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EMAIL AND ENRON: USING CMM TO MAKE BETTER SOCIAL WORLDS IN ORGANIZATIONS

Nicholas Noblet

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**EMAIL AND ENRON: USING CMM TO MAKE
BETTER SOCIAL WORLDS IN ORGANIZATIONS**

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

Email as a communication phenomenon has been in existence since the 1970s, and yet researchers are still discovering new information regarding the usage and implications of usage for this medium (Atherton, Sawmynaden, Sheikh, Majeed, & Car, 2012; Zhu and White, 2009). This dissertation seeks to better understand organizational communication through the examination of email. Enron, a very large organization that peaked in the 1990s, utilized email for a variety of different purposes. Enron's email was placed online by the federal government, and includes communication from top executives. These messages represent the largest publicly accessible database of corporate email, and will be examined to make arguments about social worlds that Enron created.

There are three main outcomes that guide the study. First, this work creates an exemplar study that utilizes a general CMM framework in the DICA form for analysis, in the hopes that others will utilize CMM as a research method. Second, this study provides organizations a template for the study of email. Thirdly, this dissertation provides a process-based understanding of digital social world creation. To achieve these outcomes,

this research uses The Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM) as a theory and a method; the DICA method is a formalization of CMM, which is augmented by levels of analysis with specific tools. A reflexive researcher orientation is employed through the duration of study, and organizational culture is understood as shared meaning co-constructed by conversational participants over time. The DICA method uses description, interpretation, critique, and analysis to coordinate the research efforts. This study helps explain how Enron as an organization created its social worlds, and turns a critical eye towards making better social worlds through the communication process in email.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Our lives are impacted by new and changing media. We use cellular telephones, we check electronic mail, we engage in conversation with people thousands of miles away; we create social worlds using new media. Understanding new media and its ability to influence the creation of our shared social worlds is paramount. Social worlds are the webs of meaning we co-create with others throughout our lives, and new media is having an impact on those social worlds. Email, although around since the early 1970s, is still warranting attention and study (Atherton, Sawmynaden, Sheikh, Majeed, & Car, 2012; Zhu & White, 2009). According to Herring (2004), our fascination with computer-mediated communication systems usually contains two assumptions: that these systems are in fact new; and that technology shapes the way people communicate and behave, an assumption known as technological determinism. Interestingly, Herring notes that users are collectively beginning to become aware of the activity traces left on the Internet, including email. Email can be considered the digital trace of social worlds present and past, with the potential to impact future social worlds. The social worlds evidenced by Enron are the subject of the present study.

Enron History

The timeline of events concerning Enron's demise is of particular importance, as these events will be laid on top of the Enron executives' digital conversations to illustrate material consequences of their communication. Enron was a large U.S.-based energy company headquartered in Houston, Texas, with operations in multiple countries. According to PBS (2007), Enron Corporation was an American energy company that

employed over 20,000 people and was the world's leader in natural gas, paper and pulp, and communications. With claimed revenues of 111 billion dollars in 2000, Enron was regarded as an innovative company. Enron was founded in the 1980s when two natural gas companies merged. In 1987, Enron leadership discovered that executives based in New York were reporting false accounting figures and speculating with company money beyond established limits; after a trade that almost bankrupted the company, the executives were fired and convicted of felonies. Jeff Skilling joined Enron in 1990, and was promoted to chief operating officer in 1996. In 1999, Enron member Tim Belden conducted experiments to increase energy profits in California, which included unethically creating congestion on power lines to drive profit. At the same time the chief financial officer, Andy Fastow, became exempt from Enron's code of ethics as determined by the board of directors, and formed a private equity fund to help Enron make its investors think it was performing better than stated. In late 2000, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission ordered an investigation into California's electricity prices, but exonerated the company from any wrongdoing. At the end of the year, Jeff Skilling was promoted to chief executive officer, while Ken Lay remained as chairman of the board. During this time the company declared 53 million dollars in profit on a collapsing deal that did not earn any money at all. In March of 2001, Enron hid losses, and by August of that year, Ken Lay assumed the role of chief executive officer after Skilling tearfully resigned. In October, Enron's accounting firm, Arthur Andersen, shredded one ton of the company's documents; by December the company filed for bankruptcy protection. In August of 2002, that same accounting firm lost 85,000 jobs and nine billion dollars in annual earnings. After that, various court cases were opened and

concluded, and the company had gone from one of the top American corporations with worldwide operations to non-existent. This is notable as it was the largest corporate bankruptcy in U.S. history until that point (Benston, 2003).

Email

Email deserves some historical context. According to Fleishman (2012), the first emails were sent around 1965, as a way to copy files across multiple users. The first networked email was sent by Ray Tomlinson in 1971 using the “@” symbol to denote domain, and in 1977 modern email emerged using the ARPANET, which was the United States’ Department of Defense invented network. In 1981, a convention was established for the transmission of letters and numbers; by 1985, email was commonplace among large organizations such as universities and government agencies. In 1996, one of the first web-based email services was launched, and was then bought by Microsoft the next year for 400 million dollars. In 2004, the United States Government began regulating junk email, and by 2012, 90 million Americans accessed email through a mobile device, with 64% doing so on a near-daily basis. Email has grown exponentially since its inception and has communication implications for our lives.

Data

The U.S. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission has released the entirety of Enron’s corporate email accounts for research and analysis, with the particular data set under review containing the emails of about 150 unique users. This data set, curated and provided by Carnegie Mellon University (Cohen, 2009), contains over 500,000 unique emails, each with time, date, and personal identifiers included. This data set received little attention to date; since 2004, only eight studies are listed on the Carnegie Mellon

data repository website as using the set. This data set presents an opportunity for an extended look at the social worlds present, and an opportunity to consider how better social worlds can be made moving forward. As our interpersonal lives trend towards digital embrace, the understanding of social world creation in a digital realm is critically important (Pearce, 2007).

CMM

To analyze this data set, I am using the Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM) methodology formalized in the *CMM Research Manual* by Noblet, Barnett, and Littlejohn (2013). This methodology allows for description, interpretation, critique, and suggested action – also known as the DICA method. The DICA method is a formalization of the general CMM concepts, and proposes a step-wise research methodology. In the 1980s, Barnett Pearce and his colleagues proposed CMM as a theory. The most recent codified version can be found in *Making Social Worlds* (2007), from which its research application was expanded. Based on a social constructionist philosophy, CMM identifies continually generated social worlds in which we act and react, using practices and resources that continually inform one another. Pearce does not succinctly define social worlds; rather, he states that social worlds are whole webs of meaning that are made and remade in communication (2007, p. 40). Correspondingly, a reflexive orientation is employed throughout the present study, recognizing the relationship between researcher and researched information as continually making and remaking each other. The study's orientation to organizational culture is an interpretive perspective informed by CMM; in that vein, I posit that culture is understood as shared meaning about group- or organization-related beliefs, attitudes, and values as co-constructed by conversational

participants over time. The relationship between culture and communication is constitutive; communication creates culture and is a primary social force through which meaning, and subsequently culture, emerges. Communication is not something to be looked through to examine culture; rather communication creates the culture under study. By taking this perspective I am able to analyze a textual data set and examine interactions over a period of time, looking for the meaning created among participants and the implications arising from that creation of meaning.

Purpose and Justification

This study fills several voids. In addition to responding to Pearce's (2007) desire for better social worlds, this study is located within the organizational communication discipline. The research examines organizational social worlds, or organizational culture, as created continually via digital exchanges. There are myriad studies looking at organizational communication and culture from a pragmatic perspective, with goals of creating better cultures and thus better organizations and better profits (Barney, 1986; Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982). The present study can be thought of as similar to prior studies, although it does not define "better" in terms of money or frequency of communication; rather, "better" is shifted from the researcher focus to a focus on process to create social worlds for organizational members and their publics. In addition, there have been calls for continued study of organizational technology from a communication perspective (Dekay, 2012; Forman & Markus, 2005); this study responds to those calls. From a CMM perspective, this study moves beyond simple description and critique; it is based in a pragmatic focus on future creation of social worlds. Further, it promotes the research methodology of CMM, and demonstrates the practicality of a research

perspective that fully embraces this philosophy. It is about both socially constructed meanings and physical, material consequences, and seeks to clarify the process of CMM on daily digital exchanges. This work with the Enron email data set also moves Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) towards qualitative predication and assessment, as too often the quantitative perspective is utilized in similar studies, which tend to reduce human interaction to numbers and statistics. According to Dickey, Chudoba, Thatcher, and Wasko (2006), text is the lifeblood of virtual organizations, and analysis of that text should be able to provide meaningful insights into organizational life.

As a researcher, I feel it important to provide my own history and position within this research. I am an active conversational participant with the data and my conversations have an effect on the outcomes I report; my reflexive understanding changes as I progress through the data. My history with email and computer-mediated communication is extensive, as I became interested in computers and communication during grade school. I graduated from Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis with a B.S. in Informatics, and an M.A. in Applied Communication. I have worked in the information technology field for multiple years. This history fueled my interest in email and it provides the motivation to conduct and apply a communication perspective to the present study.

I see CMM as an extension of my assumptions and positions. I completely agree with the statement on the book jacket of *Making Social Worlds*, as “[h]ow one acts during ‘critical moments’ can change the world. The tools and concepts of CMM – Coordinated Management of Meaning – show us how to discern and act wisely during the moments that shape our future” (Pearce, 2007). I also believe in reflexivity. This position could be

viewed as "...a social constructionism that holds knowledge as simultaneously enabled and constrained within social achievement" (Anderson & Baym, 2004, p. 590).

Epistemologically, I embrace social constructionism that posits knowledge as simultaneously enabled and constrained within social activity. For example, Enron and what it means to be an Enron employee are both created by the employees' email exchanges and constrained by their creation. My reflexive view has ontological assumptions as well. Meaning is reflexive in our human system, and "...the objects of inquiry make their appearance within localized patterns of human practice, language, and discourse" (Anderson & Baym, 2004, p. 590). I therefore assume a value-intended, subjective stance. I seek to inspire others through my work, and acknowledge the possibility of bias and personal relationship through value-intention, as my work is not neutral. This flows from a social construction approach, as the meaning created is not without its creators, and cannot be separated from them. Ultimately, my perspective "...speaks of knowledge as not only statements of what is but also of what ought to be" (Anderson & Baym, 2004, p. 591). Lastly, my research is decidedly qualitative. My qualitative claims are fixed in observations, using a grounded-theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to make arguments.

Outcomes and Research Questions

Social worlds, generated by email, are the focus of the present study. In particular, certain destructive social worlds were created during the tenure of the Enron Corp. in the late 1990s and early 2000s. These social worlds are evidenced through Enron's email exchanges, which were made public by the U.S. Government. Through this study, I will illuminate those social worlds created, I will demonstrate the social world creation

process, and I will recommend different choices in digital media exchanges to produce more favorable social worlds for conversational participants and publics.

The outcomes of the present research will create (1) an exemplar study that utilizes a general CMM framework for analysis; (2) a template for organizational email analysis; and (3) a process-based understanding of digital social world creation. First, this study will serve as an example of using CMM to conduct communication research; it will apply the CMM perspective to a data set with interpretation, analysis, and distinct products. Second, this study will produce a template for organizational use, similar to consultant manuals that utilize CMM (Pearce, 1999). Organizations have access to mountains of email data, and this survey can make that data meaningful to organizations trying to create better social worlds. Third, this study will illuminate the process of social world creation in a digital context; from this understanding, better social worlds can be constructed by focusing on process and not outcome.

The present study uses a single, high-level research question, with sub-questions matched to the research method, explained later. To get at the three outcomes described above, the following research question and its sub-questions are proposed:

RQ1: How do executive email conversations contribute to and reflect organizational cultures?

RQ1A: What patterns are apparent in Enron executive email conversations?

RQ1B: How do these patterns contribute to and reflect Enron executive cultures?

RQ1C: What are the most important bifurcation points in these conversations?

RQ1D: How did the choices made at these points contribute to and reflect Enron executive cultures?

RQ1E: How could different choices have contributed to more positive cultures?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature pertinent to this study can be divided into four key areas: computer-mediated communication, organizational communication, organizational culture, and the Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM). To understand email as a communication phenomenon, it is important to know the history and context of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC); likewise, the specific phenomenon under study occurred in an organizational setting, and the relevant research in organizational communication literature leads to deeper appreciation for past efforts. As a broad movement in communication study, social constructionism shaped many theories and subsequent studies; CMM, as the methodology used in this study, has a place in social constructionism and other traditions. Taken together, these areas will lay the groundwork for the study and exploration of organizational email.

Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC)

Definition and History

It is important to begin with computer-mediated communication (CMC), and to define exactly what that term means. To define Computer-Mediated Communication is a four-part exercise; to define the computer, the mediated, and the communication, and then the entire concept. First, the computer aspect of CMC signifies a machine-element; it is a processor that is capable of transmitting information from one place to another. This can be thought of as a laptop computer, tablet, or a smart phone; regardless of technology type, the machine-element must be present in CMC in some fashion, as noted throughout the body of CMC literature. Secondly, the mediated aspect focuses on the

separation between communicators; it suggests an intervening step or process that changes communication in some way. A person can send a text message to a friend who is 1300 miles away, or standing mere inches away; the mediated aspect is significant in both cases. Lastly, the communication process denotes a creation of meaning. While there is some dispute about the definition of “communication,” scholars agree that there must be some aspect of meaning-making occurring, and according to the axioms of communication you cannot NOT communicate (Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 1967). Taken together, these three ideas create CMC; a machine-based, mediated process in which participants construct meaning. Within the literature, the history of evolving thought on CMC directly applies to the present research. This research seeks to join a long conversation about CMC, including present discussions of theory and application. CMC scholars debate several topics, but notably the debates on cues-filtered-in/out approaches and technological determinism still go on today.

First, cues-filtered-in/out is a terminology provided by Joseph Walther, arguably one of the most influential scholars in CMC. According to Walther, cues-filtered-out approaches favor the idea that computer-mediated phenomena suffer from a lack of cues available to participants; these approaches are exemplified by the Media Richness Theory (Daft & Lengel, 1984), the Social Presence Theory (Short, Williams, & Christie, 1976), and the Lack of Social Context Cues Hypothesis (Walther & Parks, 2002). While each varies, they share the assumption that as people go from face-to-face communication (FtF) to pure text or audio-only communication, such as internet chatting, they suffer an increase in miscommunication or increasingly rely on more impersonal communication. Interestingly, Walther and Parks (2002) later found this to be false when tested with

Media Richness Theory and media selection. Media Richness Theory states that participants select media based on the available bandwidth, or the amount of information per time unit that a given person, computer, or medium can process (Kollock & Smith, 1994). However, in an experimental setting, participants selected media based on the perceived utility of the medium; what's more, this perception was socially constructed. These findings were published by Walther to advocate for his cues-filtered in approach; notably his theory of Social Information Processing (SIP). The cues-filtered-in perspective also includes Social Penetration Theory (Altman & Taylor, 1973), which states that participants' relational knowledge of each other affects their mediated communication. Social Information Processing Theory advocates for a temporal aspect of CMC; that is, the longer participants have to relate via CMC, the more fruitful their relationship will be, potentially more so than with FtF communication. Regardless of Walther's findings, cues-filtered-out approaches are still used in CMC scholarship, including Wiesenfeld, Raghuran, and Garud's (1999) study concerning virtual organizational identification. Wiesenfeld et al.'s findings that argue for more organizational identification are especially relevant today considering recent issues of government contractors and access to information, such as Edward Snowden and the release of classified materials (BBC, 2013).

Second, the scholarly debate regarding technological determinism, or the belief that technology shapes the social context it is exhibited within, is still occurring. That new technology fundamentally changes social processes is a common understanding; for example, Facebook changes the concept of "friends," and Twitter changes how quickly communication can occur. There are hundreds of current examples, but to articulate each

side of the technological determinism debate will help describe the current state of CMC literature, and four research studies serve this purpose well. Renaud, Ramsay, and Hair (2006) studied email users with monitoring software and a survey, noting that email costs are disproportionately heaped on the recipient. They found that the majority of study participants could not adequately account for how much of their days email consumed, and email was seen as an expectation of work in general rather than a job-specific requirement. People preferred sending email, furthering the authors' assertion of disproportional costs. Park, Chung, and Lee (2012) examined Facebook wall posts, texting, and email using Media Richness Theory, Uses and Gratifications Theory, and Perceived Network Effects Theory. They found that technological attributes, motivations, and perceived social effects contributed to usage, noting that interpersonal network influences (if everyone does something, I must as well) were present in all three theories and examined results. Self (2011) looked to the future of the workplace, highlighting a focus on emerging technology as changing the way we work as a collective society: "[t]he concept of work decreasingly refers to rituals performed through predictable timetables in well-defined physical locations (a "shift", "Sunday", a "factory", the "office") and is increasingly understood to mean a particular type of (often highly technologically mediated) active behavior" (p. 1). Most interesting is Self's supposition that "...different demographics employ and deploy certain technologies", while accepting a level of uncertainty about the adaptive abilities of different age demographics (p. 1). Lastly, Rushkoff's (2013) book, *Present / Shock*, also looked at technology influencing culture, explaining such concepts as digiphrenia, filter-failure, overwinding, and fractalnoia. Each of these concepts, according to Rushkoff, affects human users in a

linear, one-way method. Taken together, these concepts are distilled into the technological determinism argument that technology directly shapes social context.

However, other perspectives dissent from such an argument. Herring (2004) noted that technological determinism was losing favor in 2004, and several current authors agree. Baym (2010) argued for a reverse determinism; that technology was socially constructed and presented in society that way. Gere (2002) explained this perspective quite well in his book *Digital Culture*; he stated that our technology emerged from several cultural trends, including the avant-garde art movement. Gere stated that punk music contributed to the present digital culture, with sub and counter cultures contributing also. Examples of the contributions to digital culture in media publications include *2600: The Hacker Quarterly* (sub culture) and *AdBusters* (counter-culture). Gere also argued that warfare contributed to digital culture, directly with the development of DARPA, the precursor to the internet (Rheingold, 1993). Capitalism also helped to create the digital culture, most notably with Enron and other information-based companies using digital technology to gain competitive edge (Gere, 2002). Thurlow, Tomic, and Lengel (2004) examined CMC effects in three ways, adding to the reverse determinism argument: what technology can do, what it does, and what people actually use it for. These authors suggest alternative approaches to technological determinism, and demonstrate the lack of a clear, definitive relationship between technology and society.

Perhaps Robey and Boudreau (1999) had it correct when they opposed a dialectic tension in CMC research. They argued technology neither exclusively impeded nor promoted change, but rather did both, and this dialectic could be useful in future studies. Regardless, each side of the dialectic can make an argument; this research does not

actively align with a particular side of the dialectic but embraces the binary as important context to this study.

Email

Many studies concerning email have been conducted since that technology's inception in 1972 (Herring, 2004). Scholars have studied everything from composition to intent, including the intent to deceive (Chiluwa, 2009). Renaud, Ramsay, and Hair (2006) looked at the costs of email as disproportionately heaped on the recipient, noting a preference for sending email and a lack of awareness about its costs. Email, they contend, functions as much more than simple transmission; it provides a calendar, a to-do list, an archive, a personal assistant, and other functions. Recent developments support their assertion of multiple functions, as email clients like Gmail and Windows Livemail integrate more and more features and redesign smartphone applications.

Park et al. (2012) looked at email from three theoretical perspectives, noting network externality in email; specifically, the researchers contended that if associated colleagues or others are using a particular technology, that usage creates desire within the end user to do the same. Derks and Bakker (2010) looked at effects of email in an organizational context, finding that user feelings of overload were common and smartphones were not helping the issue. Further, although they did not completely answer their primary research question about email's effects on users, they worried about the broader effects of always-on technology, and how our collective work and life balances would be affected. Ahuja and Carley (1999) examined the difference between virtual and physical organizations, seeing email as a primary communication form in organizations. Lastly, Skovholt and Svennevig (2006) examined the function of "copying" people,

either implicitly or explicitly, on workplace correspondence, noting that social control and shared information were common purposes. The authors noted in particular that the apparently simple phenomenon of “copying” a user into email correspondence was not so simple, and required deep analysis.

Email and culture is a topic combination that has not been extensively studied. Management and business-focused articles have discussed best practices for forming policies regarding email (Arnesen & Weis, 2007), including rules for creating an “organizational culture of responsible use” (p. 60). Olson (1982) recommended extensive management planning as a way to manage technological change. Linjun, Ming-Te, and Wong (2003) utilized cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1997) to examine acceptance of email in an organizational setting, and Sherblom (1988) looked at the impacts of email on communication systems. All of these studies were based around email, but none addressed the cultural element as this present study will.

Organizational Communication

History

Organizational communication scholars can point to a rich history of study, as well as a history of struggle and challenge, within their field. From management, HR, and human relations, to psychology, organizational development, and other fields, organizational communication has separated from established disciplines and developed its own traditions for over a hundred years. Of course, people have been studying organizations for centuries; Egyptian pharaohs’ commands about workers inscribed on walls could be considered organizational communication, and the study of those commands helped create shared understanding. Flash forward many years, and the rise of

the industrial revolution and World War I created significant interest in organizations. A comprehensive summary of the history of organizational communication was written by Redding and Tompkins (1988), starting with the period prior to 1970. Before 1970, management-organization, human relations, rules of thumb, and rhetorical approaches dominated the study of organizational communication. These approaches were either macro, and did not consider the individuals that comprise organizations, or micro, without considering the larger organizational context. The period from 1900-1940 was considered the beginning of organizational communication as known today. Heron's *Sharing Information with Employees*, published in 1942, was considered the first book in modern organizational communication and harbinger of future refinement of the field. From 1940-1970, the discipline began to more clearly separate and differentiate from related fields, and since 1970, the field has matured as a distinct area of study.

After 1970, modernistic, naturalistic, and critical approaches constituted organizational communication study and scholarship. Mumby and Stohl (1996) delineated four distinct ways in which the study of organizational communication can be differentiated from other academic endeavors. The authors call these four areas problematics. The first problematic is "voice." Voice recognizes that organizational communication speaks to multiple audiences including employees, managers, regulators, scholars, governments, institutions, and others; a fact that sets organizational communication apart from the study of HR, management, and other areas of organizations. The second problematic is "rationality," or striking a balance between technical or instrumental and practical approaches. Ultimately, as the authors noted, the study of organizational communication has always been fueled by practical ends,

regardless of direction and conjecture. The third problematic is that of “organization.” Its primary question is: “What, exactly, is an organization?” Scholars have varying definitions of organization, but organizational communication scholars focus on communication as the area of inquiry. Finally, the “organization-society” problematic sets the field apart from other areas of academic endeavor; there is an understanding that organizations have permeable boundaries, meaning the physical exterior of a building does not signify where an organization stops and another starts. There is a struggle to identify how those boundaries between society and organization change and have consequences for persons and institutions. Taken together, these four problematics define organizational communication as a separate field in communication, worthy of attention and study in its own right and on its own terms.

Many researchers within organizational communication provide historical context for the field. According to McPhee and Zaug (2000), Weick (1979) was the first to suggest organizations are not simply physical beings, and Smith (1993) was the first to take a communicative look at organizations. McPhee and Zaug (2000) state that past scholarship contributed four key areas to our socially constructed understandings of today: a focus on process, noting equivalence, examining structure, and uncovering power. Hall (1959), Hofstede (1997), and Schein (1992) all examined organizational culture at different points in history, from the Foreign Service Institute to IBM and beyond; they contributed different typographies of organizational culture to aid in understanding.

Constitutive View of Organizational Communication

Recently, Koschmann (2012) directed a video housed at the University of Colorado-Boulder that described the phenomenon of the communicative constitution of organizations. According to that video, there are two generalized approaches to studying organizational communication: the traditional or container method, and the communication-constituting-organizations method. Traditionally, organizations were seen as containers that shaped the communication that occurred within them. The organization was neutral and separate from the communication, merely shaping the communication in the same way a jug shapes the water within it. From this perspective, communication was seen as primarily transmission and message authoring. For example, if the right message could get to the right people, in the right way, there is successful communication. Given technological advances that improve transmission, there should be relatively perfect communication currently with little to no problems, as messages move from one place to another quickly. If problems occur, the sender or the receiver is assumed to be at fault; either more or better communication is needed. This view, however, suffers from a major drawback: each person involved in a communicative act can interpret the same message differently, especially when such factors as deception and persuasion are considered.

These problems gave rise to the second view presented in the video, that of communication as constituting organizations (Koschmann, 2012). This view sees communication as the primary social process in which organizations get “made.” Consequently, organizations are not neutral; they create meanings that place or remove value, make judgments, etc. All these activities are done through communication, and

have very real material consequences. For example, the concept of being “laid off” has material consequences of money, space, and time, even though it is simply a phrase used by organizations to manage membership. In this view, more complex ideas can be examined, such as organizational relationships, the evolution of organizations, organizations that pursue inconsistent goals and ends, and digital meanings created in email, among others. This deeper examination is possible because communication is the primary meaning-making process, and organizations are born of communication. Even though this perspective still is rooted in the physical world, meaning is socially created.

The present study takes the position that communication is constitutive of organizations. The work of Fairhurst and Putnam (2004), Koschmann (2012), McPhee and Iverson (2009), McPhee and Zaugg (2000), Pacanowsky and O’Donnell-Trujillo (1982), Redding and Tompkins (1988), Taylor (2000), and Weick (1979) all lay the foundation for this position.

Weick (1979) is one of the most influential scholars to suggest the communication-as-constitutive view, a position he first established in his book *The Social Psychology of Organizations*. He proposed a model of organizing, and thus organization, based on sensemaking. The central question of sensemaking is “how can I know what I think until I see what I say? (1979, p. 133). This sensemaking approach focuses on the process of retroactively making sense of conversations, then storing the results of sensemaking as knowledge for use in future conversations. In Weick’s words, “[o]rganizations are presumed to talk to themselves over and over to find out what they’re thinking.” (p. 134). I embrace this historical perspective throughout the present study, including more recent iterations of the reflexive perspective.

Taylor (2000) proposed the idea that organizations are formed through a process in which individuals and other entities share co-orientation toward various common objects. He argues that organizations are not simply stable hierarchical relationships, and that organizational boundary change directly affects organizational constitution. McPhee and Zaig (2000) further explicate this communication-as-constituting organizations view using four flows, or processes, each possessing constitutive force: member negotiation, self-structuring, activity coordination, and institutional positioning. Member negotiation involves the communicative processes that organizations and their members enact in order to decide who will affiliate with the organization; this could include the job application process, team selection, or any number of communicative acts that determine who is a member and who is not a member. Self-structuring is the communicative process of determining organizational structure; for example, the decision to have a “top-heavy” or “bottom-heavy” organization, or to have multiple vice presidents. Activity coordination is the communicative process that allows organizational members to perform some activity in conjunction with one another; this can be thought of as the day-to-day work processes so many organizations engage in, such as holding a meeting or building a new office. Finally, institutional positioning is the communicative process that allows organizations to determine their relationships with the larger societal context with individuals, other organizations, etc. For example, institutional positioning could be considered an organizational status as a 501(c)3 organization or a reciprocal course agreement between universities.

Together, these four flows constitute organizations in communication. McPhee and Iverson (2009) detailed a partial history of this perspective, noting that such theorists

as Taylor and Van Every (2000) focused on a single constitutive communicative process, rather than four flows coming together. McPhee and Iverson (2009) state that there are three ways that constitution occurs: for symbols as meaningful, for individuals as agents in social interaction, and for relationships as social systems.

