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WEDNESDAY

MARCH 20, 1996

Jewish Texts as the Source of Vision

Wednesday, March 20, 9:00 - 10:30 AM

Isadore Twersky

Overview:

This session presents another example of a specific vision for Jewish institutions. The group will study selected texts from Maimonides' writings about the concept of *hesed* (loving kindness). Participants will discuss the implications of the texts for Jewish schooling.

1. A) Guide 3:54; in TMR page 354 line 4 - line 5 from the end of the paragraph from Shabbat 31a and the whole page; then pages 356-7, including the verse from Jeremiah 9:22-23. If the verse does not appear fully in Maimonides' formulation, Twersky asks that we include a copy of the verse from the Bible itself; then page 358 from the paragraph "as we have mentioned" till the end of the chapter. I suggest simply copying the whole of chapter 54 if it is there.
B) Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Talmud Torah 3:5; TMR page 66.

2. Guide 1:54; in TMR page 270.

3. Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Yesodei Hatorah, end of chapter five; TMR page 50 paragraph 11, the last whole paragraph.

4. Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Teshuva 10:2; TMR pages 83-4.

5. Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Matnot Aniyim 10:1; TMR page 135; for comparison: Hilchot Deot or ethical dispositions 1:7; TMR page 53; Hilchot Megilla 2:17; TMR page 118; Hilchot Channuka 4:14; TMR page 119; Hilchot Yom Tov or "Festivals" 6:18; TMR pages 108-9.

6. Guide 3:13; TMR page 305 lines 2-9.

7. Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Talmud Torah 5:12-13; TMR page 70; Hilchot Sanhedrin 25:2; TMR page 205.

הנה נתבאר לך

כי ידיעת התורה אצלם מין, והחכמה מין אחר והיא לאמת השקפות התורה בעיון האמתי. ואחר כל מה שהצענו שמע מה שאומר.

כבר בארו הפילוסופים הקדמונים[20] והאחרונים, כי השלמויות המצויות לאדם ארבעה מינים.

ראשיתן והיא הגרועה שבהן, והיא אשר עליה כלים[21] אנשי הארץ, היא שלמות הרכוש, והיא מה שימצא לאדם מן הממון והבגדים והכלים והעבדים והקרקעות וכיוצא בהן, ואף אם יהיה האדם מלך גדול הוא מן המין הזה, וזו שלמות שאין מגע בינה ובין אותו האדם כלל, אלא היא יחס מסויים[22], רוב ההנאה בה דמיון מוחלט, כלומר זה ביתי וזה עבדי והממון הזה ממוני ואלה צבאותי, וכאשר יתבונן על עצמו ימצא שכל אלה מהוץ לעצמותו, וכל דבר מסוגי הרכוש הללו איפוא שהוא במציאותו[23], ולפיכך אם נעדר אותו היחס נמצא אותו האדם שהיה מלך גדול אין הבדל בינו לבין השפל ביותר בבני אדם, מבלי שישתנה מאומה כאותם הדברים שהיו מתיחסים לו. ובארו הפילוסופים כי השם השתדלותו ודאגתו לסוג זה של שלמות אין דאגתו אלא לדמיון מוחלט, והוא דבר שאינו מתקיים, ואפילו יתקיים לו אותו הרכוש כל ימי חייו הרי לא הושג לו בעצמו שלמות כלל.

והמין השני יש לו לעצם האדם קשר[24] יותר מן הראשון, והוא שלמות הבניה[25] והתכונה, כלומר שיהא מזג אותו האדם בתכלית האזון, ואבריו יחסיים חזקים כראוי, וגם מין זה מן השלמות אין לכומו תכלית, לפי שהיא שלמות גופנית ואינו לאדם מחמת שהוא אדם אלא מחמת שהוא בעל חי, ומשותף בזה הגרוע שבבעלי חיים. ואפילו אם יגיע כח האדם אל התכלית והשיא לא יגיע לכח פרד חזק, כל שכן שלא יגיע לכח אריה או כח פיל, ותכלית השלמות הזו כפי שאמרנו שישא משא כבד או ישבור עצם עבה וכיוצא בכך ממה שאין בו תועלת גופנית גדולה, אבל תועלת נפשית הרי היא נעדרת מן המין הזה.

והמין השלישי הוא שלמות באדם[26] עצמו יותר מן השני, והיא שלמות המעלות המדותיות, והיא שיהו מדות אותו האדם בתכלית מעלתן, ורוב המצות אינן אלא להשגת המין הזה מן השלמות[27]. וגם מין זה מן השלמות אינו אלא הצעה לזולתו ואינו תכלית כשלעצמו. והוא שכל המדותיות[28] אינן אלא בין כל אחד מבני אדם לבין זולתו, וכאלו השלמות הזו במדותיו אין עתודתה אלא להועלת בני אדם, ונעשה כלי לזולתו, לפי שאם תניח[29] שאחד מבני אדם לבדו ואין לו עסק עם שום אדם, תמצא שהמעלות המדותיות שבו כולן אז בטלות ומושבתות ואין להן צורך, ואין מביאות שלמות באישיותו במאומה, אבל יהיה צורך לה והחזור תועלתה אליו מבחינת הזולת[30].

והמין הרביעי היא השלמות האנושית האמתית, והיא השגת המעלות ההגיוניות, כלומר ציור מושכלות המביאות להשקפות אמתיות בענינים האלהיים, וזו היא התכלית הסופית, והיא המשלימה את האדם שלמות אמתית, והיא לו לבדו, והיא המעניקה לו

הקיום הנצחי [31], ובה [32] האדם אדם. והתבונן כל שלמות משלשת השלמויות הקודמות תמצאם לזולתך לא לך, ואם כי הכרחיים הם כפי המפורסם [33], הרי הם לך ולזולתך, אבל השלמות הזו הסופית היא לך לבדך ואין לאחר עמך בו שתוף כלל, יהיו לך לבדך וגו' [34]. ולפיכך ראוי לך שתשתדל להשיג את זה הקיים לך, ואל תיגע ותעמול לאחרים אתה השוכח את נפשו עד שהשחיר לבנה בהשתלט עליה הכחות הגופניים, כפי שנאמר בתחלת אותם המשלים הפיוטיים הנשואים לענינים אלה, אמר, בני אמי נחרו בי שמוני נוטרה את הכרמים כרמי שלי לא נטרתי [35], ובענין זה עצמו אמר פן תתן לאחרים הודך ושנותיך לאכזרי [36].

כבר בארו לנו גם הנביאים ענינים אלו עצמם ופירשום לנו כמו שפירשום הפילוסופים, ובארו לנו שאין שלמות הרכוש ולא שלמות הבריאות ולא שלמות המדות שלמות שיש להתפאר בה ולא לשאוף לה, ושהשלמות שיש להתפאר בה ולשאוף לה היא ידיעתו יתעלה אשר זה הוא המדע האמתי, אמר ירמיה בארבעת השלמויות הללו, כה אמר ה' אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו ואל יתהלל הגבור בגבורתו ואל יתהלל עשיר בעשרו כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידע אותי [37], התבונן היאך אמרן כפי סדרן אצל ההמון, כי השלמות הגדולה אצלם עשיר בעשרו, ולמטה ממנו גבור בגבורתו, ולמטה ממנו הכם בחכמתו, כלומר בעל המדות הנעלות, שגם אדם זה מכובד אצל ההמון אשר אליהם הוא המשא [38], ולפיכך סודרו בסדר זה. וכבר השיגו הכמים ז"ל מן הפסוק הזה את הענינים הללו עצמן אשר הזכרנו, ובארו מה שבארתי לך בפרק זה, והוא שהחכמה האמורה בסתם בכל מקום והיא התכלית היא השגתו יתעלה, ושהרכוש הזה שהאדם רוכש מן הסגולות שמתקנאים [39] בהן וחושבים אותם שלמות אינם שלמות. וכן כל המעשים התורתיים הללו כלומר מיני העבודות, וכן המדות המועילות לכל בני אדם בעסקיהם זה עם זה, כל אלה אין להשוותן אל התכלית הזו הסופית, ואינן שוות לה, אלא הם מצעים בגלל התכלית הזו, ושמע דבריהם בכל הענינים הללו בלשונם, והוא לשון בראשית רבה [40], שם נאמר, כתוב אחד אומר וכל חפצים לא ישוו בה [41] וכתוב אחד אומר וכל חפציך לא ישוו בה [42], הפצים אלו מצוות ומעשים טובים חפציך אלו אבנים טובות ומרגליות, חפצים והפציך לא ישוו בה, אלא כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל הסכל וידע אותי [43]. התבונן כמה תמציתי הוא הלשון הזה, וכמה שלם אומרו, והיאך לא הרג במאומה מכל מה שאמרנו והארכנו בבאורו ובהצעותיו.

והואיל והזכרנו פסוק זה ונפלאות שנכללו בו והזכרנו דברי חכמים ז"ל עליו, נשלים מה שנכלל בו, והוא, שלא הסתפק בפסוק זה בבאור הנעלה שבתכליות שהיא השגתו יתעלה בלבד, כי אלו היתה זו מטרתו היה אומר כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידע אותי ויפסיק הדבור, או היה אומר השכל וידע אותי כי

אני אחד, או היה אומר כי אין לי תמונה, או כי אין כמוני, וכל כיוצא באלה, אלא אמר כי ההתפארות היא בהשגתי ובידיעת תארי, כלומר מעשיו, כעין מה שבארנו [44] באמרו הודיעני נא דרכיך וגו' [45], ובאר לנו בפסוק זה כי אותם המעשים אשר חובה לדעת אותם ולהתדמות בהם, הם חסד ומשפט וצדקה [*45]. והוסיף ענין אחר הטוב והוא אמרו בארץ, אשר זהו ציר התורה, ולא כדמיון המתפרצים אשר דמו כי השגחתו יתעלה נסתיימה אצל גלגל הירח, ושהארץ וכל אשר בה עזובים, עזב ה' את הארץ [46], אלא כמו שבאר לנו על ידי אדון החכמים כי לה' הארץ [47], אמר כי השגחתו גם בארץ כראוי לה, כמו שמשגיח בשמים כראוי לה, והוא אמרו כי אני ה' עשה חסד משפט וצדקה בארץ [48]. ואחרי כן השלים את הענין ואמר כי באלה הפצתי נאם ה' [49], רוצה לומר מטרתי שיהא [50] מכם חסד וצדקה ומשפט בארץ, כדרך שבארנו בשלש עשרה מדות [51], שהמטרה להתדמות בהן ושיהיו אלה הליכותינו [51]. נמצא כי התכלית אשר הזכיר בפסוק זה היא שהוא באר כי שלמות האדם אשר בה יתפאר באמת היא מי שהגיע להשגתו יתעלה כפי יכלתו, וידע השגחתו על ברואיו בהמצאתם והנהגתם היאך היא, והיו הליכות אותו האדם אחר אותה ההשגה מתכוון בהם תמיד [52] הסד צדקה ומשפט להתדמות במעשיו יתעלה על הדרך שבארנו כמה פעמים במאמר זה [*52].

זהו מה שנראה לי להניח במאמר זה ממה שראיתי שהוא מועיל מאד לכמוך, והנני מאחל לך בעת ההתבוננות המעמיקה שתשיג כל ענין שכללתי בו בעזרת ה' יתעלה. והוא יזכנו וכל ישראל חברים [53] למה שהבטיחנו בו, אז תפקחנה עיני עורים ואזני חרשים תפתחנה [54], העם ההלכים בחשך ראו אור גדול ישבי בארץ צלמות אור נגה עליהם [55].

אמן

קרוב מאד האל לכל קורא	אם באמת יקרא ולא יטעה.
נמצא לכל דורש יבקשהו	אם יהלך נכחו ולא יתעה.

נשלם החלק השלישי בעזרת ה'
ובהשלמתו נשלם מורה הנבוכים.

Hashanah 21b); for the dictum, "than all men," means: than his contemporaries. Therefore you will find that it mentions "Heman and Calcol and Darda, the sons of Mahol" (I Kings 5:11), who were celebrated then as wise men. The sages mention likewise that man is required first to obtain knowledge of the Torah, then to obtain wisdom, then to know what is incumbent upon him with regard to the legal science of the Law—I mean the drawing of inferences concerning what one ought to do. And this should be the order observed: The opinions in question should first be known as being received through tradition; then they should be demonstrated; then the actions through which one's way of life may be ennobled, should be precisely defined. This is what they literally say regarding man's being required to give an account with respect to these three matters in this order. They say: "When man comes to judgment, he is first asked: Have you fixed certain seasons for the study of the Torah? Have you ratiocinated concerning wisdom? Have you inferred one thing from another?" (Shabbat 31a). It has thus become clear to you that, according to them, the science of the Torah is one species and wisdom is a different species, being the verification of the opinions of the Torah through correct speculation. After we have made all these preliminary remarks, hear what we shall say:

The ancient and the modern philosophers have made it clear that the perfections to be found in man consist of four species. The first and the most defective, but with a view to which the people of the earth spend their lives, is the perfection of possessions—that is, of what belongs to the individual in the manner of money, garments, tools, slaves, land, and other things of this kind. A man's being a great king also belongs to this species of perfection. Between this perfection and the individual himself there is no union whatever; there is only a certain relation, and most of the pleasure taken in the relation is purely imaginary. I refer to one's saying: This is my house; this is my slave; this money is mine; these are my soldiers. For if he considers his own individual self, he will find that all this is outside his self and that each of these possessions subsists as it is by itself. Therefore when the relation referred to has been abolished, there is no difference between an individual who has been a great king and the most contemptible of men, though nothing may have changed in any of the things that were attributed to him. The philosophers have explained that the endeavor and the efforts directed by man toward this kind of perfection are nothing but an effort with a view to some-

thing purely imaginary, to a thing that has no permanence. And even if these possessions should remain with him permanently during the whole of his life, he would by no means thereby achieve perfection in his self.

The second species has a greater connection than the first with the individual's self, being the perfection of the bodily constitution and shape—I refer to that individual's temperament being most harmonious, his limbs well proportioned and strong as they ought to be. Neither should this species of perfection be taken as an end, for it is a corporeal perfection and does not belong to man qua man, but qua animal; for man has this in common with the lowest animals. Moreover, even if the strength of a human individual reached its greatest maximum, it would not attain the strength of a strong mule, and still less the strength of a lion or an elephant. The end of this perfection consists, as we have mentioned, in man's transporting a heavy burden or breaking a thick bone and in other things of this kind, from which no great utility for the body may be derived. Utility for the soul is absent from this species of perfection.

The third species is a perfection that to a greater extent than the second species subsists in the individual's self. This is the perfection of the moral virtues. It consists in the individual's moral habits having attained their ultimate excellence. Most of the commandments serve no other end than the attainment of this species of perfection. But this species of perfection is likewise a preparation for something else and not an end in itself. For all moral habits are concerned with what occurs between a human individual and someone else. This perfection regarding moral habits is, as it were, only the disposition to be useful to people; consequently it is an instrument for someone else. For if you suppose a human individual is alone, acting on no one, you will find that all his moral virtues are in vain and without employment and unneeded, and that they do not perfect the individual in anything; for he only needs them and they again become useful to him in regard to someone else.

The fourth species is the true human perfection; it consists in the acquisition of the rational virtues—I refer to the conception of intelligibles, which teach true opinions concerning the divine things. This is in true reality the ultimate end; this is what gives the individual true perfection, a perfection belonging to him alone; and it gives him permanent perdurance; through it man is man. If you consider each of the three perfections mentioned before, you will find that

they pertain to others than you, not to you, even though, according to the generally accepted opinion, they inevitably pertain both to you and to others. This ultimate perfection, however, pertains to you alone, no one else being associated in it with you in any way: "They shall be only your own" (Prov. 5:17), and so on. Therefore you ought to desire to achieve this thing, which will remain permanently with you, and not weary and trouble yourself for the sake of others, O you, who neglect your own soul so that its whiteness has turned into blackness through the corporeal faculties having gained dominion over it—as is said in the beginning of the poetical parables that have been coined for these notions; it says: "My mother's sons were incensed against me; they made me keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept" (Song of Songs 1:6). It says on this very same subject: "Lest you give your splendor to others, and your years to the cruel" (Prov. 5:9).

The prophets too have explained to us and interpreted to us the self-same notions—just as the philosophers have interpreted them—clearly stating to us that neither the perfection of possession nor the perfection of health nor the perfection of moral habits is a perfection of which one should be proud or that one should desire; the perfection of which one should be proud and that one should desire is knowledge of Him, may He be exalted, which is the true science. Jeremiah says concerning these four perfections: "Thus says the Lord: Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glories, glory in this, that he understands and knows Me" (Jer. 9:22–23). Consider how he mentioned them according to the order given them in the opinion of the multitude. For the greatest perfection in their opinion is that of "the rich man in his riches," below him "the mighty man in his might," and below him "the wise man in his wisdom." (By the expression, "the wise man in his wisdom") he means him who possesses the moral virtues; for such an individual is also held in high esteem by the multitude, to whom the discourse in question is addressed. Therefore these perfections are arranged in this order: The sages apprehended from this verse the very notions we have mentioned and have explicitly stated that which I have explained to you in this chapter: namely, that the term wisdom (*hokhmah*), used in an unrestricted sense and regarded as the end, means in every place the apprehension of Him, may He be exalted; that the possession of the treasures acquired, and com-

JEREMIAH 9:22-23 . . . - That I am the Lord who exercises loving/kindness, judgment and righteousness on the earth. for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.

peted for, by man and thought to be perfection are not a perfection; and that similarly all the actions prescribed by the Law—I refer to the various species of worship and also the moral habits that are useful to all people in their mutual dealings—that all this is not to be compared with this ultimate end and does not equal it, being but preparations made for the sake of this end. Hear verbatim a text of theirs dealing with all these notions; it is a text in *Bereshit Rabbah*. It is said there: "One Scriptural dictum says: 'And all things desirable are not to be compared to her' (Prov. 8:11). Another Scriptural dictum says: 'And all things you can desire are not to be compared to her' (*ibid.* 3:15). The expression 'things desirable,' refers to commandments and good actions; while 'things you can desire,' refers to precious stone and pearls. Neither 'things desirable' nor 'things you can desire' are to be compared to her, but let him that glories, glory in this, that he understands and knows Me" (Gen. Rabbah, ch. 35 *in fine*). Consider how concise is this saying, how perfect is he who said it, and how he left out nothing of all that we have mentioned and that we have interpreted and led up to at length.

As we have mentioned this verse and the wondrous notions contained in it, and as we have mentioned the saying of the sages about it, we will complete the exposition of what it includes. For when explaining in this verse the noblest ends, he does not limit them only to the apprehension of Him, may He be exalted. For if this were his purpose, he would have said; "But let him that glories, glory in this, that he understands and knows Me," and have stopped there; or he would have said: "that he understands and knows Me that I am One"; or he would have said: "that I have no figure," or that "there is none like Me," or something similar. But he says that one should glory in the apprehension of Myself and in the knowledge of My attributes, by which he means His actions, as we have made clear with reference to its dictum: "Show me now Your ways" (Ex. 33:13), and so on. In this verse he makes it clear to us that those actions that ought to be known and imitated are lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness. He adds another corroborative notion through saying, "in the earth"—this being a pivot of the Law. For matters are not as the overbold opine who think that His providence, may He be exalted, terminates at the sphere of the moon and that the earth and that which is in it are neglected: "The Lord has forsaken the earth" (Ezek. 9:9). Rather is it as has been made clear

to us by the Teacher of those who know: "That the earth is the Lord's" (Ex. 9:29). He means to say that His providence also extends over the earth in the way that corresponds to what the latter is, just as His providence extends over the heavens in the way that corresponds to what they are. This is what he says: "That I am the Lord who exercises lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth" (Jer. 9:23). Then he completes the notion by saying: "For in these things I delight, says the Lord." He means that it is My purpose that there should come from you "lovingkindness, righteousness, and judgment in the earth" in the way we have explained with regard to the thirteen attributes: namely, that the purpose should be assimilation to them and that this should be our way of life. Thus the end that he sets forth in this verse may be stated as follows: It is clear that the perfection of man that may truly be gloried in is the one acquired by him who has achieved, in a measure corresponding to his capacity, apprehension of Him, may He be exalted, and who knows His providence extending over His creatures as manifested in the act of bringing them into being and in their governance as it is. The way of life of such an individual, after he has achieved this apprehension, will always have in view lovingkindness, righteousness, and judgment, through assimilation to His actions, may He be exalted, just as we have explained several times in this treatise.

This is the extent of what I thought fit that we should set down in this treatise; it is a part of what I consider very useful to those like you. I hope for you that through sufficient reflection you will grasp all the intentions I have included therein, with the help of God, may He be exalted; and that He will grant us "and all (the people) of Israel, being fellows," that which He has promised us: "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped" (Is. 45:5). "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them has the light shined" (*ibid.* 9:1).

AMEN

God is very near to everyone who calls,
If he calls truly and has no distractions;
He is found by every seeker who searches for Him,
If he marches toward Him and goes not astray.

פֶּרֶק שְׁלִישִׁי

ג אֵין לְךָ מִצְוָה בְּכָל הַמִּצְוֹת כֻּלָּן, שֶׁהִיא שְׁקוּלָה כְּנֶגֶד תַּלְמוּד תּוֹרָה, אֶלָּא תַּלְמוּד תּוֹרָה כְּנֶגֶד כָּל הַמִּצְוֹת כֻּלָּן, שֶׁהַתַּלְמוּד מֵבִיא לִידֵי מַעֲשֶׂה; לְפִיכָךְ הַתַּלְמוּד קוֹדֵם לַמַּעֲשֶׂה בְּכָל מָקוֹם.

ד הָיָה לְפָנָיו עֲשִׂיַּת מִצְוָה וְתַלְמוּד תּוֹרָה — אִם אֶפְשָׁר לַמִּצְוָה לְהֵעָשׂוֹת עַל־יְדֵי אֲחֵרִים, לֹא יַפְסִיק תַּלְמוּדוֹ; וְאִם לָאו — יַעֲשֶׂה הַמִּצְוָה וְיַחֲזֹר לְתַלְמוּדוֹ.

ה תְּחִלַּת דִּינוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם, אֵינוֹ נִדּוֹן אֶלָּא עַל הַתַּלְמוּד, וְאַחַר־כָּךְ עַל שְׁאָר מַעֲשָׂיו.
לְפִיכָךְ אָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים: לְעוֹלָם יַעֲסֹק אָדָם בַּתּוֹרָה, בֵּין לִשְׁמָהּ, בֵּין שֶׁלֹּא לִשְׁמָהּ, שֶׁמִּתּוֹךְ שֶׁלֹּא לִשְׁמָהּ בָּא לִשְׁמָהּ.

3 Of all precepts, none is equal in importance to the study of the Torah. Nay, study of the Torah is equal to them all, for study leads to practice. Hence, study always takes precedence of practice.†

4 If the opportunity of fulfilling a specific precept would interrupt the study of the Torah and the precept can be performed by others, one should not interrupt study. Otherwise, the precept should be performed and then the study be resumed.

5 At the Judgment hereafter, a man will first be called to account in regard to his fulfillment of the duty of study, and afterwards concerning his other activities. Hence, the sages said, "A person should always occupy himself with the Torah, whether for its own sake or for other reasons. For study of the Torah, even when pursued from interested motives, will lead to study for its own sake" (see Pesahim 50b).

וְעַל רַבִּים לְכִנּוּי׳, – וְלֹא יִקְרָא 'שׁוֹנְאִי' אֶלָּא 'עוֹבֵד עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה' לְבָד׳: ״כִּי כָל תּוֹעֲבַת יְיָ אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵא״׳. וְאָהֲנָם הִסְפִּיק לוֹ 'רַבִּים', כִּי מַכְלִית מַה שֶּׁאָפְשָׁר לוֹ לָאָדָם לִרְאוֹת תְּאֵרוֹ – הוּא 'דּוֹר רְבִיעִי'. וְכָשֶׁהָרְגוּ אֲנָשֵׁי הַמְּדִינָה 'עוֹבְדֵי עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה', נֶהֱרַג הַזָּקֵן הַהוּא הָ'עוֹבֵד' וּבֶן בְּנוֹ, שֶׁהוּא הַוָּלָד הָרְבִיעִי; וְכֵאלּוּ סָפַר, שֶׁמִּכְלָל מִצְוֹתָיו יִת׳ – שֶׁהֵם מִכְלָל פְּעֻלּוֹתָיו, בְּלֹא סָפֵק, – שֶׁיֵּהָרֵג זֶרַע עוֹבְדֵי עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה, אַף עַל פִּי שֶׁהֵם קְטַנִּים, בְּתוֹךְ אֲבוֹתָם וַאֲבוֹת אֲבוֹתָם. וְזֹאת הַפְּקֻדָּה, מְצֻאנוּ נִמְשָׁכֶת בַּ׳תּוֹרָה׳ בְּכָל מָקוֹם, כְּמוֹ שֶׁצִּוָּה בְּעִיר הַנִּדַּחַת: ״הַחֲרֵם אֹתָהּ וְאֶת כָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּהּ״׳, – כָּל זֶה לִמְחוֹת הָרֹשֶׁם הַהוּא, הַמֵּבִיא לַהֶפְסֵד הַגָּדוֹל, כְּמוֹ שֶׁבֵּאַרְנוּ.

וְכָבָר יָצָאנוּ מִעִנְיַן הַפֶּרֶק, אֲבָל בֵּאַרְנוּ לָמָּה הִסְפִּיק לוֹ הַנָּה הִזָּכְרוֹן פְּעֻלּוֹתָיו זִכְרוֹן אֵלֶּה לְבָד, וְהוּא – מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא צָרִיךְ אֲלֵיהֶם בְּהַנְהָגַת הַמְּדִינוֹת. כִּי מַכְלִית מַעֲלַת הָאָדָם – הַהִדָּמוּת בּוֹ יִת׳ כְּפִי הַיְכֹלֶת – כְּלוֹמַר: שְׁנַדְמֶה פְּעֻלּוֹתֵינוּ בְּפְעֻלּוֹתָיו—, כְּמוֹ שֶׁבֵּאֲרוּ בְּפֵרוּשׁ ״קְדֹשִׁים תִּהְיוּ״׳, אָמְרוּ: ״מַה הוּא חַנּוּן, אַף אַתָּה הֱיֵה חַנּוּן; מַה הוּא רַחוּם, אַף אַתָּה הֱיֵה רַחוּם״׳. וְהַכַּוָּנָה כֻּלָּהּ – כִּי הַתֹּאָרִים הַמְיֻחָסִים לוֹ יִת׳ הֵם תָּאֲרֵי פְּעֻלּוֹתָיו, לֹא שֶׁהוּא יִת׳ בַּעַל אֵיכוּת,

(Deut. 12:31). He restricts Himself to the fourth genera-
tion only because the utmost of what man can see of his offspring is

the fourth generation. Accordingly, when the people of an idolatrous city are killed, this means that an idolatrous old man and the offspring of the offspring of his offspring—that is, the child of the fourth generation—are killed. Accordingly, Scripture, as it were, predicated of Him that His commandments, may He be exalted, which undoubtedly are comprised in His actions, comprise the commandment to kill the offspring of idolaters, even if they are little children, together with the multitude of their fathers and grandfathers. We find this commandment continuously in the Torah in all passages. Thus he commands with regard to the city that has been led astray to idolatry: "Destroy it utterly and all that is therein" (*ibid.* 13:16)—all this being done with a view to blotting out traces that bring about necessarily great corruption, as we have made clear.

We have gone beyond the subject of this chapter; however, we have made clear why Scripture, in enumerating His actions, has confined itself here to those mentioned above, and that those actions are needed for the governance of cities. For the utmost virtue of man is to become like Him, may He be exalted, as far as he is able; which means that we should make our actions like unto His, as the sages made clear when interpreting the verse, "You shall be holy" (Lev. 19:2). They said: "He is gracious, so be you also gracious; He is merciful, so be you also merciful" (*Sifre*, Deut. 10:12). The purpose of all this is to show that the attributes ascribed to Him are attributes of His actions and that they do not mean that He possesses qualities;

יא וְיֵשׁ דְּבָרִים אֲחֵרִים שֶׁהֵם בִּכְלַל חִלּוּל הַשֵּׁם, וְהוּא — שֶׁיַּעֲשֶׂה אוֹתָם אָדָם גָּדוֹל בְּתוֹרָה וּמְפֻרְסָם בַּחֲסִידוּת, דְּבָרִים שֶׁהַבְּרִיּוֹת מְרַנְּנִים אַחֲרָיו בְּשִׁבּוּלָם, וְאַף־עַל־פִּי שֶׁאֵינָן עֲבֵרוֹת — הֲרֵי זֶה חִלֵּל אֶת הַשֵּׁם.

