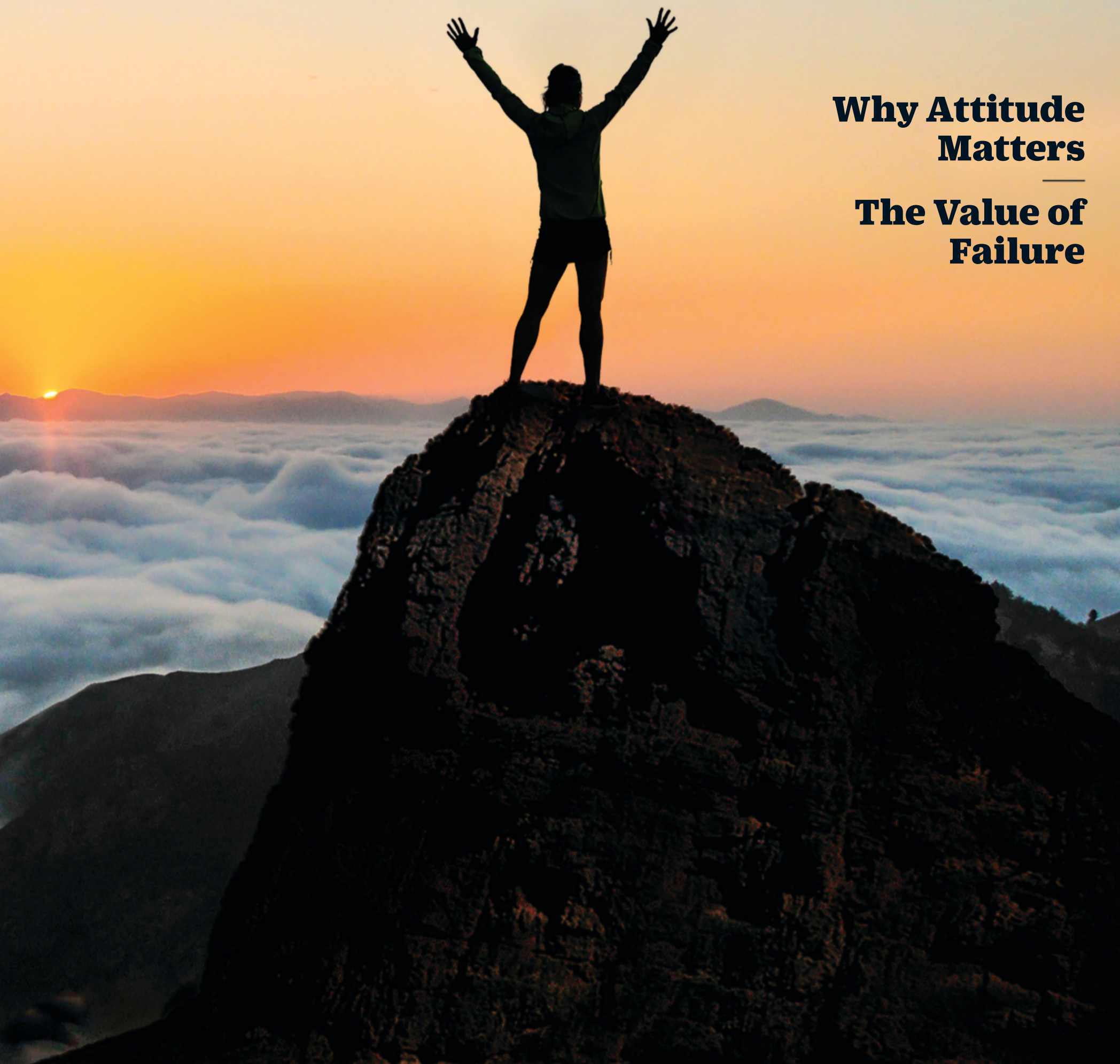
SPECIAL TIME EDITION

THE SCIENCE OF SUCCESS

LOVE / HEALTH / BUSINESS / LIFE



Why Attitude Matters

The Value of Failure

SPECIAL TIME EDITION

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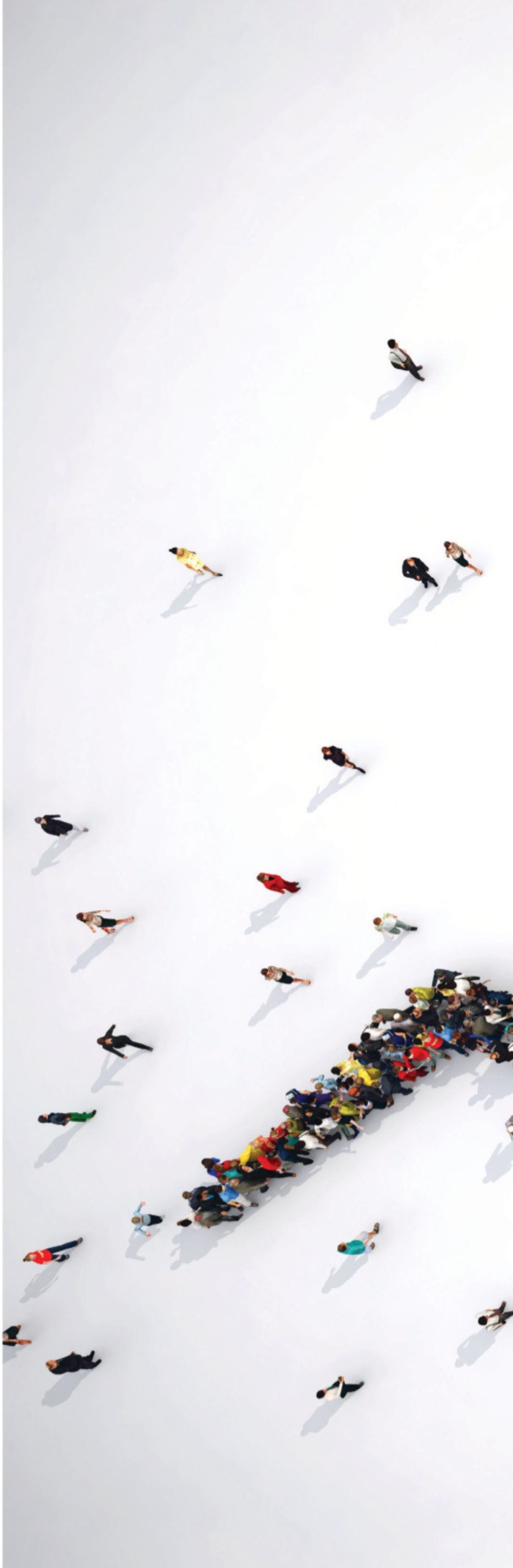
Contents

Parts of this edition appeared previously in TIME and on Time.com.



What Does Success Even Mean?

The definition is fuzzy, mixing public and private, perception and reality

By Richard Jerome

MARIO MENDOZA WAS A shortstop who played for nine seasons in the big leagues—from 1974 to 1982—with the Pittsburgh Pirates, Seattle Mariners and Texas Rangers. Born in Chihuahua, Mexico, he made it to the majors on the strength of his slick defensive play—the graceful, bespectacled Mendoza displayed excellent range, sure hands and a strong, accurate throwing arm. In 1980, no less an expert than Hall of Fame second baseman Bill Mazeroski, himself a legendary fielder, declared, "Mario Mendoza is the best shortstop in the American League." For all his virtues, Mendoza was not, however, a hitter. Over the course of his career, he compiled a .215 lifetime batting average, meager by any standard—though far from the worst in major-league history.

Indeed, he might well have faded into the long line of "good field, no hit" shortstops were it not for a wisecrack by another Hall of Famer, George Brett. In 1979, Mendoza had come to the plate more often than in any other season of his career—and posted one of his worst batting marks, .198. In an interview the following year, Brett quipped that he checked the league averages in the Sunday paper each week in order to see "who is below the Mendoza Line"—meaning under .200, a benchmark for batting futility. The precise origins of the phrase are in dispute; Mendoza himself credited a couple of his own teammates. But it was the high-profile Brett who catapulted "the Mendoza Line" into the American lexicon.

It was a catchy term, to be sure, like some geographical demarcation coined by 16th-century conquistadors. And it was soon co-opted by fields beyond baseball. Consider this 2011 headline from *Barron's*: "Fear sends 10-Yr Treasury Under the Mendoza Line" (a 2% yield). When President George W. Bush's approval rating dropped below 30% in 2007, one Republican pollster suggested he'd fallen below "a sort of political Mendoza Line." The late Hollywood director Garry Marshall carried a Mario Mendoza baseball card with him while filming. "When I'm shooting a movie," he explained, "I take the card out of my wallet and tell everybody, including myself, that we gotta make sure not to drop below the Mendoza Line today."

And so Mario Mendoza's name became inextricably linked with failure. That's a shame, because viewed through another lens, he could be ranked a rousing success. Think of the odds that a baseball player will join the elite group who've made it to the major leagues—fewer than 20,000 have done it since 1876, not even enough to fill half the average ballpark. Take it a step further and compute that probability for a kid from Chihuahua—then calculate the odds of his staying in the bigs for almost a decade. We should all fail so miserably.

All of which demonstrates the squishy nature of success itself. What is it, really, aside from the subject of enough books to fill the Great Library of Alexandria? For many, success means "$UCCE$$"—professional advancement, visionary entrepreneurship, savvy investing, any avenue to financial wealth. Others may see it as making a contribution to society through public service, philanthropy or other acts of altruism. Maybe it's a rewarding personal life, finding a loving partner, family and friends. On another level, is success something we feel within ourselves, a sense of accomplishment, the satisfaction of reaching whatever personal goals we've set? Or is it how we're perceived by others? We may tell ourselves we're successful, but does that matter if the world sees us as a crashing dud? Of course, once in a while, posterity weighs in. Consider Vincent van Gogh. He sold just one painting during his anguished lifetime, sliced off his ear and shot himself to death at 37 in 1890. As of then, you might have said he'd fallen well below the Mendoza Line. But today he's, well, Van Gogh.

And what of Mendoza? After his big-league career ended, he played for seven more years in Mexico (compiling an excellent .291 batting average) and managed teams there and in the U.S. minor leagues. Nicknamed *Manos des Seda*, or Silk Hands, for his fielding skills, Mendoza was elected to the Mexican Baseball Hall of Fame in 2000. At 68, he is one of his country's respected elder statesmen of sports. Perhaps it's time to reassess, even redefine, the Mendoza Line, not as a cold statistical marker of ineptitude but as a murky border zone separating the half-empty and the half-full, perception and reality, failure and success. □

CHAPTER

1 The Biology of Success

Are Some of Us Wired to Achieve?

Yes, the brain has "success centers"—but neural plasticity allows it to reshape and improve itself

By Markham Heid

THE "MARSHMALLOW TEST" MAY BE THE MOST FAmous behavioral-science experiment in history. In it, a child is presented with a marshmallow or a similar treat. The child is told that if she can wait 15 minutes before eating the marshmallow, she'll receive a second one.

Stanford University researchers conducted the original marshmallow tests in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Initially, the aim of these tests was to determine the age at which kids develop the ability to show patience and delay gratification. (The test was normally administered to children between ages 4 and 6.) But follow-up studies found that the youngsters who were able to resist gobbling up the marshmallow were better able to cope with stress during adolescence, were better at taking standardized tests and were more likely to excel academically and professionally. Basically, the kids who could muster self-restraint early in life often turned out to be successful teens and adults.

Although groundbreaking, the Stanford marshmallow test has lately come under scrutiny. When researchers at New York University and the University of California, Irvine, repeated the test in 2018 with a larger and more socioeconomically diverse group of kids, they found that the ability to exert "impulse control" only partly predicted greater achievement later in life. Adjusting for variables such as background and upbringing reduced the effect. Still, the marshmallow test revealed that at a very early age, the brains of some children may

already be wired for success.

The question becomes: How did this come about? "People may be born with some crude biological propensity toward delayed gratification, but I think it's much more likely these behaviors are learned," says Ian Robertson, an emeritus professor of psychology at Trinity College Institute of Neuroscience in Dublin. This mixture of "nature" and "nurture" likely shapes many other aspects of an individual's neurobiology—including traits or tendencies that lead to success.

Of course, success can be a slippery phenomenon to define—mainly because it's so subjective. While for some, wealth and power equate to success, others prize close relationships and harder-to-measure forms of personal fulfillment. Likewise, nailing down the brain characteristics that raise or lower a person's odds of succeeding is a tricky task. But there are some cognitive and psychological attributes—such as motivation, focus, risk-taking and resilience—that seem to promote success across many spheres of human endeavor. And most of these, at least to an extent, can be improved on or augmented at any age.

"Before the advent of magnetic resonance imaging, it was thought that the brain matter you were born with, you lived with," says Ray Forbes, a program chair and business psychologist at Franklin University in Ohio. "But what we've been learning for the past 10 or 15 years is that the brain is almost infinitely plastic."

Forbes is quick to add that portions of any individual's cognitive traits and personality characteristics are dictated by genes and early life experiences. But everyone has the capacity to reshape their brain for success.

Research says cognitive and non-cognitive brain areas appear to be better integrated among successful CEOs.

BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IS a hot area of scientific inquiry, and many thousands of studies have claimed or aimed to identify the personality characteristics and brain traits that correlate with success in a corporate environment.

A lot of this research is contradictory or controversial, but a 2015 Harvard Business School analysis of male, large-company CEOs in Sweden came to a conclusion that has turned up again and again in the literature on corporate success: that executives tend to score high on tests of intelligence and "noncognitive" aptitude but that they are by no means extraordinary.

"Although the traits of CEOs compare favorably with the population, they are hardly exceptional," the authors of that Harvard analysis write. "There are more than one hundred times as many men in managerial roles in the corporate sector who have better trait combinations than the median large-company CEO."

That analysis, like many others, found that a man's noncognitive ability was more closely tied to his odds of landing a leadership role than was his IQ. Noncognitive ability refers to a number of different qualities, but some examples are cooperation, self-control, a "growth mindset" and social competence. In other words, CEOs tend to be utility players—people with a range of above-average skills rather than a single standout ability.

"The most successful CEOs are what some have called whole-brained," says Forbes, who has studied the neuroscience of leadership. He says some of the research in this field breaks down the brain's cognitive and noncognitive skills into four quadrants of activity that roughly map onto the actual structure of the human brain. For example, the lower-left quadrant is heavily active during planning and organizing tasks, while the lower-right fires up during emotional or interpersonal activities. "The four major brain sections identified in this research appear to be better integrated and accessible in CEOs than in other populations," he says.

Research has tied other brain characteristics to success—though context is important. For example, there's evidence that people who tend to be risk-takers and reward-seekers may be more likely to succeed as entrepreneurs. At the same time, these behavioral tendencies also raise a person's risks for substance abuse and addiction—or for a lack of fulfillment even

if their enterprises succeed. "Just as someone can become addicted to sex or drugs, they can fall into a cycle of addiction where there's never enough money or power, and that can be very punishing," says Robertson, the author of *The Winner Effect*, a book about the neuroscience of success.

Most cognitive or behavioral traits, he adds, are "two-edged swords." For instance: a lot of research suggests that people who possess some narcissistic personality characteristics—egocentrism, entitlement, lack of empathy for others—may be more likely to land in leadership roles, but there's evidence that narcissists make poor CEOs. Although a hint of narcissism could boost a person's self-confidence or charisma in a way that helps them succeed, too much could hold them back.

WHILE THE USEFULNESS of some brain traits or tendencies is context-dependent, other traits increase a person's odds of success in almost any situation. And it's possible to retrain the brain in ways that encourage some of these helpful patterns of thinking.

One example: people who display high levels of "self-compassion" often score high on measures of well-being, and they also tend to motivate themselves in ways that help them achieve their goals. "There are two main ways people motivate themselves—through self-criticism or through self-compassion," says Kristin Neff, an associate professor of educational psychology at the University of Texas and the author of *The Mindful Self-Compassion Workbook*. Neff compares these approaches to the carrot and the stick. "Self-criticism is being hard on yourself, or scaring yourself with the fear of failure," she explains. This kind of motivation can work, but it can also increase anxiety and discourage people from setting lofty goals or undertaking new projects. "To succeed, you often need to keep trying after an initial failure," she explains. "But for people who self-criticize, failure can be too scary."

Self-compassion, on the other hand, is a form of motivation that accesses the brain and body's "care systems," the ones we tap into when parenting or helping friends through hard times. "Think about how you would talk to a child who had failed at something," Neff advises. "You would never say, 'You're such a loser' or 'a failure.' " Yet these are the kinds of admonishments many people heap on themselves when they don't succeed. Neff says self-compassion is about learning to be kind to oneself when things don't work out and recognizing that nearly all successful people struggle through setbacks. When people practice self-compassion, she says, failure isn't as scary. Removing this fear helps people to stay motivated and on track.

She recommends that people write themselves "encouraging, supportive" letters—the kind one writes to a struggling friend. "Writing to oneself compassionately is an effective way to increase motivation and reduce fear of failure," she says.

Returning to the lessons of the marshmallow test, Robertson says that kids who were able to resist gobbling the marshmallow tended to distract themselves by looking away from the treat and counting. Really, he says, the test was a measure of the children's ability to train attention on something other than the marshmallow. "The ability to control attention is one of the most valuable human attributes," he says. "What we pay attention to"—or choose not to pay attention to—"affects our mood and goal motivation and a lot of other things that are central to our success, and we know that attention is a muscle that can be trained." Mindfulness training and other forms of meditation have been shown to bolster attention, he says, while incessant distraction seems to tank it.

Taken together, the neuroscience research reveals that the human brain is endlessly complex and that the skills or traits that correlate with achievement develop from a mixture of genetic and environmental variables. Just as there is no one definition of success, there is no single definition of a successful brain. □

Getting Psyched for Success

Sure, hard work and innate talent are crucial elements of human achievement—but some of it comes down to mindset over matter

By Tom Fields-Meyer

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGIST ANDERS ERICSSON IS fond of recounting a story about the great Italian violinist Niccolò Paganini. The maestro was once partway through a solo performance when one of his strings suddenly broke. Unfazed, he simply kept playing, but then another string snapped, and then a third, leaving him with only a single violin string. Paganini not only continued playing but carried off a virtuoso-level performance, even limited to a single string.

As it turned out, the violinist's startling recovery wasn't miraculous or superhuman. Paganini had long prepared for just such a moment. Not only had he put long hours into practicing the instrument without all of its strings, but he had actually composed music specifically meant to be played on a violin with just one string. "Achievement takes preparation," says Ericsson, a psychology professor at Florida State University and the author of *Peak: Secrets from the New Science of Expertise*. "Once you understand what an individual actually did in order to prepare for these kinds of events, then it becomes more understandable."

Then again, explaining what it takes to achieve success isn't always so simple. Psychologists have long struggled to account for what enables some people to succeed while others don't—whether it's at playing an instrument, passing a math test or performing cancer surgery. What ingredients account

for success? Are we born with these qualities, or can we acquire them? Does success lead to happiness? And how can parents give their children the best chance at success in life?

A British scientist named Francis Galton was among the first to delve into those questions formally, publishing a slim volume in 1869 called *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences*. He argued that humans inherit our natural abilities and that, inevitably, those of us with the greatest innate talent are the ones who reach the highest levels of achievement.

Not coincidentally, Galton's book came 10 years after another Brit, Charles Darwin—who happened to be Galton's half cousin—published his *On the Origin of Species*. Galton was the first to attempt to apply Darwin's principle of natural selection to humans.

His assertions hardly went unchallenged. One of the very scientists whose family lineage Galton had featured in his book took issue, offering evidence that environmental factors—things like upbringing, education and life experience—play a more significant role than genetics in predicting whether people will succeed.

That challenge sent Galton back to the drawing board, and he conducted a survey of nearly 200 of England's preeminent scientists. The resulting book, *English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture*, was the first to explore the impact of such factors as education, socioeconomic status and even birth order on success.

The nature/nurture debate has raged ever since. Now, as then, one of the greatest obstacles to the scientific study of success is determining how to measure it. Who's to say what constitutes success? Like most psychologists studying success, Ericsson focuses on areas of achievement with objective metrics, evaluating subjects such as Olympic-level athletes, chess players and elementary-school math teachers. In various studies, he has repeatedly found that the key factor in one's level of achievement is not genetics or innate talent but deliberate practice of a particular skill. Among athletes (he has studied gymnasts and dart throwers, among others), a primary predictor of creative achievement is how much time the individual spends engaged in the activity in circumstances in which the person receives immediate feedback from a coach or teacher.

That's not so far from the findings of another prominent psychologist, Dean Keith Simonton of the University of California, Davis, who studies creative achievement and has also studied U.S. presidents. Hard work is essential to achieving success, Simonton says. But it's also essential to find the area in which you can thrive. "If you pick the wrong domain, you may instead experience the 'spinning your wheels' effect," says Simonton, the author of *The Genius Checklist*. "You work and work and work and yet still remain mediocre."

For those aiming to achieve in the creative realm, Simonton says, the primary predictor of creative achievement is the sheer number of attempts. "Successful poets write more poems, successful inventors claim more patents, successful scientists publish more journal articles," he says. "Yet only a small proportion of those poems, patents or articles will actually carry the weight of the creator's success."

While hard work and innate talent are undoubtedly important, so is attitude. Carol Dweck, a psychology professor at Stanford, is the author of *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*, in which she explains the difference between what she calls the "fixed mindset" and the "growth mindset." People with fixed mindsets feel that their own intellect and talents are limited, so they avoid challenges and give up easily. People with growth mindsets, on the other hand, perceive that they can cultivate their abilities through hard work and mentoring. Fixed-mindset folks see failures as disasters. Growth-mindset people see them as opportunities.

The good news is that people can learn to change their mindsets, as Dweck

People with "fixed mindsets" feel their intellect and talents are limited, so they avoid challenges. People with "growth mindsets" cultivate their abilities.

illustrates by citing some remarkable successes. After one year focused on developing growth mindsets, one class of kindergartners in Harlem—many of whom couldn't hold a pencil when they started—scored in the 95th percentile on the National Achievement Test. In one year, fourth-grade students in the South Bronx, who were significantly behind, became the top fourth-grade class in the state of New York on the state math test.

"BEFORE, EFFORT AND difficulty made them feel dumb, made them feel like giving up," Dweck said in a TED Talk.

"But now, effort and difficulty, that's when their neurons are making stronger connections. That's when they're getting smarter."

While insights like these help explain how to become more successful, they don't answer another question about success: Does it make people happier? Shawn Achor, a psychologist, conducted a study of 1,600 Harvard undergraduates, collecting a wide range of data from grades and SAT scores to family income, age, gender and race. His question: Is it possible in such a population of high-achieving individuals to predict which of them will achieve the highest levels of happiness and success?

"Social support was a far greater predictor of happiness than any other factor," he wrote in *The Happiness Advantage*.

Most of us assume that reaching certain accomplishments—a grade, a job, a sale—will make us happier people. But Achor found that rather than success leading to happiness, the reverse is true: happiness leads to success. When individuals feel socially connected and supported, when they feel that their work is consequential, when they feel more optimistic, and when they come to view stress not as a threat but as a challenge, their productivity rises dramatically.

Achor examined the same phenomenon in an insurance company, where he found that when the company invested in employees' support and social connections, it led to enhanced performance. "It's not that once you hit your sales [targets], you'll be happier, but that happiness and optimism and social connection are exactly what's going to fuel the sales,"

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Experts suggest that children praised for their effort, rather than just their abilities, take on progressively more challenging tasks.

Achor said in one talk.

Also worth noting: happiness is a choice, determined neither by your genes nor by your environment. How can you make yourself happier? Achor recommends simple happiness exercises, such as taking time each day to write down three new things for which you're grateful, or sending an email thanking or praising someone in your life. When study subjects did that 21 days in a row, they shifted from being chronic pessimists to being optimists. And success followed.

Others have looked into the role that helping others plays in your own success. Adam Grant, an organizational psychologist at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, has studied the impact of people who make a habit of helping others, research he described in his best seller *Give and Take*. "What I've found over and over again is that the most generous people in the organization are both more likely to succeed and more likely to fail than their peers," he says.

Those who are too generous run the risk of enhancing others' status while having their own contributions overlooked. To avoid that fate, Grant suggests being careful about when and how you help colleagues—and whom you help. "The failed givers are the ones who try to help all the people all the time with all their requests, and they end up either burning themselves out or just getting burned," Grant says.

The very idea that helping others is a path to success might seem counterintuitive: Doesn't my success have to come at other people's expense? Grant rejects that kind of zero-sum notion. "We live in a world dominated by collaboration," he says, "so the ability to make a group more than the sum of its parts, to establish a meaningful connection with another person—those skills matter more and more."

For parents, that means one of the best ways to prepare children for success is to model giving behavior and to praise children when they are seen caring for friends or helping peers to solve problems. The mistake too many parents make, Grant says, is trying too hard to "engineer success" for their children. In their efforts to protect them from failure or challenge, these parents prevent their children from learning self-reliance and resilience.

