

BECOMING BUREAUCRATIC: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE
OF ISOMORPHIC ENVIRONMENTS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALCOHOLICS
ANONYMOUS AND NARCOTICS ANONYMOUS

by

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(Under the Direction of Paul M. Roman)

ABSTRACT

This study examines the isomorphic forces shaping the transformation of two organizations founded to provide recovery services for substance abuse problems. In a comparative case study, the organizational structures of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) are longitudinally assessed for the presence and changes in: charismatic, traditional, and rational types of authority and administrative structures; authority accounts and organizational language; the degree of structuration of the organizational field. A Revised Model of Authority Types is introduced to indentify, classify, and trace the transformation of organizations with mixtures of authority and administration. This study found that internal problems, legitimacy contests, and environmental uncertainty have transformed the once unique organizations of AA and NA into rational and bureaucratic organizations that are isomorphic to their institutional environments.

INDEX WORDS: Isomorphism, Authority, Charisma, Bureaucracy, Structuration, Isotropism

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those who never found the program of Narcotics Anonymous. To Johnny, my adopted brother, at 15 years old, the first overdose of many, but introduced me to Hendrix, and since I didn't get to see you nearly enough in this world, "see you in the next one—don't be late, don't be late". Pettigrew and Mark, motorcycles are not kind; for Pete, Rig 13 took your leg, doctor gave you pills, rather than jail, you chose to be free. To Sanders, a great friend, got clean, but wanted to use just one more time, it was the last time. To Jeffery and Barbara, they died clean. To Paul and Joe Allen, they tried to stay clean, but couldn't for long. To Guy, Soho Idyll rocks, best garage band lead guitarist ever, you lived longer than anyone thought, just long enough to forgive and forget. These friends died before finding out that: "once an addict, always an addict" is a lie.

I dedicate this work to those members of Narcotics Anonymous because without them, it would not have been possible. To Susan, Jim B., Sweeney, Carol B., Louis L, Joe S., Brandon N. and of course, Bo S. To my best friend and confidant, Pat. Keep coming back, it works...when you work it...and sometimes when you don't.

Finally, my heart goes out to my family--in all of the forms it has taken throughout the years. They have stuck by me through it all.

The Beatles said it best:

There are places I'll remember
All my life though some have changed
Some forever not for better
Some have gone and some remain
All these places have their moments
With lovers and friends I still can recall
Some are dead and some are living
In my life, I've loved them all

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the organizational structure of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA), specifically the origins and the development of the organizations' authority beliefs and administrative structures. Despite the literature suggesting organizations may be exempt from Weber's theory of rationalization and the empirical research offering AA as an example of a minimalist, post-bureaucratic administrative organization, my examination of the organizational history of these groups indicates that both organizations are becoming fully rationalized. The transformation of these organizations is a result of the increased structuration of the organizational field and the power struggles waged for legitimacy by institutional actors within each group. This study sought to identify the specific conditions, critical events, and pivotal junctures precipitating a change in authority beliefs and the development of administrative bureaucratic structures. To assess with greater clarity the nature of authority within organizations, this study proposes a Revised Model of Weber's Authority Types to identify and classify the varying combinations of authority beliefs and administrative structures that are present in organizations. This research suggests a theory of strategic legitimacy to explain the increasingly bureaucratic organizational and administrative structures currently found in AA and NA. Strategic legitimacy combines the ideas proposed by institutional theories of organization with the "power" theories to suggest that organizational structures are shaped by contests to manage the isomorphic forces arising from an increased structuration of the organizational field.

To further this goal of understanding the environmental conditions affecting the transformations of organizations, I introduce the case of Narcotics Anonymous (NA), an organization operating within the “field” of Recovery Services and closely modeled on the beliefs and structures found in AA, but having experienced differing external conditions and internal challenges. For both AA and NA, I describe and follow the “trajectory” of authority systems which spanned the life of each organization. This study employed longitudinal case-studies as its primary research tool to understand the transforming events and transforming processes affecting the institutionalization of an organization. After collecting and compiling data on both organizations, a comparative analysis of the two case studies will look at the differences between the groups’ trajectories of authority. The analysis of empirical cases of both parallel and divergent transformations of authority and of administrative apparatus contained in this study may facilitate a more complete understanding of institutional environments, thus furthering theories suggesting the “rationalization” of organizational structures are the product of isomorphic forces and the “structuration” of the organizational fields (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991). Using the open-system model of organizational theory, the transformation of authority and administrative structures is apparent in my findings and I conclude that each group’s authority beliefs and its administrative structures evolved in response to external forces as well as internal events and processes.

AA and NA are unique cases for study because they have similar goals, and exist in the same institutional field, more importantly, they have are bounded by the same three basic sets of beliefs—The Twelve Steps, Twelve Traditions, and Twelve Concepts. As such, those beliefs can be held as the constant in the analysis since the three sets of beliefs will vary little over time, thus allowing for closer examination of the administrative apparatus and how it may be influenced by

isomorphic pressures of the environment and through changes in the organizational field. These two similar, yet separate organizations provide a unique case for comparative analysis of the forces affecting organizational structure and change. Though they share the same core beliefs by which they can legitimate or validate their authority, they have also had different actors contesting the type of structures arrangements upon which to base their organization. Both organizations have responded differently to environment changes and intentionally tried to position themselves within their environment, at times, restricting their links with other organizations, and in other situations, making strategic attempts to interact and adapt. Both AA and NA have experienced institutional environmental pressures to conform, and as predicted by Weber (1968), both organizations are on the path to bureaucracy,

Statement of Problem

Previous research suggests that AA's organizing principles, known as the Twelve Traditions, have provided the organization with a "clear path" around the problems of long-term internal growth and the need for coordination, those factors which Weber (1968) argued would eventually lead to a rationalized and bureaucratic type of administration (Kurtz, 1979, 1987; Room, 1993; Makela, 1996; Bufe, 1998; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). According to Wilson (1957), the AA organization has neither authority nor an administrative apparatus. The basic ideology of the AA propose their leaders do not have authority or any type of formal, organized structure: "They do not drive by mandate; they lead by example...A.A. can never be organized under any known form of government" (Wilson, 1957:122). These beliefs stated by AA founders and in their literature have been accepted by researchers and AA is considered to have little authority and even less of a formal administrative apparatus.

AA has been called an organized anarchy (Makela, 1996), a cult-lite (Bufe, 1998), and a minimalist, post-bureaucratic organization (Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). Research on AA has argued that they are a simple system in structure, democratic in its decision-making and remained non-hierarchical and de-centralized to a point of having broken “Michel’s iron law of oligarchy” (Room, 1993, Makela, 1996), and successfully outlived its charismatic founder without becoming bureaucratic (Kurtz, 1979, 1988). AA and its adherence to the organizational principles found in the Traditions are seen to have slowed or re-directed the forces of internal development, such as, those prompted by succession, growth, resource dependencies, or technological advancements. In spite of growth of the organization, there are over 100,000 meetings worldwide in 2007 and they have remained unaffected by their interaction with other organizations and immune from the changes to their institutional environments. AA’s lack of structure is considered almost “a miracle” among organizational models.

These descriptions of AA’s unique structural arrangements and extraordinary development would defy Weber’s (1968) assertion that “all administration requires domination, and all domination requires administration”. If the empirical evidence on AA is valid, then it would support the assertion that AA is a viable case of a non-rational form of authority and would place it outside Weber’s typology of legitimate authority types, thus providing a concrete case of functioning post-bureaucratic organization to challenge Weber’s (1968) theory of rationalization. The lack of adaptive change in AA also contradicts those institutional theories arguing that organizations must accommodate and adapt to their institutional environments if they are considered to be legitimate (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). However, the empirical evidence presented to contradict Weber must include a full investigation of the type of authority and administrative structure present in the AA organization. That

investigation must be focused on the organization's practices, not only on its stated beliefs and it must extend beyond the organization's origins and mythical early years, to assess how AA has adapted or at least, accommodated to its environment over time. AA is either a non-authoritative, post-bureaucratic organization that confounds Weber's theory of bureaucracy, or, as suggested by the institutional school of thought, the "minimalist" structure of AA is a rationalized myth used by the administration to accommodate the isomorphic forces of its environment, thus promoting its survival and prevents challenges to its legitimacy.

The lack of research on AA's as an organization reveal that some of the most basic questions need to be answered concerning the type of authority and structure present in AA. Does AA fit in Weber's typology of authority and administrative apparatus? How has AA prevented the development of bureaucratic tendencies as proposed by Weber? In addition, the research on AA needs to explore the creation of the organization field in which AA operates and its influences on AA and the other organizations providing "recovery services". How has AA responded to the normative, coercive, or mimetic isomorphic pressures of their institutional environment? If AA has accommodated and adapted to their environment to gain legitimacy, what are the costs or consequences upon their once unique administrative and beliefs?

As suggested by Weber (1968), in each of the case studies, an analysis is made of the authority along three dimensions: 1) the beliefs that validate the authority, 2) the organizational structure that implements, administers and distributes the power, and 3) the problems associated with each type of authority as its changes over time. I hope to extend and provide support for Weber's original theory of bureaucratization with empirical observations of the contemporary organizations of AA and NA. In addition to the three dimensions proposed by Weber, I will investigate the organizational field and the institutional environment in the case studies, with the

goal of exploring how external forces have shaped and re-shaped the organizational structure of NA and AA.

It has been argued that AA has remained a simple system in structure, democratic in its decision-making and remained non-hierarchical and de-centralized to a point of having broken “Michel’s iron law of oligarchy” (Room, 1993, Makela, 1996), and successfully outlived its charismatic founder without becoming bureaucratic (Kurtz, 1979, 1988). However, as noted by one of the pre-eminent researchers of organizations, other forces may be at work: “It may be said, indeed, that this is the way organizations will develop if they are permitted to follow the line of least resistance. That is what does happen, often enough. But in the real world of living organizations there is always the possibility of counter-pressure, of devising techniques for blocking the bureaucratic drift. The study of these techniques, which must be based on a clear understanding of the general nature of the problem involved, is one of the most pressing intellectual tasks of our time.” (Selznick, 1949:472). Because AA is seen as “blocking bureaucratic drift”, the means by which has accomplished this task is worthy of further research.

Significance of the Study

If AA and NA are found to be empirical examples of actual post-bureaucratic, minimalist, and non-authoritative types of organizations, then their survival would directly contradict Weber’s “iron” premise of only three types of authority in conjunction with some form of administrative structure as the pre-requisite for and a necessary component for all formal organizations. Concrete cases of alternative types of organizations and a methodology to study them would advance the ability to distinguish the characteristics, variations and range of particular organizational structures. More research on these unique forms of alternatives to authority is needed and the empirical data from the two case studies of this research would

provide valuable information to other researchers on the types of authority and structural arrangements found in organization in post-modern societies.

Analytically, this study suggests a need to adapt Weber's model of the three types of authority to make it possible to assess the mixtures of authority and combinations of structures found in post-modern organizations. Most research on authority in organizations typically analyzes the type of authority and its structural forms under the following rubric: authority is congruent with structure, though with faulty or expected results. When characteristics of an organization begin to diverge or vary from the "pure" ideal type, in beliefs or structure, researchers often conclude that these organizations must be "alternatives" or exceptions. Rather than recognizing these as variations or combinations, sociological observers have assigned them the celebrated status as a "post-bureaucratic," democratic-collectivist, or minimalist organizations (Biggart, 1989; Swidler, 1979; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). Weber recognized the various and possible "combinations, mixtures, adaptation, or modifications" of authority existing in actual cases of organizations. These "exceptions" to the rule, are those organizations that possess some of the characteristics, but do not fit into only one of the specific categories of charismatic, traditional, or rational authority, thus, they are often misplaced in his classification of ideal types.

