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Here is a sample of an ethnographic report concerning an organization. It is a fictitious research project in a fictitious organization! I created this report simply to have an easy-to-follow example of formatting, citation (in text and on reference list), writing style and tone, and length, of a typical ethnographic report assigned in COM 429 (and other advanced courses I teach).

"It's Off to Work We Go":
An Ethnographic Study of SevenDee Mining, Inc.

Rollo Tomasi
COM 495-001: Organizational Culture
Fall 2001

41 "It's Off to Work We Go":
42 An Ethnographic Study of SevenDee Mining, Inc.

43

44 Some simple calisthenics, a farewell kiss, and a cheerful song
45 sung with your partners--it seems like a great way to start the work
46 day. For members of SevenDee Mining, Inc., a diamond-mining business
47 referred to by its stakeholders as "7DMC" (i.e., SevenDee Mining
48 Corporation), the work day thus begun scarcely differs from the ones
49 before or after, however. The SevenDee organization, then, embodies a
50 tension known in many organizations: developing and executing routines
51 that produce desired strategic results, yet keeping member spirit
52 alive. In addition, drudgery, occupational danger, operational
53 routine, and inaccurate and unfair attributions by organizational
54 outsiders, produce corrosive effects on members, and 7DMC's culture is
55 designed to counter those effects.

56 To manage that tension and counter those effects, 7DMC has
57 acquired or developed many distinctive, almost quirky, practices by
58 which members enact operations, policies, and decision-making. In
59 this report, I will examine a typical 7DMC work day and explicate the
60 communication practices that construct two key cultural artifacts; and
61 by doing so, I will describe and interpret 7DMC's culture.

62

63 Method

64

65 To conduct this study, I spent an average of three to five hours
66 a week for nine weeks in autumn 2001 observing key operations of 7DMC.
67 After each observation session, I prepared fieldnotes, in order to
68 organize and preserve the observations I had made. Observation tasks
69 included watching and listening to member participation in a variety
70 of tasks and activities, and conducting brief informal or
71 opportunistic interviews within the organizational settings.

72 I also conducted formal interviews with a total of six different
73 members of 7DMC. Each interview lasted approximately 35 minutes and
74 followed an interview guide (see Appendix to inspect a guide used in
75 this project). During each interview, I took extensive notes in order
76 to log the words of the respondent as precisely as possible.

77

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81 Positioning the Author

82
83 I am a former employee of 7DMC. I therefore have knowledge about
84 the organization equivalent to that of a full participant; but in this
85 project, I was a complete observer. I left the organization in April
86 1999 because of a dispute: I petitioned to become a full partner in
87 the firm but was denied that position. The dispute was resolved
88 amicably, however, and I have remained in social contact with 7DMC's
89 members. They welcomed me back for this project and, during it, never
90 refused to assist me. Indeed, at the time of this writing,
91 discussions are underway about the possibility that I may serve 7DMC
92 as a communication consultant in the near future.

93
94 Results

95
96 The SevenDee Mining Corp. has eight members--seven males and one
97 female.¹ The name "SevenDee" is derived from an identity shared by
98 the males of 7DMC:

99
100 Each of us seven is a dwarf. At least, that's what lots of folks
101 call us. In fact, we range in height from about 4'9" to 5'0" and
102 that's not really very small. But most other mining
103 professionals are big, strapping guys--so OK, to them we're
104 dwarfs. Anyway, when we started 7DMC, we thought we'd play off
105 of that--we originally were "Seven Dwarfs' Mining Co." In the
106 '80s, though, we changed our corporation's legal name to
107 "SevenDee." We didn't want to call attention to our stature, we
108 wanted to emphasize what we did. (Sneezy, formal interview, 14
109 September 2001)

110
111 In this section, I will describe 7DMC's key settings, walk
112 through a typical work day, discuss what happens in a typical formal
113 meeting, and explicate a wallet card that embodies key organizational
114 values. In the process, I will provide interpretations of 7DMC's
115 culture.

116
117 Organizational Settings

118
119 The two primary facilities in which 7DMC's operations take place
120 are the diamond mine itself and the members' home. (All eight members

121 of the organization live in one house.) The diamond mine is wholly
122 owned by 7DMC and has been worked by members for over 30 years. At
123 about 30,000 cubic feet in size, the mine is tiny, but happens to sit
124 on a very rich lode of diamonds. When I asked one member if the
125 sparkling veins would eventually cease to yield precious gems, he
126 smirked, "Sure, the mine'll run out--in about a million years"
127 (Grumpy, formal interview, 19 October 2001)! The mine consists
128 primarily of the mineshaft and its entry point, the underground
129 caverns out of which the miners dig the diamonds, and a tram onto
130 which the miners load the diamonds after removal from the caverns.