"Instead of trying to make sure that kids never struggle, as a parent, your job is to prepare them to face struggle and overcome it," Grant says.

Parenting style can also have a strong influence on the types of mindsets their children develop, says Dweck, the Stanford professor. In a series of experiments, Dweck had children perform tasks, after which some were praised for their abilities ("You're really smart!") while others were praised for the process in which they engaged ("You worked really hard!"). Those praised for their abilities later withdrew from tasks when they became too difficult and became unhappy, but those who received praise for effort, strategy and persistence became more engaged as the tasks became more challenging.

Another crucial factor is encouraging openness. As Simonton points out, the single greatest factor affecting success in a wide range of areas is openness to new experience. Parents ought to work to expand their children's horizons, exposing them to new areas and experiences.

"What are you doing to expand your openness rather than constrict it?" he asks. "Are you encouraging curiosity and exploration?"

As for Ericsson, who tells the Paganini story, he says that a key for both children and adults is to find a teacher who has already demonstrated success in helping other students to learn.

Aside from that, children need to learn that success doesn't happen overnight—that achieving at a high level can take work and diligence. "It's very helpful for parents to help their children realize what it takes for them to actually improve their performance," Ericsson says.

That sort of teaching will give children the tools to thrive—even when a string breaks. □

Parents who try to shield or insulate children from failure may actually do more long-term harm than good by stifling resilience.

Yes, Impostor Syndrome Is Real. Here's How to Deal with It

By Abigail Abrams

Have you ever felt like you don't belong? Like your friends or colleagues are going to discover you're a fraud, and you don't actually deserve your job and accomplishments?

If so, you're in good company. It's known as impostor syndrome. Some 70% of us experience these feelings at some point, according to a review article in the *International Journal of Behavioral Science*. Impostor syndrome affects all kinds of people: women, men, med students, marketing managers, actors, executives.

What is impostor syndrome?

The idea that you've only succeeded due to luck, not talent or qualifications, was first identified in 1978 by psychologists Pauline Rose Clance and Suzanne Imes. They theorized that women were uniquely affected by impostor syndrome, but research has since shown that both sexes experience such feelings. Today, impostor syndrome can apply to anyone "who isn't able to internalize and own their successes," says psychologist Audrey Ervin.

Valerie Young, the author of a book on the subject, *The Secret Thoughts of Successful Women*, has found patterns in people who experience impostor feelings. "Perfectionists" set extremely high expectations; even if they meet 99% of their goals, they'll feel like failures. "Experts" need to know every piece of information before starting a project. They won't apply for a job if they don't meet all criteria in the posting, and they might hesitate to ask a question in class or speak up in a meeting for fear of looking stupid.

When the "natural genius" has to struggle or work hard, that person thinks it means they're not good enough. They're used to skills coming easily, and when they have to put in effort, their brain tells them they're an impostor.

"Soloists" feel that if they ask for help, they're a failure or fraud. "Supermen" or "superwomen" push themselves harder than others to prove they're not impostors. They need to succeed in all aspects of life—at work, as parents, as partners—and may feel stressed when they are not accomplishing something.

Why do people experience impostor syndrome?

Some experts believe it has to do with personality traits like anxiety or neuroticism; others focus on family or behavioral causes. Childhood memories—say, feeling that your grades disappointed your parents or that your siblings outshone you—can leave a lasting impact. "People often internalize these ideas: that in order to be loved, 'I need to achieve,' " says Ervin. "It becomes a self-perpetuating cycle."

Factors such as one's environment or institutionalized discrimination can also spur impostor feelings. "The more people [near you] who look or sound like you, the more confident you feel," says Young. "Conversely, the fewer people who look or sound like you, it can for many people impact their confidence." This is especially true "whenever you belong to a group for whom there are stereotypes about competence," including minorities, women in STEM fields and even international students at U.S. universities.

How does one overcome impostor syndrome?

One of the first steps is to acknowledge the thoughts and put them in perspective. "We can help teach people to let go and more critically question those thoughts," says Ervin. "I encourage clients to ask, 'Does that thought help or hinder me?' "

You can also reframe your thoughts. Young says she reminds people that the only difference between someone who experiences impostor syndrome and someone who does not is how they respond to challenges. "People who don't feel like impostors are no more intelligent or competent or capable than the rest of us," Young says. "It means we just have to learn to think like non-impostors." Learning to value constructive criticism, understanding you're actually slowing your team down when you *don't* ask for help, and remembering that the more you practice a skill, the better you'll get at it, can all help.

And it doesn't hurt to confide in trusted friends or mentors who can reassure you that what you're feeling is normal; knowing that others have been in your position can make it seem less scary. If you want to delve more deeply into these feelings, Ervin recommends seeking out a professional psychologist.

Most people experience moments of doubt, and that's normal. The important part is not to let that doubt control your actions, says Young. "The goal is not to never feel like an impostor. The goal for me is to give [people] the tools and the insight and information to talk themselves down faster," she says. "They can still have an impostor moment, but not an impostor life."

A Fitness Foundation

Research shows an undeniable link between healthy bodies and high achievement

By Courtney Mifsud

AT AN EARLY AGE, DANIELLA LEIFER LEARNED that in order to see positive results in her life, she would have to show up every day and put in the work. The 28-year-old master instructor runs the United Martial Arts Centers (UMAC) in Newburgh, N.Y.—she began teaching tae kwon do as a staff member when she was just 14—and her first book is expected out this year. She also trains in the gym five or six days a week, runs casually and practices yoga. Leifer considers her martial-arts training and fitness regimen the backbone of her success in her business ventures and personal life. "When I look back, if there was ever a time where I felt disconnected or 'off,' or even a little lost, most of the time it was because I wasn't nourishing an important part of me," says Leifer. "A lot of the time it was because I wasn't being disciplined with my tae kwon do training, gym routine, or my nutrition."

Leifer has witnessed students of all ages grow outside the classroom, thanks in large part to their training. "I taught a woman who was having challenges within her relationship. She is a mom; she recently came into being the caretaker of a house that she did not plan for. And this all hit at a time when she didn't think she could field it all emotionally or financially," says Leifer. "I knew that tae kwon do and UMAC would provide certainty, consistency and community—not to mention stress relief—in a time where a lot was changing for her. If noth-

ing else, through her training she's become more confident, and she is now recognizing herself as a woman who can tackle all of these things being thrown at her." In younger students, Leifer has witnessed their training translate to better behavior and habits at home and at school.

The relationship between exercise and success is a talking point of some of the world's rich and powerful. Investor Mark Cuban has said cardio training riles his competitive spirit. Serial entrepreneur Richard Branson cites health and fitness as a key component of his achievements. Closer to earth, a 2012 study in the *Journal of Labor Research* found that employees who regularly exercise earn 9% higher salaries than less-active counterparts. Many of the most successful and innovative companies in the world including Google have onsite exercise facilities.

Why does exercise prime us to succeed? According to Leifer, striving for health goals helps other accomplishments fall into place. "When you set a fitness goal, say, earning your first belt in martial arts," she says, "you set up granular action steps. You learn and master techniques, memorize patterns, earn stripes; you break boards. All these little successes build confidence. With your first accomplishment comes a little voice that says, 'Wow, if I can do that, maybe I can do this.' With that confidence, you take more risks, you take on bigger challenges. This confidence eventually spills over into other areas of life."

Exercise helps protect memory and thinking skills, two necessary elements of success.

IF EXERCISE CAN give us the tools and motivation to work toward goals outside of the gym, how much of an impact does that translate to? Heather Sanderson, an assistant professor of nutrition, health and human performance at Meredith College, has probed the measurable effects of exercise on college students' academic success. In a 2017 study, Sanderson and her team found that participating in recreational physical activities at the college level may hold a key to improving classroom performance. The researchers studied the physical-activity habits and academic performance of more than 21,000 undergraduate students over a 16-week semester to simulate performance of a complete academic year. "For every hour of physical activity a week, a student can increase their GPA by 0.06," says Sanderson.

So if a student went from exercising zero times a week to three 50-minute sessions—federal guidelines recommend at least 150 minutes of moderate physical activity per week—that student could up their GPA by 0.18. Sanderson's team also found that regular exercise increases the odds of graduation by 53% (though spending too much time exercising beyond the national guidelines can take too much time away from academic activities and thus can have a negative impact on GPA and graduation rate). Sanderson and her team controlled for factors that would predict already highly disciplined students, such as high school GPA and SAT score.

When final exams come around, Sanderson urges students to keep moving. On a neurological level, exercise can stimulate "an immediate response with the prefrontal cortex, where decision-making happens," she says. "If a student has a paper to write or needs to take a test or problem-solve," exercising beforehand activates the prefrontal cortex "at a higher level, and it's able to increase one's attention and focus."

SAFEGUARDING THE MIND is essential for achieving success as we age. Our brains power our decision-making and fuel innovation and strategy. Exercise is known to improve mood, reduce stress and anxiety, and help us sleep. But the benefits of exercise come directly in how it affects the health of the brain and protects memory and thinking skills, two necessary elements of success both in and out of the workplace. J. Carson Smith, an associate professor in the department of kinesiology at the University of Maryland, has researched how exercise impacts the aging brain. His team looked at physical activity in older adults at an increased genetic risk for Alzheimer's disease. These individuals carry a susceptibility gene for the dis-

ease, the apolipoprotein e4 allele, though not everyone who has the gene develops Alzheimer's. Smith found that the brain function and cognition of more physically active e4 carriers differ from those of carriers who do not exercise. "Their brain function and their cognition are protected over time," says Smith. "They don't show decline in cognitive function as much as the physically inactive e4 carriers."

Prioritizing brain health is one of the most impactful ways to ensure you can achieve your goals as you age, and physical activity helps regulate brain blood flow. In people who have been experiencing cognitive decline or have an early diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease, their brains show an increased flow of blood. In this case the brain is trying to compensate for some of the condition's neurological tangles and plaques, but having more blood flow in those cases is not actually a good thing. Smith found that physical activity had different effects for those with a mild diagnosis compared to those with healthy cognitive function. "We see increases in people who are cognitively normal," says Smith of the brain blood flow. "But in people who are actually experiencing memory loss, what we see is that exercise reduces their blood flow and actually helps to normalize it."

Smith's team found that the brain's decision-making abilities can be affected by just one workout. "We see that the performance of executive function improves with a single session of exercise, but also, the brain networks that are related to this performance also increased their activation," he says. "So all the areas of the brain that are communicating with one another in order to perform a task that requires you to inhibit certain responses to make a decision when there are competing stimuli that are distracting you? Those areas are more likely to have intense activation after exercise than after doing rest."

Is there a difference between strength training and cardio in terms of protecting your brain for lasting success? Smith says the best kind of exercise gets you moving over and over again: "Any physical activity that's at least of a moderate intensity that people enjoy is something that is going to help them. People should be doing physical activity as a lifestyle, making it part of their daily routine." □

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The brain responds to stress the way a muscle responds to the strain of exercise. The brain adapts and becomes more efficient.

CHAPTER

2

The Successful Attitude

Grit: The Passion to Persevere

A University of Pennsylvania psychology professor and author shows that talent isn't enough: success demands a fierce inner fire and a drive to persist against all obstacles

By Angela Duckworth

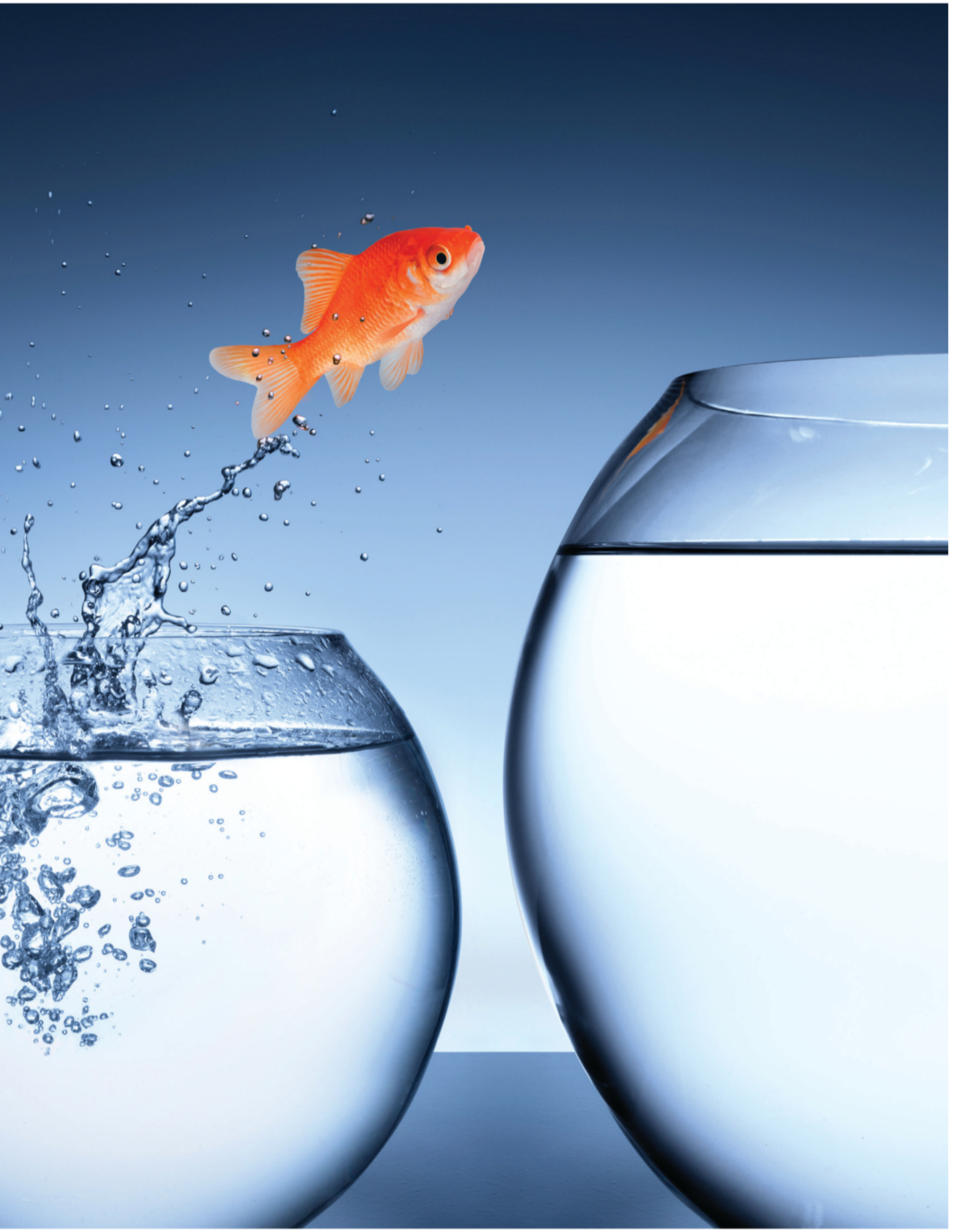
As a graduate student just beginning to probe the psychology of success, I was interviewing leaders in business, art, athletics, journalism, academia, medicine and law: Who are the people at the very top of your field? What are they like? What do you think makes them special?

More than one businessperson mentioned an appetite for taking financial risks: "You've got to be able to make calculated decisions about millions of dollars and still go to sleep at night." But this seemed entirely beside the point for artists, who instead mentioned a drive to create: "I like making stuff. I don't know why, but I do." In contrast, athletes mentioned a different kind of motivation, one driven by the thrill of victory: "Winners love to go head-to-head with other people. Winners hate losing."

No matter the field, the most successful people were lucky and talented. I'd heard that before, and I didn't doubt it.

But the story of success didn't end there. Many of the people I talked to could also recount tales of rising stars who, to everyone's surprise, dropped out or lost interest before they could realize their potential.

Apparently, it was critically important—and not at all easy—to keep going after failure: "Some people are great when things are going well, but they fall apart when things aren't." High achievers described in these interviews really stuck it out: "This one guy, he wasn't actually the best writer at the beginning. I



mean, we used to read his stories and have a laugh because the writing was so, you know, clumsy and melodramatic. But he got better and better, and last year he won a Guggenheim." And they were constantly driven to improve: "She's never satisfied. You'd think she would be, by now, but she's her own harshest critic." The highly accomplished were paragons of perseverance.

Why were the highly accomplished so dogged in their pursuits? For most, there was no realistic expectation of ever catching up to their ambitions. In their own eyes, they were never good enough. And yet, in a very real sense, they were satisfied being unsatisfied. Each was chasing something of unparalleled interest and importance, and it was the chase—as much as the capture—that was gratifying. Even if some of the things they had to do were boring, or frustrating, or even painful, they wouldn't dream of giving up. Their passion was enduring.

In sum, no matter the domain, the highly successful had a kind of ferocious determination that played out in two ways. First, these exemplars were unusually resilient and hardworking. Second, they knew in a very, very deep way what it was they wanted. They not only had determination, they had direction.

It was this combination of passion and perseverance that made high achievers special. In a word, they had grit.

For me, the question became: How do you measure something so intangible?

I sat down and looked over my interview notes. And I started writing questions that captured, sometimes verbatim, descriptions of what it means to have grit.

Half of the questions were about perseverance. They asked how much you agree with statements like "I have overcome setbacks to conquer an important challenge" and "I finish whatever I begin."

The other half of the questions were about passion. They asked whether your "interests change from year to year" and the extent to which you "have been obsessed with a certain idea or project for a short time but later lost interest."

People who reach the top of their fields tend to be ferociously determined as well as self-directed.

What emerged was the Grit Scale—a test, consisting of eight to 12 questions, that, when taken honestly, measures the extent to which you approach life with grit.

The year I started graduate school, the documentary *Spellbound* was released. The film follows three boys and five girls as they prepare for and compete in the finals of the Scripps National Spelling Bee.

To get to the finals—an adrenaline-filled three-day affair staged annually in Washington, D.C., and broadcast live on ESPN—these kids must first "outspell" thousands of other students from hundreds of schools across the country. This means spelling increasingly obscure words without a single error, in round after round, first besting all the other students in the contestant's classroom, then in their grade, school, district and region.

Spellbound got me wondering: To what extent is flawlessly spelling words like "schottische" and "cymotrichous" a matter of precocious verbal talent, and to what extent is grit at play?

I called the Bee's executive director, a dynamic woman named Paige Kimble, who is herself a former champion speller. Kimble was as curious as I was to learn more about the psychological makeup of winners. She agreed to send out questionnaires to all 273 spellers as soon as they qualified for the finals, which would take place several months later. The oldest respondent was 15 years old, the absolute age limit according to competition rules, and the youngest was just 7.

In addition to completing the Grit Scale, spellers reported how much time they devoted to spelling practice. On average, they practiced more than an hour a day on weekdays and more than two hours a day on weekends. But there was a lot of variation around these averages: some spellers were hardly studying at all, and some were studying as much as nine hours on a given Saturday!

Separately, I contacted a subsample of spellers and administered a verbal intelligence test. As a group, the spellers demonstrated unusual verbal ability. But there

Champion Anurag Kashyap was surrounded by fellow spellers after he won the 78th Annual Scripps National Spelling Bee in 2005.

was a fairly wide range of scores.

When ESPN aired the final rounds of the competition, I watched all the way through to the concluding suspenseful moments when, at last, 13-year-old Anurag Kashyap correctly spelled A-P-P-O-G-G-I-A-T-U-R-A (a musical term for a kind of grace note) to win the championship.

Then, with the final rankings in hand, I analyzed my data.

Here's what I found: Put simply, grittier kids went further in competition, by studying many more hours and, also, by competing in more spelling bees.

What about talent? Verbal intelligence also predicted getting further in competition. But there was no relationship at all between verbal IQ and grit.

The separation of grit and talent emerged again in a study I ran on Ivy League undergraduates. There, SAT scores and grit were, in fact, inversely correlated. Students in that select sample who had higher SAT scores were, on average, just slightly less gritty than their peers. Putting together this finding with the other data I'd collected, I came to a fundamental insight that would guide my future work: Our potential is one thing. What we do with it is quite another.

Whether we realize it or not, the culture in which we live, and with which we identify, powerfully shapes just about every aspect of our being. At its core, a culture is defined by the shared norms and values of a group of people.

In the long run, culture has the power to shape our identity. Over time and under the right circumstances, the norms and values of the group to which we belong become our own. Identity influences every aspect of our character, but it has special relevance to grit. Often, the critical gritty-or-not decisions we make—to get up one more time; to stick it out through this miserable, exhausting summer; to run five miles with our teammates when on our own we might only run three—are a matter of identity more than anything else.

In my quest to understand what gives rise to grit, I've encountered a few organizations with especially gritty leaders at the helm who, in my view, have successfully forged a culture of grit.

Consider, for example, Jamie Dimon, who has been the CEO of JPMorgan Chase, the largest bank in the United States, for more than a decade. Jamie isn't the only one of the bank's 250,000-plus employees who says, "I wear this jersey and I bleed this blood." In the 2008 financial crisis, Jamie steered his bank to safety, and JPMorgan Chase somehow turned a $5 billion profit.

Coincidentally, the motto of Jamie's prep school alma mater, the Browning School, is "grytte," an Old English ver-

sion of grit defined in an 1897 yearbook as "firmness, courage, determination . . ."

"You have to learn to get over bumps in the road and mistakes and setbacks," Jamie told me when I called to talk about the culture he's built at JPMorgan Chase. "Failures are going to happen, and how you deal with them may be the most important thing in whether you succeed. You need fierce resolve. You need to take responsibility. You call it grit. I call it fortitude."

The first football game I ever watched from beginning to end was Super Bowl XLVIII. The game took place on Feb. 2, 2014, and pitted the Seattle Seahawks against the Denver Broncos. The Seahawks won, 43–8.

The day after their victory, Seahawks head coach Pete Carroll was interviewed by a former member of the San Francisco 49ers, who asked him: What is that philosophy, what does it mean to be a Seahawk?"

Pete chuckled softly. "I'm not going to give it all to you, but . . . I will tell you that we're looking for great competitors. That's really where it starts. And that's the guys that really have grit. The mindset that they're always going to succeed, that they've got something to prove. They're resilient, they're not going to let setbacks hold them back. They're not going to be deterred, you know, by challenges and hurdles and things. . . . It's that attitude—we really refer to it as grit."

I can't say I was surprised. Nine months earlier, I'd received a call from Pete. Apparently, he'd just watched a TED Talk I'd given on grit. He was eager to learn more about grit than I'd been able to convey in the six minutes TED had allotted me. And he was annoyed. Science, I'd confessed in that talk, had at that point disappointingly little to say about building grit. Pete later told me that he just about jumped out of his chair, practically yelling at my on-screen image that building grit is exactly what the Seahawks culture is all about.

"Come and watch us," he said." All we do is help people be great competitors. We teach them how to persevere. We unleash

Head coach Pete Carroll of the Seattle Seahawks celebrated his team's second touchdown against the Detroit Lions on Oct. 28, 2018.

their passion. That's all we do."

Two years after that Super Bowl, I got on a plane to Seattle. I wanted to see firsthand what Pete meant when he said the Seahawks were building the grittiest culture in the NFL. Making it to the championship game in successive years is notoriously hard, but the Seahawks had defied the odds and made it to the Super Bowl again that year. In sharp contrast to the prior year's win, which Seattle fans celebrated with a blue and green ticker-tape parade that was the largest public gathering in Seattle's history, this year's loss resulted in howling, weeping and the gnashing of teeth—over what sports commentators deemed "the worst call in NFL history."

Here's a recap: With 26 seconds on the clock, the Seahawks have possession of the ball and are one yard away from a game-winning touchdown. Everyone expects Pete to call a running play—the Seahawks have Marshawn Lynch, widely agreed to be the single best running back in the entire NFL.

Instead, Seahawks quarterback Russell Wilson throws a pass, the ball is intercepted, and the New England Patriots take home the trophy.

What interested me when I arrived in Seattle was Pete's reaction and that of the whole team. I wanted to know how a culture of grit continues not just in the afterglow of success, but in the aftermath of failure. I wanted to know how Pete and the Seahawks found the courage to continue.

He told me that it's not just one thing. It's a million things. It's a million details. The most obvious is language. One of Pete's coaches once said, "I speak fluent Carroll." And to speak Carroll is to speak fluent Seahawk: Always compete. You're either competing or you're not. Compete in everything you do. You're a Seahawk 24-7. Finish strong. Positive self-talk. Team first.

Everybody I met peppered their sentences with these Carrollisms.

"Compete," I was told, is not about triumphing over others, a notion I've always been uneasy about. Compete means excellence. "Compete comes from the Latin," explained Mike Gervais, the competitive-surfer-turned-sports-psychologist who is one of Pete's partners in culture building. "Quite literally, it means 'strive together.' It doesn't have anything in its origins about another person losing."

Mike told me that two key factors promote excellence in individuals and in teams: "deep and rich support and relentless challenge to improve."

