Chapter 3

Leading to Learn in Networks of Practice: Two Leadership Strategies[2]

Abstract

This paper outlines two leadership strategies to support organizational learning through networks of practice (NOPs). An in-depth case study in a development organization reveals that network leaders cope with a learning tension between management involvement and emergent learning processes by enacting two strategies: brokering and buffering (B&B), or conducting and controlling (C&C). The latter strategy implies a one-sided emphasis on institutionalization, whereas a B&B strategy implies mediating and shielding the network from too much management intervention. The B&B strategy appears more useful for achieving multilevel organizational learning through NOPs; this study thereby contributes to theory about learning and NOPs.

3.1 Introduction

In the global knowledge economy, organizations (and knowledge) tend to be geographically distributed. Therefore, networks of practice (NOPs) increasingly have become vehicles for organizational learning (OL) in organizations such as Shell (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002), Siemens (Nielsen & Ciabuschi, 2003) and Unilever (Huysman & De Wit, 2004). Networks contribute to organizational learning but also create an inherent tension (Brown & Duguid, 2001) due to the dual nature of intra-organizational NOPs, which must contribute to learning at both the organizational level and the individual level.

Such NOPs constitute geographically distributed groups of individual members engaged in a shared practice, who might neither know one another nor meet face to face (Brown & Duguid,2001) but who voluntarily join the network because of their shared practices (Tagliaventi & Mattarelli, 2006; Wasko, Faraj & Teigland, 2004). They are usually not restricted by formal rules or deliverables (Lesser & Everest, 2001) and tend to place a strong emphasis on practices (Brown & Duguid, 2000). The contribution of NOPs to learning primarily seems to take place on the individual level, because members learn about practices. This notion fits a practice-based perspective on knowledge, which argues that learning occurs most effectively in informal, voluntary, self-organizing settings in which people interact through shared practices (Brown & Duguid, 1991; Gherardi, 2000; Wenger et al., 2002).

Yet in intra-organizational contexts, the self-organizing, community-based governance typical of NOPs must be reconciled with the more hierarchical governance implied by managerial coordination of distributed knowledge. Coordination of distributed knowledge calls for management involvement, such that the main interest becomes learning at the organizational level, through the integration and institutionalization of dispersed pockets of individual knowledge into organizational knowledge. The managerial aim of using NOPs instrumentally in this way to support OL creates a learning tension for organizations, similar to the 'balancing act' described by Brown and Duguid (2000): between management involvement in organizational learning on the one hand and the emergent character of learning processes on the other. Intra-organizational NOPs demand managerial involvement to reap the benefits of integrating geographically dispersed knowledge and achieve learning at the organizational level, yet the inherently emergent nature of these networks may be frustrated by this same managerial involvement (Agterberg, Van Den Hooff, Huysman & Soekijad, 2010). Although NOPs are often perceived as self-organizing (Wasko & Faraj, 2005), intra-organizational NOPs in practice tend to be led by someone with formal responsibility for learning in the NOP. These network leaders must therefore support individual learning by

NOP members, according to a shared practice, and ensure learning at the organizational level through the NOP. However, literature on NOPs has rarely discussed the role and activities of these network leaders in relation to achieving OL, which therefore represents the focus of this paper. We aim to answer a key research question: How do network leaders cope with the learning tension that results from using networks of practice to support organizational learning?

Accordingly, we unpack the learning tension by addressing various challenges related to the processes of learning, as introduced by Crossan, Lane and White (1999): interpreting, integrating, and institutionalizing. We use a theory-building approach (Eisenhardt, 1989) based on a case study we conducted with an international development organization. In-depth analyses of the data derived from the case NOPs help us identify two strategies that represent responses to the challenges: a strategy focused on brokering and buffering (B&B) and another focused on conducting and controlling (C&C). We thus contribute to theory on NOPs by explicitly analyzing the role of leadership as a means to cope with a learning tension and support OL processes through networks.

3.2 Theoretical Background: Challenges in using NOPs for organizational learning

To analyze NOPs as potential vehicles for OL, we build on a framework developed by Crossan et al. (1999), who distinguish three levels of organizational learning: individual, group and organizational. The group-level learning is central to OL, because it links learning at the level of the individual to the organization. At this central level, NOPs offer the potential to connect other levels and achieve OL, which is likely why more and more organizations perceive NOPs as instrumental to support their OL. Because learning at one level influences learning at the other levels, using NOPs implies that the network can connect learning at the individual level, through the processes of *intuiting* and *interpreting* (Crossan et al., 1999), with learning at the organizational level through the process of *institutionalizing* (Crossan et al., 1999). At the group level, the network connects the individual and the organization through a process of integrating. Intuiting primarily takes place at the individual, often subconscious level; it is the 'preconscious recognition of the pattern and/or possibilities inherent in a personal stream of experience' (Crossan et al., 1999:525). Because our focus is primarily on processes that leaders can reasonably influence, we do not take intuiting explicitly into account.

Interpreting involves the development of cognitive maps and language that can be shared with others, which represents both an individual and a social activity at the individual and group levels of learning (Crossan et al., 1999). To support this process, leaders are challenged to connect net- work activities with the local practices of distributed members. Through these local practices, members develop their cognitive maps and language and try to make sense of their work and daily practices (Berson, Nemanich, Waldman, Galvin & Keller, 2006). *Integrating* relates to the process of developing shared understanding among network members to integrate learning at both the group and organization levels. To support this process, people with similar expertise must be connected into networks with strong ties that people can use to start sharing insights and understanding one another (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Therefore, leaders are challenged to encourage or even establish connections, trust, mutual expectations and identification among network members that will enable them to link new and existing knowledge (Berson et al., 2006). Finally, through processes of *institutionalizing*, leaders are also challenged to ensure routine actions occur, using systems, structures, procedures, prescribed practices and/or strategy of the organization (Crossan et al., 1999: 529). In this step, the leader confronts the challenge of aligning network activities with the practices of the formal organization.

Therefore, NOPs require leaders to support NOP-level learning as well as connect it to individual- and organizational-level learning. Connecting such levels inherently creates a tension between the emergent character of individual-level learning and the top-down character of organizational-level learning. We summarize the challenges leaders might meet in this learning tension, through the three interrelated learning processes:

1 *Interpreting.* Connect individual-level to NOP-level learning by aligning network activities with local practices.
2 *Integrating.* Support NOP-level learning by establishing strong ties between network members to enable them to share insights and understanding.
3 *Institutionalizing.* Connect organizational-level to NOP-level learning by aligning network activities with organizational practices.

