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Can experiential learning models assist in framing the implementation of government policy for international development? A case study of DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund

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Abstract

This paper examines experiential learning theory and its impact on the design, implementation and evaluation of learning beyond the level of the individual. The existence of experiential learning frameworks at organization and society levels will be reviewed, 'Kolb-inspired' models will be investigated and their application will be discussed. In doing so, the paper aims to identify learning processes that take experience into account and that are applicable at organisational and inter-organisational level. The approach adopted in this paper is, firstly, to lay out theoretical foundations for embedding experience in a process of learning and, secondly, to confront them with empirical insights from an international development policy initiative.

The UK government's Department for International Development (DFID) fund for Governance and Transparency provides an ideal testbed to investigate the suitability of making use of such experiential learning frameworks in the international development context. The paper will contribute to wider discussion by suggesting that policy implementation and international development programming could gain valuable insight from exploring the suitability of experiential learning frameworks.

Keywords

Experiential learning; international development; governance, resilience.

1. Introduction – importance and context of learning in International Development

International development and its related implementation approaches is complex and has evolved with visions of how change in societies is best achieved. Fundamentally, the underpinning theories behind development reflect beliefs on what are the key principles to balanced, sustainable and equitable growth. Knowledge has had an increasingly prominent position in its recognised role to building developing countries' capabilities. It is widely accepted that driving development requires both the creation and the sharing of knowledge (Stiglitz 1998, p.11). The 'knowledge revolution' Stiglitz (1998) referred to did not simply denote the requirement to close the knowledge gap between developed and developing countries it also suggested a "call for development assistance to focus on transmitting good policies and on helping create strong political and economic institutions" (Pleskovic and Stiglitz, 1998, p.4). Exposing the fundamental processes at the heart of knowledge and learning in the context of economic development and cooperation is the object of much research and discussions (OECD, 2000; Watts et al., 2003).

There is ongoing work of importance on the issue of knowledge and learning systems in the development sector. This paper is an attempt to discuss the potential of experiential learning frameworks in reviewing international development approaches. The central idea of reference exposed in this paper relates to Kolb's Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) (Kolb, 1984). The paper comes as an extension of collaborative work that the author had undertaken to examine the potential frameworks for the assessment of knowledge transfer (Ayad and Wilkinson 2017). The selection of Kolb's theory rests on the understanding that ELT is influential and has significant practical relevance in numerous situations and contexts.

To begin with (Section 2), a brief outline of the methodology is included. This broadly sets the approach for the research undertaken. The paper then considers the possible extensions of Kolb's ELT beyond the individual - which was Kolb's original focal level of analysis (Section 3). It examines the existing literature broadening the experiential learning framework to other levels of analysis: the group, the organisation and inter-organisations (or institutional level). Based on these premises, the paper presents a systemic perspective to the experiential learning framework and describes learning processes occurring at levels of aggregation from individuals to inter-organisations.

A systems' outlook is adopted in this paper, more specifically, the social-ecological framework was found to be of particular relevance. The approaches emerging from this field of research address the challenges of sustainable relationships of coupled social and ecological processes (Anderies et al., 2004; Folke, 2006). In particular, it embraces the notion of inter-connectedness between human societies and the ecosystems they rely on. Furthermore, Bahadur et al. (2013) denote the relevance of this body of literature in the field of development studies by pointing out that the world's most vulnerable communities are reliant on ecological services for their livelihoods. This makes the examination of systemic dimensions all the more relevant. Thus, the subsequent section (Section 4) examines the Department for International Development's (DfID) Governance and Transparency Fund (from here onwards referred to as 'the Fund' or GTF). Its implementation is characteristic of a worldview which bears resemblance (albeit implicitly) to the systemic approaches to resilience – somehow reminiscent of Gunderson and Holling's panarchy (2002). The Fund openly promoted learning and displayed a particular interest in understanding the 'demand-side' of governance. However, despite a number of studies discussing the learning emerging from the Fund none

appeared to have envisaged it from a systemic experiential learning perspective. Early indication of influences on the process of learning at both the *macro* and *meso* levels are presented in this paper, but, ultimately the *micro* level will be explore too and joined up to form a comprehensive analysis.

2. Methodological approach

The present paper draws upon a review of the literature on Experiential Learning. The main focus in the search of existing literature was around the explicit acknowledgement of Kolb as a framework. Then, from the selected literature, insights were categorised according to the levels of analysis of the learning context: the individual, the group, the organisation and inter-organisations. In addition, a search of the literature on learning in the context of international development enabled to refine the understanding the background for DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF). The research approach for the GTF case study is a mixed approach with the intention to blend several sources for data collection. Section 4 of this paper describes in more details the breadth of sources as well as the research methods used to analyse the Fund's learning approach and factors.

