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Established in 1990, AKA|STRATEGY (AKA) is a strategy consultancy that partners with leading universities and colleges, arts & cultural institutions, and other nonprofit organizations in the United States and around the world.

AKA is distinctive in the scope and interrelationships of our consulting services. Each of our services—strategic planning, strategic institutional counsel, and strategic executive coaching—enriches and complements our expertise in the other two.

It is a pleasure to share this edition of *Strategy Matters* and with it our commitment to contribute to the conversations about the evolving and challenging world of higher education, arts & culture, and nonprofit organizations.

We welcome comments and reactions to this edition on our website—*www.akastrategy.com*— where you may also subscribe to our email list to receive future publications and AKA news. Our site also provides considerable information about our services, our consulting team, our clients, case studies of selected assignments, and our approach.

We look forward to hearing from you and hope you will enjoy this issue of *Strategy Matters*.

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Strategic Coaching Builds More Successful Academic Leaders

Anthony Knerr

No matter how gifted and dedicated they may be, many higher education leaders have not received the kind of professional development they require to flourish.

Imagine a new provost – a respected scholar and former dean who wowed the search committee only a few months ago – sitting at her desk, head in her hands. Far from the campus at which she had previously spent 25 years as a faculty member and department chair, she is facing myriad challenges in her new role, wondering how to deal with competing requests from worthy deans while balancing the president's concern over growth in faculty lines with public criticism of the increasing use of contingent faculty.

To whom should she turn to figure out how to replace the grumpy dean who lost his faculty's confidence, trim the budget while improving academic quality, and persuade the university's best microbiologist to turn down a tempting competing job offer?

She knows all about longitudinal epidemiological analyses—her Ph.D. thesis was the basis of her first book, published by Oxford University Press—but she's never been trained to prepare a budget, deal with a complex sexual abuse case, or present a new academic degree proposal to the faculty senate or board of trustees. She's had no professional development to help her become skilled and confident in strategic planning, institutional operations, or academic management. And she has her eye on the possibility of succeeding her president, whom she greatly respects, and wants to move to the next level with a strong record of effective leadership.

The Frustrated Provost's Situation

If our fictional provost's situation sounds daunting, consider that higher education leadership—the top presidential, provostial, decanal, and administrative roles—is likely to grow even more challenging in the decade ahead in view of ever increasing financial pressures, growing politicization on and off campus, new concerns about free speech, and greater calls for strong institutional leadership.

Happily, there is a continuous stream of gifted, able, and enthusiastic individuals keen to lead universities and colleges, intrigued by the opportunities and challenges of the future of higher education, and blessed with such critical leadership capabilities as integrity, confidence, articulateness, social and political intelligence, and stamina. The growing number of strong female and minority candidates for senior positions has wonderfully deepened the pool of capable leadership talent.

But no matter how gifted and dedicated they may be, many higher education leaders have not received the kind of professional development they require to flourish in positions as complex and scrutinized as those at the apex of higher education leadership. Many a new president, provost, or dean has risen through the academic ranks along the traditional path from department chair to dean (or associate provost) to provost to president. But even the most accomplished and confident typically comes to his or her new role without a substantive understanding of management, strategy, and leadership. And increasingly, university presidents have come from outside the academy and

are not well versed in the particular, if not peculiar, customs, culture, and habits of higher education.

While innate capability, drive, and ambition often lead to success, many leaders are truly unprepared for the unrelenting demands, pressures, and complexity of their positions. These leaders often:

- Face complex strategic and leadership issues that are difficult to discuss comfortably or confidentially with others, including board members, other executive officers, direct reports, and lateral colleagues or peers at other institutions;

- Want to see the bigger landscape and learn more about best practices and similar issues faced by leaders at other institutions;

- Have deep experience in a specific program area but need guidance to successfully resolve a wider scope of complex strategic, organizational, or political challenges; and

- Are transitioning to a new and different role, often one with a more diverse constituency of stakeholders and greater decision making authority.

The strongest institutions have recognized for some time that their human resources are their most important asset: that the quality, impact, and reputation of the institution increasingly depend on the skill, thoughtfulness, and strategic capabilities of academic leaders, from department chairs to provosts to presidents. These institutions know from experience the cost of identifying, attracting, and retaining top leaders—in money, time, and political capital. As they come to realize that many leaders do not have the necessary skill sets or professional experience to be fully successful in a time of unprecedented and unpredictable change, they are acknowledging that investing in the ongoing professional development of their leaders pays remarkable dividends: their leaders become more skillful and agile, think and act more strategically, make wiser decisions about resource planning and allocation, nurture healthier institutional cultures, and promote a stronger sense of community and engagement among their many different stakeholders and constituents.

How Strategic Executive Coaching Helps

Skilled strategic executive coaching helps academic leaders successfully anticipate and resolve key strategic issues, better understand their leadership roles, enhance their effectiveness, strengthen their overall performance, and, by extension, improve the strategic positioning and overall excellence of their institutions.

More particularly, experienced and thoughtful strategic coaches help institutional leaders:

- Become clear about their individual leadership strengths and weaknesses and how to effectively deploy the former and rectify the latter;

- Take advantage of emerging opportunities and strategic possibilities, while becoming more confident, self-aware, and capable executives able to assume new, additional, and (often) different leadership responsibilities and to enjoy their current roles *and* institutional positions;

- Allocate the resources at their disposal— including budgets, time, infrastructure, cultural norms, and professional relationships—to the best effect in strengthening the quality and character of their leadership;

- Candidly discuss strategic and related issues that they cannot raise with

The strongest institutions have recognized for some time that their human resources are their most important asset.

the individuals to whom they report, lateral colleagues, or direct reports—or their spouses or partners—in view of the sensitive, and typically quite complicated, nature of the issues; and

• Undertake strategic thinking in a safe space in which confidentiality is strictly maintained, there is a healthy mix of high-altitude strategic and lower-level operational considerations, and there is time to consider, test, and review alternative courses of action with a skilled, experienced strategic coach.
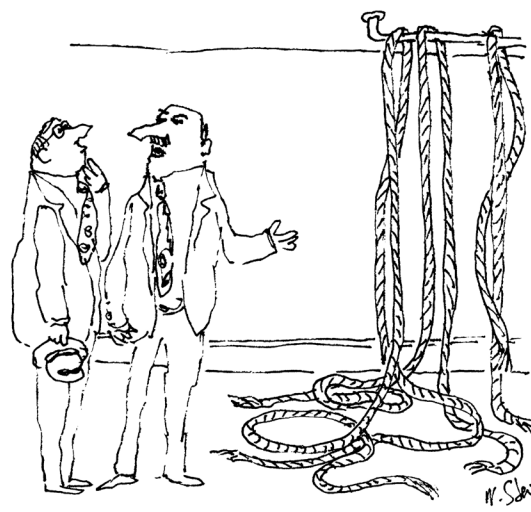
The Provost and Her Coach

Happily, our frustrated provost's president knew from experience that even the best new leaders encounter challenges and struggles they are not prepared for. Moreover, he had seen his university's national and international reputation grow as its successful deans and provosts eventually were recruited by other institutions for their top positions. The president urged the new provost to work with an experienced higher education strategic coach. She readily agreed after she met the coach, discussed his approach, and heard his take on her challenges.

With the president's blessing, she chose an experienced strategic coach who had advised, counseled, and mentored hundreds of university presidents, provosts, deans, and other academic and administrative officers across a wide range of institutions—large and small, struggling and successful. He had previously held senior executive positions at major private and public universities, had a Ph.D., and was expert at strategic planning.

From his years of coaching and consulting, the coach was also well versed in the distinctive cultures, politics, and decision making processes of higher education. While the coach's particular focus was on developing strategic thinking among college and university leaders, his extensive experience in the tactical and functional components of higher education—operations, financial planning, marketing, fundraising, faculty and board relations—convinced the provost that he could be for her both a sounding board on which to test her ideas and a reliable portal to the best (and worst) practices of other higher education leaders.

The provost and her coach met in person for a two-hour confidential conversation every month, each bringing an agenda of issues to discuss. Because every coaching session built on earlier ones, the coach was able to surface several recurring themes and considerations on which to focus in general, as well as to provide guidance to the provost and jointly problem-solve on her more immediate and urgent strategic and leadership issues.

"Let me show you the ropes."

The provost and her coach had ongoing discussions about the university's strategic and competitive positioning, her time management, how best to strengthen her fundraising skills, and the importance of transparency and communications. They also discussed how she might best deal with a difficult under-performing dean, handle a complicated and politically sensitive task the president had recently asked her to undertake,

and go about selecting a marketing and branding firm for the university.

The coach helped her identify and focus on the biggest issues, using her time more effectively. He prompted her to reflect regularly on lessons learned, anticipate upcoming problems, and set specific objectives for the next academic year. He listened carefully, asked lots of questions, made suggestions, and observed patterns of behavior. After just a few sessions, they fell into a free-flowing but focused "back and forth" style of interaction, supported by high trust, good humor, and wonderful collegiality. The coach played multiple roles: sounding board, "focuser," synthesizer, role-player, distiller, thought provoker, and informed observer.

The coach made himself available at all times by phone for brief conversations when issues arose suddenly, to review drafts of communications and proposals, and to discuss progress on time-sensitive issues they had explored during in-person meetings. Of great importance to the provost, the coach had made clear at the start of their relationship that he would maintain strict confidentiality with respect to all of their interactions and he would brief the president or a colleague only with the provost's express authorization.

The provost found several other benefits of working with her strategic coach:

- He was a strategist rather than just a leadership coach. While he was skilled at helping leaders become more effective and successful, he did so through the lens of thinking and acting strategically.

- He had best practices and likely pitfalls at his fingertips, was able to suggest a broad array of options, and drew upon a wider range of professional experience than most senior institutional leaders.

- He had successfully counseled and coached many different types of leaders with different backgrounds, skill sets, and strengths at many different types of institutions. As a result, he understood not only her situation but those of many of the colleagues with whom she had to interact.

- He thought regularly and deeply about the challenges, trends, and opportunities of higher education and hence understood the implications of rapid, complex, and increasingly unpredictable change on institutions and their leaders. He couldn't see into the future, but he could help her peer over the horizon and avoid surprises.