131 The home 7DMC members live in is approximately 2,500 square feet
132 in size. Made from sturdy wood, the two-story house has a heavy
133 thatched roof to withstand the frequent rains typical of its woodland
134 locale. The house contains three sections: a cooking and pantry area,
135 which abuts dining and lounge facilities (e.g., fireplace and hearth,
136 a few wingback chairs, a couple of sofas) on the first floor; and on
137 the second floor are sleeping quarters. The latter section has a
138 dormitory-like design: each male member of 7DMC has a bit of storage
139 space, and his own small bed. At the foot of each bed is carved the
140 name of its permanent occupant. A thin wall separates one portion of
141 this dormitory space from the rest. That section serves as the
142 sleeping and personal space of Snow White, the sole female member of
143 7DMC. All members of 7DMC regardless of gender share bathroom
144 facilities located in a garden area approximately 50 feet west of the
145 house.²

146 The key settings for 7DMC are compact and fully used. The
147 members of 7DMC fully inhabit their occupational and organizational
148 identities, blurring the distinction between work space and leisure
149 space. The culture of 7DMC, then, appears to demand that a member
150 equate self and organization.

151

152 A Typical Day at 7DMC

153

154 Each day varies little from one to the next in 7DMC. "It's not
155 rocket science," explains Doc, the president and founder of 7DMC, "we
156 get up, we dig up the diamonds, pile them on the tram, and prepare the
157 load for shipment. That's really it, day after day" (fieldnotes, 15
158 September 2001). Deviations from the routine (e.g., a minor mistake,
159 a new operational task or procedure, etc.), sometimes tragic (e.g., an
160

161 accident at the mine), are ultimately not numerous or memorable enough
162 to suggest that novelty lurks just around the corner.

163

164 "Heigh ho, heigh ho"--the miners start their day. Six days a
165 week--the miners do not work on Sundays--Doc wakes up at about 4.30 AM
166 and rouses his partners by singing a song, or otherwise cajoling them
167 to awaken and get washed and dressed. "The lads prefer show tunes,
168 like 'Oh, What a Beautiful Morning' from Oklahoma, or 'Tomorrow' from
169 Annie--something upbeat," explains Doc. "Occasionally, though, I'll
170 surprise 'em with a rock anthem, like 'Thunder Road' or 'Welcome to
171 the Jungle'" (formal interview, 29 October 2001). One morning I
172 watched Doc, with no music at all, waking his colleagues up by
173 performing a tap dance. The loud but perfectly syncopated clattering
174 served its purpose: his associates got out of bed quickly, although
175 silently.

176 Snow White generally gets up a half hour before Doc does, in
177 order to prepare breakfast and sack lunches for the seven miners.
178 "I'm an early riser by nature," explains White, "and I like to cook
179 for a group, so this all works out great" (formal interview, 27
180 September 2001). The miners assemble around the rough-hewn circular
181 dining table by about 5.00 AM. They silently eat breakfast (usually
182 eggs, smoked fish or meat, potatoes, and coffee) that White has laid
183 out family style. One miner confided the general reaction to these
184 meals:

185

186 Let's face it: Snow White is not a great cook, or even a good
187 one. Still, she aims to please. And for heaven's sake, she don't
188 mind working just for room and board. She's a good kid--no one
189 wants to hurt her feelings. We want to keep her around, y'know.
190 (Happy, formal interview, 26 September 2001)

191

192 After breakfast, one of the partners leads all other members (the
193 other six partners plus Snow White) in a session of calisthenics in
194 the lounge space in front of the fire. One of the miners explained
195 that the purpose of the physical training is to ritualistically begin
196 the work day (fieldnotes, 23 October 2001). The emphasis is on
197 conditioning the upper body--a particularly relevant orientation,
198 given the specific physical demands of diamond mining. The
199 calisthenics usually last about 15 minutes. Only the terse commands

200

201 of the leader, and an occasional grunt, punctuate the silence that
202 accompanies the exercise.