Prior literature has argued that leaders play an important role in knowledge processes and the successful implementation of knowledge management (Kulkarni, Ravindran & Freeze, 2006; Von Krogh, Nonaka & Rechtsteiner, 2011), especially with regard to establishing connections across different levels of learning (Berson et al., 2006; Hannah & Lester, 2009; Vera &

Crossan, 2004). Yet the main focus in previous research seems restricted to the role of leaders at the top of the organization, without analyzing their involvement in learning processes. We instead argue that network leaders also likely influence learning within and through NOPs. Accordingly, we consider network leaders who are held responsible for learning through NOPs and therefore must support interpreting, integrating and institutionalizing processes. To empirically analyze which strategies leaders enact to support these three interrelated learning processes and cope with the learning tension, we use the potential challenges at all three levels to structure our empirical findings in relation to two alternative leadership strategies we uncover.

3.3 Methodology

The case study takes place within the development aid sector, an ideal environment for addressing our research question, because it reveals extensive experience with the use of NOPs as instruments to integrate distributed knowledge. Moreover, for organizations in this sector, OL is absolutely vital and can actually save lives. People in this sector often contribute voluntarily to NOPs, share common practices and represent various geographies and cultures. The learning tension clearly surfaced in the development organization (which we refer to as TDO to protect its anonymity) we studied. Therefore, TDO is highly suitable for investigating the challenges and strategies leaders enact to cope with this tension.

To gain an in-depth understanding, we conducted interviews with 42 members of the organization, including members of the board of directors and the knowledge management (KM) unit at the head office in The Netherlands, as well as various regional directors, practice area (PA) leaders, network leaders and consultant members at various locations. An overview of interviewees and a description of their different roles can be found in appendix 3.1. The roles of PA leaders and network leaders, who are crucial for connecting NOP-level learning with organizational- and individual-level learning, are detailed subsequently.

Through semi-structured interviews, we addressed topics such as potential challenges for organizing NOPs and OL, the practices of knowledge sharing and creation, difficulties and opportunities, and potential resolutions. The PA and network leaders' roles attracted our particular research focus. The interviews typically lasted 60–90 minutes and were conducted in English or Dutch, face-to-face or over the telephone. All interviews were fully transcribed and analyzed using Atlas.ti software, with the goal of identifying challenges and coping strategies.

As a second important data source, we conducted observations during a one-week site visit to West and Central Africa, where we observed TDO's local offices, visited a client and acted as participant observers at several meetings, including a meeting of network leaders for the poverty management and land management networks, a directors' meeting and a social event. Furthermore, we stayed at the same hotel as many TDO employees, which enabled us to meet with potential informants on many occasions and in different (social) settings. If possible, we tape-recorded and verbally transcribed these interviews. If recording was impossible, we made careful notes during and immediately following the meeting. In addition to these data, we used a survey pertaining to NOP functioning and functionalities (N = 475, response rate 53%) and secondary documents, such as organization reports, minutes of meetings, and policies. Finally, we collected and analyzed log files from electronic list server discussion forums (E-groups) for each NOP.

We started to analyze the data using open coding. After the first codes emerged, we also checked the initial results against existing theory (e.g. Crossan et al., 1999) to sharpen the coding scheme. When no new (sub)codes emerged, we finalized our coding scheme and switched to axial coding, using the final scheme to recode all data, in line with the procedures as described by Corbin and Strauss (1990). To ensure consistent and replicable coding, we used Atlas.ti software that enabled us to structure large amounts of data. Memos were frequently inserted during the coding process, to ensure the line of reasoning behind coding decisions could be traced. We followed this process sequentially for the challenges first, then the strategies. In Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5, we illustrate the main concepts, using exemplary quotes from the interviews.

By triangulating these different data sources, we ensured the convergent validity of our analysis. In addition, we reported our findings to TDO, during a management meeting at the head office and in regional meetings. Overall, the TDO consultants and management believed our findings corresponded with their personal impressions of the dynamics related to the NOPs, which affirms the communicative validity of our results (Kvale, 1996).

3.4 Case Description

TDO is a non-profit organization active in five regions: the Balkans, Latin America, Asia, West and Central Africa, and East and Southern Africa. It has offices in more than 30 countries, employing approximately 1,500 people, of whom approximately 60% are local staff. Work in these regions is organized around several practices, or practice areas (PAs), including poverty management, land management, and deforestation. For TDO, coordinating

distributed knowledge represents a key step in fulfilling its mission of capacity development, which is also in line with global developments such as the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals. Notwithstanding their different practices, TDO employees are bound by their strong and consistent commitment to poverty alleviation. To support this aim, TDO's KM unit decided in 2004 to facilitate knowledge sharing among TDO consultants with 22 NOPs, covering each regional PA.

Due to travel expenses, long (overseas) distances and poor infrastructure in the focal regions, face- to-face meetings occurred not more than once a year, and most communication was computer mediated. Our survey results indicate that of all communication within a NOP, 42% takes place through E-groups (list server-based discussion forums), 35% by personal e-mail, 14% in face-to-face encounters, 6% by telephone and 3% through Skype. The E-groups, our main focus of attention, encourage sharing and storing of e-mail messages and documents, and they help members to exchange ideas, policies, plans and experiences, as well as to post documents that might be relevant for others. We offer an overview of the NOPs and their E-group use between June 2004 and June 2006 in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Overview of networks and their E-group Use

Name of network	Number of posted message	Active members
Asia: Local Governance	210	58
Asia: Poverty Mgt	123	55
Asia: Tourism	173	63
Asia: Deforestation	540	39
Asia: Green Energy	3	3
Asia: Water	24	14
Balkan: Local Governance	No E-group use	NA
Balkan: Deforestation	No E-group use	NA
East-South Africa: Local Governance	301	85
East-South Africa: Poverty Mgt	204	64
East-South Africa:Tourism	89	37
East-South Africa: HIV/Aids	66	33
East-South Africa: Health Care	73	43
Latin America: Local Governance	75	10
Latin America: Poverty Mgt	325	85
Latin America: Deforestation	674	51
Latin America:Water	250	35
West-central Africa: Local Governance	392	100
West-Central Africa: Poverty Mgt	283	36
West-Central Africa: Deforestation	120	18
West-Central Africa: Gender	50	45
West-Central Africa: Land Mgt	214	70

To manage the networks locally, the KM unit allocated budgets, for example to assist with E-groups and travelling expenses. It also introduced two leadership roles in NOPs: network leaders and PA leaders.

- A network leader takes the role of *primus inter pares*, and is one of the members, without hierarchical authority. The role is often performed by senior consultants, ideally those who possess significant expertise and personal networks. TDO's management allows network leaders to allocate 30% of their time to leading their network, while the other 70% is allocated to regional activities. These regional activities take place under the supervision of a regional director.
- A PA leader has formal responsibility for a specific practice area within a region, such as poverty management, and reports directly to the regional director who is responsible for all the development activities within a specific region.

The KM unit formulated two aims for these networks: (1) they should support individual-level learning among consultants, achieved through the exchange of knowledge, so that consultants could learn from one another's experience and expertise and thus improve their services to clients; and (2) they should support organizational-level learning so that the head office can be knowledge- able about the various local practices and even adjust its strategies accordingly. These two aims clearly embody a learning tension, because the NOPs must contribute simultaneously to learning at the organizational level and learning among individual members. Therefore, the PA and network leaders at TDO needed to cope with this tension.