The Provost Might Become a President
The provost worked intensively with her coach for three years, during which she gained great confidence and became recognized as a thoughtful, articulate, and effective academic leader. She made a series of wise decanal and staff appointments, and with her deans recruited stunningly gifted junior and more senior faculty while retaining five world-class faculty members who had attractive offers elsewhere. She balanced the operating budget, building reserves and making a series of strategic investments in innovative programs. She helped to land three major gifts that jump-started important strategic initiatives. And she became widely respected on campus and beyond for being a particularly able, thoughtful, and affable provost.

She credits her strategic coach with helping her grow into her provostship, anticipate and successfully solve a series of thorny and complex strategic issues, and come to enjoy being the chief academic officer of a thriving university. Her president has just announced he is retiring in a year. She is discussing with her coach how she might best become the leading candidate to succeed him.

Anthony Knerr is Managing Director of AKA|Strategy.

Getting Your Story Right

Libby Morse

I'll begin with my favorite alarming research insight about perceptions of higher education. It's the 2018 American Institutional Confidence Poll, which is sponsored by Georgetown University's Baker Center for Leadership & Governance. The results were published in October last year.[1]
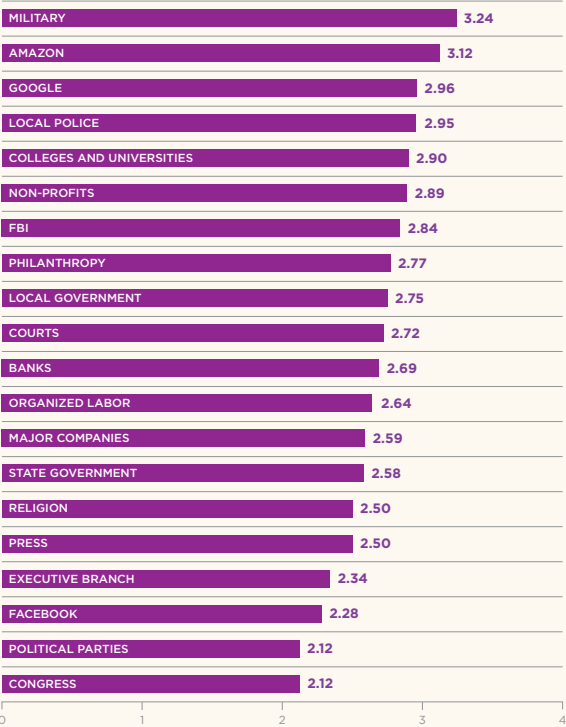
[1] https://bakercenter.georgetown.edu/aicpoll/

College and universities ranked fifth overall in the public's confidence—not bad, you think, until you look at where Amazon is ranked overall, and then at the difference in perception between Democrats and Republicans.

A writer from *New York Magazine* framed the poll results this way: "I like higher education

HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE DO YOU HAVE IN THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS?

INSTITUTIONAL CONFIDENCE, ALL RESPONDENTS

Institution	Mean
MILITARY	3.24
AMAZON	3.12
GOOGLE	2.96
LOCAL POLICE	2.95
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES	2.90
NON-PROFITS	2.89
FBI	2.84
PHILANTHROPY	2.77
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	2.75
COURTS	2.72
BANKS	2.69
ORGANIZED LABOR	2.64
MAJOR COMPANIES	2.59
STATE GOVERNMENT	2.58
RELIGION	2.50
PRESS	2.50
EXECUTIVE BRANCH	2.34
FACEBOOK	2.28
POLITICAL PARTIES	2.12
CONGRESS	2.12

MEAN CONFIDENCE
(ranging from "no confidence" to a great deal of confidence")
(n=5,400)

INSTITUTIONAL CONFIDENCE, DEMOCRATS ONLY

Institution	Mean
AMAZON	3.22
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES	3.20
MILITARY	3.15
GOOGLE	3.14
FBI	3.12
NON-PROFITS	3.02
PRESS	2.93
ORGANIZED LABOR	2.90
LOCAL POLICE	2.88
PHILANTHROPY	2.87
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	2.83
COURTS	2.78
STATE GOVERNMENT	2.67
BANKS	2.67
MAJOR COMPANIES	2.53
RELIGION	2.39
FACEBOOK	2.39
POLITICAL PARTIES	2.22
CONGRESS	2.10
EXECUTIVE BRANCH	2.06
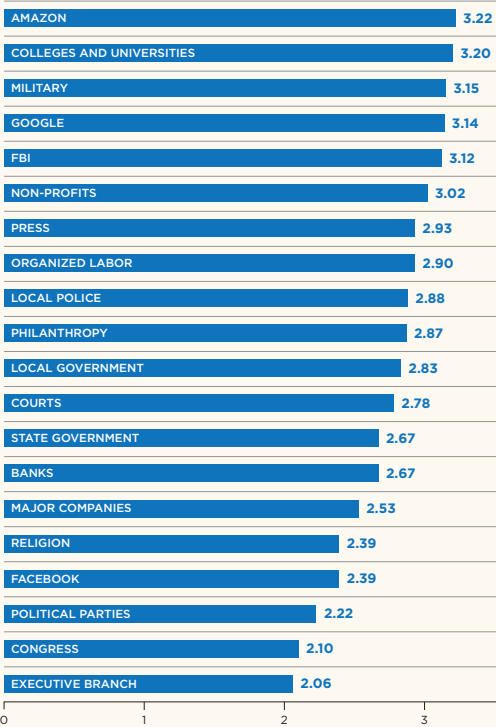
MEAN CONFIDENCE
(ranging from "no confidence" to a great deal of confide
(n=2.286)

and nonprofits quite a bit, but I'm not sure I always trust them to fulfill their mission. When I hit that one-click order button on Amazon, however, I deeply trust that the humidifier for my daughter's nursery will arrive within two days."[2]

You probably have an alarming study of your own—say, the one[3] in which the majority of those surveyed agreed with statements that funding for public higher education has remained the same or increased, when in reality funding has decreased by $7 billion over the past decade.

So what are we going to do about it? Lipman Hearne and AKA began working together almost a decade ago because we knew that institutions had to start telling better stories at the leadership level. Our first collaboration was *The Power of SUNY*, a system-wide strategic plan that put narrative at the forefront:
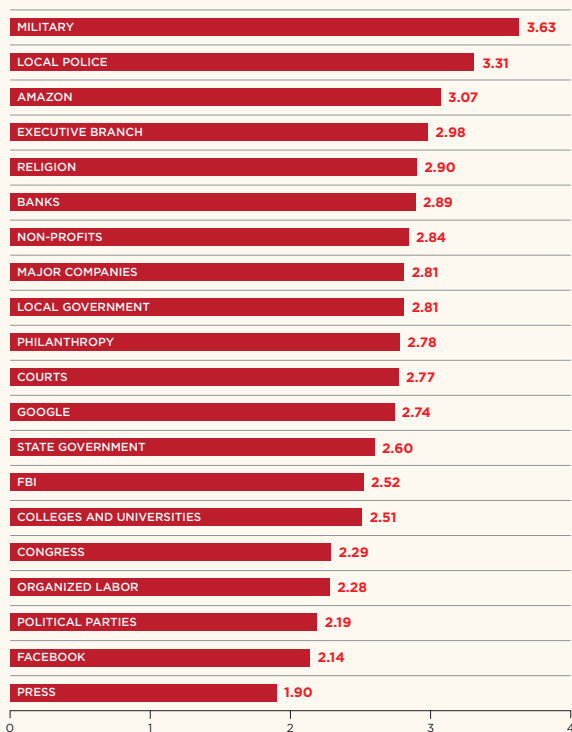
> *There is a growing and welcome recognition that in a knowledge economy, institutions of higher education can—and must—be pivotal in generating growth and revitalizing communities. Thus, SUNY will commit our energy and resources to revitalizing the economy of New York and enhancing the quality of life for its citizens.*

I'll concede it isn't "Call me Ishmael." But in the 2010 higher ed landscape, it was a grab-'em-by-the-collar opening line. Accompanied by "Six Big Ideas" (like SUNY and the Entrepreneurial Century, SUNY and the Seamless Educational Pipeline—*The New York Times* called them "pragmatic and somewhat buzzy," which made my week[4])—it got the attention of the governor and state legislators, shifting SUNY's storyline in their eyes from that of an entity that came with both hands out in budget season to a partner eager to serve as a powerful engine of economic and community enhancement for New York State.

Storytelling is usually associated with branding and marketing, but we think the success of the strategic plans we've worked on together proves that a great core story isn't something that can wait until you issue the RFP for branding and marketing. It has to be woven into the strategic planning process.

Here's why: Humans learn from and with stories. The stories we tell ourselves drive our decision making. That's why Lipman Hearne and AKA share a belief that every strategic

INSTITUTIONAL CONFIDENCE, REPUBLICANS ONLY

Institution	Mean Confidence
MILITARY	3.63
LOCAL POLICE	3.31
AMAZON	3.07
EXECUTIVE BRANCH	2.98
RELIGION	2.90
BANKS	2.89
NON-PROFITS	2.84
MAJOR COMPANIES	2.81
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	2.81
PHILANTHROPY	2.78
COURTS	2.77
GOOGLE	2.74
STATE GOVERNMENT	2.60
FBI	2.52
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES	2.51
CONGRESS	2.29
ORGANIZED LABOR	2.28
POLITICAL PARTIES	2.19
FACEBOOK	2.14
PRESS	1.90

MEAN CONFIDENCE
(ranging from "no confidence" to a great deal of confidence")
(n=1,521)

[2] http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/10/americans-cant-agree-on-anything-except-loving-amazon.html

[3] https://www.apmresearchlab.org/highered

[4] https://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/25/education/25suny-t.html

plan needs to be built around a core story: an organizing and clarifying narrative that a campus community co-creates, expressing who it is, where it wants to go, how it will get there, and how it will persuade others to join in that journey. It should say something about the institution, of course—but it should also assert a compelling worldview and invite audiences to see their own values reflected in it.

A strong core story can't inoculate an institution against all bad behaviors, external and internal. But it can help stakeholders see new connections between the institution and their own values and goals. It can reframe conversations. Most important, it can help ensure that a strategic plan doesn't gather dust on the shelf.

That's why, in the most successful strategic planning processes we've worked on, the president, provost, dean, or department head asks from the start, "How am I going to use this plan to create clear and powerful messages for our different stakeholders?" And conversely, the most successful branding and marketing campaigns we've developed begin with that same leader handing us a strategic plan that conveys the college or university's vision boldly and succinctly.

