Organization ATTHE LIMIT

Lessons from the Columbia Disaster

WILLIAM H.
STARBUCK
&
MOSHE
FARJOUN



Organization AT THE LIMIT

Lessons from the Columbia Disaster

EDITED BY
WILLIAM H. STARBUCK
AND
MOSHE FARJOUN



© 2005 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd except for editorial material and organization © 2005 by William H. Starbuck and Moshe Farjoun

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148–5020, USA 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK 550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

The right of William H. Starbuck and Moshe Farjoun to be identified as the Authors of the Editorial Material in this Work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright,

Designs, and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

First published 2005 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

1 2005

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Organization at the limit : lessons from the Columbia disaster / edited by William H. Starbuck and Moshe Farjoun.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN-13: 978-1-4051-3108-7 (hardback : alk. paper)

- ISBN-10: 1-4051-3108-X (hardback : alk. paper)

 1. Columbia (Spacecraft)—Accidents. 2. Corporate culture—United States—Case studies.
- Organizational behavior—United States—Case studies.
 United States. National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
 Starbuck, William H., 1934—

II. Farjoun, Moshe. TL867.074 2005 363.12'4'0973—dc22 2005006597

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/12¹/₂pt Rotis Serif by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by TJ International, Padstow, Cornwall

The publisher's policy is to use permanent paper from mills that operate a sustainable forestry policy, and which has been manufactured from pulp processed using acid-free and elementary chlorine-free practices. Furthermore, the publisher ensures that the text paper and cover board used have met acceptable environmental accreditation standards.

For further information on Blackwell Publishing, visit our website: www.blackwellpublishing.com

Notes on Contributors

Betty Barrett is currently a Research Scientist with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Before going to Massachusetts Institute of Technology she worked on the faculty of Michigan State University's School of Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management. Her research interests include the impact of instability on workers in the aerospace industry, globally dispersed teams, system safety, workplace knowledge creation, and organizational learning. She has published work on aerospace workforce and employment, team-based work systems, and alternative dispute resolution, and is co-author of *Knowledge-Driven Work* (Oxford University Press, 1998).

Sally Blount is the Abraham L. Gitlow Professor of Management at the Leonard N. Stern School of Business, New York University. She focuses on the study of managerial cognition and group behavior and is best known for her research in the areas of negotiation, decision-making, and time. Her research has been published in a wide variety of psychology and management journals, including Academy of Management Review, Administrative Science Quarterly, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, Psychological Bulletin, and Research in Organizational Behavior. Dr. Blount is currently writing a book entitled Time in Organizations.

Richard M.J. Bohmer is a physician and an Assistant Professor of Business Administration at Harvard University. His research focuses on the management of clinical processes and the way in which health-care teams learn to improve outcomes, prevent error, and reduce adverse events. He has studied catastrophic failures in health care, the adoption of new technologies into medical practice, and more recently the way in which health-care delivery organizations deal with custom and standard operations concurrently. He holds a medical degree from the University of Auckland, New Zealand, and an MPH from the Harvard School of Public Health.

Ebony N. Bridwell-Mitchell is a doctoral candidate at New York University's Stern School of Business in the Department of Management and Organizations. Her research focuses on the effects of social assessments and influence processes at

group, organizational and inter-organizational levels. Her most recent project is a four-year NSF-funded study that examines how the social dynamics of the professional community in New York City public schools affect organizational change. In addition to training as an organizational scholar, she has a Master's degree in public policy from the Harvard John F. Kennedy School of Government and a BA, summa cum laude, from Cornell University in American policy studies. She has over ten years' experience in educational research, consulting, and practice in organizations such as the US Department of Education, the Peruvian Department of the Interior, the Navajo Nation Tribal (Diné) College, and the New York City Department of Education.

Alexander Brown is a graduate student in Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Program in Science, Technology and Society. His research examines engineering practice from the 1960s to the 1990s. Using accidents/failures and their subsequent investigations as a window into the black box of engineering, he examines the changing cultures of engineering within NASA. He is tracking changes in engineering practices from *Apollo 1* to *Challenger* to *Columbia*.

