID sees the outsourcing as a fundamental way to resolve a problem of capacity that is inherent to the pressures on government departments to achieve their targets with ever-leaner in-house resources. BOND's viewpoint had already been voiced in the House of Commons' (2007) debates over the launch of GTF (House of Commons, 2007; ev 5). The risk of losing internal capacity (and, in turn, possibly capability) through fading institutional knowledge is one that could have potentially affected DFID's ability to make policy happen. Consequently, when Kirby (2009, p.4) writes that, "we believe the benefits of learning and institutional knowledge can also be realised within well designed out-sourced arrangements", this statement rings untrue and is unsubstantiated. The question of what a well-designed out-sourced arrangement looks like deserves closer examination.

The GTF logframe appeared after the launch of GTF. In Coffey's End of Programme Review, Muir & Rowley (2014, p.5) note that,

> Given the diverse nature of the [GTF] portfolio and standards of reporting, improving the quality of reporting on results would not have been an easy task. To manage the situation the FM [Fund Manager…] developed the GTF logframe and started to monitor the contribution of programmes to the logframe.

However, this post-hoc approach to the design of a logframe is not conventional. Normally, the Logical Framework Approach (LFA) is used as a planning tool. Its merit lies in the fact that it promotes logical thinking and internal (project or programme) logic. Importantly, it enhances coherence for monitoring and evaluation by making planners think in evaluatory terms from the outset. Therefore, the retro-engineering of a logframe over a set of activities (in the shape of projects and programmes) that have already been defined and are underway is bound to have had limited effect on the overall coherence of GTF (Aune, 2003).

A number of standards prevail in the sector, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC)[20] criteria for evaluating development assistance which is built on best practice and principles that can be applied globally to make aid work better. As one of the key standards in the sector, it provides a framework for assessment of the effectiveness of aid. Similarly, the use of logframe approaches possibly denotes the donors' desire to promote and guide effectiveness. However, logframes are seen as a managerial decision that seeks more control over the Grant Holders. It is an approach that has been described as top-down and technocratic. Gasper (2000, p.1) remarks that,

> The Logical Framework Approach] tends to over-specify objectives: to overemphasize control as opposed to flexibility when essaying a path forward. [...] Problems include 'tunnel vision'-blindness to effects other than the stated objectives--and 'lock-frame', the tendency to freeze matrices as instruments of one-way accountability.

This view is backed by others, such as Eade (2003), who comments on the growing adoption of New Public Management approaches which can reveal disproportionate concern with accountability to donors. The emergence of the logframe long after the launch of the GTF is puzzling. It suggests that the tool was used in an effort to apply control and impress a hierarchical style on the management of GTF. It is questionable whether this goal-setting exercise, which was mainly quantitative in nature, was done in the name of efficiency and/or financial managerial accountability rather than for the sake of encouraging learning or the design of a learning-oriented evaluation.

4.3 Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis

The analysis that follows focuses on three types of secondary GTF sources, which were views from the GTF on itself, independent views of the GTF and the wider impact of the GTF. The purpose is to build further insights on the GTF from a variety of perspectives. This section is divided into three parts. The first describes the data sources and explains the perspectives each type bring to the study of the GTF. The second depicts the process of analysis when using the computer aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) tools and, finally, the findings of the automated analysis process are presented.

---

[20] OECD DAC has drawn up a series of policy principles addressing key areas of aid programming and management including Project Appraisal, Programme Assistance and Technical Co-operation. See http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/50584880.pdf

4.3.1 Sources

The sources analysed in this section were secondary, principally consisting of reports, which were divided into three groups: core, periphery and external as shown at Figure 4-2. Type 1 or 'Core' sources are GTF Annual Reports and the announcement of a series of Public Meetings held at the end of the lifespan of the GTF. They are considered to be a coherent group as they present either the view of the GTF from the perspective of the Fund Manager or, in the case of the description of the Public Meeting series, a combined perspective of individual Grant Holders from a group of GTF programmes. In effect, these documents represent the views of the GTF reflecting on itself. Type 2 or 'Periphery' sources consist of GTF evaluation review reports. Both the Mid-Term Review (MTR) and the final evaluation leading to the End of Programme Review (EPR) were conducted by independent evaluators. Also added to this group is KPMG's management response to the MTR in order to provide further insight in relation to the key points. These sources highlight an independent view of the GTF and its achievements. Type 3 or 'External' are independent reports, not specifically written about the GTF but referring to it and to the lessons learned from it. This group shows the impact of the GTF beyond the programmes, depicting the repercussions in the broader context in terms of policy learning, governance or development initiatives, for instance. It should be noted that it is difficult to ascertain whether the authors of these documents are completely unrelated to DFID, GTF partners and, therefore, their status as independent is notional.
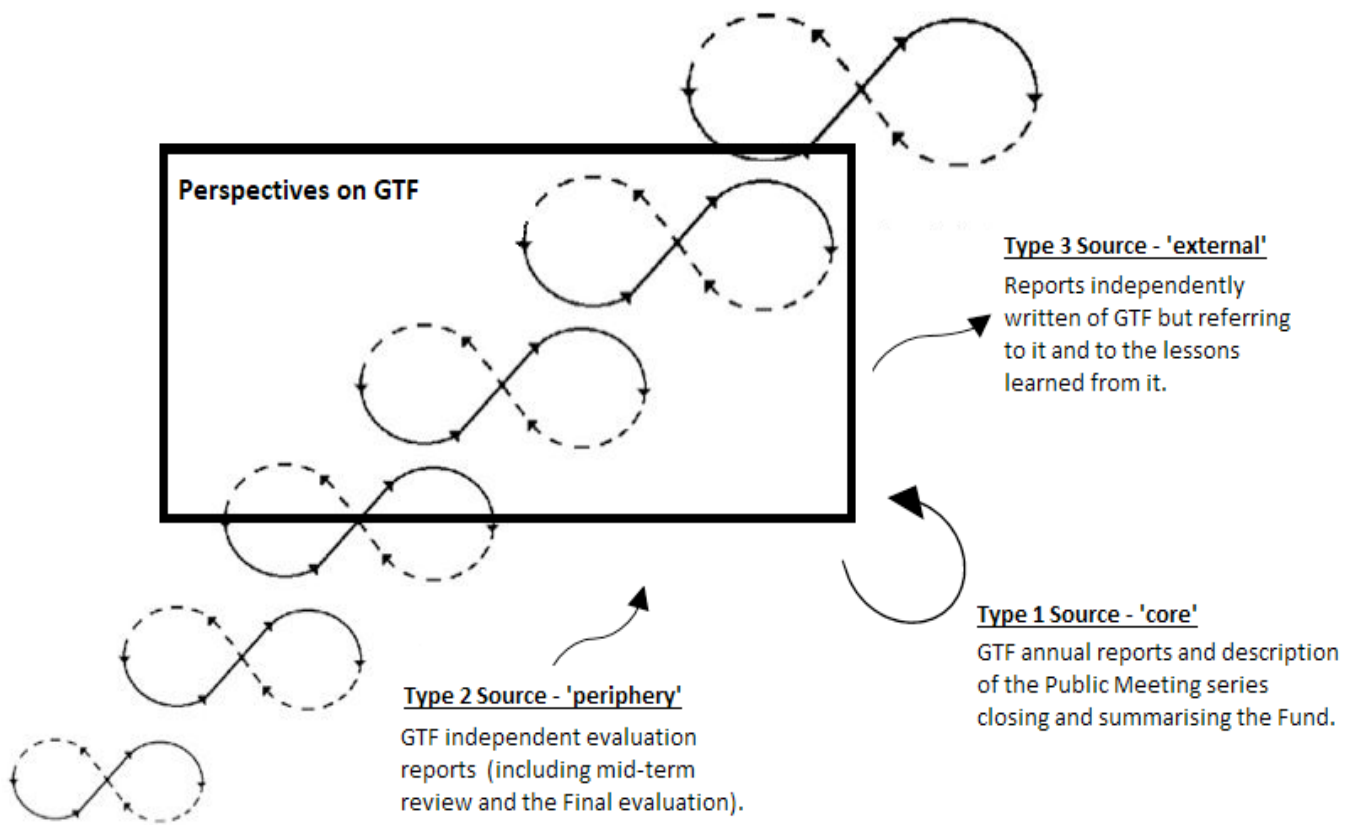
Figure 4-2: Perspectives on GTF from secondary sources [Source: Author]

This grouping enabled 16 sources to be triangulated in order to enable understanding of GTF achievements from these differing perspectives. The specific sources used for data analysis are shown at Table 4-2 below and are categorised by type.

Table 4-2: List of sources by type [Source: Author]

	Date	Author - Name	Short name	Published by	Comments
Type 1 sources – Reflective reports of GTF on itself					
1	2009	KPMG. (2009). *DFID Governance and Transparency Fund 2009 Annual Report*. December 2009.	KPMG, 2009	KPMG (Fund Manager)	GTF internal document not accessible on the DFID website
2	2010	Burge R. (2010). *Learning from DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF): Tools, methods and approaches*. TripleLine Consulting.	GTF learning paper	TripleLine Consulting (Associate Fund Manager)	GTF internal document not accessible on the DFID website
3	2011	KPMG. (2011). *DFID Governance and Transparency Fund 2010/11 Annual Report*. December 2011.	KPMG, 2011	KPMG	

| 4 | 2012 | KPMG. (2012). *DFID Governance and Transparency Fund 2011/12 Annual Report*. December 2012. | KPMG, 2012 | KPMG | |
| 5 | 2012 | Governance and Transparency Fund. (2012). *Governance and Transparency Fund public meeting series*, Overseas Development Institute, Christian Aid, Oxfam, BBC Media Action, and Water Aid. | GTF meeting series | ODI, Christian Aid, Oxfam, BBC Media Action, and Water Aid. | UK-based GTF holders and grantees |

Type 2 sources – Independent review reports of GTF

6	2012	Governance and Transparency Fund. (GTF). (2012). *Governance and Transparency Fund Mid-Term Review Report*. July 2012.	GTF – MTR 2012 GTF, 2012	Unknown	Presumed independent as it triggered a KPMG management response.
7	2012	KPMG. (2012). *Management Response to the GTF MTR Report*. November 2012.	KPMG – MTR Response	KPMG (Fund Manager)	
8	2014	Muir A. and Rowley J. (2014). *Governance and Transparency Fund End of Programme Review*. Coffey International Development Ltd.	GTF – EPR 2014 Muir and Rowley, 2014	Coffey International Development Ltd.	Independent Consultants

Type 3 sources – Third Party references to GTF and broad dissemination of findings

9	2009	Burnell, P. (2009). 'Legislative Strengthening Meets Party Support in International Assistance: A Closer Relationship?', *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol.15, No.4, pp.460-480	Burnell (2009)	Academic Journal	
10	2009	Holland, J., Thirkell, A., Trepanier, E., Earle, L. (2009). *Measuring Change and Results in Voice and Accountability Work* (Working Paper 34). Department for International Development.	Holland et al. (2009)	DFID	
11	2010	McGee, R., & Gaventa, J. (2010). *Review of Impact and Effectiveness of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives* (Synthesis Report). Institute of Development Studies.	McGee & Gaventa (2010)	Institute of Development Studies (IDS)	
12	2011	McGee, R., & Gaventa, J. (2011). *Shifting power? Assessing the impact of transparency and accountability initiatives*. (IDS Working Papers 383)*. Institute of Development Studies.	McGee & Gaventa (2011).	Institute of Development Studies (IDS)	
13	2013	Gaventa, J., & McGee, R. (2013). 'The impact of transparency and accountability initiatives'. *Development Policy Review*, Vol.*31, No*1.	Gaventa & McGee (2013).	Academic Journal	
14	2013	Independent Commission for Aid (ICAI). (2013). *DFID's Support for Civil Society Organisations through Programme Partnership Arrangements.* (Report 22). Independent Commission for Aid Impact.	ICAI (2013)	Independent Commission for Aid	

| 15 | 2013 | Department for International Development (DFID). (2013). Annual Report and Accounts 2012–13 (HC 12). Department for International Development. | DFID (2013) | DFID | |
| 16 | 2015 | Molenaers, N., Gagiano, A. and Renard, R. (2015), 'The Quest for Aid Complementarity: Reforming Co-operation between Nordic+ Donors and NGOs'. Development Policy Review, Vol. 33, No.3. | Molenaers et al. (2015) | Academic Journal | |

4.3.2 Automated Analysis: The Process

The use of CAQDAS for content analysis emerged with the development of technology and this automated software has been designed to complement (if not to supersede) manual qualitative data analysis. Whilst such tools have long been prevalent for quantitative data analysis, their uptake for qualitative data has been slower (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). This is understandable as analysis of qualitative data is laden with difficulty. It needs to be condensed (summarised), grouped (categorised) or restructured in search of meaning (Saunders et al., 2009). The software selected for use in this research was NVivo as it is easily accessible and fully supported with online tutorials and advice. This section breaks down the steps and elements of the data analysis process that was undertaken for this research. It should be noted that, although the software assists with the qualitative research tasks of transcription, coding and interpretation and presents great benefits when managing large amounts of data or displaying traceability of the analysis process, it also has some limitations. Seror (2005) warn that the ease and speed of software-based analysis may lead researchers to take shortcuts and, consequently, they run the risk of losing sight of important contextual information.

The first stage of the analysis of these three types of sources was a coding process, which reflected the central research question of this study examines learning in the GTF programme and its relationship with resilience in a systemic way. It investigates the interactions across levels (programmes, the GTF Fund, DFID and beyond) and identifies key elements which have come to define and influence learning in relation to GTF. At the heart of the enquiry is whether Modes of Governance affect learning processes, an issue revealed in the literature review. For the purpose of this research, Modes of Governance are characterised as the forces identified as governing the GTF and its environment. They are broadly defined as Hierarchy, Market or Network modes. As a reminder, this research assesses whether a connection can be found between GTF learning (at all levels) and the prevalent Modes of Governance.

The coding process utilised the three important themes that emerged from the literature review: 'Modes of Governance', 'Learning' and 'Learning Instruments or Methods'. Words or phrases provided the data, which was initially categorised according to these codes, referred to as nodes. Each node was further broken down as the process of analysis of each document was undertaken and the data was coded. For example, 'Modes of Governance' was more specifically defined as 'Evidence of forces at play governing and around GTF'. This was then further broken down into 'Hierarchy', 'Market' or 'Network'. 'Learning' was identified as referring specifically to 'Evidence of GTF learning: either between Programmes and GTF or GTF and DFID, or 'Broader change'. This was then broken down into 'Lessons from specific programmes' and 'Generic learning' or 'Change as a result of GTF'. Finally, 'Learning Instruments or Methods' was further clarified as 'Evidence of dominant mechanisms or tactics to capture lessons and measure outcomes'. These were then broken down into 'Financial considerations', 'Target setting', 'Value for Money' and 'Lesson sharing'.

Table 4-3 presents a summary of these coding categories, showing how many references (or data coded) were identified in each node and across how many sources these were found.

Table 4-3 : Coding of GTF secondary sources into NVivo nodes [Source: Author]

Nodes	Sources	References
Modes of Governance (*forces at play governing and around GTF*)		
Hierarchy	9	42
Market forces	11	31
Network	12	52
Learning (*evidence of GTF learning – either between Programmes to GTF, GTF to DFID or Broader change*)		
Change as a result of learning	12	58
Learning from programmes (general)	8	45
Lessons from programme (specific)	6	30
Instruments or methods: (*mechanisms or 'tactic' to capture lessons and measure outcomes*)		
Financial considerations	7	35
Measurement	11	67
Sharing Experience	8	55
Target setting	9	32
Resilience Concept (incl. Emergence, Innovation, Threshold)	12	35
Risk	7	20
Systems thinking (*Multi-level effects or Panarchy*)	11	46

Other codes were added to this initial list in order to avoid restricting the issues being investigated. New categories were added as they were identified and, on the whole, this confirmed those issues which had emerged from the initial review of the literature. These new categories were used to collect extracted data on 'Resilience', 'Emergence', 'Innovation' and 'Risk'. Saunders and Thornhill (2009) suggest that following this interactive approach to data analysis allows important themes, patterns and relationships to emerge from the process of analysis itself and this may, in turn, influence or guide future research.

Some reflections on the use of CAQDAS tools should be noted. Firstly, the fact that this research used secondary data which did not require transcription meant that some challenges were side-stepped. For example, the transcription of interviews would involve preparing documents and checking on meaning, tone and intent. However, set against this benefit, NVivo still proved to be a time-consuming tool to use. Its sophistication makes it complex and not always intuitive. The software comes loaded with specialist vocabulary which needs to be understood before it can be used efficiently. Training is necessary but, more importantly, using the software immediately after training is essential as the skills are soon forgotten. A first-time user needs to use the package as soon and as much as possible to make the best use of its very powerful functionalities. Nevertheless, in terms of this research, its application became increasingly stimulating as familiarity with the software grew. Finally, another important caveat is that the coding process is subjective. The reliability, accuracy and the power of the tool relies ultimately on the very subjective understanding and judgement of the researcher. Coding and categorising require interpretation and, in the end, is subject to bias.

4.3.3   Automated Analysis: The Findings

Once the documents were coded and evidence was categorised, searches were then conducted in order to analyse the data further and to find relationships between the nodes. NVivo offers a number of 'query' mechanisms to analyse the data and the 'matrix coding query' was selected as it allows the cross tabulation of how the content is coded at different nodes. It then displays the commonality between the selected nodes in the form of a table.

4.3.3.1   Views of the GTF on itself: analysis of Type 1 sources

Results are shown at Table 4 4. The matrix generated showed the content that had been coded in terms of the 'Modes of Governance' (shown in columns A to C) versus the 'Instruments or Methods for Learning' (shown in rows 1-4) for Type 1 sources which, in the main, were GTF Annual reports. Results are shown at Table 4-4.

Table 4-4: Modes of Governance vs. Instruments or Methods for Learning [Source: Author]

	A: Hierarchy	B: Market forces & competition	C: Network
1: Financial considerations	4	**5**	1
2: Measurement	**5**	1	1
3: Sharing Experience	3	0	**14**
4: Target setting	**9**	0	0

The cells of immediate interest are those where higher instances of data extracts or evidence is concentrated. For example, Cell C-3 indicates that 14 references link 'Network' and 'Sharing Experience'. This is not surprising as networks are expected to function on the premise of consensual practices where participants recognise common problems and explore solutions using exchanges of ideas, as discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4).

Table 4-5 expands Cell C3 to show how 'Network' and 'Sharing experience' relate for GTF Type 1 sources, presenting selected extracts (or references) for each source and providing summarised comments on the references.

Table 4-5: Relationship between 'Network' and 'Sharing Experience' in GTF (Cell C-3) [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
(KPMG, 2009, p.13)	"…the value of sharing experiences with other Grant Holders in planning for proper M&E should not the under-estimated. Here the GTF learning workshop in February 2009 proved an invaluable opportunity to learn how other organisations have responded to the challenge of defining performance management arrangements in a variety of circumstances."	Networking in GTF allows sharing of experience to solve common problems
(KPMG, 2011, p.31)	"Knowledge and experience of 'what works and what doesn't' often seems to get trapped in geographic or sector specific silos. The GTF aims to break down those barriers by promoting learning across the GTF portfolio, improving coordination at country level, and sharing key lessons learnt with relevant stakeholders. The GTF was launched without an overarching logical framework and without a comprehensive learning plan into which the Grant Holders could feed their information and experiences. As a result, each has developed their own terms, methodologies, and ways of classifying their learning."	Knowledge and experience sharing are aims of GTF but the lack of logical framework at the outset led to siloed learning.
(KPMG, 2011, p.31)	"A key element of the learning framework, therefore, is to capture the ways in which the GTF partner organisations have used GTF to develop their core capacities and to expand their knowledge and expertise in the field of governance."	Networking in GTF also existed within programmes – Grant Holders and their partners learn by working together
(KPMG, 2012, p.25)	"Learning from the GTF has focussed on sharing tools, methods, and approaches for achieving results amongst GTF Grant Holders. It has been captured through the analysis of annual reports, consolidated through a series of country verification visits and disseminated through learning events and thematic learning papers. [….] These events provided an effective way to share lessons across regions and strengthen the global network of civil society organisations working on governance and transparency issues".	Grant Holders developed diverse tools, methods, and approaches. Capture, verification and dissemination of results was equally diverse and ad hoc.
(KPMG, 2012, p.9)	"[…] while different GTF-funded projects may work on similar issues, they have understandably measured their results in diverse ways. This complicates the aggregation of data for standardised indicators within GTF global logic model."	At Fund level, aggregation was complex.
(KPMG, 2012, p.32)	"The revised ToR has placed a much stronger emphasis on learning and demonstrating impact from the GTF. […]. In addition to highlighting the impact of individual programmes and their contribution to the overall objectives of the GTF, the Fund Manager is now expected to design a demand-led	Weakness in GTF's initial design and management led to some recommendations in the MTR (and revised

	learning strategy which builds an understanding of different approaches to supporting civil society and documents learning in up to 10 thematic areas defined by interested stakeholders. It is expected that learning will be disseminated through a series of learning events and up to 100 brief case studies will be developed from information contained in annual reports from Grant Holders"	Terms of Reference) to develop a learning strategy at Fund level.
(KPMG, 2012, p.41)	"Consider reducing the number of learning papers and events. Another possibility would be to combining learning events across other CSD funded programmes. "	Potential savings in view of assuring VfM for DFID led to the questioning of networking practices.
(GTF meeting series description, 2012, p.2)	"A number of UK-based GTF-holders and grantees are now examining some of the evidence gathered, so they can build on their learning from the implementation of GTF projects before GTF comes to an end in 2013. The KPMG-led learning process (including GTF workshops, meetings, summaries of annual reports and midterm evaluations) has provided a platform for cross-learning between GTF holders and communicating with DFID. GTF holders have also developed their own fora for sharing case studies and experiences from practice. [...] The meetings will create a shared space for various stakeholders to come together and discuss pertinent issues informed by the GTF and other experiences."	Confirmation that networking brought about learning in GTF.

The evidence suggests that the development of network type relationships took place from the outset of the GTF. Nevertheless, the Type 1 sources point to the difficulty in identifying an emergence of common learning. This is due to the lack of a framework through which the GTF Grant Holders could share understanding of problems and potential solutions. Grant Holders express the benefits of learning events, whilst DFID and the GTF manager both sought to encourage collaboration between and within programmes. However, the difficulty lies in retrospectively engineering the sharing of learning. GTF management organised learning events but these were brought about by self-directed working groups of GTF Grant Holders. The series of public meeting which emerged towards the end of GTF's life aimed to disseminate research, publications, and case study materials.

Of the 14 references in Cell C-3, the bulk (seven references) were found in the GTF 2012 Annual Review (KPMG, 2012) while most of the others were equally distributed in the GTF 2009 Annual Review (KPMG, 2009) and in the GTF 2011 Annual Review (KPMG, 2011). Reasons for this trend are not obvious but the suggestion is that the network relationship became a prominent aspect of the GTF later in its life. It is possible that the importance of learning in a networked manner was not recognised initially and certainly did not appear to have been considered as part of the design of the GTF. Retrospective efforts to reinforce networked learning are visible but could be judged as too little and too late. The support to networking was also fragile, demonstrated by the fact that its funding was questioned in the GTF 2012 Annual Review (see Table 4-5; KPMG 2012; p.41). Learning and exchanges appear to be descriptive and somewhat superficial in that they are based on discussions rather than sharing practice and doing things together. This could be due to the lack of time and a failure in the design of the learning approach. Another question arises in relation to the public meeting series set-up by UK-based GTF-holders and grantees – was the UK only link indicative that geographical proximity is of essence in sharing experience?

Turning to the Hierarchical Mode of Governance, there are two cells that hold a significant number of references. Cell A-4 contains nine references relating to 'Hierarchy' and 'Target Setting' and Cell A-2 contains five references to 'Hierarchy' and 'Measurement'. The literature discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4 suggests that these relationships are to be expected. Indeed, the centrality of authority entails control and requires compliance. Learning in this context is articulated around centrally framed problems and defined goals which ultimately lead to the specification of prescribed solutions and means of oversight of performance.

Table 4-6 describes how 'Hierarchy' relates to 'Target Setting' and 'Measurement' for GTF Type 1 sources. The manifestation of a hierarchical mode of governance is clear when looking at Type 1 sources. Early GTF annual reports present the idea of robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for GTF programmes and for GTF as a whole. For the higher echelons in the notional hierarchy – DFID and its Fund Manager, KPMG – progress and evidence of impact came about through the development of logframes. Grant Holders were to establish their own targets around the DFID-specified CAR framework. Furthermore, instruments for control were to be defined using Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) arrangements that were also defined within the logframes. Centrally coordinated reporting by Grant Holders determined progress against the pre-defined measures. However, difficulties arising from the late implementation of the CAR framework into logframes are multiple. Technical assistance is required to enforce monitoring instruments, yet this does not appear to have been sufficient to ensure consistency in the aggregation of programme results. Consequently, a raft of prescriptions and instructions followed the MTR (GTF, 2012) to make up for this lack of control. This suggests that, at mid-point in GTF's life, the legitimate authority, DFID, perceived the need to reaffirm authority and control over the implementation of GTF.

The last cell of Table 4-4 to be examined for Type 1 sources relates to 'Market' and 'Financial Considerations' in Cell B-1. This link could be characterised as the weakest as it only features five references connecting market forces to financial and/or competitive considerations in the context of the GTF. In Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4, it was suggested that, in a context where market forces prevail, learning is geared towards generating cost effective or inventive solutions. Therefore, competitive communities maintain positions that are either profitable[21] or where demand is satisfied by innovative offerings (dedicated to maintaining or growing a distinctive position in the eye of customers or, in the present context, funding bodies). Financial considerations are of utmost importance in this context as they reflect the preference for curtailing cost-bearing activities in an effort to offer competitive ideas and proposals.

---

[21] Here the term profitable is understood in a rather generic way as referring to sound, solvent or financial valuable activities. The term does not sit well in a context of NGOs. This point is later discussed in relation to the pilot interview (see section 4.5.1).

Table 4-6: Relationship between 'Hierarchy', 'Target Setting' and 'Measurement' (Cells A-2 and A-4) [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
(KPMG, 2009, p.7)	Nonetheless, it is becoming clear that the GTF portfolio will provide direct opportunities for testing methods to strengthen the accountability and responsiveness aspects of the DFID CAR (Capability, Accountability, Responsiveness) framework	DFID provides a framework to assess progress and provide evidence of impact (the CAR Framework).
(KPMG, 2009, p.12)	"As the GTF has a strong focus on monitoring and evaluation (M&E) all Grant Holders have been required to produce a baseline and present M&E systems to monitor their progress and measure change. The GTF will demonstrate results and test theories of change which fits into DFID's increasing emphasis on measuring the impact of voice and accountability (V&A) related programmes."	GTF's intention to measure achievements is clear from the outset.
(KPMG, 2009, p.12)	Strong evidence has emerged from the GTF of the advantages of supporting grant-holders in the early stages of project inception so that they become more accountable and aware of the requirements for measuring their performance. Assisting grant-holders through the provision of tangible advice in project planning and logframe preparation at the inception stage has delivered important benefits	The use of logframes is indicative of the wish to conduct compliance oversight.
(KPMG, 2009, p.12)	These benefits have been achieved through technical assistance from KPMG/Triple Line. In February 2009, a Learning Workshop for all Grant Holders emphasised the importance of performance monitoring for the GTF and highlighted good practice in measuring results. Technical assistance has also included: • Detailed guidelines and formats for completing project reports and preparing project logframes, • Visits to UK grant holder offices and remote email support to review draft reports and logframes and offer suggestions for remedial action. • Overseas visits to selected Grant Holders offering direct hands-on support and coaching in project planning and logframe revisions.	Prescriptions and instructions in the form of technical assistance are provided top-down to Grant Holders.
(KPMG, 2011, p.48)	The assessment of reports from GTF programmes culminates with a RAG rating for each programme. Red-rated programmes are considered to have serious shortcomings requiring either significant restructuring or termination of the programme. Amber-rated programmes are those which are judged to require closer monitoring. Green-rated programmes are those which are considered to be largely on track.	Targets and codified prescriptions become systematised ratings.
(KPMG, 2012, p.2)	Operational statistics for the GTF are collected in relation to: punctuality of reporting; issues requiring follow-up; number of issues followed up; types of financial and technical issues; overall record of assessments; number of amendments to grant arrangements; accuracy of budget forecasts; quarterly disbursements, and annual expenditures.	Operational measures are coined.

| (KPMG, 2012, p.32) | Following the MTR, the Revised Terms of Reference for the Fund Manager include: Specific new targets have also been introduced under the Programme Management function. In order to promote greater accountability, the Fund Manager is now required to provide DFID with a quarterly statement of assurance on whether Grant Holders are compliant with terms and conditions in their grant arrangements. The Fund Manager is expected to develop an agreed time-bound plan of action to resolve issues of non-compliance and, where appropriate, consider an exit strategy should a programme cease to represent good value for money or fails to deliver the expected results. | DFID reaffirms powerfully the centrality of its authority. |

Table 4-7 describes how 'Market' relates to 'Financial Considerations' for GTF Type 1 sources. The manifestation of a Market-type Mode of Governance in the GTF is not as prolific as for the other two Modes of Governance (Hierarchy and Network). For this Mode of Governance, the references of interest point to learning instruments, such as 'Value for Money' (VfM), a key financial indicator and instrument to measure effectiveness. In Type 1 sources, VfM emerges as early as 2009, but appears to be neither well understood nor measured by the programmes. The Fund management asserted its intention to expand scrutiny and ensure value for taxpayer's money. However, in the end (in the GTF meeting series), the GTF grant-holders clearly express reservations about the concepts of VfM, effectiveness and accountability pointing out that such measures suit donors more than beneficiaries of development interventions. This possibly describes a reality that development efforts are not well captured in terms of VfM, yet it also suggests that the uncomfortable experience of being assessed in financial terms is a growing trend.

One of the most telling references with regards to Market Mode of Governance features in the lessons for Fund Management that appears in the 2012 GTF Annual report (KPMG, 2012, p.42). The consideration by the Fund Manager is addressed directly to DFID and discloses the pressures of competitive pricing. Clearly, all fund management tasks have a cost and donors as well as Fund managers should agree on who will bear those costs. The concern expressed is truly reflective of market forces at play and the important role that price played in the selection of the Fund Manager.

Table 4-7: Relationship between 'Market' relates to 'Financial Considerations' (Cells B-1) [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
(KPMG, 2009, p.14)	This overall objective [improvements in governance and transparency] will be achieved through a focus on measuring the impact of individual GTF programme interventions while reviewing value for money.	VfM is an indicator of GTF achievements.
(KPMG, 2011, p.4)	The requirement to measure VfM was not covered particularly well during the MTRs of many programmes. This may be attributed to a limited understanding of valid methodologies but is also linked to weaknesses in approaches to measuring outcomes and impact. Further guidance in both areas is warranted.	Acknowledgement that the demonstration of VfM is imperfect for many programmes.
(KPMG, 2012, p.31)	The management of the GTF is driven by an unrelenting commitment to ensuring transparency and value for money. This commitment is applied in equal parts to the scrutiny of organisations receiving funding from the GTF and to the overall management and administration of GTF. Our aim is to ensure that every pound is spent effectively and this includes a proactive approach towards reducing waste while improving efficiency.	The Fund management declares commitment to meticulous scrutiny of VfM.
(KPMG, 2012, p.42)	Lessons learned from the management of the GTF (Extract) Clarity on quality and quantity: DFID should consider clearly the quality and quantity of expected outputs during the contracting stage. Otherwise, external fund managers will tend toward the minimum to remain price competitive.	Recognition of competitive pressures are at play in particular maintain economical pricing.
(GTF meeting series description, 2012, p.4)	Value for money (VfM) is the most visible and widespread manifestation of donor attempts to move development initiatives to a place where results are more easily recorded, with a range of new tools and approaches being trialled. But this agenda contrasts with certain perspectives from the grassroots level, which protest at this limited and unrealistic view of development. Their argument is that the situation suits donors more than the supposed beneficiaries of development interventions. In this session we will explore the concepts of VfM, effectiveness and accountability, asking if and how they can be brought together in a coherent way, and what such a new approach would look like.	GTF programmes argue against VfM.