Other authors have attempted to generalize or explain this constitutive process as well. Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) detailed three perspectives of organizations in communication. They argued that organizations are in one of three categories of existence: those that are pre-formed, those are continually becoming, and those that are grounded in action and anchored in social and discursive practices. Each type is a conception of organizations that may or may not be useful in answering organizational questions. Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) provided a very early assessment of the communicative phenomenon in an organizational context, advocating for a sensemaking perspective. The authors wanted to conceptualize organizations as sensemaking entities, consisting of people who were sensemaking. This is an early perspective, but one that utilizes communication (and sensemaking) as the primary social meaning process. They contended that traditional researchers gave up rich detail for generalizability and prediction, as opposed to considering the communicative context.

To summarize, communication is constitutive of organizations because communication is the primary social process that creates organizations; organizations, therefore, arise from communicative acts that give meaning.

Organizational Culture

Structuration

Bearing in mind that communication constitutes organizations, to discuss organizational culture is to discuss a product of communication. Scholars' definitions of organizational culture will differ based on their conceptions of an organization. For example, if an organization is a container, then it contains culture. A scholar studying an organization from this perspective might go in and ask cultural questions and look for artifacts within the organization, such as an organizational charter or code of conduct. On the other hand, if a scholar conceptualizes organizations as being constituted in communication, a different approach would be taken. He or she may still interview people affiliated with the organization, but would not assume that culture can be located within the container; rather, culture is being made as a result of communicative practices. In such a case, the scholar may visit an Athletic Department at a university and hear about the "culture" of winning. He or she would investigate how this culture is made in communication, through artifacts and interviews, depending on the researcher's positioning. While the two approaches may use similar research methods, what they are looking for will be quite different: something that is continually being (re)made or something that exists within the organization.

The present study squarely positions itself in the former tradition, that of communication-constituting-organizations; consequently, an explication of the history of this approach to organizational culture is important. A focus on Giddens's (1984) contribution to organizational culture connects the historically situated definition with

more recent research. McPhee and Zaig (2000) cite Giddens's concepts of the duality of structure and constitution as directly influencing their four flows work, claiming that

[w]e roughly use Giddens's sense of "constitution" below: a pattern or array of types of interaction constitute organizations insofar as they make organizations what they are, and insofar as basic features of the organization are implicated in the system of interaction. (p. 3)

Although Giddens never intended for his work to guide practice, and wanted to remain abstract and theoretical, his concepts are nonetheless crucial to the research position as described.

Giddens (1984) coined the term "structuration theory," as he wanted to describe social processes that he felt constructed society. The duality of structure is the idea that social action creates unintended structures that in turn constrain future action. This idea forms the basis of structuration theory, and organizational culture can then be conceptualized within this idea. Poole and McPhee (1983) wrote about organizational climate using structuration theory, stating that "[t]he theory of structuration, in common with all critical approaches, emphasizes the structured nature of social life and attempts to identify the structures that underlie observable practices" (p. 218). Further, they argued the importance of a structuration approach to organizational climate, such that "[structuration] theory locates the linchpin of macro-level organizational phenomena and micro-level member behavior in the organization's interaction system and therefore is ideally suited for the study of climate" (p. 210). Finally, they developed the idea of "organizational climate"; as they argued, "[i]n the structurational view, then, climate is

both a medium and outcome of interaction” (p. 215). They perfectly tied structuration to the macro and micro of organizations using the duality of structure concept.

This duality was later expanded by Poole, Seibold, and McPhee (1985) to group decision-making contexts. The authors proposed a three-layered approach, using immediate factors, external system conditions, and the interplay between the two as a way to analyze a network of factors in-group decision-making. The organization is conceptualized as not only immediate or external, but a duality, continuing the application of structuration to organizational communication.

Methodologically, Alvesson and Kärreman’s (2000) work on discourse analysis utilized Giddens’s theories. The authors wanted to delineate between “capital-D” Discourse as larger social context and practices and “small-d” discourse as localized social practices. They drew on the work of Potter (2004), who suggested that studying social practices through texts with language as a medium could be a viable solution to solving problems.

In closing, addressing the two conceptions of the duality of structure is important, as one conception involves larger social practices, communication, and organizational culture, while the other involves only organizational culture and communication. First, the duality of structure is directly applicable to the study of organizational culture via communication. To be more specific, organizational culture is evidenced by conversations about such topics as winning, selling, hard work, determination...the list is infinite. These organizational culture elements are given meaning in communication, by organizational members, media, and other interactional parties. Opposite that is the reflection of larger society through communication; for example, conversations about the

prevalence of malpractice lawsuits in relation to an organization or the dangerous neighborhoods present in the country in which an organization is located. Either way, organizational culture shapes the larger social context in a reflexive fashion; similarly, the larger social context shapes organizational culture.

Secondly, organizational culture creates communication. For example, a high-pressure law firm based in Boston might create conversations about the possibility of take-overs, or the murder trial in New York, or the expectations of its employees. Reflexively, organizational culture is reflected by communication. The communication between executives about their expectations for their junior partners reflects a certain organizational culture. This is the same reflexive relationship based in social constructionism and proposed by Giddens's (1984) duality of structure, and as such, is directly applicable to organizational culture. While Giddens's work was never intended to guide practice, it directly influences the conception of organizational culture and guides the concept utilized in the present research.

Social Constructionism

The present research embraces a general communication philosophy of social constructionism. I use Leeds-Hurwitz's (2009) two major elements in the definition: social constructionism is the creation of a communal world used to make sense of experiences, and language is the most important system used to create the communal world. This movement was named *constructionism* by Kenneth Gergen and Ketih Davis (1985).

Leeds-Hurwitz (2009) argues that social constructionism has many synonyms, including constitution, constructivism, and others. She states that meaning is woven

through language and social interaction and that communication is seen as the primary social force. Interestingly, she notes the differences between strong social constructionists and weak social constructionists based on the role of material reality. She credits Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann with coining the term social constructionism in their book *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966). Leeds-Hurwitz alludes to James Carey's contributions, including the four phases of social constructionism: construction, maintenance, repair, and change. Carey's book *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (1989) contributed a perspective to social constructionism, one that noted geography was not the fundamental organizing principle of reality for cultures. Instead, communication constituted the shared realities of members of a culture. Carey focused on the contributions of the telegraph, noting its ability to separate transportation and communication. Leeds-Hurwitz also cites Margaret Mead and Franz Boas' (1961) study of gender roles as determining the phenomenon exists, that gender roles were not simply a taken-for-granted phenomenon.

Brenda Allen (2005) wrote in an organizational context and provided an overview of social constructionism. Allen contributed to this discussion by describing three ways that distinguish social constructionism in its many forms: the process (for example, CMM or another theory); the products, or symbols, meanings, or others; and the interaction between the process and products, materialistic or otherwise. She also stated that knowledge is historically and culturally situated, echoing Leeds-Hurwitz's findings. Both Leeds-Hurwitz's and Allen's articles provide a basic overview of social constructionism, but more detail is needed for the present research.

The genesis of the term “social construction of reality” is attributed to sociologists Berger and Luckmann (1966). They were not concerned with the practice of social knowledge creation, but rather the knowledge itself. Symbolic interactionism is a theory that uses co-constructed meanings or symbols as the basis for social action; Berger and Luckmann used this knowledge to craft their book. They also noted that knowledge was socially distributed; different parts of the world knew different things based on the social processes they enacted. Their dichotomy between objective and subjective social constructionism is intriguing, as they claimed that social institutions and objective social words could be passed down orally through tradition and ritual. These forms of knowledge were more or less static and unchanging. They also claimed that socialization practices, conversations, and identities were more subjective than previously thought, and that these phenomena were socially constructed to a higher degree.

Social constructionism also has subject-matter relevance; from interpersonal to organizational communication, the theory has influenced many areas. From an organizational perspective, the “communication as constitutive” perspective grew out of a need to move away from the transmission model of communication, and account for escalating complexities of technology and practice (Koschmann, 2012). McPhee and Zaig (2000) used the social constructionist position when creating their “four flows” model; they simply expanded the constitutive notion of communication into four distinct practices, including membership negotiation, self-structuring, activity coordination, and institutional-positioning. McPhee and Iverson (2009) detailed three types of constitution, and their central question was “how do people make the present meaningful using resources of the past?” CMM provides one such answer, and one that is directly utilized

in the present study. Created by W. Barnett Pearce (1989, 2007), CMM is a social constructionism theory that formalizes many social practices. These formalities begin with practices and resources, building on each other reflexively to create basic communication. People express their resources in practices, which inform resources, etc. People express resources using forces of different types, which affect decisions. In communication, people coordinate, attempt coherence, and examine mystery. They do this in forms of communication, specifically monoculturally, ethnocentrically, and in a modern or cosmopolitan fashion. The theory advocates for the use of questions to discern possible communicative realities, and encourages us to imagine different social worlds that we can (co)create.

In conclusion, to position social constructionism is to position an idea that permeates traditions and practices, informing theory and method. This idea, that reality is constructed through communication, has a foundational effect on the communication field, and differentiates it from psychology, sociology, and other fields. Communication is the primary force of social production, not a secondary process.

Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM)

History and Approach

CMM was created by W. Barnett Pearce and Vernon Cronen in the late 1970s, although Pearce was primarily responsible for the publishing and propagating of CMM. Pearce first wrote about CMM in 1976 with “The Coordinated Management of Meaning: A Rules-Based Theory of Interpersonal Communication,” followed by Pearce and Cronen’s 1980 article “Communication, Action, and Meaning: The Creation of Social Realities”. Subsequent works included *Communication and the Human Condition*

(Pearce, 1989) and *Making Social Worlds: A Communication Perspective* (Pearce, 2007).

According to Pearce (2005),

CMM began as an interpretive theory primarily focused on interpersonal communication, developed a critical edge in work in a wide range of communication settings, and has now morphed into a practical theory that collaborates with practitioners to improve the patterns of communication that it describes and critiques. (Pearce, 2005, p. 37)

The interpretive perspective is especially useful in the present study, as I seek to explain and understand patterns of communication related to norms and social worlds as evidenced digitally.

According to CMM, *practices* are the acts by which communication occurs, such as speaking to a class or signing a petition. *Resources* are the meanings, ideas, and experiences that inform practices; for example, the knowledge of a social issue or the experience of being in a given situation. Pearce restates this: “[i]n this sense, ‘practices’ consist in actions such as building a bridge, playing bridge, and seeking to bridge misunderstandings; ‘resources’ comprise the stories, images, symbols, and institutions that persons use to make their world meaningful” (1989, p. 23). Pearce (1989) also notes that resources are seldom fully consistent in their expression. In the same text, he notes that “[r]esources are expressed in practices, because resources comprise a ‘logic’ of meaning and action that defines what is obligatory, legitimate, dubious, or prohibited” (p. 39).

Pearce (1989) specifies three elements central to communication: coordination, coherence, and mystery. Coordination is the act of managing meaning between persons; it

is the attempt to convey something through communication to another. Coherence is the understanding inherent in each person; it is the stories we share with ourselves and others to make sense of our environment. Mystery is the knowledge of limitations, that no matter how many stories we accrue, there are more to be understood and available in our larger world.

These five terms (practice, resources, coordination, coherence, and mystery) can be thought of as the building blocks of the CMM standpoint; they build the forms of communication that are observable in our socially constructed world. For the present research, both the five key terms and forms of communication will be applied and indicate the social worlds created. Forms of communication are a result of the expression of those terms – practices, resources, coordination, coherence, and mystery.

In every interaction, communicators have choices, and some of these choices are more important than others in influencing outcomes. Pearce (2007) calls such moments bifurcations, or critical moments at which the communication participants can make a number of decisions. These moments are typically referred to retroactively in scholarship, as a way to illustrate the availability of choice. However, Pearce (2007) suggests that mindfulness to watch for bifurcation points is a way to make better social worlds, and I share his perspective. The present study embraces the possibility of different choices, and its analysis will highlight these bifurcation points and their possible outcomes.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Research Questions and Organization

My general research question involves Enron executives, email conversations, and organizational culture:

RQ1: How do executive email conversations contribute to and reflect organizational cultures?

The sub-questions are as follows:

RQ1A: What patterns are apparent in Enron executive email conversations?

RQ1B: How do these patterns contribute to and reflect Enron executive cultures?

RQ1C: What are the most important bifurcation points in these conversations?

RQ1D: How did the choices made at these points contribute to and reflect Enron executive cultures?

RQ1E: How could different choices have contributed to more positive cultures?

These questions assume that organizational cultures are considered social worlds. They also assume that organizational cultures are not linear; they are reflexive in that they are both created in and influence the actual interactions that participants have with one another. This research also assumes that organizational culture(s), and aspects of the culture, are being discovered based on the communicative constructs – in this case, emails.

General Approach: The DICA Model

I approached these research sub-questions using the DICA model from CMM (Noblet, Barnett, & Littlejohn, 2013; Pearce, 2007). DICA is an acronym that represents

four stages of inquiry: (1) description, (2) interpretation, (3) critique, and (4) action. In this research, I used the DICA model as my guiding framework, highlighted by progressive steps of inquiry. More specifically:

- (1) The description stage involved a process of depicting what actually happened in various interactions. Once conversations were laid out turn-by-turn, I began to discern descriptions that were useful in understanding the communication process and potential worlds created therein.
- (2) The interpretation stage involved researcher inferences about what meaning was created in the episodes under investigation.
- (3) In the critique stage, I began to make judgments about what communicators did and the consequences of these actions. Specifically, I looked in this stage at how choices led to better or worse social constructions.
- (4) The action stage normally involved providing my own recommendations or prescriptions about how such interactions might be changed in the future.

I explore the first three stages (description, interpretation, and critique) through data analysis in Chapter 4 and address the fourth stage through discussion in Chapter 5.

Levels of Analysis

While DICA guides this research, it does not prescribe specific tools at each point in the model, and that level of detail is accomplished through levels of analysis and the corresponding tools for each level. My research proceeded through levels of analysis in successive fashion: (1) selection of texts, (2) identifying patterns in the email conversations, (3) identifying resources and practices reflected in the conversations, (4) identifying forms of communication, and (5) identifying social worlds made in these

conversations. Each level is “rolled up” to the next one. In other words, I rely on the previous levels of analysis as a basis for the subsequent ones. For example, level 3 (resources and practices) is based on the analysis in level 2 (patterns). In turn, level 4 (forms) is based on level 3 (resources and practices). This method honors my grounded approach, in which I begin by a careful examination of actual texts and use this data to suggest higher-order levels of interpretation.

I used certain tools of analysis for each level, as reflected in Table 1. These are explained below.

Table 1
Levels of analysis

Level	Analysis	Tools Used
1	Texts	Selection Criteria
2	Patterns	Triplet Analysis Bifurcation Points Daisy Model Atomic Model
3	Resources & Practices	Patterns & Meanings
4	Forms	Pearce’s Forms of Communication
5	Social Worlds	McPhee & Zaug’s Flows

Level 1: Selecting the Texts

Since this is an interpretive study, my sampling goal was to select the most important set of email conversations, given my research questions. I assumed that the

organizational cultures I was most interested in were at the executive level, as those levels had the most direct impact on Enron's actions and subsequent demise. Given the timeline of events that are publicly available and previously mentioned, I looked at conversations between December 1999 and May 2001 among executives in the organization chart depicted in Figure 1.

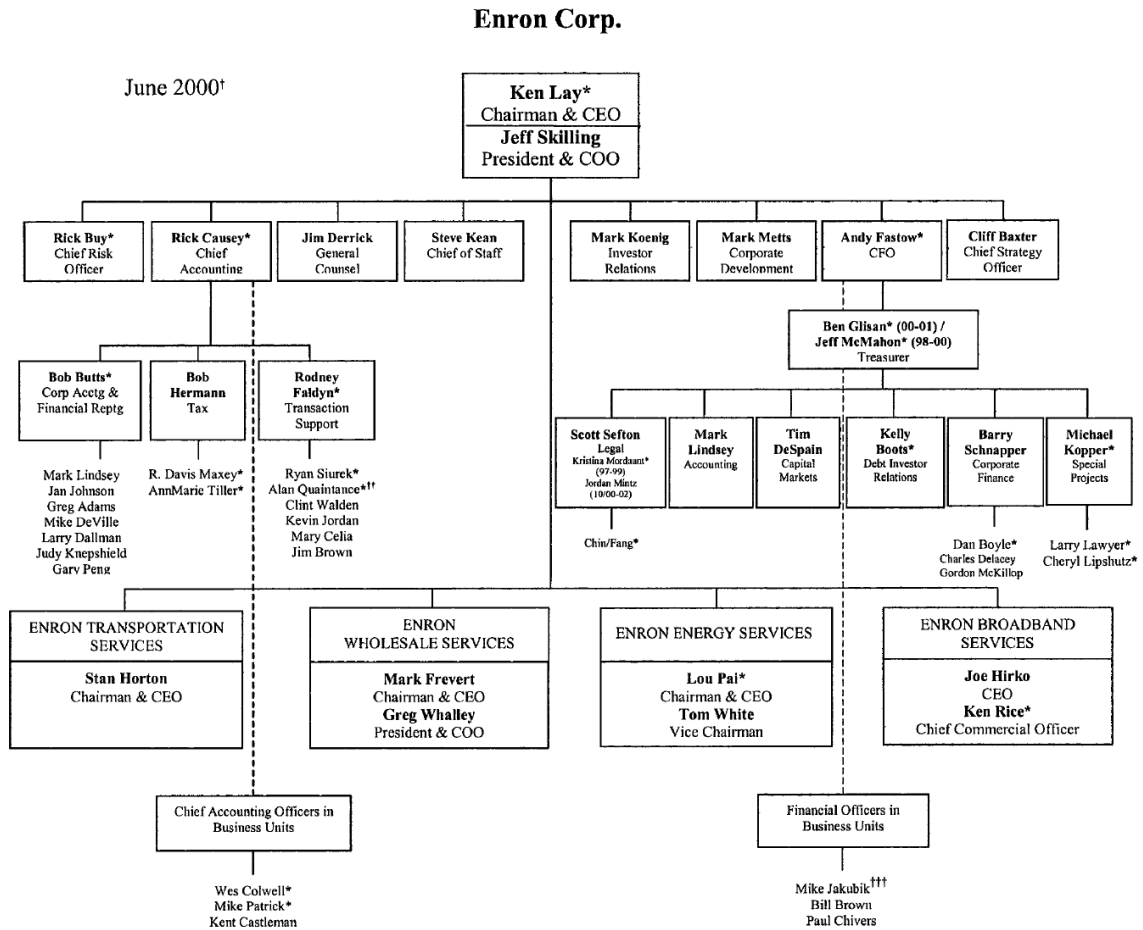


Figure 1: Enron Organizational Chart, June 2000

As shown in in Figure 1 (Batson, 2003), the executive leadership of Enron consisted of Ken Lay, Jeff Skilling, Rick Buy, Rick Causey, Jim Derrick, Steve Kean, Mark Koenig, Mark Metts, Andy Fastow, and Cliff Baxter. These are the people whose conversations were analyzed in this research. These executives led Enron from a

hierarchical perspective. They also frequently utilized their administrative assistants, who authored much of the digital correspondence in a proxy manner. The assistants typically signed their names above the signatures of the executives. The top executive had supervisory roles, with multiple levels of personnel reporting to them. These managers of Enron guided the organization and its personnel; compared to organizational members of lesser hierarchical positioning, these managers were the most valuable to analyze.

Conversations, as analyzed in this research, were defined as email exchanges. These conversations had to occur between one of the executives identified above (or a representative of the executive such as an administrative assistant) and a recipient or group of recipients. Consistent with Weick (1979), a conversation had to be a minimum of three emails between the participants to allow for analysis; I did not set a maximum number of conversational turns, and instead based my punctuation of the conversation on the participants' language use and chronology.

As Pearce (2007) notes, “[p]unctuation refers to the process of dividing and organizing interactions into meaningful patterns” (p. 138). Specifically, if participants identified the conversation as concluded, or if there elapsed at least two weeks with no response, I considered the conversation punctuated. I clearly demarcated these punctuations, as I agree with Pearce’s conclusion that “[i]f we take responsibility for the way we punctuate episodes, we can create opportunities for unusually productive discussions” (p. 139).

Twenty-four conversations involving the above participants were selected, based on availability of conversational email, subject matter, and importance to the research focus. These conversations were numbered in order of their appearance in the dataset;

they do not follow a chronological or subject matter order, as there were many overlapping conversations. Subject matter, as identified in the main body text of each email, was evaluated based on its link to either Enron affairs as a company or the state of Enron. Enron affairs are subjects that directly relate to the organization and its institutional positioning within society; an example would be its relationship to governments at different levels. The state of Enron was identified as conversations containing statements about the organizational health of Enron, such as projections of success or failure. Importance was established as follows: an email was considered important if it contained the following terms in the subject line: important, urgent, critical, serious, needs attention, or similar phrases. If any textual flags or other identifications were seen in the textual data, those emails were included also, provided they did not exceed the maximum number of conversations allowed. Particularly, conversations including bifurcation points, or critical decision moments, were privileged in the selection process. In the initial scan, I identified these in the body or subject line text as requesting a decision on a question that related directly to the state of Enron or Enron affairs. Once I selected the data set, I moved on to the analysis phase. I have included a basic exchange (in chronological order) below as an example of the minimum conversation requirement:

-----Original Message-----

From: Elizondo, Rudy (ETS)

Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 12:42 PM

To: Lay, Kenneth; Causey, Richard

Subject:

Ken, I am a loyal Enron Employee for over 17 years and my opinion (however insignificant) is that we stand and fight and not take any buy out offer from anyone.

I know that I speak for the rest of my team when I say lets stand and fight and not sell out to the first bidder who will not give us what we are really worth. We are the best and continue to be the best in the energy world, that is my attitude every day that I proudly come to work.

Please reconsider and take our lumps like Columbia Gas System, like Continental Airlines and get back into solvency the best way we know how to. The past is past, lets pick up ourselves by our boot straps and get back into the fight and win this one.

You know that you can count on me and the rest of my team in ETS to stand by this decision to stand and fight.

Ever Loyal and willing to serve.

Rudy Elizondo (ETS).

ps If you need more inspirational speeches from me, I will be happy to oblige.

-----Original Message-----

From: Wells, Tori L. On Behalf Of Lay, Kenneth
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:52 AM
To: Elizondo, Rudy (ETS)
Subject: RE:

I very much appreciate your e-mail and agree with most of what you said. But for very practical reasons, the management and the Board decided a merger with Dynegy was the best alternative for Enron.

Thank you,

Ken

Date: Mon, 12 Nov 2001 08:56:28 -0800 (PST)
From: ets <elizondo@enron.com>
To: kenneth.lay@enron.com
Subject: RE:

Thank you Sir for your response and I do appreciate your very hard work that you have accomplished for us (Enron Corp).

I now agree with you on your approach and I also feel very positive about the merger and of course will do all I possibly can to help in the efforts.

Ever Faithful
Rudy Elizondo

Figure 2: Sample Email Conversation

Level 2: Identifying Patterns

What patterns are apparent in Enron executive email conversations, and what are the important bifurcation points? Here I looked for patterns both within and between conversations. After describing each conversation, I analyzed them using a triplet analysis and bifurcation points. Following this, I looked for patterns across conversations by using the Daisy Model and the Atomic Model, CMM analytical tools that I define below.

Triplet Analysis. A triplet is an interaction consisting of three turns. The example provided above in Figure 2 has three distinct turns, delineated by the email itself: the initial contact expressing an opinion, Ken Lay's response, and Rudy's response back. Consistent with Weick's (1979) claim that meaning is made in three turns, the triplet seems to be a useful sequence for careful analysis. Weick termed the triplet a "double interact", noting that "[s]ince organizing involves control, influence, and authority, a description of organizing benefits from using the double interact as the unit of analysis" (p. 89). He also firmly stated that "[t]hese collective structures, variously referred to as interlocked behavior cycles and double interacts, are the elements of organizing. Organizations are built of and fall back on these stable subassemblies" (p. 118). I agree with his contention, as triplets look at how meaning may have changed from the first turn to the third, and from the first utterance to the third. Figure 3 illustrates:

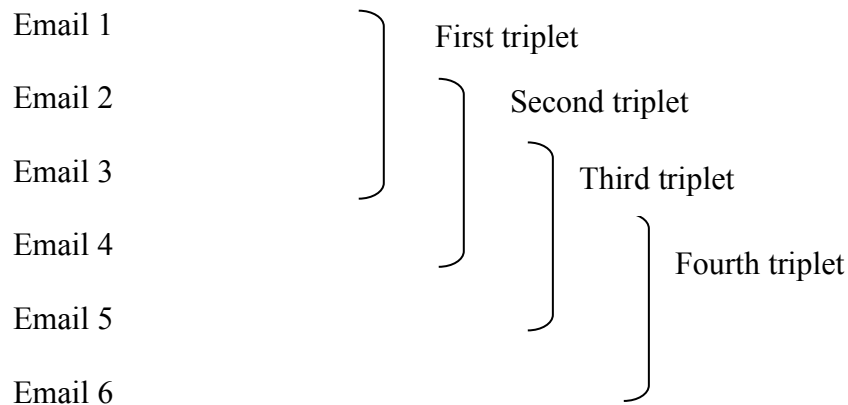


Figure 3: Triplets

Pearce (2007) described the conversational triplet as the “ideal, or prototypical structure of a speech act” (p. 117), calling it a three-turn sequence. These conversational turns, both before and after the middle utterance, help to frame and understand the speech act in context, and will be the primary focus of the interpretation phase. Although Figure 3 depicts triplets in their simplest form, Pearce argues that the turns chronologically adjacent to one another may not be the triplet under analysis, as turns do not necessarily respond directly to and from speech acts. Regardless of the structure in each triplet, Pearce posits that “the principle remains that what speech has been performed depends on its relationship with preceding and subsequent acts” (p. 118). By analyzing each email exchange in this way, I was able to carefully “read” each conversation and look for possible meanings that emerge. The triplet analysis also helped me to find bifurcation points.

Bifurcation Points. A bifurcation point is a turn in the conversation that seems especially important in establishing the meaning of the whole conversation. It is a critical choice point, at which a participant decides to act in a certain way by saying something, when other courses of action might have been taken. In the above email examples, a

bifurcation point might be the decision to pursue the end use services business, or the avoidance of energy conservation. In this stage of the analysis, I attempted to identify possible bifurcation points and discuss what difference these choices may have made in the meaning of the episodes in question.

Daisy Model. The Daisy Model arrays conversations around central themes, issues, questions, or patterns like petals on a daisy, in which the center of the flower represents the topic, and the petals represent the various conversations that inform or construct participant ideas about the topic. Figure 4 demonstrates this visually, using the conversational theme of “Business Process” and the associated conversations, arrayed as petals, below.

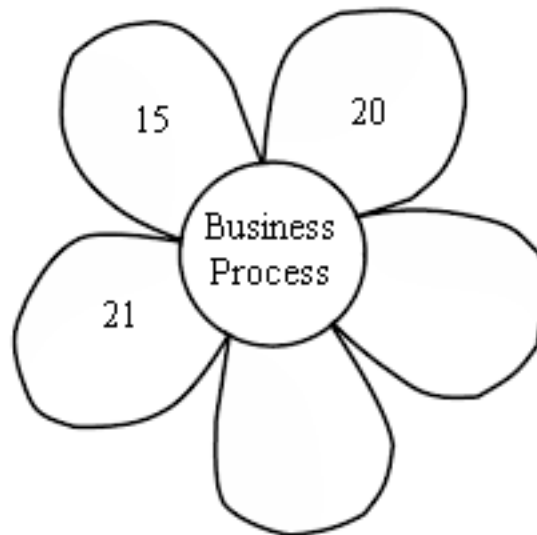


Figure 4: The Daisy Model

According to Pearce (1999), “[t]he Daisy Model is a way of calling our attention to the multiple conversations of which any given action or statement is the nexus.

