

Organization Studies

<http://oss.sagepub.com>

Enron Spectacles: A Critical Dramaturgical Analysis

David M. Boje, Grace Ann Rosile, Rita A. Durant and John T. Luhman

Organization Studies 2004; 25; 751

DOI: 10.1177/0170840604042413

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://oss.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/25/5/751>

Published by:

 SAGE Publications

<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



<http://www.egos-euro.org>

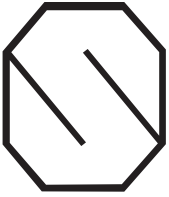
Additional services and information for *Organization Studies* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://oss.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://oss.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>



Enron Spectacles: A Critical Dramaturgical Analysis

David M. Boje, Grace Ann Rosile, Rita A. Durant and John T. Luhman

Abstract

Enron shows us dramaturgy gone amuck. In this article, critical theory and postmodern theory are crossed to form a *critical dramaturgy* resulting in two main contributions. First, critical dramaturgy is differentiated from other forms of dramaturgy, showing how 'spectacle' is accomplished through a theatrical performance that legitimates and rationalizes, and casts the public in the role of passive spectators. Second, critical dramaturgy has important connections with public relations theory. While contemporary public relations is concerned with the building of relationships, critical dramaturgy looks at how corporate theatrical image management inhibits relationships by erecting the barrier of the metaphorical proscenium. The Enron scandal is viewed as the collapse of a corporate spectacle illusion into megaspectacle fragments. These fragments include the naming of Enron, the Valhalla Rogue Traders scandal, the Gas Bank, Greenmail, Cowboy Capitalism, the Skilling–Mark rivalry, and the Masters of the Universe theme. Intertextual analysis demonstrates how these fragments contribute to the 'Greek Mega-tragedy' of the Enron megaspectacle. The article integrates several corporate theatre processes relevant to understanding four types of spectacle: concentrated, diffused, integrated, and megaspectacle. The value of the critical dramaturgy conceptual work is to lift the romantic veil of spectacle theatrics to reveal the antenarrative fragments of stories marginalized and backgrounded.

Keywords: spectacle, critical dramaturgy, public relations theory, Enron

Enron may come to be the most analyzed business case in the history of capitalism and, more than likely, in a fix-it Harvard case analysis style, Enron's 'spectacle theatrics' of financial reports and other representations of economic reality that seduced spectators into a willing suspension of disbelief will be ignored. Enron used 'spectacle theatrics' to turn its energy business into an ideology to justify the deregulation of industry markets, while securing monopolistic economic rents and even corporate welfare from the state. For example, Enron's global reach of 38 utility or pipeline projects in 29 countries was facilitated by US\$7.219 billion in government financing (SEEN 2002: 3). Enron's 'spectacle theatrics' was used to legitimate, rationalize, and camouflage violent production and consumption (Boje 2001b; Best and Kellner 1997, 2001; Firat and Dholakia 1998).

Organization
Studies
25(5): 751–774
ISSN 0170–8406
Copyright © 2004
SAGE Publications
(London,
Thousand Oaks,
CA & New Delhi)

To analyze Enron's 'spectacle theatrics', we combine critical and postmodern theory, as recommended by Alvesson and Deetz (1996). The genesis of our innovation comes from the work of Best and Kellner (1997), which points to Debord's theory of spectacle as an archetype of critical postmodern theory. By using the concept of spectacle, we engage in 'critical dramaturgy', which (rather than social constructionism (or interpretivism) and what many think of as postmodern) considers the assessment of material conditions embedded in the political economy. We propose a critical dramaturgy theory based on Debord's (1967) critical theory that extends Marx's theory of accumulation of production into an accumulation of spectacles in consumer society that produce and reap profit from illusions: pseudo-reforms, false desires, and selective sightings of progressive evolution (Boje 2001b). We expand the work of corporate theatre theorists (Boje 1995; Clark and Mangham 2001; Oswick et al. 2001; Schreyögg 2001) by combining Boal (1979) with Debord (1967) to give Aristotle's *Poetics* (1984) a more critical and postmodern turn, thus a critical dramaturgy.

In sum, in order to examine critically what we consider to be the suffering and oppression resulting from the antics of Enron as an exemplar of the above tactics, we prefer Debord to Baudrillard (who rejects the real in favor of simulation and implosion) and to Lyotard (who rejects all grand narratives). Critical dramaturgy in organization studies 'shows' how corporate theatre 'presents' oppressive and often violent social control as a celebration of progress. Using critical dramaturgy concepts and methods we decode layers of theatrical spectacle that heroize global virtual corporations and free markets, while distancing transnational corporations, such as Enron, from responsibility over their far-flung global energy-supply chains, where particularly exploitive conditions flourish.

Our critical dramaturgy explores how theatrical spectacles are produced, distributed, and consumed in ways to attract and retain investors, and theorizes 'spectacle theatrics' as *the* work of contemporary organizations. A critical dramaturgical perspective also reveals how the technology of theatre, when it relies on the spectacular, can spin out of authorial control. We use the concept of 'antenarratives' (the pre-stories that interweave in complex and chaotic ways) to acknowledge postmodernism's insight into the impossibility of homogeneous agency. At the same time, we see that the taken-for-granted assumptions of modernity, such as the inevitability of competition and capitalism, give rise to what we consider to be dysfunctional outcomes. We use critical dramaturgy to deconstruct these assumptions.

There are historical and theoretical precedents for looking at the spectacle aspect of theatre. Plato (1986) claimed that spectators were overwhelmed by theatrics, and imitated the drama on stage at home. Similarly, Nietzsche found spectacle to be nauseous (theatre is a 'spectacle' to 'produce intoxication' (1974: 142)) and recommended that we 'stay away from the theatre' (1974: 143). Spectators, argued Nietzsche (1974: 13), were overwhelmed by sentiments. Aristotle, in *Poetics* (1984), tried to redeem Greek tragedy from Plato's rebuke by elaborating its six dramatic elements: plot, character, theme,

dialog, rhythm, and spectacle (which he thought the least poetic). Burke (1945: 231–233) rewrote Aristotle's spectacle, reducing it to 'scene', while Boal (1979) also bends Aristotle's *Poetics*, but takes it along what we believe is a more critical postmodern turn. While our focus is on spectacle, we suggest the other elements can be applied in future projects.

Our thesis is that the theatrical spectacle events are not randomly produced, but rather are systematically produced to attempt to influence spectators. In the words of Debord, 'In all its specific forms, as information or propaganda, as advertisement or direct entertainment consumption, the spectacle is the present model of socially dominant life' (1967: para. 6). Corporate spectacle theatrics, then, is part of mass culture control (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972: 132–133): 'Anyone who resists can only survive by fitting in since not to conform means to be rendered powerless, economically and therefore spiritually — to be "self-employed".'

In support of our position, public relations research has broken away from the idea of persuasion and moved toward the process of symmetrical dialog and ethics (Grunig 1993b: 164–166). Grunig and Hunt (1984) say that the two-way symmetrical model is a dialog with the other, whereby the question of right or wrong is open to negotiation. Grunig (1997) described three types of public: a *latent* public that does not recognize a situation as problematic, an *aware* public that recognizes a problem, and an *active* public that organizes to do something about a situation. Enron, however, was a one-way model. Our critical dramaturgical analysis of Enron suggests that it used spectacle theatrics to keep the public in a latent mode, but the strategy no longer worked in late 2001. The dramaturgical implication is how Enron used theatre to target active publics (politicians, auditors, regulators, and employees) to keep them from blowing the whistle. Our analysis of corporate spectacle theatrics shows how a corporation could mislead a latent public and control even an aware public (misleading the targeted audiences). Yet, the third public (active) sees through the illusion, and performance declines and exploitative practices result in activism (for example, in India and California). When the performance declines are dramatic (for example, the October 2001 disclosure), more of those who are latent become aware and many of the aware people become active resisters to spectacle theatrics.

