

Outing the Tooth Fairy: Conversation, complexity and anxiety in organisational life

Vicky Cosstick

Abstract



One strand of complexity theory argues for greater attention to be paid to conversation and the micro-processes of daily relating, arguing that change happens in the ordinary. In the international aid sector, we need particularly to understand how change actually happens. Understanding the place of conversation offers important insights into this challenge, and highlights the role of anxiety and defences against anxiety in organisational life. This article explores what this means for our participation in, facilitation of and attending to the place of conversations and process in organisational life¹.

Keywords

Complexity, conversation, relationships, anxiety, organisations, change, turning points.

One of my client organisations is the Cardinal Hume Centre². At their recent annual reception, Kerry, one of the hostel residents, told the assembled company his life story: he described his life as a series of conversations, beginning with those of his relatively normal family life. At the lowest point of his life, he said, the conversations stopped altogether. He had lost everything: dignity, self-worth, home and relationships. His only conversation was with heroin. What turned him around was another conversation, with a former drug addict, which propelled him into a 12-step addiction programme. The homelessness centre had engaged him in many more conversations, out of which he could now begin to envisage a future for himself.

So conversation is essential to constructive human existence. And according to one branch of complexity theory, conversations are also critical to organisational life and how we understand change.

My main professional interest, for several decades, has been in facilitating change in the working life and effectiveness of groups, teams, organisations and

¹ This article is self-published 2 Dec 09 © Vicky Cosstick

² The Cardinal Hume Centre works with homeless young people and other vulnerable groups in Westminster, Central London.

individuals. This usually boils down to how individuals and groups of various kinds, large or small, learn, plan, change, grow and deal with the various obstacles they face getting things done. The main sector in which I now work is that of international development. In a nutshell this is a sector, funded almost entirely by governments, private trusts and individual donations, which attempts to redress inequalities of income, opportunity and justice around the world, particularly in the poor countries of the South.

How change actually happens is an absolutely critical question for this sector, and a particularly interesting one: because of the length and complications of the “aid chain” from donor or funder to the people whose lives are ideally being changed for the better; because of the complexity of factors involved in actually making changes happen; because of the particular system dynamics that arise as a result of the way that the sector is funded. In the aid sector, the customer is not king; there is a real struggle involved to see the “beneficiaries” of aid as active participants in the aid chain. Rather, it is the donor or funder – the mandarins at DFID or the World Bank, the board of the Big Lottery Fund, or the immensely powerful Daily Mail reader, who votes the next government into power, whose understanding of development comes in tabloid-sized bites, who buys a weekly lottery ticket – who – often unknowingly – rules the chain. Accountability in the aid chain tends to be to the funder, not the customer or beneficiary of the services of the development sector. Those working on programmes in the South are under real pressure to account for the funding they receive, and to demonstrate that genuine change is happening.

In this article, I want to explore the territory of complexity, conversation, anxiety and organisational change. I will argue that one way to practically apply a complexity perspective in our work is to have an enhanced understanding of the role of conversations in our organisations, as well as to facilitate and participate in conversations with an amplified level of awareness. I will also suggest that conversations inevitably create anxiety for both participants and facilitators – and that working with or containing this anxiety creates challenges: groups are inherently paradoxical – they exist to solve problems, but create problems of their own (Nitsun, 1996, p. 46). Enter the tooth fairy³.

This article is being written and self-published⁴ at the start of Advent⁵. I have been led to reflect in recent times on writing as *adventure*: writing as itself a process of discovery and surprise. This piece has been inspired by my reflection on the seminar on conversation and complexity I co-facilitated in October – and it has

³ I am indebted to Paul Clarke, and his daughter, who was losing her tooth during my phone conversation with her father. “Daddy daddy, will the tooth fairy come?”

⁴ I am grateful to Alison Donaldson, Sean Lowrie and Tony Page for their constructive criticism and feedback on earlier drafts of this article. The flaws in the article which remain are of course my own.