3. Experiential Learning Theory: extending the framework for individual learning to group, organisational and institutional contexts

In the aid world as in many other settings, there is consensus that the outcome of learning is said to be change (although not all changes reflect learning) and improved practices (Van Brabant, 1997). Furthermore, in the context of development programmes learning refers to knowledge which focuses on poverty reduction and policy change and is generated through monitoring and evaluation (Hovland, 2003) thus often seen as shorthand for a variety of processes and outputs.

- Individual an small group learning

For Kolb and those concerned with experiential learning the emphasis is placed on the centrality of experience. The definition that arises 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 combination process of grasping experience and transforming it. The process is depicted in a cycle which follows a four-stage course and lead to effective learning if adhered to or completed by individuals. The phases of the cycle are referred to as concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation (Figure 1). The continuous process brings about a succession of action and reflection. These opposed modes of adaptation and problem-solving involve making connections between what is known and understood and testing and grounding it through further experience. In essence, this process requires an engagement with a set of competing learning tensions: knowledge acquisition and transformation (Kayes , 2002).

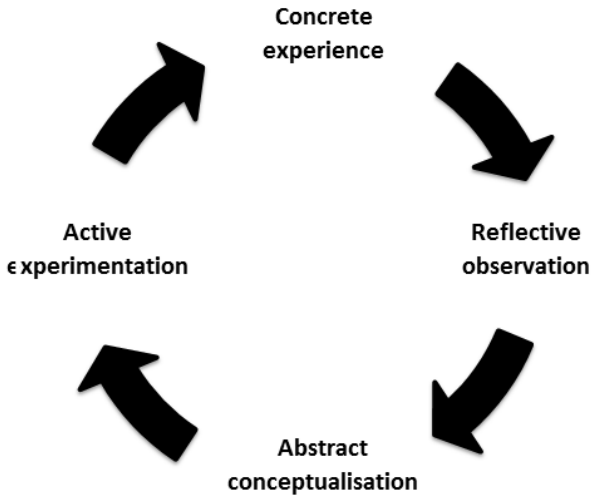

Figure 1: Kolb's experiential learning cycle [Source: Kolb, 1984, p.51]

Completing the whole cycle means that knowledge is being continuously created and recreated. In addition, the process empowers 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 ELT lies in its correspondence to the commonly accepted four stage planning cycles.

It is commonly accepted that learning takes place at successively more complex, collective levels: Individual, 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. purport that "to learn from their experience, teams must create a conversational space where members can reflect on and talk about their experience together." (2005, p.332). 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 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'.

- Organisation learning

Learning in organisations is highly social but it is acknowledged that at the root of learning is the individual. Beyond the importance of collaboration and team-work, organisations need to define processes that encourage learning within and across organisational structures.

An organisation's strategy to learn from past experiences is often considered through Argyris' theory on multiple-loop learning (Argyris, 1992). 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 and 'triple loop' approaches which challenges 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 and can encounter obstacles as individuals or groups seek to avoid organisational problems being exposed. (Britton 2005, p41)

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. Dixon (1992; 1999) is one of the few authors expanding Kolb beyond the group level, in the context of organisation. For Dixon, organisations are a collection of individuals; yet, their knowledge is not a mere addition of individuals' know-how and 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 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 makes a connection between organisational learning and Kolb's experiential learning cycle. The phases of learning which take place at individual level can be replicated at the collective context. Dixon also observes that in Kolb's ELT individual learning journey tends to begin with new sensorial experience yet experiences alone do not produce learning. One then needs to think about or reflect on these experiences and meaning is constructed by connecting various ideas together. Where and how are the 'sensory' and 'processing' tasks performed within an organisation? Dixon provides some answers to this question and offers a four-phase model (1999 p.65) inspired by Kolb's learning cycle and fitting the organisational context (See Figure 2).

