WHAT DO AMERICANS THINK OF THEIR LEADERS? | PAGE 48

CENTER FOR PUBLIC LEADERSHIP ✦ FALL 2005 VOL. 3 NO. 1

COMPASS

Present at the Creation

WARREN BENNIS AND THE RISE OF LEADERSHIP STUDIES

PLUS

Share Our Strength founder Bill Shore on Social Enterprise

The Mixed Legacy of John Paul II

Jeffrey Sachs and the Campaign to End Poverty

How to Plan for a Multisector Career

JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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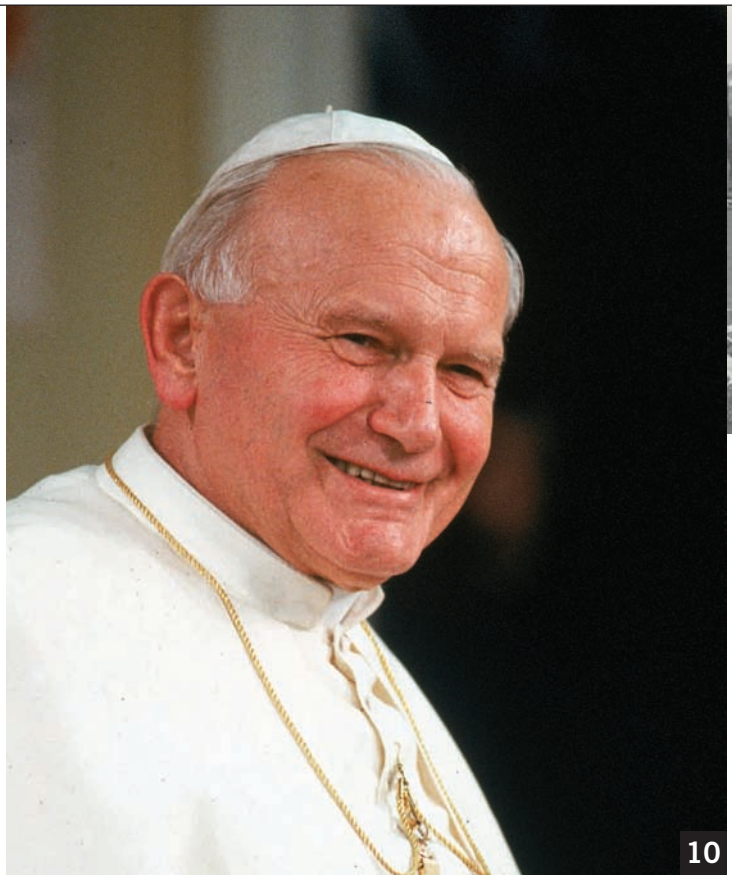

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What Lies Beneath

SEPTEMBER 11, 2005: a coffin floats in the post-Katrina floodwaters that engulfed New Orleans.

"The past is not dead," wrote William Faulkner. "In fact, it's not even past." That quotation floated up into my consciousness during the final weeks of putting this fall's issue together. Figuring out how to capitalize on the past without being enslaved by it is the essence of good leadership. Denial or ignorance of what has gone before can doom you as a leader just as easily as an obsessive devotion to the past. So at inflection points in an organization's life, leaders should continually be asking: What is worth preserving from our history, and what is expendable? What needs to be buried, and what should be resurrected?

Warren Bennis, featured on the cover, has been asking these questions for more than 50 years, not only as a student of leadership and management, but also as a university president and mentor to two generations of leaders. A number of the other articles in the current issue highlight leaders wrestling with the same questions—whether it's Mary Jo Bane's assessment of Pope John Paul II's legacy or Nick Kotz's analysis, in this year that marks the 40th anniversary of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, of the underappreciated partnership between Lyndon Baines Johnson and Martin Luther King Jr. In a similar vein, "Breaking with Convention" looks at the difficulties involved in resurrecting a painful past while simultaneously mounting an artistically and commercially successful venture.

But this fall, nowhere did the questions of preserving and discarding have more resonance than in the swirling debates set in motion by hurricanes Katrina and Rita. What prior decisions exacerbated the devastation? Moving forward, which systems and policies should be replaced? No doubt we will be returning to questions raised by the recovery effort, but for now we've assembled a few preliminary reflections to begin this issue.

—Loren Gary

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"Katrita's" Wake

What are the lessons for those charged with anticipating, preparing for, and mobilizing the response to major crises? Four perspectives on the recent hurricanes and their aftermath.

Leadership Decisions in Unprecedented Times

Since 9/11, the country has invested enormous resources and effort to develop systems, communication protocols, and a decision-making apparatus to ensure a quick and effective response to a massive emergency. Hurricanes Katrina and Rita were the first real tests of the National Response Plan, a uniform system of coordinated activity specifically designed to manage disasters of this magnitude.

Ten days after Katrina hit, and in a second visit two days before Rita arrived, I had the opportunity to observe the system in practice, speak with people serving in leadership positions, and survey the horrific damage. I saw myriad problems as well as numerous successes in the response activity. Two considerations are crucial to any attempt to distinguish between the two: human factors and the effectiveness of preestablished plans.

According to officials responsible for developing and implementing the new systems, leaders opted in many cases to ignore or at least not utilize what had been formally set in place. The leadership and human factor question is: *why?* For what reasons and in what ways did politics override the advice of disaster management experts?

The unprecedented floods that came after Katrina increased the pressure on disaster plans and disaster managers alike. People in charge failed to grasp the enormity of the crisis. Leaders used prior experience to assess existing contingencies—and that experience failed them.

Not only were the weather and damage unprecedented, so too was the collapse in social order, as seen in New Orleans. Without adequate police presence, water and food supplies could not be safely dispatched, exacerbating the desperation and disorder. It took officials days to regain control, rebuild the necessary infrastructure, deliver basic supplies, and mount the evacuation effort.

Collecting Katrina's and Rita's lessons and translating them into meaningful change will take time. It is crucial that this process avoid the simplistic and politically motivated blame game that overtook the discussion in the first weeks after the hurricanes. Whatever the list of necessary fixes turns out to be, one change is already clear: investment in the human side of preparedness must increase.

In the years following 9/11, agencies were tempted to use newly allotted monies to purchase equipment and supplies. There was not the same investment in the leadership equation, the very factor that proved to be the weak link in the Katrina response chain. In New Orleans, for example, water was on hand—along with trucks to deliver it. What was lacking was the connectivity and coordination among response agencies. That connectivity was the responsibility of so-called meta-leaders, those able to generate strategic and effective linkages between and across response agencies.

This disaster was the result of the complex interplay of leadership decisions with occurrences never before seen in this country. Going deep into those factors offers the best bet for doing better next time.

—Leonard J. Marcus, codirector of the National Preparedness Leadership Initiative, a joint program of the Kennedy School and the Harvard School of Public Health

Lesson Learned?

Hurricane Katrina, more than its immediate successor, Rita, was one of those "predictable surprises" that Max Bazerman and Michael Watkins describe in their book of the same name. It took us by surprise despite our having had all the information necessary to anticipate it.

Perhaps more than anything else, this made the death and destruction in New Orleans in particular so difficult to bear. We felt betrayed by those we presumed would know better, be better prepared to protect us from harm. The miserable incompetence of chief executives at every level of government was profoundly disappointing. There was enough blame to go around, enough bad leadership to scare us silly.

SEPTEMBER 12, 2005: (*from left to right*) White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card, Vice Admiral Thad Allen, President Bush, Mayor Ray Nagin, and Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco, in New Orleans.

Photos: Getty Images (*left*); AP WideWorld (*right*)

But the sad truth is that governments and those who lead them are generally ill-equipped to protect us against nasty surprises. Political leaders are not futurists; they typically decide on the basis of what *did* happen in the past, not what *might* happen in the future. Moreover, since most of them are not in office for very long, they have scant incentive to choose constituents' long-term safety over giving constituents instant gratification. Most important, political leaders typically lack both entrepreneurial and managerial skills: they are neither creative enough to conceive of the worst, nor skilled enough to cope with the complexity that characterizes crisis.

What, then, is to be done? Education and training in crisis leadership and management, currently limited to a select few, should be made widely available. Crisis leaders—and managers—should be developed in all sectors of society. Recall that in the wake of Katrina, it was corporate leadership that stood out. Proper preparations enabled Wal-Mart to mount a recovery effort across the entire Gulf Coast region so immediate, expansive, and effective that it put government to shame.

It's always tempting to turn to government in a crisis. But we have been forewarned. Those who would rely only on the existing political establishment to save us the next time all hell breaks loose are doomed—to disappointment, if not worse.

—Barbara Kellerman, research director of the Center for Public Leadership

The President as Responder-in-Chief

The destruction wrought by Hurricane Katrina is a sobering reminder not only of the forces of nature, but of the unpredictability of the forces that shape a presidency.

Many like to think of democracy as voters choosing between candidates who define their visions for the future and the policies they will pursue to achieve those objectives. Once in office, however, reality descends. Presidents spend much of their time responding to events unforeseeable at the time of their election. Voters are selecting the person they want to shape the nation's response to these events. And it is the president who is the focus of national attention at such moments.

Americans look to the president not merely for initiative but also for reassurance—about the past as well as the future. The president's September 15th address from New Orleans acknowledged failure in the initial governmental response, pledged a commitment to cooperate in learning lessons from those first days of confusion, and praised the acts of courage and generosity exhibited by those who responded.

SEPTEMBER 2, 2005: some of the thousands of people stranded by Hurricane Katrina wait to be evacuated from New Orleans.

The president also looked forward: the Gulf Opportunity Zones, Worker Recovery Accounts, and Urban Homesteading Act proposals he made are designed to transform an economically poor region of the country.

America is a curious combination of compassion, cooperation, and individual opportunity. Successful presidents embrace all three. President Bush's bold initiatives entail massive amounts of federal largesse—$61 billion and counting. They also involve major roles for state and local governments, the private sector, and charitable organizations.

In summoning the country to undertake one of the largest reconstruction efforts the world has ever seen, President Bush has provided a combination of reassurance and initiative that rests on two propositions: first, we are often stronger than we know; and second, our task is not merely to make whole but to make better.

—Roger Porter, IBM Professor of Business and Government at the Kennedy School's Center for Business and Government

The Price of Incuriosity

George W. Bush has become a case study in why leadership matters. Only a year ago, his strengths as a leader propelled him to reelection, and now his weaknesses are causing the near-collapse of his presidency.

Bush is bold, resolute, and unflinching—qualities that we welcome and were on masterful display in the weeks after September 11th. But he has always been incurious and inflexible, too—those qualities are now catching up with him "big time," as his vice president would say.

The roots of his current troubles actually go back to his first term. The record suggests that the president, in his decision making before the Iraq war, never engaged his team in serious deliberations about winning the peace, and never encouraged dissenting voices. In his decision making about economic policy, he pushed to cut taxes but apparently never asked the hard questions about what would happen if spending went through the roof. Tragically, both he and we are now boxed in.

While response to Hurricane Katrina was inept at all levels of government, it was especially painful for Bush because it put his leadership weaknesses on public display. Bush is a compassionate man who would have responded instantly had he understood the crisis, but he is also a president who boasts that he doesn't read newspapers or watch television news. Only when his team made a DVD of newscasts and asked him to watch did he spring into action—four days after the storm hit.

He has three years left in office, and for the country's sake, one hopes that he will rebuild some of his capacity to govern. But to get there, he will have to apply some of his famous boldness and resoluteness to his own self-corrections.

—David Gergen, professor of public service and director of the Center for Public Leadership

Photo: Getty Images

Yin and Yang of Leadership in China

Can a new educational venture be genuinely innovative, given the conflicting economic and political impulses?

by Barbara Kellerman

BY MOST MEASURES, the attempt by China's ruling Communist elite to reform the economy without giving up power has been stunningly successful. Three hundred million people have been moved out of poverty in the last 25 years. China is now the world's largest producer of coal, steel, and cement. And its exports to the U.S. have grown by 1,600% over the past 15 years.

But China's economic reforms have not been matched by political reforms. Indeed, although the debate in China on how to liberalize is quite open, this should not be misunderstood: "The political system is still tightly controlled and brutal in its suppression of dissent," notes Fareed Zakaria, editor of the international edition of *Newsweek*.

Leaders in both the public and private sectors are obliged, therefore, to navigate the waters of a changing China carefully as well as cleverly. On the one hand they must be forward-looking, especially if they are ambitious and of high rank; but on the other hand they must be conservative, careful not to offend traditionalists or to upset the delicate balance between past and present. The spanking new China Executive Leadership Academy Pudong (CELAP), to which I was invited last March, is clearly intended to develop leaders and managers capable of maintaining precisely this balance.

Before traveling to China, I understood that CELAP was a new leadership institution of some kind. But I was not prepared for the surprise that overtook me when, soon after arriving in Shanghai, I was whisked off to a huge, ultra-modern campus for 1,000 students and told that the entire installation was one of three just opened in China—all dedicated to the research and teaching of leadership.

Whereas the other two leadership academies are located in more remote sections of the country, CELAP is located in a recently developed, highly contemporary section of China's most cosmopolitan city. This physical and geographical distinctiveness seems fitting. The other two academies, I was told, derive their leadership lessons largely from the history of the Chinese Communist Party. But CELAP is deliberately progressive in its agenda and global in its reach. It bills itself as an "international, contemporary, and innovative leadership academy at the cutting edge of leadership training." That may not be just hype, given that CELAP's curricular goals are every bit as grand as its physical plant, and that its target audience is an exciting mix of senior officials from the central government (read: Communist Party), governors, mayors, and other local politicians, as well as corporate executives and high-level military officers. Moreover, CELAP's research agenda is aggressive. Several Ph.D. students are already in residence, and some 40 men and women are being selected from more than 3,000 applicants from China's leading universities to serve as faculty in leadership and management.

A STUDY IN CONTRASTS: at once modern and traditional, CELAP's architecture mirrors its educational goal of harmonizing China's conflicting economic and political impulses. The table that covers the main institutional building symbolizes Confucian instruction in literature, calligraphy, and painting. And the color red evokes both China's ancient heritage and its more recent Communist past. *(Anthony Béchu and Tom Shean, architects)*

At the same time, however, CELAP is funded and administered by the central government. And although its board comprises top leaders from government, business, and the academy, the chairman is the head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The recruitment process mirrors this tension: you can get into one of CELAP's leadership training programs by applying through the formally established channels—or by being selected by party officials.

Leadership learning is not a new idea in China. It goes all the way back to ancient times. More recent incarnations—especially the Party School of the Chinese Communist Party and the National School of Administration, both located in Beijing—testify to the attempts to develop leaders in Mao's image. CELAP, though, could be something altogether new. For the short time that I was there, the discussions were remarkably open and wide-ranging, including exchanges on pluralism, globalization, and leadership in changing societies that would be familiar to American ears.

For all of China's recent and rapid economic progress, there is a growing uneasiness. As public protests become bolder and more frequent, they are being met with increasingly stiff, if erratic, government sanctions. The story of China's transition, in other words, is far from over. Meanwhile, the story of CELAP and its attempt to harmonize, or at least mediate, China's conflicting economic and political impulses has just begun. But if this experiment in leadership learning does succeed, CELAP may have a rightful claim to the title of the world's foremost center of leadership education and research. ✦

Photo courtesy of Agence d'architecture Anthony Béchu; Javier Urquijo, photographer

Three Keys to a Successful Social Enterprise

For nonprofits, there is an alternative to begging for support. by Bill Shore

HAVING LIVED with the relentless fundraising demands of the nonprofit sector for more than 20 years, I identify with a *New Yorker* cartoon in which a husband and wife are sitting in their living room when their dog approaches on hind legs. The caption reads: "Once again I find myself in the awkward position of having to ask one of you for a biscuit."

When it comes to nonprofit programs dealing with hunger, poverty, education, healthcare, and other issues, there is an alternative to begging for support. It is social entrepreneurship.

Social entrepreneurship is often linked to "being more businesslike." But this is usually a euphemism for dressing well and drafting a business plan. Neckties and written plans are not what successful businesses are about. What they are about is exposing themselves to market forces—from which nonprofits tend to be isolated—and using these market forces to propel their growth.

Share Our Strength, the antihunger organization I founded 20 years ago, is often considered an example of social entrepreneurship because of its fast growth—to date, it has raised and spent more than $180 million. Our experience has been that social entrepreneurs are most effective when they commit to three things: creating new wealth, competing, and using their power to bear witness.

1 GENERATING COMMUNITY WEALTH

Community wealth means resources generated through profitable enterprises, corporate partnerships, and cause-related marketing rather than charitable donations and foundation grants.

Because it is creating new wealth, a community wealth enterprise does not directly compete with other nonprofits for scarce charitable dollars. Revenues generated in this manner have no strings attached. An organization can spend such dollars on programs that are not only popular, but also right and necessary. Or, it can use the revenue generated to invest in the operating capacity of the organization. If such revenues are significant enough, there could be tax consequences, but that's not necessarily bad, since taxes are paid only on profits.

Not only does Greyston Bakery hire the chronically unemployed and offer them on-the-job-training, it generates $3.5 million in annual revenues that support its foundation.

Photo courtesy of Greyston Bakery

A handful of organizations have historically been entrepreneurial in how they use assets to generate revenues—the Girl Scouts with their cookie sales and the Goodwill thrift stores are two prominent examples. But today many more nonprofit ventures are experimenting with social enterprise; their activities range from food service to childcare, literacy building, and services for seniors, as well as advocacy for the environment and affordable housing. The growth of market leaders like Greyston Bakery in Yonkers, New York, which bakes cakes and provides all of the brownies for Ben and Jerry's ice cream, and Pioneer Human Services, which has a $50 million business cutting sheet metal for Boeing aircraft, has become part of nonprofit lore.

But other, smaller nonprofits have also begun to recognize that they are worth more than they thought and that they have created assets with marketplace value that can be leveraged. In Washington, D.C., Nation's Capital Child and Family Development leveraged its capacity to provide 500,000 meals a year to its own day care centers into a food-service business that today has several contracts with charter schools, assisted living centers, and other childcare organizations. Likewise, the Compass school in Boston's Jamaica Plain neighborhood, which serves special-needs students and adjudicated youth, generates annual revenues of $900,000 by consulting to other school

districts on the most effective way to teach and discipline such youth without running afoul of state and federal civil rights regulations.

So many nonprofits are seeking assistance in establishing revenue-generating ventures that Share Our Strength created a subsidiary, Community Wealth Ventures, just to advise them.

2 MAKING THE COMMITMENT TO COMPETE

Serving as a member of the board of directors of Timberland, a $1.5 billion footwear and apparel company, as well as being executive director of Share Our Strength, has given me a perspective on what drives growth in the corporate sector and what impedes it for nonprofits. What it comes down to is the commitment to compete effectively, in all the rough-and-tumble dimensions that term suggests.

In the corporate sector, competing is second nature. In the highly responsive markets in which they operate, for-profit companies are organized for the purpose of outperforming industry rivals. They understand that to compete at any level they must compete on every level—for human resource talent, for customers and market share, for the capital to fuel continued growth, and for brand awareness and loyalty.

It's not that nonprofits don't compete with each other for finite philanthropic resources; they don't do it as effectively as they could. Obviously, nonprofits shouldn't become so ruthless that they sell their souls and forget their values. But they should be ruthless in attracting and retaining the best talent, taking great ideas to scale, and ensuring long-term sustainability. As Timberland CEO Jeff Swartz told me, "The power of the competitive marketplace is that it insists on innovation, constant refinement of the business system, constant improvement in outcomes delivered."

New philanthropic models like Venture Philanthropy Partners in Washington, D.C., and New Profit, Inc., in Boston are helping nonprofits move in this direction by supporting and encouraging the nonprofits they invest in to establish performance metrics, and by making clear that future investments will be based on meeting and exceeding such measures.

As a result, nonprofit investment partners such as College Summit (a national nonprofit that advises academically talented high school students from poor homes about how to get into college) and Mary's Center (a regional maternal and child healthcare clinic that works with low-income, mostly immigrant, families) are much more conscious of how they stack up against other organizations in the same space, and where they need to improve. As competition increases, capital will flow to high-performing organizations and away from low-performing ones—something all donors should welcome.

3 BEARING WITNESS

The simple act of going to see, and then telling others about what you saw, can have far-reaching consequences.

We live in an era in which cable news, talk radio, the Internet, and other media are devoted to contrived drama—*faux* drama if you will—exemplified earlier this year by all the live coverage devoted to the story of a runaway bride. The irony is that genuine life-and-death dramas of enormous consequence are occurring all around us: on our streets, in our schools, and across the globe. Social entrepreneurs a have unique opportunity to call attention to drama that is both real and important.

The power to create sweeping change is often associated with those who serve in high office or possess great wealth. But our history and culture are also shaped by individuals who find and use power that others have failed to recognize or even imagine. A generation ago, individual civil disobedience transformed public opinion and public policy on civil rights. Citizen protest and dissent led to America's withdrawal from an unpopular war. Each of those means served the moment. But ours is a new moment, one that calls for bearing witness to injustice where it is perpetrated, to unequal opportunity where it is tolerated, and to hunger and despair where the world's children are suffering.

Some of the most effective nonprofit organizations have strengthened their capacity and increased their ranks in just this way. The National Trust for Historic Preservation annually publishes a list of the most endangered historic sites in the country, bearing witness to their condition and thereby mobilizing support. "The 11 sites chosen each year are threatened by neglect, insufficient funds, inappropriate development, or insensitive public policy," the trust's Web page declares. "Each site raises awareness about the dangers to specific parts of America's heritage and about preservation generally. The list has now brought national attention to 168 significant buildings, sites, and landscapes. At times, that attention has galvanized public support to rescue a treasured landmark, while in others, it has been an opening salvo in a long battle to save an important piece of our history."

There can be no excuses for not seeing or knowing the conditions of our communities or how our fellow citizens live. Effective social entrepreneurs see what others haven't yet seen and then tell what they've seen and felt. This is what it means to bear witness. This is what it takes to change the world. ✦

Social entrepreneurs have a unique opportunity to call attention to drama that is both real and important.

BILL SHORE is the founder and chair of both Share Our Strength and Community Wealth Ventures and the author of, most recently, *The Light of Conscience.*

Tolerance Is Not Enough

Allophilia–a framework for effective intergroup leadership

by Todd L. Pittinsky

THE VERY THINGS a leader does to promote strong identification and cohesion within a group can exacerbate conflicts with other groups. This creates one of the most painful dilemmas of leadership: the tradeoff between ingroup and outgroup effects.

For some leaders, of course, this may not seem to be much of a dilemma at all. Shortsighted leaders or those whose positions are threatened will often accept the tradeoff quite readily—exploiting, or in some cases creating, intergroup hostilities to secure their hold on power. Thus, instead of establishing credibility, defining constituencies, and motivating followers through ingroup identities that claim, in effect, "we are X, and X is good," such leaders will often resort to intergroup identities that say, "we are not Y, and Y is bad."