⁵ Advent is a season in the Christian calendar of waiting, urgent anticipation, restraint and profound reflection on *kairos* – the ultimate destiny of humanity – without which the gift, gifts and giftedness of Christmas have little meaning.

become an advent gift intended for my greatly valued network of companions on the journey, or *adventure*, of understanding transformative change better. Complexity thinking, I will argue, leads us to pay more intense and precise attention to conversation and process – it is an invitation to both work – and perhaps write – differently.

Principles of the complexity paradigm

I have for over a decade been interested in complexity thinking, because it is the theoretical paradigm which resonates most coherently with my actual experience of working with change. There is much to be said – although not here – about the various strands of complexity thinking, which themselves have grown organically over the last twenty years, and their implications for the way we understand human relating and the life and development of organisations. At a basic level, there are some more or less agreed principles of the complexity paradigm: The world is complex, rather than just complicated. Attempts to manage or control organisational life or strategies for change very often end in frustration. Small actions can have large and unintended effects. Discomfort, turbulence and anxiety are inherent in organisational life. Context is everything, but we will never be able to see or measure the moment-to-moment influence of all the socio-political, cultural, geographical and relational factors on the arena in which we are working. Left to their own devices, systems can self-organise and out of apparent disorder new patterns and solutions may emerge. Against this backdrop, experimentation, reflection and retrospective sense-making are crucial processes for understanding and working – perhaps even survival -- in Noughties organisations.

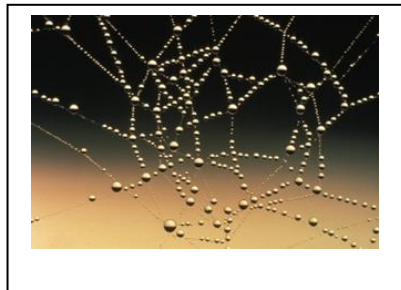
Strongly influenced by complexity theory -- amongst other things, including Gestalt psychology, eastern and western mysticism and Paolo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1968) -- I have come to realise that the quality of relationships and conversations are critical to organisational life and the achievement of organisational aims. This thinking can be found in many complexity-influenced texts but perhaps can be identified most clearly in the work of Ralph Stacey at the University of Hertfordshire (Stacey, 2001) and those influenced by him, such as Patricia Shaw (Shaw, 2002).

In this article, I am exploring the implications of taking complexity and conversation seriously. I want to demonstrate that we are inevitably led to a position where we must recognise that how we do things is at least as important as what we do. Furthermore, recognising and experiencing the "how" of process as conversation entails acknowledging the reality of anxiety, and the many defences against anxiety, in organisational life.

Organisation as a web of relationships

There are many ways to follow through on this interest in conversation, seen through a complexity lens. We may develop an almost Pinteresque concern with the banality of daily exchange. Shaw describes her way of working as participating

“in the chat” (Shaw, p. 151). Some people are taping parables of organisational life and turning them into written text to identify the turning points precisely. Others are interested in the relationship between writing and conversation – seeing that most writing emerges from and leads into further conversations – and it is these conversations that actually lead to changes, not the documents themselves⁶. This leads us to view reports, emails, strategy papers, evaluations and policies very differently. What kinds of conversation precede, surround and follow from the production or publication of a policy or evaluation? Why are they so often out of date no sooner than the ink is dry on the page?



In one piece of research, I took John Paul Lederach’s complexity-influenced concept of webs of relationship (Lederach, 2005) to explore the conversations that led up to the Belfast Peace Agreement of 1998. I saw that often the most significant conversations, many of them taking place long before the formal Mitchell peace process of the 1990s, were those that happened in the shadow and across boundaries within the overall system of conflict in Northern Ireland – between paramilitaries and spies, among Irish and UK government officials and between them and Irish American businessmen, between mothers and their families, and so on and so forth (Cosstick, 2008).

Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, I came to understand, could be seen as the “spider”, engaging in often clandestine conversations in any and all parts of the complex “system” of the Northern Ireland conflict. He was meeting with John Hume of the SDLP, David Irvine of the loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force, influential Irish American businessmen with direct links to President Clinton, with British spies and Irish government officials. Without these and many other undocumented relationships and conversations, the peace process would likely never have happened.

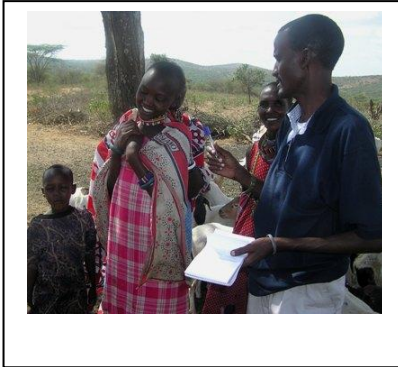
I notice therefore and am increasingly interested in the range of conversations that take place in organisational life. An organisation can be seen as a dynamic web or network of relationships and formal and informal conversations⁷ -- one that may have more influence over people’s actual working lives than the formal organisation chart. Similarly, any project or area of work can be seen as sequences or a web of conversations.

During an assignment to explore learning and change with senior programme staff of a large NGO in Nairobi, I began by asking them to draw a “rich

⁶ I have been very influenced by conversations with Alison Donaldson, who completed her PhD at the University of Hertfordshire under Ralph Stacey, and who now works with organisations using writing, conversation and narrative.

⁷ I think it is important to speak of conversation rather than dialogue. A conversation may take place in a corridor or be formalised into a large conference with many different processes. A dialogue tends to be more intentional and formally constructed.

picture” of the situation they were trying to change or influence. Several of them are working with the pastoralist communities of East Africa. The picture they drew was enormously complex: nomadic communities vulnerable to drought and development initiatives over which they have no control; large scale purchase of



their lands; ongoing tribal conflicts and historical forces at work; government policies and initiatives; internal dynamics and resistance to change; myriad emergency and development interventions by aid agencies; hugely variant value-based ideas as to what is “good” for pastoralists; well-meaning but ignorant donor agendas for development. The programme managers could easily feel overwhelmed and confused about how to work effectively in this setting.

However, just a few insights from complexity thinking quite quickly enabled them to see and then draw their rich picture in quite a different way. What happens when you start to ask the question: who am I building relationships with and what kinds of conversation am I having with them? Where are the possibilities for direct and indirect influence? What happens if I recognise that each or any of these conversations might lead to some kind of change in the situation, although not necessarily one that I have thought of or planned? What kinds of other conversations are taking place or need to take place in this situation, and between whom?

Learning is a conversation that leads to change

Much of my work can be seen as focussed on an event or series of events. It could be a teambuilding or strategic planning session; a learning and change workshop or a longer term change facilitation intervention; a coaching contract, conference or evaluation. I have come to see and experience these events very differently in the light of a complexity and conversation lens: now I see the event as emerging from and leading into or out of a series of formal and informal conversations, some of which I am involved in or facilitate, others of which take place at the edges of or beyond my awareness.

I have also come to understand learning itself as a [facilitated] conversation that leads to change. Learning is not happening unless some change takes place; and *vice versa*. I parenthesise the “facilitated” because of course any conversation may potentially lead to change and/or learning – but we can always ask the question ‘what facilitated that conversation’, i.e. what factors created the opportunity for that conversation to take place, and what made it effective? It could have been at the right time, or in the right place, or it might have been formally facilitated in some way or by some person.

What are the precise dynamics of a conversation that leads to change? Sometimes we can viscerally feel something shift in an individual or a group. I am very interested in what leads this shift or turning point to take place, and also what leads to change that will ‘stick’ or whose effects will reverberate beyond a given ‘event’ – because so much of organisational life, and facilitated change events,

seems to involve talk in which learning and change do not happen. I can often feel this shift happen, but I cannot often identify precisely the elements that make it happen. It's ephemeral. Taping might help, but I am too anxious that the presence of even the silent digital recorder in the room might alter the dynamic of the conversation, and that much of the dynamic is non-verbal and beyond awareness.