In short, a core story is a powerful narrative about the institution, which the strategic plan bundles into a succinct vision statement, and which the college "unpacks" in the branding and marketing it uses to get its story out.

But that story has to have some muscle in it. A generic story about discovery, transformation, service, and passion isn't enough anymore. Especially passion. As Xanthippe Voorhees, a character in Netflix's *Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt*, once said: "I'm majoring in finding my passion at Columbia, and, uh...it's all about finding your passion."

Developing a core story has also become more challenging because every consumer product—from law firms to gyms—wants to embrace a higher purpose these days. A couple of years ago, I saw an airport ad for

the Bechtel Corporation—complex world, big challenges, we've got the solutions—that could have easily been a brand ad for a major research university.

I think where we are now was best summed up by another fictional character, Hooli CEO Gavin Belson, from the TV comedy Silicon Valley: "I don't know about you people," he told his employees at the Google-like start-up, "but I don't want to live in a world where someone else makes the world a better place better than we do."

And audiences are catching on:

Jill Twiss @jilltwiss · Apr 22
This is, and I cannot stress this enough, a dentist's office

Be fearless in the pursuit of what sets your soul on fire.
SOUL DENTAL

423   7.4K   54.4K

Lizzie O'Leary @lizzieohreally · Apr 9
Oh hush. You're a gym.

MAKE SOMETHING. DO THE HARD THING BE THE NEXT BIG THING COMMIT TO SOMETHING.

2   2   95

As more and more businesses and organizations adopt the language traditionally used by higher education, it's time that higher ed stories evolve beyond, "The world is a complex, challenging place, but darn it, we've got the answers, so stand back, we'll take it from here." This is especially true as both institutions and stakeholders wrestle with demographic changes; funding issues; disparities in education, health care, and

opportunity; and what it will take to create strong, creatively vital communities.

We need to rethink higher ed core stories. The strongest stories in higher education are going to be about the willingness and ingenuity of colleges and universities to build social capital—shared goals, collaborative approaches, enduring partnerships—both within and beyond the walls of their institution.

In his great work on the rebirth of American communities, James Fallows points to the importance of research universities:

> Research universities have become the modern counterparts to a natural harbor or a river confluence. In the short term, they lift the economy by bringing in a student population. Over the longer term, they transform a town through the researchers and professors they attract: When you find a Chinese or German physicist in the Dakotas, or a Yale literature Ph.D. in California's Central Valley, that person probably works for a university. Research universities have become powerful start-up incubators.[5]

His metaphor points to a powerful narrative that colleges and universities can draw on in their own distinctive ways.

The strongest core stories—and the strategic plans they bring to life—tell stories of how an institution can be an aggregator of great ideas from many different sources: in addition to scholars and makers on campus and around the world, sources like the local community college, the K-12 system, students from an incredible range of life experiences, community organizations of all kinds, local governments. The university, with its array of expertise, its core mission of teaching, research, and service, and its openness to the world at a local and global level, can be the spark, the ignition, the connective tissue for ideas and people.

And in doing all that, a university or college will offer a model for citizenship and involvement for individuals—sometimes as leaders; sometimes in supporting roles; always adaptable to the rapidly shifting situations they will confront. This is a way of being in the world that graduates can take with them wherever they go.

The future is going to be shaped by collaborative, distributed-leadership initiatives. There is no reason why academic brands can't embrace that.

Okay, maybe not a great bumper sticker. But there are great stories here, all of which speak to higher education's core missions of learning, research, and service: how relationships begin and grow, how people put aside their skepticism and animosity and come together for an idea or cause that's bigger than any of them individually. All of these vividly challenge the shrinking public confidence in higher education that we noted at the start of this discussion. They are stories we want to, and can, believe in.

[5] https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/03/eleven-signs-a-city-will-succeed/426885/

Arts and Strategy: Reflections on Cultural Planning in the Modern University

András Szántó

> Strategic planning in the arts and cultural organizations frequently arouses skepticism, even more than it does in commercial ones.

Strategy focusing on arts organizations has to contend with an unusual obstacle: romantic feelings about culture as a field of high-minded aesthetic activity. As charming as those attitudes may be, they are holdovers from the past, a way of viewing culture as unique, exempt from everyday rules, detached from the customary way of managing things. Not coincidentally, a studied distaste for business and administration remains the norm across the arts professions—as it does across much of academia. This attitude was echoed in the words of a senior museum executive who once cautioned me, "We don't use the word *brand* around here."

Some of this anxiety is understandable. As participants in the arts, we can be forgiven for being put off by demands to make them more "efficient" or place them in the service of non-arts goals. "Key performance indicators" are anathema to an endeavor that, for many, is a bulwark against the relentless corporatization of American life.

For these reasons, strategic planning in arts and cultural organizations frequently arouses skepticism, even more than it does in commercial ones. Front-line staff who greet planning as an opportunity to better serve their constituency also worry that the good ideas that bubble up through the process will never be implemented. For many organizations, planning is a chore, mandated by state or foundation donor guidelines. Worse, planning can be greeted with alarm, as a harbinger of administrative actions that threaten to corrupt the presumed purity of the cultural enterprise.

Nonetheless, it is inescapable that most of us immerse ourselves in culture nowadays through the agency of complex organizations (e.g., museums, concert halls, galleries) that mobilize significant resources and are accountable to all manner of public and private oversight. Institutional leaders—from board members of arts organizations to university provosts—are called upon to approach culture dispassionately, with a clear-headed planning mindset: as a finite asset that must be organized and managed like any other. Decision makers with fiduciary responsibilities are expected to provide compelling reasons for how they spend their institution's money and deploy its human resources. They must forge a consensus amongst divergent and often competing groups around shared objectives. They are charged with building functional, transparent, and sustainable structures to advance mission and vision and demonstrate impact.

Strategic planning in arts and culture is thus a bit of a tightrope act. It demands a deft balancing of continuity and change, inclusiveness and decisiveness, passion and reason. Those helping an organization in this undertaking have to be prepared to manage a tricky conversation between groups that don't always speak the same language. Bridging the divide between respect for culture and commitment to organizational achievement and sustainability requires the tact of a diplomat, the analytical aptitude of a sociologist, and the listening skills of a psychotherapist all rolled into one.

Welcome to the Campus

Universities are an especially challenging terrain for designing cultural strategy—and a uniquely satisfying one. Culture is found in abundance in them, yet, almost as a rule, in a state of sustained and impenetrable fragmentation—dispersed across departments, galleries, curricula, performances, campus events, student groups, amateur circles, and the like. The promise of strategic planning is that, by bringing arts and cultural assets together and giving them greater visibility, the university can leverage what it already has and, with additional prudent investments, can amplify its cultural offerings to students, faculty, and the community.

Based on my own experience, I offer here four observations on the satisfactions and challenges of applying a strategic mindset to a university's engagements with arts and culture.

Listening to the Community

Cultural and educational organizations are rarely very good at listening to their staffs or to those on the receiving end of their services. In fact, commercial entities tend to be more actively focused than cultural organizations on canvassing public or consumer opinion—or, for that matter, on engaging their own teams in joint thinking exercises. (Just think of those online surveys you receive after buying almost any product or service these days.) On a university campus, when the opportunity does arise to share ideas in a safe and open process, the proposals from faculty members and students—along with the long-repressed grievances—come gushing out.

The truth of the matter is that conventional faculty governance is not designed to bring grassroots feedback to high-level decision makers. Layer upon bureaucratic layer separates the average student or junior faculty member from those who

determine policy. Compound this with the fact that in most universities, provostial- and presidential-level appointments rarely come from the ranks of arts faculty with an affinity to cultural needs and opportunities, and what you get is the arts muddling along in a state of benign neglect: isolated pools of
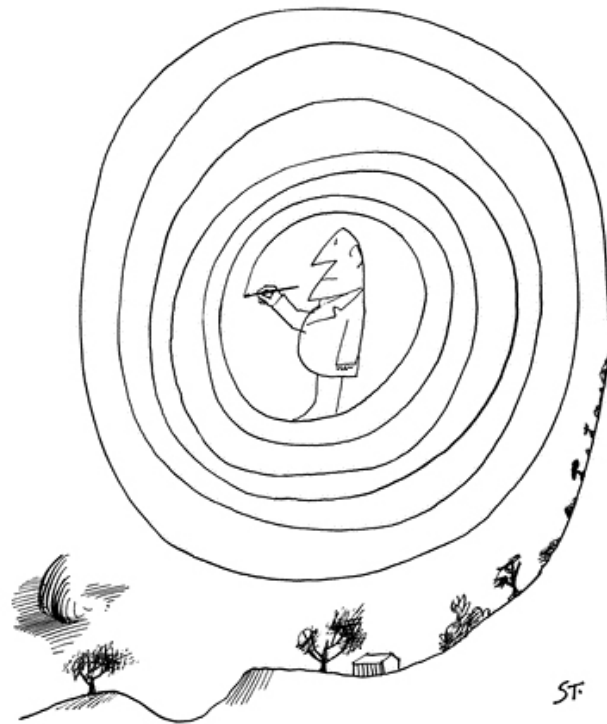
excellence surrounded by a more general lack of deep interest or understanding.

The likely result is a certain numbness to issues that are essential to the cultural vibrancy of a university campus, such as the texture of public space, or the presence of diverse voices in the programming of university arts facilities. I am a firm believer that, here as elsewhere, strategic planning—especially the deep listening involved in interviews, focus groups, town halls, surveys, and the like—is not only informative, but intrinsically beneficial. The process in itself is ameliorative.

Summing Up the Arts Footprint

Most colleges and universities do not have a comprehensive plan for how to

> A modern university is, among other things, a multi-layered social organism, and one increasingly conscious of its embeddedness in the larger communities and the world around it.

approach arts and culture. The arts are usually concentrated in specialized units that, while individually vital and sometimes exceptional, are somewhat detached from the regular flow of campus life. These units are managed in ways that almost inevitably set up a competition among them. Being distinct entities with their own educational agendas and discourses, arts departments and schools vie for scarce budgets, faculty lines, donors, and space.

The divisions are exacerbated by the hyper-specialization of arts disciplines. Professionalization, to be sure, has elevated the standing of the arts in the modern university, but it has also overvalued academic measures of success and under-incentivized cross-faculty collaboration. Despite all the talk about trans- and interdisciplinarity, cultural silos persist. The intellectual distance from the social and hard sciences grows ever wider. Truly cross-disciplinary initiatives, like MIT's Vera List Center, remain the exception to the rule.