For leaders who define their sphere of concern more broadly than their own ingroup, however, balancing the ingroup/outgroup tradeoffs is a constant struggle. Intergroup conflict—whether it's turf battles between different organizational units, gridlock between rival political parties, or outright war between nations—is ever-present.

Prejudice, defined as negative regard for another identity group, often fuels these conflicts, or else it is used to add fuel to the fire of some other conflict. Efforts to promote tolerance, therefore, are mainstays of leaders' attempts to resolve intergroup conflict.

Although such efforts are important, they are not enough. Tolerance, after all, is not the logical antithesis of prejudice, but the midpoint between negative feelings and positive feelings toward others. Something more robust is needed to prevent tolerance from sliding back into prejudice. *Allophilia*, the term I've given to that something more, refers to a positive attitude toward another group. It represents the core of what I believe to be an emergent model of effective intergroup leadership.

The limitations of tolerance-promotion strategies

Tolerance promotion comprises four types of activity: prejudice reduction (trying to minimize or eliminate the prejudicial ideation), recategorizing members of a different identity group as part of one's own ingroup, increasing the contact between groups, and encouraging followers to see members of an outgroup as individuals instead of as members of a group. Examining each in some detail reveals why they are not sufficient, alone or taken together, to prevent prejudice from promoting intergroup conflict.

Prejudice reduction. Attempts to diminish prejudicial thinking run up against the hard fact that much intergroup conflict is more than just a matter of perception. Many groups engage in competitive activities in which one group's victory necessarily harms the other's interests. Such "real" conflict leads to frustration, antagonism, and, ultimately, prejudice. What's more, as the past three decades of social cognition research have demonstrated, categorical thinking is hard-wired into the human brain. Prejudices, in other words, are largely a byproduct of the way our minds naturally organize information—efforts to reduce categorical or prejudicial thinking can go only so far.

Recategorization. When one group expands its self-understanding to include people who were formerly seen as an outgroup, negative attitudes toward that outgroup tend to lose their intensity. Such recategorization can occur through the emphasis of similarity or the de-emphasis of differences between the groups. It can also be achieved by creating superordinate identities—overarching categories such as national identity in a nation comprising distinct ethnic populations—or superordinate goals, for whose achievement the groups are willing to hold themselves mutually accountable.

The problem here is that some differences—real or imagined—between social identity groups can be exploited to subvert the most ardent efforts at recategorization. This was the story behind the genocide in Rwanda: rival leaders were able to undo the superordinate national identity—600 years of intermarriage and shared commerce, language, and culture between Tutsis and Hutus—by emphasizing and even exaggerating differences in the two groups' physical features. Differences between social identity groups can also erode superordinate goals, which are often a response to a threat from another outside group. For example, the positive attitudes that resulted from the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union during World War II failed to outlast the common threat that created them.

Intergroup contact. The work of sociologist Gordon Allport suggests that contact between groups can reduce intergroup prejudice when the right conditions exist: when the groups have equal status, share common goals, and work cooperatively, and when their work has the support of authority (for example, law or custom). Creating these specific conditions, however, is often beyond a leader's

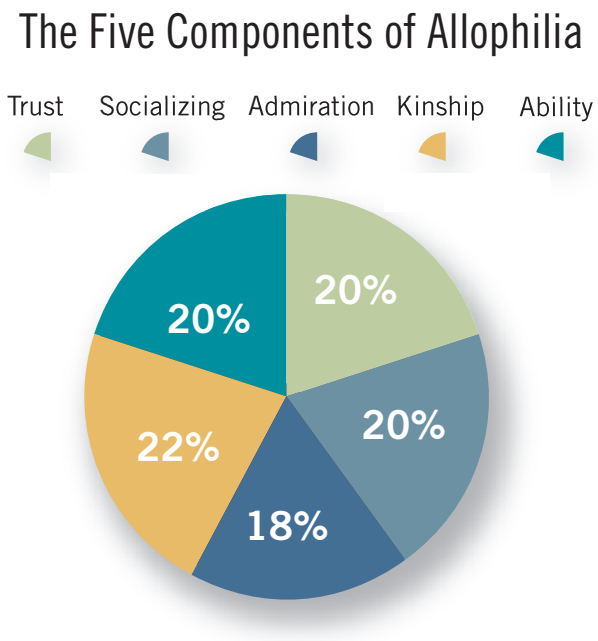
power; indeed, when conflict already exists between groups, it may be impossible to arrange any contact between them at all. Furthermore, research has shown that intergroup contact under suboptimal conditions can actually increase prejudice.

Individuation. Instead of trying to instill positive attitudes toward an outgroup, wouldn't it be easier to encourage followers to view outgroup members as individuals? The chief limitation of this approach is, once again, the strong human propensity for categorical thinking. Then, too, many important political and policy decisions are made about groups, not individuals. For example, immigration policies represent, to some extent, people's attitudes toward outgroups. If leaders promote no attitudes about outgroups, then followers are most likely to maintain their negative or neutral attitudes, with deleterious effects on policy.

Moving beyond tolerance to allophilia

Tolerance-promotion strategies seek to make the "other" vanish into "us." But closer examination reveals this to be an elusive hope. Some differences between people simply cannot be ignored or eliminated, and the neutral stance of tolerance is not sufficient to keep these differences from festering—leading to prejudice, open conflict, and sometimes violence. Just as current thinking about diversity emphasizes the celebration of differences, intergroup leadership, if it hopes to reduce conflict, must include efforts to help one's followers develop positive attitudes toward outgroups.

The term I've coined for this positive regard for members of outgroups, allophilia, derives from the Greek words meaning "liking or love of the other." Allophilia can apply to a wide range of leadership: political, religious, organizational, even athletic. But it may not be manifested very frequently, which may be an indication that it is related to transformational leadership. For example, when Nelson Mandela was president of South Africa, he attended the 1995 Rugby World Cup finals, cheering for his country's national team—previously regarded as a powerful symbol of "white" nationalism—and even wearing a team jersey with the captain's number on it. He found within himself a means of embracing aspects of the Afrikaans language and culture—and of encouraging others to do likewise—despite all the injustice and violence that culture had visited upon him and his people. This symbolic act went beyond the mere promotion of tolerance. Although it is risky to make inferences about leaders' motives from a distance, Mandela seems to have understood the importance of a positive attitude toward the "other" in bringing about his vision of a multiethnic South Africa.



Martin Luther King Jr. was explicit about the importance of moving beyond mere tolerance promotion toward the creation of positive intergroup attitudes. Although he originally believed that love was limited to the sphere of individual relationships, he later concluded that it could be a "potent instrument for social and collective transformation."

Research that my colleague Seth Rosenthal and I are conducting is helping create a more nuanced and empirical picture of what allophilia comprises. Specifically, this preliminary work suggests that allophilia's components include believing that members of the other group are dependable and moral (trust), interacting with members of the other group (socializing), having a high opinion of them (admiration), feeling connected and close to members of the other group (kinship), and, finally, believing that members of the other group are intelligent and wise (ability). Using these factors, we have developed a scale for measuring allophilia in individuals. Such a self-assessment tool could prove invaluable for diversity training programs, which are often hamstrung by participants' view of themselves as "not being part of the prejudice problem" simply because they don't hate members of a certain outgroup. More broadly, it could help leaders in all fields determine whether their efforts to quell intergroup conflict are going far enough.

Providing strong ingroup leadership without bolstering negative attitudes toward outgroup members is one of the salient challenges of contemporary leadership. By helping leaders see how their actions are—or are not—accomplishing both objectives simultaneously, the concept of allophilia can help leaders choose conflict-reducing interventions that will have longer-lasting effects.

For leaders, the work is arduous, ongoing, and risky. Not only does the promotion of allophilia mean eschewing easy tactics for consolidating power that unscrupulous leaders have learned to employ very effectively, it also calls for the courage to push people beyond their natural predisposition toward prejudice. It is, in short, the domain of the loftiest of leadership ambitions. ✦

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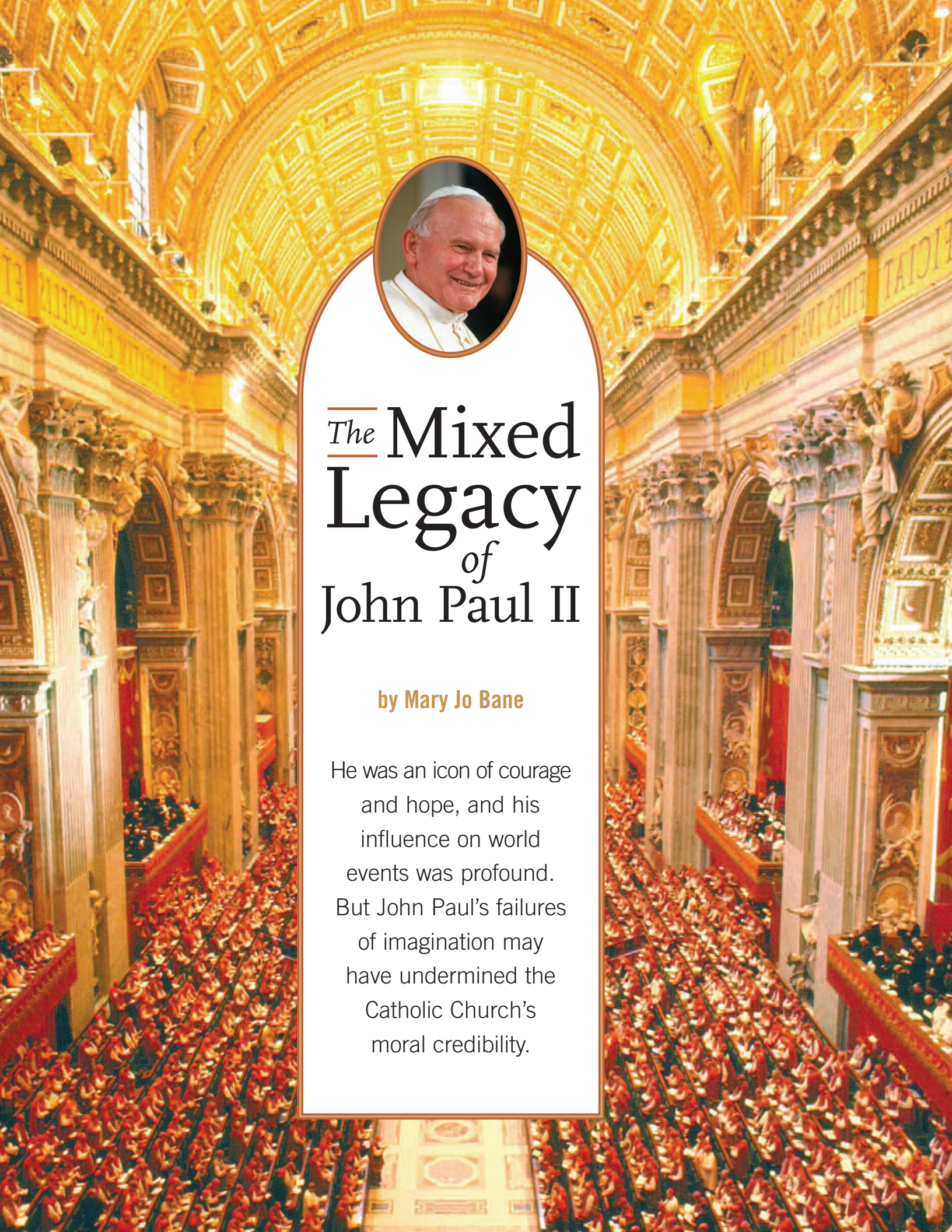

The Mixed Legacy *of* John Paul II

by Mary Jo Bane

He was an icon of courage and hope, and his influence on world events was profound. But John Paul's failures of imagination may have undermined the Catholic Church's moral credibility.

THE DEATH OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

last April generated an enormous outpouring of public attention, grief, and adulation. Media assessments of his papacy were almost uniformly laudatory, emphasizing the extent to which he had touched the lives of hundreds of millions of people worldwide. Many of the reflections on his legacy suggested that he had profoundly influenced the course of history during his 26-year reign, the second longest of any pope since St. Peter.

He was extolled as an inspiration for the Solidarity movement in Poland; an important force in the downfall of communism; a powerful spokesman for human rights, religious freedom, and economic justice; and a strong moral advocate for the marginalized, the dying, and the unborn. During his papacy, communism disintegrated; democracy and free markets emerged stronger all over the world. John Paul II was given, and deserves, some credit for all these developments.

Assessments of the pope's legacy should also look at his impact on the Roman Catholic Church. For example, at the end of his papacy, there were about as many self-identified Catholics as a proportion of the world's population—roughly 17 percent—as there were at the beginning. But the church had lost ground to evangelical and Pentecostal Protestantism in Latin America, had generally made few inroads in Asia, and was moribund in Europe. (It was vibrant and growing in Africa, however.) There were also about the same number of priests at the end of John Paul's papacy as at the beginning, yet the ratio of Catholics to priests was 50 percent higher.

In the United States, the Catholic Church was in moral and financial shambles as a result of the clergy abuse scandal. Worldwide, Catholics mostly ignored the teachings of the hierarchy on sexual morality and birth control. The Catholic elite, including theologians, dissented from many of the pope's doctrinal formulations. Young people flocked by the hundreds of thousands to see John Paul at the World Youth Days he inaugurated, but gave little further indication of actually practicing the religion. Christian unity was almost as far from becoming a reality in 2005 as it was in 1978.

John Paul II (*top left*); Catholic cardinals fill the nave of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome (*left*).

Photos: Getty images

This mixed legacy makes John Paul II a fascinating case study in religious leadership. He was, by turns, utterly contemporary and deeply traditional. A master communicator, he knew how to craft a compelling vision and also how to convey it to modern audiences. Organizationally, however, he largely ignored developments in theology and management theory that would have enabled the church to respond more effectively to changing circumstances. This failure of theological and managerial imagination not only limited John Paul's ability to carry out his vision within the Roman Catholic Church, it also hamstrung the church's leadership in ongoing ecumenical and interfaith dialogues, and compromised its credibility as a moral voice in the world at large.

Moreover, the forcefulness of John Paul's leadership, combined with the length of his reign, has significantly shaped the expectations placed on his successor, Benedict XVI, as well as the likely course that the new papacy will take.

Leading in the church: charismatic communication, centralized management

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH is a very large, very dispersed, and very flat organization. There are about one billion Catholics worldwide, in more than 170 countries, who speak scores of languages. The primary organizational unit is the parish, which is headed by a pastor, who is sometimes assisted by another priest. The billion Catholics are ministered to by about 400,000 priests, a ratio of about 2,500:1. Priests report to bishops of geographically defined dioceses, of which there are about 3,200; the ratio of priests to bishops of dioceses is thus about 125:1. Bishops, the heads of dioceses as well as those who work in staff positions in the Vatican and elsewhere, are appointed by and report to the pope (a ratio of 4,000:1). The pope is supported by the curia (the papal staff), which employs some 2,700 people and runs an annual operating budget of about $260 million.

Obviously, this is not an organization that is managed by close day-to-day supervision in a tight command-and-control hierarchy. No one person can supervise 125 direct reports, not to mention 4,000. Indeed, the extent of personal supervision of an individual bishop is a 15-minute meeting with the pope every five years. A student of institutions looking at an organization this large and dispersed would probably expect, and recommend, a leadership style with three elements:

A clear mission. There must be a cogent articulation by the organization's top leaders of the mission and core values.

Decentralization of authority to local organizations with clear accountability structures. Decentralization would allow bishops and priests at the local level to respond to the circumstances and needs of the places and times they serve. Clear accountability structures would enable them to focus on what they ought to accomplish, while giving them considerable freedom about how to accomplish it.

A culture of local independence and innovation to meet local conditions and needs. In the absence of such a culture and the accompanying structures of local autonomy, one would expect an organization to atrophy, bogged down by a slow and rigid bureaucracy, and unable to develop and grow at the grassroots level.

John Paul II was a genius at articulating his vision for the church, and also at staging media spectacles that brought his presence and his messages to the entire world. In the first 20 years of his papacy he traveled 670,878 miles, delivered 3,078 addresses heard by hundreds of millions of people, and wrote 13 encyclicals and hundreds of other communications.

Neither the second nor the third elements on this list, however, characterized John Paul's approach. Instead, he tried to run an organization that was tightly controlled from the center through carefully chosen subordinates—with the results that one would expect when an organization whose size and dispersion requires decentralization is run by a small central bureaucracy.

For example, the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, a small curial office, specifies every detail of Catholic liturgical celebrations and approves the translations into local languages of all liturgical texts. This unit has sometimes taken years to approve translations. It has also managed to offend large segments of the church by insisting on

When Authority Is Not Authoritarianism

by Joan Chittister

OF THE SUBTERRANEAN psychological tensions known to the modern world, the question of authority may be the most important of all. It may also be the most commonly discussed and the least resolved. But if a society in flux is going to be able to negotiate the shoals of change successfully—especially in times of great institutional upheaval, like this one, and even in places of great institutional stability, like the church—the question must be faced.

When consensus in society about values and beliefs begins to unravel, the question of authority reemerges with a vengeance. The problem is that the question is often read as revolution—some kind of moral anarchy—when it is actually an essential dimension of change. But in times like these, it is not authority itself that is in question so much as how authority should be practiced in new situations. To put it another way, authority and authoritarianism are not synonyms.

Never has the truth of such a paradigm been more apparent than in the church. Four major moments in church history make the point.

1. Although the earliest Christians functioned as a community of equals—praying together, deciding together, serving together—by the early Middle Ages the church had begun to pattern itself on the imperial structures of Rome. Church and state became one. Hierarchy was a given. Class structures were relatively impermeable.

2. After the Reformation, at the brink of the Age of Enlightenment, the idea of the "priesthood of all believers" gave rise to the notion of personal moral responsibility. Revolution broke out all over Europe. Equality had not yet arrived, but the notion of the divine right of kings had definitely fallen. Authority was no longer inherited or monolithic. A whole new way of organizing the world, by a whole new set of people—

noninclusive language in English translations of Scripture, and by forbidding the inclusion of local dance traditions in liturgical celebration. The rigidity of worship forms in Latin America and Asia made Catholicism less attractive to many people than Pentecostalism.

The Vatican has also been very explicit about the limitations of what lay people may do in the absence of priests, forbidding, for instance, deacons and lay catechists in Latin America from conducting communion services and prohibiting lay people from exercising the nonsacramental roles of the pastor. Given the scarcity of priests, this has meant that hundreds of millions of Catholics do not have regular opportunities to worship in attractively sized and located communities, thus also increasing the appeal of other religions.

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), another small curial office with immense power—under John Paul II, it was headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, now Pope Benedict XVI—tightly constrained the approach that could be taken by bishops and others working in Asia in dealing with other religions. By insisting on explicit proclamation of the Christian gospel and limiting the possibilities for genuine dialogue and cooperative work on issues of human development, the CDF may well have doomed the Catholic Church to its current marginal status in many parts of Asia.

The CDF also reviews all cases of sexual abuse and other grave misconduct by priests, often frustrating local decision-making processes and allowing local authorities to abdicate responsibility. The tragic effects of the sexual abuse scandal in the U.S. might have been avoided had local church leaders been given more autonomy and accountability. Moreover, in a number of well-publicized cases, the CDF forbade Catholic theologians from teaching because of their alleged departures from orthodoxy, actions that contributed to the disillusionment of many educated Catholics in the developed world.

The centralized, bureaucratic approach to leadership of the John Paul II papacy has theological, historical, and personal roots. The most important of these are theological. John Paul's papacy held to a particular working out of Catholic ecclesiology—the church's theological understanding of itself as an institution. The Catholic Church does not think of itself as an ordinary human organization. Rather, it sees itself as

The dome of St. Peter's Basilica

more educated, more self-initiating—became firmly established.

3. At the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, which lasted from 1962 until 1965, the dignity of the person and the concept of conscience, rather than a system based on military obedience, became once again the model for the church itself. Nor was such a model foreign: in the early centuries of the church—a time of emperors and kings, of slaves and serfs—Benedictinism, the oldest Christain religious order, took as its standard a life of full participation.

Benedict of Nursia (480–520) insisted that rank in the monastery be determined by date of entrance into this new way of living, rather than by birth or social class. No one here had privilege, not even priests. And the power given to abbots and abbesses was by no means absolute. Not only does the Rule of St. Benedict (the order's code of conduct) instruct them to be patient, listening, and kind, it makes communal decision making the norm: "Whenever weighty matters are to be decided, let the abbot [or abbess] call the whole community together ... because the Lord often reveals what is better to the younger." In its care to make authority subject to the members, Benedictinism constituted a revolutionary way of building community.

4. In response to Vatican II and its redefinition of the church as "the people of God," religious orders have in general moved away from governance by councils to governance by general assemblies and communal decision making. Women religious in particular have begun to see themselves as moral agents—as carriers of the faith, not simply its consumers.

Alternative models of authority and obedience—the kind that are more attuned to the gospels than the institution itself—have existed from the earliest days of the church. They serve as reminders that conscience, not coercion masking as truth, is the ultimate criterion in Christianity. ✦

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Photo: Getty images

> John Paul's failure to acknowledge the usefulness of modern institutional insights with the same openness with which he embraced modern communications left the Catholic Church in a significantly weaker state than might have been.

the sacramental community of disciples of Christ, accountable to the truth about salvation that comes from Jesus, to the tradition handed down by the first-century apostles, and to God. Governance by bishops and the position of the bishop of Rome (the pope) as first among the bishops both symbolize and ensure the unity and the endurance of the church.

One working out of this theology, espoused by John Paul II and Cardinal Ratzinger, sees the organizational structure of the church as inherently centralized, with local churches the equivalent of branch offices. A strong, controlling papacy is seen as the only defense against fragmentation and loss of fidelity.

There are alternative views, however (*see sidebar, p. 12*). One such understanding of the church sees local churches as primary, bound together as a community of communities by a common faith and commitment. Unity and faithfulness in this vision of the church would emerge from more collegial governance structures that respect the ability of local churches to assess and respond appropriately to their own times, circumstances, and needs.

The church's fundamental theological understanding of itself does not preclude the development of new institutional structures and ways of operating in response to changing times. But John Paul did not take advantage of developments in theology that might have provided the foundation for a more effective institution. The reason he did not is partly historical. The church's structures developed over millennia and change only very slowly. New understandings of the church as an institution and of its relationship to the world emerge very infrequently.