3.5 Results: How Leaders Cope with Learning Challenges

Among the NOPs in TDO, we identified two distinct patterns in the practices that PA leaders and network leaders used to cope with the challenges related to the learning tension of contributing to organizational- and individual-level learning at the same time. Practices mainly aimed at either imposing or supporting learning within and through NOPs. The first pattern, which we labeled a *conducting and controlling* (C&C) strategy, consisted of directive actions, aimed at influencing and controlling network activities in a top-down manner. The second pattern, the *buffering and brokering* (B&B) strategy, entailed activities aimed at mediating among the network, its members and the organization while also preventing negative effects of the different levels of learning on one another.

These patterns appeared in most TDO networks, but they surfaced most clearly in two specific networks: land management and poverty management. We therefore use these networks as our primary examples. In the land management network in West and Central Africa, members work on agriculture and livestock or pastoralism, and consultants cooperate

with colleagues in other countries and even other regions. For example, they helped farmers increase profits by advising them how to keep their crops dry and storable. In the poverty management network in West and Central Africa, members also try to increase the access of the poor to relevant markets to ensure a fair income. For example, they consider ways to influence the cashew nut value chain to ensure honest and sustainable income for all parties.

3.5.1   Interpreting: connecting to members' local practices

For most consultants, sharing personal expertise with other consultants in the same PA who faced similar problems and challenges, and asking and giving advice, is the most important reason for participating in the network. Consequently, network leaders with responsibility for the daily activities in the network needed to find sufficient common ground to make the activities of the network relevant for the majority of network members and thus motivate members to participate. Finding this common ground and providing a shared frame of reference supports the learning process of interpreting, though interpreting is never an easy process to facilitate, considering the dispersed and locally defined character of the consultants' practices. Consultants often differed in their perceptions of the relevance and meaning of the PAs, especially across different regions. Local practices also differed because of the variety in the needs and requests from clients and local partners. Furthermore, the diversity of languages makes it difficult to communicate. Table 3.2 provides some exemplary quotes that illustrate strategies enacted to address these interpreting challenges.

In one of the practices in a B&B strategy, some leaders allowed topics for discussion in E-groups to originate from the bottom up and rarely disturbed members themselves. Therefore, discussion topics were likely to relate directly to the daily practices of consultants. Only when they found sufficient relevance for their own daily practices did the consultants participate and share their knowledge, preferring topics that were concrete and applicable over those that were highly abstract. These leaders also encouraged discussions about topics that were relevant for consultants and their partners in various locations. For example, in the land management network, the main topics were cross-country in nature, so local differences represented less of a barrier to knowledge exchange. The members of this network in West Africa mostly worked in the Sahel interior, with the same partners and on the same issues, so they could develop common ground for meaningful interaction more easily.

Table 3.2. Interpreting by connecting to members' local practices

Challenge of interpreting	Leadership strategies	
Connecting to members' local practices	*Brokering & Buffering*	*Conducting & Controlling*
"There (on the E-Group) were discussions which were very specialised, for example around cotton or something. If you are not working in that sector, you somehow miss the whole point of that discussion" (interviewee 37, consultant).

"Actually, you want your external clients and your external organizations to feed the network and also to extract from the network. Because the network would then gain much and much more value" (interviewee 13, PA leader).

"There is also the problem of language. Because in West Africa you have English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. And then if you for example try to write in French, because so many people speak French, for some people who are English speaking, it is difficult for them. And then when you try to write in English those who are French speaking they have problems to get it, to participate fully" (interviewee 26, network leader). | "(The topics) partly come from the bottom up, from the participants, and partly from the network leader, and only a few things come from (corporate) management, but that never concerns a new topic, but more an accent" (interviewee 39, PA leader).

"The things we develop are a direct consequence of what we experience in the field" (interviewee 40, network leader).

"We decided to organize two new networks. And these were linked to strategic choices, so behind these strategic choices are two new networks that actually followed from the former Land Management network" (interviewee 40, network leader).

"They (head office) decided that English is the work language but not everybody in the community has managed to speak English. So we now try to improve our English. […] It is a limitation. But anyway in our (network) we say that everyone can participate even in French, even in Portuguese" (interviewee 26, network leader). | "So it was a little bit too prescriptive or too directive. It was not a spontaneous platform where you could exchange. And we didn't really exchange (or) put on the table a lot of different subjects where people can freely expose what they do, what they think, have questions, no. […]. You see that the network was dedicated to a specific task, that's all" (interviewee 36, consultant).

"The official language at TDO is English, and the discussions (in the E-Group for Poverty Management in West Africa) were in English only, and for the French speaking colleagues that made it very hard to understand the discussions" (interviewee 37, consultant). |

Although the leaders did not impose topics for discussion, they molded the network to fit the focal topic. For example, in the land management network, activities gradually came to centre on two main areas: dry land agriculture and cotton in particular – an important source of income in several countries in West and Central Africa – and livestock. In a rather spontaneous manner, these subgroups evolved, which eventually pushed the network leader to

decide to divide the original network into separate cotton and livestock networks. To gain support from the head office to divide the existing network, the network leader asked network members to build a case and find arguments in support of each of the networks. This case was communicated to the head office by the PA leader, who also assisted by telling the network leader the requirements which such a document should meet. Many network members perceived the relevance of this exercise and actively participated in drawing up the case descriptions. At this point in a B&B strategy, the network leader interpreted the needs and requirements of both the head office (via the PA leader) and the network members, then translated these needs and requirements to the respective levels. Thus, both the network leader and the PA leader served as brokers between groups.

Most African network members, especially in the Sahel region, speak French, though some countries use English or Portuguese. The corporate language of TDO, however, is English. Corporate documents generally were in English, and with the participation of consultants from East Africa in the network, English became even more prominent. To include all members in the discussions on the E-group though, the land management network leader (sometimes followed by others) provided French translations of local discussions and summaries of English corporate discussions, or vice versa, to enable people to react in their own languages. In this way, the leader enabled everyone to share knowledge while still maintaining the corporate language. From time to time, the PA leader advised the network leader about what (type of) information the head office required in English or passed summaries from local discussions on to the head office and the regional director.

In contrast with this supportive B&B strategy, other network leaders imposed discussion topics in a top-down manner, often in the shape of 'action plans' or strategy documents. However, such topics rarely seemed well-connected with the daily practices of the network members, who generally considered them too abstract to provide relevant shared knowledge across locations. The network leader of the poverty management network, for example, demanded that members fill out a baseline survey. The members did not see the purpose or value of such an exercise, and a discussion of its aims arose. This discussion was cut off almost instantly by the network leader, who simply set a deadline for completing the task. As a consequence, members often ignored the network and contacted each other by e-mail instead to address specific local problems, which excluded others.