Imagine a statement as the center of the model, with each petal a different conversation” (p. 55). The steps to use the Daisy Model are putting the object under investigation at the

center of the daisy, then examining the conversations that relate to the center as petals, and labeling them. As Pearce (1999) notes:

[a]s a rule of thumb, it is good to assume that we are never only in one conversation at a time. Even when we are alone, we are in silent conversations with significant others, and when we are talking to one person, we are usually aware that what we say and do there is also a part of other conversations. (p. 55)

Atomic Model. The Atomic Model takes a slightly different approach, expanding the Daisy Model. The nucleus of the atom is the reality lived by the participant, and the electron fields around it represent the various social worlds or petals of the daisy that impact or influence this reality in some way. See Figure 5.

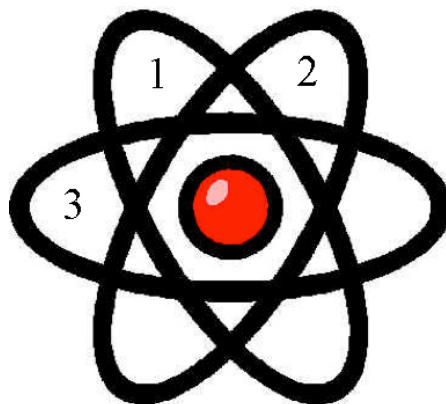


Figure 5: Atomic Model

The atomic model extends the daisy by making the petals overlap with the center, moving from conversations to larger social worlds. This is a second layer of patterns I identified, thus producing a list of patterns and participant social worlds as evidenced in the texts. In the visual example above, the nucleus could be considered to be James Derrick Jr., one of the key participants in the analyzed conversations, and each electron field represents a conversation – in this case, numbers one, two, and three. Derrick

participated in each conversation, and each conversation overlapped in the center to illustrate the realities lived by him.

Level 3: Resources and Practices

According to Barnett Pearce,
 [t]he communication perspective sees all forms of human activity as a recurring, reflexive process in which resources are expressed in practices and in which practices (re)construct resources...In this sense, “practices” consist in actions such as building a bridge, playing bridge, and seeking to bridge misunderstandings; “resources” comprise the stories, images, symbols, and institutions that persons use to make their world meaningful. (1989, p. 23)

These two concepts form the basis of critique and analysis for communication products, such as email transcripts, and locating them is an important first step in identifying forms of communication.

I proceeded by selecting notable and recurrent examples of practices and resources throughout the Enron data corpus, and provided minimal commentary on each. This was not meant to be an exhaustive list, but rather a sampling of Enron organizational communication from a CMM-based perspective. To conduct this analysis, I interpreted the meanings attached to various patterns, as briefly illustrated in Table 2; the complete analysis is provided in Chapter 4.

Table 2

Correlating Patterns and Meanings (example)

Observed Patterns (Practices)	Possible Meanings (Resources)
Pattern 1: Frequent references to other communications, as evidence by statements	Corporate desire to include necessary personnel for effective distribution of

such as: “FYI” or “fyi” “Please see the message below” “Please copy me on your response”	information
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Level 4: Forms of Communication

Forms of communication, according to Pearce (1989), are different ways of human functioning (p. 91), and they are a taxonomy based on the “...collective process by which resources are expressed and (re)constructed in practices” (p. 92). Forms of communication differ in how participants treat each other; put another way, forms of communication are separated by how the participants place their resources at risk and treat one another like a “native” (p. 92). Thus, there are four combinations of risk and native treatment, producing four forms of communication that Pearce identifies: monocultural, ethnocentric, modernistic, and cosmopolitan. Monocultural communication is the treatment of others as natives, and resources are not placed at risk. This form of communication is not exhibited in the data analyzed in the present study. The second form is ethnocentric communication, in which resources are not at risk but others are treated as nonnatives. This is typified by sports communication, in an “us vs. them” division. This form was the dominant form in the data. The third form is modernistic communication, in which resources are at risk and others are treated as nonnatives. This form places an emphasis on new or modern ways of being, and is exhibited in the data. The final form, cosmopolitan communication, is minimally present in the data. This form allows participants to selectively place resources at risk, and others are treated as natives.

In this analysis, I correlated these various forms of communication with patterns identified in previous levels of analysis, as illustrated in Table 3. The practices and

resources are expressed in particular ways, or forms, thus building on the previous level of analysis. This is just a partial example to show what the analysis looks like. I provide the complete analysis in Chapter. 4.

Table 3

Forms of Communication (example)

<p>Ethnocentric A form of communication typified by the division of people into member and nonmember groups, and communicative resources not being conversationally placed at risk.</p>	<p>Identification of business standing. Examples:</p> <p>“They want to come in here later this week to ‘sit on the trading floor’ to get a close up feel for how things are going”</p> <p>“CC are of course aware of the consequences of acting adversely to Enron in litigation”</p> <p>“RAC was not invited to the meeting with Skilling”</p> <p>“Jeff [Skilling] and the commercial team had different opinions about the managed hosting side of the business”</p> <p>Evaluative statements regarding employees and activity. Example:</p> <p>“He does not seem to be very transactional focused which is what we need”</p> <p>Inclusion of business metaphors or similes. Examples:</p> <p>“these type of headlines not making our job any easier. We need to do some serious work to combat this stuff”</p> <p>“Hamburger quality is monitored</p>
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	<p>from Houston remotely”</p> <p>Provision of interpersonal and business opinion(s). Examples:</p> <p>“I think they will get the point”</p> <p>“They still don’t seem to understand”</p> <p>“Clearly this is not credit risk; however, it seems plausible that there is potential for this deal to reflect negatively on Enron if it were to become known in the market that we were selling our network capacity to customers in this line of business”</p> <p>“My thought is that we create a McDonald’s Hamburger type operation. Each office is exactly the same and operates under precise and well communicated rules”</p>
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Level 5: Social Worlds

According to Pearce,

[a]s a social theory, CMM intends to foster the evolution of better worlds by providing tools and concepts that analyze (that is, cut into parts; display the pieces of) the process of communication. Its purpose is to help us understand and act intelligently into the social world, thus making it better. (2007, p. 220)

It is not the goal of this research, nor of CMM, to fully explain all details of the social world; rather, it is to utilize the analytic tools in an effort to change the process of making those social worlds for the better. Pearce echoes this sentiment, as “...the task before us has more to do with making better social worlds, and finding ways of coordinating with

people who live in other social worlds, than with finding an all-embracing schema that would explain everything” (2007, p. 43). However, given that social worlds are continually being made in communication and it is both the process and products that deserve critique, I wanted to connect McPhee and Zaugg’s (2000) four flows that constitute organizations to the social worlds Enron created. Doing so presents a stronger possibility for directed critique in the organizational context and domain.

The four-flows concept is constitutive of organizations, and consists of member negotiation, self-structuring, activity coordination, and institutional positioning. Member negotiation involves deciding who is a member or non-member. Self-structuring is the process of determining structure or hierarchy. Activity coordination is synchronizing member efforts towards common goals or subjects. Finally, institutional positioning is the identification of organizational relationships within the larger context. These four flows help to clarify social worlds, and form the final level of analysis.

Summary

In summary, I explored Enron’s organizational culture as social worlds defined by CMM. I used one overarching research question, split into five sub-questions, to achieve this exploration. The research proceeded through five levels of analysis. At the conclusion of this dissertation, I want to not only demonstrate my understanding of Enron’s organizational culture, but also provide critique and action for other organizations seeking to improve. Table 4 correlates each type of analysis to my research questions.

Table 4

Research Questions and Analysis

Analysis	RQ 1A	1B	1C	1D	1E
Triplet Analysis	x				
Bifurcation Points			x		
Daisy and Atomic	x				
Practices and Resources		x			
Forms		x		x	
Social Worlds		x		x	
Action (in Ch. 5)					x

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter, the method outlined above will be demonstrated. The first level of analysis, selection of texts adhered to the selection protocol outlined in Chapter 3. The subsequent levels of analysis are then presented. I show the method's effectiveness by using the first conversation out of the twenty-four email exchanges, and execute the parts of the method that require individual attention: describing the exchange, naming each email or turn, naming and analyzing the triplets, and describing the bifurcation points. The remaining conversations are then analyzed in the same manner. Combined with the daisy and atomic models after the individual conversations, these analyses form level two and the description phase of DICA. The interpretation phase consists of levels three and four, and the critique phase is level five. The complete email transcripts are included in Appendix A, and are provided in this chapter only as an example.

Level 2: Patterns Within Conversations

Conversation 1

Description. The first conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., the general counsel for Enron, and a group of other people lower in the organizational hierarchy, including Jordan Mintz and Mark Holsworth. It took place on April 24, 2001, consisting of four individual emails in total. The conversation suggests a reminder requiring action and a forwarding of information. The first turn is a bureaucratic request, as few if any employees had responded to a prior request for updated information. The second turn in the email conversation is an organizational member at a higher hierarchical level making the same request as that in the first turn, with viewing the

information as a requirement for the recipients. The third turn is an apology by one of the recipients of the previous email, followed by a response to the request, as well as an additional offering of help. The fourth turn is simply a “for your information” copy, a way of passing on information. The sequence can be described as an appeal to getting tasks done via a higher hierarchical level; that authority would motivate the task to get done via looking good to higher people.

Table 5

Conversation 1 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Restatement/history of request
Turn 2	Status/update on request
Turn 3	Request of attention
Turn 4	Thanks

Turn #1

From: Derrick Jr., James
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 5:18 PM
 To: Evans, Mark; Fossum, Drew; Mintz, Jordan; Mordaunt, Kristina; Newell, Eric; Rogers, Rex
 Cc: Holsworth, Mark
 Subject: FW: Updating Enron marks

Please see the message below. I would appreciate your responding to Mark no later than this Friday. Please copy me on your response. Thank you. Jim

-----Original Message-----

From: Holsworth, Mark
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 3:38 PM
 To: Derrick Jr., James
 Subject: Updating Enron marks

In your last memo to the general counsel, you requested that they respond to me by last Friday with respect to updating the Enron marks. To date, I have only received responses from Mark Haedicke, Randy Young, and John Ale. Would you be so kind as to remind everyone again? Thanks for your assistance.

Turn #2

From: Mintz, Jordan

Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 5:48 PM
To: Holsworth, Mark
Subject: RE: Updating Enron marks

Mark: My apologies, as I thought I had previously responded. There is no additional update need from Global Finance. Let me know if you have questions.
Jordan

Turn #3

From: Mintz, Jordan
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 5:49 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: FW: Updating Enron marks

Jim: FYI.
Jordan

Turn #4

Jordan, thanks. Jim

Figure 4: First Email Conversation

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of four turns results in two triplets.

The table below describes and interprets the meaning of these sets. In this conversation, the triplets suggest an interaction regarding requests and authority. The authority is granted the right to request information, and in this case, the respondent feels the need to apologize and explain his lack of response.

Table 6

Conversation 1 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Compliance to request
2	2, 3, 4	Explanation and apology

Bifurcation Points. There are two decision, or bifurcation, points contained within the conversation. The first is the response to the line: “Let me know if you have any questions.” This opens up the possibility for extended dialogue and different conversational choices, including exploration and increased potential for understanding.

The second bifurcation point is the response to “Would you be so kind as to remind everyone again?” There are a multitude of conversational choices the participants could have made, including reminding everyone in different styles, or engaging participants one-on-one.

Conversation 2

Description. The second conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., the general legal counsel, and a group of other people, including Peter Keohane and Jim Christie, who represented internal and external legal matters. It took place on June 8, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. This conversation serves as a business status update. First turn is a response to a prior email, along with a meeting request and offering of help. Second turn is a documentation of conversation, along with copying the legal team. Third turn is a formal thank you. The conversation appears to be documentation of work-related activities and offline conversations with polite comments throughout. For a complete text of this conversation, see Conversation 2 in the Appendix.

Table 7

Conversation 2 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Polite response to request and reciprocation
Turn 2	Dissemination of information
Turn 3	Polite thank you

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of three turns results in a single triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplet suggests a dissemination of information that reflects Enron activity. A memo is attached and circulated, and the participants seem to coordinate quite well.

Table 8

Conversation 2 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Acceptance of prepared information

Bifurcation Points. There is one decision point in the above-outlined conversation. The response to the line “In the meantime, if there is anything I can assist with, please give me a call” is an opportunity for engagement; conversationally, it is also conditional. It allows the participants to engage in further conversation if help is requested; this could include clarification or guidance regarding the direction of Enron and its business.

Conversation 3

Description. The third conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and Elizabeth Linnell, who represented Enron’s design of a purchasing system. It took place from April 16th to April 17th, lasting five individual emails in total. This conversation suggests a request for feedback on a business proposal. The first turn is a forward, containing a summary of business activity regarding the acquisition of iBuyit. It is also a request for review feedback, to those stakeholders on the Enron side. Next turn is an additional request for the same, basically urging review. Next turn is short but a conditional passing of review forward, followed by a response with the appropriate information. Final turn is a quick thank you and no further comment, producing a paper trail regarding decision-making on the acquisition. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 3.

Table 9

Conversation 3 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Polite requests and command
Turn 2	Reminder for input
Turn 3	Conditional question and delegation
Turn 4	Response to question
Turn 5	Statement declining comment

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of five turns results in three triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of these sets. In this conversation, the triplets suggest an internal business review process. Feedback is requested about business activity, and after some clarification, the end result is no further comment.

Table 10

Conversation 3 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Feedback request and clarification
2	2, 3, 4	Question and response
3	3, 4, 5	Conditional no comment

Bifurcation Points. There are five separate bifurcation points in this email conversation. The first point is the response to “Is this meant to cover invoices from outside counsel? If it is, please discuss the proposal with Rob Walls,” which has a direct response of “no.” There are alternatives to this choice, including engaging proper protocol for outside invoices, for example. The second is the response to “Just a reminder that we’re looking for your input on the proposal outlined below.” James Derrick Jr. responds with a question and conditional action statement. This conditional statement later relieves him of the obligation for feedback, although this was an opportunity to further guide Enron in a particular direction. The third decision point is the response to “...solicit your input on some system details that will be custom to the deployment”; no

designated response was immediately identified. It appeared the non-response to that request spurred the reminder to comment, although the initial comments could have steered business in different directions. Finally, the response to “I appreciate your ‘OK’ on the above, or any feedback you might have” could have accomplished the same outcome as the fourth bifurcation point.

Conversation 4

Description. The fourth conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and a group of other people, including Peter Keohane and Vicki Sharp, who are working to organize an international business structure. It took place from April 3rd to April 15th, 2001, lasting four individual emails in total. This conversation denotes a business status and proposing of action at an organizational level, specifically reporting with different branches of the larger organization across national borders. First turn is raising two lengthy issues with business direction. Next turn is a request for in-person conversation on the two topics, and then eleven days later a request for update is issued. Finally, a description of the proposed action is provided with a status update. The conversation demonstrates an online/offline relationship, with time-sensitive business issues arising. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 4.

Table 11

Conversation 4 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Review request and information
Turn 2	Meeting request
Turn 3	Status request
Turn 4	Status update

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of four turns results in two triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of these sets. In this conversation, the triplets suggest a business decision process. The original information is circulated, and the participants are seeking resolution to the originally-presented matter.

Table 12

Conversation 4 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Business structure decision
2	2, 3, 4	Decision status

Bifurcation Points. There are six unique decision points in the conversation outlined above. The first is the ability to respond to “no decision has yet been made.” There is not a clear response to this statement, but it could represent opportunities for decision-making processes, such as extended conversation to make a new or different reality. The second decision point is the response to “Has a decision been made about this matter?” A status update is provided here, to answer the question and move forward conversationally. The third bifurcation point is the response opportunity to “...it has been decided to roll Enron Direct into EES Canada reporting...” The decision is agentless in this context, and there appears to be no response. The fourth point is the response to “Would it be appropriate to re-organize EES Canada along the same lines that Enron Canada has been organized, or do you have concerns?” The response is not clearly visible, although the conversational opportunities for meaningful conversation regarding organizational structure (one of the four flows mentioned later) are present. The fifth decision point is the response to “I am, however, sensitive to Jim’s concerns, and therefore wanted your thoughts on the matter,” There is no clear response here either, and

could be a moment of critical decision regarding future direction. Finally, the response to “I look forward to hearing from you” is also unknown. This decision point could be to shift the conversation in a different direction, or attempt a similar conversational maneuver.

Conversation 5

Description. The fifth conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and a group of other people, including Rob Walls, a senior lawyer at Enron, and Mark Haedicke. It took place on March 19, 2001, lasting five individual emails in total. This conversation focuses on the response to negative press and status updates. First turn is an initiation of conversation about a new topic involving Enron and Ecuador in trading deals for energy. Second turn is bringing in outside conversational participants, asking for presence. Third turn is a response and promise of investigation, and fourth turn is a forwarding for information. Fifth turn is a request for information via a third party. Overall conversation is an organizational response via interpersonal conversation to negative news portrayal of Enron business, and requests for coordination. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 5.

Table 13

Conversation 5 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Information provision
Turn 2	Status request
Turn 3	Status response
Turn 4	Forwarding of information
Turn 5	Status request

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of five turns results in three triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of these sets. In this conversation, the

triplets describe an organizational response to negative press. The initial participants are reacting to the press, and the issue escalates into higher organizational levels.

Table 14

Conversation 5 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Incident response
2	2, 3, 4	Incident dissemination
3	3, 4, 5	Information-seeking

Bifurcation Points. There are two different bifurcation points in this conversation. The first is the response to “[p]lease let me know what Michelle finds out”, which presents an opportunity for future dialogue about the nature of the investigation into Enron. The second is the response to “[a]re you in the loop on this,” a question meant to engage potential conversational participants regarding the investigation. Both offer the chance to shift the conversation into organizational identity, including topics such as organizational response and responsibility.

Conversation 6

Description. The sixth conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and Marc Grossberg, an external lawyer. It took place from March 12, 2001, to March 26, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. This conversation focuses on personnel. First turn is background information by a potential candidate to join the organization, followed by a clarification of the importance of getting a spouse a job within Enron as a way to place a faculty member in the University of Houston. Third turn is polite banter with a forwarding of the résumé to Human Resources. The

conversation appears to be networking and satisfying personal requests using business connections. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 6.

Table 15

Conversation 6 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Potential chat request
Turn 2	Expression of desire and suggestion request
Turn 3	Polite banter and status response

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplet suggests a simple networking and hiring interaction. The first participant is attempting to gain entry into the organization, and the subsequent participants discuss the possibility and process for entry to occur.

Table 16

Conversation 6 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Hiring inquiry

Bifurcation Points. The interaction has two bifurcation points. The first is “[i]f you have some suggestions for him, it would be greatly appreciated,” and is responded to with a forwarding of the man’s résumé. The second is the response to “[m]ay be we should talk sometime,” which has an unknown response. This conversation focuses on the potential organizational membership and placement of a spouse within Enron.

Conversation 7

Description. The seventh conversation occurred between James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and a group of other people, including Rob Walls and Kate Cole, who works in a different department at Enron. It took place on April 13, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. The conversation shown here illustrates a praising of an employee. The first turn is a thank you and praising of an employee for jobs well done, followed by a forwarding to appropriate associated person. Final turn is a thank you and polite reciprocation. This demonstrates an organizational praising of an employee informally via email, simply as a conversational record. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 7.

Table 17

Conversation 7 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Status and information provision
Turn 2	Forwarding of information
Turn 3	Polite thanks

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplet suggests a simple expression of thanks for assistance, via an organizational member and role change. The change is unclear as to the temporary or permanent basis.

Table 18

Conversation 7 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Expression of gratitude

Bifurcation Points. No bifurcation or decision points were identified in this conversation. While it is entirely possible that different choices could be made in this particular context, the critical moments were not readily accessible in analysis.

Conversation 8

Description. The eighth conversation occurred between Ken Lay, the CEO, via Rosalee Flemming, and Dan Yergin, who represents an upcoming external energy conference. It took place from August 15th to August 23rd, lasting three individual emails in total. This conversation is a request for Ken Lay’s appearance. The first turn is a polite opening followed by a background on impending action and echoing of future request. Second turn is a response via proxy about the requested action and conversations. Third turn is a response to the proxy with thanks. The conversation appears to be reaching out to an executive for action, met with response via proxy as a way of doing business. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 8.

Table 19

Conversation 8 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Invitation to speak
Turn 2	Status via proxy
Turn 3	Polite expression of excitement

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplet is indicative of a formal request and response to speak. The request comes to the most senior Enron executive, and appears to reinforce his prominence in outside circles.

Table 20

Conversation 8 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Invitation and proxy acceptance to speak

Bifurcation Points. The sole bifurcation point in this conversation is the response to “[t]hey would like to invite you to be the luncheon speaker.” While seemingly innocuous, this request and subsequent response is an opportunity to decline or accept the appearance and to have possibilities of Enron’s community role, as well as the role of its executives.

Conversation 9

Description. The ninth conversation occurred between Rosalee Flemming, Ken Lay’s assistant, and a group of other people, including Ken’s daughter Elizabeth Lay, and Ken Lay, the CEO of Enron. It took place on April 7, 2000, lasting three individual emails in total. This chain is unique in that one email contains two separate voices –those of both Ken Lay and Rosalee Flemming. The conversation opens between father and daughter, talking about recent events and requesting authority to attend the Republican National Convention. Response is from a proxy to the request, confirming difficulty and status. Final turn is transcription via proxy and a short response to the request. Overall it appears conversation is utilization of family and corporate positioning to procure high-profile tickets to an event. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 9.

Table 21

Conversation 9 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Request for information and attendance status
Turn 2	Proxy request and response
Turn 3	Status of request

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of three turns results in one triplet.

The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplet is a simple request to attend an event, although the request is for particular status in doing so. The request is met with a response and suggested action.

Table 22

Conversation 9 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Event request execution

Bifurcation Points. There are two decision points in this conversation. The first is the response to “I would really like to attend if possible,” the request by Ken Lay’s daughter. This request is met with tempered possibility, but it does demonstrate Ken Lay’s, and by extension Enron’s, reach in political circles. The second is the response to “let me know what the feed back is in regards to campaign help.” Both indicate Enron’s political reach and role, while highlighting the nature of Ken and his daughter’s relationship.

Conversation 10

Description. The tenth conversation occurred between Gary Hamel, working for public relations at Enron, and a group of other people, including Rosalee Flemming representing Ken Lay, and Grace Reim. It took place from May 11, 2000, to May 14,

2000, lasting eight individual emails in total. This conversation suggests a work process of refining public quotes for Ken Lay. First turn are potential quotes from Ken Lay authored by another party. Second turn is a request for review, third turn is the response with edits for quotes attributable to Ken Lay. Fourth turn is a revision based on requests, and fifth turn is the edits and request for final approval before sending it to Ken Lay. Next two turns are finalizing based on offline conversations and then confirmation from the original source. The conversation demonstrates careful control of communication within and outside of the organization as a way of managing opinions and meanings. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 10.

Table 23

Conversation 10 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Information and preference expression
Turn 2	Information and opinion request
Turn 3	Opinion, request for change, and guidance
Turn 4	External opinion confirmation and request for decision
Turn 5	Conditional guidance and approval request
Turn 6	Polite request response
Turn 7	Current status and conditional request
Turn 8	Status

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of eight turns results in five triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets imply an exchange in speechwriting, designed to get at the highest quality writing for approval by Ken Lay. The exchanges occur in a feedback-loop pattern, and a consistent revision cycle occurs until the draft is ready for approval from the speaker.

Table 24

Conversation 10 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Editing approval request
2	2, 3, 4	Edit response
3	3, 4, 5	Feedback incorporation
4	4, 5, 6	Feedback acceptance
5	5, 6, 7	Final approval request
6	6, 7, 8	Full acceptance of work

Bifurcation Points. There are six separate bifurcation points present. Most involve the revision of public statements by Enron. These include the responses to “[a]t this point your blessing or revision on this blurb will be the final,” “[i]s this okay now,” “[w]onders if ‘substantial’ would suffice,” “[w]hat would you think of replacing ‘radical innovators’ with ‘outstanding innovators’ or ‘super innovators,’” and “[i]f you want to think of acceptable replacements for ‘radical,’ I’ll then let Ken decide which word he wants (including the choice of radical) and put the quotation to bed.” All of these points are met with revision or acceptance, but offer the chance to discuss Enron’s organizational positioning. Finally, the response to “[y]our thoughts” leads to discussion on the quotes, but could also spur discussion on the impetus for the quotes and occasion.

Conversation 11

Description. The eleventh conversation occurred between Rick Buy, the chief risk officer for Enron, and a group of other people, including Rick Carson and David Gorte at Enron. It took place on September 13, 2001, lasting five individual emails in total. This conversation deals directly with business process. First turn is a revision of a commonly used business form, followed by the second turn of opinion on the form and its changes from executive levels. Third turn is clarification of the second turn, fourth

turn is an opinion responding to the revisions. Final turn is proposed conditional action without any more comment. This conversation demonstrates attention to form detail and the communicative importance, especially between executives and a frequently used form. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 11.

Table 25

Conversation 11 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Proposed change and feedback request
Turn 2	Opinion provision
Turn 3	Request for clarification
Turn 4	Agreement expression
Turn 5	Conditional decision and offering of help

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of five turns results in three triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets denote a business process decision. The participants express opinions and conditions, while attempting to improve an internal process for business deals.

Table 26

Conversation 11 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Feedback and clarification
2	2, 3, 4	Clarification agreement
3	3, 4, 5	Edit acceptance

Bifurcation Points. There are three bifurcation points in this exchange. The first is “[p]lease let me know if my group can do anything else.” The response is not clear in the exchange, but this is a common closing used by Enron employees and offers the possibility of change. Second, “[a]re you saying that you just want three DASH categories, i.e. 1) Proceed, 2) Do not proceed, and 3) Returns Below Capital Price with

no category for issues, RAC Comments, etc.” This is specific, and is asking for clarification. Finally, “[p]lease let me know what you think” is also common to the emails, but suggests a further dialogue based on opinion.

Conversation 12

Description. The twelfth conversation occurred between Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and William Bradford, an organizational member underneath Rick Buy. It took place on October 17, 2001, lasting four individual emails in total. This conversation is a request of addition to Enron from an outside member, and subsequent review. Opinions are traded, but deemed not what the executives had in mind. It seems as though the outside member had some inside ties, hence the email connection made. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 12.

Table 27

Conversation 12 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Information provision
Turn 2	Conditional action
Turn 3	Opinion and conditional request
Turn 4	History and opinion

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of four turns results in two triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets show an external hiring inquiry, and the resulting discussion about fit within the organization. The external participant is seeking entry, while the internal participants discuss the possibility of such a request.

Table 28

Conversation 12 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Hiring request opinion
2	2, 3, 4	Personnel agreement

Bifurcation Points. There is a single decision point in this conversation: the response to “[i]f you concur let me know and I’ll get back to Carl.” The response is a conditional opinion, but also could be an invitation for further meaning-making.

Conversation 13

Description. The thirteenth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and William Bradford, a subordinate. It took place between October 25, 2001, and November 5, 2001, lasting nine individual emails in total. The conversation starts as a business practice update, followed by dissemination of the information. The update directly impacts ongoing business, and the principals have discussions on what to do for future practices. Authorization is sought from different hierarchical members of Enron, and it appears the conversation resolves the issues presented. Interesting to note is the discussion level – who participates and who does not. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 13.