Critical dramaturgy, via the notion of spectacle theatrics, makes five theory contributions. First, critical dramaturgy is another facet, along with economic theories, interpretative explanations, and social constructions, with which to highlight important aspects of an organization's political economy and life. Its unique contribution is the intersecting of critical and postmodern theory. Second, critical dramaturgy is based on the insight of Guy Debord's (1967) *Society of the Spectacle*, an important wake-up call to the threats of structuralism: the belief that one can remain outside, affecting but remain unaffected. The price of admission to the greatest spectacle show on earth (global capitalism) is high: it is our income, our lives, our planet. Third, as we focus on the critical aspects of Enron as theatre, we implicate ourselves as the spectators, and we suggest that by turning the Enron story on itself, we can see our own complicity as spectators and thus the potential for our actions

to make a difference. Four, critical dramaturgy is a tool for multilevel analysis: from the mythic phantasm to the particular, Enron's story crosses (and at times violates) the boundaries between countries, ethnic groups, public and private entities, gender, fact and fiction, the macro-behavior of the mammoth corporation and the micro-behavior of its principal actors. Five, critical dramaturgy has important connections with contemporary public relations: to use Grunig's (1993a, 1993b, 1997) words, it is the *latent* public that was a goal of Enron's spectacle theatrics. That is, while contemporary public relations is concerned with the building of relationships, critical dramaturgy looks at the 'dysfunctional function' of inhibiting relationships by erecting the barrier of the metaphorical proscenium.

The structure of the article is as follows. First, we further define spectacle, including the four types we intend to analyze. Next, we develop ties between critical dramaturgy and antenarrative, the pre-stories that interweave in complex and chaotic ways, on the one hand accomplishing spectacle's theatric deception, but also unraveling the corporate facade. After we explain the methodology we used to sample and analyze Enron spectacles, we present our findings of four types of Enron spectacle. We conclude with what we see as the implications of critical dramaturgy for organizational life.

Four Spectacle Types

Spectacle is 'the existing order's uninterrupted discourse about itself, its laudatory monologue. It is the self-portrait of power' (Debord 1967: para. 24). Spectacle serves the production of power and managerial needs to control by spinning story lines, or theatre productions: 'In all its specific forms, as information or propaganda, as advertisement or direct entertainment consumption, the spectacle is the present model of socially dominant life' (Debord 1967: para. 6). Spectacle goes back to the use of Roman gladiators as the appropriation of entertainment, art, and festival for political and control purposes. Spectacle for Foucault (1979: 10, 14) was the way in which state and church attempted to keep the masses under control, until public execution and torture proved unreliable means of social control. Debord argues that in late capitalism, spectacle was reinvented in high-tech media to keep the masses in spectacle illusion, or in what critical theorist Benjamin (1999) called 'phantasmagoria'. Spectacle is a technology of art put in the service of power. We now look at four specific types of spectacle.

Concentrated Spectacles

Concentrated spectacles are inner looking, and create a culture within the organization of hyper-competitiveness and hubris. 'The concentrated spectacle', says Debord, 'belongs essentially to bureaucratic capitalism' (1967: para. 64). The concentrated spectacle is where both production and consumption are constructed in a totalizing self-portrait of power that masks its fragmentation. Spectacles become concentrated as they are produced and

consumed by and for the 'internal' customer: the employees, managers, executives, and so on.

Diffused Spectacles

Diffused spectacles are more out-facing, and are about fragmentation and specialization on the global stages of capitalism, the global marketplace, and global division of labor, and may include attempts to conceal the conditions of production. The 'diffused spectacle', says Debord, 'accompanies the abundance of commodities, the undisturbed development of modern capitalism' as it reaches into every nook and cranny (1967: para. 64). In the diffused spectacle, it is difficult to know who made what product and under what labor conditions. It is as if concentrated spectacles are exposed from the background and all the messiness of fragmentation is now foreground. Firat and Dholakia (1998: 160) speak of this diffused political economy as our global 'theaters of consumption'. They contend that we live in fragmented 'life mode communities' constructed into 'enclaves' that keep us physically separate from each other in tribal-like communities.

Integrated Spectacles

Integrated spectacles combine aspects of the concentrated and diffused forms in the fatalism of global capitalism, where resistance is futile (Best and Kellner 1997: 118), combining the hubris of corporate culture with the seemingly self-evident appropriateness of its exploitative tactics of global expansionism. The more seamless the integration of concentrated and diffused spectacles, the more the resistance to corporate hegemony is seemingly futile.

Megaspectacles

Megaspectacles are media-hyped scandals offered as mass entertainment, beneath which lie the implosion of the first three types of spectacle. Best and Kellner (1997) develop Debord's spectacle types and in 2001 propose the 'megaspectacle', our national fetish to use the media to turn war or scandal into mass entertainment. The 'tragedy' of the megaspectacle is that while the mighty are brought down, so are the livelihoods and pensions of countless stakeholders, while the underlying dynamic of spectacle remains undisturbed. In this way, the stage is tragically set for similar tragedies. Each integrated spectacle is a game of oppression played on the world stage.

Antenarratives

We intend to trace emergent 'antenarratives' (Boje 2001a), which are produced and theatrically dramatized as ready-to-hand narratives to persuade employees, monitors, auditors, regulators, and the public. 'Ante' used as a prefix to 'narrative' means earlier than narrative. Story is an account of

incidents or events, but narrative comes after and adds more 'plot' and tighter 'coherence' to the story line. Antenarratives are 'in the middle' and 'in-between' (Boje 2001a: 293), refusing to attach the beginnings and endings needed to achieve narrative closure as required by Gabriel (2000). Antenarratives are bets that a pre-story can be told and theatrically performed that will enroll stakeholders in 'intertextual' ways transforming the world of action into theatrics. At the same time, the antenarratives never quite get there; they unravel as fast as coherence is applied. Antenarrative theory is closely tied to Kristeva (1986: 36) and Bakhtin (1981), who suggest that each text has 'intertextual' trajectories that are historical and social (Boje 2001a; O'Connor 2002), and to Fairclough's (1992) critical discourse idea that the intertextual trajectory is embedded in hegemonic struggle. Antenarrative is the 'soup' of molecular elements to spectacle, simmering before plots, characters, and frames congeal. Antenarrative dynamics include the plurivocal (many voiced), polysemous (rich in multiple interpretations), and dispersed pre-narrations that interpenetrate wider social contexts.

Method

Enron texts chosen for analysis in this article were from journal articles and international and national news articles published between December 2001 and March 2002, US Congressional transcripts, and key Enron memos and reports. We worked with a large body of texts, for example 9,684 news articles, using Lexus Nexus and Proquest, plus US Congressional transcript archives and web reports such as SEEN (2002) and Powers (2002). Our methodology was to read the collected texts, beginning with a series of obvious themes (greed, fraud, *Star Wars*, and so on). There were 3,055 items about Enron and scandal in the popular press, 3,685 linking Enron and Arthur Andersen, 1,153 linking Enron and US President Bush, 1,607 calling Enron a fraud, and 384 articles linking greed to Enron. For data sets larger than 350, we sampled news items on themes using random numbers, stratified across a week-by-week chronology. We also searched for Enron characters; for example, there were 473 articles on Chief Financial Officer Andrew Fastow.

