

Working Group on Basic Behavioral and Social Science Research Meets at NIH

by Pat Kobor, Senior Science Policy Analyst

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The Office of the Director at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) has organized a special working group to assess the basic research program in the behavioral and social sciences across the NIH. The working group is chaired by sociologist Linda Waite of the University of Chicago. It will report to the Advisory Council of the NIH Director in December of 2004. The working group met for the first time on Wednesday, April 28, with the first half of the meeting open to the public.

Raynard Kington, Deputy Director of the NIH (also former Director of the Office of Behavioral and Social Science Research at NIH), spoke first and reviewed the charge to the group. The working group will address issues related to NIH's support for research in the behavioral and social sciences that is fundamental to the prevention, treatment, and cure of illnesses but is not directed at a specific disease or condition. The group will review the existing portfolio of basic behavioral and social sciences research across the NIH; identify areas of opportunity in those sciences consistent with NIH's mission, that NIH should consider supporting; examine the barriers to the submission and peer review of basic research grant applications; make recommendations for improving the basic behavioral and so-

cial science program of the NIH and report on those recommendations to the Advisory Committee of the NIH Director.

A panel representing the scientific community presented their views: Steven



Breckler (Executive Director for Science – American Psychological Association); Barbara Wanchisen (Executive Director of the Federation); Alan Kraut

(Executive Director - American Psychological Society); Richard Shiffrin (from Indiana University, representing a group of basic researchers involved with the National Academy of Sciences); and Howard Silver (Executive Director - Consortium of Social Science Associations). Some of the speakers highlighted particular areas of basic research that are underrepresented at NIH, such as research on decision-making. Others provided information on why basic behavioral and social science is key to the NIH mission. Breckler, who recently arrived at his APA position from the National Science Foundation, explained that most NIH-funded basic research would not be fundable at NSF, to address an argument made by some at NIH that NSF is the better home for basic research.

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Psychologists Defend Sexual Behavior Research on Capitol Hill

by Karen Studwell, Senior Legislative and Federal Affairs Officer

On May 15-17, nine psychologists who conduct research on issues related to sexuality and sexual behavior attended the 12th Annual Science Advocacy Training Workshop sponsored by the Science Policy Office. Participants went through advocacy boot camp training where they learned about the overall legislative process and about specific issues related to congressional interference with peer-reviewed research. The following day, they met with more than thirty congressional offices to urge their Representatives and Senators to oppose legislative amendments or language that seek to restrict funding for peer-reviewed research.

Participants included: Anne Bowen, University of Wyoming; Geri R. Donenberg, University of Illinois at Chicago; Brian A. Gladue, University of

Cincinnati Medical Center; Erick Janssen, The Kinsey Institute at Indiana University; Tooru Nemoto, University of California San Francisco; Jeanette Norris, University of Washington; Jeffrey Parsons, Hunter College of the City University of New York (CUNY); Simon Rosser, University of Minnesota; and Stephanie Tortu, Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine.

The Workshop was held in response to continuing pressure from Congress urging the National Institutes of Health (NIH) to stop funding this research. Last July, an amendment was offered in the House of Representatives that would have cut off funding from five specific grants, including funding for Nemoto's study on HIV/AIDS prevention in San Francisco and Janssen's project on mood

and risk-taking behavior. This year, Congress is expected to continue questioning NIH about the appropriateness of funding research that Rep. John Shimkus (R-IL) says, "fails the common sense test" and another amendment is rumored to be in the works.

APA and other scientific and public health organizations are continuing to educate Congress about the importance of preserving the integrity of peer review and the need for NIH to conduct research into sexual development, health, and behavior. For more information on this issue or if you would like to get involved, please contact Karen Studwell at kstudwell@apa.org or go to: <http://www.apa.org/ppo/ppan/peerreview1pg03.html>. ■

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Attention to basic research at NIH has been prompted in part by advocacy from APA and the American Psychological Society to encourage the National Institute of General Medical Sciences (NIGMS) to fund basic behavioral research. Although suggestions to this effect have come via congressional correspondence with NIGMS leaders, and via congressional report language, NIGMS has demurred.

