

SHAPING SCIENCE

Organizations,
Decisions, and Culture
on NASA's Teams

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SEEING LIKE A ROVER

How Robots, Teams, and Images Craft Knowledge of Mars

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“Every mission is kind of like a living organism. It has a personality and it has a style and that personality and style is sort of gained at the beginning of the mission and it never changes; even though the people who migrate through it change, you change out the people and you still have the same mission personality.”



Mission sociology

Mission dynamics

Mission cultures and impacts

Challenge 1: Interinstitutional collaboration

Challenge 2: Longevity

Challenge 3: Network effects

Implications for careers



Studying NASA teams sociologically

- Scientists have their own practices, teams, and cultures (Knorr-Cetina, 1999; Shrum et al, 2007; Peterson 2015; Lynch, 1997; Latour & Woolgar, 1979)
- Changes in mission funding produced teaming variations at NASA (McCurdy, 2003; Kaminski 2012)
- Organizational variation produces divergent outcomes (Burawoy, 1985; Lee, 1995; Stark & Vedres, 2011).
- Each team faces the challenge of how to allocate scarce resources (Traweek, 1985; McCray, 2000; Vertesi & Dourish, 2011)
- Culture plays a significant role in communication and decision-making in flat orgs (Kunda 2006; Turco, 2016; Freeland & Zuckerman, 2018)



Mission cultures have shared ...