Interviews and, in particular, the pilot interview, presented below at Section 4.5, indicated that market forces and competitive elements were not easily or explicitly recognised by Grant Holders. This could be due to a different terminology being used within the sector to describe market forces or, possibly, because it is culturally difficult to acknowledge this mode of governance. Consequently, a search on the idea of competition in Type 1 sources brought about some evidence of the manifestation of the Market Mode of Governance. The search consisted of looking for the words 'competition', 'cost' and 'value' and any stemmed words derived from them. The results showed that these three terms were present in the later editions of GTF Annual Reports, specifically in 2011 and 2012. However, there was also a clear recognition of competitive influences. For example, in the 2012 GTF Annual Report, the significance of public dissemination events is highlighted, stating that "[they] have allowed DFID to communicate emerging priorities to a key audience including the key message that civil society organisations must demonstrate their **comparative advantage, cost effectiveness**, [*emphasis added*] and capability for achieving results and impact" (KPMG, 2012, p.26). As a result, the notions of efficiency and effectiveness become fundamental. The 'unrelenting' commitment to VfM is openly stated by the Fund Manager who affirms strict scrutiny of organisations receiving GTF funding, stating that "our [*referring to the Fund Manager*] aim is to ensure that every pound is spent effectively and this includes a proactive approach towards reducing waste while improving efficiency" (KPMG, 2012, p.31). This implies close examination of costs, sometimes in great detail such as "basic checks on proposed salary levels and other specific unit costs in relation to the local context" (KPMG, 2012, p.33), which were an integral part of reviews conducted in view of primary verification and quality assurance. Investigations of costs also considered programme budgets according to their proposed activities, and, in some cases, "the Fund Manager was forced to seek additional information in cases where the reasonableness of costs could not be easily assessed" (KPMG, 2012, p.37). In the end, the emphasis on costs appears to go hand in hand with the classic functioning of markets (as described in microeconomics textbooks), even in the case of aid programming. Costs have a bearing on both the quality and quantity of services offered. Thus, in recognition of these market forces, the Fund Manager highlights that,

> "DFID should consider clearly the quality and quantity of expected outputs during the contracting stage. Otherwise, external fund managers will tend toward the minimum to remain price competitive." (KPMG 2012, p.42).

4.3.3.2   Independent views of the GTF: analysis of Type 2 sources

Type 2 sources consisted of a smaller set of documents essentially commenting on the GTF from an independent perspective. The comments originate from the two major reviews of GTF: the Mid-Term Review (MTR) and the End of Programme Review (EPR) in 2012 and 2014 respectively. As previously, a matrix query on Type 2 sources was run to identify whether there was a relationship between Modes of Governance and Learning and its related mechanisms. The resulting matrix did not convey significant results demonstrating the forces at play. However, it did reveal number of observations on learning in the GTF that were regrouped thematically in tabular form after close reconsideration of the references coded in each node. The first key theme identified describes learning by sharing experiences and, more broadly, the functioning of the GTF as a network. Table 4-8 presents selected references from Type 2 sources that link learning and sharing experiences in the GTF as a network.

Learning in the GTF by sharing experiences is described using different terms in Type 2 sources than those used in Type 1 sources. Both independent reviews of the GTF point to the gaps in the evidence of learning. Such critical perspectives of the Fund might have been expected as the reviews are purposefully pointing to challenges and areas for future improvements. The noticeable discrepancies between how GTF perceives itself and the independent views of it are manifold. Firstly, what GTF Annual Reports provide as indications of learning is not considered to be robust evidence by the MTR. In fact, the MTR stresses that describing learning activities that have taken place (visits, workshops, papers, etc.) is important, but that there is a requirement to give details on what specific lessons were shared across the GTF. In other words, reporting on the learning activities does not constitute sufficient evidence that learning has in fact taken place and a more substantial indication of what has been learned is needed.

Table 4-8: Learning in GTF by sharing experiences: functioning as a network [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.5)	More evidence is needed on whether and how lessons are being shared across projects and being fed back into on-going projects to reshape and improve them.	Evidence on the sharing of experience across projects is lacking.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.8)	The sample analysis clearly points to the importance of early engagement with and empowerment of local partners in order to enable a higher degree of ownership, and to promote partner commitment to adapt project approaches and activities to their local context. This is clearly seen in the approach adopted by one of the organisations from the sample, where their engagement with local partners through all stages of project design and development meant more effective adaptation of approaches to the local context. This was also supported by a high degree of decentralisation in project activity to maximise partner ownership. It is worth noting that this positive approach to partner engagement was only identified in one project out of the eleven reviewed in this sample analysis. It is worth considering how to disseminate such best practices across the GTF in order for all projects to be able to assess what of these practices would equally apply to their work and partner relations.	Sharing of experience within a project requires engagement and empowerment of local partners in all phases of the project. Such best practice is not clearly visible in GTF programmes
GTF - MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.24)	On a broader scale, country visits have shown that local GTF partners belonging to different overarching programmes often do not realise that they are funded by and operating within the same overall fund.	Partners are even sometimes uninformed of the bigger GTF picture.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.24)	When analysing engagement and communications, the review team was interested in seeing what kind of activities were taking place at a number of different levels, including: a) Between partners from the same projects/programmes; b) Between partners from different projects but working on the same thematic areas; c) Between partners from different projects but working in the same countries. From the outset one of the Fund Managers' roles was to improve coordination at country and thematic level and facilitate communication and the sharing of ideas and lessons across relevant stakeholders. Workshops, country visits and learning events were identified as the most effective ways of facilitating this, and improved communities of practice were identified as an output of this enhanced collaboration. Although these aims are clearly outlined in KPMG's 2009 and 2010/11 Annual	Evidence on the collaboration activities between stakeholders is weak.

	Review, strong evidence and examples of where communication and engagement have been built through these activities at each of the above levels are not forthcoming.	
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.27)	While [such] international events seem to have been well received by the main Grant Holders who attended them, there is little documentation of how the lessons discussed during these events have been shared across the GTF and with the grant-holders' partners regionally or locally to enrich their body of knowledge and enhance their practices	The gap in sharing appears to be at 'lower' end of the chain – local partners do not always benefit of learning activities.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.7)	In the on-line survey only, a few respondents referred to learning from other GTF programmes, a finding commensurable with the fact that sources and events for thematic learning and in-country learning between GHs *[Grant Holders]* have been limited.	A survey as part of the EPR reveals that the 'networked' learning is perceived as limited.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.33)	The two UK learning events gave rise to the establishment of UK based GHs forming demand-led self-directed working groups. The aims of these groups were to examine the evidence and to derive lessons to deepen learning. As far as it is known to the review team a total of seven meetings were held between March 2012 and February 2014. They were convened by, amongst others, ODI, Christian Aid, Oxfam GB, BBC Media Action and WaterAid. These were well attended which suggests that learning was derived from sharing and dissemination. No information exists on the effectiveness of these as learning forums.	Network-type learning emerges in the latter part of the GTF, but the self-directed working groups are ad-hoc and learning is not systematic.

In addition, the MTR and the EPR observe that networked-type learning is not ubiquitous. Although Grant Holders describe in-programme learning, they concede that learning between programmes was limited. The MTR revealed that GTF local partners were unaware of the existence of other programmes that had been financed through the GTF. This represents a disturbing gap in the development of a network at local level. Furthermore, local partners did not always benefit from learning activities and, worse still, were not always empowered in such a way that they could engage in the adaptation of project approaches and activities to their local context. Ultimately, this is a critical point for GTF learning because it relates to the sustainability aspects of GTF. The GTF can demonstrate its success if change is embedded in local contexts through improved institutions, adoption of best practice or policies, and results achieved and continued once direct funding from GTF ceased. The initial step for sustainability is, therefore, the engagement and empowerment of local partners.

Finally, the networked learning that emerged from self-directed working groups in the latter part of the GTF's life was not systematised. The EPR remarks that its effect may have been short-lived and limited. On the other hand, this is possibly the hallmark of learning, it emerges from networks where standardised approaches have not been imposed (top-down) and collaborative discussions or activities arise out of the willingness to solve common problems. Thus, non-systematic and ad-hoc learning is conceivably most characteristic of networked learning. In summary, the expression of networks appears dysfunctional. Annual Reviews (or Type 1 sources) depicted a view that the GTF had sought to, and was functioning as, a network capable of learning. However, independent reviews paint another picture. Networked learning occurred but this appears to be the result of an approach that was designed and managed by the Fund manager. The networks developed somehow lacked the authenticity which may have driven them to more collegiate problem solving.

The second key theme identified in Type 2 sources describes the presence of hierarchical forces in many aspects of GTF learning. Table 4-9 presents selected references linking learning to a manifestation of a hierarchy.

Table 4-9: Learning in GTF: multiple signs of hierarchy [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.8)	The GTF was a non-prescriptive demand-led fund: it was not designed as a strongly coherent portfolio. The variety of programmes limited the number in any one particular thematic area. It was launched without a theory of change or a logframe. The purpose statement of "strengthened civil society" had a crucial influence on the logframe which was developed and repeatedly modified during the GTF. The structure of the logframe influenced the quality of reporting on achievements and presented an impediment to learning.	Initially, arrangements to gather evidence of GTF achievements are set loosely. This indicates that hierarchical forces are at play are not obvious from the outset.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.7)	The increased drive for evidence-based results and outcomes arrived when programmes were two years into implementation, and in general not geared up to the demands of rigorous evidence-based M&E. There was therefore a sea change in expectations, which GHs were gently pushed into trying to meet. In the view of the review team a letter to all GHs in the second half of 2010 setting out the implications of a policy change which DFID had to meet, and which therefore meant all Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in receipt of DFID funding also had to meet, would have more clearly set out the new obligations incumbent on GHs. In hindsight it appears that the FM, by not being tougher, was protecting GHs and their partners from the inevitable need to provide better evidence of results and of their contributions to results.	Mid-way in the implementation of GTF, DFID attempts to strengthen its authority on Grant Holders (GH) and their partners.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.32)	MTR recommendation Move lesson learning from the level of activity documentation and internal reporting to that of action planning for the implementation of key lessons learned, and tracking the improvements realised as a result of lessons learned.	Tightening the grip: GH are asked to track the improvements and not simply report activities.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.5)	With respect to portfolio management and reporting, two key features which had significant implications stand out. First the fundamental shift in policy in DFID towards stronger results based management, evidence of contribution to results and Value for Money (VFM) in the second half of 2010 when programmes were entering their midterm stage; and secondly the step change shift in contract arrangement with the Fund Manager (FM) which saw the contract develop from one with an administration focus to one with a portfolio management and learning focus. Specific attempts were made to introduce step changes to strengthen learning from the portfolio informed in particular by DFID's heightened interest in evidence-based results and demonstrating contribution to results.	Hierarchical pressures appearing in the midterm of GTF are accompanied with measures relating to financial considerations (e.g. VfM)
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.6)	Annual reporting, Mid Term Reviews (MTRs), Final evaluation reports (FERs) and Project Completion Reports (PCRs) followed standard DFID formats. These formats did not facilitate meeting DFID's increased demand for evidence-based reporting from mid-2010 onwards. The annual report structure contains sections on programme management and M&E which allow summaries, but did not require detailed analyses of contributions to results, and the template for MTRs and FERs did not go as far as to require evaluators to track contribution to results.	Despite more exacting standards of reporting, the EPR finds that the reporting templates did not go far enough in tracking GTF results.

The manifestation of hierarchical pressures is seen in the monitoring and evaluation arrangements of the GTF, and the way DFID and the Fund Manager were prescriptive in setting targets and then measuring achievements. Table 4-9 indicates that a switch to impose stronger hierarchical command over GTF took place after the MTR. DFID was keen to tighten its grip on management and results. This resulted in a high-handed arrangement for the MTR, which was decried by both the Fund Manager and the authors of the EPR. The EPR notes "it seems at odds with GTF, good MTR and FER [Final Evaluation Review] practice that the DFID MTR was undertaken by the GTF design organisation (DFID) and without interviewing the implementing organisation, the FM, or a previous principal member of the consortium, Triple Line" (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.16). This choice could be perceived as indicative of DFID's willingness to reaffirm a strong hold on the GTF.

Beyond the MTR, the second phase of implementation was marked by more exacting standards of reporting with a particular emphasis on the measurement of VfM. Reviewers argue that unsubstantiated statements in annual reports make it difficult to ascertain if GTF is making good progress against indicators. Consequently, a different approach is advocated and the balancing of the initial quantitative approach to measurement is suggested, promoting a more qualitative evaluation and reporting on impacts so as to give "more meaningful story on the programmes' results" (GTF, 2012). Nevertheless, the EPR finds that the reporting templates did not go far enough in tracking GTF results. However, it is possible to suggest that DFID may have aspired to impose a more controlled management of its Fund mid-way through the implementation of the GTF. The efforts and strategy developed turned out to be exacting for both the Fund Manager and the Grant Holders but the learning potential of the GTF was nonetheless reported as lacking in direction and coherence.

It is important to note that manifestations of market forces are not noticeably conveyed in Type 2 sources. Some occasional references can be found but, on the whole, independent reviews of GTF did not bring to light much evidence of significant market influences. Nevertheless, the MTR mentions that the management costs of the GTF represent a remuneration of the "Fund Manager for their inputs and person/days used instead of a fixed-price payment arrangement that remunerates against agreed deliverables, milestones and results" and that, consequently, "costs should be compared against benchmarks from other similar organisations to further inform VFM from a results perspective" (GTF, 2012, p.5). This observation demonstrates that the role and task of fund management are, in fact, perceived as a service that is provided to a market. Thus, to ensure

best VfM, a recommendation is made to DFID that benchmarking (or shopping around) would ultimately be valuable.

The only other noticeable reference to Markets appears in the EPR. A suggestion is made that the GTF induced improvements in the organisational capacity of Grant Holders which would subsequently enhance their capacity to deliver similar programmes in the future. This has implicit effects on the development of a 'market' for the type of projects funded by the GTF as was noted: "this bodes well for future [Grant Holder's] work in governance and transparency." In turn, this indicates that a form of learning geared towards generating original ideas and proposals in the field of governance and transparency has taken place. In so doing, the GTF appears to have promoted the emergence of potentially competitive and innovative communities.

The third theme markedly present in Type 2 sources relates to the broader system effects of the GTF. Earlier, the literature review (Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3) described how systems with multiple, interrelated elements, offer an important framework for the understanding of resilience (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). Acknowledging systems effects also recognises that the components, parts or actors within a system are interlinked in continual cycles of growth, accumulation, restructuring, and renewal. Gunderson & Holling (2002, p.21) explain that,

> "The cross-scale, interdisciplinary, and dynamic nature of the theory has led us to coin the term panarchy for it. Its essential focus is to rationalize the interplay between change and persistence, between the predictable and unpredictable."

Table 4-10 presents selected references linking the GTF Type 2 sources to systems effects. Both independent reviews (the MTR and the EPR) denote the interlinkage between the GTF and other components of its environment. The awareness that connections across scales and space exist around the GTF make GTF's learning all the more important and relevant. The reviews indicate that such interconnections are very difficult in the context of "an incredibly ambitious Fund which has spread the portfolio very thinly causes attribution of results to GTF funding and activities" (GTF, 2012, p.4). Consequently, the weakness in GTF's learning approach led to the ineffective systematising and synthesising of evidence and, as a consequence, the GTF is not able to report authoritatively on the impact it has had, and to further disseminate its findings to interested parties. This contrasts with the claim that the GTF had the scope and ambition to bring significant insights in terms of theoretical, policy and practice in the field of governance, accountability and transparency.

Table 4-10: Linking GTF to systems effects [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.26)	Over the life of the GTF, a diverse approach to learning has been adopted, whereby a number of complementary methods have been used to promote lesson learning and sharing of experiences. Learning has been recognised as a key aspect of the GTF, where the scale and coverage of the portfolio had the potential to generate important learning points which could both enrich the body of knowledge of current GTF stakeholders, and feed into the future design of governance initiatives.	Recognition that GTF, through its scale and scope, has the potential to resonate beyond the grants – across time and spatial scales.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.30)	It is important to consider the strategic positioning of programmes like the GTF within the demand-side and supply-side of the governance landscape, in order to ensure effective balance and enabling of change. In support of this, it may be worth considering the benefit of articulating a cohesive strategy for improving governance, accountability and transparency in a given context, determining the specific goals sought with regard to change, the current inhibitors of such change, what of these relate to the demand or supply side, and what initiatives can best address these inhibitors in order to effect change. Such an articulated strategy would enable the positioning of programmes like the GTF in complementation with various other initiatives to collectively address the issues identified and effect the desired changes in a cohesive and strategic manner, and with clear attribution to each of the initiatives implemented.	GTF is part of a broader setting for improving governance, accountability and transparency. GTF could and possibly should be seen as an instrument for change.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.14)	Within the GTF, there may be some benefit in considering the following: […] Identifying non-GTF initiatives that are working on the supply side of governance and determining how these are also indirectly supporting the GTF impact statement. […] It may also enable increased synergies in the future to ensure that both the demand and supply side of governance are being addressed in a strategic manner.	Acknowledgement that other initiatives in the field of governance have an impact on the GTF's achievement.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.29)	Lessons identified could also be more linked up to DFID and international thinking on and approaches to governance. It would be useful if references were made to DFID policy and practice documents and to academic debates around governance.	Broader impact of GTF in terms of theoretical, policy and practice insights.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.28)	The review team takes the phrase decision makers to refer to three different groups of people in positions of authority: in government; working for DFID; or working for CSOs. In all three cases, it is hard to imagine them not being concerned by the impact objective and interested in understanding the conditions under which governments become more capable, accountable and responsive.	Relevance of GTF to decision makers relates to its objectives and impact.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.35)	The exacting demands for high quality learning products, including setting out in each MSR the fact that evidence to support the result is limited, and plans to strengthen the 50 key MSRs demonstrates how DFID is working to obtain information of an acceptable standard for its advisors to use. However, equally important will be communicating and embedding the learning from the information in DFID	The value and extent of DFID's learning from GTF depends on the quality of evidence (in the shape of Most Significant Results).

The independent reviews also consider the impact of other funded initiatives on the achievements of the GTF. In particular, initiatives on the supply side of governance will naturally complement the activity of the GTF on the demand side. This perspective is coherent with an open systems view of the GTF, whereby the GTF has far reaching interconnections with a global governance context and, equally, that other elements have incidental effects on the GTF. The awareness and, further, the coherence with broader thinking and debates on governance is therefore critical for DFID and its Fund Manager. It is observed that, "it is important that DFID ensures the Fund Manager is kept up to speed and abreast of new thinking and evidence emerging within DFID, for example the new guidance on evaluation or on results in fragile and conflict affected states" (GTF, 2012, p.29). Similarly, it is recognised that the GTF has a bearing at a local level and, through dissemination mechanisms, the GTF programmes ripple beyond their immediate effect. Nevertheless, the reviews observe that local level repercussions require "a more targeted approach to capacity building with partners whose performance indicates a need for such capacity building, and with clear plans for disseminating increased capacity and transferring acquired skills to local partners" (GTF, 2012, p.32)

The final theme to be noted in the analysis of Type 2 Sources relates to risk. Risk management has relevance to resilience in providing a frame for understanding and, more significantly, operationalising resilience. The largely unbounded concept of resilience is commonly understood to be the focal point for risk managers. It follows that, through risk management approaches, systems can become more resilient to shocks and better able to develop strategies for response and recovery from disruptions (Giroux & Prior, 2012; Mitchell & Harris. 2012; Schroeder & Hatton, 2012). The connection between risk and resilience is also relevant to learning because windows of opportunities for change occur following a disturbance and subsequent learning is embedded through reviewed processes and assumptions to deal with risks. Table 4-11 presents selected references linking the GTF to risk for Type 2 sources. Both independent reviews draw attention to issues of risk in the GTF. Ultimately, this is not surprising in light of the purpose of the reviews. The former, the MTR, addresses the issue of risk with a view to making recommendations on the management of the GTF in its final phases. The latter, the EPR, points out the risks which are relevant to future iterations of similar funds or to future work in the area of governance.

Table 4-11: The notion of risk in GTF for Type 2 sources [Source: Author]

Source	Selected extracts	Comment
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.5)	A more proactive approach to risk management across all programmes should be adopted which moves away from purely documenting risks and mitigation measures towards actively analysing evolving contexts and resolving emerging risks. Lessons should be drawn out analysing where risk management has and has not worked.	Acknowledgement that risk approach in GTF needs to more in-depth analysis of risks.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.13)	While some of the GTF grant-holders are implementing some activities on the supply-side of governance in order to increase officials' skills and awareness, and governments' capability to meet demand, the main focus of the GTF projects is more on the demand-side of governance. At a minimum, this could increase the risk of increased demand being met with inadequate response on the part of governments, with this in turn resulting in disillusionment, loss of credibility, and de-motivation on the part of those "making" the demands to sustain their efforts. This issue has been raised by a number of GTF Grant Holders over the course of their demand-side programming work. An additional risk could be that increased demand could trigger parallel structures, for example for service provision, with these not being aligned to national structures, competing for the same resources and/or capitalising on the increased demand for their own benefit.	GTF carries risks inherent to its theory of change: increased demand for governance may lead to unwanted effects if it is not met by adequate supply for governance.
GTF – MTR 2012 (GTF, 2012, p.31)	Programmes such as the GTF have the potential to promote and foster innovation in both the methodologies applied and the management models used, and various examples of this have been provided in the body of this report. However, it is important to balance the pursuit of innovation, and define it clearly, to avoid risks with some partners attempting to work in areas they have no experience with just in order to demonstrate that they are being innovative, and then encountering difficulties due to inexperience.	In the pursuit of innovative methodologies, GTF has ventured in areas of emergent experience which is a risk that needs to be recognised to be adequately managed.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.23)	Overall, the review team find the FM response was not able to achieve the proactive approach to risk management that the MTR had recommended in that it largely consisted of inventories of types of risk and potential means of mitigation.	Despite recommendations on risk the GTF remains largely formulaic in its approach to risks.
GTF – EPR 2014 (Muir and Rowley, 2014, p.24)	[…] assumptions are generally poorly used in programme management and in evaluations, and it may be unrealistic to expect high levels of attention to be paid to the assumptions in the GTF where the logframe itself, partly because of its late introduction, has not played a central role in programme design and management.	Understanding that assumptions are a source of risk is essential.

The GTF appears to have remained somewhat superficial or formulaic in its approach to risk management. The MTR (GTF, 2012) and the EPR (Muir and Rowley, 2014) note that it would be valuable to understand what works in risk management. The EPR (Muir and Rowley, 2014) further suggests that a deep understanding of risk requires the examination of assumptions which are made at GTF level as well as the programme level. These assumptions represent conditions that are implicit and their presence allows the programme to reach its objectives. Programmes' strategies are developed with underlying assumptions, which need to be realistic. The tracking or monitoring of critical assumptions is therefore essential to success (Sartorius, 1991).

Another risk-related issue concerns the GTF's broader setting. The GTF sought to fund innovative programmes in the area of governance. In so doing, it allowed Grant Holders to venture into areas where experience and best practice was only emergent. This strategy understandably carried risks. Related to this, the GTF was developed to support bottom-up approaches to governance, an idea that reflected the willingness to explore the mechanics of accountability and responsiveness resulting from increased demand by civil society. However, the principal risk encountered was one where State capacity is not present and the supply-side of governance could not meet the demand. At GTF level, the assumptions made of State capacity were of risks singled out by Grant Holders.

4.3.3.3   The wider impact of the GTF: Analysis of Type 3 Sources

In total, Type 3 sources included eight sources in which the GTF was referenced. These sources reveal the expectation of the impact of the GTF and what lessons might be transferred to the broader development context. Amongst these eight sources, three were from academic journals, another three were reports or working papers examining broader issues, such as voice and accountability and governance initiatives, and the final two were DFID sponsored. Half of the sources were published before the GTF's mid-term (ranging from 2009 to 2011), three were published as the GTF was ending in 2013 and only one was published with sufficient time for reflection on GTF's impact. Three of the sources are authored by McGee and Gaventa (McGee & Gaventa 2010; McGee & Gaventa 2011; Gaventa & McGee, 2013). The studies by these authors were primarily based on GTF project documentation along with a limited amount of project documentation from other sources. Consequently, the documents published by the Institute of Development Studies (McGee & Gaventa 2010, 2011) make much reference to the work and impact of the GTF. The final reference to McGee and Gaventa is an academic paper where the direct

connection to the GTF as a source of data is played down. It is unsurprising that these sources by the same authors and based on the same primary data have much in common and overlap in many respects. The other source displaying multiple references and links to the GTF is a DFID published working paper by Holland et al. (2009). However, it is worthy of note that most Type 3 sources refer to the GTF only in passing.

Amongst the noticeable themes in Type 3 Sources is Learning. Some Type 3 sources highlight that learning from the GTF may be used but with a very specific or narrow focus. For example, Burnell (2009, p.472) investigates the extent to which "legislatures in emerging democracies should work more closely with support for building stronger political parties and competitive party systems." Similarly, the ICAI report (2013, p.1) is specifically interested in the evaluation of the delivery, effectiveness and impact of "DFID's Programme Partnership Arrangements (PPAs) – one of the principal mechanisms through which it funds civil society organisations (CSOs)" with a view to shaping any similar CSO funding instrument in the future. The narrow and specialist nature of these documents means that GTF learning is used but only somewhat remotely. For example, Burnell (2009, p.472) writes that,

> DFID's small Governance and Transparency fund, established in 2007, is a modest example. Much encouragement is being aimed at making governments more accountable for the way they spend public money – and hence the way that foreign aid is used.

The ICAI (2013) report mentions the GTF only in an annex, noting that it is one of the funding mechanisms that DFID used to support civil society. Another example is Molenaers et al. (2015) whose principal focus is the study of aid fragmentation and, in particular, how donors and Northern hemisphere NGOs can approach and co-fund reforms to gain better complementarity and coordination between civil-society organisations and governments involved in aid programmes.

For other Type 3 sources, the GTF is a significant illustration or is the basis for the generation of important learning. For these Type 3 sources, the GTF provides an apposite fit to their aspiration to learn about "what impact means in relation to accountability initiatives, and to governance and social change efforts more broadly" (McGee & Gaventa, 2011, p.3) or on ways of "measuring the impact of governance interventions on voice and accountability" (Holland et al., 2009, p.1). Where this is the case, the sources broadly focus on how the GTF demonstrates the effect of UK aid. For example, DFID examined several of its interventions in the domain of voice and accountability to assess their impact on governance and development, and, more importantly to assess against the

CAR framework which underpins these interventions. In effect, the mapping of the various interventions against the CAR framework is a test DFID's (2009, p.4) view that "an effective state is a CAR state". The GTF presented a perfect testbed for DFID's investigations as,

> The programme logframe is organised around the CAR framework. The programme goal is for governments to be more capable, accountable and responsive to meet the needs of poor people, as measured by a selection of global governance indicators at the output level. The programme purpose is squarely aimed at building accountability through effective engagement by CSOs that represent the interests of citizens. (DFID, 2009, p.41).

In the same vein, the GTF was seen as instrumental to creating a "learning approach to evaluation and final impact assessment [which] would give power and politics a central place in monitoring and evaluation systems, continually test and revise assumptions about theories of change and ensure the engagement of marginalised people in assessment processes" (Gaventa & McGee, 2013, p.54). Learning from the GTF would bring about an understanding of how "donors and policy makers are to develop a reliable evidence base to demonstrate that transparency and accountability work is of real value" (Gaventa & McGee, 2013, p.3).

It follows that Type 3 sources implicitly refer to change encouraged by learning processes. The recurring issue around change is how it can or should be induced. The question is whether there are methods or approaches which produce authoritative evidence. For example, as DFID (2009, p.3) suggests, "using the logframe strategically by making space and time to both measure and diagnose these complex changes" is at the heart of its work. Other sources regret that insufficient light is shed on assumed theories of change. For example, Gaventa & McGee (2013, p.S16) state that,

> Most work to date tends to focus on the effectiveness of the initiatives themselves. Less has been able to show the links from the initiatives to broader development, governance and empowerment goals. [...] Many initiatives do not show a clearly articulated theory of change, making it more difficult to trace whether these assumptions actually hold true.

Questions of change go hand in hand with the awareness of system dynamics in play which adds to the complexity of the context. Result chains or impact chains are mentioned in Type 3 sources as a means of articulating the often-complex mechanisms behind development. Causal chains further imply a logic which requires the tracking of elements or important components in the system to explain the 'transmission' from outcome to impact. Complexity is considerable and has implications, as McGee & Gaventa remark "none of the steps in a causal chain is a foregone conclusion. All involve assumptions and risks " (2011, p.28).

Systemic effects also relate to "the roles citizens play and the dynamics of their impact, thus affording only superficial understandings of the role of citizen and civil society participation in the logical chain leading to accountable outcomes" (McGee & Gaventa, 2011 p.15). Gaventa and McGee (2013) refer to a 'networked-governance' approach, a new form of thinking on governance reliant on cross-cutting state and non-state networks and coalitions. If the idea of network is stated, so is the idea of market forces (albeit not frequently nor explicitly). A recommendation for the future design of Programme Partnership Arrangements calls on DFID to maximise its effect through a more strategic approach to its selection criteria and the drawing up of "a competitive grant-making process designed to maximise that contribution, with fair and transparent competition." (ICAI, 2013, p.22). Molenaers et al. (2015, p.330) refer to the *de facto* competitive practices in the GTF, stating that,

> Access [to GTF funding] is very competitive and non-UK organisations can apply for funding. Proposals submitted do not have to be carried out in UK partner countries, but, given the topical emphasis of the fund, it is de facto a way of streamlining a topical approach to NGO activities.

There is undoubtedly a manifestation of hierarchical forces. DFID (2009, p.4) notes the challenge of measuring the impact of the GTF and admits that a hierarchical approach (as represented by the Logframe, for example) is of limited value stating that, "logframe-based measurement when done badly can encourage linear, reductionist and technocratic thinking in interventions that are non-linear, unpredictable and highly politicised."

4.4 Ethnographic Study of the 'Resilient Governance Initiative'

This section adopts a research method derived from ethnography. Its aim is to generate a retrospective ethnographic account of a GTF programme run by Cranfield University, which was entitled 'The Resilient Governance Initiative'. The first section is a description of ethnography as a research method; it explains its origins and nature as well as the complexities of a retrospective ethnographic case study. In the subsequent section, the 'voice' of the writing moves into the first person[22]. This is because the focus relates to a case study in which I was involved. The research was carried out as a participant-as-observer, which describes a mode deployed by people who are doing ethnographic work (overtly or covertly) in a context to which they themselves belong (Byrne, 2017). This can be qualified as ethnographic in nature with a self-reflexive[23] dimension. It is also important to note that the research design choices were applied retrospectively and had not been pre-determined as would normally be the case in a classical ethnographic research approach.

4.4.1 Ethnographic Research

A definition of ethnography is "the scientific description of a culture" (Sigh & Dickson, 2002, p.117). Gobo (2008) emphasizes that the approach's pivotal mode is 'observation'. This implies that the primary source of information in this methodology is observation (of socially significant events and rituals), but other ancillary sources may be used in the 'field'. These comprise informal conversations, written documents or documentary materials (such as policy documents, diaries, correspondence, news stories, photographs and audio-visual documents). Consequently, ethnography does not favour one specific method for collecting data but encourages a mix of several. Ethnographic accounts are concerned with the detailed study of phenomena in their context. Paramount in the methodology is the fact that researchers enter the natural setting and, at times, become part of it in order to enable them to understand and interpret the meaning of attitudes and behaviours (Gobo, 2008.). Ethnography has evolved greatly since its beginnings at the

---

[22] Although first person accounts are not a common occurrence in academic writing; write-ups vary and the ethnographic form of narration is one which suits a more 'intimate' style using the first person (Merriam. 2002).

[23] Although the autoethnographic method is related and potentially overlapping with the ethnographic enquiry set out here, it tends to apply to the study of 'self' in a chosen context rather than the study of a chosen topic or culture. Autoethnography is about describing one's own experiences and has little to do with analysing what people do, how institutions work, or what problems are of concern to communities (Allen, 2017).

turn of the 20th Century. Originally, ethnographic explorations documented foreign and exotic people and cultures.[24] However, attention then turned to its use in more modern settings and situations, such as crime, workplace behaviours, socialization in industrial societies or culture in complex organisations[25]. For example, the approach was influential in the study and the characterisation of 'community' in the social sciences (Atkinson et al., 2001). Two research strategies are distinguished in ethnography: on the one hand, non-participant observation implies a distance in observation whereby interactions and interferences are limited; and, on the other, participant observation relies on direct relationships established between the researcher and the focal actors and groups (Gobo, 2008).

Participant observation is the method of interest here. The role of participant observer has been commented on by many, particularly in relation to the inherent tension in the role between 'involvement and detachment'[26]. This balance between being an insider and an outsider is difficult to manage and, ultimately, the method can be described as 'chaotic'. This refers to its limitation in terms of the observer's bias in recording, interpreting or simply noticing the "abnormal, aberrant and exceptional" (Brewer, 2000, p.59). Although, ethnographers recognise that participant observation brings insights when alternative methods may not exist, it is "not always able to avoid the accusation that [the method…] made the results unreliable: for they never made clear the extent of the researcher's involvement in the situation being observed" (Gobo, 2008, p.41). The researcher's findings are perceived as contestable as they are formed through description and interpretation of patterns of observations. Concepts and logical relations are proposed as the explanation about the state of things in the real world; yet, they are simplified and arbitrary abstracts attempting to capture interrelations noticeable in a given context.