This fragmentation of arts activities and their lack of unified representation on campus can hide a surprising fact: Taken together, the arts represent a significant amount of assets and commitments in the modern university—and this goes well beyond such heralded jewels as UCLA's Hammer Museum or Vassar's Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center. The inventory of arts-related resources spans the entire university, from a multitude of faculty appointments and curricular offerings to presenting spaces large and small. Auditing these assets as part of a strategic planning process can be eye-opening. One gains much insight by examining the full spectrum of arts and cultural activity on campus at one time and exploring how their coordination

could make them collectively greater than the sum of their parts—increasing visibility, stimulating cross-disciplinary dialogues, and catalyzing new creative approaches.

Place-Making in the University

A deeply ingrained reflex in university life is to accord merit to disciplines and activities in terms of their contribution to the educational and research mission. The whole machinery of the modern university—budgets, staffs, departmental structures, fundraising, evaluation methods, internal and external communications—is devised, first and foremost, to deliver knowledge to students and advance new understanding for the benefit of society. These priorities are expressed in the physical plant and global reputation management of academic institutions.

All of this is understandable. However, when it comes to a university's cultural vibrancy, the curricular and research contributions, crucial as they are, do not speak fully to the needs and ambitions at play among members of a campus community. And while university-based arts institutions—museums, galleries, performing arts centers, music halls—can be the top arts providers in their immediate surroundings, often commanding national and international reputations, they typically cater only to a minority of the campus population. Barriers of entry range from the cultural and lifestyle habits students bring to campus life to almost comical obstacles, such as the dearth of free parking, or that scarcest of all commodities, free time.

Something more is needed to bring out the full potential of the arts. A modern university is, among other things, a multi-layered social organism, and one increasingly conscious of its embeddedness in the larger communities and the world around it. No cultural strategy can be blind to this reality. In the field of cultural policy, place-making has become a widely used term to express the importance of creating culturally rich, welcoming, inclusive, affirming environments.

Universities, too, are now challenged to create situations where people can feel they have agency: where the cultural richness around them is not rooted in hierarchical notions of culture, but in more reciprocal, engaged, participatory conceptions of expressive life.

Such attachment yields its own benefits, not just in the rewards of cultural immersion and well-being on campus, but also in the appeal of the university to prospective students and faculty and particularly in the emotional connection of alumni to the institution once they leave it—a wellspring of generosity. As for the surrounding community, and the public officials representing it, the richness of experience offered by the campus for those who visit can help defuse the almost inevitable tensions that strain the relationship of a university and its neighboring constituency.

Opportunities for meaningful engagement with culture writ large tend to emerge in the interstitial spaces of the university, not just in dedicated arts venues: in dining halls, green spaces, lobbies, thoroughfares, and, increasingly, digital and virtual platforms. Such moments help define the campus experience and remain embedded in the memories of former students—think of the Cantor Art Center's outdoor collection of Rodin bronzes at Stanford, Brooklyn College's lily pond and surrounding manicured gardens, Henry Moore's *Bridge Prop* (usually draped with reclining students) on Brown's main green, and any number of summer festivals at campuses across the U.S.

Nonetheless, cultural place-making is difficult to prioritize in the university, because resources traditionally are allocated to specific units or faculty. Being underdeveloped in most educational institutions, a culturally saturated sense of shared place represents a significant opportunity. However, it also requires that a university establish resources and administrative structures that are geared to improving the whole on-campus experience, not just its individual parts.

The Cultural Battleground

Perhaps the most vexing difficulty when it comes to thinking strategically about a university's posture in the arts is that the arts themselves have become a moving and contested target. The arts stand in the crosshairs of some of the most bracing debates in American life today—over economic inequality, racial strife, ideological malaise, and the assault on facts and common decency.

Artworks are uniquely capable of giving expression to such intractable issues. At the same time, they are also manifestations of them. Arts organizations have been among the first to grapple with the consequences of race and gender discrimination and the painful legacies of colonial history. Ethical dilemmas surrounding funders and donors are now front-page news. "Museums," Ford Foundation president Darren Walker wrote recently in *The New York Times* (July 26, 2019), "have become contested spaces in a rapidly changing country," and the same is true of cultural organizations of all stripes. Almost any intervention in the arts at a university, then, will involve confronting charged social, political, and moral dilemmas. No decision about allocating assets is going to be innocent: It is likely to be interpreted symbolically, as a statement and a signal about the institution's ideological disposition. And all this at a time when, fairly or unfairly, campuses are under greater scrutiny than ever with respect to their inferred ideologies and politics.

The arts stand in the crosshairs of some of the most bracing debates in American life today.

As if that didn't make planning challenging enough, the arts are also subject to the same transformative and disruptive forces that make preparing for the future a mind-bending puzzle in any domain. Technology is changing the essence of what it means to

create art and conduct academic research about it. The purview of the campus is now the entire world; the modern university must speak to students and engage issues that connect to nations and cultures on the other side of the globe.

Social norms that challenge the standing of once unassailable institutions are taking hold on campus as everywhere else. Words and language once used uncritically are now subject to scrutiny, as American society as a whole, and particularly our universities, engage in a thorough reconsideration of how we conceive of personal identity

"Foster here is the left side of my brain, and Mr. Hoagland is the right side of my brain."

and communicate about race and gender. Economic inequality and ideological polarization are making it ever more difficult to nurture an inclusive community spirit and conduct reasoned, constructive debate. The arts mirror this roiling landscape—and draw urgency and vitality from it.

Strategy cannot unfold at a clinical remove from these shifting realities. It has to take account of all these tensions and disruptions, harnessing the most constructive forces within them. It must adapt to changing definitions of the arts and help deliver a more stimulating and humane

environment for the campus community, while also seeking to redress chronic social imbalances and injustices.

Welcome to the Future

The arts of tomorrow are destined to simultaneously cope with a decline in appreciation for what used to be called the fine arts while seeking to thrive in a world where cultural industries, founded on creativity and arts skills, command an ever-larger share of GDP—where the *MFA is the new MBA,* as the saying goes. The good news is that it is now a growing assumption in higher-education circles that the arts will be indispensable to a 21st-century education. The arts, it is increasingly understood, arm students with foundational dispositions—empathy, imagination, originality, curiosity—that will be fundamental to the jobs of the future, whatever and wherever they are.

In the years to come, creative fields will, in any case, absorb a larger share of the workforce. And there are reassuring signs that creativity-based jobs may be among the last to be automated away. Meanwhile, if the arts can forge meaningful links to technology and science—and there is no better place to pursue such dialogues than in a modern university—then they will build up new reserves of energy and relevance. Strategic cultural planning creates a vibrant forum for such encounters, paving the way not only for the arts, but for the entire university enterprise.

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Reclaiming the Global in Higher Education

Vishakha Desai

Everywhere you look, all things "global" are under attack. "Slowbalisation: The Steam Has Gone Out of Globalisation" declared a cover of The Economist early this year. Meanwhile, many political pundits have published books attributing the backlash against globalization implicit in rising right- and left-wing populism to the failure of globalism, resulting in increasing sentiments of "Us vs. Them."

It is undeniable that, in economic terms, global trends are spiraling downward: foreign direct investments are at a 15-year low, and cross-border bank loans are near their lowest levels for the same period. Concurrently, we hear anti-global sentiments echoed in the virulent anti-immigrant rhetoric of "America First" and Brexit.

In American institutions of higher learning, the bloom is also off the global rose, which once flowered at breakneck speed. Among the recent developments:

- Fewer foreign students have been coming to America recently than in the earlier years of this decade—discouraged by increasingly strict visa regulations and the exclusionary sentiments coming from the White House.

- Disappointed by the lack of financial returns on their investments in overseas campuses, universities are moving away from these once highly touted global models.

- A recent article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* pointed out a decline in the emphasis on global education in college and university mission statements and strategic plans.[1]

Despite these changes, American colleges and universities more than ever need to build global perspectives and fluency into their educational programs. However, they must do so in new ways that acknowledge the increasing connectedness of people and societies around the globe.

Increasing Interdependence

Despite the increasing critiques of globalization, the world continues to be more interconnected and interdependent. Consider this: Almost three billion people in the world have access to smartphones and apps that connect them to the world. One in four people live in a place other than where they were born, and migration is bound to increase in the coming years. And as we are increasingly forced to recognize, neither climate change nor disease pays any attention to national boundaries.

The result is that more culturally diverse people are living cheek-by-jowl, physically or virtually, and thus require greater understanding of their respective differences. It is clear that no major problem in the world can be solved by one nation.

Preparing students to navigate the increasingly multicultural realities of the world and pursuing research that will deliver solutions to the complex grand challenges of our era are fundamental to the missions of most colleges and universities. In this light, there should be no question that institutions of higher education must firmly tie study of the global condition to their very missions. However, it is equally important to refine the

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[1] Karin Fischer, "How International Education's Golden Age Lost Its Sheen," March 28, 2019 (https://www.chronicle.com/interactives/2019-03-28-golden-age)

thinking and practices that have stood for things global on our campuses.

New Ways of Thinking

During the last 15 years, when colleges and universities were jumping on the global bandwagon, what was meant by "global" was primarily transactional: institutions exported campuses and study abroad programs and imported foreign students. Although these activities were couched in mission-related terms (and undoubtedly provided value to their participants), they were fundamentally driven by the need for greater tuition revenue.

> We have to learn to see global and local (or national) less as opposite and more in relation to each other.

Colleges and universities did not sufficiently recognize that the essence of the global perspective they wished their students to develop lies in the relational understanding of one's place in the world and the attendant responsibilities: recognition that events, processes, and decisions that occur in one part of the world have repercussions in all other parts.

To foster this kind of global perspective, we must develop new ways of thinking about connectivity and the fissures that often emerge from such interactions, as well as new methods for understanding the complex relationships between the local and the global. We have to learn to see global and local (or national) less as opposites and more in relation to each other – better understanding the local in the context of the global and vice versa.

When fire destroys a textile factory in Bangladesh, for example, it is not just a sad occasion for a poor country far from our shores. We must also recognize that we are culpable in the tragedy through our purchases of the inexpensive clothing manufactured in those factories.