We read excerpts chronologically, week by week, and made notes on the intertextual movement of utterances between different tropes (for example, epic and tragic). We used these notes to assemble a 55-page, single-spaced chronology of reported Enron incidents between 1985 and 2002. At this point, we did a 'theme analysis' based on the operational definitions discussed in the section on spectacle types, and sorted spectacles into four types: concentrated, diffused, integrated, and megaspectacle. A theme analysis is 'a search for the relationships ... linked to the cultural scene as a whole' (Spradley 1980: 88), a search for 'a discernible pattern' (Fairclough 1992: 236). The process of our theme analysis was, first, our immersion in the data, the development of a list of 'plot themes' from the data, and the organization into the four spectacle types. Our analytical method is meant to be 'intertextual' and 'rhizomatic' (Boje 2001a); like Grimes (2002: 18), we assume that 'rather

than revealing authors' intentions, closer reading is based on readers' interpretations arising from detailed engagement with the text'. In all, we collected 367 examples of Enron spectacle theatrics in audio, video, US Congressional hearing archives, and in radio and TV transcripts (and audio) of Enron executive performances. We noticed that the use of the term 'spectacle' by commentators and witnesses was mostly about the negative aspects, such as Enron being a debacle, and Congresspersons and Enron executives making a sorry spectacle or grandstanding fed by public interest and media frenzy. Earliest uses of the word 'spectacle' were in December 2001. To sample positive spectacles (not just debacle), we used the term 'New Economy'.

Findings and Analysis

Enron is a rich source of data for analyzing the different kinds of spectacle. Here we explore four types of spectacle: concentrated, diffused, integrated, and megaspectacle. Each of the four kinds of spectacle is illustrated with two antenarrative clusters. The point is not the chronology, but the intertextual weave across the antenarrative clusters — how early ones seem to go dormant and achieve resolution, only to reappear again as ghostly characters, themes, and frames (see Table 1 for a brief summary).

Table 1.
Eight Enron
Antenarrative
Clusters Sorted by
Spectacle Type

Concentrated Spectacles	
A. Enteron (1986).	At least five antenarrative versions contend in the emergence and accounting for 'Enteron'
B. Vader's 'Gas Bank' (1990–2001).	There is disputed ownership of the Gas Bank idea; the idea morphs into the trading floor concept; it is a way to not repeat G, but does.
Diffused Spectacles	
C. 'Near Death' Greenmail (1987).	Jacobs and Leucadia could have liquidated Enron with a successful takeover, but Milken of Drexel Burnham Lambert intervened.
D. 'Mark the Shark' builds a Global Empire (1991–2000).	Stories of oppression, the beating of villagers in India, and other antenarrative tales of resistance never pierce the charade of globalization success; Mark is Skilling's rival, until he forces her out (a scenario he denies).
Integrated Spectacles	
E. Cowboy Capitalism (1985–2001).	Antenarratively connected to G (Valhalla Rogue Traders) and morphs into F (Masters of the Universe).
F. Masters of the Universe (1998–2001).	Appears to mimic <i>Bonfire of the Vanities</i> , ostentatious gala events, and lifestyles of the rich and famous.
Megaspectacles	
G. Valhalla Rogue Traders (1985–87).	Before there was Enteron or Enron, in the formative days of the Houston Natural Gas merger with InterNorth, a third 'rogue' entity sold oil futures in a city called Valhalla.
H. Greek Mega-tragedy (2001–02).	A through G are intertextual to the succession of Greek (and Shakespearean) tragedies that become antenarratives of the collapse of Enron.

The relationship between each of the antenarrative clusters is then represented in Figure 1, which provides a graphical depiction of the intertextuality among the antenarrative clusters. Antenarrative clusters are part of rhizomatic relations between the clusters. There are also antenarrative relations before the megaspectacle H, when it became fashionable for reporters to research the trails of campaign contributions. The original corporate name of Enteron is renegotiated into Enron when it fails to project a spectacle of light and power; later, the Gas Bank cluster of antenarratives competes for center stage. Antenarratives of one cluster migrate and interpenetrate with those of other clusters. The Key at the bottom of Figure 1 gives examples of antenarratives that move in between the clusters listed in Table 1. Figure 1 suggests many of the pieces of H (Greek Mega-tragedy) of the Enron collapse were present in antenarrative clusters, such as G (Valhalla Rogues), the oil traders of 1985–87 who brought about a US Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) investigation, Arthur Andersen audits, offshore accounts, creative accounting processes, and scandal.

Enron Concentrated Spectacles

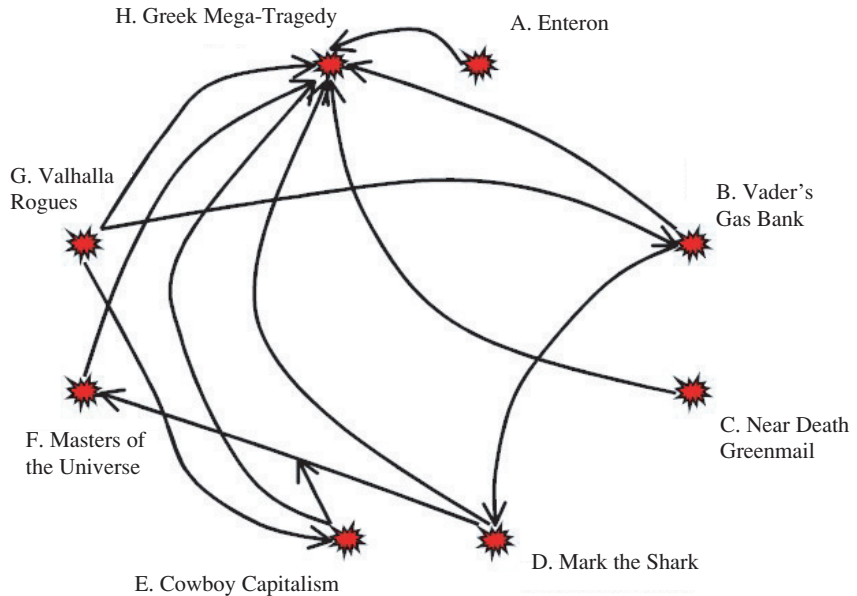
A. Enteron

In 1985 and 1986, Kenneth Lay, the chairman and founder of Enron, had a company that was seriously burdened with US\$4.3 billion in debt, incurred by a merger between InterNorth and Houston Natural Gas, whose name morphed from Houston Natural Gas/InterNorth Inc, to HNG/InterNorth, to the unmelodious HNG/INI, and then, based on the recommendations of a public relations firm, the Greek word '*Enteron*' (King 2002), implying 'a pipeline system transmitting nourishment' (Saffire 2002). So the merger began life as Enteron. The name turned into a mini-scandal, with five competing antenarrative versions of the revelation that the word had etymological similarity to 'intestines' (Ackman 2001; Ahrens 2002; Cobb 2002; King 2002). These antenarratives, while diverging on the details, share the theme of 'guts and shit'. The Enteron board gave the public relations firm 24 hours to get a respectable name or not be paid (Saffire 2002), or maybe the enterprise remained Enteron for the three days it took to find a better name (Hammel 1997), or perhaps before the official announcement, the renaming took place at the 6 March 1986 board meeting. From a narrative point of view, rejecting Enteron as a name choice is now antenarrative legend. At the 6 March 1986 board meeting, 'Enron' succeeded Enteron in an antenarrative expulsion, retaining the '-ron' suffix to express the vigor of people named Ron (as in former US President Ronald Reagan?) (*Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections* 2002).

B. Vader's Gas Bank

A second concentrated spectacle centered on Jeffrey Skilling, Enron's chief executive officer (CEO), who had been known at the Harvard Business School as being 'capable of some of the most extraordinary drama' (Schwartz 2002: 1). While at Enron, Skilling cultivated the image of Darth Vader (the evil character from the *Star Wars* movie): dressing as Darth Vader at company

Figure 1.
Enron Intertextuality
among Antenarrative
Clusters



KEY TO FIGURE 1

A:H Renaming game recommences after collapse of Enron.
B:H Offshore accounts, fake records, and Arthur Andersen of B repeat in H.
B:D Skilling's 10-year war to oust Rebecca Mark ('the Shark').
C:H As in C, shareholders in H seek control and liquidation of Enron.
D:H Oppressive tales of villagers in India do not play on center stage until collapse.
D:F Mark's global capitalism plays into Masters of the Universe.
E:(D:F) Cowboy Capitalism combines with Mark the Shark's globe-hopping strategy.