But another reason is personal to John Paul. I do not believe that he consciously or excessively held on to power for the sake of holding power. He saw himself as an evangelizer, not a manager, and took little interest in institutional structures. He let the curial bureaucracy more or less operate as it had and was inclined to, which meant not ceding power or encouraging local innovation. Neither John Paul nor his curia seriously considered an alternative theological understanding of the church. They did not envision, or learn from other institutions, ways in which the church could be more pluralist, flexible, and responsive, while at the same time remaining unified and faithful.

John Paul can perhaps not be faulted for lacking a managerial imagination among his other great gifts. Leadership, however, involves not only articulating a powerful vision, but also creating institutional structures capable of carrying out the vision in a dynamic environment. As the examples noted above suggest, John Paul's failure to acknowledge the usefulness of modern institutional insights with the same openness with which he embraced modern communications left the Catholic Church in a significantly weaker state than might have been.

Leading in the world: significant achievements, but lost opportunities, too

JOHN PAUL II had a magnificent vision and aspiration for his papacy. He believed that the third millennium of Christian history would see a "new springtime of Christian life." The church would put before the world a vision of human freedom, oriented toward truth and nourished by generosity, that would triumph over totalitarianism as well as the materialism and secularism of much of the West. Christianity would be united, and in dialogue with the other great religions. The world would be newly evangelized, with new commitments to the preciousness of life, to the full development of human potential, and to generous care for the poor and marginalized. John Paul saw his papacy as laying the groundwork for this millennial renewal.

No one person, of course, could hope to accomplish this; no one should be surprised that the new millennium opened with the springtime of

The new pope, Benedict XVI

Photo: Getty images

the pope's vision nowhere in sight. One can only applaud the enthusiasm, intellectual energy, and stamina with which the pope articulated his vision, took it to all corners of the earth, and saw it realized, to some extent, in the fall of communism and the growth of support for human rights.

But this praise must be qualified by an appreciation of the missteps and lost opportunities that are related to the same limitations of theological and managerial imagination that lay behind John Paul's failures in church leadership. To his great disappointment, he made almost no progress toward Christian unity. He had hoped to heal the breaches of the 11th century with the Orthodox Church and of the 16th century with the Anglican community and other Protestant groups. Despite his outreach to Orthodox leadership, he made no concessions on the most difficult issue, the relationship of the Roman papacy to the more collegial patriarchal governing structure of the Eastern church. Dialogue with the Anglican community fell apart over the issues of homosexuality and the ordination of women, on which John Paul was unwilling to compromise at all. He was unable to envision a genuine pluralism in Christianity on issues that are, by most reckonings, not central to the faith, just as he was unable to accept a pluralism of views within his own church.

A second lost opportunity was in dialogue with non-Christian religions. Resolving conflicts among the great religions of the world has enormous potential for reducing violence and enriching human interaction. John Paul II vastly improved Catholic-Jewish relationships by strongly repudiating the old theological justifications for anti-Semitism and also by powerful gestures like his prayer at the Western Wall. He reached out to Buddhist, Muslim, and Hindu leaders. But in August, 2000, a CDF declaration called *Dominus Jesus,* written by Cardinal Ratzinger and issued with the full approval of the pope, shocked and alienated those involved in interreligious dialogue with its strong statements of the deficiency and incompleteness of other faiths compared with the Roman church. Here, too, the pope's failure to appreciate pluralism led to a tragic lost opportunity, for religion and for the world.

A third loss, which may have the most serious implications for John Paul's successor, is in the credibility of the Catholic church as a moral voice. It is difficult for an institution to be a strong advocate for integrity, generosity, inclusiveness, and human freedom if it does not model those virtues internally. John Paul was a charismatic personality and a master communicator. His call for the transformation of culture and for responsible human freedom brought hope to many. But the church's credibility in the United States on issues of human sexuality and integrity was damaged, perhaps beyond repair, by the clergy abuse scandal, the arguably criminal cover-up of the scandal by many bishops, and by the Vatican's seeming lack of concern. The church's silencing of internal theological debate and its restrictions on the roles of women damaged its ability to speak for freedom and equality. Its refusal to condone the use of condoms for AIDS prevention, even in the ravaged countries of Africa, is a clear threat to its credibility on the preciousness of human life. Its inability to incorporate local autonomy and diversity into its own life seriously compromised its role as a witness for other institutions or for nations.

The new pope's style and direction: early indications

ON APRIL 19, 2005, the College of Cardinals elected Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger as the new pope; he took the name Benedict XVI. He inherits a troubled church and a challenging world. What kind of leadership can be expected from Benedict, in the church and in the world?

His "inaugural address" to the College of Cardinals after his election as pope suggests that he sees himself as the heir of John Paul II and shares his vision. His words were warm and optimistic, stressing his own role as God's servant in the service of humanity. He described his "primary task" as "rebuild[ing] the full and visible unity of all of Christ's followers." He praised theological dialogue, prayed to God for unity and peace, and committed his papacy to working for authentic social development, human dignity, dialogue with "the different civilizations," and ministry to the young.

But Benedict XVI lacks the gifts that underlay John Paul's successes, while sharing the failures of imagination that accompanied John Paul's lost opportunities. Benedict is not as charismatic a personality or speaker as John Paul; he does not seem to have John Paul's actor's instincts for conveying his message in dramatic words, symbols, and settings. His leadership style, however, is likely to be similar to that of John Paul. Cardinal Ratzinger was head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith for 24 years during the papacy of John Paul II. As such, he was both architect and enforcer of the theology behind John Paul's inflexible and centralized approach. Shortly after Benedict became pope, the Vatican forced the resignation of Thomas Reese, editor of the Jesuit weekly *America*, which had published diverse views on controversial doctrinal issues. This action had been instigated by Ratzinger and was seen by many American Catholics as an ominous harbinger of things to come.

It is hard to imagine that Benedict, given his history and his extensive record as head of CDF, will bring either a new theology or a new practice of leadership to the church. But he is said to be extremely intelligent, and may rise to his new office in unexpected ways. Perhaps a real reason for hope, however, is the Catholic belief that the Holy Spirit is with the church always, and will lead it in the right direction over the long run. At this point in Benedict's papacy, the Holy Spirit has her work cut out for her. ✦

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Present at the Creation

WARREN BENNIS AND THE RISE OF LEADERSHIP STUDIES

by James O'Toole

IN THE SUMMER OF 1973, a covey of frustrated social scientists in Aspen, Colorado, were huddled together in unfruitful discussion about why companies often make their employees miserable and unproductive, when a voice came from the back of the room: "Have you considered the effects of a corrosive corporate culture?"

We turned to discover that we were being observed by a well-tanned, youthful, middle-aged man with a brilliant shock of white hair. Attired in fashionable tennis togs, he seemed to have stepped out of the pages of *The Great Gatsby* and into our little circle of ill-kempt academics.

He proceeded to beguile us with an outpouring of imaginative ideas—all expressed in perfectly polished sentences, I must add—designed to encourage us to think beyond the boundaries of our narrow professional world and to rethink what we thought we knew. In a mellifluous baritone voice, he asked us to consider how bureaucracy stifles people, why compassionate leaders are so rare, and what would be needed to create a healthy fit between corporate culture and the values of employees (all this in 1973, mind you). The flow of radically new ideas kept coming as if from some vast reservoir within his lithe frame.

This apparition in white, this *Warren Bennis,* was doubtless the most creative articulate, inspiring (and nattily dressed) scholar we ever had met.

Bennis as a second lieutenant in 1945, (*above*) and in Santa Monica in August, 2005 (*right*)

But that was just a typical day for Warren in a 50-plus-year career of reconceptualizing how scholars and practitioners think about organizations and leadership. "He has an unparalleled ability to get a general audience excited about academic research, and at the same time to inspire academics to reframe their basic concepts," says management guru Edward Lawler. After observing him closely for more than 30 years, I believe this ability to change how others think begins with his own manifest willingness to challenge himself, to try out new ideas, and, indeed, to recreate himself.

Authoring—and reauthoring—a life

Warren often speaks of the virtue of "self-invention." Early in his own life he felt the necessity of creating a role for himself other than the one into which he was born. Because everything about Warren is so elegant and refined, those who meet him often assume that his was a privileged Brahmin upbringing with attendance at a tony Eastern prep school, perhaps topped by an Ivy League degree.

In fact, he was born into a working-class Jewish family, went off as a teenager to fight (and be wounded) in Germany as a foot soldier in World War II, and then attended Antioch College on the GI Bill (supplemented by a half-time job).

But when he says he reinvented himself after this humble beginning, he doesn't mean he created a character that is false or inauthentic. Just the opposite: "When you write your own life, you have played the game that was natural for you to play," he says. "You have kept your covenant with your own promise."

And what a promise Warren's turned out to be. One of the first to notice his potential for greatness was Douglas McGregor, who was appointed president of Antioch in Warren's sophomore year. McGregor, the father of humanistic management, became Warren's tutor, then friend, and eventually colleague and champion when they later found themselves together on the faculty at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Warren, who would too soon be called on to deliver the eulogy at McGregor's funeral (he died at age 58), has described his mentor as "a born innovator, a born experimenter… If there was anything he was trying to overcome or destroy, it was the institutional habit of talking about the virtue of democracy while running affairs autocratically." With those words, Warren could have been describing his own character, beliefs, and behavior, his "root effort" over a five-decade career "to make organizations

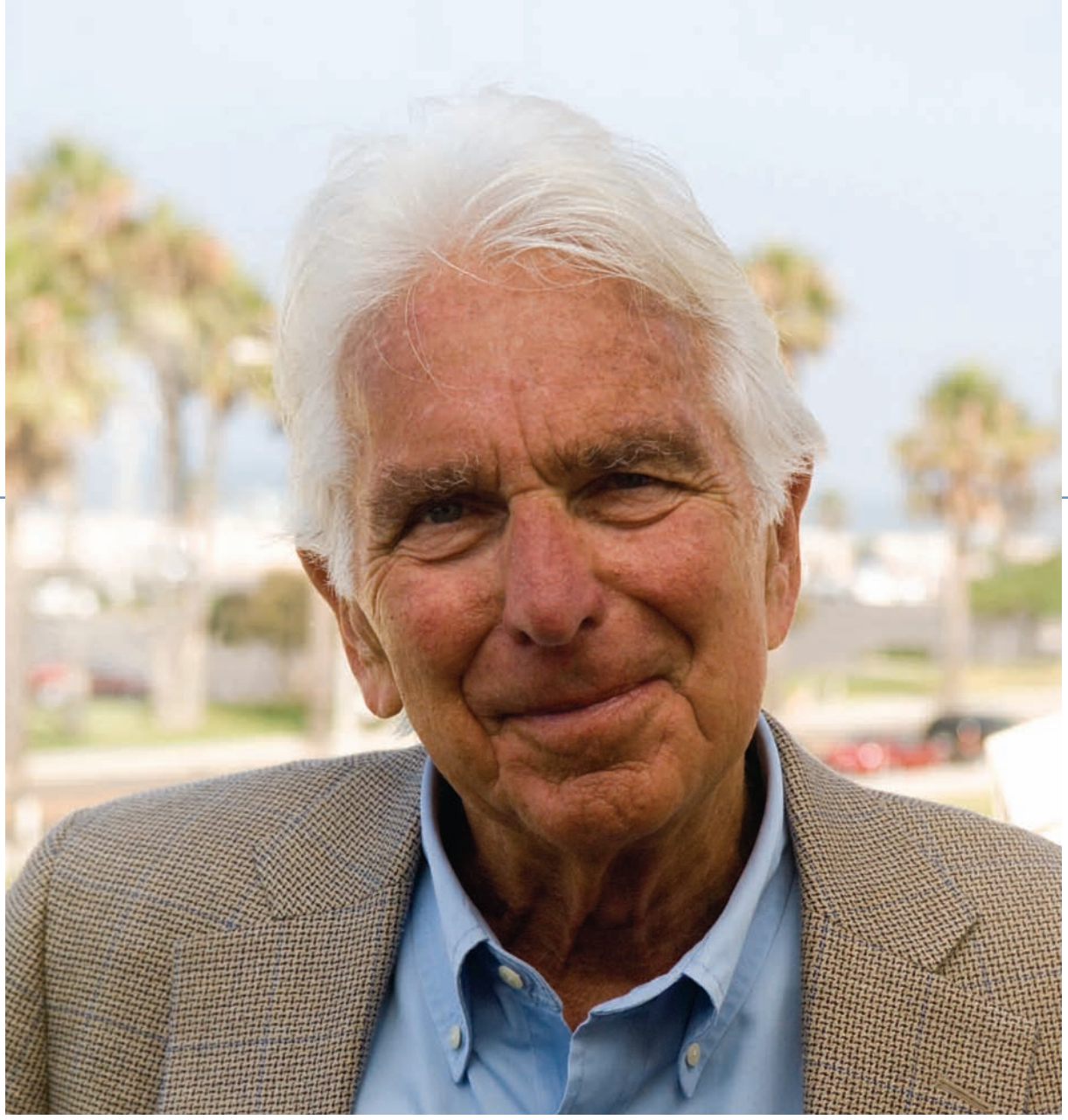


Photo: Bruce Jackson; all others courtesy of Warren Bennis

decent and human places" in exactly the way McGregor advocated and practiced.

You now may be assuming that Warren took his MIT doctorate in psychology, sociology, or some other cuddly social science. His degree is actually in hard-headed economics, and his teachers included Nobel Prize winners Paul Samuelson, Robert Solow, and Franco Modigliani. Warren could do his math. Nonetheless, he grew uncomfortable with MIT's quantitative approach to social science, "with its belief that all certifiable truths about human behavior could be predicted with scientific certainty. I wasn't sure about that then and am even more dubious about it today," he recalled in 1993.

So, with his freshly minted economics doctorate, Warren reinvented his academic career. He migrated across the river to Boston University, then down river to Harvard, and then back to MIT, where he mixed with, learned from, and ultimately joined forces with a hearty band of heretics who were following McGregor's attempt to reinvent management studies with a humanistic bias. Among them: Herb Shepard, Erving Goffman, Norbert Wiener, Carl Rogers, Edward Schein, and Abraham Maslow (Warren would deliver Maslow's eulogy, too).

Groundbreaking work in organizational development and leadership studies

Through exposure to these and many others who collectively constitute a *Who's Who* of 20th-century social science, Warren found his true self, his calling, and ultimately his place among them. His first product was a coauthored volume, *The Planning of Change* (1961), which crystallized the nascent field of organizational development, drawing together the latest social science thinking about how to transform static, authoritarian, and bureaucratic institutions into vibrant, creative, and democratic workplaces. The phrase "change agent" was introduced in that volume and, three editions later, the book is still the bible for those involved in organizational transformation.

Soon thereafter Warren made his mark with the publication of articles about democracy and leadership that

would subsequently prove to have been remarkably prescient but, in the short term, established him as the most broad-gauged—and literate—social scientist of his generation. For example, his 1964 *Harvard Business Review* article "Democracy Is Inevitable" (coauthored with Philip Slater) sang farewell to "great men" even as Brezhnev and Mao lived, arguing that they and all tyrants like them were doomed to the dustbin of history, that democracy would spread throughout the world, and, moreover, that corporate tyrants would and should suffer the same fate—and the sooner the better.

He followed this up in short order with several pieces that predicted bureaucracy itself was doomed while offering a thoughtful, human-centered alternative (the articles would appear bound between covers as *Beyond Bureaucracy*). He and Slater then produced *The Temporary Society* (1968), accurately forecasting the unsettling, virtual-organization world we live in today, and earning him a reputation for being a "futurist" after his friend Alvin Toffler drew heavily on his work in the best-selling *Future Shock*.

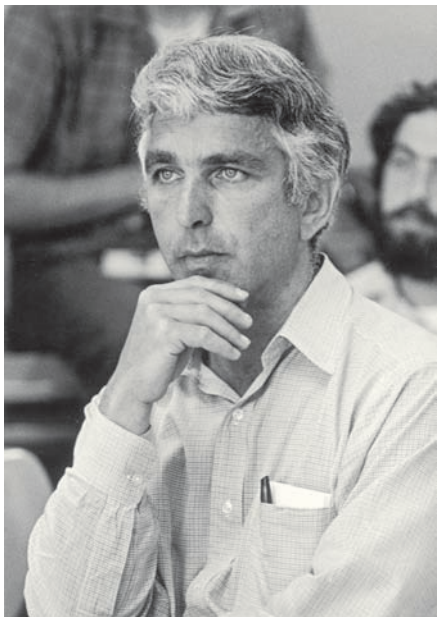
Oh, I almost forgot: along the way, Warren somehow found time to develop an interest in a then-nonexistent field that he would ultimately make his own—leadership—with the publication of his "Revisionist Theory of Leadership" in *Harvard Business Review* in 1961. Challenging the conventional wisdom that humanistic leaders are "too soft" and, hence, ineffective, he showed that such leaders not only are capable of making "tough" decisions, they are better for their organizations over the long term than "benevolent dictators." It seems Warren always has been busy "revisioning" things.

From academic leader to mentor of the next generation of leaders

Warren's career as a guru was successfully launched by the mid-1960s, but as Tom Peters writes, "Curiosity invariably gets the best of Warren Bennis." It wasn't enough for Warren to write about leadership, he needed to test his hand by actually doing it. So he reinvented himself as an academic administrator, first as a provost at SUNY Buffalo (1967–1971), and then as president of the University of Cincinnati (1971–1978).

As Warren is the first to admit, he is by nature better at theory than practice. Nevertheless, he had some notable achievements at both institutions. He helped Buffalo get through the terrifying period of campus unrest in 1970 by advocating, in the

Bennis as provost at SUNY Buffalo (1967–1971)



When Giants Sit Down to Talk
BENNIS & KANTER

Harvard Business School professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter—world-renowned expert in strategy, innovation, and change leadership, and author or coauthor of 16 books, including *The Change Masters*, *World Class*, *When Giants Learn to Dance*, *Evolve!*, and, most recently, *Confidence: How Winning Streaks and Losing Streaks Begin and End*—caught up with Bennis last summer. Their wide-ranging conversation delved into the people, events, challenges, and animating ideas that have shaped Bennis's work over the past half-century. An edited version of their discussion appears below.

KANTER: You've said that your early work in organizational development grew out of the hope and promise that democracy and pragmatism held in the aftermath of World War II. In the prescient essay "Democracy Is Inevitable," you and coauthor Phil Slater predicted the fall of communism.

What was the reasoning behind that article? And given the U.S. government's attempts to impose democracy on countries that seem to have a very different understanding of what the term means—do you still think democracy is inevitable?

BENNIS: Today the inevitability of democracy might seem obvious, but in the early 1960s, when we first argued that democracy would eventually dominate in both the world and the workplace, a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed more likely than a McDonald's in Moscow. In international politics, democratization is a very recent phenomenon, albeit a profound one. A little more than a decade ago Nicolae Ceausescu had the power to ban birth control and to require that every typewriter had to be registered; the state even regulated the temperature of Romanian households. And we don't have to look farther than today's headlines to consider the agonies of democratizing Iraq.

In our 1964 paper we argued that democracy and science are partners, that their fates are correlated. But we didn't mean science in the ordinary sense; it wasn't the findings or theories or the vast array of data that scientists produce that we had in mind, however useful those things are. We meant the *ethos* of science—its temperament, so to speak. It was the "spirit of inquiry" that comprises the *values* of sci-

ence: rationality, universalism, human rights, and community. Neither science nor democracy can exist or flourish unless those values are guaranteed. That's what led Phil and me to the notion that democracy is inevitable. In the long run, science can flourish only in a system that allows the free expression and exploration of ideas—no matter where they come from, and no matter what the rank or status of the person advancing them. Ditto for democracy.

That said, democracy takes various shapes and forms. We shouldn't be surprised if democracy in the Scandinavian countries looks different from democracy in Asian countries. Moreover, democracy takes time: you can't implant it like a biomedical device into nation-states with vastly different histories and expect it to suddenly take hold.

I don't think either one of our political parties has done a good job of explaining, in a compelling way, what we mean by democratic values and how they undergird a progressive capitalism. And yet I believe more strongly than ever that democracy, more than any other political system, has a deep resonance with our basic human nature. It's ego-syntonic—consistent with that universal core of beliefs in freedom, liberty, and yes, the pursuit of happiness.

KANTER: You were one of the first academics, following James MacGregor Burns, to write about real leaders making consequential decisions. Before you, organizations were largely studied in anonymity: leadership was examined as a role to be filled in a system, but no names were ever named, no histories of events and actions were ever recorded.

In your writing about the importance of the actions of people at the top of organizations, and the critical experiences that shape them, you've managed to avoid the trap of the cult of the leader. That is, you've always seemed to keep the importance of the leader in relationship to both followers and other leaders in mind. How have you maintained that balance?

BENNIS: A person looking at some of my early writings might well conclude that I didn't avoid that trap. There was a period when I probably overemphasized the Carlylean "Great Man" stereotypes: those Rushmorean figures, the poster boys and girls of popular business magazines. But the overall emphasis in my work always included the pivotal role "the others" play in organizational life. In fact, my last article on leadership was entitled "The End of Leadership." In that paper, I wrote that "top-down leadership was not only wrong, unrealistic, and maladaptive but also, given the report of history, dangerous. And given certain changes taking place in the organizational landscape, this obsolete form of leadership will erode competitive advantage and destroy the aspiration of any organization that aims to be in the phone book beyond the year 2004."

In that same article I quoted an excerpt from a poem by Berthold Brecht, the Marxist playwright:

Young Alexander conquered India.
All by himself?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Not even a cook to help him with his meals?
Philip of Spain wept aloud when his Armada
Went down. Did no one else weep?
On every page a triumph.
Who baked the victory cake?
In every decade, a great man.
Who picked up the check?

The title of the article was a spoof. Obviously, there's not an end of leadership. But it's this overemphasis in America on the culture of the single individual—all cultures have it to a greater or lesser extent, but here in America it has reached dangerous proportions at times.

KANTER: How do we reconcile the optimism in your work about leaders' ability to change the world with the profound awareness of the way that the unconscious conspiracies of bureaucracy and the perversity of human nature can inhibit leaders' effectiveness?

BENNIS: I don't think there's even a paradox here—the optimism and the perversity are, alas, both aspects of our humanity. After all, when you come upon, as I did as an infantry officer in World War II, a group of Poles, Jehovah's Witnesses, and gays—all in their pajama-striped Nazi prison outfits, all so emaciated that they couldn't be picked up or their bones would break—how can you not pay attention to our darker selves?

Even so, I didn't really believe in evil until I was a university president. On my board at that time, there was one very keen politician who told me in the most straightforward language imaginable how the board was planning to fire me. It was the matter-of-fact way he said it that chilled me to the bone.

KANTER: And yet you always seem to maintain a hope that with knowledge and awareness of those dark forces, leaders can transcend their circumstances and make great things happen. What advice would you give to younger leaders about how they can take social science and turn it into action that makes a difference for a very troubled world?