The case studies of AA and NA will provide evidence of how organizations may create and implement innovative "mixtures and combinations" of organizational beliefs and practices, i.e., the Twelve Traditions, to safeguard their survival. My research will document and describe the models of authority and building blocks of structures available to actors and organizations attempting to design and maintain viable forms of organizational structure. As noted, prior studies of authority have simply compared how a charismatically-led organization may vary in

specific characteristics from an organization characterized by bureaucratic authority. Such analyses misuses Weber's model, since its utility is based the assertion that an organization may exhibit some attributes of each of the ideal authority types or utilize various combinations of the beliefs and administrative "apparatus." To more accurately answer the question about what types of authority beliefs and structure were present at specific times in AA's organizational history, this study will adapt Weber's original typology of the ideal types of authority beliefs, while still benefiting from his method of using ideal types as a means of analysis.

This study contributes to those theories and the research that explores the processes of change in organizations. If AA and NA, as organizations, can resist change over time then they would contradict the Weber's contention that all organizations are bound for and will inevitably end up with a rational authority and a bureaucratic type of administrative structure. I introduce the term, "trajectory" of authority, an analytical concept that describes the course of the development of an organization that moves away from the typical analysis of evolution and adaptation occurring within an organization. Tracing the trajectory of an organization allows the analysis of a sequence of transformations of authority over time without making a value judgment that one of the types or stages is more "evolved" than the other. This study contributes to the theories of power in organizations by exploring how the "authority contests" and "structural conflicts" of an organization are the result of an organization attempting to gain legitimacy from its members and from external sources.

This study contributes to the theory and research on organizational fields by defining the boundaries and detailing the extent of structuration of interactions between the major institutional, individual, and collective actors within the organizational field of Recovery Services Organizations (RSO). A careful study of AA and NA would contribute to understanding

the adaptive strategies of organizations confronting change in their environments and their relationships with other organizations. Thus, this study will seek to improve the knowledge of how organizational changes in authority and administrative restructuring are related to the changes in the organizational field and the institutional environment. This study advances the understanding of organizations that operate as open-systems that are responding to forces in their environment and from the structuration of their organization field and set this approach towards AA sets apart from prior research.

Design and Methods

In my research of two organizations proposed to be “unique” by nature of their absence of authority and minimalist administration, I search for those defining moments where claims are made for authority and describe those critical events when administrative structures are tested and replaced. This perspective requires a historical approach and assumes a longitudinal analysis to observe not just the origins of a unique type of authority and structure, but also trace the transformation over time of the authority and its structure, as it adapts to a changing environment. To understand organizations with unique characteristics or distinctive structures, the research will need to focus on the acts of agents, the emerging historical conditions, and even those accidental events which may affect an organization. This researcher will follow those previous studies using a method that “stresses interpretation” (Clark, 1970: viii). Selznick, Pettigrew and Scott, have suggested a need for more of a longitudinal approach to the study of organizations, and not just a snapshot of the organization when it stable forms. My research methodology was modeled on the early institutional school, following Selznick’s argument for a study of the processes affecting organizations.

In recording my case studies of AA and NA I was concerned with: “what happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization’s own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment” (Selznick, 1957:16-17). I collected the data for the case studies using the following methods:

1. Onsite searches and searches at corporate offices of archival data and of data archived on Internet sites
2. Extensive reviews of published autobiographies and existing organizational histories with a focus on:
 - a. The routinization of charisma
 - b. The succession of leadership
 - c. The creation of administrative apparatuses
 - d. Changes to the organizational structure
3. Field observation at :
 - a. The World Services Offices of NA
 - b. The World Services Convention of NA
 - c. Tybee Island II

Compiling case studies of AA and NA was not enough, however, to achieve the goals of my research. To ascertain the types of authority beliefs and structure present at specific times in AA’s organizational history, Weber’s original classification of the ideal types of authority beliefs must be improved, while still maintaining the integrity of his method and the distinctive features and utility of his model for the classification of different types of authority. Since

existing frameworks of analysis were inconsistent with the task at hand, I created revised models of authority and structure as well as a revised model of the ideal trajectory of authority.

In Weber's original formulation of authority, the emphasis was on the "pure types"—those situations when charismatic leaders and their cultures were aligned with a corresponding simple type of charismatic administrative structure. Most research on authority has typically analyzed authority and its structural forms under this rubric—authority congruent with structure, though with faulty or expected results. When characteristics begin to diverge or vary from the "pure" ideal type, in beliefs or structure, the researcher could readily conclude these organizations must be "alternatives" or exceptions, rather than variations or combinations, and have assigned them celebrated status as a "post-bureaucratic, democratic-collectivist, or minimalist organizations (Biggart, 1989; Swidler, 1979; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996).

In my re-formulation of Weber's typology of the three legitimate forms of authority, I argue it is possible to cross-classify organizations on two dimensions—beliefs/culture of authority and the type of administrative structure. For example, an organization may have charismatic beliefs professed by a charismatic leader, while also showing bureaucratic tendencies in administrative structures which can more accurately represent the status of actual cases of authority. Further, the finer distinctions between organizations can be revealed, in that, there is a tool to assess and differentiate into categories that can better reflect the actual cases of organizations that may display charismatic beliefs and traditional structure from those organizations with traditional beliefs and a charismatic structure-- a distinction unable to be made with Weber's single dimension typology. In prior studies, these exceptional and alternative organizations to Weber's types are announced as new types, outside his original

formulation (citation). However, with a better application of Weber's typology, these organizations are actually the "modified, adapted, or mixed" forms that Weber initially recognized, and suggested or implied in his typology. The details of these new models are located in the section on revised models at the end of Chapter 3.

Theoretical Foundations

As noted by Hall (2002), organizations are complex phenomenon, thus their study often requires more than a singular and simple theory. A theory that can explain the origins and functioning of a small and simple organization may be inadequate to explain the strategies and survival techniques require once it has matured into a large and complex organization. Any useful explanation of organizational structure must account for the many forces and constraints affecting the development of organizations.

In this study, I utilize Weber's typology of authority beliefs to distinguish between the different types of authority present in NA and AA. Weber's ideal types of authority, in addition to being a method of analysis and a classification system, is a theoretical challenge, in that, he suggests that "one may analyze the tendencies by which one system of domination can change in the direction of another" (Bendix, 1969:299). The Weberian theory of authority types is synthesized with more modern ideas of the institutional school to illustrate and detail the forces or conditions emanating from of the institutional environment as they directly and indirectly shape the degree and direction of changes in authority and structure, as originally described by Weber (1968).

In addition to Weber's proposition of the internal forces of efficiency fueling the need for bureaucratic models, I apply ideas suggested by those institutional theorists who argue that organizations may ceremonially adopt mythical formal structures in their drive for legitimacy

and as a response to isomorphic pressures and/or the structuration of their field (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Further, I derive from more current theories the notion that the structure of an organization, i.e., its distribution of power and administrative design, are an outcome of the contests between coalitions of authority attempting to align, orient, or model the structures in their organizational field in order to gain legitimacy (Perrow, 1986; Pfeffer, 1973; DiMaggio, 1991).

Three different theoretical models of change affect recovery organizations are considered in this study. The classic model of change involving the internal changes associated with bureaucratic and oligarchic forces, as suggested by Weber, Michel (1949), Zald and Garner (1966), and Zald and Denton (1963), among others. The second model combines the early institutional perspective found in Selznick's (1957) discussion of institutionalization, with the "neo-institutional ideas" of DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Meyer and Rowan (1979) suggesting the influence of structuration processes in producing change. A third model will combine the theories from the institutional perspective (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Meyer and Scott, 1983; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and power and conflict research (Perrow, 1984, Pfeffer, 1981; Brint and Karabel, 1991) to explore how organizational structure is the result of increased structuration of the organizational field and the legitimacy contests as organizational actors seek to gain legitimacy by becoming isomorphic with their institutional environment.

This case study is guided by Weber's theory of bureaucracy, but improves its utility by introducing an open systems view of authority, which is supported by institutional theories and their research of isomorphic forces affecting organization. In addition, I derive insights from the power theories of organization concerned with the outcome of activities by actors who struggle for legitimacy. Perrow invites the researcher "to join in the difficult task of rewriting the history

of bureaucracy with an expanded vision of the environment and externalities...that a power theory of organizations---starting with a solid rock of bureaucracy, modified by bounded rationality and the considerations of internal and external groups interests, extended to networks and sectors...will show the way” (Perrow, 1986: 278).

Definitions of Terms and Concepts

An “account” (Scott and Lyman, 1978) is the various rationales, justifications, and excuses offered by actors in an organization to protect it from “having its conduct questioned.” I will use the term of *authority accounts* to describe are those claims and counterclaims of the right to authority and used by actors within an organization to legitimate their position in the structure or in situations of power. Meyer and Rowan (1977) developed the concept of “vocabularies of structure” to describe the action and activities of the administrative structure of an organization as reflected by organizational charts, myths, rules, policies, and procedures. To distinguish from the authority account, I will use the term of *structural accounts* to represent the expressions of “organizational language.” The differences in the accounts used by organizations over time can provide insight and understanding of the changes in the motives for organizational actions and activities. In Weber’s short definition of authority, he emphasizes the relational aspect of power, when he states: “Domination in the quite general sense of power, i.e., of the possibility of imposing one’s own will upon the behavior of other persons (Weber, 1968: 941). For my purposes, the definition of power assumes a symbolic interaction of approach to power and see that *power* is the ability to impose one’s own definition of the situation upon another, despite their resistance. Thus, following Weber, *authority* is an individual’s acceptance of the definition of the situation as legitimate.

A variety of processes of change are discussed in this study, including: *routinization*--the development of a functioning administrative operation by a charismatic type of authority; *bureaucratization*-- the process in which a charismatic or traditional organization moves away from patrimonial form of administration; and *rationalization*—the process of irrational, emotional based and sanctity of customary based beliefs are replaced by rational, means-ends justification for behavior. *Organizational adaptation* can be defined as those changes made by an organization in response to environmental opportunities and challenges. Organizations may adapt their ideology or beliefs, or they may find it useful to make changes to their structure, or adopt newer technologies as they respond to the changes being made by similar organizations within their environment. The type of process of changes related to the effects of institutional environments is called *isomorphism*, i.e., the structural conformity found among organizations in response to the environmental conditions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).). Shifting emphasis from the characteristics of organization, the *structuration* of an organizational field is mutual awareness of a common meaning system and an increase in the number, type, and intensity of interactions among participants within a field, which may lead to an increased similarity of actions and activities among participants.

Research Questions

Three main questions will guide the case study of each recovery organization: 1) What are the predominant type of beliefs used to legitimize the claims to authority? Evidence and assessment of authority will be based on the accounts used by actors claiming the right to command; 2) What are the specific organizational structures and type of administration present at specific times over the developmental life-course of the organization? For this study, the structural and administrative arrangements of each organization is assessed by the documenting

the “vocabularies of structure,” i.e., the language use to describe the organizations activities; 3) How have the authority beliefs and structures change over time, i.e., what was their trajectory?