---

[24] Ethnography emerged in peculiar locations and originally was closely associated with anthropological research in colonial settings, as Brewer (2000, p.11) stated "its [*the ethnographic method's*] origins were tied to the needs of the British Empire to understand the cultures and groups it was seeking to rule once the period of colonial conquest was completed and assimilation in the 'British family of nations' was possible."

[25] The Chicago School of ethnography, closely related to social anthropology, carried out important studies – many of which focused on deviant sub-groups (drug dealers, prostitutes, gangs). For one of its founders, Robert Park, the key of the approach was to "go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research" (Brewer, 2000, p.12)

[26] The distinction relates to emic vs. etic perspectives in anthropology and sociology. Culture is can be envisaged or studied from outsiders looking in (etic view) or by focusing on the intrinsic cultural dimensions that are meaningful to the insiders (emic view). It is thought that the combination of both insights is ultimately valuable to research (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012).

The nature of ethnography, which was described earlier as being observation-led, allows inference to be made about the centrality of interpretation in the method. Interpretation is a process which takes place throughout the research and does not just start after the collection of data. However, it can occur prior, during and after collection. Roberts (2007, p. 80) explains that,

> Insights into the research materials can come about from connections made between a wide variety of sources: general personal experiences and change, reading, discussion, reflection and through re-reading old research notes, conference papers and other presentations.

Therefore, analysis and interpretation entail a form of imagination and creativity, which cannot simply be organised into a set of technical procedures (as would be the case in positivist frameworks). This signifies that, in ethnographic research, the starting point is often not theory but rather the method, which is "concerned with producing descriptions and explanation of particular phenomena, or with *developing* theories, rather than existing theories" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.21). This implies that ethnographic work is exploratory and, as such, research designs often need to be worked out and changed as that research process unfolds. At this point, there is a case to be made for retrospective interpretation. Interpretation takes several forms, including remembrance or retrospective analysis that may occur long after fieldwork (perhaps even years later) and which potentially brings 'new' perspectives to the original study. As Roberts (2007, p.12) highlights,

> Interpretation is not limited to a particular research phase, but takes place before, during and after the 'gathering' of materials - and even retrospectively, possibly a long time after the research has been completed.

To begin with the researcher determines "who, what, when, and where" to observe and through interpretive analysis generates knowledge iteratively. The process is a repetitive iteration of situational observations. Through reflexive analysis the researcher examines the influence of his/her thinking on each observation and on the study overall.

The current research can be assimilated into a retrospective study as the research is designed to gather and probe the history of a phenomenon from a retrospective perspective. The design of this retrospective case study entails the premise that,

All data, including first-person accounts, are collected after the fact. The events and activities under study have already occurred, and the outcomes of these events and activities are known. (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010).

Overall, it is clear that ethnographic research is of interest in areas where observation is possible and where research requires predominantly exploration (rather than explanation) of a culture or phenomenon.

4.4.2   Design of a Retrospective Ethnographic Case Study

In ethnographic work, developing a strategy to collect data through observation and then to analyse it can be understood as a process entailing a number of phases (Flick, 2009). Ethnographers normally start mapping out their research process by selecting cultural issues to study in the selected setting. Then they conduct fieldwork using appropriate methodologies (descriptive to begin with, evolving to more focused and purposefully selected observations). Throughout this process, they are respectful of the context as well as adapting to it. Observation methods include field notes, diaries, interviews. Next, and sometimes concurrently, they reflect on their experience and interpret data by categorising emerging themes and establishing the prevailing sets of rules or generalizations about the studied group. The output of this analysis is a rich account through description of the culture under investigation, which incorporates both emic and etic perspectives. In anthropology and sociology, the distinction between emic and etic relates to the way culture is envisaged. It can be studied from the perspective of outsiders looking in (etic view) or by focusing on the intrinsic cultural dimensions that are meaningful to the insiders (emic view). It is thought that the combination of both insights is ultimately valuable to research (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012).

Gobo (2008) proposes a conceptualisation of this process in terms of a 'spiral-shaped' model of ethnographic research, which he emphasises is reflexive in nature. Concepts and hypotheses at the heart of the study are 'created' through a process of deconstruction whereby the ethnographer attempts to make sense of or to understand a phenomenon. This is then followed by construction whereby hypotheses interrelate with data collected in order to draw up models and refine the original formulation of a concept. Eventually, confirmation is established through this constant reflexive process challenging hypotheses with data.

Multiple problems and limitations have been highlighted with ethnography and retrospective studies. Carrying out a reflexive interpretive process *ex post facto* is challenging. The adopted constructionist approach means that the present is likely to have an effect on the views of the past. In retrospective strategies, it is not possible to introduce or add activities or observations to validate the emerging analyses. All of the data collected has been produced and filed in the past, which means that records may not always be as extensive or relevant as required (Flick, 2009). Moreover, collection and analysis rely on memory which is problematic especially when fieldnotes or diaries have not captured data systematically. Many describe the method as highly subjective (Hammersley, 1992); findings should therefore be taken and used as part of an overall research strategy.

The use of ethnography as a research approach presents multiple limitations. Critics argue that findings are difficult to validate because assessment of the method is problematic. In addition, the approach is attacked for its lack of relevance due to restricted generalisation that can arise from the concentrated observation of only a few members of a single culture. However, for O'Reilly (2009, p.160) there is a tension between subjectivity and objectivity but there is also a need to recognise "the role, value, and contribution of scientific endeavour while remaining fully aware that humans (including ethnographers) make their worlds". The ethnographic approach provides insights that only the insider perspective offers – the sense-making achieved is brought about by understanding meanings that members of the community attribute to phenomena but that are not obviously identifiable from the outside. It is important to understand reflexivity in the research process, particularly in terms of its effect on the researcher's position and analytic stance. Berger (2015) submits some insights and practical measures on the issue of balancing the relationship between the researcher and the group and the issues under study. Nevertheless, it is recognised that this research is not free of bias, those innate and potentially fixed assumptions that are intricately linked with the personality of the researcher. As O'Reilly (2009; p. 160) states, "participating enables the strange to become familiar, observing enables the familiar to appear strange." It follows that the conduct of ethnography in the present case has been designed to suit the circumstances and to complement the findings of the content (textual) analysis.

The next section describes key considerations in the design of the ethnographic method for the case study at hand.

4.4.3 Retrospective Ethnographic Case Study of 'The Resilient Governance Initiative'

The focus of this section is to describe how the ethnographic method was used in this study and how an ethnographic account was generated from the examination of the Resilient Governance Initiative (RGI). RGI was one of 38 DFID funded programmes and was run by Cranfield University (CU). As a member of CU staff, I became the lead of the RGI in July 2009. The programme was funded by DFID as part of the GTF fund. CU had formally been notified of its success in obtaining funding for its proposal in September 2008 (DFID Nally, 2008). The programme was planned to run for a duration of four years and was aimed at enhancing:

> Local-level governance in four Afghan provinces by: raising awareness of rights, roles and responsibilities of citizens and local government; enabling communities to turn demands into public policy; raising the responsiveness of government by enhancing accountability at the provincial and district level; raising accountability of community decision-making bodies (Cranfield University, 2007, p.1).

To achieve its objectives, CU sub-contracted to a local partner, the Afghan Institute for Management Training and Enhancement of Indigenous Capacities (AIMTEIC), to implement programme activities. The programme was planned around three fundamental phases of activity (Cranfield University, 2007). To begin with, Master Trainers were hired by AIMTEIC and became the focal point for the delivery of courses and awareness sessions that were held in the Afghan Provinces. AIMTEIC and CU developed training material (in local languages and appropriate to the level of literacy of the target audiences) on issues of social responsibility, organisational management, financial management and other governance topics relating to the rights, roles and responsibilities of citizens and government alike. Local and national authorities were also contacted in this initial phase to establish the governance-related knowledge gaps within authorities but also to formalise interaction between the different levels of government (province, district and community levels). A tripartite Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was the basis for government support and was designed to promote development at the local level by drawing local businesses into the development process, and by undertaking effective political lobbying for state funding and grant aid.

The second phase entailed running a pilot in order to test the approach and familiarise the field team with the content of the material. In the selected province, training workshops were carried out to promote dialogue over governance issues and to explore the relationships between decision-

making bodies within the government and private sector. They were also used to identify the range of stakeholders involved in the development of civil society and the political society sphere at the provincial and district level. A 'training-of-trainers' approach was then adopted. Trainers were selected and sent to deliver courses and awareness sessions at provincial, district and community level. Their purpose was also to interact with middle managers within state structures, and other people drawn from Community Development Councils from around the province. The aim of these courses was to enhance the understanding of local-level governance, whilst also exploring the current understanding of, and perceptions towards, this governance. Ultimately, the pilot phase sought to explore the relationships between the community decision-making bodies and local government with a view to allowing best practice to emerge. Finally, the implementation phase was to roll out training in another three provinces. Overall, the programme was to "cover 1,120 communities over four provinces, in addition to courses run at the provincial and district level" (Cranfield University, 2007, p.8). In addition to enhancing governance awareness at sub-national level, the programme promoted discussions and reflection on cross-cutting themes, which were initially identified as gender, excluded groups (children, youth and the elderly), the environment and HIV/AIDS.

Clearly, this was a project with ambitious aspirations. However, I had project management experience which put me in a good position to lead the programme. Despite this, I had not worked previously in the fields of development or governance, although I had studied both topics at Masters level. Added to this gap in subject matter expertise, a very short and hectic handover period meant that I felt at a disadvantage almost from the start. The initiator of the original idea had left the institution long before I started and the programme manager left once I had arrived. Whilst the foundation phase had been reported on, many of its activities had not been finalised. In fact, the crucial activity of establishing baseline measurements for logframe indicators had not been engaged. Having not used a logframe approach in the past, I did not realise soon enough the criticality of this missing foundation. This is also important in that, from the outset, my approach was deliberately cautious and may have lacked the impetus of someone with experience. The internal support given to me at the time was beneficial and valued, yet programme management was a lonely task as DFID's funding had rightly ruled out a heavy proportion of the funds going to UK based grant-holders. The decision had been taken that these would be used to fund activities in countries.

4.4.3.1 Generating an ethnographic account of RGI

The primary data collection for the case study is based on participant observation (established from documentary research). The data sources used for this method were diverse and, as expected in ethnographic studies, they reflect the prevailing culture within GTF. Therefore, it is unsurprising that e-mail correspondence represented a majority of the sources. However, data was also collected from published and unpublished documents, such as meeting agendas, minutes, memos, and other documents.

In the context of this study, the following sources were analysed:

- 11 Internal e-mails (related to the running of RGI)
    - Including attachments relating to the handover period of RGI.
- Cranfield University archived documents relating to the design of RGI
    - RGI Concept Note, Proposal, Budget, Contract and Sub-Contract with AIMTEIC, Memorandum of Understanding
- 27 GTF Grantee emails (related to the running of GTF) of which the following extracted attachments were examined:
    - 9 PDF documents – relating to GTF learning Papers, and the minutes and list of participants for Plan UK Metings.
    - 10 Word documents – meeting agendas, minutes, participants' profiles.

The difficulty in gathering such data is multifaceted. From the outset, the time delay between the data being generated and its collection affects its completeness. It is not certain that the set of data considered is comprehensive as some sources may have been deleted, improperly archived or not recorded and, consequently, they are not available. This limitation to carrying out the ethnographic study retrospectively is further discussed in Chapter 6 Section 6.4.

Table 4-12 shows the phases of the approach and highlights the objectives of each of these phases as well as the key techniques involved. The approach adopted in order to generate an ethnographic account consists of four phases (Orientation, Collecting Data, Organising Data and Analysis and writing up) derived from various readings about the method. Gobo's (2008) three phases (deconstructive, constructive and confirmatory) are described as not strictly distinct; yet, they were useful in inspiring the chosen design. Further insight was provided by Flick (2009), allowing a

bespoke study process to be conceived. The 'Orientation Phase' aimed to narrow the context and the selection of the focus of interest for collecting data. Prior knowledge or insights were organised and categorised into themes which guided the research. 'Collecting data' consisted of scanning and selecting e-mails, correspondence, reports, presentations and other archival documents and checking for relevant content. In this phase, the main themes are broken down into sub-themes to prepare for subsequent phases. The next phase of 'Organising Data' establishes records of the relevant data according to the sub-themes identified. The data is then organised in a structured table ready for analysis. The ultimate phase is 'Analysis and writing up'. The objective is to interpret the data and to write up a descriptive account of the findings emerging from the content analysis.

Table 4-12: Phases of the ethnographic study of RGI [Source: Author]

Phase	Orientation	Collecting Data	Organising Data	Analysis & writing up
Objective	Narrowing context and selecting focus	Unstructured observation	Ethnographic recording	Interpretation of data and write up
Technique	Organising prior knowledge Categorisation into relevant themes	Selective data collection of documentary research	Structured recording and organisation of data	Content analysis and identification of patterns, relationships Descriptive account

The research method departs from the traditional ethnographic methodologies in that its design is retrospective and, therefore, so is its interpretation. Considerations of the limitations to this research approach are highlighted in Chapter 6, Section 6.4. Each of these phases are now discussed in turn.

4.4.3.2   Orientation, Collecting, Organising, Analysis and Writing Up

Producing an ethnographic account of my experience in RGI led me to reflect on things that I did not pay much attention to at the time. Retrospectively, it is apparent that there are a number of themes that appear to be part of the culture of the GTF programmes and that are relevant to NGOs in the field of international development. The first main theme identified relates to the expression of professionalism in the sector. In my view, there are three ideas that relate to what it means to

be a professional in the field of international development in general and, more specifically, in governance. I recall that my initial reading of the Cranfield proposal and concept note, as well as of the GTF documents, gave me the impression that they were substantial and, at times, lengthy in their reporting. I contend that the use of language is an important part of the identity of those who work in this sector. In particular, the language seems to be used to demonstrate subject matter expertise in relation to complex concepts.

Another idea is the fact that travelling around the world seemed to be important to many in the sector. Exposure to less developed or post-conflict environments is an important way to gain deep knowledge of the complexities of the problems at hand. Through exposure and travel, development experts are able to build their professional skills. Evidently, this denotes the importance given to fieldwork and to developing sensitivity to local contexts. Equally, it was noticeable that a number of GTF programmes had operations running in a large number of countries and in fundamentally different areas of the world, presumably with a view to institutionalise exposure. For me, this manifestation of professional identity was unsettling. I had rarely travelled for work outside of Europe and was used to being in comfortable and affluent settings, not through choice but through circumstances. The prospect of visiting and working in Afghanistan was for me intriguing as well as daunting. However, with the increasing risk in that region and a resurgence of counterinsurgency activities during the period of the RGI, I was not given permission to travel. Naturally, I then had to find strategies to work effectively at a distance. Compensating for the lack of proximity and familiarity with the place of focus as well as the people I worked with required great discipline and a good deal of resourcefulness. AIMTEIC and CU ultimately decided that, although working in such way had not been ideal, it had produced worthwhile lessons. Nevertheless, I am still not sure that these lessons were ever taken into account.

The next theme relates to the paradox of Value for Money (VfM) and Measurement of Impact. In my view, VfM and Measurement of Impact were areas where I experienced a form of culture that I had not come across before. The reason I am grouping them under the same theme is that, in my experience, GTF grantees were urged to quantify both VfM and Measurement of Impact with great importance given to evidence relating to these two areas. However, I recall the strong sense of frustration when, in fact, hard proof and confirmation could not easily be provided. This is where the paradox lies. Instead of quantified data reports, Grant Holders produced numerous reports on VfM and Measurement of Impact using verbose explanations. Despite sophisticated descriptions, it

appears narratives may not have met the ambition of the sponsor who repeatedly insisted on irrefutable calculations.

The collection phase was carried out in two steps. The initial step was the determination of themes that would steer data collection. This was then followed by the data collection where sources were examined and evidence for each sub-theme was gathered. In the first instance, the two themes highlighted previously were broken down into sub-themes, which guided the examination of each secondary data source, as shown at Table 4-13. The shows the identified sub-themes that have been extracted from the initial in the orientation phase and is compiled by dissecting the broad ideas into key components.

Table 4-13: Theme and sub-themes to guide data collection [Source: Author]

Theme 1	Expression of professionalism	
Sub-theme 1.1	Language	Complexity and/or verbosity
Sub-theme 1.2	Familiarity with context	Exposure to world travel
Sub-theme 1.3	Familiarity with context	Institutional evidence of regional or contextual knowledge (e.g. conflict)
Theme 2	Paradox of Value for Money and Measurement of Impact	
Sub-theme 2.1	Complexity/sophistication of reporting	Correspondence between quantified indicators and description of VfM and Impact
Sub-theme 2.2	Expressed frustration	Value for Money and Measurement of Impact

The next step was the selection and examination of secondary data sources, which were analysed according to the sub-themes of Table 4-13. In this step, a variety of sources (e-mail, correspondence, reports, presentations and other archival documents) were explored for a purpose different to that for which they were originally compiled (Saunders et al., 2016). In total, 33 e-mails were identified along with 24 attachments. In addition, 10 thematic papers as well as GTF Annual Reports and independent reviews were investigated. The data collected was examined and organised, as shown at Table 4-14. This identifies the source in the first column then provides the evidence extracted from the data source. The relevant sub-theme is attributed to each piece of evidence extracted. The last column summarises the extract or emphasizes key ideas.

Table 4-14: Recording of evidence collected and related sub-themes [Source: Author]

Source	Evidence	Sub-theme	Comments
KPMG & TripleLine Consulting (2010)	*Following the kick-off of GTF programmes, DFID and the Fund Manager organised a workshop with the purpose to share experiences and learning from all 38 GTF-funded programmes with a view to improving programme implementation, impact and results. Extracts of programme summaries and delegate profiles are a source of evidence.* "National, regional and municipal studies will also be undertaken in eleven countries to analyse the cause and extent of corruption, the adequacy and effectiveness of national anti-corruption efforts and conformity with international anti-corruption conventions; legally and in practice." (p. 18) "The programme consists of a pan-African element in 8 countries, 9 country components in South/East Asia, Central/South America and Eastern Europe/CIS, and a global component on learning and cross-fertilisation between projects." (p. 46) "This programme, involving local partners in 10 countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean, will nurture the development of effective civil society movements to both empower marginalised and vulnerable people and hold community, local and national authorities to account." (p. 90) "The International Budget Partnership's Open Budget Initiative is a broad- based civil society effort currently operating in 85 countries…" (p. 106) "Experience in the six, very diverse GTF countries will provide a transferable model to be replicated elsewhere." (p.114)	**Sub-theme 1.3** Familiarity with context – institutionalisation of contextual knowledge	Experience, duty, visits and/or prior work in 'recipient' countries is considered valuable.
KPMG (2009)	*KPMG's 2009 Annual Report on DFID Governance and Fund provides is a source of evidence.* "A number of programmes will pursue similar objectives across an array of countries presenting an opportunity to assess the relative impact of different approaches and mechanisms across different country contexts." (p. 7)	**Sub-theme 1.3** Familiarity with context – institutionalisation of contextual knowledge	Transferability of experience is assumed.

	"Experience in the five programme countries is expected to provide the elements of a training model that will be transferable to other countries where parliamentary effectiveness and oversight needs to be strengthened." (p.29)		
	Methods and tools are being designed through the GTF; existing tools are being adapted, applied and tested in different contexts, both thematic and geographic. (p.12)		
KPMG & TripleLine Consulting (2010)	*Following the kick-off of GTF programmes, DFID and the Fund Manager organised a workshop with the purpose to share experiences and learning from all 38 GTF-funded programmes with a view to improving programme implementation, impact and results. Extracts of programme summaries and delegate profiles are a source of evidence.* "Prior to joining […], he was the Director of Programs […], which assessed the state of civil society in more than 50 countries around the world." (p.20) "He has researched disability in 10 countries in Southern Africa and Asia and has trained disability activists" (p.27) "[X] is responsible for coordinating all aspects of the […] programme including leading on the delivery of global programme outcomes and supporting project managers across 17 countries." (p.47)	**Sub-theme 1.2** Familiarity with context (travel)	In country experience appears at time remote or superficial
Muir & Rowley (2014)	*Coffey International conducted the GTF End of Programme Review. Muir and Rowley (2014) are the authors of the report considered here for the evidence it brings.* "G[rant] H[olders] should be required to provide budget information on […] recurrent costs - rent and utilities; associated staff salaries and expenses; other associated staff related costs (including training), travel and transport" (p.42) This then led the Fund management to report on "identified several ways in which fund management costs could be reduced [including by…] Establish a network of pre-approved in-country or regional consultants. This would enable an increase in the frequency of site visits while decreasing international travel and per diem costs;" (p.78)	**Sub-theme 1.2** Familiarity with context (travel)	Visits and travel are a prevalent practice which for financial reasons need to be curtailed.

| ODI (2009) | *A meeting of UK GTF Grant Holders was organised by ODI on the 10 December 2009. The aims of this meeting were to provide an opportunity for Grant Holders to briefly share experiences so far, to examine the underlying assumptions/ theories of change that lie behind the GTF programmes. Notes were taken and then circulated to all UK GTF grant holders as part of the GTF learning strategy.*

Notes on Power and (models of) change raised the following point:
Is change on governance expected to come about as a result of 'competitive' or 'collaborative' processes or a mixture dependent on context? This appears to reflect the fact that there are alternative underlying visions/ assumptions of power- in this case power as a finite resource fought over in a zero-sum game, or as an attribute that could grow as a result of coming together.

Notes on Governance raised the following point:
GTF concerns over 'good governance' could/should be seen reflecting a western liberal discourse. It was asked whether commitment to this was leading various programmes to expect too much and whether the interventions are, indeed, appropriate in the context the various programmes worked (the notion of 'good enough governance', for instance) | **Sub-theme 1.1**
Language – Complexity and Verbosity | Examples of complex ideas expressed in convoluted wording |
| Plan UK (2011) | *A meeting was organised by Plan UK on 'Lessons in Governance Programming' on 17 January 2011 to discuss the findings Plan UK's external evaluation of its governance Programme and to share how findings resonate with other practitioner's work in order to improve collective practice in the area of governance programming.*

Notes on 'Relationships and local processes' raised the following point:
Some technical programme people remain to be convinced that governance can influence service delivery. Is it empowerment or relevant institutions and local problem solving geared towards local needs than has an impact?

Notes on 'Political economy' raised the following point:
We struggle to account for political realities, it is not easy for a programme with a common framework to adapt to this. Political parties also have a role in influencing service delivery, and we need to grapple more with politics.

Notes on 'Examples of programmatic approaches' raised the following point: | **Sub-theme 1.1**
Language – Complexity and Verbosity | Complexity of language to express intricacy of work |

	Economic empowerment of young people: it is important to address the economic barriers that can prevent young people's participation in governance processes by supporting young people to earn a livelihood. It is important to be careful not to pay young people for their involvement, but recognise 'young people can't eat advocacy' and do need to earn a living. Young people will have the incentive to participate if they see the impact on services that matter to their lives.		
ODI (2011)	*A meeting of UK GTF Grant Holders was organised by ODI on the 31 August 2011. The aims of this meeting* were to *review Mid-Term Review (MTR) experiences (Lessons learnt, achieving results, M&E tools, and theories of change, and dealing with recommendations) as well as to develop a theme-based meeting series in order to start drawing out the big picture issues in terms of both theory and practice on doing good governance from the demand side.* **Notes on 'Tripleline' raised the following point:** The role of Tripleline has been assessing all of the MTRs and annual reports. The assistance has been technical rather than financial. [...*Tripleline noted]* that certain things came up regularly in the MTRs, such as: • Value for money – addressed in irregular ways • Importance of M&E systems • Log frames are ok for service delivery, but more difficult for rights/ governance areas. It would be useful to see the more useful log frames being used as examples on the GTF website. **Notes on 'Public Meeting Series' raised the following point:** [...] in order to have impact, lessons have to be captured [...] through a meeting series [...] where each meeting builds on the previous [... and] can be followed by a final synthesis report. [...] Possible meeting ideas could include: • Value for money - for example what it means • Results orientation • Theory of Change – for example attribution versus contribution • Sustainability • Good governance and the importance of context. Good governance versus good enough governance	**Sub-theme 2.1** Complexity or sophistication of reporting	Reporting needs to capture complexity of work whilst also measuring progress.

Rocha Menocal (2011)	*Following the UK GTF Grant Holders was organised by ODI of the 31 August 2011 (ODI 2011), Alina Rocha Menocal shared her presentation to the SID World Congress on the issue of governance and the good governance agenda.* **Points raised by Rocha Menocal raised the following points:** A key idea is that the Good Governance agenda faced some challenges and limitations. Three particular areas should be highlighted: • Normative slant of the GG agenda • Technocratic approach to development • Excessively comprehensive and demanding agenda A new idea is introduced: "Good enough" governance which promotes governance reforms in a more realistic way starting with where a particular country is.	**Sub-theme 2.1** Complexity or sophistication of reporting	Grant Holders raise the point that reporting is driving some of the efforts and the 'good governance' agenda. Working in the field is increasingly technocratic.
Plan UK (2011)	We need to move beyond the 'attribution aspiration' and recognise that we as NGOs are only ever contributors – sometimes the difficulty of attribution in crowded spaces with diverse actors can, in some instances, is itself a sign of success.	**Sub-theme 2.2** Expressed frustration	Fundamental problem in determining attribution.
ODI (2013)	*A meeting of UK GTF Grant Holders was organised by ODI on the 22 May 2013. The informal meeting aimed to discuss the dissemination of learning from the GTF and grant holder production of publications/resources. The event was intended to give grantees an opportunity to share information about their learning plans, to identify shared interests and specialisations, as well as hold a question/answer session about the GTF Learning and Impact Strategy.* **Notes on 'Learning and Impact Strategy' raised the following point:** As part of the focus mainly on Most Significant Results: • KPMG graded results and took this to DFID. DFID hope to use these results in a searchable database • VfM important. KPMG Have seen a lot around economy i.e. flights etc. but would prefer to see a number against this result – this is experimental as difficult to cost a result **Notes on 'Synthesis around Final Evaluations' raised the following point:** The aim is to look at significant learning on what didn't go right etc. (as change stories are focussing on success). The quality of a final evaluation is very important. Biggest concern – need to look at **impact** not just outputs.	**Sub-theme 2.1** Complexity or sophistication of reporting	Quantification is required.

| Bond (2014) | *Bond was asked to convene the meeting to continue the discussion on how best evidence generated by the GTF could be widely recognised as of great value for future aid programming. […] The previous meeting highlighted concerns that KPMG had added a standard paragraph to each of the Most Significant Results case studies rating as "limited" the quality of evidence presented; grant-holders considered this unjustified and were concerned that it would hinder uptake by DFID.*

In Grant Holders' views, the GTF had resulted in a wealth of new evidence about the effectiveness of CSO initiatives to promote better governance which had not as yet been taken fully on board by DFID in its country aid strategies. The latter were said to continue to assume that donor-government programmes could somehow overcome the widespread resistance to governance reform from those in power despite their evident failure over the past 25 years. The challenge now was to bring this new evidence to the attention of the key decision-makers within DFID and other donors.
[…]
It is challenging, if not unfair, to expect GTF evidence to meet current standards of evidence given that expectations of monitoring, evaluation and learning were quite different at the time GTF grants were awarded. | **Sub-theme 2.1**
Complexity or sophistication of reporting

Sub-theme 2.2
Expressed frustration | High ambitions for GTF lessons learned. High standards of evidence. |
| PTF (2014) | *Following the distribution of the GTF End of Programme Review and meetings between DFID and GTF Grant Holders to discuss findings; PTF (a GTF Grant Holder) commented on the End of Programme Review. Although the conclusions of this review are welcomed, PTF noted that it is surprising that important conclusions [more positive] are not in any way highlighted in the Executive Summary (which highlights that GTF was somehow bogged down in problems of design and management, of logframes and VFM limitations]. Since DFID has invested a large sum in the GTF, PTF suggested that it is important for the Executive Summary to open with a strong positive statement.*

Overall, we find the report disappointing. It is excessively heavy on programme design and management issues, and on processes such as log-frames, VFM, and reporting and provides unjustifiably scant coverage and assessment of what is truly important – that citizens acting strategically, supported by international partners, can achieve dramatic changes in accountability and transparency (of local or national governments) with very modest resources. | **Sub-theme 2.2**
Expressed frustration | VfM and measurable indicators do not give the full picture of GTF impact. |

	While we can agree that VFM and measurable outcome indicators can often (though not always) useful in assessing impact, the grant-holder's program needs to be designed at the outset to enable this to be properly done, which was not the case for the GTF. Excessive emphasis on VFM risks obscuring other important results that merit being shared among Grant Holders and other practitioners.		

In terms of Theme 1 (Expression of Professionalism), Grant Holders and other development actors have developed a sense of professionalism. This can be expected in a profession that can be described as mature. In my experience with the International Aid sector, I found that stakeholders were expressing their professionalism in three ways: language, familiarity with the global context and familiarity with the development context. The form of language used is noticeable and this common style may be described as complex and verbose at times. The evidence showed examples of complex ideas expressed in convoluted wording. To some extent, this appears to reflect the complexity of the work or subject matter at hand. For instance, examples found in relatively 'unassuming' meeting notes demonstrate that governance (at the heart of the GTF) is a multifaceted subject which relates to issues that are equally as complicated, such as power. Professionals appear to be resolute in linking highly theoretical concepts to their practical context. However, a number of the reports or written documentation that were analysed for this study feature elaborate language and ideas without i) necessarily linking them to formalised studies of the conceptual frameworks identified (e.g. power); and ii) providing a pragmatic or straightforward way in which the theoretical frameworks are useful in practical terms. Familiarity with the global context through exposure to world travel appears of great significance as a means of demonstrating credentials for a role. This is unsurprising as travel implies not just openness and adaptability, but also acquaintance with the context. To some extent, it also suggests awareness, if not in-depth knowledge, of the culture of the country or region in focus. However, the depth of exposure could perhaps be questioned in terms of whether frequent trips are equivalent to spending lengthy periods in one location and forming deep, real-life relationships in a given context.

Familiarity with a given context also relates to the institutionalisation of 'travel' as a proof of exposure. By this, I mean that a relationship seems to exist between working efficiently in a country and knowledge of the local context. On a number of occasions, documents testify that awareness of local or national context is deemed to be fundamental to working in development aid. Evidence seems to suggest that transferability of experience is assumed. In other words, it is believed that work in a country in the Horn of Africa, for example, partially demonstrates suitable credentials for working in a neighbouring country. It is a fair assumption that regional dynamics exist and that partial knowledge (from one side of a border) is important. In the analysed documents, organisations refer to this possible transfer of contextual knowledge, awareness or lessons on a number of occasions and it can be seen as an institutionalisation process. The route to systematically building up travel as a competitive

advantage is perhaps more implicit than explicit, yet organisations appear to boost their reputation and credentials based on the exposure to given geographical area. However, it is questionable whether these claims are valid and whether awareness of an area provides necessarily tangible benefits.

Turning to the second theme, the Paradox of VfM and Measurement of Impact, Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) practice have evolved greatly, becoming central to project and programme design in Development Aid. From the outset, the GTF, like other programmes of its kind, had requested Grant Holders to ensure M&E arrangements were in place. However, it appeared early on in the life of the GTF that there were difficulties in defining the format and approach that should be taken to reporting. The need to capture the complexity of work whilst also measuring progress in a quantified way was questioned on multiple occasions. Memos of meetings provide evidence that quantified indicators (requested by DFID and the Fund Manager) along with VfM indicators did not correspond with the impact of programmes. Logframes and quantifiable indicators were the focal point of the GTF Learning and Impact Strategy. To begin with, Grant Holders asked for clarification and for evidence to be provided in a better format, but this turned to frustration when reporting was assessed as being insufficient. Grant Holders raised the point that reporting was driving some of the efforts as well as the 'good governance' agenda in a normative fashion. Consequently, it is emphasized that working in the field of governance has become increasingly technocratic and calls are made to look at 'good enough' governance in a more positive way. Promoting such an approach to governance reforms would be more realistic and would be unlikely to rely on the same level of quantification.

Another source of frustration came at a later point in the life of the GTF, which was during the Final Reviews. At this point, Grant Holders were keen to see their work bear tangible fruits and deliver lessons that could be capitalised on by donors. The disappointment expressed by Grant Holders highlighted the fact that too much emphasis had been put on management issues, along with processes such as logframes and VfM, to the detriment of "important results that merit being shared among grant holders and other practitioners" (PTF, 2014). Frustrations further relate to the fact that GTF evidence could not be taken fully on board by DFID in its country aid strategies or by other donors because dissemination to key decision-makers within DFID and other donors was prevented on the basis of unmet standards of evidence.

4.5 Interviews with GTF Programme Managers

This section describes the final research method. The aim of primary data collection through semi-structured interviews was to allow a focused and guided conversation in order to collect views from the perspective of GTF programme managers. To begin with, there was a design phase, which was used to identify the themes for questions, selection of a sample and consideration of ethical issues, then a pilot study to refine the initial design was conducted before interviews were carried out and analysed after transcription and coding.