Preparing Students for a Complex World

Columbia University's Committee on Global Thought—of which I am Vice Chair—is a forum founded by President Lee Bollinger in 2006 and charged with the mission of enhancing the university's engagement with issues of global importance. It posits global "as a collaborative intellectual process of discovery intended to facilitate emergence of new concepts, methodologies, and fields of inquiry in the pursuit of knowledge necessary to understand and act in the world in which we live."

Over a decade, we have learnt, through scholarly collaboration across disciplines and geographies and in dialogue with our annual class of graduate students from all over the world, that this kind of work is neither simple nor easily quantifiable. While it doesn't require traipsing around the globe, it does require the ability to work with diverse groups of people with humility and an open mind.

If institutions of higher learning are committed to preparing their students for the com-plexity of the world and the implications of its increasing interdependencies, they must treat engagement with the global not as an add-on or an isolated phenomenon but instead as central to their missions.

In this way, global is a pentimento, a layered phenomenon that builds on an increasing number of local and international interactions—its composition at any moment the result of what we have learned from the opportunities and fissures we confront. Sending our students abroad and bringing international students to our campuses are important instrumentalities for developing the critical thinking skills, empathy, and humility that will be necessary for our graduates to navigate the globalizing world we all live in.

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INTERVIEW
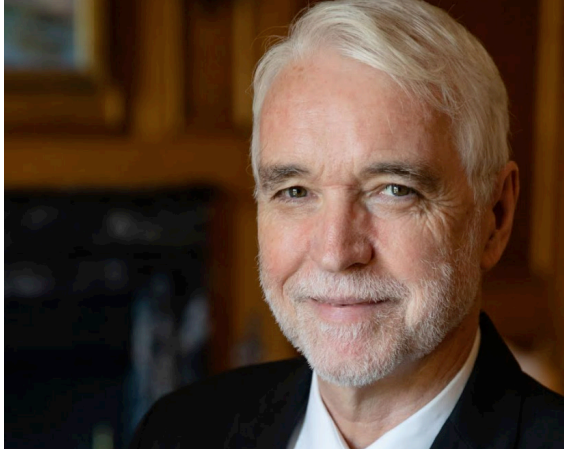
Timothy L. Killeen

PRESIDENT,
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS SYSTEM

Timothy L. Killeen took office as the 20th president of the University of Illinois System in May 2015. In the first months of his presidency, he led the development of an ambitious new Strategic Framework to guide the system and its universities in Chicago, Springfield, and Urbana-Champaign. AKA|Strategy assisted in developing the Framework, which was adopted by the U of I Board of Trustees in May 2016. The system and universities began implementation quickly, many initiatives of which are described below.

Earlier this year, AKA spoke with President Killeen to reflect on the process through which the U of I System Strategic Framework was created, the changes it led to, and other outcomes in the three years since its release. Subsequent to this conversation, the state of Illinois released its budget with the largest increase in state funding for higher education in nearly three decades.[1]

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[1] https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-cb-illinois-colleges-state-budget-20190619-ciz3kc7uxvg75ntwvhyfutx4ca-story.html

Why Strategic Planning?

AKA|STRATEGY: Shortly after you assumed the Presidency nearly four years ago, you led the development of a Strategic Framework for the University of Illinois System. What was your motivation for doing so, and what do you believe were the greatest accomplishments of the process and resulting Framework?

TIM KILLEEN: As a new president, I obviously did my homework in looking at all the existing documentation and, of course, reviewing the recent history of the institution. Since I had a six-month period in sort of an apprenticeship, working closely with the former president, I had a good sense of where the institution was by the time I actually began.

In my previous jobs I've always done strategic plans. I am a big believer in the discipline that the planning process brings. There wasn't an active University of Illinois System strategic plan at the time, and I felt that we needed one that, in particular, included a vision that would clarify the relationships among the individual constituent parts of the U of I System. I thought that reaching consensus on these would reflect the intrinsic importance and excellence of the institution and raise the aspirational bar for the system. I also believed that as a new president part of my job was to have the deep conversations necessary to establish broad ownership of a very exciting future—one that we could imagine and deliver on.

The Strategic Planning Process

As you know from working with us, I'm delighted at the success of our planning process. I'm referring to several things.

First, we wanted the planning process to meaningfully involve many different stakeholders, internal and external. We designed an open, transparent process that allowed all voices to be heard and made emerging drafts of the plan easily available so its ideas could be widely discussed and refined—with the goal that by the end of the process there would be widespread, pervasive ownership of the plan by everyone who had a stake in it.

Second, it was important that it would be a framework rather than a detailed plan. I felt, and still feel, that sometimes plans emerge from complicated processes that set up lots of task forces, each detailing, for example, "item 1.7.2.4.2." And the result is that they focus too much effort on debating the minutia of their specific areas rather than on creating a plan that provides a directional setting for the institution. I didn't want to go down that path. I wanted a document that was highly aspirational and had staying power.

"I've always done strategic plans. I am a big believer in the discipline that the planning process brings."

I think we accomplished these. The Strategic Framework was the product of at least a dozen town hall meetings. We posted multiple drafts. There were writing teams. We had a committee structure that provided broad representation of our stakeholders. As a result, I believe—and I've said this many times—that this is the authentic institutional voice of the University of Illinois System. And that is important to be able to say publicly. It's not my concept or a board of trustees' concept; it's our authentic institutional voice.

Because it's a high-level framework, it provides a context that allows for many elements to be connected. I sometimes think of it, visually, as a coat rack with a lot of hooks. Each university chancellor and each college dean can find a hook in the Framework that they like and elaborate on it. The Framework isn't written in a command and control voice: "this is what has to happen by the…." Instead, it's a statement of who we are and what we aspire to be. And it's also a celebration of our legacy and the U of I System's future.

Further, one of our greatest accomplishments is that the Framework is a short read. That's always hard to achieve because so much material is generated in the planning process. The Framework is only 20 pages—and that's with many photos and callouts. You can get through it quickly. That's allowed us to use it extensively and consciously. We've left many copies on many tables.

Our stakeholders have seen the Framework, and they're excited by it. The first year after its publication, I gave a series of broad presentations in public settings where we described the pillars of the Framework and reported on the actions that had been generated in response. Everybody knew what the Strategic Framework was. We used it as a recruiting tool for the new chancellor of Urbana-Champaign and with others whom we've hired. It's not a document that has gathered any dust, nor is it a document that has raised undue expectations. It set a direction for the system, and we follow that direction.

Rethinking the "System"

One of the most strategic outcomes was that we started using the word "system" explicitly to describe ourselves. That was an important decision point—a collective decision that our community wanted to embrace the concept of a system. It means that rather than three "campuses" in a single monolithic "university," we have three universities in a synergistic system. We had gotten some questioning over the

years about the idea that we should act as a system—a response, I guess, to the fear that a central system office would set direction for the individual universities. But I believe that the way we conceived of the University of Illinois System during the planning process translated into a sense of empowerment for the universities.

I am a believer in the principle of subsidiarity—that decision making is usually most effective when it's close to the action. That led in part to a branding and marketing effort that is now culminating in what we call the "altogether extraordinary" initiative, where the system is "altogether extraordinary." We've trademarked that term. It has several meanings, but importantly each university has its own color, brand, and distinctive attributes. They've each appointed chief marketing officers. We are both lifting up the individual universities—making their distinctive assets more visible—and connecting them at the system level, where we're taking more of a statewide, Midwest-wide advocacy perspective.

All of this, I believe, has been highly successful. If we were even to suggest going back, there would now be opposition.

The Results

I'm regularly asked, "How's it going?" I say the process has been extremely successful, and the Framework itself still has a lot of shelf life. The process was an inclusive one, and that's led to a number of helpful things.

First, we had our biggest philanthropic year ever last year. And we are in another wonderful position for the coming year. Stability of leadership, signs pointing to an aspirational future—these are all important to our external constituencies and help build their trust and confidence.

It probably helped that we weathered a difficult period, an impasse where the state budget didn't go down; it went away for two years.[2] And that shared adversity frankly focused our energy and attention on the Strategic Framework and what we really held as our shared values. We are building on these now to create what we call "guiding principles," derived from the Strategic Framework.

You may remember that we said in the Framework that we want to develop urban innovation at scale. Building on that, we now have an initiative called the Discovery Partners Institute that I think is the envy of most schools—land donated to us in downtown Chicago, partners from all over the world, and an emphasis on solving the big social-technical challenges that the world needs us to address.[3]

There are some university presidents who've asked me personally, "How did you do that? How can we do that in our state?" Because the half a billion dollars that was appropriated to build out the Discovery Partners Institute is, I believe, unprecedented. It's still in an initial phase, but we have very high-end, very energized international partners, which is again consistent with our Framework.

Also derived from the Framework, we now have an Illinois Innovation Network that has participation from every public university in Illinois. In fact, as we speak, there is a summit going on with leadership from all of Illinois' 12 public universities. The Deputy Governor, Jesse Ruiz, is spending

"Stability of leadership, signs pointing to an aspirational future – these are all important to our external constituencies..."

[2] The Illinois Budget Impasse was a 793-day-long budget crisis in the state of Illinois. From July 1, 2015, to August 31, 2017, Illinois was without a complete state budget for fiscal years 2016, 2017, and part of 2018. As a result, many state agencies had to cut services or continue borrowing to operate. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Illinois_Budget_Impasse)

[3] The Discovery Partners Institute (DPI) is a purpose-driven, collaborative research institute located in Chicago that is focused on building prosperity and growing the state of Illinois' workforce by creating solutions to grand challenges. It is led by the University of Illinois System, its three universities and partners." (https://dpi.uillinois.edu/)

> "I can't tell you how many people want to talk about rankings and ratings and so forth, but that's not us. We are about impact."

time with us there. So we are leading a charge on innovation not just in Chicago but across Illinois—upstate, downstate, rural, and appropriate for the individual regions. There has been strong bipartisan support for this part of our legislative agenda, and it's faring well. It has allowed us to really take the high ground during the budget impasse.

All of these are exciting results and, I think, unique opportunities that have come out of the Framework—out of the process of setting direction, of getting everyone to roll in the same general direction but without the level of specificity that undermines enthusiasm. If a vision or a plan is too dogmatic or doctrinaire, people will embrace it for a while, but then their attention will turn elsewhere.