כְּגוֹן שֶׁלָּקַח, וְאֵינוֹ נוֹתֵן דְּמֵי הַמֻּקָּח לְאַלְתָּר,
וְהוּא שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ, וְנִמְצְאוּ הַמּוֹכְרִים תּוֹבְעִין וְהוּא מְקַיְּפָן;
אוֹ שֶׁיִּרְבֶּה בְּשָׂחוֹק אוֹ בַּאֲכִילָה וּשְׁתִיָּה אֵצֶל עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ וּבֵינֵיהֶן;
אוֹ שֶׁהִדְבּוּרוֹ עִם הַבְּרִיּוֹת אֵינוֹ בְּנַחַת וְאֵינוֹ מְקַבְּלָן בְּסֵבֶר פָּנִים יָפוֹת, אֶלָּא בַּעַל קְטָטָה וְכַעַס;
וְכֵיוֹצֵא בַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלּוּ — הַכֹּל לְפִי גְּדֻלּוֹ שֶׁל חָכָם, צָרִיךְ שֶׁיְּדַקְדֵּק עַל עַצְמוֹ וְיַעֲשֶׂה לִפְנִים מִשּׁוּרַת הַדִּין.

וְכֵן אִם דִּקְדֵּק הֶחָכָם עַל עַצְמוֹ, וְהָיָה דִּבּוּרוֹ בְּנַחַת עִם הַבְּרִיּוֹת וְדַעְתּוֹ מְעֹרֶבֶת עִמָּהֶם, וּמְקַבְּלָם בְּסֵבֶר פָּנִים יָפוֹת, וְנֶעֱלָב מֵהֶם וְאֵינוֹ עוֹלְבָם;
מְכַבֵּד לָהֶן, וְאֶפְלוּ לַמְקַלִּין לוֹ.
וְנוֹשֵׂא וְנוֹתֵן בֶּאֱמוּנָה,
וְלֹא יַרְבֶּה בַּאֲרִיחוּת עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ וִישִׁיבָתָן,
וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה תָּמִיד אֶלָּא עוֹסֵק בַּתּוֹרָה, עָטוּף בְּצִיצִת, מֻכְתָּר בִּתְפִלִּין, וְעוֹשֶׂה בְּכָל מַעֲשָׂיו לִפְנִים מִשּׁוּרַת הַדִּין;
וְהוּא, שֶׁלֹּא יִתְרַחֵק הַרְבֵּה וְלֹא יִשְׁתּוֹמֵם,
עַד שֶׁיִּמָּצְאוּ הַכֹּל מְקַלְסִין אוֹתוֹ וְאוֹהֲבִים אוֹתוֹ וּמִתְאַוִּים לְמַעֲשָׂיו — הֲרֵי זֶה קִדֵּשׁ אֶת הַשֵּׁם,
וְעָלָיו הַכָּתוּב אוֹמֵר: "וַיֹּאמֶר לִי עַבְדִּי אָתָּה, יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בְּךָ אֶתְפָּאָר".

11 There are other things that are a profanation of the Name of God. When a man, great in the knowledge of the Torah and reputed for his piety does things which cause people to talk about him, even if the acts are not express violations, he profanes the Name of God. As, for example, if such a person makes a purchase and does not pay promptly, provided that he has means and the creditors ask for payment and he puts them off; or if he indulges immoderately in jesting, eating, or drinking, when he is staying with ignorant people or living among them; or if his mode of addressing people is not gentle, or he does not receive people affably, but is quarrelsome and irascible. The greater a man is the more scrupulous should he be in all such things, and do more than the strict letter of the law requires. And if a man has been scrupulous in his conduct, gentle in his conversation, pleasant toward his fellow-creatures, affable in manner when receiving them, not retorting, even when affronted, but showing courtesy to all, even to those who treat him with disdain, conducting his commercial affairs with integrity, not readily accepting the hospitality of the ignorant nor frequenting their company, not seen at all times, but devoting himself to the study of the Torah, wrapped in *tallit* and crowned with phylacteries, and doing more than his duty in all things, avoiding, however, extremes and exaggerations—such a man has sanctified God, and concerning him, Scripture says, "And He said to me, 'You are My servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified' " (Is. 49:3).

פֶּרֶק עֲשִׂירִי

א אַל יֹאמַר אָדָם: הֲרֵינִי עוֹשֶׂה מִצְוֹת הַתּוֹרָה וְעוֹסֵק בְּחָכְמָתָהּ כְּדֵי שֶׁאֲקַבֵּל כָּל הַבְּרָכוֹת הַכְּתוּבוֹת בָּהּ, אוֹ כְּדֵי שֶׁאֶזְכֶּה לְחַיֵּי הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא, וְאֶפְרֹשׁ מִן הָעֲבֵרוֹת שֶׁהִזְהִירָה תּוֹרָה מֵהֶן, כְּדֵי שֶׁאֶנָּצֵל מִן הַקְּלָלוֹת הַכְּתוּבוֹת בַּתּוֹרָה, אוֹ כְּדֵי שֶׁלֹּא אֶכָּרֵת מֵחַיֵּי הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא —
אֵין רָאוּי לַעֲבֹד אֶת הַשֵּׁם עַל הַדֶּרֶךְ הַזֶּה,
שֶׁהָעוֹבֵד עַל הַדֶּרֶךְ הַזֶּה הוּא עוֹבֵד מִירְאָה, וְאֵינָהּ מַעֲלַת הַנְּבִיאִים וְלֹא מַעֲלַת הַחֲכָמִים;

וְאֵין עוֹבְדִים הַשֵּׁם עַל דֶּרֶךְ זֶה אֶלָּא עַמֵּי־הָאָרֶץ וְהַנָּשִׁים וְהַקְּטַנִּים, שֶׁמְּחַנְּכִין אוֹתָן לַעֲבֹד מִירְאָה, עַד שֶׁתִּרְבֶּה דַעְתָּן וְיַעַבְדוּ מֵאַהֲבָה.

ב הָעוֹבֵד מֵאַהֲבָה, עוֹסֵק בְּתוֹרָה וּבְמִצְוֹת וְהוֹלֵךְ בִּנְתִיבוֹת הַחָכְמָה, לֹא מִפְּנֵי דָּבָר בָּעוֹלָם וְלֹא מִפְּנֵי יִרְאַת הָרָעָה וְלֹא כְּדֵי לִירֹשׁ הַטּוֹבָה; אֶלָּא עוֹשֶׂה הָאֱמֶת מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא אֱמֶת, וְסוֹף הַטּוֹבָה לָבוֹא בִּגְלָלָהּ.
וּמַעֲלָה זוֹ הִיא מַעֲלָה גְּדוֹלָה מְאֹד, וְאֵין כָּל חָכָם זוֹכֶה לָהּ,
וְהִיא מַעֲלַת אַבְרָהָם אָבִינוּ, שֶׁקָּרָאוֹ הַקָּדוֹשׁ־בָּרוּךְ־הוּא אוֹהֲבוֹ, לְפִי שֶׁלֹּא עָבַד אֶלָּא מֵאַהֲבָה.
וְהִיא הַמַּעֲלָה שֶׁצִּוָּנוּ בָהּ הַקָּדוֹשׁ־בָּרוּךְ־הוּא עַל־יְדֵי מֹשֶׁה, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: "וְאָהַבְתָּ אֵת ה' אֱלֹקֶיךָ". וּבִזְמַן שֶׁיֶּאֱהַב אָדָם אֶת הַשֵּׁם אַהֲבָה הָרְאוּיָה, מִיָּד יַעֲשֶׂה כָּל הַמִּצְוֹת מֵאַהֲבָה.

Chapter 10

1 Let not a man say, "I will observe the precepts of the Torah and occupy myself with its wisdom in order that I may obtain all the blessings written in the Torah, or to attain life in the world to come; I will abstain from transgressions against which the Torah warns, so that I may be saved from the curses written in the Torah, or that I may not be cut off from life in the world to come." It is not right to serve God after this fashion for whoever does so, serves Him out of fear. This is not the standard set by the prophets and sages. Those who may serve God in this way are illiterate, women, or children whom one trains to serve out of fear, till their knowledge shall have increased when they will serve out of love.

2 Whoever serves God out of love, occupies himself with the study of the Law and the fulfillment of commandments and walks in the paths of wisdom, impelled by no external motive whatsoever, moved neither by fear of calamity nor by the desire to obtain material benefits—such a man does what is truly right because it is truly right, and

*See Book XIV, Kings and Wars, ch. XII.

ultimately, happiness comes to him as a result of his conduct. This standard is indeed a very high one; not every sage attained it. It was the standard of the patriarch Abraham whom God called His lover, because he served only out of love. It is the standard which God, through Moses, bids us achieve, as it is said, "And you shall love the Lord your God" (Deut. 6:5). When one loves God with the right love, he will straightway observe all the commandments out of love.*

פרק עשרי

א חייבין אנו להזהר במצות צדקה יותר מכל מצות עשה. שהצדקה סימן לצדיק זרע אברהם אבינו שנאמר כי ידעתיו למען אשר יצוה את בניו לעשות צדקה. ואין בסא ישראל מתכונן ודת האמת עומדת אלא בצדקה שנאמר בצדקה תכונני. ואין ישראל נגאלין אלא בצדקה שנאמר ציון במשפט תפדה ושביה בצדקה: ב לעולם אין אדם נכשל מן הצדקה ואין דבר רע ולא חזק גדול בשביל הצדקה שנאמר והיה מעשה הצדקה שלום. כל המרחם מרחמין עליו שנאמר ונתן לך רחמים ורחמך והרבך. וכל מי שהוא אכזרי ואינו מרחם יש לחוש ליחסו. שאין האכזריות מצויה אלא בעכו"ם שנאמר אכזרי המה ולא ירחמו(ל)וכל ישראל והגלוה עליהם באדום הם שנאמר בנים אתם לה' אלהיכם ואם לא ירחם האח על האח מי ירחם עליו. ולמי עיני ישראל נושאין עיניהן. הלעכו"ם שכתוב אתן והודפים אתריהן הא אין עיניהן תלויות אלא לאחיהן: ג כל המעלים עינו

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Chapter 10

1 We are obligated to be more scrupulous in fulfilling the commandment of charity* than any other positive commandment because charity is the sign of the righteous man, the seed of Abraham our Father, as it is said, "For I know him, that he will command his children ... to do righteousness" (Gen. 18:19). The throne of Israel is established and the religion of truth is upheld only through charity, as it is said, "In righteousness shall you be established" (Is. 54:14). Israel is redeemed only through charity, as it is written, "Zion shall be redeemed with judgment and they that return of her with righteousness" (*ibid.* 1:27).

2 No man has ever become impoverished by giving charity and no evil or damage has ever resulted from charity, as it is said, "and the work of righteousness is peace" (Is. 32:17).

Whosoever displays mercy to others will be granted mercy himself, as it is said, "And He will grant you mercy, and have compassion upon you, and multiply you" (Deut. 13:18).

If someone is cruel and does not show mercy, there are sufficient grounds to suspect his lineage, since cruelty is found only among the other nations, as it is said, "They are cruel and will not show mercy"

ז וְכֵיצַד יַרְגִּיל אָדָם עַצְמוֹ בְּדֵעוֹת אֵלּוּ עַד שֶׁיִּקָּבְעוּ בּוֹ?
יַעֲשֶׂה וְשָׁנֶה וְיִשְׁלַשׁ בַּמַּעֲשִׂים שֶׁעוֹשֶׂה עַל־פִּי הַדֵּעוֹת הָאֶמְצָעִיּוֹת, וְיַחֲזֹר

בָּהֶם תָּמִיד, עַד שֶׁיִּהְיוּ מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם קַלִּים עָלָיו, וְלֹא יִהְיֶה בָּהֶם טֹרַח עָלָיו, וְיִקָּבְעוּ הַדֵּעוֹת בְּנַפְשׁוֹ.
וּלְפִי שֶׁהַשֵּׁמוֹת הָאֵלּוּ נִקְרָא בָּהֶן הַיּוֹצֵר, וְהֵם הַדֶּרֶךְ הַבֵּינוֹנִית שֶׁאָנוּ חַיָּבִין לָלֶכֶת בָּהּ — נִקְרֵאת דֶּרֶךְ זוֹ "דֶּרֶךְ הַשֵּׁם".
וְהִיא שֶׁלִּמֵּד אַבְרָהָם אָבִינוּ לְבָנָיו, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: "כִּי יְדַעְתִּיו לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּה וגו'".
וְהַהוֹלֵךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ זוֹ, מֵבִיא טוֹבָה וּבְרָכָה לְעַצְמוֹ, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: "לְמַעַן הָבִיא ה' עַל אַבְרָהָם אֵת אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עָלָיו".

7 How shall a man train himself in these dispositions, so that they become ingrained? Let him practice again and again the actions prompted by those dispositions which are the mean between the extremes, and repeat them continually till they become easy and are no longer irksome to him, and so the corresponding dispositions will become a fixed part of his character. And as the Creator is called by these attributes, which constitute the middle path in which we are to walk, this path is called the Way of God and this is what the patriarch Abraham taught his children, as it is said "For I love him, because he will charge his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord" (Gen. 18:19). Whoever walks in this way secures for himself happiness and blessing, as the text continues, "In order that the Lord might bring upon Abraham that which He spoke concerning him" (*ibid.* 18:19).†

טז וְחַיָּב לְחַלֵּק לָעֲנִיִּים בְּיוֹם הַפּוּרִים.
אֵין פּוֹחֲתִין מִשְּׁנֵי עֲנִיִּים. נוֹתֵן לְכָל אֶחָד מַתָּנָה אַחַת אוֹ מָעוֹת אוֹ מִינֵי תַּבְשִׁיל אוֹ מִינֵי אֳכָלִין.
שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: וּמַתָּנוֹת לָאֶבְיוֹנִים – שְׁתֵּי מַתָּנוֹת לִשְׁנֵי עֲנִיִּים.
וְאֵין מְדַקְדְּקִין בִּמְעוֹת פּוּרִים, אֶלָּא כָּל הַפּוֹשֵׁט יָדוֹ לִטֹּל נוֹתְנִין לוֹ.
וְאֵין מְשַׁנִּין מְעוֹת פּוּרִים לִצְדָקָה אַחֶרֶת.

יז מוּטָב לָאָדָם לְהַרְבּוֹת בְּמַתְּנוֹת אֶבְיוֹנִים מִלְּהַרְבּוֹת בְּסְעֻדָּתוֹ וּבְשִׁלּוּחַ מָנוֹת לְרֵעָיו.
שֶׁאֵין שָׂם שִׂמְחָה גְּדוֹלָה וּמְפֹאָרָה אֶלָּא לְשַׂמֵּחַ לֵב עֲנִיִּים וְיִתּוֹמִים וְאַלְמָנוֹת וְגֵרִים.
שֶׁהַמְשַׂמֵּחַ לֵב הָאֲמֻלָּלִים הָאֵלּוּ דּוֹמֶה לַשְּׁכִינָה, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: לְהַחֲיוֹת רוּחַ שְׁפָלִים וּלְהַחֲיוֹת לֵב נִדְכָּאִים.

READING OF THE MEGILLAH AND HANUKKAH

Chapter 2

¶16 It is also one's duty to distribute charity to the poor on Purim day, "the poor" meaning not fewer than two persons; each should be given a separate gift—money, a cooked dish, or some other comesti-

ble. For when Scripture says, "and gifts to the poor" (Esther 9:22), it implies at least two gifts to two poor persons. No investigation should be made of applicants for such Purim money, rather it should be given to anyone who stretches out his hand. Nor may Purim money be diverted to any other charitable purpose.

¶17 It is preferable to spend more on gifts to the poor than on the Purim meal or on presents to friends. For no joy is greater or more glorious than the joy of gladdening the hearts of the poor, the orphans, the widows, and the strangers. Indeed, he who causes the hearts of these unfortunates to rejoice, emulates the Divine Presence, of whom Scripture says, "to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones" (Is. 57:15).

יב מִצְוַת נֵר חֲנֻכָּה מִצְוָה חֲבִיבָה הִיא עַד מְאד, וְצָרִיךְ אָדָם לְהִזָּהֵר בָּהּ, כְּדֵי לְהוֹדִיעַ הַנֵּס, וּלְהוֹסִיף בְּשֶׁבַח הָאֵל וְהוֹדָיָה לוֹ עַל הַנִּסִּים שֶׁעָשָׂה לָנוּ. אֲפִלּוּ אֵין לוֹ מַה יֹּאכַל אֶלָּא מִן הַצְּדָקָה, שׁוֹאֵל אוֹ מוֹכֵר כְּסוּתוֹ וּלוֹקֵחַ שֶׁמֶן וְנֵרוֹת וּמַדְלִיק.

יג הֲרֵי שֶׁאֵין לוֹ אֶלָּא פְּרוּטָה אַחַת, וּלְפָנָיו קִדּוּשׁ הַיּוֹם וְהַדְלָקַת נֵר חֲנֻכָּה – מַקְדִּים לְקִנּוּי שֶׁמֶן לְהַדְלִיק נֵר חֲנֻכָּה עַל הַיַּיִן לְקִדּוּשׁ הַיּוֹם; הוֹאִיל וּשְׁנֵיהֶם מִדִּבְרֵי סוֹפְרִים, מוּטָב לְהַקְדִּים נֵר חֲנֻכָּה שֶׁיֵּשׁ בּוֹ זִכָּרוֹן הַנֵּס.

יד הָיָה לְפָנָיו נֵר בֵּיתוֹ וְנֵר חֲנֻכָּה, אוֹ נֵר בֵּיתוֹ וְקִדּוּשׁ הַיּוֹם – נֵר בֵּיתוֹ קוֹדֵם, מִשּׁוּם שְׁלוֹם בֵּיתוֹ; שֶׁהֲרֵי הַשֵּׁם נִמְחָק לַעֲשׂוֹת שָׁלוֹם בֵּין אִישׁ לְאִשְׁתּוֹ. גָּדוֹל הַשָּׁלוֹם, שֶׁכָּל הַתּוֹרָה נִתְּנָה לַעֲשׂוֹת שָׁלוֹם בָּעוֹלָם. שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: דְּרָכֶיהָ דַרְכֵי נֹעַם, וְכָל נְתִיבוֹתֶיהָ שָׁלוֹם.

Chapter 4

12 The commandment to light the Hanukkah lamp is an exceedingly precious one, and one should be particularly careful to fulfill it, in order to make known the miracle, and to offer additional praise and thanksgiving to God for the wonders which He has wrought for us. Even if one has no food to eat except what he receives from charity, he should beg—or sell his garment to buy—oil and lamps, and light them.

13 If one has no more than a single penny and needs wine for the sanctification benediction of the Sabbath and oil to light the Hanukkah lamp, he should give preference to the purchase of oil for the Hanukkah lamp over the purchase of wine for the sanctification benediction. Since both commandments are based on the authority of the scribes, it is best to give preference to the Hanukkah lamp, since it serves as a memorial of the miracle of Hanukkah.

14 If such a poor man needs oil for both a Sabbath lamp and a Hanukkah lamp, or oil for a Sabbath lamp and wine for the sanctification benediction, the Sabbath lamp should have priority, for the sake of peace in the household, seeing that even a Divine Name might be erased to make peace between husband and wife. Great indeed is peace, forasmuch as the purpose for which the whole of the Law was given is to bring peace upon the world, as it is said, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace" (Prov. 3:17).

5E

יז שִׁבְעַת יְמֵי הַפֶּסַח וּשְׁמוֹנַת יְמֵי הֶחָג עִם שְׁאָר יָמִים טוֹבִים – כֻּלָּם אֲסוּרִים בְּהֶסְפֵּד וְתַעֲנִית.

וְחַיָּב אָדָם לִהְיוֹת בָּהֶן שָׂמֵחַ וְטוֹב לֵב, הוּא וּבָנָיו וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּבְנֵי בָנָיו וְכָל הַגְּלוּיִים עָלָיו, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: וְשָׂמַחְתָּ בְּחַגֶּךָ וְגוֹמֵר.
אַף־עַל־פִּי שֶׁהַשִּׂמְחָה הָאֲמוּרָה כָּאן הִיא קָרְבַּן שְׁלָמִים, כְּמוֹ שֶׁאָנוּ מְבָאֲרִין בְּהִלְכוֹת חֲגִיגָה, יֵשׁ בִּכְלָל אוֹתָהּ שִׂמְחָה לְשַׂמֵּחַ הוּא וּבָנָיו וּבְנֵי בֵיתוֹ, כָּל אֶחָד כְּפִי מָה שֶׁרָאוּי לוֹ.

יח כֵּיצַד? הַקְּטַנִּים – נוֹתֵן לָהֶם קְלָיוֹת וְאֱגוֹזִים וּמִגְדָּנוֹת,
וְהַנָּשִׁים – קוֹנֶה לָהֶן בְּגָדִים וְתַכְשִׁיטִים נָאִים כְּפִי מָכוֹנוֹ,
וְהָאֲנָשִׁים – אוֹכְלִין בָּשָׂר וְשׁוֹתִין יַיִן: שֶׁאֵין שִׂמְחָה אֶלָּא בְּבָשָׂר, וְאֵין שִׂמְחָה אֶלָּא בְּיַיִן.
וּכְשֶׁהוּא אוֹכֵל וְשׁוֹתֶה – חַיָּב לְהַאֲכִיל לַגֵּר לַיָּתוֹם וְלָאַלְמָנָה עִם שְׁאָר הֶעָנִיִּים הָאֻמְלָלִים.
אֲבָל מִי שֶׁנּוֹעֵל דַּלְתוֹת חֲצֵרוֹ, וְאוֹכֵל וְשׁוֹתֶה הוּא וּבָנָיו וְאִשְׁתּוֹ, וְאֵינוֹ מַאֲכִיל וּמַשְׁקֶה לֶעָנִיִּים וּלְמָרֵי נֶפֶשׁ – אֵין זוֹ שִׂמְחַת מִצְוָה, אֶלָּא שִׂמְחַת כְּרֵסוֹ;
וְעַל אֵלּוּ נֶאֱמַר: זִבְחֵיהֶם כְּלֶחֶם אוֹנִים לָהֶם, כָּל אֹכְלָיו יִטַּמְּאוּ, כִּי לַחְמָם לְנַפְשָׁם.
וְשִׂמְחָה כָּזוֹ קְלוֹן הִיא לָהֶם, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר: וְזֵרִיתִי פֶרֶשׁ עַל פְּנֵיכֶם, פֶּרֶשׁ חַגֵּיכֶם.

יט וְאַף־עַל־פִּי שֶׁאֲכִילָה וּשְׁתִיָּה בְּמוּעָדוֹת בִּכְלַל מִצְוַת עֲשֵׂה, לֹא יִהְיֶה אוֹכֵל וְשׁוֹתֶה כָּל הַיּוֹם כֻּלּוֹ, אֶלָּא כָּךְ הִיא הַדָּת:
בַּבֹּקֶר מַשְׁכִּימִין כָּל הָעָם לְבָתֵּי כְנֵסִיּוֹת וּלְבָתֵּי מִדְרָשׁוֹת, וּמִתְפַּלְּלִין וְקוֹרִין בַּתּוֹרָה בְּעִנְיַן הַיּוֹם, וְחוֹזְרִין לְבָתֵּיהֶם וְאוֹכְלִין,
וְהוֹלְכִין לְבָתֵּי מִדְרָשׁוֹת, קוֹרִין וְשׁוֹנִין עַד חֲצִי הַיּוֹם,
וְאַחַר חֲצוֹת הַיּוֹם מִתְפַּלְּלִין תְּפִלַּת הַמִּנְחָה, וְחוֹזְרִין לְבָתֵּיהֶן לֶאֱכֹל וְלִשְׁתּוֹת שְׁאָר הַיּוֹם עַד הַלַּיְלָה.

(17 The seven days of Passover, the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the other festival days, are all days on which funeral eulogies and fasting are forbidden. It is one's duty to rejoice and be of cheerful heart on these days, together with his children, his wife, his grandchildren, and all the other members of his household, for Scripture says, "And you shall rejoice in your feast, you and your son and your daughter," etc. (Deut. 16:14). Although rejoicing in this context refers to the peace offering to be brought on festivals, as we shall explain in the Laws Concerning the Festal Offering, it includes also the duty incumbent upon each man, his children, and his household, to rejoice in the appropriate manner.

(18 Thus children should be given parched ears, nuts, and other dainties; women should have clothes and pretty trinkets bought for them, according to one's means; and men should eat meat and drink wine, for there can be no real rejoicing without meat to eat and wine to drink. And while one eats and drinks himself, it is his duty to feed the stranger, the orphan, the widow, and other poor and unfortunate people, for he who locks the doors to his courtyard and eats and drinks with his wife and family, without giving anything to eat or drink to the poor and the bitter in soul—his meal is not a rejoicing in a divine commandment, but a rejoicing in his own stomach. It is of such persons that Scripture says, "Their sacrifices shall be to them as the bread of mourners, all that eat thereof shall be polluted, for their bread is for their own appetite" (Hos. 9:4). Rejoicing of this kind is a disgrace to those who indulge in it, as Scripture says, "And I will spread dung upon your faces, even the dung of your sacrifices" (Mal. 2:3).

(19 Although eating and drinking on festivals are included in the positive commandment to rejoice on those days, one should not eat and drink all day long, the proper procedure being as follows: In the morning, people should go early to the synagogue or the schoolhouse, recite the prayers and read the lesson in the Law appropriate to the day, and then return home and eat. Then they should return to the schoolhouse and study Scripture or Mishnah until noon. After noon they should recite the afternoon prayer, and then return home and eat and drink for the rest of the day until nightfall.

(הגיעה טעות ההמון, עד שיחסו
לבורא חוסר יכולת[59] במציאות הזו, שהמציאו
בטבע הזה המחייב את הרעות הגדולות הללו
כפי דמיונם, מפני שאותו הטבע אינו נשמע
לכל בעל מגרעת להשיג מגרעותיו, עד שיביא
לנפשו הרעה כל דרישותיה אשר אין להם סוף
כמו שבארנו[59a].

אבל החסידים[60] ההבמים כבר ידעו חכמת
המציאות הזו והבינו אותה, כמו שבאר דוד
ואמר כל ארחות ה' חסד ואמת לנצרי בריתו
ועדתיו[61], אומר כי אותם אשר נצרו טבע
המציאות וחוקי התורה וידעו תכליתם, נהבור
להם אופן החסד והאמת בכל, ולפיכך עשו
מטרתם מה שהיתה הכונה בהם מחמת היותם
אדם והיא ההשגה[62], ובגלל צורך הגוף
מבקשים ההכרחי, להם לאכל ובגד ללבש[63]
ללא מותרות, וזה הקל ביותר, ואפשר להשיגו
בעסוק מועט אם יסתפק אדם בהכרחי, וכל
מה שאתה רואה מקושי הדבר הזה וכבדו
עלינו הוא מחמת המותרות ודרישת הבלתי
הכרחי, נעשה קשה אפילו מציאת ההכרחי, לפי
שכל מה שהתקוות תלויות במותרות יותר,
יהיה הדבר יותר קשה ויתבזבזו הכחות
וההשגים במה שאינו הכרחי, ובכך לא ימצא
ההכרחי[64].

The error of the multitude has arrived at the point where they impute to the Creator deficiency of power because of His having produced that which exists and endowed it with a nature entailing, according to their imagination, these great evils; inasmuch as this nature does not help every vicious man to achieve the satisfaction of his vice so that his corrupt soul should reach the term of its demand, which, according to what we have explained, has no limit. On the other hand, men of excellence and knowledge have grasped and understood the wisdom manifested in that which exists, as David has set forth, saying: "All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth to those that keep His covenant and His testimonies" (Ps. 25:10). By this he says that those who keep to the nature of that which exists, keep the commandments of the Law, and know the ends of both, apprehend clearly the excellency and the true reality of the whole. For this reason they take as their end that for which they were intended as men, namely, apprehension. And because of the necessity of the body, they seek what is necessary for it, "bread to eat, and raiment to put on" (Gen. 28:20), without any luxury. If one restricts oneself to what is necessary, this is the easiest of things and may be obtained with a very small effort. Whatever in it that is seen as difficult and hard for us is due to the following reason: when one endeavors to seek what is unnecessary, it becomes difficult to find even what is necessary.

7A

יב כְּשֵׁם שֶׁהַתַּלְמִידִים חַיָּבִין בִּכְבוֹד הָרַב, כָּךְ הָרַב צָרִיךְ לִנְהֹג בִּכְבוֹד תַּלְמִידָיו וּלְאַהֲבָתָן.
כָּךְ אָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים: "יְהִי כְבוֹד תַּלְמִידְךָ חָבִיב עָלֶיךָ כְּשֶׁלְּךָ".
וְצָרִיךְ אָדָם לְהִנָּהֵר בְּתַלְמִידָיו וּלְאַהֲבָתָם, שֶׁהֵם הַבָּנִים, הַמְהַנִּים לָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְלָעוֹלָם הַבָּא.