BENNIS: I don't think anyone can forecast the kinds of issues that our children and younger leaders will have to face. All we can do is encourage them to rely on a couple of things. To paraphrase Darwin, Plato is my friend and Galileo is my friend, but truth remains my best friend. We must rely on truth as our right and left hands. But how we get that truth is probably the key challenge right now. We must never kid ourselves into believing that we know it all or have the final word. We must always keep our eyebrows raised in doubt and curiosity.

And the only way to maintain that spirit of inquiry is to have social supports. We can fly only when we have a group of people that we can be a part of and grow with, laugh with and learn from—and yes, always be able to tell the truth to. ✦

In His Own **WORDS**

Nearly all leaders are highly proficient in learning from experience. Most were able to identify a small number of mentors and key experiences that powerfully shaped their philosophies, personalities, aspirations, and operating styles. And all of them regard themselves as "stretching," "growing," and "breaking new ground."

Learning is the essential fuel for the leader, the source of high-octane energy that keeps up the momentum by continually sparking new understanding, new ideas, and new challenges....Very simply, those who do not learn do not long survive as leaders.

Leaders (coauthored by Burt Nanus, 1985)

No leader sets out to be a leader. People set out to live their lives, expressing themselves fully. So the point is not to become a leader. The point is to become yourself, to use yourself completely—all your skills, gifts, and energies—in order to make your vision manifest. You must withhold nothing. You must, in sum, become the person you started out to be, and enjoy the process of becoming. *On Becoming a Leader* (1989)

In becoming a leader [president of the University of Cincinnati] I learned a number of important things about both leadership and myself. Anyone in authority, astronaut or baseball player, university president or national leader, is to some extent the hostage of how others perceive him or her. The perceptions of other people can be a prison. For the first time I began to understand what it must feel like to be a victim of prejudice, to be helpless in the steel embrace of how other people see you. People impute motives to their leaders, love or hate them, seek them out or avoid them, and idolize or demonize them independently of what the leaders do or are. Ironically, at the very time I had the most power, I felt the greatest sense of powerlessness. *An Invented Life* (1993)

In a society as complex and technologically sophisticated as ours, the most urgent projects require the coordinated contributions of many talented people.... And yet, even as we make the case for collaboration...we still tend to think of achievement in terms of the Great Man or Great Woman, instead of the Great Group....

That does not mean, however, that we no longer need leaders. Instead, we have to recognize a new paradigm: not great leaders alone, but great leaders who exist in a fertile relationship with the Great Group. In these creative alliances, the leader and the team are able to achieve something together that neither could achieve alone.

Organizing Genius (1997)

spirit of Doug McGregor, sane, nonconfrontational policies toward a temporarily insane studentry. He then saved Cincinnati financially by guiding the then-quasi-private university to safe harbor as a state institution.

Characteristically, Warren would work a 14-hour day as president, and then stay up most of the night writing about what he was learning about university administration: witness his still controversial *The Leaning Ivory Tower* (1973) and *The Unconscious Conspiracy: Why Leaders Can't Lead* (1976).

Then, with several careers behind him, Warren took time out to consider his next reinvention. But nature intervened in the process by way of an admonitory heart attack in 1973. Clearly, his days of burning the candle at both ends were over. As he lay stricken in a bed in Windsor Castle (he does have a flair for the dramatic), he decided he could be most useful in his next life by synthesizing all he had learned about organizations in his previous lives, and putting that knowledge and wisdom at the ready disposal of the next generation of leaders. As soon as he was healthy, he headed for sunny Southern California and its eponymous private university, where he has been in residence now for 25 years and running.

You have to remember that Warren has been a legend since before he was 30. In the mid-1950s, he had been the most visible part of the most controversial movement ever to hit the typically staid world of business organizations: so-called human relations, invented by Kurt Lewin, and notably (or notoriously) put into practice as "T-Groups" at the National Training Laboratories in Bethel, Maine. T-groups took many forms, but the basic idea was to bring managers together in small groups to resolve the conflicts and role strains that undercut effective working relationships. Originally developed to deal with racial tension in the workplace by surfacing the sources of conflict, T-groups, in their later manifestations at Esalen and elsewhere, led to frequent parodying of the process.

Rightly or wrongly, Warren's name was indelibly associated with the movement, and the last four generations of American graduate students have reveled in stories of that era, which, to them, appears to have been Social Science Camelot. Indeed, when I had the honor of announcing in late 1979 that Warren Bennis would be joining our faculty at USC, a newly minted Ph.D. whistled, "Wow, is *he* still alive?" In fact, Warren was 53 at the time.

And he was not just alive, he was ready to embark on his most productive career to date. In 1985, he and coauthor Burt Nanus produced the best-seller *Leaders*. A few years later, Warren followed up with his magnum opus, *On Becoming a Leader*. Today, as a result of those two volumes, Warren is globally renowned as the man who reinvented the field of business leadership.

Before Warren, there had been academics in business schools conducting narrow studies of leadership addressed to other academics. But it was Warren who married theory and practice in a way that served corporate leaders. He was also the first to study business leaders in the context of the organizations they led. As a skilled raconteur, prose stylist, cogent observer of behavior (to use his own language, he's a "first-class noticer"), and, above all, as one who has been there himself, Warren has made his practical lessons come alive for two generations of leaders and would-be leaders of government, business, and nonprofit institutions.

He has this knack for naming things. Take, for example, the "Wallenda Factor," that trait of positive thinking found among so many great leaders: Warren coined it after observing the tightrope walker Karl Wallenda, who, at the peak of his high-flying career, never considered the possibility that he might fall off the wire, never worried that he might fail in his self-assigned task. Similarly, Warren has found vivid and simple words to convey other complex behaviors of leaders: "taking charge," "mastering the context," "learning through reflection on experience."

But his legacy and reputation would not be as great as they are if he were merely a creative artist gifted at putting the right name on things. What matters more is that he names the right things. Ultimately, leaders are drawn to Warren and his writings in search of what Aristotle called "practical wisdom." Warren cuts through the clutter of academic research, finds the useful nugget of learning, and then places it in a context that practical men and women can understand. He is unique among business scholars in his ability to do this because he is unique among them in terms of the breadth of his knowledge and the depth of his leadership experience. Chat with most b-school profs and they'll tell you about the latest arcane article in a journal you never heard of. But spend an hour with Warren and you are in the company of the wisest and most insightful of men and women, learning what the likes of Shakespeare, Beckett, Brecht, Santayana, Dewey, Margaret Mead, and Isaiah Berlin had to say about the challenging world in which leaders must operate. That's the same world in which Warren has operated, and about which he has given much considered reflection.

A still-unfolding legacy of generosity and innovation

Warren's ever-growing influence is a result of many factors, but if I had to cite just one, I would attribute it to his generosity. His greatest virtue is his greatest flaw: there is no "no" in him. Warren spends much of his day as Doug McGregor spent his, mentoring students, young faculty, and aspiring leaders. He is always there to offer sage advice, to counsel, to encourage, and to help those who are at key decision points in their lives and careers. He is, in fact, as generous as he is creative, a combination of human virtues that is as potent as it is unusual.

So how do we summarize Warren's contribution thus far? In the words of the distinguished writer Philip Slater, who has followed Warren's career for more than 40 years, "To my mind, he is *the* seminal thinker on leadership and organization. He sounded the death knell of the bureaucratic model and laid the groundwork for the revolution in organizational theory and practice sweeping the world today." Ed Schein, professor emeritus of MIT's Sloan School of Management, adds: "In the field of leadership research, which has been beaten to death for well over 50 years, Warren's is the only voice of innovation, both in terms of how to study leadership and in terms of the conclusions one can reach about it."

Of course, it is too soon to say what Warren's greatest contribution ultimately will be. He is only 80 and, last time I checked, he was busy reinventing himself for his next career. ✦

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A Few of His Favorite **QUOTES**

Genius… means little more than the faculty of perceiving in an unhabitual way. — **WILLIAM JAMES**

If it were my due to be believed, I should not be so bold. — **MONTAIGNE**

The test of a first-class mind is the ability to hold two opposing views…at the same time and still retain the ability to function. — **F. SCOTT FITZGERALD**

The only factory asset we have is human imagination. — **BILL GATES**

Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity. — **HORACE MANN**

In spite of illness, in spite even of the arch-enemy, sorrow, one can remain alive long past the usual date of disintegration if one is unafraid of change, insatiable in intellectual curiosity, interested in big things, and happy in small ways. — **EDITH WHARTON**

There is a bright future for complexity, what with one thing always leading to another. — **E. B. WHITE**

Those societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision must ultimately decay. — **ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD**

These are hard times in which a genius would wish to live. Great necessities call forth great leaders. — **ABIGAIL ADAMS**

But hard it is to learn the mind of any mortal, or the heart, till he be tried in chief authority. Power shows the man. — **SOPHOCLES**

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.
Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man;
But will they come when you do call for them?
— **WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE**

Don't confuse fame with success. Madonna is one, Helen Keller is the other. — **ERMA BOMBECK**

THE POLITICIAN & THE PREACHER

A Delicate Alliance in Leadership

by Nick Kotz

THEY WERE UNLIKELY PARTNERS, the master politician who became president and the eloquent minister who led a revolution. They were suspicious of each other: the president, a rough-talking Texan who had lived through a time of rampant racism in the South; the preacher, a southern black visionary who inspired the nation by fighting a nonviolent war.

Yet they came to work together, in a fragile and complex political pas de deux, to provide the critical leadership that achieved the most dramatic social change in America since the Emancipation Proclamation. The cautious alliance between Lyndon Baines Johnson and the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. was pivotal in turning opportunity into a realized American dream. They played their roles brilliantly. The dynamic interaction between the two men was remarkable, as was their willingness and ability to accommodate each other's political needs and work in complementary ways to overcome differences.

But the partnership between Johnson and King was never easy. Their huge egos and equally massive vulnerabilities made cooperation difficult. Each needed to build consensus within his own highly diverse and contentious constituency. Johnson and King would later split irrevocably over the war in Vietnam. Yet at a critical moment in history, they were united by one common belief. They shared a passion for equality and a dedication to improving the lives of those left out of America's affluent society. They also practiced critically important leadership skills. Each commanded a masterful understanding of the dynamics of American politics. And each knew how to recognize, then seize, political opportunities.

A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY OPENS

After President John F. Kennedy's assassination, both King and Johnson realized instantly that Kennedy's martyrdom could help propel Congress to approve civil rights legislation long stalled by southern politicians.

King coolly and pragmatically predicted that reverence for Kennedy's memory could achieve far more for civil rights than

Photo: Getty Images

A fragile and complex pas de deux: Johnson and King in 1964.

the "continual delays" and evasions that King believed would have marked Kennedy's administration. And Johnson, rejecting a friend's advice that he chart his own new course, replied, "We've got to keep this Kennedy aura around us." Each man quickly called for Congress to pass the civil rights bill as a memorial to the slain president.

Johnson and King shared a deep understanding of the fragile, fleeting nature of political power—especially the power of leaders in a democracy to maneuver difficult and contentious political issues. King understood the quicksilver nature of American public opinion. The United States was a "ten-day nation," he lamented, by which he meant that the American public's willingness to focus on an issue such as civil rights was momentary, limited by a short attention span. Moreover, he was all too aware of how the Senate's southern segregationists had used the filibuster to block civil rights legislation for decades. Therefore, King knew he had to act decisively while the public still felt remorse over John Kennedy's death. To hold public attention and conscience over time, he knew that he had to maintain pressure on the government.

Without command of official power, King's means was to create dramatic confrontations that revealed the brutal injustices inflicted on black citizens by southern segregationists. In June, 1963, President Kennedy had finally proposed strong civil rights legislation. He acted only after King had mounted a televised confrontation in Birmingham, Alabama, in which white policemen with police dogs and high-power fire hoses attacked peaceful demonstrators. By the early months of 1964, King was desperate to find another favorable venue for a new confrontation. He finally settled on St. Augustine, Florida, where Ku Klux Klansmen worked with the county sheriff to suppress efforts to integrate motels and restaurants. Successful demonstrations, playing out almost like religious passion plays, revealed the stark contrast between the actions of violent white vigilante mobs, abetted by law enforcement allies, and those of the nonviolent demonstrators, who peacefully sought only the most basic of American rights. As leader of those demonstrations, King continually took great risks. He knew that he and those who followed him could be killed.

President Johnson also recognized that political conditions are seldom ripe enough to prevail on the most contentious and divisive issues. He knew that the political power to lead is ephemeral—a limited commodity that quickly evaporates—whether or not one uses that power. So when his advisers recommended that he put off action on civil rights—his most difficult issue—Johnson overruled them. "What's the presidency for, anyway?" he retorted.

Johnson believed that he must move his civil rights program immediately. "We need to push our pile [of poker chips] into the game now," he told his administration's congressional lobbyists, explaining that they must move quickly before his political power diminished. He predicted that after he took controversial actions and after his "honeymoon" period with the Congress, the news media, and the voters had passed, his popular support would gradually erode by the millions.

A MASTERY OF THE USES AND LIMITS OF POWER

The 1964 Civil Rights Act, which dismantled segregation and banned employment discrimination, was the first law passed in the wake of Kennedy's assassination. The 1965 Voting Rights Act, which finally enfranchised African-Americans, was passed immediately after Johnson had won the presidency in 1964's record landslide victory. Both pieces of legislation were passed when Johnson's presidential power and King's social and political influence were at their peak.

As Johnson and King worked separately and in tandem to enact the two historic civil rights laws, each demonstrated other critically important leadership skills. Both knew that power was often most effectively exercised quietly and inconspicuously. To keep a fractious group of civil rights organizations united, King often worked behind the scenes as a mediator, seeking consensus or compromise rather than pushing his own positions. Johnson knew when to use the presidency as a "bully pulpit" and when to use a light touch, refraining from bringing to bear on a situation all the formal authority he had available. In winning both the 1964 and 1965 civil rights laws, Johnson repeatedly focused responsibility on the Congress, leaving himself free to influence legislators quietly, in private talks. His so-called "Johnson treatment" consisted of an array of leadership weapons that included rewards and threats of punishment.

Individually, and in their relationship with each other, Johnson and King were equally sensitive to the limits of their own power, the need for compromise, and also to the need to help allies and enemies cope with political problems. At times, King would stop demonstrations, deferring to the president's and congressional leaders' pleas that further confrontation would be counterproductive.

At the 1964 Democratic national convention, for example, King worked within the civil rights coalition in an effort to unseat the segregationist Mississippi regulars and replace them with a mostly black delegation. Using more raw power and ruthlessness than was wise or necessary, Johnson crushed the revolt and imposed a compromise. For young radical black civil rights leaders, Johnson's actions represented a final betrayal, leading them toward a ruinous course of separatism, "black power," and the renunciation of nonviolence. But King accepted the compromise, and not only because he thought it represented progress. His attention was focused on his future relationship with President Johnson—first helping him win election with a record black vote, then asking him to support strong voting rights legislation.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act integrated all public accommodations and guaranteed equal access to employment. In January, 1965, only

a few months after their remarkable shared victory in its passage, Johnson called King on King's 36th birthday. The president found King in Selma, Alabama, where the Nobel Prize winner had just launched a daring voter registration drive. King was pleasantly surprised when Johnson told him, "We have to come up with [voting rights legislation]. That will answer 70 percent of your problems!"

"There is not going to be anything, doctor, as effective as all [black citizens] voting," the president continued. "That will give you a message that all the eloquence in the world won't bring [because the candidate or elected official] will be coming to you then, instead of you calling him."

"You're exactly right about that, King replied. "It's very interesting, Mr. President, to notice that the only states that you didn't carry in the South—the five Southern states—had less than 40 percent of the Negroes registered to vote. So it demonstrates that it is so important to get Negroes registered to vote in large numbers; it would be this coalition of the Negro vote and the moderate white vote that would really make the New South," he advised.

"That is exactly right!" Johnson replied. He cherished just that vision of a political coalition that could give birth to a New South of tolerance and prosperity.

"I think you can contribute a great deal by getting your leaders and you, yourself, taking very simple examples of discrimination [in voter registration]," Johnson advised King, "where a man has got to memorize Longfellow, or he has got to quote from the first Ten Amendments, or he has got to tell you what Amendments Fifteen, Sixteen, and Seventeen are. Some people don't have to do that, but when a Negro comes in, he has got to do it.

"If you can find the worst condition that you can run into in Alabama or Mississippi or Louisiana or South Carolina.... If you take one illustration and get it on radio, get it on television, get it in the pulpits, get it in the meetings—every place you can—then pretty soon the fellow who didn't do anything but drive a tractor would say, 'Well that's not right—that's not fair.'"

"Yes, you're exactly right about that," King replied with growing enthusiasm.

The president and the civil rights leader—the politician and the preacher—bounced ideas off each other like two old allies in a campaign strategy huddle, excited about achieving their dreams for a more just society. Here was Johnson, never an admirer of King's direct-action tactics, now advising King about how to put pressure on Congress for voting rights. And King, never quite sure of Johnson's motives, was advising Johnson about how to get reelected in 1968. Timing was everything: Johnson understood that more public pressure was needed before the time would be ripe to pass voting rights. And King was ready to supply the pressure.

SHOWDOWN AT SELMA

What Johnson and King achieved individually and together over the next two months was a textbook example of effective, imaginative leadership. The result was the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which represented the climactic high point of the civil rights revolution and the Johnson presidency.

King had shrewdly selected Selma, Alabama, as the ideal battleground on which to force a confrontation exposing voting discrimination at its worst. Less than two percent of Selma's African-Americans had succeeded in registering to vote. And county sheriff Jim Clark embodied the perfect villain—a racist law-enforcement figure whose predictably violent tactics would stand in stark contrast to the nonviolent actions of civil rights demonstrators. It would play dramatically on television.

> Here was Johnson advising King about how to pressure Congress for voting rights—and King advising Johnson about how to get reelected in 1968.

The confrontation King desired came on Sunday, March 7, 1965, when several hundred civil rights marchers were assaulted at the Edmund Pettus Bridge by Sheriff Clark's deputies and his own gang of vigilantes, aided by state troopers dispatched by Alabama's segregationist governor George Wallace. "Get those goddamned niggers!" Clark shouted to his men. The resulting bloodbath, which became known as Bloody Sunday, was seen by much of the American public on national television and on the front pages of the nation's newspapers. Shockwaves registered across America.

At this point, Johnson and King exercised other effective leadership traits—demonstrating patience, restraint, and sensitivity to the problems of their allies. At the time, both men were under intense political pressure to take actions that they feared were unwise—and would almost surely lead to bloodshed, possibly making it even more difficult to win a voting rights law. King was pressed by his followers to defy a federal court order and lead another march two days after Bloody Sunday; Johnson faced mounting demands to send in federal troops to protect the marchers.

Communicating secretly by telephone with the White House, King posed his dilemma. He needed a solution that would not undermine his leadership—which was now under challenge by leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—and that would not force him to disobey a federal court order, or to send his civil rights protesters on a suicide march. Quietly, the President worked out a last-minute compromise: King would march to the center of the bridge with his demonstrators, kneel and pray, sing *(continued on page 26)*

MARCH 13, 1965: Alabama governor George Wallace emerges from the White House after undergoing three hours of the "Johnson treatment."

A CASE STUDY IN ADAPTIVE LEADERSHIP

Nick Kotz reports that as he studied the relationship between Lyndon Johnson and Martin Luther King Jr., the leadership theory that influenced him the most was that of adaptive leadership, developed by Ronald A. Heifetz of the Kennedy School faculty. "Heifetz's *Leadership Without Easy Answers* corroborated my own research and ideas about the importance of the Johnson-King relationship," Kotz says. "At that time, most people thought Johnson and King hated each other. Heifetz seemed to be the only person other than myself who saw an interplay between them that was a critical factor in getting the two pieces of civil rights legislation passed."

Heifetz, cofounder of the Center for Public Leadership, would certainly agree about the subtle collaboration between Johnson and King. Indeed, *Leadership Without Easy Answers* uses the Johnson-King relationship to illustrate four of the levers for promoting adaptive change once the fundamental challenge has been identified:

1 **Regulating distress.** "In the midst of crisis, the first priority is to evaluate the level of social distress, and, if it is too high, take action to bring it into a productive range," Heifetz writes. A president can regulate the level of distress not only by the cues he gives, but also by the actions he takes. Johnson, who wanted to mobilize the nation to face issues of racial equality that it had been avoiding for nearly 200 years, saw the immediate crisis surrounding the Selma march as an opportunity. "King and his organizers turned up the heat," Heifetz writes, "but Johnson let the stew simmer. By his calm demeanor and lukewarm statements, Johnson communicated that the crisis was no emergency. But by inaction, Johnson raised the level of tension so that people could no longer ignore their own responsibility for the harsh reality of black people being beaten for requesting an equal right to vote."

2 **Directing disciplined attention to the issues.** Had Johnson intervened in the crisis by mobilizing the National Guard, as many were demanding, he would have diverted the nation's attention away from the fundamental issue—the right to vote—and onto the side issue of protecting the marchers' right to express their grievances. Moreover, "his intervention would also have diverted attention from the issue of racism to the issue of states' rights," Heifetz writes. By allowing the crisis to brew for more than a week, "Johnson pushed people to face the internal contradictions of their society," Heifetz writes.

3 **Giving work back to the people.** Though he craved recognition, Johnson refrained from grabbing the public's attention during the crisis. He "kept the spotlight on the persons embodying the issues," and so "gave the work of adjustment back to the people with the problem: the civil right activists, George Wallace, Congress, and the general public." With King, for example, Johnson privately lent his support to the civil rights leader's efforts to galvanize public attention. With Wallace, Johnson avoided the trap the governor was setting—namely, shifting responsibility for the situation to the highest authority. Instead, Johnson pressed Wallace to reconsider what he wanted his legacy to be, all the while carefully framing the discussion so that the burden of the decision was always on Wallace.

4 **Protecting voices of leadership within the community.** Johnson's protection of King and his colleagues took the form of "encouragement, guidance, and warning," writes Heifetz. Understanding the value of the dramatic confrontations with segregationist authorities, Johnson urged King to continue to orchestrate such events. After Bloody Sunday, however, a federal court issued a restraining order delaying the second march over the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Johnson, realizing that the civil rights movement couldn't afford "damaging a fundamental trust for legal process," urged King not to proceed. He "made clear to King the limits of the cover he could provide." The compromise the two men eventually worked out preserved the national structure of authority while enabling King to maintain control over the more radical elements within his movement.

—Sarah Chace and Loren Gary

Photo: Getty Images

freedom songs, then turn and march back to Selma. The White House then persuaded Alabama officials to accept this compromise. Although King's militant black critics shouted "betrayal," the plan worked. A deadly clash was averted.