Three areas will be examined as explanations of the driving forces behind the changes in the organization over time. First, the change in each organization will be analyzed as a result of contests for legitimacy; second, each organization will be assessed by the change resulting from an increase in the structuration of the field; finally, each organization will be evaluated by the influence of normative, coercive, and mimetic isomorphic pressures of each organizations institutional environment, and the responses to those forces by organizational agents.

Related questions include: What are the dominant “coalitions of authority” of organizational actors making claims to legitimate their authority at the different stages of development? Organizational structure will be seen as a cumulative consequence of the interests, activities, and contests of organizational actors (Dow, 1969; Pfeffer, 1981). I will explore the origins and genesis of the structural components or “building blocks” of organizations, such as, procedural rules, beliefs, management strategies or management systems, and organizational blueprints. What is the degree of the structuration of the organizational field of recovery services? The structuration of the field is assessed by the number of linkages to other organizations, with a focus on the total number of relationships, their intensity, dependency, and the type of actors, i.e., in authority claims and administrative structures.

This study of AA and NA may help to further understand the “bureaucratization” process confronting an organization. This study enjoins Weber’s ideas on changes in authority with the new institutional theories to explore how actors in an organizational field influence and provide the models to construct a working organizational structure.

Study Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is the lack of transparency of the organizations. These organizations want to be considered legitimate and accepted by external agencies as operating efficiently, while still maintain to the “halo” of being spiritual organizations driven by divine hands. This contradiction makes analysis difficult. The lack of data and inability to gain entry to the operations of the organization is a limitation. The beliefs of the organization prescribe anonymity, which can be a problem, and there seems to be their sacred status. That critical examination and evaluation might reveal the problems and lead to their demise.

The limitation of this research may be the lack of “minimalist organizations” and my focus on just two of the many recovery organizations may misrepresent the working non-bureaucratic forms. Further, the boundaries are still forming in the organizational field and the organizations may become less bureaucratic as the field becomes more structured around AA. Or, it may be that the organization of NA and its field is in a transitional state and by “measuring” its characteristics at this specific time, I may not be seeing the organization accurately.

Most of all, while other research has argued for the lack of bureaucracy and hierarchy found in the groups, by analyzing and focusing on the administrative arm of the organization, I may be only seeing the most bureaucratic aspects. In reality, what makes AA and NA unique is their ability to remain unorganized on the peripheral level while highly organized at its core.

Overview

In Chapter One, I argue the type of authority and its structural arrangements found in AA, and other organizations, are not always obvious. Weber (1968) has suggested that authority may be “dressed in rather innocent garb” and assessing the more subtle forms, variations, and

mixtures of authority is not a simple task. Categorizations of authority based on the traits of the leaders of an organization and from the diverse motivations of those in obedience to authority may not be accurate representations of Weber's characteristic types of authority. To better identify and assess the types of authority and administrative structures present at different stages in the history of AA and NA, I will focus on the specific events and activities of those claiming authority, in addition to, the beliefs and behavior of those proclaiming authority positions. I argue for the utility and validity of using Weber's "ideal types of authority" both as a typology of the basic characteristics and as a tool to compare different organizations and/or the same organization over time. I borrow the concept of "trajectory" and use it to represent the sequence of multiple transformations an organization may move through over time. Concurrent with Weber, and others (Perrow and Pfeffer), I document or detail and then assess the final outcome of the struggles between status groups to gain power and derive legitimacy from external sources in their environment, especially, those authority contests prompted by succession or administrative restructuring.

In Chapter Two, I discuss the differences between the purely theoretical notions of abstract authority and the empirical reality of actual historical cases of authority in organizations. Weber (1968) proposed the concept of "ideal types" as both a methodological tool to assess the presence and degree of the dimensions of authority, and as a typology useful in categorizing the differing sets of characteristics that specific organizations may exhibit. AA and NA are two empirical cases of organizations with actors making authority claims and adopting structural arrangements over time. I use Weber's methodology and typology as a guide to describe and compare his descriptions of authority types when applied to NA and AA.

In Chapter Three, I discuss my inductive methodology. Drawing on a wealth of data on AA and NA, including the official publications and legal documents of the organizations and unpublished documents and accounts, I chronologically organized the data for each organization to assess the type and degree of change in authority beliefs and administrative structures over time. To understand these two organizations with unique characteristics and distinctive structures, the research focused on the acts of agents, the emerging historical conditions, and even those accidental events which may affecting an organization, thus this researcher will follow those previous studies using a method that “stresses interpretation” (Clark, 1970: viii).

In Chapter Four and Five, I discuss my research in a comparative case study approach that details the different stages in its organizational history of NA and explores the transformation of the types of authority and administrative structures over time. I discuss an increased structuration of the field of recovery services and how the uncertainty of the institutional environment threatened by managed care policies led to a perceived need to dramatically restructure their organizations in order to survive, thus moving away from the traditional models of organization and development upon which they had been founded, and had borrowed from AA., AA and NA. Finally, I conclude the chapters by explore the causes for the differences in AA’s and NA’s structure.

In Chapter Six, I analyze how NA and AA have differed in both the type of authority beliefs and in administrative structure. I categorize the presence and degree of those characteristics associated with each of the three authority types suggested by Weber (1968) and compare how each organization may vary—within and across the three different types. Next, I assess the various “combinations and mixtures” of authority and administrative structures taken over their life course of each organization. I explain how the reformulation of Weber’s ideal type

model of legitimate authority—which accounts for varying “mixtures and combinations” of authority beliefs and administrative forms can contribute to theories of organizational types and development, while improving or extending on Weber use of ideal types as a method of analysis.

To explain these differences in the “trajectory” of organizational structures present in NA’s development, the three main forces must be considered. First, from the Weberian perspective, the changes in authority and structure within organizations are seen to be driven by those inherent problems of legitimacy, competition and efficiency. Secondly, based on the theories of classical and more recent “power” theorists the transformation of organizational structures is caused by individual agents and collective actors in contests over power and legitimacy (Michel, 1931; Weber, 1968; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Perrow, 1986). Lastly, changes in organizational structures are further explained by the effects of changing institutional environments and the influence of mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic pressures that are produced by an increasingly structured organizational field (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

In Chapter Seven, too structure the discussion of AA’s and NA’s transformation, the discussion following the outline of the alcoholic’s transformational story of recovery and tell: “what it was like, what happened and what it is like now” for the organizations of NA and AA. Further, I will discuss the isomorphic influences and response by the organizations as they attempt to re-align their beliefs and structures to meet the demands of their environment. .

In Chapter Eight, I state my conclusions concerning Weber’s theory of rationalization, then discuss how a synthesize of Weberian, the neo-institutional theories and power theories may help to explain how NA and AA have been able to maintain their unique forms of authority and preserve their distinctive administrative structures in the face of political challenges and

environmental change. I argue that the political processes within the organizations and the struggle for legitimacy from internal and external sources have led to some rather unusual structural arrangements in AA and NA. AA, and later NA, were founded on beliefs preventing the accumulation of authority and structurally designed to minimize organizational interaction, in order, to avoid the pitfalls predicted by Weber's vision of a bureaucratic organization. However, over time the organizational field and the institutional environment of AA and NA have changed, and to remain legitimate, these organizations have adopted more rational types of authority and are supported by a bureaucratic version of administrative structures. As suggested by DiMaggio and Powell, the "engine of rationalization" has changed and NA and AA were not designed to meet this change in the forces of rationalization.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are two main threads of theory and research to explain the forces and factors affecting the origin, development, and transformation of organizational structures. The first area of research is based upon and revolves around the comprehensive work on organizations by Max Weber. In Weber's analysis of the origins of organizational structures, he outlined the beliefs characterizing each particular type of authority and detailed the dimensions associated with each of the related forms of administrative structures. After clearly identifying a group's authority beliefs and administrative structure, Weber believed it was possible to observe, analyze, and trace the trajectory of the organization as it changed over time. According to Weber, all organizations are on the road to bureaucracy.

The second broad field of study is based on those researchers' who have suggested alternatives to the bureaucratic type of organizational structure and offer theories challenging or modifying Weber's theory of rationalization. In Weber's model (1968) of organizational development, the transformation of internal structures are driven by the need to remain competitive, and organizations inherently respond to growth in size and increased complexity by adopting rational strategies of efficiency and coordination. Many scholars have sought to expand his narrow view of the range of authority in organizations and dispute his prediction for the ultimate fate of all organizations. Weber's fatalistic view of organizational outcomes—an iron cage—is not a welcomed reality, whether the change is driven by internal dynamics or environmental challenges. Those researchers arguing against Weber's conclusion have sought to

find concrete cases of those “unique” types of organizations that may have alternative forms of authority and possessing equally unique structural arrangements. These organizations have been assigned various labels-- alternative, utopian, minimalist, and/ or post-bureaucratic organizations (Biggart, 1989; Swidler, 1979; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996), and are seen to stand in direct opposition to claims made by Weber’s theory of rationalization.

A more recent interpretation of Weber’s theory of rationalization and one of the most promising insights for the study of organizational change is suggested by institutional theories. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggest that organizations are part of “open systems” and these systems must accommodate and adapt to environmental forces in order to survive, often in spite of the norms of rationality. In their model of organizational change, they see the changes made in ideology and structure as subtly connected and dependent on other organizations. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) agreed with Weber that the final destination for most modern organizations is a rational type of authority supported by a bureaucratic version of administrative structures. However, they re-conceptualized the “engine” or driving force that propels organizations down the road to bureaucracy. For the neo-institutional theories, organizational change is not just these culminations of the efforts of great men with grand visions and ideas; it is also a direct result of *isomorphism*, i.e., the structural conformity among organizations in response to the uncertainty of environmental conditions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Despite criticisms of Weber’s theory of rationalization and challenges over the exact forces behind the bureaucratization, the rational type of authority and a bureaucratic form of administrative structure is still the predominant model for the vast majority of modern organizations (Perrow, 1986; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Therefore, to challenge Weber’s idea and the subsequent research of a bureaucratic “iron cage” destined for all organizations, the

theories arguing against rationalization must do more than just speculate, or envision this ideal organization—they must discover and subject their empirical examples of non-authority organizations to critical observations and test whether these “unique” organizations can survive over time (Kalberg, 1994). This search and research into organizational alternatives continues. The latest non-bureaucratic alternative is Alcoholics Anonymous—considered to be one of those distinctive organizations standing as a polar opposite to Weber’s bureaucratic type of organization, and surviving for decades.

In this review of literature, I will discuss the most current empirical evidence suggesting that AA is an example of a non-hierarchical and non-bureaucratic type of organization. Before discussing the research on AA, the literature addressing the origins and development of authority types and structures is presented.

