Report from the President
by Harlan Cleveland

Workshops. In an effort to explore more deeply the World Academy agenda suggested in last January's Newsletter, we convened in Minneapolis two workshops, on The Future of Work and on Religion and Governance. They were scheduled during the same week of May as the Executive Committee's Spring meeting, which gave several of us, and four Associate Fellows as well, the chance to join scholars and specialists in these interesting explorations. Elsewhere in this Newsletter you will find summary reports of both workshops.

Magda Cordell McHale is arranging a further session on The Future of Work, hosted by the Center for Integrative Studies, School of Architecture and Planning, SUNY at Buffalo, NY.

Meanwhile, Garry Jacobs has set in motion in India two locally-funded studies for the World Academy on policies to stimulate economic growth in ways that enhance the prospects for growth in employment (see box p.5). We hope also to help generate fresh thinking on this subject in Europe and the Middle East.

Andrzej Sicinski is arranging an international workshop, in Warsaw next Spring, on Civil Society. I hope we can explore the need in every society to extend and expand the reach of "nongovernments" (such as business firms, academies, professional associations, and all manner of cultural organizations), to enable people to do by self-governance much more of what governments have traditionally done for them -- or to them.

Ivo Slaus has once again been active in organizing a conference designed to bring more tolerance among people divided by cultural, religious, and political rivalries. The World Academy cosponsored last year's meeting, in Opatija, Croatia, at which I was privileged to deliver a keynote address entitled “Different, Yet Together.” This year's conference, also cosponsored by the World Academy and a good many European academies of science, was held in Sarajevo in August; in my absence I asked Ivo Slaus to represent not only the Croatian Academy but also the World Academy.

Junior Fellows. Almost a year ago, the Executive Committee decided to move toward appointing term-limited Junior Fellows of the World Academy. We started by writing to some of our more active Fellows around the world, suggesting they nominate one to three younger colleagues -- people they knew, and with whom they could readily stay in touch -- to serve as Junior Fellows until the end of 1998. We decided not to have an elaborate review process, but to trust Fellows of this Academy to name bright young adults genuinely attracted to the Academy's mandate (from its founders in 1960) to keep under review "the social consequences and policy implications of knowledge."

So far, 21 Fellows have nominated 34 Junior Fellows from 18 countries -- Croatia, Egypt, England, France, Germany, India, Israel, Korea, Palau, Poland, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Ukraine, and the USA.

I have written an appointment letter to each nominee, complete with certificate and lapel pin -- and a request to suggest themes and activities most interesting to them. We hope to collect some modest funds that permit us to invite Junior Fellows to workshops and other activities, and to engage at least some of them in continuous conversation via the Internet.

Meanwhile Associate Fellow Sujit Chowdhury, a young Bangladeshi now a citizen of Canada, with advice from several World Academy Fellows including myself, has this year established a Toronto-based Institute for Leadership Development, "a global partnership program, physically and virtually connected, which builds leadership skills in youth and young adults from diverse backgrounds, in Canada and around the world."

Our outreach to younger colleagues is, I believe, an essential part of our mandate as Fellows of the World Academy. Maybe it's my advancing age (78) and intimations of mortality; but I think it's increasingly important that each of us actively shares with members of "the successor generation" whatever we may have learned, by trial and error, through failure and success, about the consequences and implications of the spread of knowledge.

NOTE: Prof. Harlan Cleveland and his wife Lois moved their residence this summer from Minneapolis, Minnesota, to a new home in northern Virginia. Their new mail address is 46891 Griscom Street, Sterling, VA 20165 USA. Their new phone number is (703) 450-0428; add 1 for the fax number: (703) 450-0429. He can still be reached via e-mail at the same address as before: cleve004@maroon.tc.umn.edu.