E:H Houston galas play and morph into White House scandals.
F:H *Bonfire of the Vanities* interpenetrates with White House, Congress, and UK elite appointments to Enron boards and committees.
G:B Valhalla Rogues resurfaces in Gas Bank.
G:E Valhalla Rogues merges with Cowboy Capitalism.
G:H Off-balance-sheet accounts and offshore banking and Arthur Andersen repeat from G to H.
H Each of the antenarrative clusters reemerges in post-collapse inquiries.

functions, referring to his traders as 'Storm Troopers', and decorating his mansion in the black and white of the Darth Vader style. Enron's dramatic spectacle drew on *Star Wars* imagery in more ways than just Skilling's moniker, as the Gas Bank plot spawned deals such as Joint Energy Development Investments (JEDI LP), a partnership of Enron and US\$250 million of the California Public Employees Retirement System (Calpers). Some four years later, in 1997, Enron bought back its stake in JEDI from Calpers for US\$383 million and sold it to another limited partnership called Chewco, a reference to another *Star Wars* character. Other spectacular, if phantasmic, entities included Kenobe Inc and Obi-1 Holdings (more *Star Wars* references). Off-the-balance-sheet partnerships helped to hide losses of US\$2 billion in both the water and telecommunications businesses, another US\$2 billion lost in a Brazilian utility investment, and an additional US\$1 billion lost on an electricity-generating plant in India.

Skilling was also known as ‘The Prince’, as in Machiavelli. New hires were told to read *The Prince* cover to cover or be eaten alive; especially apropos to Skilling was the passage: ‘It is much safer to be feared than loved, when, of the two, either must be dispensed with’ (Schwartz 2002: 1).

A ‘Gas Swap’ calling ‘for the customer to buy gas locally, paying a floating price, and selling at a fixed rate’ (Kaminski and Martin 2001: 44) was proposed. As in a commercial bank model, the Gas Swap would be equivalent to a ‘deposit guarantee system’. There were glitches to the plot. The initial Gas Bank plan did not persuade gas producers to sell Enron their reserves. Enron decided to offer money upfront to entice gas producers to deliver gas, later on, at the pre-agreed price. The problem was where to get the money.

Andrew Fastow, a financial whiz kid from Continental Bank in Chicago, was hired as chief financial officer (CFO) and moved to Houston, Texas, where Enron was headquartered. In 1991, Fastow developed a ‘partnership strategy’ called ‘Cactus’, in which bank money was lent to ‘energy producers in return for a portion of their existing gas reserves’ (Barnes et al. 2002). Like the Gas Bank antenarrative, the Cactus rescripting has disputed beginnings, Barnes et al. (2002) noting that Bernard Glatzer, a New York businessman, sued Enron claiming that the company had taken the idea from him. Fastow’s hundreds of off-the-balance-sheet partnerships became the Achilles heel of Enron by 2001.

Reputedly a mean-spirited manager, CFO Fastow was CEO Skilling’s loyal lieutenant. Together they reduced the fifteen layers of management inherited from the HNG/InterNorth merger to four, thereby moving decision authority closer to people who possessed the knowledge. Skilling then implemented a rank-and-yank human resource management performance review policy (the goal was to remove the 20 percent lowest performers each year). Individuals with a risk-taking management style and competent trading talent were recruited, primarily from Harvard’s and Stanford’s top business school graduates, lured by US\$20,000 signing bonuses, US\$80,000 salaries, and annual bonuses of up to 100 percent. Once hired, they were ‘Enronized’ to compete fiercely among themselves and to leave all other loyalties, including family, behind. Under Skilling, this ‘best place to work in America’ is, backstage, among the worst.

Enron Diffused Spectacles

C. Near Death Greenmail

While concentrated spectacles primarily are staged within an organization, diffused spectacles are the fallout onto the stage of the global amphitheatre. Encroachment had its cost: chairman and founder Kenneth Lay, on 21 October 1986, discovered that he had to fend off a greenmail attack of a notorious US\$13 million premium above the stock price for Irwin Jacobs’ substantial 5.1 million shares, as well as Leucadia’s 2.3 million shares. In all, Enron paid the greenmailers US\$357 million to buy back a total of 7.6 million shares (paying 6 percent above market value and borrowing US\$100 million from Citibank).

The infamous Michael Milken's bond unit at Drexel Burnham Lambert arranged the financing. T. Boone Pickens, Chairman of Mesa Petroleum, said a week after the buyback, 'Greenmail is a symptom of weak management, and Enron's executives have folded in a big way' (McGeehan 2002).

This is a pre-death event, a foretelling of the mega-collapse. Enron reported a loss in 1987 of US\$29.3 million on revenue of US\$5.9 billion. It was this emplotment of events, a reversal of fortune, that led Enron's management to decide their future depended upon launching new unregulated businesses. The 1987 scandal is an antenarrative that became dormant, then re-erupted in late 2001, a tragic flaw of hubris and masquerade. Unlike the 2001–02 megaspectacle sandals, Chairman Lay was able to handle the 1987 trading scandal at a time when public attention was elsewhere (that is, on the October 1987 stock-market crash).

D. 'Mark the Shark' Builds a Global Empire

Rebecca Mark (dubbed 'Mark the Shark') was hired in 1991 as CEO of Enron Development Corporation. She was great at using theatrical costumes and settings; for example, she rode in on an elephant to promote her India ventures (Frey 2002: C01). On the global stage, Mark made links with the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organization (WTO), entities that helped finance many Enron utility and pipeline deals and provided countries such as China with special loans to build pipelines. Enron's ties to the World Bank from 1992 to 2001 provided US\$761 million (taxpayer dollars) in Enron support and political pressure for countries to get with Enron programs or lose their foreign aid. Together with the WTO and the IMF, the World Bank pressured the world's governments to pursue deregulation and privatization of the power and energy sectors of the global economy. Also, the greenmail financing had led to other transactions with Citibank, including the financing of a power plant in India, where a US\$30 billion agreement (the largest deal in Indian history) was struck between local politicians and Enron (SEEN 2002: 3). Enron was a darling in the society of the spectacle: 21 US government agencies, multilateral development banks, and other national governments gave Enron (and Mark) some US\$7.219 billion financing toward 38 projects in 29 countries.

Outside the USA, Enron's spectacle was that of battling those who opposed Enron-style progress. In response to protests, Enron hired host national military security forces or paid off politicians, who believed they were pleasing the White House, to quell local rebellions (SEEN 2002). For example, Enron contractors systematically harassed Veldur villagers on a new construction site, calling in security and police to drag peaceful, protesting women by their hair into police vans (Human Rights Watch 2002a). The new Dabhol plant near the village of Veldur produced electricity that cost three times as much as competitor's prices, and six times more than the coal-fired plant it replaced. In 1999, Human Rights Watch charged in a 166-page report, *The Enron Corporation: Corporate Complicity in Human Rights Violations*, that Enron subsidiaries paid local law enforcement to suppress opposition to its power plant south of Mumbai (Human Rights Watch 2002b).

As battles raged on the global stage, an internal struggle was also coming to a dramatic climax. Rebecca Mark's plot to construct pipelines and build power plants did not sit well with Jeffrey Skilling's 'Gas Bank' script for expanding the Enron empire with an 'asset-lite' energy-trading emplotment. Enron grew strong as Mark and Skilling built the two sides of Enron, but the 'brutal competition' between two top executives mixed 'hubris' with 'pride' and 'lust' that 'ultimately wrecked' Enron (Peraino et al. 2002: 22, 24).

While 'Mark the Shark' was flying from country to country to make pipeline and utility deals, Skilling as Darth Vader slowly filled Enron headquarters with his Storm Troopers, who spied for him against Mark. Mark was forced out in August 2000, at a time when Enron stock was at its highest price of US\$90.56 a share. Mark's smartest move was getting fired before the collapse. She received US\$82.5 million from the sale of stock (though it should be noted that Sherman (2002) puts the figure at US\$79.5 million). Skilling had won; after Mark left, her area of focus in water commodities and energy plants and pipelines (hard assets) no longer fitted Enron's definition of being a virtual global trading conglomerate.