Angela Buljan is a Strategic Planning Director at McCann Erickson Croatia and a pre-doctoral researcher at the University of Zagreb. She plans to start her Ph.D. program in Management and Organization at the University of Zagreb, where she received a B.S. degree in psychology and a Master's degree in marketing. Her research interests include managerial risk-taking, organizational decision-making, and consumer decision-making. In 2004 she was a guest researcher at Management and Organizations Department at the Stern School of Business, New York University, where she participated in research projects on risk-taking under the supervision of Zur Shapira. One of these is presented in this book.

John S. Carroll is Professor of Behavioral and Policy Sciences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Sloan School of Management and the Engineering Systems Division. He is co-director of the MIT Lean Aerospace Initiative. He taught previously at Carnegie-Mellon University, Loyola University of Chicago, and the University of Chicago. He received a B.S. (physics) from MIT and a Ph.D. (social psychology) from Harvard. His research has focused on individual and group decision-making, the relationship between cognition and behavior in organizational contexts, and the processes that link individual, group, and organizational learning. Current projects examine organizational safety issues in high-hazard industries such as nuclear power, aerospace, and health care, including self-analysis and organizational learning, safety culture, leadership, communication, and systems thinking. He is also part of a research team working collaboratively with the Society for Organizational Learning Sustainability Consortium, a cross-industry group of companies developing sustainable business practices.

Jeffrey C. Connor is a Lecturer in Organizational Behavior at the Harvard Medical School. He has previously been on the faculty of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University where he co-taught the Organizational Diagnosis seminar. He is an independent contractor for senior leadership development in the intelligence

community of the US government and consults with professional service organizations and businesses on executive leadership development and organizational change. He received a Master's degree in psychology from Boston College, and a Ph.D. in administration, policy, and research from Brandeis University.

Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld is a senior research scientist in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Sloan School of Management and Executive Director of its Engineering Systems Learning Center. He is co-author of Valuable Disconnects in Organizational Learning Systems (Oxford University Press, 2005), Lean Enterprise Value (Palgrave, 2002), Knowledge-Driven Work (Oxford University Press, 1998), Strategic Negotiations (Harvard Business School Press, 1994), and of three additional co-authored or co-edited books, as well as over 60 articles on large-scale systems change, new work systems, labor-management relations, negotiations, conflict resolution, organizational learning, public policy, and economic development. He holds a Ph.D. in industrial relations from MIT and a B.S. in industrial and labor relations from Cornell University.

Vinit M. Desai is a doctoral student and researcher in organizational behavior and industrial relations at the Walter A. Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley. His research interests include learning, decision-making, and the study of organizations in which error can have catastrophic consequences. He works with colleagues to examine organizations that operate with hazardous technologies yet experience extremely low error rates, and his work spans various industries, including space exploration, health care, telecommunications, naval aviation, and natural gas. He has worked in the private and public sectors.

Nicolas Dulac is a doctoral student in the department of Aeronautics and Astronautics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His current research interests span system engineering, system safety, visualization of complex systems, hazard analysis in socio-technical systems, safety culture, and dynamic risk analysis. He holds an M.S. degree in aeronautics and astronautics from MIT, and a B.S. degree in mechanical engineering from McGill University.

Roger Dunbar is a Professor of Management at the Stern School of Business, New York University. He is interested in how understandings develop in support of particular perspectives in organizations, and how this basis for stability makes it difficult for change to occur. His research explores this theme in different contexts. One example is the dialog that took place in the *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 5 (1996) around two papers: "A Frame for Deframing in Strategic Analysis," and "Run, Rabbit, Run! But Can You Survive?" with Raghu Garud and Sumita Raghuram. He is currently a senior editor of *Organization Studies*.