The World Academy President's office remains for the time being in Minneapolis, where links are maintained by Associate Fellow Keith Vargo. That mail address is University of Minnesota, Hubert H. Humphrey Center, 301 19th Avenue S., Minneapolis, MN 55455, USA. Phone: (612) 624-5592, fax (612) 625-3313. E-Mail: kvargo@hhc.umn.edu.
The Future of Work

On May 21st, 1996, the World Academy of Art and Science convened a small workshop in Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA, to explore "The Future of Work." The following notes are adapted and abridged from a longer report by Harlan Cleveland and Garry Jacobs (available from the President’s Office), and based in part on earlier writings of Arthur Cordell and Walter Truett Anderson. In addition to these four, participants included Fellows A.T. Ariyaratne, Magda Cordell McHale, Hordício P.R.C. Menano, Rem Petrov, and John Rollwagen; an invited guest from the University of Minnesota, Prof. Vernon Ruttan; and four Associate Fellows of the World Academy (Sujit Choudhury, Bruce LaRue, Patrick Mendis, and Keith Vargo).

1. The Picture

Everywhere in the world, in varying ways, information science and information technologies are accelerating the pace of change and rendering unusable familiar methods of organizing and governing that were developed for societies with clearer boundaries, more limited information flows, more stability and predictability.

Wealth is clearly more and more a function of information flows, and information technologies which are labor-saving, energy-saving, and capital-saving. To cope with the historically sudden changes in their environments, governments and large corporations alike are mutating for survival -- shedding labor, adopting smart techniques for production and distribution, consciously trying to become learning organizations.

There is in consequence a rising tide of discussion, and a mounting world-wide anxiety, about the future of work in the 21st century.

In post-industrial societies, the prognosis is for technologies and global competition that seem likely to leave more and more people without regular “jobs” or predictable “careers,” requiring of young people far greater flexibility and more frequent career changes, and promising them much less “security” than most of their parents enjoyed. The resulting uncertainties are prominent in current political rhetoric, social policy-making, business management, and every aspect of local, national, and international governance.

In developing countries the anxiety can be summed up as a huge challenge highlighted by the 1994 Report of the International Commission on Peace and Food (ICPF): how to generate remunerative employment for one billion people who will bring their rising expectations into their countries' “labor force” in the decade ahead.

The growing (and contradictory) noises on this subject make its analysis especially difficult.

In the early 1990s, as rising unemployment and “jobless growth” generated acute anxieties in North America, the focus on the numbers of unsatisfied job-seekers overshadowed the fact that the percentage of U.S. and Canadian populations employed had actually reached historically peak levels.

The media emphasis on “downsizing” and corporate layoffs in Fortune 500 companies (which employ only 5% of the U.S. labor force) drowned out the news that many more new jobs, including new kinds of jobs, were being contrived, created, and invented in small businesses and enterprising startups. (In the United States since 1990, total job creation has outstripped job destruction by more than two to one.)

In recent years a number of East Asian countries have achieved full, even overfull, employment. China is said to have created more than 100 million jobs during the past decade. The rate of employment growth in India has more than doubled since an economic reform package (based partly on suggestions from the ICPF, chaired by Dr. M.S. Swaminathan) was launched in 1991.

Even some of the least developed countries, including those in Africa, show a rapid growth in micro-enterprise, assisted by new kinds of banks that make small, short-term loans to fledgling enterprises and get impressively high rates of repayment -- following the constructive example of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh.

The International Labour Organisation has directly challenged the “deterministic“ view that rising unemployment is inevitable, and recommends a revival of “a universal commitment to the goal of full employment." The ICPF's 1994 report, Uncommon Opportunities: An Agenda for Peace and Equitable Development, proposed that employment be guaranteed as a fundamental human right. "Recognizing the right of every citizen to employment is the essential basis and the most effective strategy for generating the necessary political will to provide jobs for all."

2. Three Puzzles

The puzzles about "jobs for all" ramify well beyond the obvious (What is a "job"? and Who is "all"?) into questions about basic needs, the nature of work, and the connection between jobs and incomes.

Employment vs. human needs. There have been many attempts, by scholars, governments, and international organizations, to define “basic human needs.” But the phrase is widely taken to mean, for each individual, “enough” food, water, clothing, shelter, health, and education -- plus such “collective goods" as security, communication, and environmental protection.