4.5.1   Design and Pilot of the Semi-structured Interviews

The choice of semi-structured interviews as a data collection method was made on the grounds that it allowed a focused and guided conversation, which is more flexible than structured interviews or a rigidly constructed survey by questionnaire. This type of method also fitted well with the case study context of the research in that it allowed rich qualitative data to be collected. The thematic nature of the semi-structured interviews meant that any areas of interest could be probed, and further explanation could be sought (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). Having said this, there are also some data quality issues associated with the use of semi-structured interviews (Saunders et al., 2012, p.396). Mostly, this relates to the reliability of the data, as this method is not free from bias due to the perceptions of both interviewee and interviewer. Therefore, it does not guarantee reliability in that another researcher may not collect similar information even if conducting similarly framed interviews. It is therefore not realistic to think of this method as one that is repeatable. However, to overcome some of these issues, particular care was taken in the preparation of the interview, a pilot interview was carried out and alterations to format made on the basis of that experience.

The interview themes were derived from the literature review, shown in Chapter 3, Section 3.2, Table 3-2. Examination of the relevant literature identified learning cycles and their differences and similarities at various levels (individual, group, organisational). At systemic level (that is to say looking at all three levels indiscriminately), a learning cycle is proposed by Winswold et al. (2009) which combines the phases of knowledge processing in a Kolb-like cycle with the modes of governance in play,

as shown at Figure 4-3. For Winswold et al. (2009), the result is that each type of mode of governance (Market, Hierarchy or Network) generates learning approaches and adaptive capacity that are distinct from one another. The Winswold et al (2009) model is reproduced at Figure 4-3. In this instance, the learning phases are superimposed onto the GTF lifecycle phases. The design, bidding and planning of GTF represents the 'Search' phase, whilst the implementation of the GTF programme represents the 'Articulation' phase. The assessment through M&E represents the 'Evaluation/Feedback' phase and, finally, learning through lessons captured or identified represents the 'Interpretation of Signals'. In addition, this model links the learning process to Modes of Governance. In effect, this recognises the influence of dominant forces at play on learning – be they market, hierarchy or network – on learning.
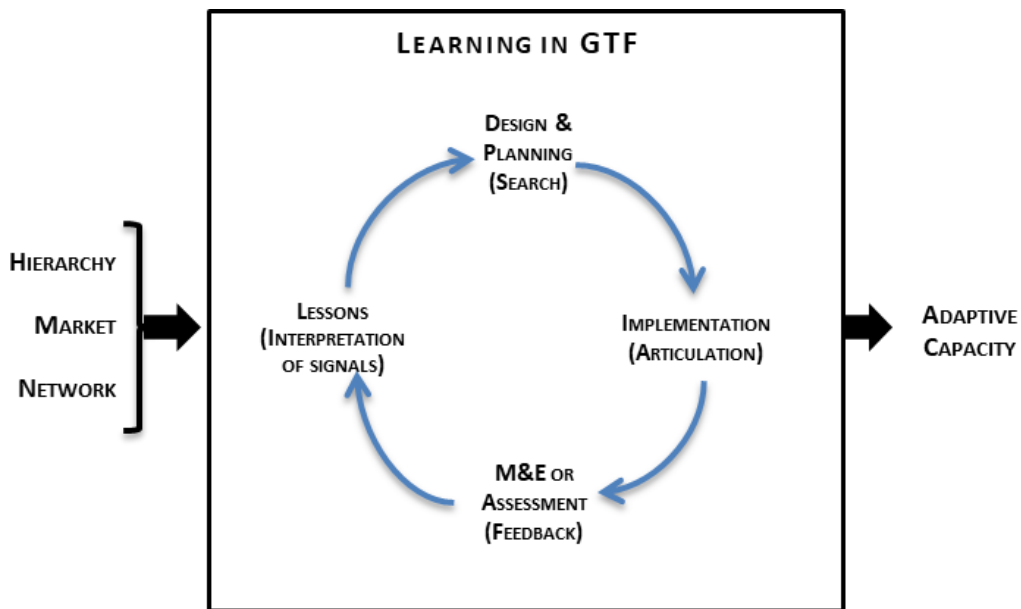

Figure 4-3: Winswold learning cycle for adaptation in GTF [Source: Author]

The interview themes were developed on the basis of this model. Appendix 3 - shows how the interview framework examined each phase individually. Specific questions were asked in relation to each phase to determine if any influence was perceived by the interviewee. In order to isolate the sample of potential interviewees, a step-by-step approach was adopted to filter down the 38 GTF programmes to a more manageable number, as shown in Figure 4-4.
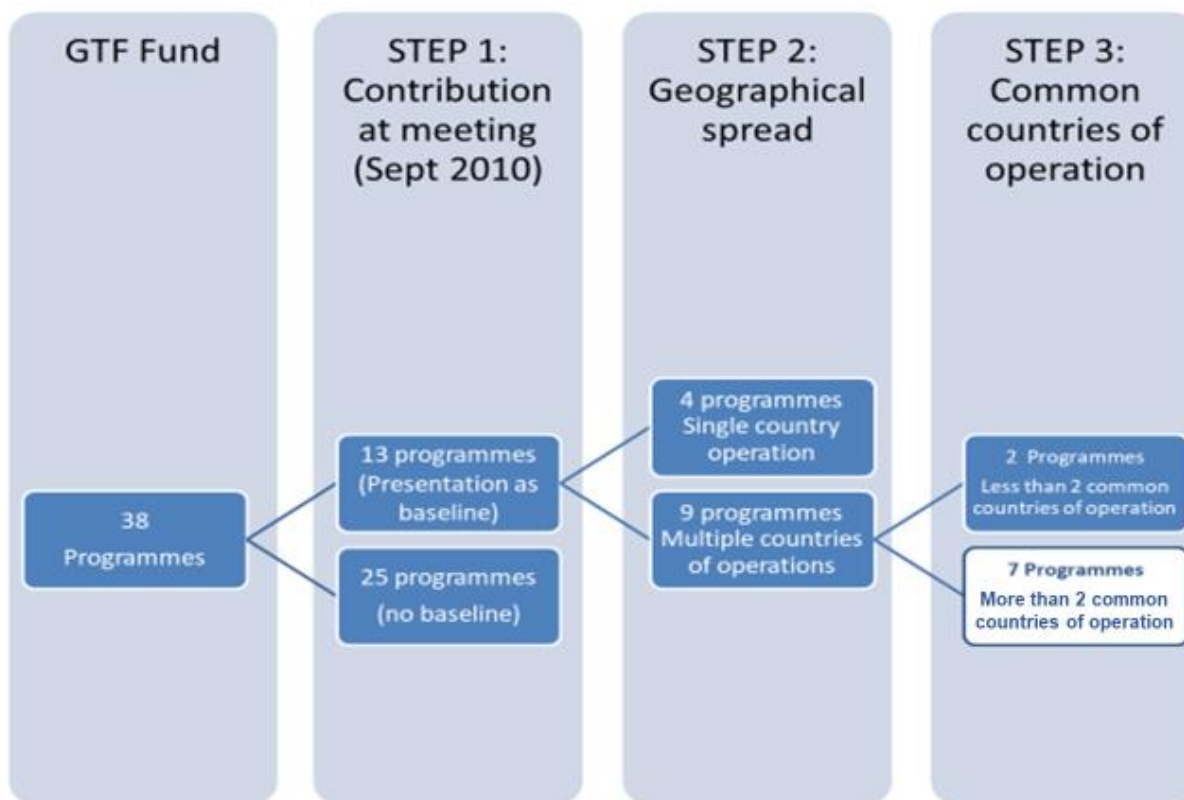
Figure 4-4: Sampling Decision Tree [Source: Author]

Of the 38 programmes, 13 had contributed a Grant Holder's presentation at the GTF meeting of September 2010 (Step 1). In doing so, a baseline for the Programme's expectations was captured in their presentations. It should be noted that the GTF meeting of September 2010 took place at the early stages of implementation. Therefore, these were early lessons and simply served to show the starting points of the various projects. Out of these 13 programmes, the focus was their geographical coverage. Four operated only in one country and the remaining nine were running operations in four countries or more (Step 2). It was assumed that by selecting programmes with more than one country of operation, evidence of the existence of learning and how it was taking place within a single organisation would be apparent across all areas of operations. Therefore, of the nine programmes, the final shortlist had to have shared countries of operation (Step 3). The selected GTF programmes had two or more countries in common with other programmes. In the end, seven programmes were identified for survey by interview and five interviews were conducted. While the sample size appears to be relatively small, it represents over 10% of the entire programme population. Although this may not appear a huge sample size, it needs to be considered in relation to the initial number of programmes in the GTF. The sample

represents over 10% of the entire programme population. Although the organisations studied varied in size and age, the GTF programmes they headed up were very similar in terms of value and duration. All of the programmes were over £4 million in value and lasted for five years. In the sample selected, the programme managers were identified to be invited for interviews. The rationale for the selection of these individuals as the focal point for interview was determined by the fact that their role gave them an extensive and in-depth perspective of their particular programmes. Bearing in mind the high value of the programmes), these individuals were experienced, expert and respected in their area, making their views all the more significant and valuable. Selecting a single respondent per programme was a choice borne out of necessity as it was realised early in the conduct of the interviews that staff had inevitably moved on from the targeted organisations in the intervening period. Therefore, out of the five interviewees, only two had been the original programme managers at the time of the launch of the GTF programmes. Tracking people for the purpose of this research proved to be a lengthy and convoluted journey. The interviews were all carried out by Skype and recorded with the permission of the respondents. Table 4-15 presents an anonymised list of interviews.

Table 4-15: List of interviews [Source: Author]

	Date	Duration	Organisation profile	Size
Pilot Participant P	20 July 2015	49 min	Over 20 years – under 50 staff	£4M – 5 years
GTF Participant 1	12 May 2016	52 min	Less than 10 years – under 50 staff	£4M – 5 years
GTF Participant 2	13 May 2016	1hour 1 min	Over 20 years - over 100 staff	£4.6M – 5 years
GTF Participant 3	18 May 2016	2hours 7 min	Over 60 years over 100 staff	£4.9M – 5 years
GTF Participant 4	6 June 2016	52 min	Over 30 years - over 100 staff	£5M – 5 years
Validation Participant V	10 Dec 2018	28 min 17	DFID	N/A

Following these interviews, a validation interview was carried out (in the later stages of the research) with the DFID Official who had been responsible for GTF Management. The purpose of the interview was to gain insights and discuss the key findings. This is discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.

The ethical considerations for the semi-structured interviews were fairly straightforward as all the projects had ended and the data collected was perceived as historic. Therefore, participants did not appear reluctant to share freely their thoughts on the GTF. As customary for interviews involving human participants ethical, approval was sought prior to the carrying out of interviews. The basis of the

application for ethical approval was to obtain informed consent. To do so an information sheet, Shown at Appendix 2 - was produced explaining i) the purpose, scope and approach for the research, ii) terms of participation including the right to withdraw at any time and iii) details for subsequent contacts. The pilot study consisted of a 49-minute interview using Skype with the programme manager of the selected GTF programme (Participant P). An information sheet was sent out to Participant P prior to the interview and consent was obtained by exchange of e-mail. The interview was recorded and subsequently analysed in order to refine the approach and the questions. A number of changes were made as a result of this pilot. The final list of questions, grouped in themes, is shown at Appendix 3 - The initial theme deals with the search for solutions in the problem space. It seeks to find out if GTF programmes were mostly driven by market forces (needs and gaps are proxies for supply and demand), whether DFID's (2006) white paper and subsequent call provided a centrally defined frame to align the programmes or if the programmes emerged out of an arbitration taking place with field stakeholders and partners. The subsequent theme relates to the articulation of solutions by the GTF programmes. As per the first theme, questions were articulated to investigate whether the hierarchical constraints were imposed by the global GTF log frame or whether programmes were driven by field influences expressed through their networks. The following theme focused on the evaluation of the implementation of programmes. Questions were designed to encourage examination of the conduct of the operations of the programmes and whether they were subject to drivers determined by the market (such as efficiency and profitability), by requirements dictated by the main GTF log frame or by the influences of field networks and partnership. The final theme considers the links to lessons within individual programmes and the GTF as a whole. Questions sought to grasp what learning culture was prevalent, whether hierarchical structures (epitomised particularly by the GTF logframe) were able to exploit the local knowledge of individual programmes and whether lessons arose principally from feedback relating to efficiency and cost controlling measures or whether relational connections acted as barriers to analytical reasoning (spread of established assumptions and interpretations).

Initially, Participant P found it difficult to perceive the linkage between the mode of governance (particularly market governance based on competitive processes) and learning, and stating that,

> Competing for funds is what we have to do all the time. I am not sure where this question is leading to. [...] Our learning wasn't impacted by the fact that this was [...] a competitive process. [...] our learning was affected by our ability to bring together our partners and reflect on what

it was we were doing through the project and collectively process those insights. (Participant P, Pilot Interview ,12m22s)

However, Participant P recognised that their programme represented an opportunity to extend their organisation's work in an area of interest where it was felt that "issues needed a lot more investigation" (Pilot Interview). This confirms that gaps were filled in the supply for certain types of programmes. Complementing the portfolio of activities of the organisation with similar projects or in geographically neighbouring areas also seemed to be part of the logic of NGOs in the sector. However, it appears that it is not perceived as being driven by a market-based logic (influenced by cost cutting and leverages). Consequently, it follows that using terminology related to the idea of the market does not sit well with the NGO culture. This shaped some of the wording used for the main interview questions.

In a similar vein, Participant P was not able to relate to the concept of profitability. Instead, the ideas of VfM and cost effectiveness were put forward. Once the terminology was re-assessed, Participant P was able to confirm that the idea of making cost-effective use of resources was ever-present when making management decisions. Mechanisms for match funding were described. These offered ways for NGOs working in an area to assemble multiple sources of funding for a single theatre of operation in the field. This leads to a cut-back in office costs and enables NGOs to operate more widely in the field, whilst some of the management and back office functions are shared as well as coordinated. Alternatively, it may mean that there is a duplication of funding for the same operations. This would allow the NGO to appear as producing better VfM or potentially mean that it more than covers its costs; the 'surplus' thus achieved on some operations can then presumably be transferred elsewhere. Again, NGO environments do not recognise the language of profitability although it may be that some of the mechanisms exist. Recognising that the language used has connotations is crucial to the conduct of productive interviews.

When asked about 'groupthink',[27] which can be observed in close-knit communities, Participant P did not recognize the notion. The idea behind the question was to explore whether common and deeply

---

[27] Groupthink expresses the idea that groups tend toward uniformity in certain cohesive contexts leading them to fail to solve problems adequately. Janis (1971, p.84) writes that where groupthink is present "it tends to override realistic appraisal of alternative courses of action. […It] arises when the members of decision-making groups become motivated to avoid being too harsh in their judgements of their leaders' or their colleagues' ideas".

entrenched assumptions existed, were visible and prevented double loop learning from taking place. Participant P did not see GTF programmes as a cohesive network. Thus, the lack of sharing of lessons and feedback was not affected by 'groupthink'. It emerged that this concept is probably difficult to investigate. It would probably require the question to be broken down into several questions, perhaps one to identify forms of 'groupthink', one to find out where they could be visible and, finally one to determine if it is present. Beyond the fact that the term 'groupthink' is most probably perceived as pejorative, it was clear that this question needed revising.

4.5.2   Findings of Semi-structured Interviews

The interview recordings were transcribed in full, although, some minor parts were inaudible and therefore unusable. Once transcribed, the interviews were coded using NVivo. The coding focussed on gathering issues relating to Modes of Governance (Hierarchy, Market, Network) and Learning phases (coded as 'Search for Solution', 'Articulation', 'Evaluation/Feedback' and 'Learning/Interpretation of Signals'). For a hierarchical mode of governance, particular attention was paid to identifying reliance on central authority for decisions, presence of codified and binding prescriptions, existence of formal mechanisms of feedback, preference for general knowledge at the 'centre' (or top of the organisation) versus specialised knowledge locally. Market modes of governance are normally depicted by feedback mechanisms that are fast but biased towards profitability, by the interplay of various actors, by communication over supply and demand and the recognition that learning is a cost-bearing activity necessary to develop future profitable solutions. Networks display a capacity for exploration and the search for solutions through bargaining, exposing informal self-regulating interactions. In addition, they bring to light the fact that voluntary action rather than authority is prominent in the execution of decisions and that the linkages between policy or capacity for implementation are weak.

The references identified from the coding process are summarised at Table 4-16, which shows the number of references which refer to a Mode of Governance and a Learning phase. For example, the hierarchical mode of governance is related 12 times to the 'Evaluation/Feedback' phase and 13 times to the 'Learning/Interpretation of Signals' phase. This suggests that the hierarchical mode matters most in theses phases. This explains why interviewees have commented on it whilst other phases ('Search

for Solution' and 'Articulation') were not associated with the idea of hierarchy, suggesting that the mode did not have such an impact on these phases.

Table 4-16: Coded References: Modes of Governance vs learning phase [Source: Author]

	1-Search for Solutions	2-Articulation	3- Evaluation/Feedback	4- Learning/ Interpretation of Signals
Hierarchy	2	0	**12**	**13**
Market	**9**	1	3	**5**
Network	**13**	**8**	1	**10**

The greyed-out cells of Table 4-16 are examined in more detail in each of the following sections that explore the Modes of Governance (Hierarchy to begin with, Market and then Network) in turn. The references are analysed, and meaning is extracted from selected quotes.

4.5.2.1   The Hierarchy Mode of Governance

When examining the references from interview findings, it appears that the Hierarchy Mode of Governance is mostly noticeable in the 'Evaluation/Feedback' and the 'Learning/Interpretation of Signals' phases. This section inspects influence of a hierarchical mode of governance. On closer examination, it appears that bigger and more established organisations do not shy away from logframes nor find them constricting, evidenced by the following quote,

> I think that DFID unlike other donors has been very conscious of the need to be flexible especially at the level of the outputs and results objectives […] So, no, I don't think that we were overly constrained by the logframe. (Participant 2; 25m45s)

Smaller organisations expressed some frustrations with applying logframe logic to the evaluation of their programmes but recognised that a degree of flexibility was offered by DFID and the Fund Manager in their monitoring approach. For example,

> I don't know that we found it constricting. I think it probably just didn't capture the progress that we were trying to show, [generally…] the purpose of logframes is for results management so there should be some flexibility around it in terms of being able to adapt it as the project evolves so that you can apply any learning that you're getting as you're going along. I think we

did find that with DFID. (Participant 1; 19m36s)

At the heart of a centralised system of evaluation is the requirement to monitor outputs. Participant 2 explains that a Fund the size of the GTF will unavoidably require a complex monitoring and evaluation framework. Yet, the interviewee notes,

> [… the approach will be] to monitor in a somewhat uniform and comparable way but you cannot make that overly formalised because then the whole system grinds to a halt and no-one actually is gathering anything because they're just overly constrained. I think in the GTF [… I] never thought that we were overly constrained, I felt that we got to monitor things the way that we had planned. (Participant 2; 23m01s)

It is worthy of note that bigger or older organisations within the programme may have benefitted from a degree of freedom resulting from their credentials or experience in the domain, such as running large programmes in the past. One Participant mentioned the high degree of innovation and thus flexibility awarded to their organisation in part due to the determined approach of an experienced and daring programme manager able to counter pressures or priorities set by the Fund Manager,

> I think there was quite a lot of innovation. [… Anonymous] was a very good person to manage [the programme] because he has the right degree of courage not to be constrained about priorities, so I think there was quite a lot of innovation. (Participant 4; 18m38s)

Conceivably, it is possible that the size and reputation of some GTF Grant Holders was such that influence was exerted 'bottom up'. One example of this is given by Participant 2 who remarked that the codification of indicators at fund level was in fact coming from their own original idea:

> […] somebody wrote a plaudit in the way that we […compiled] metrics, and […] a lot of it was presented to the GTF committee and then subsequently copied and replicated elsewhere, so I didn't feel that we were ever pushed or requested for metrics that were not suitable to us. (Participant 2; 37m4s)

Grant Holders recognised the need for centralisation but also pointed out that, for the purposes of evaluating programmes it is associated with difficulties. One participant noted that,

So, I think the idea was that the evaluation was to look at the money spent on the Fund in relation to the outputs, the relevance and effectiveness […] then, the impact assessment was trying to look more broadly at […] the theory of change; on what had been actually the impact. I'm not sure how successful it was. And it was also done in each country. I mean the difficulty was because you had so many varied aid projects, the difficulty was in aggregating. (Participant 4; 24m14s)

Another participant refers to the difficulty in coming up with coherent indicators for a programme that was diverse in nature. In effect, the hierarchical mode of governance spread through centralisation practices, the effect of which was felt beyond the relationship between DFID and the Grant Holders. The participant remarked that,

The approach I took was, in terms of trying to manage all these different frameworks and logframes and whatever, [… is to] come up with something that is fit for purpose, so [.... the approach was not] to impose our [GTF] logframe indicators on them […] it just doesn't make sense. But what we did with our partners, we told […] everyone is going to share the same outcomes, so the only difference will be the indicators […] we needed cohesion so […we told] everyone, this is what we're buying into, this is what we're focusing our efforts on for the next five years with this set of resources, is everyone ok with that? (Participant 3; 56m23s)

One way DFID and the Fund Manager exerted influence over learning was through the promotion of learning groups and workshops. Rather than binding and formally organised practices, DFID and KPMG (the Fund Manager), in this instance, encouraged lesson sharing. One participant explained that,

There were different learning groups that were set up, different GTF grantees, so there were ones that happened in London that talked about local issues in developed countries. There were also ones that happened locally in-country and information was shared, and the idea of improving learning and improving all of our approaches, and that I believe was part of KPMG's role, and I think they hired Triple Line to help them do that. (Participant 1; 27m58s)

This participant went on to say that,

 […] there was a lot of effort from KPMG to draw the learning out at the end and to share those and to publish those and things, so I think yes, they definitely tried to foster an environment of learning where people felt safe to open up and share that. (Participant 1; 42m09s)

Although the learning groups performed a useful function, it appears that the sharing of lessons in the GTF was not as organic nor deeply rooted as some of the Grant Holders might have liked. One participant noted that,

> At the beginning [it was] great bringing people together but then the messaging was […] 'why don't one of you guys take the lead and try to get together'. […] Actually, we all have our own activities and at the moment it feels superficial and it feels like we'll get together for what reason, for what end? Because this is not just costly in terms of resources, it's costly in terms of time, so what's the motivation practically, what will people get out of this? So, if [...DFID] had allowed time for people to really gain momentum within their programmes and then with the practical experience the lessons and the insights come rushing in. (Participant 3; 1h48m17s)

Beyond the format of learning in the GTF, there was also reflection on the content of the programme. More specifically, Participant 1 noted the way in which lessons were selected and commented on the benefits of the approach,

> Obviously the logframe played a part in that in terms of drawing out what we needed to report against. […In addition] in terms of the most significant results, [with the] support from KPMG who we sent a handful of case studies and things […] that we felt were most significant and they narrowed it down to the ones that they felt were the most significant and then we worked with them to write that up in the standard format that was required from DFID. (Participant 1; 29m11s)

The participant went on to add that,

> I don't know for instance whether DFID or the GTF framework was a good way to fund organisations. I haven't seen any learning out from that and I haven't seen a similar sort of fund that's come out since then […] so I think in that sense, I would say from my perspective that learning is patchy. Did it work? I don't know what DFID think about that.   (Participant 1; 43m38s)

Another feature of learning in a hierarchy is characterised by the different need for knowledge in each part of it. General knowledge is gathered and used at the 'centre' whilst specialist or functional knowledge is mobilised at the lower levels of the hierarchy (or in the field). Participant 2 describes this,

> I remember […] getting reports from [multiple] countries. One of the frustrations that we had was [over] the learning section in each of them. […] the learning section especially in the beginning two or three years tended to be populated by rather these management and process lessons […when] I would have been a lot more interested in […] self-reflection and learning,

internal learning and honest learning. […For instance] about the process of advocacy and how that was or was not producing the outcomes […] wanted. (Participant 2; 40m24s)

Another participant expands on this point when describing that, for GTF programme, the sharing of lessons amongst partners through internal 'Big Meetings' (within that specific GTF) was hugely successful,

> […Partners] in Central America […] were sort of activists, you know, real grass roots activists, so they had a lot of ideas about what they wanted to do. I think in the African countries there was much less of that experience […] so, it was taking some partners who […had] been more involved in service delivery work before […to move] into this area. […] I think every year having the Big Meetings and the exchanging and the regular meetings was important, people hearing from each other, and I think that really did influence what people did […]. People did get ideas and inspiration from each other. (Participant 4; 21m29s)

4.5.2.2   The Market Mode of Governance

The Market Mode of Governance is mostly noticeable in the 'Search for Solutions' and the 'Learning/Interpretation of Signals' phases. Demand and supply in a market context are important drivers in the search for solutions. The demand side refers to the quantity and type of goods or services required by buyers. The supply side represents the quantity and type the suppliers can offer. The relationship between the two is moderated (in theory) by price adjustments. The idea that the GTF may have displayed market features is corroborated by some observations made by participants in interviews. One remarked that,

> It's a relatively small field [with] a few prominent actors […] I think we know them quite well, knew what they were up to and what they were designing. (Participant 1; 9m51s)

However, the picture is complex in the GTF as demand could be described as twofold: the demand emanating from developing countries themselves and the demand coming from the sponsors' declared policy and intentions. Participant 2 speaks of both, referring clearly to the 'in-country' need as well as the fact that the solution proposed to DFID was novel and therefore offering a degree of rarity and desirability for the sponsor, stating that,

> [The idea] wasn't something that was designed at the Secretariat, it was very much demand driven and it was very much defined by the [...in-country partners] themselves in terms of what they want. [... Initiatives existed and were run by our organisation in] Latin America [but these] were very country-specific and unique and didn't have much to do with others [...]. So, obviously there was a bit of inspiration because these [...initiatives] were relatively new at the time [but] through the programme grew from the original [geographical area towards...] Central and Eastern Europe, [and] through the GTF funding, grew to being [...] global. (Participant 2; 13m11s)

Another participant describes how DFID funding in fact comes to support the development of an already existing initiative,

> [...Our partners] funded by GTF, [...] already had ongoing relationships with [us], so it's not like [we were] starting from scratch [...] I'd say 80%, no close to 90% of the participating partners in the programme [...we] already had an ongoing relationship with, so we weren't starting from scratch, so it was about building up on those relationships. (Participant 3; 5m41s)

One participant offered a real sense of an 'organic' search for solutions. That is to say that their awareness of capabilities and how these could meet the unfulfilled needs was at the heart of their GTF proposal. This approach does not strictly qualify as purely market based as it is not driven by profit or market share, yet the insightful appreciation of needs or demand characterises a wish to be relevant in the same way that organisations in a market context strive to be,

> It wasn't issues-led - if you know what I mean. We didn't start with natural resource management or extractives and what that means for improving access to information in relation to extractives industries [...]. The thinking didn't come from that angle at all, the thinking was more around this particular actor, this particular non-State actor, [...], and also reflecting on how [..do we..] interact with the different players in those countries, and how could we contribute to them being more like an agent for positive social change and getting specifically the leadership, [...], to recognise [we have] a role that to play in actually promoting and improving governance at different levels. (Participant 3; 33m58s)

Markets tend to direct learning towards efficiencies and in the direction where demand is better met. As such, the object of learning is to acquire information on what works well and then to consider how to implement it. One participant refers to that specific form of learning which results in consolidation of internal practices and the development of capacity,

Without the GTF funding that concept would not have been able to […grow as it did…], so yes it was a really critical threshold I think for the […] concept and for that to be, whatever, tested and then scaled up across the movement, so yes, I think it was very critical. (Participant 2; 45m23s)

The organisation and control of learning activities in a market fundamentally self-regulates and the dominant considerations are to do with optimisation and efficiency. In the GTF, it would appear that learning had some form of organisation, but the 'competitive' context of programmes may have encouraged an inward-looking learning,

To a certain extent we're all pitching for the same pot of funds, so you perhaps do more internal learning than you do external learning. […But] GTF was set up was to encourage learning and so there were these learning groups, there was a lot of effort from KPMG to draw the learning out at the end and to share those and to publish those and things, so I think yes, they definitely tried to foster an environment of learning where people felt safe to open up and share that. (Participant 1; 45m23s)

Because of the disparate nature of the programmes, standardisation was not always possible. Some programmes saw the nature of the learning task as being focused on growth,

I don't recall that any of the other GTF partners were doing […similar type of initiative as ours; so, it is difficult] to say that there was lots of cross feeding in that fund. It was […] rather the funding vehicle I guess rather than necessarily in a community practice. (Participant 2; 44m51s)

In addition, learning in a market is recognised as a costly activity,

It costs money to bring people together, whether it's workshops, whether it's even partner exchanges, […or] partners visiting each other's projects. (Participant 3; 18:39)

Ultimately, the competitive forces at play in a market shape the relationships of the various stakeholders. In the case of the GTF, it would have been easier for Grant Holders to collaborate at a certain level (in terms of policy or advocacy) but then to distance themselves in other domains. One participant notes.

[…Following GTF learning activities] we're definitely more aware of what others are doing and I think we then come across them and work with them at different policy level events for instance.   It hasn't led to (I guess) intervention level in the field working together but I think very much so at policy level or in engagement at that sort of level. (Participant 1; 45m19s)

4.5.2.3   The Network Mode of Governance

The Network Mode of Governance is mostly noticeable in the 'Search for solutions', 'Articulation' and

the 'Learning/Interpretation of Signals' phases. In a network, solutions emerge from the capacity to

explore opportunities through bargaining. It was not the case for all GTF programmes that the search

for solutions emerged from the networking relationship amongst stakeholders (some participants

referred to existing programmes which used GTF funding to grow in scope); but others referred to the

diversity of stakeholders at the beginning of their programme,

> So, it was actually a kind of multi-stakeholder approach, a multi-faceted approach, so it was
> working with local community-based organisations, with the Government and with Training
> institutions, and the idea was to bring all of them together, to work together, on service delivery
> issues to improve them. (Participant 1; 3m54s)

Diversity and the search for consensus contributed to the richness of the solutions found.

Consequently, GTF programmes appear to be characterised by their level of innovation. This point was

commented on,

> Personally, I've spoken to some of the people in the country who were involved in it and they
> said it was the most amazing experience of their lives because it gave them the space to really
> [think…]. It's the same with the work on the rights-based approach, that people really value the
> analysis, taking time at the beginning to analyse the context and understand what the barriers
> are and the situation is from the perspective of accountability responsiveness, and so I think
> that that focus on analysis and then developing something that fits in that context. […] The focus
> was on innovating from the analysis rather than DFID's blueprint. Not having a blueprint
> [imposed…] and I think the coming together as well [.… was hugely beneficial]. (Participant 4;
> 46m46s)

However, the strength of Networks in producing novel and innovative ideas comes with drawbacks tend

they tend to display weaker links to policy or implementation,

> This was an innovative new project I think some of the challenges were really, because it was
> pioneering, was getting a common understanding with different stakeholders including our
> implementing partners on what could be done and what we were trying to address. So, I think
> if you look at the end of the project, you'll see that they kind of talk about the beginning stages

that perhaps what could have been done to bring all of our partners together to get to a common ground to start from. But I think in hindsight that was because it was quite a pioneering and innovative approach and so they were trying new things, and therefore they tried different things in different places and then from that there was a lot of learning, so I think if we tried to design a project now, on that basis we would do it better, which is good in terms of our internal running but I think that the challenge was to really get some common language and some common approaches right from the beginning because it was new. (Participant 1; 11m37s)

Evidence of informal interactions leading to learning was expressed by some participants and is more characteristic of a networked mode of working. Such learning appears more organic then the targeted approaches of the Hierarchical mode and is likely to have a deeper impact. For example, one participant indicated that,

> [A] concrete learning from our approach from that was that we started training [all programme staff – be they local or head-office based] together, and we found from the feedback from everybody that if you train them together you would get better results quicker, and so that was the sort of thing that we were able to apply then in the later stages of the project to always start off with the training together because then you start on common ground, it builds trust right from the start and everybody's starting from the same place rather than trying to train people separately and then bringing them together later on. [It] wasn't a formal method of feedback but through the discussions we were having and the results we were seeing we incorporated that informal feedback into our approach in the project, and actually our approach today. (Participant 1; 36m37s)

Another issue is one of coordination of learning; it concerned mainly the larger NGOs that had a larger footprint. In some cases, the lack of coherence or joined-up approaches in local contexts meant that learning activities were not optimal. However, formalising networking practices between the GTF and non-GTF projects at local level may have been useful as is implied in the following statement,

> [GTF projects weren't] part of the country programmes funding [and] didn't really integrate with the country programmes, so […], it's been a challenge anyway to bring together all of the different projects into one coherent programme of work. [… GTF] projects were not necessarily seen as really part of the [same sort of] programme. They weren't then connected with other […] projects which are more about service delivery, and that was seen as a big weakness that they weren't connected. [… Ultimately, it meant that] the learning from the project tended to stay with the people, the Project Officers or the Project Managers, and didn't really get absorbed into the wider programmes or even the wider organisation very much. (Participant 4; 34m20s)

The significance of supporting a course of action or an activity through free choice is highlighted in the networking context. Unlike other Modes of Governance, networks tend to be consensual in their outlook and tactics. This has effect on the scope and attitude to learning of the players involved. One participant revealed the importance of the voluntary nature of their approaches,

> One of the things that we had envisioned [...] was that the participating [...] partners would undertake [...new type of] collaborations and partnerships. Basically, the evidence for it [collaborations' success] was so poor, [...that] the reality is that obviously it's just not a priority and not relevant for partners in the other areas, and so is this the time to push partners? [...After reflection, it felt that] it's just not going to work. We can't force it, so that's why in the end, based on the evidence and also partners' feedback [...senior partners and myself felt...] this is not going to happen, we're going to waste money, throwing money at this set of activities when we know there's not really a lot of will in this. (Participant 3; 1h35m35s)

4.5.2.4   Participant profiling

The NVivo software enables the data relating to interviews to be extracted in a variety of ways. It was possible to extrapolate the distribution of comments by each participant relating to Modes of Governance. This enables an overview of the participants' key concerns, as shown at Table 4-17.