The Public's University

The title has also played really well. We call ourselves "The Public's University." It always gets a laugh when I say this might have been a quote from Abraham Lincoln. It isn't, but he should have said it!

People know what it means. They know what it means in Chicago, in the business community, in Carbondale, in rural southern Illinois. They know that it's a commitment. And part of this is our commitment to affordability. We have frozen tuition for five straight years, and with the four-year tuition guarantee this means that—because of the Framework and our commitment—the student who graduates in 2022 will be paying the same tuition as her sister did in 2014. That is a decade of cost containment—something I don't think you'll see in many places—and we haven't raised tuition a dime for in-state residents.

Based on a strategic enrollment plan that grew out of the Framework, our enrollment

has grown. We are at 86,000 students now, and we're on track to get to 93,000 through growth in targeted ways, in areas where there is demand.

We learned an important lesson early in the planning process. Right after we circulated some of our earliest drafts, we had a town hall meeting in Springfield, our smallest campus. A young professor stood up, prefaced her comments by describing herself as a millennial, and then called the draft, in her words, "a real snoozer." She read some of the initial headlines out loud, along with how she'd rewritten them. And hers were better. So we put her on the planning committee. (To her surprise, probably.)

She was right. We had to listen carefully not just to the usual choir but to the other members of the system. And I haven't since heard the charge that it's a boring strategic vision. It's full of aspiration.

It's helped build credibility and momentum that people are seeing our follow on: I already mentioned the Discovery Partners Institute. And faculty recruitment—we're going after top talent. We put $16 million into a pot to recruit established scholars. We made 16 offers, 14 accepted—from Duke, Harvard, Texas A&M, the Max Planck Institute, and similar places. And they brought $28 million of active research funding with them. So the ROI on our $16 million was, on day one, a factor of two.

The Framework helps us avoid under-reaching. It has an aspirational, "can-do" tone, a voice of "we're going to go for it." I'd rather we be known for over-reaching and sometimes failing than for limiting ourselves by under-reaching. It's an exciting time for us. Every metric is now positive: demand, enrollment growth, research, philanthropy, collegiality, and stability of our leadership group. And that helps the Board of Trustees be more of an advocate, gets the public's attention, attracts the interest of legislators, and so forth.

The View From Outside

AKA: All that is among your stake-holders. We're curious about other folks, with less at stake immediately. You mentioned the attention other presidents have paid to all this. What's caught their attention? What do you think you've done well? What do you say when they want to know what the "magic" is?

TK: Let me give you a little anecdote without mentioning the name of the university president. That president sees what is going on in Illinois and worries aloud, "Well, we couldn't do this in *our* state. Our state is so dysfunctional." Our team laughed—like you're laughing at this right now, and probably for the same reason—Illinois has been the poster child for dysfunction! So our response was "we surf the dysfunction."

the handwriting on the wall

The coin has dropped for us. We're not going to anyone with cap in hand, asking for this and another thing. Instead, we're driving the agenda. We're clear about who we are and where we want to go. We can also do so because we're big. Our budget is about $7 billion annually; that's a big number. One in every 46 jobs in the

state; 2% of the state GDP, etc., etc. We are demonstrating our worth. And we have now a caucus, a bipartisan legislative caucus that is 64 members of about 177 in the state legislature. And with them, we are driving the agenda.

It was the budget impasse that made us realize it was time for us to lead the way rather than wait for pennies. Other states have seen that. We are leading an effort on infrastructure right now with the University of Iowa and the University of Missouri—roads, bridges, dams, coverts. There are areas like this where our leadership can actually galvanize the whole Midwest to address issues of national importance. We talk about this a lot. We're not just about Illinois; we want to have impact on this entire region—draw attention to this "flyover" region as a place where people can live well, raise families in affordable houses, and so on. We can have that kind of impact. It's part of the case we make when we recruit faculty, and I think it's working. And we've just started. I think we've gotten attention for the right reasons, instead of for dysfunction.

We want to be known for substantive momentum, the kind that turns heads, not just eyes. I think we are getting to that point—even the *Chicago Tribune* is saying "watch what's going on"—with respect to affordability, access, success, partnering. Just this week we announced a $100 million gift to the College of Engineering. There aren't so many gifts of that size! People who make those decisions aren't just generous; they need to know with confidence and trust that this university system is going places. We've launched a $3.1 billion campaign. We want to stay Midwest humble but become substantively more aspirational. We're not trying to brag; we're trying to show. I think the Framework, and the values we derived from it, helped us with that.

The Future of the Land-Grant University

AKA: What does all this lead to in terms of your hopes and aspirations for the system over the next decade?

TK: We are moving quickly now to reinvent "the land grant university system for the 21st century," as we put it in the Framework. We are asserting what that will look like. I think it's open, it's affordable, it's engaging, it's societally committed, it's both urban and rural, it's international, it's participatory, it's all about public good, it's about success, beyond just credentials. And, importantly, it has nothing to do with rankings.

"We want to stay Midwest Humble but become substantively more aspirational. We're not trying to brag; we're trying to show. I think the Framework, and the values we derived from it, helped us with that."

We want to be bold and full of impact. And we want to demonstrate that impact at the scale we command, in a state the size of the Netherlands. We have 390,000 living, voting alumni in the state, and a total of 750,000 around the world. Activating our excellence at that scale is essential for the kind of impact we want to have.

Shortly after the Framework came out, I developed this hokey expression, "Optimizing Impact." And people asked, if optimizing impact is what we are about, how do you define that? So I came up with an equation, which I've used a lot: *I* for impact, equals *E* times *S*, excellence and scale, respectively, raised to the power of "magic."

What do I mean by "magic"? Magic is interdisciplinary, it's aspiration, it's teamwork, it's partnering—all the intangibles that make a great university—it's celebrating advances, being present, creating legislative solutions rather than whining about legislative problems. And if that magic exponent gets to two or three, then watch out. Because we've already got the excellence; we've already got the scale.

The smaller private schools that are highly ranked have the excellence, undisputedly, but they don't have the scale. We have to maintain our excellence and our scale, and then we've got to grow this exponent. I believe that's something we can do in an unbelievable way in the next five to ten years. Take our innovation agenda as an example. It's five times bigger than the Cornell-Technion initiative that Bloomberg got started in New York. We are talking about open innovation, on the river in downtown Chicago, with billions of dollars going toward innovation that will lift the surrounding communities as well.

Importantly, in terms of impact, we don't only want to create wealth and IPOs, which has been the past. We want to create social equity. That's directly out of the Framework. We have a chance to demonstrate that one can create social good, and social welfare, and human prosperity—and, yes, wealth, too—and, with the heft the system brings to the table, connect with partners in other states and regions to solve the nation's and the world's problems.

Challenges of the National Higher Education Scene

AKA: Let's move from Illinois to higher education more broadly. What do you believe are the most pressing issues for higher education in this country at the moment?

TK: Public confidence and trust in higher education have significantly eroded and are continuing to erode. We need to regain public confidence and trust in the whole enterprise. A lot of that is in the financial domain, because families are concerned about how much college costs. The value proposition has got to be there.

We are working on this in Illinois by being transparent, by not trying to hide our warts, and so forth.

Additionally, we've got to make sure that all our students feel truly welcome. So building an inclusive and welcoming campus culture is another important problem in higher education. The challenges that come with this have been exacerbated by social media, which higher education has not anticipated and reacted to quickly enough. At a time when news spreads almost instantaneously on social media, I think higher education needs to be much more assertive about its messaging, marketing, celebrating, demonstrating, and explaining.

We also have to diversify our funding streams without going down a path that is antithetical to our values. A shared set of values needs to guide us in everything we do. We need to state our values upfront— even if they're motherhood and apple pie, they've got to be on our masthead. And if we want people to believe in them, we've got to make reference to them when we make difficult decisions, demonstrate we're committed to them. We can't just be a set of policies—you know, "Here's what happens when you infringe on something"—from which people try to guess what we stand for. We need to demonstrate that the policies we put in place and the decisions we make are guided by a set of well-understood and shared values.

Coming back to public confidence in higher education, I don't think that we currently have the constellation of leaders and leadership structures that we need to propel public understanding about higher education. Unfortunately, this country is increasingly going down a hyper-partisan track, which makes it more difficult to have reasoned public discourse about the role of higher education and why institutions like the University of Illinois System are more important than ever. I'm now on the board of the American Council on Education. I hope

I can influence it and similar organizations to be more concerned about the leadership role we need to play and explore ways to address it.

Leadership and Stability

AKA: What haven't we asked you that we should have?

TK: Well, I'm conscious that I might come across as: "Everything is just so fantastic here!" And we have made massive progress from where the system was—I think that's objectively demonstrated. However, we were probably in a bit of a hole, due in part to leadership churn. This is critically important—I think stability is underestimated. Leadership turmoil can set institutions back years. I learned that in spades.

And conversely, the stability you create by building a principled, collegial leadership team radiates throughout the organization and reassures people. I think presidencies at large universities and university systems should probably be ten years if one really wants to stabilize the ship, set a clear vision, and make real progress toward it. Setting the direction and living with it is really important.

In a few weeks, I'll have been president for four years. I was told yesterday that I have now been president longer than the average of recent presidents at the U of I—which I think is amazing because I feel like I've just arrived. From what I understand, the leadership transitions at the system and the universities were chaotic in the four, five, six years before I came on board, so just being here this length of time has helped us.

I joke sometimes that my job now is just to breathe in and breathe out. We've got the Framework; that's where we're going. I just have to breathe in and breathe out, and I'm contributing. Which, in light of all we're doing, is a strange thing to say, right?

NOTABLE BOOKS

In each issue, we identify and briefly describe a small number of books that are insightful about consequential matters and offer new ways of thinking strategically about the nonprofit world.

A Truly Exceptional Life

An Academic Life: A Memoir

Hanna Holborn Gray
Princeton University Press, 2018, 352 pp., $29.95
Reviewed by Judith Shapiro

"…its powerful sense of mission, its uncompromising intellectual spirit, its insistence on intellectual freedom, its capacity for interdisciplinary discourse and scholarship, its exceptional students and rigor of education they had on offer.…"

— Hanna Holborn Gray
describing the University of Chicago

An Academic Life is the story of a truly exceptional life. The life of a woman who belongs to the world of immigrant scholars whose arrival in America from Germany and beyond in the years before and during World War II transformed the quality and reputation of American higher education. The life of a woman, with direct experience of our nation's most distinguished academic institutions, who became the first woman president of a major American research university. The life of a woman who is one of the strongest and most consistent supporters of the core values of academia.