Describing the village-level development movement known as Sarvodaya (continued on pg.3)
The Future of Work (from pg. 2)
Shramadana, which reaches more than 11,000 villages (nearly half of all Sri Lanka's villages), Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne says the first task was always to determine which needs can be met by self-help -- starting from the "inner development" of individual human beings -- and which require larger support systems to attain what the movement calls "Right Livelihood." The work needing to be done is not regarded as "employment;" the purpose of work is not regarded as "income" but as achievement of "justice" and "happiness" resulting from the meeting of human needs.

It does seem that defining employment as in itself a purpose (as in declarations and policies about "full employment"), rather than as a means to the satisfaction of more basic human needs and purposes, interferes with thinking clearly about the future of work.

"Jobs" vs. "work." The contemporary notion of having a job is a social invention, and a fairly recent one. As William Bridges writes in Job Shift, "Before 1800 -- and long afterward in many cases -- job always referred to some particular task or undertaking, never to a role or position in an organization. You might do a job, but you didn't have one."

The change (the first job shift) came with industrialization and urbanization. The job -- the kind that you had, or hoped to get -- became a central fixture of life in industrial countries. For managers and efficiency experts, job assignments were the key to assembly-line manufacturing. For union organizers, jobs protected the rights of workers. For political reformers, standardized civil service positions were the essence of good government. Jobs provided an identity to immigrants and recently urbanized farm workers. They provided a sense of security for individuals and (continued on pg.4)

Religion and Governance

These notes were prepared by Walter Truett Anderson. Participants to the small workshop included: Fellows Harlan Cleaveland (chair), Walter Anderson, A. T. Ariyaratne, Arthur Cordell, Garry Jacobs, Horacio Maneno, Magda McHale, Rem Petrov. Associate Fellows: Bruce LaRue, Patrick Mendis, Keith Vargo. Guests: Father Robert Kennedy, Dr. Michael Naughton and Father Montgomery Smith of the University of St. Thomas; and, Prof. Van Dusenbery of Hamline University.

The meeting on "Religion and Governance" was convened, not as a full-fledged workshop or conference, but as an exploratory discussion of the themes that might usefully be taken up by the World Academy in the future. The starting point was Andre Malraux's prediction that the twenty-first century would be the "century of religion."

Observers of all persuasions -- from the secular to the deeply faithful -- now appear to agree that religion will indeed be an important factor in global politics in the decades ahead, that it will not fade into irrelevance as many people were beginning to assume at mid-century and be completely supplanted by nationalism and economically-based ideologies as drivers of political thought and action.

But, that much agreed, there remain tremendous differences of opinion about what forms religious belief should or will take in the future, and whether it will be a force for bringing the world together or tearing it apart. Prof. Samuel Huntington, in a much-quoted 1993 Foreign Affairs article, viewed with alarm the growing importance of culture and religion as dynamic factors in world politics, and predicted a new kind of post-Cold War global polarization: "The most important conflicts of the future," he wrote, "will occur along the cultural fault lines separating civilizations from one another."

Sociologist James Davison Hunter, in his book Culture Wars, offered a different analysis leading to a different scenario: in his view, the most important conflicts will be within individual religions rather than between them -- between those Muslims, Christians, Hindus or Buddhists or Jews who regard their doctrines and beliefs as expressions of an "external, definable and transcendent authority," and the more secular, liberal or progressive members of the same faith who are more inclined to "resymbolize historic faiths according to the prevailing assumptions of contemporary life."

Marc Luyckx of the European Commission's Forward Studies Unit -- whose paper on "Religion as a New Geostrategic Factor in Post-Industrial Society" was background reading for the World Academy meeting -- prefers the Hunter hypothesis, and believes that the major world conflicts will be not so much between different cultures and religions as within each culture. The issues, then, will be such matters as different cosmologies, ideas about religious and political authority, the nature of change, and man-woman relations. He points out that there is much agreement among "modern" Islamic, Jewish and Christian theologians on many issues, and similar agreements among conservative theologians from several different faiths.