However, the pressure increased on Lyndon Johnson to send in federal troops to protect the civil rights protesters. Young civil rights leader John Lewis demanded to know why the president could send troops to protect South Vietnam but "he can't send troops to Selma, Alabama!" The White House was besieged by civil rights demonstrators who chanted, "LBJ, just you wait. See what happens in '68!"

As the demand for action grew more insistent—from the nation and even from his closest aides—Johnson refused to be rushed. "If I just send in federal troops with their big black boots," he said, "it will look like Reconstruction all over again. I will lose every moderate, not just in Alabama, but all over the South. Most southern people don't like this violence. They know deep in their hearts that things are going to change. They may not like it, but they will accommodate. But not if it looks like the Civil War all over again. That will force them into the arms of extremists and make (Governor) Wallace a martyr. And that's not going to help the Negroes—to have to fight a war."

At this critical moment, Johnson and King adjusted to each other's needs. For his part, King curtailed demonstrations, and avoided any criticism of the president for not sending federal troops. Johnson's discretion protected King from being attacked for making a deal with the White House.

Johnson also intuited that Alabama governor George Wallace also was seeking a way out of a difficult situation. Although he had postured and shouted "never" to integration, Wallace was now worried that any further violence would leave blood on his hands, dooming his plan to run for president as a populist in 1968.

One of Johnson's strong suits as a leader came out of his voracious appetite to learn everything that he could about other leaders—to know their strengths and weakness, their ambitions and fears. His intense study of other men and women paid off with Wallace.

"Wallace is a lot more sophisticated than your average southern politician," Johnson told his advisers. "It's his ox that's in the ditch. Let's see how he gets him out."

As Johnson had hoped, Wallace asked for a White House meeting, thinking he could force the president to back off. The governor could not have been more wrong.

Johnson welcomed the Alabama governor to the White House just before noon on Saturday, March 13—six days after "Bloody Sunday." The six-foot-four Johnson sat the diminutive Wallace on a low, deep-cushioned couch in the Oval Office. Then Johnson pulled up his rocking chair, positioning it so that he sat towering over Wallace. When the president leaned forward, their noses nearly touched. Johnson soon silenced all of Wallace's threats and bluster with his own acid rebukes. "Don't you shit me, George Wallace!" the president said. Then, with Wallace totally deflated, the president shifted from sarcasm and satire to the most effective part of the "Johnson treatment."

"Now listen, George," Johnson said softly. "Don't think about 1968 [the next presidential election]. Think about 1988. You and me, we'll be dead and gone, then, George.... What do you want left after you, when you die? Do you want a great big marble monument that reads, 'George Wallace—He Built.' Or do you want a little piece of pine board lying across that harsh caliche soil that reads, 'George Wallace—He Hated.'"

As he left the White House at the end of his three-hour meeting, an exhausted Wallace confessed, "Hell, if I'd stayed in there much longer, he'd have had me coming out for civil rights." Wallace had not been converted, but Johnson had made his point. The president did not publicly rebuke Wallace, or rub the governor's nose in his disgraceful behavior in Selma. He wanted to leave Wallace with his dignity intact, and to leave him room to maneuver.

THE "CENTURIES-OLD BLIGHT" IS CAST OFF

After his meeting with Wallace, Johnson wielded the power of the bully pulpit in a televised address before a joint session of Congress. "The real hero of this struggle," he proclaimed, "is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this nation."

Johnson built to a climax: "Their cause must be our cause, too. Because it's not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And—we —*shall*—overcome!"

The next Gallup poll showed that Johnson had won the highest approval rating on the issue of civil rights ever achieved by a president.

Days later, when the federal court ruled in King's favor and ordered the state of Alabama to allow a voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery, a subdued Wallace quietly invited Johnson to federalize the Alabama National Guard, so that it would be 1,800 Alabamians, not out-of-state troopers, who were protecting the marchers. Johnson quickly complied with Wallace's request.

At the end of the five-day march, King spoke in front of the state capitol. He called the victory in Selma "a shining moment in the Conscience of Man.... A President born in the South had the sensitivity to feel the will of the country. And in an address that will live in history as one of the most passionate pleas for human rights ever made by a President of our nation, he pledged the might of the federal government to cast off the centuries-old blight."

On August 6, 1965, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, which finally ensured that black Americans in the South would no longer be prevented from registering and voting. At a ceremony held in the U.S. Capitol, Johnson gave King one of the souvenir pens he used to sign the bill.

It was, for two giants of the 1960s, a shining moment indeed. ✦

NICK KOTZ, a Pulitzer Prize–winning reporter and author of five books on American politics, adapted this article from his book *Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King, and the Laws That Changed America* (Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

THE NEW OPERA *MARGARET GARNER* SHOWS THAT ARTISTIC AND COMMERCIAL RISK TAKING CAN SOMETIMES GO HAND IN HAND.

Breaking with Convention

by Loren Gary

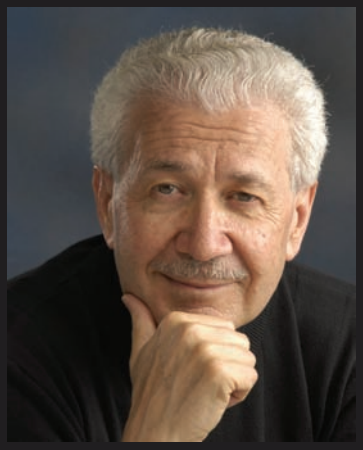
"SAD THINGS, FAR AWAY; soft things, come and play," sings mezzo-soprano Denyce Graves during a tender moment in *Margaret Garner,* which has received critical acclaim after its world premiere in Detroit this past May and its three-performance run in Cincinnati. "Sleep in the meadow, sleep in the hay," the lullaby continues. "Baby's gonna dream the night away."

There is no small irony in the fact that this line lodges in the memory. For although the opera, based on the true story of an escaped slave in the 1850s, ends on an uplifting note, the action centers on a nightmarish dilemma whose power to arrest and disturb is anything but far away. Says Graves: "The story will rip you to shreds."

In the opera, Margaret Garner, facing recapture, kills her children and herself rather than have them all returned to the bonds of slavery. Clearly, this is not art that is designed to appease—to provide solace and diversion only. Exploding opera's stuffy, Eurocentric image, *Margaret Garner* grabs audiences by the lapels, presenting them with a fresh perspective on a painful, often ignored part of their past—and their present.

The lingering effects of America's slaveholding past "have proven that issues concerning race, class, and the true meaning of freedom are in no way resolved in our country," says Richard Danielpour, the opera's composer. "Visiting Washington, D.C., today, one can see memorials to heroes from every war and cause, but there is not one memorial to the people who suffered under the institution of slavery."

Margaret Garner rectifies this oversight—through music instead of marble. Just as Verdi's *Nabucco* memorializes the Babylonian captivity of the ancient Israelites, *Margaret Garner* ennobles even as it harrows. Unearthing slavery's horrors and contradictions, while avoiding many of



David DiChiera, general director of the Michigan Opera Theatre

Librettist and composer: Toni Morrison and Richard Danielpour.

the stereotypes associated with plantation life, it reminds us that there are worse things than death, and that the longing for freedom is both universal and enduring.

Art can be a powerful vehicle for getting people to face divisive issues; the star-studded list of artists involved in *Margaret Garner* has certainly helped in this regard. Graves, who sings the title role, is one of the most highly regarded mezzos in opera today. Danielpour is one of the most celebrated composers of his generation. The world-renowned Jessye Norman sang the role of Cilla, Margaret's mother-in-law, in the opera's Detroit run. Oh, and by the way, the librettist is Nobel laureate Toni Morrison.

The collaboration of these and other artists has resulted in a memorable work. But not all great art becomes a commercial hit, especially in the opera world, where many companies' survival depends on finding new audiences, and where breaking even qualifies as a victory. *Margaret Garner,* however, has filled the house for each of its eight performances to date, attracting a higher percentage of African-Americans than typically attends the opera without alienating the traditional subscriber base.

What makes the story of *Margaret Garner* singular, therefore, is not just the perseverance of artists who believed that the opera could make a contribution to the public discourse, but also the savvy and committed business leadership demonstrated by the three opera companies that jointly commissioned the work.

BRINGING THE STORY TO THE STAGE

The historical Margaret Garner and her family escaped in 1856 from Maplewood Farm in Richwood, Kentucky; crossing the frozen Ohio River, they made their way to Cincinnati. But once they were in the North, freedom was by no means guaranteed. Under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, citizens who assisted runaway slaves were subject to a fine and up to six months' imprisonment. Federal marshals were entitled to a fee if they captured runaways, which prompted some officers to kidnap free African-Americans and sell them into slavery.

Despite the efforts of those who disobeyed the law and supported the Underground Railroad, many escaped slaves were caught and sent back south. Margaret resolved not to let this happen to her family should their recapture appear imminent. As her husband was being dragged from their hiding place, Margaret slit the throat of her two-year-old daughter Mary and attempted to kill her three other children before being overpowered by U.S. marshals. The subsequent trial, the longest fugitive-slave case of the era, sparked intense national debate: should Garner be tried for murder or—since according to the laws of the time her daughter belonged not to her but to the owner of Maplewood Farm—for theft and destruction of property?

Was she human or was she property? How does one remain human under inhuman circumstances? Margaret Garner's trial cast the contradictions of antebellum American society in high relief. And the legacy of those contradictions continues to influence contemporary life. "The impossible dilemma that gives rise to Margaret Garner's action still has resonance today," says Danielpour, who grew up in the South during the 1960s and was profoundly influenced by the civil rights movement.

> How does one remain human under inhuman circumstances? Margaret Garner's dilemma still has resonance today.

But which medium would be best suited to telling this story? Danielpour, who had never composed an opera before *Margaret Garner,* says that the operatic form "tends to work best with stories that have an extremeness about them." The obvious fit with the Garner story notwithstanding, Danielpour needed to satisfy himself that the material wasn't better suited to a film or play. "In this case," he says, "much of what went on in the lives of enslaved people had to do with singing in code: they sang to get through work, to connect to God, to keep their families together." Singing, Danielpour realized, could be made "an integral part of the drama."

Morrison, however, who had come across the Garner story decades ago, and had based her Pulitzer Prize–winning novel *Beloved* on it, initially thought she had exhausted this material. Besides, she says, "I've always felt the language of opera, with one or two exceptions, to be pretty uninteresting.

"But then I got interested in trying to represent the language of 19th-century slaves. I've always admired the economy and metaphorical life and musicality of the language of my own culture. But writers such as Twain, Poe, Stowe, even Styron couldn't get a handle on black vernacular, so they would misspell it—for example, drop *e*s, or make contractions. In some instances there was a deliberate effort to de-intellectualize the language—to make it close to non-English or even bestiality.

"Another goal," Morrison continues, "was to provide singable language for African-American artists who are pretty much limited to *Aida* and *Carmen* and spirituals. I was stunned by the

Photos: Philip Groshing (Cincinatti Opera, Margaret Garner 2005); Ameen Howrani (DiChiera); Timothy Greenfield-Sanders (Morrison and Danielpour)

LEFT: Gregg Baker, Denyce Graves, and Angela Brown surrounded by members of the ensemble.

RIGHT: Denyce Graves as Margaret Garner.

number of African-American singers in opera, and I wanted them to have material that was suited to their talent."

Morrison had never written a libretto, but she had written lyrics for soprano Kathleen Battle. She had also worked with Danielpour on *Sweet Talk,* a song cycle for Jessye Norman. During that collaboration, the two began to pitch each other on the idea of an opera based on the Garner story. Not long after, Danielpour went to meet Graves and asked her to take the role of Margaret. "It sounded like a project I would be honored to be a part of," Graves says.

Like Graves, other world-class performers—including Norman, Angela Brown, who sang the role of Cilla during the Cincinnati run, Rodney Gilfry, who sings the role of Edward Gaines, the owner of Maplewood Farm, and Gregg Baker, who sings the role of Robert, Margaret's husband—were drawn to the work because of its potential to make an impact. Kenny Leon, the stage director, eschewed the clichéd images of straw hats and cotton bales so as to avoid anything that looked or sounded like something audiences had already seen. "If we're able to get them to look at Margaret Garner as a woman, then we would have learned something about slavery, about race, about the country… and it would have moved us forward," he told *CityBeat,* Cincinnati's weekly magazine.

REACHING OUT TO NEW AUDIENCES

With a score that combines strains of jazz, gospel, blues, and traditional spirituals into what the *New York Times* called a "melting pot in tones," and a libretto that the *Financial Times* of London described as "theatrically assured and poetically inspired," *Margaret Garner* received rave reviews during its Detroit and Cincinnati runs. (Six additional performances will take place in Philadelphia next February.)

But the opera might never have been realized without the prudent business leadership of the three companies that jointly commissioned it. David DiChiera, general director of the Michigan Opera Theatre, says he had been searching for a world premiere that "would resonate with the African-American community" ever since he founded the company in 1971. Most opera companies' audience is about 4% African-American. Over the years, the Michigan Opera Theatre had increased that figure to 12%. "But I wanted to do better," DiChiera says.

When he learned of Danielpour and Morrison's interest in an opera based on the Margaret Garner story, DiChiera embarked upon what he describes as "a complicated journey" to make sure the African-American community would be comfortable with the material. He convened a multiethinic committee of civic leaders who spent a day discussing whether the city had adequately addressed the history of slavery and what the opera might mean for the participation of African-Americans as artists, supporters, and audience.

He also carefully examined the framework of the opera with Danielpour. "Every artistic decision has financial ramifications, and vice versa," he explains. "For example, at one time, there was a scene in which Margaret was captured on a riverboat that caught fire—that became too complex and costly to stage."

Realizing that the roughly $500,000 in commissioning costs would be too expensive for a single opera company to afford, DiChiera approached his counterparts in Cincinnati and Philadelphia, two cities, that, like Detroit, "had large African-American communities and that had experienced racial problems in the past," he says. Both opera companies agreed to participate.

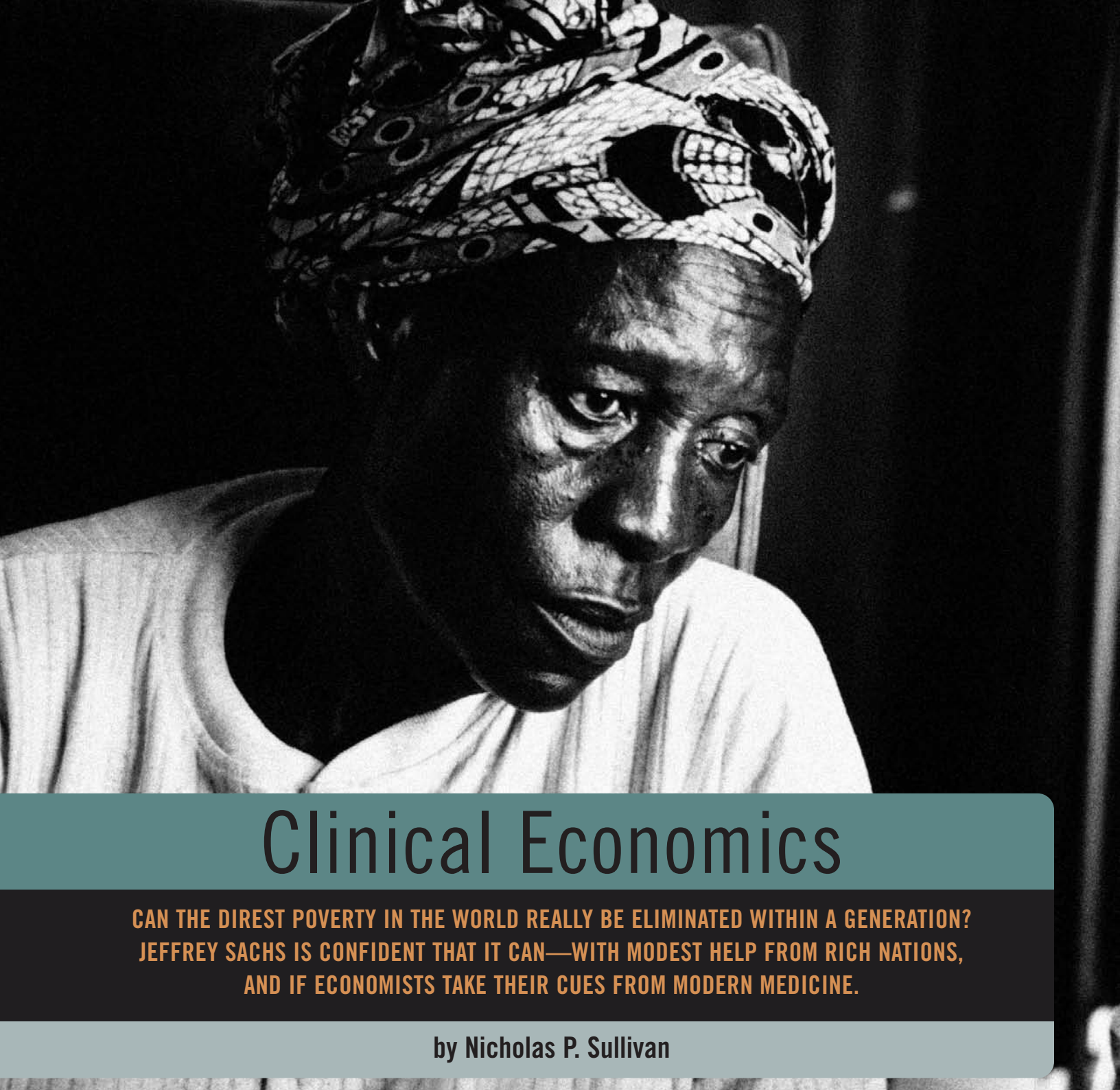
The entire project cost more than $2 million, DiChiera continues. "Our biggest goal was to break even. All five public performances sold out early, and we could have added more." He estimates that 40% of the attendees at the public performances, and 70% at the student performance, were African-American. "That's an astounding change from our typical 12%; I believe that the new relationships we've been able to establish because of *Margaret Garner* will help us move that number to 20%."

All three opera companies have developed extensive plans for using *Margaret Garner* as a tool for community outreach. For example, the Opera Company of Philadelphia is sending a professional storyteller to churches, libraries, and former Underground Railroad sites to narrate the story—with the help of members of the production. "This should help us make contact with all kinds of groups that are not very frequent operagoers," says Robert Driver, producing artistic director.

"We need to be relevant," adds DiChiera. "I can't depend on the Italian community to keep our company viable, even though most of our operas are Italian. We have to be more aggressive in reaching out to our audiences. And we have to look at everything we do as an opportunity to engage the various groups in our community."

By deepening their involvement with local communities, these three opera companies are not only solidifying their financial operations, they're also helping their communities move closer to some kind of resolution of the complex emotional residue from our nation's legacy of slavery—blacks wanting their suffering acknowledged, whites wanting to be freed from the burden of guilt. The hope for such a resolution is expressed at the end of the opera, says Driver: "After Margaret chooses to die, there's this apotheosis, similar to Verdi's *Falstaff,* in which the music of Gaines the slave owner and the music of the black people are combined.

"The music here is expressing things that words alone cannot; you leave feeling uplifted in a way." ✦



Clinical Economics

CAN THE DIREST POVERTY IN THE WORLD REALLY BE ELIMINATED WITHIN A GENERATION? JEFFREY SACHS IS CONFIDENT THAT IT CAN—WITH MODEST HELP FROM RICH NATIONS, AND IF ECONOMISTS TAKE THEIR CUES FROM MODERN MEDICINE.

by Nicholas P. Sullivan

WHEN YOU READ ABOUT THE POOR,

you don't often see them in your mind's eye. But Jeffrey Sachs, director of both Columbia University's Earth Institute and the United Nations' Millennium Project to combat poverty, is working hard to change that. In his recent book, *The End of Poverty,* Sachs describes a scene in Malawi: a medical ward that has no medicine, where 450 late-stage AIDS patients are jammed into a room with 150 beds.

"In most cases, two people are lying head to toe, toe to head—strangers sharing a death bed," Sachs writes. "Alongside or underneath the bed there is somebody on the ground, sometimes literally on the ground, sometimes on a piece of cardboard, dying beneath the bed." The doctor treating these patients knows that each of them "could rise from the deathbed but for the want of a dollar a day [the cost of antiretroviral drug therapy] … He knows the problem is not one of infrastructure or logistics or adherence. He knows that the problem is simply that the world has seen fit to look away as hundreds of impoverished Malawians die this day as a result of their poverty."

A macroeconomist tenured at Harvard at age 28, Sachs has in the past 10 years become a relentless anthropological field researcher. Traversing the globe, he has sought to understand the

NKHOTAKOTA, MALAWI: Mary Mbwana, a 35-year-old mother, lies stricken with AIDS as her own mother, Miriam, watches over her. In sub-Saharan Africa, AIDS and malaria have combined with adverse geography and climate to create the worst poverty in the world.

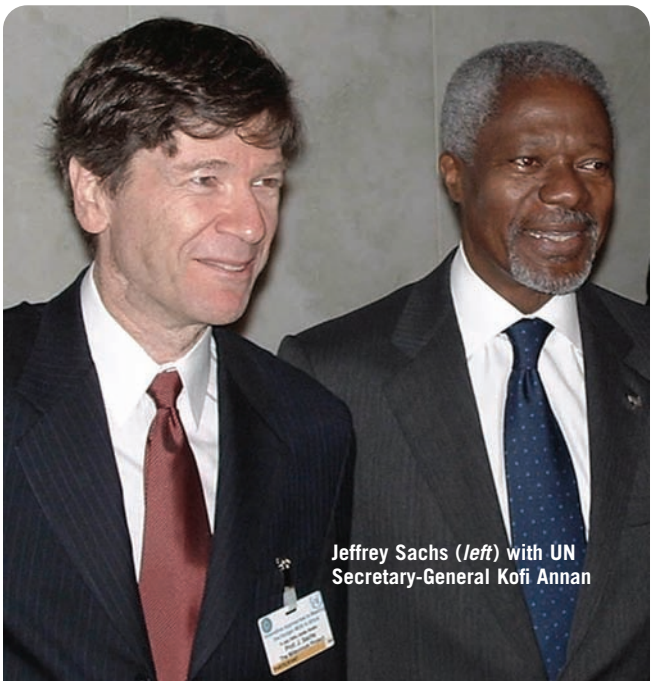
interconnections between disease, geography, climate, and poverty—specifically, why have some regions of the world have remained utterly destitute for hundreds of years, whereas others have been able to escape the rise of poverty and ascend the ladder of economic development.