Amy C. Edmondson is Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School, and investigates team and organizational learning in health care and other industries. Her research examines leadership, psychological safety, speaking up, and experimentation in settings ranging from hospitals to corporate boardrooms. Recent publications include "Framing for Learning: Lessons in Successful Technology Implementation" (California Management Review, 2003) and "The Local and Variegated

Nature of Learning in Organizations" (*Organization Science*, 2002). With co-authors Edmondson developed both a multimedia and a traditional teaching case on the *Columbia* shuttle tragedy (HBS Publishing, 2004), designed to deepen students' appreciation of the organizational causes of accidents. She received her Ph.D. in organizational behavior from Harvard University in 1996.

Moshe Farjoun is an associate professor at the Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto. While editing this book, he was a visiting associate professor at the Stern School of Business, New York University. His research interests lie in the intersection of strategic management and organization. His research has explored market and organizational dynamics, particularly as they pertain to the processes of strategy formulation, implementation and change. In studying these topics, he builds on his background in economics, behavioral sciences, and system analysis and emphasizes process, interaction, and synthesis. He is particularly attracted to the themes of learning, tension, and complexity and studies them across different levels of analysis and using diverse methodologies. His research has appeared in *Strategic Management Journal*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Organization Science*, and *Academy of Management Review*. A recent paper was a finalist (top three) in the 2002 AMJ best paper competition. Professor Farjoun received his Ph.D. in organization and strategy from the Kellogg Management School of Northwestern University.

Laura R. Feldman is a developer and fundraiser for a nonprofit youth mentoring organization. While a research associate at Harvard Business School, Feldman contributed to research on psychological safety and team learning in health-care operations. In addition to the traditional and multimedia *Columbia* case studies, she has co-authored with Amy Edmondson a series of case studies on the decisive meeting between NASA and its subcontractor Morton Thiokol the eve of the *Challenger* shuttle tragedy. Feldman graduated cum laude from Wellesley College with a B.A. in sociology.

Erika M. Ferlins is a research associate in general management at the Harvard Business School. Her research examines leadership, teams, and decision-making in high-stakes situations. Recent research includes firefighting, health care, space flight, and pharmaceutical catastrophes. Ferlins and her co-authors also developed both a multimedia and a traditional case study on the *Columbia* shuttle tragedy ("Columbia's Final Mission: A Multimedia Case," Harvard Business School case N9-305-032 and "Columbia's Final Mission," Harvard Business School case 9-304-090), designed to illustrate the complex causes of disasters.

Raghu Garud is Associate Professor of Management and Organizations at the Stern School of Business, New York University. He is co-editor of *Organization Studies* and an associate editor of *Management Science*. Currently he is co-editing (with Cynthia Hardy and Steve Maguire) a special issue of *Organization Studies* on "Institutional Entrepreneurship."

Theresa K. Lant is an Associate Professor of Management at the Stern School of Business, New York University. She received her Ph.D. from Stanford University

in 1987, and her A.B. from the University of Michigan in 1981. She has served as a senior editor of *Organization Science*, and is currently an associate editor of non-traditional research at the *Journal of Management Inquiry*, and serves on the editorial review boards of *Strategic Organization* and *Organization Studies*. She has served in a variety of leadership roles in the Academy of Management and the INFORMS College on Organization Science, including, most recently, serving as Chair of the Managerial and Organizational Cognition Division of the Academy of Management. Professor Lant's research focuses on the processes of managerial cognition, organizational learning and strategic adaptation.

Sophie Leroy is a Ph.D. student in organizational behavior at the Stern School of Business, New York University. Prior to enrolling at NYU, she earned an MBA from HEC (France), part of which was completed at Columbia Business School. She is interested in understanding how individuals are affected by and manage dynamic work environments, in how people experience working under extreme time pressure, and how managing multiple projects under time pressure affects people's engagement with their work and their performance. She is currently working with Professor Sally Blount on understanding how people's perception and valuation of time influence the way they synchronize with others.