Table 29

Conversation 13 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Conditional information and request
Turn 2	Forwarding information
Turn 3	Raising of issue and promise
Turn 4	Conditional statements and request
Turn 5	Question and statement
Turn 6	Statement and request
Turn 7	Question

Turn 8	Question and conditional response
Turn 9	Statements

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of nine turns results in seven triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets suggest two distinct business operations: a procedural note regarding the current climate, and a contextual note regarding a particular engagement. The participants discuss the implications of the rule, while addressing the appropriate level of oversight required in this particular context.

Table 30

Conversation 13 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Policy application
2	2, 3, 4	Policy contextual response
3	3, 4, 5	Informative guidance request
4	4, 5, 6	Question and response
5	5, 6, 7	Conditional issue elevation
6	6, 7, 8	Question and response
7	7, 8, 9	Explanation of action

Bifurcation Points. Four bifurcation points comprise the thirteenth conversation. First is the response to “[a]re there lots more,” which is met with additional information. The second is a question to involve Whalley, a higher level executive, and is met with clarifying information. The third is a clearly-defined decision point that is met with affirmation, specifically the phrase “[w]hat do you want to do about this.” Finally, the long phrase “[r]egardless, need your input as soon as possible on whether we can continue transacting business where cash collection is not coincident (or in advance of) cash out the door” is preceded by permission-seeking and forwarding of the message.

Conversation 14

Description. The fourteenth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and Tim DeSpain, an Enron subordinate. It took place on November 12, 2001, lasting five individual emails in total. This conversation begins with news headlines, and an employee noting these headlines are not positive for the job. The headlines are met with confusion, and another member responds with future action and addressing the headlines. The final turn is a statement about dealing with the headlines, and denotes external and internal pressure faced by Enron. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 14.

Table 31

Conversation 14 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Statement and work request
Turn 2	Statement
Turn 3	Question
Turn 4	Statement and proxy request
Turn 5	Forwarding of information and status

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of five turns results in three triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets suggest a response to negative information, and what this response could look like. Ultimately the news escalates hierarchically within the organization, alerting management of external issues.

Table 32

Conversation 14 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Negative information sharing
2	2, 3, 4	Information response

3	3, 4, 5	Incident response expression
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Bifurcation Points. The sole decision point in this conversation is the response to “???” Conversational action and status are presented in response, although these responses could include different opportunities to examine Enron’s activities as they relate to external news items that negatively impact the organizational image.

Conversation 15

Description. The fifteenth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and William Bradford, a subordinate. It took place on November 12, 2001, lasting four individual emails in total. The first email is rather lengthy, and a description of a model used to evaluate potential business dealings. The email opens with an apology, as this is not the preferred method of communication. It is then disseminated multiple times, and a meeting is set up to discuss the contents of the original message. After inclusion, an Enron member complains that there should not be so much time spent on a model, which is echoed by a senior executive voice. It appears to be a disagreement of resource utilization of business time, and a critique on direction. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 15.

Table 33

Conversation 15 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Information and conditional request
Turn 2	Question and opinion
Turn 3	Command and opinion
Turn 4	Opinion

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of four turns results in two triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets

suggest a product of business work and the reaction to the following communication. The higher organizational members suggest that the current efforts are wasting time, and there is a better use of time available.

Table 34

Conversation 15 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Opinion expression on issue raised
2	2, 3, 4	Comments on current status

Bifurcation Points. There are three decision points in the above conversation. First, the focusing on action after the phrase “[s]hould this not be a Credit / Research initiative while the business unit focuses on originating good economic transactions” marks a point in which the conversation could take many different directions. Second, the question “[h]ow complex do we want these MODELS to be” would seem to indicate a dissatisfaction with the current social reality being created, and an attempt to guide in a new direction. Finally, “Vince and Bill – if you want to join the meeting, please let me or Anita know” is met with the addition of more people to the upcoming meeting, although this is not the only possibility that comes to mind.

Conversation 16

Description. The sixteenth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, William Bradford, and Jane Wilhite, an Enron member. It took place on April 3, 2001, lasting four individual emails in total. This conversation concerns an upcoming business deal, and more significantly, its reflection on Enron as an organization. First turn is a business description with recommended action, while second turn elevates the risk outside of (and differentiating from) a legal

perspective – involving a public relations perspective and others. Next is a dissemination, and then finally a full elevation to the top levels of the organization. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 16.

Table 35

Conversation 16 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Suggested action and conditional request
Turn 2	Conditional statements
Turn 3	Forwarding of information
Turn 4	Stated action and opinion request

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of four turns results in two triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets imply a proposed business deal with potential consequences for public image. The participants are unsure of how to proceed, and progressively move the issue higher in the organization.

Table 36

Conversation 16 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Status dissemination
2	2, 3, 4	Approval-seeking

Bifurcation Points. There are two bifurcation points in this conversation. The first has an unclear response, specifically to the phrase “[I]et’s see what he has to say.” The “he” referred to is Jeff Skilling, the top executive after Ken Lay’s descent, and is an invitation for more conversational partners. The second is the forwarding and approval of the phrase “[I]et me know if you need anything else from me,” which is commonly used as a closing phrase for potential future conversation.

Conversation 17

Description. The seventeenth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and William Bradford, a subordinate. It took place on March 20, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. This conversation is focused on organizational membership. This sequence starts with basic networking and self-promotion, followed by a question of utilization with current business activity. The conversation alludes to a test, perhaps to demonstrate skill or fit, for the potential member – denoting a sort of interest in utilizing resources to help the organization but maintaining fit. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 17.

Table 37

Conversation 17 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Polite statements
Turn 2	Conditional question
Turn 3	Conditional statements

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets suggest a simple hiring inquiry, and the potential fit by the external member. It's a simple conversation that culminates in a proposed test for entry into the organization.

Table 38

Conversation 17 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Hiring decision process

Bifurcation Points. There is a single bifurcation point in this conversation, specifically the response to “[w]hat is your view on taking analysts from the program in

the group? He may be able to help with some of the credit analysis that we are backlogged on?” A conditional approval is the identified response, but there also might have been room for further dialogue.

Conversation 18

Description. The eighteenth conversation occurred between a group of people including James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and Travis McCullough and Rob Walls, Enron subordinates. It took place between November 28th and 30th, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. The conversation focuses on the use of counsel for legal matters internationally. First turn is a request for resources, specifically legal, in regards to offering business on a country / jurisdiction-specific basis. The response is quick and direct, giving the appearance of an executive decision. The response is a thank you and involvement with a wider business resource, which is followed by a questioning of the decision-making of the original response. The final turn is an elevation to the top level executive, which states he was not informed of the current practice. The conversation is interesting simply on the basis of empowering decisions versus seeking approval, and the tone the email carries. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 18.

Table 39

Conversation 18 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Conditional status and dual requests
Turn 2	Response to request
Turn 3	Polite status and forwarding of information
Turn 4	Information request

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of four turns results in two triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets indicate an examination of business process. The lower hierarchy organizational member’s decision is shown to other organizational members for approval.

Table 40

Conversation 18 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Verifying previous decision
2	2, 3, 4	Discovering prior action

Bifurcation Points. There are six decision points viewable in this conversation. The first is a simple negative response and status to the question “[d]id you by any chance sign off on Justin’s choice of Indian law firm?” The second point is a direct command, which is met with clarification and forwarding of the email, shown as “[f]ind out which firm Justin is discussing with.” The third is not responded to clearly, but is a common ending in Enron emails: “[l]et me know.” The fourth is the phrase “I would like for either you or perhaps Lena to work directly with Travis and outside counsel and try to get some quick answers,” which is met by conversational action. The fifth is the phrase “I was hoping you could give us a little guidance on tracking down some Indian legal issues,” is met in a direct manner and resources are provisioned to accomplish this task. Finally, the phrase “...please let Wade and I know so we are not duplicating your efforts” is responded to with resources. These choices made in the conversation ultimately led to oversight and reaction, while could be made to allow for organizational and business change.

Conversation 19

Description. The nineteenth conversation occurred between a group of people including James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel, and Mark Evans, representing Enron legal for Europe. It took place between October 1 and 8, 2001, lasting six individual emails in total. This conversation concerns Enron’s business deals. First turn appears to be a relatively routine request for permission involving the sale of shares by an Enron affiliate office. The follow-up is an urgent request for approval, which is responded to by a request for knowledge in place of ignorance. The response is a partial confirmation with outside request for approval, and the following turns are approvals with a threat of consequences if the affiliated party acts in opposition to Enron. The conversation is intriguing as the threat of acting adversely is made explicit at the top executive level in conjunction with supporting smaller level decisions. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 19.

Table 41

Conversation 19 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Information request, status, request for permission
Turn 2	Information request
Turn 3	Confirmation request
Turn 4	Status
Turn 5	Approval request
Turn 6	Status

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of six turns results in four triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets denote an international business process and vetting of that process. There is a focus on the permission of the deal and representation, as well as the current status.

Table 42

Conversation 19 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Business deal ownership
2	2, 3, 4	Current business status
3	3, 4, 5	Permission granting-action
4	4, 5, 6	Granting of permission

Bifurcation Points. The bifurcation points present in this conversation are largely responded to with information-seeking or information. The following phrases are all met with this response: “[c]ould you please confirm,” “[c]ould you, please, give us your final ok as soon as possible,” and “I’d be grateful for feedback as a matter of urgency.” The remaining decision points are met with direct support, in response to the phrase “[u]nless you object, I will confirm that CC can proceed,” and confirmation to the phrase “...but would appreciate your confirmation as well.”

Conversation 20

Description. The twentieth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and David Delainey, an Enron member. It took place on August 10th, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. The conversation begins with a rough assessment of a satellite operation, and two proposed courses of action. The response is another request for review and status, followed by an update and counter status portraying the office as not as bad as initially thought. Conversation changes social realities of the same situation by efforts across multiple people, as evidenced in the shifting of opinions presented. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 20.

Table 43

Conversation 20 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Recommended action and opinion request
Turn 2	Discussion request
Turn 3	Status

Triplet Analysis. This simple conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplet demonstrates an organizational assessment of geographic locations. The participants debate the next steps to handling these offices, including process change.

Table 44

Conversation 20 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Business audit process

Bifurcation Points. There are three distinct bifurcation points in the conversation. The first is an unclear response to the phrase: “[i]f anyone would like to review, please call me directly.” The second is a status response to “if you could help set up the framework to discuss I would much appreciate.” Lastly, “[a]ny thoughts” is met with an invitation to discuss and act. All three share the possibility of more in this context.

Conversation 21

Description. The twenty-first conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, William Bradford, his subordinate, and Ted Murphy. It took place between September 11th and 12th, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. The first turn appears to be a need for more personnel to expand and

improve the business, followed by a request for improved communication and resource allocation in centralized versus distributed fashions. The final turn is an agreement with a lot of metaphors for aggressive growth and war themes. The conversation centers on growing the business appropriately, but takes an aggressive tone and demonstrates a strong-willed pursuit of higher profits and potential risks. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 21.

Table 45

Conversation 21 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Status and discussion request
Turn 2	Information and dual requests: improvement and discussion
Turn 3	Status and opinion request

Triplet Analysis. This short conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets show a business structure decision. The opinions are expressed in the current context, as well as invited for agreement or modification.

Table 46

Conversation 21 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Business structure discussion

Bifurcation Points. There are three decision points in this conversation. Two are answered with opinions, including “[t]houghts” and “[I]et’s discuss in the coming weeks.” The third phrase, “[w]hen you are here, we ought to make that a topic for discussion” does not have a clear response. All three present the ability to instantiate different social worlds with different choices at these critical moments, similar to the

other conversations. This context shows an opportunity for change, as the coordination across offices offers unique opportunities for examination of practices and potentially new or more equitable methods of organizing.

Conversation 22

Description. The twenty-second conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and Richard Causey, the chief of accounting. It took place on April 23, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. This conversation appears as a proposed solution as opposed to a proposed change with backing provided on the conversational exit. The first turn is an assessment of meeting structure with proposed revision, followed by a caution to understand why changes are required and if they are duplicating efforts. Final turn is a clarification of concern based on organizational membership change, and how to prevent this in the future via structural changes. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 22.

Table 47

Conversation 22 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Action request
Turn 2	Meeting request and status
Turn 3	Status and response

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets imply a response to meetings and frequency. The meeting is within the context of efficiency, and the utilization of the meeting from an organizational perspective.

Table 48

Conversation 22 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Organizational activity audit

Bifurcation Points. There are two bifurcation points in this conversation. The first opportunity is the response to “I will let you know what we come up with including if there are no issues at all,” which is unclear. The second response includes information and an opinion, coming from the phrase “[c]an the RAC people listed above please make a start at some of the recurring issues?” Both of these are business opportunities for future organizational change.

Conversation 23

Description. The twenty-third conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and David Crews, an Enron member. It took place on May 29 and 30, 2001, lasting six individual emails in total. The conversation starts with a business action, an apparent veto by the top-level executive. This is met with a request for more information, followed by a vague clarification. Followed by questions, the answers provided name specific people and provide a history of the conversation. The conversation ends with a thank you, a quick closure for a fairly lengthy email – it is as if the executive is trying to understand a decision without the necessary contextual history of the conversations held by the principal actors who made the decision. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 23.

Table 49

Conversation 23 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Status
Turn 2	Polite information request
Turn 3	Information and promise
Turn 4	Questions
Turn 5	Responses
Turn 6	Thank You

Triplet Analysis. This conversation of six turns results in four triplets. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets indicate a reaction to a senior organizational member’s action. This action is examined and requested for further context and opinion.

Table 50

Conversation 23 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Business action retrospective
2	2, 3, 4	Clarification request
3	3, 4, 5	Information response
4	4, 5, 6	Information request and response

Bifurcation Points. There are two decision points in this conversation. The first is the response to the phrases “[w]ere we involved in transaction? Did we run any numbers. Were we at the meeting with Skilling? Was corporate development involved? Who?” There are in-line direct responses to each question. The second is the response to “I would like more detail if we have it tx.” Details are provided, but both responses concern a top-level executive decision and sorting out the aftermath.

Conversation 24

Description. The twenty-fourth conversation occurred between a group of people including Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and Wanda Curry, an Enron member. It took place on July 17th and 18th, 2001, lasting three individual emails in total. The conversation starts with news about Enron getting fined, followed by a retroactive understanding of the business. The final turn is a metaphor about understanding a larger picture concerning the business; it appears this is another episode in a larger trend of understanding news from outside the organization internally in a retroactive fashion. For a complete text of this conversation, see Appendix, Conversation 24.

Table 51

Conversation 24 - Analysis of Turns

Turn 1	Forwarding of information
Turn 2	Status and thank you
Turn 3	Status and coordination request

Triplet Analysis. This short conversation of three turns results in one triplet. The table below describes and interprets the meaning of this set. In this conversation, the triplets imply a response to negative information. The response is connected to larger business context by the higher organizational members.

Table 52

Conversation 24 - Triplet Analysis

Triplets	Turns	Triplet Meaning
1	1, 2, 3	Business activity examination

Bifurcation Points. The final conversation has a single bifurcation point. The response to “[a] few facts on this may be helpful to understand the forest. Also, be sure to

coordinate with Ted on London stuff’ is not directly clear, but is an opportunity for meaning-making in continuing the conversation.

Level 2: Patterns Between Conversations

Daisy Analysis

The Daisy model focuses on a single theme, issue, question, or pattern at the center of the flower, and the petals are the individual Enron conversations analyzed above. The results of daisy modeling are provided below in Table 53:

Table 53

Daisy Model Results

Theme	Conversations
Reminders and Action	1, 2, 3
Conversation Forwarding	1, 5, 7, 14, 15, 18
Business Status	2, 4, 13
Proposed Action	3, 4
Response to Negative Press	5, 14, 24
Résumé Review and Personnel Decision	6, 12, 17
Expression of Gratitude	7
Business Process	15, 20, 21
Business Structure	20, 22
Business Decision	11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20
Public Appearance	8, 10
Proxy Conversations	8, 9
Conversational Inclusion Decision	13
Business Ethics	16
Retroactive Understanding	23

The various conversations listed above inform or construct participants’ ideas about the topic, or the center of the daisy. These patterns help to describe each conversation in relation to one another, thus fitting the goal of the description phase.

Atomic Analysis

The Atomic Model expands on the Daisy Model's results. Instead of isolating the themes and connecting them with conversations, the conversational participant is at the center of the model, and conversations overlap the participant, similar to fields overlapping an atom. This brings the analysis from individual patterns and participants to larger, interactive social worlds. The particular conversational participants that appeared in multiple conversations are shown below; note that there are only a few particular people who overlap in multiple social worlds. This overlap in conversations illustrates the reach that these executives experienced within the Enron hierarchy.

Table 54

Atomic Model Results

Person	Conversations
James Derrick, Jr.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 18, 19
Rob Walls	5, 7, 18
Rosalee Flemming	8, 9, 10
Rick Buy	11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24
William Bradford	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21

Both of these models illustrate the overlap executives and organizational members experienced, both topically through the daisy model and conversationally through the atomic model. This is important to show the complexity of social worlds; each participant had many conversations with different people at different times regarding different subjects, leading to webs of meaning that go beyond a linear, one-to-one conversational structure. However, these models do not illustrate the forms of communication that Enron members participated in and co-created through their email. For this, Coordinated

Management of Meaning provides the forms of communication concept, built on practices and resources.

Level Conclusion

Level 2 included descriptions of each conversation, turn identification, triplet analysis, bifurcation points, daisy modeling, and atomic modeling. These are the simplest levels of analysis, and form the basis for the following levels in a progressive fashion. By identifying these patterns and points, Level 3 can illustrate conversational practices and resources that participants drew from to co-create Enron. These levels then roll-up to higher and higher analyses (as demonstrated in Level 4 and Level 5, below) until the social worlds of Enron can be described in language grounded by patterns, turns, and points identified once the conversations were selected. These Level 2 results and their significance will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Level 3: Practices and Resources

In the following analysis, I made inferences about the possible meanings tied to various patterns observed in the data. This provides the resource-practice analysis detailed in Table 55.

Table 55

Practices and Resources

Observed Patterns (Practices)	Possible Meanings (Resources)
Pattern 1: Frequent references to other communications, as evidence by statements such as: “FYI” or “fyi” “Please see the message below” “Please copy me on your response”	Corporate desire to include necessary personnel for effective distribution of information
Pattern 2: Frequent interactions designed to	Participants’ need to make sure they

<p>achieve clarity, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“Let me know if you have any questions” “Are you saying that you just want...”</p>	<p>understand what others intend to say</p>
<p>Pattern 3: Tendency to use standard practices of deference and politeness, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“My apologies” “All the best”/“Best regards”/ “Regards” “Thank you for your consideration” “Thanks for your cooperation”</p>	<p>Normal relationship building activity or potential political posturing</p>
<p>Pattern 4: Usage of conditional statement to address situations, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“If there is anything I can assist with, please...” “If it is, please...” “If you have some suggestions” “If so, I’ll...” “Please let me know if my group can do anything else” “If anyone would like to review, please call me directly” “If you already have this project underway, please let Wade and I know so we aren’t duplicating your efforts” “Although there are no guarantees” “If not, 2.5 million is not Whalley level discussion” “If you concur let me know and I’ll get back to Carl” “If timing is an issue, I’m sure we can drag the process out a few weeks”</p>	<p>Participants attempting to address hypothetical situations, including shifting potential blame and focus</p>
<p>Pattern 5: Declaration of the end of communication, as evidenced primarily by the following statement:</p> <p>“No further comments”</p>	<p>Desire to stop a particular line of communication in a formal and final manner</p>

<p>Pattern 6: Reference to the physical office environment displayed digitally, as evidenced by the following statement:</p> <p>“I’m out of the office”</p>	<p>Business allusion to the office as a place of business and the availability of personnel for work activity</p>
<p>Pattern 7: Request(s) for activity feedback to given situations, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“At this point your blessing or revision on this blurb will be final” “Solicit your input” “Wanted your thoughts on the matter” “Your thoughts?” “Let me know what the feed back is in regards to campaign help” “Issues I wanted to raise with you” “I’d be grateful for feedback as a matter of urgency” “Do you have concerns” “Sensitive to Jim’s concerns” “Hope to hear from you on...” “But he leaves this one entirely to you” “Need your input as soon as possible on whether we can continue transacting business where cash collection is not coincident (or in advance of) cash out the door”</p>	<p>Participant desire to extend dialogue or seek further information or opinion</p>
<p>Pattern 8: Inclusion of permission-granting phrases and words, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“Need to get your ‘ok’ “I appreciate your ‘ok’” “Is this now okay?” “Could you, please, give us your final ok as soon as possible?” “I hope it is acceptable to you”</p>	<p>Desire for formal approval or denial on digital record or potential political posturing</p>
<p>Pattern 9: Dissemination of personal knowledge, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“I wanted to let you know how much we need and appreciate”</p>	<p>Participant need to inform parties of particular sets of information</p>

<p>“I just wanted to make sure you knew” “Just wanted to let everyone know what was already underway” “I just wanted to be sure all parties are aware of what we are doing”</p>	
<p>Pattern 10: Provision of status through personal knowledge, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“To my knowledge” “First I’ve heard of it” “I guess this means” “This is the first notice I have had of this matter” “I have been assured they will be forthcoming” “I would expect this is done already”</p>	<p>The informing of a population about an individual position, status, or opinion</p>
<p>Pattern 11: Communication of the current decision activity, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“No decision has been made” “It has been decided” “Therefore, we will move ahead with this”</p>	<p>Enactment of the decision process through communication in a recorded manner</p>
<p>Pattern 12: Invitations to engage in communication, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“Perhaps we could discuss” “Look forward to hearing from you” “Maybe we should talk sometime”</p>	<p>Attempts to extend the conversation or shift the conversation medium to a non-recorded or more personal exchange</p>
<p>Pattern 13: Presentation of potential actions and status, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“You may want to include Martin to help EES understand the complexity of their deals” “That’s good for you but may not be for Ken” “We can instantly make this change or any variation you would like in</p>	<p>The presentation of potential business actions, and the adjustments that can be made as a result</p>

<p>both the...” “You could be bold and very wrong”</p>	
<p>Pattern 14: Identification of business standing, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“The proposed purchase of PSI Net by EBS was officially killed by Skilling this morning” “Enron Metals gets fined – one cost of unharnessed operational risk” “RAC was not invited to the meeting with Skilling” “Jeff [Skilling] and the commercial team had different opinions about the managed hosting side of the business” “Given the latest redeployments and terminations the field offices are a shadow of their previous stature either way” “CC are of course aware of the consequences of acting adversely to Enron in litigation” “...is an issue to be resolved” “This is consistent with all of his coal business” “They want to come in here later this week to ‘sit on the trading floor’ to get a close up feel for how things are going” “This is not getting any easier”</p>	<p>Informally disseminating business information to selected parties</p>
<p>Pattern 15: Issuance of direct or indirect command(s), as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“Please let me know what Michelle finds out” “I assume you will communicate...about the philosophy of the change and implementation” “See what resolution can be reached with the positions and strategy you hold in your book”</p>	<p>Corporate commands with allusion to hierarchy and power</p>

<p>Pattern 16: Calling of attention to the communication medium, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“I’m not even sure where you are right now, but I imagine that you are checking your email, wherever you are”</p> <p>“I was hoping to talk to each of you so I could avoid writing this detailed, one-sided email, but with our schedules being so exclusive, this will have to do for now”</p>	<p>Participant calls to email’s strengths and limitations</p>
<p>Pattern 17: Declaration of interpersonal activity, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“I’m trying to get my hand on the report”</p> <p>“We are getting very close”</p> <p>“I left Skilling a message on this. Let’s see what he has to say”</p>	<p>Participant desire to inform others and appear to engage in activity</p>
<p>Pattern 18: Evaluative statements regarding employees and activity, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“Paulette is filling the gap wonderfully well”</p> <p>“We very much want her to return”</p> <p>“pass the resume on”</p> <p>“We need bodies so my vote would be to take him if he passes our test”</p> <p>“He does not seem to be very transactional focused which is what we need”</p>	<p>The informal human resources process that participants engage in to hire, promote, evaluate, and fire person(s)</p>
<p>Pattern 19: Demonstration of external business relations, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“It looks to be a very good and high visibility platform”</p> <p>“...very good guy”</p> <p>“You’ll enjoy talking with him”</p>	<p>Corporate relations outside of the defined business arena, both physical and digital</p>
<p>Pattern 20: Inquiries relating to general business, as evidenced by such statements as:</p>	<p>Participant information-seeking behavior</p>

<p>“Are you in the loop on this?” “Are there lots more.”</p>	
<p>Pattern 21: Requests for advice or direction, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“What do you want to about this?” “This is tying up capital when we are a little but short on capital” “Should we address this one with Whalley” “Would it be appropriate”</p>	<p>Corporate permission and guidance-seeking from different organizational members</p>
<p>Pattern 22: Inclusion of business metaphors or similes, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“Hamburger quality is monitored from Houston remotely” “OK but this is a tree and I want to focus on the forest” “The only stumbling block” “As I suspected, I was slow on the draw” “It seems we are trying to build a race car when there are no roads” “We need to at least consider that the window is open and let’s jump through”</p>	<p>Participant translation of business ideas and terms to relatable and easily digestible concepts</p>
<p>Pattern 23: Provision of interpersonal and business opinion(s), as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“These type of headlines not making our job any easier. We need to do some serious work to combat this stuff” “I violently agree with you on this point” “On another note, he still feels that...” “I think they will get the point” “They still don’t seem to understand” “Don’t want to create more</p>	<p>Participant expression of informal or formal opinions on digital record</p>

<p>meetings”</p> <p>“This is a very detailed business and I think we have lacked the coordination across offices”</p> <p>“My thought is that we create a McDonald’s Hamburger type operation. Each office is exactly the same and operates under precise and well communicated rules”</p> <p>“You wanted to find out the person responsible for this project within Enron and you were absolutely correct with your comment that is, as usual, a very urgent matter”</p> <p>“I do think the effort at EES is a waste of time”</p> <p>“I believe the following series of emails is a colossal waste of time.”</p> <p>“I want to do this deal”</p> <p>“In this current climate we should try wherever possible not to commit to posting collateral to counterparties for physical purchases of product unless absolutely necessary”</p> <p>“Clearly this is not credit risk; however, it seems plausible that there is potential for this deal to reflect negatively on Enron if it were to become known in the market that we were selling our network capacity to customers in this line of business”</p>	
<p>Pattern 24: Requests for general or specific information, as evidenced by such statements as:</p> <p>“I would like more detail if we have it tx”</p> <p>“...try to get some quick answers”</p> <p>“???”</p> <p>“Did you by any chance sign off on Justin’s choice of indian law firm?”</p>	<p>The seeking of more information, and the underlying assumption that more information might be available</p>
<p>Pattern 25: Offering of personal business activity plans, as evidenced by the following statement:</p>	<p>Expression of future activity plans as a function of business process</p>

<p>“I have been assured that several process changes have been implemented to correct the underlying problem, but I will also get enough additional details to make my own assessment”</p>	
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Now that practices and resources have been outlined, the forms of communication are built on top of those concepts. Of course, there is not one single form of communication solely present in the data corpus; rather, a collection of forms of communication is manifested in the email conversations. The examples that follow are taken directly from the above list of utterances as a visual way to demonstrate that forms of communication ultimately arise from practices and resources at the basic level.