Since 2002, when he moved from Harvard to Columbia and also became a special adviser to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and director of the Millennium Project, Sachs has been working with a team of 300 to elevate the plight of the poor to the top of the global agenda. In his writing, as well as his addresses to influential economic and public health gatherings and other media appearances, he combines rigorous academic discipline, an emotional connection to people who are suffering, and a cocky willingness to call out nations and organizations that he believes aren't doing enough to address eminently solvable problems. For the first time in history, Sachs claims, the eradication of "extreme poverty" is possible, and it can be accomplished within the next 20 years.

At first glance, Sachs's bold ideas about how to eliminate poverty sound like a call for foreign aid on steroids. A closer look, however, shows that he is advocating a wholesale rethinking of development economics. Calling for far more on-the-ground clinical research and "differential diagnoses" that lead to specific, tactical solutions—backed by targeted investments that vary by country and by village—Sachs wants to see development economics become a profession with the same standards and responsibilities as medicine.

OUT OF THE "POVERTY TRAP" AND ONTO THE DEVELOPMENT LADDER

At the heart of Sachs's proposals is a huge, centralized bailout, run by the UN, of the world's 1.1 billion "extreme" poor—the one-sixth of humanity that lives on less than $1 a day. By Sachs's rough accounting, this bailout will require $135 billion in 2006, rising to $195 billion in 2015. (By contrast, foreign aid from all countries totaled about $79 billion in 2004.) "By 2015, most of the developing world will have been freed from the poverty trap onto a path of self-sustaining growth," writes Sachs, with his



Jeffrey Sachs (*left*) with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan

Photo previous page: CORBIS; left, AP WideWorld

Millenium Development Goals

2005 PROGRESS CHART

In 2000, leaders from virtually the entire world's countries agreed on eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which constitute an integrated effort to reduce poverty and the problems of illiteracy, hunger, discrimination against women, unsafe drinking water, and a degraded environment. Most of the targets set for the MDGs, using conditions that prevailed in 1990 as a baseline, promise clear and measurable improvement by the end of 2015.

(President Bush, in something of a surprise move, reaffirmed these goals this past September in an address at the UN—just days after his administration proposed eliminating any reference to the goals from UN Summit resolution. "We are committed to the Millennium Development Goals," the president said. "We have a moral obligation to help others—and a moral duty to make sure our actions are effective." Sachs's response: "As far as I know, the president has never uttered that phrase before.")

The chart to the right shows progress on the MDGs based on the latest information available from all the countries in the world as of September 2005. For **GOAL 1,** for example, the most recent data is from 2001; it shows that the proportion of extremely poor people in the developing world had fallen to 21%, down from 28% in 1990. The most recent hunger statistics, which are from 2002, show that the number of hungry people increased between 1997 and 2002.

GOAL 8, not shown on the chart, comprises actions developed countries need to take in support of the work to be done in developing countries. For example: creating more open and nondiscriminatory financial and trading systems; providing tariff- and quota-free access for exports from least-developed countries; enhancing debt relief and forgiveness programs; creating more jobs for youth in developing countries; and improving poor countries' access to drugs to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria.

In his March 2005 report, Secretary-General Annan said, "The MDGs can be met by 2015—but only if all involved break with business as usual and dramatically accelerate and scale up action now." Since the Millennium Summit, however, official development assistance has grown from $50 billion in 2000 to only $79 billion in 2004, which is barely 0.25% of donor countries' overall annual income. But if pledges made by heads of state at the July 2005 Group of 8 meeting at Gleneagles are carried out, total official development assistance will increase to $129 billion by 2010. *—Nicholas P. Sullivan*

GOALS and Targets	GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS: Africa – Northern	Africa – Sub-Saharan	Asia – Eastern	Asia – Southeastern	Asia – Southern	Asia – Western	Oceania	Latin America & Caribbean	Commonwealth of Independent States – Europe	Commonwealth of Independent States – Asia
GOAL 1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger										
Reduce extreme poverty by half	low poverty	very high poverty	moderate poverty	moderate poverty	high poverty	low poverty	—	moderate poverty	low poverty	low poverty
Reduce hunger by half	very low hunger	very high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	very low hunger	high hunger
GOAL 2 Achieve universal primary education										
Universal primary schooling	high enrollment	low enrollment	high enrollment	high enrollment	moderate enrollment	moderate enrollment	moderate enrollment	high enrollment	moderate enrollment	high enrollment
GOAL 3 Promote gender equality and empower women										
Equal girls' enrollment in primary school	close to parity	far from parity	parity	parity	far from parity	nearly close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity	parity
Women's share of paid employment	low share	medium share	high share	medium share	low share	low share	medium share	high share	high share	high share
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	low representation	low representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation	very low representation	very low representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation
GOAL 4 Reduce child mortality										
Reduce mortality of under-five-year-olds by two-thirds	moderate mortality	very high mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	high mortality
Measles immunization	high coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	moderate coverage	low coverage	moderate coverage	very low coverage	high coverage	high coverage	high coverage
GOAL 5 Improve maternal health										
Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters *	moderate mortality	very high mortality	low mortality	high mortality	very high mortality	moderate mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
GOAL 6 Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases										
Halt and reverse spread of HIV/AIDS	—	very high prevalence	low prevalence	moderate prevalence	moderate prevalence	—	moderate prevalence	moderate prevalence	high prevalence	low prevalence
Halt and reverse spread of malaria *	low risk	high risk	moderate risk	moderate risk	moderate risk	low risk	low risk	moderate risk	low risk	low risk
Halt and reverse spread of tuberculosis	low mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality
GOAL 7 Ensure environmental sustainability										
Reverse loss of forests	small area covered by forests	medium area covered by forests	medium area covered by forests	large area covered by forests	medium area covered by forests	small area covered by forests	large area covered by forests	large area covered by forests	large area covered by forests	small area covered by forests
Halve proportion without improved drinking water	high coverage	low coverage	moderate coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage
Halve proportion without sanitation	high coverage	very low coverage	low coverage	moderate coverage	very low coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage
Improve the lives of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	very high proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	very high proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	—	high proportion of slum-dwellers	low proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers

The progress chart operates on two levels. The words in each box tell what the current rate of compliance with each target is. The color key to the right shows the trend in the progress toward meeting the target by 2015.

- **Target already met or very close to being met.**
- **Target is expected to be met by 2015 if prevailing trends persist, or the problem that this target is designed to address is not a serious concern in the region.**
- **Target is not expected to be met by 2015, if prevailing trends persist.**
- **No progress, or a deterioration or reversal.**
- **Insufficient data.**

* The available data for maternal mortality and malaria does not allow a trend analysis.

Progress in the chart has been assessed by the responsible agencies on the basis of proxy indicators. Country experiences in each region may differ significantly from the regional average.

Sources: United Nations, based on data and estimates provided by: Food and Agriculture Organization; Inter-Parliamentary Union; International Labour Organization; UNESCO; UNICEF; World Health Organization; UNAIDS; UN-Habitat; World Bank. Based on statistics available September 2005. Compiled by: Statistics Division, UN DESA.

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trademark confidence. "Extreme poverty will have been eliminated from China, and will encompass less than 20% in India. In sub-Saharan Africa, the rate will have declined from around 40% today to under 20%."

The projected $135–$195 billion—the actual amounts will vary based on action plans submitted by governments—is but a small sliver of the wealth of rich nations. It amounts to about 0.5% of their combined GDP, significantly less than the 0.7% of GNP already promised by the world's rich nations as part of the Monterrey Consensus (an agreement reached at the International Conference on Financing Development in Monterrey, Mexico, in 2002). Sachs is calling for infusions of aid that will amount to 15%–20% of GDP every year in many African countries—for example, 15.9% in Ghana, 18% in Tanzania, and 16.4% in Uganda. These levels are well above the current average of 7.5% of GDP for the least-developed countries, but only slightly higher than what many African countries are already receiving.

The benchmarks for Sachs's plan to eradicate extreme poverty by 2025 are the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) endorsed by 191 nations in 2000 (*see* "Millennium Development Goals: 2005 Progress Chart," *pp. 32–33*). The number-one goal is to halve, by 2015, the number of people who were living in extreme poverty in 1990—that's a drop from 28% of the world's population to 14%. Such a bailout would not have been possible a generation ago, says Sachs: in 1980, the number of poor was too high, and the wealth of the rich nations too low, to make such a plan feasible.

Only the first MDG focuses on income poverty reduction, but Sachs is requesting funds for all eight goals, which run the gamut from "100% of boys and girls in primary school" to "environmental sustainability." The connection here is straightforward: inadequate health and education contribute to poor economic performance. Says Sachs: "The very poor are often disconnected from market forces because they lack the requisite human capital—nutrition, health, and an adequate education." So just as African safari guides speak of the Big Five animals to watch for on the savannah, Sachs says funds from the rich nations should focus on what he calls the Big Five inputs for development intervention:

- agricultural inputs—fertilizers, small-scale irrigation, improved seeds
- investments in basic health—antimalarial bed nets and medicines, treatments for HIV/AIDS, skilled birth attendants
- investments in education—meals for primary school children and technical/vocational training
- power, transport, and communications services—generators for electricity, trucks for farm inputs, mobile phones
- drinking water and sanitation—more access points to safe water, rainwater harvesting, and improved latrines

Inadequate levels of all five inputs contribute to what Sachs calls the "poverty trap"—in economic terms, this means a capital stock that is small and dwindling because of depreciation and population growth. "Capital is diminished as the result of the passage of time, or wear and tear, or the death of skilled workers because of AIDS," Sachs explains. "If savings exceed depreciation, there is positive net capital accumulation. If savings are less than depreciation, the capital stock declines. Even if there is positive net accumulation, the question for growth is whether the net capital accumulation is large enough to keep up with population growth."

In the poorest countries, most of which are in Africa, people are "unable to escape on their own from extreme material deprivation," Sachs writes. The only way to break out of the poverty trap, he argues, is with a large, sustained, and predictable infusion of money that will be used for health, education, technological improvements to agriculture, and new infrastructure.

A DOCTOR WOULD NEVER MAKE A CRITICAL DIAGNOSIS WITHOUT SEEING A PATIENT. SO HOW CAN A PH.D. STUDENT UNDERSTAND THE DEVELOPMENT CRISIS IN AFRICA WITHOUT SETTING FOOT IN THE CONTINENT?

"Economic development is a ladder with higher rungs representing steps up the path to economic well-being," Sachs writes. The progression of development "moves from subsistence agriculture toward light manufacturing and urbanization, and on to high-tech services." For the poorest countries, the goal is to help them "gain a foothold on the ladder." Thus, over time, targeted investments in the five key areas would help lift a country like Malawi, where 84% of the population lives in rural areas, out of subsistence mode and onto the first rung of the ladder. Countries at this stage of development, such as Bangladesh, have not escaped the grip of extreme poverty, but they have managed to improve their health and education and increase their capital stock so as to achieve a measure of economic growth.

A few rungs up the development ladder, in India, the information-technology revolution is beginning to fuel unprecedented growth. Most households here have adequate nutrition and housing, and their children go to school. Household income averages several thousand dollars per year—middle-income range by world standards. Higher still on the ladder is China, where full-throttle economic development has combined with "rising life expectancy, falling infant mortality rates, rising educational attainment, increasing access to water and sanitation" to enable most of the country's citizens to enjoy 21st-century affluence, Sachs writes.

The key is getting the poorest countries onto the bottom rung of the ladder, Sachs maintains. Once there, the growth should be self-sustaining.

KORARO, ETHIOPIA: Sachs with villagers at one of the sites where the Earth Institute is putting the principles of clinical economics to the test.

Photo courtesy of Sonia Ehrlich Sachs

ONE SIZE DOESN'T FIT ALL

Besides shining a bright light on the real problems of the poor, Sachs is also calling for a new approach to development economics, which was born in the post-colonial era of the 1950s and 1960s. "Development economics needs an overhaul in order to be much more like modern medicine, a profession of rigor, insight, and practicality," writes Sachs.

The idea behind the new method he proposes—he calls it "clinical economics"—is to avoid the one-size-fits-all approach that has been employed by the IMF and the World Bank for the past 50 years. In the "structural adjustment" era ushered in by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s, IMF–World Bank development programs called for belt tightening, privatization, liberalization, and good governance to overcome excessive government control, ownership, spending, and corruption. But the consequences have often been disastrous.

During the last 20 years, rich countries have essentially told poor countries: "Poverty is your own fault. Be like us and you, too, can enjoy the riches of private-sector-led economic development." This practice has intesified with the post–Cold War adoption of the Washington Consensus, a set of free-market principles that the U.S. has tried to impose on aid recipients. Sachs notes the absurd levels to which the advice has sometimes been taken, with the World Bank urging privatization of health services or education while most of the shareholders of the World Bank offer universal access to health and education.

Sachs himself, well known for his "shock therapy" prognosis for Russia and Poland in the early 1990s, may have been swayed by these powerful economic maxims that marked the end of the Cold War. "I had been led to believe that the standard economics tools were adequate if they were properly used," he writes, admitting that, despite his knowledge of advanced tools, "I had not learned the contexts in which to apply them." As a result, he and many other economists proposed the same remedies for virtually every developing or post-Communist country, despite the radical differences among those nations.

Today, however, Sachs takes his cues from clinical medicine. A doctor would never make a critical diagnosis without seeing the patient, Sachs notes. But a Ph.D. student studying the development crisis in Africa might never set foot in the continent, instead basing his work on data collected by others. Specifically, clinical medicine offers five important lessons for development economists, he says:

1. "Economies, like individuals, are complex systems." A country's systems for transport, power, communications, law enforcement, national defense, and taxation are interrelated; "the failure of one system can lead to cascades of failure in other parts of the economy."

2. "Economists, like medical clinicians, need to learn the art of differential diagnosis." For example, the causes of inflation in one country may be very different from those in another country—and may require distinctive therapies.

3. Clinical economics, like clinical medicine, should view treatment in "family," not just individual, terms. Thus, "it is not enough to tell Ghana to get its act together if Ghana faces trade barriers in international markets that prevent it from selling its goods and services."

4. "Good development practice requires monitoring and evaluation." A rigorous comparison of goals and outcomes is particularly important.

5. The development economist community needs to view itself as a profession. There need to be codes of ethical and professional standards to ensure that development economists take on their work "with the sense of responsibility that the tasks require."

Instead of offering broad and often ideological prescriptions—no matter what the facts on the ground are—a clinical diagnosis forces an economist to run through an extensive checklist to ascertain exactly who is poor, and why, what might exacerbate the poverty, and what policies might ameliorate it. The results will vary by country, and even from village to village within a country.

This explains why Sachs has largely avoided making policy recommendations—for a clinical economist, they are too general, too reminiscent of the dreaded one-size-fits-all approach of the structural adjustment era. (One of the few policies he did advocate for was forgiving the debt of "highly indebted poor countries." In late September, the shareholder nations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank signed off on a plan to cancel nearly $40 billion in debt owed by 18 of the world's poorest nation's, 14 of which are in Africa. Sachs also lobbied for the African Growth and Opportunity Act of 2000, a successful initiative that created free-trade textile, manufacturing, and export zones within Africa.)

Instead, Sachs focuses on the search for the differential causes that set the problems of the poor in a particular country, region, or village apart. For example, many of the poor are constricted by geography—especially in Africa, which counts 15 of the UN's 31 so-called Landlocked Developing Nations. The African savannah—the cradle of humanity, to which biologist E. O. Wilson says humans are "hard-wired" to feel a special affinity—poses innumerable and unique challenges for modern economic development: tropical disease, drought, and distance from world markets. Moreover, Sachs notes, the economist Adam Smith "observed in 1776 that Africa had been poor from time immemorial because it lacked the navigable rivers and natural inlets that afford the benefits of low-cost

sea-based trade." Compounding the problem, sub-Saharan Africa's highest population densities are in the highland regions, such as Ethiopia and Rwanda, where the rainfall is more reliable and the soils are better. Yet these highland populations are isolated from the "international division of labor," not to mention trading centers.

To show how the clinical approach might work, Columbia's Earth Institute has started the Millennium Villages Project, which features two real-world laboratory experiments: one in Sauri, Kenya; the other in Koraro, Ethiopia. There, scientists and development experts are working with local communities and governments to apply an integrated package of interventions. As it learns by doing, the Millennium Villages Project will work with national governments and local organizations to scale up these poverty-reducing measures *(see "*Fighting Poverty One Village at a Time," *below)*.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF A MACROECONOMIST

After embracing clinical economics, Sachs has sought to apply it from the bottom up. This is one of the distinctive aspects of his proposal: for a huge top-down, government-to-government plan, the focus on developing specific tactical approaches on a village-by-village basis is extraordinary. It's as if Sachs the cerebral macroeconomist has morphed into a microeconomist with a deep interest in anthropology. One begins to wonder if there isn't something else driving this transformation.

Passing the tin cup for governments of poor countries that don't have the tax revenue to help their people, Sachs appears, at least to some, to be trying to recreate some of the Communist states he helped transform into capitalist economies during the 1990s. In a bit of pop psychoanalysis, *The New York Times Magazine* ("Spend $150 Billion Per Year to Cure World Poverty," Daphne Eviatar, Nov. 7, 2004) describes Sachs's reincarnation as proselytizer for the poor as an "act of atonement for his market-oriented years," and suggests that "having failed at the second-greatest challenge of modern history—the transition from communism to capitalism—he is intent on solving the first: the persistence of global poverty."

That's a bit of a stretch, although when you throw out big ideas with a strong conviction that you are absolutely right and without apologies for any past mistakes—"Looking back, would I have advised Russia differently knowing what I know today?"

Fighting Poverty

ONE VILLAGE AT A TIME

In Sauri, Kenya, the Earth Institute's clinical diagnosis suggests that aid amounting to $110 per resident per year ($550,000 for 5,000 residents) would reduce malaria by 90%, double or triple food yields, improve school attendance, raise incomes through the sale of surplus grains and cash crops, and reduce the number of deaths from AIDS. Of this $110 per year—a similar sum would apply for most African countries—Sachs figures that households can pay $10 and governments $35, leaving a financing gap of $65.

Sachs and actress Angelina Jolie's recent visit with farmers and schoolchildren in Sauri—it was made into a documentary for MTV—showed that initial results in the village have been positive. In one year, thanks to hybrid seeds, nitrogen-fixing trees, and fertilizer, harvest yields doubled. A new community health center has treated 1,000 patients and distributed antimalarial bed nets to everyone in the village. Generators and a new electrical connection provide reading light. How long before such aid will translate to self-sufficient commercial success, before the capital stock starts growing rather than diminishing? That, of course, is the big question. Five years? Ten years?

The other question is how easily such a pilot project can be scaled up. For Kenya's population of 33 million, two-thirds of whom live in rural areas, Sachs calculates an annual tab of $1.5 billion. Debt forgiveness, which was agreed upon in principle at last summer's G-8 conference in Scotland, could go a long way toward helping the country raise this kind of money—Kenya currently pays $600 million a year to service its debt. But even if the additional sums required could be raised from donor nations, there is the question of executing such a massive program in rural areas that lack infrastructure. This is always one of the most bedeviling aspects of development. As one Australian newspaper report asks: "This is one tiny village in the public eye. Can a country notorious for corruption be trusted to replicate this rapid development on a national scale?"

Mosquito nets like the one in this family's home are helping break malaria's hold on the village of Sauri.

Photo: CORBIS

Sachs asks, and then replies, "The answer is no"—you shouldn't be surprised to find that you've become a lightning rod.

A more likely explanation for Sachs's motivation is that, like Saul on the road to Damascus, he was figuratively struck by lightning on his first foray into Africa in 1995. Not until he rode from Zimbabwe into Zambia did he realize how the constraints of the African savannah's "distinctive physical ecology"—the unreliable rainfall, poor soil quality, and limited access to sea-based trade—combined with the devastating impact of AIDS and malaria to create a "perfect storm" of poverty.

"There I was, a macroeconomist, reasonably proficient in issues of trade, budget deficits, inflation, and exchange rates," Sachs writes. "I understood quite a bit, I believed, about market reforms and globalization." Data on population densities, roads, access to electricity and communication, and the like was also available. "But without the benefit of visiting Africa's rural communities, I would not have known what to look for in the data, or what the data really meant." Spending time in the villages revealed to the Ph.D. the effects of the two diseases on the economic, social, and psychological life of a community in a way that no abstract treatise ever could.

Being there on the ground fundamentally changes you, cognitively and emotionally. It alters what you see—and how you respond. The wisdom of a clinical diagnostician's perspective bore in upon Sachs with a force that made the experience seem like a conversion.

QUESTIONS REMAIN

For all Sachs's eloquence, his proposals for wiping out extreme poverty have met with strong criticism in some quarters. Much of it centers on three key concerns:

Is institutional and governmental intervention the right approach? To show that global interventions can be successful on a large scale, Sachs lists 10 precedents "that prove the naysayers wrong." Among them: the eradication of smallpox, the campaign against malaria, and the control of African river blindness. The problem is, only one of these examples, the tax-free export processing zones in East Asia that led to the growth of the "Tiger" economies in the 1980s, is a government initiative. Sachs himself is well aware of the deleterious economic effects of centralized decision making. "The centralization of China," he writes, "contributed to nearly 500 years of decisions from the top that had huge, negative economic repercussions." So why is he now promoting a massive, centralized program to distribute money from the top down?

On numerous occasions Sachs has lauded the effectiveness of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Among them: the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria. In addition, Grameen Bank has lent some $5 billion—without collateral—to poor people in Bangladesh for the purposes of creating income-generating businesses. The average loan is $150, and the payback rate is better than 97%. Thanks to this "microcredit" approach, 5% of Grameen's borrowers are able to pull themselves out of poverty each year. By citing nongovernmental solutions, Sachs unwittingly makes the case that governments in poor countries are the least likely to succeed at solving major problems. Why not give small amounts of money to millions of people and let them use the capital to improve their farms? Why not ask donors, both public and private, to give money to the Gates Foundation and other NGOs that are already effectively working on specific programs rather than to national governments that could take years to achieve results?