יג תַּלְמִידִים מוֹסִיפִין חָכְמַת הָרַב וּמַרְחִיבִין לִבּוֹ.
אָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים: הַרְבֵּה חָכְמָה לָמַדְתִּי מֵרַבּוֹתַי, וְיוֹתֵר — מֵחַבֵּרַי, וּמִתַּלְמִידַי — יוֹתֵר מִכֻּלָּם.
וּכְשֵׁם שֶׁעֵץ קָטָן מַדְלִיק אֶת הַגָּדוֹל, כָּךְ תַּלְמִיד קָטָן מְחַדֵּד הָרַב, עַד שֶׁיוֹצִיא מִפִּנּוּ בְּשְׁאֲלוֹתָיו חָכְמָה מְפֹאָרָה.

12 As pupils are bound to honor their teacher, so a teacher ought to show courtesy and friendliness to his pupils. The sages said, "Let the honor of your disciples be as dear to you as your own" (Ethics of the Fathers 4:15). A man should take an interest in his pupils and love them, for they are his spiritual children who will bring him happiness in this world and in the world hereafter.

13 Disciples increase the teacher's wisdom and broaden his mind. The sages said, "Much wisdom I learned from my teachers, more from my colleagues; from my pupils, most of all." Even as a small piece of wood kindles a large log, so a pupil of small attainments sharpens the mind of his teacher, so that by his questions, he elicits glorious wisdom.

7B

פרק חמשה ועשרים

א **אסור** לאדם לנהוג בשררה על הצבור ובנשות הרוח אלא בענוה ויראה. וכל פרנס המטיל אימה יתירה על הצבור שלא לשם שמים נענש. ואינו רואה לו בן תלמיד חכם שנאמר לכן יראוהו אנשים לא יראה כל חכמי לב: **ב** וכן אסור לו לנהוג בהן קלות ראש אע"פ שהן עמי הארץ. ולא יפסיע על ראשי עם הקדש. אע"פ שהן הדיוטות ושפלים בני אברהם יצחק ויעקב הם וצבאות השם שהוציא מארץ מצרים בכח גדול וביד חזקה. וסובל טורח הצבור ומשאן כמשה רבינו. שנאמר בו כאשר ישא האומן את היונק. והרי הוא אומר ואצוה את שופטיכם זו אזהרה לדיין שיסבול את הצבור כאשר ישא האומן את היונק. צא ולמד ממשה רבן של כל הנביאים כיון ששלחו הקב"ה במצרים ונאמר ויצום אל בני ישראל אמרו טפי הקבלה שאטר להם למשה ולאהרן על מנת שיהיו מקללים אתכם ומוקלין אתכם באבנים: **ג** כדרך שנצטוה הדיין לנהוג במצוה זו כך נצטוו הצבור לנהוג כבוד בדיין. שנאמר ואצוה אתכם זו אזהרה לצבור שתהיה איטת הדיין עליהן ולא יתבזה בפניהם ולא ינהוג קלות ראש [ה] בעצמו:

Chapter 25

1 It is forbidden to lead the community in a domineering and arrogant manner. One should exercise one's authority in a spirit of humility and reverence. The man at the head of the congregation who arouses excessive fear in the hearts of the members thereof for any but a religious purpose will be punished. It will not be given to him to have a son who will be a scholar, as it is written: "Men do therefore fear him; he will not see any (sons) that are wise of heart" (Job. 37:24).*

2 He is also forbidden to treat the people with disrespect, though they be ignorant. He should not force his way through the holy people (to get to his seat), for though they be uninformed and lowly, they are the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of the hosts of God, brought forth out of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand. He should bear patiently the cumbrance and burden of the community, as did Moses our Teacher, concerning whom it is said: "As a nursing father carries the sucking child" (Num. 11:12). It is also said: "And I charged your judges" (Deut. 1:16). This is an exhortation to the judge to bear patiently with the congregation, as does a nursing father bear with a sucking child. Consider Moses, the master prophet! We are told that no sooner did the Holy One, blessed be He, send him to Egypt than "He gave them (Moses and Aaron) a charge to the children of Israel" (Ex. 6:13), which sentence is interpreted by tradition that God said to Moses and Aaron, "You are to command Israel with the understanding that they will curse you, and cast stones at you" (*Sifre*, Num. 11:11).

3 Just as the judge is bidden to observe this command, so is the congregation bidden to accord respectful treatment to the judge, as it is said: "And I commanded you" (Deut. 1:18). This is an exhortation to the congregation to regard the judge with a feeling of reverence. The judge therefore must not make himself contemptible or indulge in frivolity.

Governance in Action

Wednesday, March 20, 10:45 - 12:15 PM

Richard Chait

Readings:

- Chait, Richard. "Sweetwater School."
- Pound, John. "The Promise of the Governed Corporation."

Study Questions:

While the specifics of the Sweetwater case (transportation to an athletic event) may not be relevant to every school, the incident raises general issues that are central to governing all types of schools.

1) What's troubling Eric Berne? Did he act responsibly? If not, what should he have done?

2) What should Lori Duncan do now?

3) What aspects of this case, if any, raise questions of governance?

4) Can you make the argument that this entire issue should not involve the board or its leaders?

5) Who should do what to ensure that incidents like this one do not arise in the future on the Sweetwater board?

6) What do you think of Pound's view of a board's role? How would you and your board act differently if you accepted his recommendations?

Sweetwater School

In the last minute of the game, the Sweetwater football team upset Laramie Academy to advance to the final round of the statewide tournament for independent schools. Parents, students, and even faculty and staff poured onto the field to celebrate as euphoria erupted on the Sweetwater side.

The championship game was to be held two weeks later at Baker Stadium on the campus of the State University about 200 miles away. Sweetwater had never before reached the final round. The State Independent School Athletic League (SISAL) furnished each school in the "super bowl" with an air-conditioned Trailways cruiser.

Eric Berne, a Sweetwater trustee, was as elated as anyone even though none of his three children was on the football team. On the other hand, two of his youngsters were in the marching band and the championship game, televised statewide on cable TV, would provide the band as well as the school with invaluable exposure.

Berne's enthusiasm was dampened, however, when he learned from his daughter that the Trailways bus was reserved for the football players, the coaches, and the trainers. The cheerleaders, the majorettes, and the band were to make the trek on a regular Sweetwater school bus. Berne called the parents of four other students in the band, all of whom, including a fellow board member, shared his concern.

The next day Berne called Larry Post, the headmaster. "Larry, I think reserving the Trailways bus for the players is a big mistake that will send precisely the wrong message. It seems to suggest that the band and the cheerleaders are not as important when Sweetwater has always stated that it values equally <u>all</u> extracurricular endeavors. Musicians and cheerleaders should not be second class citizens at a school that proclaims to develop "well-rounded students." We're not an athletic factory, we're an academic institution. I know several other parents with kids in the band who feel the same way. Why not assign the students by lottery or assign the Trailways bus to the team on the way over and to the band on the way back? Maybe we should even charter a second Trailways bus at our expenses." Post expressed his appreciation for Berne's point of view and cited other ways that the School honored the contributions of artists, musicians, and actors. In addition, he stated that SISAL provided the bus for the team.

This case was written by Richard Chait, Professor, University of Maryland.

Not fully satisfied, Berne called SISAL's offices and requested that a copy of the regulations be faxed to him. The only provision relating to the bus stipulated that "SISAL shall provide to each school at no cost one interstate-type bus for travel to and from championship games in football and in boys and girls basketball."

Berne then called Lori Duncan, the board chairperson. He explained his concern about limiting the Trailways bus to the players, and further added that he had been deceived by the headmaster. "Larry told me that the bus was expressly intended for the team, but SISAL regulations clearly state that the bus is for the school. It doesn't say it is for the team. You know, Lori, Larry has a history of bending the facts to suit his argument. I'm afraid this is just one more example."

Berne indicated that he had heard rumors that some of the students in the band were contemplating circulating a petition to the administration seeking equal access to the Trailways bus and that there had even been rumblings to the effect that the band might refuse to play if it had to ride 200 miles each way in the "little yellow school bus." "I'm not sure I blame them, Lori. This is really inequitable and contrary to the School's values. I think it's something that should be discussed by the Executive Committee when it meets next week and, frankly, I and some of the other parents of band members would like to join you for that portion of the meeting."

As soon as Duncan had concluded her conversation with Berne her secretary buzzed to indicate that Dr. Post had been trying to reach her. When she got Post on the line, he was composed but clearly miffed. "Lori, this brouhaha about the bus is really getting out of hand. I've been headmaster here for nine years. I'd like to think that I have the authority and the ability to decide an issue of the magnitude of who rides in what bus to a football game. This isn't the first time I've been second guessed by a trustee or two and I guess it won't be the last, but I really hope that you will stand with me on this one by making clear that it's my call and that I've made a decision about an entirely operational, administrative matter that ought not come under review by the Executive Committee. I need your help on this one, Lori, or we will be sanctioning trustee intervention at a level that will be very difficult for me to live with."

Lori listened carefully and promised to be back in touch with Post within a day or two at the most. In the meantime, she put down the receiver and, not being a die-hard football fan herself, secretly wished that the kick, which sailed through the uprights with thirty seconds left to put Sweetwater into the championship, had been just a wee bit to the right of the goal posts.

The Promise of the Governed Corporation

By John Pound

Harvard Business Review

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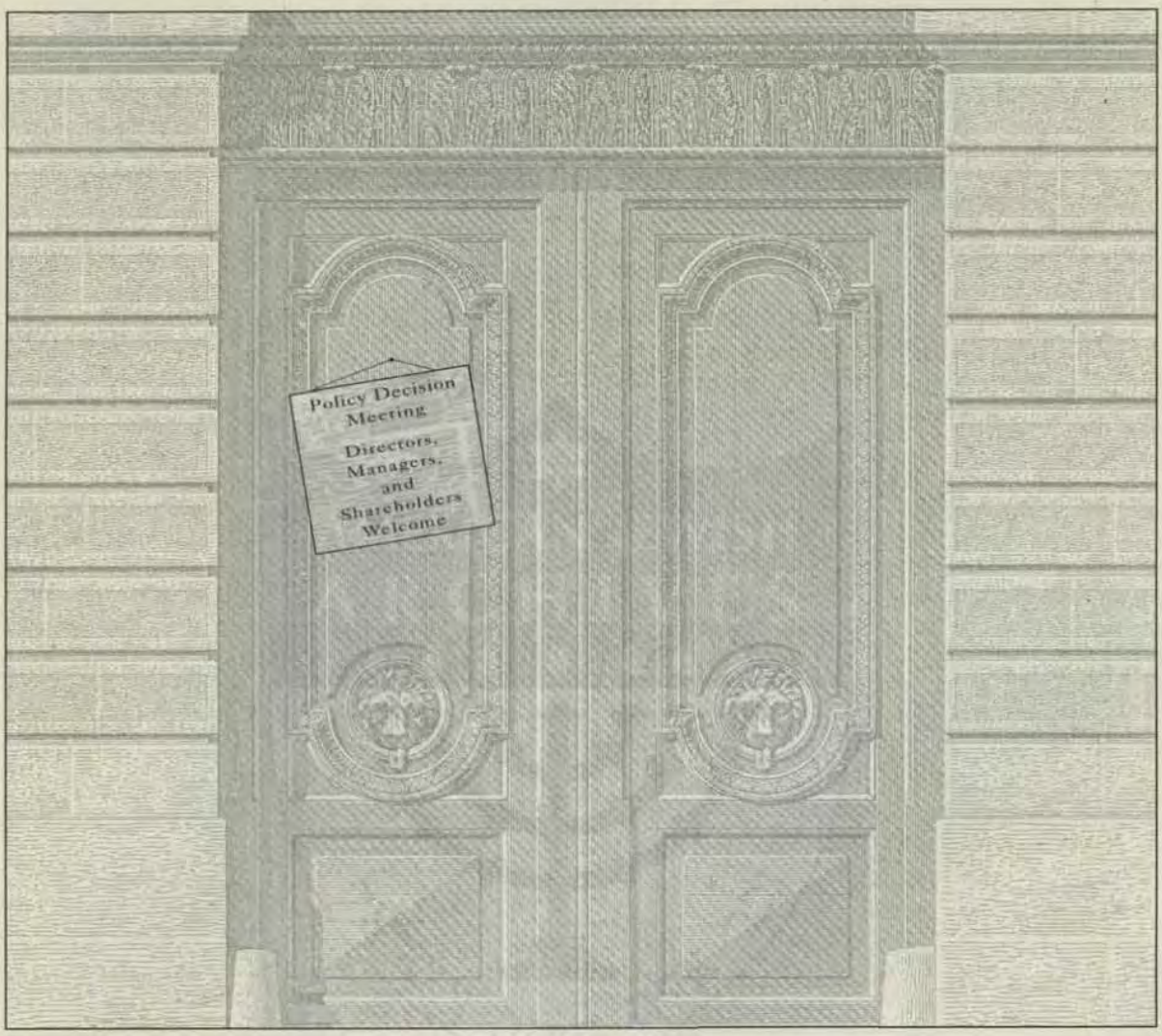
Corporate governance should be reinvented, not just reformed.



The Promise of the Governed Corporation

by John Pound

The debate over corporate governance has long centered on power. The goal has been to tighten control over wayward managers. Recent reform initiatives have included conducting more formal audits of management performance, separating the positions of chief executive officer and chair, appointing lead outside directors, and making a company's board members more accountable to its outside shareholders.

But reforms that shift power from one party to another will not by themselves create more smoothly run, profitable organizations. The reason? They do not address the fundamental problems in corporate governance, which stem not from

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power imbalances but from failures in the corporate decision-making process.

The focus on power is driven by a model of governance I call the *managed corporation*. In that model, senior managers are responsible for leadership and decision making. The board's function is to hire top-level managers, monitor them, and fire them if they do not perform. Shareholders' only role is to throw out the board if the corporation does not perform. Indeed, shareholders are generally treated as if they cannot assess corporate policy for themselves but must depend on managers and directors to do so for them.

The managed-corporation model, a legacy of the rise of large public companies and dispersed shareholders, has dominated the corporate arena for decades. But in today's business environment, it does not make sense. Most managers do not have excess power, and most corporate failures are not the result of power imbalances. Instead, failures usually result from a few well-intentioned but flawed management decisions that are not challenged in an efficient, effective manner. Corporate failures occur because of subtle failures in the decision-making process – in how boards and managers make decisions and monitor corporate progress.

Power-based reforms are not the key to correcting the problem. To be sure, the balance of power is important. But, at its core, corporate governance is not about power; it is about ensuring effective decision making. Corporate governance reform should seek ways to create and maintain an efficient decision-making process. The goal should be to prevent significant mistakes in corporate strategy and to ensure that the mistakes that do occur can be corrected quickly.

Ultimately, what is needed is a system in which senior managers and the board truly collaborate on decision making. In addition, both directors and managers should actively seek the input of institutional shareholders. Institutions are no longer the passive constituents of the managed-corporation model; they have emerged as serious players in the governance process.

The new model can be called the *governed corporation* because it reconnects two critical parts of the corporate governance equation – shareholders and board members – to the decision-making process. Reforms based on the governed-corporation model do not revolve around power shifts. Instead, they center on roles and behavior. The result is a positive change in the way companies debate, review, and decide policy.

The Managed Corporation and Corporate Failure

To get beyond the philosophy of governance created by the managed corporation, directors, shareholders, and senior managers must first understand that philosophy and the problems it causes.

The basic premises of the managed-corporation model can be found in any modern writing on corporate strategy or governance. Its rise early in the twentieth century reflected both the dispersion of corporate ownership among many shareholders and the emergence of a new class of professional managers who were neither large stockholders nor founders of corporations. Dispersed ownership meant that shareholders were no longer involved in setting corporate policy. There was thus a need for leadership. Senior managers were the answer: they shaped the corporation in an era of absentee owners. In the model of the managed corporation, therefore, managers led, and directors and shareholders followed. The role of the governance system was to put the right managers in place, monitor their progress, and replace them when they failed – a paradigm that has carried through to this day.

> Corporate governance is not, at its core, about power; it is about finding ways to ensure that decisions are made effectively.

In the managed corporation, shareholders and boards are held distant from strategy formulation and policy setting. A major business question might be debated at the board level, but the assumption is that unless the managers are irrational or dishonest, or have a terrible long-term performance record, they should be given the room to implement their chosen strategy. Board members are expected to challenge policies only if there is evidence of performance failure. Otherwise, if directors are troubled by a company's strategies, the message is that they should get off the board or find themselves another CEO.

The managed corporation also discourages board members and managers from taking into account, let alone taking seriously, the opinions of outside shareholders. Shareholders are supposed to protect

The Limits of Economic Solutions

The takeovers and leveraged buyouts of the 1980s present compelling evidence of the limits of the managed-corporation model of governance and of reforms whose goal is to strengthen that model.

Proponents of takeovers and LBOs argue that those measures increase market discipline and corporate efficiency. Takeovers are supposed to give shareholders the power to oust bad managers and replace them with good ones. LBOs are supposed to motivate board members and managers to create value by giving them large equity stakes.

But, often, those market mechanisms are not sufficient to improve performance. Witness RJR Nabisco, the $24 billion crowning jewel in Kohlberg Kravis Roberts's LBO empire. Leveraging RJR was supposed to improve its performance. But since the buyout, RJR has been caught in the shifting tobacco market and has made its own mistakes. Admitting failure, KKR in 1994 swapped most of its RJR stock to buy Borden, a troubled consumer-products company.

Why do such methods fail? Because takeovers and LBOs do not directly address the real problems in corporate governance. They change ownership structure and shift control, but they do not automatically improve decision making. If governance failures stemmed solely from bad managers and bad incentives, then takeovers and LBOs would always be the answer. But because governance failures hinge at least as much on behavior, personalities, and politics within organizations, changing ownership structure and incentives is not enough. At RJR, competitive complexities caught managers off guard. The benefits of the LBO did not offset the realities of the tobacco market.

Takeovers create the opportunity for new managers to control assets, which can sometimes improve performance and increase value. In addition, they are the right answer when combining assets can create synergy. But they also create a constant threat, leading to a war mentality among board members. Takeovers give boards an excuse for regarding the market as a threat and for turning inward, ignoring reality and disregarding the concerns of outside stockholders. Many takeover bids themselves represent flawed decisions by the acquirer.

LBOs create huge incentives for managers and board members by concentrating ownership in a small group at the top. In doing so, however, they also remove the corporation from the public market and scrutiny. If the new team begins to make bad decisions, there are no public shareholders who can press for change. Moreover, many of the LBOs of the 1980s created huge risks as well as huge financial gains. Many new managers and board members were forced to balance on a knife edge between wealth and bankruptcy. Some economists think such risks create incentives; common sense suggests they can just as easily lead to crisis.

A better approach to creating incentives is the relationship-investing concept. In that approach, one or more outside shareholders take substantial ownership positions – 10%, for example – and form a relationship with the company, which sometimes includes board representation. The model brings an outside-shareholder perspective to bear on decision making; it also energizes the board. And, as long as the investor's stake is not too large, it allows other investors to have ongoing input. Indeed, in the best cases, the large investor acts as a channel between the smaller investors and the company – bringing their opinions before the company on their behalf.

The heightened incentives and aligned interests inherent in acquisitions and buyouts are not bad. But they will not always succeed by themselves. They focus on who is in charge rather than on how decisions are made. Perhaps their greatest weakness is their tendency to deter outside stimulus and change by locking up ownership and control. The biggest problem at most large companies is insularity and stasis.

In the model of the governed corporation, the goal is to open up the company to the outside market. The best solutions are ones that inject the opportunity for constant market feedback – without the constant threat of a change in control.

their interests by replacing boards that perform poorly. As a consequence, when shareholders seek to exert influence over policy, board members and managers often do not listen. If shareholders persist and their concerns appear to be widespread, managers and board members feel threatened. Indeed, the louder shareholders' voices, the more likely managers and board members will shut them out in fear of a challenge for control.

If the major cause of corporate failure were management incompetence, the governance system fostered by the managed-corporation model would work. But most performance crises are the result of errors that arise not from incompetence but from failures of judgment. As a result, the model fosters an unstable cycle of silence and crisis.

Errors arise from the simple realities of human decision making and organizational behavior. Peo-

ple make mistakes. Individuals tend to be biased toward decisions and strategies that favor their own personal strengths. People also have a difficult time confronting past failures, as the well-known psychological phenomenon of cognitive dissonance explains. In fact, research in psychology documents that both individuals and groups become more firmly committed to past decisions, the worse the evidence becomes on how the decision is working out in practice. Managers who stick with failed policies in the face of dismal performance, and directors who stick with failed policies in the face of shareholder discomfort, are both displaying a well-documented pathology of judgment and behavior.

Add to that the natural reluctance of individuals to challenge the status quo. In hierarchical organizations, junior managers often do not feel comfortable challenging decisions because doing so might stymie their advancement. As information travels upward, bad news is filtered out. Within the corporation, then, the job of challenge falls to the CEO's peers and advisers – the directors. But board members also tend to be biased in favor of collegiality and consensus. For one, it is easier than provoking a conflict. For another, although they may suspect that a particular decision is wrong, directors in most cases have little evidence on which to base a debate. In large organizations, most board members are not on site and have little direct, personal contact with product markets. Without evidence, they are reluctant to speak up. Board members who challenge a policy risk being wrong and damaging their reputations. Those behavioral realities also explain why the corporate governance reforms suggested by economists, such as takeovers and leveraged buyouts, do not work over the long term. (See the insert "The Limits of Economic Solutions.")

The reticence is further exacerbated by the political complexity of decision making at the top levels of a corporation. Personalities intrude. Points of view differ. For the board member, trying to differentiate between good and bad decisions may mean delving into organizational politics and probing personal agendas. That can be awkward and uncomfortable. What's more, the individuals under scrutiny may discourage such attention.

Differentiating between good and bad decisions may mean delving into company politics.

Every now and then, a case bubbles over into the public eye that casts the political realities of organizations into sharp relief. In 1994, John P. Reilly, president of Brunswick Corporation, a maker of boats and other recreational products, resigned despite rebounding corporate performance. Reilly had been on the job nine months and was considered heir apparent to chairman and CEO Jack F. Reichert, but he reportedly had clashes with a senior vice president. In a *Wall Street Journal* article, the company attributed his departure to "philosophical and cultural differences," while Reilly was reported to have called the corporation "dysfunctional." The precise locus of blame is irrelevant. What matters is that the politics of the organization provoked the departure.

Finally, one must take into account the corporate life cycle. Many corporate failures occur because the team of decision makers is tired. Managers get set in their ways. The founders who were once innovators run out of ideas. If dialogue is discouraged, who reenergizes the corporate organization and how? What forces catalyze a new era of entrepreneurship?

The managed-corporation model plays into the weaknesses of human and organizational behavior and allows mistakes to go uncorrected until they become catastrophes. It also does not encourage corporate renewal. Consider the chain of events at one small Midwestern tool manufacturer with $50 million in sales. The company had built a franchise in a line of high-end products sold through hardware stores. In the late 1970s, the retail market began to change. There were increasing numbers of large discount retailers, which were less interested in carrying complex, high-end products. In response, the CEO decided to enter the retail market directly, opening small company-owned stores across the country. But the management team had no retail skills, and the operations were troubled. Retail expansion continued for ten years despite losses. Profits in manufacturing kept the company alive and funded the retail disaster. Then, in the early 1990s, the recession hit and the company went into crisis.

Throughout the 1980s, the company's board allowed the flawed retail strategy to proceed despite clear evidence that managers lacked retail skills and that the expansion was becoming a black hole. The board's reticence continued even as a sliding stock price caused some investors to express concern and others to desert the company. Some members of the board later acknowledged that it had

The Managed Corporation Versus the Governed Corporation: Boardroom Paradigms and Practices

The Managed-Corporation Paradigm

The board's role is to hire, monitor, and, when necessary, replace management.

Board Characteristics

Power sufficient to control the CEO and the evaluation process

Independence to ensure that the CEO is honestly evaluated and that directors are not compromised by conflicts or co-opted by management

Board procedures that allow outside directors to evaluate managers dispassionately and effectively

Policies

Separate the CEO and chair (or lead outside director)

Board meetings without the CEO present

Committee of independent directors to evaluate the CEO

Independent financial and legal advisers to outside directors

Explicit yardsticks for judging the CEO's performance

The Governed-Corporation Paradigm

The board's role is to foster effective decisions and reverse failed policies.

Board Characteristics

Expertise sufficient to allow the board to add value to the decision-making process

Incentives to ensure that the board is committed to creating corporate value

Procedures that foster open debate and keep board members informed and attuned to shareholders' concerns

Policies

Required areas of expertise that must be represented on the board, such as core industry and finance

Minimum time commitment of 25 days

Large options packages for directors

Designated critic to question new policy proposals

Regular meetings with large shareholders

Board members free to request information from any employee

been a mistake to allow management to continue to pursue its retail objectives. But they had not intervened, because they had followed the protocols suggested by the managed corporation. They had regularly assessed the company's overall performance but had never felt they could question the management team's competence. In a troubled industry, continuing profits in manufacturing had kept the company above water. Because the senior managers were not clearly failing, the board let them pursue their chosen strategy. Of course, in retrospect, the board's intervention to reverse the failed retail strategy could have saved the company.

Another example is the case of Picadilly Cafeterias. Picadilly, a chain of family-style restaurants, had built a strong customer base with a simple strategy: high-quality home-style cooking. But in 1986, Picadilly's CEO suddenly decided to substitute mass-produced products in the company's recipes in order to cut costs. The board allowed the plan to proceed, despite its potential conflict with Picadilly's core source of strength with customers. The chief financial officer, James W. Bennett, questioned why the company would change its proven recipes overnight without so much as a test program. Receiving no answer, he quit. Six years later, in 1992, with profits and market share declining, the board fired the CEO and brought Bennett back in his place. He quickly reversed the recipe decisions and, with them, the company's slide. The obvious question is, Why did the board allow the previous CEO to change the business's core strategy when the new plan was so clearly suspect?

The recent, very public crises at some of the largest U.S. corporations reflect the same dynamics. At Westinghouse, by the late 1980s, there were clear internal warning signals about the company's aggressive move into financial services: great risks were being taken by a relatively inexperienced divisional team. The move was allowed to continue and expand until, in the early 1990s, it blew up and dragged the company into disaster. American Ex-

press suffered several years of dismal performance in its core credit-card division before one director brought the situation to a head by compiling a list of management policy initiatives and shortfalls that had gone unchallenged by the board while the business atrophied.

At Borden, the board allowed a disastrous conglomeration strategy to proceed throughout the 1980s despite signs that the businesses being assembled were not working together. At least 90 acquisitions had been made during that period. Then the board brought in a new CEO, Anthony S. D'Amato, to fix the problems. D'Amato pursued a strategy of consolidation and streamlining, but, over the next five years, he made many missteps in implementation. The board waited until shareholders were on the verge of revolt and then sacked D'Amato and brought in Ervin R. Shames. But that was not the answer. Borden's stock went into a free fall. The board gave up and sold the company to Kohlberg Kravis Roberts for less than $14 per share; three years earlier, the company's stock had been at $30.

Cases of shareholder challenge and even of corporate takeover illustrate that specific policies are what matter, not the overall competence of CEOs, and that the real problem with boards is an unwillingness to challenge specific policy decisions. In the late 1980s, several investors mounted an attack on Gillette, which was undervalued by financial markets. A world power in the consumer products market and shaving products in particular, Gillette was generating enormous cash flows but had high costs and complacent managers. The company fought off its challengers, and, in the process, its managers reevaluated many corporate policies. Following the takeover attempts, CEO Colman Mockler cut costs and restructured, and Gillette's performance soared. It remains strong under the leadership of a new CEO. The obvious question is, Why didn't the Gillette board prod Mockler to make those changes before? Insiders say Mockler and the board knew Gillette was undervalued but spent more time debating takeover defenses than questioning which policies were causing the valuation gap. In the managed corporation, boards do not prod managers when performance is not a disgrace.

Creating the Governed Corporation

Given the real problems that lead to corporate failure, what is to be done? The answer lies in creating a model of corporate governance in which the focus is not on monitoring managers but on improving decision making. The goal should be to decrease the possibility of mistakes and to increase the speed with which they are corrected.