Enron Integrated Spectacles

As Enron further concentrated its spectacle of hyper-competition and showmanship, and scattered its facade across continents, integrated spectacles of deregulation emerged in country after country. Even after Mark departed, Enron continued to buy political influence, plundering world energy resources from Nicaragua to India, and presenting its corporate dramatis personae on the global stage as the New-Economy-making entrepreneur and the role model of environmental social responsibility and philanthropy. 'That which asserted its definitive excellence with perfect impudence nevertheless changes, both in the diffused and the concentrated spectacle, and it is the system alone which must continue' (Debord 1967: para. 70). Here we explore the antenarrative clusters of unbridled illusions of internal power, concentrated within the organization and played out in different theatres that intertwined into an integrated spectacle.

E. Cowboy Capitalism

'Think strip clubs and Ferraris. Think bigger houses, better boats, and new wives. Think custom-designed vacations packaged by a company that does trips for the likes of country music star Lyle Lovett and the television show "Survivor II"'s Keith Famie' (Frey 2002: C01). Enron executives frequented a 'gentleman's club' in Houston, where they charged their US\$575 bottles of champagne and their prostitution expenses to Enron credit cards (Peraino et al. 2002: 27–28). Skilling, Lay, and Mark built a cowboy corporate culture, where hyper-competition, in which winning meant doing in rivals so they cannot compete again, was the rule. The Enron headquarters recruits dubbed their fraternity-like, corporate-culture socialization process, 'Enronizing'. 'Family time? Quality of life? Forget it. Anybody who did not embrace the elbows-out culture "didn't get it." They were "damaged goods" and "ship-

wrecks,” likely to be fired by their bosses at blistering annual job reviews known as rank-and-yank sessions’ (Peraino et al. 2002: 26). Skilling’s performance-review committees rewarded the top 5 percent with flashy sports cars and trips to Mexico to race motorcycles in the famed Baja 1000 or to Australia for sports-utility-vehicle outdoor adventures or to Aspen for skiing. The bottom 5 percent were sent to the Redeployment Office, known as the ‘office of shame’, where they got a phone, a desk, and a chance to be rehired by some other division, or be fired (15 percent each year).

F. Masters of the Universe

Mimetic of the lifestyles they imagined that the rich and the famous enjoy, Enron members considered themselves ‘masters of the universe’, with the hubris that Tom Wolfe pillories in his 1980s novel *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (Broughton 2002; Farhi 2002; Shapiro 2002; Williamson 2002). Enron gala events ‘were suitably imperial demonstrations of power, with Tiffany glassware as door prizes and waiters standing by at all times with flutes of champagne’ (Peraino et al. 2002: 27). The shouting in the bond-trading room was described by Wolfe as ‘the sound of well-educated young white men baying for money in games of high-stakes gambling’ (quoted in Farhi 2002). Enron played its commercials on television; in one, a young executive asked a politician, ‘Why?’ dramatizing how ‘our legislators were arrogant fogies who kept us from having economic “choices”, via deregulation, simply because they thought they knew better than the people’ (Frank 2002).

Outrageous stage settings (executive mansions and opulent headquarters) distracted the Enron cast, including stockholders, from truth seeking. While greedy Enron executives rigged a Ponzi scheme (Beatty 2002; Savage 2002), the network of off-the-balance-sheet partnerships was used to costume debt with pseudo-profits (Beatty 2002; Shapiro 2002; Farhi 2002). Brokering power through spectacle was the drama that was Enron. Lay was the star performer of the integrated spectacle ‘Masters of the Universe’: as late as January 2001 Lay addressed Enron executives in a corporate theatrical event where champagne and liquor flowed while two giant screens displayed his projected image (Eichenwald and Henriques 2002).

In 1998, there was an Enron cash-for-access scandal in the UK (a precursor to the megaspectacle H below). Enron had paid £36,000 to Labour since 1997 for tables held at gala dinners for the Tony Blair government and Labour Party (Barnett et al. 2002). Like the White House, Downing Street insisted there was no impropriety in the relations between government and Enron. However, ‘three weeks after the 1998 Labour party conference ... the government decided not to refer the company’s £1.5 billion takeover of Wessex Water to the Monopolies Commission, thus giving the American giant a monopoly of water supplies in much of southwest England (When 2001: 5).

‘Enron provides a textbook case of how corporate power subverts the political process in whatever country it operates (the US, the UK or India) through donations to political parties combined with intensive lobbying’ (Bunting 2002: 15). To spectators, Enron’s integrative spectacle presented

the mass illusion that the wheel of Fortune would continue to reward investors, this even when executives were well aware that the reversal of fortune had already been revealed. Even during January 2001, Lay and Skilling were saying that the stock would go to US\$126.

Enron Megaspectacles

Enron's integrated spectacles collapsed into bankruptcy on 3 December 2001, exposing a spectacle theatrics facade emptied of assets; the shock of the debacle erupted into a megaspectacle set of scandals that still unfolds. The A through F antenarratives pre-story the collapse (see Figure 1) and are intertextual and rhizomatic to its megaspectacle storm. Our first six antenarrative clusters (A to F) are not typically labeled spectacles, though that is the technical term Debord (1967) would use. In this fourth type of spectacle, the megaspectacle comes closer to spectacle's meaning in popular dialog. Here, we focus on an early antenarrative cluster that is megaspectacle, the Valhalla Rogue Traders, and the more recent megaspectacle cluster we are now so familiar with, the succession of Greek tragedies.

G. The Valhalla Rogue Traders

Some scandals are prophetic of future megaspectacles. As this antenarrative of megaspectacle begins, an HNG/InterNorth subsidiary (not yet Enteron, far from being Enron) sets up its office in Valhalla, New York in 1985; there were a dozen employees, half of whom were oil futures traders (Kilgannon 2002). HNG/InterNorth's auditing firm, Arthur Andersen, had warned in 1984 that the oil trading needed more oversight (Barnes et al. 2002). Enron's internal auditors, and an alert Apple Bank security officer in Manhattan, New York, accused the Enron Oil Corporation's President, Louis J. Borget, and Treasurer, Thomas N. Mastroeni, of diverting US\$142 million in company funds to Panama and other offshore accounts between 1985 and 1987. An aide told Kenneth Lay that the company's New York crude-oil trading operation was about to explode, and his reaction in 1987 foreshadowed his later response: he headed to New York for 'damage control' (Barnes et al. 2002), but failed to confront Borget and Mastroeni for committing fraud, perhaps because the Enron Oil Company 'was bringing in profits of \$30 million a year, one third of the company's [overall] earnings and offsetting the grim natural gas picture' (UPI 2002). The Enron Oil Company did not produce any oil (it bought and sold oil futures), a pattern to be repeated in Enron's future. Also prophetically, Borget and Mastroeni appeared to be cooking the books and using offshore accounts (UPI 2002). By October 1987, the US Securities and Exchange Commission had begun investigating the two top executives, and the office was shut. On 22 October 1987, Enron executives finally disclosed that so-called 'renegade crude oil traders' had been running two sets of trading books and filing fake trading reports. Enron finally fired Borget and Mastroeni, and then announced Enron would be taking an after-tax hit of US\$85 million in the third quarter of the year. The losses led Enron's management to discontinue its speculative oil-trading operations and focus

on CEO Jeffrey Skilling's novel strategic plan, which was just as speculative in gas, electricity, oil, and even the weather. Arthur Andersen also played a significant character role: 'Woytek's internal audit function was done away with [at Enron] shortly thereafter and they were all transferred to work for Arthur Andersen, which had a contract for internal and external auditing' (UPI 2002). After this 'Rogue Traders' scandal, Chairman Lay gathered his employees together and promised it would not happen again (Steffy and Levy 2002).