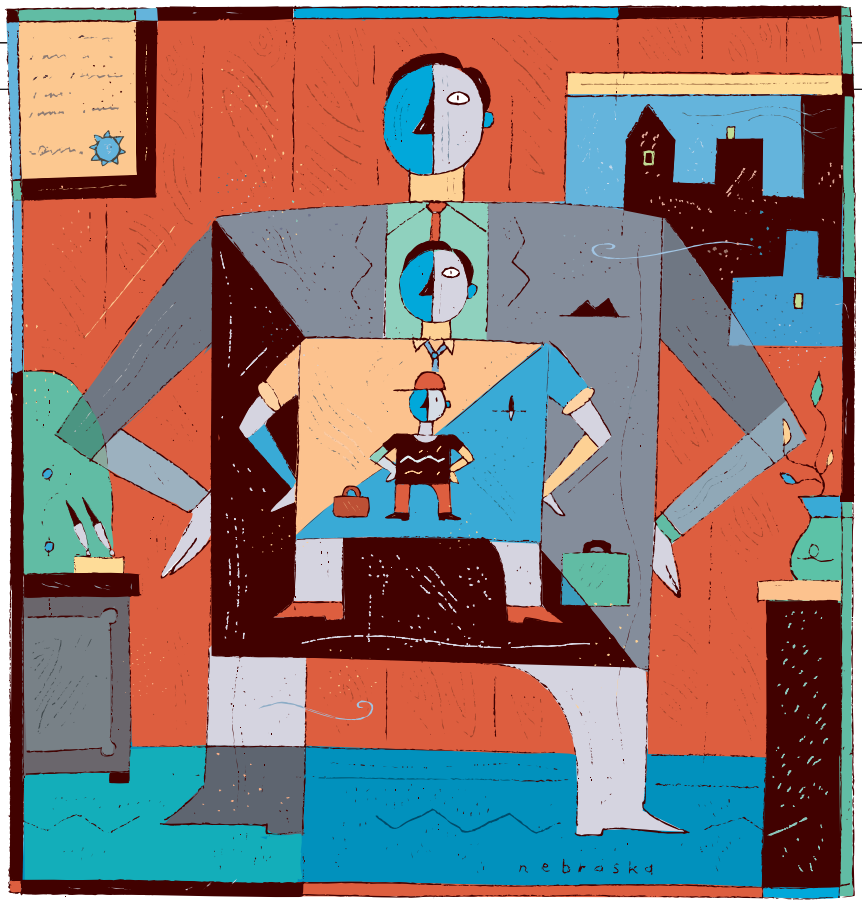
Are the poor in middle-income countries being overlooked? Granted, the heaviest concentration of extreme poverty is in Africa, so it makes sense to direct most of the efforts there. But extreme poverty can also be found in nations such as Mexico and even China. Although Sachs acknowledges the problem, he writes that it exists "mainly because of the lack of internal efforts." The implication is that those middle-income countries are not holding up their end of the bargain. So what leads him to believe that the governments in the poorer countries in which he has chosen to focus his attention will be able to produce a more positive outcome?

GIVEN HIS COMMITMENT TO GRASSROOTS DIAGNOSES AND TREATMENTS, WHAT MAKES SACHS BELIEVE THAT MASSIVE PROGRAMS RUN BY NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS WILL SUCCEED?

What about poverty in corrupt countries? Sachs disputes the widely held Western view that bad governance and corruption are the cause of Africa's problems. Comparing GDP levels to rankings of corrupt governments, Sachs concludes that "Africa shows absolutely no tendency to be more or less corrupt than other countries at the same income level." In other words, Africa's governance is poor because Africa is poor. And yet, the decree has been made that only stable, reform-minded governments need apply for assistance from the Millennium Project. His own analysis notwithstanding, Sachs seems so eager to craft an argument that will win the approval of the G-8 nations that he has cut out countries with corrupt governments, such as Zimbabwe or Sudan, whose poor may be in the greatest need.

Despite these apparent inconsistencies in Sachs's argument, there is no gainsaying what he has already accomplished. His cogent economic research has convincingly shown that what is lacking in the fight to end poverty is not money so much as it is wealthy nations' willingness to commit their resources. And the passion that he brings to the effort is proving contagious: not only at the grassroots level but also in the corridors of power, there seems to be a growing consensus that extreme poverty can indeed be eliminated in our generation. ✦

NICHOLAS P. SULLIVAN, a United Nations–accredited "business interlocutor" at the International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico, in 2002, is a partner in the Global Horizon Fund, a private-equity fund of local funds that make direct equity investments in emerging markets. He is the publisher of *Innovations: Technology|Governance|Globalization*, a new journal from MIT Press, and is also writing a book on how foreign investment and entrepreneurship are connecting the world's poor to the global economy.



So You Want a Multisector Career

Do you see yourself moving back and forth from private industry to the political and nonprofit areas? A top executive recruiter has some advice for you.

by Loren Gary

ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS of today's job market is a blurring of sectors. People with training in education, public health, and government are sought after by for-profit companies looking to increase their presence in these market niches. And nonprofits, government agencies, and charitable organizations are clamoring for people with business-world skills such as finance, marketing, and strategic planning.

The possibilities for moving across sectors over the course of your professional life may never have been greater—but the same holds true for the associated challenges and dangers. "In a world of increased specialization, there are many more forks in the road and avenues to take," write James M. Citrin and Richard A. Smith in *The 5 Patterns of Extraordinary Careers* (Crown Business, 2003). "This means many more career decisions, with each one potentially leading you down a slightly different path. And with an increasing number of choices comes the danger of career drift along with the vagaries of the market."

Because of structural changes in the world of work, the average professional today will switch jobs more often in a decade than a professional a generation ago did in a lifetime. Executive turnover is at an all-time high. What's more, "there is no safety net," write Citrin and Smith, who work for the renowned executive search firm Spencer Stuart, which, over the course of a decade, conducted nearly 60% of all Fortune 1000 CEO searches. The expectation of lifetime employment that used to exist in many organizations is gone.

Given all the obstacles, you might think that the recipe for a successful multisector career is heavy on luck and narcissism and light on integrity. But Spencer Stuart's extensive research shows this conventional take on careers to be misguided. What's most important, Citrin explained in a recent conversation, is understanding the five patterns that extraordinary careers exhibit.

1. Know your value in the marketplace. This is perhaps the single most important element in crafting an extraordinary and satisfying career. Survey respondents who answered "strongly agree" to the question "Do you have a strong understanding of what drives value in the marketplace for professional talent?" were twice as likely to have the degree of success that most people aspire to, write Citrin and Smith. They were "extremely satisfied with their career and compensation, passionate about their job, and optimistic about their future."

People who know their worth, Citrin explains, don't just have a good sense of the skills and attributes they bring to the table, they also understand how the following macro factors fit into the picture:

- the demand for their particular professional or technical skills
- the relative supply of and demand for professionals in their age range
- how fluctuations in corporate valuations enhance or diminish a professional's value in the marketplace
- how financial markets value intangible assets, notably intellectual capital, relative to hard assets.

Knowing your value also calls for an understanding of potential and experiential value. Potential value is an indicator of what you will be able to add to an organization over time as you exercise your intellectual and interpersonal gifts. Experiential value is the perceived worth of what you have already done. Although experiential value tends to be more highly compensated because it is easier to measure, potential value is often crucial to "gaining access to the most value-

building opportunities," write Citrin and Smith.

Successful careers continually "turn potential value into valuable experiences, which together can be converted into renewed potential," the authors continue. A *potential promotion* occurs when the skills you've exhibited give your superiors the confidence that you can succeed at a job you've never done before. Trust is the key to this kind of promotion, which is why the advice "go blue chip early" in your choice of educational institutions and initial jobs is so important.

"The brand of the institutions you've attended or worked for early on can win you the trust you need for a potential promotion," says Citrin. "For example, the current president of Hobart & William Smith College didn't have a deep background in higher education, but he had been president of the Peace Corps. Michael Powell, the former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, recently joined a telecommunications equity partner group. He got that job not because of his experience in finance but because of the skills he demonstrated while at the FCC.

"The organization is more important that the role you have in it—especially early on. For a broad-based career, having worked for a blue-chip organization gives you a credential that can open doors down the road. Just keep in mind that it's easier to move into a new role in the same field than to move into a new role in a new field."

An *experiential promotion* occurs more often when you're moving to a new employer, industry, or sector, Citrin continues. It represents the new employer's belief that the past is a predictor of future behavior: because you've succeeded at something before, the employer reasons, you'll be able to succeed at it again.

2. Practice benevolent leadership. "Don't claw your way to the top—be carried there," says Citrin. "The most successful leaders are the ones who surround themselves with the most successful teams. And the secret to building a high-performing team—after you've made good hires—is to delegate important tasks and responsibilities to them. "You become a magnet for talent not by micromanaging your team members, but by giving them strategically important work. At that point, you get out of the way and let them lead the charge. This doesn't mean leaving your team members alone—you must continually ask how much and what kinds of support they need from you, and then provide it to them."

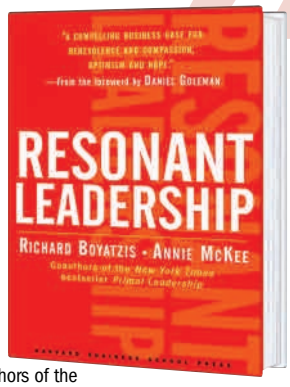
3. Solve the permission paradox. One of the most difficult workplace Catch-22s involves not being able to land a job with key strategic responsibilities if you lack the necessary experience, but not being able to acquire those experiences until you have the strategically important job. To solve this paradox, you have to expand the scope of what the organization gives you permission to do. But successfully performing incrementally new tasks isn't enough to make that happen. You have to look for the most distressed parts of the organization; that's where you'll find the big opportunities—the ones that can dramatically change the trajectory of your career.

4. Use the 20/80 principle to differentiate your performance. Nineteenth-century economist Vilfredo Pareto argued that for many tasks, 20% of the effort produces 80% of the benefits. In the workplace, says Citrin, 80% of your responsibilities are tightly circumscribed. "It is the ability to get beyond merely achieving what others want you to do and break through to deliver unanticipated impact that will give you—and your company—the most return," he and Smith write. "It is usually the last 20 percent of what you accomplish (beyond your predefined objectives) that allows you to truly differentiate yourself."

5. Don't micromanage your career—macromanage it. When making career decisions, spend less time thinking about what will move you one rung higher on the career ladder and more time making sure you're on the right ladder. Focus on the big picture, advises Citrin. Seek out organizational cultures where you fit in naturally and comfortably. Learn what your strengths are, and play to them; look for work that resonates with your deepest passions. Spencer Stuart's research showed that extraordinary executives are six times more likely than average employees to have careers that leverage both their strengths and their passions. ✦

illustrations: John Nebraska

Best of Leadership



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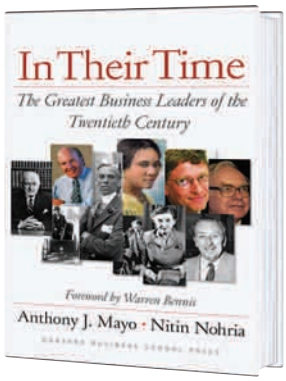

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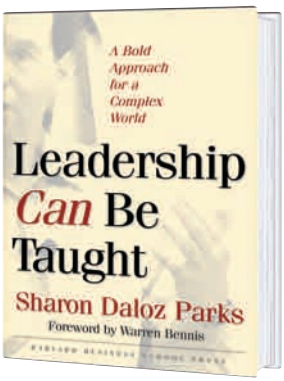

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When the Second Opinion Fails

The sustaining power of the "third opinion" **by Saj-nicole Joni**

RECENT HISTORY is littered with examples of extraordinary companies undone by leaders who "didn't see it coming" in spite of their high intelligence and excellent training. In our complex, interconnected world, the risk—to an organization and to an individual's career—associated with decision making that's clouded by narrow perspective and undiscussable issues is greater than ever.

If you're a leader in an organization, you already know how crucial it is to have great team members around you—not just for getting things done, but also for the valuable second opinions they can offer. But second opinions, whether they're offered by direct reports, alliance partners, consultants, or even board members, are often colored by the vested interests that those individuals have in the outcome of the final decision. Research shows that it's vital to augment your internal team with a carefully considered inner circle—a network of "outside" thinking partners.

The conversation you seek with such a thinking partner constitutes a "third opinion," said the legendary presidential adviser Clark Clifford. "A president takes too many risks when he relies solely on his own staff and the federal bureaucracy for advice," he observed. Outside advisers can "give the president a different perspective on his own situation; they can be frank with him when White House aides are not." A third opinion, in other words, comes from people who have top expertise and no vested economic or institutional interests in the outcome of your decisions.

Thinking partners engage with you in the kind of exponential thinking that helps you see all sides of an issue, explore interrelationships, and question fundamental assumptions. They work with you to make you more effective within your organization, market, and sector. But the goal of inner circles is not to develop isolated leaders at the cutting edge of inquiry. Rather, it is to cultivate outside insight that can be translated, embraced, and improved by your teams so that they can create extraordinary results.

In shaping your thinking partners' relationship to your organization, you want them close enough to the action to be relevant but sufficiently distanced to enable them to be provocative third-opinion advisers. This gives your thinking partners broad yet independent lines of sight into your most pressing business issues. And there's an added benefit: the interactions with your inner circle provide valuable professional-development opportunities for up-and-coming leaders in your organization.

Third opinions don't replace second opinions—you need both types of input, and you want each to inform the other. But to achieve the proper balance, you need a solid grasp of the workings of trust.

THE THREE KINDS OF TRUST

Initial encounters with trust in the workplace have to do with the development of *personal trust*—confidence in the integrity and values of your colleagues. When you have personal trust in someone, you're confident that he will keep his word and get his job done.

As you take on more responsibility in your career, the ability to assess people's judgment and expertise quickly and accurately becomes increasingly important.

And so a second kind of trust—*expertise trust*, the confidence you develop in someone's knowledge and skills—comes into play.

Charles de Gaulle's saying, "Nations don't have friends, they have interests," underscores the reality of the third kind of trust—*structural trust*. To understand it, look at the way your colleague's current or future roles affect her relationship with you. Taking into consideration her responsibilities, the organization in which she works, and her career interests, is she structurally able—as opposed to personally able or willing—to be completely forthcoming and loyal? Or do you have to filter her input based on her vested interest or agendas?

Winston Churchill was so keenly aware of these dynamics that he set up a separate bureaucracy—one that didn't report to him—to provide a purer channel of information. In effect, he created structural incentives to increase the likelihood that people would give him the facts, not what he hoped was true. Leaders who fail to understand the dynamics of structural trust, however, don't realize when they're getting limited or biased information and ideas. Or if they do realize it, they give up on the painstaking work of sifting through conflicting second opinions and simply follow their own instincts—often with disastrous results.

BUILDING AN INNER CIRCLE OF THIRD OPINIONS

If your inner circle doesn't comprise people in whom you have high personal, expertise, and structural trust, there's a critical hole in your leadership team. Building your third opinion resources, like assembling your team of direct reports, requires skill and intentionality. You can start at any time, using the following three steps:

1. Learn to recognize where and when you need a third opinion. When you find yourself saying any of the following, seriously consider seeking a third opinion:

- "Although I'm capable of handling this, I don't have the time to give it the attention it needs."
- "If I don't get this right, we'll be in serious trouble."
- "Even if I had the time, I shouldn't take on these issues alone."
- "I can handle this, but I could produce significantly better results if I thought through my options with someone else."

2. Be systematic. Do this simple exercise at least once every six months: Write down your most important or pressing issues, leaving space in between each. Next, list all the people inside and outside your organization you're currently talking to about this issue, and circle the ones who are bona fide third opinions. How many issues have no name beside them? What is the most important issue for which you are not well partnered?

On a monthly basis, ask yourself the following:

- Given all that I'm responsible for right now, what really matters?
- Of the people to whom I'm talking, who sees the world in ways I do not?
- Who tells me the unvarnished truth?

3. Remember that this is an evolutionary journey. Good leaders are continually adjusting and augmenting their inner circles as their responsibilities change and as the institutional affiliations of their thinking partners shift (*see sidebar*).

The rise of executive coaching underscores the general need leaders have for extremely confidential, highly trusted thinking partners who can help them sort out sensitive and complex issues. While valuable, most executive coaches' primary expertise has to do with people and organizational behavior, which leaves you uncovered on crucial business issues of strategy and operations.

Although you cannot always choose the people you work with, you have complete freedom in choosing your third-opinion resources. Choose people with whom you can think freely. People who will tell you the unvarnished truth. People who inspire you and bring out the best in you as a leader. The network of resources they constitute will be specifically tailored to your most pressing challenges, and will provide benefits that set you and your organization apart from the rest. ✦

SAJ-NICOLE JONI, Ph.D., is the author of *The Third Opinion: How Successful Leaders Use Outside Insight to Create Superior Results* (Portfolio, 2004) and CEO of Cambridge International Group Ltd., an international third-opinion advisory firm. She can be reached at www.TheThirdOpinion.com.

Ensuring Structural Trust as an Inner Circle Evolves

When senior executive Jim Corliss was running a large, global company's U.K. business, he found an accidental thinking partner in Derek, a consultant who was advising Jim's company about how to lobby for regulatory changes. Jim appreciated the way that Derek challenged his thinking and helped him develop a more nuanced way of conceiving the relationships among business, government, and community stakeholders.

But when Jim returned to the U.S. to head up the company's North American business, he realized that his inner circle was inadequate: Derek was unfamiliar with many of the issues Jim was now facing, and his specific expertise in dealing with the British Parliament was no longer required, but Jim sorely missed the frank and searching inquiry that Derek had provided.

Two people stood out at possible additions to Jim's inner circle. First, there was Brian Stacey, a senior managing partner of a small strategy consulting firm who was leading a project in Jim's company. Jim and Brian had great professional chemistry, and also shared many intellectual interests. Jim's freelance speechwriter, Chris, was equally impressive in the way he could not only transform Jim's thoughts into powerful addresses, but also help Jim see new ways of thinking about business issues.

Jim's need to augment his inner circle took on greater urgency when, rather suddenly, he became the CEO of a major competitor. Jim had personal and expertise trust with Brian and Chris, but before he brought them into his inner circle, he had to create structural trust. By hiring Brian's firm for a specified amount of work over a three-year period, Jim mitigated the pressure that Brian would inevitably feel to sell services to Jim. Jim also decided that his original idea—hiring Chris full time to run the company's communications group—would compromise Chris's ability to offer completely candid feedback. So instead, Chris agreed to commit a significant amount of time to Jim each month. Before long, Chris and Brian were working jointly as well as individually with Jim, which increased their overall effectiveness.

Catching the Bug

An excerpt from *Leadership Can Be Taught* by Sharon Daloz Parks

Over the course of five years, Sharon Daloz Parks, director of Leadership for the New Commons, an initiative of the Whidbey Institute in Washington state, studied the teaching method of Ronald Heifetz, cofounder of the Center for Public Leadership. Leadership Can Be Taught: A Bold Approach for a Complex World *is the product of her observation and analysis. Leadership is not so much taught as it is caught, Parks maintains. In the following exegesis of the first meeting of one of Heifetz's classes, she demonstrates how his "case-in-point" pedagogy functions as a positive contagion.*

Case-in-point teaching seeks to bring action and reflection together in the most immediate way possible for each person. From the beginning, students are encouraged to see the class itself as a social system of which they are a part and a studio-laboratory in which they can practice acts of leadership and learn from their experiments....

One of the central metaphors used to anchor the process of this approach is the image of moving between the dance floor and the balcony. "Imagine," Heifetz will suggest, "you are on a dance floor, swept up in the dance, an active participant in a complex scene. There are some things about the dance that you will know only by actually dancing. But if you move to the balcony for a while, you can see things that you can never discover on the dance floor—the larger pattern of interactions of which you are a part."...

...The intent is that they will begin to learn what they most need to see in the midst of a dynamic social context and harvest insights that do not present themselves in neat, outline form. Rather they emerge primarily as student-practitioners learn to read in real time the political-economic, cultural-historical, and psychosocial patterns of which they are a part.

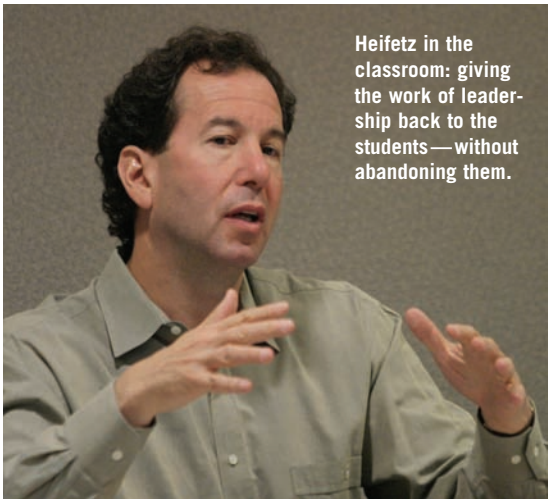
In the first session, the instructor is modeling this capacity as he speaks of "identifying the primary concern of the group" and the risks of speaking to it directly. In this case-in-point, there are several primary concerns. One concern is how many people will be admitted to the course and by what process. Another concern is what the course will be like. And just beneath the surface (where the biggest concerns often dwell), there are yet other concerns—particularly questions of whether or not the instructor is qualified as an authority and trustworthy in the practice of teaching leadership.

...The instructor is mindful that most of the group equate *authority* with *leadership* and depend on his functioning within that expectation. He is working to tease apart this simple equation by frustrating some of their expectations. He does this by giving the work back to the group—without abandoning them. The students are thereby invited to puzzle things out for themselves and strengthen their own capacity for discernment and judgment rather than passively taking in what they expect to hear and blaming others for negative outcomes. They are encouraged to notice the subtle, powerful, and unexamined expectations they hold (and to recognize that those same expectations are present in most of the situations in which they seek to lead)....

...[Structures that psychologist Robert Kegan has described as "orders of consciousness"] evolve in a predictable pattern throughout our life times. We observe this evolution when we watch a grade school child move from concrete knowing (second order of consciousness) to becoming an adolescent who can begin to think more abstractly and symbolically, moving into a larger set of relationships (third order of consciousness)...In this [third] mode of knowing, people think and work primarily within an interpersonal, tribal frame, and depend on trusted, unexamined Authority....

The challenge in our time is that as our world becomes more complex, the normative ways in which many adults make meaning are increasingly inadequate...In this new reality, everyone—including and perhaps particularly those in positions of authority—are vulnerable to being merely swept up in a dance of unexamined assumptions and blind to the larger patterns of which we are a part. Swamp issues [complex problems that resist easy, technical fixes] require us to recognize interdependent systems—to connect more of the dots—opening our eyes to the intricate web of connections among seemingly discrete populations, organizations, actions, and events.

Thus, when Heifetz invites people to get on the balcony to observe larger patterns, he is calling for a major cognitive and affective achievement—the development of a fourth order of consciousness. He is encouraging the development of a critical, systemic, and holistic perspective. He is inviting people out of their minds—to think about their thinking. He is offering an initiation into a systemic perspective in which everything is hitched to everything else and where a merely interpersonal mode of thinking and acting isn't enough. ✦



Heifetz in the classroom: giving the work of leadership back to the students—without abandoning them.