Table 4-17: References to Modes of Governance vs. Participants [Source: Author]

	Participant 1		Participant 2		Participant 3		Participant 4	
Hierarchy	18	45.0%	11	40.7%	6	14.6%	7	31.8%
Market	8	20.0%	12	44.4%	13	31.7%	2	9.1%
Network	14	35.0%	4	14.8%	22	53.7%	13	59.1%
	40		27		41		22	

Participants 3 and 4 made a higher proportion of references to networks. They were from organisations that had been operating in the sector for a great deal longer than some of the others. This implies that networks take a long time to become real partnerships but, once they are established, they are part of the fabric and culture of the organisation. For instance, Participant 3 expresses the depth of the relationship locally, saying,

It's not just about "here's some funding, we'll support you and do M&E on the funding. We'll talk a little bit about the project from time to time and then we'll see what happens" [...] It wasn't just … asking our partners [...] to commit. "You're part of this programme it's not just getting the funding! We're asking you to participate, to share and to learn, like whatever you give out then you get in return, so if you come in with that spirit then it would be a richer experience for you" (Participant 3, 23min26s)

Further research would indicate how long the organisations of Participants 3 and 4 have been working in these countries and whether there is a difference in learning when they are involved in newer theatres of operation where they have less experience.

Conversely, Participant 1 makes a number of references to hierarchical Modes of Governance. This could be due to the relative size of the organisation in question, which was small, and the fact it was at that point at a relatively early stage of operation. It appears to 'endure' the requirement of a hierarchical mode of governance, as Participant 1 stated,

> One of the challenges with the project really, that initially there was an initial logframe which didn't fit so well with what we were trying to do, and then we went through a couple of revisions which took quite a bit of time with DFID or with KPMG until we got to a final logframe that was much more suited for our project. … there wasn't a best practice to follow, and so I think that was one of the benefits of going through the processes, that we were able to narrow that down and be clear on the metrics that we were going to use to measure success and progress. (Participant 1, 17m24s)

Participant 2 was the only participant who referred to the Market mode of governance. When examining the interview, it was apparent that this organisation had a growth mindset and was aware of the requirements to embrace high professional standards (through VfM, use of M&E and logframe) so as to maintain a 'competitive' edge.

4.6 Summary

An in-depth case study of GTF was undertaken in order to explore the inter-relationship between resilience and learning in order to determine the effect of Modes of Governance on adaptation. This revealed that there was a multi-level effort to learn. The chronology of GTF prior to its inception was established by reviewing 10 documents that highlight GTF's key milestones. This raised a number of

important points and critical issues related to the setting up of the GTF. The openness of the bidding process encouraged organisations to be innovative but produced a tough competitive setting. This challenging launch was aggravated by the subcontracting of the Fund Management, which produced tensions and was perceived by Grant Holders as a barrier to learning and the smooth management of programmes. The late arrival of the GTF logframe denoted a disconnect between DFID's advertised intention to learn, while the lack of coherence and foresight in the design of the M&E arrangements, which ultimately were at the heart of figuring out if the underpinning the theory of change of Figure 3-1 (shown in Chapter 3, Section 3.2) could be established.

Following this review of the chronology, three types of sources (core, periphery and external) were examined to clarify the achievements of the GTF from three differing perspectives. It appears from looking at Type 1 sources that networking in the GTF allowed learning though the sharing of experience. The development of networks was explicitly promoted by DFID and the Fund Manager in the second half of the Fund's life. Networks were aimed at knowledge sharing with a view for programmes to impart a common understanding of problems and potential solutions. However, a stumbling block occurred following the development of the GTF logical framework in 2008. This meant that individual projects were free to use different tools, methods and approaches, which responded to their particular circumstances. This sequence of events imposed limitations on the GTF global logic model and, more importantly, on its learning. Unsurprisingly, the MTR conducted in 2012 highlighted some of the weaknesses in the initial design and management of GTF and recommended a tightening of learning approaches through revised Terms of Reference for the Fund Manager. Despite this, the impetus to demonstrate VfM for DFID induces questioning of GTF support for networking practices, especially when it came to funding events.

Target setting and control through measurement are indicative of a hierarchical Mode of Governance. Although such a mode was expressed early in GTF's life, its implementation was imperfect and set in motion an array of corrective measures for DFID and its delegated authority (KPMG the Fund Manager) to assert authority. The manifestation of market forces within and around the GTF is not clearly identifiable by solely looking at the learning instruments. VfM is possibly the most visible indicator that cost and price mattered for DFID and consequently exerted a pressure on the Grant Holders approaches.

The expression of dominant governance forces at play is not obvious when examining Type 2 sources (which were authored independently of the GTF Fund Management and by its sponsor, DFID). Unsurprisingly, by focusing on GTF's progress against its objectives and impact, the review teams were not so much concerned with prevailing Modes of Governance. Although hierarchical, market and network forces can be identified in Type 2 sources, these do not necessarily match the evidence found in Type 1 sources. On the other hand, Type 2 sources presented some key themes, of which two were particularly relevant: firstly, the acknowledgement of broad system effects around the GTF and its learning and, secondly, the perception of risk. Both of those themes are related to the concept of resilience.

Type 3 Sources were inconsistent in their comments about the GTF. Whereas some relied heavily on GTF as a source of evidence and learning, others only mentioned GTF anecdotally. Perhaps understandably, at this level, it was difficult to draw a consistent view of GTF's achievements. Despite this, some themes were apparent. A Fund such as the GTF presents opportunities for learning. The desire for learning, whether for the purpose of policy making or theoretical, is great and the varied focus in relation to learning in Type 3 sources is a case in point. However, building evidence and knowledge is a long and difficult task, as is illustrated by the fact that these sources themselves only offer tentative recommendations and conclusions.

The ethnographic account of the RGI gave a personal view of my experience as a GTF programme manager, which served as a basis to reflect on the practices and culture. This reflection suggested that the international development sector expresses its professionalism in idiosyncratic ways. It uses complexity of language to illustrate the complexity of work. It also uses travel as a proxy indicator for the understanding of cultures and contexts. Both of these expressions are understandable but can also be seen as an obstacle to getting to the crux of what it is to be professional in the sector. The complexity of issues at the heart of international development work means that the sophistication of interventions in the sector is very high. In turn, monitoring and evaluating these interventions is challenging. However, this research revealed tensions created by an increased emphasis on producing quantifiable information or evidence and demonstrating impact. The latter was seen by Grant Holders as much subtler and something that is often best described by qualitative narrative rather than the hard measures that were imposed through logframes or VfM proofs.

Finally, interviews were undertaken with GTF programme managers to unveil a complex picture of the forces at play in the GTF learning processes. All Modes of Governance were implicitly referred to in one way or another. Hierarchical forces could be observed in the evaluating and interpreting phases of learning. The interview participants all recognised that the imposed centralised system of evaluation was due to a requirement to monitor outputs, yet it was perceived differently by the smaller or less influent NGOs than by the larger organisations. Thus, the usefulness of the complex evaluation system of the GTF was deemed unclear by some and seen as a key factor in the lack of coherence in the indicators for a Fund which was diverse in nature. Equally, interpretation and dissemination of lessons was undertaken in learning groups. This tactic was promoted by the Fund manager but, for some interviewees, the sharing of lessons in the GTF remained superficial and was not deeply rooted. Participants acknowledged the existence of market forces in this relatively small field with few major players and where VfM and financial considerations are increasingly prominent measures. The awareness of the nature of the 'demand' for international development undertakings is clear and forms part of the approach through which actors in the sector formulate their 'offer'. Considerations of optimisation and efficiency appear to be significant in the way NGOs manage their programmes and learn from them. However, the display of networking practices was also apparent. There was a recognition that solutions obtained through the bargaining of multi-stakeholders tends to be more constructive and will lead to deeper learning and change. However, networking presents limitations in linking policy to its implementation and often exposes weaknesses in terms of the coordination of relevant actors. Having summarised the findings of this case study, the next stage of this research is to discuss and analyse this data in relation to the literature in order to answer the research question, meet the aim, draw conclusions and make recommendations.

Page intentionally left blank.

CHAPTER 5   SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a discussion of key findings in order to answer the research question:

How does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector?

The research approach concentrated on examining learning within and beyond the GTF, with the aim of providing insight into learning in the aid and development sector. This focus emerged from the study of the literature which identified that learning for resilience relates to the idea of panarchy which is essentially the recognition that learning environments matter and that the boundaries of systems (such as those of the GTF) are often difficult to locate. The literature review also highlighted that learning can be understood as part of an evolutionary process (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3) and that it can be influenced by Modes of Governance (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4). Consequently, three research methods were used in the research to identify the manifestations of archetypal Modes of Governance (Hierarchy, Markets and Networks). These were content analysis; ethnography; and a series of semi-structured interviews, which combined and provided cross-scales perspectives on GTF's learning. Each element of this research concentrated on the process of learning, including identification of the sharing of lessons within the GTF panarchy and how it might be affected by Modes of Governance. Each of the research constituents brought different elements to the response to the central question. The content analysis considered three types of secondary GTF sources, which provided insights from various perspectives; the ethnography generated a retrospective account of a GTF programme managed by Cranfield University (CU); and, finally, semi-structured interviews enabled focused and guided conversations to collect views from the perspective of GTF programme managers. A final validation interview was undertaken to provide insights and discuss the findings with a DFID Official who had been in charge of GTF's management. This is reported in this chapter, the purpose of which is to discuss the findings of the case study of GTF and to relate them to the definition of learning for resilience that was compiled through the literature reviews.

5.1 Lifecycle Learning Model for the Aid and Development Sector

The discussion presented in this section relates back to the description of an evolutionary framework, which was presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3 and, in particular, Table 2-3. The purpose is to propose a framework to enable the analysis of the findings, which leads to the characterisation of a learning lifecycle for the aid sector. The findings of the Case Study are analysed through the prism of evolutionary theories of organisations and their development. However, it should be noted that the GTF is not in itself or being considered here as an organisation[28], although parallels can be drawn. There are, therefore, some caveats to be considered when applying these theories to this study. Firstly, much of what has been written on the evolution of organisations begins with the recognition that they are all different, making generalisation hazardous (Scott & Bruce, 1987). Equally, much of the scholarship was developed in profit-making contexts. Therefore, applying these models to a non-profit making setting also presents some limitations. For example, some ideas have no easy translation and their use in the NGO aid work context is not common. This point was discussed in the pilot interview (Chapter 4, section 4.5.1), which highlighted the fact that the notion of competition and the idea of market rivalry do not sit well with the NGO culture. Consequently, it follows that lessons were learned and, as a consequence, words, terms and phrases were carefully chosen for use in the interview questions.

A particular challenge of this study has been attempting to separate the learning effects from the effects of modes of governance. The multilevel analysis that was undertaken led to an expansion in scope of the study, with the consequence being that the treatment of learning may appear uneven. Although the study referred to learning, each set of actors was not studied in isolation for indications of their individual learning but, instead their concern was considered broadly using the modes of governance lens. This means that, at macro level, the study examined how actors such as DFID (and also Type 3 or 'External' sources which wrote about GTF and the lessons learned from it) thought of, designed and administered overseas aid. At meso level, studying the learning that had taken place through the GTF was assimilated to an organisation but in an ephemeral way. This means that the examination was of a broader, less bounded and less formalised learning remit which involved clarifying what can be determined in relation to bottom-up approaches to governance. The actors learning at the micro
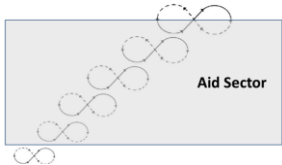
---

[28] An organisation can be identified by the existence of three main components: its basic structure whereby responsibilities are distributed, its processes defining the activities to be carried out and their interrelations, and boundaries that define the scope of control or area of responsibility of the organisation (Child, 2005).

level, were the Grant Holders (without distinction between NGOs and their local partners) through their portfolio/programmes or projects.

The nature of learning at each level of analysis differed. For example, for DFID, learning revolved around the idea that better governance promotes development and reduces poverty. Learning at this macro level focused on ways to promote adaptation, and even transformation, in developing countries that were at times potentially in a fragile state. DFID's broad learning aim was supported by GTF through a portfolio of ideas that were articulated in the 38 programmes all seeking to reinforce citizenship engagement and to strengthen the citizen's voice. Learning in GTF was encapsulated by its willingness to explore the mechanics of accountability and responsiveness resulting from increased demand by civil society. This had been set out in the Logframe that was belatedly imposed on Grant Holders. Intrinsically, the learning that was sought by GTF was characterised by behavioural change and replacement of old beliefs. At micro level, Grant Holders created activities and used inputs which, combined, were thought to produce outputs. In turn, best-practices, knowhow, institutionalisation (through the establishment of rules and structures) to support innovative processes are characterised as learning. However, the capture of the detail and nature of learning at this level is uneven. The picture of where such learning has taken place and how extensively it took place is not clear. Further investigation is needed to uncover how to embed local partners in a way that their empowerment can become a measure of the learning in such programmes.

The discussion here considers a lifecycle as a prism through which the case study of GTF can inform an examination of learning in the aid and development sector. As previously noted, much debate exists amongst scholars about the typical number of phases in a lifecycle and the delineation of boundaries between them. Table 5-1 shows the Aid and Development Sector Lifecycle Learning Model, which is depicted with five phases. The idea of panarchy has been superimposed on to a lifecycle. The two headline rows describe two main levels of interaction: the first row describes the global trends expected in each phase of the lifecycle at sector level and the second row describes the level that the NGOs have reached in terms of their organisational development, in particular the strategies that might be prevalent at each phase of their lifecycle. The table should not be read across levels. The idea of compiling a single table derives from Holmqvist's (2003) argument that there is a need to cross-fertilize the two themes of intra- and inter-organisational learning. Table 5-1 includes examples of evidence collected for this study to illustrate trends and strategies at each level of analysis. Where evidence was found in the case study that reinforces a general point made about a lifecycle phase, the point is emboldened.

Table 5-1: Lifecycle Learning Model for the Aid sector [Source: Author]

		INCEPTION & EARLY STAGES	GROWTH	SHAKE OUT	MATURITY	DECLINE OR RENEWAL
SECTOR LEVEL (Global trends) 	**GENERAL**	• Emerging markets • Fragmented offer of services	• **Offer of services becomes more directed.** • **Some large actors but new entries in the sector still occur.**	• **Growth of sector slows down.** • **Increased rivalry and exit of actors from the sector.** • Consolidation through Mergers & Acquisition.	• Low or no growth. • **Strong and informed buyer or sponsor.** • **Networks develop to alter the balance between suppliers and buyers.**	• **Extreme rivalry where price and Value for Money (VfM) are key measures.** • Exit of actors in the sector.
	EVIDENCE FROM GTF CASE STUDY	No evidence found relating to this phase at the sector level.	The initial concept notes in response to the GTF call for interventions strengthening the demand-side of governance. These were categorised according to 10 themes. Chapter 4, Section 4.1, Table 4-1 shows the breadth of themes and the extent to which NGO 'services' are directed. Interview of Participant 1 indicates clearly that the sector is well into a growth phase (if not beyond it) by asserting that the sector is dominated by a "few prominent actors" (See Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.1)	Competition is noticeable in the GTF evidence not only because the call produced 450 concept notes of which 293 were assessed but DFID also commented as to their surprise of the quality of the proposals (See Appendix 4.) Globalisation of the services was referred to in interviews – whereby an emergent idea was 'rolled out' to new contexts. (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.2)	DFID being an informed buyer is an issue implicit in discussions of the International Development Committee where the question of KPMG's capacity in development was queried (Chapter 4, Section 4.1). BOND's review[29] signals that the sector is keen to demonstrate effective coordination. BOND's lead on a donor advocacy collective action at the inception of GTF aimed to influence the sponsor's practices and create an enabling funding environment for BOND members (See evidence in Chapter 4, Section 4.1)	Evidence of the growing importance of VfM in the sector was found throughout the research. In particular, the Fund Manager notes "DFID should consider clearly the quality and quantity of expected outputs during the contracting stage. Otherwise, external Fund Managers will tend toward the minimum to remain price competitive." (See Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3, Table 4-7)

---

[29] Bond, a network of British NGO has been active for over 20 years and assists over 400-member organisations working in international development in influencing, connecting and leading the UK NGO sector. The 2009 Review (Hillman 2009) sought to secure 'more and better funding' for the sector over the long term by collectively influencing for change to create an enabling funding environment for BOND members. See Bond Website https://www.bond.org.uk/about-us/partnering-with-bond.

ORGANISATION LEVEL (Strategies of NGOs for Development) NGOs for Development	**GENERAL**	• **Focus on defining aid needs and the services or actions to meet them.** • **Consideration of how best to deliver the service.**	• Processes for the management of resources are refined. • Initial steps in the definition of efficiency and quality.	• **Standardisation of practices.** • **Financial strength is essential to growth.** • Diversification.	• Niche services and offers. • **Proliferation of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) to ensure internal quality.** • Internal systems increasingly sophisticated to allow planning and coordination of complex operations.	• **Networks and emergent collaborations as new ways of problem solving.**
	EVIDENCE FROM GTF CASE STUDY	Considerations around professionalisation in the sector being related to familiarity with and knowledge of local contexts and travel were explored in the ethnographic study of GTF (Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3, Table 4-13 and Table 4-14). Approaches and mechanisms to institutionalise experience of different country contexts appear to have long been a prevalent practice in the sector.	How best to organise and monitor aid and development activities appears to be a key consideration for NGOs in the sector. Throughout this research, issues of standards and quality are commented on – yet NGOs in the sectors may be at different stages of their lifecycle. The case of an interviewee (whose organisation was the 'newest' in relative terms) can be singled out to show how the Fund Manager assisted in writing up the Most Significant Result analysis because in-house experience was not suitable in terms of standard format required from DFID. (See Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.1)	Standard use of logframes has been discussed throughout the research. It appeared as an accepted practice but had limitations in relation to GTF. At organisation level, most NGO's adopted it with various degrees of proficiency. An interviewee spoke about an original idea being rolled out globally with GTF funding - without which the concept would not have been scaled up across the organisation. (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.2)	The use of logframes (useful in both planning terms as well as for M&E purposes) is prevalent in GTF – it is part of the initial appraisal of concept notes (together with examination of budgets). (Chapter 4, Sections 4.1and 4.2) The emergence of the GTF logframe long after GTF's beginning suggests that the tool was used as a form of control. The Final Review comments on the lack of coherence in the design of the GTF portfolio. The variety of programmes implied complexity which would have been better dealt with by an logframe from the outset (opinion of the expressed in the MTR 2012 –Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3.2, Table 4-9).	DFID's aspiration to promote the development of networks where innovation and sharing of good practice takes place is clear (See Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and 4.3) and it is explicitly promoted by the Fund Management in the second half of GTF's life. At organisational level, networking practices appear inconsistent. The Mid-Term Review points out that strong networking within a project requires engagement and empowerment of local partners in all phases of the project. Such best practice is not clearly visible in all GTF programmes (See Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3.2, Table 4-8).

5.2 Implications of the evolutionary perspective of the Aid and Development Sector

The phases shown in this Lifecycle Learning Model relate to the Modes of Governance, displaying the prevalent modes of control or influence at each phase. The first column describes the early stages of the lifecycle. In terms of the prevalent structure and mode of control, Greiner (1972) and Scott & Bruce (1987) suggest that, in this phase, the sector and the organisations within it are unstructured; that is to say, little or no regulations or standards exist to frame an emergent activity. Given that the focus of this phase is the creation of a new service, it is managed by a simple process of administration within NGOs. Therefore, in this phase, it appears that patterns of control and organisation are not set. This study has found no evidence that the sector level[30] was in this phase. In fact, it appears that the sector is in the more 'advanced' phases of its lifecycle. This is because there has been institutionalisation of some practices in the sector, as highlighted in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3. This showed that some forms of professional practice or tacit codes appeared in the early days of the professionalisation of the Aid sector and that significant familiarity with developing contexts is a key aspect of the maturity of the Aid sector, which has led to the assumption that world travel can provide valuable transferrable knowledge. This point is symptomatic of a sector-wide practice that emerged in the inception phase and reflected the views of the actors on how best to deliver the service. In an age of global communication, the virtues attributed to 'extensive travel' could be discussed. It is also argued that as a professional value, it is a barrier to market entry and not conducive to the development of networks because of its costly nature.

The second column in Table 5-1 provides analysis of the prevalent structures and mode of control in the 'growth phase' of the lifecycle. As new ideas and concepts for international development are turned into 'exploitable' services and become more defined, so they become more directed at sector level. Standards and regulations begin to appear in an effort to provide guides to good practice. The number and the variety of suppliers grow with the needs and developing distinctiveness of the sector (Phelps et al., 2007). Consequently, some centralisation, leading to the formation of a hierarchy, occurs at organisation level in order to coordinate and promote efficient processes for the management of resources (Greiner, 1972). Definitions of efficiency and quality

---

[30] This is understood here as the Macro level within which the GTF sits. This is explained in Chapter 3, Section 3.2 at Figure 3-2.

emerge at organisation level and are spread to new entrants in the sector as well as existing actors through iterations of procurement. This study found evidence that the Aid sector has been through its 'growth' phase and that it is well established, having 'directed' its offer of services towards identified needs. For example, the 293 initial Concept Notes that were written in response to the GTF were categorised into 10 very distinct themes (Reform and Access to Public Services; Administrative Reform and Access to Administrative Reform; Access to Justice, Safety and Security and Human Rights; Controlling Corruption and Increasing Transparency; Public Financial Management and Public Expenditure monitoring; Access to Information; Open Press and Media; Decentralisation and Local Government; Electoral Monitoring and Democratisation and International Governance; Conflict Prevention and Peace Building; Climate Change and the Environment; Enabling Business; Trade and Investment, as shown at Chapter 4, Section 4.1, Table 4-1). This illustrates the extent to which NGO 'services' are directed with distinct themes existing within the sector. The description of the sector being dominated by a "few prominent actors" (Participant 1– Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.2) also demonstrates that the sector has gone beyond the 'growth' phase and the number and size of organisations has consolidated.

However, the picture at the organisation level is different and it is fairly straightforward to appreciate that there is not necessarily an alignment of phases at sector and organisation levels. Hence, the acknowledgement of what appeared to be a technical hitch with the Most Significant Results (MSR) analyses demonstrates the familiarity of most actors to existing standardised practices (Participant 1 – Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.1). DFID had expectations for the format of the MSR, revealing that the incorporation of standards and best practice in the sector has become unavoidable and embedded into the sector's culture. This issue also relates to implicit or tacit standards, such as those noted in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3, where the use of technical language was highlighted. The sector's discussions, often "cloaked in jargon and technicality", are understood by some as a sign of the "professionalisation" of aid and the emergence of an aid "industry" (Keeley, 2012, p.96). However, this language can also be perceived as a barrier to be overcome. Understandably, the difference in mastering professional codes and praxis in the sector will be more accessible to those NGOs that have existed for over 60 years.

The 'shake out' phase, described in the third column in Table 5-1, occurs after growth slows down; this phase is dominated by competitive forces. At sector level, the predominance of market forces entails increased rivalry. Although no evidence was found to support this view during this study, it

is possible that the exit of some actors and a degree of consolidation through forms of mergers have taken place in the sector's history. A related point is corroborated by Mawdsley (2015) who points to DFID's strong turn to a private sector-led economic growth agenda. In her paper, she notes that DFID's new approach appears to "increasingly validate large-scale corporations, consultancies and the financial sector—risks enabling yet more assertive strategies of capital accumulation and profit making that, in the name of "development", overwhelmingly benefit wealthier actors in the UK and abroad" (Mawdsley, 2015, p.341). In addition, the expansion of organisations is associated with economies of scale and the search for more efficient and flexible ways to deliver a service (Porter, 2008). However, delegation and decentralisation at organisational level are required in order to give 'decentralised units' the necessary autonomy and authority to respond and act faster in novel contexts (Greiner, 1972). Therefore, the search for sustainable growth may be accompanied by diversification strategies.

Multiple accounts of competitive forces at play in the GTF were highlighted in this study. The most noticeable manifestation was provided in the GTF's tendering phase. The call produced 450 Concept Notes, of which nearly 300 were assessed. They were described as being of very high quality (See Appendix 4 - Key dates, documents and milestones in the life of GTF) and DFID commented that the proposals exceeded expectations in terms of level of innovation (Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and Appendix 4 -). The competition for GTF funding was far-reaching; each proposal was considered for its technical merit, the inherent programme and financial risks, as well as DFID Country Office support for the programme. Another key factor in the selection of programmes was DFID's aspiration to achieve a balanced portfolio overall (including different sizes and types of civil society organisation as well as a spread of risk among the wider set of organisations). In addition, the GTF call was open to a wide range of Not-for-Profit organisations, including those registered outside the UK, which altogether broadened its scope. In favouring larger scale proposals (portfolios of activities rather than individual projects and requesting proof of the organisation's history of handling large amounts of funding), the call dissuaded smaller or younger organisations from bidding, as the playing field did not appear to be level for these organisations (Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and Appendix 4 -). Overall, the choices made by DFID at the tendering stage encouraged considerable competitive forces and, although most applicants welcomed the broad and open approach, such choices raised concerns. For example, BOND expressed reservations about proposals coming from non-UK based organisations about which DFID knew very little (Hillman, 2008). The GTF tender also illustrates the

phenomenon of the globalisation of services consistent with increased global competition at sector level.

At organisational level, the globalisation of the NGOs' development services stands out. Participant 2 described the 'roll out' of an emergent concept in the organisation in relation to moving into new contexts of operation thanks to GTF funding (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.2). This illustrates the fact that the financial strength and backing to allow growth and expansion is vital. Accordingly, the quest for quality standards that had started in the previous lifecycle phase was well underway. The findings of this study are that standards exist in the sector and are prevalent globally (such as the use of the OECD DAC criteria[31]). However, implicit norms, such as the widespread use of logframes, represent a way for organisations and donors alike to guide best practice and enhance the quality of development efforts across the sector. Equally, Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) requirements have become common in the sector's contractual practices. M&E is a way to incorporate learning into reporting and to embed the systematic capture of experience in programmes. However, Ramalingam et al. (2008) note that "there is little evidence yet of cases where learning in such contexts can transcend the bureaucratically-driven communication processes that are common to M&E frameworks." In addition, some of these standards require high levels of proficiency, and credentials and present barriers to entry to the sector for new organisations.

In a phase of maturity, the fourth column in Table 5-1, a sector no longer experiences growth. While this phase was not a focus of this research, it is clear that the aid sector is still experiencing a growth in revenue and that "global spending on aid has tended to increase over the past few decades, with growth accelerating since around 2000" (House of Commons Library, 2018, p.8). However, this increased spending may have been channelled in new ways, which could explain the manifestations of maturity in the sector. Amongst other trends, Maietta et al (2018) note that non-traditional or non-formal actors are gaining importance in the sector. Of particular relevance is the strengthening role of private companies and foundations, along with a trend of militarisation in the case of humanitarian aid[32]. National militaries are increasingly training their staff for humanitarian response. Equally significant is the trend for other government departments to become significant donors. For example, the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, the Foreign and

---

[31] Other initiatives can be likened to standards in that they have become normative in the way aid and development is delivered. For example, it is the case of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the aid effectiveness regime, which was launched with the 2005 Paris Declaration.
[32] This refers to the fact that national militaries are increasingly training their staff for humanitarian response. See BOND's comments on future challenges at https://www.bond.org.uk/news/2017/08/the-aid-sector-in-2030-challenges-and-changes-ahead-for-ingos

Commonwealth Office and the Home Office have increased their aid budgets considerably (House of Commons Library, 2018). In addition, after much debate, DFID decided to withdraw its bilateral aid from several middle-income countries so as to prioritise its effort on a smaller group of low-income countries. The exit from (or 'transition out' of) these middle-income countries does not equate to a reduction in overall spending, but has in effect meant that the 'market' needs have shifted towards other UK strategic objectives and will create a basis for future cooperation (ICAI, 2016).

In this maturity phase, decisions regarding the direction and coordination of the sector are taken at donor level, as demonstrated by their funding priorities. Strategic decisions include choosing between the delivery of programmes versus projects, long-term development aid (five years and beyond) versus medium term humanitarian aid (up to five years), or even selecting between activities that are geographically-based (by country or region) and those which are thematic in character. Finally, the donor will also need to decide who will implement the funding decision and what will be the key criteria in the monitoring and evaluation of its outcomes (House of Commons Library, 2018). Fundamentally, the UK Aid sector appears to be governed by a strong and informed buyer. However, it should be noted that questions about the expertise of staff at DFID were raised during the tendering phase of the GTF. The House of Commons Development Committee expressed its concern about losing critical development subject matter expertise to a seemingly inexperienced Fund Manager (Chapter 4, Section 4.2). This indicates that DFID's buyer capability may be fragile. Nevertheless, this study suggests that this is counterbalanced by BOND, the network of British NGOs in development. BOND members reviewed their experiences of applying to the GTF and sent a list of recommendations to DFID, thereby illustrating the intent of actors within the sector to coordinate and articulate their own views on DFID's strategy for international development. Recent trends in the globalisation of aid have meant that NGOs in the development sector are able to seek funding outside the UK. This may also be viewed as rebalancing approaches between suppliers and buyers, allowing NGOs to diversify their sources of funding.

At organisation level, the delegation of authority and decentralisation that might have been brought about by a shake-out at sector level led to what Greiner (1975) refers to as "a crisis of control". This describes a situation where devolved units or parts of the organisation behave independently of each other, while uncoordinated and autonomous operations give way to parochial attitudes. In such a situation, organisations emphasize coordination and planning activities so as to re-establish a sense of control over operations that have broadened and become increasingly complex. In the

case of the GTF, there was a proliferation of attempts to coordinate initiatives, which were implemented top-down by KPMG and DFID in the form of logframes or risk assessments (via imposed reporting formats). Evidence was also found that the issue of coordination mostly concerned the larger NGOs, which necessarily had a larger operational footprint. For example, some interviewees commented on cases where there was a lack of coherence or cases where there were joined-up approaches in local contexts (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.3).

The decline or renewal phase, which is shown in the last column of Table 5-1, can be described as one of transition rather than the extinction of a sector. This phase is predominantly concerned with renewal strategies aimed at maintaining a sector that is relevant and sustainable (Riddell, 2014). Greiner (1972) describes this evolution as the continuance of increasingly bureaucratic systems that have evolved to coordinate the dispersed local service delivery of the previous phase. He explains that, "procedures take precedence over problem solving, and innovation is dampened" (Greiner, 1972, p.405). Steering the sector and those larger organisations within it turns out to be too complex to rely on formal programmes and rigid systems. The 'Red-Tape Crisis' that ensues is one that eventually gives way and results in the promotion of interpersonal collaboration, team work and greater spontaneity in management (Greiner, 1972). Networks become essential; they are, therefore, part and parcel of growing social control and self-discipline.

Turning to the study of the GTF, initially, price, which could be likened to Value for Money (VfM), became a key indicator of success and effectiveness. The obvious problem is that when price or VfM becomes so important to the buyer, it may be that the quality of services becomes secondary or, at least, less significant. Pressure on price and on margins (to use private sector terminology) can be destructive to a sector if costs, such as those associated with the retention of professional staff, remain high. Porter (2008) points out that strategies for buyers as well as suppliers need to be cognisant of the competitive forces at play in the sector. In the long run, these forces determine how value is distributed (amongst all stakeholders, whether they are donors, aid agencies and organisations in the delivery chain, staff or end-beneficiaries). The implications for strategy are clear: understanding ways in which the sector may evolve is a concern for all stakeholders and is best achieved in a collaborative context through joint goal-setting and participative modes of governance.

