

Chapter 7. Recommendations

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This chapter gets to the heart of the work of our 25 commissioners: what needs to be done better or differently to systematize the use of evidence, by the full range of decision-makers, in addressing societal challenges? It begins by asking what we can learn from the many global commissions that preceded us. It concludes with recommendations for the path forward.

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Acting on behalf of the Evidence Commission, the McMaster Health Forum welcomes feedback about the report, as well as suggestions about pathways to influence for the report's recommendations. Please send your comments to evidencecommission@mcmaster.ca.

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7.1 Insights from an analysis of global-commission recommendations

A thematic analysis of recommendations from 48 global commissions reporting since 1 January 2016 helped to:

- understand the gap between where we are and where we need to be in using evidence to address societal challenges, at least from the point of view of the high-profile members of global commissions
- improve the framing of the Evidence Commission's recommendations and identify new ideas that would help to bridge this gap
- identify the Evidence Commission's recommendations that align with recommendations from other global commissions.

Here we summarize key findings in an infographic, and then we elaborate on them in the text below it and in section 7.3.



1,460 recommendations were made, many of which spoke to the 'levers' required to bring about change

These levers include a global summit-endorsed strategic framework and an
accompanying program of action, voluntary measures such as guidelines, monitoring
and improvement approaches, planning and funding mechanisms, technical and
financial assistance, new focal points within or involving existing institutions, and
legally binding treaties



242 recommendations spoke to evidence supply *(chapter 4)*

- Most of these recommendations called for increasing data collection and sharing, which are a foundation for (but not the same as) data analytics as a form of evidence
- When other forms of evidence were addressed, recommendations tended to call
 for increasing the flow of new evidence, such as new evaluations, but not to call
 for improving the signal-to-noise ratio in the flow of such evidence, better using the
 stock of existing evidence, or combining multiple forms of evidence



94 recommendations described the context in which government officials, organizational leaders, professionals and citizens make decisions (chapter 3)

 Only rarely did any of these recommendations address how any of these decisionmakers can or should use evidence in addressing societal challenges



50 recommendations addressed evidence intermediaries *(chapter 5)*

- These recommendations often called for the UN system to better harness its normative role (e.g., guidelines) and its advisory role (e.g., technical assistance to its member states)
- Evidence was rarely made explicit as a necessary underpinning of such roles



28 recommendations addressed global public goods and distributed capacities *(chapter 6)*

- Some global commissions called for a strengthening of the role played by the World Bank in supporting global public goods
- There were almost no mentions of evidence-related public goods or an appropriate division of labour across the levels (e.g., in the UN system) where capacity for evidence use is needed



10 recommendations spoke to how we understand the nature of societal challenges and approaches to addressing them (chapter 2)

 The few recommendations spoke to ways of framing a societal challenge so it is more likely to generate action, and to ways of addressing societal challenges so the actions are more likely to generate impacts Between January 2016 and September 2021, 48 global commissions issued 70 reports (one of which was an interim report) and made 1,460 recommendations, for an average of 30 recommendations per commission and 21 recommendations per report. The full list of reports is provided in **appendix 8.1**.

The global-commission recommendations that aligned with the focus of the Evidence Commission report most commonly addressed evidence supply (i.e., 242 recommendations spoke to chapter 4). Most of these recommendations called for increasing data collection and sharing, which are a foundation for data analytics as a form of evidence, but they:

- gave little attention to the problem of parsimony in what's collected, the quality of the data and data analytics, and timeliness in sharing
- appeared to assume that robust data analytics will be undertaken and then presented in ways that can inform decision-making and support accountability, including by being attentive to equity considerations
- didn't clarify the types of questions that data analytics can best answer or the forms of evidence that can answer the other types of
 questions needed to make decisions.

When other forms of evidence were addressed, recommendations tended to call for increasing the flow of new evidence, such as new evaluations, and not to call for improving the signal-to-noise ratio in the flow of such evidence, better using the stock of existing evidence, or combining multiple forms of evidence. Some global commissions called for evaluations, including five that explicitly called for evaluating what works and a few that called for evaluating impacts across multiple domains (e.g., health, economic and environmental impacts) and time horizons. Few global commissions called for behavioural/implementation research, despite sometimes calling for campaigns and other strategies to change behaviours that would benefit from such research. Even fewer global commissions called for other forms of evidence, such as modeling, qualitative insights, evidence syntheses and guidelines, to address the societal challenges they focused on.

The second-most common grouping of global-commission recommendations described the context in which government officials, organizational leaders, professionals and citizens make decisions (94 recommendations spoke to chapter 3). Only rarely did any of these recommendations address how any of these decision-makers can or should use evidence in addressing societal challenges. The greatest share of these 94 recommendations called for government policymakers to use specific policy instruments or specific structures and processes to address a societal challenge. A smaller share called for organizational leaders — especially business leaders — to use specific approaches to address a societal challenge, professionals to address societal challenges independently of their role in governments and organizations, and citizens to play a more active role in addressing societal challenges.

The third most-common grouping of global-commission recommendations addressed evidence intermediaries (50 recommendations spoke to chapter 5). These recommendations often called for the UN system to better harness its normative role (e.g., guidelines) and its advisory role (e.g., technical assistance to its member states), and for the UN system and other 'intermediaries' to use specific types of strategies to support government policymakers and other decision-makers to address societal challenges. Evidence was rarely made explicit as a necessary underpinning of such roles and strategies.

Global public goods and distributed capacities were even less frequently the focus of global-commission recommendations (28 recommendations spoke to chapter 6). Some global commissions called for strengthening the role played by the World Bank in supporting global public goods and for support for global public goods like the internet. However, there were almost no mentions of evidence-related public goods or an appropriate division of labour across the levels where capacity for evidence use is needed (e.g., what the UN system, its regional offices and its country offices can each best do).

Improving how we understand the nature of societal challenges and approaches to addressing them was least frequently the focus of global-commission recommendations (10 recommendations spoke to chapter 2). The few recommendations spoke to ways of framing a societal challenge so it is more likely to generate action, and to ways of addressing societal challenges so the actions are more likely to generate impacts. They also spoke to foresight and innovations being domains that can complement evidence in addressing societal challenges.