Network leaders were not always aware of local activities, which sometimes reflected their lack of expertise. These leaders often tried to use the network to support their own work. For example, the network leader of the poverty management network used the E-group to ask

for input on equity funds, asking if any members knew anything about them, because the head office needed this information, which he lacked.

Furthermore, even though the poverty management network was active in a French-speaking region in West Africa, leaders advocated the mandatory use of English, which excluded French discussants. The network leader, who enacted a C&C strategy, did not see any point in translating messages: all network members were expected to adapt to the use of English, but instead, French-speaking members were neglected.

3.5.2   Integrating: establishing strong ties

Integrating requires ties among network members, as a minimal condition to enable them to create shared understanding and coordinated actions and thus support network learning. Although important, these ties proved to be a major challenge, because it is not easy to establish feelings of trust, reciprocity, and close contact. Again, geographical dispersion greatly inhibited the capability to share experiences. Another factor inhibiting the creation of strong connections was the high turnover rate of network members: over two years, 75% of network members had been replaced by newcomers, which made it hard to establish a consistent network with strong ties. Finally, many consultants in various countries simply lacked Internet access or skills and experience – not only because the Internet is not easily available everywhere, but also because these consultants work literally in the field, that is, in small villages without any infrastructural facilities. This setting can inhibit connections. Comments taken from our interviews about this challenge and strategies enacted to address it appear in Table 3.3.

Leaders enacting a B&B strategy devoted more effort to connecting network members actively, introducing them to one another, and ascertaining their awareness of each other's knowledge and expertise. Technologies such as E-groups actively supported existing connections in the NOPs, and leaders stimulated face-to-face meetings to increase social interaction. In the land management network, for example, the network leader worked hard to establish connections. When a new net- work member was unable to meet her new fellow members at a network meeting in Ouagadougou, the network leader visited her at home in another city in Burkina Faso to update her personally, then connected her to other network members. During the face-to-face network meeting, the net- work leader played a crucial role by actively encouraging interaction and getting people introduced to one another, which indicated that he recognized the rare opportunity associated with having normally dispersed

network members together in the same location. All types of members – active core as well as newcomers – were present and interacting during these meetings.

Table 3.3. Integrating by establishing strong ties

Challenge of integrating	Leadership strategies	
Establishing strong ties	*Brokering & Buffering*	*Conducting & Controlling*
"People find it difficult anyway to write things down, as they are afraid that everyone will jump on them" (interviewee 19, consultant).	"And at the start, we came together with all, well a majority of the consultants active in the network, and that appeared to be an enormous boost to be more active in the network, because people then know each other personally, and then know who is doing what" (interviewee 10, PA leader).	"For me, I only met others face to face in 2006 because I wasn't a member of the core group. They met each other twice a year" (interviewee 37, consultant).
"You're spread around four countries, in different regions, so you can imagine, it is pretty difficult to evoke a sort of 'we-feeling'" (interviewee 12, ex-network leader).	"Some people know each other very well but for others it is hard to understand. I was shy in the beginning but well they discuss things on a certain level. So I had to catch up. The network leader was very kind, updated me and introduced me to people" (Interviewee 7, consultant, phrasing from interview notes).	"We had only core group meetings, so with about 10 people. It was nice, but being two days, it was always too short, because we always faced issues and we never had time to get a kind of consensus on ideas. Then it was only two or three of us who said, ok we will continue among ourselves, we will continue the discussion and eventually produce a paper" (interviewee 36, consultant).
"You could then say that after two years we have more or less 75 % new people. Did we do enough to integrate and introduce these people to make them part of the network?" (interviewee 10, network leader).	"One of the things I've tried to do at the beginning is creating an atmosphere of safety, however strange as that might sound. I've noticed pretty soon that quite a lot people in this organization have a certain fear to ... share their ideas and information about their work .... Also, the idea of needing to have a complete story, a fully written and polished article, before getting it on the network, you know. Therefore I have tried to encourage people to come with raw material, spontaneously, you see" (interviewee 5, network leader).	"He (network leader) was someone who was new within TDO, and also within the region, and he really came from a different world. But not with the modesty that should go with that. Like, 'tell me how things work among you', he was more like 'I know better'. In general, that does not work very well, but in this case it really didn't work" (interviewee 35, regional director).
"Before this, I worked in Nepal, and there we also did not have internet. Where I was located we neither had e-mail; I was already pleased if the telephone was working." (interviewee 11, consultant).	"He (network leader) has a lot of knowledge and experience in the region. He knows many people personally: that is very important to the local people, that he has a personal bond" (interviewee 39, regional director).	"I would like to get your views and ideas about the equity fund [head office] are talking about. Do we have experiences with equity funds, good or bad examples, and do we have knowledge in this field?" (Excerpt from E-group message, Network leader).
		"Please recall all emails you have received from the PA leader- and send in your contributions" (Excerpt from E-group message, Network leader).

The land management network leader also actively encouraged job rotation to stimulate network members' familiarity with one another. In terms of trust and a group feeling, members of this network reported that efforts by their leader significantly contributed to their sense that a strong group existed. The task division between the network leader and the PA leader (as explained in more detail in the next section), combined with their close mutual contact (sharing an office), also supported the link between the head office and network members. Both leaders actively mediated across these levels to minimize the risk of conflicting interests.

Finally, the network leader served as a consultant himself, had much expertise and practical knowledge, and had established strong connections with other members and the region. This well- recognized and well-connected expert as the network leader (enacting the role of *primus inter* pares) created clear role differentiation, because the network leader was closely connected to the consultants, whereas the PA leader was more closely connected to the head office.

In contrast, leaders enacting a C&C strategy 'invited' members to the network and assumed that introducing the E-group infrastructure would guarantee connections. However, this 'technology push' policy did not result in more connections or meaningful interactions. Rather, these leaders attracted only a small core group of experts who were already capable of using the E-groups in the way the network and PA leaders had expected; they also were the only ones invited to face-to-face meetings.

To control the activities of this core group, the two leaders regularly interfered with ongoing conversations on the E-groups, sometimes even telling members to get to work, be faster, or deliver specific documents. During a poverty management network meeting, for example, participants expressed their desire to become more familiar with one another and then their disappointment that, at the end of the two-day meeting, there had not been any spare time for social interactions. In this same network, an active and committed core group included members invited by the network leader to serve as experts, each representing a particular country. However, the leaders neither used the expertise of this group nor acknowledged their interests and practices. In turn, not all core members acknowledged the network leader, who lacked expertise and experience within TDO. Because only the core group met, they remained independent of the other net- work members, who did not contribute actively and did not feel committed. Some of these members even felt insecure about contributing their knowledge, because they had not been selected by the network leader as belonging to the group of core experts.