This study found evidence of networking practices at sector level. For example, the advocacy and influencing campaigns carried out by BOND are part of this evidence (Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Similarly, but from the other side of the bargaining table, DFID entered discussions with the World

Bank to seek funding for some of the high-quality proposals that the GTF could not pursue (Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Beyond the primary research undertaken for this study, there is evidence that the sector is changing radically with the emergence of new actors (such as the military, the private sector, local NGOs, local communities and new donors). There is a shift of power toward the Global South including a growing preference for localized aid and decision-making by means of multiple partnerships with local organisations, including private companies. In addition, the rise in humanitarian interventions resulting from a combination of natural disaster, chronic state fragility and broadened pockets of regional political instability and conflict means that NGOs will find it difficult to operate independently (IARAN, 2017). Such changing conditions in a Western-dominated Aid sector should lead to readjustments in supplier-buyer power which are predicted to take place through "large blocks of like-minded organisations [...] likely to form alliances to ensure survival, both in terms of finance and relevance "(IARAN, 2017; p.11). Whilst the GTF case study has not shown these changes due to the time frame being covered, it does provide indications that networking and collaborative practices have been in the mind of most stakeholders. For example, DFID and KPMG were powerful of supporters of networked relationships, particularly after GTF's Mid-term review (Chapter 4 , Section 4.3.3.1 and Table 4-5). Nevertheless, whilst networking practices were customary to some Grant Holders as an intrinsic part of their organisational learning (Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3.1 and Table 4-5), others did not embrace them nor did they engage or empower local partners sufficiently to enable a higher degree of ownership or to promote partner commitment (Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3.2, Table 4-8).

5.3 Summary

The Social Ecological Systems literature and Learning literature were examined to produce an evolutionary framework, which then was used to analyse the research findings. Therefore, drawing from the two areas of literature reviewed in Chapter 2, a Lifecycle Learning Model for the aid and development sector and for NGOs in development was developed and used to analyse the findings of the GTF Case Study which was presented in Chapter 4**Error! Reference source not found.**. This enabled an understanding of the drivers of, or guides for, learning in the GTF. It has been shown that organisations learn and adapt by internalising changes to their structures and routines to suit their environments. When adaptive strategies are misinformed or misshapen, they can be referred to as 'pathologies' (Coghlan, 1997). Power (through the enforcement of hierarchical relationships), money (through the emphasis of all-encompassing VfM measurements) and the 'soft things of

people'[33] (through the importance given to travel) have an effect on learning. The aim of this chapter was to highlight that a lifecycle model shows the manifestation of Modes of Governance that have appeared in multiple ways and as demonstrated by several stakeholders in the GTF. Strategies (power, finance and people – as well as learning) have been diverse at various levels of the GTF panarchy, perhaps because there was no alignment of the lifecycle phases under way.

There is evidence of the validity of the proposed aid and development lifecycle at both the sector and the NGO level. The sector is in the maturity phase, given that it is already engaged with deep change, suggesting the 'decline' of old ways of working. This is corroborated by the IARAN (2018, p.4) report which looks far into the future of Aid:

> The global domination of the West... has changed the face of international relations, concurrently shaping the development of INGOs (international non-governmental organisations) whose roots primarily lie in the West. … In the face of such rapid and far-reaching changes, the need for a global vision and a long-term approach has never been more evident.

The shift envisaged is one where more decentralized control is given to local aid actors and where networking and collaboration need to become the norm. Barder (2009) explains that it is likely that the proliferation of Aid agencies with diverse interests has been the source of principal-agent problems. This has been exacerbated by long delivery chains, which have created challenges in that there is a broken 'feedback loop' connecting the intended beneficiaries and decision-makers. He suggests that the move should be towards,

> Two other types of institutional approaches to coordinating multiple actors with diverse and competing interests: markets and networks. These forms of coordination can improve accountability, reduce information asymmetries, and reduce principal-agent incentive problems (Barder, 2009, p.2).

For him, the manifestations of networks, markets and hierarchy are evolving, and he argues that the future lies in reforming aid away from hierarchies (which he refers to as a 'planning mode').

A validation interview was conducted with the DFID Official (Participant V) responsible for GTF Management. The purpose of the interview was to gain insights and discuss the key findings. The

---

[33] Coghlan (2007, p34) does not define the expression. Here it is taken as cultural values.

interview confirmed that learning had taken place in the GTF at various levels, for example at programme level and at Fund level. He stated that:

> There was learning from each individual programme. Each individual programme had an obligation on pulling out the lessons learnt and sharing them across the sector. Each programme had a learning approach and a set of learning products […] and then on top of that there was cross-cutting learning. The Fund Manager, KPMG, who tried to pull out the cross-cutting learning from across of all the different programmes and see where there could be was a 'greater sum of the parts' and bringing together the different learning. […] They produced a body of work which was shared, and we hope that had an impact (Participant V, 9min21s).

In the end, learning was achieved through the testing of assumptions that were contained within each programme's theory of change. The Final Evaluation and the Final Completion Report represent the visible learning from the GTF. Participant V commented that,

> The GTF was a good opportunity to learn. Learning is always difficult. It was a large programme on similar areas of work, working on a whole range of different scenario with different approaches. There was a lot that could be learnt. (Participant V, 12min52s)

However, when faced with the contrasting analysis that the GTF had, on the one hand, encouraged innovative thinking and potential for learning through its diversity of programmes whilst, on the other hand, it had suffered from over-complexity for the purposes of aggregating or pulling together coherent lessons, Participant V agreed and indicated that this was a fair analysis.

Participant V did not recognise the influences of Modes of Governance on learning. The idea of lifecycle was also put forward and its phases were described, but the response was that,

> I am not sure if I am the right person, I managed the programme, but I did not look more broadly at the aid sector […] This is not anything that I have been involved in. I was managing the programme, I was making sure that the programmes were meeting their objectives. (Participant V, 20min21s)

This interview confirms that M&E requirements are standard practice in the sector today, imposed with a view to justifying decisions and cost to taxpayers; however, the bureaucracy they entail appears to have become an end in itself. Learning seems to be of a lower priority than meeting targets.

The use of the evolutionary framework (coined Lifecycle Learning Model) facilitated the analysis of findings and outlined the interplay between levels. It shows how strategies or trends at one level resonate in another and ultimately provides insights on learning for resilience in the aid and development sector. In terms of understanding learning for resilience, it is a process that balances action, including experimentation, and reflection in order to embed lessons that enable a system to withstand disruption, to change and to adapt for the maintenance of function and purpose. Underpinning this definition are three key points: i) there is a tension between 'taking action' and 'observation and reflection'; ii) change has to be motivated and driven and so requires strong leadership; and iii) a crisis should be viewed as providing opportunity for action, experimentation and reflection in order to learn.

This research has shown that DFID was willing to learn from the GTF. It sought to balance action and reflection within and from its programmes. The GTF was experimental by nature as its portfolio of programmes was broad and innovative. However, the capture and sharing of lessons across scales was limited and thus led to imperfect reflection on the questions that the GTF had set itself: "what works, what does not work, and why". This suggests that the experiential cycle of learning may have only been partially covered by the GTF, which was, therefore, unsuccessful in encouraging the reflection required to trigger the change that is implied in learning. It transpires that, in the GTF, the shared vision and commitment to identifying a theory of change linking 'good governance' to development was lacking. The necessary culture that would have promoted learning from the GTF did not materialise. An overwhelming emphasis on compliance and control imposed top-down explains that the main driver for learning for Grant Holders would have been the fulfilment of targets. The Aid Sector is facing major change, which to some extent could be likened to disruption in old ways of working. These new challenges should be considered as opportunities to reflect on new ideas for the future.

Page intentionally left blank.

CHAPTER 6   CONCLUSION

6.1 Research Summary

This concluding chapter describes the research journey undertaken in order to answer the central research question and, thereby, to meet the aim of this study. It begins by outlining the problem under investigation and its relevance, with particular reference to how it connects to current scholarly literature and academic debate. The selected methodological approach is outlined, along with the findings that led to the conclusions and recommendations. The aim of this thesis was to examine intra- and inter-organisational learning in order to determine how lessons are captured and whether these lessons provide a basis for future resilience, taking the GTF as a case study. In order to tackle this overarching aim, this research had the following objectives:

- To investigate the relevance of learning for resilience in UK policy implementation domains and specifically to analyse how resilience and learning provide complementary frameworks to the study of government policy and practice.
- To review the resilience and learning literatures in order to produce a conceptual framework through which to assess learning for resilience.
- To design a case study appropriate to the examination of learning for resilience in the aid and development sector.
- To enable the development of a better understanding of learning for resilience through an in-depth case study of DFID's GTF programme.
- To draw conclusions and make recommendations for both policy and further study.

The origin of this research was in the realisation that the concept of resilience has developed in the social science domain in an unframed and unbounded manner. The origins of this nascent subject area can be found in disciplines such as Psychology, Engineering or Ecology. Unsurprisingly, agreed or common definitions across this range of disciplines are difficult to come by and those who study resilience are equally divided. Divergence over what resilience means and what practices it entails can be found in the literature relating to Management, Disaster Management and Politics. However, academic and professional interest in the subject has given rise to increased scholarship.

DFID's GTF programme was identified as a suitable case study. DFID's Fund offered a multi-level or scales perspective, which enabled a parallel to be drawn to the notion of panarchy (systems embedded and interacting in multiple spatial and temporal scales), an idea that is of particular

interest to social ecologists. Moreover, GTF could be clearly related to the characterisation of complex systems. The literature review confirmed the research question, which asked:

How does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector?

This chapter summarises the research undertaken, beginning by highlighting the key findings of the review of two bodies of literature (resilience and learning), the methodological approach adopted to answer the research question, the findings obtained and their discussion. This leads to conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further work. It also outlines how each specific objective was met.

6.1.1   Summarising the Literature: From Resilience and Learning to Learning for Resilience

The starting place for this research journey was the inspection of real-world perspectives. Consequently, as resilience was at the centre of this research, it was clear that it should begin by defining the practice of resilience. The focus was set at nation state level and the UK was given particular attention. Two specific areas of UK policy were examined: one being civil contingency and the other international development. Resilience is embraced by both areas of study, although it tends to be defined in terms of a risk-based approach. This is because risk assessment and calculation underpin policy design and this often leads to disproportionate consideration of crisis response and recovery back to an initial situation or condition (which is presumed to be optimal). Strategies and policies are conceived around specified risks that are mitigated and for which response and recovery is pre-planned. Consequently, the prevailing understanding of resilience is focused on preparation for, and the response to, largely unforeseeable events. Arguably, this focus has been stimulated by the rising study of Business Continuity, Risk Management and Crisis & Disaster Management. At the heart of such studies are fundamental assumptions concerned with returning to a predetermined state (after disruption) and of mechanistic approaches to the management of response capability. However, increasing consideration is being given to combining risk reduction approaches with learning in an attempt to operationalise resilience in a less reactive manner. In investigating two major implementation domains of resilience in the UK (civil

contingency and international development), the study met its first objective, which was to investigate the relevance of learning for resilience in UK policy implementation domains and specifically to analyse how resilience and learning provide complementary frameworks for the study of government policy and practice.

The Social Ecological body of literature is a valuable source of ideas for policy-makers interested in management approaches to resilience. This is because it highlights new directions to improve responses whilst developing the adaptive capacities of complex systems. A key precept is the interconnectedness of systems with their environment. The fundamental issue it raises is the difficulty of delineating the boundaries of a system, particularly when both the system and its boundaries are conceptual. Consequently, analysing risk or the possibility of disruption in order to build resilience at one level necessarily entails the study of interrelations across scales (temporal and spatial). The complex dynamics taking place across scales are encapsulated in the notion of panarchy, which has become a backdrop to the understanding of resilience. Equally important is the idea of the adaptive cycle that all systems are considered to display. The evolution of systems at any level of the panarchy is exposed through successive phases of growth and exploitation (often characterised by growing efficiency, but diminishing flexibility and responsiveness) followed by phases of reorganisation (possibly triggered by disturbance) and exploration for novel opportunities. Adaptive cycles succeed each other, implying that systems are constantly evolving. The equilibrium of systems and of sub-systems within them is ephemeral and may be achieved in a multiple configuration. However, social ecological theorists indicate that thresholds exist, some of which may be irreversible. The implication of thresholds in a context of ever-changing systems is that unforeseen events may lead systems into configurations that are undesirable. Ultimately, this explains why learning and feedback across scales is central to understanding resilience in the Social Ecological Systems literature. The review highlighted the role of learning in terms of adaptation and transformation of social systems, which seemed to be at odds with the operationalisation of resilience based on the building of reactive or response capacity often dependent upon risk calculations. Risk and its management, which has been a dominant feature in many implementation strategies of resilience, tends to steer practices towards a specified-type of resilience rather than the generic.

There has been much work on the subject of learning. Therefore, in order to scope the literature for the purposes of this study, material related to experiential learning was sought based on the rationale that this study fits the context of complex adaptive systems. Kolb's (1984) experiential

learning cycle, initially developed for the study of individual learning, was later transferred to collective learning settings. This was considered particularly valuable because of the centrality of experience it gives to the learning process. The principles of change and adaptation in learning theories were considered as well as the essence of collective, organisational and inter-level processes of learning. A review of the learning–governance interface was carried out and a learning cycle for an adaptation model was identified and selected as an analytical framework. Modes of Governance were found to influence learning processes. One model in particular by Winswold et al. (2009) introduced the idea that Modes of Governance (be they markets, hierarchies or networks) become, *de facto*, the steering instruments for learning.

The question of how to define 'learning for resilience' was then considered and the keystone components identified. Learning for resilience balances action, including experimentation, and reflection, in order to embed lessons that enable a system to withstand disruption, to change and to adapt for the maintenance of function and purpose. Underpinning this definition are three key points: i) there is a tension between 'taking action' and 'observation' or 'reflection'; ii) change has to be motivated and driven and so requires strong leadership; and iii) a crisis should be viewed as providing opportunity for action, experimentation and reflection in order to learn. Through this review of the resilience and learning literatures, the research met its second objective, which was to produce a conceptual framework through which to assess learning for resilience.

6.1.2   Summarising the research approach: The GTF Case Study

Having confirmed the research question, having determined that learning is a key element of resilience and having identified that a complex adaptive system includes the construct of panarchy, the next stage of the research was to determine a methodology that would enable data to be collected on interactions and influences between the various levels that enable adaptive evolution. The GTF case study is emblematic of a complex system spanning multiple scales of analysis, as shown again at Figure 6-1 (Combining Figure 3-2 and Figure 3-3 in Chapter 3, Section 3.2).
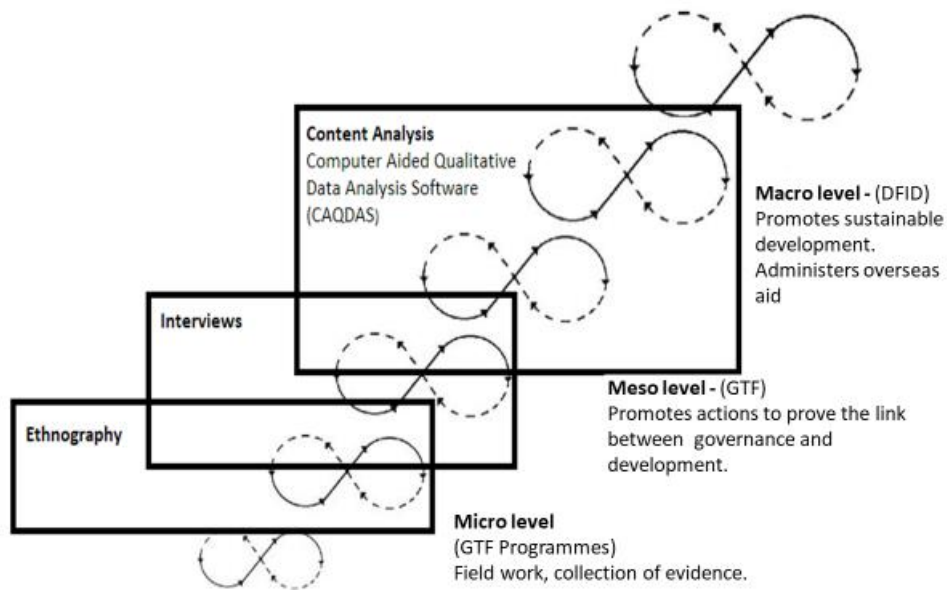
Figure 6-1: GTF domain of enquiry and research constituents [Source: Author]

At the Macro Level, DFID's ambitions in relation to issues of good governance for poverty reduction broadly determine the focus of its international development strategies. At the Meso Level, GTF represents the translation of DFID's policies into a concrete set of activities through an implementation of theories of change in the field of voice and accountability interventions. At the Micro Level, GTF articulates its activities through a portfolio and associated programmes. In addition, GTF aspired to produce learning on the value and impact of the empowerment of, and support for, citizens in their demands for 'accountability from the bottom up'. The GTF sought to examine 'what works, what does not work, and why' and, more specifically to understand the 'demand-side' of governance.

The investigation of learning within and around the GTF was approached in a systemic way, looking at the various levels, recognising that learning environments matter and that the boundaries of systems are often difficult to locate. The methodology also embedded the idea that learning is a process and, as such, is likely to be influenced by prevailing Modes of Governance. The research consisted of three main constituents, as shown above at Figure 6-1: i) a content analysis of secondary sources providing insights of GTF learning from various perspectives; ii) an ethnographic account generated from personal experience of running a GTF programme on behalf of Cranfield University; and iii) a set of five in-depth, semi-structured interviews gathering the views of GTF

programme managers on learning within the programmes that they ran. For each of these constituents, the central focus of inquiry was the process of learning, including identification and sharing of lessons within the GTF panarchy. As such, the GTF provided an ideal testbed to show the relationship between particular modes of governance and how they influenced learning. At each level of analysis (macro, meso or micro) the manifestation of a dominant mode of governance was explored. Winswold et al's (2009) cycle for adaptation was employed at various levels to organise evidence. It enabled the review of learning in international development programmes as managed within the GTF. The design of the GTF case study was appropriate to the examination of learning for resilience in the aid and development sector and, as such, the third objective of this research was met.

6.2 Findings of the GTF Case Study

6.2.1 Content analysis

The content analysis was split into two parts: a chronology from sources relating to the GTF prior to its inception (Chapter 4, Section 4.2) and then a Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) of GTF secondary sources (Chapter 4, Section 4.3). The chronology sets out of GTF's key milestones and identifies the influences that had shaped the GTF over time. The findings show that DFID considered the GTF to be an arena for experimentation and learning. The original call for proposals was deliberately non-prescriptive, thereby allowing initiatives to be innovative and to benefit from 'blue sky thinking'. However, there were no mechanisms or internal resources within DFID to capture that learning. This leads to the first key finding:

1. **The appearance of an overall logframe later in the life of the GTF provided a means of monitoring and evaluating, but it was retrofitted as a top-down control measure and a way to introduce a hierarchical style of management.**

In addition to this identified issue, NGOs in the sector indicated that GTF learning was compromised from the outset because of the outsourcing of the management and the administration of GTF to KPMG. For them, the lack of direct access to, and dialogue with, DFID was perceived to be a barrier

for learning, given that only a few DFID staff were directly involved and, therefore, the organisation as a whole would not benefit from the sharing of lessons or good practice. The prevailing competitive forces at tendering stage were another aspect of the GTF that was clearly captured by this analysis. A large number of Concept Notes proposing to tackle issues of 'good governance' were received by DFID. They varied widely in their scope and approach and yet financial criteria featured prominently in their selection. Financial considerations at this stage of the GTF focused on the technical merits of programme proposals, through the assessment budgets and through their appraisal of financial risks. Therefore, the second key finding was identified:

2. **Financial considerations were one of the main criteria in the selection of GTF programmes and Value for Money remained a significant indicator of success throughout GTF's life, signalling that market forces were overwhelmingly at play.**

The CAQDAS analysis considered three types of sources to envisage GTF learning achievements from three differing perspectives. The first type, 'Core' sources, presented an internal and self-reflective view of the GTF (documents authored either by the Fund Manager or by the group of Grant Holders implicitly representative of the wider opinion amongst GTF programmes). The second type, 'Periphery' sources, presented views of GTF that were independent (such as evaluation reports conducted by external evaluators). The third type, 'External' sources, illustrated the impact of the GTF beyond the programmes, depicting the repercussions in the broader context.

Findings from 'Core' sources exposed that networks provided a form of governance explicitly endorsed by all stakeholders in the GTF, yet their functioning was obstructed by a lack of a common understanding of problems and methodologies to frame potential solutions (e.g. a lack of a common ontology). This meant that lesson sharing was hindered. The analysis of 'Core' sources also indicated that VfM was a visible indicator of market forces and that cost and price mattered. This added to the evidence that the influence of market forces was ever-present in the GTF. Moreover, 'Periphery' sources were critical of networking practices in the GTF. Therefore, the third finding was identified:

3. **Network-type learning was limited in the sense that, although in-programme learning could be identified, the learning between programmes was restricted. In particular, the lack of awareness at the local level of the presence of other GTF-funded programmes suggests a disturbing gap in the building of local networks and communities of practice**.

'Periphery' sources also revealed that a switch to impose stronger hierarchical command over GTF took place after the Mid-Term Review Review (MTR). In an effort to tighten its grip on the management of its Fund and its results, DFID imposed (in the second phase of implementation) increasingly exacting standards of reporting with a particular emphasis on the measurement of VfM. Nonetheless, 'Periphery' sources report that this tighter control imposed through hierarchical tools (such as Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E)) lacked direction and coherence and that, as a result, the learning potential of the GTF was unrealised. 'External' sources mostly referred to the expected learning outcomes from the GTF and their impact on the broader international development context. However, impact takes time and the sources could only give tentative reviews of GTF insights.

6.2.2 Findings from the Ethnographic Study of the Resilient Governance Initiative

The Resilient Governance Initiative (RGI) was one of 38 DFID funded programmes and was run by Cranfield University (CU). This led to the consideration and subsequent adoption of an ethnographic element to this research. Ethnographic methods emphasize approaches based on observation of phenomena in their context followed by reflection and interpretation. It is an approach that is contested by some and is considered to have a number of limitations (Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1). However, its use is justified in that it can be a valuable tool in areas where observation is possible and where personal exploration of the topic under review may prove valuable. The phases of the retrospective ethnographic study were characterised in the first instance and this was followed by the generation of an ethnographic account. In the first phase, the focus of interest was selected and then, in the second phase, key themes were identified to guide the collection of data. Data was then collected in the third phase and subsequently organised into themes and sub-themes in the fourth phase. Finally, the fifth phase comprised the analysis and writing up.

The lived experience of managing a GTF programme engendered the idea that the aid sector in international development is keen to demonstrate professionalism, but that it does this in idiosyncratic ways. For example, evidence was found that a complex form of language had emerged in the sector. The use of jargon-like language is demonstrated by the expression of ideas (that are admittedly complex) in convoluted ways. The rationale for this might be the need to convey the intricacy of the work being undertaken and the complexity of the development tasks at hand. In addition, the sector uses global travel as an indicator by proxy of familiarity with, and knowledge of, the cultures and contexts of developing countries. Such indicators by proxy present hazardous shortcuts and, more importantly, they can be perceived as a barrier to entry into the profession.

Another underlying unease emerged in this ethnographic study, which relates to a fourth finding:

4. **Tension arose due to the fact that grantees were required to produce quantified indicators (such as logframes or VfM measurements) to demonstrate the quality of their work, whilst it was perceived that the complexity of the impact of interventions in international development is best measured or established through rich narratives and qualitative accounts.**

Consequently, it can be concluded that monitoring and evaluating interventions is a sophisticated affair and that both sponsors and implementers are yet to agree on a suitable approach.

6.2.3   Findings from Interviews with Programme Managers

The third constituent of the research consisted of primary data collection through semi-structured interviews. This allowed rich qualitative data to be collected through focused and guided conversation (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1). The design phase for these interviews comprised the development of interview themes (Appendix 3), the selection of a sample (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1), the review of ethical issues and the application for ethical approval (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1) and the conduct of a pilot interview (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1). Themes for interviews were inspired by Winswold et al's (2009) learning cycle for adaptation which was identified through the literature review on learning. The cycle combines phases of knowledge processing in a Kolb-like cycle and associates them with the Modes of Governance in play (Market, Hierarchy or Network). For the

purposes of this research, the model was adapted by overlaying it on each phase of the lifecycle phases of the GTF (Chapter 4, Figure 4-3). GTF design, bidding and planning phases represent the 'Search' phase; the implementation of programme represents the 'Articulation' phase; the assessment through M&E represents the 'Feedback' phase; and, finally, the lessons captured or identified represent 'Interpretation of Signals'. For each phase of the learning process, interview themes guided questions on how these Modes of Governance were manifested.

Hierarchical forces were mostly visible in the evaluation and interpretation phases of learning. The centralised system of evaluation and exacting requirements for reporting were perceived to be a form of control which lacked the necessary coherence and efficiency for a Fund so diverse in nature. For the smaller NGOs, the demands from M&E arrangements often lacked flexibility and were frustrating, as their programme could be halted in the face of misunderstood measurement systems. VfM and financial considerations became prominent measures of success in the second half of the GTF lifecycle. An awareness of market forces was identified, leading to a recognition of the need for processes to optimise the use of resources. It was noted that Grant Holders had a natural tendency to perform 'internal' learning rather than open and shared learning, as sharing was perceived as being potentially detrimental in a competitive context (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.2). The awareness of the nature of 'supply' and 'demand' in the field of international development appears to have been implicit to most participants. Learning strategies played a part in the way NGOs improved efficiency in their delivery, while networking practices were in evidence, although it was recognised that, at Fund level, networks were promoted by DFID and the Fund Manager. For that reason, the sharing of lessons through networking remained superficial and did not become deeply rooted (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.1). However, within GTF programmes, there was evidence of more organic types of networks. In some cases, these had been built over long periods and brought about rich learning through multi-stakeholder bargaining, more constructive discussions and problem solving. However, there were limitations to these networking practices, and they were particularly weak in terms of linking policy to implementation and coordinating actors (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.3).

The interviews revealed a complex picture of the forces at play within the GTF learning processes. This led to the fifth key finding:

5. (a) All three Modes of Governance were identified, although often referred to implicitly.

In view of the intricate influences on GTF learning, an evolutionary framework was used to analyse the research findings from all three research constituents. The framework drew on the literature, using theories of organisational development to propose an aid and development Lifecycle Learning Model (Chapter 5, Section 5.1, Table 5-1). This model enables the understanding of the drivers for learning in the GTF. It shows how strategies can guide learning at both sector and organisational level and can enable the interpretation of how organisations adapt by internalising changes in their structures and routines to suit their sectoral context. The lifecycle model is useful in highlighting how the manifestation of Modes of Governance occurred at different levels of the GTF Panarchy.

This leads to the corollary fifth key finding:

5.(b) A Lifecycle Learning Model for the aid and development sector brings light to the drivers for learning at sector level as well as at organisational level.

The aid and development Lifecycle Learning Model and the understanding it brings to the dissonance of learning is the main contribution to knowledge of this thesis. This summary of findings demonstrates that the fourth objective, which was to enable the development of a better understanding of learning for resilience through an in-depth case study of DFID's GTF programme was met.

6.3 Conclusion and Recommendations

The overarching conclusion of this study comes in the form of an answer to the question at its core which was: how does learning for resilience occur within and between disparate organisations of the aid and development sector? The study showed that both the resilience and learning literatures provide important elements for a conceptual framework to understand 'learning for resilience'. It follows that a definition can be coined and contends that learning for resilience balances action, including experimentation and reflection, in order to embed lessons that enable a system to

withstand disruption, to change and to adapt for the maintenance of function and purpose. Underpinning this definition are three key points: i) there is a tension between 'taking action' and 'observation' or 'reflection'; ii) change has to be motivated and driven and so requires strong leadership; and iii) a crisis should be viewed as providing opportunity for action, experimentation and reflection in order to learn.

In a complex and multi-layered system, such as that represented by the GTF, learning takes place in a variety of ways and is undertaken by various actors. The manifestation of Modes of Governance (such as hierarchies, markets and networks) has appeared in multiple ways, exposing strategies and influences at play at various levels of the GTF panarchy and by various stakeholders in the GTF. The use of a Lifecycle Learning Model enables understanding of the drivers for learning at sector level as well as at organisational level and indicates how all three Modes of Governance exert an influence through elements of power, finance and people and ultimately affect learning.

The learning arising from the GTF was affected by DFID's steering of Fund activities, which was performed through a hierarchical form of control, as a result of GTF having been launched too hastily. Whilst it meant that GTF could be tightly monitored with stricter demands for accountability for public spending, the effects of centralisation, which prescribe ways of looking for solutions and then assessing them, can be detrimental to the exploration or innovative aspect of learning. In addition, learning appears to have been guided through ill-fitting logframes and a requirement to quantify quality in terms of VfM. Grant Holders and independent evaluators of GTF voiced their criticism of such an approach. Demonstrating the impact of programmes was challenging for all and jargon was used in reporting as a means of covering up unspecific and unreasonable demands from the authority.

From the outset of the GTF, it was clear that market forces were at play in the Aid sector. The tone was set through the tender process where NGOs competed for their proposals to be funded. However, some were also competing over partnerships for delivery at local level. The effects of this form of market environment on NGOs varied depending on the 'maturity' of the specific organisations. It is possible that more experienced NGOs were able to use the GTF to consolidate a growth strategy. Learning in this case was focussed on efficiency and the exploitation of existing know-how. Newer entrants found barriers in terms of delivering a 'service' to the standards expected in the sector. In this case, learning was about innovation and possibly creating a niche, whilst striving to achieve best practice as demonstrated in the sector.

This research exposes a mixed perspective of networks in the GTF. Some networking practices were imposed top-down by the Fund Manager and DFID when they realised that GTF learning required the sharing of lessons. However, the generic lessons are few and far between. GTF did not leave the expected legacy of knowledge on good governance. However, the NGO's own networks were in part supported and encouraged by the GTF. These more 'organic' networks of local partners were given greater freedom by some Grant Holders and were empowered to define and deliver development interventions. This research raises the issue of unfolding resilience dynamics. The Lifecycle Learning Model points to the forces at work for learning at sector as well as at organisational level. Taking into account these dynamic forces is essential to bringing about effective programming leading to more resilient operations. The findings of this research are an important step in view of operationalising learning for resilience.

Table 6-1 presents these key findings and the recommendations which stem from them. For each finding, in the left-hand column, a recommendation has been associated in the right-hand column.

Table 6-1: Recap of findings and recommendations [Source: Author]

Findings	Recommendations
1. The appearance of an overall logframe in GTF for the purposes of M&E at a late stage meant that the instrument retrofitted as a form of top-down control measure denoting a strong hierarchical steering mode.	It is recommended that when a hierarchical style of management is applied to learning then its measurement instruments need to be considered from the outset.
2. The selection of GTF programmes was based on financial considerations and these were used as significant success indicators throughout, signalling that market forces were at play.	Extreme rivalry and competitive forces leading to an over-emphasis on price had detrimental effects on the importance of quality of service. Mechanisms need to be put in place in order to rebalance the influence of 'quality' over 'price'.
3. Networks were a form of governance explicitly endorsed by all stakeholders in GTF. However, their functioning was obstructed by a lack of common understanding of problems and a lack of methodologies to solve those problems. Networked-type learning was, therefore, limited; in-programme learning could be identified but learning between programmes was restricted. The lack of awareness at local level of the presence of other GTF funded programmes suggests a disturbing gap in the building of local networks and communities of practice.	Future funds should reflect on the challenges of network building. Collegiate approaches and deep problem-solving, which can be experienced in mature or organic networks, need to be promoted.
4. Tension arose due to the fact that grantees were required to produce quantified indicators (such as logframes or VfM measurements) to demonstrate the quality of their work, whilst it was perceived that the complexity of the impact of interventions in international development is best measured or established through rich narratives and qualitative accounts.	It is recommended that the impact of quantification of measurements should be examined in more depth. Alternative qualitative systems of measures should be considered.
5. (a) and (b) All three Modes of Governance were observed and exerted influence on GTF learning. An Lifecycle Learning Model brings to light the drivers for learning at sector as well as at organisational level.	It is recommended that the validity of the Lifecycle Learning Model is investigated further to ascertain whether it can enable greater understanding of learning from complex organisations (such as GTF).

6.4 Challenges and Reflections

The GTF ended in 2013 and, therefore, the time gap between the interviews and the ethnographic part of the research meant that much of the detail had been forgotten by participants. This implies that the reliability of the views expressed in the interviews can be questioned. However, more positively, distance and hindsight sometimes provide more fair-minded assessments. In fact, the historical nature of this research brings about deeper reflection which, in turn, allows a reasonable consideration as to whether and how learning took place.

The field of resilience is unbounded and, unlike other fields, it does not have dedicated trialled and tested methodologies for its research. Consequently, guidance on research approaches was hard to identify. The choice of studying a multi-level phenomenon as represented by learning in the GTF was particularly challenging. In addition, the indiscriminate approach to the identification of where learning was taking place within the levels of analysis (and the organisations these comprised) could be identified as a weakness of this study. Nevertheless, it also provides pointers to areas of further research and enables a reflection about how a methodology could be designed that would track lessons identified and lessons learnt.