The more detailed findings from our thematic analysis of global-commission recommendations are presented in the annex at the end of this chapter (**section 7.3**). The findings start with the levers required to bring about change – a range of measures and mechanisms that could be considered in drafting recommendations such as the Evidence Commission's. Only some of these levers have been the subject of evidence syntheses about their effectiveness. The remaining findings are organized by the focus of each chapter in this report.

Some additional observations from our analysis of the global-commission reports include:

- one report used language that could be easily adapted (as we have done in our recommendations) as a next step needed to support
 evidence use: the UN Secretary-General should set out clear expectations for all parts of the UN system on evidence use, require
 relevant UN agencies and entities to outline institutional plans for how they will build internal capacities and step up their engagement
 on evidence use, and work to enhance member states' access to predictable technical support that is both evidence-based and that
 strengthens national evidence-support systems (High-level panel on internal displacement)
- another report used language that could be easily adapted (as we have done) as a caution in supporting evidence use: funders should
 align their support with country strategies for their evidence-support system, and avoid funding a multitude of small-scale or vertical
 initiatives (Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) era)
- one report used evidence to mean judicial evidence, not research evidence (High-level panel of legal experts on media freedom)
- one report addressed equity by emphasizing the importance of taking crosscutting (intersectional) relationships and hierarchies into account (High-level panel of experts on food security and nutrition)
- one report called for drawing on Indigenous and local knowledge in developing community-based strategies (High-level panel on international financial accountability, transparency and integrity for achieving the 2030 agenda)
- one report specific to COVID-19 was a missed opportunity to call for embedding the many forms of evidence, as well as evidencesupport systems, in all aspects of the proposed new global architecture for pandemic preparedness and response (Independent panel for pandemic preparedness and response)
- many reports included recommendations that invoke colours associated with their area of focus (e.g., green bonds for the environment, blue funds for water, and red list for threatened species) or to signal desired actions (e.g., stop doing things on a red list)
- some reports used formats for their recommendations that were helpful in drafting the Evidence Commission recommendations (Highlevel panel on internal displacement; Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the SDG era).

7.2 Evidence Commission recommendations

The preceding chapters provide the context, problems, potential solutions, and shared vocabulary that underpin the recommendations that follow. These chapters can be used by many people, not just those in a position to take action. However, here we focus on those best positioned to make the changes necessary to ensure that evidence is consistently used to address societal challenges. This includes primarily:

- multilateral organizations like the UN system, multilateral development banks, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the G20, and others
- national and sub-national government policymakers
- organizational leaders, professionals and citizens
- evidence intermediaries, including those who do not currently function as evidence intermediaries (such as journalists for the most part)
- evidence producers, particularly impact-oriented units engaged in producing and supporting the use of data analytics, modeling, evaluation, behavioural / implementation research, qualitative insights, evidence syntheses, technology assessment / cost-effectiveness analysis, and guidelines.

Here we provide an overview of the Evidence Commission's 24 recommendations in an infographic, and then we elaborate on them in the table below it. The eight most-important recommendations – 1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14, 15 and 24 – are bolded. Their importance stems from how they provide the framing [1, 4, 13], structures and processes [5, 14, 15], accountabilities [3] or funding [24] from which so many other actions can follow. As a reminder, we use the word 'evidence' in these recommendations (as in the rest of the report) to mean research evidence, and specifically all eight forms of evidence described in chapter 4 (data analytics, modeling, evaluation, behavioural / implementation research, qualitative insights, evidence syntheses, technology assessment / cost-effectiveness analysis, and guidelines). We use 'best evidence' to mean – in a given national (or sub-national) context – national (or sub-national) evidence drawn from the best available studies (i.e., what has been learned in that context) and global evidence drawn from the best available evidence syntheses (i.e., what has been learned from around the world, including how it varies by groups and contexts).



All who can take action

Two recommendations, one a **wake-up call** [1] and the second a proposed new standard for responding — to ask for evidence — any time a claim is made (e.g., this intervention works) [2]



Multilateral organizations

Two recommendations, one calling for a **resolution by multi-**lateral organizations [3] and the second a **landmark report** [4]



Government policymakers

Seven recommendations:

- four calling for fit-for-purpose national (and sub-national)
 evidence-support systems (and broader evidence infrastructures) [5], evidence-support staff and partnerships [6], science advisors [7], and advisory bodies [8]
- one calling for building a more diversified evidence base [9]
- two related to open science [10] and artificial intelligence [11]



Organizational leaders, professionals and citizens

Two recommendations:

- one calling for every significant organizational association, professional body and impact-oriented civil-society group to contribute meaningfully to its national (or sub-national) evidence-support system [12]
- one calling on citizens to consider the many ways they can use best evidence in everyday life, and to consider supporting politicians (and others) who enable this [13]



Evidence intermediaries

Three recommendations:

- one addressed to dedicated evidence intermediaries [14], and another addressed to news and social-media platforms [15]
- one more generally calling for the timely and responsive matching of best evidence to the question asked [16]



Evidence producers

Seven recommendations:

- five addressing their roles in: 1) filling gaps and adhering
 to standards [17]; 2) responding, referring or working with
 others [18]; 3) learning from evidence groups in other sectors
 [19]; 4) being prepared to pivot for global emergencies [20];
 and 5) making evidence understandable [21]
- one addressed specifically to academic institutions [22], and another addressed to journals [23]



Funders

One recommendation calling for **spending 'smarter,' and ideally more, on evidence support**, particularly on national (and sub-national) evidence-support systems and broader evidence infrastructures [24]

The Evidence Commission offers the following 24 recommendations. To make the eight most-important recommendations — (1), (3), (4), (5), (13), (14), (15) and (24) — easier to identify, they are preceded by a coloured circle containing the recommendation number and contained in a text box with an outer border of the same colour. For each recommendation we list the related sections of the report that provide the context, concepts or vocabulary that underpin it (in the order that they are introduced). Where relevant, we also list the global reports that are aligned with an Evidence Commission recommendation. The global-commission reports are typically aligned only with part of a recommendation or its rationale (e.g., being attentive to equity, investing in select forms of evidence such as evaluation, and holding decision-makers to account), whereas reports from other global entities tend to be more fulsomely aligned.