Weber’s Types of Authority and Theory of Rationalization

Weber contributed to the theory of organizations in three ways: first, he clearly defines authority from types of power derived from coercive raw force and those based on economic relationships, what he called “constellation of interests” (Weber, 1968). For Weber, authority is the acceptance of a power relationship, usually disproportionate, between individuals, and only three bases of legitimation can be used to justify personal or organizational relationships. . According to Weber: “In each case the type of it is considered on three levels: the beliefs in legitimacy that sustain the system of domination, the organization that enables it to function, and the recurrent issues that characterize the struggle for power.” (Bendix, 1960:331)

Secondly, Weber contributes to theories of organizations by carefully describing the exact characteristics unique to each type of authority, and then classifies them into his Model of the Ideal Types of Legitimate Authority. According to Weber, “Every historical relation between

rulers and the ruled” can be categorized into one of three “pure” or “ideal types” of legitimate authority (Bendix, 1960:300). These three types of authority are the charismatic, traditional, and rational forms and only these three reasons or justifications are used to legitimate right to have the power of command. In his typology of the ideal types of authority, he describes the exact characteristics unique to each type of authority, then shows how each type of authority are supported by types of specific administrative apparatus (Bendix, 1960:297. Although Weber foresaw that: “A comprehensive classification of all forms, conditions, and concrete contents of ‘domination’ in the widest sense is impossible”, he argued that clear concepts of authority are needed. Based on his historical analysis, Weber provided a set of criteria to illustrate the types of authority and used a methodology of “ideal types” as the standards to measure and make comparisons of a single organization over historical time periods or to assess the differences between two or more different organizations within a specific time.

Finally, Weber contributed to the understanding of organizational change by arguing that organizations will transform over time through competition, a need for efficiency, and in response an environment that is increasingly motivated by rational thought and practices. In the long run, organizations will eventually become bureaucratic in beliefs and in their administrative actions.

In the classic work, Economy and Society (1968), Weber argued there are three important and interrelated aspects in any discussion of how authority may vary within and between organizations. According to Weber: “In each case the type of it is considered on three levels: the beliefs in legitimacy that sustain the system of domination, the organization that enables it to function, and the recurrent issues that characterize the struggle for power” (Bendix, 1960:331). In the next section, I follow Weber’s outline for the study of organizations by assessing the type

of beliefs that sustain the system, the administrative structure that handles the daily operations, and the universal issues and problems, including the power struggles among members.

Characteristics of the Charismatic Type of Authority

According to Weber (1968), in the charismatic type of authority, the person with the legitimate right to exercise commands is called a leader, prophet, hero, demagogue, or founder. This person must prove their authority is legitimate by virtue of magical powers, revelations, acts of heroism, or other extraordinary personal gifts. Weber described charismatic authority in the following way, it is “based on an emotional form of communal relationship, it is unstable, emerges from a sense of crisis, and exhibits a high degree of commitment and dedication of the members to mission; members withdrawing from the world, giving up a sense of self, and lack of material possessions” (Weber, 1968).

Several factors differentiate charismatic authority from the other types of authority discovered by Weber. First, the legitimacy of the charismatic type of authority is based solely on the “extraordinary or supernatural qualities” of leader. A second major feature of charismatic authority is that the leader must have vision or a mission that is recognized and followed by a group of followers, who willingly submit and give obedience because they believe a “divine” power comes to their aid in a time of crisis. The third unique feature of charismatic forms of authority is that the followers go beyond simple acceptance of the vision—they have an “internal change” and as a result, they acquire a new sense of self, a sense of rebirth, in their role as devotees. Further, the followers adopt the charismatic lifestyle which requires members to “turn away from the world,” and resist the economic motivations that drive rational administrative decisions or the status granted in traditional structures. Finally, the person who claims charismatic authority must be able to legitimate their authority through “proving” their status as

divine and “extraordinary.” Proof of the legitimacy of the authority is often based on “performing miracles” and the leader must bring success to the group, as a result of qualities that are rare to individuals, such as, “supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional qualities.”

The charismatic authorities can lose their power when their conduct contradicts their exemplary status or when the claims to miraculous power begin to wane. If the charismatic leader fails to prove the claims to the followers, then the charismatic leader can be discredited, and is open to challenges by another charismatic or by one who has another type of authority, either, rational or traditional. The type of crisis affecting the community will define the type of leader that is appropriate-- a shaman will emerge when the followers are sick and a warrior in times of threat. It is not that “natural” qualities of the individual that determine charisma, as seen by Weber, but a “higher power” is aware of the true needs of the community and the divine hand will select the appropriate individual who has the “gift”, some intangible characteristics that others will later define as charismatic.

While Biggart emphasized the positive side of charisma as an organizing principle, others have described the more negative aspects. Each form of authority has its own unique problems or contradictions inherent to their design which are usually only solved by a more effective form of structure or a more legitimate form of authority. For the charismatic type of authority, one of the main problems is that: “Charismatic leaders...get old and die...get worn out...or get corrupted” (Zablocki, 1980; Biggart, 1988:132). Others have observed the results of changes in charismatic leadership: “As the original charismatic leadership is replaced, a bureaucratic structure emerges, and a general accommodation to society occurs” (Zald and Garner, 1966: 121) Further, some researchers have found that charismatic authority is not always considered as functional, in that:

“Organizations have a number of weapons against charismatically inclined individuals” (Clark, 1960:8). In contrast to the red tape and paperwork of the bureaucratic machine, charismatic authority seems a possible solution to all an organizations problems, yet, the ultimate fate of strong leaders with unusual gifts is diminished interaction-- an office with a window, while the administration goes about routine and day to day activities.

Structures of Charismatic Authority

While charismatic leadership has garnered greater attention from researchers, the study of the administrative and structural aspects of charisma type of organization has been overlooked. Weber was clear about the organizational aspects of charisma, in that: “charismatic authority does not imply an amorphous condition; it indicates a rather definite social structure with a staff and an apparatus of services and material means that is adapted to the mission of the leader” (Weber, 1948:1192).

Weber describes the structures arising with charismatic authority as having a minimal numbers of relations, in that, the leader is connected to the disciples and the disciples are closely connected to the followers. Those persons who obey and accept the “revelations” of their leader are called disciples or followers, and any administrative apparatus is made up of these disciples, who may also are selected for their own charisma, or become charismatic as a result of their proximity to the charismatic founder. The few officials or disciples may be selected by their own charisma or on personal devotion to their leader. There is no pre-requisite for membership and they are not chosen by their any special qualification, like the training or technical experience required by the bureaucratic form, or by their household status or personal dependence, as in the traditional form.

As seen by Weber (1968), these “disciples-officials” of the charismatic organization hardly constitute an organization. The limitations on authority or power are only limited by how long they can be successful and can legitimate their right or claim to authority. The sphere of activity and power of command depends on: revelation, proving of the miracles, success in battles, “exemplary conduct,” and the right to make decisions on a case to case basis and where the judgment is not based on tradition or by rules but solely by the “conscience” of the leader (and not the consensus of the group). The structure of the charismatic type of organization is unstable, and is unconcerned with providing for the routine and everyday needs of the followers. Their focus is on the extraordinary needs, and in times of trouble or crisis, it is not the natural or official leader who is called upon to resolve the situation, but the prophet who possesses extraordinary gifts of mind or body or both.

Weber’s notion of charismatic type structures most closely resemble what are called by more recent researchers as “democratic-collectivist” types of organizations. In these organizations, there are: a lack of authority associated with office; the elimination, reduction, and even the opposition to formalization; minor role differentiation and absence of the specialization of duties or function; a strict quality in decision-making; lack of hierarchy and few levels of status (Weber, 1968; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Biggart, 1989; Scott, 1987:23)

Empirical Research on Charismatic Authority and Structures

Trice and Beyer (1986) provide an analysis of the charismatic type of authority, and state that charismatic’s will have a radical message and /or mission which is tied to a “perceived crisis or other source of social agitation.” A second attribute of the charismatic leader is the ability to attract obedient followers and “arouse in them excitement, awe, and reverence.” Finally, for the charisma to be seen as legitimate, the mission of the charismatic must meet with “visible

success to validate their charisma” (Trice and Beyer, 1986:140). In the empirical research on charisma, the focus of the majority of the research is on the leader and their beliefs, while ignoring the structural aspect of the charismatic type of authority, which Weber saw as a separate, though fundamental element of the “pure” type of charismatic form of authority.

In the research by Nicole Biggart, she interprets Weber’s idea of the charismatic authority type as having the following distinguishing elements: first, charisma is said to be a “gift of grace” or a quality that is “of divine origin” or an extraordinary ability and a vision (Biggart, 1989:19). Charismatic personalities could include: military heroes, prophets, messiahs, demagogues, shamans, and include historical examples from Jesus to Hitler or from Charlie Manson to Lee Iacocca. In Biggart’s empirical study of Direct Selling Organizations (DSO), she found that her “leaders” did not have the intense form of charisma typically associated with the example of Jesus of Nazareth and the Catholic Church, or in other religious organizations or movements. Instead, she sees them have a “weakened form of institutional charisma,” similar to the type described by Wolfgang Schluchter, where there is a transformation or a “weakening” of the four basic elements found in Weber’s original formulation of the ideal type.

Although the charismatic organizations described by Biggart have an ideology based on beliefs and vision of the founder, rather than using miracles as the basis for legitimacy like more religious based organizations, the DSO’s can prove their legitimacy by saying that the successful activities of the organization can serve as “modern-day” miracles. These organizations move away from Weber’s notion of the “pure” type of charismatic authority, i.e., with both charismatic beliefs and structures, because they may have bureaucratic headquarters, and operate under rational and legal basis, although, they do display characteristics of the more “pure” forms

charismatic authority in that they are “intense social, ideological, and personal experience, when compared to other forms of work” (Biggart, 1989:134).

Biggart research on charismatic types of organizations concurs with Weber, in that, she recognizes the need to distinguish between the two sides of domination: “authority or organizational structure as well as a related structure of meaning of belief” (Biggart, 1989:130). In Biggart's research, an organization may have set of beliefs that are charismatic, but the operating structure is more similar to more rational bureaucratic forms of organization. Biggart's case study of DSO's found them to be a combination of the authority beliefs--charismatic and economic, and supported by a bureaucratic administrative apparatus, thus leading her to amend Weber's typology of authority.

From Biggart's research, there is a limitations, in that, she did not discuss how the DSO type of administrative structures have changed over time, and what happened when the charisma was lost, evaporated, weakened, or transformed to become more rational. As with the organization of this study, the question becomes whether the DSO's have become more bureaucratized since here initial study?

Characteristics of the Traditional Type of Authority

According to Weber, traditional domination involves persons exercising commands, called masters, fathers, or lords and these individuals have a personal type of relationship with those individuals subject to their authority. Those obedient to the traditional type of authority are called followers or subjects and they “obey out of personal loyalty to the master or a pious regard for his time-ordered status” (Weber, 1968). The succession or transfer of authority is granted by through inheritance, and an individual can assess their relative position in the structure by tracing their “genealogical” connection to the “father.” The legitimacy of traditional types of authority is

based on the belief of an authority that “has always existed” and it is legitimate because those in charge give accounts of their activities that align with customs.

Are there viable examples of traditional authority present in modern organizations, or do the overwhelming majority of organizations fall into either Weber’s charismatic or bureaucratic types?

Structures of Traditional Authority

The type of administrative structure associated with traditional type of authority is typically a “patrimonial regime” consisting of those individuals on a personal retainer, members of the household, relatives, or personal favorites of the master. These “officials” can be personally loyal allies and loyalty is the chief requirement. There are limits to the authority of the lord, such that his personal retainers are subject to customary or arbitrary commands of the master. The traditions of this type of authority may state what activities are customary, but these actions can become “subverted” by the arbitrary commands of personal authority and charisma.