In other words, what are the precise conditions for and characteristics of effective processes?

Noticing the quality of conversations

How might we see and interact with the aid chain if we see it as a complex system made up of conversations which lead to or obstruct change? We could map all the stakeholders and influences around a particular intervention and then begin to imagine all the relevant conversations taking place within and beyond the system. What kinds of conversations are happening within communities where change is happening—or not – and what is influencing them? What conversations are taking place with the programme staff, or among the NGOs involved with a particular community? What formal and informal conversations are happening within the NGO around this particular intervention, and between the NGO and the donor? What is the quality and content of these conversations? What do they tell us about how change is being facilitated in this situation?

Recently Sean Lowrie⁸ and I co-facilitated an event, on conversation and complexity, in the complexity and development series of seminars⁹ (the “complexity group”); and coincidentally we also participated in a similar event, on conversations in organisations, held under a different umbrella (the ODIN professional network) the following week. Both sessions began the same way: with the participants seated in a large circle and the facilitators facing each other across the circle.



As I reflect on these events, I can choose to focus on either the process or the content of the conversations. My own bias, perhaps not surprisingly as a facilitator, is to want to notice and examine the process of the conversation. It is my conviction that we do not spend enough time noticing the details of process, and yet it is that discipline which can help us understand more about the dynamic of turning points in conversations. There are great pressures on us to stick to content – although my work has been imbued with the principle that the process is the content, and *vice versa*. We cannot separate the two; nor should we. The value of one is enhanced by the value of the other.

⁸ Sean Lowrie is an independent consultant working in the international aid and development sector: www.seanlowrie.com

⁹ Sean's and my reflections on this day can be found at: <http://aidontheedge.info/2009/11/16/complexity-conversation-reflections-2/> . This article is a third stage of reflection on this day.

A gender divide in conversations?

There was an interesting contrast between the processes of the two sessions – but they led to some similar conclusions. In Sean’s and my work with the complexity group, although we had a rough outline for the day, we diverted from it significantly fairly early on and our facilitation style was deliberately loose or emergent. In the ODiN session, facilitated by two women OD consultants, the facilitators offered two “tools for dialogue” and invited the group to explore them. In the complexity group, several people found the lack of structure very frustrating – and said so, quite forcefully. “I am concerned that I will leave here at the end of the day without 3 or 4 clear learning points!” In the ODiN group, conversely, a number of people were equally frustrated by the use of tools – one said tools give them “the heebie jeebies”. And in both conversations, there seemed to be, and participants noticed, a clear gender divide around structure and tools. Many of the men wanted structure in the process, and liked the use of the tools. Several of the women on the complexity day asserted the value of an unstructured process: “But I’ve got a list two pages long of learning points already, and that’s just from the morning.”

Of course, we cannot overplay the gender factor here. I know plenty of women who prefer rigid processes and men who are happy with open-ended conversation. But these two sessions did make me wonder.

Meetings in organisations are often orchestrated to reduce the experience of uncertainty...

There are quite strong assumptions in organisations about how conversations should take place: clear agendas and pre-defined outcomes are often automatically assumed to be a Good Thing. Group processes are often strongly and unquestioningly determined by training or academic expert paradigms. Programmes for workshops sometimes define activities in 5 minute slots. A primary responsibility of the facilitator is often assumed to be to police the timing of activities: “How long have we got?” “When do you want us back from coffee?” Many people hate PowerPoint, but it continues to be ubiquitous.

Groups are sat around tables – often too many for the size of the room, inhibiting free movement and eye-to-eye contact. Panels of invited speakers behind tables with a question and answer format underline the importance of “expertise”. So I am led to wonder whether control of the conversation is a subtle way in which gender retains its hold over organisational life. Shaw says (p. 32) “Conventionally, meetings in organisations are carefully orchestrated to conspire to reduce the experience of uncertainty.”