It appeared to participants in the conversation that there is tremendous dynamism in religious life today, and that these issues are worthy of serious study in future World Academy activities. It was noted, among other signs of that dynamism, that all the major religions are now truly "global" religions, no longer primarily identified with geographical regions or ethnic groups. Because of the mobility of populations, the opportunities for conversion to different faiths, and the eclectic combinations of some religions (e.g., Christian and Buddhist in some areas), it is increasingly difficult to fix any religion in time or space.
The Future of Work (from pg. 3) an organizing principle for society.

A second job shift is now under way. In industrial countries it is seen in "telecommuting" and "job-sharing," in the increasing use of temporary and part-time workers and contracted-out services, in changing relationships between workers and management, in the growing popularity of self-employment and small business.

*Work* is in any case a larger word, a much larger subject, than *jobs*. It encompasses not only what is paid for but what is done for free, voluntarily or by coercion. Nearly everywhere, it seems, "people are improvising livelihoods that do not fit the industrial model," Walter Anderson writes. "Immigrants to the industrial countries, often unable to find steady jobs, nevertheless find places in the new landscape by being mobile, flexible, resourceful and imaginative: they moonlight, work part-time, share jobs, start small businesses..."

"Another kind of job shift is taking place in much of post-communist Eastern Europe, where people are surviving not because the old command system is still in place -- or the shiny new Western one has taken hold -- but out of sheer ingenuity. Forced to adapt, people become hustlers, traders, independent manufacturers, freelance deal-makers."

Many other kinds of work are not considered "jobs," because those who do them are not paid for doing them. This is true of a millionaire who raises funds for a symphony orchestra or a political candidate, a resident who cleans a nearby sidewalk as a civic duty, a homemaker who cooks for and cleans up after a large family, a farmer who helps put out neighborhood fires, a retiree who uses his skills to referee a children's game or organize a meeting. It's true, in fact, of the non-"job" part of everyone's life.

Whether or not it shows up in the Gross National Product, work creates value. So our focus should be, not on employment, but on all kinds of work whether the workers are compensated in money, in bartered goods and services, or in psychic income. Instead of "full employment," the World Academy workshop concluded, the goal of a healthy society should be *full engagement*.

"Working for a living." The meaning and purpose of a "job" is often defined as "working for a living." But there are, of course, many ways to derive income from the work of others: owners of capital "clip coupons" (receive interest and dividends); freight companies use highways paid for by taxpayers; most of us use waste disposal systems and public parks which may have been paid for by someone else's ancestors.

Moreover, the income required to meet our basic human needs is not even roughly measured by wages or salaries from our "jobs" even while we are "employed," a sizeable part of that income is taxed away to maintain public services of many kinds, from pre-school education to national defense. And when we retire, we have a new option -- to work at what we really want to do, and be paid for what we used to do.

In the real world there is thus a growing detachment of "working" from "living." The reason is obvious: gluing them together tends to deprive some people of the means to satisfy their families' basic needs, while providing others with astonishing multiples of what any reasonable standard of living might cost. What is increasingly clear is that compensation only for the kinds of work that qualify as "jobs" never distributes income in ways that are fully consistent with social fairness and political stability.

**Full engagement** may thus require somehow dissolving the glue that, in the past two centuries, has held "work" and "income" so closely together.

3. Shifting Roles

As the changing information environment induces new workways and new ways of thinking about work, the roles of all the players in the resulting choreography are bound to be deeply affected.

Reflective corporation executives see the huge modern information base as making possible decentralized activity not controlled from the center in the way old-fashioned "decentralization" required. "The problem is to keep moving. There's no time to centralize," says John Rollwagen, former chairman of Cray Research, Inc., who is now helping guide the fortunes of several fast-moving high-tech companies at the confluence of computers and communications.