According to Weber, there are several variations of the traditional type of authority structures. First are the purely patriarchal and the estate system where the means of administration is managed under account of the “lord.” The staff of this type of administration is completely dependent on the “lord” and there is “no guaranty against the lord’s arbitrariness”. In this type, the administrators have no rights to their office or position, the positions are “bequeathed” upon members, and can be given and taken away on the basis of the loyalty to those in charge. The values of “tradition, privilege, feudal or patrimonial bonds of allegiance, status honor, and good will” regulate the web of inter-relationship between the members (Gerth and Mills, 1946:8). In the patriarchal type of command relationship, the leader is seen as the “father of his people,” and the followers are treated like members of his family. Gerth and Mills’

contrast the traditional form of authority structure with that of a rational organization by saying that when “authorities” claim legitimacy to their position by the fact of “mere habituation” or custom, then that is traditional structure, such as found in the way a religious prophet has an emotional relation to a faithful member. By contrast, in the rational types of structure, an employed worker has a different form of reasoned loyalty to their business enterprise (Weber, 1946).

The administrative staff of traditional structures consists of those individual personally dependent upon their “master,” and may include: members of the household, relatives, personal friends or favorites that are “bound by personal allegiance.” Most notable of the difference is that the traditional form of structure has little emphasis on requiring competency for those holding the administrative positions, in direct contrast to the rational forms of structure.

Empirical Research on Traditional Authority and Structures

Weber and the influences of the “direction of bureaucratization” are well discussed in the literature (Weber, 1968:72). The empirical research on the routinization of authority by Trice and Beyer (1986) says that charisma moves towards rational authority, though they do not how the authority is transformed passed the stage of routinization. As for the bureaucratic type, Gouldner (1954) and the study of change in top leadership in industrial factory is description of the change in authority as a result in a change in the top leadership role.

Another study of the change in authority was the Gouldner (1954) research titled *Patterns of an Industrial Bureaucracy*, in which, he documented the changes in a authority system of a gypsum factory. In his study, he discussed the succession of Old Doug and his form traditional bureaucracy as it is replaced by a more efficient manager attempting to install a more rational bureaucratic structure for plant operation.

Characteristics of the Bureaucratic Type of Authority

What are the characteristics of the bureaucratic type? Authority is based on the belief of rationality and the legality of “enacted” rules. Based on Weber’s (1968) model of authority, the characteristics of bureaucracy is pertinent to this research include: the organization is continuous, authority is limited by rules and there are controls over its exercise, the person is separate from the office that is occupied, and the transactions must be in writing to be valid.

According to Weber (1968), the characteristics of rational/legal authority involve those situations where superiors are elected through rationally enacted and legally sanctioned procedures or are appointed to their position. The “leaders,” administrative branch, and the followers are legal equals subject to the same stated principles. The bureaucratic organization is continuous and its legitimacy is based on belief of rationality or legality of rules. The authority of those in charge is impersonal, limited by rules, which also control over the arbitrary exercise of those rules. The persons’ own activities and social position are separate from their office duties and status. The transactions of the organization must be in writing to be valid. Further, there are clear boundaries defining who is a member (Aldrich, 1979) and what activities or behaviors are considered part of the organizations scope of operations (Scott, 1972). The legitimacy of the bureaucratic type is supported by a “hierarchy of offices” where those in lower positions report to those in higher positions, the power and governance is centralized (in the administrative level) and not only are careers are possible, but pensions may be granted..

Structures of Rational Authority

To become bureaucratic means that “regular administrative work is predominantly and increasingly performed by bureaucratic forces” (Weber,1946:6). In a bureaucratic organization, the presence of a hierarchy is the relation, compared to in an egalitarian organization, of unequal

authority. Intensity of administration is where an increasing number of functions are appropriated by the “bureaucratic machine” and an administrative component comes to dominate, not only in size, but, in power compared to the other part or sub-unit of the organization. Bureaucracy is also a measure of the amount or intensity of administration relative to the amount or intensity of the production activities (Scott, 1992).

The “intensity of administration” is measured and illustrated as the amount of or degree or number of activities done by the administrative component, or under bureaucratic rules and procedures. For example, in Gouldner’s research, the factory was bureaucratized because of the need for control of worker, by the operations of mine were not. Examples of bureaucratic organization would be the top heavy organizations with a high ratio of managers or administration relative to the actual number of production workers.

To operationalize the concept of bureaucracy, researchers have look at the “size’ or intensity of the organizations administrative component, (Scott, 1992). The administrative part of the organization will include the routine and patterned activities necessary for everyday operation and maintenance of the organization, other than the actual direct production of goods and services. These activities may include supervision, strategic planning, accounting, and human resource management (Scott, 1992).

Empirical Research on Bureaucratic Authority and Structures

From Weber’s (1968) model of authority, the characteristics of bureaucracy pertinent to this research include: the organization is seen as having continuity beyond individuals’ participation, there is authority limited by rules and there are controls over its exercise, the person is separate from the office that is occupied, and the transactions must be in writing to be valid. Further, there are clear boundaries defining who is a member (Aldrich, 1979) and what

activities or behaviors are considered part of the organizations scope of operations (Scott, 1972). The legitimacy of the bureaucratic type of authority is based on the belief of rationality and the legality of “enacted” rules. A “hierarchy of offices” exists where those in lower positions report to those in higher positions, the power and governance is centralized (in the administrative level) and not only are careers possible, but post-career pensions may be granted.

According to Perrow (1986), Weber’s model of bureaucracy can be better understood if the characteristics are grouped into three related categories: First, Weber’s model of bureaucracy had norms detailing the structure and function of the organization. These include: the organization was run on a continuous basis; a hierarchy of offices existed, usually, based on a division of labor and/or specialization of roles related to expertise, and stated or required duties were contained in a written “job description. Finally, the functioning of the organization was improved through keeping in written records or files that become both a repository of knowledge and a history of prior actions. The second set of characteristics considers the type of rewards provided as the most basic motivation for obedience to the authority. According to Perrow, the provision of regular, fixed salary clearly separates the rational/bureaucratic types of structure from the compensation received in the charismatic and traditional types of administrative systems. These rewards and rules for the distribution of rewards include: “That officials receive fixed salaries, graded by rank; and that officials did not own the means of production or administration, could not appropriate their offices, had to separate their private affairs and property from the organization’s affairs and property, had to render an accounting of the use of official property, and had to consider their offices as the sole or primary occupation” (Perrow, 1986: 47-48). The third set of characteristics of Weber’s bureaucratic model of administration address the rights granted to officials. Although the bureaucratic model is impersonal, it has

solved the problems associated with “arbitrary use of power,” a quality known to be present in the charismatic and traditional administrations. The officials are appointed and the position involves a career, the authority is limited to their official obligations and mostly, there is “a right of appeal of decisions” each official has a method of airing grievances or complaints without fear of reprisal. Obedience is to the office holder, not the person, and they are subject to authority limited to their “job description.” The main feature of the legality is the “rule of law” and through proper enactment they become binding,, though they can be equally repealed by following the correct formal procedures (Weber, 1946).

Much of the research on bureaucracy has been to establish some quantitative criteria to operationalize the concept. One common measure of the bureaucratic traits within an organization is the relative “size’ of the organization’s administrative component in proportion to the production component (Scott, 1992). Also, bureaucracy can be measured by observing the degree of specialized roles, positions, offices, or department, where a clear division of labor can be seen. A dimension often neglected, but clearly seen as important by Weber was the “intensity” of the administration, which he defined as “the assumption of as many task as possible...for continuous management in its own establishment” (Weber, 1968:72). The “intensity” of administration is illustrated by the scope or cooptation of operational activities conducted by the administrative component, or under bureaucratic rules and procedures, which in the case of NA and AA, were previously held by members.

The administrative part of the organization will include the routine and patterned activities necessary for everyday operation and maintenance of the organization, other than the actual direct production of goods and services. These activities may include supervision, strategic planning, accounting, and human resource management (Scott, 1992).

Authority may be expressed and assessed by the predominant type of “vocabularies of structure” (Meyer and Rowan; 1977) and by the means of legitimation, e.g., justifications and claims to authority and/or those reasons used by “officials” to gain obedience (Dow, 1969). In addition to these factors, Dow argues that the objective aspects of authority may be assessed by: “the content...and the proportion of all activities devoted to either transcendent or the routine, may be empirically appraised, so that the relative position of these elements in any program of action would be apparent” (Dow, 1969:)

Table 2.1 Weber's Characteristics of Three Ideal Types of Legitimate Authority

Dimensions		Ideal Types		
		Charisma	Traditional	Rational
	<i>Locus of Authority</i>	leader, prophets, founder, (chosen)	master, father, lord (inherited)	Manager, director, trustee (elected/appointed)
	<i>Type of Followers</i>	disciple, followers	subjects, servants	legal equals
	<i>Legitimizing Beliefs</i>	spiritual	traditional	rational
	<i>Claims to Authority</i>	magic, grace, gifts; by miracles	custom, habit, inherited; by decrees	legal, rational; by enactment
	<i>Type of Accounts</i>	experiential	nostalgic	Rationales
	<i>Relation of Authority</i>	personal, emotional	paternal, nostalgic	impersonal
	<i>Type of Orientation</i>	the present	the past	the future
	<i>Typical Administrator</i>	disciples	relatives, household	trained specialist, contractual, salaried ranked, career
	<i>Levels of Hierarchy</i>	minimal	limited	multiple
	<i>Intensity of Administration</i>	low	medium	high
	<i>Selection Based on</i>	charisma, personal devotion	relatives, retainers, personal favorites	efficiency; rule acquisition
	<i>Employment Based on</i>	proving miracles; success in battles	personal loyalty of faithful servant	technical competence
	<i>Power of Command</i>	by exemplary conduct; diffused	by tradition; concentrated	by enacted law
	<i>Structural Permanence</i>	unstable, temporary, spontaneous, crisis	fragmented; absolute	permanent
	<i>Limits of Authority</i>	unlimited, temporary	customary/arbitrary	separate person from office
	<i>Decision Making</i>	by conscience	by custom	by consensus
	<i>Variations of Administrative Forms</i>	autocratic, democratic	patriarchy, rule by elders, patrimonial	parliamentary, committee, collegial

Weber's Mixed Types of Authority and Alternatives to Bureaucracy

Can there be organizations without authority? Weber (1968: 941) says that not all forms of social action require authority, but in most cases, at least one of three legitimate types of authority plays a vital role in structuring and directing social action, “even where it is not obvious at first sight” (Weber, 1968:). According to Weber, “There are but three clear-cut grounds on which to base the belief in legitimate authority. Given pure types, each is connected with a fundamentally different sociological structure of executive staff and means of administration” (Weber, 1946). Obviously, to adequately follow Weber's typology of ideal authority, any study will need to include a discussion of the beliefs and the accompanying administrative apparatus. Weber states that: “all administration requires domination, and all domination requires administration.”, thus, once the claims to authority are established, the next step is to define the characteristics of structures, whether they be associated with charisma, traditional, or rational.

Can organizations exist without administration? According to Weber, the answer is negative, in both cases, except under special condition. The second question proposed by Weber's is that authority must be considered as a necessary component in any model of organization. Weber argues: “All administration requires domination...the power of command over the staff must be vested in an individual or a group of individuals” (Bendix, 1960:296). For authority to exist, even in the most basic of organizations, according to Weber, “there must be an administrative staff to execute the commands or direct organized action” (Bendix, 1960). According to Weber, administration by a direct democracy is the most primitive and or least structured form of organizational oversight. For this minimal type of organization to exist, certain conditions must be present. First, the organization must be local and it is limited in size.