All decision-makers, evidence intermediaries and impact-oriented evidence producers



Wake-up call — Decision-makers, evidence intermediaries and impact-oriented evidence producers should recognize the scale and nature of the problem. Evidence – in all of the eight forms addressed in this report – is not being systematically used by government policymakers, organizational leaders, professionals and citizens to equitably address societal challenges. Instead decision-makers too often rely on inefficient (and sometimes harmful) informal feedback systems. The result is poor decisions that lead to failures to improve lives, avoidable harm to citizens, and wasted resources.

The cohort of decision-makers who were involved in COVID-19 decision-making, especially high-level government policymakers, now has direct experience with using many forms of evidence and with leveraging strategies that support its use. They also have direct experience with the challenges that can arise, leading evidence to be disregarded or misused. They may also have heard about the evidence supports available to their peers in other countries, such as living evidence syntheses, and wondered why they are not available or used in their own country. This cohort is uniquely well positioned to systematize what went well before and during the pandemic, and to build or improve their respective country's evidence-support system in ways that address what didn't go well.

Related sections: 4.13 Weaknesses in many COVID-19 evidence-support systems | 6.2 Equitably distributed capacities needed to support evidence use | 4.1 Forms in which evidence is typically encountered in decision-making | 4.7 Living evidence products



New standard of asking for evidence — All decision-makers should pay attention when a claim is being made and ask about the quality and applicability of the evidence on which the claim is based. Experts and others who make claims (e.g., this intervention works) may be relying on their personal experiences or a subset of the available evidence. They may be overconfident in what they think they know. Instead of relying on experts as their sole source of evidence, decision-makers can look to sources of best evidence, such as 'one-stop shops' containing evidence syntheses that have been organized using an appropriate taxonomy, and that have each been rated for quality, updatedness, and other decision-relevant factors. They can engage experts in other roles, such as working through what specific evidence syntheses mean for a given jurisdiction and challenging ways of thinking with different forms of evidence.

Related sections: 4.5 Distinguishing high- from low-quality evidence | 4.8 Best evidence versus other things (and how to get the most of other things) | 4.11 Misinformation and infodemics

Resolution by multilateral organizations — The UN, the G20 and other multilateral organizations should endorse a resolution that commits these multilateral organizations and their member states to broaden their conception of evidence, and to support evidence-related global public goods and equitably distributed capacities to produce, share and use evidence. The 'quintet of change' meant to support the UN's transformation from 2021 to 2025 explicitly includes data analytics and behavioural/implementation research, implicitly includes evaluation (under 'performance and results orientation'), and is silent on the other needed forms of evidence.(1) The UN and other multilateral organizations (including the global commissions they sponsor) continue to rely on an 'expert knows best' model. The reinvigoration of the UN Secretary-General Scientific Advisory Board provides an opportunity to do better.(2) Much can be learned from the organizations that have pioneered more systematic and transparent approaches to using evidence, such as the World Health Organization's (WHO) Guidelines Review Committee (that develops normative guidance) and the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

Related sections: **4.2** Definitions of forms in which evidence is typically encountered | **6.1** Global public goods needed to support evidence use | **6.2** Equitably distributed capacities needed to support evidence use | **5.5** UN system entities' use of evidence syntheses in their work | **7.1** Insights from an analysis of global-commission recommendations | **Aligned report**: (3)

4

Landmark report — The World Bank should dedicate an upcoming World Development Report to providing the design of the evidence architecture needed globally, regionally and nationally, including the required investments in evidence-related global public goods and in equitably distributed capacities to produce, share and use evidence. The World Bank's steps towards being the 'knowledge bank' have been too tentative. Their work to date emphasizes some forms of evidence (e.g., data analytics) and largely disregards others (e.g., evidence synthesis). A landmark report can establish a common language about evidence and evidence use that everybody — decision-makers, evidence intermediaries and impact-oriented evidence producers — can use. It can also lay out the many steps involved in doing better, including the World Bank's role, as well as the roles of its global partnerships and of other UN agencies, in supporting evidence-related global public goods like evidence syntheses.

Related sections: 6.1 Global public goods needed to support evidence use | 6.2 Equitably distributed capacities needed to support evidence use | 1.6 Timeline of key developments in using evidence to address societal challenges | Aligned report: (4)



Government policymakers



National (and sub-national) evidence-support systems — Every national (and sub-national) government should review their existing evidence-support system (and broader evidence infrastructure), fill the gaps both internally and through partnerships, and report publicly on their progress. For example, many governments do not have an evidence-support coordination office, a behavioural-insights unit, an evidence-use handbook and related metrics, and other features of an ideal evidence-support system (as described in section 4.14). Each government can also review their 'mainstream' structures and processes (e.g., budgeting, planning, monitoring and auditing) to formalize the 'ways in' for evidence. Without the right evidence-support system, staff will not have the capacity, opportunity and motivation to use evidence in government policymaking.

Some governments may choose to formalize their effects in legislation, like the U.S. Foundations for Evidence-Based Policymaking Act. Many governments can also support the use of evidence in the everyday work of organizational leaders and professionals, and in the everyday lives of citizens, and can explicitly respect Indigenous rights and ways of knowing in their efforts.

Related sections: 4.14 Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | 3.3 Government policymakers and the context for their use of evidence | 4.10 Indigenous rights and ways of knowing | Aligned report: (3)

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Staff, partnerships and other resources — Government policymakers should ensure that the executive and legislative branches of government have access to the staff, partnerships and other resources needed for evidence support. Policy, program, technical and library staff involved in supporting government policymakers (i.e., the staff who provide the 'absorptive capacity' for evidence in government) need to keep abreast of developments in using evidence. They need to have partnerships (which can include technical-assistance arrangements) with specialized evidence producers and intermediaries that complement their in-house capacities, and the other resources needed to apply these capacities (e.g., online document access).

Related sections: **3.3** Government policymakers and the context for their use of evidence | **5.3** Strategies used by evidence intermediaries | **6.2** Equitably distributed capacities needed to support evidence use | Aligned reports: (3-5)

7

Science advisors — Government policymakers should select their science advisors based on their ability to find, contextualize and communicate diverse forms of evidence, and to sustain a high-performing evidence-support system. Many science advisors are instead selected based on their past scientific contributions or their relationships with senior government officials. Just like policy and other staff, science advisors need to keep abreast of the many developments in using evidence. Such evidence includes the eight forms of evidence discussed in this report, evidence from across the health, natural and social sciences, and evidence from across sectors. Many of these forms of evidence are now available as living evidence products.