For this professional football team, it's not solely about defeating other teams, it's about pushing beyond what you can do today so that tomorrow you're just a little bit better. It's about excellence.

After one of the meetings, an assistant coach caught up to me in the hallway and said, "I don't know if anyone's mentioned *finishing* to you. One thing we really believe in here is the idea of finishing strong." Then he gave me examples: Seahawks finish a game strong, playing their hearts out to the last second on the clock. Seahawks finish the season strong. Seahawks finish every drill strong. For the Seahawks, "finishing" doesn't literally mean "finishing." Finishing strong means consistently focusing and doing your absolute best at every moment, from start to finish.

At the end of the day, I was in the lobby, waiting for my taxi. Pete was there with me, making sure I get off OK. I realized I hadn't asked him directly how he and the Seahawks found the courage to continue after he'd made "the worst call ever." Pete later told *Sports Illustrated* that it wasn't the worst decision, it was the "worst possible outcome." He explained that like every other negative experience, and every positive one, "it becomes part of you. I'm not going to ignore it. I'm going to face it. And when it bubbles up, I'm going to think about it and get on with it. And use it. Use it!" □

Do You Have to Be a Jerk?

Sometimes it seems that only ruthless bullies make it to the top of the business ladder—but that's not always the case

By Charles Hirshberg

ONE AUGUST DAY IN 1834, A 19-YEAR-OLD HARVARD student named Richard Henry Dana Jr. dressed himself in an ill-fitting sailor suit and set off for Boston Harbor to join the crew of the cargo ship *Pilgrim*. Dana had just recovered from an attack of measles that had badly damaged his eyesight, and only time would tell whether he would ever recover sufficiently to resume his studies. So he had come up with a new life plan: he would embark on the adventure of a lifetime, a two-year, 26,000-mile voyage around Cape Horn, from Boston to California and back again. If he survived and his vision improved, he would return to Harvard.

It seemed an admirable plan. But, alas, it ran afoul of an unanticipated, soul-crushing obstacle: a bosshole.

A what? The term's origins aren't clear, but it was Robert Sutton—a Stanford University professor of management science and engineering, best known for his seminal book *The No A**hole Rule: Building a Civilized Workplace and Surviving One That Isn't*—who transformed "bosshole" from a piece of vulgar slang to a *mot juste*, suitable for use at the Harvard Business School.

Its meaning is just what you might suppose, and surviving one, or more than one, of these characters has been a rite of passage in the American workplace since the nation, and Richard Henry Dana Jr., were young. Some bossholes are pathetic specimens whose meltdowns and abusive insults are a reflec-

tion of their own insecurities. They sense that they are not quite up to the jobs they hold, and they're usually right. But far more interesting are those who are extraordinary achievers, acclaimed, worshipped and emulated. They run the gamut from coaches to orchestra conductors, but the superstar bossholes of our time are definitely CEOs.

That's not to stigmatize all corporate honchos. But Sutton has noted "a large body of social-psychological research that shows that the more power you give people, the more oblivious they become to the people they lead." So it is sad but not surprising to find that some CEOs actually boast that their jerkiness is an expression of their passion for excellence.

For example, shortly after Indra Nooyi was ensconced as CEO of Pepsico in 2006, she sought advice from Steve Jobs, Apple's famed genius-bosshole. "If you don't like something people are doing, throw a temper tantrum," he counseled her. "Throw things around, because people have got to know that you feel strongly." Nooyi has taken this advice, she told CNBC in 2016: "I'm beginning to use certain words a little bit more freely, and I am screaming a bit more, pounding the table and saying, 'This is a piece of—something. Go redo it!' . . . It is effective."

Not only is such behavior OK, say some CEOs, but it's just plain good business. And who can argue with them? After all, they're the bosses.

In truth, however, the *New York Times* recently reported that "research thus far has found no evidence . . . that tougher bosses get better results." At the same time, according to the American Psychological Association, approximately one third of Americans say that problems with their supervisor cause them a significant amount of stress. No wonder many Americans—from laborers to CEOs—are coming to the conclusion that a business culture that rejects horrible bosses, and the values they represent, will yield greater happiness and more meaningful lives for all concerned.

The notion that bossholes are necessary has probably been around as long as people have been telling other people what to do, but most of the time, it's proved little more than a justification for tyranny and greed.

Consider, for example, the boss who ruined Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s life for two miserable years: Frances A. Thompson, captain of the *Pilgrim*. Thompson took for granted that he was free to treat his crew as savagely as he liked, short of killing them. Typical was the New England judge who, in 1823, refused to hold a sea captain responsible for a sailor's injuries because, he wrote, seafaring required "subordination, strict obedience, and deference to command." And that is why, on a typical day aboard the *Pilgrim*, Dana could do nothing but watch in horror as Thompson viciously flogged one of his shipmates (for the crime of asking a question at an inopportune time) and "danced about the deck, calling out as he swung the rope—'If you want to know why I flog you, I'll tell you. It's because I like to do it!' "

Of course, nowadays, flogging with a rope's end is a pretty rare spectacle in the American workplace. But bad bosses of our era excel at other means of flogging subordinates: intimidation and bullying. The popularity of this motivational technique has waxed and waned over the past two decades, but one of the most eloquent manifestos in its favor appeared in the *Harvard Business Review* in 2006. The essay, titled "The Great Intimidators," was composed by Roderick M. Kramer, William R. Kimball professor of organizational behavior at Stanford Graduate School of Business.

Kramer commences with the observation that many of the world's most successful CEOs are savage bossholes—or, as he calls them, great intimidators. Such leaders "are not averse to causing a ruckus," he writes, "nor are they above using a few public whippings and ceremonial hangings to get attention." But "make no mistake," Kramer warns, "the great intimidators are not your typical bullies. If you're just a bully, it's all about humiliating others in an effort to make yourself feel good. Something very different is going on with the great intimidators. . . . The motivating

"Throw things around, because people have got to know that you feel strongly."

factor isn't ego or gratuitous humiliation; it's vision."

To prove his point, Kramer offers as an example two exceptionally visionary intimidators: former Motorola CEO Ed Zander, whose business motto was "whack yourself before somebody whacks you"; and Miramax's despised Harvey Weinstein, who used his "high-pressure tactics" to help those around him reach "the apex of their professional talents." Weinstein's hostile pyrotechnics were not bullying, Kramer assures us, but "the calculated sound and fury of a skillful intimidator."

Nonetheless, even before more than 90 women came forward to accuse Weinstein of sexual assault and harassment, he was one of the most notorious bullies in an industry famous for them. One former Weinstein employee told the *Guardian* that scarcely a day went by "without him publicly abusing someone . . . a waiter, a colleague, a director, a driver. It was a horrible feeling to be screamed at or 'fired' (he threatened this multiple times a day). But it was far worse to see him abuse someone else. Fighting back didn't work with him, really, but you could intervene on someone else's behalf and draw his fire. It was like tending to a giant, belligerent, disgusting baby."

Be that as it may, so thorough is Kramer's admiration for great intimidators that he offers a series of tips to help ordinary bossholes "possess a little 'interior intimidator' of their own." The aspiring intimidator's toolkit must include an "aggressive physical demeanor" as well as an arsenal of "taunts and slurs to provoke victims." Of course, intimidators also "use anger and rage to get their way," so bossholes should feel free to go ballistic from time to time. But, cautions Kramer, "keep them guessing" by punctuating the tantrums with periods of sullenness. And above all, crush any remnants of compassion that smolder within you because it is precisely the intimidator's "absence of empathy" that "opens up branches of the decision tree, exposing options that other leaders might reject." True, intimidators "trample on people's feelings and set impossible standards." But Kramer argues that his own research shows that "great intimidators are often magnets for the best and brightest . . . because they inspire great performance."

Well, OK. But here's a pickle: To paraphrase Jesus Christ, what shall it profit a man if he inspires great performance but loses his soul?

STEVE JOBS
Business Insider ran an article: "16 Examples of Steve Jobs Being an Unbelievable Jerk"

ANNA WINTOUR
The *Vogue* editor's imperious ways inspired *The Devil Wears Prada*

ED ZANDER
When he took over at Motorola, he bemoaned the company's "clogged arteries"

"**THE MOST IMPORTANT** person in any company is the shareholder."

So wrote the late, notorious "Chainsaw" Al Dunlap in his 1997 book *Mean Business* (that's really what he called it!). And in that simple statement lies the basis for a substantial proportion of American bossholery.

It wasn't always so. Before the 1970s, many CEOs took it for granted that it was their responsibility to balance the interests of the company's stakeholders. For instance, in 1951, Frank Abrams, chairman of Standard Oil of New Jersey, stated that the "job of management" was "to maintain an equitable and working balance among the claims of the various directly affected interest groups . . . stockholders, employees, customers, and the public at large."

Some economists call this philosophy "stakeholder capitalism," but over the next three or four decades it gave way to the "shareholder capitalism" favored by bosshole CEOs. There are different theories as to why it happened, but former secretary of labor Robert Reich believes much of the blame lies with the corporate raiders of the 1980s. These raiders "began mounting unfriendly takeovers of companies that could deliver higher returns to their shareholders—if they abandoned their other stakeholders . . . fought unions, cut workers' pay or fired them, automated as many jobs as possible or moved jobs abroad, shuttered factories, abandoned their communities, and squeezed their customers."

Over the past decade, however (and particularly the past five or so years), the focus of corporate business has been returning to stakeholders once more, much to the dis-

gust of old-school types like Chainsaw Al Dunlap. "The most ridiculous term heard in boardrooms these days is 'stakeholders,' " he fumes in *Mean Business*. "If you see an annual report with the word 'stakeholders,' put it down and run, don't walk away from the company. . . . Companies such as these make major decisions that are more in tune with employees and the community than with shareholders." And get a load of this: "They give away to charity millions of dollars that rightfully belong to the shareholders."

In a sense, this controversy—whether shareholders alone, or stakeholders in general, should be the focus of a company's business plan—is a struggle for the soul of American capitalism, which, in theory, sounds rather high-minded. But in practice, it's a brass-knuckle street fight between bosses, labor and the public. And nowhere has this fight played out more dramatically than it did five years ago in the parking lots and conference rooms of New England's Market Basket grocery chain.

The company was owned chiefly by members of the Demoulas family, whose grandparents founded it in 1917. But it was run by CEO Arthur T. Demoulas, a stakeholder capitalist focused as much on his customers and his 25,000 employees as on the size of the dividends that were paid to himself and other shareholders. He seemed to know every employee's name, and they not only received good wages but also were entitled to profit sharing. And if he discovered a cash surplus of some sort, he was likely to give it to employees in the form of bonuses or cut prices. In 2013, for example, he felt the company was flush enough to give a 4% discount on all grocery purchases.

However, "Artie T.," as he was affectionately known to his employees, had a rival on the board of directors: his cousin, Arthur S. Demoulas, who hated the way Artie T. ran the company. He wanted Market Basket "to run more like a typical corporation," explained reporter Grant Welker of the *Lowell Sun*. He wanted "higher profit margins and growth, more oversight instead of what people saw as 'The Market Basket Way,' which was unorthodox, although it was working very well."

So in 2014, when a sudden shift in shareholder loyalties gave Arthur S. control of the company, he wasted no time. He fired Artie T. on June 23, replacing him with two executives to serve as co-CEOs.

But then an amazing thing happened: most of Market Basket's employees (all of them non-union) rebelled. They had no interest in working for a company in which the most important people were the shareholders, and they wanted Artie T. rehired. The senior managers who organized the protests were promptly fired, and that only increased the number of employees who decided to strike and picket.

And then an even more amazing thing happened: Market Basket's customers also abandoned the store. Many attended rallies in support of the workers; others taped their grocery receipts to the windows of their local Market Basket to show Arthur S. that they had taken their business elsewhere. In a matter of weeks, all of Market Basket's stores looked abandoned—empty parking lots, empty shelves and empty cash registers. The company was losing some $10 million a day and was surely headed for bankruptcy unless the protest could be brought to an end. With no other realistic options, Arthur S. and his allies folded and, on August 27, agreed to sell the company to Artie T. for $1.6 billion.

At an emotional rally in a Market Basket parking lot, the normally private and taciturn Artie T. addressed cheering workers and congratulated them. "You have demonstrated that everyone here has a purpose. . . . and no one person is better or more important than another. And no one person holds a position of privilege. Whether it's a full-timer or a part-timer, whether it's a sacker or a cashier, or a grocery clerk, or a truck driver, or a warehouse selector, a store manager, a supervisor, a customer, a vendor or a CEO. We are all equal!"

Everyone cheered. And then they got back to work.

There have been signs in recent years that the "bosshole" managerial model may be going out of style.

Longtime customers Julie Handley and Charles Hoar offered support for Arthur T. Demoulas outside the Market Basket in Chelsea, Mass., on July 26, 2014.

IS ALL OF this a sign that bossholes are going out of style?

Well, maybe. In August 2019, five years after Artie T. retook control of Market Basket, Business Roundtable, an association of CEOs of major corporations, issued a new version of its Statement on the Purpose of a Corporation, a declaration of its values. A press release from Business Roundtable noted that "each version of the document issued since 1997 has endorsed principles of shareholder primacy—that corporations exist principally to serve shareholders." But the new statement, signed by 181 CEOs, rejected that principle. "Each of our stakeholders is essential," it read. "We commit to deliver value to all of them, for the future success of our companies, our communities and our country."

Of course, there will always be oppressive managers. But American business culture needn't provide such fertile soil for them to grow. To be fair, some, such as Jobs, have contributed much to civilization; but there is no reason to believe they needed to be ogres in order to do it.

One minor contribution bossholes may make, and in some cases it may be somewhat intentional, is in strengthening the spines of the people who have to put up with them—many of whom vow to protect decent people from the predators.

Richard Henry Dana Jr. was one of those crusaders. After two years under the thumb, and the lash, of Captain Thompson, Dana returned to Harvard with his eyes in good working order. In 1840, he published a classic memoir of his experiences at sea, *Two Years Before the Mast*. Not long after, having earned a law degree, he wrote *The Seaman's Friend*, a manual for sailors that apprised them of their rights and told them how to seek redress from unjust treatment. As an attorney, he took great pleasure in representing aggrieved sailors in court, but he was better known for defending numerous fugitive slaves whose former "masters" hoped to reclaim them by legal means.

As for Captain Thompson, he died in 1837 and lies buried in Brunswick, Maine, under a tombstone that is so covered with moss that you can barely read his name. But no matter; Dana has seen to it that he shall live forever—in the Bosshole Hall of Fame. ◻

18+

WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal, providing you various content: brand new books, trending movies, fresh magazines, hot games, recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price
Cheap constant access to piping hot media
Protect your downloadings from Big brother
Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages
Brand new content
One site

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We have everything for all of your needs. Just open https://avxlive.icu

Are You a Lark or an Owl?

Each of us marches to the rhythm of our chronotype, the internal circadian clock that determines our productivity peaks and valleys throughout each day

By Daniel H. Pink

AFTER WORKING THROUGH THE WEE HOURS ONE evening in 1879, Thomas Alva Edison sat in his laboratory in Menlo Park, N.J., pondering a problem. He had figured out the basic principles of an electric light bulb, but he still hadn't found a substance that worked as a low-cost, long-lasting filament. Alone in the lab, he absentmindedly picked up a pinch of a sooty, carbon-based substance known as lampblack that had been left out for another experiment, and he began rolling it between his thumb and forefinger—the 19th-century equivalent of squeezing a stress ball or trying to one-hop paper clips into a bowl.

Then Edison had—sorry to do this, folks—a light-bulb moment. The thin thread of carbon that was emerging from his mindless finger rolling might work as a filament. He tested it. It burned bright and long, solving the problem. And now I'm writing this sentence, and perhaps you're reading it, in a room that might be dark but for the illumination of Edison's invention.

Edison was a night owl who enabled other night owls. "He was more likely to be found hard at it in his laboratory at midnight than at midday," one early biographer wrote.

Indeed, human beings don't all experience a day in precisely the same way. Each of us has a "chronotype"—a personal pattern of circadian rhythms that influences our physiology and psychology. The Edisons among us are late chronotypes. They wake long after sunrise, detest mornings and don't begin peak-

ing until late afternoon or early evening. Others of us are early chronotypes. They rise easily and feel energized during the day but wear out by evening. Some of us are owls; others of us are larks.

You might have heard the "larks" and "owls" terminology before. It offers a convenient shorthand for describing chronotypes, two simple avian categories into which we can group the personalities and proclivities of our featherless species. But the reality of chronotypes, as is often the case with reality, is more nuanced.

The first systematic effort to measure differences in humans' internal clocks came in 1976 when two scientists, one Swedish and the other British, published a 19-question chronotype assessment. Several years later, two chronobiologists—Martha Merrow, an American, and Till Roenneberg, a German—developed what became an even more widely used assessment, the Munich Chronotype Questionnaire (MCTQ), which distinguishes between people's sleep patterns on "work days" (when we usually must be awake by a certain hour) and "free days" (when we can awaken when we choose). People respond to questions and then receive a numerical score. For example, when I took the MCTQ, I landed in the most common category—a "slightly early type."

However, Roenneberg, the world's best-known chronobiologist, has offered an even easier way to determine one's chronotype. In fact, you can do it right now.

Think about your behavior during "free days"—days when you're not required to awaken at a specific time. Now answer these three questions:

1. What time do you usually go to sleep?
2. What time do you usually wake up?
3. What is the middle of those two times—that is, what is your midpoint of sleep? (For instance, if you typically fall asleep around 11:30 p.m. and wake up at 7:30 a.m., your midpoint is 3:30 a.m.)

Now find your position on the following chart, which I've repurposed from Roenneberg's research.

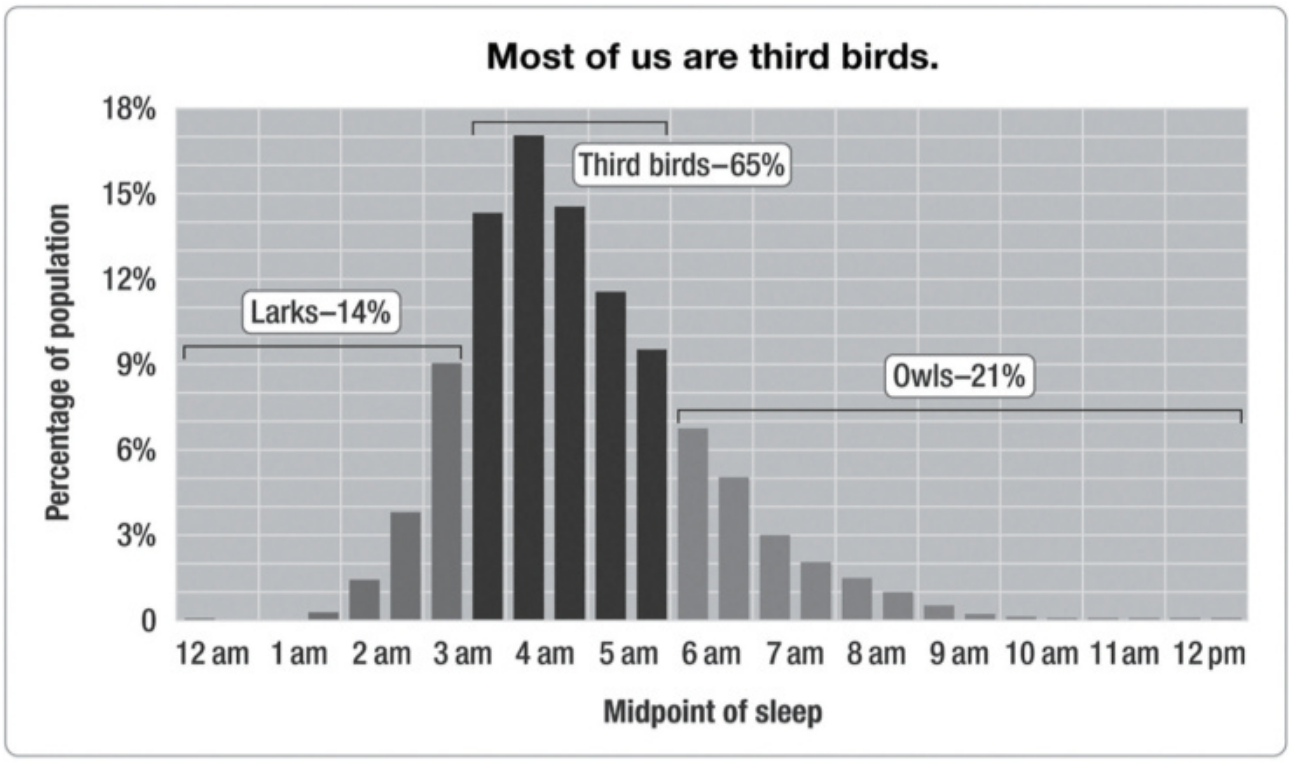
Morning types also tend to be high in positive affect—that is, many are as happy as larks.

Chances are, you are neither a complete lark nor an utter owl, but somewhere in the middle—what I call a "third bird." Roenneberg and others have found that "[s]leep and wake times show a near-Gaussian (normal) distribution in a given population." That is, if you plot people's chronotypes on a graph, the result looks like a bell curve. The one difference, as you can see from the chart, is that extreme owls outnumber extreme larks; owls have, statistically if not physiologically, a longer tail. But most people are neither larks nor owls. According to research over several decades and across different continents, about 60% to 80% of us are third birds. "It's like feet," Roenneberg says. "Some people are born with big feet and some with small feet, but most people are somewhere in the middle."

Chronotypes are like feet in another way, too. There's not much we can do about their size or shape. Genetics explains at least half of the variability in chronotype, suggesting that larks and owls are born, not made. In fact, the when of one's birth plays a surprisingly powerful role. People born in the fall or winter are more likely to be larks; people born in the spring or summer are more likely to be owls.

After genetics, the most important factor in one's chronotype is age. As parents know and lament, young children are generally larks. They wake up early and buzz around throughout the day but don't last very long beyond the early evening. Around puberty, those larks begin morphing into owls. They wake up later—at least on free days—gain energy during the late afternoon and evening, and fall asleep well after their parents.

By some estimates, teenagers' midpoint of sleep is 6 a.m. or even 7 a.m., not exactly in sync with most high school start times. They reach their peak owliness around age 20 and then slowly return to larkiness over the rest of their lives. The chronotypes of men and women also differ, especially in the first halves of their lives. Men tend toward eveningness, women toward morningness. However, those sex differ-



According to research by the German chronobiologist Till Roenneberg, about two thirds of the population falls between larks and night owls.

ences begin to disappear around the age of 50. And as Roenneberg notes, "People over 60 years of age, on average, become even earlier chronotypes than they were as children." Yet regardless of age or gender, most people are neither strong larks nor strong owls but middle-of-the-nest third birds.

Still, around 20% to 25% of the population are solid evening types—and they display both a personality and a set of behaviors that we must reckon with to understand the hidden pattern of a day.

Let's begin with personality, including what social scientists call the "Big Five" traits—openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism. Much of the research shows morning people to be pleasant, productive folks—"introverted, conscientious, agreeable, persistent and emotionally stable" women and men who take initiative, suppress ugly impulses and plan for the future. Morning types also tend to be high in positive affect—that is, many are as happy as larks. Owls, meanwhile, display some darker tendencies. They're more open and extroverted than larks. But they're also more neurotic—and often impulsive, sensation-seeking, live-for-the-moment hedonists. They're more likely than larks to use nicotine, alcohol and caffeine—not to mention marijuana, ecstasy and cocaine. They're also more prone to addiction, eating disorders, diabetes, depression and infidelity. No wonder they don't show their faces during the day. And no wonder bosses consider employees who come in early as dedicated and competent and give late starters lower performance ratings. Benjamin Franklin had it right: early to bed and early to rise makes a person healthy, wealthy and wise.

Well, not exactly. When scholars have tested Franklin's gnomic wisdom, they found no "justification for early risers to affect moral superiority." Those nefarious owls actually tend to display greater creativity, show superior working memory and post higher scores on intelligence tests such as the GMAT. They even have a better sense of humor.

The problem is that our corporate, government and education cultures are configured for the 75% or 80% of people who are larks or third birds. Owls are like left-handers in a right-handed world—forced to use scissors and writing desks and catcher's mitts designed for others. How they respond is the final piece of the puzzle in divining the rhythms of the day.

What ultimately matters is that type, task and time align—what social scientists call "the synchrony effect." For instance,

even though it's obviously more dangerous to drive at night, owls actually drive worse early in the day because mornings are out of sync with their natural cycle of vigilance and alertness. Younger people typically have keener memories than older folks. But many of these age-based cognitive differences weaken, and sometimes disappear, when synchrony is taken into account. In fact, some research has shown that for memory tasks, older adults use the same regions of the brain as younger adults do when operating in the morning but different (and less effective) regions later in the day.