Authority for decisions

Resource Allocation

Forms of Talk

Problem Solving

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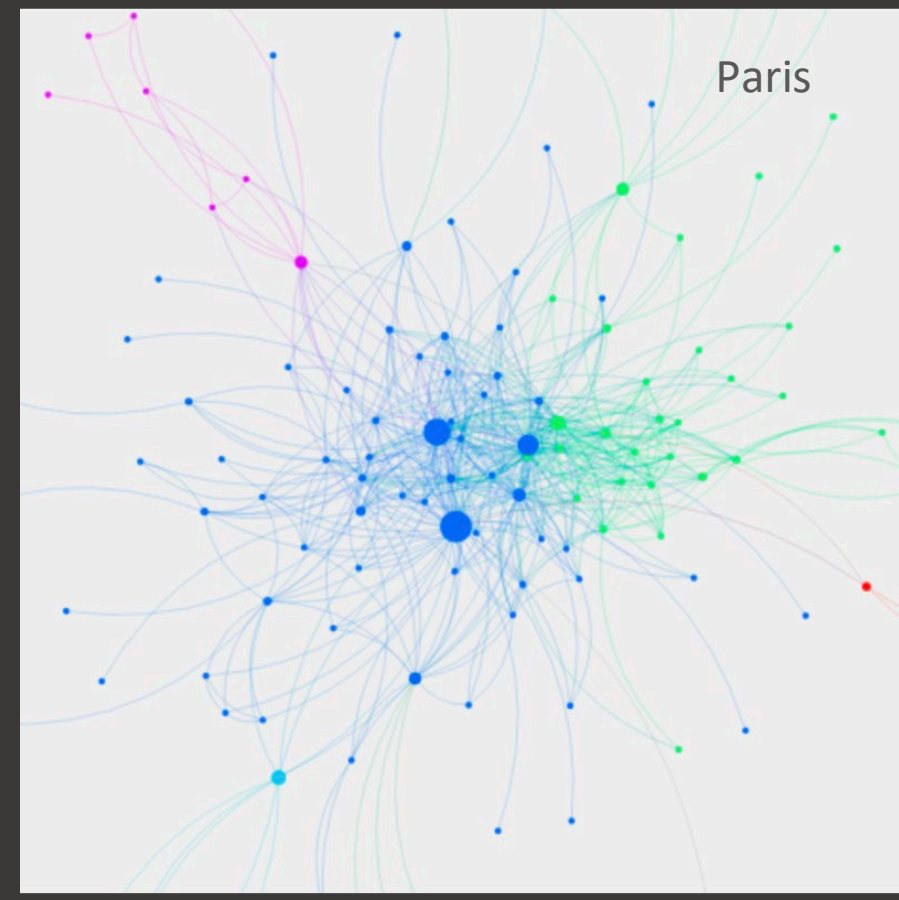
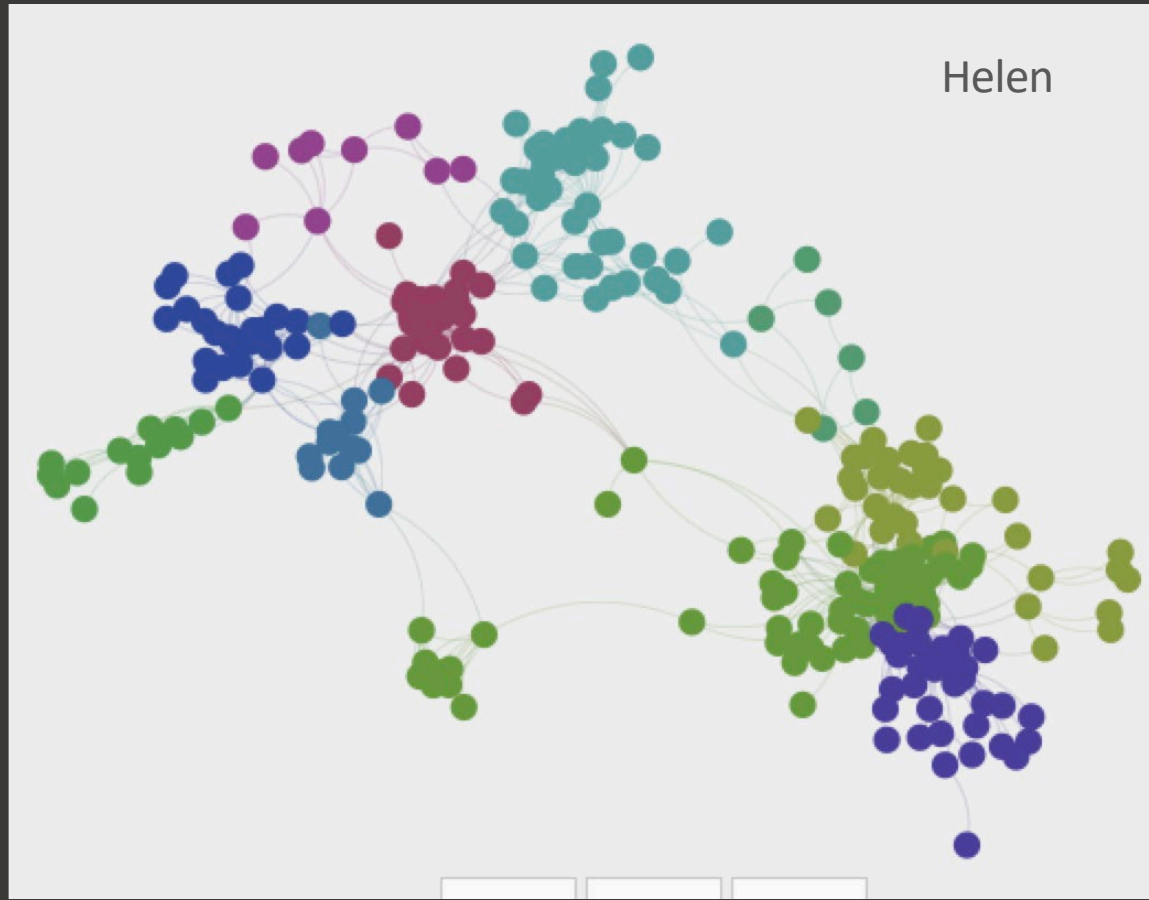
- Authority for decisions: Matrix team

- Largely autonomous instrument teams and cross-cutting planning groups. Early leadership placed observation planning, decision-making, and prioritization amid the matrix, not among an executive team.
- Resource allocation: *integration* and *polyvocality*:
 - “I don’t think the process of science is well served if a bunch of people come together and say, let’s agree not to disagree.”
- Forms of talk: Battle or political metaphors
 - “It’s like Congress... sometimes you wanna align yourself with this guy to get this observation, sometimes you need to align yourself with those other people...”
- Problem solving: through fairness:
 - “We can’t make everyone happy but we can make everyone equally unhappy.”