Photo: Tom Fitzsimmons

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If the IRS Can Change, Any Organization Can

An excerpt from *Many Unhappy Returns* by Charles O. Rossotti

In 1997, Charles O. Rossotti—cofounder, chairman, and CEO of American Management Systems (AMS)—became the first businessperson to take on what former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin once called "the most important management job in the civilian government": commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service. At the time, the IRS was in crisis, besieged by charges of unresponsiveness, incompetence, and abuse. But by 2002, when Rossotti stepped down, the IRS had dramatically improved its customer service, employee morale, and effectiveness in enforcing compliance with the law, and had also restored the trust of its stakeholders—all while collecting $2 trillion a year in revenue.

Many Unhappy Returns: One Man's Quest to Turn Around the Most Unpopular Organization in America *is Rossotti's account of his time at the IRS. In the following excerpt, he discusses some of the essential principles in transforming large, complex organizations.*

After twenty-eight years of running AMS and consulting with dozens of clients, I brought with me to the IRS some basic beliefs about what works in leading an organization during a period of change. Five years of leading a difficult turnaround at the IRS sharpened my views....

Successful Change Means Improving the Way an Organization Performs Its Mission on Behalf of All Its Stakeholders and Rejecting an Either/Or Model of Performance. In the IRS, we had to improve our service and treatment of taxpayers and our effectiveness in enforcing compliance with the law. To accomplish this, we also had to meet the legitimate interests of our employees by providing them the tools, training, and supervision needed.

One of the hardest parts of raising the performance of any organization, including the IRS, is getting people inside and outside the organization to buy into the crucial idea that top-performing organizations don't accept the obsolete and fatally flawed model of doing business, like the notion that a company must choose between serving its customers well or making a profit. Insisting on the bedrock principle of raising performance across the board was the most fundamental part of what I tried to do at the IRS.

Successful Change Requires the Right Measurements and Incentives.... Internal performance measurements and incentives are extraordinarily powerful influences even in organizations in which the financial incentives are modest. No matter what the financial incentives, people in any organization pay attention first and foremost to how they are doing relative to other people in their own organization.

For decades, one of the most powerful influences on the behavior of the IRS was its practice of judging people's performance by using narrow, unbalanced, and frequently perverse—but easily gathered—statistics that focused almost entirely on revenue coming from audit assessments and property seizures. I believed that developing a more balanced set of measurements, one that included feedback from taxpayers and employees, as well as measures of business results that were meaningful, not just easy to count, was a critical step in changing attitudes. Adopting measurements that are roughly right rather than precisely wrong was a difficult but essential part of changing the IRS, and is usually a crucial element in changing any substantial organization....

Successful Change Depends More on Having the Right Governance, Leadership, Direction, and Authority Than on Rules and Mandates. The IRS situation was a laboratory for testing the old debate over whether change in entrenched organizations is best achieved by imposing new rules or by establishing new direction and new management with the right authority and proper governance. In the massive IRS reform bill passed by Congress in July 1998, both approaches were included. After five years, the verdict was clear: The rules and mandates, although well intentioned, generally imposed unnecessary costs, unintended side effects, and distractions from real progress. They were a key reason that some essential enforcement activities dropped. On the other hand, the provisions of the bill setting new direction for the IRS, and providing authority for management to reorganize and modernize the agency, were essential to progress....

Successful Change in Any Organization Has Its Limits—Set by the Broader Constraints of the Context Within Which It Operates.... The tax system has many of the same practical characteristics that a business has: Real work has to get done and be paid for. Returns have to be processed, phones have to be answered, tax money has to be accounted for, taxpayers who don't pay that they owe have to be dealt with appropriately....

But the IRS is only one part of the broader tax system, which comprises the tax code and the budget. And in one fundamental respect the tax system, being a government program, is different from a business. Because they are not quickly obvious, the practical consequences of making expedient but profoundly irresponsible decisions about this broader system can be ignored for much longer than such unsound decisions could be ignored in a business....

Because of the immense size and complexity of the tax system and the difficulty of measuring how effectively it is operating, its deterioration will not become totally evident until things get so bad that the cost of recovery will be immense.

It is now time to fix the whole tax system, not just the IRS.... This problem will never be solved until honest taxpayers rise up and *demand* that the president and Congress solve it. And then, believe me, it will be solved. ✦

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Confronting the Beast

An excerpt from *Real Leadership* by Dean Williams

Just because people are buying into your agenda, that doesn't mean you're leading, observes Dean Williams, lecturer in public policy at the Center for Public Leadership. The hallmark of authentic leadership is getting people to "confront their predicament and solve their most pressing problems," he writes in his new book, Real Leadership: Helping People and Organizations Face Their Toughest Challenges. *Helping people face up to reality calls for the twin skills of recognizing the variety of adaptive challenges that can threaten an organization and adapting one's leadership style to suit different contexts.*

In the following excerpt from the book's first chapter, Williams distinguishes real leadership from counterfeit leadership.

Let me summarize the ways that dominance-obsessed primate societies help define what real leadership is *not:*

• Real leadership is not about dominance and control.

• Real leadership is not about putting a false set of tasks before the people and getting them to follow you.

• Real leadership is not about "getting one's way" and trying to get the people to buy into something they are not ready to embrace—even if it is born of strong convictions and moral beliefs.

• Real leadership is not about staying in your comfort zone and doggedly holding onto the world you know, even as the "ship is sinking."

I do not wish to completely denigrate these functions. Sometimes a group does need a dominant authority figure and does need to be controlled. Sometimes the task is to get people to follow, and a fantasy might be what the people need momentarily until they have the maturity to face reality. Certainly, motivating people through the power of one's convictions to do what they are reluctant to do is at times an important skill for any manager. But suggesting that such actions are unconditionally real leadership reduces the larger meaning, function, and value of real leadership. By being clear on what real leadership is not, we are in a better position to learn what might make a difference in generating sustainable progress in all domains of human activity—in our corporations, schools, communities, and governments.

The title of this chapter, "Odin, Enron, and the Apes," represents the dangers and opportunities of real leadership. Odin [the chief of the gods of Norse mythology, he put himself through terrible ordeals in order to learn how to be a better leader] is a metaphor for the pursuit of the insight and wisdom to be responsible with one's power so that one can exercise the leadership that helps people face their toughest challenges. Enron reminds us that even successful companies can rapidly deteriorate in the absence of real leadership. The apes embody the actions and strategies that are the antithesis of real leadership—namely, counterfeit leadership, which includes the excessive preoccupation with getting people to follow, the reliance on dominance as a control measure, and the competitive dynamics of brute politics to protect one's interests, rise in a hierarchy, and maintain one's power. In the absence of real leadership, counterfeit leadership can easily emerge as the mechanism for allocating attention, time, and resources, resulting in organizations and communities getting caught up in a false set of tasks that have nothing to do with progress but are potentially destructive distractions.

Fundamentally, real leadership must focus people on tackling their toughest adaptive challenges—not false tasks. To do that work successfully, leaders need a diagnostic process to discover the real threats and real opportunities the people face. They must have an intervention strategy to draw attention to the problem and the promise. And, they must be able to mobilize the various actors in the social system—the team, company, or community—to do the necessary sense-making and the problem-solving work that will give the people their best shot at success. It is difficult and demanding work, but no other work is more important for our collective well-being and shared prosperity. ✦

THE FEATURES OF REAL LEADERSHIP

- Gets people to face reality as it pertains to their condition, threats, and opportunities
- Mobilizes the group to do adaptive work and adjust their values, habits, practices, and priorities
- Pursues the needed insight and wisdom to lead
- Takes responsibility for being the source of movement

THE FEATURES OF COUNTERFEIT LEADERSHIP

- Places an excessive emphasis on getting people to follow
- Is preoccupied with dominance as a control mechanism
- Fails to fully engage the group and its many functions
- Is unwilling to look for solutions beyond one's comfort zone and the prevailing group paradigm
- Holds the conviction that the leader alone has the truth and knows the way forward

From Real Leadership: Helping People and Organizations Face Their Toughest Challenges *by Dean Williams, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, November 2005. Reprinted by permission.*

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For the latest information on CPL events, go to: **www.ksg.harvard.edu/leadership/**

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Those of us who work at the Center for Public Leadership draw inspiration from our students' devotion to making the world a better place. It is a privilege to work closely with students as they explore their leadership capabilities. But this privilege also brings great responsibility for helping them realize their hopes.

The primary way we do that is by enhancing leadership teaching and research. This past spring, CPL published the third edition of its *Working Papers* series. By the end of this year, two more books in the *Leadership for the Common Good* series and a book by CPL faculty member Dean Williams will also have been published.

As vital as this research is, we realize that equipping people to handle the complexities of modern leadership requires more than traditional academic coursework. After all, leaders can be well versed in the tools of strategic, financial, and policy analysis, but their impact on the organizations they serve will be diminished if they don't understand themselves or the way their behavior influences others.

That's why our center has committed itself to providing cutting-edge training in leadership development. The better understanding of personal strengths and weaknesses that these workshops provide will extend the impact of the "hard skills" students have honed in the classroom.

BETSY MYERS

A new commitment we've undertaken focuses on social enterprise. This still-young field brings the insights of management and entrepreneurship to bear on social problems; as it has gathered steam in recent years, it has begun to redefine the scope of public service. A major gift from the Catherine B. Reynolds Foundation has now made it possible for 25 students to pursue graduate studies in social enterprise at Harvard for each of the next five years. The Center for Public Leadership will function as a home base for these Reynolds Foundation Fellows, sponsoring a year-long series of co-curricular activities that will help them integrate the various elements of their program.

CPL has also designed a cross-disciplinary program for a second new group this fall: the 25 inaugural Zuckerman fellows. Funded through the generosity of Mortimer B. Zuckerman, this fellowship is open to students with a law, business, or medical degree programs who wish to pursue an additional degree at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, School of Public Health, or Graduate School of Education.

You'll find more about the Zuckerman and Reynolds fellowships with in the following pages. There are also some exciting developments to report about our collaboration with *U.S. News & World Report* to begin tracking the public's confidence in its leaders and also to help that publication determine the criteria for the list of America's best leaders it published this fall.

We've come a long way since our inception five years ago, when Abigail and Les Wexner's vision and generosity brought CPL into existence. The Wexners remain our majority donors to this day. Their steadfast belief in our mission, like our students' hopes for building a better world, is not only humbling, but energizing, too: it has fueled our commitment to take the center's programs and influence to the next level. To that end, we're launching a fundraising campaign in honor of Warren Bennis, the chair of our advisory board—stay tuned.

Hope drives commitment, which leads to greater impact—and the reinvigoration of hope. It's a virtuous circle that's at the heart of what we do. —*Betsy Myers*

Photos: Tom Fitzsimmons

Walking the Talk

A profile of CPL's principal supporters

The most successful development work is about much more than fundraising—it has to do with forging the right kind of partnerships, building alliances with people who share the institution's vision and who are willing to give not only their money, but also their time, creativity, and influence. The Center for Public Leadership has been incredibly fortunate in this regard. Our major donors don't just fund efforts to improve the practice of leadership—they also embody them.

Les Wexner (*left*) and Abigail Wexner (*right*) with Arira Sufian, a Wexner Graduate Fellow and MPP '03 at the Kennedy School.

LESLIE AND ABIGAIL WEXNER

Leadership as the fulcrum for improving community life

The operational funds that launched CPL in 2000 came from Les and Abigail Wexner. The two of them have been the center's primary supporters ever since. But their commitment to the idea that effective public leadership is essential to the common good has a much longer history.

"Les Wexner considers leadership to be his trademark," says CPL director David Gergen. "He sees it as a decisive leverage point for improving the quality of communities and organizations everywhere—whether in business, politics, public organizations, or in nonprofits." Growing up in Columbus, Ohio, Les inherited a women's apparel store from his parents and turned it into Limited Brands, a retail empire comprising seven different brands in the clothing, beauty, lingerie, and personal care categories, and more than 3,800 stores nationwide. Limited Brands' record of corporate citizenship is a reflection of Les Wexner's personal values. Significant community involvement is an expectation of employees with leadership aspirations in the company. And the interconnectedness of service to customers, the pursuit of business excellence, and working for the greater good is a recurring theme at the leadership seminars that Les conducts on a regular basis.

Les's approach to business leadership consists of identifying compelling niches and pursuing them with disciplined focus and an appetite for excellence. A similar mindset informs his and Abigail's philanthropic work. Abigail, a former corporate attorney, has taken on increasingly larger roles in the civic life of Columbus, concentrating on issues related to families, domestic violence, and poverty. She and Les are also very involved in the work of the Wexner Foundation, which seeks to foster Jewish leadership, through three main initiatives:

- a two-year study program to educate Jewish community leaders in the history, traditions, and contemporary challenges of Jewish life;
- the Wexner Graduate Fellowship Program, which supports people preparing for the rabbinate and other professional positions in Jewish life in North America; and
- the Wexner Israel Fellowship Program, established in 1989, which annually brings up to 10 Israeli public officials to the Kennedy School's mid-career program.

Says CPL cofounder Ron Heifetz: "I know of few people in philanthropy who think as hard and creatively as the Wexners do about how to leverage their money so that it produces results."

When Abigail and Les came to Harvard in 1998 for the 10th anniversary celebration of the Israel Fellows program, Wexner Foundation president Larry Moses arranged for a conversation with Ron Heifetz about broadening the Wexners' involvement in public leadership at the Kennedy school. (Heifetz had not only taught many of the Israel Fellows in his classes, he had also designed some of the leadership institutes the foundation sponsored in conjunction with the Graduate Fellowship and Israel Fellowship programs.)

The ensuing discussions led to the founding of CPL two years later.

CATHERINE REYNOLDS

Using innovative business models to tackle social problems

Although the 21 inaugural Reynolds Foundation Fellows have just begun their professional lives, talk to them about their early formative experiences and you'll quickly spot a common theme: tackling a social problem with a mixture of pluck, hard-headed analysis, and entrepreneurial flair. That theme also describes the trajectory of Catherine B. Reynolds, whose foundation made the gift that established the fellowship.

Simply put, Reynolds, chairman and CEO of EduCap, has revolutionized the way that higher education is financed. In an industry rife with tangled government regulation, her company introduced the first asset-backed securitization structure for consumer education loans, which was instrumental in the creation of the private education loan market, and with it, billions of dollars in AAA-rated bond offerings. This made it possible for millions of people ineligible for government loans to attend college. Her companies also developed a state-of-the-art loan origination system as well as creative financing programs that dovetail with the financial rhythms of a family.

Reynolds's involvement in the world of philanthropy has been equally impressive. The Catherine B. Reynolds Foundation, which she created in 2000, is one of the nation's largest. Along with her husband, Wayne, she is a principal underwriter of the American Academy of Achievement, a program that brings promising young people into direct contact with some of the greatest thinkers and achievers of our time. She is a major benefactor of the arts in Washington. D.C., and also supports a variety of educational initiatives. Not surprisingly, in 2004, *Business Week* named Catherine Reynolds one of the 50 most philanthropic Americans alive.

MORT ZUCKERMAN

Combining professional excellence with public service

The Mortimer B. Zuckerman Fellowship stands in stark contrast to the narrow professional training that is all too common in the educational world today. Cross-pollination is the animating idea behind this fellowship, which provides funding for students enrolled in (or who have recently completed) graduate programs in law, business, or medicine to pursue an additional degree at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, School of Public Health, or Graduate School of Education.

There's no mystery about where this idea came from: Mort Zuckerman, the donor, is a living testament to the creative synergies afforded by combining professional and business leadership with public service.

With graduate degrees in law and business, Zuckerman has also taught city and regional planning at both Harvard and Yale. After spending seven years at the real estate firm Cabot, Cabot & Forbes, he cofounded Boston Properties in 1970. Today this real estate investment trust is one of the largest and most respected owners, managers, and developers of first-class office properties in the country. In addition, Zuckerman is the chairman and editor-in-chief of *U.S. News & World Report* and chairman and publisher of the *New York Daily News*. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Washington Institute for Near East Studies, and the International Institute of Strategic Studies. He serves as a trustee of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Hospital in New York, New York University, the Aspen Institute, the Hole in the Wall Gang Fund, Inc., and the Center for Communications.

Zuckerman's career demonstrates that professional and business success does not require a blinkered refusal to engage the most pressing public-sector issues of the day. The fellowship he has established will help ensure that future generations of professionals will be able to explore and be enriched by the challenges of public service.

Photo: © Rick Friedman/Corbis

ABOVE: Reynolds Foundation Fellows Jolie Delja (*left*), a student at the School of Public Health, and Stacie Gamble (*right*), a student at the Graduate School of Education.

BELOW: a group shot of the inaugural Zuckerman and Reynolds Foundation Fellows at a retreat weekend sponsored by CPL.

CPL Teams Up with *U.S. News & World Report*

CPL'S COLLABORATION with *U.S. News & World Report* has resulted in a first-of-its-kind national study of confidence in the leaders of the major sectors of American society and also a special issue of *U.S. News & World Report* highlighting America's best leaders.

This past August, CPL and *U.S. News & World Report* engaged the Yankelovich market research firm to conduct a survey of Americans' opinions of their leaders. Todd L. Pittinsky, assistant professor of public policy at CPL, Seth A. Rosenthal, a CPL post-doctoral fellow, and a team of collaborators are using the survey findings to create an ongoing social science research program. By conducting additional analysis on the survey results, they have created a multidimensional measure that is being called the National Leadership Index (NLI).

Whereas most polls view leadership as a unitary construct, the NLI looks at three distinct dimensions: leader competence (the skills, knowledge, and abilities to lead); leader character (honesty, integrity, and the ethical sense to know and do what is right); and leader charisma (the ability to inspire loyalty and enthusiasm).

Moreover, the NLI measures public confidence in leaders from across the major sectors of society: the military, religious organization, non-profits and charities, business, local government, state government, Congress, and the executive branch (the president, vice president, and their advisers).

"The NLI and the national study enable us to understand in a deeper way how, why, and when confidence in leadership does or does not occur," says Pittinsky. Several of the findings for 2005 offer a bit of a surprise, he adds (*see sidebar below*).

In addition to participating in the national study, CPL also designed the selection process and convened the nonpartisan committee of experts that chose the leaders from across American society who are featured in the October 31st issue of *U.S. News & World Report*. The selections were made without input from the magazine's staff.

For more information about this special issue, and also for a copy of the report entitled, *National Leadership Index 2005: A National Study of Confidence in Leadership*, go to **www.ksg.harvard.edu/leadership/nli.** ✦

Eight Key Findings of the National Leadership Index

1. Nearly three-quarters of Americans (73%) believe their leaders are out of touch with the average person.

2. Nearly three-quarters of Americans (72%) believe that unless the country's leaders improve, the United States will decline as a nation.

3. Nearly two-thirds (66%) of Americans agree that we have a leadership crisis in this country today.

4. The people with the greatest confidence that leaders in Washington will respond effectively to a local emergency are those who do not have a college degree, those for whom religion is very important, those who identify as Republican, and white Americans.

5. Confidence in the executive branch—rather than confidence in the military or state or local government—is most strongly associated with feeling safe from terrorist attacks.

6. Men and women agree on the importance of stereotypically masculine traits such as decisiveness and taking charge to good leadership. Women, however, are significantly more likely to see stereotypically feminine leadership traits—for example, empathy, open-mindedness, communication skills, and the ability to cooperate and build consensus—as important to good leadership.

7. Many people who say that organized religion is very important to them also say that personal character is the most important leadership quality that inspires their confidence. In actual confidence ratings, however, personal character is no more important to very religious people than it is to people who are less religious.

8. Although well over half of adult men and women believe the country would be better off with more women in leadership positions, women are significantly less likely than men to agree.

A Spring Without Sound

Rachel Carson (1907–1964) was the least likely of rebels: a biologist by training, she was shy and reserved. Yet her love of nature turned her into a fierce advocate for the environment, and an equally fierce critic of the human mindlessness that threatened it. She made people think about the environment in a way they had never done before, which makes her 1962 book *Silent Spring* a revolutionary tract—and Carson, by virtue of her pen, a revolutionary leader.

***Silent Spring* was not solely responsible for launching the American environmental movement, which marked its 35th Earth Day observance this past April. Nevertheless, the book "exerted, and continues to exert, a major influence," writes sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson. Carson's scientific prowess and gorgeous prose—as evidenced by the following excerpt from the book's first chapter, titled "A Fable for Tomorrow"—made *Silent Spring* a manifesto for all who care for God's green earth.** **—Barbara Kellerman**

Excerpt from Silent Spring. *Copyright © 1962 by Rachel L. Carson, renewed 1990 by Roger Christie. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.*

THERE WAS ONCE a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings. The town lay in the midst of a checkerboard of prosperous farms, with fields of grain and hillsides of orchards where, in spring, white clouds of bloom drifted above the green fields. In autumn, oak and maple and birch set up a blaze of color that flamed and flickered across a backdrop of pines. Then foxes barked in the hills and deer silently crossed the fields, half hidden in the mists of the fall mornings.

Along the roads, laurel, viburnum and alder, great ferns and wildflowers delighted the traveler's eye through much of the year. Even in winter the roadsides were places of beauty, where countless birds came to feed on the berries and on the seed heads of the dried weeds rising above the snow. The countryside was, in fact, famous for the abundance and variety of its bird life, and when the flood of migrants was pouring through in spring and fall people traveled from great distances to observe them. Others came to fish the streams, which flowed clear and cold out of the hills and contained shady pools where trout lay....

Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community: mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle and sheep sickened and died. Everywhere was a shadow of death. The farmers spoke of much illness among their families. In the town the doctors had become more and more puzzled by new kinds of sickness appearing among their patients. There had been several sudden and unexplained deaths, not only among adults, but even among children, who would be stricken suddenly while at play and die within a few hours.

There was a strange stillness. The birds, for example—where had they gone? Many people spoke of them, puzzled and disturbed. The feeding stations in the backyards were deserted. The few birds seen anywhere were moribund; they trembled violently and could not fly. It was a spring without voices. On the mornings that had once throbbed with the dawn chorus of robins, catbirds, doves, jays, wrens, and scores of other bird voices there was now no sound; only silence lay over the fields and woods and marsh.

On the farms the hens brooded, but no chicks hatched. The farmers complained that they were unable to raise any pigs—the litters were small and the young survived only a few days. The apple trees were coming into bloom but no bees droned among the blossoms, so there was no pollination and there would be no fruit.

The roadsides, once so attractive, were now lined with browned and withered vegetation as though swept by fire. These, too, were silent, deserted by all living things. Even the streams were now lifeless. Anglers no longer visited them, for all the fish had died....

No witchcraft, no enemy action had silenced the rebirth of new life in this stricken world. The people had done it themselves.

This town does not actually exist, but it might easily have a thousand counterparts in America or elsewhere in the world. I know of no community that has experienced all the misfortunes I describe. Yet every one of these disasters has actually happened somewhere, and many real communities have already suffered a substantial number of them. A grim specter has crept upon us almost unnoticed, and this imagined tragedy may easily become a stark reality we all shall know. ✦

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