Related sections: 3.3 Government policymakers and the context for their use of evidence | 4.14 Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | 4.2 Definitions of forms in which evidence is typically encountered | 4.7 Living evidence products

8

Advisory bodies — **Government policymakers should hold advisory bodies to higher standards in their use of evidence.** Many advisory bodies do not use a combination of the best local evidence (e.g., data analytics from the national or sub-national level) and syntheses of the best evidence globally, or match the right form of evidence to the right decision-related question. They typically do not use robust deliberative processes, including giving voice to the individuals who can bring an equity perspective to interpreting what the evidence means for particular groups. They also do not typically distinguish between their recommendations that are based on best evidence from those that are not.

Related sections: 4.4 Interplay of local and global evidence | 4.3 Matching decision-related questions to forms of evidence | 1.7 Equity considerations | 4.5 Distinguishing high-from low-quality evidence

9

Building a more diversified evidence base — Government policymakers should complement their general support for data collection and sharing with specific support for a more diversified evidence base that can inform decision-making in equity-sensitive ways. Global commission reports consistently trumpet the value of 'big data.' They are largely silent on what constitutes robust data analytics, the types of questions data analytics can answer, and the many other forms of evidence needed to answer questions that data analytics can't answer. They are also largely silent on the need to better use the stock of existing evidence in all its forms, to build a diversified evidence base through all of their proposed investments, and to improve the signal-to-noise ratio in the sharing of both existing and new evidence.

Related sections: 7.1 Insights from an analysis of global-commission recommendations | 4.3 Matching decision-related questions to forms of evidence | 4.5 Distinguishing high- from low-quality evidence | 1.7 Equity considerations | Aligned reports: (4; 6-13)



Open science — Government policymakers should incentivize open science as a key enabler for using evidence in decision-making. Sharing anonymized data, physical samples, and software (like that used in modeling) — while ensuring appropriate standards are in place to ensure data privacy — makes possible many types of data analytics and many evaluations. Addressing the factors that lead publicly funded researchers to place global public goods like evidence syntheses behind publisher 'pay walls' will help decision-makers and evidence intermediaries, as well as other evidence producers, to access the evidence they need.

Related sections: 6.1 Global public goods needed to support evidence use Aligned reports: (14)

Artificial intelligence — Government policymakers should ensure that regulatory regimes and ongoing validation schemes for artificial intelligence (AI) optimize AI's benefits for evidence-support systems and minimize its harms.

Machine learning and other approaches have created substantial new opportunities in data analytics, evidence synthesis, and other forms of evidence, but also have substantial potential to do harm. For example, these approaches may inadvertently perpetuate or increase the risk of discrimination. Policymakers can also work with researchers to ensure these analytical methods are reported transparently, replicated judiciously, and interpreted and used appropriately. In particular, the ability to draw causal inferences is often overestimated, leading to inappropriate interpretations and use in decision-making.

Related section: 4.7 Living evidence products | Aligned report: (15)



Organizational leaders, professionals and citizens



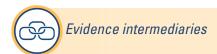
Contributions from organizational associations, professional bodies and civil-society groups — Every significant organizational association, professional body and impact-oriented civil-society group should review its contributions to its national (or subnational) evidence-support system (and broader evidence infrastructure), fill the gaps both internally and through partnerships, and report to its members on their progress. Most organizations and virtually all professionals and citizens need to be able to rely on an evidence-support system that meets their needs while addressing conflicts of interest and avoiding 'spin.' Organizational associations (such as those representing and supporting school boards) and professional bodies (such as those representing and supporting social workers) can become key parts of a national (and sub-national) evidence-support system. Civil-society groups can hold accountable all of these groups for how they support the use of evidence to address societal challenges.

Related sections: **3.4** Organizational leaders and the context for their use of evidence | **3.5** Professionals and the context for their use of evidence | **3.6** Citizens and the context for their use of evidence | **4.14** Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | Aligned reports: (11; 16; 17)



Evidence in everyday life — Citizens should consider making decisions about their and their families' well-being based on best evidence; spending their money on products and services that are backed by best evidence; volunteering their time and donating money to initiatives that use evidence to make decisions about what they do and how they do it; and supporting politicians who commit to using best evidence to address societal challenges and who commit (along with others) to supporting the use of evidence in everyday life. Government policymakers, among others, need to ensure that citizens have access to best evidence, evidence-checked claims, and simple-to-use evidence-backed resources and websites to make informed choices at all times, not just during global crises. They also need to help build citizens' media and information literacy, provide the transparency needed for citizens to know when decisions, services and initiatives are based on best evidence, and more generally create a culture where evidence is understood, valued and used.

Related sections: 3.6 Citizens and the context for their use of evidence | 4.11 Misinformation and infodemics | Aligned reports: (3; 5; 10; 16; 18; 19)



Dedicated evidence intermediaries — Dedicated evidence intermediaries should step forward to fill gaps left by government, provide continuity if staff turn-over in government is frequent, and leverage strong connections to global networks. Evidence intermediaries work 'in between' decision-makers and evidence producers, supporting the former with best evidence and the latter with insights and opportunities for making an impact with evidence. As with government science advisors, intermediaries need to be able to find and communicate diverse forms of evidence and to sustain (at least a part of) a high-performing evidence-support system. COVID-19 has shown — in some countries at some times — the value of intermediaries partnering with community leaders to engage those who may have been ill-served in the past by evidence that was inappropriately generated, shared or used.

Related sections: **5.1** Types of evidence intermediaries | **5.3** Strategies used by evidence intermediaries | **4.2** Definitions of forms in which evidence is typically encountered | **4.14** Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | **1.7** Equity considerations | Aligned reports: (8; 20)

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News and social-media platforms — News and social-media platforms should build relationships with dedicated evidence intermediaries who can help leverage sources of best evidence, and with evidence producers who can help communicate evidence effectively, as well as ensure their algorithms present best evidence and combat misinformation. Journalists and fact checkers need to become familiar with evidence syntheses and use them to ask specific questions about any evidence they are presented with and any 'other things' that may be offered as a substitute for best evidence. Familiarity with evidence syntheses includes: the importance of contextualizing and situating new studies in a broader body of evidence; the rationale for preferring syntheses of high-quality studies over single, small, poorly executed studies; the concept of scientific uncertainty; the evolving nature of evidence and how this relates to emerging and replacement guidance; the importance and role of bias and conflict of interest; and the importance of reporting that avoids 'spin.'