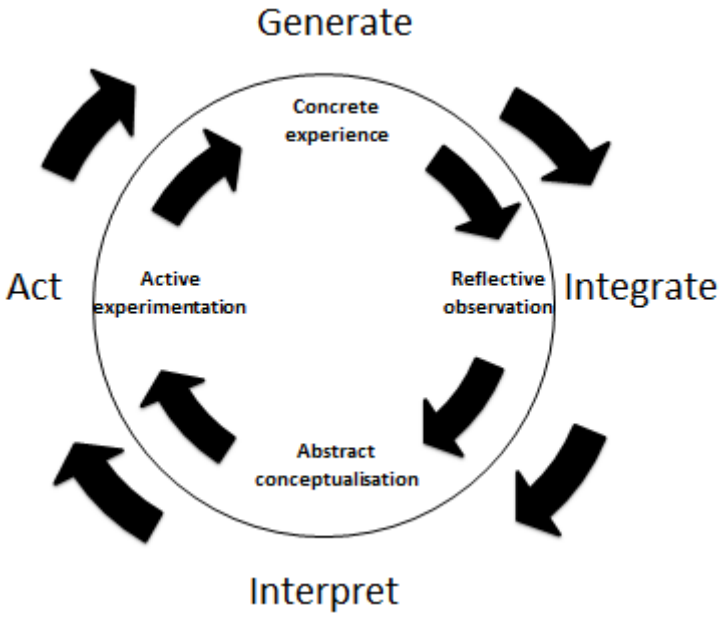

Figure 2: The organisational learning cycle and the experiential learning cycle [Source: Dixon, 1999, p.65]

Ultimately, for Dixon (1992, 1999) organisational learning requires to mesh 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 original innovations and creating experiments experimenting to accomplish the organization's tasks and finally take action. Learning is embedded in the organisation as the know-how and experiences become a shared understanding for the collective. Accordingly, the learning process involves the development of norms, behaviours and beliefs that influence what information the organization attends to and ultimately accepts. Dixon emphasizes the need for egalitarian values within organisations.

Dixon depicts the generation of information as dual in nature: with information either originating beyond the boundaries of the organisation through external interactions (customers, suppliers, regulator, etc.) or by contrast developed through internal processes including experimentation as well as analysis of undertakings in view of self-correction and adaptation (1999, p.94). For the purposes of integration, the focal issue that needs to be addressed is one of meaning; whereby organisation ensure information and its accurate and complete meaning is shared. Context becomes central and silos phenomenon is to be avoided. Particular attention needs to address the obstructions to the building of collective meaning: such as routing, summarizing, delay and modification to information. Collective interpretation relates also to the creation of collective meaning and although "it may not develop a definitive answer; if organisational members fully invest themselves […] they will understand the parameters of the problem more clearly" (Dixon 1999, p104). For efficient collective interpretation to occur, information and expertise need to be distributed rather concentrated amongst a few individuals or groups. It follows 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 of other perspectives are important tenets for organisational learning. Once collective interpretation has occurred, the sense of what needs doing normally becomes clear to those who share the knowledge. Thus action needs to ensue and implies that empowerment is crucial. Dixon 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". (Dixon 1999, p. 121)

- Learning in the institutional context

Turning to learning beyond the organisational level, Van Brabant (1997) indicates that in the humanitarian context institutional learning refers to system-wide learning. At this level, changes taking place reflect the quality of interactions between organisations in the way that 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. Whilst inter-organisations dynamics create constraining (isomorphic) effects, they also generate favourable conditions for innovation. 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). 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 and 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 and Booth, 2000). Beeby and Booth 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, what is noticeable is that 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 Winsvold 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. They present a learning (referred to as adaptation) cycle which resembles experiential learning cycles described earlier (Winsvold et al., 2009, p.480).

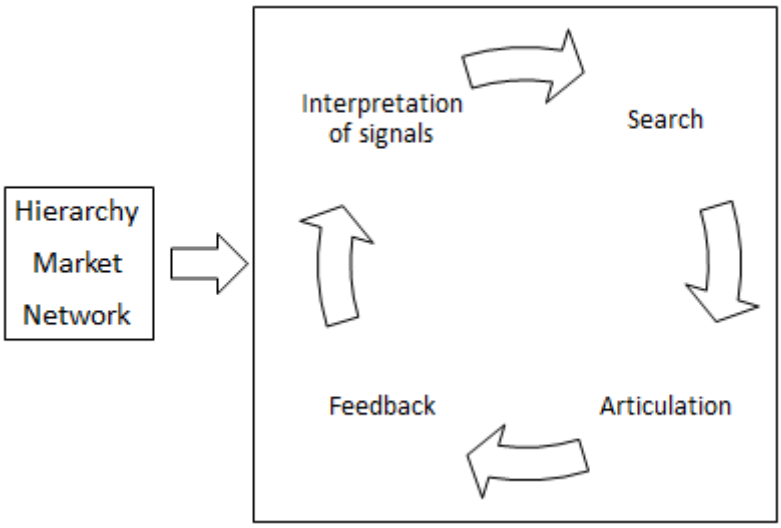

Figure 3: Learning cycle for adaptation model [Source: Adapted from Winsvold et al. 2009, p.481]