But there was much to learn from facilitating a more open conversation. I noticed the patterns of convergence and divergence. There was a central question or issue under discussion – but then conversation in the large group seemed to follow a non-linear path which moved away from or back towards the question under discussion. You can see that people often make their point not in direct

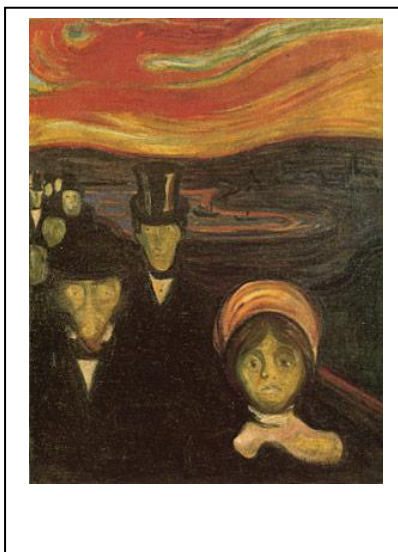
reaction to the point just made, but in reaction to someone who spoke one or two or more turns before that. If the conversation appeared to diverge too far from the original discussion, then members of the group would bring it back: “I’m just thinking about the original question....” When I commented on those who were “not participating” in the conversation, there was resistance: “just because we’re not speaking doesn’t mean we aren’t participating.” In a single circle without tables, much could be sensed from people’s body language. I notice how much of what is happening in the group would be missed if we were to tape it. Following the flow of the conversation, I became aware of some of my own and others’ anxious moments. Conversation, noted one participant, is like a river – and we cannot stand on the bank observing it. We need to get into it.

Again, Shaw says (p. 33):

I have a keen sense of the move towards and away from agreement, of shifts in power difference, the development and collapse of tensions, the variations in engagement, the different qualities of silence, the rhetorical ploys, the repetition of familiar turns of phrase or image, the glimpsing and losing of possibility, the ebb and flow of feeling tone, the dance of mutual constraint.

In the light of complexity, notes Stacey, our attention shifts in a significant way to the ordinary. As Weick says, quoting research by Porac, Thomas and Baden-Fuller (1989), “activities and structures of organisations are determined in part by micro-momentary actions of their members” (Weick, p. 8). These micro-actions are similar to what Ralph Stacey calls complex responsive processes: the dynamic patterns of gestures, symbols and meaning, accomplished through turn-taking and turn-making interactions. To make sense of organisational life, says Stacey (2001, p. 183) “requires attending to the ordinary, everyday communicative interacting between people at their own local level of interaction in the living present.”

The significance of anxiety



This is, essentially, conversation: “In their turn-taking, humans act in rhetorical ways to persuade each other and thus negotiate an evolving pattern of action.” And this leads to self-organisation: “a way in which patterns emerge from patterns, constituting the history of interaction.” (Stacey, p. 147)

This interaction can lead “simultaneously to emergent collaboration and novelty as well as to sterile repetition, disruption and destruction.” (Stacey, p. 148) Turn-taking and turn-making contain inherent dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, and therefore of power, which arouse feelings of anxiety. “Anxiety is thus an inevitable companion of change,” writes Stacey “and so, it follows, are destructive interruptions in communication.” (Stacey, p. 156) One response to the anxiety, which may go on in the silent conscious and unconscious response and reflection of participants is fantasy, including

projections and transference—themselves ways of controlling anxiety.