Companies now have to be more "distributed, ad hoc," with their core staff much smaller in numbers and many of their functions dispersed or contracted out. The barriers to entering business may in consequence be lower, and in some degree less dependent on initial investment than on new ideas and personal initiative.

Organized labor hasn't yet invented an uncentralized form of worker protection. Trade unions developed with hierarchical structures which enabled them to deal with the central executives of large corporations. The dispersion of high-tech business and the professionalization of so many "workers" now makes necessary styles of organization and bargaining to which traditional trade union members have proved to be ill adapted; the experience of university faculties and other information workers bears witness.

Organized labor has also not yet

(continued on pg.5)
The Future of Work (from pg. 4) found the key to the puzzle of organizing "temporary employees." A great many people, and some very large corporations (such as Manpower, Inc., in the United States) have managed to thrive on the apparent contradiction that people with flexible attitudes and transferable skills can make "careers" out of limited-time assignments.

The role of government in the "information economy" is also still unformed. It's apparent that some traditional government functions are shrinking, partly because people and organizations are becoming less dependent for information on government agencies, and also because traditional sources of public revenue are drying up.

But for their inescapable functions -- security, fairness, standards of quality -- governments aren't yet tapping the new wealth of nations, the trillions of bits of information pulsing through global information networks. Governments' roles may come to be financed by new sources of revenue, such as a turnover tax on interactive digital traffic.

The role of the individual may change most of all. With both business and government retreating from responsibility for keeping everyone employed, reaching the goal of "full engagement" falls more and more on individual citizens.

In the post-industrial economies especially, more individual men and women are taking more responsibility for getting re-educated (and becoming more activist about the quality and content of their children's education); for hustling entrepreneurship and starting small businesses; for organizing new citizens' groups (including NGOs that operate internationally), and energizing those, like the local parent-teacher associations, that already exist -- and for tolerating, even welcoming, more flexible ideas about part-time work and "flex-time," about relocation, about telecommuting, and even about making multiple career changes in a lifetime.

The growing proportion of retirees has been looming as part of the "jobs" problem: in Japan, Western Europe, and North America, what's foreseen is a dwindling number of employed "workers" supporting a constantly growing number of old folks. In this context the full engagement of retirees, each developed country's largest untapped resource, will be an important part of future public policy.

4. Next Steps
The importance, magnitude, and complexity of "the future of work" has prompted the Academy's leadership to place this subject near the top of its agenda. Participants in the World Academy workshop thought that the Academy could help clarify the issue in two important ways.

One is to generate a process of study and discussion that considers the changing nature of work as a worldwide trend, contributing to instability nearly everywhere and provoking troublesome social and political conflict, of different kinds in differing ways, within every society and in international relations.

This will require us to examine current and projected trends in "the informatization of society," in order to guess at the future dynamics of "work" in post-industrial societies -- and how these projected trends may fall out on those early-stage developing societies which are not as yet experiencing them.

From this analysis, it may be possible to suggest policies that governments and elements of "civil society" in various countries might pursue, and actions that internationally-minded citizens, corporations, academies, and associations might take, to cope with probable change.

To stimulate this theory-building, and to help stimulate sensible ways of thinking about local employment generation, the World Academy is trying to mount locally-funded studies to help formulate practical strategies for "full engagement."

One of these, already funded and in motion, is described in the box below. We would project, for the World Academy of Art and Science, a continuing function as a center of initiative on what "the information revolution" means for "the future of work."