The most important step is to involve directors and shareholders in decision making. Just as a democratic political system cannot work without involved citizens, corporate governance cannot work without the informed involvement of the three critical groups: directors should help managers make the best possible decisions, and major shareholders should be able to speak directly to senior managers and the board about what they think of corporate policies and decisions. Input from directors and shareholders can mitigate the behavioral problems that cause companies to cling to bad decisions. And it can open up decision making–fostering debate, bringing in better information, offering new perspectives, and reducing false consensus and insularity. With shareholders and boards involved in decision making, the corporation is *governed* rather than *managed* because the three critical constituencies all have a voice.

> Three critical constituencies–managers, shareholders, and the board–must all have a voice.

To create the governed corporation, companies must start by rethinking the role of directors. The board must be proactive – and effective – in the policy-making process. That goal requires a different set of board changes than the usual corporate governance reforms. Independent directors and CEO audits, for example, are not key because neither helps board members participate effectively in decision making. In fact, a myopic emphasis on independence may hurt board effectiveness by encouraging detachment rather than involvement.

Five broad areas of change are needed. First, board members must be expert. Directors must be well versed in the complexities of the company and its industry, of finance and financial structure, and of relevant law and regulation. Many boards have little aggregate expertise in the core industry or finance; such a board simply cannot be an effective partner in decision making. For example, in 1993, CalPERS CEO Dale Hanson asked IBM board members how many of them had a personal computer on their desks; the answer was none. How could such a board assess IBM's position in the PC market?

Second, board-meeting procedures should focus on debating new decisions, strategies, and policies, not just on reviewing past performance. That means running meetings differently. The bulk of agenda time should focus on new strategies and organizational change. New boardroom procedures should be instituted to encourage debate. For example, instead of a lead director, boards should consider appointing a designated critic for each major policy decision. That ensures that new policy proposals are evaluated effectively and makes criticism expected and acceptable.

Third, directors need better access to information – on products, customers' viewpoints, market conditions, and critical strategic and organizational issues. Typically, directors receive information packets shortly before meetings. If they are to be partners in decision making, directors must be empowered to seek out their own information from those in the corporation, and they should be required to get firsthand knowledge of the business. At General Motors, new board guidelines empower directors to ask anyone in the company for information. At the Home Depot, directors are asked to visit stores regularly to get feedback from customers and employees.

Fourth, directors should be required to devote a substantial portion of their professional time to the corporation. At many corporations, four to six board meetings per year is the norm – hardly enough for meaningful involvement in decision making. At General Motors, directors spent an average of 24 days on company business in 1993. At Lockheed, another corporation with an active, involved board, there are ten full board meetings per year plus numerous committee and partial meetings.

Fifth, board members must have the right incentives. They cannot be expected to undertake the difficult task of formulating and challenging corporate policies unless real gains are associated with successful service. Director compensation – typically $25,000 at a midsize company, $50,000 at a large one – should be increased by about 500% and linked to stock performance.

Overall, the goal of the reforms is to make the board function not as a distant referee but as part of a team of decision makers. Shareholders should not want boards to be independent and distant, concerned only with their downside liability if the corporation plunges into disrepair. Instead, shareholders should want board members to feel dependent – not on the CEO, but on the company – for their own incomes and reputations. Directors should feel that their own personal fortunes hinge on their ability to create value through their service. Then they will be proactive in evaluating opportunities and correcting flawed policies.

Once board policies are changed, communication must be improved among managers, boards, and capital markets. Large outside shareholders – residual claimants on the corporation's long-term profits – are in an ideal position to render an outside second opinion on corporate policy. Boards and managers need to hear that opinion directly as a check on insularity.

Failure to consult major shareholders on important matters of corporate policy is equivalent to elected representatives failing to consult their constituents. Yet a survey of approximately 150 corporate chief financial officers that I conducted last spring indicates that few boards have direct knowledge of shareholders' concerns. When asked, "Does your board fully understand the concerns and viewpoints of your shareholders and of capital markets?" two-thirds said no. To the question, "Has your board made a significant policy decision that you knew to be counter to the interests of shareholders and detrimental to value?" half said yes. When asked, "Is your board failing to take actions that you believe the company should take to maximize value and performance?" half said yes.

Director compensation – usually $25,000 to $50,000 – should be increased by about 500% and linked to stock performance.

Formal policies are needed to create a structured interaction among shareholders, boards, and managers. Several corporations, including IBM and Westinghouse, have created board-level committees on corporate governance to keep tabs on governance practices and the concerns of shareholders. Other companies, such as Lockheed, consult directly with shareholders about prospective policies, particularly those concerning capital markets, before they are implemented.

A promising area for direct communication among shareholders, managers, and the board is director nominations. For many decades, director selection has relied on the perspectives of corporate insiders – board members and managers. Yet direc-

tors are supposed to reflect the preferences and views of outside shareholders and hence outside markets. Several companies, including Lockheed, Beckman Instruments, and Time Warner, have instituted a consultative process for director selection in which shareholders have suggested nominees and, in some instances, vetoed prospective candidates. The result is a process that does not deed shareholders any formal powers but allows them to give critical input informally.

The reforms that I have described can be developed by general counsels, CFOs, CEOs, and board members. The idea is to put them in place when the corporation is functioning and performing well, before a crisis arises. Crises signal a failure – a breakdown – of the corporate governance process. If boards, managers, and shareholders adopt procedures based on the governed-corporation model in good times, then when difficult issues arise, the dynamics of a well-governed corporation will prevail. The board will function as a team, shareholders will have input, and the company can make quick and relatively painless midcourse corrections rather than suffering decline and crisis.

Governance reforms should be put in place before a crisis, when a corporation is doing well.

Ten years ago – indeed, for the bulk of the twentieth century – corporate decision making could not have been reformed easily in the ways I have described. Shareholdings were small, and shareholders were dispersed and passive. Creating a model of corporate decision making that did not cede most of the power to the CEO was virtually impossible. But, as noted earlier, ownership has become increasingly concentrated in the past decade, and large institutional investors are motivated to protect their interests by influencing corporate policy. Public pension funds have been joined by private money managers in seeking both discrete policy changes and long-term policy involvement in portfolio corporations.

In 1994, the Investor Responsibility Research Center, a key monitor of corporate governance activity, noted:

> Breaking with tradition, a number of large shareholders aggressively sought to guide corporate strategic decision making in 1994 by pushing for spin-offs and other restructuring moves aimed at unlocking share value. These efforts threaten to shatter the old corporate paradigm that splits corporate governance into three distinct areas of functional responsibility: shareholders elect directors; directors hire management and set broad corporate priorities; and management runs the company's day-to-day operations.

At Sears, for example, shareholders pressed management to reverse its diversification into financial services and concentrate on its retail core; the company responded, and performance improved. In the fall of 1994, money manager Ladenberg Thalman, a significant shareholder of Conseco, raised concerns that the company's planned acquisition of Kemper Corporation would prove economically harmful. Conseco abandoned the acquisition attempt. At Chrysler, investor Kirk Kerkorian publicly exhorted management and the board to stop hoarding cash; the news of Kerkorian's suggestions sent Chrysler's stock up nearly 10%, and the Chrysler board responded with new financial policies.

The new, informed policy involvement of large shareholders is a necessary foundation for the governed-corporation model. But the true spirit of the governed corporation is not realized when shareholders instigate action and companies react. The governed-corporation model is achieved when corporations invite the participation of shareholders and strengthen internal decision making before problems occur, averting the need for contentious shareholder-initiated activism.

Governed Corporations and Corporate Renewal

The move from the managed to the governed corporation will come slowly and will not be pursued by all corporations. Such change can take years, especially at companies governed by individuals who have subscribed to the old philosophy for decades. Indeed, some executives will actively oppose the new way of viewing boards, managers, and shareholders. Consider the opinion expressed by one CEO in a recent interview in *Inc.* magazine: "I want only one thing from a board: compliance. Directors can make only one of two statements. It's either 'I agree' or 'I resign.' " Board members, too, can be resistant to change, particularly if they are isolated from the needs of the corporation and steeped in the old, conservative approach.

But many companies are moving in the right direction. As noted earlier, General Motors, the Home Depot, Lockheed, IBM, Westinghouse, Beck-

man Instruments, and Time Warner have already taken some steps toward becoming governed corporations. Another example is Bay Networks, which was created last fall, when Wellfleet Communications and SynOptics Communications merged. After the merger, the management team created a board of six individuals who have a great deal of computer and technology expertise. Each director received a package of new options, thereby giving the new board a stake in making the merger work. The board of Compaq Computer is also widely known for its expertise and the high level of involvement of board members in the corporation's policies and strategies.

None of those companies have fully realized the model of the governed corporation yet. But each represents progress – a growing recognition of the importance of board and shareholder involvement in decision making. Moreover, the number of different approaches shows that governance policies will, and should, vary according to organizational needs, leadership styles, and corporations' internal politics.

Some corporations have made great progress toward the governed-corporation model. Take Ceridian Corporation, whose core businesses are defense electronics and information services. Five years ago, the company – then Control Data – was on a financial precipice. Since then, it has rebuilt its business franchise, replacing an insular decision-making process with one that is participative and strongly connected to both board members and major investors.

At the end of the 1980s, Control Data, one of the first major computer companies, was among the most extreme manifestations of the managed-corporation model in the country. CEO William Norris made decisions autonomously. Often, those decisions appeared at odds with economic reality. Control Data had spiraled downward, and Norris had circled the wagons. As one insider put it, management spent far more time concocting takeover defenses than running the business.

Throughout that period, the Control Data board was shut out of the decision-making process. It did not question management decisions, and management would not have allowed it to. Once, in the late 1980s, the board's finance committee opposed a proposed acquisition. Management proceeded with the acquisition, and the finance committee was abolished.

By 1990, the company's performance had become so bad that its very survival was in question. Major institutional investors were pressuring the board to take action. Finally, it did. After a major restructuring, the current CEO, Lawrence Perlman, was put in charge. In 1992, Control Data downsized and became Ceridian. Perlman, who came to his position in part through the efforts of major shareholders, has a very different perspective from Norris's, which is reflected in how Ceridian is governed.

Perlman has moved Ceridian's board to center stage in decision making. Major questions of corporate policy – restructurings, capital-structure decisions, and overall strategic direction – are subjects for debate by the full board. Before major decisions, managers provide directors with extensive information and ask them to come prepared to criticize new initiatives. A recent capital-structure decision, for example, involved more than 200 pages of briefing material on industry practices and potential valuation consequences.

Ceridian Corporation's CEO has moved the board to center stage in decision making and actively sought shareholder feedback.

Ceridian has also been among the most aggressive companies in seeking a direct, ongoing dialogue with its major institutional shareholders. It seeks shareholder feedback both on overall corporate structure and on specific prospective policies. After the company spun off its computer operations and adopted its new name, Perlman invited the top ten institutional shareholders to attend a board meeting to talk about the newly restructured company. His aim in organizing the meeting was to promote understanding between board members and shareholders.

In 1994, Ceridian was contemplating the use of targeted stock to enhance its financial flexibility. Under the plan, the company would have issued separate classes of stock, tied to its separate businesses of defense electronics and information services. The plan offered additional capital-market flexibility. But Perlman also recognized that targeted stock is controversial among investors. So he raised the idea in general terms with some of Ceridian's top institutional shareholders. The response was not enthusiastic; in fact, no shareholder was in favor of using targeted stock. Shareholders were concerned that it would confuse the market and

raise questions about which business Ceridian was most committed to for the long term.

Perlman reported the results of those conversations to the board. The board weighed a number of factors, including the positive recommendation of the company's investment banker and the negative views of shareholders, and decided not to pursue the targeted stock plan. One reason was shareholder sentiment. Board members and Perlman felt that pursuing a major policy initiative that the corporation's major owners opposed made no sense.

Ceridian operates in a highly competitive and uncertain industry. The policies just described do not guarantee that it will be able to beat its competition. But they have kept Ceridian in tune with its markets and reduced the risk of major mistakes in policy. From the restructuring to the end of 1994, Ceridian added more than $1 billion of market value for its shareholders. That is largely due to the fact that Ceridian is governed rather than managed.

The power and promise of the governed corporation are clear. Governed corporations have more robust, pluralistic, and adaptable decision-making processes. There are more new ideas. The oversight process is less personalized: it focuses not on the competence of the CEO but on the effectiveness of the organization. There is less risk that insularity, stasis, and false consensus will blind the organization and tie it to mistaken policies. The policies of the governed corporation make the organization accountable to its markets.

In the political arena, U.S. citizens recognize that an open decision-making process is an effective one. The same is true in corporate governance. Over the long term, an open, flexible process with involvement by boards and shareholders creates stability and lessens the likelihood of convulsive, contentious change.

The manager-centered, hierarchical process of decision making that has ruled U.S. corporations was the consequence of decades of dispersed ownership and shareholder passivity. The activism of large shareholders has laid the necessary foundation for a different approach. Policies that reintroduce shareholders and boards into decision making will create healthier, more self-renewing, and more flexible corporations.

Reprint 95210

Effective Governance: The Role of the Leader

Wednesday, March 20, 1:30 - 3:00 PM

Richard Chait

Overview:

In this class, we will review the best practices of the most effective boards and discuss a model for "re-engineering" governance.

Readings:

- Chait, Richard. "How to Govern More and Manage Less." (to be distributed at the end of class.)

Journeying to Vision

Wednesday, March 20, 3:15 - 4:30 PM

Daniel Marom and Gail Dorph

Overview:

This session presents an example of a school that has engaged in a serious examination of its vision and educational goals. Ray Levi, the head of the Agnon School in Cleveland, will discuss his decision to embark on a goals process in his institution. He will share the strategic steps that he took, the ways in which his work has changed and how this process has affected the life of the school. This case will set the stage for discussions about the implication of developing goals initiatives in a variety of Jewish education institutions.

THURSDAY

MARCH 21, 1996

Adult Development: Transformational Learning

Thursday, March 21, 9:00 AM - 12:00 PM

Bob Kegan

Overview:

How do we foster conditions at work that promote the possibility of real growth and development for ourselves and our employees? Research findings in the field of adult development make clear that there is life after adolescence: the growth of the mind does not end in puberty. Thus, professional development designs aimed only at updating, skill training, and information-transfer miss the possibility that we all need to experience our own personal growth at work, not merely learning more but knowing differently.

This double-session workshop will acquaint participants experientially with transformational learning processes and practices aimed at enhancing work as a climate for personal and professional growth. Through brief lecture, guided reflection, and discussion we will engage such questions as: How can we and our colleagues make our professional practice a richer context for our own learning? What enhances our capacity to foster a work community of maximum regard? How can we make productive use of both our own inner contradictions and the conflicts we experience with others at work?

The workshop puts no one on the spot; all reflection can go on privately. But participants are asked to consider making their own development and opportunities available to let others know of their learning.

The only required preparation is to come to the sessions having considered the following question:

> What sorts of things would be more supportive of your own growth or development at work if they were to happen more (or happen less)?

Reading:

- Osterman, K. and Kottkamp, R. "Rethinking Professional Development." (From Reflective Practice for Educators: Improving Schooling Through Professional Development.

Osterman, K. and Kottkamp, R. Reflective Practice for Educators: Improving Schooling Through Professional Development. Newbury Park, CA: Corwin Press, Inc. 1993.

2 Rethinking Professional Development

In Chapter 1, we examined reflective practice through a wide-angle lens. The subject was a conceptual framework for understanding individual and organizational stability and change and the promise of reflective practice as a means of facilitating significant change.

In this chapter, we narrow the lens angle to focus more directly on reflective practice as a process of professional development. The subject is formal professional development because, while reflective practice may take place in any situation, it is almost always learned in a formal learning setting of one kind or another—and our purpose in writing is to encourage the development and nurture of such learning opportunities. The first part of this chapter describes reflective practice as a professional development process: What does it look like? How does it begin? The second part of the chapter contrasts this mode of professional development with more traditional approaches focusing on differences in assumptions, content, and processes.

Reflective Practice

Defining Reflective Practice

Reflective practice, while often confused with reflection, is neither a solitary nor a relaxed meditative process. To the contrary, reflective practice is a challenging, demanding, and often trying process that is most successful as a collaborative effort.

Although the term *reflective practice* is interpreted and understood in different ways,[1] within our discussion, reflective practice is viewed as a means by which practitioners can develop a greater level of self-awareness about the nature and impact of their performance, an awareness that creates opportunities for professional growth and development.

As explained in Chapter 1, awareness is essential for behavioral change. To gain a new level of insight into personal behavior, the reflective practitioner assumes a dual stance, being, on one hand, the actor in a drama and, on the other hand, the critic who sits in the audience watching and analyzing the entire performance. To achieve this perspective, individuals must come to an understanding of their own behavior; they must develop a conscious awareness of their own actions and effects and the ideas or theories-in-use that shape their action strategies.

Achieving this level of conscious awareness, however, is not an easy task. Theories-in-use, as we have seen, are not easily articulated. Schon (1983) has described this process in the context of professional practice. As he explained, professional knowledge is grounded in professional experience: "Competent practitioners usually know more than they can say. They exhibit a kind of knowing-in-practice, most of which is tacit" (p. viii). Consequently, when asked, master teachers or master administrators are often unable to identify the components of their work that lead to successful outcomes.[2] Similarly, practitioners who want to improve their performance are often unclear about how their own actions prevent them from being more successful. So, if the purpose of reflective practice is to enhance awareness of our own thoughts and action, as a means of professional

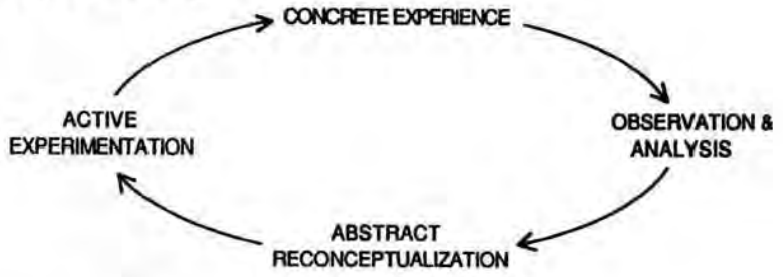
growth, how do we begin this process of reflection? How do we begin to develop a critical awareness about our own professional practice? Where do we start?

Reflective Practice as Experiential Learning

Reflective practice is located within the older tradition of experiential learning and also the more recently defined perspective of situated cognition. Experiential learning theorists, including Dewey, Lewin, and Piaget, maintain that learning is most effective, most likely to lead to behavioral change, when it begins with experience, and specifically problematic experience. From experience and research, we know that learning is most effective when people become personally engaged in the learning process, and engagement is most likely to take place when there is a need to learn. In professional programs, for example, fruitful learning often doesn't begin until the person is on the job. Situated cognition focuses on both the process and the context of learning. In a view popularized by the recent attention to problem-based learning (Bridges, 1992), situated cognition proponents maintain that learning is best accomplished through an active, social, and authentic learning process. Learning, they argue, is most effective when the learner is actively involved in the learning process, when it takes place as a collaborative rather than an isolated activity, and when it takes place in a context relevant to the learner (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989a, 1989b; Prestine & LeGrand, 1991).

Experiential learning theory maintains further that learning is a dialectic and cyclical process consisting of four stages: experience, observation and reflection, abstract reconceptualization, and experimentation (Kolb, 1984). While experience is the basis for learning, learning cannot take place without reflection. Conversely, while reflection is essential to the process, reflection must be integrally linked with action (Figure 2.1). Reflective practice, then, integrating theory and practice, thought and action, is, as Schon described, a "dialogue of thinking and doing through which I become more skillful" (1987, p. 31).

Figure 2.1. Experiential Learning Cycle



In this cyclical process, learning or the process of inquiry begins with what Dewey (1938b) described as a problematic or an indeterminate situation: a troublesome event or experience, an unsettling situation that cannot be resolved using standard operating procedures. Prompted by a sense of uncertainty or unease, the reflective practitioner steps back to examine this experience: What was the nature of the problem? What were my intentions? What did I do? What happened? In the process of observing and analyzing this experience, problems emerge. The problem—a discrepancy between the real and the ideal, between intention and action, or between action and effects—further stimulates the inquiry and motivates the learner to absorb new information as part of an active search for better answers and more effective strategies. The final stages of the process involve reconceptualization and experimentation. Having examined and analyzed the experience, the learner moves again into the realm of theory. Now motivated by an awareness of a problem, the learner uses new information to develop alternate theories that are more useful in explaining the relationship between actions and outcomes and to begin the search for strategies that are more consistent with espoused theories and more effective in achieving intended outcomes. This changed perspective becomes a stimulus for experimentation: New theories suggest different strategies that can then be tested through action. In short, raising questions about practice begins a learning process that leads to behavioral change. The section that follows illustrates each of these stages in more detail.

Concrete experience. Consistent with the model outlined above, the first step of the learning process is to identify problematic situations. Because the intent of reflective practice is to improve the quality of professional performance, we begin our inquiry by focusing on problems of practice.

There are many different types of problems (Getzels, 1979).[3] In some situations, the problem, with readily available solutions, is presented to the problem solver. In other situations, the problem emerges from one's own experience. In whatever form, problems arise out of a sense of discomfort or a desire to change. There is a discrepancy between what we perceive to be and what we consider desirable; in some way, the situation falls short of the ideal.

These discrepancies come to our attention in different ways. In some cases, information from another source—an individual or group or a report—helps us to see a problem. The space creature described in Chapter 1, for example, observes that, despite attempts at remediation, the pulled-out students continue to fall further behind and leads us to see a problem embedded in the daily schedule. Test scores demonstrating the progress (or its lack) among these students might serve the same purpose.

In other cases, our own experience helps us to identify problems. The new principal, for example, enthusiastically assumes the position only to find that, 6 months later, he or she is treated with mistrust by teachers. In this situation, a perceived discrepancy between intent and accomplishment creates a sense of a problem.

Dilemmas can also lead to problem identification. For example, in the course of making student assignments, an elementary school principal experienced being pulled between assigning each of a pair of twins to different rooms, the standard policy, and assigning them to the same room because of number imbalance and other issues.

Problem identification may also come through a surprise or attention to the unexpected. The same principal, a member of the district-wide administrative reflection group described in Chapter 7, once reported a surprising telephone call at a reflection meeting. She had been berated by a friend for her position on a proposed change in the reading curriculum. This call focused her attention and, when she introduced the issue in the administrative reflection group, led the entire group to a new level of understanding and awareness of a more complex set of problems. Particulars of this case are recounted in Chapter 7.

Regardless of how we develop awareness of the problem, its discovery or recognition motivates us to gather information of the sort the space creature possessed and moves us further into the reflection cycle. Acknowledgment of the twins' placement dilemma began an extended period of reflection about the children, the policy, and its educational and emotional effects on them and others. As a result, the principal altered the policy and assigned the twins together.

Not all problems are of equal dimensions. Problems that educators face, for example, come in all shapes and sizes. Some involve only a few people; others may involve an entire school. What is important, however, is not the scope or dimensions of the problem but the significance of the problem to the individual. In reflective practice, we are seeking deep engagement in learning, and relevance produces engagement: A relevant problem rivets attention and arouses the need to learn.

Identification of problems, however, is not easy. People, and educators in particular, desire to view things positively and to be optimistic. In response to organizational problems, discussion turns quickly to solutions while problem identification and analysis are cut short (Bolman & Deal, 1991). Identification of personal problems is even more difficult. Think of the child who comes to the parent with a problem but cannot bring herself to disclose it. Once the problem is spoken, what seemed overwhelming becomes manageable, but the resistance initially was great. Adults are not very different: Problems are often seen as an indicator of incompetence and failure. As a result, most of us have effective defenses for preventing problem recognition.

With practice in reflection, we learn to take a conscious orientation toward problem finding; but, initially, this step of the process may seem difficult or feel "unnatural." Although this skill develops quickly, because the learning cycle begins with problematic experience, one of the initial tasks of the facilitator in a formal reflective practice setting is to enable individuals to uncover or discover problematic situations within the context of their practice. Specific techniques are described in Chapters 3 and 4.

Observation and analysis. In the first stage of the process, the inquiry is focused on a particular aspect of practice. Finding the problem motivates the practitioner; there is a genuine need for new information. In the second stage of the process, the practitioner assumes the role of a researcher and begins to gather information. Because reflective practice focuses on personal behavior within the professional context, we begin to gather and analyze rich information about the experience and particularly about our own behavior. We become the critic watching our own actions on stage. We stand back from the experience itself, assume a more detached stance, and step outside the action to observe it critically and to describe it fully.

A full description incorporates cognitive and emotional aspects of behavior. Until now, we've focused primarily on cognition: examining espoused theories and theories-in-use. To understand experience, however, requires that we explore feelings that were aroused in the situation. Actions are influenced not only by ideas but by feelings as well; only by understanding the personal reactions of ourselves and others can we come to a full understanding of the problem and develop appropriate solutions. Consequently, when we gather information about experience, we mean the full range of human experience including beliefs, values, intentions, attitudes, feelings, ideas, and action (Osterman, 1990).

The means of obtaining observational data are broad and limited only by our own creativity. The purpose of the research inquiry is to further understanding in ways that will improve the craft performance. To meet that objective, we gather information in a wide variety of ways: self-reports and recollections, observations of our practice or simulated practice by others reported to us in various ways, completely objective data recorded on audio- or videotapes, documents such as memos, journals, minutes of meetings, or supervisory conference reports, feedback from survey research and action research projects, and sometimes information from debriefing of deliberately generated behaviors such as role plays. Much, if not most, of the data we collect in the observational phase will be qualitative rather than quantitative. The basic issues remain—usefulness, richness, and comprehensiveness.

Once information is at hand, we analyze the experience; we reflect upon it. Again, our goal is to achieve the detached perspective of the drama critic or the space creature. In the observational phase, our purpose was simply to describe the experience in a multidimensional and comprehensive way. Through reflection and analysis, we strive to understand the experience. Within the framework of the model presented in Chapter 1, we examine experience—both actions and outcomes—as a means to articulate and understand espoused theories and theories-in-use. Why did events take place as they did? What ideas or feelings prompted my actions? Did my actions correspond with my intentions? Did my actions lead to the outcomes I intended?

The term *reflection* is often thought of as a solitary and meditative process; and, in fact, analysis may be done alone—while listening to a tape recording of a committee meeting, watching ourself teach on a videotape, or analyzing the contents and attitudes contained in our memos. Nonetheless, because of the deeply ingrained nature of our behavioral patterns, it is sometimes difficult to develop a critical perspective on our own behavior. For that reason alone, analysis occurring in a collaborative and cooperative environment is likely to lead to greater learning. The whole committee might analyze the tape recording; you and a supervisor might probe into the teaching episode together; a colleague who has "shadowed" you all day might help to analyze what he or she saw.

The process of inquiry began with a problematic or indeterminate situation. In the initial stages, understanding of the problem may have been little more than an intuitive sense or a gut feeling that something was wrong or could be better. Through these integrally linked processes of observation and analysis, we come to see clearly the discrepancies, incongruities, and failures to reach intentions. The problem begins to emerge more clearly, and we begin to see our own role in the problem more clearly.

An example from the administrative reflection group illustrates how reflective analysis affects the formulation of the problem and leads to even deeper reflection. The superintendent described his concern about essays a group of high school seniors had written after returning from several weeks as exchange students in Moscow. As he explained, the essays lacked feeling. They followed the essay

form but communicated little meaning. Over the next few months, the group analyzed this problem and from their discussion emerged a much broader concern about the orientation of secondary teachers as "dispensers of knowledge." At this point, the problem had shifted. The issue was no longer the quality of student essays but a pervasive instructional orientation that does not foster the learning outcomes that they envision. This understanding led them to formulate a new problem: How do we as district leaders work to transform an instructional orientation we believe does not result in the best possible education? This reframing also motivated them to search for their own metaphor for secondary teaching and provided an ongoing focus for group reflection.

Argyris and Schon (1974) made a distinction between single-loop learning and double-loop learning. The "fix-it" model is a form of single-loop learning: A solution is developed to correct the presenting problem, but the underlying causes of the problem are neither recognized nor addressed. Single-loop learning is largely ineffective in contributing to long-term solutions to problems because the underlying assumptions that reinforce the ineffective behaviors are never examined. Double-loop learning, on the other hand, holds the potential for real change because it examines these underlying assumptions, or theories-in-use, as part of the problem-solving process. Analysis within the framework of reflective practice is designed to lead to double-loop learning. At the completion of this phase, the practitioner has come to an understanding—incomplete though it may be—of espoused theories and theories-in-use. With this knowledge in hand, the practitioner begins the next stage of inquiry: reconceptualization.

Abstract reconceptualization. In the third stage of the learning cycle, we consider alternate ways of thinking and acting. We consider new action theories that encompass the relationship between actions and outcomes. At this point in the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 1, the practitioner has identified a problem or problem area and, through observation and reflection, has come to understand what was done and why. This theory-in-use, now articulated, has been examined relative to the espoused theory and

assessed for effectiveness. With this complete behavioral description in place, the practitioner is now ready to reconsider old ideas and to search for new ones that will lead to a greater alignment between ideas, actions, and outcomes.