Attendees at the April 28 working group meeting were eager to hear the presentations of Jeremy Berg, the new Director of NIGMS, and Thomas Insel, the Director of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), whose vision of reshaping the NIMH research portfolio has prompted concern from basic scientists, and whose institute is most likely the largest source of funds for basic behavioral research. Berg presented an overview of the NIGMS with some discussion of where he believes behavioral science might be useful to his institute's

mission, an issue that will likely be assessed by the Working Group. Insel discussed the current organizational distribution of funds at NIMH and stated that he is interested in supporting basic science relevant to the "disease-based" mission of the NIMH, and hopes for the reorganized NIMH to speed the translation of basic findings to clinical advances.

After the presentations were concluded, there was discussion on the possibility of establishing an NIH institute or branch of an institute devoted to basic behavioral and social science, but there was no consensus on whether that was a good idea. The remainder of the meeting was not open to the public. There will be additional meetings of this group, before its report is presented to the Advisory Committee to the NIH Director in December. The NIH Liaison to this group is Virginia Cain, Acting Director of the Office of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research.

The scientists serving on the working group can be accessed at: http://obssr.od.nih.gov/Activities/BR_Members.html. Psychologist members of the Working Group include Laura Carstensen, Stanford University; Richard J. Davidson, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Susan Fiske, Princeton University; Frances Horowitz, City University of New York; James Jackson, University of Michigan; Robert Levenson, University of California-Berkeley; and William T. Greenough, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign.

APA will continue to monitor this review. Contact Pat Kobor at pkobor@apa.org in the Public Policy Office with comments or for additional information. ■

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S COLUMN

STEVEN BRECKLER, Executive Director for Science

It Takes a Village

A scientific discipline is a lot like raising children. It takes hard work, patience, and a lot of people working together to produce a positive outcome. Most of us spend most of our time nurturing our own science, just as parents spend most of their time nurturing their own children. Yet, success depends on more than selfish efforts. As Hillary Rodham Clinton suggested in the case of raising children, it takes a village to raise a science.

As members of a scientific village, we all have the opportunity and the duty to give a little of ourselves for the benefit of others. We are teachers, mentors, advisors, editors, reviewers, panelists, chairs, administrators, and sometimes even media celebrities or politicians. Why do we do it? On occasion, it is self-aggrandizement. But more often, it is done chiefly in service to the discipline. At APA, we are looking for ways to help nurture and nourish a culture of service to the discipline. And we are counting on you to help.

The APA Board of Scientific Affairs (BSA) has been focusing on this issue over the past year, and the Science Directorate at APA is ready to take action. In many ways, however, it is like swimming upstream. The institutional incentives for promotion and tenure, and the rewards that come with focused research activity, work against a culture of service. In many instances, scientists simply do not know how to get involved or how to be included. Graduate training programs tend to devote little attention to this aspect of professional development, making it harder for the next generation of scientists to step up to the plate.

APA can help. We already reward people for their distinguished scientific contributions to the discipline, and these rewards have recognized value in signal-



ing major career accomplishments. We can do the same for people (or even entire departments) who demonstrate exceptional service in their contributions to the discipline. Journal editors, department chairs, and outstanding mentors deserve to be recognized for the value they add to our shared scientific goals. We should celebrate the accomplishments of those who serve the discipline.

One of the best examples of serving the discipline is through participation as a journal reviewer. For most of us, it borders on the mundane. Yet, this activity is vital for the health of any scientific discipline. But how do we train our students to be reviewers and then include them in the process? For the most part, it is left up to individual graduate training programs and advisors to handle, with no organized discipline-wide infrastructure for helping. APA could play an important role here. With the large number of scientific journals published by APA, and an organizational structure to facilitate communication among journal editors, we can nurture this aspect of professional development and service to the discipline.

One of the key issues identified by the Board of Scientific Affairs centers on the participation of psychological scientists in the governance of APA. A long-standing concern has been that too few of our scientists are active in APA Council, Committees and Boards. Both

the BSA and the Science Directorate at APA are committed to broadening such participation, and welcome suggestions for how this can be accomplished. Acquaint yourself with the governance structure of APA (www.apa.org/governance), and then send your ideas to science@apa.org.

Stepping beyond APA, the science of psychology depends on people to take leadership roles. Our colleges and universities need deans, provosts, and presidents who support and promote psychological science. The federal agencies – which both fund and regulate our science – need to represent psychology at the highest levels. Federal advisory committees, NIH institutes, and NSF directorates will function more effectively with psychologists at the table. It can happen, but it depends on psychologists stepping forward and heeding the call to action.