Synchrony even affects our ethical behavior. In 2014, two scholars identified what they dubbed the "morning morality effect," which showed that people are less likely to lie and cheat on tasks in the morning than they are later in the day. But subsequent research found that one explanation for the effect is simply that most people are morning or intermediate chronotypes. Factor in owliness, and the effect is more nuanced. Yes, early risers display the morning morality effect. But night owls are more ethical at night than in the morning. "[T]he fit between a person's chronotype and the time of day offers a more complete predictor of that person's ethicality than does time of day alone," these scholars write.

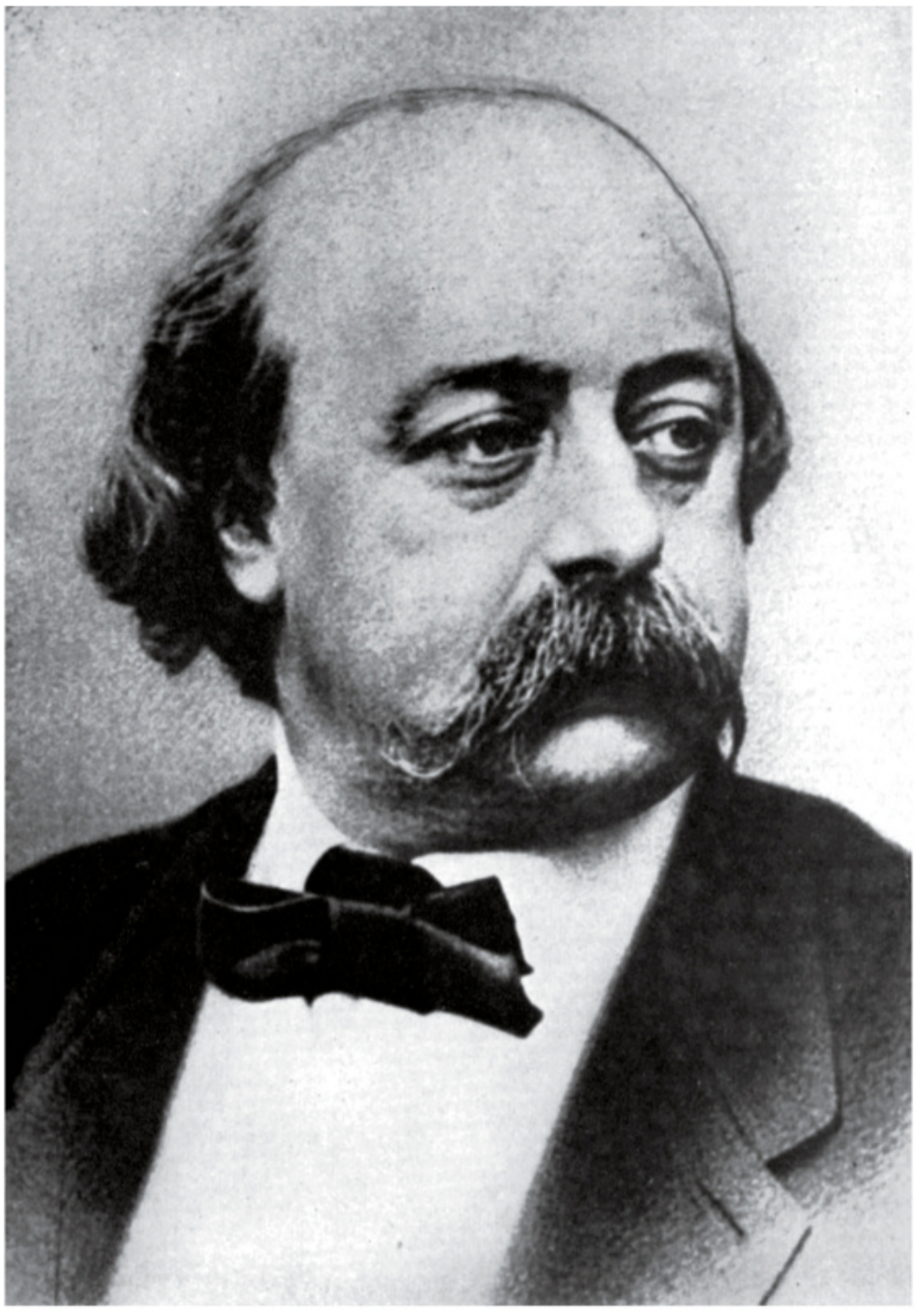
In short, all of us experience the day in three stages—a peak, a trough and a rebound. And about three quarters of us (larks and third birds) experience it in that order. But about 1 in 4 people, those whose genes or age make them night owls, experience the day in something closer to the reverse order—recovery, trough, peak.

To probe this idea, I asked my colleague, researcher Cameron French, to analyze the daily rhythms of a collection of artists, writers and inventors. His source material was a remarkable book, edited by Mason Currey, titled *Daily Rituals: How Artists Work*, that chronicled the everyday patterns of work and rest of 161 creators, from Jane Austen to Jackson Pollock to Anthony Trollope to Toni Morrison. French read their daily work schedules and coded each element as either heads-down work, no work at all or less intense work—something close to the pattern of peak, trough and recovery.

MORNING GLORY **Joyce Carol Oates** (above, at Canada's University of Windsor in 1969) has written nearly 60 novels, along with poetry, criticism, essays and memoirs. Her chronotype places her in the "peak, trough, recovery" category: a burst of morning energy, followed by a lull, and then a rebound that can carry her well into the night.

For instance, composer Pyotr Ilich Tchaikovsky would typically awaken between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. and then read, drink tea and take a walk. At 9:30, he went to his piano to compose for a few hours. Then he broke for lunch and another stroll during the afternoon. (He believed that walks, sometimes two hours long, were essential for creativity.) At 5 p.m., he settled back in for a few more hours of work before eating supper at 8 p.m.

One hundred fifty years later, writer Joyce Carol Oates operates on a similar rhythm. She "generally writes from



NIGHT OWL
The author of *Madame Bovary*, **Gustave Flaubert** (1821–1880) didn't hit his writing stride until late evening. He was a notorious perfectionist, who polished his sentences rigorously and had an aversion to clichés, forever searching for fresh and inventive means of expression.

8:00 or 8:30 in the morning until about 1:00 p.m. Then she eats lunch and allows herself an afternoon break before resuming work from 4:00 p.m. until dinner around 7:00." Both Tchaikovsky and Oates are peak-trough-rebound kinds of people.

Other creators have marched to a different diurnal drummer. Novelist Gustave Flaubert, who lived much of his adult life in his mother's house, would typically not awaken until 10 a.m., after which he'd spend an hour bathing, primping and puffing his pipe. Around 11, "he would join the family in the dining room for a late-morning meal that served as both his breakfast and lunch." He would then tutor his niece for a while and devote most of the afternoon to resting and reading. At 7 p.m. he would have dinner, and afterward, "he sat and talked with his mother" until she went to bed around 9 p.m. And then he did his writing. Night owl Flaubert's day moved in an opposite direction—from recovery to trough to peak.

After coding these creators' daily schedules and tabulating who did what when, French found what we now realize is a predictable distribution. About 62% of the creators followed the peak-trough-recovery pattern, where serious heads-down work happened in the morning, followed by not much work at all and then a shorter burst of less taxing work. About 20% of the sample displayed the reverse pattern—recovering in the mornings and getting down to business much later in the day à la Flaubert. And about 18% were more idiosyncratic or lacked sufficient data and therefore displayed neither pattern. Separate out that third group, and the chronotype ratio holds. For every three peak-trough-rebound patterns, there is one rebound-trough-peak pattern.

So what does this mean for you?

The essence is straightforward. Figure out your type, understand your task and then select the appropriate time. Is your own hidden daily pattern peak-trough-rebound? Or is it rebound-trough-peak? Then look for synchrony. If you have even modest control over your schedule, try to nudge your most important work, which usually requires vigilance and clear thinking, into the peak, and push your second-most important work, or tasks that benefit from disinhibition, into the rebound period. Whatever you do, do not let mundane tasks creep into your peak period.

And if you're a boss, understand these two patterns and allow people to protect their peak. □

The Value of Failure

In most every endeavor, overcoming slings, arrows, setbacks and rejection is a crucial element for ultimate success

By Alex Dalenberg

BY ALMOST ANY MEASURE, J.K. ROWLING IS ONE OF the most successful people on Earth. The 54-year-old novelist's Harry Potter fantasy series has sold more than 500 million copies worldwide, spawning an entertainment franchise that turned her into a cultural icon and the world's first billionaire author.

But, as Rowling tells it, none of that would have been possible without years of failure. Indeed, before *Harry Potter*, Rowling considered herself to have "failed on an epic scale." In 1993, her brief, tumultuous marriage to a Portuguese television journalist fell apart months after the birth of her first daughter. Moving from Portugal to Edinburgh, Scotland, to be near family, Rowling at 28 found herself a single mother struggling on state benefits. "I was jobless, a lone parent, and as poor as it is possible to be in modern Britain, without being homeless," she said in a 2008 commencement address at Harvard University. "By every usual standard, I was the biggest failure I knew."

Failure, however, proved a remarkable teacher. "Failure taught me things about myself that I could have learned no other way," Rowling said. "I discovered that I had a strong will, and more discipline than I had suspected."

Rowling's hard-won wisdom is borne out by a growing body of research that suggests that coming to grips with failure is essential to success. Of course, without the existence of failure, success would have no meaning. But the two terms aren't merely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opposites. The more we learn about human striving, the more we see that success and failure are inextricably bound together.

SCIENTISTS ARE WELL accustomed to the idea that progress could not exist without failure. The scientific method itself rests on repeated trial and error. An experiment that fails to prove a researcher's hypothesis isn't a failure, per se; it's simply more data to support further inquiries. Pioneering physicist Enrico Fermi, who created the world's first nuclear reactor, is said to have told his students that there are two possible outcomes for an experiment. "If the result confirms the hypothesis, then you've made a measurement," Fermi said. "If the result is contrary to the hypothesis, then you've made a discovery."

In his book *Failure: Why Science Is So Successful*, biologist Stuart Firestein argues that if scientists don't encounter constant failure, they're doing something wrong. "One must try to fail because it is the only strategy to avoid repeating the obvious," he writes. "Too often you fail until you succeed, and then you are expected to stop failing." For scientists, "failure is not a temporary condition," he notes. It is a constant and essential companion.

Simply acknowledging the ubiquity of failure appears to set students up for future success. In a 2016 study, researchers at the Teachers College of Columbia University asked three groups of high school students to read biographies of three famous scientists: Albert Einstein, Marie Curie and Michael Faraday. One group read biographies that focused only on the scientists' accomplishments. The other two groups read biographies that focused on their personal and professional struggles, including foiled ambitions and failed experiments. The students who read about the scientists' struggles went on to perform better in math and science classes.

"The message that even successful scientists experience failures prior to their achievements may help students interpret their difficulties in science classes as normal occurrences rather than a reflection of their lack of intelligence or talent for science," the researchers wrote in their paper "Even Einstein Struggled," published in the *Journal of Education Psychology*.

One of the study's authors, cognitive-studies professor Xiaodong Lin-Siegler, went on to be the founding director of Columbia's Education for Persistence and Innovation Center, dedicated to the study of failure. Lin-Siegler herself has talked about her rocky road to academic success. She was rejected by three graduate schools, including the Columbia Teachers College, inspiring her research. One of the center's first major research projects will be to interview Nobel laureates about their experiences with failure. "Few studies exist on how failure can lead to success and how to educate our youth about this process," the center says of the research. "The goal is to help students recognize that failure is essential to future success."

Research shows that when students accept that failures are inevitable, it sets them up for future success.

THERE IS A larger movement afoot to break down the taboos around failure. In the summer of 2010, neuroscientist Melanie Stefan found her application for a fellowship yet again rejected. That wasn't surprising in itself. She estimated that most of the fellowships for which she was applying had about a 15% acceptance rate. Nevertheless, it stung. Stefan found darkly humorous consolation in the fact that, the same day her rejection came through, Brazil's World Cup team cut soccer phenomenon Ronaldinho. But as she thought more about it, Stefan realized that while Ronaldinho's failures are visible for all the world to see, most people's aren't.

"My CV does not reflect the bulk of my academic efforts—it does not mention the exams I failed, my unsuccessful Ph.D. or fellowship applications, or the papers never accepted for publication," Stefan wrote in the journal *Nature*. "At conferences, I talk about the one project that worked, not about the many that failed."

Stefan, now a lecturer at the University of Edinburgh, called on her academic colleagues to create a CV of their failures, including "every unsuccessful application,

refused grant proposal and rejected paper."

"It will be six times as long as your normal CV," she wrote. "It will probably be utterly depressing at first sight. But it will remind you of the missing truths, some of the essential parts of what it means to be a scientist—and it might inspire a colleague to shake off a rejection and start again."

The idea inspired a flowering of failure CVs and résumés online, including a memorable one by Princeton University psychology professor Johannes Haushofer.

"Most of what I try fails, but these failures are often invisible, while the successes are visible. I have noticed that this sometimes gives others the impression that most things work out for me," he wrote. "As a result, they are more likely to attribute their own failures to themselves, rather than the fact that the world is stochastic, applications are crapshoots, and selection committees and referees have bad days."

Ironically, the attention that Haushofer's CV of failures has attracted, including mentions in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, is listed as its own "meta failure."

"This darn CV of Failures," he writes, "has received way more attention than my entire body of academic work."

Allowing yourself to fully feel failure can lay the groundwork for future success, suggests a 2017 study in the *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*. Researchers asked two groups of 98 people to find the cheapest price for a specific blender online, with a cash prize for finding the best deal. Half the participants were told to focus on their emotional response to losing. The other half were told to simply think about the details of their failure if they didn't win. But after the competition, all the participants were told that they lost and that the cheapest blender was $3.27 less than the one they'd found. The participants were then given the chance to try another task, this time shopping for a book. The group that focused on their emotional response to failing spent 25% more time on the next task than the group that did not, suggesting that they tried harder.

"All the advice tells you not to dwell on your mistakes, to not feel bad. But we found the opposite," wrote Selin Malkoc, an Ohio State University professor of marketing who co-authored the study. "If

One study found that when people embraced and acknowledged their emotional response to failure, they tried harder next time.

your thoughts are all about how to distance yourself from the failure, you're not going to learn from your mistakes."

RECOGNIZING THAT FAILURE exists is one thing. Knowing what to do with it is equally important. Amy C. Edmondson, a professor of leadership and management at Harvard Business School, has identified three general categories of failure: preventable failures, complexity-related failures and intelligent failures. Preventable failures can occur when people and organizations don't do what they know they need to do in order to be successful. They might not follow proven methods or procedures, may be inattentive to detail or simply lack the necessary skills or training to accomplish the task at hand. "Most failures in this category can indeed be considered 'bad,' " Edmondson wrote in the *Harvard Business Review* in 2011. "But in such cases, the causes can be readily identified and solutions developed."

On the other hand, complexity-related failures are often unavoidable and are bred by the "inherent uncertainty of work." Unpredictable needs, people and challenges can combine to confront people and organizations with problems they've never faced and can't be easily planned for in advance. Enduring complexity-related failures is inevitable, Edmondson writes, but they should be studied thoroughly after the fact. Their damage can also be mitigated with contingency plans that focus on safety and risk management. And not all complexity-related failures are unavoidable. "Avoiding consequential failures means rapidly identifying and correcting small failures," she wrote. "Most accidents in hospitals result from a series of small failures that went unnoticed and unfortunately lined up in just the wrong way."

Intelligent failures are the most valuable kind of failure. They occur when branching out into completely uncharted territory: developing a new product, perhaps, or entering a new market, which require risk-taking and experimentation. Setbacks are inevitable. But if harnessed properly, such failures can provide the insight necessary for ultimate success. Of course, that doesn't mean taking on projects blindly with no thought to the consequences of failure. It means having a plan with the full awareness and acceptance that failure could be the outcome.

Unfortunately, Edmondson believes that the stigma around failure prevents organizations from reaping the benefits. When executives are asked which mistakes in their organization were truly blameworthy, most say between 2% and 5%. But when asked what share of mistakes were treated as blameworthy, the answers usually ranged between 70% and 90%. "The unfortunate consequence," Edmondson wrote, "is that many failures go unreported and their lessons are lost."

Intelligent failures occur when branching into new territory—products, markets, etc.—and can provide valuable insights for the future.

FAILURE IS STILL painful. And it doesn't make success inevitable. The benefit of hindsight makes a story like Rowling's look like another step on the road to destiny. But in the moment, there was no indication that Rowling's path of failure was leading anywhere. "I had no idea then how far the tunnel extended," she said. "And for a long time, any light at the end of it was a hope rather than a reality."

But Rowling also felt liberated. Having tasted failure in its full measure, she no longer feared it. "Failure meant a stripping away of the inessential," she said. "I was still alive, and I still had a daughter whom I adored, and I had an old typewriter and a big idea." Rowling threw herself into her writing, stealing snatches of time to write *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* at various Edinburgh cafés after walking her daughter to sleep in her stroller. Ironically, Rowling's breakthrough proved to be an epic missed opportunity for others. Her pitch famously had been rejected 12 times before publisher Scholastic Corp. said yes—and struck gold.

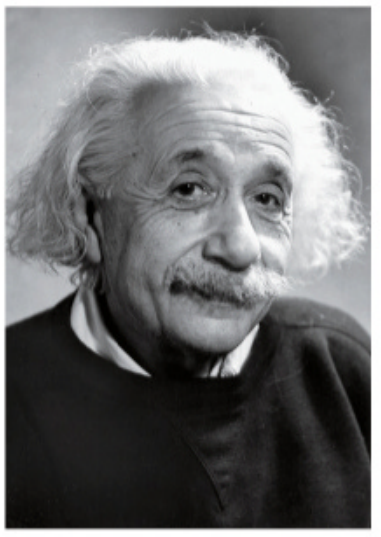
"It is impossible to live without failing at something," Rowling concluded. "Unless you live so cautiously that you might as well not have lived at all. In which case, you fail by default." □

If at First . . .

Some of history's most successful people were once flops who conquered failure with relentless persistence

Henry Ford (1863–1947)
He did more than perhaps anyone else to develop the automobile and make it an indispensable feature of modern life. But Ford's first company went bankrupt, and his second cratered after a dispute with his partners.

Albert Einstein (1879–1955)
The visionary physicist dropped out of high school at 16. He cut classes so often in college, his reputation prevented him from getting an academic post for many years. A friend offered him a job as an insurance salesman, but he dismissed the idea as "stultifying drudgery."



"Colonel" Harland Sanders (1890–1980)
The white-suited founder of Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) was an underachiever until age 66. After losing his restaurant, he hit the road with a recipe and a monthly $105 Social Security check, hoping to sell his chicken franchise model to restaurants. He hit pay dirt.

Fred Astaire (1899–1987)
The dance legend received one of the most infamous screen-test rejections in Hollywood history. Wrote the studio executive: "Can't act. Slightly bald. Can dance a little."

Walt Disney (1901–1966)
The creative and business genius brought us Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, Snow White and the Magic Kingdom. But Disney's first company, Laugh-O-gram Films, went bankrupt, and he faced some lean years before the rodent roared.

Dr. Seuss (1904–1991)
Born Theodor Geisel, the author of *The Cat in the Hat*, *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* and other children's classics went for his Ph.D. in literature at Lincoln College, Oxford, but dropped out. His first book, *And to Think I Saw It on Mulberry Street*, was rejected 27 times.

Sylvester Stallone (1946–)
At one point, Sly was homeless, living for three weeks in the Port Authority Bus Terminal in New York. While writing *Rocky*, he sold his dog for $50 just to pay his rent.

Robert T. Kiyosaki (1947–)
He found monster success at 50 with his self-help best seller *Rich Dad Poor Dad*. But Kiyosaki overcame plenty of setbacks—his first company, which marketed the first nylon and Velcro surfer wallets, went bankrupt. So did his second, which made T-shirts, hats, wallets and bags for heavy-metal bands.

Oprah Winfrey (1954–)
Born to a single teenage mother, she overcame soul-crushing challenges including childhood abuse. Winfrey ran away at 13, got pregnant at 14 and lost the baby shortly after birth. Yet she rose to become a TV anchor—only to be fired from her first job, in Baltimore, for being "unfit for television news." Said Oprah, "It shook me to my very core."

Bill Gates (1955–)
Today, the Microsoft mogul and tech pioneer is worth $108 billion, but he easily might have become discouraged from the get-go: at 17, Gates and friends started a company called Traf-O-Data, which analyzed raw traffic logs—and it tanked.

The Beauty Part

It's not fair, but perceived physical attractiveness does seem to boost one's chances of getting ahead

By Emily Joshu

IF IT SEEMS THAT ATTRACTIVE PEOPLE have everything handed to them or move up the career ladder faster—with raises, promotions or increased praise—there may be some truth to that. In 2018, the website RateMyProfessors.com, which allows college students to review their professors, dropped its "chili pepper" rating following social-media backlash contending that it objectified professors, women in particular. Interpreted as a "hotness" scale, which helped give more-attractive professors higher overall ratings, the chili pepper was a prime example of the correlation between beauty and success.

But do looks equate to success? Potentially. From professors to CEOs to politicians, no career path is exempt from the idea that perceived attractiveness could influence one's success in the workplace compared to subjectively "less attractive" co-workers. In his book *Beauty Pays*, Daniel Hamermesh, an economist and distinguished scholar at Barnard College, has evaluated how looks influence pay, raises and expectations in the U.S. workplace. For example, Hamermesh's research states that workers who are perceived to be good-looking earn an average of 5% more per year than the average-looking person, while employees considered unattractive can miss out on up to almost 9%.

This beauty-based ideology can even be narrowed down to specific physical characteristics. For example, a University of Florida study concluded that for every additional inch of height, a tall employee can earn $789 extra per year. If you exercise regularly, you could earn 9% more on average than workers who don't make it to the gym, according to a recent report in the *Journal of Labor Research*. Even blondes may have more fun, economically speaking, in that a 2010 study from the Queensland University of Technology in Australia found that of 13,000 Caucasian women, the blondes earned at least 7% more than non-blondes.

But why does success seem to favor head-turners over more ordinary counterparts? Centuries ago, it was a common belief that good-looking people were more reproductively fit, which made them innately healthier. "That's not true anymore; ugly people are just as healthy as good-looking people, but we still have in our minds that somehow good looks are beneficial and therefore we're attracted to them," Hamermesh says. Economists have also theorized that beautiful people appear more self-confident than their homelier counterparts, which could appeal more to employers and colleagues alike.

Gender may also play a role in how looks influence success. *Beauty Pays* points out that a man considered "handsome" could make up to 13% more over his career than his less attractive co-worker. According to Hamermesh, the effects of this beauty-first mindset might be more detrimental for men than for women in a society that expects more men than women to occupy the workplace. Women, he says, are more likely to opt out of working than men, so they are less likely to feel the negative effects of their appearance.

Women are far from immune, however. A recent report from George Washington University found that in terms of

weight, obese women were paid on average $4,879 less per year than normal-weight co-workers, while obese men made on average $2,646 less than their normal-weight counterparts. And while a 2016 study showed a 20% pay boost for more-attractive people, it also revealed that women who wear makeup and style their hair and clothing make 20% more than their less-groomed counterparts. On the contrary, a 2019 study described the "femme fatale" effect, which shows evidence that attractive women in the workplace are seen as less trustworthy, less truthful and more worthy of being fired.

In the evolving landscape of LinkedIn profile photos and Skype interviews, employers can immediately see what potential hires look like, sometimes even before reading through their résumés. Studies have yet to confirm whether this exacerbates this phenomenon, so it's unclear as of now if your LinkedIn photo could be costing you a job or if your appearance on a Skype conference call could be the underlying determining factor behind your latest promotion. Hamermesh, however, believes it possibly could.

"Given that people do want beauty, by putting the beauty up front, in some sense it saves people time," he says. For example, a job candidate strolling into an office with unkempt hair, a scraggly beard and an ill-fitting suit could be plucked from the list of candidates before even coming in if employers can identify these red flags in his LinkedIn profile picture. This preliminary looks-based screening "might also enhance the importance of beauty in people's minds," Hamermesh says.

He's skeptical that our innate gravitation to attractive people will change anytime soon—so, in the meantime, what can those of us who aren't "chili peppers" do to stand out in the workplace? "Anything," Hamermesh says. "Accentuate the things that you're good at and that you enjoy doing. Put the good foot forward." ◻

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Old-school résumés hid job candidates' appearance, but the advent of LinkedIn profile pics could encourage looks-based screening.

A Little Bit of Luck

How much of success is the result of simple chance?

By Daniel S. Levy

From an early age, we're taught that if we want to get ahead in the world, we must knuckle down, nose to the grindstone, and pull up our bootstraps—or something like that. That we should be like one of those Horatio Alger characters who, through talent—and hard, hard work—ultimately achieve the American Dream. Many of us learned in school how Thomas Edison tested a vast array of materials, from coconut fiber to human hair, and only then figured out that carbonized bamboo was the best substance for a reliable light-bulb filament. "Before I got through," he admitted, "I tested no fewer than 6,000 vegetable growths, and ransacked the world for the most suitable filament material."