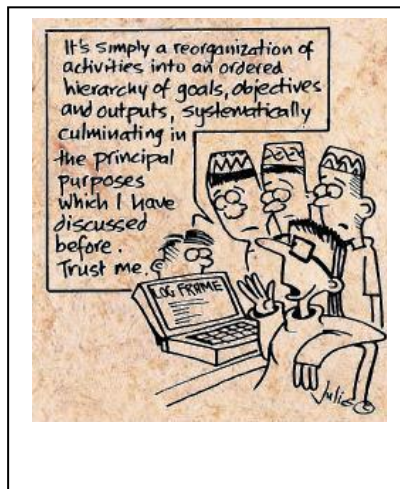
Conversation, therefore, is of great importance: certain types of conversation have the potential for innovation and creativity; indeed it could be argued that innovation and creativity are not possible without the conditions for such conversations to take place. These processes (Stacey, p. 181):

display the dynamic analogous to the 'edge of chaos' where patterning themes have the paradoxical characteristics of continuity and spontaneity at the same time. The felt qualities of such conversations are liveliness, fluidity and energy but also a feeling of grasping at meaning and coherence. There is excitement but also, at the same time, tension and anxiety. When conversational processes are characterised by this kind of dynamic, they have the potential for transformation.

Weick distinguishes between ambiguity and uncertainty: "the problem in ambiguity is not that the real world is imperfectly understood and that more information will remedy that. The problem is that information may not resolve misunderstanding." (Weick, p. 92) Ambiguity is contrasted with uncertainty – both uncertainty and ambiguity cause shock – and, in Stacey's terms, anxiety. The problem with ambiguity is that "people are unsure what questions to ask and whether there even exists a problem they have to solve" (Weick, p. 99). Whereas uncertainty is about ignorance, and therefore resolved by more information, ambiguity causes confusion, and "a different kind of information is required, namely, the information that is constructed in face to face interaction that provides multiple cues." (Weick, p. 99)

Problems that cannot be easily resolved create ambiguity, discomfort and anxiety. This anxiety may be particularly intolerable for those individuals in

organisations who need to be seen to have the answers, or who feel the need to be seen to have the answers. And yet the work we do, whether as managers within INGOs or as external consultants, is rife with situations in which frankly we don't know what to do, or we don't know what the answer is, or we don't really know what will happen as a result of our actions or a given intervention.



The tooth fairy as a defence against anxiety

I have come to understand that individuals, groups and organisations are packed with defences against this anxiety and I would call these strategies or mechanisms

"tooth fairies". A tooth fairy is a fantasy, a defence against anxiety which has no inherent truth, value or function other than its ability to reduce anxiety. The classic "tooth fairy" in international development is the logframe¹⁰, a device which many

¹⁰ The logframe (which stands for "logical framework") is a device for planning development projects, often demanded by funding agencies, which is considered deeply problematic by

people no longer believe has any useful function¹¹. We often hear people say: “I just filled it out to keep the donor happy, then I put it away and never looked at it again.” Until, of course, it gets unearthed when the time comes for the final project evaluation and it becomes clear how little it reflected any sort of reality.

A complexity approach offers alternative and more faithful approaches to anxiety. Ramo (2009), for example, speaks of the “magical effect of risk-taking at the right moments (p. 36)” and of the need for resilience, which “allows us, even at our most extreme moments of terror, to keep learning, to change.” (p. 172)

Stacey goes on to assert, quoting further complexity studies, that “transformative potential arises in conversations when participants are diverse, that is, sufficiently different to one another.... Cross-discipline and cross-functional conversations stimulate new insights.” (Stacey, pp. 182-3) He goes on:

The conversational life of an organisation is a potentially transformative, knowledge creating process, when through the diversity of participation it has the dynamics of fluid spontaneity, liveliness and excitement, inevitably accompanied by misunderstanding, anxiety-provoking threats to identity and challenges to official ideology and current power relations.



Perhaps it is not coincidental that complexity theory itself emerged out of precisely this type of conversation, as Waldrop vividly narrates, quoting Peter Carruthers, a theoretical physicist talking about the earliest discussions of 1987 at the Santa Fe Institute, where complexity theory was

born: “there was a collection of the most creative people in the world in many fields, and they turned out to have a lot to say to each other.” (Waldrop, p. 87) They included biologists, mathematicians, economists, astrophysicists, systems analysts and cognitive scientists. (And as far as I know, the participants in these extraordinarily open and innovative conversations were all men ☺.)