H. Greek Mega-tragedy

The strategy of spectacle allowed Enron to make its facade believable, but as in all shows, the curtains must come down. The Internet bubble burst; trades in gas and electricity contracts were not as profitable; new markets did not emerge; off-the-balance-sheet partnerships as a place to hide weaker deals and debts collapsed under the weight of falling Enron stock prices. No one could keep the house of cards from collapse; the stage was shaking too wildly to keep up the charade. The integrated spectacle of the New Economy, 'free market capitalism through deregulation as the most efficient way to organize the energy industries' was weakened by the US SEC investigation, the 16 October 2001 US\$1.2 billion charge against equity, and then the bankruptcy in December. By then the facade had cracked, and over the Christmas holiday the media dogs were unleashed.

In May 2001, Enron's Chief Strategist and former Enron Vice-Chairperson, J. Clifford Baxter, by police accounts committed suicide; some say it was a better choice for a man of pride than to face a US Congressional hearing or a US SEC inquiry. Like a scene straight out of Shakespeare's *Othello*, Baxter, who had abruptly resigned the previous May, seemed haunted by allegations of Enron's wrongdoing, a class action suit, a US Congressional subpoena, the bankruptcy, and the shady financial dealings. The irony is that Baxter was among the very few who raised objections within Enron about accounting practices that inflated profit reports.

On 14 August 2001, Skilling resigned as CEO of Enron. When the announcement came, it was clear to Sherron Watkins, a high-level Enron executive, that Skilling was jumping off a sinking ship, even though many investment houses were advising their customers to buy more Enron stock. When, on 16 August, Kenneth Lay called an all-employees meeting to ask employees for comments, Watkins wrote a one-page anonymous letter on her computer at work, dropped it in the box at headquarters the next day, and sent Lay the internal memo expressing her concerns, pointing out, for example, that Baxter had complained mightily to Skilling and others about the inappropriateness of Enron's transactions. Andrew Fastow, Skilling's former lieutenant, did try to fire Watkins, but apparently fearful that she would go public, he promoted her instead.

After Enron went into bankruptcy there appeared a flurry of articles about fraud, followed by another set of articles on the US Congressional hearings, in marked contrast to the paucity of critical articles previously. The media spotlight panned the Machiavellian Enron executives, the Bush adminis-

tration's involvement, and the campaign contributions to US Democratic Party and Republican Party members. Articles about the collapse of capitalism looked to the failed system of checks and balances, from the US SEC to the accounting associations, the White House, and the US Congress and Senate. By late January 2002, the White House and the Republican Party had deflected the media spotlight toward Arthur Andersen, its accountants and executives; again, a spectacle was created to maintain a passive audience — one that would refrain from questioning the system that gave rise to the Enron excesses and exploits.

Implications

Like McDonaldisation and Disneyfication, 'Enronization' is at the center of the new global economy. Enronization weds high-risk gambling to the theatrics of capitalism; it is a script of greed with a Machiavellian plot, and an ideological frame for free-market capitalism. Thoroughly engaging, the spectacle story lines encourage us to suspend our own experience and be swept up in the themes and rhythms of executive script-making. A 1000 actors, not just a few players, constituted Enron's global spectacle. In short, it takes a global village to concoct a fraud on the scale of Enron. The question that remains is how those without the power and resources of global corporations counteract and resist Enronization.

By understanding the construction of spectacle, we open avenues for resistance, such as the 'carnavalesque' theatre of the Middle Ages, when images of outrageous mocking and medieval buffoonery caricatured the church and crown. Kristeva (1986: 51) says carnival is a double: its laughter 'is not simply parodic; it is no more comic than tragic; it is both at once, one might say that it is serious'. Kristeva and Bakhtin's work was further developed by Barthes (1977), Derrida (1976), Foucault (1979), and Fairclough (1992), in ways that enable us to outline a dynamic theory of corporate theatre. Contemporary carnivals of protest include street-theatre boycotts against sweatshops, the World Trade Organization, and the G8. This perspective of theatrical struggle and resistance builds on a dialectical model of theatre as found in Freire (1970) and Boal (1979). When the spectacle image of corporate progress is further from the lived experience, when material conditions are revealed by carnivalesque protest to contradict spectacle illusion, there are important acts of self-reflective questioning, and hopefully spectacle script revision.

Carnivals of resistance to Enron included actions by leaders from the fishing village in western India, a cream pie tossed in Skilling's face in San Francisco during the California energy crisis, and the depiction of Arthur Andersen, Enron, and corporate executives as they fed a 240-cubic-foot 'hungry shredding machine' the tarnished espoused values of truth, liberty, and justice. It is obvious that the US Congressional hearings and Sherron Watkins' whistle blowing are both spectacle and carnivals of resistance. More than one analyst and reporter were reprimanded, reassigned, or fired when

they tried to file stories critical of Enron; in the news game, one waits until a major institution such as the US SEC or the US Congress is investigating a major corporate hero before the media dogs can be unleashed. Since the collapse, Enron as well as Arthur Andersen employees have taken to the streets to protest the loss of jobs. Carnival is a call for release from corporate power, a cry of distress and repression mixed with laughter and humorous exhibition meant to jolt state and corporate power into awareness of the psychic cage of work and consumptive life (Boje 2001b). Our implication is the possibility of critical consciousness and praxis transforming formal spectacle through emancipatory carnival-like theatre. Boal (1979), for example, espouses a 'theatre of liberation' from all forms of oppression.

Enron courted politicians in the UK and USA, got better coverage from appointments of media critics to its advisory board, and rewrote US energy policy. Public relations helped Enron contain activist groups and regulators. Enron, however, was not using public relations to build relational marketing; instead, it used dramatics of diffused and integrated spectacle to minimize any chance at relationship. Enron, and all instances of spectacle, use symbolic relationships to minimize, even to impede, behavioral relationships, which are the actual interaction between an organization and its publics (Grunig 1993a). Enron sought to keep all publics latent — to have stockholders hand over their money 'no questions asked'.

'The discussion of the ethics of impression management resembles the discussion of asymmetrical and symmetrical world views in public relations (J. Grunig & White 1992). Symmetrical public relations sees an organization's relationships with publics as balanced — relationships in which both adjust their behavior to each other. Asymmetrical public relations strives for an imbalanced relationship with publics — using communication to get members of a public to do what the organization wants them to do.' (Grunig 1993a: 128)

The public relations perspective, when considered dramaturgically, includes the design of preliminary scripts and staging in the development of spectacles and active carnivalesque resistance (that can be analyzed with dramaturgical methods and concepts). The complexity of multiple spectacle and carnivalesque resistance theatrical enactments implies that the use of a dramaturgical implementation strategy requires a collective process not adequately explained by public relations theory. Whereas public relations concerns itself with managing its interdependence with its publics, dramatic spectacle concerns itself with minimizing such interdependence: with keeping active publics to a minimum. There are very strong cultural norms that guide the behavior of theatregoers: pay for admission; dress up to see and be seen by the other patrons; do not interact at all with the events on the stage; and so forth. By putting on a spectacle, Enron sought to collect the price of admission from investors, governments, and the media, and then signal that all critical interaction was taboo. This tactic is increasingly common among corporations today, and it works because the theatrical spectacle enacts the fantasy that we, its audience, can be mere observers, apart and unsullied by the messy work of organizations, and that if we blow the whistle, we get punished.

Enron's critical dramaturgy analysis reveals how megaspectacles played in the theatre of public life to teach cathartic lessons of pity and fear to millions of spectators, who could confidently replot into the resanctified first three spectacles of concentrated illusion, diffused global predation, and integrated hyper-reality. Enron's success was masterful dramaturgy in all three theatrical ways (facades to deceive investors, technology to control or motivate employees, and life *is* theatre). Enron used the dramatic spectacle to build a reputation based on affiliation with fictional characters. Accustomed to being entertained, and familiar with the characters, we, the public, had the sense that we could predict the performance outcome of Enron because we knew the stories: the *Star Wars* trilogy. In addition to the fantasy of predicting future performance, particularly in the absence of an authentic 'track record', dramatic spectacle substitutes the 'myth of the moral high ground' for ethics.