Members became increasingly dissatisfied with the focus on issues that clearly came from the agenda set by the PA leader, instead of issues introduced by members themselves. The resulting atmosphere appeared less than conducive to creating strong ties and inhibited the development of a shared understanding or interactions and learning among members, as well as between them and the rest of the organization.

The situation grew even worse as a result of the network leader's lack of experience in the practice under consideration. Network leaders often did not recognize the disconnection between the discussion topics and actual practices, such that they were incapable of involving all network members in discussions. Because the network leaders were not recognized experts in the field or lacked experience within TDO, they were unable to recognize and understand the consultants' local practices or their potential to contribute to organizational goals and practices.

3.5.3   Institutionalizing: creating alignment with the formal organization

The head office of TDO aimed to use the knowledge shared and developed in NOPs as input for its overall business strategy. This institutionalization of knowledge (e.g. standardizing practices, intervention strategies) frequently appeared to offer a major challenge. Network members' interests often diverged from those of the head office; few members cared much about what happened at the head office or other 'strategic' developments in the Netherlands. Members also reported that they considered staff at the head office ignorant, with no idea about 'real' issues in the field. Consultants in the field disapproved of the idea that the head office could monitor their actions, such as by E-groups, especially because they were used to acting as more-or-less independent autonomous professionals. Table 3.4 provides some exemplary quotes regarding this challenge of connecting the network to the organization, as well as some concrete practices corresponding with leadership strategies enacted to cope with this challenge.

On one occasion, in the land management network, we observed a clear task division that directly targeted the (perception of) diverging interests between network members and head office: the network leader acted as a representative of the network while the PA leader acted as a representative of the formal organization. Yet the two leaders remained in close contact. The network leader primarily communicated with the network, shielding members from unnecessary 'noise' or requests from the organization, and the PA leader primarily communicated with the head office. Each leader used specific jargon with particular

connections. Abstract requirements from the top thus got translated into concrete activities by the two leaders before they reached the network, and vice versa.

Table 3.4. Institutionalizing by creating alignment to formal organization

Challenge of institutionalizing	Leadership strategies	
Creating alignment to formal organization	*Brokering & Buffering*	*Conducting & Controlling*
"Some consultants, they don't want to get involved in strategy, they much rather discuss daily operational work. That became very clear!...it's pretty tough to bring all of that together and to coordinate that" (interviewee 12, ex-network leader).	"If the network leader wanted something on the agenda, or if people were not granted time or did not keep the deadlines, it was easier from my position to tackle my fellow directors about it" (interviewee 39, PA leader).	"A PA leader is considered a director, seen from a managerial perspective [...] and is responsible for setting out goals together with the network leader, and tells where to go to, while the network leader executes that work [...] I've ordered the consultants to make a strategic business plan" (interviewee 13, PA leader).
"In the field were the people who knew what were going on, and at the head office they didn't know anything" (interviewee 15, KM Unit).	"There is a hardcore who knows about everything that is going on. But to be honest, I try to protect the rest of them as much as possible. Like, guys, please just get to work, a few things have been planned, and go and do these things. It is my task and that of the PA leader to shelter you. Please go and do the things that you like to do, and there are a few senior consultants who are just as up-to-date as I am, who are aware of these things, but they are strong enough to make choices regarding that, and who don't get discouraged that easily" (interviewee 40, network leader).	"The network had to deliver things and the leaders wanted to have things done" (interviewee 36, consultant).
"Because what we do is working outside the hierarchical structure. But how can you get that just a bit institutionalized? Because we do need the management structure to get certain decisions approved and well, to get the activities we do in the network, to get them really institutionalized in the countries in the region" (interviewee 16, network leader).		"Well, it was more top-down, and there were some people who actively came with subjects and there were some spontaneous exchanges as well. But at a certain point that wasn't really picked up, I think, by the network leader" (interviewee 35, regional director).
	"I do more like the administrative tasks, and he (network leader) is mainly doing tasks concerning content, because he knows most about that, so if they (members) come with topics he will think about it, and if necessary make sure to collect information that we need. And well, for the remainder, we just think about these things together. And well I am the one who forwards e-mails. I ask, well if you have anything send it to me" (interviewee 38, PA leader).	"We cannot spend too much time on such details about these concepts. We don't have time to do that. '[…], I think was the leadership style. That was kind of 'We have to do some chores, do it. And don't spend too much time arguing; don't spend too much time discussing" (interviewee 36, consultant).

The PA leaders could use their formal positions to request head office support or provide means for a network that would support relevant output. To minimize head office interference, network leaders often summarized the discussions on the E-groups for the PA leader, who kept the head office informed and prevented it from directly interfering. In the reverse direction, when the head office expected something from the network, network leaders often tried to explain these requests by clarifying the benefits to network members. If the network leader was unable to find the potential value for the network, he turned to the PA leader, who then informed the head office that their expectations needed alteration or better arguments.

In this B&B strategy, the task division between leaders served the interests of both the organization and the network members, without letting them (negatively) interfere with each other. With this clear task division, the network leader had the responsibility and legitimacy, granted by the PA leader, to ensure the smooth functioning of the network. Thus, he could connect the different levels of learning.

In contrast, some PA and network leaders lacked a clear task division and acted instead as representatives or extensions of the head office, in that both were mainly concerned with imposing institutionalization. In the poverty management network, for example, the network and PA leaders enacted a C&C strategy by determining the topics for discussions in the network, then exerted control by stopping any discussions that drifted or took too long. Members who failed to respond to posted requests on the E-groups received strong urging from the network leader to do so before a specific deadline, which raised questions about the voluntary character of their participation. As a result, members sensed that the network was there only to serve management's interests or demands. Combined with the lack of strong ties among members, this form of control did not induce institutionalizing, and learning at the organizational level remained problematic, despite being keenly encouraged by leaders.

Simultaneously, the head office frequently failed to listen to descriptions of what was happening in the network. Opportunities to capitalize on input from the network members, take advantage of their enthusiasm, or stimulate exchanges generally were ignored, apparently because they did not align with the organization's interests. The network leader's main responsibilities pertained to delivering action plans or strategy documents to the PA leader. Often it appeared that the network leaders did not have enough inside knowledge to assess the potential of the network in relation to the requirements of the head office. As a consequence,

these network leaders were hardly part of the network; instead, they were much more a part of the head office.

3.5.4   How B&B and C&C Strategies contribute to organizational learning

Our analysis thus far demonstrates two distinct strategies that leaders enact to meet three interrelated challenges that together have the potential to create a learning tension. Each strategy has different implications for the contribution of NOPs to learning at different levels, as presented in Table 3.5. and displayed in Figure 3.1. The B&B strategy results in the integration of learning at various levels; the C&C strategy primarily emphasizes learning at the organizational level.