This point in the cycle involves an active search for new ideas and new strategies. We are highly motivated to find new information, theories, techniques, or processes to address *our* problem. At this point, we know what we did in the prior situation, and we have an idea of why we did it. We are also well aware of why it didn't work. The objective now is to develop alternate hypotheses or action research strategies that may address the problem. To do that, we gather information that will help us to develop a more effective conceptual and strategic approach.

At every stage of the cycle, the nature of the learning has been personal and engaging. The problem is self-defined and relevant, and the process of observation and analysis in focusing on the individual role in the problem context generates a felt need to improve, change, or reinforce effective behaviors. At this stage of reconceptualization, then, the professional is strongly motivated to seek out and consider new ideas.

We are prompted to try things that before we rejected. We see relevance in ideas that formerly seemed irrelevant. We are now able to make connections between theory and practice, to integrate new information and ideas into our practice. We are now beginning to reshape theories-in-use.

Unlike traditional models of professional development, in the reflective practice approach, the practitioner can use information from a wide variety of sources from the worlds of research and practice. The important issue again is not the source but its utility. As Chapter 6 illustrates, practitioners may find relevant information in research studies or other publications and workshops or formal study. Observations or discussions with colleagues may serve a similar purpose. Confronted with the problem and now with a clearer understanding of the problem and our own role in that problem, the search for knowledge becomes more directed and focused, and—an important distinction—the search is self-directed.

There are many ways to approach the reconceptualization stage. We may do it alone through reading or finding already existing "answers." We may take a more creative self-definitional approach. And we may find great value in working collaboratively with others also attempting to work through solutions to the same or similar problems (Miller, 1990a). In working with colleagues, we greatly increase the pool of available ideas and resources. As one participant in a reflection group said: "I have available to me many lives that I have not lived."

Active experimentation. The final stage in experiential learning is testing our reconceptualized behavior and assumptions. In the reconceptualization phase, we developed new action theories and framed them as hypotheses. With regard to collaborative decision making, for example, one might focus on the hypothesis that, by giving away control, we gain control. We have articulated an action theory that maintains that, if we act in a particular way, we can expect a particular type of response. In this stage of the cycle, we begin to test this assumption. We make a conscious decision to act in a particular way to test this new conceptualization: We engage in behavioral experiments. These may be trials of our new ideas in actual workplaces or they may be role plays in the relative safety of a reflection group.

This stage completes one cycle and begins another. The experiment produces new concrete experience and the learning process begins anew, but with one important difference. By now, our reflective skills have developed and self-awareness is acute and focused. Although, in the early experiences with reflective practice, it was difficult to distance ourselves from our performance, at this stage of experimentation we go into the action better able to handle the dual role of actor and drama critic. We ourselves are more skilled at gathering information: We are more aware of our own actions, more sensitive to the feelings and reactions of others, and more adept at using a variety of techniques to gather information. At this point, the circular nature of the process is obvious. With the data in hand, we analyze the sequence of events to confirm or disconfirm the new hypothesis. Confirmation reinforces the new theory and provides an incentive for repeating what initially may have been awkward

behaviors. Those instances where the experiment doesn't work as expected lead to a renewed search to refine the theory and/or to develop strategies that are more appropriate tests of the theory. Whether the next cycle focuses in a more detailed way on the same problem or addresses another issue, it builds upon and profits from the earlier cycle: Learning and professional development become a progressive and continuing process.

Experiential Learning in Action

We have described reflective practice as a form of experiential learning and have done so in a linear and segmented fashion. This was done for conceptual clarity but does not adequately describe the process itself, which is far more fluid and holistic. As the narratives in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 illustrate, when we engage in reflective practice, we move back and forth among the stages. For example, some new idea in the reconceptualization stage may momentarily take us back to the analysis phase to check out something we did not think about earlier. Often we will not be aware of particular "stages" in our reflection. In other instances, dialogue might show evidence that several stages were brought into play almost simultaneously. This will occur even more often when we become very adept at reflection, for reflection like other activities becomes habitual. For newcomers to the reflective process, whether as participants or facilitators, however, it is probably good counsel to keep the four stages of the experiential cycle clearly in mind as road signs to guide learning and progress through the process.

CONTRASTING TRADITIONAL AND REFLECTIVE APPROACHES TO PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Professional development processes share a common goal: improved practice. Nonetheless, there are distinctly different strategies or routes toward that goal. Reflective practice is a professional

development process that we believe is highly effective in achieving behavioral change. We also maintain that reflective practice and its underlying assumptions are in sharp contrast with the traditional practice of professional development. So, while our purpose in writing is to encourage the use of reflective practice for professional development, we feel that the arguments about change developed in Chapter 1 are relevant here. Before we can adopt new behaviors, before we can begin to introduce reflective practice as a professional development strategy whether in a university classroom, a school, or a school district, it is necessary (a) that we develop an awareness of our habitual actions and the assumptions that shape those actions and (b) that we consider the effectiveness of actions relative to intentions.

As a means of heightening awareness, the following section describes two contrasting routes to professional development and compares their purposes, assumptions, and practices.

Traditional Professional Development: A Portrait

If we observed a typical professional development session in a university classroom, a school district, a principal or teacher center, or a corporate headquarters, we would likely see this scene: The instructor, often an outside expert, is clearly identifiable. He or she usually occupies a central position at the front of the room and is accompanied by handouts and visual aids. The presentation usually focuses on a single concept, program, or model that, if implemented, will lead to positive change. Although some presentations provide a longer period of time (perhaps a week), the majority of professional development sessions range from a few hours to a day. For the session, the instructor has a carefully outlined plan intended to convey information to the learners. Although the learners may have an opportunity to ask questions and experiment with the new skills, for the most part, they sit facing the instructor and listen. Questions tend to be infrequent, and presentations are seldom interrupted. Although ostensibly geared to "success" in the professional context, professional education consists primarily of transmission of knowledge. In this process, knowledge is the province of experts, and learners have access to it through the instructor. The instructor's role is to convey that information in a clear and concise manner; the learner's role is to absorb it.

Reflective Professional Development: A Portrait

If we walk into a reflectively based professional development session in a university classroom, a school district, or a principal development center, we are, by contrast, less likely to be able to predict the scene. We might see pairs of individuals, or groups of four to six or more, engaged in discussion. We might observe a role play in action or a number of them going on simultaneously. We might find someone providing information while others in the room listen. We might find everyone writing for periods of up to 5 to 7 minutes. Most likely, we will find participants seated in circles or around tables—but not in rows facing a single point. In many cases, we would not be able to recognize the instructor instantly and, when we do, we will notice that he or she plays a very different role. He or she might be at the front of the room providing information, but it is just as likely that he or she will be seated with others participating in a discussion doing more listening than talking. She or he might even be out of the room while participants engage in cooperative learning activities and carry on animated, focused interaction with each other.

While the particular activity occurring in a reflectively based development session is more difficult to predict than in a traditionally based session, there are expected behavioral regularities. Students are active participants in the learning process, helping to establish the agenda and shaping the learning process to meet their own needs. The nature of the discussion is as likely to focus on emotions as on ideas and the ideas discussed are those gathered from personal experience as well as from reading and research. Information is provided by all participants. Multiple centers of activity often occur simultaneously. Many questions are placed by different individuals

and answers are as likely to come from other participants as from the instructor.

From these brief descriptions, it's possible to see that, while the two approaches may have the same goal, their immediate objectives or purpose are different. It is also apparent that very different assumptions about the nature of learning operate in each setting and that these theories-in-use influence both content and process.

Purpose. The ultimate purpose in the traditional model may be improved performance, but the directly observable purpose—and the purpose embedded in the theory-in-use guiding the behaviors of both instructor and participants—clearly is knowledge acquisition. The instructor spends most of the available time in these sessions transferring information to generally passive recipients and testing the acquisition of that information.

The immediate as well as ultimate purpose of reflective professional development is not knowledge acquisition per se but behavioral change and improved performance. This is readily observable in development sessions. Attention is focused directly on behavior, either behavior enacted before the session and recollected and analyzed during the meeting or behavior generated during the session itself. While at various times the facilitator may provide information or theories, such presentations are focused directly on behavior change and improvement of performance.

Assumptions. From these observations, we infer that the two models differ greatly in their assumptions about behavioral change. In the traditional model, most of the time is consumed in giving and receiving public knowledge, knowledge that is available to all and that is not personal or based on individual experience. The primary assumption is that acquisition of shared knowledge will lead to behavioral change. Theory, thoroughly understood and carefully applied, means good practice. The traditional approach to professional development, then, reflects an underlying assumption that information is a stimulus for behavioral change, that individuals receiving knowledge will use it to improve performance. Knowing a better way to behave, individuals will simply act on the knowledge. This

approach places total faith in rational processes as the source of behavior. In the terms of Chapter 1, it focuses exclusively on changing espoused theory with the belief that, when intentions change, behavior will also change. This is a very simple theory of behavioral change. It is tenaciously held both in general education and in professional development—but the results typically do not match the faith put in it.

In reality, there is little evidence that this approach works well and more reason to believe that it seldom leads to noticeable improvement or change in professional practice. In-service programs in schools and school districts, for example, typically employ research, development, and diffusion (RD&D) models or what House (1981) termed a *technological perspective* and Bennis, Benne, and Chin (1961) called a *rational-empirical approach*. In this orientation, "experts" come into a district for a day or longer and present a program that is designed to bring a successful change: improved instruction, higher self-esteem, more effective problem solving, better student discipline. Despite the quality of the presentation and the validity of the model being presented, the evidence is not strong that this method leads to significant, long-lasting, or widespread change in practice (Firestone & Corbett, 1988; Sarason, 1971, 1990). Teachers often return to classrooms enthused and excited about the possibility of reaching their students in more meaningful ways, but, despite the best intentions, fall back into the same patterns. Similarly, the administrator introduced to more effective methods of supervision and evaluation finds that day-to-day pressures and demands make it impossible to try the suggested alternatives. The status quo maintains itself. The more things change, the more they stay the same. The new information or program doesn't produce the desired results. But, next year, another attempt at change is made. The assumption remains the same: New information will lead to change. If the change doesn't occur, the fault is with the specific idea or with the professional to whom the idea has been presented.

The assumptions made about behavioral change in the reflective practice model are more complex than in the traditional model of professional development. They include the propositions about change described in Chapter 1. Behavioral change comes through self-awareness

of formerly unrecognized assumptions lying in the theory-in-use, unrecognized habitual behaviors, and unrecognized negative outcomes of these behaviors. Change is a process begun not by learning a new idea from an expert but by recognition that something is not exactly "right" in one's own professional practice. It is initiated not through a standard set of information received in a large group but through careful attention to individual practice. The motivating force behind change is not the goodness or usefulness of an idea from an external source but the desire to function well in a professional capacity coupled with the awareness that current behavior is not fully reaching this goal.

In reflective practice, change includes an emotional as well as a rational dimension. Because behavioral change is personal change, it entails emotions. Emotions attach to the ways we view ourselves, our actions, and their results. When we inquire into our own unrecognized assumptions and behaviors and find them wanting, there is an emotional load associated with self-confrontation and with personal wrestling about how to respond to the awareness. On the other hand, when we inquire into our own unrecognized assumptions and find them to be positive and effective, there is a strong positive emotional response. Reflective practice assumes the centrality of emotion along with cognition. It strives to recognize, work with, and support the emotional aspect of behavioral change.

That personal behavioral change always intersects with culture is another assumption undergirding reflective practice. Unrecognized, habitual behaviors result from deep acculturation. Behavioral change, then, entails changing the relationship between culture and behavior. Often, behavioral changes resulting from successful reflection are at odds with the ongoing larger and organizational culture. This means that individuals undergoing personal change will likely be somewhat more at odds with the norms and assumptions of the culture than before. Thus reflective practice assumes that achieving and maintaining desired personal changes also means working for cultural changes, ones that will then buttress the new behaviors. Understanding the cultural dimension of change helps us see why the "fix-it" approach of the traditional model so frequently fails. The "fix-it" orientation replaces a part or piece assumed to be broken, but it pays

no heed to the culture in which the part is embedded or to the relationship between the cultural values and assumptions and those residing in the part. When the "fix" is not supported by the surrounding culture, it is quickly rejected. This is especially true when the relationship between behavior and culture remains unrecognized.

In the way that action theories shape behavior, these assumptions about learning, and specifically professional development, directly shape the method of instruction that is adopted: both content and process.

Content. The knowledge bases for traditional and reflective practice approaches to professional development also differ. As already noted, the traditional approach emphasizes knowledge transmission as the means toward improved practice. This knowledge may be described as public knowledge, knowledge as given, and knowledge as content. Public knowledge is "information, skills, perspectives, facts, ways of knowing . . . valued because it is accepted within the traditions of knowledge . . . it has received some degree of acceptance using 'public principles that stand as impersonal standards' . . . traditions of knowledge that have stood the test of time" (Berlak & Berlak, 1981, p. 145). Knowledge is given when it is assumed to be "a truth 'out there' " (p. 148), knowledge that has been discovered and verified. It can then be "given" or transmitted to others. Knowledge as content is a form of public knowledge that has been organized as "bodies of information, codified facts, theories, [and] generalizations" (p. 147).

The *kind* of knowledge transmitted in traditional approaches, especially graduate courses, is often called "theory," or what Schon described as a knowledge that is "specialized, firmly bounded, scientific, and standardized" (1983, p. 23). Those who assume such knowledge will improve practice also assume that what is "wrong" with practice or "needs improvement" is relatively generalized or standard across individuals and that it is best assessed and prescribed from an external, objective position by experts possessing theoretical knowledge.

In the traditional model, practice assumes a secondary, subordinate relationship to public, given, or theoretical knowledge. The link

between theory and practice is implicit, and the learning process begins and ends with theory or public knowledge. The central question is this: "What do others—experts, researchers, developers of theoretical knowledge—'know' that they think others *should* know?" Theory and practice remain separate, distinct, and unequal. "Theory" courses are taught by academicians and workshops are delivered by experts. Both can be described as a struggle to penetrate the meaning of abstractions about organizational realities framed in abstract terms that make connections to concrete realities implausible. Even so-called practice courses, taught by practitioners—often retired administrators—containing mostly "war stories," are really based on many of the same assumptions as "theory" courses. In these cases, an individual takes his or her own experience and "elevates" it to the status of given, public knowledge and generalizes it to the needs of others without the support of the verifying mechanisms used in developing theoretical knowledge. What remains the same in both "theory" and "practice" traditional approaches is an external agent who decides what the participants need and transmits it to them. In either case, the knowledge possessed by the instructor is more important than that possessed by the learner and in neither case is direct attention paid to the individual practice of the learner.

The knowledge bases employed in the reflective practice approach to professional development are more varied and complex than those in the traditional approach. Whereas in the traditional model of professional development, public, content, and given knowledge are both the beginning and the end of the process, in the reflective model, this kind of knowledge is used in more limited ways. Transmission of such knowledge is useful in consciousness- or awareness-raising as a stimulus to thinking about discrepancies between intentions and actions or espoused theories and theories-in-use. It is also useful as a source of possibilities for new ways of behaving *after* discrepancies are acknowledged and the individual is motivated to change.

In reflective practice, other varieties of knowledge are central. These are described as personal knowledge, knowledge as problematic, and knowledge as process. A personal knowledge perspective assumes that "worthwhileness . . . cannot be judged apart from its relationship to the knower. Knowledge is useful only in so far [*sic*] as it enables persons to make sense of experience. [It] is gained from the 'inside.' [It] has the connotation of *Verstehen* or holistic understanding" (Berlak & Berlak, 1981, p. 145). As opposed to given knowledge, assuming knowledge is problematic treats it as "constructed, provisional, tentative" (p. 148). This means taking a creative, critical, and analytical orientation. Whereas treating knowledge as content emphasizes a codified body, treating knowledge as process emphasizes the "thinking, reasoning, and testing used to establish the truth or adequacy of a body of content" (p. 147).

While these are technical descriptors of the knowledge used in reflective practice, the central issue is that in reflection the predominant, but not sole, emphasis is on knowledge about personal professional practice. Underlying the reflective process is the assumption that useful knowledge addresses specific needs of the individual or constituency; it is experiential knowledge, practitioner knowledge, knowledge of craft, knowledge of personal action theories, and what Schon (1983) called knowing-in-action. Professional growth is envisioned as an odyssey whose purpose is not knowledge in an abstract sense but knowledge of a very personal and purposeful nature. Because the primary purpose in reflective practice is improved performance, the learning process begins with examining practice, and formal education becomes a laboratory for developing improved practice. In this laboratory, the typical relationship between theory and practice is inverted. In the traditional model, theory or public knowledge is the means to improve practice; in the reflective model, attention to practice is the means toward the development and refinement of theory—specifically, personal action theory. Within the reflective process, study of formal theory functions as an important resource in the developmental process, but it is not an end in itself.

In the reflective practice model, the link between theory and practice is explicit—not implicit as in the traditional approach—and the developmental process begins with practice. If we wish to develop new and better methods of practice, we begin by examining the behavior we want to improve. The central knowledge questions are much broader than in the traditional approach: "What do we do, and why do we do it?" "How do our knowledge, our understanding, our personal theoretical framework affect our own behavior?" "Given new

knowledge, what will we do differently?" In the reflective approach, several kinds of knowledge are integrated. Theory *and* practice are integral and central considerations, and theory includes ideas derived both from formal research and from personal experience. Attention to public knowledge and formal theory is not lost or diminished, but practice—specifically, personal practice—assumes a far greater importance.

Process. Instructional strategies also differ between the two modes of professional development. Because of the central (but we believe faulty) assumption that knowledge transmission leads to behavioral change and the corresponding belief that knowledge is developed and interpreted by researchers or academicians rather than by practitioners, didacticism is the central and legitimate means in the traditional model. Although various strategies may be used—lecture, discussion, case study analysis—the central purpose remains to convey knowledge and to develop cognitive skills. Reflective practice, in contrast, relies to a greater extent on dialectic learning and, as we have seen, is rooted in the experience—and particularly the problematic experience—of the learners.

Given the emphasis on public, given, and content knowledge, the instructor assumes the dominant role in the process while the learner functions in a subordinate, largely passive role. In reflective practice, the shift in focus and purpose of learning alters the nature of the learner-instructor relationship and shifts the balance of power and control. In the traditional model, power—to define problems, develop knowledge, prescribe answers, determine processes—and hence control over the nature, direction, and outcomes, rests with organizational superiors: university professors, consultants, or other external experts. Participants in professional development are essentially controlled by others. In juxtaposition, power and control in the reflective process are shared.

In the traditional model, the practitioner adopts a passive role as a consumer of knowledge. In the reflective practice model, the learner's role is far more active: "The practitioner becomes a researcher . . . and engages in a continuing process of self-education" (Schon, 1983, p. 299). In doing so, the learner assumes a central position, and the model of instructor as expert gives way to that of the instructor as facilitator. The role of the leader is no longer to deliver but to guide—to provide information and resources to facilitate the individual's personal inquiry and professional growth. The facilitator enters into what Schon (1983) called a *reflective conversation.* In this relationship, the instructor is not an expert responsible for conveying standardized and scientifically determined knowledge to guide the actions of the practitioner but a communication specialist engaged in a discussion of personal meaning. In Dewey's words, the educator can no longer "start with knowledge already organized and proceed to ladle it out in doses" (1938a, p. 82).

In the traditional model, the learner clearly is a subordinate. The instructor establishes expectations and provides the expertise; the learner complies with these expectations and comprehends what is offered. In the reflective practice model, this instructor-learner relationship changes. Responsibility for the success of the learning endeavor belongs no longer to either the learner or the facilitator but is shared by both. The learner is active and directive in the learning process, and the facilitator and learner—each of whom brings knowledge and expertise to the situation—become collaborators working on a shared task.

There are three other aspects of the learning process that contrast with the development modes. In the traditional approach, learning is molecular, while, in the reflective approach, it is holistic. The "fix-it" orientation of traditional development often focuses on discrete skills or segments of behavior and organizational life. Reflective practice assumes a holistic approach to learning. Beginning with individual behavior, anything related to it becomes part of the process. At the very least, this includes the individual's background and cultural context. In the traditional situation, with its emphasis on knowledge transmission, the primary emphasis is on cognition, but only in a very narrowly defined sense. The learner, as a student, is expected to gather and retain information that can be applied to problems of practice; in that sense, there is little need to involve the individual as a person. In reflective practice, however, the intent is to enable the individual to develop competence. Accordingly, the focus expands to incorporate the individual as person. Individuals are assumed to

have cognitive, emotional, and social dimensions. Learning to behave in different ways involves all of these. The concept of cognition also expands from a narrow emphasis on information gathering or recall to the development of analytic and conceptual skills that enable the individual to create knowledge needed to respond to the diverse demands of practice. Finally, in the reflective mode, learning is a social process, whereas, in the traditional mode, it is individual. In the usual process, learners are addressed as isolated individuals learning in parallel but not interrelated ways. In reflective practice, learning is cooperatively based. Collaboration extends beyond the learner-facilitator relationship to include all of the individuals in an interdependent learning process.

Table 2.1 presents a condensed summary of the various contrasting assumptional and belief differences for the traditional and reflective practice models of professional development.

SUMMARY

At this point, we have completed the conceptual framework to prepare us to engage in reflective practice. Chapter 1 provided the broad explanation of behavioral and organizational stability and change. In this chapter, we detailed a four-stage experiential learning cycle that is the heart of the reflective process. We also looked more specifically at the assumptions underlying reflective practice as a mode of professional development (and contrasted these with the familiar traditional mode). With this conceptual framework in place, the next two chapters are much more "how-to" oriented. The first details the assumptions and skills needed to facilitate reflective professional development. The second details various means we have found useful for moving individuals and groups through various stages of the experiential learning cycle.

TABLE 2.1
Contrasting Approaches to Professional Development

	Traditional Model	*Reflective Practice Model*
PURPOSE	Knowledge acquisition	Behavioral change
ASSUMPTIONS	Change via standardized knowledge	Change via self-awareness
	Change: Rational	Change: Rational, emotional, social, cultural
CONTENT	Knowledge:	Knowledge:
	Public	Public & personal
	Given	Given & problematic
	Content	Content & process
	Theory:	Theory *and* practice
	Espoused theory	Behavior: Espoused & theories-in-use, actions & outcomes
	Theory/practice: Implicit/discrete	Theory/practice: Explicit/integral
PROCESS	Didactic/abstract	Dialectic/Experimental
	Individual, molecular, cognitive	Collaborative, holistic, personal
	Instructor as expert	Instructor as facilitator
	Learner as subordinate	Learner as agent
	Practitioner as passive consumer	Practitioner as action researcher

NOTES

1. Grimmett and Erickson (1988), for example, identify three different ways of describing reflection: (a) as thoughtfulness about action, (b) as deliberation and choice among competing versions of good practice, and (c) as reconstructing experience, the end of which is the identification of a new possibility for action.

2. Preparation programs always have student teaching or administrative internships fulfilling the practice component of learning. As we argue, however, some very masterful professionals are unable to explain the underlying principles or theories-in-use that guide their practice. If this is the case, the student must either extrapolate the underlying principles for him- or herself or else treat the masterful performance as discrete actions to be copied without consideration of contextual factors. Reflective practice may be powerfully applied to internship experiences as a learning vehicle for both the novice and more experienced practitioners. We do not provide a specific "story" of such use of reflection, though, at Hofstra, our curriculum, including internship activities, is being organized around reflective principles. Barnett (1990) has described reflection in internship situations in detail.

3. Technically, a *problem* is conceptually different than the *problematic situation* in terms of clarity and specificity; however, the terms are used synonymously here with the understanding that, through the process of reflection, the nature and understanding of the problem may change dramatically.

GENERAL READING

REFLECTIONS ON LEADERSHIP

How Robert K. Greenleaf's Theory of Servant-Leadership Influenced Today's Top Management Thinkers

Contributors Include:

Robert K. Greenleaf • M. Scott Peck

Peter Senge • Ann McGee-Cooper

Sheila Murray Bethel • Walter Kiechel III

Plus Twenty-One Additional Essays and Articles on Servant-Leadership
by Authors, Executives, Consultants, and Journalists

Plus a Newly-Discovered Essay by Robert K. Greenleaf

And a Foreword by Max DePree

Edited by Larry C. Spears, Executive Director
The Greenleaf Center for Servant-Leadership

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Robert Greenleaf's Legacy: A New Foundation for Twenty-First Century Institutions*

Peter M. Senge

I believe that the book *Servant Leadership,* and in particular the essay, "The Servant as Leader," which starts the book off, is the most singular and useful statement on leadership that I have read in the last 20 years. Despite a virtual tidal wave of books on leadership during the last few years, there is something different about Bob Greenleaf's essay, something both simpler and more profound. This one essay penetrates to such a depth that it resonates in us, like the aftertones of a Buddhist meditation gong, calling us to quiet.

*Based on a talk at the Annual Conference of the Robert K. Greenleaf Center, October, 1992.

Rereading the essay, I found myself stopped, repeatedly, by a single sentence or phrase. For many years, I simply told people not to waste their time reading all the other managerial leadership books. "If you are really serious about the deeper territory of true leadership," I would say, "read Greenleaf." Today, there are now a few other books of comparable eloquence and insight, which is a hopeful sign that the message is spreading.

This is an opportunity for me to salute a body of work that has had an enormous personal impact on me. I suggest that Greenleaf opened up a pathway, and that the territory into which it leads is bigger than the pathway itself. What he did is part of something larger. I'd like to consider what that something larger is. My hope is that this will give us all a deeper appreciation of what it means to carry on with the work Greenleaf started.

But, before we can go too far, all of us must have some idea of what the pathway is. I would like to start with a question for those of you who, like myself, have been living with this book for awhile. What has it meant to you? What has the idea of the leader as servant meant to you? Some audience responses:

- "It's a way to change life. First, you change yourself, and then you change institutions."
- "It made me aware that there were others out there who thought similarly, whereas before I might have thought I was alone, or just had a hard time finding people who were thinking the same way. That was pretty important."
- "It has given me more of an openness. Once, the question 'where am I getting this wrong?' made me feel there was a problem with me. Now I feel that this question is probably more of a strength than a weakness."
- "It has given me more meaning and purpose for my position in corporate America. At times I think that I was questioning whether or not that was the right place for me to be. But, now I see a real value in terms of servant-leadership and having an impact on corporate America as well."
- "Greenleaf's book has a sense about moral authority and the whole idea of leadership. It restores hope that leadership can be a source for the good of society."

- "It helps me integrate the concept of collaboration, rather than competition. I'm finding that I have a vocabulary to be a team member, and not the 'I' that I used to feel."
- "I don't know quite how to say this but, in the best sense, it has given me a way to think about using the strength of my ego, while keeping it in check."
- "It's given me the courage to talk to people from the heart and actually feel their heart talk back to me."

Well, for any of you who walked into this room this evening not knowing servant-leadership, you now know a little bit.

My History with Servant-Leadership

About 10 years ago, a man named Joe Jaworski was embarking on a very interesting new enterprise. Joe is the son of Leon Jaworski, who was the chief Watergate prosecutor. Joe was, himself, a very successful trial lawyer. He was a senior partner in a large international firm. During the period of the Watergate trials, and for a year or so after, Joe and his father had many conversations about leadership in this country. Based on those conversations, Joe ultimately decided to quit his career and start a new venture, which he called the American Leadership Forum (ALF), which now operates to develop local leadership networks in many cities around the country.

Joe was the first person who told me about Greenleaf's work. In his own wonderful way, Joe had approached the founding of ALF as a quest, immersing himself in meeting anybody who had done anything important on leadership. John Gardner had told Joe to read this book by Robert Greenleaf.

I will never forget a particular evening plane flight to Houston. I was going to do the three-day "Leadership and Mastery" program for that first group of American Leadership Forum fellows. On the plane, I started reading the book Joe had sent to me, *Servant Leadership*. I rarely read a book page-by-page, but I read this book that way. I'll give you a brief recap, so you can understand the quote that follows. Greenleaf based "The Servant as Leader," on Hermann Hesse's *Journey to the East*, which is the story of a party of "seekers" searching for

enlightenment in the form of a particular secret spiritual order. They are attended to by a servant, Leo, who does their menial chores. Throughout the journey, the party is sustained by Leo's "spirit and his song." Eventually, Leo disappears. The party gets completely lost and abandons its search. The narrator carries on but suffers immense emotional and physical stress. Eventually, he comes to realize that it was his servant, Leo, who held him and his party together. After many years of wandering, the narrator finds Leo again, who, as it turns out, is the head of the spiritual community that the narrator was seeking all along.