Related sections: **5.1** Types of evidence intermediaries | **4.4** Interplay of local and global evidence | **4.8** Best evidence versus other things (and how to get the most of other things) | **4.11** Misinformation and infodemics | Aligned reports: (21; 22)

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Timely and responsive matching of best evidence to the question asked — All evidence intermediaries should – in a timely and responsive way – support the use of best evidence to answer the question being asked (or that should be asked given the decision-maker's area of interest). Some forms of evidence can help to answer a question about a problem (e.g., data analytics); others may help to answer a question about options to address a problem or about an implementation strategy (e.g., evaluation of benefits, harms and costs). Syntheses of the best evidence globally need to be complemented with the best local evidence, as well as by other forms of analysis (e.g., policy, systems and political analysis) that can help understand the contextual factors that influence whether and how evidence is used. Innovative new evidence products will be needed to profile a mix of best evidence.

Related sections: 4.3 Matching decision-related questions to forms of evidence | 4.4 Interplay of local and global evidence





Filling gaps and adhering to standards — Evidence groups should anticipate and fill gaps in, and adhere to standards for, their respective forms of evidence. Too many priority topics have no available evidence synthesis, and too many topics have too many available evidence syntheses. Many evidence syntheses are of low quality and out-of-date. This is true for COVID-19 nearly two years into the global pandemic.

Related sections: 4.6 Coverage, quality and recency of evidence syntheses | 4.5 Distinguishing high- from low-quality evidence | Aligned reports: (3; 23)



Responding, referring or working with others — Evidence groups should play to their comparative advantages, collaborate with groups that have complementary comparative advantages, and help to build a better evidence-support system in their country and a better global evidence architecture. Evidence groups can respond to the types of questions that best match the forms of evidence they produce. They can refer other questions to other groups. They can also adopt a collective-impact orientation and work collaboratively with other groups to produce more integrative evidence products. These evidence products can combine evidence in the many forms described in this report, evidence from across the health, natural and social sciences, and evidence from across sectors. Evidence groups can bring judgement, humility and empathy to all they do, and encourage those sharing and using evidence to do the same.

Related sections: 4.3 Matching decision-related questions to forms of evidence | 4.14 Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | 6.1 Global public goods needed to support evidence use | 6.2 Equitably distributed capacities needed to support evidence use | Aligned report: (3)



Learning from evidence groups in other sectors — Evidence groups should be open to adapting innovations from other sectors. Cochrane has pioneered many approaches to synthesizing studies about what works in health, including living evidence syntheses. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has pioneered many approaches to modeling human-induced climate change over long time horizons. Cochrane and the IPCC can learn from one another, and others can learn from them.

Related sections: 4.4 Interplay of local and global evidence | 4.7 Living evidence products



Being prepared to pivot for global emergencies — Evidence groups should ensure they have the agility to pivot to new topics when global emergencies strike. Many global commissions about COVID-19 make this case for foundational research on vaccines, diagnostics and therapeutics. They are silent on the need to do this for the many forms of evidence that will determine whether these products get to the people who need them. Evidence groups focused on these broader questions will inevitably return to their existing areas of focus, but need to be prepared to pivot back to focus on a pandemic or another global emergency. Global commissions are also silent on the need to have the protocols for randomized-controlled trials and other study designs, as well as national evidence-support systems and a broader global evidence architecture, 'ready to go' or already in use.

Related sections: 7.1 Insights from an analysis of global-commission recommendations | 4.14 Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure

Making evidence understandable — Evidence groups should prepare 'derivative products' that communicate what we know (and with what certainty we know it) in ways that make sense to their target audiences. Because quality standards don't exist for modeling in the way they do for other forms of evidence, modelers need to publicly share enough detail about their model to allow others to assess it (e.g., structure of the model, data used, consistency, and their software or tool). Communication considerations include the informational needs of decision-makers, formats that make it easy to grasp the key messages and to dig deeper if there's interest (sometimes called graded entry), plain-language wording, and translation into other languages.

Related sections: 4.5 Distinguishing high- from low-quality evidence | 5.3 Strategies used by evidence intermediaries | Aligned report: (24)

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Academic institutions' responsibilities — Academic institutions, and their public funders, should incentivize faculty members to contribute to their national (or sub-national) evidence-support system and to evidence-related global public goods.

Existing incentives tend to reward only peer-reviewed grants and publications, as well as to be first to publish on a topic rather than contributing to more definitive studies. Some countries are using periodic institution-assessment exercises to drive greater attention to evidence impact (e.g., UK's Research Excellence Framework). Additional incentives can reward the work needed to achieve impact (e.g., engagement with and responsiveness to decision-makers) and to support best evidence (e.g., prioritizing quality over quantity of publications and communicating insights from bodies of evidence rather than their own single studies). Interest in visibility to funders and philanthropists encourages a focus on media releases and media interviews for single studies rather than on best evidence that is 'ready for prime time.'

Related sections: **5.4** Conditions that can help and hinder evidence intermediaries | **4.14** Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | **6.1** Global public goods needed to support evidence use | **4.5** Distinguishing high- from low-quality evidence | **4.8** Best evidence versus other things (and how to get the most of other things)

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Journals' responsibilities — Journal publishers should improve the ways in which they support the use of best evidence.

Journals can mandate the use of reporting guidance and critical-appraisal checklists by reviewers, the placement of single studies in the context of evidence syntheses, and the sharing of anonymized study data. They can also commit to publishing non-positive research reports and replication studies, avoiding 'spin,' and acting quickly when apprised of scientific misconduct. Journals need to find a timely way to publish updates to living evidence products. Journals also need to ensure that publication delays never hinder the public sharing of evidence that is urgently needed for decision-making (and reciprocally that public sharing does not preclude later publication in a journal).

Related sections: 5.4 Conditions that can help and hinder evidence intermediaries | 4.5 Distinguishing high- from low-quality evidence | 4.4 Interplay of local and global evidence | 6.1 Global public goods needed to support evidence use



Funders



Funding — Governments, foundations and other funders should spend 'smarter,' and ideally more, on evidence support. They can commit to ensuring that 1% of funding is allocated to national (and sub-national) evidence infrastructures (with a reasonable share to the evidence-support system and evidence-implementation system, as described in **section 4.14**), and they can monitor adherence to standards. They can ensure that 10% of this funding is allocated to evidence-related global public goods if this responsibility is not taken up by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and other UN agencies. High-income country governments and global funders can dedicate 1% of their international-development funding to equitably distributed capacities for evidence use.