As we charge into the 21st century, the science of psychology faces many challenges. Federal funding is threatened by hard economic times, sweeping changes in research regulation are on the horizon, and competition for the attention of our students is increasingly intense. We will survive and prosper as a scientific discipline if each one of us contributes just a little of ourselves for the benefit of the entire village. ■

Science Directorate 2004 APA Convention Programs

The Board of Scientific Affairs (BSA) will sponsor a number of exciting programs at the APA Convention in Honolulu, Hawaii, July 28 – August 1, 2004. For more information, visit: <http://www.apa.org/science/convention04.html>.

Committee on Scientific Awards Names 2004 Recipients

by Suzanne Wandersman, Director for Governance Affairs

The Committee on Scientific Awards selected the following individuals to receive the 2004 APA scientific awards in recognition of their outstanding theoretical or empirical contributions to basic or applied research in psychology. The Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award was granted to the following individuals:

Sheldon Cohen, Carnegie Mellon University, was recognized for his groundbreaking scientific contributions toward understanding the effects of stress and social support systems on human health and behavior.

E. Mavis Hetherington, University of Virginia (emeritus), was recognized for her outstanding contributions to understanding the family context of children's and adolescents' development and adaptation.

4 **Richard M. Shiffrin**, Indiana University, was recognized for his development of formal models of memory and forgetting; for his empirical investigations into the nature of memory and attention; for his unified accounts of attention and memory search, of recall and recognition, and of the adaptive processes that underlie explicit memory and implicit learning.

The Distinguished Scientific Award for Applications of Psychology was given to:

Edward Taub, University of Alabama at Birmingham, for his research contributions in the areas of behavioral neuroscience and behavioral medicine.

The recipients of the Distinguished Scientific Award for Early Career Contribution to Psychology were:

Edith Chen and **Gregory E. Miller**, University of British Columbia, were honored with a shared award in the area of health psychology. Chen was recognized for her research on mechanisms linking socioeconomic status, stressful events, and children's health. Miller was honored for his research on the influence of social and psychological factors on immune response and immune related disease.

Elena L. Grigorenko, Yale University and **Thomas G. O'Connor**, University of Rochester Medical Center, were honored with a shared award in the area of developmental psychology. Grigorenko was recognized for her creative work investigating cognitive abilities and disabilities in children of different ages and in different cultures of the world. O'Connor was honored for his research that targets fundamental questions about development and psychopathology.

Jenny R. Saffran, University of Wisconsin at Madison, was honored with an award in the area of cognition/human learning, for her insightful blend of cognitive and developmental psychology. Her research demonstrates the importance of environmental input for early language learning.

Eric Stice, University of Texas at Austin, was honored with an award in the area of psychopathology, for his contributions to our understanding of adolescent psychopathology, including eating disorders, obesity, depression, and substance abuse.

Klaus Zuberbuhler, University of St. Andrews (Scotland), was honored with an award in the area of animal learning and behavior, comparative, for his research on the vocal communication of monkeys in the West African tropical rainforest, using playback experiments that are both creative and carefully controlled.

The 2004 winners will be honored at the APA Annual Convention in Honolulu, Hawaii, July 28-August 1, 2004. ■

Course on Human Research Protections in Psychology and the Behavioral Sciences

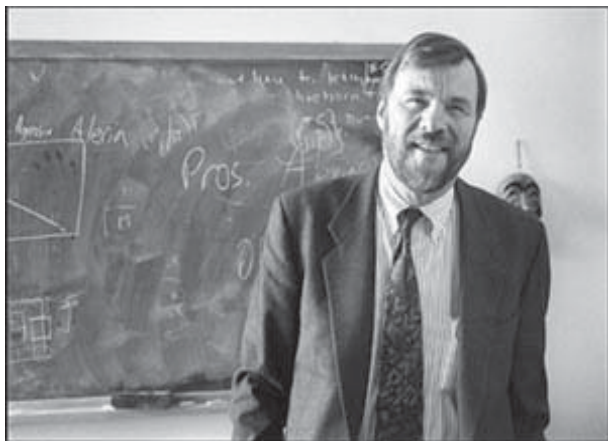
This day-long course addresses human research protection issues in the design, implementation, and review of research in the psychology and the behavioral sciences. The course provides investigators with a richer understanding of key ethical concepts and the tools for assessing best ethical practices in the context of psychological research. It also offers guidance on the preparation of protocols and effective communication with Institutional Review Boards (IRBs).

For further information, please visit: http://www.apa.org/science/hrp_course.html.