Organizations that are regional or national in scope become are difficult to maintain by a direct democratic form of decision making. Secondly, the administrative functions to be performed by the organization must be simple and without the need for continuous organization. Organizations that require routine or daily business operations and the multiple or complex functions require more developed forms of administration. Finally, in a directly democratic type of administration, the organizational tasks must require only minimal and unspecialized skills and members are not only seen as equally capable of performing each task, but will have the opportunity to when the positions are rotated.

Weber argued that these administrative characteristics are unique and the almost utopian beliefs that legitimate the structured relationships of direct democracy, like charisma, are “highly unstable”. The direct democratic type of administrative structure is subject to pressures, i.e., a growth in size and scope, the specialization and complexity of operation, as well as, shifting environmental conditions that challenge their legitimacy and prompt the adoption of more efficient and rational forms of administration.

A third area of concerns is the “mixtures and combinations” of authority discussed by Weber. Weber clearly argues that the “pure types of authority” exist, but in reality, authority and structure are always found in combinations. Weber’s methodology of using Ideal Types of Authority as the basis of comparison was his solution to provide “clear concepts” in order to analyze the differing combinations found in organizations (Weber, 1968). The majority of research on authority in organizations has neglected to study the mixed types of authority. This may be that, as suggested by Biggart, that the “pure” or “genuine” types of authority are rare (Biggart, 1988).

Table 2.2: Types of Authority Beliefs by Types of Administrative Structures

<u>Type of Administrative Structure</u>	<u>Type of Authority Beliefs</u>		
	Charisma	Tradition	Rational
charismatic	Cc	Tc	Rc
traditional	Ct	Tt	Rt
rational	Cr	Tr	Rr

In the above table:

the UPPER case letters represents the predominant type of beliefs used to legitimate the claims to authority (C=charismatic, T=tradition, R=rational)
the lower case letters represent the predominant type of administrative structure used in the organization (c=charismatic, t=traditional, r= rational)

Empirical Research on Exceptions to Authority Beliefs and Alternative Structures

Two streams of empirical research have argued against Weber's the analysis of organizations. The first attempts to answer the first question about the necessity of authority beliefs and a second stream of research has looked at the structural aspects of authority and discussed the possibility of organizations existing without formal, complex, or bureaucratic structures. A lesser discussed conditions concerns Weber's ideas of the mixtures and combinations of authority, which is the major focus of this research. Alternative forms of organization are seen as eliminating, reducing, or replacing either the structure aspects of the organization or the basis of the beliefs that legitimate the authority. Two areas are of a concern: organizations without authority and those without structure, however, these two distinct areas of research ought not to be confused.

In direct challenge to Weber's proposition of the importance of authority—"authority requires administration, and administration requires authority," it was argued that the free schools originating in the 1960s are prime examples of organizations existing without any authority (Swidler, 1979). In the case study challenging Weber ideas on authority, Ann Swidler's research suggests free schools are "organizations without authority." Swidler found that teachers in free schools had charismatic personalities that allowed them to gaining obedience and compliance based on the "authority" of their personal eccentricities. According to Swidler, the legal or traditional authority typically found in most schools and used by teachers and administrators was absent. However, the proposition that organizations can exist "without authority", although it was the title of the book by Swidler, is misleading.

Swidler concedes the free schools of her study did not function without any type of authority, or without some degree of administration. Instead, she questions what is essential to what it means to have authority: "In attacking authority, free schools, also attack hierarchy and bureaucracy. But neither of these are essential to authority" (Swidler, 1979:16). However, Swidler is not saying the schools existed without any authority, only that the free schools were without total bureaucratic authority. Thus, the free schools did rely on the charismatic authority of their teachers who were also supported by a principal who resorted to bureaucratic administrative practice in response to coercive, mimetic, normative forces in the larger academic environment. One important contributions of Swidler's research is that she provides an empirical case of the "mixtures and combinations" of authority and administrative structures, as suggested by Weber, rather than an organization existing without authority.

Free clinics, food cooperatives, and community legal aid organizations are seen to exist without the burden of administrative structures typically associated with bureaucracies. Opposed

to formalization of practices, these “collectivist” organizations are egalitarian in compensation and decision making, while being non-hierarchical. Yet, upon further inquiry, the researchers submit, in the case of the collectivist organization, that there are serious limiting conditions to the continued existence of these types of organization, i.e., size, differentiation, and complexity (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). Early collectivist organization was seen as admirable for its democratic tendencies, but can these organizations exist in their unique form in the face of a changing environment? Forty years later, are collectivist organizations such as AA still unique and immune to the common problems of organizational development or have they also succumbed to the pressures of rationalization from their environment?

Organizations proposed as examples of alternate forms of organizational structuring have either failed or have changed their authoritative structures. A group’s leaders die; its disciples feel a need to settle down; structures become standardized, and/or the once “munificent” and open environment may experience a shift in material or non-material resources. Revolutionary charismatic communes either turn into destructive cults or slowly adopt and “accommodate” the rules of the wider society; once happy, egalitarian unions become oligarchic power machines. The intentionally anarchistic principles of “free schools” lose favor in time, and are displaced by more reasonable and respected academic models. Even Kibbutzim, threatened with failure, have become less utopian and more commercialized agricultural cooperatives; (Etzioni, 1980; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Lipset and Trow, 1956; Swidler, 1979).

Each of the studies suggesting alternatives or exceptions to Weber’s bureaucratic ideal type of organization has either suffered from a misuse of Weber’s model, or the organizations cited by the researcher’s study has failed or at least, adapted or changed over time. Typically, researchers compare their proposed exception to only one of the Weber’s ideal types of

authority, and have found that the proposed exception is unlike the bureaucratic organizational type, being either more or less bureaucratic, or in the some cases, the type's polar opposite (Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). This method has led to misclassification and misrepresentation of the varieties of organizational structures and authority since it overlooks the fact that dynamic organizations are usually not "pure" ideal types, but are comprised of a variety of "mixtures and combinations" of authority and structure, as suggested by Weber (1968).

Organizational Change: content, processes, and contextual

Organizational change may be defined as the "transformation of an organization between any two points in time" (Barnett and Carroll, 1995:219). Prior research has focused on three main types of changes--*content, processes, and contextual*--that are affecting organizations. It is generally accepted that structure, technology, participants and goals are basic content or "internal" elements of any organizational model (Leavitt, 1965; Parsons, 1960; Perrow, 1965; Scott, 1977). In addition to changes in content, the literature on organizations include research on the internal and external processes of change, such as, routinization or bureaucratization, and more recently, when directed by isomorphic forces of the environment, the change process is called institutionalization. Organizational analysis has also looked to explore structural change as a result of political processes, i.e., those struggles or contest between leaders, administrators, and members. The third dimension of change studied in the literature is context change—those predisposing conditions and constraints loosely defined as the environment of the organization. Conceptualizations of the environment may range from a strict distinction between the technical and institutional environments (Meyer and Rowan, 1983; Scott, 1981) to more general, descriptive ideas of turbulence, munificent, and uncertain environments and to the increased concentration and connections among organizations, which is called structuration.

Each of the dimensions of change, and the research associated with each category, will be discussed in the next section as a foundation to understand the complexity of the factors affecting the origins, developments, and change in the organizational structure of NA and AA.

Weber's Theory of Rationalization

In the Economy and Society (1968), Weber discussed numerous historical examples of authority and structure. In Weber's typology, he describes the exact characteristics unique to each type of authority, then shows how each type of authority are supported by types of specific administrative apparatus (Bendix, 1960:297). For Weber, differences in authority could be distinguished by analyzing the type of beliefs use by an individual or group to claim or justify their personal or organizational relationships. In addition to his typology, Weber discussed the following elemental aspects of the organizations: the beliefs or ideology that sustains the system, the administrative and organizational structure that enables it to function, and those issues arising from the struggle for power among participants for control (Bendix, 1960:331). Weber would argue that an organization's beliefs were the main determinant of the organizational structure. Weber presented the common problem of succession of authority as an example of how charismatic organizations are forced to develop new beliefs that would allow the transfer or transformation of the personalized power into one of the others forms of authority, while, often, inadvertently, creating a more "routine" type of administrative structure.

According to Weber's theory of rationalization, the authority beliefs and administrative structure of an organization must be considered as related but independent components that change during the process of bureaucratization. First, an organization may be experiencing a routinization or rationalization of the guiding beliefs, i.e., a noticeable transformation in the types of claims used to legitimate the ability to define the situation, initiate commands and

exercise authority. Secondly, the “routinization” or a “bureaucratization” of the structure occurs when there is a distinguishable change in form and functions of the administrative structure of the organization. These two factors may work separately and change at different rates, or they may change concurrently. For example, Weber observed that charismatic authority is unstable, and while the type of organization most useful in crisis situations; its spontaneous and emotional nature is not conducive with the everyday requirements of a continuous organization. According to Weber, the successful routinization of a founder’s charisma is a necessary first step in the survival of an organization and occurs in an organization attempting to move away from charismatic beliefs serving as a basis of authority towards an organization based on beliefs promoting traditional customs or rational practices. For an organization to be transformed, both the means of legitimation, i.e., the beliefs of the organization, and the activities of the administrative apparatus must show significant change to be considered as having changed into another type of authority.

Following in the tradition of Weber, other studies of the essential organizational components have focused on how organizations vary by their goals, beliefs, structure, and technology. Early research by Selznick emphasized the elements of leadership, commitments, and critical decisions (Selznick, 1957). A different set of basic organizational components-- mission, authority structure, technology, and marketing strategy-- were considered as the four core structural features of the organization (Hannan and Freeman 1984). In spite of disagreements in the exact composition of the list, the basic elements of environment, ideology, technology, structure, and authority have become the standard dimensions in the comparative analysis of organizations (Dill, 1958; Perrow, 1965; March, 1978). For later researchers, organizational change will involve the reciprocating effects of formal structure, organizational

culture, goals, program, mission and the environment upon the organization (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Empirical Research on the Weber's Theory of Rationalization

Classic studies investigating the processes of organizational change began with Weber's comprehensive analysis of historical examples of the expansion of the administrative apparatus and increase in the formalization of rules, which he called bureaucratization. Weber saw the process of transforming authority as simple and he argued that "charisma becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both" (Weber, 1947:364).

In Weber's theory of rationalization, he stated that it was possible to "analyze the tendencies by which one system of domination can change in the direction of another" (Bendix, 1960). Weber argued that as an organization encountered problems, the inherent limitations of each type of authority which would eventually necessitate changes in the beliefs, or in the administrative arrangements, or both. For example, the bureaucratic type of authority remains valid and stable because the legal leader is subject to same laws as all other members. However, if a leader violates the legally prescribed rights in an attempt to hold on to their authority, then the belief in legal authority is undermined and the individual can be replaced without major transformation of the administrative structures. In the case of the traditional leader, the authority beliefs based on sacred tradition can become illegitimate or threatened if the person in charge chooses to violate the customs which granted that power. The problem associated with charismatic authority is that the "personal" power, over time will wane or be forfeited if the leader is unable to prove the "extraordinary" abilities, abuse the divinely-given "gift" and thus fall from grace in the eyes of the followers. According to Weber's analysis of authority, individuals within the organizations are "constantly tempted to transgress the built-in limitations

of their power, and so under every system of domination men tend to change the system in the course of pursuing their material and ideal interests” (Bendix, 1960:300).