Strategic pursuit of change

What does all this mean for the way we actually engage in and with organisations and the groups that we work with to effect real change?

Some others of those engaged with exploring what difference complexity makes to our thinking and practice are interested in developing ever-more sophisticated computer software; others search for techniques and tools. Like a

many, because it contains implicit linear assumptions about how change happens. It was introduced by USAID in 1969: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Logical_framework_approach

¹¹ KPIs and targets are probably also tooth fairies – see

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7428895.stm> for the reasons the police are abandoning the “target culture”, due to its myriad unintended consequences, and the current debates about the negative effects of targets in the NHS.

magpie, I am occasionally briefly mesmerised by these devices – but when I look closer I fear I see the tinsel on a tooth fairy’s wings.

Lederach asks (p. 22): “How does constructive social change happen? How can we be more strategic in the pursuit of this change? What carries us closer to the promise of our words? How do turning points that make a difference happen?” Here are some ideas to begin with:

Firstly, noticing and valuing the rich flow of formal and informal conversations in and around any situation can give us a very different angle to work with.

Secondly, if conversations of all types, from the ordinary to the potentially transformative, are critical to the work we are doing, we need to think carefully about how we create the opportunities for them to happen, and whether and how they are facilitated.

Thirdly, our abilities to tolerate ambiguity and anxiety will be highlighted when we engage attentively to our participation in conversations, and may affect the kinds of processes we feel comfortable with, either as facilitator or participant. Making the direct connection between group process and complexity thinking, Reason & Goodwin asked: “is it possible to develop an understanding of how to help a group to move to, and hold, the point of chaos?” (Reason, 1999)

Fourthly, an organisation or system’s ability to problem-solve, innovate and implement constructive change may be inhibited where there is low tolerance for fostering a variety of kinds of conversation.

For me, writing an article such as this is, like the best processes, an adventure. The moment to moment experience of the journey is more important than knowing the destination – and the best journeys lead us to destinations we cannot fully envisage. The quality of the vacation is not the postcard, the guidebook or the map. And sometimes, the destination is a familiar one revisited, and rediscovered as if for the first time. And so it is that I want to leave this article by recalling Margaret Wheatley’s classic quote (1999, p. 39):

We need fewer descriptions of tasks and instead learn how to facilitate process. We need to become savvy about how to foster relationships, how to nurture growth and development. All of us need to become better at listening, conversing, respecting each other’s uniqueness ...

© Vicky Cosstick 2009

Vicky Cosstick is an independent consultant and facilitator, working mostly in the INGO and UK charity sectors. Her website is www.changeaware.eu . email: change.aware@btinternet.com

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cosstick, V.** (2008). Complexity and conflict resolution: some aspects of the peace process leading to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 in Northern Ireland. (*PG Cert Coventry University*) .
- Freire, P.** (1968). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Lederach, J. P.** (2005). *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford: OUP.
- Nitsun, M.** (1996). *The anti-group: Destructive forces in the group and their creative potential*. New York: Routledge.
- Porac et al, P.** (1989) Competitive groups as cognitive communities. *Journal of Management Studies* , 397-416.
- Ramo, J. C.** (2009). *The Age of the Unthinkable: Why the new world disorder constantly surprises us and what to do about it*. London: Little, Brown.
- Reason, P. & Goodwin, B. (1999). Towards a Science of Qualities in Organisations: lessons from complexity theory and post modern biology. *Concepts and Transformations* 8:3 , 281-316.
- Shaw, P.** (2002). *Changing Conversations in Organisations: A Complexity Approach to Change*. London: Routledge.
- Stacey, R. D.** (2001). *Complex Responsive Processes in Organizations*. New York: Routledge.
- Waldrup, M. M.** (1992). *Complexity: The emerging science at the edge of order and chaos*. New York: Penguin.
- Weick, K. E.** (1995). *Sensemaking in Organisations*. California: Sage.
- Wheatley, M.** (1999). *Leadership and the New Science: Discovering order in a chaotic world*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.