SCIENCE BRIEFS

What Makes for a Great Team?

by J. Richard Hackman



J. Richard Hackman is Cahners-Rabb Professor of Social and Organizational Psychology at Harvard University. He received his doctorate in social psychology from the University of Illinois, and then taught at Yale for twenty years. In 1986, he moved to his present position at Harvard. Hackman conducts research on a variety of topics in social and organizational psychology, including team dynamics and performance and the leadership of self-managing groups and organizations.

He is the author of numerous articles and seven books, the most recent being "Leading Teams: Setting the Stage for Great Performances." Hackman received the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association's division on industrial and organizational psychology, and both the Distinguished Educator Award and the Distinguished Scholar Award of the Academy of Management.

Let us begin with a thought experiment. Think for a moment about one of the finest teams you have ever seen—one that performed superbly, that operated increasingly well over time, and whose members came away from the group experience wiser and more skilled than they were before. Next, think about a different group, one that failed to achieve its purposes, that deteriorated in performance capability over time, and whose members found the group experience far more frustrating than fulfilling. In your view, what is most responsible for the difference between these two teams?

If you are like most people I've asked to perform this exercise, the first explanation that came to mind had something to do with the leadership of the two teams. Indeed, "great leader" is almost always a central feature of the image we conjure up when we think about a great team. And poor leadership is one of the first explanations that comes to mind when we contemplate a team that has gone bad. It is, for example, the coach who is celebrated when his or her team turns in winning performances game after game,

season after season. And the standard remedy for an athletic team that experiences a string of losses is to fire the coach.

Our tendency to assign to the leader credit or blame for successes or failures that actually are team outcomes is so strong and pervasive that I'm tempted to add to the conceptual clutter of our field by calling it the "leader attribution error." And it is not just outside observers or bosses who over-attribute to leaders. Team members themselves, the people who actually generate the collective product, also are vulnerable (Corn, 2002; Pichanick & Roher, 2002). Indeed, research has shown that the leader attribution error is muted only when there is significant ambiguity about whether a team's performance was a success or a failure (Meindl, 1990).

The leader attribution error is understandable because people generally assign causal priority more to things they can see (and leader behavior usually is quite salient) than to things that operate in the background (and structural and contextual features that shape team per-

formance often go unnoticed). Even so, the error would be little more than a modestly interesting research tidbit except for what it has spawned: a veritable industry of training programs intended to help leaders learn and execute the behaviors and leadership styles that those who design the programs think facilitate team performance. Everything I know about leadership courses suggests that, when well executed, attendees absolutely love them. The problem is that research evidence that would document the benefits for team performance claimed by the offerers of such courses is hard to find. It may be hard to find because it does not exist.

Thinking Differently About Team Leadership

The pervasive focus on the team leader in explaining team performance is consistent with the widely-shared view that performance outcomes are directly shaped by group interaction processes which, in turn, are strongly influenced by the behavior and style of the team leader. This is a conventional input-process-output model, in which causality

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flows linearly from left to right, step by step. Yet, surprisingly, research on task-performing teams has failed to support the standard model (for a review, see Hackman, 1987). Indeed, there is evidence that, at least in some circumstances, causality flows in the opposite direction. In this unconventional alternative, how well a team is performing is viewed as one of the major influences on group interaction processes. Teams that are failing report more than their share of conflicts and other process problems, whereas those that are performing well view the going as significantly smoother (Staw, 1975). Moreover, the style of team leaders turns out to be powerfully shaped by the behaviors of those who are led: If members are behaving cooperatively and competently, leaders tend to operate more participatively and democratically, but if members are uncooperative or seemingly incompetent, leaders tilt toward a more unilateral, directive style (Farris & Lim, 1969; Lowin & Craig, 1968; Sims & Manz, 1984).

At the very least, causality runs in both directions--from leader to group, as in the conventional model, but also from group to leader, as in the unconventional alternative. Regardless of the direction of causal flow, however, both the conventional and the unconventional models posit linear, cause-effect relationships. Our research suggests that a robust and useful understanding of team leadership may require more than merely changing the direction of the causal arrows. Specifically, it may be necessary to focus less on the causes of group behavior and performance and more on the structural and contextual conditions within which groups form and develop over time.