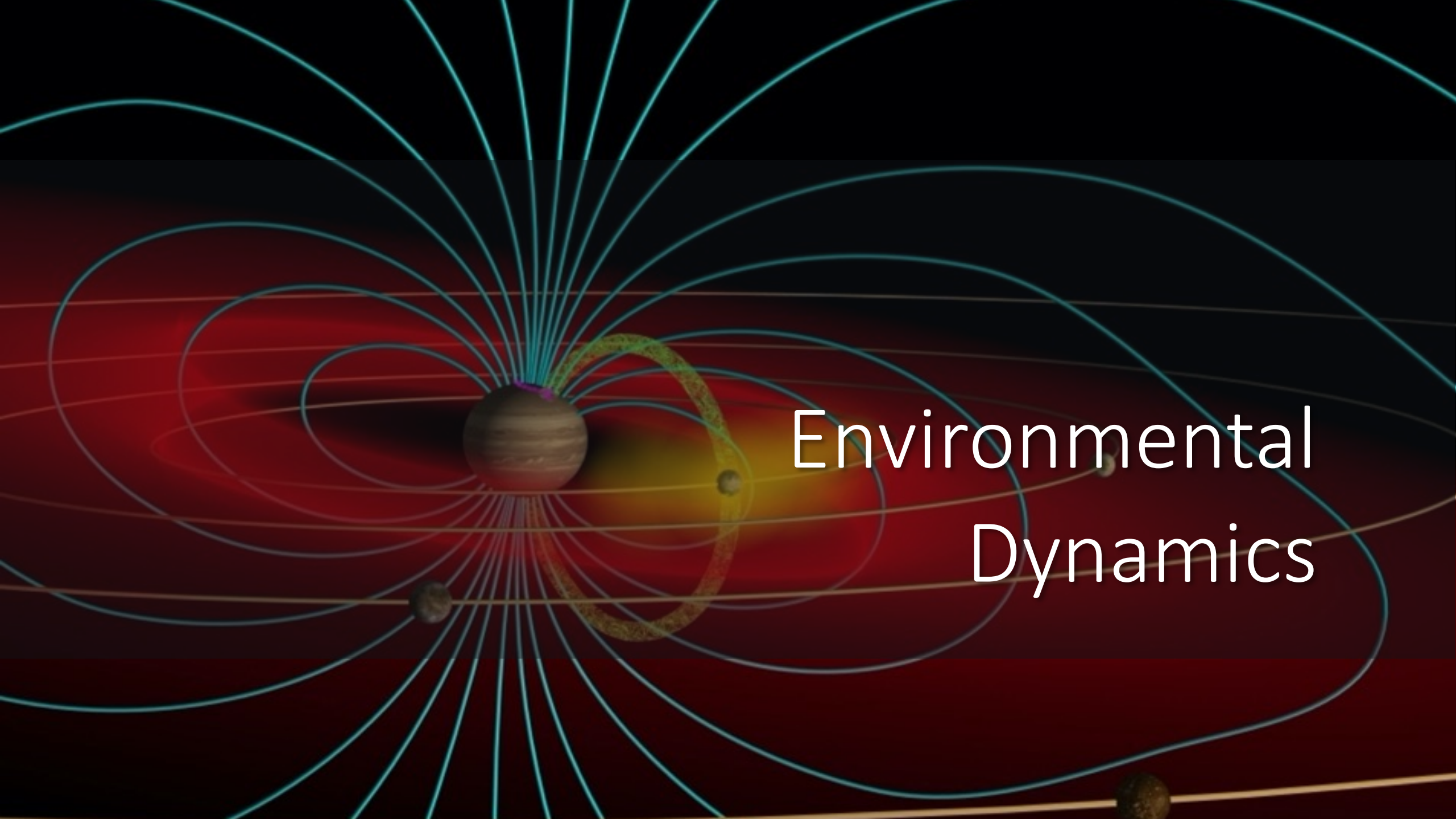
Paris: A PI-led mission

- Authority for decisions: collective
 - Led by single PI, who reinforces a flat hierarchy and bottom-up decision making among participating team members with rotating roles
- Resource allocation: *consensus* and *unilateralism*
 - “What the team decides together is what’s best for [the science/spacecraft].”
- Forms of talk: Happiness and participation
 - “At the end of the meeting you want everyone to have a sense of ownership of the plan.” “This whole thing is negotiation, it helps to sound enthusiastic.” “Are you happy?” / “I’m happy.”
- Problem solving: through collective ownership:
 - ““The robot is like a swiss army knife.” “I want all hands on deck ...” “You shouldn’t limit yourself to one instrument, it’s the most foolish thing you can do.” “Two-for-one science.”



Variations in Outcomes

- Co-publication matrices reflect teaming architecture and organizational culture
- Demonstrate primary collaborative units, intercohesion and bridging
- Also visible: leadership changes and interventions (new bridging ties)

The image is a complex visualization of environmental dynamics. At the center is a sphere with horizontal bands, resembling Jupiter, with numerous blue magnetic field lines radiating from its poles. To its right is a ringed planet, similar to Saturn, with a yellowish glow behind it. Several small, dark, spherical objects are positioned along various orbital paths. These paths include a series of concentric, elliptical orbits in the background and a set of more complex, intersecting loops in the foreground. The background is a gradient of dark blue and red, with a horizontal band of lighter red across the middle. The overall composition suggests a study of celestial mechanics or atmospheric dynamics.

Environmental Dynamics



1. Interinstitutional collaboration