Similar to the changes affecting organizational structure discussed by Weber, Michel’s concluded in his “iron law of oligarchy” that all organizations will eventually be structured in a way so that the many become ruled by a few at the top. In their discussion of a combined Weber-Michel model, Zald and Ash (1966) outlined three main types of change processes affecting organizations: 1) goal displacement or transformation; 2) organizational maintenance; and, 3) oligarchization. Their research on the YMCA found that: “as the original charismatic leadership is replaced, a bureaucratic structure emerges, and a general accommodation to society occurs” (Zald and Garner, 1966: 121).

Following the theory of organizational change described by Weber, numerous case studies have investigated the transformation of the goals or mission (Selznick, 1966; Messinger, 1955; Clark, 1960; Perrow, 1961, 1963; Zald and Ash, 1966; Zald and Denton, 1963; Gusfield, 1955). In his research on the Townsend Movement, Messinger (1955) discussed how its original goals were political and the meeting activities focused on raising awareness of providing support for the aged. Although the movement had been successful in achieving its goals, the political scene changed and the original organizational mission was threatened. The choices were to disband and claim some victory, or change direction and functions, and find a new means to generate the needed funds and resources to maintain the structure, in lieu of, or any original mission. As a response to the change in the environment, the movement became more of a social club concerned with card-playing and fellowship, though without the zeal of the early years, and over time, the movement failed to attract new members, and faded away.

A second empirical study of the transformation of an organization is the research by Joseph Gusfield on the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). In his research, he illustrated how shifts in the political and social environment can affect an organization's survival or decline. Gusfield (1957) described how a once vibrant and influential Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) began to decline after the goal of repealing prohibition was achieved. The WCTU chose to abandon the goals of its main mission of attacking alcohol use and changed their focus and attention on the deviant lifestyles and decaying middle-class mores of the emerging immigrant classes.

In these case studies of organizational change, each of the organizations studied had an established set of goals that had become displaced, co-opted, or modified. These studies conclude that the organizations sold out their initial "higher" mission to further organizational maintenance or survival, i.e. "goal displacement", while also suggesting there is there is a parallel, but not always congruent, transformation of administrative structure involving a "displacement of means" where the administration and leaders own interests subvert those of members.

In the early empirical research on organizational origins and change, the goals of the organizations were seen as the key, and often, singular variable used to study the transformation processes over time. In the literature review for this study, the previous research on organizational change provides further concepts and variables that are important to trace the transformation and trajectory of the organization over time. Three specific aspects were involved in the transformation of the Townsend Organization (Messinger, 1955). First, Messinger describes the "tendency of deflection,," a change in how the national leaders of the movement were taking actions to redirect or, as he saw it, to deflect the organization away from the central

mission held by members. Secondly, Messinger found that goals of the national leaders had shown an increased “tendency to salesmanship”, in that, in response to a decline in membership and related financial difficulties, the focus of administrative and leadership activities moved to becoming promoters, distributors and/or “purveyors” of product, rather presenters of a program. Finally, Messinger suggests that membership activity, at the level of the “Clubs” or groups ought to be observed and charted for major trends or changes. In the Townsend Movement, the “real” business of the meeting had changed from a voluntary association meeting to discuss political solutions to a social club involving recreational activities. Messinger’s research argued that the Townsend Movement was changing from a political movement and a “value-implementing agency” to a social club for members and a “business” run by national office, where the ever increasing fiscal goals led to an administrative structure concerned with its own maintenance and survival, despite the loss or displacement of the “original” mission. Messinger’s research showed that a change in the political environment could influence the beliefs and administrative structure of the Townsend Movement, and the choices made by the organization, led to their decline.

Institutional and Neo-Institutional Theories of Organizational Change

Weber was mostly concerned with the internal dynamics of change, that is, those changes occurring through the growth and a need for efficiency. In addition to those studies exploring the “internal forces” affecting organizations, much of the available research literature has focused on *context change*--those predisposing conditions or the forces that contribute or constrain the possibility of change, rather than the internal dynamics of change within the organization. Weber was one of the first to argue that change in organizational structure is shaped by external forces. Weber concluded: “it is possible to show that certain incompatibilities in a system of domination

are related to the modifications of the institutional structure” (Bendix, 1960). Thus, Weber set argued that transforming forces affecting organizations are multi-dimensional and are not always directly related to promoting efficiency or outshining the competition of the organization.

In this study, I introduce the ideas of the “new” institutional theories. These theories expanded Weber’s ideas and began with Philip Selznick’s (1957) study of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). In his research, Selznick introduced an open-system perspective on organizations that allows for changes as a result of the adaptation to the environment. According to Selznick:

“Institutionalization is a process. It is what happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization’s own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment.”

(Selznick, 1957:16-17)

While Weber was concerned defining, measuring, and exploring the causes of bureaucratization, Selznick was more concerned with *institutionalization*— the transformative process for organizations that occurs as a cumulative result of both internal and external forces shaping the organization’s developmental life-cycle over time. Selznick states that institutionalization is a variable, i.e., some organizations are more institutionalized than others, however “no organization of any duration is completely free of institutionalization” (Selznick, 1957:16).

The institutional theories introduce two new processes of change—institutionalization and structuration of the organizational field. First, institutionalization is process in which organizations adapt to their institutional environments. These institutional environments are a source of a *isomorphism*, i.e., the structural conformity among organizations in response to the

uncertainty of environmental conditions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). The environmental pressures of isomorphism are can be mapped in the organization by observing the configurations of organizational structure. These changes can occur from coercive, normative, and from mimetic forces, all of which influence the organization to be come similar. While Weber believed the beliefs in rational thoughts and practices were the driving force in organizational similarity, and efficiency explained why all organizations sought to become bureaucratic, this branch of institutional theories sees organizations becoming isomorphic in their quest for legitimacy, in spite of, the beliefs and practices are being rational.

A second area of research within the institutional school of thought concerned with organizational structure and argues that the environment of an organization consists of the other organizations with which they have interaction or share resources, or what is called the organizational field. DiMaggio (1983, 1991) has argued that fields with more centralized resources will lead to an increased interaction among organizations and thus an increased in the structuration and similarity of the field. Studies exploring the effect of field structuration upon organizational features suggest that as the complexity and uncertainty of a field increases, there will be corresponding development of more complex and detailed administrative structures, i.e., becoming bureaucratic (Scott and Meyer, 1991; Meyer, Scott, and Strang, 1987). For these theorists, the similarity and increased adoption of rational type organizational structures is due to the “structuration” of the organization field. DiMaggio (1983) argues that to understand organization structure, one must first assess the structuration of the field. Structuration of the organizational field is a process and those increased connection occurring in the field affects the design and change in organizational structures.

There is a need for both theoretical work and empirical case studies to better understand the influence of the institutional environments and organizational field upon the activities, operation, and structure of individual organizations. The challenge is to study how “internal” aspects of the organizations are affected or influenced by “external” sources and how those forces may “push, pull, and permeate the organizational structures and processes” within a field (Scott, 1982). Further, to understand the origins and transformation of organizations, one must consider how the cultural prescriptions of the institutional environment and the inter-organizational relationships and interactions of the organizational field may shape the trajectory or path along the course of development.

Empirical Research on Institutional Environments

Institutional theory is known for observing organizations as open systems (Scott, 1987) and the research emphasizes the way an environment can shape an organization. According to these theories, organizations do not exist in a vacuum or in a time warp, but are shaped by their environment (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). According to Scott, “Every organization exists in a specific physical, technological, cultural, and social environment to which it must adapt. No organization is self-sufficient; all depend for survival on the types of relations they establish with the larger systems of which they are part” (Scott, 1987:19). The institutional environment consists of the “rules and requirements to which individual organizations must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy” (Scott and Meyer, 1991). Institutional environments are a source of a “rationale: providing an account that makes past actions understandable and acceptable to others” (Scott and Meyer, 1991:124). Brint and Karabel (1991) emphasize the interaction of an organization with its environment and suggest that studies must “pay sufficient

attention to the beliefs and activities of the administrators and professional who typically have the power to define what is in the ‘interest’ of the organization” (Brint and Karabel, 1991:344).

By following these procedures organizations can obtain legitimacy and increase their opportunities for success and survival. Conversely, organizations that are too unique may “lack acceptable legitimated accounts of their activities” and are more vulnerable to challenges to their authority and legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) and “when goals are ambiguous, or when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty, organizational may model themselves on other organizations” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983:151). Research on the isomorphism produced by coercive, normative, and mimetic pressures can be seen by looking at the common internal structural components common to a particular field, such as, public relations personnel, an information tech department, a human relation committee, legal department, and the corporate publication.

Essentially, all organizations are concerned with stabilizing, changing, or adapting to the environment in order to obtain an objective goal (Hannan and Freeman, 1983; Scott, 1987). An organization can “displace” its goals as a survival strategy or it may make adaptations "in structure, technology, and ideology that organizations make in response to environmental demands and opportunities" (D'Aunno and Price, 1988:283). Examples of empirical research on the effects of the institutional environment upon organizations include: a study of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) describing how the repeal of Prohibition forced the WCTU to adjust their goal of attacking drinking in order to survive in the changed environment (Gusfield, 1955); Philip Selznick’s (1957) study of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) which took an open-system perspective on organizations and saw how “co-option” of the grass-roots group by members of the organization field resulted in changes to the administration; the

research by Zald and Denton (1962) describing the dual nature of the forces on organizational change: “in a sense, the YMCA was ‘pulled’ into general services by the transformation of society and ‘pushed’ by the increasing capabilities of the institutions of churches” (1962:219); Roman, Johnson, and Blum (2000) exploring the transformation of the drug treatment services; D’Aunno, Sutton, and Price (1991) discussion of the conflicting institutional environment of drug abuse treatment units; and Scott (2001) on the institutionalization of hospitals due to the practices of managed care.

Empirical Research on Organizational Fields

Many terms are used to describe the organizational field, such as, industry, “inter-organizational network,” societal sector, or organizational population, but DiMaggio suggests that the term of “field” is better suited to explain the concept. The term of organizational field is used to symbolize a set of organizations “with a common purpose and arena of strategy and conflict” (DiMaggio, 1983:149). Scott defines the organizational field as “a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field” (Scott, 1995:56). Scott (1994) has summarized the issues facing researchers who attempt to study organizational fields, when he states the definitions of organization field must include conceptual clarification of terms and the identification of important variables and the dimensions in which fields may vary. Researchers have argued that the actual boundaries of the field are an analytical construct and must be empirically defined.

One of the first steps in the study of organizational interactions is to measure the extent of the “structuration” of a field (Giddens, 1979). The structuration of a field may be indicated by the following factors: an increase in the similarity of activities among participants; a developing

mutual awareness and sharing of a common meaning system or ideology of the field; an increase in the number, type, and intensity of interactions among participants within a field; an strengthening of and clarity of field boundaries; an increase in the “isomorphism of structural forms” within the populations in the field; the emergence of a “structure of domination,” i.e., a predominant institutional authority or “power center” and a singular acceptable “structural model” for the organization in the field (DiMaggio, 1983,1991; Scott, 1994).