Related sections: **4.14** Features of an ideal national evidence infrastructure | **6.1** Global public goods needed to support evidence use | **6.2** Equitably distributed capacities needed to support evidence use | **Aligned report**: (3)

As Nick Hart from the Bipartisan Policy Center noted (in a podcast series about the US Commission on Evidence-based Policymaking, and the Evidence Act and executive memos that followed it), there should be bipartisan support for building and using evidence even if there will frequently not be bipartisan agreement about what the evidence says and what it means for a specific context.(25)

Now is the time to take action. Decision-makers around the world – government policymakers, organizational leaders, professionals and citizens – need the best evidence to address societal challenges. To ensure they have what they need, we should not just prepare for the next global emergency and then watch those preparations be dismantled as the years pass and we move on to other challenges. The world needs an agile, methodologically strong and unbiased infrastructure that intersects with those who bring content knowledge specific to any given societal challenge. We need global public goods and equitably distributed capacities to produce, share and use best evidence. We need capacity, opportunity and motivation on the one hand, and judgement, humility and empathy on the other.



Government policymaker, Andrew Leigh

Seasoned politician bringing economics and legal training to public-policy writing and debate

Participating in the preparation of this report and in the discussions among commissioners has shifted my thinking about what I can do personally, what countries like my own need to do, and what I'd like to see multilateral organizations do.

On a personal level, **section 4.8** – best evidence versus other things – is my favourite section. There is so much wise advice here about how to get more from the 'other things' that elected officials like me are regularly presented with, such as a single preprint, an expert with an opinion, a panel of experts offering recommendations, and a jurisdictional scan. A few years ago, I wrote a book on randomized trials. Now, after working on this report, I'm even more passionate about the need for randomized policy evaluations. One of the strengths of trials is that they're easy to explain to citizens. They help us get around citizens' concerns about 'technocracy,' in which regular people feel they're being scammed through decision-making processes they don't understand. Trust in government isn't just about making the right decisions; it's about making decisions that citizens perceive to be right.

Evaluation isn't an elite issue. Evidence is for everyone. Our report offers suggestions to individuals, governments, and non-governmental organizations. If you're an individual looking at the evidence on quitting smoking or losing weight, you should look at evidence syntheses, not single studies. If you're a journalist writing about health, become a regular visitor to Cochrane, where you'll find the distilled evidence on thousands of topics. For media outlets reporting on social policy, the Campbell Collaboration offers the same service. Our report proposes that governments become better at using evidence in their decisions, and build the evidence base through rigorous evaluations. International organizations should place greater reliance on evidence, and the World Bank should prepare a landmark report on best-practice use of evidence.

International organizations differ markedly in their use of evidence. Reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change use a highly rigorous approach to selecting and grading evidence on global warming and its consequences. Other global bodies are less systematic in their use of evidence, frequently relying on single studies, citing only expert opinion when a substantial body of peer-reviewed literature exists, or extrapolating evidence across very different contexts. This is not a matter of international bodies wanting to misrepresent the science – these organizations are keen to improve, and outside experts can help them do so by assessing reports against each body's published policy on how to use evidence. As described in **section 5.5**, 'naming and shaming' had a tremendously positive impact on the World Health Organization's use of evidence, starting in 2007. Other parts of the UN system need to follow WHO's lead.

Among philanthropic organizations, there is a growing recognition that high-quality evaluation can create a virtuous cycle: allowing ineffective programs to be wound down and effective programs to be scaled up. The fast-growing effective-altruism movement is demanding that charities produce rigorous evidence of their impact. For example, GiveWell.org estimates that two of its top-rated charities — the Against Malaria Foundation and the Malaria Consortium — each save a life for every additional US\$4,500 that they spend on their programs. This is a powerful incentive for donors to support these charities. More evidence of direct impact from other charities could help to spur a philanthropic race to the top.

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7.3 Annex to section 7.1 – Detailed findings from the analysis of global-commission recommendations

Domain	Key findings
Levers to bring about change	 Many global commissions called for broad measures and mechanisms required to stimulate change, including: Global summit-endorsed strategic framework – to establish a shared vocabulary and goals and to make strategic choices about near-and long-term priorities – and an accompanying program of action and accountability framework (or a UN Special Assembly), as well as regional summit-endorsed implementation plans Voluntary measures, such as a code of practice, standards, guidelines, procedures, toolkits and 'policy dialogues' Monitoring and improvement approaches, such as indicators, benchmarks, targets, functional expenditure reviews, independent assessments, and profiling of high performers Planning mechanisms, such as multi-sector budgeting and program planning Technical and financial assistance, and partnership arrangements, that can be rapidly deployed when windows of opportunity open or crises hit Funding mechanisms, such as funding for implementation or scale-up, funding that is conditional on activities or outcomes (i.e., incentives), a greater relative share of existing funding commitments, and a centralized mechanism for individual giving New focal points within or involving existing institutions, such as a UN special representative (and possibly regional representatives and national envoys), a UN intergovernmental committee or inter-agency task force, a high-level body, and a global observatory, as well as complementary groups like a 'coalition of champions' Legally binding treaties, such as a framework conventions Elements drawn from a larger strategy to support country action, such as a framework, implementation toolkit, selecting and building momentum in countries, creating national commitments and plans, leveraging specialized institutions, sharing best practices, and tracking progress for climate action, such as clear global goals, a mechanism f
Chapter 2: Nature of societal challenges	 Some global commissions called for framing a societal challenge in ways that are more likely to generate action e.g., frame as a complex-adaptive systems problem (High-level panel for a sustainable ocean economy) e.g., re-frame the SDGs as being for and about children, and greenhouse gas emissions as a threat to their future (WHO-UNICEF-Lancet Commission on a future for the world's children) e.g., conceptualize adolescent health more comprehensively so adolescents are centrally placed in existing and emerging agendas, as well as argue for the age of 'second chances' and the opportunity for 'triple dividends' (Lancet Commission on adolescent health and well-being) e.g., frame the challenge in syndemic and systems terms to show the inherent connectedness and systemic origins, to justify platforms for collaborative work, and to drive attention to actions that are double-duty and triple-duty (Lancet Commission on the global syndemic of obesity, undernutrition, and climate change) Some global commissions called for ways of addressing societal challenges so the actions are more likely to generate impacts e.g., approach the challenge with an essential, integrated package of interventions (Guttmacher-Lancet commission on sexual and reproductive health and rights for all) e.g., plan and sequence investments to increase benefits from interlinkages across sectors (High-level panel on water) e.g., invest in great buys, good buys, and promising buys as determined by best evidence (Global education evidence advisory panel) e.g., frame as a complex-adaptive systems problem requiring a mix of top-down and bottom-up approaches that can accommodate feedback loops and support adaptation and learning (High-level panel for a sustainable ocean economy)