Greenleaf summarizes that story in the first three pages of his essay. At the end of the essay, he quotes from Hesse's story. It is this passage, more than anything else, that has prompted me to say for many years that there is nothing you should read about leadership until you first read *Servant Leadership*. By the end of Hesse's story, it has become more and more clear that the narrator is an autobiographical character. At the end, after the narrator's initiation into the Order, he and Leo are talking and they are holding a small transparent sculpture of two figures joined together. One is Leo and the other, the narrator (Hesse). The narrator notes that there is a movement, apparently a movement in substance within this transparent sculpture, and then Hesse writes:

> I perceived that my image was in the process of adding to and flowing into Leo's, nourishing and strengthening it. It seemed that, in time . . . only one would remain, Leo. As I stood there and looked and tried to understand what I saw, I recalled a short conversation that I had once had with Leo during the festive day in Bremgarten. We had talked about the creations of poetry being more vivid and real than the poets themselves.

As I read that passage on the airplane that evening, I cried. I knew that this man understood something, something we have lost in our modern "transactional" society, where "what's in it for me" is the assumed bedrock of all actions. We have lost the joy of "creating," of working for something just because it needs to be done. In our frenzy to get something for ourselves, we have lost ourselves. We have doomed ourselves to a sullen, dull sort of life, full of the things we acquire and empty of any deeper happiness. We have forgotten that, as Robert Frost said, "All great things are done for their own sake." To think that this reorientation of spirit might be a foundation for true

leadership stunned me. Bob Greenleaf put a stake in the ground. He took a stand that resonates very deeply in many of us—I suspect in ways that we don't even consciously understand.

A New World and a New Worldview

Servant-leadership is an interesting phrase, a juxtaposition of apparent opposites, which immediately causes us to think freshly. But I actually think that the phrase is a sort of gateway. With this phrase, Greenleaf takes us by the hand and leads us into a different universe. It's a universe in which most of us, I believe, have a deep hunger to participate. In fact, it's what the ancients called "the great hunger." It's a universe where our sense of self is very different. It's a universe toward which, in some way or other, all the great esoteric and spiritual traditions point. I believe one of the things Greenleaf was trying to do was provide a pathway that was not based exclusively on any of their ancient traditions, but was more congruent and meaningful for us in our present-day world. He was seeking a way we could live our lives productively in contemporary institutions so as to be connected with our own spiritual journey. But even the phrase, "spiritual journey," is problematic today. The subtle distinctions required for its meaning to be evident have been lost.

So, I'd like to talk about this "alternative universe" in some different ways. I would like to explore with you several ways into this "alternative universe," which includes what Greenleaf said, but also some ways that he didn't articulate. Today, there is actually quite a bit that connects with and is implied by his work, but actually goes a bit further.

Something very dramatic is happening in this century. But like most important changes, almost nobody is noticing. There are two particular developments I'd like to ponder together—one of which we all sort of know on a gut level, and the other of which relatively few recognize.

The one that we all know on a gut level, but rarely talk about (although much that we talk about comes from this awareness), is illustrated by a story Greenleaf tells about how he got into his career even though he was not particularly interested in business. He ended up spending his career at AT&T because he had a professor in his last year in college who told him, "Big institutions are becoming more

and more dominating of society, and they don't seem to be serving very well. Maybe that's a good place to go and apply yourself."

I'd like to say this a little bit differently and a little bit more broadly. Over the course of the past 150 years or so, we have witnessed an unprecedented increase in our collective "power," our ability to influence our world. There are three primary driving forces: economic growth, technological growth, and the growth of global business institutions. Together, these changes have brought us to a point of extraordinary ability to affect life on planet earth. We are altering global ecosystems. We are intervening in the evolutionary dynamics of the gene pool. We are reshaping the future in ways that would have been unimaginable 100 years ago. And, we have almost no ability to predict the long-term consequences of these changes. We have developed extraordinary power but have little ability to control the application of that power.

If you ask how many people consider the world today to be more dangerous than the world of 100 years ago, about 75 percent will say it is. What's going on? We all know enough about the changes in the last 100 years to know that life expectancy today is somewhere around 75 to 80 years, or roughly twice what it was 100 years ago. So how is it that the world today is more dangerous than the world of 100 years ago? What's changed? Again, if you ask people, here are some of the responses you're likely to hear:

- "Violence."
- "Stress."
- "Acid rain."
- "Nuclear weapons."
- "Drugs."
- "AIDS."
- "The obliteration of indigenous cultures."
- "Things are more impersonal."
- "Destruction of community."
- "Global warming."
- "Things that go bump in the night."

From an evolutionary standpoint, such threats represent a profound shift in the conditions for survival for our species.

For most of our history as a species, the primary threats to our survival came in the form of sudden dramatic changes in our environment. You want to know where "crisis management" comes from? It's not because we're bad managers. It's because of *us*. If you were designing the optimal cave person, that person had better be able to recognize a saber tooth tiger creeping up from behind, and react. Take the Gulf War for example. I don't think there are many people in this country who would feel that going off to Saudi Arabia to fight Saddam Hussein was at the top of the nation's priority list. It was important, don't get me wrong. But by comparison to the decline of the education system, the decline of our national productivity and our economic base, the loss of jobs, the loss of industry, few would say that the Gulf War was more important than those problems. Yet, notice what got our attention. Notice how our whole system of public awareness and concern orients itself to deal with a crisis. That's the way we are designed.

Here's the basic problem: Today, virtually all the primary threats to our survival are slow, gradual processes, not sudden events. We're not geared to deal with gradually developing crises. We want to wait until a dramatic crisis occurs. Then we'll do something. But, guess what? By the time such a crisis occurs, it may be too late to do something.

Another, equally important problem is that, for almost all of our history, the threats to our survival were external in nature. They came from outside of ourselves. Today, all the primary threats to our survival are of our own making. There is no enemy to fight, no beast to slay, no one individual or group to blame. Even though we might seek to establish a villain, for the really big issues, we know the causes are more complex. The causes stem from our collective actions. Usually, they do not arise from an individual's actions. The primary threats to our survival today represent a new class of systemic threats for which we are more poorly prepared than we are for sudden crises.

This is the larger concern behind our big institutions, which are not serving us. We have developed an extraordinary capacity to influence our world through our institutions. But I think it would be fair to say that our wisdom, our understanding of ourselves and how we are influencing our world hasn't advanced to keep pace with our power. Therein lies our real crisis. That's the change that we all feel in our gut. There are very few people walking around (those who don't have their heads deeply buried in the sand) who don't feel uneasy these days.

There is another change that even fewer people are aware of. The real issue, I think, is whether these two changes can possibly result in some positive interaction. This change concerns an unfolding revolution in our scientific worldview. Interestingly, although Greenleaf wrote only briefly about this, I believe the emerging "systemic" worldview reflects his ideas in a central way.

The world that our culture teaches us to see is profoundly inaccurate in ways that we are just now beginning to understand. In our culture, *things* seem to us more real than *processes*. Think about this: What can be more real than this table? Well, guess what. A table is more than 99 percent empty space. It's an illusion of our senses that it appears solid. We now know that scientifically.

What happens when my fist opens? Where did the fist go? A good friend and colleague at MIT, Fred Kofman, says that this is a koan that will be the disintegration of Western culture. What happens to the waves when they hit the shore? Where do the waves go?

We think of our bodies as the most substantial, the most "real," aspect of who we are. But do you have any idea what the average lifetime of a cell in the human body is? There's all kinds of cells—liver cells, bone cells, skin cells, brain cells. Some only live a few days; some, like bone cells, live longer. The rate at which they regenerate changes as we get older. But virtually none of the cells in your body today were there three years ago. Simply put, you're not the person you used to be. I'm beginning at this very mundane level, at this physical level, in saying that this "body thing" is not what we think it is.

Buckminster Fuller used to run a little experiment, pointing out the average lifetime of a cell of the human; then he would say, "You're not a thing, you are patterned integrity." That was the phrase Bucky used to like to use—"a patterned integrity." Even at the physical level, if you want to ask, "What am I?" I am the capability to keep regenerating this "thingness."

For a long time the holy grail of our Western scientific quest was the idea that, eventually, if we kept going deeper and deeper, if we could design really sophisticated instruments and look at smaller and smaller things, we'd finally find the fundamental reality. What is this fundamental reality? The *atom*—the essential "thing." Deep in our culture, we believe that "things" are the bedrock of reality. Ironically, we've now gotten good enough at this game of probing deeper and deeper that we can't find any more "things." This was the profound philosophical crisis for the early twentieth-century physicists. It's not yet our philo[illegible]phical crisis, but it should be.

Here's the way people in physics are starting to think about it. It appears that "things" are not the most fundamental aspect of reality. What is more fundamental than "things" are "relationships." What characterizes reality, "substance," at a very basic level, are patterns of interrelationship, Fuller's "patterned integrity."

Greenleaf suggested that we might actually build institutions predicated fundamentally on interrelationships, not things. He suggested that the fundamental foundation of the institution might be interrelationships, not things. If we could accept this, our institutions might be in deeper harmony with our emerging understanding of the physical universe and a more positive force in our increasingly interdependent world.

Institutions Based on Conversation and Community

How might this new scientific worldview penetrate more broadly into society? We know from history that it typically takes hundreds of years for a new scientific worldview to permeate broadly into the mainstream of society. The industrial revolution lagged by several hundred years the birth of the "objective, rationalistic" scientific paradigm, which began with the early scientists of the Renaissance and eventually gave rise to Bacon, Newton, and Descartes.

Unfortunately, we may not have the luxury of waiting a few hundred years for the new worldview of the primacy of interrelatedness to permeate through society. We can accelerate this process by recognizing, tapping, and extending two very old ideas that echo from an early age during which our societies incorporated an awareness of interdependency, not because of their understanding of quantum reality, but because they were more embedded in the natural world. These ideas concern conversation and community.

It is worth pondering this seemingly mundane word, "conversation." Buddha is said to have spent a good deal of his life contemplating and writing about conversation. He said that it is the single most valued aspect of human existence. Emerson wrote at great length about what he called "dialogue." Goethe called conversation "the most sublime of human experiences." The phrase "the art of conversation" used to mean something in our culture as recently as one hundred years ago. People considered the capacity for conversation to be one of the most important aspects of a person's growth throughout their life. I do not think the phrase has much meaning anymore.

There is an old distinction in our culture that it is time to reexamine. It has to do with the words "dialogue" and "discussion." The word "dialogue" comes from the Greek *dia-logos*. Logos means *meaning* or *word*. Dia means *through*. The original meaning of the word "dia-logos" was *meaning moves through* or *flow of meaning*. When a group of people talk with one another so that there is a flow of meaning, this is a very special type of conversation. We become unconcerned about who says what, about whose view prevails, or who saves face. We enter the domain of truly thinking together. By contrast, the word "discussion" comes from the same roots as "percussion" and "concussion." It literally means to "break apart." A discussion involves heaving one's views at one other. Who wins and who loses is often all that matters. Quite an interesting contrast in images. Meaning moving through versus heaving one's views at the other.

One facet of the research at MIT is studying the work of management teams. Often, this involves tape recording meetings and then, with the team, analyzing the character of the conversations. Here is some data that is worth reflecting on: A three-hour meeting with a senior management team, during which they were dealing with what they regarded as critical issues, there was no lack of motivation, no lack of knowledge. But in three hours not one question was asked. What was going on?

The distinction between dialogue and discussion was first pointed out to us by David Bohm, one of the leading quantum physicists of this generation. For the past 10 years, Bohm has been studying the nature of thought. His view is that thought is far more collective than we realize, especially generative thought, where new ways of thinking are emerging. Another famous physicist, Werner Heisenberg once said, "Science is rooted in conversation." I remember reading Heisenberg's autobiography when I was in graduate school. It is nothing but a retelling of conversations he had had during his life with other famous physicists, such as Schroedinger, Pauli, and Bohr. Again and again he shows how, as these conversations evolved, people began to think in ways they had never thought before.

Bohm believes that the Greeks were the last Western society to remember what dialogue was all about, and to hold it as a central element in their culture. His view is that, from the beginning of the agricultural revolution, there has been a progressive fragmentation in the social order and a progressive "fragmentation in thought," and that the two have interacted and reinforced each other. It is interesting

that so many "primitive," that is preagricultural, cultures seem to engage in the practice of sitting in a circle and talking and talking until, as many Native Americans used to say, "the talk starts." It is clear that many such cultures do not hold the view that is so common in the West today, that thought is a purely individual phenomenon, occurring within our own heads. I remember talking with a man who had spent many years with a particular bush tribe, and he recalled an elder telling him about a particular dream he had been having for many years. "I no longer have the dream," the elder said, "because the man in the neighboring tribe has it now."

I think we have some dim recollection of what we have lost, a deep hunger for something that is missing in our lives today. The movie, *Dances with Wolves* struck a deep chord in many people's hearts because at some level we are aware of the monumental consequences of the steady destruction of indigenous cultures. We have not just "lost a few Indians"; we have destroyed a strand in the web of our cultural heritage. We have lost a particular sensibility of what it means to live together as part of a larger natural order. The depth and consequences of this loss are unknown and unknowable to us today. But we still have some idea of what it means to live with a different sense of community. Midway through the movie, as the Kevin Costner character is gradually being drawn into the tribal community, he returns for the last time to his outpost fort, where he has lived alone for many months. He contemplates the two worlds pulling on him, his own culture and the Sioux culture, and thinks of his new friends. He writes in his journal, "There have been many times in my life when I have been alone, but this was the first time I was lonely."

Although the indigenous cultures are all but lost in the world, we still carry within us some of their knowledge of conversation and community. How many of you have had a conversation where time "seemed to stand still," where you looked down at your watch and suddenly realized that three or four hours had gone by? Or, how many of you have had a conversation, perhaps in a work setting, where, when it was over, people walked out energized and excited, and someone said, "That was a terrific conversation, who said what?" People can become so caught up in what they are talking about that who takes what position becomes irrelevant. These are the conversations that seem to "come alive," where the flow of meaning becomes strong, and we all get caught up in the current. These are small tastes of genuine dialogue. We have not totally forgotten.

Apparently, one reason the Greeks considered *dia-logos* so important was their view that it was vital to self-governance. Once a society loses this capacity, all that is left is *discussion,* a cacophony of voices battling it out to see who wins and who loses. There is no capacity to go deeper, to find a deeper meaning that transcends individual views and self-interest. It seems reasonable to ask whether many of our deeper problems in governing ourselves today, the so-called "gridlock" and loss of mutual respect and caring in government, might not stem from this lost capacity to talk with one another, to think together as part of a larger community.

Interestingly, the contemporary metaphor of "organization development" is gradually giving way in our work to an older metaphor, "community building." I do not think this is merely a matter of substituting one term for another. An organization, for most of us, is a *thing,* whereas a community is not. A community is comprised of people and how they interrelate. As we continue to pursue basic questions like "How do shared visions develop?" and "How can widely shared mental models change?" the organization metaphor is becoming increasingly inappropriate. Can an organization "have a vision," or "hold a shared mental model," or "learn?" Surely this is a classic case of reification, of treating an abstraction as if it actually existed. But communities *can* hold visions, share assumptions, and enhance collective capabilities; that is, learn. So perhaps we have been misleading ourselves for many years when we have spoken of "building a shared vision for an organization."

A New View of Institutional Leadership

It is not possible to talk of a new type of institution without talking about a new type of leadership. Above all else, leaders build organizations. So, any shift in the predominant character of institutions like business will be inseparable from a shift in the predominant theory and practice of leadership. Greenleaf understood this very well.

The traditional leadership model in Western culture suggests a one-way link. The leader acts on the followers. The leader sets the vision and then works to get people to buy in. The leader creates the organizational policies and structures that determine how things get done. The leader motivates people.

Greenleaf had another notion. He questioned whether we should reje the notion of leader altogether. Perhaps there's no

room for the word "leader" in a system of management fundamentally predicated on interrelationship. It's a very good question. My hunch is that Greenleaf was probably still open on this question. Nonetheless, he suggested that perhaps we can salvage this notion of leader as long as we give up the notion of the one-way effect on follower, and begin to see leaders and followers interacting in a continuous process of mutual influence. For example, he talked about the "first impulse" of servant-leaders always to "listen first"—not to talk. Larry Spears has said that this will be the ultimate accomplishment in the discipline of servant-leadership—to listen first. Bob Galvin, retired chairman of Motorola, once said this very eloquently, "My job is to listen to what the organization is trying to say, and then make sure that it gets forcefully articulated."

There are certain basic functions common to leadership in all institutional settings. First, there is the question, "How do we establish a direction?" How do we establish an aim? Probably the oldest idea associated with leadership is vision. It's interesting that it has now come back into popularity and has become a bit of a fad, but it actually has a very rich history, as exemplified by the Biblical phrase, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

In our conventional one-way leadership model, this phrase is interpreted to suggest a strong leader who sets a direction and gets people to "buy in." It doesn't matter, by the way, whether it's called "strategic objectives," "goals," or "vision"; it's the same old wine in new bottles. The people in organizations know this. They've seen that strategic objective statement, the strategic mission statements. And they are now seeing the "vision statements." People know it's the same old wine; they're not easily fooled. The leader, or perhaps the leadership team, comes up with the vision and then lays it on the others.

But there is an alternative interpretation of the Biblical warning: that people's lives flourish when they have a sense of purpose. In this view, what matters is whether a *shared* vision exists, which is quite different from people following someone else's vision. New visions can emerge from many different sources, not just from "the top." The job of people in leadership positions is to make sure that good ideas are brought into the open, are considered seriously and, where possible, tested, so that eventually shared visions develop.

A question that has long been at the heart of our work is, "How do shared visions develop?" "How do you go from the vision of a few people to larger numbers of people operating with a common conviction and with shared images of the future?" As we reflect ich

The most common response to the breakdown of centralized management has been to distribute decision-making more broadly, "empowering" front line people to make more decisions on their own. But distributing responsibilities for planning, organizing, and controlling may only increase problems. If local people in their functional silos make more decisions, they need to *understand* how their decisions might influence those in other silos. Such systemic understanding was never needed in traditional organizations. We used to be able to translate the overall corporate plan into separate plans and policies for marketing, manufacturing, and research. Thus, people never had to develop the capability to think across functional boundaries and to understand larger systems. So, there is no guarantee that empowerment improves the quality of decision-making. Historically, most organizational efforts to decentralize fail, leading eventually to recentralization.

The emerging theory of dialogue suggests a completely different process whereby coordinated action can arise. In effect, it suggests a different mediating process between individual thought and collective action. Instead of the linear sequential view of "planning, organizing, and controlling," it suggests that as people increasingly "participate in a pool of common thought," as Bohm puts it, their actions will naturally fall into increasing alignment. As they begin to think together, they will more and more tend to act together. While such notions might seem horribly naive from our traditional managerial perspective, they don't to the jazz musician or member of a championship sports team. In such domains, people come to appreciate in very concrete ways what it means to think and act together.

This alternative theory of coordinated action is actually illustrated beautifully in the movie *Dances with Wolves.* There is a sequence of scenes in which the tribal council meets. (We often show these scenes to give people a concrete feel for how dialogue can operate.) These scenes are quite interesting: They are full of conflict, with different members of the council voicing strong and differing views. But deep listening is also taking place. After each person talks, there are visible and audible signs of acknowledgment. There are frequent pauses, as others consider the views expressed and their own thoughts. Interestingly, there is typically no convergence on critical issues. Apparently, there is no need for superficial signs of agreement. People are pondering complicated and puzzling issues. Typically, the tribal elder concludes a session by saying, "These are complex issues. It is easy to become confused. We will have to talk some more." Western managers watching these scenes generally report strongly mixed emotions. On one hand, they appreciate the careful listening, the acknowledgment of one another; on the other hand, no decisions are made, no action plans are drawn up. It is unclear what, if anything, will come of the conversation. "All they do is talk," said one manager. To impatient Westerners, such conversations often seem useless.

Interestingly, however, in a scene in the movie that follows shortly after the series of council meetings, we see the tribe participating together in the buffalo hunt. Rarely has a movie recorded such a moving mosaic of coordinated action. In a context where no simple action plan could ever suffice, where each actor must be acutely aware of one another, and where they ultimately must share responsibility for the overall results and for one another's safety, the tribe operates with a fluid collective grace which is stunning. Perhaps there is a larger process here. Perhaps the capacity for the council to sit and think together is inseparable from their capacity to act together. Perhaps there is a larger coordinating process beyond what could possibly be achieved through a linear plan.

Much remains to be done to develop this new theory of coordinated action. My hunch is that, as we better understand it, it will appear less as a stark alternative to planning, organizing, and controlling and more as a complement to the traditional model. There is no reason that groups participating in a larger "dialogic change process" should not also set goals, define roles, and organize as best they can, and monitor how they are doing. They just would not see these activities as the be all and end all. They would have more flexibility and adaptiveness, more capacity to disregard the plan and do what is needed in the moment—and to act in the moment in a fashion that spontaneously coordinates across their organizational boundaries.

A third basic function of leadership answers not only how we develop people's ability to think and act together, but "How do we improve the quality of thinking—especially regarding people's abilities to understand increasingly complex, interrelated realities?" This relates to what Greenleaf called "conceptual leadership." In particular, he talked about the fundamental evil of "fuzzy thinking." "Who is the enemy?" he asks. "Not evil people. Not stupid people. Not apathetic people. Not the 'system' . . . The better society will come, if it comes, with plenty of evil, stupid, apathetic people around and with an imperfect, ponderous, inertia-charged system as the

questions, we begin to see how valuing dialogue and generative conversation might shift our thinking. Today, we tend to think of vision as a "thing." We even speak of "the vision thing." Thinking in terms of things, we attempt to establish a shared vision as if it were a car we could build. Along with this is the equally crazy notion that everybody has to share the same vision. Thinking of vision as a thing, we naturally gravitate toward simple agreement as our measure of whether a shared vision exists. If we can measure people's agreement, then we consider a shared vision real.

The idea that everybody has to be in agreement about "the vision" is complete nonsense. If you, as a manager, push for such agreement, you probably will get it, but it probably will be superficial. What really matters is not superficial, "intellectual" agreement but what is in people's hearts and minds. In a 1,000-person organization there had better be 1,000 visions. Otherwise, you won't have anybody committed to anything. You will have only superficial compliance to the official vision. For each of us, only when we touch that about which we care most deeply does our genuine commitment come forward. Our commitment comes from what we care about. You don't have to get people committed to their children; they are naturally committed. When I work to bring into being something that I deeply care about, my life energy moves naturally in that direction.

Building shared vision is not about people surrendering their individual visions. It is about deepening each person's unique sense of vision and establishing harmony among the diverse visions so that we can move forward together. It does not require surrendering our uniqueness. If anything, it requires more, not less, of our uniqueness.

A second basic function of leadership is to answer the question: "How do you build the capacity of a group of people to move toward their visions?" One facet of this challenge concerns individual growth. "The best test of the servant-leader," says Greenleaf, is to determine "do those served grow as persons? Do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants?" From my experience, I, too have found this to be a very discriminating criterion. Many who aspire to servant-leadership or who espouse its ideals fail this test. It may not indicate that they are insincere in their beliefs about serving. More often it indicates that they are simply not yet able, at this stage in their lives, to operate consistently as servant-leaders. The breadth and depth of the servant-leader's commitment to people's growth is distinctive. For example, retired

Hanover Insurance CEO Bill O'Brien wrote extensively about "advanced maturity," his vision of people developing their capacity for personal vision, delayed gratification, objective self-assessment, and the capacity to commit to something larger than yourself.

A second facet of the capacity-building challenge concerns collective capability. How do groups of people form into effective communities of action? How is collective action coordinated and guided? And, how is the community's capabilities for coordinated, effective action enhanced over time—that is, how does the community learn?

The Western system of management is based on a particular mental model of how we move from individual views to collective coordinated action. Like most mental models, it is highly tacit, its assumptions rarely questioned. It is based on the following linear progression. First, it is necessary to establish a shared view of the goals. We all know that people have differing views, so there must be some process whereby the diversity of individual views are reconciled to a shared view. The humanists argue for open exchange of views based on mutual respect, good listening skills, and the building of a consensus or a synthesis of alternative views. We all know that a more political model often dominates in real organizations. The boss's view prevails. If I am not the boss, I have to find some way to influence him or her. This is a root source of much of the "gamesplaying" and internal politics that so permeate most organizations. The second basic step in our prevailing model of coordination is to convert the shared goals into an action plan, including roles, interim objectives, and reporting, relationships that provide an organizational foundation. Third, there must be some control mechanisms to assess where we are today relative to our goals, and adjust accordingly. This essentially linear sequence represents the holy trinity of Western management: planning, organizing, controlling.

This traditional view of how to achieve coordinated action is breaking down because the world in which we live is changing. The world often doesn't stay put long enough for our plans to be implemented. No sooner have we set a goal and figured out an action plan than everything seems to change. Consequently, tight control from the center just doesn't work like it used to in large organizations. Those organizations that were unwilling to surrender centralized control—be they IBM, General Motors, or the government of the former Soviet Union—have suffered what O'Brien calls a "breakdown of the central nervous system."

The most common response to the breakdown of centralized management has been to distribute decision-making more broadly, "empowering" front line people to make more decisions on their own. But distributing responsibilities for planning, organizing, and controlling may only increase problems. If local people in their functional silos make more decisions, they need to *understand* how their decisions might influence those in other silos. Such systemic understanding was never needed in traditional organizations. We used to be able to translate the overall corporate plan into separate plans and policies for marketing, manufacturing, and research. Thus, people never had to develop the capability to think across functional boundaries and to understand larger systems. So, there is no guarantee that empowerment improves the quality of decision-making. Historically, most organizational efforts to decentralize fail, leading eventually to recentralization.

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byproduct of being unable or unwilling to face difficult problems *and* having alternative quick fixes at one's disposal. In this sense, you can see why addiction is a common phenomenon in social systems. In fact, it is not just an individual phenomenon; corporations and societies also become addicted.

Hopefully, this illustrates why the quality of thinking is so important as we confront complex, highly interrelated issues. Given the typical ways of focusing on symptoms and "fixing" them, not only will we tend to take low-leverage actions that will ameliorate without curing, over time real cures will become harder to identify and implement. This is the classic long-term consequence of nonsystemic thinking—the problems get worse and our ability to confront them weakens.

It is difficult in our present institutions to find good examples of systems thinking. Here and there we find people in corporate life who have started and grown organizations over an extended period time and who have a rich intuitive grasp of what will make their enterprise healthy. Unfortunately, these people often find it almost impossible to explain their insights. Ironically, this may lead them to practice highly authoritarian styles of leadership.

Today, systems thinking is almost completely absent from public life. This is an especially great tragedy because authoritarian leadership by a "philosopher king" is no longer an option in public life. As a result, even more so than in corporations, we are thrown back on the collective intelligence of the society as a whole. This, undoubtedly, is at the root of Jefferson's fervent conviction that the quality of a democracy will never be greater than the quality of its public education, and why much of his later years were devoted to establishing the University of Virginia. It is not just the quality of our public education institutions that is at issue here, but the public's ability to understand what is going on in our world. To me, the saddest thing that I have seen in American politics in recent years is our tendency to elect people as cheerleaders. It seems that our recent presidents have been more interested in telling us that everything is okay than in helping people understand the issues and the choices we face. People know that things are not okay. So, when politicians try to convince people otherwise, the credibility of the whole political process sinks still further.

I'm suggesting that leadership's responsibility is to help people understand a complex world. Without such understanding, all the vision in the world may be of little value, and efforts to sustain effective coordinated action will be continually thwarted by actions that prevent enduring improvement.

Education and Evolution

Developing capabilities for recognizing our own mental models and for dialogue, for building shared vision, and for systems thinking is a long-term undertaking. Tools and methods such as those being developed through our Learning Center at MIT can help. But, it is also important to realize that it will not be enough to focus only on our business institutions. We must move "upstream." It is foolish to think we will make 25-year-old adults into systems thinkers and "lifelong learners" when the preceding 20 years of their lives have been spent breaking problems apart into pieces and convincing one another how much they know. It is impossible to conceive of the profound changes needed in learning capabilities within business without recognizing the need for comparable changes in the entire educational process.

Once we begin to grasp the whole of what is required, we also discover how much we have to work with. One powerful indication of this comes from efforts to teach systems thinking to children, from about grade 5 on up through high school and into universities. Children, typically younger ones, seem to love it. They seem to be natural systems thinkers. They grow up within a world of interrelatedness, and their capacities to grasp the systems of their everyday lives are vital to their success. If this weren't the case, how else could these little people be in such control? Find me a four-year-old, for example, who doesn't know that if they don't clean up their room, mommy or daddy will. It takes a systematic, (not to be confused with "systemic") 15-year effort to make over these natural systems thinkers into reductionists.

This effort starts out the first day of school, and continues with virtually every exam you take. I remember reading an article by an educator, many years ago, who said, "We have no idea the trauma the young child suffers in school." I've never forgotten that sentence. What's that educator talking about?