The full cycle of the Enron story has yet to be told. When the spectacle bubble busts loose, the resulting megaspectacle generates thousands of news exposés, finds its scapegoats, promises reform, then gets back to the business of business: to produce and disseminate spectacles of illusion. The spectacles then retake the stage, to restore faith in free-market global capitalism. The business press and academics' focus on Enron will attempt to derive a single narrative emplotment to Enron, leaving hundreds of plots in the margins. Before the collapse, Enron was touted as the king of the new global economy, spectacularly successful in worldwide energy trading markets without any brick and mortar assets. In the rise of Enron, executives were characterized as the heroes of the empire, whiz kids magically transforming boring and bureaucratic utility industries into virtual energy-trading markets in the new global economy. Behind the front-stage curtain, Enron fell apart. The creative accounting, greased palms, and gala theatre kept us from seeing what went on backstage. Executives were propping up stock prices by keeping debt off the books so that investors would continue to bet on Enron.

Only in catastrophe or utter collapse do spectators glimpse the fictive-producing apparatus of the theatrics of capitalism. With the reversal of fortune, everyone sees that the emperor had no clothes. After the Enron collapse, spectacles of exultation and mass deception turned into scandals for politicians, public institutions, and the business colleges. Victors become vilified in a new series of antenarratives and spectacles, thus feeding spectators' appetite for cathartic release as the drama enacts the tragic flaws to be purged from the social body. In capitalism's antenarrative response to Enron's fall, US Congressional hearings and US Justice Department investigations investigate great reversals of fortune brought about by tragic flaws (hubris, arrogance, fraud, and greed). We spectators gaze in fear and pity at the parade of characters. The curtain falls on the final act, as a few scapegoats are led off to prison. The theatrics serve to purge, exonerate, and rehabilitate so that spectacle can resume its enthrallment. Once again, we are seduced and suspend all disbelief, freely embracing refabricated dramatic corporate illusions.

There are several important critical dramaturgy implications of this study for future corporate theatre projects: (1) the formation and transformation of

antenarratives; (2) distrust of unitary universal spectacles that risk missing the morphing of spectacles and their changing inter-spectacle relationships through complex rhizomatic antenarrative practices; (3) the exposing of intertextuality and rhizomatic relationships that must be traced before we can see beyond the spectacles; (4) the complicity of we the public, who are spectators turned 'spect-actors' and who miss our own complicity in oppression; and (5) the dialectical framing and counter-framing of ideologies that seek to scapegoat others while obscuring our own complicity, thus robbing us of the courage to act.

Lastly, it is important to recover rhythm and dialogic rhetoric in a more critical and postmodern dramaturgical analyses of corporate spectacle theatrics. The antenarrative roots of Enron's collapse in 2001 go back to its beginning in ways that are rhizomatic and intertextual. Everyone wants a simple story to make sense of complex dynamics, but this is not always helpful. In the case of Enron, the eight antenarrative clusters are contextualizing and recontextualizing processes of change. The antenarratives recruit a cast of characters and constitute both metascripting and spectacle theatrics practices.

We live in the theatre of corporate spectacle. Corporations produce and distribute spectacles of their heroic power for our consumption. Here and there carnivals of resistance emerge, and on occasion the momentum of spectacle erupts temporarily into scandalous megaspectacles. We vicariously purge our selves of tragic flaws when we as spectators observe the tragedy of the fallen hero. Our contribution, here, has been to provide a couple of stage lights in order that we might better watch the dramas unfold; or perhaps to turn the lights onto ourselves so that we might better critique our own place as spect-actors in the mix of spectacles; or possibly to provide a few brief program notes regarding the six dramatic elements (plot, character, theme, dialog, rhythm, and spectacle) of the greatest show on earth, that is, global capitalism; or maybe simply to hint that if all of life is a stage, we are free to create our own carnival and stories in our own streets, homes, classrooms, and workplaces. In conclusion, we see that Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* can show us how theatrically enacted corporate facade fosters spectator passivity until it erupts into a megaspectacle and the corporate facade collapses from its own weight.

References

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Ackman, Dan
2001 'Enron in freefall', <i>Forbes</i>, 27 November, URL (consulted 9 February 2004): http://www.forbes.com/2001/11/27/1127topnews.html.</p> <p>Ahrens, Frank
2002 'Enron says "fresh start" means a new name. Firm plans to pay more "retention bonuses"', <i>The Washington Post</i>, 22 February: E01.</p> | <p><i>Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections</i>
2002 <i>Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections</i> 7/6, 21 March, URL (consulted 9 February 2004): http://www.gasandoil.com/goc/company/cnn21254.htm.</p> <p>Alvesson, Matt, and Sanley Deetz
1996 'Critical theory and postmodernism approaches to organizational studies' in <i>Handbook of organization studies</i>. S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W. R. Nord (eds), 191–217. London: Sage.</p> |
|---|---|

- Aristotle
1984 *The complete works of Aristotle*, J. Barnes (ed.), 2 Vols. [350 BCE] Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail
1981 *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barnes, Julian E., Megan Barnett, and Christopher H. Schmitt
2002 'How a titan came undone'. *U.S. News and World Report*, 18 March. URL: http://www.laydoff.com/articles/usnwr_3_02.html.
- Barnett, Anthony, Kamal Ahmed, and Oliver Morgan
2002 'You scratch our backs and we'll sink our claws in'. *Observer*, 3 February. URL: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/focus/story/0,6903,644011,00.html>.
- Barthes, Roland
1977 *Roland Barthes*. New York: Noonday Press.
- Beatty, Jack
2002 'The Enron Ponzi scheme'. *Atlantic Unbound*, 13 March. URL (consulted 22 April 2002): <http://www.theatlantic.com/unbound/polipro/pp2002-03-13.htm>.
- Benjamin, Walter
1999 *The arcades project*, trans. H. Eiland and K. McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Best, Steve, and Douglas Kellner
1997 *The postmodern turn*. New York and London: Guilford Press.
- Best, Steve, and Douglas Kellner
2001 *Postmodern adventure*. New York and London: Guilford Press.
- Boal, Augusto
1979 *Theatre of the oppressed*, trans. C. A. Leal McBride and M. O. Leal McBride. New York: Theatre Communications Group.
- Boje, David M.
1995 'Stories of the storytelling organization: A postmodern analysis of Disney as "Tamara-land"'. *Academy of Management Journal* 38/4: 997-1035.
- Boje, David M.
2001a *Narrative methods for organizational and communication research*. London: Sage.
- Boje, David M.
2001b 'Carnavalesque resistance to global spectacle: A critical postmodern theory of public administration'. *Administrative Theory and Praxis* 23/3: 431-458.
- Broughton, Philip Delves
2002 'Enron cocktail of cash, sex, and fast living'. *Daily Telegraph*, 28 January. URL (consulted 9 February 2004): <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.html>.
- Bunting, Madeleine
2002 'Fall of the arrogant'. *The Guardian*, 28 January. URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,640513,00.html>.
- Burke, Kenneth
1945 *A grammar of motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Clark, Tim, and Ian Mangham
2001 'From dramaturgy to theatre as technology: The case of corporate theatre'. Unpublished manuscript. The Management Centre, King's College, University of London.
- Cobb, Chris
2002 'Enron's lesson'. *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 January. URL: http://weblink.icaa.ab.ca/media/newsbrief/docs/newsbrief_161215312002.pdf.
- Debord, Guy
1967 *Society of the spectacle*. Paris: Editions Buchet-Chastel. URL: <http://www.nothingness.org/SI/debord/index.html>.
- Derrida, Jacques
1976 *Of grammatology*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Eichenwald, Kurt, and Diana B. Henriques
2002 'Enron's many strands: The company unravels; Enron buffed image to a shine even as it rotted from within'. *New York Times*, late edn. final, 10 February: 1
- Fairclough, Norman
1992 *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Farhi, Paul
2002 'Feeding the beast'. *The Washington Post*, 3 March, final edn: F01.
- Firat, Fuat A., and Nikhilesh Dholakia
1998 *Consuming people: From political economy to theaters of consumption*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, Michel
1979 *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*, trans. A. Scheridan. New York: Vintage Books.
- Frank, Thomas
2002 'Shocked, shocked! Enronian myths exposed'. *From the Nation*, 8 April. URL: <http://amsterdam.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-1-0203/msg00171.html>.
- Freire, P.
1970 *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Continuum.
- Frey, Jennifer
2002 'Water over the dam'. *The Washington Post*, 17 April: C01.
- Gabriel, Y.
2000 *Storytelling in organizations: Facts, fictions, and fantasies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grimes, Diane
2002 'I dream a world: Re-imagining change'. *Tamara Journal* 1/4: 13–28.
- Grunig, James E.
1993a 'Image and substance: From symbolic or behavioral relationships'. *Public Relations Review* 19(2):121–139.
- 1993b 'Public relations and international affairs: Effects, ethics, responsibility'. *Journal of International Affairs* 47(1): 137–162.
- 1997 'A situational theory of publics: Conceptual history, recent challenges and new research' in *Public relations research: An international perspective*. D. Moss, T. MacManus and D. Vercic (eds.). London: International Thomson Business Press.
- Grunig, James E., and Todd Hunt
1984 *Managing public relations*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Grunig, James E., and White, J.
1992 'The effect of worldviews on public relations theory and practice' in *Excellence in public relations and communication management*. James E. Grunig (ed.), 31–64. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hammel, Sara
1997 'What's in a name?' *US News and World Report*, 13 October. URL: <http://www.naming.com/assets/news/usnews.html>.
- Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno
1972 *Dialectic of enlightenment*, trans. J. Cumming. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Human Rights Watch
2002a 'Enron: History of human rights abuse in India', *Human Rights News*. 23 January. URL (consulted 9 February 2004): http://hrw.org/press/2002/01/enron_012302.htm.
- Human Rights Watch
2002b 'Enron in India'. 24 January. URL: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/enron/>.
- Kaminski, Vince, and John Martin
2001 'Transforming Enron corporation: The value of active management'. *Journal of Applied Corporate Finance* 13/4: 40–49.