- NASA institutions and universities represent a “federation of cultures” (McCurdy, 1994)
- Teams experience intercultural communication challenges akin to international teams (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001; LeBaron & Pillay, 2006)
- Project managers, joint development teams, facility team leaders must manage across institutions, where chains of command are variable, visibility is limited, and stakes are high
- Structural powerlessness (Kanter, 1977): Individuals placed in positions with great responsibility but no authority are decried for micromanaging and poor relational skills.



2. Longevity

- With precious few missions and interplanetary timelines, teams work together for multiple decades on the same project
- Lifetime appointments in the same positions do not allow for organizational or intergenerational mobility
- Few institutional or culturally acceptable mechanisms to move up or out of the mission
- Participating scientist programs vary in effectiveness based on the local culture (Prockter et al., 2016)



3. Network effects

- Women and minorities do better in hierarchies than in flat organizations (Blau, 1958; Freeman, 1972)
- In flatter orgs we conflate judgments of “merit” with “fit” (Rivera, 2012; Castilla & Bernard, 2010)
- Relationships matter: PI-led missions reduce costs up to 30% by relying on existing ties (NAP, 2006)
- Minorities or outsiders may be subject to **tokenism** (Kanter, 1977) or **backlash** (Rudman & Glick 2001), leading to continued **low representation** (Correll, 2004; Rathbun et al., 2018; Rivera-Valentin, 2020)
- Strong mentorship networks (Smith-Doerr, 2015) and bridge ties between powerful and minority networks matter: “the work uncle” phenomenon (Brass, 1985; McDonald, 2011)

“Personality”

“I have to act this way ...
You develop a reputation.”