Level Conclusion

Level 3 included practices and resources, based on CMM concepts. The identified practices and resources illustrate the building blocks of communication, and how to co-create meaning among conversational participants. These “blocks” were built upon the patterns and turns identified in Level 2 and now are considered together in the next level of analysis, Level 4, which focuses on forms of communication. These Level 3 results and their significance will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Level 4: Forms of Communication

As noted in Chapter 3, Pearce (1989) outlined four forms of communication—monocultural, ethnocentric, modernistic, and cosmopolitan. The Enron email corpus demonstrates three of the four forms of communication according to CMM, with two forms dominating the text – ethnocentric and modernistic. In addition to the dominant forms in the data, the two cosmopolitan communication examples are included as a

potential for other forms of interaction. Monocultural communication is not evidenced in the data. These forms were identified through a thorough reading of the email transcripts, and relying on the practices and resources that were generated above. Table 56 at the conclusion of this section summarizes the following findings.

Ethnocentric Communication

First, ethnocentric communication is defined as, a form of communication that occurs within families and neighborhoods as well as between cultures. In ethnocentric communication, whatever ‘we’ are is defined in part by its contrast with ‘them,’ and ‘our’ resources include specific ways of dealing with ‘them’ such that those resources are not put at risk. (Pearce, 1989, p. 120)

It focuses on dividing, creating in and out groups, or using “us” and “them” terminology. This form of communication is exemplified through several utterances listed in Table 56. While these examples are diverse and span multiple people and conversations, they share the characteristics of ethnocentric communication. Each utterance, in some way, speaks to an “us vs. them” division. This division might help to explain Enron’s external relationships, as well as the interpersonal dynamics within the organization.

Modernistic Communication

Modernistic communication also dominated the email conversations I analyzed. Modernistic communication differs from ethnocentric communication in four key ways (Pearce, 1989). First, modernistic communication requires a great degree of mindfulness to be aware of old and new resources. Second, the quality of uniqueness is attributed to communicators who engage in this form reflexively. Third, a sense of time occurs in a

mutable sequence – older events are seen to cause more recent ones, and newer events/objects are better. Finally, there is a distinct knowledge of the process by which practices (re)construct resources. These four distinctions make up modernistic communication as a way of privileging the new and disparaging the old. This form of communication is exemplified through several utterances listed in Table 56.

There are not as many examples of modernistic communication as ethnocentric, but enough to still warrant discussion. Modernistic communication values change and the new, and Enron as an organization spoke about changes in a generally positive manner. These changes corrected problems, or increased value; they were not discussed as negative or hurting the organization. In addition to ethnocentric communication, the modernistic communication exhibited in the Enron emails can help explain some of Enron's constitution and activities.

Cosmopolitan Communication

Lastly, there are two examples of cosmopolitan communication. Cosmopolitan communication is defined as unique from the other forms of communication through its focus on coordination over coherence and its unusual way of achieving mystery (Pearce, 1989). Coordination is placed above coherence, such that I do not need to understand your point of view but I can move forward in conversational meaning-creation with you. The email corpus only contained two examples of this form of communication, as noted in Table 56. In these examples, coherence is not privileged; coordination, whether across offices or persons, is placed at the forefront. Perhaps if more cosmopolitan communication were practiced at Enron, better coordination might have occurred and resulted in less risk and undesirable organizational outcomes.

Table 56

Forms of Communication

Forms of Communication	Resources and Practices
<p>Ethnocentric A form of communication typified by the division of people into member and nonmember groups, and communicative resources not being conversationally placed at risk.</p>	<p>Identification of business standing. Examples:</p> <p>“They want to come in here later this week to ‘sit on the trading floor’ to get a close up feel for how things are going”</p> <p>“CC are of course aware of the consequences of acting adversely to Enron in litigation”</p> <p>“RAC was not invited to the meeting with Skilling”</p> <p>“Jeff [Skilling] and the commercial team had different opinions about the managed hosting side of the business”</p> <p>Evaluative statements regarding employees and activity. Example:</p> <p>“He does not seem to be very transactional focused which is what we need”</p> <p>Inclusion of business metaphors or similes. Examples:</p> <p>“these type of headlines not making our job any easier. We need to do some serious work to combat this stuff”</p> <p>“Hamburger quality is monitored from Houston remotely”</p> <p>Provision of interpersonal and business opinion(s). Examples:</p>

	<p>“I think they will get the point”</p> <p>“They still don’t seem to understand”</p> <p>“Clearly this is not credit risk; however, it seems plausible that there is potential for this deal to reflect negatively on Enron if it were to become known in the market that we were selling our network capacity to customers in this line of business”</p> <p>“My thought is that we create a McDonald’s Hamburger type operation. Each office is exactly the same and operates under precise and well communicated rules”</p>
<p>Modernistic A form of communication exemplified by a privileging of the new and disparaging of the old; communicative resources are constantly placed at risk.</p>	<p>Issuance of direct or indirect command(s). Example:</p> <p>“I assume you will communicate...about the philosophy of the change and implementation”</p> <p>Requests for general or specific information. Example:</p> <p>“I would like more detail if we have it tx”</p> <p>Offering of personal business activity plans. Example:</p> <p>“I have been assured that several process changes have been implemented to correct the underlying problem, but I will also get enough additional details to make my own assessment”</p>
<p>Cosmopolitan</p>	<p>Presentation of potential actions and status.</p>

<p>A form of communication that focuses on coordination over coherence and allows communicators to selectively place resources at risk.</p>	<p>Example:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“That’s good for you but may not be for Ken.”</p> <p>Provision of interpersonal and business opinion(s). Example:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“This is a very detailed business and I think we have lacked the coordination across offices.”</p>
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Level Conclusion

Level 4’s analysis focuses on forms of communication. These forms of communication consist of practices and resources, built from the identified conversational patterns. The forms of communication are more pervasive than practices and resources, and therefore require a higher-level analysis, one that spans multiple conversations. Taken together, forms of communication combine with the four flows concept to bring the analysis to Level 5, which analyzes social worlds. However, these Level 4 results and their significance will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Level 5: Social Worlds

I want to connect the four flows that constitute organizations--member negotiation, self-structuring, activity coordination, and institutional positioning (McPhee & Zaugg, 2000)—to the social worlds Enron created. Doing so increases the possibility for critique in the organizational context for both products and processes. This connection also describes the social world(s) Enron created in greater detail beyond the communicative processes.

Member Negotiation

Member negotiation involves the formal or informal communicative processes that organizations and their members enact to decide who will affiliate with the organization; this could include the job application process, team selection, or any number of communicative acts that determine who is a member and who is not a member. Ongoing socialization is also an aspect of member negotiation that applies to members as they participate in the organizational experience. There are several utterances that exemplify Enron's attempts at defining who are and who are not organizational members. These attempts include passing on résumés, or asking if there is a fit for a particular person. These are copied below from the resources and practices list:

Table 57

Member Negotiation

"...pass the resume on"
"We very much want her to return"
"May be we should talk sometime"
"He does not seem to be very transactional focused which is what we need"
"We need bodies so my vote would be to take him if he passes our test"

Enron members were purposeful in this member negotiation, deciding if a potential employee was focused on a particular view, or a particular mindset. This negotiation directly affected the organization, driving decisions that were co-created by the affiliated members.

Self-Structuring

The second way in which organizations are made and remade in communication is self-structuring. This flow consists of formal communicative activities and texts designed to affect the structure of the organization, from management and subordinates to

physical structures and similar hierarchies. Included here are legal documents and bylaws, as well as direction and power dictation for conversational interaction. Examples include communications concerning how member time will be used, the direction of resources, and the chain of command within an organizational hierarchy. Enron engaged in self-structuring, as evidenced in utterances concerning meeting attendance, remote office monitoring, decisions and their fallout, and responsibility. These utterances are copied below from the resources and practices list:

Table 58

Self-Structuring

“Paulette is filling the gap wonderfully well”
“If not, 2.5 million is not Whalley level discussion”
“Should we address this one with Whalley”
“I do think the effort at EES is a waste of time”
“You may want to include Martin to help EES understand the complexity of their deals”
“I was hoping to talk to each of you so I could avoid writing this detailed, one-sided e-mail, but with our schedules being so exclusive, this will have to do for now”
“I left Skilling a message on this. Let’s see what he has to say”
“I just wanted to be sure all parties are aware of what we are doing”
“If you already have this project underway, please let Wade and I know so we aren’t duplicating your efforts”
“You wanted to find out the person responsible for this project within Enron and you were absolutely correct with your comment that is, as usual, a very urgent matter”
“Given the latest redeployments and terminations the field offices are a shadow of their previous stature either way”
“My thought is that we create a McDonald’s Hamburger type operation. Each office is exactly the same and operates under precise and well communicated rules”
“Hamburger quality is monitored from Houston remotely”
“This is a very detailed business and I think we have lacked the coordination across offices”
“RAC was not invited to the meeting with Skilling”
“Jeff [Skilling] and the commercial team had different opinions about the managed hosting side of the business”

“The proposed purchase of PSI Net by EBS was officially killed by Skilling this morning”

Enron as an organization participated in self-structuring in such a way as to improve the overall business and profitability. The utterances above demonstrate that, and the critical decisions these conversations led to form Enron’s hierarchy and structure. Skilling’s role of power, for example, can be seen as reinforced and created through the conversational artifacts.

Activity Coordination

The third way in which organizations are made and remade in communication is activity coordination. Activity coordination is the communicative process that allows Enron employees to perform some activity in conjunction with one another. Outside of formal policies and procedures, activity coordination can concern unexpected issues, emotional interactions, and other conversations outside of edicts. The daily activities that require multiple parties fall under activity coordination, such as meetings or conversations concerning future actions. Enron engaged in activity coordination, as evidenced in utterances that described meetings, proposed deals, and future work. These utterances are copied below from the resources and practices list:

Table 59

Activity Coordination

“...if there is anything I can assist with, please...”
“If it is, please...”
“Solicit your input”
“Need to get your ‘ok’”
“I appreciate your ‘ok’”
“No decision has been made”
“It has been decided”
“...wanted your thoughts on the matter”

“Please let me know what Michelle finds out”
“Are you in the loop on this?”
“At this point your blessing or revision on this blurb will be final”
“That’s good for you but may not be for Ken”
“I hope it is acceptable to you”
“I assume you will communicate...about the philosophy of the change and implementation”
“Please let me know if my group can do anything else”
“We can instantly make this change or any variation you would like in both the...”
“If you concur let me know and I’ll get back to Carl”
“This is consistent with all of his coal business”
“If timing is an issue, I’m sure we can drag the process out a few weeks”
“...need your input as soon as possible on whether we can continue transacting business where cash collection is not coincident (or in advance of) cash out the door”
“In this current climate we should try wherever possible not to commit to posting collateral to counterparties for physical purchases of product unless absolutely necessary”
“...these type of headlines not making our job any easier. We need to do some serious work to combat this stuff”
“Therefore, we will move ahead with this”
“Don’t want to create more meetings”

Enron as an organization participated in activity coordination, acting in concert across offices and space and time. These actions produced varying effects, rippling across the organizational members. In the utterances, these synchronous activities took the form of business deals, or recommended actions. Perhaps if the deals and actions had been different, or coordinated in a different manner, Enron might have experienced a different outcome.

Institutional Positioning

Finally, Enron engaged in institutional positioning. Institutional positioning is the formal or informal communicative process that allows organizations to determine their relationships with the larger societal context, organizations, institutions, and individuals; for example, an organization’s institutional positioning could be that of having the

reputation as a leader in a particular field or innovative, as Enron was widely considered (PBS, 2007). Branding strategy documents and discussions with family members about an organization are two more examples. Enron engaged in activity coordination, as evidenced in utterances that described external dangers or risks, appearances, and interactions with politicians. These utterances are copied below from the resources and practices list:

Table 60

Institutional Positioning

“...very good guy”
“You’ll enjoy talking with him”
“...let me know what the feed back is in regards to campaign help”
“They want to come in here later this week to ‘sit on the trading floor’ to get a close up feel for how things are going”
“They still don’t seem to understand”
“Clearly this is not credit risk; however, it seems plausible that there is potential for this deal to reflect negatively on Enron if it were to become known in the market that we were selling our network capacity to customers in this line of business”
“Did you by any chance sign off on Justin’s choice of indian law firm?”
“CC are of course aware of the consequences of acting adversely to Enron in litigation”
“Enron Metals gets fined – one cost of unharnessed operational risk”

Enron as an organization participated in institutional positioning, creating boundaries and asserting influence. Politicians, particularly from the Republican party, were engaged with Enron; Ken Lay and his daughter attended the Republican National Convention and inquired about helping the Republican campaign. Other organizations were warned of consequences in acting opposite Enron’s interests; Ken Lay’s public appearances were scripted and rehearsed. These actions positioned Enron in a particular

way; not only as a leader, but as an organization that was above reproach. If this position had been different, different outcomes might have been enjoyed.

Level Conclusion

Level 5 produced the highest analysis of communication, that of social worlds. These social worlds were made from forms of communication and the four flows, thus creating Enron itself as an organization. These social worlds identify Enron and speak to the complexity of each level that built the level above it, ending at Level 5. These Level 5 results and their significance will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Conclusion

The positive and negative aspects of the social worlds and organizational cultures made and lived in through email communication are on full display in the analysis above. Enron members participated in discussions regarding business practices, ethics, reputations, and relationships; they engaged in processes that excluded or included people on the basis of a number of different criteria. The organizational culture can be described as modernistic, focusing on increasing efficiency and profit. Damage control was enacted, as were threats, both evidenced in digital email. However, polite communication was frequently practiced, as was inclusion of different organizational members. Praise was handed out, and new members were welcomed to Enron. Help was offered frequently in various projects. The cultures and social worlds Enron created were complex; not simply good or bad, positive or negative.

It is through the four flows and social worlds that Enron came into and continued to exist. Since Enron's fall occurred in late 2001 into early 2002 (PBS, 2007), the organization has existed only in past communication and current news articles, but at one

time it was a dominant organization in the United States of America. How could Enron have made different social worlds, different flows, to continue its existence in a more productive manner?

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Enron was a complex organization composed of many social worlds that were constructed through employee conversations. To understand the findings section above, the data will now be framed in each research sub-question in a question and answer format.

I found four types of conversations in these email exchanges in my data set. The first type is **requests for coordination or understanding**. This category sought common ground to move forward on business transactions, or requested clarification about shared activity. The second type, **networking**, was evidenced primarily in the seeking of an organizational membership for a non-member. This typically took the form of seeking “fit” within Enron, or contacting senior leadership for placement based on prior relationships. The third type is the **management of opinions**, which is different from requesting understanding. These conversations involved coming to consensus about business topics, as opposed to simply sharing information; it is the molding of an organizational response across different people. The final type of conversation found in my data set is the **escalation of topics** to higher organizational members; this was consistent with seeking permission or requesting clarification from members that have higher positions in terms of role.

Although helpful, this list of conversation types does not really identify interactional patterns in the back-and-forth of the emails. Such patterns are found in the ways in which participants in conversations respond to one another. The first sub-question addresses this concern.

RQ1A: What patterns are apparent in Enron executive email conversations?

There are three ways to assess the patterns present in the Enron email data set – triplets, atomic, and daisy modeling. As a review of Chapter 3, triplets looked at the back-and-forth interaction within conversations, the daisy modeling identified the various themes addressed by various conversations, and the atomic analysis identified which individuals were involved in various conversations.

Triplet Analysis

The triplet analysis is seen in tables presented in the findings section, and I have collapsed those triplets into discernable patterns. The first pattern evidenced in the triplets was a **business-focus**; these included topics like status, structure, or examining business activity. This pattern was not surprising given the context of the Enron organization. The second pattern was one of **choosing not to comment on matters internal or external**. This pattern was shown by quotes including “no further comment” or declining to elaborate on a particular issue. The third pattern, **back-and-forth**, was demonstrated by a statement-response flow with conversational participants, following a question and answer format. Many emails, and thus triplets, were based around a question and response. The fourth pattern was one of **spreading information to organizational members**. This information could be the status of a particular business deal, or updated information regarding personnel. The fifth pattern was **soliciting feedback** or information-seeking, typically with the conversational assumption of more information available to the participants. The final pattern was **politeness**, which was frequently exhibited in the opening and closing of emails, as well as in the body of the message.

These six patterns manifested through the emails and showed Enron's communication patterns in triplet form.

Daisy Model

Patterns, while assessed through general descriptions and triplets, can also be recognized using the daisy and atomic models. The daisy model clustered email conversations around one pattern that spanned multiple people. I then took the list of daisy model patterns from the findings section and compacted those into five overall patterns: business, meta-communication, public interaction, personnel, and action. The business pattern included process, status, structure, decisions, and ethics, totaling twelve analyzed conversations. This pattern was apparent, and not unexpected; I assumed a lot of the conversations I would analyze would revolve around Enron's business and its activities. The second pattern that was readily apparent was meta-communication. This pattern was a repetition of focus on the process of communication, including forwarding emails, having conversations through an additional participant or proxy, and choosing whom to include in a given conversation; this pattern totaled nine conversations. The third pattern was public interaction, including response to negative press and general appearance, totaling five conversations. Enron members discussed how to handle negative press internally, as well as manage external relationships and speaking engagements. The fourth pattern was personnel, and included hiring, firing, and evaluative statements regarding potential members. This pattern was evidenced in three particular conversations, and I felt it worthwhile to include as a pattern that was not simply limited to the human resources area of Enron. The final pattern, action, was shown through four conversations. This pattern involved participant reminders about

communication or actions, as well as proposed actions that were suggested in conversation. These five patterns emerged as the result of daisy modeling, but were not evenly distributed; the business and meta-communication themes dominated the interactions. This dominance was expected given the context, but noteworthy in that public interaction, personnel, and action were lesser themes. This evidence speaks to a focus more on the transfer of information from person to person and on business process, as opposed to defined focus on the organizational membership and external interaction. Given Enron's demise and efforts to conceal internal actions, a stronger focus within email communication on these lesser patterns could have produced different outcomes.

Atomic Model

Atomic modeling revealed a set of patterns based on participants instead of themes or descriptions. These patterns showed how participants overlapped and intersected in conversations. From the analysis, only a few people were involved enough in multiple conversations to appear in the atomic model results: James Derrick, Jr.; Rob Walls; Rosalee Flemming; Rick Buy; and William Bradford. From these results, I inferred that these people were active participants in a number of conversations that led to the patterns produced by the daisy model. Most active in conversations were two participants: Rick Buy, the chief risk officer, and James Derrick Jr., general legal counsel. As revealed through the daisy modeling, Rick Buy was primarily involved in patterns of business decisions, personnel, and business structure; as a risk officer, he had input into Enron's structure and its business arrangements with outside and inside organizations. James Derrick Jr. was involved with reminders, actions, and business decisions, including legal oversight into business deals and choices of external law firms. When these

participants’ actions were overlaid on top of the daisy model results, the influence each of these men had on Enron is revealed.

Overriding Patterns

These three analyses—triplet, daisy, and atomic—look at patterns from different angles, and this analysis shows the complexity of the email data set. I combined these three levels of analysis to identify overriding patterns in the data. This higher-level analysis yielded three general patterns—business, coordination, and extraneous. The **business pattern** encompassed networking, escalation to hierarchy, business-focus, no comment, business, public interaction, and personnel. This pattern was most prevalent in the data, and not surprisingly contained a lot of Enron business activities. The second pattern, **coordination**, attempted to synchronize member and nonmember communication. This pattern included requests for understanding, back-and-forth, dissemination, feedback, and communication. The final pattern, **extraneous**, included patterns that appeared only in one of the pattern analyses; these were management of opinions, politeness, and action. These three patterns neatly summarize the email dataset in a progressive fashion, in keeping with the focus of rolling up layers of analyses to the final product. See Table 61 for a summary of the final patterns and their parts.

Table 61

Dataset Patterns

Final Patterns	Business	Coordination	Extraneous
Understanding request		x	
Networking	x		
Management of opinions			x
Escalation of topics	x		
Business focus	x		

No comment	x		
Back-and-forth		x	
Dissemination		x	
Feedback		x	
Politeness			x
Business	x		
Communication		x	
Public interaction	x		
Personnel	x		
Action			x

RQ1B: How do these patterns contribute to and reflect Enron executive cultures?

This question addresses how the patterns contributed to and reflected Enron’s executive culture(s). To address this question, I reflected on the analyses of practices and resources, forms, and social worlds outlined in Chapter 4. Together, these patterns constructed practices and resources, which in turn denoted forms, which comprised social worlds.

Practices and Resources

Practices and resources form the basis of communication. I identified practices and speculated on potential resources in Table 55, and I want to address these practices and resources in relation to the three identified patterns: business, coordination, and extraneous. The business pattern was readily viewable in Enron’s practices and resources, including practices of business standing, external business relations, evaluative statements, general business inquiries, and others. These resources included informal dissemination, human resources, corporate relations, and information-seeking behavior. The coordination pattern was the most dominant pattern within the practices and resources table, including a long list of practices: references to other communication, statements achieving clarity, conditional statements, feedback, and more. The speculative

resources that Enron members drew from to engage in these practices included corporate desires, participant needs, extension of communication, and others. This pattern was significant in an organization that demonstrated a high frequency of attempted coordination but ultimately failed to engage in self-regulation. The last pattern, extraneous, encapsulated some of the practices and resources that did not fit neatly into the first two patterns. These practices included interpersonal activity and politeness; I would state the associated resources are the interpersonal desire to inform others and normal relationship building activity. This section is a simple matching of practices and resources with the patterns identified in research sub-question RQ1A, but this step informed the subsequent steps which built upon the most basic of communicative resources.

Communication Forms

Practices and resources make up the basis of communication forms. These are patterns based on a particular type of communication. Each form has a unique way of being in the social world, and Enron engaged in three of the four forms described by Pearce (1989). From the fourth level of analysis, forms of communication are separated by how the participants place their resources at risk and treat one another like a “native” (p. 92). The first exhibited form is ethnocentric communication, in which resources are not at risk but others are treated as nonnatives; for example, an “us vs. them” division is characteristic of this form. The second form is modernistic communication, in which resources are at risk and others are treated as nonnatives; for example, an emphasis on modern ways of communicating or interaction. The final form, cosmopolitan communication, is minimally present in the data. This form allows participants to

selectively place resources at risk, and others are treated as natives; for example, choosing to progress forward without a complete understanding in an argument.

From an **ethnocentric** perspective, Enron divided groups of people, between members and nonmembers, between external publics and Enron itself. The organizational members spoke about external auditors, remote offices, and senior executives using this form of communication; it effectively divided members and further reinforced the established hierarchy. From a **modernistic** perspective, communicators sought more detail and desired change in the email exchanges. This form of communication was less prevalent than that of ethnocentric communication, yet still more common than cosmopolitan communication. Enron members engaged in **cosmopolitan** communication only to acknowledge that situations might not benefit other members, or that coordination should be privileged in dealing with different Enron offices.

Four Flows

According to Pearce (2007), social worlds are not clearly defined but rather fluid and changing contexts that agents in communication (re)make continually. It is for this reason, and a few others, that the four-flows constitutive concept is a useful way to provide structure to the social world(s) that Enron members helped create. Member negotiation, self-structuring, activity coordination, and institutional positioning defined Enron's social world(s), and thus illuminate the opportunity to further examine those social worlds via communication forms with the practices and resources concepts. Enron negotiated its membership through informal human resource processes, and thus ethnocentric communication forms, creating an in and out group experience for potential and actual organizational members. Enron self-structured by reinforcing hierarchy and

seeking permission conversationally, as well as providing business status. The organization coordinated its activity through space and time using email, and recommended action to various people within and external to the organization. Finally, Enron positioned itself politically and within the news media, and attempted to control its own image and external relations through speaking engagements and other conversations. The consequences of ethnocentric communication, noted as a pronounced hierarchy and in/out group divide, manifest themselves particularly when looking at the larger social world.

Conclusion

The concepts above gradually get broader to form the biggest concept, the social world. Enron formed social worlds that resulted in the loss of many people's livelihoods and imprisonment for the organization's leaders. To concisely answer this research sub-question, Enron's patterns of business, coordination, and extraneous communication led to a social world marred by ethnocentric communication, division, and a set of practices and resources that focused on business without delay. Coordination and business patterns led to a focus not on accountability and ethics, but rather a seemingly synchronized effort to conduct its business efficiently. The extraneous patterns, including a focus on polite relationship building, served to capture the remaining identified communication patterns. This organization's communicative actors wanted hierarchy, permission, and movement forward.

Focusing on the four flows as a descriptive tool, Enron selected organizational members with particular mindsets, and judged applicants to fit a particular mold. Enron structured itself as an organization with distributed decision-making, and acted in favor

of efficiency over transparency in multiple instances. Enron coordinated activity with meetings and business deals, often involving many people across different offices, including international offices. Finally, Enron positioned itself as a leader in a competitive business landscape, and an organization that could understand complex business concepts that other entities, including government agencies, could not. Taken together, the social worlds Enron created were complicated and efficient, with little oversight, and frequently engaging in specialized practices and resources that flowed into ethnocentric communication.

RQ1C: What are the most important bifurcation points in these conversations?

The email conversations, conducted between Enron employees and others, did contain bifurcation points. These points were choices that participants made in how to respond, and these decisions were significant to the outcome of the conversations noted. I noticed three distinct trends in the collection of bifurcation points. I want to address these trends as indicative of the most important bifurcation points, and speculate on their potential meanings as they relate to Enron as an organization. Each trend is a kind of choice that participants could make at various points in the conversations. These trends were devised by multiple read-throughs of all bifurcation points and their meanings as noted in the findings section.

Choice 1: What Process of Communication Should Be Followed?

The first identified trend centers on the communicative process. Frequently, conversational participants invited further communication, either hypothetically or directly. In a hypothetical manner, the bifurcation point manifested as an “if” statement; directly, participants would seek to continue the conversation after events or new

information was discovered. The shifting of communicative medium is also part of this trend, as a few decision points involved shifting an email conversation to the phone or scheduling a face-to-face meeting. Lastly, the addition or subtraction of participants is included in this trend. Taken together, these facets of the larger trend create an important focus on the communicative process, and the direction of the communication process to create participant-desired meanings. To speculate on this trend's meaning to Enron, I would describe the focus on process as providing participants a way to tailor their organizational experience to shifting situations. Enron as a business spanned a significant amount of different situations and contexts, and the communicative process focus afforded members a way to handle these different contexts. Different choices within this trend could have produced more thoughtful, transparent, or sustainable lines of communication, and kept Enron more accountable throughout the analyzed years.

Choice 2: What Business Decisions Should We Make?

The second trend is made up of business-focused communication. Enron members and non-members communicated about formal processes and protocols, and these conversations included permission-seeking decision points. These points were evidenced by questions in the discussion about the appropriateness of a particular set of decisions, such as to proceed using collateral, or the choice of external vendors for services, legal or otherwise. Further, these exchanges also contained bifurcation points concerning more generalized business activities, such as the proposed impacts of sales to outside clients. Lastly, these decision points were found in conversations that alluded to hierarchical roles within the Enron organization. These bifurcation points examined hiring and firing, as well as organizational fit for potential membership. These decision points were very

important to shaping Enron as a business and as a communicative organization. They helped define Enron and shape opinions throughout its membership, escalating from low levels of hierarchy upwards. These points also influenced who would be considered for Enron membership. Different choices within this trend could have resulted in different business deals, or different organizational members; the response to each of these points helped lead Enron down a particular business activity path, one that ultimately led to the fall of Enron.