Nancy Leveson is Professor of Aeronautics and Astronautics and Professor of Engineering Systems at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She has worked in the field of system safety for 25 years, considering not only the traditional technical engineering problems but also the cultural and managerial components of safety. She has served on many NASA advisory committees, including the Aerospace Safety Advisory Panel, as well as working with other government agencies and companies in the nuclear, air transportation, medical devices, defense, automotive, and other industries to help them write safety standards and to improve practices and organizational safety culture. Professor Leveson is an elected member of the National Academy of Engineering and conducts research on system safety, software engineering and software safety, human–automation interaction, and system engineering. She has published 200 research papers and is the author of Safeware: System Safety and Computers.

Peter M. Madsen is a doctoral student at the Walter A. Haas School of Business, University of California Berkeley. His research interests focus on organizational reliability and on the interrelationship between organizational and environmental change. His current research deals with high-reliability organizations and institutional and technological change, examining these issues in the aerospace, health-care, and insurance industries.

Karen Marais is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Her research interests include safety and risk assessment, decision-making under uncertainty, and systems architecture.

Henry McDonald is the Distinguished Professor and Chair of Computational Engineering at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga. Prior to this appointment, from 1996 until 2002 he was the Center Director at NASA Ames Research Laboratory. Educated in Scotland in aeronautical engineering, he worked in the UK aerospace industry before emigrating to the US, where after working as a staff member in large corporate research laboratory he formed a small research and development company. Professor McDonald subsequently held a number of academic posts at Penn State and Mississippi State universities before joining NASA as an IPA in 1996. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Engineering.

Frances J. Milliken is the Edward J. Giblin Faculty Fellow and a Professor of Management at the Stern School of Business, New York University. She was the co-author, with William Starbuck, of a paper on the causes of the space shuttle Challenger accident (Journal of Management Studies, 1988). Her chapter in the present volume thus represents a second foray into trying to understand decision-making at NASA. Her most recent research interests include understanding how diversity affects the functioning of groups and of organizations, the dynamics of upward communication processes in organizations, as well as the relationship between individuals' work and non-work lives. She is currently on the editorial board of the Academy of Management Review and the Journal of Management Studies.

William Ocasio is the John L. and Helen Kellogg Distinguished Professor of Management and Organizations at the Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University. He received his Ph.D. in organizational behavior from Stanford University and his MBA from the Harvard Business School, and was previously on the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Sloan School of Management. His research focuses on the interplay of power, communication channels, and cognition in shaping organizational attention, decision-making, and corporate governance. He has published in the Administrative Science Quarterly, Advances in Strategic Management, American Journal of Sociology, Research in Organizational Behavior, Organization Science, Organization Studies, and the Strategic Management Journal, among others. Recently he has been studying how specialized vocabularies of organizing shape the way in which organizations categorize their experiences and practices; how these evolving vocabularies influence organizational strategies; and, thirdly, how networks of formal communication channels shape strategy formulation, implementation, and performance in multi-business organizations.

Sean O'Keefe is Chancellor of Louisiana State University and A&M College; he assumed this office on February 21, 2005. He has been a Presidential appointee on four occasions. Until February 2005, he served as the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Earlier, he was Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Secretary of the Navy, and Comptroller and Chief Financial Officer of the Department of Defense. He has also been Professor of Business and Government Policy at Syracuse University, Professor of Business Administration

and Dean of the Graduate School at Pennsylvania State University, staff member for the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and staff director for the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, as well as a visiting scholar at Wolfson College, University of Cambridge. He is a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration, a Fellow of the International Academy of Astronautics, and a member of the Naval Postgraduate School Board of Advisors. He has received the Distinguished Public Service Award from the President, the Chancellor's Award for Public Service from Syracuse University, the Navy's Public Service Award, and five honorary doctorate degrees. He is the author of several journal articles, and co-author of *The Defense Industry in the Post-Cold War Era: Corporate Strategies and Public Policy Perspectives*.