Edison, of course, was the Wizard of Menlo Park who amassed 1,093 patents for everything from the phonograph to the motion picture. He also famously posited that "genius is 2 percent inspiration and 98 percent perspiration." But despite Edison's brilliance and indefatigability, it was a bit of luck (and courage) that set him on his spectacular path. As a teenager, Tom happened to be at the right place at the right time to rescue a 3-year-old about to be hit by a train. In gratitude, the child's father rewarded Edison by teaching him railroad telegraphy, which placed the youth on the road to inventing.

Edison is far from the only innovator blessed by Goddess Fortuna. Take Alexander Fleming. When the bacteriologist returned from a vacation, he was disheartened to find his Lon-

don lab a mess. Before cleaning up, Fleming noticed that a mold called *Penicillium notatum* was on the petri dishes of colonies of *Staphylococcus aureus* and that it stopped the growth of staphylococci. From that, Fleming discovered penicillin, the world's first antibiotic. "When I woke up just after dawn on September 28, 1928, I certainly didn't plan to revolutionize all medicine," he wrote. Fleming's accidental discovery led to a Nobel Prize. More important, countless people are lucky to be alive because of his find.

How much of success can be attributed to dumb luck, turning the corner at the right moment, picking the right stock or being born into the right family? In 1906, economist Vilfredo Pareto realized that 20% of Italians controlled 80% of the wealth, a proportion that it was soon revealed exists throughout societies. This morphed into what is known as the Pareto Principle, or the 80/20 rule. That principle states that four fifths of what is accomplished comes from one fifth of the work. So while many may be blessed with a work ethic and intelligence, hard work doesn't always bring success, and a lack of labor might not necessarily mean failure. Other factors are at play.

Some may be blessed with a work ethic and intelligence, but hard work does not always bring success, and a lack of labor might not mean failure.

A good deal seems to depend on winning what billionaire investor Warren Buffett in 2013 called the "ovarian lottery," which could allow you to be part of that 20%. Think about such a Life Lotto. First there is the chance of being conceived—and then compound those gazillion-to-one odds with being blessed with good health, having nurturing parents, attending a good school, making the correct choices and knowing the right people. The probabilities are incalculable, the variables infinite, the chances gobsmacking. And while the success-luck link doesn't necessarily lead to wealth and acclaim, when it does, it makes for great cocktail-party talk.

Thankfully, the physicists Alessandro Pluchino and Andrea Rapisarda and the economist A.E. Biondo at the University of Catania in Italy looked into the Pareto Principle. In what is possibly the first statistical modeling of the prevalence of luck, their 2018 study "Talent vs. Luck: The Role of Randomness in Success and Failure" confirmed that success can have nothing to do with innate ability: "If it is true that some degree of talent is necessary to be successful in life, almost never [do] the most talented people reach the highest peaks of success, being overtaken by mediocre but sensibly luckier individuals." And this leads to the problem that since rewards flow to those who have already achieved, it produces a further "lack of opportunities" for many talented people.

This is clearly evident in the financial markets, where investment houses always remind clients of the mantra, "Past performance does not guarantee future results." Nonetheless, financial managers who do well are lauded and attract more money, even if their success might just be having made a fortunate choice. New York University Distinguished Professor of Risk Engineering Nassim Nicholas Taleb looked into this phenomenon in his book *Fooled by Randomness: The Hidden Role in Life and in the Markets* and argued that Wall Street gurus see financial patterns and clues that aren't really there. Similarly, Paul Solman and Thomas Friedman noted in their book *Life and Death on the Corporate Battlefield: How Companies Win, Lose, Survive* that a firm's "brilliant strategy may prevail in one instance and a brilliant new product may spell victory in another, but behind the bottom line, there are many more crossed fingers than the traditional view of business would lead us to believe." Their comment follows Shakespeare's simple observation in his play *Cymbeline*, "Fortune brings in some boats that are not steered."

AN INSIDER WHO chronicled the markets and knows the role of luck firsthand is Michael Lewis. The author recalled how his success was simply being in the right place at the right time. In the 1980s while attending the London School of Economics, the 24-year-old Lewis was invited by his cousin to a dinner hosted by the Queen Mother. Lewis rented a tuxedo and found himself seated next to the wife of a man-

^ *Workaholic and lucky inventor Thomas Edison conducted experiments in his New Jersey laboratory in 1910.*

aging partner at Salomon Brothers. Impressed by the young grad student, she convinced her husband to give him a job. This allowed Lewis to become a house derivatives expert. From what he picked up on the job, he penned his 1989 best-selling book *Liar's Poker* about the boastfulness and deceit rife in Wall Street.

"What were the odds of being seated at that dinner next to that Salomon Brothers lady? Of landing inside the best Wall Street firm to write the story of the age? Of landing in the seat with the best view of the business?" Lewis told Princeton University's graduating class in 2012. "This isn't just false humility. It's false humility with a point. My case illustrates how success is always rationalized. People really don't like to hear success explained away as luck—especially successful people. As they age, and succeed, people feel their success was somehow inevitable." Author E.B. White succinctly observed the same thing in a 1944 column for *Harper's Magazine*: "Luck is not something you can mention in the presence of self-made men."

But don't bet it all on fickle odds. Work and diligence are essential. Peter Drucker, the founder of modern management—who luckily fled Nazi Germany in 1933—noted in his *Managing for Results*: "Luck, chance and catastrophe affect business as they do all human endeavors. But luck never built a business. Prosperity and growth come only to the business that systematically finds and exploits its potential."

Even so, keep your eyes and ears open, for you never know when the stars and the cosmos might align. That's what happened to Robert Wilson and Arno Penzias, radio astronomers working at Bell Labs in Holmdel, N.J. In 1964 the pair were attempting to map signals in the Milky Way, and they couldn't figure out the cause of an odd buzzing noise picked up by their equipment. As they worked to get rid of the static—including removing pigeons that had nested in their 20-foot horn-shaped antenna—they realized they weren't receiving random sounds but cosmic microwave background, the thermal echo of the Big Bang, an event that created the universe. For confirming the start of space and time, Wilson and Penzias won the Nobel Prize in Physics. Those pesky pigeons helped make them a pair of lucky ducks. □

CHAPTER

3 Successful Relationships

For Richer and for Poorer

Mind-melding on money management is one of the keys to a long, happy marriage

By Belinda Luscombe

EVERYBODY COMES INTO MARRIAGE WITH ONE IMportant relationship they cannot end: the one they have with money. It's a deep, complicated liaison with a lot of history and often goes unacknowledged. But handling family finances together—and navigating the hazards therein—is an essential ingredient of a successful long-term union.

Money is not just currency. It comes with emotions attached. "There's a lot of internal feelings related to money because money can also reflect the power and the balance of the relationship," says Lauren Papp, the director of the Couples Lab at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and the author of several studies on marital conflict.

Fights about money, therefore, are not just about having enough and sharing it equally; they strike at the essence of people's fears and hopes and desires. Fears of being alone and being destitute are intertwined. It's no accident that people under financial pressure get divorced much more often than people who aren't. It's also not a coincidence that people often delay getting married until they feel financially secure.

Studies have shown that money is the most commonly reported squabble-starter for couples and the source of the most heated arguments. Of course, the subject is unavoidable. There are bills every month. If they don't get paid, the effect is immediate. Couples have plenty of opportunities to discuss who's

going to pay for what, whether certain expenditures were prudent or necessary, and the annoying gap between cash going out and cash coming in.

The good news: this means lots of chances to practice these conversations in a coolheaded manner. The bad news: it also means lots of opportunities for sphincter-tightening conversations full of accusations and finger-pointing.

Money crises can also hit unexpectedly, which ramp up everyone's stress levels. The broken-down car, the job loss, the child who suddenly needs medical help, the dead refrigerator with its warm beer. Financial setbacks also have a vicious way of cascading—e.g., you can't make your full credit card payments for a few months, so the interest starts to compound.

Spending fights are also the ones couples tend to put off. They then have to have that same quarrel about budgeting or that unpaid bill or why we can't go away over spring break—again and again and again. There's nothing like a fight you've already had six times in a year to really get that blood boiling.

Financial battles are also different from any other kind of feud because the loss of money provokes our strongest emotion: fear. People get depressed if they think their sex lives are going down the drain; they get frustrated when they can't agree on how to discipline the kids. But they don't start imagining they're going to lose everything. That tight little ball of dread often tips us over into the irrational—imagine we could be left walking the streets in ill-fitting shoes, dragging our belongs in a rolling suitcase with one working wheel.

Unexpected money crises ramp up stress levels: the broken-down car, the job loss, the child who suddenly needs medical help.

SO, IS THERE a particular way to handle your finances that works best? I asked more than 150 couples from around the English-speaking world to let me know how they divided up their income and expenses, and I got dozens of permutations of three answers. Some people liked joint accounts. They pool all their income and pay for everything together. For many this was about simplifying the bookkeeping as much as anything. The difficulties with the one big pot of income are obvious: how to determine who gets to take a taste every now and then and how much is appropriate to ladle out for personal consumption. A New Jersey couple handle this by having separate amounts each partner can spend built into the budget "so we don't have to be concerned about it."

There were other couples who preferred to keep all accounts separate and to divide up the expenses. This appeared to be a more popular choice among those without kids, probably because the massive income suck that kids represent makes it too unwieldy to have separate accounts. Some people suggest that keeping individual accounts means the couple are less committed and don't really trust each other, but that's not necessarily true; they have to be very committed and trusting to believe that each other is paying his or her share of the bills.

A third option, recommended by many financial managers, is a kind of yours-mine-and-ours approach. A large percentage of each paycheck is deposited into a joint account to pay for household expenses, and a smaller percentage goes to each partner's separate accounts, to do with as they please. As long as those percentages are agreed upon and observed, nobody gets to criticize the other's choices. I buy my clothes at the secondhand store, but I like to go monthly and donate a lot of stuff back again. My husband will buy a crazy expensive Helmut Lang overcoat and wear it every cold day for 10 years and look sharp as a No. 2 pencil, until I accidentally give it to the Salvation Army. (Wrong bag, was supposed to go to the dry cleaner.) But if he wanted to spend his portion of our liquid assets on rainbow stickers, I wouldn't have the right to criticize, as long as all family needs were met.

Most people think the third option is the fairest, according to a 2017 study out of the University of Maryland, which polled a nationally representative sample of Amer-

icans. Therapists also like the three-way system because it mirrors what a healthy marriage would look like. "It actually reflects the fundamental nature of commitment when commitment is healthy," says marital researcher Scott Stanley. "There's an 'us' and there's a 'me and you.' And 'you' don't have to disappear for the 'us' to exist."

ONE OF THE thorniest issues for couples is debt. Kathleen Gurney, a psychologist and the author of *Your Money Personality*, calls it "a silent killer, chipping away at your self-confidence." Debt is one of those marital bogeymen that have loomed larger in recent years: in 1997, household consumer credit in the United States was $1.34 trillion. Within a decade, it had grown to $2.61 trillion, and by the end of 2017, it had quintupled to about $13.15 trillion. A lot of that is college debt, but $830 billion of it was credit card debt. So, if you've managed to rack up a few unpaid bills in the past decade or two, you are not alone. It's not entirely your fault either: in the past 13 years median household income has grown by 4.4% while the cost of living has gone up almost 30%.

If talking about money is like walking on eggshells, talking about debt is like walking on eggshells laid on top of improvised explosive devices. Many people avoid it at all costs. You may claim that your debt is yours to contend with and that you will take care of it eventually, but that's not really the way debt works. If you can't pay, eventually your spouse will have to, unless you die or divorce. If your spouse gets into difficulties and his or her creditors require liquidation of an asset, it could be your car or possessions that get handed over too. So during conversations about it, the debtor gets defensive, the partner gets panicky, and oops, that's three days of sleeping in different rooms.

Studies have shown that changes in debt lead to recently married couples

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Many financial managers suggest that each partner should be allotted an agreed-upon amount to spend as they please.

spending less time together and arguing more. Not only does interest compound, conflict does. Debt needn't be the end of a marriage, however. Owning up to a debt and facing it together can actually be really good for a couple. One study suggests that shared financial horizons and a common fiscal goal, such as paying off a debt or saving for a vacation, can bring partners closer and lessen not just financial anxiety but relationship anxiety.

INDEED, EVEN IF you're deeply in debt or if you don't have all you want or need, here's a key point to remember: there's quite a lot of evidence that marriage enriches people, literally. It's not just the fact that wealthy people are more likely to get hitched, although that's true. It's also not just the fact that there are a lot of rent, insurance, tax and utilities savings, which is also true. It's not even that couples who retire as couples are richer than couples who don't, although that, too, is usually true. There's a whole other psychological thing at play. For example: happily married men are more responsible, less aggressive, less likely to do something illegal and more mentally healthy than single ones, so they're more likely to be earning. This has not just been documented in a bunch of research but also chronicled in masterpieces as vaunted as *Jane Eyre* and *Failure to Launch*.

Spouses are business partners. There is an Us, Inc. You're in a bunch of financial deals; you co-manage your kids, your home.

Studies using identical twins have demonstrated that married guys are more hardworking and less given to partying all night than the brothers from whom they're otherwise indistinguishable. Data gathered from the U.S. National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, which tracks people in their 20s, 30s and early 40s, showed that individuals who were married got 77% richer over time than the single folks they tracked. And a 2002 study of older adults found that those who had been married to the same person throughout their adulthood were noticeably better off financially than those who had not.

Some of this, of course, is due to the fact that married people have more support around them—two sets of in-laws, more access to services such as health care. But it's also true that marriage is the ultimate buddy system. When financial troubles hit one of you, there's another soul with a different set of resources to help you through.

So divorcing over money troubles may be a little like draining the bath in order to prevent the water from cooling down—you're probably going to be colder in the end. One of marriage's many roles is a business partnership. There is an Us, Inc. You and your spouse are in a bunch of financial deals together. You co-manage your kids. You may also co-manage a small property, your home. You're chefs, Uber drivers, entertainment directors, travel agents and educational consultants. If your family is anything like mine, one poor soul is Head of Cat Litter Disposal, Emergency Stain Removal and Tedious Form Signing.

In a successful business, partners let each other know what's going on. They pitch in; they trust each other and are supportive. This might be as good a time as any to tell you about the time I lost $70,000: I forgot to claim stock options. They expired. One day I had $70,000 waiting, and then about a month later when I realized I had forgotten to click on the "exercise trade" button on my computer, poof, the opportunity had gone. It's hard to describe the feeling. I imagine you could replicate the effects by lying on the ground and having a friend drop a bowling ball on your abdomen from atop a stepladder. I'd made something, but through sheer incompetence, it was gone. And it was All. My. Fault.

So here's the dilemma. Do you tell your spouse? Technically, that is also his money. And it's not like the amount wouldn't have made a difference. Like many of our peers in the knowledge industries, we live what a friend described as a high-end hand-to-mouth existence. We make what seems like a decent amount of money yet never have any left over at month's end. But, again, technically, this

windfall never really existed. I did not take away $40-something-thousand-after-tax from him. I just failed to provide it. He probably would never even know. How could it hurt to never mention it?

Complicating matters, this was not the first time I'd cost us cash through sheer stupidity. When we were new immigrants to New York City with no jobs, two friends and just a few months of marriage behind us, I surrendered $60 to a three-card monte game on the streets of Chinatown. At the time that was probably 20% of our liquid assets. My husband didn't say much, but there was an unspoken agreement that I was a moron.

Unlike me, my spouse did not grow up without money worries—his parents struggled to make ends meet. Economic hardship in childhood has been shown to have adverse effects way into adulthood, both psychological and physical, and a money setback can trigger any number of nasty memories.

I had no desire to fire off an emotional howitzer in my husband's vicinity. Plus, according to the financial-security company Experian, 20% of people who divorce their partner say finances were a major factor. Yikes.

Still, in a successful marriage, transparency is key. And there's one other crucial ingredient: vulnerability. Intimacy is almost impossible without it. So, in fact, I didn't hold out for very long before I told my husband about the forgone $70,000—although I emphasized that really, everyone said it was more like $40,000. He laughed, but in a really nice way. ◻

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As in any partnership, it's essential that spouses communicate about financial issues so each knows what's going on.

I Raised Two CEOs and a Doctor

These are my secrets to parenting successfully

By Esther Wojcicki

AFTER I GAVE BIRTH TO MY FIRST DAUGHTER, Susan, the nurse wrapped her in a pink blanket and put a tiny yellow knit hat on her head. Stan, my husband, sat by my side. We were both exhausted but elated, and in that moment, everything was clear: I loved my daughter from the second I saw her, and I felt a primal desire to protect her, to give her the best life possible, to do whatever it took to help her succeed.

But soon the questions and doubts started to creep in. We all want children who are happy, empowered and passionate. That's what I felt the moment Susan was born, and later on when we welcomed our other two daughters, Janet and Anne. This same wish unites people from all different countries and cultures. What everyone wants to know is how to help our children live good lives—to be both happy and successful, and to use their talents to make the world a better place.

No one seems to have a definitive answer. Parenting experts focus on important aspects of child-rearing like sleeping, eating, bonding or discipline, but the advice they offer is mostly narrow and prescriptive. What we really need isn't just limited information about the care and feeding of children, as important as that may be. What we most need to know is how to give our kids the values and skills to succeed as adults. We also have to face the massive cultural shifts that have taken place over the past few years—especially techno-

Sisters Janet Wojcicki, a professor at UCSF; Susan Wojcicki, CEO of YouTube; and Anne Wojcicki, co-founder and CEO of 23andMe

logical changes and how those changes impact our parenting. How will our children succeed in the age of robots and artificial intelligence? How will they thrive in the tech revolution? These anxieties are familiar to parents the world over.

As a young mother, I took what little guidance and advice I could find, but for the most part I decided to trust myself. It may have been my training as an investigative journalist or my distrust of authority that had come from my childhood, but I was determined to find out the truth on my own. I had my own ideas about what kids needed, and I stuck to them, no matter what other people thought. The result was—to many people's eyes—idiosyncratic at best, or just plain odd. I spoke to my daughters as if they were adults from day one. Most mothers naturally turn to baby talk—a higher-pitched voice, simpler words. Not me. I trusted them and they trusted me. I never put them in danger, but I also never stood in the way of them experiencing life or taking calculated risks.

When we lived in Geneva, I sent Susan and Janet to the store next door to buy bread, on their own. They were ages 5 and 4. I respected their individuality from the beginning. My theory was that the most important years were 0 to 5, and I was going to teach them as much as I could early on. What I wanted more than anything was to make them first into independent children and then into empowered, independent adults. I figured that if they could think on their own and make sound decisions, they could face any challenges that came their way. I had no idea at the time that research would validate the choices I had made. I was following my gut and my values and what I saw worked in the classroom as a teacher.

It's rather strange to be a "famous" parent and to have your family profiled on the cover of magazines. I certainly don't claim all the credit for their successes as adults, but all three have turned out to be accomplished, caring, capable people. Susan is the CEO of YouTube, Janet is a professor of pediatrics at the University of California, San Francisco, and Anne is the co-founder and CEO of 23andMe. They rose to the top of ultracompetitive, male-dominated professions, and they did so by following their passions and thinking for themselves. Watching my daughters navigate the world with grit and integrity has been one of the greatest rewards of my life. I'm especially impressed by how they compete and cooperate, focusing not on being the only woman in the room but on finding solutions to the problems we face.

I'm offering a way to fight the anxiety, discipline problems, power struggles, peer pressure and fear of technology that cloud our judgment.

PARENTS CONSTANTLY ASK me for advice—OK, sometimes beg for the strategies I used with my daughters that they might apply to their own parenting. Teachers do the same, wondering how I escaped being a disciplinarian and instead found a way to guide students who are genuinely passionate about the work they're doing. Without really intending to, I found I'd started a debate about how we should be raising our kids and how to make education both relevant and useful. What I'm offering, and what has struck a chord with so many people across the world, is an antidote to our parenting and teaching problems, a way to fight against the anxiety, discipline problems, power struggles, peer pressure and fear of technology that cloud our judgment and harm our children.

Through my decades of experience as a mother, grandmother and educator, I've identified five fundamental values that help us all become capable, successful people. To make it easy to remember in all walks of life, I call these values "TRICK": TRUST, RESPECT, INDEPENDENCE, COLLABORATION AND KINDNESS.

Trust

WE ARE IN A CRISIS OF TRUST THE WORLD over. Parents are afraid, and that makes our children afraid—to be who they are, to take risks, to stand up against injustice. Trust has to start with us. When we're confident in the choices we make as parents, we can then trust our children to take im-

portant and necessary steps toward empowerment and independence.

Respect

THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL RESPECT WE can show our children is toward their autonomy and individuality. Every child has a gift, and is a gift to the world, and it's our responsibility as parents to nurture that gift, whatever it may be. This is the exact opposite of telling kids who to be, what profession to pursue, what their life should look like: it's supporting them as they identify and pursue their own goals.

Independence

INDEPENDENCE RELIES UPON A STRONG foundation of trust and respect. Children who learn self-control and responsibility early in life are much better equipped to face the challenges of adulthood, and also have the skills to innovate and think creatively. Truly independent kids are capable of coping with adversity, setbacks and boredom, all unavoidable aspects of life. They feel in control even when things around them are in chaos.

Collaboration

COLLABORATION MEANS WORKING TOgether as a family, in a classroom or at a workplace. For parents, it means encouraging children to contribute to discussions, decisions and even discipline. In the 20th century, when rule-following was one of the most important skills, parents were in total control. In the 21st century, dictating no longer works. We shouldn't be telling our children what to do, but asking for their ideas and working together to find solutions.

Kindness

IT IS STRANGE BUT TRUE THAT WE TEND to treat those who are closest to us without the kindness and consideration that we extend to strangers. Parents love their children, but they are so familiar with them, they often take basic kindness for granted. And they don't always model kindness as a behavior for the world as a whole. Real kindness involves gratitude and forgiveness, service toward others and an awareness of the world outside yourself. It's important to show our kids that the most exciting and rewarding thing you can do is to make someone else's life better.

The ultimate goal of TRICK is creating self-responsible people in a self-responsible world. This is what we're doing as parents, teachers and employers—not just raising children or managing classrooms and boardrooms, but building the foundation of the future of humankind. We're evolving human consciousness, and we're doing it faster than ever before. You are the parent your child needs, and with your trust and respect, your child will become exactly the person they are meant to be. □

An author, journalist and mom, Esther Wojcicki is the founder of the Palo Alto High School Media Arts Program in Palo Alto, Calif.

Surviving Your Co-workers

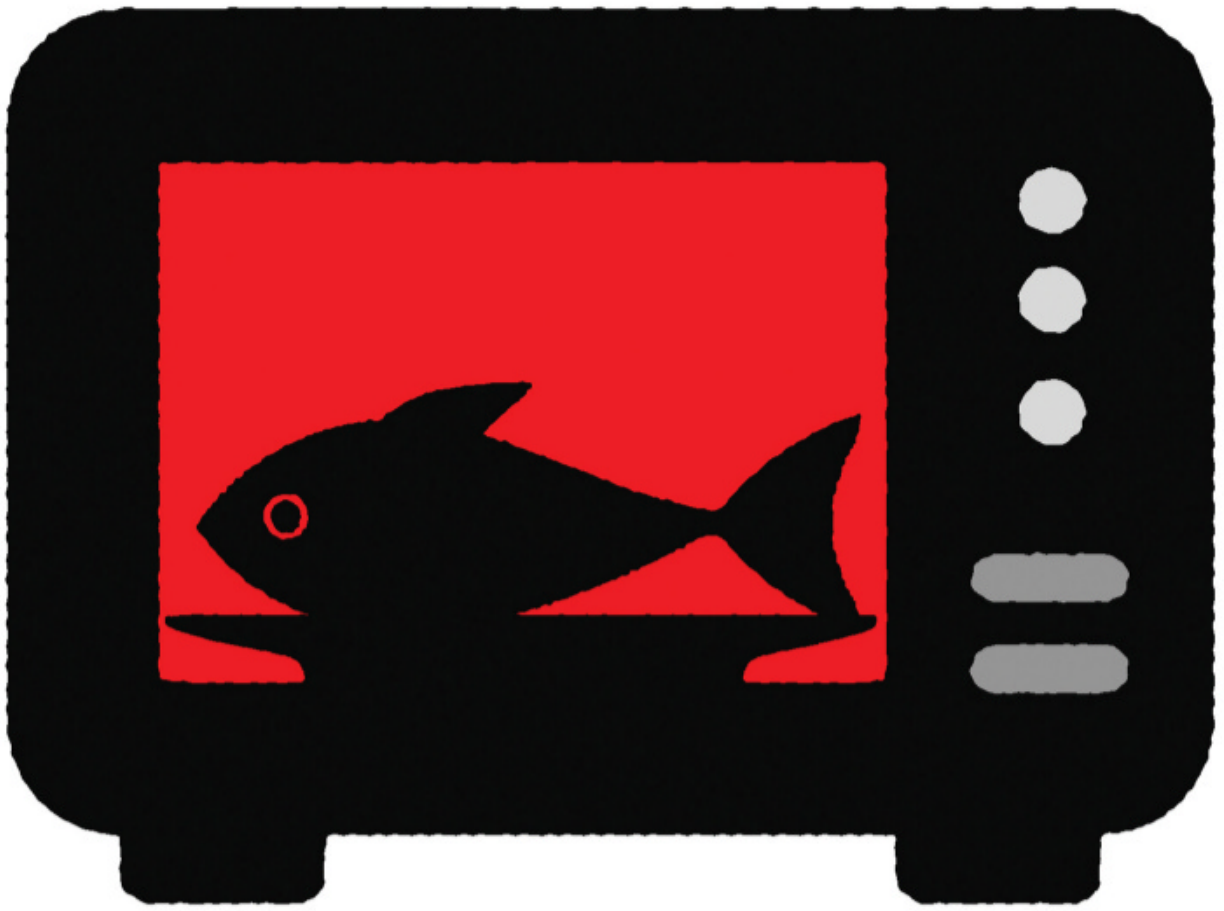
Playing well—and patiently—with others (despite their quirks) is more essential than ever in this age of open-plan workspaces

By Dan Bova

WANT TO BE SUCCESSFUL? YOU HAVE SOME OPtions. A tempting one is to go the Steve Jobs route and become a bazillionaire eccentric genius (i.e., a maniac who makes everyone around you miserable). The problem with that plan, however, is that pesky word "genius," which is harder to be than it sounds.