Choice 3: How Should We Support One Another and Achieve Consensus?

The third trend evidenced in the bifurcation points is split into two distinct arenas: (a) input and offering of help, and (b) understanding and clarification-seeking statements. The input and offering of help is clearly demonstrated over multiple instances, including phrases such as “let me know if you need further assistance.” Understanding and clarification-seeking phrases such as “so do you mean...” typify a desire for all members to share common knowledge regarding decisions, actions, and definitions of Enron membership. I would speculate that these two related trends indicate a corporate need for information dissemination and shared meaning, such that Enron members felt they were all moving forward together. Unfortunately, this trend was perhaps the least influential, given the events that ultimately unfolded for Enron – many, if not the majority of Enron employees, harbored vastly different understandings of the organization. Different choices within this trend could have spread this contradictory understanding throughout Enron, and levied different results at higher hierarchical levels than were exhibited during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Conclusion

These three trends were the most important bifurcation points in the data set, as they were evidenced in multiple instances and affected the conversational participants' understanding of Enron and its business. Conversational opportunities for the participants were present, if the participants had realized the use of communication as a constitutive force in identity, activity, and other areas of organizational endeavor. These critical moments of decision offered Enron members and nonmembers the chance to shape the organization and its activities.

RQ1D: How did the choices made at these points contribute to and reflect Enron executive cultures?

In my answer to research sub-question RQ1B, the social worlds created by Enron were examined in a progressive manner, from the basic practices and resources all the way up to the social worlds. Now that those worlds have been described through the communicative practices that were exhibited and the four flows that constitute organizations, I want to address a subset of bifurcation points previously identified in RQ1C. These will not be the trends identified in RQ1B, but rather specific points identified in the findings section. I want to compare these points to the social worlds, and make the link between the choices made at these points and the resultant social worlds.

Significant Bifurcation Points

There are many bifurcation points in the conversations I analyzed. In general, five stood out as significant in the construction of Enron's organizational culture. These are (1) asking if a decision has been made in conversation 4, (2) inquiring as to someone's knowledge of an issue in conversation 5, (3) asking for confirmation about corporate

statements to be made in public in conversation 10, (4) addressing hierarchy and permission in conversation 13, and (5) asking for an opinion from the most senior executive in conversation 16. (These bifurcation points are explained in Chapter 4, and complete conversations are provided in the Appendix.) Of course, I only sampled a portion of Enron emails, and there may be other important choice points in other email exchanges. As well, these five may appear in other conversations. We cannot know the overall significance of these types of choices from this research, but we can begin to speculate on their potential importance. We begin to sense the ways in which these choices feed into organizational culture by correlating them with the four flows, as outlined in Tables 57 through 60 in Chapter 4.

Bifurcation Points and the Four Flows

The first bifurcation point presents an opportunity to examine business structure and oversight, in a legal fashion. This bifurcation point reflects the self-structuring Enron engaged in; the organization reinforced hierarchy and sought permission throughout different organizational roles. This particular point involved remote offices as well, furthering the need for a complex structure that ultimately reflected Enron's ability to mask negative action from a fair number of employees and managers. The second bifurcation point is a response to negative external press, and the decision to present knowledge or engage in a different behavior. Email coordinated Enron activity, including the response to negative press on an internal basis. This could also be considered, in conjunction with the third bifurcation point, as institutional positioning. The third bifurcation point sought revision to external statements, and the organization positioned itself both politically and socially in relation to other institutions. This bifurcation point

reflected Enron's desire to position itself positively, and this desire was seen in other interactions as well. The fourth bifurcation point reflected more self-structuring, specifically in relation to hierarchy and addressing issues above the levels of the actual conversational participants. The fifth decision point was activity coordination, relating to Jeff Skilling's input on a deal that was ultimately cancelled by the executive. This coordination was not as strong as Enron typically showed, and highlighted the executive role in shaping Enron's social worlds.

Conclusion

In summary, the five bifurcation points highlighted above contributed to and reflected Enron executive culture as identified through the four flows and social worlds. The choices made by the conversational participants, both in asking and responding to queries, reinforced facets of the social world(s) created, including hierarchy, permission, monitoring, status, and personnel. More specifically, conversational participants such as Rick Buy or James Derrick Jr. helped reinforce hierarchy, including the ability to make organizational decisions and seek out organizational resources. Remote offices were brought up in conversation, but only in the context of being centrally monitored and tightly controlled. Negative press was addressed and treated as a threat, and the authority of top leadership, specifically that of Jeff Skilling, to make decisions was met with retroactive attempts at understanding and mild confusion. These choices contributed to social worlds consistent with regimented control, an all-encompassing belief in superior decision-making ability by leadership, and promotion of Enron business goals across and outside of the organization. Different choices in how to respond could have produced different social worlds, ones more transparent and sustainable to the business itself, and

ones potentially more equitable in their relationships with outside entities. The creation of executive cultures and decisions lies in the connection and progression to the following research sub-question, RQ1E, which moves beyond simple identification to the modification of decisions to produce better social worlds.

RQ1E: How could different choices have contributed to more positive cultures?

In answering the final research sub-question, I want to address action. I will do this by recommending retroactive action in the choices made in the creation process of those worlds. It is understood that different conversational choices can lead to different outcomes, which might have included sustained organizational health and a more productive relationship with the general public. The choices outlined below, in bifurcation point form, are critical moments of decision, but the decisions made were not the only choices available to the participants, and not the only decisions outlined presently.

As Pearce argued, “[c]ritical moments occur wherever people make meaning and coordinate actions with each other. That is to say, they occur everywhere...” (2007, p. 11). Pearce outlined a method to improve social worlds. He proposed two different paths for acting wisely. First, participants can construct a richer story of what happened, including an understanding of oneself, the other, and the historical context. Second, participants can construct a more systematic description of what happened, including what “we” do instead of “us and them” and moving to win-win outcomes. Pearce suggested facilitating an increased awareness of the roles participants play in making the world we live in, including responsibilities for the patterns and opportunities to act in a novel manner; changing the context, including a new interpretation such as common

ground, moving to a different space or place, and changing the people involved; and finally, minding and caring about the energy present between the participants. It is in this spirit that I present five critical moments of decision, and my recommended conversational modification to each one.

The first bifurcation point is the response to the utterance “[h]as a decision been made?” found in the fourth conversation. This conversation deals with legal and oversight issues with a Canadian division of Enron. Ultimately the conversation ended in an uncertain state, as no decision was explicitly outlined. However, this conversation included a critical moment in which Enron executives could have used the conversation as an opportunity to examine the business structure. Further, they could have found that Enron’s structure was not optimal for transparency and efficiency, and then might have engaged senior leadership, such as Jeff Skilling or Ken Lay, in ways to improve business structure. All of that opportunity came from a single moment of decision, a single bifurcation point, which held the power to change the future of Enron.

The second bifurcation point is the response to the utterance “[a]re you in the loop on this?” found in the fifth conversation. The conversation was about negative press regarding Enron’s international operations in Ecuador and the pending investigation into a crude-oil deal. The conversation ended with a command to pass on newly-acquired knowledge as soon as it became available, but this conversation represented opportunity to engage organizational members on the topic of ethics and business practice. What happened to Enron on the international stage may very well have been a harbinger of future domestic failures, and instead of responding through inquiry and damage control, the participants could have seized the opportunity to make necessary reforms to combat

corruption. Conversations such as this one demonstrated Enron's lack of focus on opportunities for corrective action, and instead show the organizational social world of (lack of) accountability and tracking down the information available without corrective action. Admittedly, these are large abstractions from a single conversation, but since the outcome of the organization is known, the conclusions can be drawn from the artifacts present. The subject line of the email read "[f]inal quote for 'Leading the Revolution,'" and the participants should have taken the opportunity to create revolution within their own realm.

The third bifurcation point is the response to the utterance "[a]t this point your blessing or revision on this blurb will be final" found in the tenth conversation. The conversation is a dialogue regarding public remarks being prepared for Ken Lay. This critical moment was not directly tied to a business decision, but it was a representation of Enron as an organization in a public-facing role. In their e-mail dialogue, the authors of Lay's comments were presented with an opportunity to shape Enron's interaction with a particular public, including presenting any of a multitude of conversational realities. This offered the chance to change Enron's social world by shaping the conversation to include different business practices and meanings.

The fourth bifurcation point was the response to the utterance "[s]hould we address this with Whalley?" found in the thirteenth conversation. This conversation directly related to business, and the question was dismissed as not significant enough in terms of money to bring to another organizational member's attention. The conversation highlighted a culture of restrictive conversations in which certain members were not needed. Further, this division may have led to Enron's compartmentalization; that is, the

organization was not entirely aware of its own dealings across all members. By seeking to include conversationally external participants, the Enron business conversations might have sounded different, and perhaps might have led to different outcomes.

The fifth and final bifurcation point was the response to the utterance “let’s see what he has to say” found in the sixteenth conversation. This conversation addressed image concerns regarding Enron’s dealings with an adult entertainment provider; the discussion is fascinating in regard to both reputation concerns and the impact they may have had on Enron’s image. However, the end was left ambiguous; this was the critical moment of decision. By choosing to include senior management, specifically Jeff Skilling, the participants felt an urgent need to get his opinion. I believe this practice did not occur on a regular enough basis, and ultimately led to isolated decisions by either senior managers or other high-ranking Enron officials. This bifurcation point, while leading to more inclusion, had the possibility to bring up ethical concerns, and perhaps remake Enron in a more favorable business light.

The choices made and the different possibilities mentioned above highlight the different social worlds Enron could have inhabited. These choices might have, and probably would have, led to more productive relationships within Enron and affected Enron’s organizational health. If not for the choices above, and countless other choices recorded in the Enron email data corpus, the organization might still exist today.

Limitations

There were a few limitations present in this study that deserve attention. First, the sheer size of the data corpus proved challenging; while this study utilized a subset of the overall data, the corpus consisted of well over 500,000 individual emails. Outside of a

purely quantitative analysis, this amount of email was difficult to categorize and sort; larger amounts would surely require more resources to adequately grasp. In conjunction with sheer size, threading these emails into conversations that spanned multiple people not only required the aid of a computer email program, but also may have left out other conversations worth examining. There have been social network analyses of this data set in its entirety conducted at Carnegie Mellon University, but a qualitative analysis could seek to thread all of the emails into appropriate conversations for analysis. The age of this data is a limitation; as of this writing, more than 15 years have elapsed since the origin of many of these emails. Technology, including mobile technology, has impacted email as a communication medium, and may have changed the nuances of analysis, such as the update of programs used to thread emails. Also, only email was analyzed for this research; other forms of communication, including telephone and face-to-face conversations, also undoubtedly influenced Enron's culture and deserve attention as a limitation to this study as they were not analyzed here.

An additional limitation is the nature of email communication. Enron employees frequently used an acronym, LTOL, to signify a shifting of communicative medium from digital to in-person. The "Let's Take This Offline" acronym served as a way to mask conversations that might otherwise be deemed harmful to the organization if they were ever circulated. Email was used to coordinate meetings, make business decisions, and engage personnel, but it was not used for various activities only known by those within the organization. The importance of the activities that weren't digitally recorded could be great, although there isn't a present way to capture or analyze the content of non-recorded communications. Indeed, the fact that "LTOL" occurred frequently in Enron employees'

emails suggests that many important issues were discussed and many important decisions were made—including at least several that were legally or ethically problematic—in settings where no permanent records were kept and therefore could not be used against the employees at a later time.

Beyond the addition of communication outside the recorded/digital realm, important contextual information might be missing from the email data set, including comments said and unsaid in the physical space. Email only captures the sent message, not drafts, or unsaid messages that were relayed differently (including “offline”) or simply not said. This limitation could help explain Enron’s eventual collapse. Lastly, email does not adequately capture voices that might have been silenced in other venues, including external regulators or internal whistleblowers. Inside and outside of the organization, voices that could have created different social worlds may not have been included in email chains and conversations. This omission is a limitation of using email data as the sole source of an analysis, important as email content was in to the process of Enron’s social world creation.

Tensions and Observations

There are a number of tensions present in my findings, several of which merit some discussion here. The two dominant forms of communication present in the data, ethnocentric and modernistic, differ from, and at times contradict, each other. Ethnocentric communicators do not place resources at risk, while modernistic communicators constantly do so. I believe that Enron existed in and managed this tension by focusing on an internalized in-group vs. out-group dichotomy, while privileging new and efficient ways of doing business. Organizational members were expected to find new

and creative ways of maximizing profit, while at the same time needing to maintain the established, and thus “old,” Enron group boundaries and hierarchies of approval. This must have been challenging for members at different levels of the organization, especially when responding to crises abroad regarding “operational risk,” as evidenced in conversation 24.

Another tension manifests from the difference between what was stated via email, and what was actually done historically. For example, Jeff Skilling maintained the authority to veto deals, even when asking for input and guidance around decisions, as illustrated by the discussion about a proposed acquisition in conversation 23.

Organizational members were left picking up the pieces of a former deal, while attempting to understand why a different course of action was taken versus the expected course. Enron email demonstrated a commitment to discussion and deliberation around business activity, and yet historically Enron engaged in shady business deals and manipulated markets to reap profit. This tension speaks to the limitations of the dataset; after all, the email corpus provides a record of digital communication only, but cannot and does not capture all of the communication (that is, “offline” communication) that created and sustained Enron.

The final tension identified within the data was one of the organizational descriptions. I previously identified Enron as both complicated and efficient, an organization nimble and yet also bureaucratic. I think this tension is best situated at different organizational levels; Enron could be very nimble when moving without proper oversight or transparency, yet was hierarchical in the way it managed its vast numbers of globally distributed employees. The top executive levels of Enron moved quickly and

acted on business intelligence, while lower levels tended to escalate decisions and seek input from a variety of different sources. Enron successfully hid many business and accounting transactions, while participating in everyday work that involved many people. This tension could speak to a reason why Enron met the outcome that it did. The organization used this tension to continue movement forward even when conversational participants didn't understand the reason behind business movements, such as lower-level members trying to understand executive-level actions around an acquisition after the fact.

I would also like to speak here about some observations I made during my analysis, as these were not purely products of the method but were, rather, thoughts that came up ancillary to using the method. First, I found Enron executives very diverse in communication patterns; specifically, some executives such as James Derrick Jr. were verbose and detailed in their email correspondence, while others such as Rick Buy were very short and direct. These could be responses to the communicative challenges of the email medium or simply differing preferences in digital communication, but these distinctions in communicative forms relative to the use of email were present across the executive level, leading to different styles of interaction with Enron leaders and other conversational participants. Second, bifurcation points were often buried in email conversations, manifesting in the middle of conversations that were ongoing. I tried to identify very obvious points of decision through email subject lines, but came across many choices made digitally without significant markers calling them out. This was noteworthy, but not a direct result of the selection protocol. Finally, it struck me that Enron used email to the degree it did with such sophistication, given the nature of its business. Email conversations included proxies, various acronyms, and other aspects of

communication that signified a deep understanding of the medium by Enron executives, perhaps an even deeper level of understanding than that of the various outsiders who interacted with Enron executives. This understanding of the strategic use and selection of different communication media might have enabled Enron executives to engage in some of the more risky behavior that negatively impacted the organization as a whole.

Conclusion

Enron was a complicated organization, with many different layers of personnel, decisions, and social worlds. Enron collapsed under the weight of its executives' decisions, among other factors, and those meanings that were made could have been different. Not only might those differences have sustained the organization, they would have changed the course of U.S. American history in regards to leadership, management, inquiry, and so many other areas.

In conclusion, I present to you a different narrative, spurred by an email from Ken Lay, one authored in the spirit of hope for future organizations.

-----Original Message-----

From: Lay, Ken
Sent: Wednesday, May 30, 2001 10:11 AM
To: Skilling, Jeff
Cc: ENRON
Subject: RE: Enron Business Activities

Good morning everyone,

I'm addressing this email to the company to highlight several concerns that have been brought to my attention, as well as to present an updated business model. I have come to understand that many of our lines of business, including energy markets in California, have become corrupted with a focus solely on profit margins, ignoring risks and ethical concerns. I pride myself on maintaining Enron as a leader on a worldwide stage, and we, as Enron, have not been leading the way to the future.

Instead, we have been focused on ever-escalating risks at the cost of our constituents, and business deals that are not transparent. We have come under scrutiny for these actions; we are being investigated, and rightfully so, to ensure our business is not threatening our societal partners and our neighbors. It is not simply Enron that is at stake; it is our very reputation, and the very opportunity to build a better world.

It is with this backdrop of evaluation and criticism that I offer to you a way forward. Enron is built on the backs of all its workers; from the janitorial staff that ensure a safe and clean working environment to my executive leadership team, headed by Jeff Skilling. Every single member of Enron is constantly shaping our business; we do this each day in conversation, email, and business action. That is why change will require participation from everyone; it will require accountability from everyone.

Beginning immediately, I have appointed an internal review board, capable of recommending action to me and evaluating all business transactions within the past decade. This board will work in concert with our federal investigators, with the goal to build a stronger and more ethical Enron. This board is well staffed and you will begin to see their representatives in your office, scheduling meetings and reviewing paperwork. I want to make clear that no person will lose his or her career at this point in time. The problem has not been a lack of hard work, or a lack of effort; rather, it is a crisis of conscience that has led us here.

The business model I now propose is one of accountability, regardless of hierarchy. I have established a confidential tip line, internal only to Enron, which is staffed by an outside agency with no ties to Enron. You may call this line at any time, 24/7, and report suspected violations of any scale. I have also asked my senior management to recommend transparent changes, such that every employee can see how Enron is making its money at any given point. We should be accountable, first and foremost, to ourselves.

This business model is admittedly a change for us. That is why I'm confident we will emerge from this scandal together. If you choose to leave Enron, you will be eligible for a generous benefits package, as promised to you from your first day of employment. I truly hope you will stay to rebuild this organization, but I cannot fault you if you choose to leave.

This is a time of change, but we will emerge stronger and more steadfast in our resolve to change the corporate culture of The United States of America, by setting the example of what ethical business looks like. Thank you for time and attention, and carry on in your pursuit of business excellence.

Sincerely,
Ken

Figure 6: Proposed Email

Had Ken Lay actually written and sent an email like the one proposed above, an historical account of his organization might have been rewritten as follows:

Enron Corporation was an American energy company that employed over 20,000 people and was a world leader in natural gas, paper and pulp, and communications. With claimed revenues of 111 billion dollars in 2000, Enron was well-regarded as an innovative company. Enron started in the 1980s when two natural gas companies merged. Enron experienced significant growth during the 1980s and 1990s, but this was also marked by significant internal investigation. Towards the end of the 1990s, the company's top leadership opened a series of investigations, designed to create a stronger and more sustainable company. The federal government oversaw and sanctioned the investigations, applauding Enron for taking initiative to ensure a productive relationship with the general public. Several questionable decisions were brought to light, and the company shifted its priorities from profit and modernistic communication to inclusive and values-driven responsibility. Enron survived those decisions, and continues to thrive as a leader not only in industry but also in organizational leadership, supervision, and communication.

Final Thoughts

CMM is the foundational method and theory of this research project. At the very end, I am left with this question: How do I know if I have used CMM well? According to Pearce,

[y]ou've used CMM well when you've supported the continuing evolution of preferred patterns of communication, more sophisticated forms of consciousness,

and more highly developed relational minds. That is, the evaluation of how well you have done comes from its effects. (2007, p. 226)

In that sense, I will not know the effects of this particular use of CMM, but I hope this research helps produce better and more productive social worlds, one in which organizations enjoy equitable relationships with various publics. Organizations simply cannot afford to ignore the communication that creates and sustains them. The choices each member makes lead to very different social worlds. To those members, I pose the question: “What are you trying to make?”

APPENDIX

Conversation 1

Email 1

From: Derrick Jr., James
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 5:18 PM
To: Evans, Mark; Fossum, Drew; Mintz, Jordan; Mordaunt, Kristina; Newell, Eric; Rogers, Rex
Cc: Holsworth, Mark
Subject: FW: Updating Enron marks

Please see the message below. I would appreciate your responding to Mark no later than this Friday. Please copy me on your response. Thank you. Jim

-----Original Message-----

From: Holsworth, Mark
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 3:38 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: Updating Enron marks

In your last memo to the general counsel, you requested that they respond to me by last Friday with respect to updating the Enron marks. To date, I have only received responses from Mark Haedicke, Randy Young, and John Ale. Would you be so kind as to remind everyone again? Thanks for your assistance.

Email 2

From: Mintz, Jordan
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 5:48 PM
To: Holsworth, Mark
Subject: RE: Updating Enron marks

Mark: My apologies, as I thought I had previously responded. There is no additional update need from Global Finance. Let me know if you have questions.
Jordan

Email 3

From: Mintz, Jordan
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 5:49 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: FW: Updating Enron marks

Jim: FYI.
Jordan

Email 4

Jordan, thanks. Jim

Conversation 2

Email 1

From: "JIM CHRISTIE" <jim.christie@blakes.com>@ENRON
[mailto:IMCEANOTES-
+22JIM+20CHRISTIE+22+20+3Cjim+2Echristie+40blakes+2Ecom+3E+40ENR
ON@ENRON.com]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2001 11:20 AM
To: Keohane, Peter
Subject: Peter Keohane re Enron Blakes relationship

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your note. I enclose a clean copy of my memo as requested.

When I am next in Calgary, I would like to get together with you and, if he is available, Rob Milnthorp. In the meantime, if there is anything I can assist with, please give me a call.

Best regards,

James R. Christie
Chairman
Blake, Cassels and Graydon LLP
Commerce Court West
Box 25, 28th Floor
Toronto, Ontario M5L 1A9

Tel: 416-863-2546
Fax: 416-863-2653
Email: jim.christie@blakes.com

This e-mail communication is confidential and legally privileged. If you are not the intended recipient, please notify me at the telephone number shown above or by return e-mail and delete this communication and any copy immediately.
Thank you.

- PeterKeo.DOC << File: PeterKeo.DOC >>
- JIM CHRISTIE.vcf << File: JIM CHRISTIE.vcf >>

Email 2

From: Keohane, Peter
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2001 2:49 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James; Haedicke, Mark

Cc: Gaffney, Chris; Johnston, Greg; Powell, Mark; Crawford, Bart
Subject: FW: Peter Keohane re Enron Blakes relationship

Jim/Mark, attached is a memo that reflects my conversations with Jim Christie, Chairman of Blakes, regarding the ongoing management of Enron work, which I believe reflects our own internal discussions. I am copying the lawyers in my group for their information. Best regards, Peter.

Email 3

Peter, thank you for the message. Thanks to your good work, it appears that matters are in order. All the best. Jim

Conversation 3

Email 1

Elizabeth Linnell 04/06/2001 09:27 AM
To: James Derrick/Enron@EnronXGate, Rick Buy/Enron@EnronXGate, Andrew S Fastow/Enron@EnronXGate, Bill Donovan/EPSC/HOU/ECT@ECT, Cindy Olson/Corp/Enron@ENRON
cc:
Subject: iBuyit - Need your input

The Corp. design of the iBuyit system is well underway. We appreciate your initial support of the system and would like to solicit your input on some system details that will be custom to the Corp. deployment and may be used eventually for other business units' standards. Bob Butts has approved the following request limits for Corp. Accounting, and we need to get your "OK" as well for implementation. Please call me at x33896 if you have any questions or would like to discuss this proposal.

Request limits: The system allows setup of graduated dollar limits for order amounts based on job classification, which are listed below, with some examples of items that might fit within each limit. Requests with totals below these limits would flow through the system without any further authorization required. Exceptions to these levels can be made on an individual basis, and those individuals will be identified as we get closer to implementation.

Level 1	Clerks/Sr. Clerks	\$250	Routine office supplies, beverages, pager, computer keyboard
Level 2	Admins/Specialists	\$500	Small furniture, larger supply orders, palm pilot
Level 3	Sr. Specialist	\$5,00	Computer, fax machine, furniture
Level 4	Manager	\$25,000	

Level 5	Director/Sr. Director	\$100,000
Level 6	Vice President	\$250,000
Level 7	Managing Director	\$500,000
Level 8	EVP	\$1.0M

Please note that these amounts fall within the Enron standards for invoice approval authority. In our meetings with Stakeholders and Change Agents, we got a clear message that lower ordering authorization was preferable.

Approval Flow: The system allows approval flow to be customized to each department. For example, Public Affairs could require a request for \$650 placed by a clerk to flow first to an Admin for approval, then to a Sr. Specialist or higher for final issuance. The Accounting department could require a request for \$650 placed by a clerk to go directly to a Director for the first level of approval. Under the limits proposed below, a \$650 request by a Sr. Specialist would not be routed, as it would fall under the specified ordering authorized level. As we get closer to the implementation date, we will work with the designated Stakeholders to design the approval flow for your departments.

Controls: As with any system, a concentrated effort can bypass built-in controls. As a control mechanism, we've proposed that SAP generate a periodic report so that cost center owners can conveniently track ordering activity. The team is working on the best way to generate and deliver this report.

I appreciate your "OK" on the above, or any feedback you might have.

Regards,
Elizabeth Linnell

Email 2

From: Linnell, Elizabeth
Sent: Monday, April 16, 2001 3:28 AM
To: Derrick Jr., James; Buy, Rick; Fastow, Andrew S.; Donovan, Bill
Cc: Harris, Stephanie J; Heathman, Karen K.; Maronge, Bridget; Garcia, Nina
Subject: iBuyit - Need your input

Just a reminder that we're looking for your input on the proposal outlined below.
Thanks!

I'm out of the office, but am monitoring my e-mail.

Regards,
Elizabeth Linnell

Email 3

James Derrick/ENRON@enronXgate 04/16/2001 08:50 AM
To: Elizabeth Linnell/NA/Enron@Enron

cc: Rob Walls/ENRON@enronXgate
Subject: RE: iBuyit - Need your input

Is this meant to cover invoices from outside counsel? If it is, please discuss the proposal with Rob Walls. Thank you. Jim

Email 4

From: Linnell, Elizabeth
Sent: Tuesday, April 17, 2001 5:10 AM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Cc: Walls Jr., Rob
Subject: RE: iBuyit - Need your input

No, these limits would only to apply to items in the electronic catalog, which wouldn't include outside services. As it now stands, the system will be used for procurement of items like office supplies, catering, computers, etc.

Thanks!

Email 5

Thank you for the reply. We have no further comments. Jim

Conversation 4

Email 1

From: Crawford, Sharon On Behalf Of Keohane, Peter
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2001 6:15 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James; Haedicke, Mark
Subject: Canadian Retail

Jim and Mark, as you know, we have established a retail affiliate within Enron Canada known as Enron Direct. In addition, EES has a Canadian entity, EES Canada, which was established for the purposes of entering into some cross-border transactions in Canada. For various reasons, it has been decided to roll Enron Direct into EES Canada reporting, commercially, to Rob Milnthorp, who will in turn report to Dave Delainey. There are two legal/governance-related issues that I wanted to raise with you:

1. Governance: As a result, it will be necessary to make various corporate re-organizations to EES Canada. This will include having EES Canada established as an Alberta corporation, where Enron Canada has, and Enron Direct will have, its principal Canadian office. In relation to this, I was considering that EES Canada should be organized consistent with Enron Canada, with two Canadian resident nominee directors and Canadian-resident officers. A few years back, it was decided, for corporate law and, more importantly, tax-related "permanent establishment" issues, that all directors and officers of Enron Canada

would be Canadian-resident employees of Enron Canada. Accordingly, Enron Canada was re-organized with a nominee board of directors consisting of Rob Milnthorp (as the senior commercial employee) and me (as the senior legal employee) with a Canadian slate of officers being the Vice-Presidents or Managing Directors in Canada responsible for the various commercial or commercial-support groups. I was thinking of doing likewise with EES Canada. Although I have not yet obtained a copy of the corporate records for EES Canada, I believe the current directors of EES Canada are Jim and an outside lawyer at Blake, Cassels and Graydon in Toronto, Ernest McNee. I am not sure, but it is also likely that various US-based employees of EES are designated as the officers of EES Canada. Would it be appropriate to re-organize EES Canada along the same lines that Enron Canada has been organized, or do you have concerns?