203 Following calisthenics, each miner selects a tool (e.g., shovel,
204 pick, or lamp) to carry to the mine. (The implements are neatly
205 stowed at night in a small closet to the left of the front door.)
206 Shouldering their tools, the miners line up in single file at the door
207 while Snow White stands on the porch. One at a time, she hands each
208 miner a lunch, lifts his cap from his head, and kisses him on the top
209 of his head. After the seventh miner--usually Grumpy or Dopey--has
210 been kissed the miners march to the mine. They sing a jaunty work
211 song as they troop down the road. The lyric runs "Heigh-ho, heigh-ho
212 / It's off to work we go," and is followed by a whistled passage, and
213 then a repeat of the lyric. "We never leave out the song," Sleepy
214 reports, "because gets us focused on the work we'll be doing. I have
215 CFS [i.e., chronic fatigue syndrome] so if I don't start off the day
216 with kick-ass energy, I don't last much past lunch" (formal interview,
217 1 October 2001).

218 These routines have a hollow, mechanical feeling to them,
219 however. It's as if the members perform these very distinctive, well-
220 regulated tasks without any particular feelings about them. I did
221 not, for example, notice any joking or smiling, or complaining;
222 neither did the miners skylark en route, and marched and sung somewhat
223 robotically (low volume, narrow pitch). The incongruencies--the
224 upbeat hiking song versus the flat affect on the way to the mine, the
225 preference for silence during many communal activities--one notices
226 suggest that 7DMC's culture is constructed to address some troublesome
227 operational or relational issues in the organization.

228

229 The miners in "The Salt Mine." The hike to the mine usually
230 lasts about 20 minutes. At "The Salt Mine," the seven miners get
231 right to work. One of them stays at ground level to manage the entry
232 and exit to the mine. Another remains topside to transfer loads of
233 diamonds from the tram to the storage cave. The remaining five
234 descend on a vertical conveyer to the face of the mine.

235 Arriving at the mine about three-quarters of an hour before
236 sunrise, and seldom leaving before sunset, the miners scarcely ever
237 see full daylight, except in the event of a mine evacuation, or when
238 they have a day off. This produces a health condition known as
239 seasonal affective disorder, or SAD.³ Sluggishness, irritability, and
240 depression typify SAD. "Most people who get SAD get sick in the

241 winter only," notes Happy, "but for us, SAD's a year-round thing,
242 since we don't get enough daylight" (formal interview, 26 September
243 2001).

244 On several occasions, 7DMC members referred to the diamond mine
245 as "The Salt Mine." I wondered why. "A salt mine is slang for a
246 place you don't want to go," explained Sneezzy (fieldnotes, 5 October
247 2001). "It's not that we don't like what we do," added Doc, "it's
248 just that, well, we work in a deep, cold hole in the ground, and I
249 can't say I'm eager to get there each day" (fieldnotes, 5 October
250 2001). Related to that, I one afternoon overheard Bashful murmur to
251 Grumpy, "If I can just make it through this week, I'll have won";
252 Grumpy replied, "You, me, all of us--just remember, we don't give in"
253 (fieldnotes, 9 October 2001). It seems, then, 7DMC members value
254 tenacity, striving, and enduring, equating them (as opposed to, say,
255 size of diamond load, or opportunity for inherent satisfaction on the
256 job) with organizational success. All seven miners' labor stoically,
257 as if will and discipline alone propel them throughout the work day.

258

259 "It's home from work we go"--rest, relaxation, and getting ready
260 for another day. At about sunset, Doc cups his hands around his mouth
261 and calls out to his comrades, "Heeeiiiggghhh-hoooooo" in a
262 surprisingly (given the rather grim surroundings and the disciplined,
263 nose-to-the-grindstone performance of labor among 7DMC members)
264 melodious invitation to cease work for the day. All miners below
265 ground trudge onto the vertical conveyer that carries them topside.
266 When the conveyer reaches its terminus, any miners topside help the
267 others dismount from the conveyer. Jibes and banter--e.g., "Man, your
268 face is dirty, what did you do, kiss an ashtray?" or "That's not mud
269 on my shirt, that's yo' mama's legal signature," or "Your motto is 'A
270 half day's work for a full day's pay!'"--exchanged between those
271 stationed below and those who stayed topside are the first significant
272 emotionally-charged utterances among group members during the entire
273 work day.

274 The miners then assemble in a column, shoulder their tools, and
275 march together back home. They sing, "Heigh-ho, heigh-ho / It's home
276 from work we go" but hum instead of whistle after the verse. "It's a
277 little easier to hum," explains Dopey, "because it uses fewer muscles,
278 and we're usually beat" (fieldnotes, 7 October 2001).