Michael A. Roberto is Assistant Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School, where he examines organizational decision-making processes and senior management teams. More recently, he has studied the decision-making dynamics involved in catastrophic group or organizational failures such as the *Columbia* space shuttle accident and the 1996 Mount Everest tragedy. His recent book, *Why Great Leaders Don't Take Yes for an Answer: Managing for Conflict and Consensus*, was published in June 2005 by Wharton School Publishing. In addition to his teaching and research duties, Professor Roberto has developed and taught in leadership development programs at many leading companies over the past few years. He received his doctorate from Harvard Business School in 2000 and earned his MBA with high distinction in 1995.

Karlene H. Roberts is a professor in the Haas School of Business at University of California, Berkeley. She received her Ph.D. in psychology from the University of California, Berkeley. Her research concerns the design and management of organizations that achieve extremely low accident rates because errors could have catastrophic consequences. Her findings have been applied to US Navy and coastguard operations, the US Air Traffic Control System, and the medical industry, and she has contributed to committees and panels of the National Academy of Sciences regarding reliability enhancement in organizations. She has advised the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and testified before the *Columbia* Accident Investigation Board. She is a Fellow in the American Psychological Association, the Academy of Management, and the American Psychological Society.

Zur Shapira is the William Berkley Professor of Entrepreneurship and Professor of Management at the Stern School of Business, New York University. His research interests focus on managerial attention and their effects on risk-taking and organizational decision-making. Among his publications are Risk Taking: A Managerial Perspective (1995), Organizational Decision Making (1997), Technological Learning: Oversights and Foresights (1997), with R. Garud and P. Nayyar, and Organizational Cognition (2000), with Theresa Lant.

Scott A. Snook is currently an Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior at the Harvard Business School. Prior to joining the faculty at Harvard, he served as a commissioned officer in the US Army for over 22 years, earning the rank of colonel before retiring. He has led soldiers in combat. He has an MBA from the Harvard

Business School and a Ph.D. in organizational behavior from Harvard University. Professor Snook's book *Friendly Fire* was selected by the Academy of Management to receive the 2002 Terry Award. His research and consulting activities have been in the areas of leadership, leader development, change management, organizational systems and failure, and culture.

William H. Starbuck is ITT Professor of Creative Management in the Stern School of Business at New York University. He has held faculty positions at Purdue, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and Wisconsin-Milwaukee, as well as visiting positions in England, France, New Zealand, Norway, Oregon, and Sweden. He was also a senior research fellow at the International Institute of Management, Berlin. He has been the editor of Administrative Science Quarterly; he chaired the screening committee for senior Fulbright awards in business management; he was the President of the Academy of Management; and he is a Fellow in the Academy of Management, American Psychological Association, American Psychological Society, British Academy of Management, and Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology. He has published more than 120 articles on accounting, bargaining, business strategy, computer programming, computer simulation, forecasting, decision-making, human-computer interaction, learning, organizational design, organizational growth and development, perception, scientific methods, and social revolutions.

Johnny Stephenson serves as the implementation lead for the One NASA initiative, whose end result is to be a more highly unified and effective NASA organization. In this capacity, he served on NASA's Clarity team, whose recommendations led to the 2004 reorganization; led the effort to engage employees in NASA's transformational activities; was chief architect of *The Implementation of the NASA Agency-Wide Application of the Columbia Accident Investigation Board Report: Our Renewed Commitment to Excellence*, which addresses the implementation of agency-wide issues from the CAIB report; led the study on inter-center competition within NASA that is now being implemented; and leads an effort focused on integrating numerous collaborative tools within the agency. He was selected for NASA's Senior Executive Service Candidate Development Program in May 2002. He has been the recipient of NASA's Exceptional Achievement Medal and the Silver Snoopy Award.