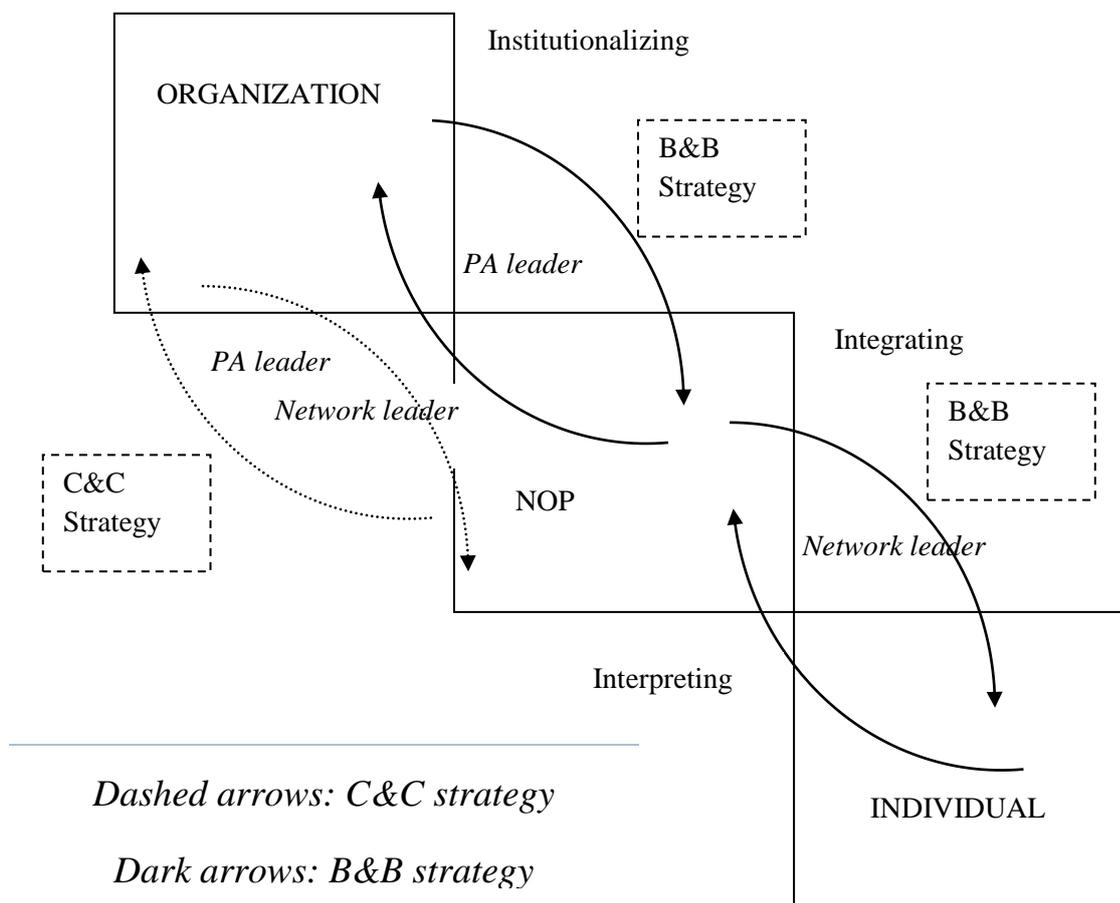**Figure 3.1. Two leadership strategies for organizational learning**

Dashed arrows: C&C strategy

Dark arrows: B&B strategy

Table 3.5. Contributions of two leadership strategies to learning processes

B&B practices	C&C practices	Learning process
• Allowing and stimulating bottom-up topics for discussion, linked to local daily practices • Stimulating thematic networks aimed at concrete problem solving (not methodological ones) that connect different regions (parts of) in a natural way • Allowing and stimulating emerging subtopics that developed into new PA and networks • Communicating between network and head office through two leaders (good interpretation of needs and requirements) • Actively translating between languages (e.g., providing summaries)	• Requiring action plans and other documents from members • Selecting methodological, abstract, and not cross-regional topics • Discarding topics that became less interesting from an organizational point of view, while members continued their interactions elsewhere (sometimes), so that topics became hidden • Prescribing only English and lack of translating	Interpreting
• Actively connecting and informing (new) members by the network leader • Dividing tasks of leaders to prevent distrust between the head office and members through buffering • Including all members to provide space for discussion and multiple opinions, both in person and online • Using eager members (to share knowledge), some of whom already knew each other • Using ICT to support existing social interactions • Attracting a knowledgeable and experienced network leader with a large personal network who speaks the language of the network, while the PA leader understands the head office's requirements	• Not using and developing active connections, so that trust could not be built (easily) • Restricting face-to-face meetings to only a small core group (experts) and not leaving any time for social interactions during meetings (only work related) • Discomforting members because of interventions • Not paying attention to subgroups and implying to members that they (or their inputs) were not valued • Thinking that ICT would automatically induce interaction • Not recognizing the value of connecting to the local practices and members who did not take the network leader seriously because of the lack of expertise and connections	Integrating
• Dividing tasks between two leaders included buffering, because they were actively involved in communication. Both leaders had the same interest in mind • Allowing forming and formalising new networks, by aligning members' and head office's requests	• Strongly emphasising organizational goals and interests • Using the network leader as an extension of the head office, in addition to the PA leader: both leaders give (formal) tasks to the network members • Disconnecting the head office from the members and not providing information to use to their benefit • Interrupting or cancelling discussions (outside the scope of the formal organization / tasks) and thus alienating members	Institutionalising

Brokering and Buffering

The core of a brokering and buffering strategy consists of two activities. On the one hand, leaders broker interactions among the organization (head office), the network and members by establishing connections and translating between the different levels. On the other hand, leaders actively buffer among the levels as well. They shield network members from any negative influences and requests from the head office, and they provide clear summaries (instead of full discussions) to the head office to keep them informed. Task division between the PA leader (link to the head office) and network leader (link to the network) enables such buffering processes. Through the close interactions between the two leaders and the network leader's ability to act as a *primus inter pares* within the network (i.e. recognize topics as a respected member with valued expertise and connections), the B&B strategy ensured the integration of learning processes and provided a way to cope with the learning tension.

At the individual level, members learned from participating in their network. When consultants in the land management network observed changes in the cotton industry affecting their daily work, their leader explicitly addressed this issue by initiating collaboration with an external agency to explore the consequences for local farmer organizations – an effort that appeared clearly helpful to the consultants. At the network level, learning occurred as well, as illustrated by the exercise in which consultants within land management were encouraged by the network leader to work together to build a case for dividing into two subthemes. Through this exercise, members created a better understanding of what the two topics encompassed and why they were important, resulting finally in the formalization of two new networks, which represented an organizational-level learning outcome. Another example of successful organizational learning as a result of a B&B strategy came from a poverty network in Latin America, where the network leader noticed consultants were struggling with how to perform a production chain analysis. She initiated a discussion to encourage active discussions among network members. Through these exchanges, members finally developed a 'best practices' publication that thereafter was used by all consultants. Because of its success, the PA leader also used this publication as a basis for an internally developed training program that would educate people in production chain analysis. This program eventually was used not only within TDO but by clients, as a landmark of 'The TDO Way of Working'.