279 Once back home, the line between on and off duty usually blurs.
280 For example, while several watch television or read the newspaper, one

281 or two others clean the tools and restack them in the closet for
282 selection the next morning. Another member--usually Snow White--sits
283 at the dining table with a calculator and estimates what will be the
284 approximate revenue they can expect to derive from the day's load.
285 White prepares a light evening meal. After dinner, the members of
286 7DMC lounge at the dining table for perhaps 30 minutes and then retire
287 for the night. After all, Doc's song and dance will awaken them well
288 before dawn.

289 The culture of 7DMC, it seems, calls upon members to very closely
290 and carefully manage emotion. Indeed, the members keep tight rein on
291 their emotions even when at home. They respond stoically to
292 activities (e.g., singing, farewell rituals) that could conceivably
293 produce more emotion in those responses. They give a somewhat cynical
294 or critical nickname ("The Salt Mine"), as opposed to an affectionate
295 or arch one, to their primary work site. A comment from Grumpy helped
296 me understand the rationale for all that:

297
298 Emotional stuff is not for us. You have to remember, each of us
299 has had to deal with frustration, degradation, and embarrassment,
300 because of our size and stature. As for Snow White, she was
301 abandoned, her life threatened, and she quickly learned to
302 distrust even those she thought were close to her. So you're
303 talking about eight people who depend only on one another, and
304 that means we have to be strong for one another. (formal
305 interview, 19 October 2001)

306 307 Organizational Artifacts

308
309 Ritual activity in meetings. The miners and Snow White construct
310 7DMC by and through a variety of organizational performances.
311 Significant among these are the organization's formal meeting rituals.
312 Once a month, the miners and Snow White gather together to discuss
313 organizational policy, make key decisions, address recent problems,
314 and plan upcoming events or tasks (fieldnotes, 8 October 2001). I
315 attended a meeting--identified by members as a typical one--that I
316 will now describe:

317 The meeting was called for 7.30 PM, well after the work day and
318 dinner had concluded. The members typically hold these twice-monthly
319 meetings at that time because "everyone will be relaxed, and in any
320 case, we can't take time out of the day, and we sure don't want to

321 give up our day off" (Doc, formal interview, 29 October 2001). The
322 event began when members slipped on ceremonial garments--the partners'
323 were black, Snow White's was royal blue--and settled themselves around
324 the dining table, cleared except for a pick (one of the tools the
325 miners carry to "The Salt Mine" each day) that lay in the center of
326 the table.

327 Doc convened the meeting by asking all present to offer "our
328 meeting invocation." "Dear Lord," all eight members said in unison,
329 "please strengthen our will and sharpen our minds to complete the
330 business we must at this meeting. Amen." Doc then announced, "The
331 meeting is now underway. Who has some business to discuss?" Sleepy
332 reached for the pick and pointed its head toward him. "I'd like to
333 discuss our medical insurance," he announced. All seven other members
334 of the organization instantly held their thumbs up. Doc said,
335 "Brother Sleepy, please continue."

336 After a discussion of the insurance matter--Sleepy wanted to
337 check on his associates' interest in subscribing to a different
338 provider--Sleepy suddenly declared, "We have reached the end of this
339 discussion." The other members all intoned "Heigh ho," and Doc
340 announced, "Who else has some business to discuss?" Snow White then
341 reached for the pick, turned the handle toward herself, and announced,
342 "I'd like to discuss increasing our food budget." Of the seven other
343 members, only three held thumbs up. Bashful, whose thumb was turned
344 down, pointed the pick head at himself and declared: "I thought we put
345 this issue to rest at our last meeting." Happy, also with thumb down,
346 angled the pick head toward himself, and stated, "We can't really talk
347 about that until we get paid for our last load of diamonds." Doc
348 nodded and said, "Sister White, please desist." White hung her head
349 and, with resignation in her voice, sighed, "Heigh ho." Doc once more
350 called for new business, and these steps were repeated, as they were
351 for five more topics. By the end of the meeting, three of those
352 topics had been officially ratified for discussion.