Another option to being successful, admittedly a notch or two lower on the pay scale, is to be a likable human being who works well with others. That is, not only to have the kind of intelligence that helped you get an A in English even though you slept through half the year, but also to have emotional intelligence that helps you understand the way people feel and react and doesn't make them take the stairs to the 30th floor to avoid riding in an elevator with you.

"To achieve success, emotional intelligence cannot be underestimated," says Kathleen Griffith, founder of the media company and digital learning platform Build Like a Woman and founder of Grayce & Co., a marketing consultancy. "You've got a ton of people coming out of business school with A's and really fancy degrees, but at the end of the day there's actually a huge benefit to walking into a room and embracing the fact that you might not be the smartest person, but you're going to be the most passionate and the most relentless beating heart there." Recognizing and encouraging other people's talents is critical to reaching your goals. Plus, people who are convinced they are



Navigating workplace problems (i.e., other people) can mean the difference between living for the weekend and having a fulfilling job.

the biggest brain on earth? Usually not a lot of colleagues lining up to be their partner at the holiday party beer-pong table.

Once upon a time, you could close your door to minimize time with weirdo coworkers, but in this modern era of open offices and coworking spaces, they're harder and harder to hide from. "Open spaces can create problems in terms of employees trying to concentrate and remain focused," says Joel B. Carnevale, assistant professor of management at Syracuse University's Martin J. Whitman School of Management. "And there's also research showing that these open spaces don't actually create any more collaboration than you would find in the traditional office setting."

Distraction and so-so collaboration: not exactly the tentpoles of a successful operation, right? But regardless of whether they're good or not, shared spaces certainly are popular. Coworking Resources notes that 2,188 spaces were opened worldwide in 2018 alone. Love 'em or hate 'em, these work environments are here to stay until someone figures out how to turn pillows into hands-free connected devices so we can work without ever getting out of bed. (Free idea alert!)

Learning to navigate workplace problems (i.e., other people) can mean the difference between a "living for the weekend" existence and doing something you actually find financially and personally rewarding. Here are some workplace issues you may, unfortunately, relate to, and expert advice on how to deal with them in a way that preserves your sanity, stops sapping your energy and makes you wish you could go into the office seven days a week. (OK, maybe that last one is a stretch.)

The fish microwaver

IT'S NOON AND SUDDENLY YOUR ENTIRE office smells like the restroom at Long John Silver's at low tide. Did a whale beach itself in the lobby? No, James from accounting decided to reheat last night's Chilean sea bass special. And he has a partner in office-kitchen crime: the person who

leaves bowls caked with the remains of their morning oatmeal festering in the sink. What do you do about food slobs?

A classic tactic is taping a passive-aggressive "Clean up after yourself—your mom doesn't work here!" sign to a kitchen cabinet. This is problematic for many reasons, one being that it is rather sexist. Another reason is that I once worked at a place where a co-worker's mom did, in fact, work there.

But leaving all of that out of it, isn't leaving notes taped to things a little finger-waggy and a lot annoying? Yes and no, according to the experts.

"There is actually a picture of a fish with a caption that says, 'Nobody wants to smell your fish!' on the microwave in my office," laughs Jill Schiefelbein, president of the Dynamic Communicator, which creates and executes communication strategies for businesses and leaders. "Using humor is usually a great way to confront an issue and de-escalate tension."

It becomes passive-aggressive, she says, only when a note is posted in a very public way about an issue that everyone knows is about one person. That's why Carnevale favors being direct and discreet in most situations. Summing up the findings of a study published in the *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, he explains: "Research shows that just no one takes passive-aggressive messages positively." Instead, by talking one-on-one, you can address the slob prob privately—which, importantly, he says, allows the offender to save face.

Griffith had a much more primeval reaction to the nuked-fish scenario: "I'd go full *Game of Thrones*—walk through the town square with the offending Tupperware and shout, 'Shame! Shame! Shame!' " (I think I'm with her on this one.)

The meeting elongater

REGARDLESS OF WHETHER A MEETING lasts 15 minutes or one hour, they all feel like they've dragged on for 19 days, right? And when they're finally—blessedly—wrapping up, as everyone is gathering their stuff or looking at missed texts on their phones, the meeting leader will usually half-heartedly say, "Anyone have any questions or have anything to add?"

The answer everyone in the room is looking for is "Hell no," but we've all worked with the person who takes this opportunity to ask a question that was already answered or makes a point that was already made 17 times.

Before you start googling "how to make tranquilizer darts out of office supplies," think about what is really going on here, says Schiefelbein. "There's likely a root cause where this person isn't getting adequate attention in some way. Maybe it's their progress, their productivity, their contributions—there's likely a lack of recognition that is negatively affecting them."

Griffith agrees that talking just to talk is a demonstration of insecurity. "First you need to have compassion for this person. In this scenario, I would pull the co-worker aside post-meeting and make an effort to let them know that they are seen and heard." And not just in meetings, but show support during the workday as well. Although humor can be an effective tool to point out minor annoyances, sarcasm can be a killer, she notes. "Saying something like 'Thanks for taking up all of the oxygen in the room!' will only perpetuate the problem."

The Michael Scott–er

THEY MAKE TERRIBLE JOKES, THEY overshare, and good gracious, on days when you just want to put your head down and get something done, they can be annoying. How do you deal with a manager or co-worker who, in prime Michael Scott–from–*The Office* fashion, really, really, really wants to be buds? Unless it is creeping into truly inappropriate and lecherous behavior, the advice from most experts is: let them!

"The world needs more Michael Scotts!" says Griffith. "They're vulnerable, they put themselves out there, and they care about you as a total person. You should want to hang out with the people you work with. I don't only think this is

nice. I think creating an environment where people can bring their whole selves to work will become the single greatest X-factor for success that certain companies will ultimately have."

Carnevale agrees but warns that being overly buddy-buddy can create an atmosphere that is too casual, especially if you are in a leadership role. "I crack jokes in my class all the time, and I sometimes get worried that students think that they can come in late now because the professor is easy-going. So you have to think about limits when using humor in your leadership style so that it doesn't lead to deviant behavior."

Michael Scott has done and said some pretty crazy things, but at the end of the day, he is good-hearted and extremely likable. But what if you're dealing with someone who isn't quite so lovable? "Some of my work shows that these Michael Scott type of bosses can become 'emotional vampires.' They drain others of their energy because they need a lot of attention and admiration," says Carnevale. In that case, he says, it is extremely important to set boundaries: "If you're chatting and it gets too personal—they start telling you about family problems or the wart they have on their big toe—then you need to swing the conversation back to something work-related."

Boundaries also need to be set for after-work team drinks or bowling when the invitations seem to come on a daily or hourly basis. Be simple and be direct if an event is not your thing, advises Schiefelbein. "Just say to your boss, 'I appreciate that you want to bring us all together, but tonight I need to go home to spend time with my family.' "

There are few things less motivating than a boss who shoots down your ideas because they are threatened by them.

The lazy co-worker

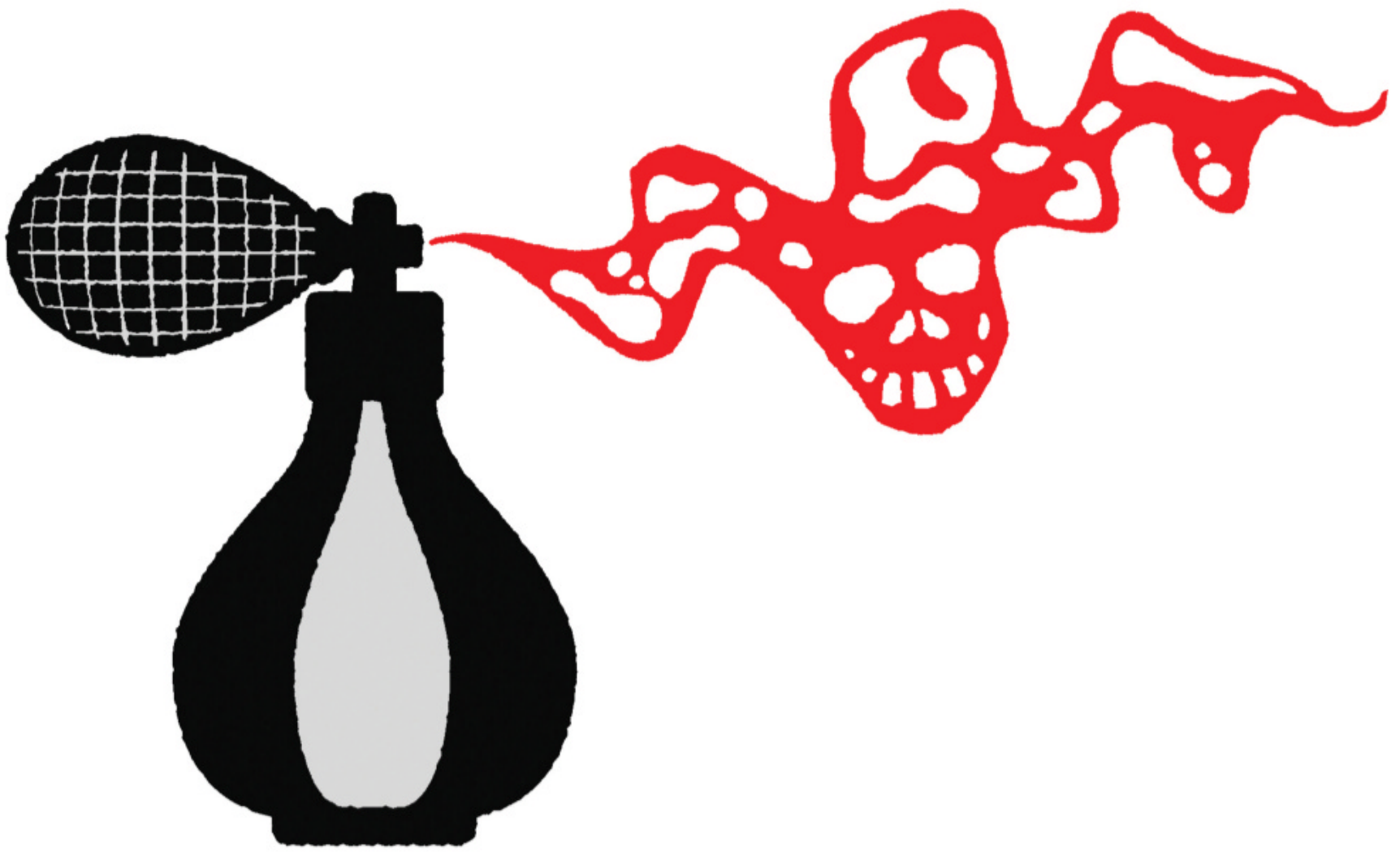
UNFORTUNATELY, THE KID IN MIDDLE school who did zilch on your group project and glommed onto your A+ grew up and wound up sitting in the desk across from you. How do you deal with co-workers who aren't pulling their weight without turning into a boss-blabbing narc?

Before you launch into your best impersonation of the drill sergeant from *Full Metal Jacket* who promises to do horrible things to Private Pyle if he doesn't get his stuff together, Griffith suggests remembering that just like you, everyone has a lot of stuff going on outside the walls of your office. What you perceive as laziness might be something else entirely. "You've got people who have a mentally ill sibling or a loved one battling addiction or are in the midst of a divorce, so we need to give people the benefit of the doubt. I would start by saying, 'I notice you're struggling and I want to help. I'm personally committed to supporting you.' " Making a simple human connection and letting someone know that you care can be all that is needed to re-engage a person who has drifted. Oftentimes, Carnevale notes, someone who is operating in a personal fog doesn't realize the picture of themselves that they are displaying to others.

But sometimes the issue isn't quite as dramatic—it could be that this lackluster person is simply bored to death. If you're a manager, says Schiefelbein, it's on you to show people how their piece of the puzzle fits into the whole scene. "Studies show Gen Z, millennials and even Gen Xers want to know that their work is part of a bigger purpose and a bigger picture," he explains. "We want to see where we fit within an organization. So if you can tie something that someone's doing into the bigger picture, that can be a great motivator."

The threatened boss

NARCISSISTS AND POWER CAN BE A DANgerous mix. Or at the very least, an irritating mix. There are few things less motivating than a boss who shoots down all of your ideas because they are clearly threatened by them. How do you deal with that? Loop them in, says Carnevale: "Asking these narcissistic leaders for their help on creative projects can actually lessen the likelihood that they are going to engage in these toxic behaviors." Deferring to them may help satisfy their need for superiority, he says, and that simple ego stroke not only can clear the path for you to pursue your idea;



it can even convert this road blocker into your idea's greatest champion.

The personal groomer

LAST, BUT CERTAINLY NOT LEAST (GROSS) is the public groomer—the person who does in clear view of their co-workers what many people are embarrassed to do in front of their spouses.

Take this extreme example, shared by a friend who wishes to remain anonymous. One of her co-workers, an older gentleman who had been at the company for decades, liked to clip his fingernails in his cubicle. The sound was nasty enough, but then one day things ramped up quite dramatically on the awfulness scale. While working away at her computer, she heard that familiar clipping noise, and then a new noise: the sound of a freshly clipped nail landing on her keyboard. He snipped with such ferocity that the half-moon of horror launched over their shared cubicle wall.

Perhaps she didn't want to embarrass him; perhaps she was afraid that if she opened her mouth, vomit would come out; so she said nothing. Is the silent treatment the correct answer for a mortifying moment?

It might be uncomfortable, but the answer is no. Whether it is flying fingernails or someone who sprays perfume that gives you an instant migraine, Carnevale believes that when something is invading your personal space, you need to speak up for yourself. And this is where being friendly and personable to those around you rather than being just a cold co-worker becomes a real problem-solving hack. "It's a lot easier to ask someone who you consider more of a friend to adjust their behavior than someone you barely talk to," he says. And it works the other way as well: "When we see others as a friend, we're likely to avoid behaviors that can jeopardize that relationship." In other words, friends don't let friends clip their fingernails at work. □

CHAPTER

4 The Demographics of Success

What Ambition Means for Women

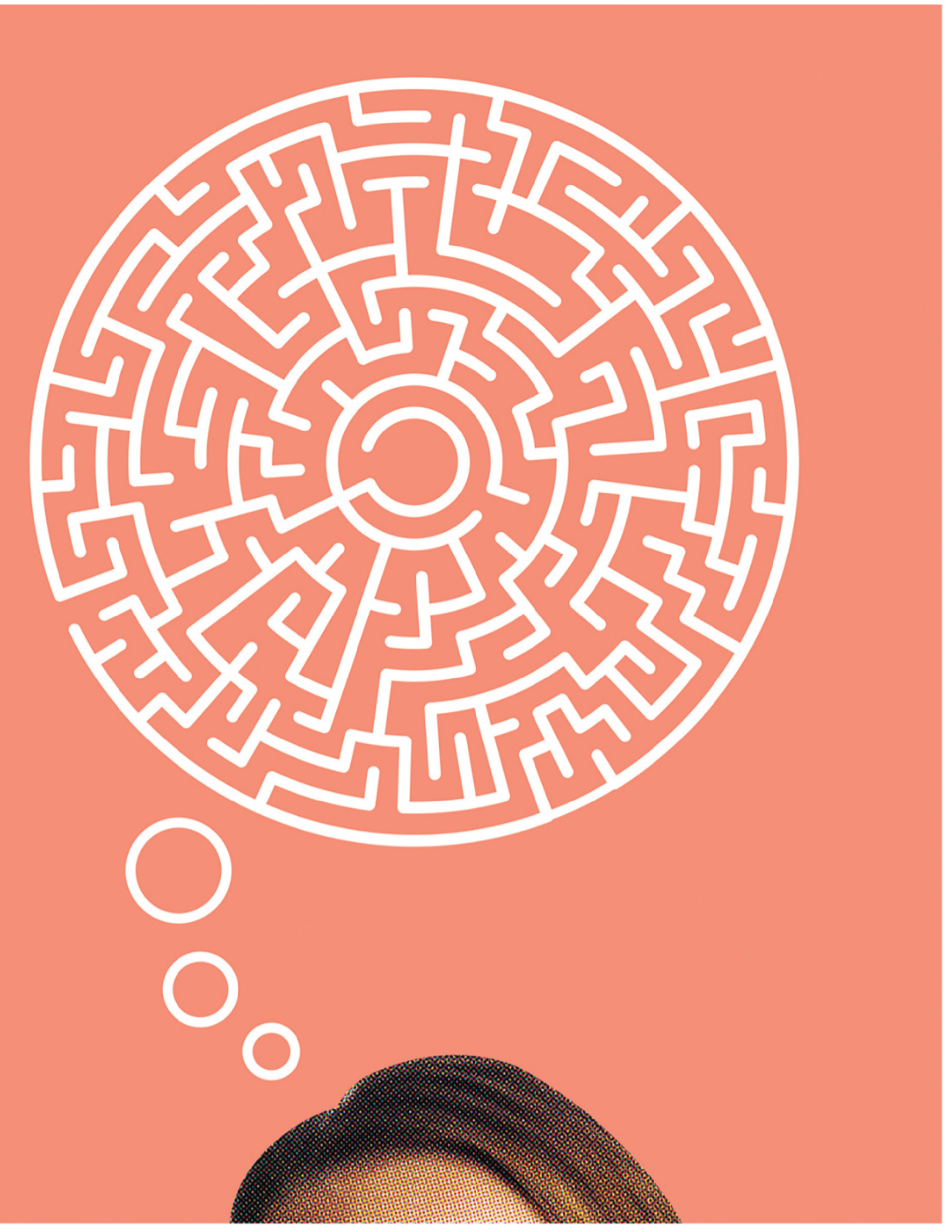
It's complicated: not just a matter of laser-focused careerism but the quest for a fulfilling work-life balance

By Kristin van Ogtrop

IF YOU WANT TO INSULT A WOMAN BUT SOUND AS IF you're paying her a compliment, there are a few ways you can do it. If she is not particularly attractive, you tell her she has beautiful hair. If she seems a little dim, you say, "You're so nice!" And if you work with her and she's pushy, or she's grasping, or sharp-elbowed, or a land grabber, or simply annoying in a way you can't put your finger on, you say, "You're very ambitious." Which is code for so many other things, nearly all of them bad.

A few years ago a colleague of my husband's remarked to him, "Kristin must be incredibly ambitious." I'd been editor of *Real Simple* for more than a decade, and in that time the brand had grown bigger and bigger. I chalk up my success to love, dedication and the fact that luck favors the prepared. It is this growth trajectory, I believe, that prompted the comment. Which may have been an insult. I don't know. But I do know that my husband's reaction was a puzzled "Not really." Which is both true and perhaps a sign that my husband still really likes me.

TIME and *Real Simple* teamed up in 2015 to conduct our second annual poll exploring how men and women define success and ambition and how priorities change over the course of a lifetime. The findings are surprising and a bit depressing—or not, depending on how you look at career arcs and the meaning of life. Although American women and men have similar levels of ambition (51% of men and 38% of women would



describe themselves as very or extremely ambitious), the whys and the wherefores are complicated.

This subject of women's ambition has long been textured and fraught. Anne-Marie Slaughter's controversial 2013 article in *The Atlantic*, "Why Women Still Can't Have It All," explained her decision to leave a dream job as director of policy planning under Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to spend more time with her sons. Shortly thereafter Sheryl Sandberg's blockbuster book *Lean In* was a validating reality check for countless women struggling to balance work and family. *Lean In* inspired others with Sandberg's personal story, plus her exhortation that women must claim a place at the table in order to succeed. Both Sandberg and Slaughter reignited the simmering debate over why women, despite outperforming men academically for a generation, still were not making it to the top.

Now "lean in" is cultural shorthand, as Slaughter discussed in her own subsequent book, *Unfinished Business*. Whereas Sandberg's book was a call to individual action—you know you've got that ambition, girls; now own it—Slaughter's is a thoughtful memo to a culture that makes it difficult for working women to ever feel they're getting it right. "Sandberg focuses on how young women can climb into the C-suite in a traditional male world of corporate hierarchies," Slaughter writes. "I see that system itself as antiquated and broken." Her viewpoint is less optimistic, in a way, but it acknowledges a holistic view of ambition and success. (She quotes a Princeton undergraduate woman telling a friend, "I don't even know if I want a career. I want to get married, stay home and raise my kids. What's wrong with me?")

Companies fail to see that for women, ambition is about much more than the job. If a laser focus on career at the expense of a rewarding personal life is what it takes for a seat in the corner office—well, many women would rather not sit there. We spoke to a number of professional women who realized ambition meant something different than they had originally thought.

of women characterize themselves as **very or extremely ambitious**

of men characterize themselves that way

The main obstacles keeping women from being more ambitious at work are …

29%
say **personal priorities or family obligations**

16%
say **lack of confidence**

I was president of a publicly traded company.

I was making more money than I'd ever imagined. Being written about in Fortune, *and all these things that you would think would make someone feel really good. Yet I was really unhappy! I was talking to a girlfriend of mine, and she said, "Do you ever think about quitting?"*

And I said, "Quitting?!" I've never quit at anything in my life. It just seemed absurd. And she said, "Well, you're not happy, so what is it that you're afraid of?"

That stopped me cold. I'd never really thought about it, but I was afraid of what people would think. That was when I thought, Wow, my definition of success is pretty messed up, and I need to get my priorities in check.

Lorna Borenstein
Founder, Grokker.com

Although young women are more ambitious than young men in the traditional sense (girls are graduating with bachelor's and master's degrees in greater numbers than boys are, and those numbers have been climbing over the past half-century), how we view ambition in women is tricky. "When you say 'ambitious woman,' there's a judgy tinge to it that doesn't happen for men—if all you hear about a woman is that she's ambitious, you probably wouldn't want to hang out with her," says Stephanie Clifford, a *New York Times* reporter and the author of the novel *Everybody Rise*. "Naked ambition in a woman is problematic in the business world," adds Betsy Stark, managing director of content and media strategy of Ogilvy Public Relations and a former business correspondent for ABC News. "We continue to walk a fine line. We have to demonstrate enough ambition to be taken seriously as 'success material' but not so much that we're perceived as a freight train. Relentless ambition in a man is more likely to be respected as what it takes to get to the top."

The statistics on women making it to

the top remain grim. Although there were 12 women running Fortune 500 companies in 2011 and now there are 23, that still represents only 4.6% of all 500 CEOs. Bonnie Gwin doesn't believe ambition is the problem. Vice chair at executive recruiting firm Heidrick & Struggles, Gwin focuses on searches at the director and CEO level. In her experience, women are just as ambitious as men. But while women "want to be successful in whatever domain they choose," she says, they're "less direct about their ambition. It's not something women put out there all the time." In fact, our poll revealed that more than a third of women feel they have too little ambition; half say it's not acceptable not to be ambitious.

A woman's attitude toward ambition, Gwin believes, is "a little more personal and contextual. I know a lot of women who are very driven and want to follow a corporate path and are aiming for top jobs, and I know others where it's not the path they want." Out of desire or need, women define success in terms of professional *and* personal accomplishment. Slaughter writes that "thinking of careers as a single race in which everyone starts at the same point and competes over the same period . . . tilts the scales in favor of the workers who can compete that way." And many women have found that they can't. Or won't.