Children are masters of learning. You want to learn about learning? Hang out with a two-year-old. I'm not being facetious now. Did anybody teach us how to walk? How did that process work? Through observation and practice. A one-year-old who falls down after two or

vehicle for change. Liquidate the offending people, radically alter or destroy the system, and in less than a generation they all will be back. . . . The healthy society, like the healthy body, is not the one that has taken the most medicine. It is the one in which the internal health building forces are in the best shape."

In this statement Greenleaf offers an eloquent rendering of the need for a different type of thinking, a new basis for "health." Rather than just correcting problems, we need to understand the deeper forces that shape reality and make enduring change difficult. We call this type of thinking "systems thinking" because it is about understanding the underlying structures that generate forces that give rise to the problem symptoms we, as managers, spend so much time attempting to ameliorate.

There is a cartoon that shows a man pushing a huge domino out of his way. Unfortunately, he doesn't notice that he is sitting in the midst of a circle of these dominoes, and has set off a chain reaction of falling dominoes which will eventually come back around to crush him. He has taken a decisive action but, after a while, he's going to have a new, larger problem crashing down upon him. Of course, if it takes three or four years for the dominoes to go around that circle, the person who took the original decisive action probably will have been promoted, and some other poor sucker is in his place. This illustrates the classic dilemma of problem solving in complex systems. We don't see the larger structures within which we are operating. Consequently, our solutions eventually come back to haunt us—or to haunt someone else, someone in another part of the larger system, or in the future.

This phenomenon has become so pervasive in modern medicine there is now a term for it. "Iatrogenic" pathologies are medical problems that have been created as a result of an earlier solution to a previous problem. No one knows how large a part of our runaway health care costs are, in this sense, self-inflicted. I have heard some estimates that as many as one-third of the people currently in hospitals are there as a result of adverse reactions to drugs *administered by their physicians.* Needless to say, attempting to change such a situation through massive system-wide cost controls, as undoubtedly are coming in healthcare, is a "crude bludgeon" for very deep problems, problems that have their roots in pervasive elements of modern medical practice, medical education, the power of drug companies, and ultimately deeply entrenched patterns of reductionistic thinking throughout society.

As a further example of this new way of thinking, consider a systems principle called "shifting the burden." Whenever we face difficult

problems, there typically are many ways to make the symptoms of the problem go away, at least for a little while. Conversely, there are usually far fewer "fundamental solutions," which, if pursued, might get at deeper causes and result in a lasting solution to the problem. Such fundamental solutions are often more difficult to identify, take time to either implement or to achieve their full consequences, or entail considerable uncertainty as to their effectiveness. Consequently, there are usually a lot of good reasons to apply symptomatic solutions or quick fixes. The problem is that, not only are their benefits often short-lived, they have a way of becoming more and more necessary over time, during which we "shift the burden" to depending on what was originally seen as a one-time quick fix.

For example, consider the number of state lotteries there are in America right now—about 40. Ten years ago, there were only two or three. The problem symptom we're dealing with here is fiscal stress at the state level—budget deficits, shortages of revenues relative to outflows. The fundamental response is to find a way to live within our means, right? Reduce spending or raise taxes in a sustainable manner. A lottery is a politician's heaven. It brings in money quickly. No tough decisions need to get made. Almost no one complains. The problem symptom of a budget shortfall is improved quickly. But, since the underlying cause of the problem, the absence of fiscal discipline, hasn't been affected at all, the problem symptoms eventually return. We get a short-term improvement in the state budget balance, but after two or three years, spending has continued to creep up, tax revenues have either flattened out or not kept pace, and we're back in the soup. What do we then do? Recognize the folly of our ways? Become seriously committed to fiscal discipline? Do we say, "Oh, we made a mistake. Clearly, this lottery stuff is no real solution to our problems." No, we expand the lottery. We look for some other ways to use gambling to add to the state coffers.

Over time, we "shift the burden." What was a one-time quick fix becomes a way of life; it becomes institutionalized. And, of course, the real tragedy is that the more the short-term fix works, the more it will continue to undermine our capability for long term improvement. Herein lies the insidiousness of shifting the burden—the more effective the quick fix, the more dangerous it is.

This example has the classic dynamics of dependency associated with addiction. Shifting the burden is the most common systemic cause of addiction to drugs, alcohol, and food. People do not seek to become addicts, so why are addictions so common? Addiction develops as a

three steps doesn't suffer a psychological trauma. The child may have a bruised knee, but he or she will get up and fall down again, get up and fall down again. After a while, he or she is walking. And, a year or two later, that same little person will master natural language, using the same learning-by-doing process. Many psychologists would argue that the most profound learning experience that any human being goes through in life is the mastery of natural language. And almost all of us succeed in this profound learning by the age of three, some with even two or more languages. And we master this incredibly complex new capacity with nobody actively "teaching." This is what I mean by master learners.

Put that same human being in a classroom five years later, and give him or her a test back with a big red circle that says "wrong." Do they suffer a profound psychological trauma? The fundamental drive of his or her life is learning, and that child's love of learning is now being replaced by a fear of making mistakes. He or she has now been told to forget learning, that education is about knowing, not learning. It is about studying what someone else says you need to know, not pursuing your intrinsic motivation. It is about performing for someone else's approval, not setting one's own goals and assessing one's own progress.

You can begin to see the types of changes that would be needed in our educational process if it were to actually prepare people for a lifetime of continual learning. To develop people who were intrinsically motivated to learn, able to reflect on their own assumptions, able to learn together, able to objectively assess their own learning, able to think systemically—this would take some major changes in the content and process of education.

If our education process is to succeed, it would have to prepare people for a twenty-first century that would differ dramatically *from* the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This would include not only new skills and capabilities, but new attitudes and awarenesses. Paramount among these new awarenesses would be a deeper understanding of the evolutionary process and how the human community might contribute to it. Without such understanding, there is little hope of bringing the global industrial system into harmony with the larger natural world upon which we all ultimately depend.

Our prevailing view of evolution is dominated by the idea of competition, not by the idea of interdependency. We think that the essence of evolution is competition, "survival of the fittest." This was a very convenient interpretation when the theory of evolution was first articulated, because it fit beautifully with the needs of the industrial era of the time. Surely, if nature were "red in tooth and claw," the same could be expected within the marketplace. In the "industrial jungle," businesses compete for survival just as we imagine species competing for survival. Eventually, the internal environment within institutions, be they in education, business, or government, began to resemble the jungle (or more precisely our mental model of the jungle) as well—with students, managers, and politicians pitted against one another to see who would "survive."

It is beginning to appear that our prevailing view of evolution is a very simplistic, inaccurate, and incomplete picture of how this theory works in nature. There is competition, but it turns out that there is also collaboration in evolution. Species form symbiotic relationships that help them to mutually survive. Many scientists are also wondering about the pure randomness of the mutation process. Some are claiming that the rate by which new forms evolve is much faster than could ever be accounted for by random mutation alone. Some even claim that there must be other processes subtly guiding the mutation process toward more complex and appropriate forms.

There may even be a larger collaborative process at work within evolution, at the level of life on earth in its totality. There is a wonderful writer on evolution who is an appropriate complement to Greenleaf's work. His name is Thomas Berry, and he has been for many years the president of the American Teilhard de Chardin Society.

Chardin, an eminent biologist who was also a Jesuit priest, was perhaps the first prominent Western scientist to articulate the notion that the planet Earth, and all life on earth, might actually be a form of life at a higher order. Today it is known as the "Gaia Hypothesis," and has some illustrious supporters, including Boston University biologist Lynn Margulis. To this idea, Chardin added the notion that, with increasingly complex species like humans, the biosphere is being extended to include a *noosphere,* the pool of collective thought on the planet. Chardin felt that the noosphere represented a significant new chapter in evolution on earth, life becoming aware of itself.

Like Chardin, Tom Berry is a Jesuit. Building on Chardin, he has said that what we need today, more than anything else, is a *new story.* Without a new story, the noosphere is not in harmony with the biosphere. The old story by which our culture guided itself was dominated by redemptive Christian theology on the one hand, and reductionist

science on the other. As time has passed, these two have become increasingly irreconcilable, leading to a deep fragmentation in our culture and in ourselves. The new story that is needed, according to Berry, must draw together all facets of the human community.

Berry says that one way to approach the new story is to appreciate evolution. Evolution, he says, has three fundamental dynamics. One is increasing differentiation. As evolution proceeds, there is richer and richer variety among and within species. One of the functions of evolution is to produce variety. The second dynamic is what he calls increasing "interiority." With the evolution of species, there is a richer sense of what it means to be a *self.* He called that "interiority." We could call it "consciousness." Berry said there's a third element of evolution, which is a richer capacity for "intercommunion." As variety and interiority increase, there is a greater possibility for awareness of one another, both within species and between species. "It is the destiny," he says, "of our present and all future generations to develop this capacity for communion on new and more comprehensive levels."

I think Bob Greenleaf would have liked Tom Berry. Berry argues that evolution is bringing us to increasing awareness of "the Earth process" of which we are an integral element. To this, Greenleaf would surely have added that this requires institutions fundamentally based on interrelatedness, not on "thingness." Robert Greenleaf was onto something very important. He pointed us toward a territory that is bigger than any of us can see, perhaps bigger than he could see.

While he might not have given us a complete map of the territory, Greenleaf did provide a sort of compass. He said nothing will change until *we* are ready to change. "The servant," he said, "views any problem in the world as *in here,* inside oneself, not *out there.*" There are lots of changes that need to happen in our world, but they won't happen there unless we are committed to something changing inside ourselves.

Above all else, this is the stand Greenleaf took. Everything he wrote, he wrote from that viewpoint. It's the music you can hear behind the words. It's where the deep resonance we feel comes from. The changes needed in our world require a shift in our way of thinking, a shift in our way of interacting. Greenleaf recognized that what is actually called for is a shift in our way of being. We owe it to him to continue exploring this territory boldly, or as he quoted Camus, to "create dangerously."

Chapter Eight

Teacher Development and Schools as Centers of Inquiry

There is growing acceptance of the idea that general improvements in student performance will occur only when classrooms become learning communities, and teaching becomes more learner centered. The state of Texas, for example, recently adopted a set of proficiencies for teachers aimed at creating "learner-centered schools." Included in this document are such ideals as:

> The teacher is a leader of a learner-centered community, in which an atmosphere of trust and openness produces a stimulating exchange of ideas and mutual respect. The teacher is a critical thinker, and problem solver who plays a variety of roles when teaching. As a coach, the teacher observes, evaluates, and changes direction and strategies whenever necessary. As a facilitator, the teacher helps students link ideas in the content areas to familiar ideas, to prior experiences, and to relevant problems. As a manager, the teacher effectively acquires, allocates, and conserves resources. By encouraging self-directed learning, and by modelling respectful behavior, the teacher effectively manages the learning environment so that optimal learning occurs [Texas Education Agency, 1994, p. 4].

The kind of teaching and learning needed to create learning communities envisioned above can significantly enhance student academic, social, and moral development. But any serious attempt to provide for it in Texas or anywhere else must include as its strategy the transformation of classrooms into:

Reflective Communities within which students develop insights into their own strength and weaknesses as learners, and use this information to call upon different strategies for learning.

Developmental Communities within which it is acknowledged that students develop at different rates, and at any given time are more ready to learn some things than others.

Diverse Communities within which different talents and interests of students are not only recognized, but acknowledged by decisions that teachers make about curriculum, teaching, and assessment.

Conversational Communities within which high priority is given to creating an active discourse that involves the exchange of values and ideas among students, and between students and teachers as they learn together.

Caring Communities within which students not only learn to be kind to each other and to respect each other, but to help each other to grow as learners and as persons.

Responsible Communities within which students come to view themselves as part of a social web of meanings and responsibilities to which they feel a moral obligation to embody in their present behavior as students, and future behavior as citizens.

It is not likely that we will be successful in transforming our classrooms into communities of this kind unless we are able to transform our schools similarly. Few axioms are more fundamental than the one that acknowledges the link between what happens to teachers and what happens to students. Inquiring classrooms, for example, are not likely to flourish in schools where inquiry among teachers is discouraged. A commitment to problem solving is difficult to instill in students who are taught by teachers for whom problem solving is not allowed. Where there is little discourse among teachers, discourse among students will be harder to promote and maintain. And the idea of making classrooms into learning communities for students will remain more rhetoric than real unless schools become learning communities for teachers too. Thus for classrooms to be transformed, schools themselves must be transformed into:

Professional Communities within which "learning and teaching depend heavily upon creating, sustaining, and expanding a community of research practice. Members of the community are critically dependent on each other. . . . collaborative learning is not just nice but necessary for survival. This interdependence promotes an atmosphere of joint responsibility, mutual respect, and a sense of personal and group identity" (Brown, 1994, p. 10).

Improving schools involves identifying the right leverage points for change. Our present theories of school leadership and organization, unfortunately, point us in the direction of school improvement strategies that too often miscalculate which leverage points for change are high, and which leverage points are low. The Pyramid and Railroad Theories, for example, rely on instituting management systems of one kind or another, and on mandating specific actions and programs. The High Performance Theory emphasizes the provision of inducements in the form of material and psychological rewards to get people to improve. In this theory, motivating teachers and inspiring teachers to perform by exchanging rewards for compliance is the key.

But as McDonnell and Elmore (1987) point out, two other policy instruments are available to leverage school improvement—"capacity-building" and "systems-changing." Capacity-building involves enabling and empowering teachers by increasing their skills, and increasing their commitment to professional values. Systems-changing involves changing our basic theories of schooling in ways that allow for a new sense of what is effective and what is good practice, and a new distribution of authority. Understanding change differently, as when we switch the metaphor for the school from organization to community, is an example of systems-change. And placing teacher development at the center of our school improvement strategies is an example of capacity-building. Teacher development as capacity-building is the theme of this chapter; we will take up systems-change in the next chapter.

Many years ago, Vito Perrone (1978) pointed out that the teacher's role is central to improving the quality of learning for students. For him, teacher development is key because "The quality of teachers' understandings influences to a large degree what teachers do in classrooms" (p. 298). Good teacher development programs and efforts, he reasoned, should be based on the assumption that "The best source for teachers to learn more about teaching and learning, child growth and development, materials and methods is through an examination of one's own practice" (p. 298).

More recently, Milbrey McLaughlin has pointed out that key to teacher learning is for teachers to be empowered in ways that enable and allow them to exercise more control over their classrooms. She believes that this control is needed for teachers to make the changes in their practice that are necessary for them to teach more effectively (cited in Bradley, 1993). Her research with Joan Talbert revealed that teachers' participation in a professional community of like-minded colleagues had a powerful effect on their ability to know better what to do in the classroom, and to adopt their teaching strategies to more effectively meet students' needs. Where such collegiality is high, teachers have more positive views of teaching, and teach more successfully (McLaughlin and Talbert, 1993).

Lichtenstein, McLaughlin, and Knudsen (1992) believe that professional knowledge plays a central role in empowering teachers. They point out that "the 'knowledge' that empowers teachers is not the stuff of the weekend workshop or the after-school inservice session. The knowledge that empowers teachers to pursue their craft with confidence, enthusiasm, and authority is knowledge of the teaching profession, in the broadest possible sense" (pp. 40–41). The researchers were able to identify three overlapping sources of professional knowledge: knowledge of professional community, knowledge of educational policy, and knowledge of subject matter. Knowledge of educational policy and knowledge of subject matter were strengthened as teachers participated in professional organizations and other networks of teachers. Particularly key was knowledge of professional community—the array of developmental experiences that teachers accumulate as a result of working collaboratively with other teachers in a shared practice. Knowledge of professional community empowers teachers by helping them recognize their own expertise, and by expanding their "notions of what is possible in their own practice and the profession as a whole" (p. 43).

Can professional community help teachers to learn to teach for understanding? McLaughlin and Talbert think so. They observed

that "some teachers who attempted such changes in practice . . . were unable to sustain them and became frustrated and discouraged. This is because learning how to teach for understanding goes against the grain of traditional classroom practice and so entails radical change and risks obstruction. Those teachers who made effective adaptations to today's students had one thing in common: each belonged to an active professional community which encouraged and enabled them to transform their teaching" (1993, p. 7).

If teacher development is to become a natural part of building professional community and if teacher development is to move to center stage in the school improvement process, then schools need to create the kinds of management and supervisory systems, organizational patterns, and teacher growth strategies that:

- Encourage teachers to reflect on their own practice
- Acknowledge that teachers develop at different rates, and that at any given time are more ready to learn some things than others
- Acknowledge that teachers have different talents and interests
- Give high priority to conversation and dialogue among teachers
- Provide for collaborative learning among teachers
- Emphasize caring relationships and felt interdependencies
- Call upon teachers to respond morally to their work
- View teachers as supervisors of learning communities

Viewing teachers as supervisors of learning communities provides them with a new identity that has implications not only for their roles in the classroom, but for teacher development as well. As Marilyn Evans (1994) points out, "The premise is that if teachers are to build learning communities in their classrooms, they must first experience being part of a learning community" (p. 4).

Models of Teacher Development

Traditionally, teacher development has been synonymous with inservice training. And inservice training methods have emphasized such pedagogical principles as uniformity, consumption,

memorization, and replication. Schools carefully develop (or purchase carefully developed) and present training programs for teachers. Teachers are then given practice in using the training they receive. There is usually some follow-up in the form of supervision to make sure that the training takes. In recent years, the emphasis has been switched from training to professional development and, with the advent of constructivist thinking, to renewal as ways to think about teacher development.[1] Table 8.1 describes and contrasts the training, professional development, and renewal approaches.

All three approaches have important roles to play but not all approaches should receive the same emphasis. If we value teaching for understanding, the development of thinking, and other constructivist principles of teaching and learning, then we need to give less attention to training models and more attention to professional development and renewal models.

Training approaches to teacher development resemble traditional in-service programs that are well known to teachers and principals and need little elaboration. They are best suited when a problem can be defined as teachers not knowing about something or needing to improve their skills in some area. Training is linked to clear objectives and relies on conventional, well-executed instruction. Teachers, for example, might be introduced to various ways in which interest centers can be set up, methods for evaluating student portfolios, new techniques for using simulation for teaching world history, tips on monitoring student progress, or some basic teaching skills that help keep students "on task." Teachers generally assume passive roles. Techniques most often used are oral presentations, illustrated presentations, demonstrations, and observations of good practice. Effective training programs provide opportunities for teachers to practice what they learn and then to receive coaching as they actually begin to use the new material in their classrooms.

Although training has its place, most observers believe that it should no longer be the primary model for teacher development.

[1] This discussion of approaches to teacher development is drawn from "Teacher Development and Supervision," a chapter in *The Principalship: A Reflective Practice Perspective*, 3rd ed. (Sergiovanni, 1995, pp. 208–211).

Table 8.1. Approaches to Teacher Development.

	Training	Professional	Renewal
Assumptions	Knowledge stands above the teacher.	The teacher stands above knowledge.	Knowledge is in the teacher.
	Knowledge is, therefore, instrumental. It tells the teacher what to do.	Knowledge is, therefore, conceptual. It informs the teacher's decisions.	Knowledge is, therefore, personal. It connects teachers to themselves and others.
	Teaching is a job and teachers are technicians.	Teaching is a profession and teachers are experts.	Teaching is a calling and teachers are servants.
	Mastery of skills is important.	Development of expertise is important.	Development of personal and professional self is important.
Roles	Teacher is consumer of knowledge.	Teacher is constructor of knowledge.	Teacher is internalizer of knowledge.
	Principal is expert.	Principal is colleague.	Principal is friend.
Practices	Emphasize technical competence.	Emphasize clinical competence.	Emphasize personal and critical competencies.
	Build individual teacher's skills.	Build professional community.	Build a caring community.
	Through training and practice.	Through problem solving and inquiry.	Through reflection and reevaluation.
	By planning and delivering training.	By emphasizing inquiry, problem solving, and research.	By encouraging reflection, conversation, and discourse.

Source: Sergiovanni, 1995, p. 209.

Implementing lists of do's and don'ts, standard skill repertoires, and other scripts is not the way to help teachers to teach for understanding, to develop student thinking, and to promote generative knowledge. Instead, teachers need to learn how to think on their feet, inventing their practice as they go.

The relationship between teachers and the knowledge base for teaching is understood differently in professional development than in training. Professional development assumes that teachers are superordinate to the research on teaching. Unlike technicians who are trained to apply research findings, professionals view research as knowledge that informs the decisions they make. Professionals create their practice in use. For them, the process of inquiry and the practice of their profession are inseparable.

Professional development approaches emphasize providing teachers with a rich environment filled with teaching materials, media, books, and devices. With encouragement and support, teachers interact with this environment *and with each other* through exploration and discovery. Judith Warren Little (1993) proposes six principles she believes should guide the design of professional development experiences for teachers.

1. Professional development offers meaningful intellectual, social and emotional engagement with ideas, with materials, and with colleagues both in and out of teaching.
2. Professional development takes explicit account of the context of teaching and the experience of teachers. Focused study groups, teacher collaboratives, long-term partnerships, and similar models of professional development afford teachers a means of locating new ideas in relation to their individual and institutional histories, practices, and circumstances.
3. Professional development offers support for informed dissent. In the pursuit of good schools, consensus may prove to be an overstated virtue. . . . dissent places a premium on the evaluation of alternatives and the close scrutiny of underlying assumptions.
4. Professional development places classroom practice in the larger context of school practice and the educational careers of children. It is grounded in a big-picture perspective on the purposes and practices of schooling, providing teachers with a means of seeing and acting upon the connections among students' experience, teachers' classroom practice, and schoolwide structures and cultures.

5. Professional development prepares teachers (as well as students and their parents) to employ the techniques and perspectives or inquiry. . . . it acknowledges that the existing knowledge is relatively slim and that our strength may derive less from teachers' willingness to consume research knowledge than from their capacity to generate knowledge and to assess the knowledge claimed by others.
6. The governance of professional development ensures bureaucratic restraint and a balance between the interest of individuals and the interests of institutions [pp. 138–139].

Little offers the principles as alternatives to training models that, when used excessively, provide teachers with shallow and fragmented content and subject them to passive roles as they participate in scripted workshops. She believes that the principles are antidotes to the "one-size-fits-all" problem that training too often presents. Further, she argues that the principles challenge the view that teaching is a narrowly defined technical activity. Little believes that today's emphasis on teacher inservice education is dominated by "a district-subsidized marketplace of formal programs over which teachers exert little influence or in which they play few leadership roles" (p. 139). In professional development models, the teacher's capacities, needs, and interests are central. Teachers are actively involved in contributing data and information, solving problems, and analyzing. Principals are involved as colleagues. Together, principals and teachers work to develop a common purpose themed to the improvement of teaching and learning. Together, principals and teachers work to build a learning and inquiring community.

Both training and professional development approaches share the purpose of helping teachers to improve their practice. Frances Bolin, Judith Falk, and their colleagues (1987) point out that although this kind of improvement may be a legitimate goal, it is not powerful enough to tap the potential for teachers to grow personally and professionally. Bolin (1987) asks:

> What would happen if we set aside the question of how to improve the teacher and looked instead at what we can do to encourage the teacher? . . . asking how to encourage the teacher places the work of improvement in the hands of the teacher. It presupposes that the teacher desires to grow, to be self-defining, and to engage in teaching as a vital part of life, rather than as unrelated employment. This leads to looking at teaching as a commitment or calling, a vocation . . . that is not adequately contained in the term profession as it has come to be used. [p. 11]

Bolin believes that when the emphasis shifts from improving to encouraging, both training and professional development give way to renewal. In her view, renewal is not driven so much by professional problems as by a teacher's commitment to teaching as a vocation. Renewal implies doing over again, revising, making new, restoring, reestablishing, and revaluing as teachers individually and collectively reflect on not only their practice but themselves and the practice of teaching that they share in the school.

In training, the emphasis is on building each individual's teaching skills by planning and delivering instruction. In development, the emphasis is on building professional community by helping teachers to become inquirers, problem solvers, and researchers of their own practice. In renewal, the emphasis is on building a caring community by encouraging teachers to reflect and to engage in conversation and discourse.

The School as an Inquiring Community

Chapter Seven made the case for classrooms to become learning, caring, and inquiring communities. This chapter argues that it is difficult to create such classrooms unless the school itself becomes a place where learning, caring, and inquiring among teachers is common. These virtues are the ingredients needed for schools to become professional communities. Key to community in both classrooms and schools is a commitment to inquiry, and a commitment to learning as the basis for decisions about structure, organization, sources of authority, curriculum, teaching methods, assessment, and other school issues.

Several models exist that can help us create learning and inquiring communities. But not all models will be equally helpful. The literature on "learning organizations," for example, has many useful ideas that stimulate us to think creatively about this issue. This literature seems particularly appropriate for applying to large

educational systems. Many big elementary and secondary schools and big school districts would qualify. Senge (1990), for example, points out that the literature on learning organizations can help leaders become better systems thinkers.

> Systems thinking is a discipline for seeing wholes. It is a framework for seeing interrelationships rather than things, for seeing patterns of change rather than static "snapshots." It is a set of general principles—distilled over the course of the twentieth century, spanning fields as diverse as the physical and social sciences, engineering, and management. It is also a set of specific tools and techniques, originating in two threads: in "feedback" concepts of cybernetics and in "servo-mechanism" engineering theory dating back to the nineteenth century. During the last thirty years, these tools have been applied to understand a wide range of corporate, urban, regional, economic, political, ecological, and even physiological systems. And systems thinking is a sensibility—for the subtle interconnectedness that gives living systems their unique character. . . . All around us are examples of "systemic breakdowns"—problems such as global warming, ozone depletion, the international drug trade, and the U.S. trade and budget deficits—problems that have no simple local cause. Similarly, organizations break down, despite individual brilliance and innovative products, because they are unable to pull their diverse functions and talents into a productive whole [pp. 68–69].

But from a practical standpoint, the characteristics of "learning organizations" are difficult to apply to small family and community-oriented schools in a meaningful way. Much of this literature was developed with *gesellschaft* business organizations in mind. Single and double loop learning, complex systems diagrams, and other structural-functional ideas just don't fit *gemeinschaft* families, churches, and schools very well.

Lieberman and Miller (1986) have observed that the most promising school improvement strategies place their emphasis on the teacher, the classroom, and the patterns of interaction that exist among teachers and between administrators and teachers in the school. In their words:

> Whether we look at local problem-solving, research transformed into practice, action research, or networking, we were drawn to the

> teachers, their world, and their work as the starting point for improving schools.
>
> What, then, are our new understandings about staff development and school improvement?. . . . what we have rediscovered are some tried and true notions that have become enriched and expanded over time. Among them:
>
> - Working *with* people rather than working *on* people.
> - Recognizing the complexity and craft nature of the teacher's work.
> - Understanding that there are unique cultural differences in each school and how these affect development efforts.
> - Providing time to learn.
> - Building collaboration and cooperation, involving the provisions for people to do things together, talking together, sharing concerns.
> - Starting where people are, not where you are.
> - Making private knowledge public, by being sensitive to the effects of teacher isolation and the power of trial and error.
> - Resisting simplistic solutions to complex problems; getting comfortable with reworking issues and finding enhanced understanding and enlightenment.
> - Appreciating that there are many variations of development efforts; there is no one best way.
> - Using knowledge as a way of helping people grow rather than pointing up their deficits.
> - Supporting development efforts by protecting ideas, announcing expectations, making provisions for necessary resources.
> - Sharing leadership functions as a team, so that people can provide complementary skills and get experience in role taking.
> - Organizing development efforts around a particular focus.
> - Understanding that content and process are both essential, that you cannot have one without the other.
> - Being aware of and sensitive to the differences in the worlds of teachers and other actors within or outside of the school setting [pp. 108–109].

Teacher development is a key theme in the ideas they present. Thankfully, we have models of our own to help us build the kind of professional community we want for teachers and the kind of learning community we need for students.

The compelling literature on adult learning represents a rich source of ideas worth considering. The United Theological Seminary (UTS) in Dayton, Ohio, for example, relies on this literature in organizing and implementing its Doctor of Ministry program. UTS students assume responsibility not only for organizing their academic work, but for creating and giving leadership to a community of learners they are responsible for assembling. The members of this community supervise the student's work and guide the student through the preparation of the dissertation. UTS faculty, consultant faculty from other universities, and other persons whom the student and her or his advisor think will be helpful, join the student as members of this learning community. Mary Olson views the doctoral program as an andragogical model of adult continuing education in which:

1. Persons can and should be empowered to become self-reliant learners who are no longer dependent on "institutional settings" for their continuing education. The program affirms the belief that persons can assume responsibility for their own learning needs from within their own contexts of active ministry. While others can help, the primary responsibility for learning must be accepted by the learning persons.
2. Learning should be a process of praxis and reflection, taking place in the context of living. According to this principle praxis and reflection are not two separate moments in the learning process, related only by a rhythm of involvement and withdrawal, with praxis taking place "in the field" and reflection in the classroom. Rather, praxis and reflection are viewed as integral to every moment of learning.
3. Form should follow function in the learning process. The identification of learning needs and interests should determine the structure and content of learning and should precede the development of any learning "program."
4. Learning takes place in community. While the individual must take responsibility for one's own learning, the spirit of mutual inquiry is basic to the andragogical approach to education. All perceptions are tested by the perceptions of others and the learner must be open to the fullest range of such perception.