353 I had never seen a meeting proceed so efficiently. The careful
354 orchestration of the proceedings at first seemed almost compulsive or
355 comical, but obviously produced a civil, courteous environment in
356 which all voices were heard. Yet I wondered if there was some quality
357 of relationship or information that languished because of the strict
358 procedural architecture of the meeting. The carefully-orchestrated,
359 procedurally-inflexible meeting was yet another 7DMC event without the
360 emotional authenticity and relational bonding common among people

361 whose systemic communication practices manage the danger,
362 repetitiveness, and unpredictability, resident in the organization's
363 strategic goals (cf. Ambrose [2001] on combat paratroop organizations,
364 Whitcomb [2001] on FBI hostage rescue teams). Beyond that, though,
365 the meeting suggested that members of this organization have built a
366 culture of focus, intensity, direction, and measurable results.

367

368 The "Five Motivators" wallet card. One of the most revealing
369 cultural artifacts in 7DMC is a wallet card each partner⁴ carries. The
370 card, measuring approximately 3.5 in. by 2 in., lists what are
371 captioned "The Five Motivators." The text reads as follows:

372

- 373 1. All things equal, a good little guy CAN beat a good big guy.
- 374 2. Size of dog in fight? No, size of FIGHT in dog!
- 375 3. Dynamite comes in small packages.
- 376 4. We do it OUR way.
- 377 5. Drive on, drive hard, drive always.

378

379 This wallet card reveals values held by the partners. The height
380 and size of the partners, as I have mentioned, is substantially below
381 average. With that in mind, Motivator #1 turns around the old prize-
382 fighting saying "All things equal, a good big guy will beat a good
383 little guy." Motivators #2 and #3 are old sayings designed to give
384 heart to individuals who may be small. Motivator #4 declares that
385 7DMC's operational procedures, although perhaps idiosyncractic,
386 nonetheless have proven to yield attractive, respectable results.
387 Motivator #5 serves as a summary of the organizational, occupational,
388 and personal attitude that partners promote for one another.

389 The "Five Motivators," then, express a basic assumption that
390 grounds the organization: hard work pays off, and stature need not be
391 an obstacle to success, credibility, and the respect of self and
392 others. The artifact is particularly moving when read alongside the
393 following realist tale (i.e., report of a sequence of organizational
394 events) about the founding of the organization, which Doc told me:

395

396 All I ever wanted to do was mine diamonds. As a kid I dug in my
397 back yard, pretending to find the biggest, shiniest one.

398 My first job was in a mine but in the office. I didn't
399 even touch a diamond. After a few years of that, I decided that
400 if I wanted to get my hands dirty, I'd have to go out on my own.

401 I quit the mine and found this lode of diamonds here. I set up a
402 small mining operation, working 24-7, week in week out, putting
403 out pretty good loads of diamonds.

404 The next few years went by and other little guys in diamond
405 mining heard about me. One by one they came to me and I hired
406 'em as miners, since no one else would. Eventually, there were
407 seven of us. One day I proposed that we become a partnership. I
408 didn't want to be an employer, although I didn't mind being the
409 boss partner.

410 Well, it all worked out because now 7DMC is the most
411 productive diamond mine around for its size. We still have to
412 fight the "seven dwarfs" prejudice, but it won't be like that
413 forever. (formal interview, 29 October 2001)

414
415 Clearly, the can-do spirit that 7DMC's members embody emanates
416 from the vision and tenacity of Doc, the founder and leader, and from
417 the hiring and operational practices and policies stemming from that
418 vision. The culture of 7DMC, then, promotes organizational values
419 such as full effort, resistance to demeaning attributions of others,
420 and intensely focused activity.

421 Notice that the foregrounded values do not include typical ones
422 such as customer service, innovation, or increasing market share.
423 When I asked to explain, he thought for a moment, and then declared,
424 "We believe that all that good stuff will come from working hard, and
425 holding our heads up high" (fieldnotes, 3 October 2001). So, success
426 as innovators, good customer service, and greater numbers of
427 customers, are just a few results that members believe will occur
428 naturally, if only the members of 7DMC keep their eye on the ball and
429 hit it out of the park every time they come to bat.

430

431 Conclusion

432

433 In this report, I've described a typical day in 7DMC, and how
434 emotions are articulated (or not) and managed. I've also discussed
435 how the structure and management of a meeting underscores organization
436 members' passion for control. Finally, I described the wallet-card
437 list of "The Five Motivators," and the 7DMC values and basic
438 assumptions visible within it.

439 To generate some final thoughts on the culture of 7DMC, I will
440 analyze an organizational performance mentioned only briefly: 7DMC's

441 morning calisthenics. The basis for this analysis is Strauss and
442 Corbin's (1990) set of nested levels. These levels structure
443 researcher interpretation of an organization's cultural practices, by
444 focusing on their occurrence and impact inside and outside the
445 organization.