I was raised to believe there was nothing my brother did that I could not also do if I worked hard enough.
And so I went to Princeton, graduated in 2003 and headed to arguably the best firm on Wall Street.

But then, in the span of five years from 2004 to 2009, I lost my father, mother and sister. In the case of both my parents, I received the call of their passing while at the office. The moment I absolutely knew that life at an investment bank was not for me was when my mother passed away in Nigeria while I was in New York. There were a couple of days between when I found out and when I flew out for the funeral. During that period I received a call asking if I would be able to come in to the desk to cover before I flew out. Shortly afterward, they called back and apologized, telling me not to come into the office, but in that moment, my desire to be in such a job vanished. I stayed until the end of the year, but my desire to have a future there also died.

I am still a highly motivated person, but for me now it's about channeling that ambition toward doing something that if it all ends for me suddenly, I will have no regrets.

Ita Ekpoudom
Founder, Tigress Ventures

35%
of women in their 20s say being publicly recognized as ambitious makes them feel **empowered**

16%
say it's **embarrassing**

59%
of women have **felt regret about not having been more ambitious** at some point in their lives

7 IN 10
women feel that ambition is a character trait that is **developed, not innate**

What does it mean for American business when highly educated, highly skilled employees who have earned substantial workplace equity decide that the equity accrued in their personal lives is more valuable? How does one calculate that in terms of potential profit or institutional knowledge lost? Slaughter points out that when corporations and law firms "hemorrhage talented women who reject lockstep career paths and question promotion systems that elevate quantity of hours worked over the quality of the work itself, the problem is not with the women."

Simply put, American corporate life is set up in a way that makes it very hard for women to feel successful at home and at work. Our family-leave policies are abysmal compared with other developed countries, and the percentage of American women in the workforce has continued to drop since it peaked in 2010, while it is rising in other countries. Does a corporate culture that devalues families also kill ambition? In our poll, 68% of women and 74% of men said they believe ambition is not something a person is born with but a character trait that is developed. What happens if conditions aren't ripe for development?

Recently Bain & Co. conducted a study in which the consulting firm asked 1,000 men and women at U.S. companies whether they aspired to top management. For employees with two or fewer years of service, women outpaced men in aspiration. After two years, their aspiration diminished by 60%; men's remained constant. When Bain interviewed more senior

managers, the level of ambition rose but was still much lower in women. As Orit Gadiesh wrote with one of the study's authors, Julie Coffman, on HBR.com, "The majority of leaders celebrated in a corporate newsletter or an offsite meeting tend to consist of men hailed for pulling all-nighters or for networking their way through the golf course. If corporate recognition and rewards focus on those behaviors, women feel less able, let alone motivated to try, to make it to the top."

After 25 years at HBO, executive vice president Shelley Wright Brindle decided to leave—not because she didn't find success there but because she wanted to define success on her own terms. The mother of three said she'd learned that working mothers often thrive more in workplaces that value output over face time: "There needs to be better ways to facilitate women to network other than the cocktail thing at night and the golf thing. If that remains the primary networking tool, women are never going to get to the C-suite, because that's not the choice they're going to make."

When it comes to success in corporate America, context trumps competence. "Ambition needs care and feeding," says investor and startup advisor Lisa Shalett, who left Goldman Sachs after two decades in 2015 with a highly sought-after partner title. "[It's] having the kind of informal relationships where you understand, 'How do I navigate this path? What do I need to know? How can I get there?' Men tend to be ambitious for things, for positions, for titles, for results. Women tend to be ambitious to be recognized for performance, to be valued, to be included, and maybe expect that good things will come from that."

Former Barnard College president Debora Spar believes that entrepreneurial has replaced ambitious for a new generation. "I don't think anyone has ever come in my office and said, 'I'm ambitious.' Everyone I know is 'entrepreneurial.' " Now a number of ambitious women are simply channeling their dissatisfaction with traditional corporate life into fast-growing new businesses. Katharine Zaleski is the co-founder, with Milena Berry, of PowerToFly, a web-based employment service for women who want to work remotely. "Women aren't being less ambitious," says Zaleski. "They are just unable to commit to a structure that was set up for 50% of the population." Launched just a year ago, PowerToFly has connected women to jobs in 43 countries. Mae O'Malley, a former Google contract lawyer, established Paragon Legal with the same idea. O'Malley's San Francisco firm employs almost 70 lawyers, most of them women looking for ways to make their careers fit their lives, not vice versa. "What Paragon does is allow them a safe harbor for a couple of years where they can do meaningful work such that when they feel like they can do it, they can step right back in. Prior to models like Paragon, you either stayed in and worked the 100-hour weeks or you leave, and you don't come back."

"One of the best reasons to strive to be the boss," Slaughter writes, "is the much greater latitude you have to make sure meetings and work are in sync with your schedule rather than someone else's." Yes, it's a first-world problem; the woman working three shifts to put food on the table is not losing sleep over whether she is leaning in enough. But more women need to see a clear path to the boss's seat. A recent national poll of nonworking U.S. adults ages 25 to 54 found that 61% of women who weren't working cited family responsibilities as the reason (for men it was 37%); of those who hadn't looked for a job in a year, almost 75% said they would consider going back to work if a job offered flexible hours or the opportunity to work from home.

Given the choice between retirement and the job of their dreams …

56% of mothers choose **retirement**

55% of women without kids choose the **job of their dreams**

Most people of both genders would choose **true love** over reaching the top of their chosen field

5 IN 10 mothers say they are **more ambitious on behalf of their kids** than on their own behalf

FROM A SURVEY OF 1,118 ADULTS CONDUCTED JULY 20–21 BY SURVEY MONKEY

When I started work, I had this very specific idea of what ambition looked like: you spend as much time at the office as possible; you take on every project you can.

My email password was NeverSettle. I never understood why people would leave the office at 6 when they could stay until 8 or 9. I felt like they weren't giving their all.

That really started to change several years ago. I started to think, "How do I

want my life to look? What else do I want to achieve besides what I'm doing at the office?" I think it's simpler for men. Men are expected, encouraged to be ambitious. Women are told to have it all, which is a version of ambition that puts way too much pressure on us. When we can't balance it all, we feel like failures. I think men are allowed culturally to pursue whatever it is they want, and women who pursue that as single-mindedly are penalized.

Stephanie Clifford
New York Times *reporter and author of the novel* Everybody Rise

I have wondered, on occasion, if what separates men from women when it comes to ambition is a matter of biology. Specifically, hormones. But then I think that sounds retrograde, like something a loose-cannon (male) politician might claim.

How else, though, to explain the fact that in research data and anecdotal evidence, for women ambition is about a lot more than work? In our poll, men were more likely than women to say they would still work even if they were independently wealthy and did not need a job to support themselves and their families. Women were less likely to have missed an important family event to advance their careers and less likely to be raising their children to believe ambition is extremely important.

It's the "there must be more to life" problem. HBO's Wright Brindle explains: "You get to a certain point in your career, and you're like 'Are you kidding me?' Women start out equally ambitious, but men are still the drivers of what success looks like. People say, 'Why aren't there more women CEOs?' and the answer, if you ask me, is because they don't want to be—with a big 'but,' because of how those jobs are currently defined."

For those of us with experience and wisdom, *Lean In* came 25 years too late. When I ask women in their 40s and 50s how they feel about the book, many say, "Tired." And I get it. We did lean in, and some of us fell over, which helps explain the resonance of Slaughter's message.

But the women following behind us make me believe that real change is possible. Now senior director of audience insights for New York Public Radio, Angela Su, 28, was formerly lead buyer-planner for the digital fashion startup Bombfell. She is successful, ambitious and, like many of her generation, skeptical. "I strive hard to do well at my job, but toward what end?" she asks. "I guess to be happy or live a good life, but I'm still struggling to define what a good life means. What am I being driven toward?"

Young men are skeptical too. If there is one thing Slaughter and Sandberg agree on, it's that this is not just a women's issue. In *Unfinished Business*, Slaughter cites a Harvard Business School study of more than 6,500 HBS grads that showed that modern men are more family-focused than ever before: a third of male millennials expect to split childcare 50-50, compared with 22% of Gen X men and 16% of boomer men. In our poll, more than a quarter of men cited "flexible hours" and "supportive environment" as being most important in their workplace. Slaughter's husband, Andrew Moravcsik, argued in *The Atlantic* that more men should become the "lead parent," as he has. The "most fundamental reason for men to embrace a more egalitarian and open-ended distribution of family work," he wrote, "is that doing so can foster a more diverse and fulfilling life." As the mother of three boys, I would be hopeful about our future if they channeled their ambition in such a way.

Because it's up to their generation to push for that change: to groom men for lead-parenting jobs and women for the C-suite. And perhaps someday those two roles will not be mutually exclusive. "I'm attracted to the idea of being a CEO," says Tara Raghuveer, a 2014 college graduate who is policy and advocacy director for the National Partnership for New Americans. "I'm also attracted to the idea of having an amazing family. There are all these different things that I consider part of my ambition." —WITH REPORTING BY CHARLOTTE ALTER ☐

Viral: Success on Social Media

The agony and the ecstasy of clicks, likes and follower counts

By Emily Joshu

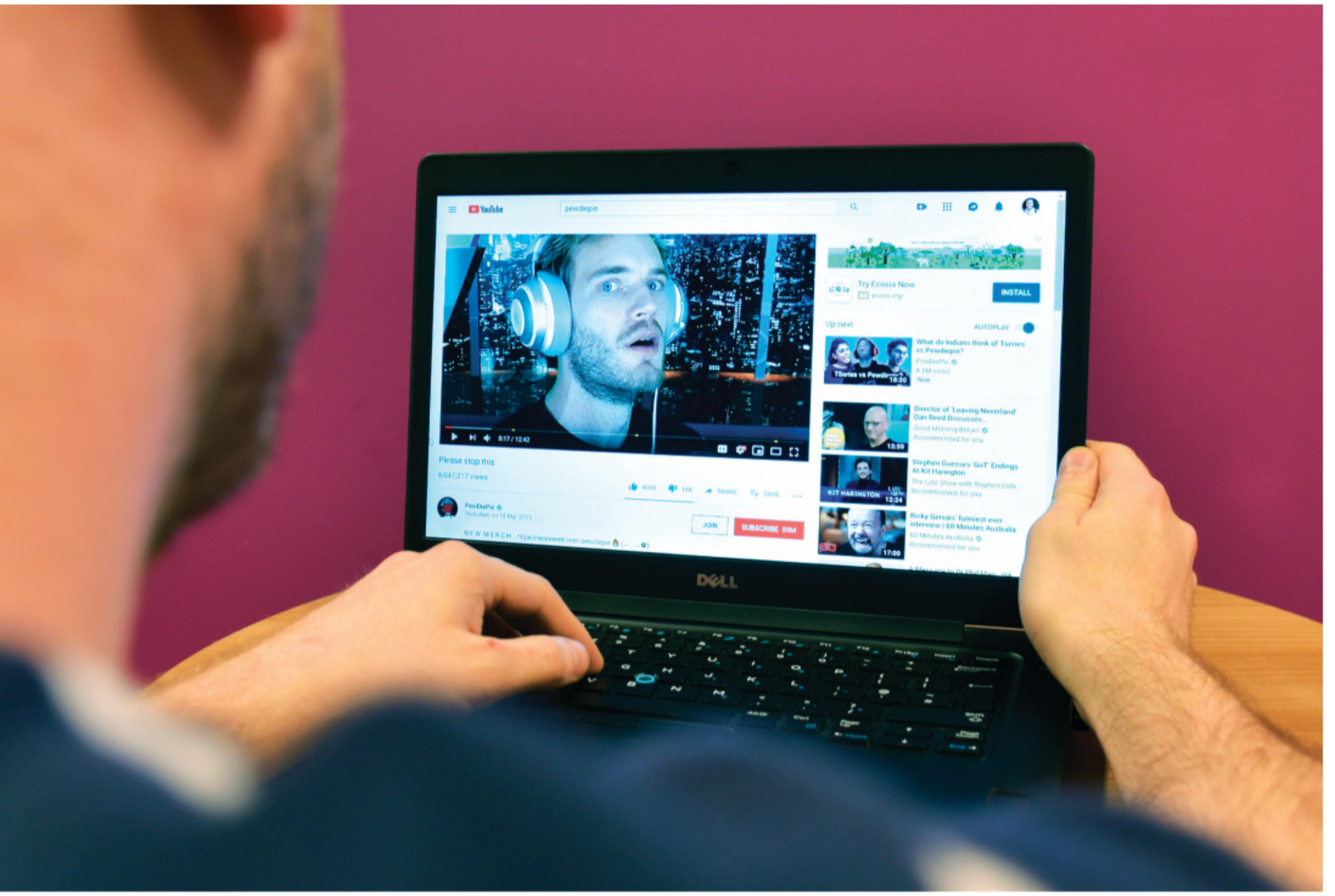
IN 2011, FELIX KJELLBERG DROPPED OUT of his Swedish university to embark upon a relatively unknown and mocked career path: making comedic YouTube videos. By the end of that year, he had 60,000 subscribers. Today, he has a staggering 102 million subscribers, and until Indian record label T-series recently topped that number, he was the most followed YouTuber in the platform's history—and a primary symbol of success in the social-media era.

Since YouTube launched in 2005, a new generation of influencers has redefined what it means to be "internet famous" by constantly uploading a slew of videos ranging from vlogs to unboxings to reactions to challenges to gaming and product reviews. Amassing millions of subscribers, creators like Kjellberg (better known by his username, PewDiePie), Markiplier, Shane Dawson and Jenna Marbles have fostered loyal communities. Social media has allowed members of these groups to watch creators' success unfold on screens and in growing subscriber counts. "We feel that we have a personal connection with these people who are celebrities or influencers. And as a result, it feels that much more tangible when people achieve success, because it feels like we are connected to it," says Karen North, a social-media and psychology expert and clinical professor of communication at the University of Southern California–Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism.

On YouTube and other platforms such as Twitter and Instagram, success has become synonymous with follower counts, likes and rates of engagement. Achievements are increasingly quantifiable, defined by what's trending and what garners the most impressions. But this number-centric approach to success hardly excludes average social-media users who aren't chasing hundreds of thousands of views but are simply trying to promote themselves. Posting a video of your new song or the link to your latest article requires building up a certain level of confidence and certainty, but when the video gets fewer views than expected or no one clicks the link, self-esteem can plummet. This vulnerability is most tangible when users compare themselves to peers who are racking up more attention for similar content. "We now have the opportunity to compare our progress with anyone and everyone, from family and friends to relative unknowns at the other end of the globe," says Sarah Vohra, a consultant psychiatrist in the U.K. and the author of *Can We Talk?*

If someone has more followers or receives more likes on a post, you may get the impression their content is objectively better. "You essentially open yourself up for a level of externalization that the measure is someone else's idea of success. When you don't get the likes that you want or the engagement that you wish, that's based on someone else's measure of success rather than your own," Vohra says. This perception is reinforced when peers post only what Vohra calls the "highlight reel," snapshots of their lives that imply perfection. "We are bombarded with images of everyone seemingly succeeding, whether it is having the

Posting a video of your song can build confidence, but if you get fewer views than expected, self-esteem can plummet.



perfect body, the perfect relationship or family or the perfect job," Vohra says.

For influencers whose livelihoods rely on retaining followers and constantly delivering fresh content, this number-centric lens on success can be detrimental to productivity, motivation and mental health. "There is constant pressure to create more and more and more engaging contacts to try to entice more viewers," North says. With social-media platforms' internal analytics and top content rankings, content creators can track—and obsess over—everything. In order to keep growing their communities and ensure that viewers keep coming back, they are subject to churning out unique content on a regular, sometimes daily, basis for success. In turn, this can result in burnout. "Since your job depends on it, it can be hard to hit the brakes," Kjellberg told *Insider* in 2019.

This tremendous stress has caused many YouTubers to walk away from the platform for weeks or even months at a time, citing burnout and a need to focus on their personal lives. For non-influencers, North recommends measuring personal success not by follower count or likes but by real-life benchmarks. "The engagement on social media is not a valid indicator of success either personally or professionally. It all depends on who you are and who you interact with in your life," she says.

But social media's impact on success and how we perceive it may not be entirely dismal. In a manner not possible pre–Digital Age, people can use social media to brand themselves and build their professional networks. Via networking tools on platforms like LinkedIn and DIY video culture on YouTube, professionals and business owners "are now in the business of creating PR campaigns for themselves," North says.

When it comes to self-comparison and measuring personal success, Vohra points to the ability of users to curate their feeds and mute anything that makes them feel less successful. "If someone's content only serves to confound your inadequacy," she says, "then unfollow." □

Swedish YouTube sensation Felix Kjellberg, a.k.a. PewDiePie, has a big online following.

Carrying My Father's Torch

How the daughter of a trailblazing black journalist followed in his footsteps and charted her own path to success

By Suzanne Rust

"Pancakes are a Negro way of Life!"

THIS WAS THE KIND OF COPY MY FATHER, ARTHUR Rust Jr., was asked to work on when he was a young black man starting out in merchandising during the 1950s. Those words were ridiculous and demeaning, of course. The proud son of immigrants—a Panamanian mother and a Jamaican-Scottish father—my dad was raised to know he was better than that.

His white supervisor also knew he was better than that, and put him up for a promotion. When the higher-ups refused it, the boss cried because he knew Dad was the best man for the job. At home, this story was legendary. We'd laugh at that absurd copy, but reflect on what it meant to be a talented person in a world that wasn't ready for you to shine.

As an African-American man growing up on Harlem's Sugar Hill, my father explained, the careers in which you could succeed were limited: civil servant, lawyer, teacher, preacher, doctor, a handful of others. My paternal grandparents, Arthur Sr., a hardworking doorman, and Una, a seamstress, were able to send my father and his sister Valerie to college. Dad was a premed student at Long Island University—until his first encounter with a cadaver. Law school wasn't the right fit either. The one constant in his life had been a love of baseball and sports in general; if only he could find a way to fit them into his life.

Author Suzanne Rust with her parents— Art Rust Jr. and his wife and collaborator, Edna

Then in 1954, he auditioned for a sportscaster position at the radio station WWRL in Queens. When he got the job, my father finally felt like he was where he should be; he felt like he'd finally broken through.

In 1967, Dad became a sports anchor for NBC TV, and then in the mid-'70s he returned to radio as sports director at WMCA, then as a commentator for WINS radio. But his defining moment came during the 1981 baseball strike. He was hired to do a pregame show for WABC radio; because of the strike, Dad was on from six to nine each night, and his show, called *Sportstalk*, quickly became a success. If you can picture a world when 24/7 sports-talk radio was basically nonexistent, it was the early 1980s. The audience was hungry, and Dad was able to feed them with his unique historical spin on sports, his take-no-prisoners opinions on race relations and his own special sauce. He entered the lives of listeners each night like an old friend, and they embraced him. It seemed the world was finally ready for him to shine, and he was doing it on his own terms.

MY FATHER BECAME a pioneer in his field, but there were many obstacles, twists and turns along the way. Dad was a bold, confident and outspoken African-American man in the very white world of broadcasting. While many loved him for that, others were intimidated, their feathers ruffled. There were bigger jobs he should have landed, and he deserved more credit for launching the sports-talk radio genre. But he had detractors, some in high places.

While my dad was becoming famous, my brilliant mother, Edna Rust, a former educator, was by his side co-authoring several sports books with him—their first, the controversially titled *Get That Ni**er Off the Field*, about blacks in Major League Baseball; *Recollections of a Baseball Junkie*, reflecting my father's love of the sport; and *Joe Louis: My Life*, an autobiography of the iconic boxer. My dad always acknowledged and appreciated her talent and commitment, but I never felt Mom got the credit she deserved because his star shone so brightly. Watching her put in the hard labor but not get the proper recognition made me strive to be seen.

I loved watching my mother's process and occasionally being her sounding board as she read from her work, written in longhand on yellow legal pads. I was honored that she was interested in my teenage opinions. I saw firsthand what she went through and understood the challenges of a writing career. I also cherished time with my father, who as soon as I was old enough would bring me with him to the TV or radio station, ballpark or wherever he was working on a given day. Through him I got to meet stars such as Joe Louis, Muhammad Ali, Joe DiMaggio, plus a governor or president or two. It always made me feel special to see how my dad treated people and how he was treated in return. Watching him be his fearless authentic self was an important lesson for me.

My parents knew who they were and knew where they came from, and I was raised in a loving, Afrocentric household where there was pride in our past, as well as full knowledge of what we could offer our present and future. Through art, music, literature and their personal stories, my parents made sure I grew up with a sense of self-worth, one that would stay with me no matter what I chose to do with my life.

I was raised in a loving, Afrocentric household where there was pride in our past and full knowledge of what we could offer our present and future.

Compared to some of my African-American peers, I was a privileged child raised with many advantages: a solid home on Manhattan's Upper West Side, private schools and a Sarah Lawrence education. One result of this upbringing was that I wasn't uncomfortable around anyone growing up, whether they lived in a humble apartment or a 12-room duplex overlooking the park. People didn't usually intimidate me, which I later learned is great armor for those exhausting battlefields where you might be the lone black soldier.

Still, a fortunate life doesn't guard against ignorance. While I don't have personal stories of harrowing racism, I've dealt with a flurry of microaggressions—like the time I told a friend my dad owned a restaurant (Rust Brown on West 96th) and

she smiled and asked, "Oh, a hamburger place?" No, it was not. Or when a woman found out I went to Sarah Lawrence and said, "Oh, were you on a scholarship?" No, I was not. There's nothing wrong with burger joints or scholarships, but there is with race-based assumptions. Add a plethora of other exhaustions, and that's part of what it is like to be black in America.

There is a mantra that many African-American parents repeat to their children: be twice as good. Meaning black folks must work twice as hard to get just half as far as our white counterparts in the same job. But I never remember "the speech" or such a burden placed on my shoulders. I was taught to do my very best, always, in part because we understood people were watching. I wasn't naive and knew when I walked into a room, I walked in as an African-American woman, with people's varying perceptions of what that means. For some, I clearly got bonus points for my capacity to string a sentence together; others certainly underestimated me.

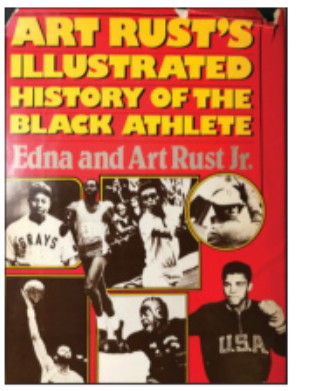
MY DESIRE TO become a writer began in fifth grade, where I tore through my creative-writing assignments. Pen in hand, I was constantly, and lovingly, working on something. My parents were initially discouraged from pursing their first passions. My dad's parents didn't think sportscasting was a sensible or lucrative career choice for a young black man, and my mother's dream of dancing with Katherine Dunham was deemed not only highly impractical but also morally questionable. I believe my Southern grandmother's words were, "There will be no hoochie coochie dancers in this family!" Mom became a teacher, a career she ultimately loved . . . but it did not include dancing her way across Europe.

I think my parents didn't want me to suffer a dream deferred, so when I told them that I was thinking of becoming a writer, they encouraged me. If they hoped for a doctor or lawyer, they never let on!

My path to writing wasn't a straight shot. Out of college I wound up living in Rome for many years. I did a little modeling, wound up as an extra in a Fellini movie (*Ginger and Fred*) and dabbled in film production before returning to writing, as a stringer for *International Variety*.

Back in the States, I spent a few years at an Italian publishing house and reporting for an Italian radio station before moving up the ranks at various women's magazines. While I was never asked to write about pancakes being a "Negro way of life," I did occasionally sense I had to prove myself in ways some of my white colleagues did not. I felt many of them were allowed occasional moments of mediocrity; those slid off them as if they were made of Teflon. But I got the feeling my less-than-stellar moments stuck; there was a smaller margin for error. I also found myself having to be that voice in the room, trying to make sure there was diversity and inclusion on the pages. If you hired me, you weren't going to get silent representation. My parents taught me to "be that voice," and that is what I've done and continue to do now that I've left print to work as a curator in the radio and podcast world. Unfortunately, we can't all be in the room, but like my father, I'm here, and I'm not quiet.

My favorite piece of advice from my dad remains, "Suzanne, never take any bulls--t." He drilled it into my head, and I like to think it worked. It's a tradition that I've tried to pass on to my son and daughter, and I love it when I see results. I see their grandfather's spirit in them. Because of his words, I've mustered up the courage to ask for promotions or raises, I've spoken up and felt confident to disagree with my bosses, and I've walked away from jobs when I wasn't respected, like when the producer who thought undermining me and screaming at me would work in his favor. My parents are no longer here. I lost my beautiful mom when I was just 21, and my father died in 2009, but the love they gave me and the lessons they taught me by living a proud, authentic life remain, and those are my personal markers of a life well lived. □



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Art Rust Jr. was a groundbreaking broadcaster and chronicler of the African-American experience in sports.