Conditions Rather Than Causes

To think about the conditions within which groups chart their own courses is very different from conventional scholarly models. The basic idea is that certain conditions get established, whether deliberately or by happenstance, and

groups unfold in their own idiosyncratic ways within those conditions. As I have argued elsewhere, the difference between creating favorable conditions and actively managing causal factors in real time is evident in the two different strategies that can be used by a pilot in landing an aircraft (Hackman, 2002). One strategy is to actively fly the airplane down, continuously adjusting heading, sink rate, and airspeed with the objective of arriving at the runway threshold just above stall speed, ready to flare the aircraft and touch down smoothly. The alternative strategy is to get the aircraft stabilized on approach while still far from the field, making small corrections as needed to heading, power, or aircraft configuration to keep the plane "in the groove." It is well known among pilots that the latter alternative is safer.

To be stabilized on approach is to have the basic conditions established such that the natural course of events leads to the desired outcome--in this case, a good landing. The same considerations apply to the design and leadership of social systems, including work teams. Rather than trying to pinpoint and directly manipulate specific "causes" of performance outcomes (the parallel of trying to fly the airplane down), scholars and practitioners would seek to identify the small number of conditions that increase the likelihood that a team will naturally evolve into an ever more competent performing unit.

What Conditions?

Our research has identified five conditions that, when present, increase the probability of team effectiveness. These conditions, which are described and discussed in detail in my recent book on team leadership (Hackman, 2002), can be briefly summarized as a series of five questions. The answers to these questions provide a quick assessment of the degree to which the conditions are present for a given team.

One, is the group a real team, with clear boundaries, interdependence among members, and at least moderate stability of membership over time? Two, does the team have a compelling direction, a

purpose that is clear, challenging, and consequential--and that focusses on the ends to be achieved rather than the means the team must use in pursuing them? Three, does the team's structure--its task, composition, and core norms of conduct--enable rather than impede teamwork? Four, does the team's social system context provide the resources and support that members need to carry out their collective work? And five, is competent coaching available to help members get over rough spots and take advantage of emerging opportunities, and is such coaching provided at times in the team life cycle when members are most ready to receive and use it? A diagnostic instrument, the Team Diagnostic Survey, provides quantitative measures of a team's standing on these five conditions (Wageman, Hackman, & Lehman, 2004), and is available online at <http://www.wjh.harvard.edu/~tds>.

Research confirms that the presence of the five conditions--real team, compelling direction, enabling structure, supportive context, and competent coaching--enhances team performance effectiveness. In a study of 64 analytic teams in the U. S. intelligence community, for example, Hackman and O'Connor (2004) found that 74 percent of the variance on a reliable performance criterion was controlled by these conditions.

Research also has shown that the order of the conditions is important. In a study of self-managing field service teams, Wageman (2001) obtained independent assessments of each team's design, the coaching behaviors of its leader, the team's level of self management, and its objectively measured performance. Team design was four times as powerful as leader coaching in affecting a team's level of self-management, and almost 40 times as powerful in affecting team performance. Moreover, Wageman found that "good" coaching (such as helping a team develop a task-appropriate performance strategy) significantly helped well-designed teams exploit their favorable circumstances but made almost no difference for poorly designed teams. "Bad" coaching (such as identifying a team's problems and telling members ex-

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actly what they should do to fix them), by contrast, significantly compromised poorly designed teams' ability to manage themselves, worsening an already difficult situation--but did not much affect teams that were well designed. These findings confirm that even highly competent coaching cannot reverse the impact of a flawed team design (Hackman & Wageman, in press).

Leading Teams Well

The main work of team leaders is first to ensure that the team's basic performance conditions are sound and then to help team members take the greatest possible advantage of their favorable circumstances. There is no one best strategy or style for accomplishing this. Instead, team leadership involves inventing and competently executing whatever actions are most likely to create and sustain the five conditions identified above. Anyone who helps do that, including team members who hold no formal leadership role, is exercising leadership. What is important is that the key leadership functions get fulfilled, not who fulfills them and certainly not how they go about doing it (Hackman & Walton, 1986; McGrath, 1962).