5. Learning best takes place as a perpetual movement of discovery and invention. Persons learn when they discover things for themselves rather than when someone else determines what they ought to know. What others can do is to raise questions, present issues, and create situations which stimulate and require such discovery [United Theological Seminary, 1994, p. ii].

These same principles can be used to design teacher development programs on the one hand and to provide the environment, structures, and resources that can help teachers accept responsibility for their own development on the other.

The School as Center of Inquiry

Another model worth considering is the concept of *school as center of inquiry* proposed by Robert J. Schaefer twenty-seven years ago (1967). His basic proposal was that we create a new teaching profession comprised of scholar-researchers and scholar-practitioners who would become students of their own teaching practice and front-line researchers of the complex problems of school learning. His vision was the transformation of teaching from a technical occupation of skilled doers to a profession of skilled thinkers. For this to happen, he reasoned, the school itself must be converted from a distribution center for knowledge to a producer of knowledge. In Schaefer's words, "We can no longer afford to conceive of the schools simply as distribution centers for dispensing cultural orientations, information, and knowledge developed by other social units. The complexities of teaching and learning in formal classrooms have become so formidable and the intellectual demands upon the systems so enormous that the school must be much more than a place of instruction. It must be a center of inquiry—a producer as well as a transmitter of knowledge" (p. 1).

Why should the school become a center of inquiry? Schaefer offered three reasons that remain as compelling today as they did then. First, though we know a lot more than we ever did about teaching and learning, there is much we simply do not know. Even as the knowledge base expands, no one best way will exist that can be applied uniformly and effectively to all students. Good teaching requires that teachers reflect on their practice, and create knowledge in use as they analyze problems, size up situations, and make decisions.

Teachers, then, must become researchers of their practice and inquirers into their profession. One critical difference between teacher as technician and teacher as professional is that the technician is subordinate to the knowledge base of teaching. In this image, teacher education programs and in-service staff development programs are designed to train teachers to apply this knowledge in practice. The teacher as professional, however, is superordinate to the knowledge base of teaching. This knowledge does not tell the teacher what to do, but informs the decisions that the teacher makes about what to do.

The second reason that Schaefer gave for his vision of the school as a center of inquiry was that such a change would keep teachers alive intellectually. "It is not only our need for new knowledge, but also our responsibility for the intellectual health of teachers which suggests that schools should be conceived as centers of inquiry. When divorced from appropriate scholarship in substance and in pedagogy, teaching resembles employment as an educational sales clerk and ceases to be a more than humdrum job. . . . By concentrating upon the distributive function alone, the school effectively imprisons rather than liberates the full power of the teacher's mind" (Schaefer, p. 2). The implications of students being taught by teachers whose minds have been "imprisoned" as opposed to "liberated" are not very pleasant.

The third reason that Schaefer gave for his vision of the school as center of inquiry was a pragmatic one. If our aim is to help students become lifelong learners by cultivating a spirit of inquiry and the capacity for inquiry, then we must provide the same conditions for teachers—a theme that runs throughout this chapter.

Schaefer did not believe that the patterns of school organization he observed could sustain the kind of scholar-practitioner that he envisioned for teachers to be. Things have not changed much during the last twenty-seven years, as researchers Lortie (1975), Johnson (1990), and Lieberman and Miller (1984) so painfully reveal. Schools still tend to be organized as dispensaries rather than as places where issues are raised and inquiry takes place.

Teaching as dispensary evokes simple and routine rather than strong and intellectual images of the teaching profession. These images encourage the presumption that teachers must teach students all day, a situation that leaves little or no time for reflection,

research, or in-depth conversation with colleagues. Unlike physicians and lawyers, who spend only a portion of their time conferring with clients,

> The teacher is ordinarily too pressed for time to meditate upon his successes or, for that matter, his failures. The hours which are not consumed in personal interactions are at least partially devoted to clerical and administrative routines, such as keeping attendance, organizing collections, maintaining records for report cards or principals, and mimeographing materials. For even the moderately conscientious person this schedule is lengthened by the necessity of using evenings and weekends for lesson planning, correcting papers, and completing similar chores. It is difficult to imagine that our affluent society would condone such a work load if it conceived of teaching as something other than the routine transmission of elementary information [Schaefer, p. 36].

Instead of being dispensers of knowledge, teachers—like physicians, lawyers, architects, and other professionals—must become producers of knowledge. Professionals transmit and dispense, but at root their job is to produce something worth transmitting or dispensing in the first place. Professionals create knowledge in use as they practice.

Not only will it be necessary to change technical metaphors of teaching to professional ones, the workday itself must be rethought to find the time for teachers to reflect and to invent together as they learn and teach together in a shared practice. But this kind of configuration will not be possible unless more superintendents, principals, and other administrators are willing to put aside the existing system of executive authority, and to replace it with collegial authority—an authority embedded in shared commitments, shared ideals, and professional responsibility. Teachers too must step forward and support such a change by expressing a willingness to accept more responsibility for what goes on in the school.

Replacing executive with collegial authority will not be easy for three reasons:

- Our present system is hampered by a lack of faith.
- Many administrators are afraid they will lose power.

- Many teachers are unwilling to accept their share of the burdens of leadership.

At their roots, our present theories of schooling are based on a lack of confidence in the capacity of people to respond. As Christopher Jenks points out:

> The school board has no faith in the central administration, the central administration has no faith in the principals, the principals have no faith in the teachers, and the teachers have no faith in the students. . . . In such a system it seems natural not to give the principal of a school control over his budget, not to give the teachers control over their syllabus, and not to give the students control over anything. Distrust is the order of the day, symbolized by . . . the time clocks . . . the constant tests, and elaborate regulations for students [Jenks, 1965, cited in Schaefer, 1967, p. 40].

Distrust results in part from fear that any redistribution of power that benefits teacher, parents, or student will result in losses to school boards and administrators. Despite solid research to the contrary, many administrators believe that the distribution of power in a school is a concept governed by zero-sum economic laws. There is a fixed pie of power that equals 100 percent. If you give away 40 percent to teachers, you only have 60 percent left. Give another 20 percent away to parents, and you are stuck with only 40 percent. How can a principal run a school with only 40 percent of the power? The research of Arnold Tannenbaum (1968), however, reveals a different picture. He found that leaders can actually increase control by giving up power. Sharing power actually means more power for everyone. *Power has the capacity to expand.* His research reveals that the total amount of power and influence that exists in an enterprise across different ranks is a better predictor of satisfaction and performance than is the relative amount of power and influence held by any one group as compared with another.

A few years ago, I had the opportunity to address a group of teachers who had won awards for being among the most talented and best performers in their respective schools. Toward the end of my remarks, I asked two questions: Who in your school is in the best position to "supervise and evaluate" you? And, would you be willing to accept responsibility for "supervising and evaluating" your peers? Predictably, the answers were as follows: "The teacher next door and the teacher across the way are in the best position to evaluate me." Principals and supervisors were clear losers in this contest. And "No, I do not feel it is my place to supervise and evaluate my colleagues, it's the principal's job." The reality that many teachers are reluctant to accept more responsibility for what goes on in schools, even with administrator encouragement, is a vexing problem. Too many teachers have been urged to expand before only to be "burned" in the end. The concept of school as center of inquiry may help in resolving this problem. Teachers would not be asked to adopt a new behavior or new responsibilities within the old cultural context of the school, but would be asked to help reconstruct the culture itself.

Schaefer concluded his argument for the need to transform schools into centers of inquiry by noting that "Major structural changes would be required in school organization to create centers of inquiry, to free the scholar-teacher from crushing teaching burdens, to establish appropriate collegial associations, to provide the necessary facilities for study, and to establish and maintain fruitful relationships with universities" (p. 77). The theories of leadership that we have borrowed from other fields do not shed much light on these issues. A community theory of schooling, by contrast, can address these issues squarely. The question for us is, "Are we up to it?" Do we believe enough in "doing what's best for students" that we are willing to create the right conditions for teachers on whom we depend for so much? Are we willing to not just espouse the principle "form should follow function," but to struggle to make it a reality? Are we willing to make decisions and create school designs that help teachers develop personally and professionally, and that make it easier for them to engage students in meaningful teaching and learning?

Besides the moral question of doing what is best for students, there is a practical question that must be considered. The school is and will likely remain the center of change. Sirotnik (1989) notes, for example, that not only are schools the targets of educational improvements, but they are the sources of improvements (or lack of improvements) as well. Despite reports of national commissions,

despite state mandates, and despite carefully engineered and expertly driven change strategies, it is the 2.2 million teachers that account for 26 billion teacher-student contact hours in schools across the nation that will in the end decide what happens to students. In Sirotnik's words, "That the centers for educational change and school improvement are anywhere else than in the nation's schools, would be a difficult proposition to defend in light of these statistics" (p. 89). This is the reality that makes emphasizing teacher development and school as center of inquiry so compelling.

From: Sergiovanni, Thomas J., and Starratt, Robert J.
Supervision and Redefinition, McGraw Hill, 1994.

PREFACE

COMPLETING a book used to have a certain finality to it. One could place it in a prominent part of one's library and get on with other projects. If an author wished to change a position taken in that book in a subsequent publication, it was an easy matter of a footnote reference. This book, however, has refused to be finished.

As each of the previous editions was completed, we felt that this was the book we should have written the first time. Despite numerous changes, however, the underlying theory had remained the same. That is not the case with this edition. Expectations and assumptions about schools have changed so significantly that schooling is now being reinvented. This reinvention includes new understandings about school structures, time frames, accountability, professionalism, teaching and learning, leadership, and sources of authority for what is done. In such a dramatically altered context, supervision itself has to be redefined. This redefinition includes not only new ways to do old things but a change in the theory itself which underlies supervisory thought and practice.

The first edition focused on "human perspectives in supervision, linking human concerns which emerged from research on organizational dynamics with human concerns as found in instructional and curriculum literature." In that first edition we asserted, "Humanizing education, with its focus on self-actualization of youngsters, can be achieved only in a humanizing organization which focuses on the self-actualization of teachers and other educational professionals." The second edition unfolded similarly, giving attention to the supervisor's human concerns in organizational leadership, educational leadership, and instructional leadership. The theme of human resource development, articulated in the second edition, was carried forward in more sophisticated and expansive treatments in the third and fourth editions. We introduced more of our own thinking in the fourth edition, adding analogies such as mindscapes, clockworks, and teaching as surfing to categories such

as reflective practice. Likewise, we proposed our own theory of leadership and added a chapter on a relatively new concern, supervision as moral action.

The first edition appeared under the title, *Emerging Patterns of Supervision: Human Perspectives*. Editions two through four appeared as *Supervision: Human Perspectives*. The title for this fifth edition, *Supervision: A Redefinition*, signals a new emphasis. This redefinition includes the disconnection of supervision from hierarchical roles and a focus on community as the primary metaphor for schooling. Supervision is viewed here as a more democratic and professional process, involving multiple skills that are equally available to teachers and administrators who have the word "supervisor" in their title or job description. The new supervision embraces peer clinical supervision, mentoring, action research, collective work on teaching platforms, program evaluation, group discussions of specific translations of school mission statements, and other configurations of teachers as colleagues working together to increase their understanding of their practice. In a similar vein, staff development and supervision are now joined in such a way that they are often indistinguishable.

Earlier editions included bureaucratic authority, the personal authority of the supervisor, and technical-rational authority as equally legitimate grounds for what was done in schools. This edition places professional and moral authority as the driving force behind what teachers should do and how the process of supervision should unfold. Teachers and supervisors are not viewed primarily as independent decision makers who calculate individually the costs and benefits of their actions, but rather as members of an educating community who respond to shared norms and values. Both teachers and supervisors are seen as capable and willing to sacrifice self-interest for shared ideals; these ideals are viewed as intrinsic to the definition of teaching as a profession. Furthermore, commitments to these ideals become moral commitments; their neglect is a moral perversion of the profession. In this edition professionalism itself is redefined from something that has to do primarily with enhanced competence and expert authority to something that has to do with virtue as well. The virtuous side of this equation is understood as a powerful source of authority for what teachers do and should do. Together, professional and moral authority hold a promise of promoting self-governing and self-managing teachers who in turn make traditional conceptions of supervision obsolete.

Supervision often is defined by criteria extrinsic to the moral qualities of teaching and learning. In this edition supervision takes its moral character from its close involvement with the intrinsic moral qualities of teaching and learning. That is to say, teaching of its very nature assumes a caring for the one taught and a respect for the integrity of what is being taught and its connection to the past, present, and future life of the community. Not to care for the person being taught, or to distort the meaning of what is being taught, violates the very idea of teaching. Supervision is an activity that involves another in supporting and furthering that caring for the learner and respect for the significance of what is taught. The moral authority of the supervisor is joined with the moral authority of the teacher.

In this edition the metaphor for schooling itself is changed from organization to community as a way to express the new context for supervision. Though we continue to emphasize the skills and practical applications of such traditional supervisory processes as in-class supervision, enhancing reflection about teaching and learning, teacher evaluation, and staff development, these activities are recontextualized and substantially altered. In schools as learning communities rather than organizations, these activities are more than technical components of an efficient organization. They imply deeper, professional and moral concerns at work. In the new supervision, moreover, responsibility for these functions is no longer the exclusive domain of principals, supervisors, and others positioned within the school hierarchy. Instead, they comprise a common set of concepts and skills that are shared by everyone involved in the process of improving schooling. The supervisor's role remains important but is understood differently. She or he emerges as an advocate, developer, and linking pin in relationship to the teacher's efforts to improve the process of teaching and learning.

Finally, the new supervision is seen not as a separate function removed from the dynamics of institutional reinvention that is going on in schools, but as a necessary element of such dynamics. In earlier editions, we portrayed supervision as a relatively self-contained activity, dealing with the improvement of an individual teacher's instructional activities. Because of the importance of a super-vision of what schools are supposed to be, those exercising supervisory responsibilities are in a unique position to nurture, develop, and articulate the community's vision of what a learning community can and should be. Hence, supervision is also redefined as an essential process within the complex and continuous dynamic of reinventing schools.

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Thomas J. Sergiovanni
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The Wingspread Superintendents: A New Definition of Leadership

Thomas J. Sergiovanni

I recently had the privilege of spending several days with 23 superintendents at Wingspread, the famous Frank Lloyd Wright conference center in Racine, Wisconsin. The superintendents were discussing leadership and sharing their experiences in trying to provide leadership to their school districts.

From the opening session of the conference it became apparent that administrative theory and administrative life were different. I was brought up on a school administration literature that portrayed leadership as having to do with getting and maintaining control and command on the one hand and emphasizing personality and human relations on the other. When it came to demeanor, leadership presence was thought to be all important. Superintendents were expected to present a rational face that projected an image of steadiness and calculation, while at the same time appearing benevolent. They were, in other words, expected to be CEOs who pleasantly, but forcefully, controlled and directed their school districts from above; managers who provided systems that ensured day by day decisions, events, and behaviors of principals and teachers were aligned with executive directives; and human relations experts who made sure that everyone was happy doing what they were supposed to do.

This group of superintendents brought a different image of leadership to the Wingspread conversation. I never heard the

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phrase CEO mentioned at all. Management was only mentioned two or three times and always in conjunction with issues that had to do with the substance of schooling. Further, the group struggled with the idea of disconnecting control and direction from leaders, rules, and management systems by emphasizing forces internal to people such as norms and commitments. The superintendents seemed to be differentiating between management as <u>control over</u> and management as <u>control to</u>. As control over, management represents a hierarchically driven script that controls what principals and teachers do and how they do it. As control to, management represents a set of democratically held procedures and skills that can help principals and teachers achieve goals that they share. Increasing control over events and people and increasing control over the likelihood that shared goals will be achieved are very different.

There are good reasons why images such as CEO and manager should not be at the center of conversations about school leadership. The well known leadership theorist Warren Bennis points out that CEO is a metaphor for leadership borrowed from World War II. During the 1950s and 60s CEO was transferred to the corporate sector by veterans who dominated America's corporate boardrooms. CEO leadership worked well in the past when the work force was less educated, more socialized to accept authority, and needed more direction. In schools, for example, you told principals and teachers what to do and they did it. You told parents what to do and they did it. You told students what

to do and they did it. School boards in those days encouraged superintendents to be CEOs by staying out of their way. The world was less complex. Goals were fewer and more certain. Few people quibbled over how things should be done. Schools and communities were characterized by stability. Resources were more plentiful.

Not so today: The rights of people to be involved are more established than in the past. People are smarter than ever. And, diversity and complexity are accepted as part of the administrative landscape. Today, even the military is changing its management style, focusing on "autonomy of units, a federation of units."[1] What are today's leadership keys? According to Bennis (and the Wingspread superintendents) it's putting people at the center of things, building a shared sense of what needs to be done and creating adaptive learning organizations and these keys are beyond the reach of CEO leadership practice.

Management as a metaphor for school leadership is equally ill-fitting to today's context. In modern English, management means controlling and directing as means to accomplish an end. But the semantic origin of the word paints a different image. According to Webster the word "management" is derived from the Latin *manus* and its Italian and French cousins *maneggio* and

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[1] Warren Bennis cited in Mindy Fetterman, "Autocratic Leaders Now Out of Step." USA Today, December 9, 1991. See also Regina Smith, "Interview" [An interview with Warren Bennis], Learning 2001. Carlson Learning Company, 1991.

manenggiare. Collectively they mean to handle, to control, to make submissive, to alter by manipulation. Management (*maneggio*) means the training of a horse, the schooling or handling of a horse.

Surprising to me was that benevolence, as understood in the human relations literature, was not strongly played out in the conversations of the Wingspread superintendents, either. The superintendents were not suggesting that executive, managerial and human relations images of leadership were unimportant. In their minds, administrative theory and administrative life part company when the literature places the three roles at the center of leadership. In administrative life, they are much more at the periphery. And, when forced to the center of leadership they become ends in themselves.

Well, what was at the center? The superintendents saw themselves as administrators and not generic administrators but school administrators. You may be thinking, "That doesn't sound very earth shattering. So am I an administrator." But if we get underneath what it means to be an administrator, as did these superintendents, then much of the traditional literature on leadership and perhaps school administration itself, may have to be rethought. I got the feeling from discussions that the superintendents understood how important the root word in administration, "minister," is. The Latin *administrare* (*ad* meaning to and *ministrare* meaning serve) sums up what administration is all about--to serve. Taking this role

seriously places serving ideas, serving convictions, serving teachers, serving others who work to make ideas and ideals real, and serving students and parents at the heart of the work of school administration.

It could be that as a group the Wingspread superintendents were contrarians by personality thus programmed to lead in a manner opposite that which is considered logical and appropriate by the management theory that dominates today's literature. Or, it could be that this management theory is contrarian in nature by being out of sync with reality. I think the latter is the more plausible explanation. Without intending to do so, the superintendents were sketching out a "new" theory of leadership--a theory that I believe is widely shared by other superintendents and other school administrators.

This new theory of leadership relies primarily on moral authority as the reasons for getting things done. The leadership literature, on the other hand, relies heavily on bureaucratic and personal authority portraying leadership as something strong, direct and interpersonal. Bureaucratic authority, for example, relies on hierarchical prerogatives, mandates and clear role expectations as a way to provide principals and teachers with scripts to follow. One complies or faces consequences.

When bureaucratic authority is at the center of leadership one presumes that principals and teachers are subordinates in a hierarchically arranged system. Superintendents are trustworthy but you can't trust subordinates very much. The goals and

interests of teachers and administrators are not the same and thus administrators must be watchful. Hierarchy equals expertise thus superintendents know more about everything than principals and principals in turn know more about everything than do teachers. External accountability works best.

It is pretty much accepted that bureaucratic leadership is not a good idea. Few superintendents, for example, believe that teachers as a group are not trustworthy and do not share the same goals and interests as do administrators. Even fewer accept the idea that hierarchy equals expertise. Less contested, perhaps, would be the assumption that teachers are subordinates in a hierarchically arranged system and that external monitoring works best. After all, leadership practice still relies heavily on "expect and inspect," predetermined standards, inservicing teachers and providing direct supervision. These enduring practices force leaders to spend a great deal of time trying to figure out how to motivate teachers and trying to develop change strategies that can get them to do things differently. As a result leadership becomes a direct, intense and often exhausting activity.

Personal authority is based on the leader's ability to provide human relations leadership. Key to practicing personal leadership is knowing how to motivate people and how to demonstrate other interpersonal skills.

When personal authority is at the center of leadership it is assumed that the goals and interests of administrators and

teachers are not the same. Teachers have needs and if these needs are met at work the work gets done as required in exchange. Leaders must become experts at identifying the needs of teachers and experts in people handling skills in order to barter for compliance and for performance increases. Congenial relationships and harmonious interpersonal climates make teachers content, easier to work with, and more apt to cooperate.

Suggesting that leadership practice that relies on personality, on knowledge of psychological principles, and on the leader's skills in using this knowledge may have negative consequences can make some of us uncomfortable. After all, most of us worked hard to develop skill in how to motivate teachers, how to apply the correct leadership style, how to boost morale, and how to develop the right interpersonal climate. In many universities, for example, these insights comprise the core technology of the educational administration preparation curriculum. And, the insights are the subject matter of the training provided by a vast public and private consulting industry. But personal authority is not powerful enough to tap the full range and depth of human capacity and will: And, personal authority is not able to elicit the kind of motivated and spirited response from teachers that allows schools to work in extraordinary ways. Most teachers respond to this kind of leadership by doing what is required of them when rewards are available or when administrators are pleasant, but not otherwise. They become involved in their work for calculated reasons,

quickly reducing both performance and commitment when the exchange of compliance for satisfaction is not perceived to be fair. Further, their performance becomes increasingly narrowed as they emphasize only that which is rewarded. Sadly, what gets rewarded comes to replace what needs to be done.

Overemphasizing personal leadership raises moral as well as practical questions. For example, what should be the reasons why teachers should follow their principals and principals should follow their superintendents? Is it because leaders know how to manipulate others effectively? Is it because leaders can meet the needs of others and provide them with psychological payoffs? Is it because leaders are charming and fun to be with? Or is it because leaders have something to say that makes sense; have thoughts that point others in a direction that captures their imagination; and, stand on a set of ideals, values and conceptions that they believe are good for teachers, for students and for the school? A yes vote for the first series of questions is a vote for a vacuous leadership practice that separates process from substance. A yes vote for the second series of questions is a vote for a leadership practice based on substance in the form of ideas, values, and compelling arguments.

The Wingspread superintendents acknowledged that bureaucratic leadership and personal leadership have roles to play but central to their vision was a leadership practice based on moral authority. Moral authority is derived from the felt obligations and duties that teachers feel as a result of their

connections to widely shared school community values, ideas, and ideals. When moral authority is in place, teachers respond to shared commitments and to the interdependence they feel with others by becoming self managing.

The Wingspread superintendents did not speak of moral authority directly. Instead their conversation was laced with references to community as a metaphor for schools: "Community of learners," "learning community," "learning organization," "cultures," "value-driven learning community." The dominant metaphor for schools in today's educational administration literature is organization. Schools are formal organizations. We need to take courses in organizational theory and behavior to learn how to manage schools and the people within them. We have organizational charts that provide us with blueprints. The blueprints specify roles, role relationships and role expectations in the form of job descriptions. Organizations require planning, organizing, controlling, directing, and evaluating. We struggle to shape the needs of organizational members in ways that are better aligned with the needs of the organization.

But the metaphor organization is troublesome when applied to schools. For example, organization gives legitimacy to leadership practices based on bureaucratic and personal authority. Community, on the other hand, forces us to think about schools and leadership within them. Communities are defined by their centers of symbols, values, and beliefs that are sacredly

held by community members. Leaders in communities emphasize identifying and making explicit shared values that then become sources for informal norms that govern behavior. These norms make it possible for collegiality to emerge as something that is internally felt and derives from morally driven interdependence. As a result leaders rely less on external controls and more on the ability of teachers and other community members to respond to felt duties and obligations. The school community's informal norm systems and the internal connections of teachers to them become substitutes for leadership. As norms take hold, teachers become increasingly self managing.

Ministering by serving others and serving ideals, emphasizing shared values that bond people together and binds them to ideas, and building norm systems that emphasize felt obligations and commitments are the subject matter of a new leadership. How realistic is this view of leadership? Will people really respond? Are they that altruistic? One way to answer these questions is by examining our own beliefs and experiences as superintendents. When it comes to motivating principals, teachers, students and parents, for example, do you believe that it is basically what gets rewarded gets done? Or, is it your view that when individual self interest and broader interests are in conflict people are capable of sacrificing the former for the latter? Do you believe that we are capable of responding to duties and obligations that stand above self interest? Are we, in other words, morally responsive? What

about us as superintendents? Are we morally responsive, seeking to do what is right and good even if self sacrifice is required? Or are we out to maximize our self interests and cut our losses? If we respond no to the first series of questions and yes to the second are we as superintendents morally superior to principals and teachers with whom we work?

These questions raise still another set. When we choose what to do and when we decide what to be committed to, is the individual the primary decision-making unit and thus free to make independent decisions? Or do you assume, as does Amitai Etzioni, that groups (ethnic and racial groups, peer groups at work, and neighborhood groups) are the prime decision-making units? Etzioni acknowledges that individual decision-making exists but that it typical reflects collective attributes and processes having been made within the context created by one's memberships.[2]

Based on Etzioni's research, on my extensive conversations with teachers and administrators, and what I heard at Wingspread, I conclude that our connections are so important and that the process of socialization that takes place as a result of our memberships is so complete that the notion of individual decision-maker is more myth than reality.[3] Further, we humans regularly pass moral judgments over our urges, routinely

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[2] Amitai Etzioni, The Moral Dimension: Toward a New Economics. New York: The Free Press, 1988.

[3] Thomas J. Sergiovanni, Moral Leadership. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992.

sacrificing self interest and pleasure for other reasons. Our actions and decisions are influenced by what we value and believe as well as self interest and when the two are in conflict the former often, and for most of us typically, takes precedence over the latter.

Self interest is the cornerstone of CEO, manager, and human relations images of leadership. Yet the evidence overwhelmingly suggests that self interest in not powerful enough to account fully for human motivation. We are driven as well by what we believe is right and good, how we feel about things, and by the norms that emerge from our connections with other people. We are driven, to use Etzioni's terms, by morality, emotion and social bonds; the very characteristics of human nature that are largely ignored by today's management literature. How should the conversation I heard at Wingspread be summarized? This is what the superintendents actually said: "The leader builds community; demonstrates moral courage; is centered in a belief system; has the strengths of convictions; makes compassion an enduring value; has intuitive insights; models the values and intentions of the mission; understands that leadership is contextually grounded; is able to use symbols to ascribe meaning to organization life; believes in and is able to build collaborative relationships; builds a commitment to teamwork; brings people together to create and share a common information base; promotes covenants and collective commitment to a vision; clarifies intentions and

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covenants; is an interpreter and ambassador to the larger community; sees his or her role as one of stewardship."

This is what I think the superintendents meant: "There is a consensus that leadership is important in improving schools. But at the same time few are satisfied with the ways in which leadership has been understood and practiced in the past. Enormous investments are being made to search for better alternatives but efforts so far involve tinkering with a form of leadership that may be unsalvageable. The very definition of leadership itself must be changed. No matter how enlightened, when leadership is based on bureaucratic and personal authority its form is direct, external, intense, and control oriented. As a result leadership is not able to fully tap human potential and not able to help principals and teachers become self managing. The sources of authority for leadership need to be expanded to include moral. Moral authority is idea based. Idea based leadership transforms us from subordinates to followers. Subordinates respond by doing what they are supposed to. They need to be managed and led. Followers, by contrast, respond to their commitments and to felt obligations. They become self managing. The metaphor organization for schools encourages us to think about subordinates and to practice a leadership that encourages people to become subordinates. The metaphor community, by contrast, encourages us to think about an idea based followership and to provide leadership that builds followership."

Given the Wingspread conversation, what should be the role of the superintendent? If the purpose of leadership is community building, then ultimately the success of a leader is known by the quality of followership that emerges. Quality of followership is a barometer that indicates the extent to which moral authority has replaced bureaucratic and psychological. When moral authority drives leadership practice, the superintendent is a leader of leaders, a follower of ideas, a minister of values, and servant to the followership. In other words, the superintendent is an administrator.