All research faces questions of validity. The main issue is to ascertain whether a particular research approach has produced findings that are sufficiently valid for other researchers to rely on when undertaking their own research or decision-making. A case study approach has the advantage of drawing together multiple perspectives and multiple data sources on a phenomenon. As such, it offers an in-built triangulation of findings. However, case studies also face a number of methodological challenges. To begin with, there are acknowledged limitations in relation to each of the research methods employed. The use of CAQDAS presents short cuts, but relies on automation; consequently, the resulting coding can be prescribed and predetermined. It presents the risk of losing sight of important contextual information by offering the researcher a speedy access to the coded information (Seror, 2005). In addition, another important caveat is that the coding process is as subjective as other qualitative research methods. Thus, the reliability and accuracy of findings rely on subjective understandings and the judgement of the researcher. Equally, ethnography is decried for its subjectivity (Hammersley, 1992; Brewer, 2000; Flick, 2009). The researcher becomes a participant rather than an observer and, therefore, personal feelings and judgements unavoidably come into play. In addition, it could be argued that the data collected can is patchy due to the time

delay between the data being generated and its collection. While the data considered may not be seen as comprehensive; it is important to note that this method complements the other methods utilised in this study, thereby adding to the Case Study, albeit in a bounded manner.

Interviews can have inherent bias and interviewees can be guided in their path of questioning. Language, tone and the use of remote communication tools (such as Skype) are known to affect responses. In addition, the juxtaposition of each piece of evidence derived from each research method used gives a sense of a comprehensive overview but may leave gaps in relation to those areas that remained unstudied. This is a potential danger in relation to this research with its broad scope. Interpretation and analysis are also subject to researcher bias. A lesson for future research is that an external coding verification test could have controlled the reliability of coding to some extent, but no such test was performed. Here, the validity of findings stems from the representativeness of the object studied or the transferability of the problems and findings into other contexts. Meticulous attention is given to the selection of both the pilot and the case studies so as to ensure that biases are avoided.

To improve validity, a final interview was carried out. This took place in the later stages of the research. The interview was conducted with the DFID Official responsible for GTF Management. The purpose of the interview was to gain insights from DFID and to discuss the key findings.

Due to a variety of unforeseeable circumstance, my supervision journey was chaotic. As a result, it generated confusion in the direction of this research; however, on a positive note, it led me to grow in independence and resourcefulness throughout this endeavour. I cherish this experience and I am proud of overcoming its challenges and of what I have achieved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Adger, W. N., Lorenzoni, I. & O'Brien, K. L. (Eds). (2009). *Adapting to Climate Change Thresholds, Values, Governance.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, M. (2017). *The Sage Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods* (Vols. 1-4). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Bennis W., Spreitzer G.M. & Cummings, T.G. (Eds) (2001*). The Future of Leadership: Today's Top Leadership Thinkers Speak to Tomorrow's Leaders*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Berkes, F. & Folke, C. (Eds). (2000). *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Building Resilience*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Blumberg, B., Cooper, D.R. & Schindler, P.S. (2005) *Business Research Methods.* Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.

Brewer, J. (2000). *Ethnography*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Byrne, D. (2017). *Data Collection - What is Ethnography?* Project Planner. Sage Publications.

Chandler, D. (2014a). *Resilience: The Governance of Complexity*. Routledge.

Child, J. (2005). *Organization: Contemporary Principles and Practice*. Blackwell.

Cummings, T. & Worley, C. (2014). *Organization Development and Change.* Cengage learning.

Dixon, N. M. (1999). *The Organizational Learning Cycle: How We Can Learn Collectively*. Gower Publishing.

Eade D. (Ed.). (2003). *Development Methods and Approaches - Critical Reflections.* OXFAM. [Accessed from http://www.developmentinpractice.org/book/development-methods-and-approaches-critical-reflections on 2 November 2014]

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. & Jackson, P.R. (2015). *Management and Business Research.* 5th Edition. London UK: Sage.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. & Jackson, P. R. (2012). *Management Research*. Sage.

Eyben, R., Guijt, I., Roche, C., & Shutt, C. (Eds.). (2015). *The politics of evidence and results in international development: Playing the game to change the rules?*. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing.

Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Franklin, A. & Blyton, P. (Eds). (2011). *Researching Sustainability: A guide to Social Science Methods, Practice and Engagement.* Earthscan.

Fry, H., Ketteridge, S. & Marshall, S. (Eds). (2009). *A Handbook for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education: Enhancing Academic Practice*. Routledge.

Gobo, G. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Methods: Doing Ethnography*. London: SAGE Publications.

Gunderson, L. & Holling, C. S. (Eds). (2002). *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. 3rd Edition. Taylor and Francis eLibrary.

Hammersley, S. (1992). *What's Wrong with Ethnography? Methodological and Ethnological Explorations.* London & New York: Routledge.

Jakupec, V. & Kelly, M. (Eds). (2016). *Assessing the Impact of Foreign Aid: Value for Money and Aid for Trade*. London: Academic Press.

Kervin, J.B. (1992). *Methods for Business Research*. New York: HarperCollins.

Knowles, M. (1973). *The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species*. Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, [Accessed from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED084368.pdf on 2 November 2014]

Knowles, M., Holton E. & Swanson, R. (2012). *The Adult Learner*. 7th Edition. Routledge.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kolb, D. A. (2015). *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development.* 2nd Edition. New Jersey, USA: Pearson Education.

Mills, A. J., Durepos, G. & Wiebe, E. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Moon, J. A. (2004). *A Handbook of Reflective and Experiential Learning: Theory and Practice.* London: Routledge Falmer.

Nye, J. Jr., (2008). *The Powers to Lead*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Omand, D. (2010). *Securing the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Partington, D. (Ed.). (2002). *Essential Skills for Management Research*. SAGE Publications. [Accessed from http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=179821 on 16 March 2018]

Roberts, B. (2007). *Getting the Most out of the Research Experience*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Robson, C. & McCartan, K. (2016). *Real World Research*. 4th Edition. John Wiley & Sons.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research Methods for Business Students, Fifth Edition*. Harlow, UK:Pearson.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2012) *Research Methods for Business Students.* 6th Edition. Harlow, UK: Pearson.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2016). *Research Methods for Business Students*, 7th Edition. Harlow, UK: Pearson.

Schein, E. H. (2010), *Organizational Culture and Leadership,* 4th Edition. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Senge, P., Kleiner, A., Roberts, C., Ross, R., Roth, G. & Smith, B. (1999). *The Dance of Change: The Challenges of Sustaining Momentum in Learning Organisations*. London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (Eds). (2010). *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research.* 2nd Edition. California, USA: Sage.

Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Designs and Methods*. 3rd Edition. London UK: Sage Publications.

Chapters in Books

Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. & Lofland, L. (2001). Introduction to part one. (pp. 8-10). In Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. & Lofland, L. (Eds) *Handbook of ethnography*: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Aune J. B. (2003). Logical Framework Approach and PRA: mutually exclusive or complementary tools for project planning? In Eade D. (Ed) (2003). *Development Methods and Approaches - Critical Reflections.* OXFAM. GB. http://www.developmentinpractice.org/book/development-methods-and-approaches-critical-reflections

Chapin, F. S., Folke, C., & Kofinas, G. P. (2009). A framework for understanding change. *Principles of ecosystem stewardship* (pp. 3-28). New York, NY: Springer,

Evans, R. (2011), Case study method in sustainability research. In: Franklin, A. and Blyton, P. (eds.) *Researching sustainability,* Earthscan, UK, pp. 54-70.

Gobo, G. (2008). What is Ethnography? In: Gobo, G. *Introducing Qualitative Methods: Doing ethnography* (pp. 2-14). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Hargadon, A. (2013). Brokerage and Innovation, In: Dodgson, M., Gann, D. M. & Phillips, N. (Eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Innovation Management*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 163-180.

Janssen, M. A. (2002). A future of surprises. In: Gunderson, L. and Holling, C. S. (Eds.) *Panarchy - Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems.* Washington, DC: Island Press, pp.241-260.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*, Chapter 1, 1-17. Jossey-Bass.

Milligan, S., Bertram, S. & Chilver, A. (2016). The Rhetoric and Reality of Results and Impact Assessment in Donor Agencies: A Practitioner's Perspective. In: Jakupec, V. & Kelly, M. (Eds.). *Assessing the Impact of Foreign Aid: Value for Money and Aid for Trade.* (p61-78). Academic Press, pp.61-78.

O'Reilly, K. (2009). The participant observer oxymoron. In *Sage key Concepts: Key concepts in ethnography* (pp. 158-162). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Pritchard, L. J. & Sanderson, S. E. (2002), The Dynamics of Political Discourse in Seeking Sustainability, In: Gunderson, L. & Holling, C. S. (Eds.) *Panarchy - Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems,* Washington, DC: Island Press, pp.147-169.

Rowlands J. (2003). *Beyond the comfort zone: some issues, questions, and challenges in thinking about development approaches and methods.* In Eade, Deborah (ed.), Development Methods and Approaches Critical Reflections. *UK: Oxfam GB*.

Singh, V., & Dickson, J. (2002). Ethnographic approaches to the study of organizations. In Partington, D. (Ed.). *Essential Skills for Management Research*. SAGE Publications Ltd. pp. 117-135.

Winswold, M., Stokke, K. B., Klausen, J. E. & Saglie, I. (2009), Organizational Learning and Governance in Adaptation in Urban Development, In: Adger, W. N., Lorenzoni, I. & O'Brien, K. L. (Eds.) *Adapting to Climate Change Thresholds, Values, Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.476-490.

Journal papers

Alexander, D. (2002).' From Civil Defence to Civil Protection – And Back Again'. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp.209-213.

Alexander, D. (2013). 'Resilience and Disaster Risk Reduction: An Etymological Journey'. *Natural Hazards and Earth System Sciences*, Vol.13, No.11, pp.2707-2716.

Anderies, J.M., Janssen, M.A. & Ostrom, E. (2004), 'A Framework to Analyze the Robustness of Social-ecological Systems from an Institutional Perspective'. *Ecology & Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp.1-1.

Argyris, C. (1977). 'Double Loop Learning in Organizations. *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 55, No.5, pp.115-125.

Armitage, D., Marschke, M. & Plummer, R. (2008). 'Adaptive Co-management and the Paradox of Learning'. *Global Environmental Change*, Vol.18, No.1, pp.86-98.

Bahadur, A. V., Ibrahim, M. & Tanner, T. (2013). 'Characterising Resilience: Unpacking the Concept for Tackling Climate Change and Development'. *Climate & Development*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp.55-65.

Beeby, M. & Booth, C. (2000). 'Networks and Inter-Organizational Learning: A Critical Review'. *The Learning Organization,* Vol.7, No.2, pp.75-88.

Bene, C., Newsham A., Davies M., Ulrichs M., and Godfrey-Wood R. (2014). Review Article: Resilience, Poverty, and Development. *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 26, pp.598-623.

Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative research,* Vol. 15(2), 219-234.

Berkes, F. & Ross, H. (2013). 'Community Resilience: Toward an Integrated Approach'. *Society & Natural Resources*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp.5-20.

Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2016). 'Panarchy and Community Eesilience: Sustainability Science and Policy Implications. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 61, pp.185-193.

Boghossian, P. (2006). 'Behaviorism, Constructivism, and Socratic Pedagogy'. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol.38, No.6, pp.713-722.

Boin A., & Smith D. (2006). 'Terrorism and Critical Infrastructures: Implications for Public–Private Crisis Management', *Public Money & Management,* Vol. 26, No.5, pp.295-304.

Bourbeau, P. (2018). 'A Genealogy of Resilience'. *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 12, No.1, pp.19-35.

Brand, F. & Jax, K. (2007). 'Focusing the Meaning(s) of Resilience: Resilience as a Descriptive Concept and a Boundary Object'. *Ecology and Society*, Vol. 12, No.1.

Brown, K. (2014). 'Global Environmental Change I: A Social Turn for Resilience?' *Progress in Human Geography*. Vol. 38, No.1, pp.107-117.

Buffardi, A. L., Harvey, B., & Pasanen, T. (2019). "Learning partners": overcoming the collective action dilemma of inter-organisational knowledge generation and sharing?. *Development in Practice*, 29(6), 708-722.

Burnell, P. (2009). 'Legislative Strengthening Meets Party Support in International Assistance: A Closer Relationship?' *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol.*15, No.4*, pp.460-480.

Chandler, D. (2013). International state building and the ideology of resilience. *Politics*, Vol. 33 No.4, pp. 276-286

Chandler D. (2014). 'Beyond Neoliberalism: Resilience, the New Art of Governing Complexity'. *Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Discourses*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.47-63

Coaffee J. & Rogers P. (2008). 'Rebordering the City for New Security Challenges: From Counter terrorism to Community Resilience', *Space and Polity*, Vol.12, No.1, pp.101-118.

Coghlan, D. (1997). 'Organizational Learning as a Dynamic Interlevel Process'. *Current Topics in Management*, No.2, pp.27-44.

Cosens B. A. (2013). 'Legitimacy, Adaptation, and Resilience in Ecosystem Management'. *Ecology and Society*, Vol.18, No.1.

Davoudi, S., Shaw, K., Haide,r L J., Quinlan, A.E., Peterson G.D., Wilkinson, C., Fünfgeld, H., McEvoy D. & Porter L. (2012). 'Resilience: A Bridging Concept or a Dead End? "Reframing" Resilience: Challenges for Planning Theory and Practice Interacting Traps: Resilience Assessment of a Pasture Management System in Northern Afghanistan Urban Resilience: What Does it Mean in Planning Practice? Resilience as a Useful Concept for Climate Change Adaptation?' The Politics of Resilience for Planning: A Cautionary Note, *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol.13, No.2, pp.299-333.

Davoudi, S. (2012). 'Resilience: a Bridging Concept or a Dead End?' *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol.13, No.2, pp.299-307.

Dixon, N. M. (1992). 'Organizational Learning: A Review of the Literature with Implications for HRD Professionals'. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.1, pp.29-49.

Dovers, S.R. & Hezri, A.A. (2010). 'Institutions and Policy Processes: The Means to the Ends of Adaptation'. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp.212-231.

Downes, B.J., Miller, F., Barnett, J., Glaister, A. & Ellemor, H. (2013). 'How do we Know about Resilience? An Analysis of Empirical Research on Resilience, and Implications for Interdisciplinary Praxis'. *Environmental Research Letters*, Vol.8, No.1.

Drupsteen L., Groeneweg J. & Zwetsloot, G. (2013). 'Critical Steps in Learning from Incidents: Using Learning Potential in the Process From Reporting an Incident to Accident Prevention'. *International Journal of Occupational Safety and Ergonomics*, Vol.19, No.1, pp.63-77

Drupsteen, L. & Hasle, P. (2014). 'Why Do Organizations Not Learn From Incidents? Bottlenecks, Causes and Conditions for a Failure to Effectively Learn'. *Accident Analysis & Prevention*, Vol. 72, pp.351-358.

Duit, A. (2016). 'Resilience Thinking: Lessons for Public Administration'. *Public Administration*, Vol. 94, No.2, pp.364-380.

Duit, A., Galaz, V., Eckerberg, K. & Ebbesson, J. (2010). 'Governance, Complexity, and Resilience'. *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 20, pp.363–368. [Accessed from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S095937801000035X]

Folke, C. (2006). 'Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social-Ecological Systems Analyses'. *Global Environmental Change: Human and Policy Dimensions*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp.253-267.

Folke, C. (2016). 'Resilience (Republished)'. *Ecology and Society*, Vol. 21, No.4.

Folke, C., Carpenter, S.R., Walker, B., Scheffer, M., Chapin,T. & Rockström, J. (2010). 'Resilience Thinking: Integrating Resilience, Adaptability and Transformability'. *Ecology and Society,* Vol. 15, No. 4, p.20.

Folke, C., Hahn, T., Olsson, P. & Norberg, J. (2005). 'Adaptive Governance of Social-Ecological Systems'. *Annual Review of Environment & Resources*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp.441-473.

Freeman, C. (1995). 'The National System of Innovation in Historical Perspective'. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol.19, No.1, pp.5-24.

Galaz, V., Crona, B., Österblom, H., Olsson, P. & Folke, C. (2012). 'Polycentric Systems and Interacting Planetary Boundaries: Emerging Governance of Climate Change–Ocean Acidification–Marine Biodiversity'. *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 81, pp.21-32.

Galaz, V., Moberg, F., Olsson, E.K., Paglia, E. & Parker, C. (2011). 'Institutional and Political Leadership Dimensions of Cascading Ecological Crises'. *Public Administration*, Vol. 89, No. 2, pp.361-380.

Garmestani, A.S., Allen, C.R., & Cabezas, H. (2008). 'Panarchy, Adaptive Management and Governance: Policy Options for Building Resilience'. *Nebraska Law Review*, Vol. 87, No.1036.

Gaventa, J. & McGee, R. (2013). 'The Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives'. *Development Policy Review*, Vol.*31, No.*1.

Greiner, L.E. (1972). 'Evolution and Revolution as Organizations Grow'. *Harvard Business Review,* 50, pp.37–46.

Grove N. & Zwi A. (2008). 'Beyond the Log Frame: A New Tool for Examining Health and Peacebuilding Initiatives'. *Development in Practice*, Vol.18, No.1, pp.66-81.

Hardin, G. (1968). 'The Tragedy of the Commons', *Science,* Vol. 162, pp.1243-1248.

Heikkila, T. & Gerlak, A.K. (2013).' Building a Conceptual Approach to Collective Learning: Lessons for Public Policy Scholars'. *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol.41, No.3, pp.484-512.

Holling, C.S. (1973). 'Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems'*, Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, No.4, pp.1-23.

Holling, C.S. (2012). 'Response to " Panarchy and the Law"', *Ecology and Society*, Vol.17, No.4, pp.37.

Holmqvist, M. (2003). 'A Dynamic Model of Intra-and Interorganizational Learning'. *Organization studies*, Vol.24, No.1, pp.95-123.

Janis, I.L. (1971). 'Groupthink'. *Psychology today*, Vol.5, No.6, pp.43-46.

Kayes, A.B., Kayes, C. & Kolb, D.A. (2005). 'Experiential Learning in Teams'. *Simulation & Gaming,* Vol.36, No.3, pp.330-54.

Kayes, D.C. (2002). 'Experiential Learning and its Critics: Preserving the Role of Experience in Management Learning and Education'. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, Vol.1, No.2, pp.137-149.

Khalil, E.L. (1995). 'Organizations Versus Institutions'. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE)/Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, pp.445-466.

Krasny, M., Lundholm C. & Plummer, R. (2010). 'Resilience in Social–Ecological Systems: The Roles of Learning and Education'. *Environmental Education Research*, Vol.16, No.5-6, pp.463-474.

Lebel, L., Anderies, J.M., Campbell, B., Folke, C., Hatfield-Dodds, S., Hughes, T.P. & Wilson, J. (2006). 'Governance and the Capacity to Manage Resilience in Regional Social-Ecological Systems'., *Ecology & Society*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp.230-250.

Levitt, B. & March, J.G. (1988). 'Organizational Learning'. *Annual Review of Sociology*, pp.319-340.

Lewin, K. (1946). 'Action research and Minority Problems'. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.2, No.4, pp.34-46.

Lippitt, G.L. & Schmidt, W.H. (1967). 'Crises in a Developing Organization'. *Harvard Business Review*, 45, pp.102–112

Liu, J., Dietz, T., Carpenter, S.R., Alberti, M., Folke, C., Moran, E., Pell, A.N., Deadman, P., Kratz, T., Lubchenco, J., Ostrom, E., Ouyang, Z., Provencher, W., Redman, C.L., Schneider, S.H. & Taylor, W.W. (2007). 'Complexity of Coupled Human and Natural Systems', *Science,* Vol.317, No.5844, pp.1513-1516.

Löf, A. (2010). 'Exploring Adaptability Through Learning Layers and Learning Loops'. *Environmental Education Research*, Vol.16, No.5-6, pp.529-543.

MacKinnon, D. & Derickson, K.D. (2013).'From Resilience to Resourcefulness: A Critique of Resilience Policy and Activism'. *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol.37, No.2, pp.253-270.

Manyena, S.B. (2006), 'The Concept of Resilience Revisited'. *Disasters*, Vol.30, No.4, pp.434-450.

Mawdsley, E. (2015). 'DFID, the Private Sector and the Re-Centring of an Economic Growth Agenda in International Development'. *Global Society*, Vol. 29, No.3, pp.339-358.

Molenaers, N., Gagiano, A. & Renard, R. (2015). 'The Quest for Aid Complementarity: Reforming Co-operation between Nordic+ Donors and NGOs'. *Development Policy Review, Vol.33, No.3.,* pp.325–354.

Newig, J., Günther, D. & Pahl-Wostl, C. (2010). 'Synapses in the Network: Learning in Governance Networks in the Context of Environmental Management'. *Ecology and Society*, Vol.15, No.4, p.24.

O'Brien, G. & Read, P. (2005). 'Future UK Emergency Management: New Wine, Old Skin?' *Disaster Prevention and Management*, Vol.14, No.3, pp.353-361.

Olsson, L., Jerneck, A., Thoren, H., Persson, J. & O'Byrne, D. (2015). 'Why Resilience is Unappealing to Social Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations of the Scientific Use of Resilience'. *Science Advances*, Vol.1, No.4.

Ostrom, E. (2009). 'A General Framework for Analyzing Sustainability of Social-Ecological Systems'. *Science*, Vol. 325, No.5939, pp.419-422.

Pahl-Wostl, C. (2009). 'A Conceptual Framework for Analysing Adaptive Capacity and Multi-Level Learning Processes in Resource Governance Regimes'. *Global Environmental Change*, Vol.19, No.3, pp.354-365.

Perrings, C. (1998). 'Resilience in the Dynamics of Economy-Environment Systems', *Environmental and Resource Economics,* Vol.11, No.3, pp.503-520.

Phelps, R., Adams, R. & Bessant, J. (2007). 'Life Cycles of Growing Organizations: A Review with Implications for Knowledge and Learning'. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, Vol.9, No.1, pp.1-30.

Porter, M.E. (1979). 'How Competitive Forces Shape Strategy'. *Harvard Business Review*, pp.102-117.

Porter, M.E. (2008). 'The Five Competitive Forces That Shape Strategy'. *Harvard Business Review,* Vol.86, No.1, pp.78-93.

Powell, W. (1990). 'Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization'. *Research in Organizational Behavior,* 12, p.295.

Prior, T. & Hagmann, J. (2013). 'Measuring Resilience: Methodological and Political Challenges of a Trend Security Concept'. *Journal of Risk Research,* Vol.17, No.3, pp.281-298.

Pugh, J. (2014). 'Resilience, Complexity and Post-Liberalism'. *Area*, Vol.46, No.3, pp.313-319.

Reed, M.A., Evely, G., Cundill, I., Fazey, J., Glass, A., Laing, J., Newig l., Parrish, B., Prell C., Raymond C. & Stringer, L. (2010). 'What is Social Learning?' *Ecology and Society*, Vol.15, No.4.

Régibeau, P. & Rockett, K. (2013). 'Economic Analysis of Resilience: A Framework for Local Policy Response Based on New Case Studies'. *Journal of Innovation Economics & Management*, Vol.11, No.1, pp.107-147.

Roper, L., & Pettit, J. (2002). Development and the Learning Organisation: an introduction. *Development in Practice*, Vol. 12(3).

Ruhl, J. B. (2012). 'Panarchy and the Law', *Ecology & Society*, Vol.17, No.3, pp.481-486.

Sahin, B., Kapucu, N. & Unlu, A. (2008). 'Perspectives on Crisis Management in European Union Countries: United Kingdom, Spain and Germany'. *European Journal of Economic and Political Studies*, Vol.1, No.1, pp.17-37.

Sartorius, R. H. (1991). 'The Logical Framework Approach to Project Design and Management'. *Evaluation Practice, Vol.12, No.2*, pp.139-147.

Schout, A. (2009). 'Organizational Learning in the EU's Multilevel Governance System'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.16, No.8, pp.1124-1144.

Schroeder K. & Hatton M. (2012). 'Rethinking Risk in Development Projects: From Management to Resilience'. *Development in Practice*, Vol. 22, No.3, pp.409-416. [Accessed from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2012.664623]

Scott, M. & Bruce, R. (1987). 'Five Stages of Growth in Small Business'. *Long Range Planning*, Vol.*20, No.*3), pp.45-52.

Seror, J. (2005). 'Computers and Qualitative Data Analysis: Paper, Pens, and Highlighters vs. Screen, Mouse, and Keyboard'. *Tesol Quarterly, Vol. 39, No.2,* pp.321-328.

Shaw, K. (2012).'"Reframing" Resilience: Challenges for Planning Theory and Practice'. In: Davoudi et al. *Planning Theory & Practice*. [Accessed from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.677124]

Sterling, S. (2010). 'Learning for Resilience, or the Resilient Learner? Towards a Necessary Reconciliation in a Paradigm of Sustainable Education', *Environmental Education Research*, Vol.16, No.5-6, pp.511-528.

Vinke-de Kruijf, J. & Pahl-Wostl, C. (2016). 'A Multi-Level Perspective on Learning About Climate Change Adaptation Through International Cooperation'. *Environmental Science & Policy,* Vol.66, pp.242-249.

Voß, J. & Bornemann, B. (2011). 'The Politics of Reflexive Governance: Challenges for Designing Adaptive Management and Transition Management', *Ecology & Society*, Vol.16, No.2, pp.1-23.

Walker, B. & Meyers, J.A. (2004). 'Thresholds in Ecological and Social-Ecological Systems: a Developing Database'. *Ecology & Society*, Vol.9, No.2.

Walker, B., Carpenter, S., Anderies, J., Abel, N., Cumming, G., Janssen, M., Lebel, L., Norberg, J., Peterson, G.D. & Pritchard, R. (2002). 'Resilience Management in Social-ecological Systems: a Working Hypothesis for a Participatory Approach'. *Conservation Ecology*, Vol.6, No.1, pp.203-219.

Walker, B., Gunderson, L., Kinzig, A., Folke, C., Carpenter, S. & Schultz, L. (2006). 'A Handful of Heuristics and Some Propositions for Understanding Resilience in Social-Ecological Systems'. *Ecology & Society*, Vol.11, No.1, pp.80-94.

Welsh, M. (2013). Resilience and Responsibility: Governing Uncertainty In A Complex World'. *The Geographical Journal*, 180, pp.15–26.

Zebrowski, C. (2013). 'The Nature of Resilience'. *Resilience*, Vol.1, No.3, pp.159-173.

Government Documents

Cabinet Office (2004a). *Civil Contingencies Act - c.36*, Legislation ed., London: HMSO.

_____ (2004b). *The Lead Government Department and its role – Guidance and Best Practice*, London: HMSO.

_____ (2005). *The Civil Contingencies Act 2004 (Contingency Planning).* Regulations No. 2042, Statutory instruments ed., London: HMSO.

_____ (2010a). *Responding to Emergencies – The UK Central Government response Concept of Operations*, London: HMSO.

_____ (2010b)*. UK Central Government arrangements for responding to an Emergency - An overview*, London: HMSO.

_____   (2011). *Strategic National Framework on Community Resilience*. London: HMSO.

DFID. (1997). *White Paper on International Development - Cm 3789 Eliminating Poverty : A challenge for the 21st Century*. London: HMSO.

_____   (1999), Sustainable Livelihoods Framework - Guidance Sheets, Department for International Development. London: HMSO.

_____   (2000), *White Paper - Cm. 5006 - Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalization Work for the Poor*. London: HMSO.

_____   (2002). *International Development Act*, Act ed., London: HMSO.

_____   (2006). *Eliminating Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century.* White Paper on International Development (cm 6876). London: HMSO.

_____   (2006a). *International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act*. London: HMSO.

DFID (2006b). *White Paper on International Development - Cm 6876 Eliminating World Poverty: Making Governance Work for the Poor*. London: HMSO.

_____   (2009). *White paper on International Development - Cm 7656 Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future*. London: HMSO.

_____   (2010). *Building Peaceful States and Societies* - DFID Practice Paper. London: HMSO.

_____   (2011a). *Government response to Humanitarian Emergency Response Review* (HERR). London: HMSO.

_____   (2011b). *UK Government's Humanitarian Policy Saving lives, preventing suffering and building resilience.* London: HMSO.

_____   (2011c). *DFID Approach Paper Defining Disaster Resilience, Department for International Development*, London: HMSO.

_____   (2013a). *Annual Report and Accounts 2012–13 (HC 12).* Department for International Development. Retrieved from   https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/dfid-annual-report-and-accounts-2012-13

_____   (2013b). DFID Response to the Review of the DFID Systematic Review Programme, London: HMSO. Accessed on   at http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/systematicreviews/Review_of_Systematic_Reviews_Management_response.pdf

_____ (2013c) Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF). [Website]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf

HERR (2011). *Humanitarian Emergency Response Review*, Humanitarian Emergency Response Review. Accessed on 31 July 2013 at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67579/HERR.pdf

HM Treasury (HMT). (2015). *UK aid: tackling global challenges in the national interest*. Cm 9163. HM Treasury. London. Retrieved on 21 June 2019 at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478834/ODA_strategy_final_web_0905.pdf

House of Commons (HC). (2007) *Department for International Development Annual Report 2007: First Report of Session 2007-08*, *Vol. 2: Oral and Written Evidence* (HC 64-II). UK Parliament. International Development Committee London: The Stationary Office. Available at https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmselect/cmintdev/64/64ii.pdf

House of Commons Library (HCL). (2016). *The 0.7% aid target: June 2016 update*. Briefing Paper Number 3714, 20 June 2016. Retrieved on 21 June 2019 at https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN03714/SN03714.pdf

House of Commons Library (HCL). (2018), UK Aid frequently asked questions. *Briefing Paper Nb. 7996*. 16 May 2018. Retrieved from on 10 September 2018 http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7996/CBP-7996.pdf

House of Commons Library (HCL). (2019). *UK Aid frequently asked questions*. Briefing Paper Nb. 7996. 21 May 2019. Retrieved on 21 June 2019 at https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7996/CBP-7996.pdf

Reports, working papers, reviews

Acharya K. (2013). *Humanitarian aid versus development aid.* Insights Newsletter. 22 November. [Accessed from https://nzinitiative.org.nz/reports-and-media/opinion/humanitarian-aid-versus-development-aid/]

Bahadur, A.V., Ibrahim, M. & Tanner, T. (2010). *The Resilience Renaissance? Unpacking of Resilience for Tackling Climate Change and Disasters. Strengthening Climate Resilience*, Discussion Paper, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton, UK.

Bakewell, O. & Garbutt, A. (2005). *The Use and Abuse of the Logical Framework Approach. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)*.

Barder, O. (2009). *Beyond Planning: Markets and Networks for Better Aid*. Working Paper 185. Center for Global Development. October 2009. [Accessed from www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1422971_file_Beyond_Planning_FINAL.pdf]

Barder, O. (2005). *Reforming Development Assistance: Lessons from the UK Experience*, Working Paper Number 70, The Center for Global Development, Washington D.C., USA.

Béné, C., Wood, R.G., Newsham, A. & Davies, M. (2012*). Resilience: New Utopia or New Tyranny? Reflection about the Potentials and Limits of the Concept of Resilience in Relation to Vulnerability Reduction Programmes*, IDS Working Papers, Vol.2012, No.405, pp.1-61.

Britton, B. (2005). *Organisational Learning in NGOs: Creating the Motive, Means, and Opportunity*. Praxis Paper No. 3 (pp.9-28). Oxford: International NGO Training and Research Centre.

Burge, R. (2010). *Learning from DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF): Tools, methods and approaches.* Tripleline Consulting. [Accessed from http://www.tripleline.com/downloads/publications/ipe7e4316_GTF-learning-paper-1.pdf]

Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) (2015). ESRC Framework for Research Ethics. [Accessed from https://esrc.ukri.org/files/funding/guidance-for-applicants/esrc-framework-for-research-ethics-2015/]

Gasteen, M. (2010). *Systematic Reviews and Evidence-Informed Policy: Overview*. DFID Research and Evidence Division, London, UK.

Giroux, J. & Prior, T. (2012). *Factsheet: Expressions of Resilience*. Risk and Resilience Research Group Centre for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zürich. Switzerland. [Accessed from https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-a-009978930]

Governance and Transparency Fund. (GTF). (2012*). Governance and Transparency Fund Mid-Term Review Report.* July 2012. [Accessed from https://www.gov.uk/guidance/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf#related-documents]

Harvey B., Ensor J., Carlile L., Garside B., Patterson Z., & Naess, L.O. (2012). C*limate Change Communication and Social Learning – Review and Strategy Development for CCAFS*. CCAFS Working Paper No. 22. CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS), Copenhagen, Denmark.