446 The phenomenon of the 15-minute physical training (PT) session
447 that initiates each work day emblemizes the culture of the
448 organization. At the interactional level, the PT session serves as an
449 opportunity for members to interact unavailable at any other time of
450 the work day (i.e., from dawn to dusk, White stays alone in the 7DMC
451 home, and the partners, while all at "The Salt Mine," are separated
452 from one another by task or role). At the group or collective level,
453 PT brings all members together. In 7DMC, an organization emerging out
454 of differences (from other miners) the founder and early members
455 avowed, simply being together affirms and reinforces unity that
456 results from "being different."

457 At the organizational level, PT reflects the rules and procedures
458 found throughout the organization generally: a specified leader and
459 specified followers, silent obedience to or compliance with the
460 imperatives voiced by the leader, and close containment and management
461 of emotional or affective response. At the sub-organizational level,
462 PT reduces or limits distinctions between units of the organization:
463 all members must participate and various partners get a chance to lead
464 PT. This mirrors how 7DMC has reduced or limited the distinctions
465 otherwise, such as the partnership structuring, and the numerous
466 routine communal activities (meals, hike to work, etc.).

467 To community, national, and international levels, 7DMC appears to
468 have no particular connection. Apart from community, national or
469 international regulatory agencies, the only outside entities with
470 which 7DMC connects are its customers and, certainly, organizations
471 that sell 7DMC its tools and other goods. Doc's founding of 7DMC, and
472 the organization's values generally, suggest that 7DMC neither seeks
473 nor appreciates any connection other than internal ones. The 7DMC
474 culture is a set of exclusionary (to outsiders), insular, highly
475 idiosyncratic communication practices.

476 May the family metaphor characterize 7DMC, since members
477 demonstrate the kind of cohesion and loyalty one finds in families?
478 In families--healthy ones, at least--emotions are expressed, though,
479 and in 7DMC, members manage emotions too rigidly to approximate a true
480 family atmosphere. Perhaps 7DMC is a "dysfunctional family," but the

481 organization's strategic success and its member's apparent
482 satisfaction argues against any significant dysfunction. Instead, to
483 understand 7DMC and its culture, think of it as a machine--
484 specifically a unique, custom-built machine that operates effectively
485 and ceaselessly according to its own schematics and owner's manual.

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Appendix

Interview Guide⁵

Demographic information

- o Name
- o Age
- o Sex
- o Years as a member of 7DMC
- o Title (or key role) in 7DMC

Interview questions

1. How has 7DMC changed in the period of time you've been a member?
How has it remained the same?
2. Describe the relationships that exist among members of the organization.
3. Tell me what happens during a typical day in 7DMC.
4. Tell me about how 7DMC was founded.
5. Identify three values taken very seriously by 7DMC members.
6. How are members of 7DMC similar to one another? How are they different?
7. Recount the three most important policy decisions made in 7DMC in the past year.

Footnotes

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¹ The SevenDee Mining Corporation is a privately-owned, for-profit business in which seven (Doc, Sleepy, Grumpy, Sneezy, Dopey, Happy, and Bashful) of the eight members are full partners as investors, and in lieu of salaries share equally in profits. They also perform all professional tasks--prospecting, mining, transportation, accounting, and so on--called for in a complex operation of this type. Snow White, the eighth member, is not a partner, nor is she technically on the payroll. She serves as an administrative specialist in return for room and board.

² Snow White entered the lives of the members inadvertently several years ago. While escaping from a malevolent and abusive legal guardian, White (a minor at the time) sought refuge in what turned out to be the miners' house while the occupants were still at the mine. She voluntarily cleaned and organized the premises. "Thank heaven she stumbled onto us, and liked it enough to stay," admits Happy. "She has a well-developed nesting instinct--and the shape we were keeping this place in, we appreciated that" (fieldnotes, 20 September 2001).

³ A recent health newsletter article (Wellness and seasonal disorders, 1999) provides a summary of etiology, symptoms, and treatment, of SAD.

⁴ When I worked for 7DMC, I did not carry the card because I was not a partner. Snow White, also not a partner, does not carry one. The "Motivators" are framed in terms that someone of average height--like myself or Snow White--would not find particularly motivational.

⁵ This interview guide was used in conducting a formal interview with Doc, 29 October 2001. Variations of this guide were used for all other interviews.