The learning model for adaptation presented by Winsvold et al. (Figure 3) depicts learning in a Kolb-like cycle whereby signals received from the 'outside world' are interpreted as requiring adaptive action (Interpretation phase), then a search for solutions is engaged (Search phase) and subsequently a set of alternative options are articulated and embedded in the system (Articulation phase) and finally, the adaptation is assessed and feedback allows further alteration (Feedback phase) (Winsvold et al. 2009 p481).

Schout (2009) suggests that in learning terms governments or supranational political systems (e.g. the European Union is Schout's focal point) select their preferred steering modes for policy-making. In broad terms, steering modes can be summarized as into hierarchies, markets and networks. These modes 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 in terms of coercive contexts where direction is provided through regulation. Networks relate to contexts of communication and are guided through information strategies.

Equally, in the context of International Development, incorporating learning into reporting requirements enable experiences to be somehow aggregated. In the case of publically funded programmes, reporting and Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) ultimately allow the accountability that taxpayers call for. "However, 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." (Ramalingan, 2005)

- Learning dynamic and tensions

Kolb articulates the question of dialectical tension in writing "experiential learning *[at individual level]* describes conflict between opposing views of dealing with the world *[highlighted in the conflict]* between observation and action *[and in Dewey's terms*] between the impulse that gives ideas their 'moving force' and reason that gives desire to its direction" (Kolb 2015, p40). The conflict-filled process gets resolved through the confrontation among each mode of experiential learning and gives way to adaptation, creativity and growth.

In the context of organisations, Dixon also alludes to useful differences and unique perspectives which are held by individuals members can be used to confront others (or other departments within the organisation) and construct different meaning. Diversity is thus encouraged in particular when dealing with external information collected from multiple sources. (Dixon 1999, p97) Diversity undoubtedly will be a source of tensions which will need to be managed. Dixon suggests that upholding egalitarian or democratic values will help in resolving tensions. Sense making which arises through interpretation needs to be weary of power differences. Thus, hierarchical relationships which exist in organisations should be counterbalanced through norms so as to reduce their impact.

4. DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund: a testbed for multi-level learning approaches

Gunderson and Holling's panarchy (2002) see systems embedded in multiple spatial and temporal scales where interactions and influences between the various levels allow adaptive evolution. The concept of panarchy informs understandings of resilience predominantly by suggesting a move away from crisis centric insights and prevailing reactive response processes. It proposes that learning is central to resilience favouring the adoption of adaptive management approaches based on cross-scales experimentation and feedback.

- Selection of the Governance and Transparency Fund

Consequently, the choice of Governance and Transparency Fund as a focal case study for this research is explained by the fact that the Fund's domain of enquiry spans across multiple scales of analysis. Hence the study of Fund allows investigation of learning processes at multiple level of analysis (see Figure 4).

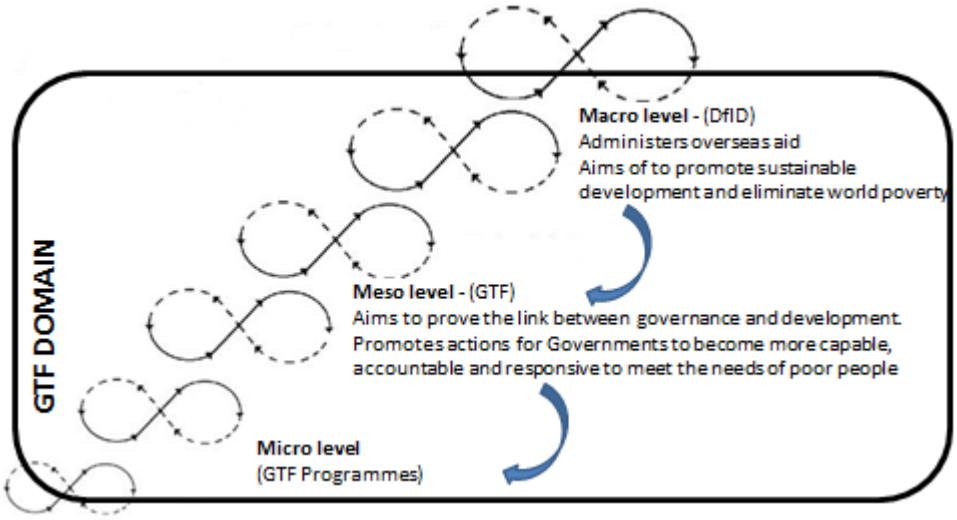

Figure 4: GTF domain of enquiry [Source – author's own]