Holland, J., Thirkell, A., Trepanier, E. & Earle, L. (2009). *Measuring Change and Results in Voice and Accountability Work* (Working Paper 34). Department for International Development DFID. December 2009. [Accessed from http://search.oecd.org/derec/unitedkingdom/44463612.pdf]

Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI) (2013). *DFID's Support for Civil Society Organisations* through Programme Partnership Arrangements. Report 22. May. [Accessed from https://icai.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/ICAI-REPORT-DFIDs-Support-for-CSOs-through-PPAs.pdf]

Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI) (2015). *DFID's Approach to Delivering Impact.* Report 45. June. [Accessed from https://icai.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/ICAI-report-DFIDs-approach-to-Delivering-Impact.pdf]

Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI) (2016). *When Aid Relationships Change: DFID's Approach to Managing Exit and Transition in its Development Partnerships - A Performance Review. Report.* (16 November). [Accessed from https://icai.independent.gov.uk/html-report/transition/#footnote-2]

Inter-Agency Regional Analysts Network (IARAN) (2017). *The Future of Aid: INGOs in 2030*. Report. Paris. August. [Accessed from http://futureofaid.iaran.org/The_Future_Of_Aid_INGOs_In_2030.pdf]

Keeley, B. (2012). *OECD Insights From Aid to Development The Global Fight against Poverty: The Global Fight against Poverty*. OECD Publishing.

KPMG (2009). *DFID Governance and Transparency Fund First Annual Report*. December 2009. KPMG South Africa.

KPMG (2011). *DFID governance and transparency fund 2010/11 annual report*. Web publication at www.gov.uk/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf#related-documents : KPMG Kenya.

KPMG (2012). *DFID governance and transparency fund 2011/12 annual report.* Web publication at at www.gov.uk/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf#related-documents : KPMG East Africa.

Krishnan, A. (2009). *What are Academic Disciplines? Some Observations on the Disciplinarity vs. Interdisciplinarity Debate.* ESRC National Centre for Research Methods. University of Southampton [Accessed from http://www.forschungsnetzwerk.at/downloadpub/what_are_academic_disciplines2009.pdf on 28 March 2014]

Maietta, M., Kennedy, E. & Bourse F. (Eds). (2018). *The Future of Aid INGOs in 2030*. IARAN. [Accessed from http://futureofaid.iaran.org/The_Future_Of_Aid_INGOs_In_2030.pdf]

Martin-Breen, P. & Anderies, J.M. (2011). *Resilience: A Literature Review*. Bellagio Initiative Partners: Institute of Development Studies (IDS), The Resource Alliance and the Rockefeller Foundation.

McGee, R. & Gaventa, J. (2010). *Review of Impact and Effectiveness of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives* (Synthesis Report). Institute of Development Studies. October.

McGee, R. & Gaventa, J. (2011). *Shifting Power? Assessing the Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives*. (IDS Working Papers 383). Institute of Development Studies. November.

Mitchell, T. & Harris, K. (2012). Resilience: A Risk Management Approach. ODI Background Note. Overseas Development Institute: London. [Accessed from www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7552.pdf]

Muir A. & Rowley J. (2014). *Governance and Transparency Fund End of Programme Review*. Coffey International Development. [Accessed from https://www.gov.uk/guidance/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf#related-documents]

OECD (2014). *OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: United Kingdom 2014*. Paris: OECD Publishing. [Accessed from https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264226579-en on 31 July 2013]

OECD (2015). National Policy Frameworks on Resilience in OECD Countries. Paris: OECD Publishing. [Accessed from www.oecd.org/cfe/regional-policy/national-policy-resilience-frameworks.pdf on 31 July 2013]

Ramalingam, B., Jones, H., Reba, T. & Young, J. (2008). *Exploring the Science of Complexity: Ideas and Implications for Development and Humanitarian Efforts.* Vol. 285. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Riddell, W. (2014). Life Cycle Maturity and the Professions. Global Issues Series. Melbourne, Australia: Beaton Capital. [Accessed from http://www.beatoncapital.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Beaton-Capital-Lifecycle-maturity-in-the-professions.pdf on 12 Sept 2018]

Rose, P. & Battcock, M. (2012). *Review of the DFID Systematic Review Programme*. London: DFID, London. [Accessed from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08a6840f0b652dd0006fa/Review_of_Systematic_Reviews_October_2012_FINAL.pdf]

Tanner, T., Bahadur, A. & Moench, M. (2017). *Challenges for Resilience Policy and Practice*. *London: Overseas Development Institute*.

Watts, J., Mackay, R., Horton, D., Hall, A., Douthwaite, B., Chambers, R. & Acosta, A. S. (2007). *Institutional Learning and Change: An Introduction. ILAC Working Papers Nb. 3.* Institutional Learning and Change (ILAC) Initiative.

Other sources (including news, correspondence, meeting notes and presentations)

Bond (2014). *Notes from GTF & DFID Grant-holders Meeting*. Author O'Donnell M., Head of Effectiveness & Learning at Bond.01 May. [Meeting Notes – not publicly available]. ODI, London.

Cranfield University (2007)*. Contact Information and Summary Proposal CN -201 Resilient Governance Initiative (RGI)*. 28 September. [Final Programme Proposal– *not publicly available*]

Cranfield University (2018a). *Implementing and Monitoring Research Integrity Policy.* CU-RIO-POL-1.1 – V3 [Internal Policy]. Unpublished.

Cranfield University (2018b). *Research Ethics Policy* CU-RIO-POL-2.0 – V5. [Internal Policy]. Unpublished.

DFID (2007a). *Section 3 – Terms of Reference of Governance and Transparency Fund – Fund Manager. [Accessed from* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/66833/TORs-GTF-Fund-Manager.pdf]

DFID (2007b)*. Governance and Transparency Fund Criteria and Guidelines.* National Archives. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.dfid.gov.uk/consultations/gtf-guidelines.pdf

DFID (2007c). Governance and Transparency Fund. Informal paper distributed to UK NGOs. 'Governance and transparency – some thoughts!'. [Unpublished – Author's own copy]

DFID (2009). Governance and Transparency Fund (logframe template). Version 2.0. [Accessed from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/66836/gtf-general-logframe.pdf]

DFID (2013). Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF) - Web page. [Accessed from https://www.gov.uk/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf]

DFID. Nally, S. (2008)*. Project Funding Arrangement – GTF 201 Resilient Governance Initiative.* [Letter – not publicly available]. 04 September. Received by Ralf Hassall, Cranfield University.

Governance and Transparency Fund LogFrame (GTF LogFrame) Template version 2.0 (February 2009). [Accessed from www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/66836/gtf-general-logframe.pdf]

Governance and Transparency Fund (2012). *Governance and Transparency Fund public meeting series*, Overseas Development Institute, Christian Aid, Oxfam, BBC Media Action, and Water Aid. [Accessed from www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/66828/GTF_meeting_series_themes.pdf]

Hillman, J. (2008). *BOND Funding Conference - 17 April 2008 – London (Meeting minutes).* 09 May. [Accessed from https://www.bond.org.uk/data/files/resources/315/fwg17Apr08.pdf]

Hillman, J. (2009). *BOND Review of the DFID Governance and Transparency Fund.* Published by BOND (British Overseas NGOs for Development). January. [Accessed from www.bond.org.uk/data/files/bond_review_of_the_dfid_governance_and_transparency_fund_jan2009.pdf]

Imbert C. (Acting General Secretary of BOND) to Kerby P. (Head of Civil Society Team in DFID).(2007). Letter from BOND to DFID. In: *Hillman, J. (2009). BOND Review of the DFID Governance and Transparency Fund.*

Kerby P. (Acting Head, Civil Society Department, Department for International Development -DFID) to Hillman J. (Donor Advocacy Officer of BOND) (2009). *Letter from DFID to BOND.* [Accessed from https://www.bond.org.uk/data/files/dfid_response_to_bond_review_of_the_dfid_governance_and_transparency_fund.pdf]

KPMG & TripleLine Consulting (2010). Advancing Governance and Transparency Around the World: Applying Tools and Methods to Achieve Results in Governance. Agenda of workshop and delegate profile: *Sept 30 to Oct 0. Not publically available.*

KPMG (2012). *Management Response to the GTF MTR Report.* November. [Accessed from https://www.gov.uk/guidance/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf#related-documents]

MacDonald, M. (2008). *DFID Governance and Transparency Fund* presented by Fund Manager-KPMG Development Advisory Services [Unpublished PowerPoint presentation]. 2 June. [Accessed from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1193949504055/McDonald.pdf]

Moyo, D. (2009). 'Why Foreign Aid is Hurting Africa'. *The Wall Street Journal,* 21 March, pp.1-5.

ODI (2009). *Notes of the meeting of GTF Grant Holders.* 10 December. [Meeting Notes – not publicly available]. ODI, London.

ODI (2011). *Notes of the meeting of GTF Grant Holders*. 31 August. [Meeting Notes – not publicly available]. ODI, London.

ODI (2013). *Notes of the meeting of GTF Grant Holders*. 22 May. [Meeting Notes– not publicly available]. ODI, London.

Plan UK (2011). Lessons in Governance Programming. Governance Programme Evaluation. 17 January. [Meeting Notes – *not publicly available*]. Plan UK, London.

PTF (2014). *Governance and Transparency Fund - Comments End of Programme Review by the Partnership for Transparency Funding.* 15 May. [Comments April 2014 – *not publicly available*].

Robinson, M. [No Date*] Governance and Transparency Fund GTF Fund* [PowerPoint presentation by Head of Profession Governance and Conflict DFID] [Accessed from www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/innovations-in-accountability/ia31.ppt]

Rocha Menocal, A. (2011) The "Good Governance" Agenda and its Discontents" Presentation to SID World Congress. Session on "Looking Forward: Pathways toward Inclusion Through Political Change". 30 July. [Presentation– *not publicly available*]. Washington DC.

Web

Edwards, S. (2019) *Former DFID Minister Thinks 0.7 Percent Aid Target Could be Cu*t. Devex - International Development News. 08 March. [Accessed from https://www.devex.com/news/former-dfid-minister-thinks-0-7-percent-aid-target-could-be-cut-94440]

Gasper, D. (2000). *Logical Frameworks: Problems and Potentials.* ResearchGate. [Accessed from http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Des_Gasper/publication/258405627_Gasper_LogFrame Approach_2000/links/00463528252675fe8a000000.pdf]

National Archives (2008). *Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF)*. DFID (Archived on 22 April 2009). [Accessed from https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090422161502/http://www.dfid.gov.uk/funding/gtf.asp]

National Archives (2010*). Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF)*. [Accessed from http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.dfid.gov.uk/working-with-dfid/funding-schemes/closed-funds/governance-and-transparency-fund-gtf-/]. (captured on 09 June 2010*).*

National Archives (2013*). UK Resilience.* Cabinet Office. [Accessed from https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130128133647/http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ukresilience] (captured on 28 January 2013*).*

Resilience Alliance (No Date). *Panarchy* [June 2019]. Website. [Accessed from https://www.resalliance.org/panarchy]

Conferences

Kharas, H. (2007). *The New Reality of Aid. Brookings* Blum Roundtable. [Accessed from https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-new-reality-of-aid/ on 2 November 2014]

Vinke-de Kruijf, J., Pahl-Wostl, C. & Knieper, C. (2017). *Learning Within and Across Organizations: A Comparative Study of European Cooperation Projects.* Symposium on Learning and Innovations in Resilient Systems. 23-24 March 2017. Heerlen, the Netherlands

APPENDIX 1 - TYPES OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPER

Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO) operates within The National Archives and is responsible for setting the standards and overseeing the publication of certain government documents. A categorisation of parliamentary documents is offered on the National Archives website (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/information-management/producing-official-publications/parliamentary-papers-guidance/types-parliamentary-paper/)

This annex reproduces the categorisation of the documents.

```
                          Government
                          documents
                              |
        +---------------------+---------------------+
        |                     |                     |
   legislation          statutory            parliamentary
                         notices                papers
                                                   |
                          +------------------------+------------------------+
                          |                        |                        |
                     Command                  House of                Un-numbered
                     Papers                   Commons                 Act Papers
                          |                    Papers
          +---------------+---------------+
          |               |               |
      Numbered       Un-numbered      Independent
                      Command          Reviews
                      Papers
```
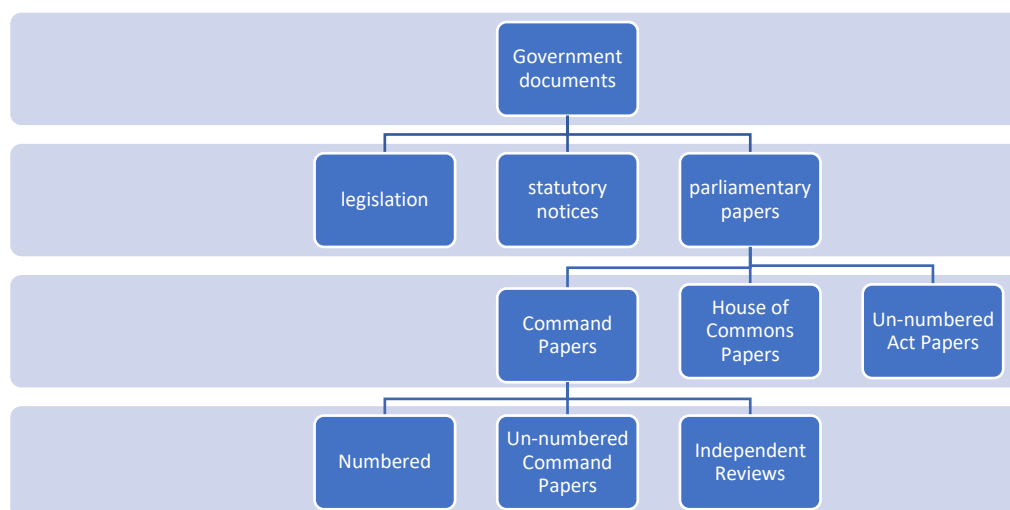
Types of Government publications are:
- legislation
- statutory notices
- parliamentary papers

'Parliamentary paper' is a term used to describe a document which is laid before Parliament. Over the course of a year around 650 to 700 parliamentary papers are produced, with most government organisations producing at least one paper per year. There are three categories of parliamentary papers:

❖ Command Papers
  ➢ Numbered Command Papers
  Command Papers are documents that set out and describe government initiatives, the content of which will be of interest to Parliament. Papers are laid nominally by command of the Sovereign, but in practice by a Government Minister. The term Command Paper derives from the original wording carried on documents: 'Presented to Parliament by Command of His/Her Majesty'. Over time this wording has evolved, but the original wording is still used on a small number of documents. Command Papers form part of a continuous numbered series and cover a wide range of subject areas. Typically they include the following:
    ▪ the Autumn Statement
    ▪ major policy proposals ('white papers')
    ▪ consultation documents ('green papers')
    ▪ government responses to consultations
    ▪ responses to consultations (may be published as a summary document)
    ▪ independent reviews
    ▪ government responses to select committees
    ▪ certain departmental reports (not resource accounts)
    ▪ certain departmental reviews
    ▪ diplomatic documents such as treaties

- draft bills
- reports of inquiries that are not to be published as House of Commons Papers may be published as Command Papers

> Independent reviews and reports

High-profile independent reviews can also be published as Command Papers. If a large amount of media and public interest is expected, then the independent author and sponsoring department should consider formal publication of the report.

Examples of independent reviews published as Command Papers include:
- Professor Löfstedt's review of health and safety legislation (Cm 8219)
- the review of the commercialisation and sexualisation of children (Cm 8078)
- the review of police officers' pay and conditions (Cm 8024)
- Please note that presenting a paper as a Command Paper does not imply that its contents have been endorsed or are supported by government, especially if the material has been produced by an independent body.

> Un-numbered Command Papers

The vast majority of Command Papers are numbered. However, there are a few Command Papers that are un-numbered. The most significant examples are explanatory memoranda to statutory instruments. Other documents that may be published as un-numbered Command Papers are:
- Contingent liability minutes
- Treasury minutes concerning remission of outstanding debt, departmental minutes (regarding gifts to foreign countries, for example)
- explanatory memoranda to treaties (which are themselves laid as numbered Command Papers)
- reports of non-governmental bodies where government or Parliament has a major interest (such as the BBC's annual report and accounts)

If the content of a report is important (meets set the criteria) then it should be published as a numbered Command Paper.

❖ House of Commons Papers

House of Commons (HC) Papers are parliamentary papers that are laid before Parliament that have been ordered to be printed by the House of Commons. Many HC Papers are produced in response to a statutory requirement. HC Papers include departmental annual reports and accounts, and the Budget. Statutory inquiry reports and other reviews may also be published as HC Papers.

❖ Un-numbered Act Papers

Sometimes known as 'Act Papers', these are documents that must be laid in Parliament by statute but do not form part of the numbered series of HC Papers. The Journal Office defines the requirements for Act Papers, which, unlike HC Papers, are not subject to parliamentary privilege.

APPENDIX 2 - PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENTS

Cranfield UNIVERSITY

Participant Information Sheet

**To what extent is DFID, and in particular its GTF programme,
able to provide key elements to support learning about what makes societies resilient?**

Doctoral Research project undertaken by Edith Wilkinson

1 Background

This research investigates the fundamental underpinnings of operational approaches to resilience. In these approaches, systems' resilience (whether individuals, communities and countries) is determined by their capacity to maintain certain basic functions and structures following a disruption. The persistence of systems is therefore enhanced by their ability to withstand shocks and recover from them. This thesis argues that the ability to absorb disturbance (or 'bounce-backability') has been central to operationalisation of resilience. Yet, the other aspect of resilience relating to the capacity for renewal, re-organization and development appears to have been overlooked. This has radical implications on policy in that it 'shifts policies from those that aspire to control change in systems assumed to be stable, to managing the capacity of social–ecological systems to cope with, adapt to, and shape change'. Most specifically, the understandings of resilience should shift therefore from outcome-focused (the 'bounce-backability') to process-focused. Successful self-organisation can be understood as an outcome shaped by the efficient and effective use of teaching and learning opportunities.

DfID's one-off fund - the Governance and Transparency fund (GTF) - is emblematic of an interpretation of resilience (albeit implicit) that focuses on change through participatory experimentation and learning centred policies. The GTF is designed to empower and support citizens by 'demanding accountability from the bottom up'. Critically, the GTF places learning at its heart and seeks to examine 'what works, what does not work, and why'. Implicitly, the GTF promotes a construction of resilience that is based on empirical learning and displays a particular interest feedback mechanism around the 'demand-side' of governance. This fund provides the ideal mine of evidence to conduct the research.

2 What is the approach to this investigation?

The relationship that is at the heart of the research is the one linking learning across scales and the modes of governance dominating at each level.

In this study, learning for adaptation will be envisaged from the point of view governance archetypal modes (here we refer to markets, networks and hierarchies types). Such modes of governance supply the context in which instruments to steer systems are designed and accordingly

how insights are formed and strategies enriched. It is proposed to study how learning accrues from one level of GTF to another and if modes of governance have influenced learning.

1   What is the purpose of this pilot?

I am looking to test my questionnaire in a pilot study. The information collected through this interview will help in a number of ways. The first is through a better understanding of the question at hand. For example, are the assumptions made in this research valid? Can I show through the study of GTF that there a relationship between linking learning across scales and the modes of governance? The second is about how I might better prepare my subsequent interviews.
Your assistance will be crucial in providing insight to explore these issues.

2   Taking part

Invitation including information sheet are provided to the volunteer participant at least 24 hours in advance of interview. You do not have to take part, but your input will be valued. By volunteering to take part, you are not under any obligation and can withdraw at any time before and during the interview. If you do decide not to take part or you withdraw at any point, this will not affect any other aspect of the way you are treated. The interview will be conducted as a semi-structured interview, in that there will be a number of key questions and opportunities to hear your opinions and will last around an hour.

The interview will be recorded on a handheld digital recorder and I will also take notes throughout. The interview will not be transcribed, but if you would like, I can send you an electronic audio copy of the interview.

All interviews will be treated as confidential with only the researcher having access to the original data. Any information used in the dissertation will be anonymous with all care taken to prevent your identity from being revealed.

3   Following up

The results of this research project will be published as a PhD thesis held by Cranfield University and possibly as future research publications.

Should you have further questions, please contact me or my supervisor (contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed) please contact:

Student Researcher contact details	Research supervisor's details:
Edith Wilkinson	Dr Teri McConville
e.m.wilkinson@cranfield.ac.uk	t.a.mcconville@cranfield.ac.uk
Phone number : +44 (0) 1793 785027	Phone number : +44 (0)1793 78 5024

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the Cranfield University Ethics Committee

Interview Consent Form

To what extent is DFID, and in particular its GTF programme,

able to provide key elements to support learning about what makes societies resilient?

Doctoral Research project undertaken by Edith Wilkinson

Interview with .... (Please insert name)

☐ I confirm that I have received, read and understood the information for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries.

☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.

☐ I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.

☐ I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.

☐ I understand that parts of what I say may end up being used in an anonymised form in future research publications

☐ I consent to being a participant in the project

☐ I consent to being audio recorded as part of the project

Please sign your name here:

Date:

Version 1 – 13 July 2015

APPENDIX 3 - FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured Interview question and themes

---

1. **Explain the process that took place in the design/bidding/planning of your GTF project**
   - Awareness of needs unmet and gaps to be filled
   - Awareness of other organisation's offers
   - Existence of field network (similar organisations to yours working in the field with who you recognised common problems)
   - Influence of field partners help you in the design/bidding/planning phase

---

2. **Explain the process that took place in the implementation**
   - How important was the GTF log Frame in guiding your outcome/outputs/activities and inputs/resources?
   - Did you feel constrained by the main log frame of instructions? In what way?
   - Did you have a sense of freedom in design? Did you innovate? In what way?
   - Did you explore possible opportunities established on the ground ?
   - Who were the influencers: partners, field workers, other organisations?

---

3. **Explain the process how you assessed your project.**
   - What criteria were important in determining what worked and what didn't?
   - Cost awareness and value for money?
   - Instructions given by GTF management
   - Voice of volunteers and field partners (incl outside GTF) – Examples

---

4. **Are there lessons from GTF that you have taken on board?**
   - Best practice from the field / better ways of doing things (efficiency) / Knowledge of DFID's aim – provide examples
   - Do you think overall important lessons from the ground made their way to DFID?
   - Was there a culture open to sharing lessons on failures?
   - Do you think lessons were patchy and reflected multiple interest and activities?
   - Are old 'ways' always the best? Has novelty been achieved in GTF? If not why not?

Date	Document Reference (Source/Name)	Function of the document in relation to GTF	Key points in the document
2006	DFID (Department for International Development) (2006). *White paper on international development. Eliminating world poverty: Making governance work for the poor* (Cm 6876)	The Secretary of State for International Development and DFID set out a vision and strategy for International development. Announcement of the creation of a Governance and Transparency Fund	• DFID will help to build states that work for poor people and puts support for good governance at the centre of its work. • Focus needs to be on state capability, responsiveness and accountability • In particular, work with citizens, civil society groups, parliamentarians and the media. • Ultimately, DFID will seek to adopt a new 'quality of governance' assessment to guide UK aid, and launch a £100 million Governance and Transparency Fund.
2007	House of Commons (HC) International Development Committee, Annual Report 2007 (HC 64-II 2007)	Official record of the setting up of the Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF)	• Criteria and guidelines for the GTF were formally launched in February 2007 with an initial budget of £100 million. • The deadline for applications for GTF was September 2007. • The management of GTF was put out to competitive tender and, after an open bidding process, during which civil society was represented by a member from BOND, the contract was won by a four-organisation consortium led by KPMG.
	Imbert C. (Acting General Secretary of BOND) to Kerby P. (Head of Civil Society Team in DFID). 4 July 2007. Letter from BOND to DFID	Raises concerns in the management of GTF – particular points are made on the calling for tender mechanisms	• Recognising that the production of a large and well considered bid with a range of partners takes considerable time and human resources. BOND notes that the time frame given for Governance and Transparency Fund proposals is too short if we [UK-based NGOs] are to develop applications using processes that are participatory, that encourage the bringing together of different perspectives and diversity in ways of working.
	DFID (Department for International Development) (2007b).	Description of the Criteria and Guidelines applicable to GTF concept notes and	GTF Criteria and guidelines seek: • Larger scale proposals - only portfolio of activities rather than individual projects.

	Governance and Transparency Fund Criteria and Guidelines. National Archives. Un-numbered policy document DFID (2007b)	proposals (in essence what will be funded)	• Open to a wide range of not for profit organisations, including those registered outside the UK. • Successful applicants must grant 85% of GTF money to local partners in developing countries. • Proposals must address governance and transparency issues by working through a variety of local partnerships and networks. • Proposals can cover work in any low- or middle-income country.
	DFID (Department for International Development) (2007a). Section 3 – Terms of Reference of Governance and Transparency Fund – Fund Manager Un-numbered policy document DFID (2007a)	Inventory of the key responsibilities and tasks of GTF Fund Manager	Terms of Reference for the Fund Manager include technical appraisal, performance assessment and administration of GTF. This involves: - To begin with, assessing all Concept Notes and then the Full Proposals that ensue (including budgets and logframes). - Thereafter, appraising all annual reports, evaluation reports and programme and completion reports - Submitting to DFID an annual progress report on GTF as a whole. - Negotiating and agreeing detailed project budgets for all successful proposals (issuing grant agreements and checking, authorising and payment of all grants).
2008	MacDonald M. (2008), DFID Governance and Transparency Fund presented by Fund Manager of KPMG Development Advisory Services Unpublished PowerPoint presentation dated 2 June 2008.	Announcement of GTF allocations were announced [34] and selection process explained	Description of the selection process: • Full Proposals assessed on: Technical merit, DFID Country Office, Program Risk and Financial Risk • Technical merit considers rationale, design, experience, M&E specification, management, sustainability and budget • DFID Country Office considers the strength of support by UK in recipient country • Program Risk considers the extent of a) political; b) physical security; and c) reputational risks

[34] Allocation were actually announced on 25 April 2008 as was noted in the notes to BOND Funding Conference

			• Financial Risk considers risks based on a) years established; b) turnover; c) increase in revenue; d) TI Environment; e) DFID Exposure
	Robinson M [No Date] Governance and Transparency Fund GTF Fund - Presentation by Head of Profession Governance and Conflict in DFID. Unpublished and non-dated PowerPoint presentation [presumed 2008].	Announcement of GTF allocations were announced and selection process explained	• The selection process was carried out jointly whereby appraisals were jointly undertaken by the Fund Manager and DFID technical staff in the UK and overseas offices, recommendations on Concept Notes made by the Fund Manager, and then final funding decisions made by DFID [Slide 7] • While technical merit was the principal factor considered, DFID sought to achieve a balanced portfolio overall and amongst other things looked to include of different sizes and types of civil society organisation as well as spread of risk among wider set of organisations. [Slide 8] • Ultimately, DFID found that the quality and level of innovation demonstrated by proposals exceeded expectations. [Slide 9]. DFID declared that it would envisage the scope for supporting high quality unfunded proposals from other donors, the building of an enduring mechanism with potential to act as an independent funding entity and the scope for systematic learning, evaluation and lesson-sharing [Slide 13]
2009	Hillman, J. (January 2009). BOND Review of the DFID Governance and Transparency Fund. Published by BOND[35] (British Overseas NGOs for Development).	BOND members feedback on experiences of applying to the Governance and Transparency Fund and recommendations to DFID.	The review's methodology was based on a survey of applicants to the DFID Governance and Transparency Fund. BOND members were encouraged to involve their partners in the South in responding to the survey. The survey was open to both successful and unsuccessful applicants to GTF. Respondents were assured that their name and organisation would not be used in the final report. A set of comments was attached to the report as an Appendix. Extracts of recommendations (Section 2) are as follow: • "DFID should have a clear position on what kind of proposals they will fund and what they envisage a fund achieving and communicate this to potential applicants. Although many applicants to the Governance and Transparency Fund appreciated the broad and open approach to defining governance, it was clear that some proposals were rejected because they did not 'fit' with predetermined definitions of governance that had not been communicated initially." (Hillman 2009 p5).

[35] Bond is the UK membership body for organisations working in international development or supporting those that do through funding, research, training and other services. Established in 1993, it now has over 450 members ranging from large agencies with a world-wide presence to smaller, specialist organisations.

			• "DFID should reconsider its increasingly common practice of outsourcing fund management to external, private sector consultants. This system devalues the relationship between DFID and its civil society grantees, a relationship that is potentially strong and positive. It also raises concerns about the loss of institutional knowledge and learning, which are held outside of DFID and the Civil Society Department when external consultants are employed." (Hillman, 2009, p.5). • "The roles and responsibilities of DFID staff and any third parties (in the case of the Governance and Transparency Fund this was a consortium led by KPMG acting as Fund Managers) should be agreed and clearly and transparently communicated from the outset, rather than being agreed after a fund has been launched." (Hillman, 2009, p.5). • "Where applicants are encouraged to develop partnerships with organisations in the South, and to build consortium bids, sufficient time should be allocated for this to take place, enabling maximum consultation with and participation from partner organisations. (BOND raised this issue with DFID in July 2007).
	Kerby P. (Acting Head, Civil Society Department, Department for International Development -DFID) to Hillman J. (Donor Advocacy Officer of BOND). 14 January 2009. Letter from DFID to BOND.	DFID Response to BOND Review (2009)	DFID makes general observation on the report and turns to each of recommendation: • GTF was always intended as a one-off fund yet feedback is useful for any future application-driven funding scheme. • Overall, comments made were more positive than one might have expected. Noting a 'satisfaction' rating (i.e. average or better performance) across the five survey questions • Set against this, DFID felt that the report's headline recommendations (Section 2) did not fairly reflect either survey scores or comments. Someone reading this section alone could be forgiven for coming away with a perception that respondents were generally negative about GTF – a perception that is not supported by analysis of comments. • From the outset DFID was not going to be overly prescriptive about definitions of governance and transparency and was willing to consider any proposal which fitted within a very broad definition. DFID denies that proposals were rejected because they did not 'fit' with predetermined definitions of governance that had not been communicated initially'. The broad criteria of this fund were one of its strengths. However, in consulting on the

			development of any future funds, DFID will invite stakeholders to say how open or restrictive they feel the criteria of GTF should be. • In relation to the outsourcing of fund management, DFID notes that like other parts of central government there is a drive to improve efficiency. At the same time, DFID is committed to managing increasing levels of programme funding. The GTF was a new funding channel for which it was not resourced to fully manage in-house. But DFID believes the benefits of learning and institutional knowledge can also be realised within well designed out-sourced arrangements. • DFID agrees that all roles and responsibilities should be in place before a fund is formally launched. Concurrent concept notes and Fund Manager selection processes were run in order to accelerate the launch of this new initiative. DFID does not feel that this had any adverse effect on the appraisal and decision-making process. • In relation to the time necessary to develop relations with southern partners DFID notes that there are a lot of partnerships out there which are already at least partly developed and the number of good proposals to GTF provides evidence of existing solid partnerships.
	Governance and Transparency Fund Logframe Template version 2.0 (February 2009) GTF Logframe 2009	Presents a framework to monitor and evaluate the progress of GTF	Established in 2009, the GTF logframe 'retrofits'[36] indicators and measurements of the GTF looking at: - At <u>Impact</u> level, progress is measured against 3 indicators. The first is a Worldwide Governance Indicators (World Bank) entitled the "Government Effectiveness" index (using World Bank statistics as baseline). The other two are rooted in GTF programmes. One is run by the International Budget Partnership's (IBP) and is entitled "Open Budget Index" and the other one originates in the work of Transparency International (TI) on the "Corruption Perceptions Index - At <u>Outcome</u> level, progress is measured against 3 indicators. Again, the first one, the "Voice & Accountability" index is a Worldwide Governance Indicators (World Bank). The second indicator is the "Number of communities, CSOs and CS coalitions with significant and sustainable improvements in their capacity to demand improved governance and transparency" as reported by Grant

---

[36] This is corroborated in Coffey's GTF End of Programme Review which states that "[GTF] was launched without a theory of change or a logframe." (Muir & Rowley 2014 p5)

| | | | Holders in Annual Reports. The third indicator is the "Number of case studies that demonstrate CS's contributions to sustainable improvements in key aspects of good governance" as GTF stories of change (case studies) shared by Grant Holders. |
| | | | - At <u>Output</u> level the CAR framework is applied. Output 1 relates to Capability and is measured through 2 indicators, Output 2, 3 and 4 relate to Accountability with 7 associated indicators. Output 5 and 6 relate to Responsiveness with 3 associated indicators.[37] All of the indicators are provided through Grant Holders in Annual Reports. |

---

[37] "The first published version of the logframe appears in the first annual report in 2009. It has seven outputs: six are linked to the three areas of the CAR framework and one relates to [*Grant Holder*] GHs' capacity to monitor their work, learn lessons and disseminate findings. The next published logframe in 2010 has only six outputs with the learning output removed. This may have been a significant lost opportunity as it may have fixed learning as a function for the programmes and for the fund so that resources could be allocated to it and reports expected against it."