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The Future of Work -- a Field Study

Acting for the World Academy, Garry Jacobs has initiated the first of several studies on employment -- this one in the Union Territory of Pondicherry, a coastal area on the Bay of Bengal in South India. The study, locally sponsored by The Mother's Service Society, seeks to apply the approach developed by the International Commission on Peace and Food which formulated a strategy for generating 100 million new jobs in India within 10 years. The aim is to identify viable commercial projects to accelerate development and employment in the region, using commercial agriculture as an engine for industrialization, job creation, and economic growth. The research team is headed by Dr. G. Rangaswami, formerly Vice Chancellor of the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University and Agricultural Adviser to the Indian Planning Commission, who also directed ICPE's India study. A second study is planned for the Dindigul District of the State of Tamil Nadu, in association with Gandhigram University.
New Fellows

The following Fellows were elected by the Executive Committee since January 1996:

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne  
President - Lanka Jatika  
Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya  
Moratuwa, Sri Lanka

José Berardo  
President - Berardo Foundation, Art collector  
Madeira, Portugal

Ven. Bhikkhu Bodhi  
Buddhist Monk  
Kandy, Sri Lanka

Dr. José Joaquin Brunner  
Sociologist, issues in education and learning  
Santiago, Chile

Riane Eisler  
Cultural transformation theorist, Co-Director - Center for Partnership studies  
Carmel, California, USA

Torsten Ove Lilja  
Industrialist, art collector  
Djursholm, Sweden

Academician B.E. Paton  
Scientist, applied research in science and technology  
Kiev, Ukraine

Dr. Citrad Skoda  
Senior scientist  
Psychiatric Center, Prague  
Prague, Czech Republic

Prof. Konstantin G. Skryabin  
Molecular biologist, genetic engineer  
Moscow, Russia

Huston Smith  
Philosopher, theologian  
Berkeley, California USA

Prof. Osvaldo Sunkel  
Political economist  
Santiago, Chile

Prof. Majid Tehranian  
International communication specialist  
Honolulu, Hawaii, USA

Prof. Stephen Toulmin  
Philosophy, intellectual history and science  
Los Angeles, California, USA

Deceased Fellows

Reported deaths since the January 1996 Newsletter:

Sydney D. Bailey  
Writer  
London, England

Dr. Jozef Bogusz  
Surgeon  
Kراكow, Poland

Prof. Stanley A. Cain  
Botany, Ecology, Conservation  
Santa Cruz, California, USA

Dr. Lawrence Z. Freedman  
Psychiatry, psychoanalysis  
Chicago, Illinois, USA

Prof. J. Kuzuru Homma  
Bacteriology, Medicine, Microbiology  
Tokyo, Japan

Prof. Leo H. Klaassen  
Economist  
Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Prof. Otto Klineberg  
Social psychology, international relations  
New York, New York, USA

Prof. Andre Lwoff  
Microbiology, virology  
Paris, France

William Z. McLear  
Finance, investment  
Philadelphia, PA USA

Prof. Joseph Needham  
Biochemistry  
Cambridge, England

Eugene Schwartz  
Editor, publisher  
New York, New York, USA

Prof. Joseph Sternberg  
Medicine  
Quebec, Quebec, Canada

Dr. Walter A. Wood  
Geography  
New York, New York, USA

Prof. Arthur M. Young  
Education  
Dowington, PA

Missing Fellows

We are seeking information on the following Fellows whose addresses have been identified as incorrect. Should you have any information, please contact the President's office. Your help is appreciated.

Bibi Andersson  
Lidingo, Sweden

Dr. Peter Brook  
Paris, France

Mr. Mark C. Chona  
London, England

Dr. Mary Hall  
Birmingham, England

Dr. Edward B. Hutchins  
Decatur, GA USA

Prof. M. Ali Kettani  
Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

Dr. Christos A. Papatheodorou  
Washington, DC USA

Dr. S. Ramachandran  
Madras, India

Dr. Sergio C. Trinidad  
Geneva, Switzerland

Dr. W.H. Weihe  
Zurich, Switzerland

Send information to:  
Professor Harlan Cleveland  
President  
World Academy of Art and Science  
161 Hubert H. Humphrey Center  
301 19th Avenue South  
Minneapolis, MN 55455 USA

Any Changes?

A new List of Fellows will be published in November, and mailed to all Fellows. It will also include the Associate Fellows and Junior Fellows. If you have changed your mail address or other useful information (phone & fax numbers, electronic mail address), please let us know before the end of October (at Minneapolis office address listed above).