Hanna Holborn Gray (hereinafter HHG, following current practice for referring to a highly eminent woman with three initials) was born in Heidelberg, the daughter of Hajo Holborn, who fled from Nazi Germany and became a professor of European history at Yale, and Annemarie Bettmann, a philologist. She grew up in a social world populated by many of the most eminent academics of her parents' generation, including historians Felix Gilbert and Theodor Mommsen; art historian Erwin Panofsky; theologian Paul Tillich; composer and conductor Paul Hindemith; and philosophers Ernst Cassirer, Hannah Arendt, and Herbert Marcuse, among many others.

For this generation of refugee scholars, two values were central to the role of higher education in the United States.

First, they felt academia bore a responsibility to address the significant social, cultural, and political issues of the day—among them, capitalism and liberation, identity and assimilation, and modernism as a force for progress.

Secondly, these scholars sought audiences in society beyond academia, with the hope that they could shape public affairs. To these ends, they strongly defended the autonomy of institutions of higher education from government interference, and they pursued styles of writing suitable for a general audience.

In our own times, we find these values increasingly challenged. Nearly instantaneous forms of communication advantage speed and polemics over thoughtful debate. The proliferation of arcane, discipline-specific, and often gratuitous jargon hinders widespread understanding of ideas birthed in the academy and stymies their potential for application to and impact on society at large. In addition, government attacks on the autonomy of colleges and universities have become commonplace—from the efforts of legislatures to punish politically unpalatable

views on campus to politicians' support for the weaponization of free speech by the extreme right.

The immigrant scholars who shaped HHG's thinking had the benefit of support from the organizations that helped them to come to the U.S. HHG followed in that tradition herself as a board member and advisor to Scholars at Risk, the major international organization devoted to the defense of academic freedom through finding safe academic harbors for those facing various levels of danger in their own countries.

HHG nicely chronicles her experiences at a series of distinguished institutions—Bryn Mawr, Harvard, Yale, Northwestern, and the University of Chicago—where she played a variety of roles, from student to president and board chair.

Her memoir includes a chapter on her undergraduate years at Bryn Mawr College, an institution that also provided a home for émigrés and whose students partnered with groups establishing scholarships for refugee students. She notes that "… women's colleges could be (and, I think, can continue to be) in some sense the best or most single-minded advocates for the liberal arts in their purest form."

Succeeding chapters provide personal and insightful accounts of her year at Oxford on a Fulbright scholarship; her experience at Radcliffe/Harvard (as it then was) as a graduate student, the first woman tutor in history and literature, and later instructor and assistant professor; her time as an assistant professor at the University of Chicago and thereafter dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Northwestern; and her experiences as a fellow of the Yale Corporation and the University's Provost.

HHG's description of her years as President of the University of Chicago is a powerful portrait of the academic institution closest to her heart, for reasons reflected in the quotation prefacing this review.

She describes the University of Chicago community as one characterized by a combination of exceptional academic distinction and a fierce loyalty to the institution—a culture that one hopes can persist despite ever-increasing free-agency tendencies among the illustrious. This culture, at Chicago and elsewhere, is greatly enhanced and sustained by a president who does not appear as a foreign body to the faculty but rather one who not only respects but actually likes them and considers them colleagues.

An important element of Chicago's distinctive culture has been its consistent and robust defense of free speech, an explicit and vigorous voice that is increasingly important in today's deeply divided and rambunctious political environment. Chicago has been particularly forceful, cogent, and eloquent in this defense, which is all the more compelling coming from a university that embodies the core values of higher education: a respect for seeking truth, valuing evidence, and resisting government intrusion. These values, of course, were distinctive of the community of émigré scholars in which HHG grew up and to which she continued to belong throughout her professional life.

Beyond her service on the Harvard Corporation, Yale Corporation, and as Chair of the Bryn Mawr College Board, HHG has also occupied important leadership positions on a number of foundation and corporate boards. She served as Chairman of the Board of the Howard Hughes Medical Institution, the second largest foundation in the United States, and as a board member of the Smithsonian Institution, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Council of Foreign Relations, Concord Coalition, Mayo Clinic, Brookings Institution, and JP Morgan Chase. She also received honorary degrees from more than 60 institutions—Brown, Chicago, College

Nearly instantaneous forms of communication advantage speed and polemics over thoughtful debate.

of William & Mary, Columbia, Duke, Harvard, Oxford, Princeton, and Yale, among them.

With this breadth of experience, HHG writes especially insightfully about institutional governance and board leadership. She articulately describes the general features of boards while also emphasizing the need for them to adapt to the cultures of different institutions.

"What does he know, and how long will he know it?"

Publicly, HHG is often identified as the first woman to fill some important position of authority, notably in the context of her Chicago presidency. As she points out, this often leads to a query about the role of a woman in such a position, as opposed to being asked about her views on higher education. While the former question is not without interest, this memoir highlights how surely it was a missed opportunity for the questioner not to focus on the latter. (Similarly, at one point in the history of feminist advances, writers who had once simply been considered "writers" suddenly became "women writers." Not all viewed this as a welcome change.)

Throughout this remarkable memoir, we also learn of the extraordinary relationship between HHG and her husband Charles, a distinguished historian, imaginative artist, and partner in a marriage one reads about with pleasure and admiration.

HHG's memoir constitutes a valuable guide to understanding and confronting the complex problems facing colleges and universities today. Even if we leave aside the major financial challenges—from declining government support to glaring wealth and income inequities both between and within academic institutions—there are important issues of student, faculty, and administrative culture that undermine what an institution of higher education requires to fulfill its essential purposes.

Among these are presidents who understand and value the essential academic mission of their institutions; faculty who care about teaching as much as research, and respect those who communicate to a wider public both what they know and how they come to know it; students who are prepared to confront difficult issues rather than be protected from dealing with them; and the powerful links between what students learn in their courses and how they operate as citizens and members of a community.

In brief, *An Academic Life* helps those of us who care about the future of higher education to understand both what to fear and what to hope for, looking back even as we look forward.

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Judith Shapiro is President Emerita of Barnard College.

Why Good Governance Matters

How University Boards Work

Robert Scott

*Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018,
224 pp., $27.95*
Reviewed by Jonathan Fanton

We live in a time when the importance of well-functioning boards of trustees and governance structures is particularly evident. Higher education is increasingly challenged by rapid changes brought on by technology, evolving job markets, competition from for-profit educational companies, and more. As a consequence, presidents and faculty leadership must navigate many near-term changes, often operating with imperfect information.

At the same time, colleges and universities are among the longest continuously operating institutions in our nation. They have survived in part by focusing on their long-range futures and by remaining adaptable enough to contend with long-term structural threats and opportunities. For example, when is it in the best interest of a college to merge with a stronger

institution or simply close down? How can a well-positioned institution secure its future by adding to its educational offerings through mergers?

This juxtaposition of immediate and long-term structural challenges—increasingly common in our times—requires both the

wisdom and perspective of well-chosen and trained trustees, who have a fundamental responsibility to help institutions and their leaders manage these issues. A board that is well-constructed and well versed in the lessons of *How University Boards Work* will have a comparative advantage in these demanding times.
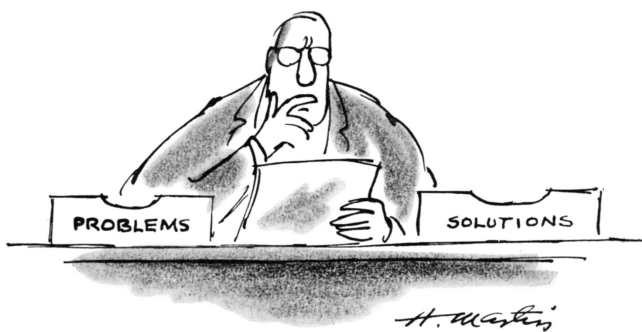
Robert Scott's perceptive "Guide for Trustees, Officers, and Leaders in Higher Education" is based on his 30 years as a college president at Adelphi University and Ramapo College. *How University Boards Work* is a must read for all higher education leaders, particularly board members. Scott's insights and recommendations ring true to me based on my years working with boards at Yale, the University of Chicago, and The New School, as well as at the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Scott starts with a discussion of the historical and structural framework of governance in higher education that illuminates the distinctive qualities and challenges of the traditional shared governance model—one that involves trustees, state regulators, presidents, deans, faculty, students, and others. He outlines board responsibilities in clear language, including ensuring integrity of mission, protecting academic freedom, raising funds, setting enrollment strategies that ensure financial equilibrium, and appointing and regularly assessing the president.

One of the strongest chapters discusses board membership, arguing for the inclusion of academics from noncompeting institutions as well as leaders from the public and private sector who understand higher education. Scott also offers thoughtful insights about the qualities of an effective chair and of board members, and particularly about the critical relationship between chair and president. This relationship often determines how well a board functions as well as the

longer-term vitality, relevance, and health of the institution it serves. His description of the importance of regular communication is particularly compelling:

> *No surprises! This is an essential truth in the relationship between a president and the board, and vice versa. Board members are not bystanders, but fundamental partners with the president for the effective accomplishment of goals. However, it is also true that boards should not be told too much too soon; for example, early signals about a drop in admission deposits might lead to overreaction. Timing is essential. No surprises, for sure, but no undue panic either. Judgment is required in board communications as in all other matters.*

Scott clearly understands the challenges of encouraging trustee interaction with students and faculty without undercutting the president's leadership. He rightly underscores the critical role that boards play in the strategic planning process, which is "about principles for decision making, priorities for action and milestones for monitoring progress." In light of a board's oversight and stewardship roles, it is appropriate and essential for the board to establish these principles, priorities, and milestones.

How University Boards Work is more than a "how-to" guide. It begins with a thoughtful look at the history and mission of higher education and concludes with a discussion of future challenges, thus offering a context for thinking about the role and composition of boards and considering how these might need to change in the future. Scott confronts

difficult issues like controlling costs, the role of part-time faculty, rising student debt, and the imperative to improve completion rates. The need for higher graduation rates was recently identified as a key issue in higher education in a report by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education.

Deeper exploration would be welcome on a few topics, including the discussion of "ethical investment policy" and how to preserve institutional neutrality on political issues, as well as the challenges of encouraging all points of view to be safely expressed on campus. I would also appreciate more insight into handling campus controversies and how a board can be prepared to work with the president on contentious issues.