Conducting and Controlling

The conducting and controlling strategy prioritizes hierarchical governance over community-based governance, primarily with the aim to achieve institutionalizing, as an important part of organizational learning. The strategy consists of two kinds of activities. On the one hand, leaders *conducted* the network activities and pushed members toward institutional practices, even though they lacked inside knowledge about and expertise with the actual daily practices of members. Thus, they led without vision and could not recognize the potential of the network or gain respect as a knowledgeable fellow member. On the other hand, leaders exerted strong *control* over the outcome of networks, without providing members the space to create strong ties or enable bottom- up discussions. Both PA and network leaders primarily aimed to guard organizational goals, such that the network leader took a formal management position rather than serving as the *primus inter pares* within the network. The paradox of a C&C strategy is that its explicit focus on institutionalizing ultimately is counterproductive: without interpreting and integrating, there is little to institutionalize. Within the networks that featured a C&C strategy, members did not perceive the network as belonging to them but instead considered it an organizational tool, imposed by management to get work done. By designating a small group of experts, these leaders ignored the 'real' experts, and by steering people away from their daily practices, they did almost the opposite of what is needed to achieve individual or network learning. Moreover, even though their focus was on sup-porting learning at the organizational level, too much pressure on delivering outcomes, especially those for the organization or head office, worked counterproductively on members.

3.6 Conclusion and Discussion

In answer to our research question, we find that leaders enact two different strategies: a brokering and buffering (B&B) strategy to balance individual, network and organizational learning through their support of interpreting, integrating and institutionalizing processes, and a conducting and controlling (C&C) strategy that imposes OL through institutionalizing (and, to some extent, integrating), without paying much attention to individual or network learning.

Our study of TDO's networks demonstrates that though a C&C strategy aims to achieve organizational-level learning through NOPs, the results are often counterproductive. With their one- sided emphasis on institutionalizing, while neglecting interpreting, network leaders were not part of the network themselves and seemed unable to alleviate learning tension. Our findings seem to confirm that controlling the network's activities counteracted the intrinsic motivation to participate (Alvesson, Kärreman & Swan, 2002). Instead, they created what

March and Olsen (1976) call audience learning: the lessons individuals learn are not adopted by or integrated into the organization, because there is no connection between local practices and managerial actions. In this strategy, leaders become managers instead of leaders (Sarker, Sarker & Schneider, 2009). The B&B strategy, in contrast, enables the integration of the various levels at which learning processes occur. Enacting this strategy seems to help network leaders resolve the learning tension, by simultaneously emphasizing interpreting, integrating and institutionalizing.

3.6.1   Theoretical contributions

Our study thus offers several contributions to theory about networks of practice and organizational learning. First, we develop insights into the learning tension that results from the combination of a community-based governance style for individual-level learning within NOPs with a hierarchy-based governance style that can support learning at the organizational level with NOPs. We thus respond to the call by Crossan et al. (1999) to reconcile a tension between exploitation and exploration through ambidextrous management (Jansen, George, Van Den Bosch, Volberda, 2008; Mom, Van Den Bosch & Volberda, 2007; Morgan & Berthon, 2008). In response to their suggestion that such an inherent tension requires further study (Crossan et al., 1999), we unravel the learning tension by distinguishing three challenges that leaders likely meet at each level. We thus add to theory about connecting the different levels of learning (Crossan et al., 1999; Lam, 2000; Levinthal & March, 1993; Nonaka, Von Krogh & Voelpel, 2006) by elaborating on the specific tension it evokes and the leadership strategies enacted to cope with it.

Second, we extend NOP theory by addressing the role of the network leader in relation to learning. We add to the organizational learning framework of Crossan et al. (1999) by providing empirical data and analyses of how leaders can use NOPs as vehicles for OL. Several existing applications of Crossan et al.'s framework rely primarily on conceptual considerations, without empirical data (Berson et al., 2006; Lawrence, Mauws, Dyck & Kleysen, 2005; Vera & Crossan, 2004). Our data instead reveal specific practices (see Table 3.5.) enacted by NOP leaders instead of top management (e.g. Vera & Crossan, 2004) to achieve OL. Our findings respond to calls for micro-level research into organizational learning and knowledge sharing (Easterby-Smith, Lyles & Tsang, 2008) as well as for multilevel approaches to organizational learning (Berson et al., 2006; Hannah & Lester, 2009).

Third, we highlight differences in leadership behavior. A C&C strategy is characterized by transactional leadership behavior that emphasizes performance, goals, monitoring and

corrective actions (Smith, Montagno & Kuzmenko, 2004). Leaders enacting a B&B strategy instead exhibit servant leadership behavior (Greenleaf, 1977), such that they share power and invest efforts in community building and serving the interests of followers, as well as the organization as a whole (Washington, Sutton & Field, 2006). A servant leader empowers network members and acts as a 'first among equals' (Greenleaf, 1977). In this sense, NOPs place greater demands on leaders than those described previously in social network approaches (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005) or in literature on leadership related to knowledge-intensive firms and knowledge management (e.g. Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003; Foss, Husted & Michailova, 2010; Goodall & Roberts, 2003; Swan, Scarbrough & Robertson, 2002; Vaast, 2007; Von Krogh, 1998; Waring & Currie, 2009).

Fourth, differences in leadership behavior influence the use of different tools to facilitate inter- action (primarily, E-groups and face-to-face meetings) and their appropriation by both strategies. Leadership behavior determines how a group appropriates a technology (Avolio, Kahai & Dodge, 2001), as well as how it applies the structures and facilities embedded in that technology to its practices (DeSanctis, Poole, Dickson & Jackson, 1993; Schwabe & Krcmar, 2000). The top-down leadership style typical of a C&C strategy leads to the appropriation of both E-groups and face-to- face meetings as tools for providing information, making announcements, reporting, determining topics of discussion and limiting participation. Furthermore, technology appropriation depends on the network leader, who might decide that discussions should take place on the E-group rather than by e-mail. A servant leader, as in the B&B strategy, uses the same tools in a very different way to create an environment for horizontal interaction, generate input from members, involve as many participants as possible and facilitate collaboration. The appropriation of technology thus is not prescribed but rather remains open, such that our findings provide an empirical elaboration of Avolio et al.'s (2001) claim that leadership influences any appropriation of a tool. The appropriation of both E-groups and face-to-face meetings by B&B-style leaders appears more faithful to the tool's intended purpose, in that they serve to promote collaboration, not control, as in the C&C strategy. As DeSanctis and Poole (1994) contend, the more faithful the appropriation is, the more likely the use of the tool will lead to successful outcomes, in line with our conclusion that a B&B strategy seems more appropriate than a C&C strategy when it comes to using NOPs to support OL.