(Merton 1968; Traweek 1988; Daston
1995; Lincoln et al. 2012)

Mission team dynamics

Mission cultures and structures

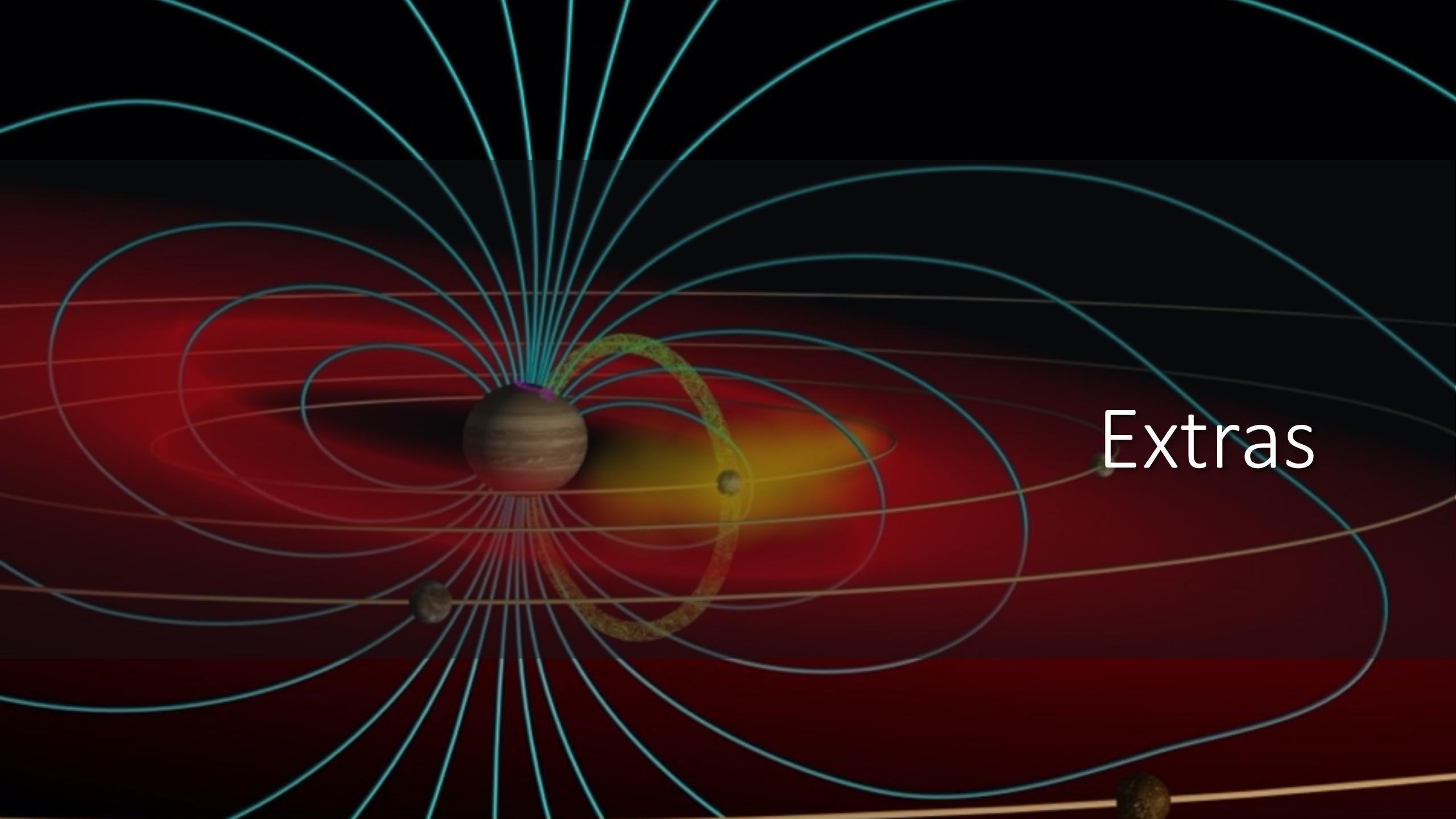
Challenge 1: Interinstitutional collaboration

Challenge 2: Longevity

Challenge 3: Network effects

Implications for careers

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- (Kanter, 1977) or backlash (Rudman & Glick 2001), (Correll, 2004; Rathbun et al., 2018; Rivera-Valentin, 2020)
- (Smith-Doerr, 2015) (Brass, 1985; McDonald, 2011)
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- Prockter et al., 2016)
- " (McCurdy, 1994)
- (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001; LeBaron & Pillay, 2006)



Extras