2. Law Firm: Following-up on our conversation last week, I want to confirm that our continued use of Donahue Ernst and Young for this retail project was "grandfathered" on the basis that they were "up the learning curve" on a number of the contracting, regulatory, licensing and market participation issues. There is one twist, however, with respect to EES Canada. Although I was not involved, I believe that EES Canada was established to execute on some gas transactions in Ontario with the use of a Blakes partner in Toronto, Ernest McNee. However, as the focus of the business initiative in Canada will, at least in the near future, be more involved and predominantly, if not entirely, in Alberta; and as Donahue Ernst and Young is involved in regulatory proceedings on our behalf with respect to market design issues affecting the Alberta gas and power markets, as well as being familiar with the licensing and contracting requirements for Enron Direct in Alberta; and given my understanding that Blakes' involvement with EES Canada has been relatively limited, I think it would make sense to have Donahue Ernst and Young continue on with this matter. I am, however, sensitive to Jim's concerns, and therefore wanted your thoughts on the matter.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Regards,
Peter

Email 2

From: James Derrick/ENRON@enronXgate on 04/04/2001 10:53 AM
To: Mark E Haedicke/HOU/ECT@ECT, Vicki Sharp/HOU/EES@EES
cc:
Subject: FW: Canadian Retail

Perhaps we could discuss this following the GC meeting tomorrow. Jim

Email 3

From: Sharp, Vicki
Sent: Sunday, April 15, 2001 8:17 PM

To: Derrick Jr., James
Cc: Haedicke, Mark
Subject: Re: FW: Canadian Retail

Has a decision been made about this matter?

thanks, Vicki

Email 4

Mark was going to discuss the matter with Peter and then get with me. To my knowledge, no decision has yet been made. Jim

Conversation 5

Email 1

From: Iannarone, Lauren
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 2:39 PM
To: Walls, Rob
Subject: Corruption and Ecuador
Importance: High

FYI: I'm trying to get my hand on the report. Evidently this is a crude trading deal.

----- Forwarded by Lauren Iannarone/NY/ECT on 03/19/2001 03:41 PM -----

<< OLE Object: Picture (Device Independent Bitmap) >> Habiba
Bayi@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
03/19/2001 02:48 PM
To: Lauren Iannarone@ECT
cc:

Subject: Ecuador

La Hora (Ecuador), 16 Mar 2001, ON-LINE:- In Ecuador, the anti-corruption and public ethics commission CCCC announced it has detected irregularities in the contract this country's state-owned oil company PetroEcuador signed with Arcadia, Texaco, Enron and Glencore, involving some 72,000 crude oil barrels per day production. The CCCC released a report it plans to pass to this country's General Attorney for its further analysis.

Email 2

From: Walls, Rob
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 3:27 PM
To: Blaine, Michelle; Haedicke, Mark

Subject: FW: Corruption and Ecuador
Importance: High

Michelle -

Are you in the loop on this?

Email 3

From: Blaine, Michelle
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 3:33 PM
To: Walls, Rob; Haedicke, Mark
Subject: RE: Corruption and Ecuador

Thanks Rob--first I've heard of it, but will contact Joe and we'll check it out.
MB

Email 4

From: Walls, Rob
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 3:34 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: FW: Corruption and Ecuador

fyi

Email 5

Please let me know what Michelle finds out. Thank you.

Conversation 6

Email 1

----- Forwarded by Marc Grossberg/TKPC on 03/26/01 09:37 AM -----

"Murthy
Divakaruni" To: <grossbem@tklaw.com>
<divakaruni@m cc:
sn.com> Fax to:
Subject: Chitra Divakaruni asked me to send you my

resume

03/12/01
03:53 AM

Dear Marc,

I am interested in Business Development, Corporate Development and Marketing positions in either energy or internet/software companies. May be we should talk sometime. My cell phone number is 510-812-7950. Thank you for your help.

Murthy Divakaruni
510-812-7950
(See attached file: Divakaruni Rec Letter 02-05.doc) (See attached file:
divakaruni_2001a.doc)

- Divakaruni Rec Letter 02-05.doc << File: Divakaruni Rec Letter 02-05.doc >> -
divakaruni_2001a.doc << File: divakaruni_2001a.doc >>

Email 2

From: grossbem@tklaw.com@ENRON [mailto:IMCEANOTES-
grossbem+40tklaw+2Ecom+40ENRON@ENRON.com]
Sent: Monday, March 26, 2001 9:44 AM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: An unusual request

As you may know, I am involved with Inprint Inc which very strongly supports the Creative Writing Program and the U of H. Chitra Divakaruni is a very fine fiction writer who has been on the faculty and is now on leave. We very much want her to return. The only stumbling block to her return is her husband getting a good job here. Attached below is his c.v. and a letter of recommendation. He appears to be very qualified and has good experience. If you have some suggestions for him, it would be greatly appreciated.

Regards to Carrin.

I am looking forward to seeing you both honored by the ADL. We all know you over-married and are riding in on her coat-tails.

Best regards.

Marc E. Grossberg
Thompson Knight Brown Parker and Leahy LLP 1200 Smith St Ste 3600 Houston
TX 77002-4595
Direct: 713 951 5824
Fax Direct: 832 397 8046
Main: 713 654 8111
Fax Main: 713 654 1871
grossbergm@tklaw.com

=====
=====

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prohibited. If you have received this transmission in error, please immediately notify the sender.

Email 3

Marc, thanks for the message. I stipulate to having over-married--I'm very proud of that fact! I'll pass the resume on to our Human Resources Group. All the best.
Jim

Conversation 7

Email 1

From: Cole, Kate
Sent: Friday, April 13, 2001 2:14 PM
To: Walls Jr., Rob
Cc: Davis, Hardie; Carter, Rebecca
Subject:

Rob - I want to let you know how much we need and appreciate Paulette Obrecht's technical assistance and to thank you for making her services available to us. Geneva Holland had been working on several important software projects for the Corporate Services group before she left Enron and we need someone with similar or greater computer expertise to continue to work on these projects, refine and update them as necessary. Paulette is filling the gap wonderfully well.

Happy Easter!
Best regards Kate

Kate B. Cole
Director, Corporate Services
Enron Corp.
Tel: (713) 853-1624
Fax: (713) 646-8007
Email: kate.cole@enron.com

Email 2

From: Walls Jr., Rob
Sent: Friday, April 13, 2001 2:45 PM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: FW:

FYI -- Happy Easter.

Email 3

Thanks! You too.

Conversation 8

Email 1

Dan Yergin <dyergin@CERA.com> on 08/15/2000 11:22:38 AM

To:?? Kenneth.Lay@enron.com
cc:
Subject:? Governors Conference

Dear Ken,

It was good to talk with you last week, and I hope you got some vacation in Aspen.? I'm working at it!

Rosalie said you'd be getting in this afternoon, and I? wanted to reach you by phone or e-mail before Governor Tony Knowles from Alaska calls you. Governor Knowles (classmate of George W.), along with Governor Taft of Ohio, has enlisted us in a conference that seven governors are sponsoring on natural gas in order to elucidate the market and issues -- and needs -- before it explodes as a political issue -- and perhaps helps head it off (in contrast to what happened with gasoline).? Governor Knowles is the current chairman of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, and it will be under the auspices of the IOCC.? They promise at least seven governors and a lot of other distinguished people.? It seems to us that this is a very timely event.

They would like to invite you to be the luncheon speaker.? (I will be kicking off the conference).?? It looks to be a very good and high visibility platform.? And they would be very keen and excited -- and honored -- to have you in that featured role in it works for your schedule.

It takes place in Columbus, Ohio, on September 20.

Tony is a very good guy, and of course natural gas as well as oil looms very large for him.? You'll enjoy talking with him.? He can certainly fill you in further on what they would like to accomplish.

If it works out for you to do this in terms of your schedule and interest, that would be great.

On behalf of the governors, thank you for the consideration.

Best,

Dan

Email 2

From: Kenneth.Lay@enron.com [mailto:Kenneth.Lay@enron.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 23, 2000 3:21 PM
To: Dan Yergin
Subject: Re: Governors Conference

Hi Mr. Yergin -

I just wanted to make sure that you knew that Ken does plan to do this.? He did talk to Governor Knowles.

Thanks.

Rosalee

Email 3

Thanks Rosalie.? That's great. I guess this means that Ken and Governor Knowles had a good talk!? I think Ken will enjoy it, and it's a great platform.? I heard a news report on National Public Radio that mentioned the summit already.? Appreciate your help.? Best, Dan

Conversation 9

Email 1

Elizabeth Lay <lizard_ar@yahoo.com> on 04/07/2000 10:25:47 AM
To: Kenneth Lay <kenneth_lay@enron.com>
cc:
Subject: Go Astros!

Dad,

Just wanted to e-mail and wish you all the best on the Opening day, you'll do GREAT! I wish I were there, I've been getting updates from Kay and Kathy, particularly about the free doghnuts and Duck Soup!

On another note, when is the Republican Convention? I would really like to attend if possible.

Best of luck!!!!
I love you,

Liz

p.s. let me know what the feed back is in regards to campaign help!

Email 2

"Elizabeth -

The Republican Convention is July 31 - August 3. Although there are no guarantees I expect I can get you tickets and reservations.

Love,

Dad"

Email 3

Liz, I have sent an e-mail to our Washington office to ask for assistance in obtaining hotel reservations and credentials. We don't yet have reservations for Ken as everything is locked up by the Republicans, but I have been assured they will be forthcoming. We asked for the same hotel as your Dad will have, so hopefully that will work.

Rosie

Conversation 10

Email 1

>> Message-ID: <391BB3B1.A84F79D1@strategosnet.com>

>> Date: Fri, 12 May 2000 00:33:05 -0700

>> From: Gary Hamel <ghamel@strategosnet.com>

>> Reply-To: ghamel@strategos.com

>> Organization: Strategos

>> X-Mailer: Mozilla 4.7 [en] (Win98; U)

>> X-Accept-Language: en

>> MIME-Version: 1.0

>> To: Grace Reim <greim@strategosnet.com>

>> Subject: Ken Lay on Leading the Revolution

>> Content-Type: text/plain; charset=us-ascii

>> X-Mozilla-Status2: 00000000

>>

>> Dear Rob . . . thanks again for taking the trouble to help me with a

>> blurb from Mr. Lay.

>>

>> Here are two slightly reworked quotes. I must say, I like the second

>> one more than the first. I hope it is acceptable to you.

>>

>> "Gary Hamel's 'revolutionary entrepreneurship' model represents a

>> significant, qualitative advance in our understanding of the principles
>> and practice of innovation. It should influence not only top management
>> but also every employee who, indeed, is the CEO of their own business
>> life."
>>
>> "Gary Hamel's 'revolutionary entrepreneurship' model represents a
>> significant, qualitative improvement in our understanding of what
>> companies must do to become radical innovators. It should influence not
>> only top management, but also every employee who, indeed, is the CEO of
>> their own business life."
>>
>> Gary.

Email 2

>> Grace Reim <greim@strategos.com> on 05/11/2000 03:21:57 PM
>>
>> To: Rob.Bradley@enron.com
>> cc:
>>
>> Subject: [Fwd: Ken Lay on Leading the Revolution]
>>
>> Hello Rob,
>>
>> Here are Gary's suggestions.
>>
>> Your thoughts?
>>
>> Grace
>>
>> Content-Transfer-Encoding: 7bit
>> Received: from strategosnet.com ([206.14.127.110]) by
>> woodside.strategosnet.com (8.8.5/8.8.5) with ESMTP id MAA16468 for
>> <greim@strategosnet.com>; Thu, 11 May 2000 12:25:14 -0700 (PDT)

Email 3

> Rob.Bradley@enron.com wrote:
>
>> We are getting very close.
>>
>> My only concern with #2 is the word radical. That's good for you but may
>> not be for Ken.
>>
>> What would you think of replacing "radical innovators" with "outstanding
>> innovators" or "super innovators"?
>>
>> One concern I have about radical is that you can be radical and not

>> successful (unprofitable). You could be bold and very wrong (picking the
>> wrong revolution) or just ahead of your time (which is still resource
>> misallocation to economists).
>>
>> If you want to think of acceptable replacements for "radical," I'll then
>> let Ken decide which word he wants (including the choice of radical) and
>> put the quotation to bed.
>>
>> - ROB
>>

Email 4

> Grace Reim <greim@strategos.com> on 05/12/2000 04:54:57 PM
>
> To: Rob.Bradley@enron.com
> cc:
>
> Subject: Re: [Fwd: Ken Lay on Leading the Revolution]
>
> Hello Rob,
>
> Gary agrees that "radical" might not be the best choice. He said that
> "outstanding" innovators would be fine.
>
> On another note, he still feels that "significant, qualitative" advance...
> is a bit long. Wonders if "substantial" would suffice? But he leaves this
> one entirely to you.
>
> Hope to hear from you on Monday.
>
> All the best,
> Grace
>

Email 5

Rob.Bradley@enron.com wrote:

> I dropped "own" before "business life" to reduce wordiness and substituted
> Gary's two suggestions. Is this now okay?

"Gary Hamel's 'revolutionary entrepreneurship' model represents a substantial advance in our understanding of what companies must do to become outstanding innovators. It should influence not only top management but also every employee who, indeed, is the CEO of their business life."

> If so, I'll send it up to Ken.
>
> Thanks,
>
> ROB
>

Email 6

Grace Reim <greim@strategos.com> on 05/12/2000 06:31:58 PM
To: Rob.Bradley@enron.com
cc:

Subject: Re: [Fwd: Ken Lay on Leading the Revolution]

Perfect, Rob.

Thank you.
Grace

Email 7

Rob Bradley
05/14/2000 12:06 PM
To: Kenneth Lay/Corp/Enron@ENRON
cc:
Subject: Final Quote for "Leading the Revolution"

Gary Hamel and I went back and forth once more after your last input, and here is where we came out.

At this point your blessing or revision on this blurb will be the final.

- ROB

Email 8

Rob, Ken said this is fine.

Conversation 11

Email 1

From: Carson, Rick L.
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2001 2:38 PM
To: Buy, Rick; Gorte, David
Subject: DASH Classification - "Proceed - See Other RAC Comments"

As we discussed yesterday, in our review of our DASH recommendation vs. actual performance we found 36 DASHes that have been approved since late 1999 that carry the recommendation "Proceed - See Other RAC Comments". Typically the RAC Comments describe substantial issues that must be resolved if the transaction is to be successful.

Given RAC's increased visibility and accountability for portfolio performance, perhaps a more forceful description than "See Other RAC Comments" would be desirable which could be something like:

"Issues - Sr. Management Approval Required"

Therefore, the four DASH categories would be as follows:

- Proceed with Transaction
- Issues - Sr. Management Approval Required
- Returns Below Capital Price
- Do Not Proceed

The "See other RAC Comments" could be used as a footnote with an asterisk placed on any of the above categories where we wanted to call the reader's attention to our comment section. We would, however, eliminate "See other RAC Comments" as an official DASH classification category.

Please let me know what you think. We can instantly make this change or any variation you would like in both the DASH Template and Library.

Regards!
Rick C.

Email 2

From: Buy, Rick
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2001 5:45 PM
To: Carson, Rick L.; Gorte, David
Subject: RE: DASH Classification - "Proceed - See Other RAC Comments"

i don't like this. we must make a decision. rick

Email 3

From: Carson, Rick L.
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2001 5:54 PM
To: Buy, Rick; Gorte, David
Subject: RE: DASH Classification - "Proceed - See Other RAC Comments"

Rick: Are you saying that you just want three DASH categories, i.e. 1) Proceed, 2) Do not Proceed and 3) Returns Below Capital Price with no category for Issues, RAC Comments, etc. RC

Email 4

From: Gorte, David
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2001 6:13 PM
To: Carson, Rick L.
Cc: Buy, Rick
Subject: RE: DASH Classification - "Proceed - See Other RAC Comments"

Rick,

I agree with Rick that three categories are sufficient--if the issues are substantive, they should either result in an increase in the capital price and a "Return below Capital Price" or a "Do Not Proceed" recommendation. "Other RAC Comments" should highlight any issues succinctly, but are not a substitute for a recommendation and should be read irrespective of being highlighted on the cover page of the DASH.

Regards,

Dave

Email 5

Dave: If agreeable with you, we will remove "See Other RAC Comments" from the DASH template and library as an ongoing classification option. I assume you will communicate with Underwriting and IV personnel about the philosophy of the change and implementation. Please let me know if my group can do anything else. Thanks, Rick C.

Conversation 12

Email 1

From: Frank Muscara [mailto:frankmuscara@carolina.rr.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 12:39 PM
To: Tricoli, Carl
Subject: Resume

Thank you very much for your help. My resume is attached.

Frank Muscara

704.905.9050
704.540.8954 (Home)
frankmuscara@carolina.rr.com

<<...>>

Email 2

From: Tricoli, Carl
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 5:08 PM
To: Buy, Rick
Subject: FW: Resume

I worked with Frank at BofA - one of best credit policy guys they had; was also in deal execution roles. Contact Frank directly if you have an interest. Thank you.

Carl Tricoli
VP
East Power

Email 3

From: Buy, Rick
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 5:40 PM
To: Bradford, William S.
Subject: FW: Resume

Bill- I don't think this guy makes sense for us although we did discuss getting some more senior people. If you concur let me know and I'll get back to Carl. Tx
Rick

Email 4

Probably agree. I actually had lunch with this guy about six months ago regarding his developing a Credit Derivative business. He does not seem to be very transactional focus which is what we need.

Bill

Conversation 13

Email 1

From: Maley, Paul
Sent: 25 October 2001 19:21
To: Bradley, Peter; Rizvi, Riaz; Staley, Stuart; Garner, Bruce; Becker, Sven; Ungethum, Manfred; Bland, Stuart; Chismar, John; Clarke, Niamh; Cronin,

Caroline; Jones, Mark; Koller, Ross; Mahoney, Chris; McKinlay, Tom; McLeish, Alex; O'Brien, Tony; Patel, Nish; Peter, Stewart; Petersen, Bo; Potter, Darren; Spencer, John; Talvitie, Henkka; Thomas, John Buckner
Cc: Nelson, Roderick
Subject: Posting LC's to Counterparties

In this current climate we should try wherever possible not to commit to posting collateral to counterparties for physical purchases of product unless absolutely necessary. We should offer an Enron Corp guarantee as an alternative. In the event that we are asked to post security to a counterparty would you please contact credit before doing so.

The credit hotline number is 36555

thanks for your co-operation.

Paul

Email 2

From: Patel, Nish
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 11:58 AM
To: Suttle, John
Cc: Nelson, Roderick
Subject: FW: Posting LC's to Counterparties

fyi

Email 3

From: Suttle, John
Sent: 05 November 2001 18:06
To: Staley, Stuart
Cc: Nelson, Roderick; Bradford, William S.; Peters, Jez
Subject: FW: Posting LC's to Counterparties

Stu -

As per the e-mail below, RAC must be contacted prior to transacting on an L/C basis. This was the same message I conveyed to the Australian team early last week. The Shenhua deal definitely falls within the description and is an issue to be resolved.

I will talk to Jeff Shankman today about the use of L/Cs and capital in the near future, and see what resolution can be reached with the positions and strategy you hold in your book.

John

Email 4

From: Staley, Stuart
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 12:29 PM
To: Suttle, John
Cc: Nelson, Roderick; Bradford, William S.; Peters, Jez; Bradley, Peter
Subject: RE: Posting LC's to Counterparties

John:

Appreciate seeing the old e-mail again, but remind you that the Shenhua cargo was agreed 22 Oct. As mentioned, we will certainly try to push Shenhua to entertain alternative arrangements, but the Chinese are usually quite difficult on this subject (to date, all Chinese cargoes have required Enron to post an LC). It's a good idea to get Shankman thinking about this one today, because it is likely that we will need to post an LC for this cargo. If timing is an issue, I'm sure we can drag the process out a few weeks since delivery is not until mid-Jan.

Regardless, need your input as soon as possible on whether we can continue transacting business where cash collection is not coincident (or in advance of) cash out the door.

Thks,

Stu

Email 5

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 1:02 PM
To: Shankman, Jeffrey A.
Subject: FW: Posting LC's to Counterparties

What do you want to about this? This is tying up capital when we are a little bit short on capital.

Bill

Email 6

From: Shankman, Jeffrey A.
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 1:16 PM
To: Bradford, William S.
Cc: Suttle, John; Staley, Stuart
Subject: RE: Posting LC's to Counterparties

Bill,

It's about 2.5 million dollars (cash not LC), and this helps us cover a short position we need to cover. I want to do this deal.

Jeff

Email 7

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 1:20 PM
To: Buy, Rick
Subject: FW: Posting LC's to Counterparties

Should we address this one with Whalley?

Email 8

From: Buy, Rick
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 1:37 PM
To: Bradford, William S.
Subject: RE: Posting LC's to Counterparties

Are there lots more. If not, \$2.5 million is not Whalley level discussion. Same point as we discussed this am. Rick

Email 9

Rick,

This is consistent with all of his coal business. They have 5.5mm tonne short position which they will source with trades that require incremental collateral (capital).

Bill

Conversation 14

Email 1

From: Dautel, Rudy
Sent: 12 November 2001 17:22
To: Mead, Paul; Shaw, Eric
Subject:

these type of headlines not making our job any easier. we need to do some serious work to combat this stuff.

-- *DJ Neg. CreditWatch A Heads-Up To Enron Counterparties -SandP --

-- *DJ SandP: Enron Stand-Alone Seen High Single-B, Low Double-B --

-- *DJ SandP Says Doesn't Fully Understand All Enron Partnerships --

Email 2

From: Cini, Pat
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 11:33 AM
To: Bradford, William S.
Cc: Murphy, Ted; Nelson, Roderick; Rohauer, Tanya
Subject: Dow Jones wire reports
Importance: High

This now coming across the Dow Jones wire...

Email 3

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 11:36 AM
To: Buy, Rick; DeSpain, Tim
Subject: FW: Dow Jones wire reports
Importance: High

???

Email 4

From: DeSpain, Tim
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 12:11 PM
To: Bradford, William S.
Subject: RE: Dow Jones wire reports

Talking to SandP now. They are under attack in the press for being too slow to downgrade. They want to come in here later this week to "sit on the trading floor" to get a close up feel for how things are going. I'll let you know when this is scheduled.

Tim

Email 5

FYI. This is not getting any easier.

Bill

Conversation 15

Email 1

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 9:06 PM
To: Buy, Rick; Kaminski, Vince
Cc: Ruane, Mark

Subject: FW: Credit Risk Model Comments - at this point.

Rick/Vince,

Should this not be a Credit/Research initiative while the business unit focuses on originating good economic transactions? Not to be complaining, but shouldn't EES be focusing on infrastructure issues rather than waste resources on a project we are already moving forward on? You can't run a portfolio model, unless you have deals in a risk system! How complex do we want these MODELS to be? Behavioral implications on credit default? They still don't seem to understand.

Regards,
Bill

Mark - please attend. You may want to include Martin to help EES understand the complexity of their deals.

-----Original Message-----

From: Krishnarao, Pinnamaneni
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 9:14 AM
To: Kaminski, Vince; Dhar, Amitava; De, Rabi; William S Bradford/HOU/ECT@ENRON; Tamarchenko, Tanya
Subject: Credit Risk Model Comments - at this point.

Comments from Rick Jones on the credit reserve model. Anita Dupont is setting up a meet with Rick Jones to discuss these. Vince and Bill - if you want to join the meeting, please let me or Anita know.

Regards,
Krishna.

----- Forwarded by Pinnamaneni Krishnarao/HOU/ECT on
04/11/2001 09:04 AM -----

<< OLE Object: Picture (Device Independent Bitmap) >> Richard B Jones@EES
04/10/2001 04:16 PM
To: Pinnamaneni Krishnarao/HOU/ECT@ECT
cc:
Subject: Credit Risk Model Comments - at this point.

----- Forwarded by Richard B Jones/HOU/EES on 04/10/2001
04:16 PM -----

<< OLE Object: Picture (Device Independent Bitmap) >>
Richard B Jones

03/23/2001 05:53 PM

To: Cheryl Lipshutz/HOU/EES@EES, Trushar Patel/Corp/Enron@Enron, michelle.wenz@enron.com, Gayle Muench/ENRON@enronXgate, Jeremy Blachman/HOU/EES@EES

cc:

Subject: Credit Risk Model Comments - at this point.

Hi everyone,

I have run the model and, along with the contract briefs I have some questions and ideas. I was hoping to talk to each of you so I could avoid writing this detailed, one-sided e-mail, but with our schedules being so exclusive, this will have to do for now.

Every deal has its own model because of the commodity deal structure complexity. So no aggregate results can be obtained without having the models for each contract. However, the JC Penny's version can serve as a testing platform for some of the items I am mentioning below. I have not talked to the people in research who are the most knowledgeable about the model, so some of these comments may be mute points. I plan to do that when I get back.

- 1) Since the credit risk is developed for a time period, it makes sense to regularly update the commodity data (and credit rating if its changed) and re-run the model for the time remaining. I would expect this is done already.
- 2) The default probabilities seem not to change. That is, if the input credit rating is E1, then the E1 default probability curve is used for the contract period. For annual accounting that seems OK, but in MTM, it seems to me that the credit analysis needs to take into consideration the credit rating transition probabilities. That is, the credit implications of companies changing their credit rating during the contract period. with some constraints imposed by actually slow credits appear to change would give a more realistic view of our credit risk in the MTM world.
- 3) Are all "defaults" created equal to us? Look at OC. It seems to me that the data used to develop the default probabilities are over different business segments and are OK ----for that range of companies. However, we are dealing with specific types of firms where "default" may not mean we do not get paid. Sure we still have some credit risk, but it's not like Montgomery Ward's where the lights are being turned off for good. Energy is so fundamental for a company's success and default actions can be used as a way to save a company albeit in a different form. So financial default does not necessarily mean default for EES commodity payments totally.
- 4) A while back someone said to me that may, maybe the people who reach for a life preserver are more likely to live than those that don't. By that I mean that, perhaps our use of these default probabilities actually overstates the credit

risk in that if a company has at least enough proactive vision to contract EES, then they are more likely to improve than one that doesn't. This is a type of behavioral variable that the data doesn't consider. This would be a useful MBA project to examine these types of corporate variables and compare it to their credit rating forward curve.

5) This leads me to something I hope we can accomplish in the special finance team. The contract briefs are, to me, the beginning of this exercise. If we can combine our customers into "exposure group portfolios" (for lack of a better term), where a group has similar "risk characteristics" beyond the current parameter set, that we define, then this offers a potential to shop some of these exposure to specialized insurance markets.

6) A technical point. Monte Carlo simulations are numerical experiments. Besides the model assumptions, numerical experiments have three inherent error attributes; the number of trials, numerical roundoff, and random number generator randomness statistical properties. The first two are not a problem in this application but the last one could be. Has anyone examined the effect of using different random number generators on Enron's aggregate credit risk?