Over the Hill at 25?

Superstars—in every field—seem to be getting younger and younger. Is the cult of early success making the rest of their contemporaries feel like losers?

By Charlotte Alter

WHEN TAYLOR SWIFT MADE THE COVER OF TIME magazine in 2014 as the new queen of the music industry, she had been in the business for more than 11 years. But at 24, she'd still have had trouble renting a car.

It should be inspiring for young people to see someone so young achieve such phenomenal success. "Other women who are killing it should motivate you, thrill you, challenge you and inspire you rather than threaten you and make you feel like you're immediately being compared to them," Swift told my colleague Jack Dickey at the time. "The only thing I compare myself to is me, two years ago, or me one year ago."

But despite her best efforts to set a positive example, Swift also represents a generation of super-youth to whom normal young people are inevitably compared. "You see someone so young, your age or even younger, being so wildly successful, and you can think, 'They just have it; they have something I don't have,' " says Carol Dweck, a professor of psychology at Stanford University and the author of *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*. "You think, 'I'm so young and already I'm doomed.' "

Forget *Forbes*'s 30-under-30 list: when it comes to "freshness," 30 is the new 40. At her age, Taylor Swift wasn't considered precociously successful—just regular successful. In fact, we're in a kind of Age of Wunderkind, and not just in entertainment (always fixated on youth and beauty): in 2014—when this


CARMEL
HIGH SCHOOL
SING-OFF
VOCAL
ADRENALINE
1ST

article first appeared—18-year-old Republican Saira Blair became the youngest U.S. lawmaker when she was elected to the West Virginia Legislature. She's now out of politics at 23—the same age as fashion blogger and magazine editor Tavi Gevinson, who was 15 when she found internet fame. At 17, Pakistan's Malala Yousafzai became the youngest person to win the Nobel Prize. Now 22, the education and civil rights advocate hasn't rested on her laurels.

As most millennials are slouching into their 30s, these and other hypervisible hotshots are getting younger and younger, whittling away at the maximum age limit at which someone can get their "big break."

For every young cultural force like Lena Dunham or genius app creator like Evan Spiegel, there are thousands of other twentysomethings sitting in their parents' basements wondering why they haven't invented an app or started a fashion line. According to a Pew survey, young people today have more debt than their parents and grandparents did at their age and, for those who don't have at least a college degree, less income—which means we're the least financially stable generation in recent memory. We're making life decisions later than ever, delaying marriage and babies longer than previous generations did (partly because of the cash-flow problems) and taking much longer to settle into a career. Yet, thanks to platforms like YouTube and Kickstarter that remove the traditional gatekeepers, there's a pervasive expectation that young people should be achieving more, faster, younger.

The perception that tech-savvy young people are "smarter" implies they should be getting successful more quickly; often they're not.

"There's a lot of attention paid to people who have success very young, like Taylor Swift and Mark Zuckerberg, but the average young person is not coming into their career until later these days," says Jean Twenge, the author of *Generation Me*. "Across the board, what you can see is much higher expectations among millennials compared to boomers and Gen Xers, but a reality which is if anything more difficult than it was for those previous generations when they were young."

Middle-aged sourpusses have long complained about America's cultural fixation on youth, and to be fair, the Beatles weren't much older than Taylor Swift. Bill Maher even devoted a segment of his show *Real Time* to ageism, calling it "the last acceptable prejudice in America." But today, the world is dominated by tech, and tech is dominated by young people. "I want to stress the importance of being young and technical," Zuckerberg, the co-founder of Facebook, said in a speech to a Y Combinator startup at Stanford in 2007. "Younger people are just smarter."

But even for those of us who happen to be young, a youth-obsessed culture is a pretty raw deal. The perception that young people are "smarter" implies they should be getting successful more quickly, and often they're not. "In the internet age, the idea that fame is just out of reach has become more common," says Twenge, noting that technological advances like YouTube helped launch the careers of stars like Justin Bieber. "I think there's an impression that it's easier to become famous now or easier to be discovered . . . but that may not be entirely true."

That expectation that it's easy to get rich and famous may also contribute to some of the negative stereotypes about millennials, especially the reputation for laziness or entitlement. In other words, next to Lorde, the rest of us look like schlubs.

"I don't think they're comparing themselves to those wunderkinds necessarily, but maybe their elders are, who are so critical of them," says Jeffrey Arnett, a doctor who coined the phrase "emerging adult" and says he's found little evidence to support the claim that millennials are lazy. "I wonder if that's partly related to the fact that you have these amazingly successful young people, and people are saying, 'Well, if Mark Zuckerberg can do this, why can't you?' "

Of course, none of these comparisons are Taylor Swift's fault, and she does everything in her power to nix that competitive instinct, especially among other women. But the fact that young superstars seem to have been born fully formed implies that

MALALA YOUSAFZAI (AT AGE 16 IN 2013)

TAVI GEVINSON (AT AGE 13 IN 2010)

MARK ZUCKERBERG (AT AGE 26 IN 2010)

TAYLOR SWIFT (AT AGE 17 IN 2007)

growth and learning aren't part of the recipe for success. "It not only tells them they don't have time to grow, it saps them of the motivation to grow," Dweck says.

Even Swift, now staring down the Big 3-0, recognized that her darling days were numbered. "I just struggle to find a woman in music who hasn't been completely picked apart by the media, or scrutinized and criticized for aging, or criticized for fighting aging," she said. "It just seems to be much more difficult to be a woman in music and to grow older."

When politicians proclaim that "young people are the future," they mean we'll inherit mountains of debt and a destroyed environment. But when young people think about our own futures, we should look at the way middle-aged and older people are treated—like it or not, that's going to be us one day. If young people were really so smart, we wouldn't forget that. □

Secrets of the Successful

The words and principles that have guided some of our highest achievers

By Richard Jerome

Jane Goodall

Widely regarded as one of the world's leading experts on chimpanzees, Goodall, 85, has spent more than half a century studying them in Tanzania's Gombe Stream National Park. Her love for the primates blossomed as a child, when her father gave her a stuffed chimp she named Jubilee. Goodall's mother, meanwhile, inspired her to dream big—and to persist. "When I was about 10 years old and dreaming of going to Africa, living with animals and writing books about them, everyone laughed at me," she recalled. "World War II was raging across Europe. My family had no money and couldn't even afford a bicycle for me. Africa was far away and full of dangerous animals, and, most damning of all, I was a mere girl. Only boys could expect to do those kinds of things. But my mother said, 'If you really want something and you work hard and you take advantage of opportunities—and you never, ever give up—you will find a way.' The opportunity was a letter from a friend inviting me to Kenya. The hard work was waitressing at a hotel to earn money for the trip—and spending hours reading books about Africa and animals, so I was ready when Dr. Louis Leakey offered me the opportunity to study chimpanzees."

Steve Jobs

For better or for worse, the tech giant, industrial designer and Apple co-founder profoundly influenced the way we live by pioneering the microcomputer revolution of the 1970s and '80s. Jobs (1955–2011) showed early genius for electronics but struggled in school because of a rebellious disposition. After dropping out of Reed College, he became close friends with fellow computer wiz Steve Wozniak and worked for Atari, designing video games. After Wozniak designed and built the Apple I computer, he and Jobs started their iconic company. The years to follow brought the spectacularly successful Macintosh, laser printers and a succession of "I" devices and apps. Worth an estimated $7 billion at his death, Jobs shared with biographer Walter Isaacson a belief in serving something larger than oneself. "We're always talking about following your passion, but we're all part of the flow of history," he said. "You've got to put something back into the flow of history that's going to help your community, help other people . . . so that 20, 30, 40 years from now . . . people will say, this person didn't just have a passion; he cared about making something that other people could benefit from."

Helen Keller

Rendered blind and deaf by childhood illness, she was one of America's most inspirational figures. Thanks to her devoted teacher, Annie Sullivan—whose lessons formed the basis of the play and film *The Miracle Worker*—Keller (1880–1968) became the first deaf-blind person to earn a bachelor's degree from Harvard's Radcliffe College. She wrote several books and gained international fame as a lecturer and humanitarian. In 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson awarded her the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Despite her disabilities, Keller counseled positivity. "Resolve to keep happy," she said, "and your joy and you shall form an invincible host against difficulties." And difficulties, she acknowledged, are inevitable. "Only through experience of trial and suffering can the soul be strengthened, ambition inspired and success achieved."

Warren Buffett

He's known as the Oracle of Omaha, legendary for his business and investment acumen. Chairman and CEO of the conglomerate Berkshire Hathaway—owner of GEICO, Dairy Queen, Fruit of the Loom and Duracell, among other companies—Buffett was worth $87 billion as of November 2019, making him the third-richest person in the world. At 89, he is also one of the most magnanimous, having pledged to give 99% of his fortune to various philanthropies. But even an oracle can use advice now and then, and in a 2010 interview, Buffett shared what he called the wisest counsel he'd ever received. It came from Berkshire board member Thomas Murphy, and it boiled down to exercising restraint and a measure of humility. As Murphy put it, Buffett recalled: "You can tell a guy to go to hell tomorrow—you don't give up the right. So just keep your mouth shut today, and see if you feel the same way tomorrow."

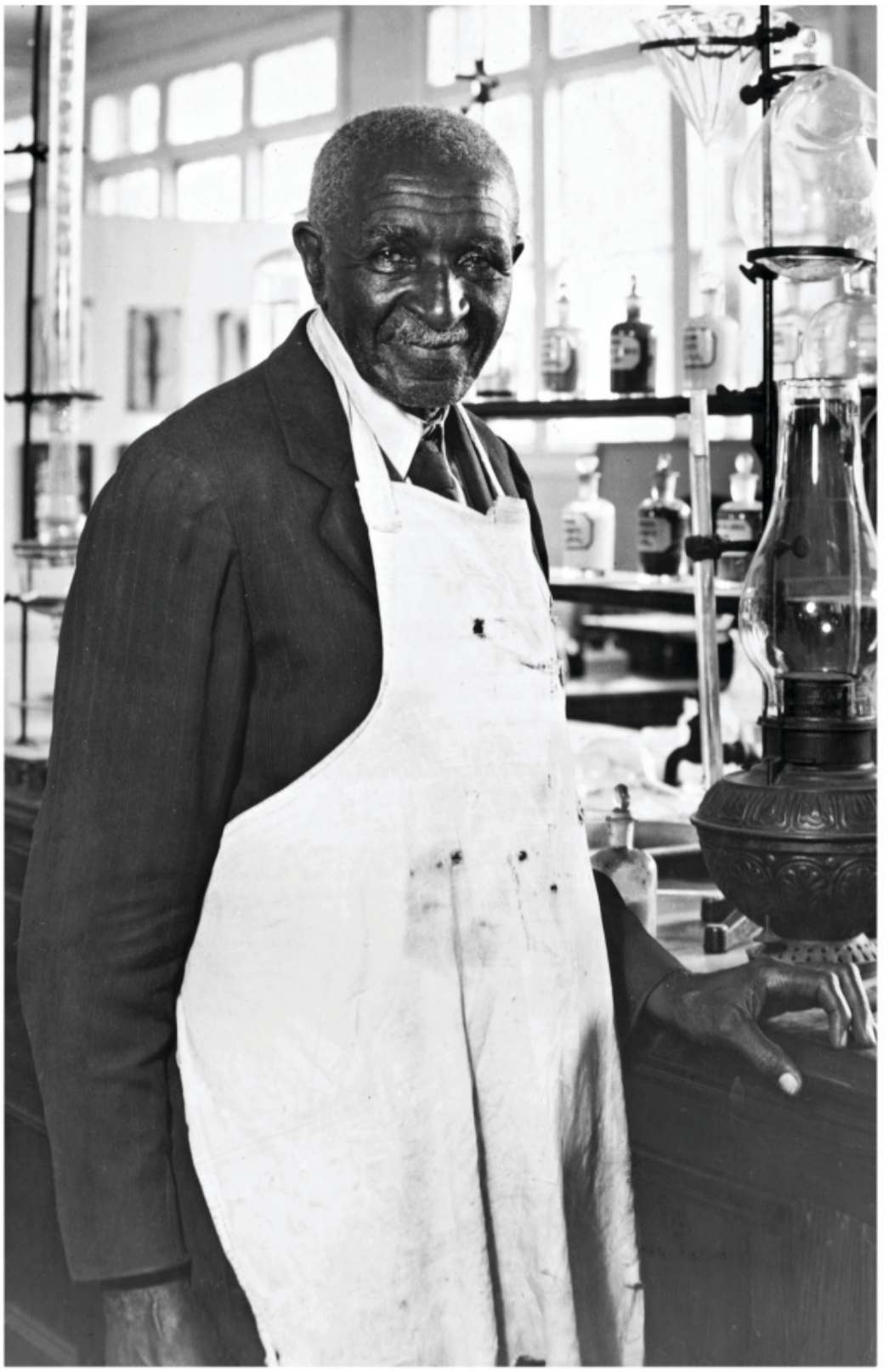
Colin Powell

The son of Jamaican immigrants, Powell is one of the most respected figures in public life. In a 35-year Army career, he rose to the rank of four-star general and served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; later, he served as secretary of state under President George W. Bush. In his 2012 book, *It Worked for Me*, Powell, now 82, outlined 13 rules for successful leadership (abridged for space):

1. It ain't as bad as you think! It will look better in the morning.
2. Get mad, then get over it.
3. Avoid tying your ego to your job (or position).
4. It can be done!
5. Be careful what you choose. You may get it.
6. Don't let adverse facts stand in the way of a good decision.
7. You can't make someone else's choices. You shouldn't let someone else make yours.
8. Check small things.
9. Share credit.
10. Remain calm. Be kind.
11. Have a vision. Be demanding.
12. Don't take counsel of your fears or naysayers.
13. Perpetual optimism is a force multiplier.

Shonda Rhimes

In 2007, Rhimes was named one of TIME's 100 People Who Help Shape the World on the strength of her monster success as a TV producer, writer and showrunner. The Chicago-born daughter of university educators, she got her start as a scriptwriter and hit pay dirt as creator-producer of the long-running medical drama *Grey's Anatomy*; through her production company, Shondaland, Rhimes also turned out the suspenseful political series *Scandal* and the legal drama *How to Get Away with Murder*. In 2017, she signed a production deal with Netflix. Addressing young female professionals and adolescent girls at the Dove Girl Collective conference in 2018, Rhimes, now 49, stressed swagger. "We all have something about ourselves to brag about, something that is amazing or special or interesting. Something that we are proud of, something brag-worthy," she said. "So how come we don't brag on ourselves? I mean, Beyoncé deserves it, but so do you. So you should go brag on yourself, brag on your friends. I say we need to start a bragging revolution. I'll go first: I'm a talented writer with a very good booty and a good sense of humor."



George Washington Carver

Carver (early 1860s–1943) was born into slavery—in what year, he wasn't sure—and despite overwhelming odds in a fundamentally racist society, he became a world-esteemed agricultural scientist. Trained at what is now Iowa State University, where he was the first black student, Carver studied plant pathology and earned a national reputation as a botanist. Carver would remain in academia, teaching for 47 years at the Tuskegee Institute. There, he developed methods of improving soils depleted by the unremitting cultivation of a single crop (cotton) and advocated alternative cash crops that helped restore depleted nitrogen, such as sweet potatoes, soybeans and peanuts—the latter of which he is most associated with. In his later years, Carver met with world leaders—Gandhi, for one, was a friend—and was regarded as something of a sage. For Carver, simplicity and altruism were guiding principles. "It is not the style of clothes one wears, neither the kind of automobile one drives, nor the amount of money one has in the bank, that counts," he said. "These mean nothing. It is simply service that measures success."

Madeleine Albright

The daughter of a Czech ambassador to Yugoslavia, she came to the U.S. with her family in 1948, became a naturalized citizen and pursued advanced studies in international relations. Involved with Democratic politics, Albright, 82, worked on the National Security Council under President Jimmy Carter, served as U.N. ambassador in the Clinton administration and in 1997 became the nation's first female secretary of state. One secret to her remarkable career was self-confidence, learned from her father. "Whenever my father saw that I had to take on something difficult or do something that I might not have confidence about, he would say, 'Strike it,' " Albright told *Good Housekeeping*. "He sometimes mixed up English idioms, so that was his version of 'go for it.' To me that meant you have to believe in yourself and go after what you want."

Maya Angelou

Angelou (1928–2014) was a towering figure in American letters, as a Pulitzer Prize–winning poet and a memoirist, most famously for *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, a 1969 account of her harrowing youth (she was raped by her mother's boyfriend at age 8, which so traumatized her that she went five years without speaking). Also an actor, dancer and singer, Angelou became a civil rights activist in the 1960s and shot to international fame with the publication of *Caged Bird*. Into her 80s, Angelou's commanding, melodious voice helped make her a fixture on the lecture circuit—and at presidential inaugurations, where she read poems for Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. It was, in sum, an incredible life, with many twists and turns. Her guiding principle was to make one's own path, a philosophy Katie Couric quoted in her book *The Best Advice I Ever Got*. "My paternal grandmother, Mrs. Annie Henderson, gave me advice that I have used for 65 years," Angelou told her. "She said, 'If the world puts you on a road you do not like, if you look ahead and do not want that destination which is being offered and you look behind and you do not want to return to your place of departure, step off the road. Build yourself a new path.' "

Pablo Picasso

The Spanish painter and sculptor was arguably the dominant visual artist of the 20th century. A co-founder of Cubism, Picasso (1881–1973) was a revolutionary who started out painting traditionally representative figures but in the early 20th century began to evolve into a more abstract style, initially influenced by Henri Matisse. Today, his works command astronomical sums—in 2015, *Women of Algiers* sold for $179.3 million at Christie's in New York, the highest price ever paid for a painting. Picasso's vast output was achieved through talent and inspiration, to be sure, but also calculation. "Our goals can only be reached through a vehicle of a plan, in which we must fervently believe, and upon which we must vigorously act," he said. "There is no other route to success." But be careful what you wish for. Also Picasso: "Success is dangerous. One begins to copy oneself, and to copy oneself is more dangerous than to copy others. It leads to sterility."

Sheryl Sandberg

For millions, Facebook's chief operating officer is the model of a successful woman in corporate America. After earning her MBA from Harvard, Sandberg worked for Larry Summers, the treasury secretary under President Clinton. She moved into the burgeoning tech field, directing sales operations for Google's chief operating officer. Then in 2007, Sandberg met Facebook co-founder Mark Zuckerberg at a Christmas party—and her career skyrocketed. Her best-selling first book, 2013's *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead*, urged women to strive for leadership roles and break down gender barriers. Sandberg, 50, has drawn criticism for her platform's controversial algorithms and the handling of Russia's use of Facebook to attack the 2016 presidential election. When asked what steps she took in her 20s to become so successful by her 30s, she told *Business Insider*, "I think it really was about getting on a rocket ship, being willing to take risks and do something that I hadn't done before like work in technology, and finding the ways to start believing in myself."

LeBron James

Many observers consider "King James" the greatest basketball player of all time (though Michael Jordan fans may differ). Raised in the Cleveland projects, the 6-foot-9 NBA superstar has won four Most Valuable Player awards, led his teams to three league championships and owns a career scoring average of 27.2 points per game. James's endorsement deals, along with a $35.7 million annual salary, have made him one of the wealthiest athletes in the world. Known for his philanthropy, James, 34, last year opened a school for at-risk kids in Akron, Ohio. In a 2018 interview, the King was asked what advice he'd give his teenage self. His answer was this: nothing. "I don't want advice, and the reason I don't want advice is because every experience is a teacher," James said. "All the experiences that I've had along the way since I became known at 15, all the way to my age now. There's been bumps, there's been bruises, there's been good, there's been bad, there's been obstacles, but I've learned how to deal with them because I experienced them . . . I could tell you guys, I could try to coach you guys, and me being a parent, that's what I'm doing with my kids right now. I could give them the blueprint, but at the end of the day, they're going to have to travel their own road."

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Published by Meredith Corporation · 225 Liberty Street · New York, NY 10281

PRINTED IN THE USA

Success Talk

‘NOTHING IS IMPOSSIBLE; THE WORD ITSELF SAYS “I’M POSSIBLE”!’

AUDREY HEPBURN
Actress, humanitarian, fashion icon

‘A lot of people are afraid to say what they want. That’s why they don’t get what they want.’

MADONNA
Diva

‘Too many people measure how successful they are by how much money they make or the people that they associate with. In my opinion, true success should be measured by how happy you are.’

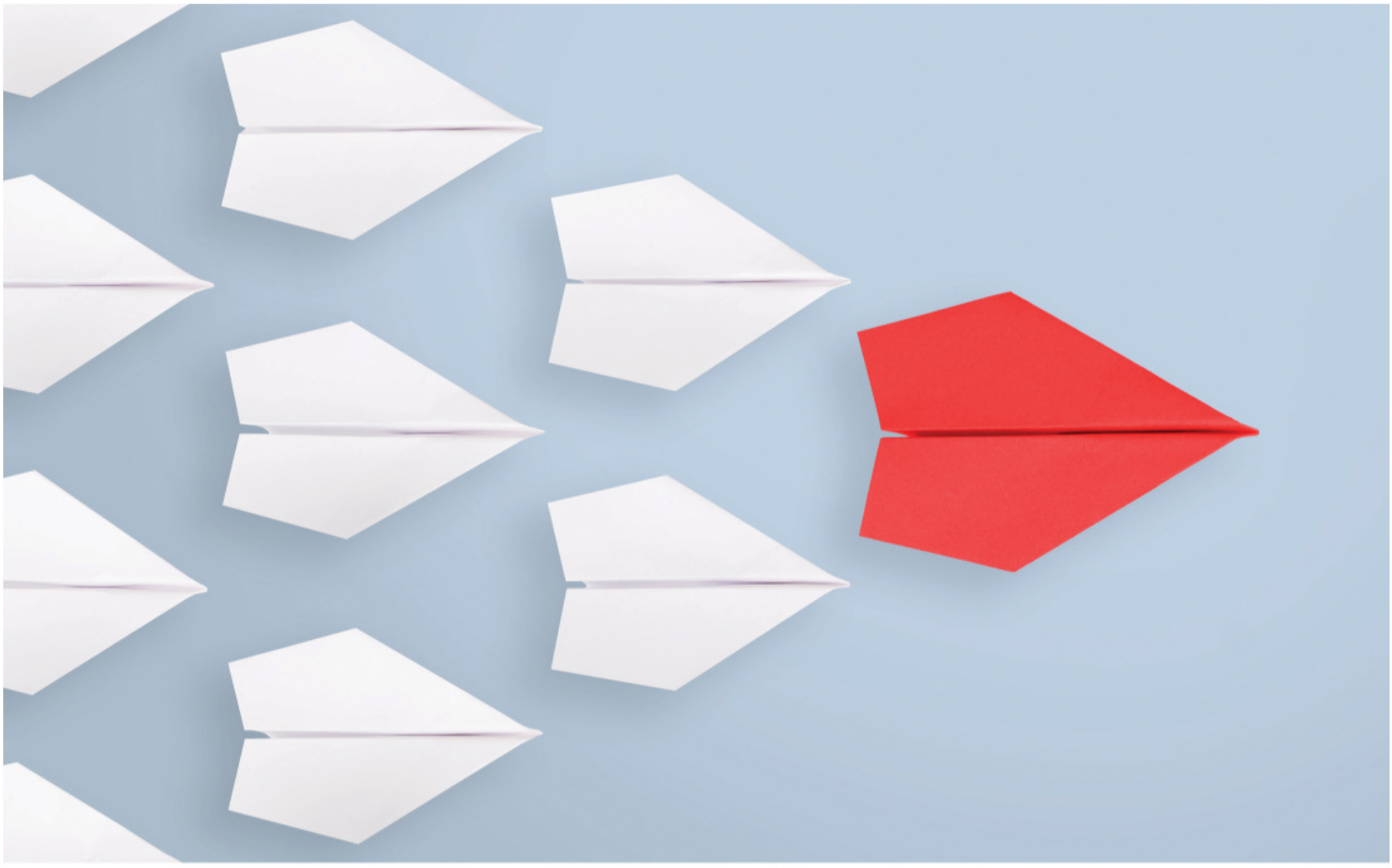
RICHARD BRANSON
Business mogul, author, philanthropist

‘Put your head into the lion’s mouth if the performance is to be a success.’

WINSTON CHURCHILL
British prime minister, soldier, author

‘To me, the definition of success is waking up in the morning with a smile on your face, knowing it’s going to be a great day. I was happy and felt like I was successful when I was poor, living six guys in a three-bedroom apartment, sleeping on the floor.’

MARK CUBAN,
Businessman, investor, NBA team owner



Continued research shows how the right measures of grit, optimism, experience and a dash of self-made luck can add up to success in all walks of life.