Diane Vaughan is Professor of Sociology at Boston College. She is the author of Controlling Unlawful Organizational Behavior, Uncoupling: Turning Points in Intimate Relationships, and The Challenger Launch Decision. Much of her research has investigated the dark side of organizations: mistake, misconduct, and disaster. She is also interested in the uses of analogy in sociology, now materializing as Theorizing: Analogy, Cases, and Comparative Social Organization. She is currently engaged in ethnographic field work of four air traffic control facilities for Dead Reckoning: Air Traffic Control in the Early 21st Century. Related writings are "Organization Rituals of Risk and Error," in Bridget M. Hutter and Michael K. Power, eds., Organizational Encounters with Risk (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming); and "Signals and Interpretive Work," in Karen A. Cerulo (ed.), Culture in Mind: Toward a Sociology of Culture and Cognition (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Mary J. Waller is an Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior in Tulane University's A.B. Freeman School of Business. She earned her Ph.D. in organizational behavior at the University of Texas at Austin. Prior to obtaining her graduate degree, Professor Waller worked for Amoco Corporation, Delta Air Lines, and Columbine Systems. Her research focuses on team dynamics and panic behaviors under crisis and in time-pressured situations. Her field research includes studies of commercial airline fight crews, nuclear power plant crews, and air traffic controllers, and has been funded by NASA and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. She has received awards for her research from the Academy of Management and the American Psychological Association, and is the recipient of Tulane's Irving H. LaValle Research Award. Her work has appeared in the Academy of Management Journal, Academy of Management Review, Management Science, and other publications.

Karl E. Weick is the Rensis Likert Distinguished University Professor of Organizational Behavior and Psychology at the University of Michigan. He holds a Ph.D. in social and organizational psychology from Ohio State University. He worked previously at the University of Texas, Austin, Seattle University, Cornell University, the University of Minnesota, and Purdue University. He has received numerous awards, including the Society of Learning's scholar of the year and the Academy of Management's award for distinguished scholarly contributions. His research interests include collective sensemaking under pressure, medical errors, handoffs in extreme events, high-reliability performance, improvisation and continuous change. *Inc Magazine* designated his book *The Social Psychology of Organizing* (1969 and 1979) one of the nine best business books. He expanded the formulation of that book into a book titled *Sensemaking in Organizations* (1995). His many articles and seven books also include *Managing the Unexpected* (2001), co-authored with Kathleen Sutcliffe.

David D. Woods is Professor in the Institute for Ergonomics at Ohio State University. He has advanced the foundations and practice of cognitive systems engineering since its origins in the aftermath of the Three Mile Island accident. He has also studied how human performance contributes to success and failure in highly automated cockpits, space mission control centers, and operating rooms, including participation in multiple accident investigations. Multimedia overviews of his research are available at http://csel.eng.ohio-state.edu/woods/ and he is co-author of the monographs Behind Human Error (1994) and A Tale of Two Stories: Contrasting Views of Patient Safety (1998), and Joint Cognitive Systems: Foundations of Cognitive Systems Engineering (2005). Professor Woods' research has won the Ely Award for best paper in the journal Human Factors (1994), a Laurels Award from Aviation Week and Space Technology (1995), and the Jack Kraft Innovators Award from the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society (2002).

Preface

Sean O'Keefe

In each of our lives there are a few events that forever serve as reminders of what was, what is, and what ultimately can be. Those few events and the dates on which they occurred serve as lenses through which we judge the successes of yesterday, gauge the relative importance of decisions facing us today, and ultimately decide the course we set for tomorrow. February 1, 2003 serves as one such date for me; the event was NASA's tragic loss of the space shuttle *Columbia* and her crew.

On that particular day, I expected to welcome home seven courageous individuals who chose as their mission in life to push the boundaries of what is and what can be, explorers of the same ilk and fervor as Lindbergh, Lewis and Clark, Columbus, and the Wright Brothers. But on that particular day I witnessed tragedy. We were reminded that exploration is truly a risky endeavor at best, an endeavor that seven individuals considered worthy of risking the ultimate sacrifice as they pursued the advances in the human condition that always stem from such pursuits.