At macro level, the Fund is founded in fundamental beliefs in the value of democracy and the fight against poverty (DFID 1997; 2006) which are articulated in UK government's policies and strategies. At that level the study is based on archival research analysing government White Papers, policy documents, parliamentary documents, published correspondence and public presentation relating to the launch of GTF and the Fund management.

The meso level of analysis corresponds to the heart of the Fund, its processes and rationale. Qualitative content analysis at the GTF fund Level investigate secondary sources such as the logframe or the Terms of Reference for the Fund Manager (DFID 2007a; 2009), the GTF Annual Reports, Mid-Term Review, Final Evaluation Report. There is a spill-over of insights between the meso level of analysis and the macro level when secondary sources building on the lessons and achievement of GTF are analysed. Such document use GTF reports as sources to examine sectoral or thematic issues; such as the BOND Review of the DFID Governance and Transparency Fund (Hillman 2009), the Institute of Development Studies report and working Paper (Mc Gee and Gaventa 2010 and 2011) and the ICAI's report on DFID's Support for Civil Society Organisations through Programme Partnership Arrangements (ICAI 2013).

At micro level, the portfolio of programmes or projects present activities and inputs which are the foundation of the Fund's learning. Interviews of programmes participants are used to examine of programmes approaches to learning. In addition, an (auto) ethnography research technique will be used to review the Resilient Governance Initiative (a GTF funded project CN-201) and provide a reflection on a Cranfield University led programme.

Another reason for selecting DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund as an object of study is justified by the relationship it has with aspects of learning. This DFID's one-off fund focuses on change through participatory experimentation and learning centred policies. It is designed to empower and support citizens by 'demanding accountability from the bottom up'. Critically, the Fund places learning at its heart and seeks to examine "what works, what does not work, and why" (DFID 2013). The Fund promotes explicitly the change in governments to become more capable, accountable and responsive and to meet the needs of poor people based on empirical learning. To

do so the Fund displays a particular interest in the feedback mechanism around the 'demand-side' of governance.

The next sections present early indication of influences on the process of learning at both the macro and meso levels. The ongoing study carried out by the author will ultimately explore the micro level too in but at this stage only partial findings can be disseminated.

- Factors of GTF learning – review at macro level

At macro level, reviewing a range of documents allows the background of GTF to be apprehended from multiple angles. For instance, policy is examined through DFID's white paper, whereas policy implementation is investigated by means of House of Common annual reports. Similarly, official documents to frame the competitive tender exercise (for example call for proposals or concept notes as well terms of reference for Fund Manager) enable the investigation of the detailed management of the fund. Non official documents (such as the BOND review (Hillman 2009)) were included amongst the papers surveyed by virtue of its impact (DFID formal response) on the Fund.

The criteria and guidelines provided by DFID to applicants are deliberately "intended to set a framework for those initiatives and allow innovation, rather than create a prescriptive programme design." (DFID 2007b). 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 the Fund's resources into rigid pre-determined allocations." (DFID 2007b). In addition, the guidelines encourage larger portfolio which are believed to "bring different perspectives, encourage synergies between projects, and add to the diversity of partnerships".

The aspiration DFID expresses in these criteria and guidelines does not denote a hierarchical approach to guiding the Fund. Clearly, DFID wishes to promote the development of healthy and sustainable networks where innovation and sharing of good practice is of foremost importance. This flexible approach is further enhanced by the fact that proposals appear not need to specify the full range of local partnerships and projects intended but only lay down the initial ones. Local partners are given particular weight as all applications will have to demonstrate that 85% of any money they receive under the Fund will be granted on to Southern based organisations.

In the Terms of reference for the Fund Manager (DFID 2007a) it transpires that DFID delegated its almost entire authority to the Fund Manager. Responsibilities included the undertaking technical appraisal of proposals and recommendations for funding and extensive aspects of Fund management. In addition the Fund Manager was responsible of the quality control process of all grant reporting. Issues of concern in the programmes were to be raised and an overall report on the performance of the Fund was due on regular basis. An interesting point to note in this document is the absence of reference of an overall logframe for the Fund to begin with.