Even so, our research does point to four personal qualities that appear to distinguish excellent team leaders from those for whom leadership is a struggle. First, effective leaders know some things--they are aware of the conditions that most powerfully shape team effectiveness. Second, effective leaders know how to do some things--they have skill in extracting from performance situations those themes that are most consequential for performance and in acting to narrow the gap between a team's present reality and what could and should be. Third, effective team leaders have emotional maturity sufficient for the demands of their role. Leading a team can be an emotionally challenging undertaking, especially in managing both one's own and others' anxieties. Emotionally mature leaders move toward anxiety-arousing states of affairs in the interest of learning about them, rather than move away to get anxieties

reduced as quickly as possible. Finally, team leaders need a measure of personal courage. Leadership involves moving a system from where it is now to some other, better place. That means that the leader must operate at the margins of what members presently like and want rather than at the center of the collective consensus. This requires challenging existing group norms and disrupting established routines, which can elicit anger and resistance. Leaders who behave courageously can make significant differences in how their teams operate--but they may wind up paying a substantial personal toll in the bargain.

The four qualities just discussed are differentially amenable to training--and in the order listed. It is relatively straightforward to help team leaders expand what they know about the conditions that foster team effectiveness. It is more pedagogically challenging but entirely feasible to help them hone their skills in diagnosis and execution. To foster team leaders' emotional maturity is harder still, and perhaps is better viewed as a developmental task for one's life than as something that can be taught. Courage may be the most trait-like of the four attributes. Although there indisputably are individual differences in courage, it is beyond me to imagine how one might help leaders become more willing than they already are to take courageous actions with their teams, peers, and bosses to increase the chances that their teams will excel.

These four personal attributes may seem strange to those who are accustomed to thinking of leadership qualities mainly in terms of personality or behavioral style, and I offer my views in speculative spirit. But it is nonetheless true that the superb team leaders I have observed over the years have most, if not all, of these very qualities. It may be worthwhile to give new thought to old questions about how team leaders might be selected and trained on attributes such as these.

Conclusion

The challenge of our research findings for psychologists is to take more seriously than we have heretofore the implications of thinking about team dynamics

in terms of conditions rather than causes. Moreover, we need to find ways of studying those dynamics that do not caricature them in order to make them amenable to study using conventional cause-effect conceptual models and research methodologies. The challenge for practitioners is to make sure that team leaders are carefully selected and competently trained, to be sure. But even fine leaders can make little constructive difference if they have little latitude to act--for example, if all team performance processes are dictated by technology or pre-specified operating procedures. It is the difference between a jazz musician and a section player in a symphony orchestra: The former has lots of room to improvise, whereas the latter must follow exactly a detailed score, and do so under the direct and constant supervision of a conductor. Team leaders should be more like jazz musicians.

Both scholars and practitioners compromise their own espoused objectives when they hold constant conditions that may be among the most substantial influences on their phenomena of interest. Yet we regularly do this: researchers do it to achieve experimental control, and practitioners do it to preserve established organizational structures, systems, and authority hierarchies. Until both scholars and practitioners break out of traditional ways of construing and leading social systems, we will remain vulnerable to the leader attribution error--and we will continue to mistakenly assume that the best leaders are those who stand on whatever podium they can command and, through their personal efforts in real time, extract greatness from their teams.

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Four New Members Appointed to the Decade of Behavior National Advisory Committee

The Decade of Behavior staff recently solicited nominations for the 2004 National Advisory Committee (NAC). The committee is comprised of 14 distinguished scientists who formulate ideas for Decade of Behavior programs and activities. Appropriate candidates are nominated by affiliated organizations that represent a variety of disciplines. Of the nominees, four have been invited to join the NAC:

Barbara Miller: Miller is Professor of Anthropology & International Affairs and Director of Culture in Global Affairs Research & Policy Program at George Washington University. Nominated by the American Anthropological Association.

Marshall Scott Poole: Poole is Professor of Information and Operations Management and Professor of Speech Communication at Texas A&M University. Nominated by the National Communication Association.

Merle Paule: Paule is the Head of the Behavioral Toxicology Laboratories at the Food and Drug Administration's National Center for Toxicological Research in Jefferson, Arkansas. Nominated by the Neurobehavioral Teratology Society.

Reginald Golledge: Golledge is Professor of Geography at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Nominated by the Association of American Geographers.

We are honored to welcome these four scientists as members of our National Advisory Committee and send sincere thanks the organizations that nominated them. Unfortunately, the addition of new members forces us to bid farewell to members who have diligently served on the committee during their tenure. We would like to express our gratitude to the following members who will be rotating off the NAC:

Robert Bjork: Professor of Psychology, University of California-Los Angeles and Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Aletha Huston: Priscilla Pond Flawn Regents Professor of Child Development, University of Texas-Austin.

Stephen Manuck: Professor of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh.

Dean Falk: Professor and Chair of Anthropology, Florida State University.

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