And there on the shuttle landing strip at the Kennedy Space Center as I stood with the *Columbia* families, I also witnessed extraordinary human courage. Their commitment to the cause of exploration served as inspiration in the agonizing days, weeks, and months that were to come.

For NASA, that date initiated intense soul-searching and in-depth learning. We sought answers for what went wrong. We asked ourselves what we could have done to avoid such a tragedy and we asked what we could do to prevent another such tragedy. We never questioned whether the pursuit of exploration and discovery should continue, as it seems to be an innate desire within the human heart, one that sets humanity apart from other life forms in that we don't simply exist to survive. We did, however, question everything about how we approached the high-risk mission of exploration.

In the final analysis, what we found was somewhat surprising, although in retrospect it should not have been. It was determined that the cause of such tragedy was twofold. The physical cause of the accident was determined to be foam insulation that separated from the external tank and struck the wing's leading edge, creating a fissure in the left, port side of the shuttle orbiter. But we also found the organizational

cause, which proved just as detrimental in the end. The organizational cause was the more difficult for us to grasp because it questioned the very essence of what the NASA family holds so dear: our "can-do" attitude and the pride we take in skills to achieve those things once unimagined. The organizational cause lay in the very culture of NASA, and culture wasn't a scientific topic NASA was accustomed to considering when approaching its mission objectives.

We found that the culture we had created over time allowed us (1) to characterize a certain risk (foam shedding) as normal simply because we hadn't yet encountered such a negative outcome from previous shedding; (2) to grow accustomed to a chain of command that wasn't nearly as clear as we thought was the case; and (3) to more aptly accept the qualified judgments of those in positions of authority rather than seriously considering the engineering judgments of those just outside those positions. In short, we were doing what most of us do at some point in time by trusting what is common and supposedly understood rather than continually probing for deeper understanding. The same thing can happen within any industry or organization over time, and we thus limit what can be by establishing as a boundary what currently is. That happened within NASA. But this tendency is present in most of us.

The more frequently we see events, conditions, and limitations, the more we think of them as normal and simply accept them as a fact of life. Such is human nature. For most Americans, encountering the homeless on any city block in any metropolitan area is unremarkable. Few among us would even recall such an encounter an hour later even if an expansive mood had prompted a modest donation. Sadly, this condition has become a common occurrence in our lives and not particularly notable. And while many of us may have become numb to this condition, it is still a tragedy of great proportions that must be addressed.

But consider the reaction of someone who had never encountered a homeless person forced to live on the streets. Likely, this uninitiated person would come to the aid of the first helpless soul encountered, driven by the desire to do something. Such emotion would be inspired by witnessing the same tragedy most urban dwellers see each and every day. But because it would be the first time, the event would prompt extraordinary action. Indeed, such an encounter would likely force one to wonder how a civilized society could possibly come to accept such a condition for anyone among us. It would be a remarkable event because it had never been witnessed before.

The more we see abnormality, the more dulled our senses become. The frequency of "foam" insulation strikes to the orbiter was sufficiently high to be dismissed as unremarkable and of limited consequence. Why are we surprised when aerospace engineers react just like the rest of us?

But the price for yielding to this human tendency can be horrible tragedy, just as it was on the morning of February 1, 2003. The challenge is to blunt the tendency to react based on frequency of incident and to seek to explain and understand each event. That requires an extraordinary diligence, sensitivity, and awareness uncharacteristic of most humans. It is the rare person who possesses such traits. But the stakes are too high to settle for anything less.

We were offered the rare opportunity to learn from our tragedies just as profoundly as we do from our triumphs. That was certainly true of the *Columbia* tragedy. At NASA, the self-reflection that resulted from that event led us to recalibrate – it revived that natural curiosity within us and served as a lens for gauging the importance of issues facing NASA on a daily basis, such that we continually sought to ask the right questions and to secure the right data before making the important decisions. In the end, NASA will be a stronger organization for having gone through such intense self-examination and public scrutiny.