3.6.2   Managerial implications

We clarify how two strategies emphasize different leadership roles identified by prior literature. In a C&C strategy, leaders primarily derive authority from their formal position, which they employ to institutionalize group outcomes (Berson et al., 2006; Hannah & Lester, 2009; Vera & Crossan, 2004). In a B&B strategy, this formal role combines with two other roles discussed in current literature: authority based on expertise (e.g. Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003; Reed, 1996) and authority based on social position (e.g. Balkundi & Harrison, 2006; Mehra, Dixon, Brass & Robertson, 2006). Authority based on expertise allows leaders to gain a reputation as knowledgeable and capable of absorbing lessons learned in the network, which requires a sufficient degree of expertise with the network's practices (Huysman, 2004). Authority based on position adds an ability to broker interactions between members (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005). Effective leaders thus should possess and extend social capital, build coalitions and act as mentors and brokers (Ammeter, Douglas, Gardner, Hochwater & Ferris, 2002; Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005). A B&B strategy combines all three leadership roles, which indicates that NOP leaders who face the challenges of learning tension should enact the three leadership roles concurrently. Furthermore, by acknowledging and supporting the emergent processes underlying knowledge sharing, leaders enacting a B&B strategy seem to find the right balance between too much and too little managerial involvements (Agterberg et al., 2010; Brown & Duguid, 2000). Our Table 3.5. provides several concrete activities and practices leaders can use to enact a B&B strategy themselves.

3.6.3   Further research

Our methodological choices create certain data specificities, though we assert that our theoretical insights are not limited to non-profit or development organizations. This sector provides an ideal setting for studying the contribution of NOPs to organizational learning, because such learning is highly relevant, and the likelihood for a learning tension is high. Yet OL is critical in many intra- organizational settings. Further study could distinguish differences across sectors or types of organizations and thus determine the (statistical) generalizability of the challenges and strategies we have identified.

Although our study offers evidence of two leadership strategies, we recognize that our specific research setting might constitute a restriction. We focused on intra-organizational NOPs that the organization attempted to use to achieve organizational learning. In inter-organizational networks or communities of practice, such as open-source software communities, a single organizational goal or organizational interest is less evident (it might differ among organizations), so a network leader may seem more important than a PA leader.

In this case, networks might value individual- and NOP-level learning (interpreting and integrating) over organizational-level learning (institutionalizing). This scenario would suggest a light touch approach, such that the network leader is responsible for bottom-up processes in the network, without any organizational intervention by PA leaders or head office (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2001; Von Krogh, 1998). Prior studies suggest applying a community-based approach to business models in (formal) organizations (Lee & Cole, 2003; O'Mahony & Ferraro, 2007; Von Hippel & Von Krogh, 2003), but our study shows that the situation might be more complex in the context of intra-organizational NOPs. Further study in other contexts might reveal a third leadership strategy, opposed to C&C but not integrated as B&B is. Even if further research uncovers alternative strategies though, our study shows that network leaders can enact these two strategies to support organizational learning.

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Appendix 3.1 Overview of interviewees

Role (interviews)	Role description	List of interviewees	Scope of interview
Head Office (7)	Head office took the initiative to introduce the networks. The KM Unit was responsible for the roll-out of the networks; allocating budgets, technical support of the networks by means of the E-groups, etc.	Director TDO	General
		4 KM Unit	General; Gender WCA; Land Mgt WCA
		Corporate Controller	General
		HRM and Development	General
Regional directors (8)	Regional directors were responsible for all TDO activities within a region. They reported directly to the directors at the head office. Within a region, country directors were responsible for all activities within a country and reported to the regional directors. At a local level, local office managers reported to the country director. These are all line management functions.	Regional Director Asia	General; Poverty Mgt Asia; Tourism Asia; Poverty Mgt LA
		Regional Director Balkan	General
		Regional Director ESA	General; Poverty Mgt ESA
		Regional Director WCA	General; Land Mgt WCA; Poverty Mgt WCA; Green Energy Asia
		Country director WCA	Gender; Land Mgt WCA; Local Governance WCA
		Local office Manager Balkan	General
		Local office Manager Balkan	Deforestation Balkan; Green Energy Asia; Deforestation LA; Deforestation Asia
		Local office Manager WCA	General; Land Mgt WCA; Local Governance WCA; Poverty Mgt WCA
PA leaders (4)	PA leaders were responsible for a specific practice area within a region. Following a matrix structure, PA leaders crossed all	PA leader Local Governance ESA	Local Governance ESA; Land Mgt WCA
		PA leader Poverty Management WCA	Poverty Mgt WCA; Poverty Mgt Asia; Local Governance

			WCA
	geographic borders within a region, managing all consulting activities within the practice area. PA leaders reported to the regional directors.	PA leader Land Mgt - Lifestock WCA	Land Mgt WCA
		PA leader Land Mgt WCA	Land Mgt WCA; Poverty Mgt WCA
Network leaders (11)	Network leadership was a role usually granted to an experienced consultant in the field. Network leaders were in charge of daily operations of the networks, such as organizing meetings, stimulating discussion and participation, and managing the agenda.	Ex Network leader Deforestation Asia	Deforestation Asia
		Network leader Poverty Mgt Asia	Poverty Mgt Asia
		Ex Network leader tourism Asia	Tourism Asia
		Network leader HIV/AIDS ESA	HIV/AIDS ESA; Local Governance ESA
		Network leader Poverty Mgt LA	Poverty Mgt LA
		Network leader Gender WCA	Gender WCA
		Network leader Land Mgt- Cotton WCA	Land Mgt WCA
		Network leader Deforestation in WCA	Deforestation WCA
		Network leader HIV/AIDS WCA	HIV/AIDS WCA; Local Governance WCA
		Network leader Land Mgt- Livestock WCA	Land Mgt WCA
		Ex-Network leader Poverty Mgt WCA	Poverty Mgt WCA
Consultants (12)	Consultants worked in the field and often specialised in one or two practice areas. Based on their interests, they could become member of a network.	Consultant Asia	Deforestation Asia; Green Energy Asia
		Consultant LA	General
		Consultant LA	Poverty Mgt LA
		Consultant LA	Poverty Mgt LA
		Consultant WCA	Land Mgt WCA; Local Governance WCA

Consultant WCA	Land Mgt WCA
Consultant WCA	Land Mgt WCA; Local Governance WCA; Poverty Mgt WCA
Consultant WCA	Local Governance WCA
Consultant WCA	Poverty Mgt WCA
Consultant WCA	Poverty Mgt WCA; Land Mgt WCA
Consultant WCA	Poverty Mgt WCA; Land Mgt WCA
Consultant WCA/Asia	Land Mgt WCA; Deforestation Asia

Notes:

LA = Latin America | ESA = East and Southern Africa | WCA = West and Central Africa