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Chapter 3: Decisions and decisionmakers: Demand for evidence

- Many global commission recommendations called for government policymakers to use specific policy instruments to address a
 societal challenge, although typically they were silent about how policymakers can or should use evidence in selecting or applying
 these policy instruments
 - e.g., information and education instruments, such as public reporting on progress and about impacts on health and the
 environmental (Global ocean commission) and on equity (e.g., Global commission on adaptation), as well as education to build
 various types of literacy (e.g., High level panel of experts on food security and nutrition) and digital platforms to deliver the
 education or campaigns (WHO independent high-level commission on noncommunicable diseases)
 - e.g., voluntary instruments, such as frameworks, guidelines (e.g., Global task force on cholera control), toolkits, partnerships with specialized institutions, and networks
 - e.g., economic instruments such as public expenditure, contracts, externality pricing and true-cost accounting (Food and land use coalition)
 - e.g., legal instruments, such as regulations to address standards (Global commission on the economy and climate), procurement (Global commission on internet governance), and disclosures of conflicts of interest and other factors (High level panel on access to medicines)
- Some global commission recommendations called for government policymakers to make use of specific structures and processes, although again typically they were silent about how policymakers can or should use evidence in selecting or applying these policy instruments
 - e.g., cross-sectoral decision-making mechanisms (Global commission for urgent action on energy efficiency) and initiatives to support policy coherence (Global commission on the future of work)
 - e.g., participatory policymaking processes (3-D Commission on health determinants, data, and decision-making)
 - e.g., independent audit and ombudsman offices (Lancet Commission on the global syndemic of obesity, undernutrition, and climate change)
 - o e.g., national plans
- Fewer global commissions called for organizational leaders especially business leaders to use specific approaches to address
 a societal challenge, and when they did they were again typically silent about how leaders can or should use evidence in selecting or
 applying these approaches
 - e.g., commitment to principles such as the UN Global Compact principles and UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Business and sustainable development commission) and the expanded environmental, social and corporate governance (ESG) principles (Global high level panel on water and peace)
 - e.g., use of innovative financial tools, such as externality pricing (i.e., pricing that reflects environmental and social externalities), blended-finance tools to support SDG investments (i.e., rewarding the achievement of environmental and social impacts alongside financial returns), sustainability-linked debt (i.e., pricing contingent on achievement of sustainability targets), and paying for environmental protection (payments for services that protect and manage nature) (Business and sustainable development commission), as well as public-private partnerships to lower the risk of investing (High level panel on internal displacement)
 - e.g., harnessing internal mechanisms, such as self-audits, setting hiring targets, and providing incentives to managers through
 performance reviews and compensation tied to targets (High level panel on women's economic empowerment)
- One global commission called for an expectation that organizational leaders will "support sound science and make use of the results in setting science-based targets in their sector roadmaps" (Business and sustainable development commission)
- Few global commissions called for **professionals** to address societal challenges independently of their role in governments and organizations, although one called on professionals to promote evidence-based approaches (Global commission on drug policy)
- Few global commissions called for **citizens** to play a more active role in addressing societal challenges
 - e.g., inform themselves on their rights and entitlements, communicate their needs and preferences to service providers, and have both health and data literacy (Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the SDG era)
 - e.g., encourage fellow citizens acting as opinion leaders to play their role responsibly, and hold decision-makers to account (Global commission on drug policy)
 - o e.g., develop the capacity to engage in policymaking (Global high level panel on water and peace)
- A few global commissions noted the roles that others can play in supporting citizens, including journalists (High level panel on internal displacement) and professionals like teachers, police officers, community workers, and health professionals (Lancet Commission on adolescent health and wellbeing)
- One global commission called for citizens to "press for greater social accountability through citizen report cards, community
 monitoring, social audits, participatory budgeting, citizen charters, and health committees" (Lancet Commission on high-quality health
 systems in the SDG era)