7) There is one last point here. For most of the above points, the "improved" analysis could make the credit risk be higher.

Rick

Email 2

From: Buy, Rick
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2001 9:05 AM
To: Delainey, David; Dietrich, Janet
Cc: Bradford, William S.
Subject: FW: Credit Risk Model Comments - at this point.

I believe the following series of emails is a colossal waste of time. Let's get risks into books, risk systems working, options valued and into books. It seems we are trying to build a race car when there are no roads. Rick

Email 3

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2001 9:10 AM
To: Buy, Rick
Subject: RE: Credit Risk Model Comments - at this point.

I don't think the emails are a waste of time but I do think the effort at EES is a waste of time.

Bill

Email 4

I think they will get the point. Rick

Conversation 16

Email 1

From: Wilhite, Jane
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2001 10:14 AM
To: Rohauer, Tanya
Subject: FW: Flying Crocodile

-----Original Message-----

From: Garrett, Bryan
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2001 10:10 AM
To: Wilhite, Jane
Cc: Bowe, Mike; Abraham, John
Subject: Flying Crocodile

Jane,

I asked Paul and Jim if there was a problem with doing a deal with Flying Crocodile, and the response was that we will deal with them so long as they contractually agree that they will not use the capacity for any unlawful purpose (which is a standard clause in our agreement). Therefore, we will move ahead with this. As I told you earlier, the mark on the long-haul is likely to be negative, and it is an on-net circuit so we can absorb it back if they default. The local loop is off-net, so I would imagine that you will want some protection on that side. Let me know if you need anything else from me.

Thanks,
BG

Bryan Garrett
Northwest/Canada Desk
Bandwidth Trading and Risk Management
Enron Broadband Services

Office - (713) 853-7993
Mobile - (713) 256-6668
Fax - (713) 646-8795

Email 2

From: Rohauer, Tanya

Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2001 10:34 AM
To: Bradford, William S.
Cc: Wilhite, Jane
Subject: FW: Flying Crocodile

This counterparty's line of business is the distribution of pornography. I asked Robbi Rossi her thoughts, and legal is OK with the deal because there is no illegality (as long as it does not involve child pornography). Jane has the company's tax returns. It is a 1 year on-net OC-12 from Seattle to San Jose plus local loop with an MRC of 22K per month. This is a transaction which according to our guidelines we would approve with no credit language in the GTCs due to size. There is no income being marked on the deal. I just wanted to be sure all parties are aware of what we are doing (Jim and Paul are aware per below message). Clearly this is not credit risk; however, it seems plausible that there is the potential for this deal to reflect negatively on Enron if it were to become known in the market that we were selling our network capacity to customers in this line of business.

Thanks,
Tanya

Email 3

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2001 1:00 PM
To: Buy, Rick
Subject: FW: Flying Crocodile

FYI

Email 4

I left Skilling a message on this. Lets see what he has to say. Rick

Conversation 17

Email 1

From: "Geiv Dubash" <geivs@mail.utexas.edu>@ENRON
[mailto:IMCEANOTES-
+22Geiv+20Dubash+22+20+3Cgeivs+40mail+2Eutexas+2Eedu+3E+40ENRON
@ENRON.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 20, 2001 9:43 AM
To: Bradford, William S.
Subject: Re: RAC Assignment

Mr. Bradford:

I just wanted to reiterate my interest in a RAC rotation, following our conversation last week. I have had a chance to speak to some analysts in RAC and I am convinced that it would be an unparalleled learning opportunity. Once again, I will be starting in the analyst program this July, and I am graduating from UT Austin with both a BBA and MPA. I am also taking the CPA exam this May. Lexi Elliot from HR should be getting in touch with you following my conversation with her this morning regarding a RAC rotation. Many thanks once again for your assistance.

Regards,

Geiv Dubash

1600 Wickersham Lane Apt. 2042
Austin, TX 78741
(512) 385 3418

- Resume - Geiv Dubash.rtf << File: Resume - Geiv Dubash.rtf >>

Email 2

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: Tuesday, March 20, 2001 10:45 AM
To: Buy, Rick
Subject: FW: RAC Assignment

What is your view on taking analysts from the program in the group? He may be able to help with some of the credit analysis that we are backlogged on?

Bill

Email 3

I see no reason not to expect they rotate out in a year. Maybe we could have them rotate to another group in RAC. We need bodies so my vote would be to take him if he passes our test. Rick

Conversation 18

Email 1

Wade Cline@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
11/29/2000 05:38 PM

To: Travis McCullough/HOU/ECT@ECT
cc: Sandeep
Katwala/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
Subject: Re: Clickpaper.com - Indian legal issues

Sandeep Katwala is our general counsel in India, and he should be able to work with you and outside counsel on this. Sandeep -- since this is a bit of a rush, I would like for either you or perhaps Lena to work directly with Travis and outside counsel and try to get some quick answers.

Thanks,
Wade

From: Travis McCullough@ECT on 11/28/2000 12:23 PM CST
To: Wade Cline/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
cc: John Cummings/HOU/ECT@ECT, Harry M Collins/HOU/ECT@ECT, Julia Murray/HOU/ECT@ECT, Justin Boyd/LON/ECT@ECT, Peter del Vecchio/HOU/ECT@ECT, Mark Taylor/HOU/ECT@ECT

Subject: Clickpaper.com - Indian legal issues

Wade:

I hope things are going well for you. It was good to see you the other day. I'm not even sure where you are right now, but I imagine that you are checking your e-mail, wherever you are. I was hoping you could give us a little guidance on tracking down some Indian legal issues -- perhaps a reference to someone that could assist us.

Clickpaper.com is Enron's electronic trading marketplace for pulp, paper and lumber products (including derivative products). It is modeled after EnronOnline, but specializes in these commodities. The team is in the process of registering customers around the world to access and trade on the Clickpaper website; in keeping with the EOL business model, Clickpaper enters into access and trading agreements with every customer that govern their use of and trading on the site.

Those access and trading agreements are "jurisdiction specific" -- customized for the particular country in which the customer accessing the site is based -- in order to deal with jurisdiction-specific legal issues associated with accessing, or contracting via, the internet, financial trading, regulatory issues, etc.

The team has identified India as having a large number of potential customers, and is attending a trade show in New Delhi in early December, and they would like to be able to sign customers up at that trade show, or at the very least arrange to give them access to the site. We therefore need to consult with legal counsel in India to identify any issues and prepare an appropriate access and trading

agreement. EnronOnline has developed a due diligence checklist which is very helpful in describing our business model and raising specific legal issues that we are likely to encounter.

Could you refer me to in-house counsel or an outside firm that could assist us with this project on an expedited basis (isn't that always the case here)? I would really appreciate any help you could give to us.

To the other recipients of this message -- I know that there are several people working on this project -- if you already have this project underway, please let Wade and I know so we aren't duplicating your efforts. Thanks.

Travis McCullough
Enron North America Corp.
1400 Smith Street EB 3817
Houston Texas 77002
Phone: (713) 853-1575
Fax: (713) 646-3490

Email 2

Wade Cline@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
11/30/2000 09:16 AM

To: Sandeep
Katwala/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
cc: Rob Walls/NA/Enron@Enron
Subject: Re: Clickpaper.com - Indian legal issues

Sandeep,

Find out which firm Justin is discussing with. Hopefully, it is a "good" firm, both in terms of quality and absence of conflicts with what we've done in India to date. Let me know.

I hope Justin contacted someone in Enron legal with some experience in India before he hired a firm. Hopefully, he talked with you first, as this is common courtesy. Maybe he talked with Sarah G, and that would be fine also as she is generally aware of the Indian firms we use and don't use.

----- Forwarded by Wade Cline/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT on
11/30/2000 08:38 PM -----

From: Travis McCullough@ECT on 11/29/2000 07:47 PM CST
To: Wade Cline/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT
cc: Sandeep Katwala/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT

Subject: Re: Clickpaper.com - Indian legal issues

Wade:

Thank you for your quick response!

As I suspected, I was slow on the draw. Justin Boyd with our London team has already directed a firm in India to start looking at these issues.

I'll forward your email to Justin, as he very well may want to coordinate some of this through Sandeep, if Sandeep has the capacity to help us out.

Thanks again for your help.

Travis McCullough
Enron North America Corp.
1400 Smith Street EB 3817
Houston Texas 77002
Phone: (713) 853-1575
Fax: (713) 646-3490

Email 3

From: Rob Walls on 11/30/2000 10:08 AM
To: James Derrick/Corp/Enron@ENRON
cc:

Subject: Re: Clickpaper.com - Indian legal issues

Did you by any chance sign off on Justin's choice of Indian law firm?

Email 4

I did not. This is the first notice I have had of this matter. Jim

Conversation 19

Email 1

From: Johannes.Perlitt@CliffordChance.com
[mailto:Johannes.Perlitt@CliffordChance.com]
Sent: 08 October 2001 10:40
To: Evans, Mark (London Legal)
Cc: Boyd, Justin; Von Bock Und Polach, Marcus

Subject: Urgent: Sale of shares in SK-Enron, Korea

Dear Mark,

I refer to my below email and our telephone conversation of last week. You wanted to find out the person responsible for this project within Enron and you were absolutely correct with your comment that this is, as usual, a very urgent matter. Please be informed that in the meantime my partners in Asia contacted the CFO of Enron in Asia, Jeremy Thirsk, who does not envisage that there will be a conflict. Jeremy promised to confirm the position once he has spoken to you or to Bruce Lunstrom. I hope that this has happened in the meantime. Could you, please, give us your final ok as soon as possible?

Thank you very much.

Kind regards,
Johannes Perlitt

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Perlitt, Johannes (Corporate-FRA)

> Sent: Montag, 1. Oktober 2001 16:37

> To: Mark Evans (London Legal) (E-mail)

> Cc: Marcus von Bock und Polach (E-mail); Justin Boyd (E-mail)

> Subject: Sale of shares in SK-Enron, Korea

>

> Dear Mark,

>

> our Hong Kong office has been asked to represent a potential buyer of

> Enron's shares in SK-Enron, Korea. I am sure that this is no problem

> for you, but of course I wanted to ask you. Could you please confirm.

>

> Thank you very much.

>

> Kind regards,

>

> Johannes Perlitt

> Clifford Chance Puender

> Partnerschaftsgesellschaft von Rechtsanwälten, Wirtschaftsprüfern,

> Steuerberatern und Solicitors Mainzer Landstrasse 46

> D-60325 Frankfurt am Main

> Direct dial: +49 (0)69 7199 1555

> Switch board: +49 (0)69 7199 01

> Fax: +49 (0)69 7199 4000

> Cell Phone: +49 (0)175 225 4858

> mailto: johannes.perlitt@cliffordchance.com

> www.cliffordchance.com
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For further information about Clifford Chance please see our website at <http://www.cliffordchance.com> or refer to any Clifford Chance office.

Email 2

From: Mark Evans/Enron@EUEnronXGate on 10/08/2001 01:29 PM GDT
To: Jeremy Thirsk/Enron@EUEnronXGate, Han-Seng
Chua/Enron@EUEnronXGate
cc: George Del Canto/Enron@EUEnronXGate, Bruce
Lundstrom/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT

Subject: FW: Urgent: Sale of shares in SK-Enron, Korea

Gents,

I am trying to discover who has legal or commercial responsibility for SK Enron Korea. I personally have no difficulty with Clifford Chance acting on this disposal on the other side of the table from Enron, but have no knowledge of which law firms other divisions use in this area.

I'd be grateful for feedback as a matter of urgency.

Thanks

Mark

J. Mark Evans
Enron Europe Legal Department
direct tel: 44 207 783 5424
direct fax: 44 207 783 8287
email: mark.evans@enron.com
outlook: evans, mark (London legal)

Email 3

<< OLE Object: Picture (Device Independent Bitmap) >> Bruce
Lundstrom

10/08/2001 07:36 AM

To: Mark Evans/Enron@EUEnronXGate @ ENRON
cc: Jeremy Thirsk/Enron@EUEnronXGate@ENRON, Han-Seng
Chua/Enron@EUEnronXGate@ENRON, George Del
Canto/Enron@EUEnronXGate@ENRON, William
Krenz/ENRON_DEVELOPMENT@ENRON_DEVELOPMENT

Subject: Re: FW: Urgent: Sale of shares in SK-Enron, Korea << OLE
Object: StdOleLink >>

Mark -

SK Enron is part of EGAS.

It is my understanding that there were more than 15 expressions of interest in acquiring our interest in SK Enron. Accordingly, there will be a number of firms that will be representing potential buyers. I don't think that we have a problem with Clifford Chance representing a potential buyer. We have not used CC in connection with this investment.

Bill, I've never heard CC's name come up in connection with SK Enron (e.g., representing a seller in SK Enron's purchase of a smaller LDC) but would appreciate your confirmation as well.

Thanks,
Bruce

Email 4

From: Krenz, William
Sent: 08 October 2001 16:19
To: Lundstrom, Bruce
Cc: Evans, Mark (London Legal); Thirsk, Jeremy; Chua, Han-Seng; Del
Canto, George
Subject: Re: FW: Urgent: Sale of shares in SK-Enron, Korea

Bruce: I know of no, and have confirmed with Bonnie that there has been no, Clifford Chance involvement with SK-Enron.
Bill

Email 5

From: Evans, Mark (London Legal)
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2001 10:48 AM
To: Derrick Jr., James
Subject: CLIFFORD CHANCE POTENTIAL CONFLICT: Sale of shares in SK-Enron, Korea

Jim,

CC have asked for permission to act for a potential purchaser of our JV company in Korea. This falls within EGAS and Bruce Lundstrom has given the all clear. CC are of course aware of the consequences of acting adversely to Enron in litigation.

Unless you object, I will confirm that CC can proceed.

Thanks

Mark

J. Mark Evans
Enron Europe Legal Department
direct tel: 44 207 783 5424
direct fax: 44 207 783 8287
email: mark.evans@enron.com
outlook: evans, mark (London legal)

Email 6

Mark, I will support yours and Bruce's decision. Jim

Conversation 20

Email 1

----- Forwarded by David W Delainey/HOU/EES on 08/10/2001 11:03 AM -----

From: Rick Buy/ENRON@enronXgate on 08/10/2001 10:53 AM
To: David W Delainey/HOU/EES@EES, Janet R Dietrich/HOU/EES@EES
cc: John J Lavorato/ENRON@enronXgate

Subject: Remote Offices- Suggestions

After reviewing the Doorstep audit at Long Beach with the team I have the following conclusion:

1. We should shut these offices down because we can not control them. They don't make much money and will be a huge negative after losses at Long Beach.

---or---

2. We establish a rigid template for how these offices operate. My thought is that we create a McDonalds Hamburger type operation. Each office is exactly the same and operates under precise and well communicated rules. "Hamburger" quality is monitored from Houston routinely.

There are a huge number of these remote offices so we need to address how we proceed.

Any thoughts? Rick

Email 2

----- Forwarded by Janet R Dietrich/HOU/EES on 08/10/2001 03:41 PM --

David W Delainey

08/10/2001 11:06 AM

To: Dan Leff/HOU/EES@EES

cc: Rick Buy/Enron@EnronXGate, Janet R Dietrich/HOU/EES@EES, John J Lavorato/Enron@EnronXGate

Subject: Remote Offices- Suggestions

Dan, in response to the following memo, can you discuss with Rick his ideas. I would also like to go through a detailed description of each EES office, its people and functions to determine which should be eliminated and which should be modified. Given the latest redeployments and terminations the field offices are a shadow of their previous stature either way. This is consistent with our overall strategies but perhaps we want to accelerate. If you could help set up the framework to discuss I would much appreciate.

Good job on handling the "5's".

Regards
Delainey

Email 3

The doorstep audit is not yet complete as I'm having about 25 or so deals "tested" out of the Long Beach office. We should know all final results within the next week or so. Rick-your suggestions are generally on target as we have already begun the process for pulling each specific office's information together-ie: how many offices do we have, who are the specific people in them, what do they transact on (DSM, gas/power commodity, services mgmt., etc), and can we consolidate/minimize the number of offices we have. For example, of the 87-ish offices that we currently have EES folks in, only 14 of those offices have individuals that transact gas or power deals in the EnronDirect sales group (ie: customers below \$10 million in energy spend) and there are @ 45 sales folks in these 14 offices.

The losses now expected out of the Long Beach office are MUCH lower than initial estimates. If anyone would like to review, please call me directly.

We are already well underway in establishing new transaction process' for both gas and power deals. Although we have already put in place and communicated these new procedures to each of the sales offices, we are putting together a "sales package" that will encompass each of the new procedures in detail, each of the new gas and power contracts and rules for use, and a new sales policy which will review in detail the responsibilities for each sales individual. This policy will require signatures from the sales folks in order for them to continue working for EES in a sales transaction role. We are also exploring an independent verification process whereby we would have someone from either Deal Capture or Deal Management actually contact the customer to confirm the transaction. The "McDonald's Hamburger" analogy is quite appropriate here!

Just wanted to let everyone know what was already underway.

Conversation 21

Email 1

From: Murphy, Ted
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2001 8:13 AM
To: Buy, Rick
Cc: Bradford, William S.
Subject: International Credit

Rick,

While I am not 100% sure of what Greg means by international credit, both Bill and I have recognized that there is a facet of RAC/Credit function that we are not net long vis-a-vis the direction of the business, particularly the non-energy commodity businesses - steel, metals, paper - as well as the coal business and the crude complex. What seems to be needed is some people that have experience in structures (good and bad) that support the movement of large packages of

physical goods from the 3rd world to the first world. Knowledge of the subtleties of l/c language, insurance products, dog counterparties, typical scams, money launderers, lay ranges, demurrage....To that end, we both interviewed and subsequently hired John Collenette, head of credit for an international trading organization - Trafigura. John spent 10 years at Paribas and then the last 7 at Trafigura. He went through 3 full rounds of interviews, primarily with the metals guys and including Michael Brown. My plan was to install him as the 'team lead' in metals allowing him to get 'enronized' with the idea that he would expand his role to include global products and EIM. I guess I will accelerate this process. In addition, I have also hired a sr spec with metals experience from Koch. We have interviewed a few other prospects with transactional credit experience. We are planning to supplement some of this industry knowledge with Tracy Ngo and a few strong managers with solid credit skills. The issues we have yet to begin getting traction are how to staff other offices - NY and Sydney principally. Here we are constrained by current budgets.

Also, I have worked with the operations staff to take away some of the operational credit issues like chasing down information, money laundering checks, calling for margin, and opening accounts so that we can hire credit professionals to analyze credits and deals.

Finally, a critical piece of the puzzle is to also strengthen the people and the processes around the logistics of credit - specifically, the logistics function, treasury (l/c issuance/acceptance), and risk management. It is in the hand-offs of information where most of the risk lies, in my opinion.

When you are here, we ought to make that a topic for discussion. Not to overstate the need, I think it will require somewhat of an on-going focused effort and coordination between offices and departments similar to the EES style.

Ted

Email 2

From: Bradford, William S.
Sent: 12 September 2001 21:34
To: Buy, Rick; Murphy, Ted
Subject: FW: International Credit

While I agree with most of your points, I would like to stress that the business units still lack the direction and skills necessary for building an international business. One of our biggest difficulties has been dealing with originators, logistics managers, and support staff who lack experience in international trade. To have a centralized international credit function we will need a centralized international support staff.

Trades within high risk countries with limited information is not where we or the market has historically had much risk appetite. We have continued to focus the commercial teams on risk syndication and have proactively approached banks on different mechanisms for laying off risks where possible. We need to think about what risk tolerance we are comfortable with accepting to help grow this business.

I agree we have had the foresight to focus on building the necessary skills to support the business growth but have not done a good job of proactively communicating the credit risks inherent in the international businesses. Both Tom Moran and Ken Curry have decent experience in international trade and l/c's but have not taken a proactive enough approach with the business teams. I have addressed this issue with both of them in the PRC. I think John Suttle has done a good job getting up the curve on issues and has taken an active approach on liaising with Sydney banks and hiring the necessary skills sets in Australia. As Ted noted the hiring of John Collinette has been a big plus for the London team. Although it is not their day to day responsibility, both Debbie Brackett and David Hardy have more international trade experience than most in the marketplace.

Effectively the International Credit Group is well structured with the credit teams supporting the international businesses. Collinette/Ngo/Suttle - Metals
Curry/Rohauer/Maley/Nelson/Suttle - EIM Moran/Rohauer/Maley/Nelson/Suttle - EGM

This is a very detailed business and I think we have lacked the coordination across offices. We need to improve communication and continue to develop the necessary depth in our teams to meet the business objectives.

Let's discuss in the coming weeks.
Bill

Email 3

Bill,

I violently agree with you on this point. My belief is that we have the opportunity to hire and develop the intellectual capital to be expert in the risk evaluation and syndication side. If we do not, then I do not think this will happen properly. In addition to making good decisions and providing good (but not always heeded advice), we need to have the extra firepower and credibility to 'convert the heathens'. I think that means more and more experienced people and some more structure. The main point of my e-mail was to summarize that we have already recognized the need and are addressing from our end. My last paragraph was an allusion to the fact that your concerns about the non-RAC responsibilities will become self-evident as we put a greater spotlight on this business and the teams begin to jell. Where you and I may disagree is that rather than suggest that we have the situation in hand and will make incremental improvements, we need to at least consider that the window is open and let's jump through.

Thoughts?

Ted

Conversation 22

Email 1

From: Rick Buy/ENRON@enronXgate on 04/23/2001 04:55 PM
To: Sally Beck/HOU/ECT@ECT, Debbie R Brackett/HOU/ECT@ECT, David Port/ENRON@enronXgate, David Hardy/LON/ECT@ECT, Shona Wilson/NA/Enron@Enron, William S Bradford/ENRON@enronXgate
cc: Ted Murphy/LON/ECT@ECT, Richard Causey/Corp/Enron@ENRON
Subject: Operational Issues

I think the daily IT issue meeting has been quite successful in addressing problems in systems and working toward resolution on systems related issues. I would like to expand the scope of this meeting to include daily operational issues as well.

I plan on restarting my attendance at these meetings on Wednesday. Can the RAC people listed above please make a start at some of the recurring issues.

Thanks, Rick

Email 2

From: Sally Beck/HOU/ECT@ECT [mailto:IMCEANOTES-Sally+20Beck_HOU_ECT+40ECT@ENRON.com]
Sent: Monday, April 23, 2001 6:08 PM
To: Buy, Rick
Cc: Causey, Richard
Subject: Re: Operational Issues

Focusing the right people on the right issues is always a good idea. I would like to visit with you to understand what you mean by "operational issues". My team has a meeting every other Monday focused on operational risk and we have various working groups that focus on key projects or initiatives that vary with need. A daily meeting on operational issues would need to have the appropriate team members there, and I hesitate to add an additional meeting to any key folks on my team if operational projects/initiatives are being covered either in our Monday operational risk meeting or in another forum. --Sally

Email 3

Sally- got your voice mail as well. Don't want to create more meetings. Just had a total of three market risk people quit or transfer and each one said one of the considerations was they spent so much time on operational issues that they weren't developing as they should analyzing portfolio risk. I think it might be best if we have a meeting or two and see what issues are identified. It may be better to split in two meetings as you suggested. I need to hear what the nature of the

problems are. Some I know like ees, metals, uk power but I think there may be some other fundamental issues that are hindering progress here. No need for you to attend. I will let you know what we come up with including if there are no issues at all! Rick

Conversation 23

Email 1

From: Crews, David
Sent: Tuesday, May 29, 2001 11:57 AM
To: Rick Buy/HOU/ECT@ENRON; David Gorte/HOU/ECT@ENRON
Subject: FYI - Project Raven

The proposed purchase of PSI Net by EBS was officially killed by Skilling this morning.

David

Email 2

Rick Buy/ENRON@enronXgate 05/30/01 07:58 AM To: David
Crews/Enron Communications@Enron Communications cc: Subject: RE: FYI -
Project Raven

i would like more detail if we have it tx rick

Email 3

From: Crews, David
Sent: Wednesday, May 30, 2001 8:25 AM
To: Buy, Rick
Cc: David Gorte/HOU/ECT@ENRON
Subject: RE: FYI - Project Raven

I spoke briefly yesterday with Brad Richter who was going to put something more formal together. I will send that to you when I have it.

Jeff and the commercial team had different opinions about the managed hosting side of the business. Part of EBS liked the technical capability of PSI Net and felt that this capability would allow EBS to run a managed hosting business (basically outsourcing the operation of company web sites). Jeff did not like this business and had told EBS last week to not put any growth on this part of the business in their analysis.

Without growth on the managed hosting part of the business, EBS needed to find \$100 million/year of benefit through the acquisition. A large part of this would

have come from IP Transit which, due to its size, PSI Net would have received free through peering and which EBS currently pays for. These saving depend a lot on hockey stick projections from EBS' current activities (although MSN would provide a large portion of this savings). The rest of the benefit was to come through cross selling PSI Net's existing customers and new customers obtained due to the combination of their technical capability and Enron's financial capability. This increased technical capability is diametrically opposed to Project Reset (the sale of EBS' long haul network to Qwest in return for a series of options on capacity).

PSI Net wanted a quick decision and a purchase of the whole company through a packaged bankruptcy to try and maintain staff and customers. I have heard comments that they wanted Enron to purchase their consulting arm as well. This group had approximately 1,000 people and held no particular interest to EBS. I do not know whether it was the speed of the transaction, the consulting arm, the managed hosting business, or the increased technical direction that killed the transaction.

Email 4

Rick Buy/ENRON@enronXgate 05/30/01 09:20 AM To: David Crews/Enron Communications@Enron Communications cc: David Gorte/ENRON@enronXgate Subject: RE: FYI - Project Raven

Were we involved in transaction? Did we run any numbers. Were we at the meeting with Skilling? Was corporate development involved? Who? Rick

Email 5

From: Crews, David
Sent: Wednesday, May 30, 2001 10:11 AM
To: Buy, Rick
Cc: Gorte, David
Subject: RE: FYI - Project Raven

My first official involvement (along with Chip) was a meeting with Brad Richter on 5/23 to discuss the strategy and valuation approach. This was the EBS' structuring teams introduction as well. The model that Lehman had prepared only looked at the Managed Hosting business and had a number of questionable assumptions that were pointed out to the corporate development team.

RAC did not prepare its own numbers. I had more questions about strategy and understanding the different parts of the transaction.

RAC was not invited to the meeting with Skilling.

The transaction was being run by EBS Corporate Development - Jeff Donohue was heavily involved from the start of discussions with the company. Brad Richter, who works for Donohue, was the day to day contact at the end.

David

Email 6

tx, rick

Conversation 24

Email 1

From: Port, David

Sent: Tuesday, July 17, 2001 8:17 AM

To: Curry, Wanda

Cc: Buy, Rick

Subject: Enron Metals Operational Risk

Fyi - Enron Metals gets fined - one cost of unharnessed operational risk....

<http://biz.yahoo.com/rf/010717/117522074.html>

Email 2

From: Curry, Wanda

Sent: Wednesday, July 18, 2001 11:52 AM

To: Port, David

Cc: Buy, Rick

Subject: RE: Enron Metals Operational Risk

David and Rick,

I am following up with people in London to gain a better understanding of the cause of this operational loss. I have been assured that several process changes have been implemented to correct the underlying problem, but I will also get enough additional details to make my own assessment.

Thanks,
Wanda

Email 3

OK but this is a tree and I want to focus on the forest. A few facts on this may be helpful to understand the forest. Also, be sure to coordinate with Ted on London stuff. Tx Rick

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