The Fund's allocations and the selection process report to selecting down from 272 proposals to 38 supported programmes. As expected of competitive tendering processes of the kind, financial criteria feature prominently. In the present case, it appears that financial considerations are weighed up from two perspectives: firstly, as part of the technical merit of programmes through the assessment budgets and secondly through the appraisal 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. Hillman (2008) corroborates this in noting that KPMG didn't appreciate how wide DFID had made the criteria and therefore led to unexpected amount of good proposals coming in many of which were from non-UK based organisations which DFID knew very little about.

Amongst the noticeable points are the comments on the openness of the process inciting organisations to be innovative. "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. This extremely competitive tendering was also criticised in that large proposals needed to provide proof of history of handling large funding which in turn meant smaller organisations or NGOs were competing with very large organizations (Hillman 2009). In other words, it did not appear to be a level playing field for smaller organisations.

- Early indication of influences on GTF learning – review at meso level

The review at this level has so far comprised the analysis of content of Annual Reports of the GTF (KPMG 2010;2011;2012).

It appears that the Logical Frame Approach was not initially regarded as a basis for monitoring and evaluation. The fact that an overall logframe appeared later in the Fund's life (traced back to in 2009) may imply an underlying wish to impose a top-down control form of project management which the Logical Frame Approach is notorious for. Logframes are often described as a managerial method (derived from New Public Management) preoccupied principally with accountability to donors. In that sense, it does not offer a learning oriented evaluation (Rowlands 2003, Aune 2003). The emergence of the Fund's logframe after long after its launch is puzzling. It suggests that the tool was used in an effort to apply control and impress a hierarchical style to managing the Fund.

The explicit mention of a hierarchical set up can only be found once amongst the three annual reports; however reporting, monitoring and evaluation guidelines suggest leaning towards command and control approach to GTF management. In a similar vein, it is frequent to find in the annual reports reference to measurements as well as rating scales for achievements.

On the other hand, the Annual reports also display an array of evidence to suggest that market forces are at play. Competition is not only noticeable at the proposal writing stage, as noted in the first GTF annual report "*groups were falling over each other, working with the same local NGOs on the same issues in the same chiefdoms but with different structures and vocabulary. Some geographical areas were completely ignored and in other areas, local NGOs were playing all sorts of games with different donor budgets.*" (KPMG 2010 p. 3) Similarly financial considerations were given prominent importance as Value for Money featured increasingly as a factor of success for programmes.

The evidence of networks exits too. Networking is presented in several ways in in the annual reports. There is anecdotal evidence (for instance in Sierra Leone) demonstrating that "*self-selected group of people (i.e. those with commitment and enthusiasm) came together to discuss next steps.*

We agreed to form an inclusive, informal grouping which would also draw in as many players as possible by email. We called this group the Reference Group, and drew up basic ToRs." (KPMG 2010 p. 3). More generally, it appears that networking was perceived as a as critical to learning in GTF. For example "roundtable meetings have been organised to encourage local partners to meet and share experiences and challenges. With over 150 attendees across the six countries this year, these have helped build the capacity of local GTF partners by disseminating lessons learnt and creating in-country communities of practice." (KPMG 2011 p. 31)

5. Conclusion

Initial discussions of Kolb-like experiential theory at various level of analysis allow the claim that such models may be able to bring some light to the assessment of the design, implementation and evaluation of international development programmed as managed by the Governance and Transparency Fund.

The preliminary examination presented here, relates to the effects of preferred steering modes for policy-making and implementation. At institutional (macro) and organisational/inter-organisation (meso) the steering modes - which broad terms can be summarized as hierarchies, markets and networks - shape learning processes. Hierarchies, markets and networks have influence on the design, co-ordination and implementation of policy.

Initial analysis suggests that the dominant steering modes are at play around GTF. DFID and then later through the Fund Manager display a blend of competition, communication and coercion (indicative of markets, networks and hierarchies respectively). If or when bureaucratic principles prevail within the mode of coordination of the Governance and Transparency Fund, it is likely that one-way communications approaches (rather than more personal interactions based on mutual learning) would dominate in the Fund's learning environment. Conversely, where the focus is on value for money (and the GTF demonstrated a leaning in this direction in its latter years) it is expected that learning will be geared towards economically savvy and cost-effective solutions. It is yet too early to draw conclusions but the experiential learning framework appears promising in the international development context.

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