Those looking at NASA from just outside its gates have the greatest opportunity of all - to learn from the hard lessons of others without experiencing the pain as deeply for themselves. The analyses contained within this book capture the collective work of 35 distinguished individuals representing 12 respected organizations of learning, each serving as an authority in their area of authorship, yet all bound by one common belief, that there is more to be learned from the Columbia tragedy than what is already being applied within NASA. Each chapter analyzes the tragedy from a different perspective, and each chapter's ensuing commentary is worthy of careful consideration by many organizations today. To be sure, not all of the commentary endorses the actions taken within NASA, and some comments surely surface issues that merit further thought. Similarly, there are conclusions and critiques herein that I do not necessarily support or concur with. But there is great value in these divergent perspectives and assessments. Our Columbia colleagues and their families deserve no less than this rigorous debate. The value of this work for other organizations will be important. While using NASA as a case study, this work, and many of the trenchant observations contained herein, will certainly serve to promote and ensure the success of any organization involved in very complex, high-risk endeavors. It is my belief that this study will serve as one of those lenses by which many organizations chart their course for tomorrow.

Contents

	Notes on Contributors	vii
	Preface	xvi
	Sean O'Keefe	
Part	t I Introduction	1
1	Introduction: Organizational Aspects of the Columbia Disaster Moshe Farjoun and William H. Starbuck	.3
	Synopsis: NASA, the CAIB Report, and the Columbia Disaster Moshe Farjoun and William H. Starbuck	11
Part	t II The Context of the Disaster	19
2	History and Policy at the Space Shuttle Program Moshe Farjoun	21
3	System Effects: On Slippery Slopes, Repeating Negative Patterns, and Learning from Mistake? Diane Vaughan	41
4	Organizational Learning and Action in the Midst of Safety Drift: Revisiting the Space Shuttle Program's Recent History Moshe Farjoun	60
5	The Space Between in Space Transportation: A Relational Analysis of the Failure of STS-107 Karlene H. Roberts. Peter M. Madsen, and Vinit M. Desai	81

Part	III Influences on Decision-Making	99
6	The Opacity of Risk: Language and the Culture of Safety in NASA's Space Shuttle Program William Ocasio	101
7	Coping with Temporal Uncertainty: When Rigid, Ambitious Deadlines Don't Make Sense Sally Blount, Mary J. Waller, and Sophie Leroy	122
8	Attention to Production Schedule and Safety as Determinants of Risk-Taking in NASA's Decision to Launch the <i>Columbia</i> Shuttle <i>Angela Buljan and Zur Shapira</i>	140
Part	IV The Imaging Debate	157
9	Making Sense of Blurred Images: Mindful Organizing in Mission STS-107 Karl E. Weick	159
10	The Price of Progress: Structurally Induced Inaction Scott A. Snook and Jeffrey C. Connor	178
11	Data Indeterminacy: One NASA, Two Modes Roger Dunbar and Raghu Garud	202
12	The Recovery Window: Organizational Learning Following Ambiguous Threats Amy C. Edmondson, Michael A. Roberto, Richard M.J. Bohmer, Erika M. Ferlins, and Laura R. Feldman	220
13	Barriers to the Interpretation and Diffusion of Information about Potential Problems in Organizations: Lessons from the Space Shuttle Columbia Frances J. Milliken, Theresa K. Lant, and Ebony N. Bridwell-Mitchell	246
Par	t V Beyond Explanation	267
14	Systems Approaches to Safety: NASA and the Space Shuttle Disasters Nancy Leveson, Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld, John S. Carroll, Betty Barrett, Alexander Brown, Nicolas Dulac, and Karen Marais	269
15	Creating Foresight: Lessons for Enhancing Resilience from Columbia David D. Woods	289
16	Making NASA More Effective William H. Starbuck and Johnny Stephenson	309