In his discussion of developing leadership, Scott quotes Warren Bennis, founding chairman of The Leadership Institute of the University of Southern California: "One of the most reliable indicators and predictors of true leadership is an individual's ability to find meaning in negative events and to learn from even the most trying circumstances."

That insight reminded me of my own mentor, Kingman Brewster, who as President of Yale kept that university together through the tumultuous late 1960's and early 1970's. Brewster once told me that working with him in the President's office offered an overview of what enables a leader to produce a positive outcome by connecting two or more negative events. Scott forcefully argues that leaders of higher education have an obligation to advance one of higher education's most important missions: to strengthen our democracy and build a culture that is comfortable with diversity.

During Brewster's years, Yale had an outstanding board deeply involved in navigating the University through turbulent times. I recall a challenge from an alumnus at a meeting in Minneapolis who was upset

Scott forcefully argues that leaders of higher education have an obligation to advance one of higher education's most important missions: to strengthen our democracy and build a culture that is comfortable with diversity.

with the President's comment that he was concerned that black radicals could not get a fair trial. In response, Trustee J. Irwin Miller, head of Cummins Engine, stood up for the President. He asked (as I recall nearly fifty years later), "if the President of Yale will not articulate the values of our country, who will?"

How University Boards Work is a vigorous call to action to recognize and protect the special role of higher education through the courageous and thoughtful leadership of boards of trustees.

Jonathan Fanton, an AKA Senior Advisor, is President Emeritus of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Should Data Science Eat Higher Education?

The Book of Why
Judea Pearl and Dana Mackenzie
Basic Books, 2018, 432 pp., $19.99
Reviewed by Daniel L. Goroff

In a *Wall Street Journal* column from 2011, the venture capitalist Marc Andreessen wrote about how "software is eating the world." Together with both General Electric CEO Jeffrey Immelt and Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella, Andreessen is also credited with saying that "Every company now has to be a software company."

For leaders in higher education, the current analog might be, "Data science is eating the world." The stream of announcements about new schools, programs, and gifts focusing on data science suggests that "Every university now has to be a data science university."

Every day we see more students, faculty, administrators, and budgets drawn towards Artificial Intelligence (AI), for example, swamping more traditional priorities and processes in higher education. But what should we make of claims that machine learning techniques will enable companies, governments, and even universities to make "better" decisions about everyone and everything, including matters that intimately affect our lives?

As with most fads, there are abundant reasons for universities to proceed with caution. Not least among these is the argument that universities exist not to duplicate what the government or the private sector can do, but rather to address precisely what neither politics nor the market can accomplish for the benefit of society.

It is not enough to point to the obvious shortcomings of Big Data and AI. New technologies always have downsides—though concerns about the Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency (known as "FAT concerns" among the cognoscenti) of many data science applications do seem especially alarming. Rather than more hand-wringing and worry, we need actual ideas. What are the logical limitations of the present course? What are the precise promises of alternative agendas?

For big ideas like these, there may be no better source than *The Book of Why*, co-authored by UCLA's Turing Prize winner Judea Pearl and gifted science writer Dana Mackenzie. Pearl has spent a lifetime pondering what data can and cannot tell us about the world. Whereas his early works could be dense and technical, this latest one is clear, approachable, and convincing. Do not let a few diagrams and equations deter you. No mathematics beyond basic arithmetic is needed to appreciate *The Book of Why.*

Pearl and Mackenzie's topic is "causal inference"—that is, drawing conclusions of the form, "If you do this, that will happen."[1] Data scientists, not to mention their

> As with most fads, there are abundant reasons for universities to proceed with caution.

commercial employers, often make such determinations about topics like these:

> If you make loans to these kinds of people, they are more likely to repay them.

> If you prescribe this drug to these patients this way, they are more likely to recover.

> If you grant parole to these kinds of convicts, they are more likely to stay straight.

> If you eat these kinds of foods instead of those, you are more likely to stay healthy.

> If you show these kinds of people certain ads, they are more likely to click through.

Yet the evidence behind such important and potentially life changing claims are typically not very good at all. Today, data science as practiced at most institutions is based only on calculating correlations; the results are just associations.[2] When people want to be careful, they report that X is "linked with" Y. Especially when big data are involved, however, most listeners causally take this to mean that X *causes* Y—ignoring the stern warnings found in statistics textbook about how *correlation does not imply causation*. Better textbooks might even supply a cautionary tale.[3] But even then the best statistics books go on to say almost nothing more about causality.

Traditional methods of data analysis simply have no way to ask whether carrying an

umbrella will cause rain, or what happens if one member of a firing squad decides not to shoot—to cite two of Pearl and Mackenzie's examples. The authors even devote a whole chapter to describing how debates over the health effects of smoking lasted so long not merely because of the self-interest of powerful tobacco companies but also because the statistics community lacked the basic tools for posing, let alone answering, questions about whether cigarette smoke actually causes cancer. Why couldn't some other factor, say heredity, cause both smoking and cancer?

"Perhaps it will surprise you to learn the following—you've been beaten by your very own wife!"

Pearl's great contribution is to provide systematic ways of specifying the assumptions, data, and calculations needed to justify or refute such causal claims. His main message is that *data sets alone never*

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[1] Analyzing interventions like this just one relatively simple form of causal inference, Pearl introduces a ranking of causal inference problems that includes, at the top, the analysis of counterfactual assertions such as, "If I had done this instead of that, what would have happened?"

[2] Once trained, there is actually very little to say about Machine Learning algorithms other than the fact that they are sophisticated and opaque ways of harnessing lots of correlations. That is why automatic photo categorizers can easily mistake a cat standing on grass for a goat.

[3] One classic example concerns how easy it would be to conclude that closing ice cream shops will reduce street crime. That is because the incidence of cone sales and muggings are tightly correlated in most cities as both rise and fall with the temperature.

suffice. Capturing the story about how the data were generated is necessary, too. He introduces a formal way of writing down what is essential about those stories by drawing simple diagrams, where all the variables of interest are represented as dots, with arrows drawn from one dot to another if the first variable could directly influence the second, but no arrow if they are independent. By analyzing such a diagram (called a Directed Acyclic Graph or DAG), Pearl shows how to determine *whether* and, if so, how any data eventually collected about that situation could ever justify causal inferences about the effects that variations of some variables would have on others.

One of Pearl's examples illustrates why one cannot reliably derive causal conclusions from data without such diagrams. Picture a 2x2 table of medical study results. The columns correspond to the treatment and control groups, say those who take a drug or not, as indicated by a binary variable we can call X. The rows correspond to another way of dividing the study participants into two subpopulations, as indicated by a binary variable Y. In each of the four cells are numbers showing how many people recovered out of the corresponding subpopulation. Call that recovery rate Z, and now consider two different stories about it.

In one story, the rows cor-respond to male and female study participants. Imagine that gender affects whether or not you take the drug and also your recovery rate, so that there are arrows from Y to both X and Z in addition to the one from X to Z. Given this story, it is clear from the numbers in Pearl's table that a doctor would want every patient to have the treatment corresponding to the first column.

In the other story, suppose the rows correspond to subpopulations with high

or low blood pressure after the treatment. Imagine that the drug has some toxicity but lowers Y when it works, so that arrows go from X to Y and from Y to Z in addition to the one from X to Z. According to this story, it is clear that a doctor looking at the same recovery data in Pearl's table would want every patient to have the treatment corresponding to the second column instead.

Here is the point: even with the very same numbers in the data table, the two different stories lead to opposite conclusions about what to do![4]

The FDA does not usually ask about stories like this or their causal diagrams, at least not yet. It avoids such potential paradoxes by requiring pharmaceutical companies to discount test data unless there is a tale to tell about randomly assigning who does and does not receive the drug. The diagram for a Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT) includes a variable for the coin toss, say, that determines who gets in the treatment group rather than the control group. Why does a well-designed experiment of this form produce valid causal inferences? If the control group and the treatment group are statistically indistinguishable *before* receiving the drug, the statistical differences observed after taking the drug can be accurately attributed to the intervention.

Academic researchers like those affiliated with the Jamil Poverty Action Lab (JPAL) based at MIT have therefore championed the use of RCTs to test hypotheses—not just about drugs, but about public policy interventions of all sorts. In many cases, however, it is impractical or even unethical

If you are a leader in higher education, sometime soon a faculty member or committee will undoubtedly ask you to eat up even more of your budget on data science.

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[4] His example is based on Simpson's Paradox, the same mechanism familiar to many in higher education from the affirmative action case at UC Berkeley where it was found that, overall, female applicants were less likely to get into graduate school than men, but on a departmental level, were more likely to get into nearly all of the large departments. These facts can both be true because women tended to apply to departments where admission was more competitive for everyone.

to consider such a strategy. Even for the sake of science, no one would suggest forcing people to smoke or not based on the flip of a coin.

This is where Pearl's diagrams really shine. To go beyond RCTs, econometricians, philosophers, and other scientists have

for confounders can actually make matters worse. They also show how to derive and interpret the proper formulae for estimating the size of such causal effects.

In addition to dealing so comprehensively and decisively with causal inference, Pearl's approach has also helped crack some of the

each developed a few of their own tools for drawing causal inferences. But the rigorous ones are all special cases that can be derived from the general framework sketched in The *Book of Why* and described with more of the technical details in Pearl's other books and articles.

Here is the upshot. The archetypical problem consists of trying to draw inferences about the causal effect of one variable on another in the presence of potentially confounding variables. Based only on the arrows that do and do not connect all those variables in the diagram that captures the "story" in the situation at hand, Pearl and Mackenzie describe recipes for distinguishing among three cases: when such an inference is possible or not (ignoring the confounders); when an inference is possible by controlling for certain confounders; and when controlling

other notoriously difficult problems in data science—such as what to do about missing data or about the external validity of a given empirical finding when transferred to a different context.

If you are a leader in higher education, sometime soon a faculty member or committee will undoubtedly ask to eat up even more of your budget on data science. When that happens, ask if the work is concerned with true causal inference or it is more likely to uncover suggestive but potentially dangerous correlations. Watch the reactions, and when your supplicants start mumbling, hand them a copy of this clear, compelling, and important book.

Daniel L. Goroff is Vice President and Program Director of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Opinions in this review are not necessarily those of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

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