- Kilgannon, Corey
2002 'Coincidences from a case 15 years old'. *New York Times*, March.
- King, Michael
2002 'Enron's lengthening shadow'. *The Austin Chronicle*, 21/21, 25 January: 1. URL: http://www.austinchronicle.com/issues/dispatch/2002-01-25/pols_capitol.html.
- Kristeva, Julia
1986 *The Kristeva reader*, T. Moi (ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.
- McGeehan, Patrick
2002 'Early Enron leaders didn't see the end coming'. *New York Times*, 22 January. URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/01/22/business/22BANK.html>.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich W.
1974 *The gay science*, trans. W. Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books, Random House.
- O'Connor, Ellen
2002 'Storied business: Typology, intertextuality, and traffic in entrepreneurial narrative'. *Journal of Business Communication* 39/1: 36–54.
- Oswick, Cliff, Tom Keenoy, and David Grant
2001 'Dramatizing and organizing: Acting and being'. *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 14/3: 218–224.
- Peraino, Kevin, Andrew Murr, and Anne Belli Gesalman
2002 'Enron's dirty laundry'. *Newsweek*, 11 March: 22–30.
- Plato
1986 [360 BCE] *The Republic*, trans. B. Jowett. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus. URL: <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.11.x.html>.
- Powers, William C.
2002 *Report of investigation by the Special Investigative Committee of Board of Directors of Enron Corporation*, 1 February. URL (consulted 13 May 2002): <http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/enron/specinv020102rpt1.pdf>.
- Saffire, William
2002 'I hope you don't think you're Enronesque'. *New York Times*, 23 February: 1.
- Savage, Terry
2002 'Fallout from Enron creates some ironies'. *Chicago Sun-Times*, 28 February. URL: <http://www.suntimes.com/output/savage/cst-fin-terry281.html>.
- Schreyögg, Georg
2001 'Organizational theatre and organizational change'. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Conference, Washington DC, August.
- Schwartz, John
2002 'Darth Vader. Machiavelli. Skilling sets intense pace'. *New York Times*, 7 February: 1.
- SEEN (Sustainable Energy and Economy Network)
2002 'Enron's pawns: How public institutions bankrolled Enron's globalization game'. Institute for Policy Studies. URL: <http://www.seen.org/PDFs/pawn.PDF>.
- Shapiro, Walter
2002 'Enron's slogans, corporate soldiers prove hollow'. *USA Today*, 8 February: 4A.
- Sherman, Scott
2002 *Columbia Journalism Review*. URL: <http://www.cjr.org/year/02/2/sherman.asp>.
- Spradley, James P.
1980 *Participant observation*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Steffy, Loren, and Adam Levy
2002 'Enron's original sins'. Bloomberg, April: 30–35. URL: http://www.bloomberg.com/marketsmagazine/cv_0204.pdf.
- UPI
2002 'Enron: A pattern of abuses'. *NewsMax Wires*, 21 March. URL: <http://www.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2002/3/21/60605.shtml>.

When, Francis
 2001 'Cash for no questions', Special report: New Labour in power. *The Guardian*, 10 January. URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4114884,00.html>.

Williamson, Linda
 2002 'Oil-gotten gains: \$62B vanished in collapse of Enron'. *The Toronto Sun*, 3 February: 20.

David M. Boje

David M. Boje is Professor of Management and the Arthur Owens Chair in Business Administration in the Management Department at New Mexico State University. He has published numerous articles in *Organization Studies*, *Management Communication Quarterly*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Academy of Management Journal*, and other top management journals. He is past division chair of the Research Methods Division of the Academy of Management and incoming President of the Board of Governors of the International Academy of Business Disciplines. He is founding editor of *Tamara: The Journal of Critical Postmodern Organization Science*.
 Address: Department of Management, College of Business Administration and Economics, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM 88003, USA.
 E-mail: dboje@nmsu.edu

Grace Ann Rosile

Grace Ann Rosile is an Assistant Professor of Management at New Mexico State University. Her primary interest is narrative approaches to organizational studies, including organizational theatrics. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *Management Communication Quarterly*, *Ephemera*, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *Journal of Management Education*, *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *Communication Research*, and *Technology Studies*, in addition to several book chapters. She is also on the Board of the *Journal of Management Education*.
 Address: Department of Management, College of Business Administration and Economics, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM 88003, USA.
 E-mail: garosile@zianet.com

Rita A. Durant

Rita A. Durant is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Management at the A. B. Freeman School of Business at Tulane University. A postmodern thinker, she is delighted at the opportunity to work with others operating at the crossroads of social justice and aesthetic inquiry. Her post-structuralist interest is in playing with the categories of gender, matter, spirit, time, and authority. She has published in *Emergence* and in the *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Her dissertation in 2002 was entitled 'You Mean the World to Me: Story Telling and Leader Listening in Organizational Learning'.
 Address: Department of Management and Marketing, College of Commerce and Business Administration, Box 870225, The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487, USA.
 E-mail: rdurant@cba.ua.edu

John Teta Luhman

John Teta Luhman is an Assistant Professor of Management at the School of Business of New Mexico Highlands University. He has been published in *Organization Studies*, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *American Communication Journal*, and *Emergence: A Journal of Complexity Issues in Organizations and Management*, as well as in many conference proceedings. He is an ad hoc reviewer for several journal and professional conferences. His research areas are in the effectiveness of democratic

management practices in labor-managed firms, the ethnographic study of organizational life, and the development of narrative research theory and methods.

Address: School of Business, New Mexico Highlands University, Rio Rancho Center, Rio Rancho, NM 87124, USA.

E-mail: jluhman@nmhu.edu