Chapter 4: Studies, syntheses and guidelines: Supply of evidence

- Many global-commission recommendations called for increasing data collection and sharing, which are a foundation for data analytics as a form of evidence, but:
 - gave little attention to the problem of parsimony in what's collected, the quality of the data and data analytics, and timeliness in sharing (with an exception in the Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the SDG era)
 - appeared to assume that robust data analytics will be undertaken and then presented in ways that can inform decision-making and support accountability, including by being attentive to equity considerations
 - didn't clarify the types of questions that data analytics can best answer or the forms of evidence that can answer the other types of questions needed to make decisions
- Some of these global-commission recommendations called for specific actions related to increasing data collection and sharing, and to balancing the benefits and harms of using artificial intelligence (although not necessarily in the context of data analytics)
 - o e.g., harmonizing metrics, establishing monitoring systems, and sharing open-access data (Global commission on adaptation)
 - e.g., establishing a global data-sharing platform (Global ocean commission and Global zero) and a global observatory that can support cross-national comparisons (High-level panel of experts on food security and nutrition and UCL—Lancet Commission on migration and health)
 - e.g., regulating artificial intelligence (Global commission on the future of work) and ensuring it is designed in ways that enable
 actions to be explained and humans to be accountable for these actions (High-level panel on digital cooperation)
- When other forms of evidence were addressed, recommendations tended to call for increasing the flow of **new evidence**, such as new evaluations (G20 high-level independent panel on financing the global commons for pandemic preparedness and response), and not to call for
 - o improving the signal-to-noise ratio in the flow of such evidence
 - o better using the stock of existing evidence
 - o combining multiple forms of evidence
- · Some global commissions called for evaluations
 - e.g., evaluating what works (Education commission; Global commission on adaptation; WHO-UNICEF-Lancet Commission on
 a future for the world's children; Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the SDG era; Lancet Commission on
 adolescent health and well-being; and Lancet Commission on women and cardiovascular disease)
 - e.g., evaluating impacts across multiple domains (e.g., health, economic and environmental impacts) and time horizons (3-D Commission on health determinants, data, and decision-making)
 - e.g., pre-approving trial designs in preparation for health emergencies (Commission on a global health risk framework for the future) and having regional capacity for trials (Independent panel for pandemic preparedness and response)
 - e.g., evaluating products such as vaccines, diagnostics and therapeutics (Global health crises task force), albeit not the systemarrangements and implementation strategies that can get the right products to the people who need them
- Few global commissions called for **behavioural/implementation research**
 - e.g., leveraging behavioural insights and behavioural economics (Global commission for urgent action on energy efficiency;
 Global commission on the economy and climate)
 - e.g., using campaigns and other strategies to change behaviours such as food labeling (Champions 12.3), albeit with no explicit mention of the need for behavioural / implementation research
- Even fewer global commissions called for other forms of evidence, such as:
 - o modeling (Champions 12.3 and Lancet Commission on the global syndemic of obesity, undernutrition, and climate change)
 - o qualitative insights, in this case social-sciences research to support community engagement (Global health crises task force)
 - evidence syntheses, in this case about great buys, good buys, and promising but limited evidence (Global education evidence advisory panel)
 - o guidelines, in this case evidence-based guidelines about the 'scheduling' of (illicit) drugs (Global commission on drug policy)
- One global commission called for the use of many forms of evidence (High-level panel of experts on food security and nutrition), while
 another called for mandatory publication of study protocols and findings, and mandatory sharing of anonymized individual patient
 data (High-level panel on access to medicines)



Chapter 5: Role of evidence intermediaries

- Many global commissions called for the UN system, including its regional and country offices, to better harness its normative role
 (e.g., guidelines) and its advisory role (e.g., technical assistance to its member states), although evidence was rarely made explicit as
 a necessary underpinning of such roles (e.g., WHO-UNICEF-Lancet Commission on a future for the world's children)
- Some global commissions called for greater support to other types of evidence intermediaries, such as agriculture extension services that support farmers (Champions 12.3)
- Some global commissions called for the types of **strategies** that can be used by evidence intermediaries, although evidence was rarely made explicit as the focus of such strategies
 - e.g., sharing examples of outcomes and impacts achieved, such as through peer-to-peer education (Global commission on adaptation), mentorship (High-level panel of experts on food security and nutrition and (Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the SDG era), and communities of interest (Global commission on the stability of cyberspace)
 - e.g., auditing structures, processes and outputs to identify opportunities to improve (High-level panel for a sustainable ocean
 economy)
 - e.g., packaging information in understandable ways, with additional support to groups that are often marginalized, disadvantaged, and subject to discrimination (Guttmacher-Lancet Commission on sexual and reproductive health and rights for all)
 - e.g., combatting mis- and dis-information online, through fact-checking and through other efforts to counter claims that are not fact-based (UCL-Lancet Commission on migration and health)
 - o e.g., maintaining platforms to share knowledge (High-level panel on internal displacement)
 - e.g., maintaining help desks to respond rapidly to requests (Highlevel panel on digital cooperation)
 - e.g., building capacity among decision-makers (Global high-level panel on water and peace), including different numeric and other types of literacy (Independent panel for pandemic preparedness and response)
 - o e.g., convening national dialogues (Global commission on adaptation; High-level panel on water)
- One global commission called for separating the provision of advice from inputs (e.g., seeds) to strengthen the incentive for recommending approaches that reduce input costs and promote other goals (Food and land-use coalition)
- Another global commission called for holding leaders accountable for their collective-impact commitments, which will be necessary
 for evidence intermediaries working as part of a high-performing evidence-support system (High-level panel for a sustainable ocean
 economy)



Chapter 6: Need for global public goods and equitably distributed capacities

- Some global commissions called for specific institutions to play a key role with respect to **global public goods** (e.g., World Bank, WHO, and the International Organization for Standardization, or ISO), although none addressed evidence-related global public goods.
 - e.g., establish a new mandate and financing commitment for the World Bank, aimed at promoting development-related global public goods (High-level panel on the future of multilateral development banking)
 - e.g., articulate WHO's role with global public goods to support pandemic preparedness and response (Independent panel for pandemic preparedness and response)
 - e.g., encourage the ISO to develop and adopt an international standard (High-level panel on water)
- Some global commissions called for global public goods that could be relevant to evidence-related goods
 - e.g., internet (Global commission on internet governance)
 - e.g., primary and secondary education, communication infrastructure, new quality measures, and a global repository of such measures (Lancet Commission on high-quality health systems in the SDG era)
- Other global commissions called for measures that can be considered global public goods even if they didn't use the language
 explicitly and that could be relevant to evidence-related goods
 - o e.g., convergence of regulatory processes and standards (Commission on a global health-risk framework for the future)
 - e.g., harmonizing standards (Global commission for urgent action on energy efficiency)
 - e.g., voluntary standards (Food and land-use coalition)
 - e.g., common digital learning platforms with certification of content appropriate for curricula and labour markets, as well as common skills-accreditation systems that support portability (Education commission)
 - o e.g., digital platforms for risk-factor screening (Lancet Commission on women and cardiovascular disease)
- Some global commissions called for **distributed capacities**, although none addressed an appropriate division of labour (e.g., what the UN system, its regional offices and its country offices can each best do)
 - e.g., to benefit from the internet open standards, public-access spots, affordable devices, accommodations for refugees and those with disabilities, and access metrics, as well as distributed capacities to govern, develop and use the internet safely (Global commission on internet governance)
 - e.g., to implement the International Health Regulations self-assessments, periodic external assessments, public discussion of
 these assessments at the World Health Assembly, a costed approach to implementation supports, and a transition to a broader
 focus on health-system strengthening as capacities mature (Global health crises task force)
- Other global commissions called for a central body to support capacity building (Global commission on the stability of cyberspace) and
 for thinking in terms of learning pathways and lifelong learning (High-level commission on health employment and economic growth)



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