Other indicators of the extent of structuration of a field have been suggested. According to Meyer and Rowan (1977:349): “Vocabularies of structure that are isomorphic with institutional rules provide prudent, rational, and legitimate accounts” and these norms concerning how organizations “ought” to organize. Changes in the type of language commonly used in the organization would be an indication of the increased influence from structuration of the field. For example, the mission statement of an organization is part of its “vocabulary of structure”. Evidence of the increased structuration of the field may be seen when an organizations are “pressured” to adopt a mission statement similar to others in their field, thus giving notice of their “accommodation” and conformity to the accepted practices of the organizational field. Evidence of the increased structuration of an organizational field may be observed by: 1) assessing the composition of board of directors; 2) the type of vocabulary used by the board of directors of the organization; 3) the number of formal contacts and type of interaction with other members in the field, such as, participation in conferences or membership in trade and professional associations.

Despite the attempts to research and define organizational fields, only a few of the many distinct organizational fields have been defined. Scott (2001) is mapping the organizational field of medical services and DiMaggio (1991) looked at the field of art museums. Organizations and

their field may change and transform over time through the adaptation or accommodation to changing conditions. That the “key task of the institutional analyst is to specify these fields and to show how they shape and constrain the pattern of development operating within a particular field” (Brint and Karabel, 1991:346).

Classical and Modern Theories of Organizational Change: Challenges to Authority and Legitimacy Contests

As described by Weber, there are different motivations to change the authority or structure within an organization: “Rulers are constantly tempted to transgress the built-in limitations of their power, and so under every system of domination men tend to change the system in the course of pursuing their material and ideal interests” (Bendix, 1960:300). Organizations will be generally stable until the interests of leaders, managers, or those in command need to look to other forms of authority in order to secure their legitimacy. To understand authority and its transformation, it is necessary to look at those critical junctures or turning points, when authority and structures are being questioned. It is at these times that the taken for granted authority is revealed and the innocent garb become clear. For example, the power of charisma may be best observed as it begins to wane, or when that power is challenged by another charismatic with a closer connection to the divine. As for the changes to structure, the problems may be best observed when there is a major failure of the administration to provide for the needs of the members, and the old form of operations are being replaced by the new, more adapted versions.

In the case of the Tennessee Valley authority, Selznick argues the original mission and grass-roots involvement of members was “co-opted” by powerful local interests, i.e., agricultural bureaucrats, business and political leaders and from major national interests, i.e., U.S.

Department of Agriculture and the Farm Bureau. These professional and bureaucrats accomplished this by strategically “planting” their representatives within the TVA, thus the once “grass-roots” organization was subverted the intended mission to help poor farmers to get aid and redirected the goals to one that benefited business and government interests.

Institutional theories also consider power as influencing organizational structures, in that, an organization with its authority being questioned or that is experiencing environmental uncertainty as to the legitimacy of its structure may seek “ceremonial awards...endorsements from important people, the opinions of professional and consultants, and prestige of programs and personnel” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977:51). By adopting accepted vocabularies of structure, some members can defend challenges to their legitimacy. Illegitimacy has consequences, in that, “organizations that omit environmentally legitimated elements of structure or create unique structures lack acceptable legitimated accounts of their activities. Such organizations are more vulnerable to claim that they are negligent, irrational or unnecessary.” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977:50) The cost of illegitimacy is real. An organization must find means to maintain their public image and uphold the position in their organizational field.

Salancik and Pfeffer (1974) argue the power of internal participants will increase if they solidify their position through successful performances based on the ceremonial criteria seen as worthy to external constituents, independent of their real value to the organization as a whole. For example, the legal incorporation of the organization or the acquisition of non-profit tax status may provide the needed and timely justification to prevent questioning of the legitimacy of the administration.

Brint and Karabel (1991) would suggest that the structure of an organization is a “result of the power of dominant professional elites to disseminate a single normative standard, the

natural tendency of administrators to emulate apparently successful forms, and the power of the state to enforce conformity” (Brint and Karabel, 1991).

Empirical Research on Challenges to Authority and Legitimacy Contests

Much of the research on organizations looks at authority in its most stable forms, while Swidler suggests that beliefs in authority can be “challenged”. Swidler argues that: “if a command is given but not obeyed, the whole edifice of authority begins to crumble” (Swidler, 1979:16). In those cases where there is a loss of authority or when new sources of authority are willingly sought due to uncertainty, an organization’s members may seek to “borrow” the beliefs in authority and types of administrative structures from other sources. Thus, organizational change may best be observed at the critical junctures in the course of development of the organization, such as, in times of crisis or the loss of legitimacy resulting from a succession of leadership. Gouldner (1954) observed and documented the how the succession of the manager of an industrial organization led to the transformation of a organization with traditional administrative practices to one based on rational bureaucratic principles. Zald and Berger (1978?) suggest changes in organizational leadership are apparently not a smooth process, and the routinization of the charismatic authority of founder may be subject to battles, struggles, or even a “coup d’ etat” that may result in “unexpected succession” or failed adaptation.

These battles and struggle, what may be called legitimacy contests, are those situations where organizational actors are not competing for material resources, but for the legitimacy provided by external sources, thus, becoming isomorphic to their environment. As suggested by Gouldner (1954), the institutions and organizations have seldom “developed and operated without the intervention of interested groups...which have different degrees of power” and choice of organizational structure is the result of the “outcome of a contest between those who

want it and those who don't" Gouldner (1954:27, 237). DiMaggio expanded on these ideas by seeing "institutionalization as a *process* [that] is profoundly political and reflects the relative power of organized interests and actors who mobilize them" (DiMaggio, 1988:12). In the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), Selznick (1966) argues the original mission and grass-roots involvement of local members was "co-opted" by powerful local interests, (i.e., agricultural bureaucrats, business and political leaders) and by major national interests (i.e., U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Farm Bureau). These professional and bureaucrats accomplished this by strategically planting their representatives within the TVA. Thus the once "grass-roots" organization was distracted from the intended mission to help poor farmers to get aid and redirected the goals to one that benefited business and government interests.

Another studying the change in authority was Gouldner's (1954) research titled *Patterns of an Industrial Bureaucracy*. In this case study of the changes in authority of a gypsum factory, study, he discussed the succession of Old Doug and his form of traditional bureaucracy as it is replaced by a more efficient manager attempting to install a more rational bureaucratic structure for plant operation. Authority and its structure can be used as an instrument of power as status groups or coalitions of authority struggling over the distribution and appropriation of the power in the organization. As Gouldner recognized, organizational structures are often the "outcomes of a contest between those who want it (power) and those who do not." (Gouldner, 1954)

DiMaggio expanded on these ideas and he argues that "institutionalization as a *process* is profoundly political and reflects the relative power of organized interests and actors who mobilize them" (DiMaggio, 1988:12). More recently, Brint and Karabel expressed an additional factor that is important to the argument of those factors causing change. They suggest that organizational structure is a consequence of political competition and to account for that change:

“A comprehensive institutional model of change thus must take into account both the pursuit of organizational interests and the role of group struggle in shaping organizational structures and policies” (Brint and Karabel, 1991:356). Organizations are not monolithic or mono-structures, but composed of politically motivated coalitions of authority attempting to legitimate their version of structure and align the trajectory of the organization with the prevailing interests in the organizational field. Their research “focuses on the power structures and opportunity field in the larger society that shape organizational possibilities and on the efforts of organizational elites to take advantage of the environment to further their own interests as well as the organizations” (Brint and Karabel, 1991:345).

Brint and Karabel emphasize the connection between the environment of organization and those with power in an organization. To observe where the authority originates, the focus needs to be on the beliefs and activities of those with the ability to define the interests of the organization, which in most cases are those administrators and professionals who have a greater stake in maintenance of the operations (Brint and Karabel, 1991). Changes in organizational structures are made by those with an eye for the opportunities in their field. “Organizational elites” recognize the possibilities available and can “take advantage of the environment to further their own interests as well as the organizations” (Brint and Karabel, 1996:345)

Brint and Karabel (1991) discuss how organizational field may involve “arenas of power relations, with some actors—generally, those possessing superior material and/or symbolic resources—occupying more advantaged positions than others”, and these “command post” or power centers of the field, which in their study were four year colleges, have a position of structural dominance within a field, where in the case of two year schools, they “persistently shaped its trajectory of development (Brint and Karabel, 1996:355). Thus, in addition to goals,

mission, and member relations, Brint and Karabel would suggest not only exploring increase structuration of a field, but focus on the power centers which shaped or influence the direction an organization will pursue, in the quest for legitimacy.

Claims of legitimacy must be defended, whether by charismatic contests (Geertz, 1983) or traditional rituals, economic competition, or bureaucratic battles, or through social formation of authority (Bryman, 1992) or through cultural performances as described by Trice and Beyer (1984, 1985).

Weber's Model of the Three Types of Legitimate Authority

The conceptualization of authority and measurements of an organization's administrative apparatus poses a problem for researchers. Although it is a vital component and has a necessary function of a most organizations, to assess the differences between the purely theoretical notion of authority and empirical reality of authority existing in actual historical cases—one needs some means or method to compare different organizations and/or the same organization over time. Often called “yardstick,” Weber proposed using the “ideal type” as both a methodological tool and a classificatory scheme to delineate the various types. Weber's constructed his model of the ideal types of authority to compare the presence of and variation in particular kinds of power and their administrative structures of organizations. An ideal type is set of standardized criteria by which organizations are compared and it is used to assess how far each type may vary within and between the categories type, rather than simply comparing one organization to another organization.

According to Kahlberg (1996), researchers fail to utilize Weber's typology in the way he intended if they compare any organization to only one of the three ideal types, or create a new ideal type when the characteristics seem to vary from his types. The term “ideal types” is often

translated to mean a “pure” type of authority, thus, implying that an organization will have corresponding or congruent elements of authority and structure, i.e., a rational set of beliefs will subsequently have a bureaucratic form of administrative structure. However, Weber also recognized and discussed that there are the less than “pure” types of authority. In those cases, there are “mixtures, combinations, modifications, or adaptation” of authority that may exist, although, Weber’s original typology of authority, and the others who have since used it as the basis for their assessments of authority, have not found adequate means of displaying or distinguishing these differences.

However, Weber’s simple typology may also be extended to explicate his theory on what happens to authority over time, and what conditions or forces may direct and shape the degree and direction of changes in authority. Thus, Weber’s study of authority includes a model for trajectory of authority- the path of authority and administrative structures over time. This model is has received less discussion than his typology, but can be found in Turner. It is the theoretical model on which I base my own revised model of ideal trajectory.

In creating the revised model of authority and structure as well as the revised model of ideal trajectory, I borrow and utilize Weber’s classification system for authority types. Although, I expand his model of legitimate authority types to account organizational cases where there are “mixtures and combinations” of varying degrees of authority beliefs and administrative structures. The utility of this expanded typological model of authority is that actual organizations can be cross-classified by the types of authority beliefs and by the types of administrative structures, as well as maintaining the distinctive notions of the more “pure types” of authority, as found in Weber’s original model.

A Revised Model of the Ideal and Mixed Authority Types

To ascertain the types of authority beliefs and structure present at specific times in AA's and NA's organizational histories, Weber's original classification of the ideal types of authority beliefs must be improved, while still maintaining the integrity of his method and the distinctive features and utility of his model for the classification of different types of authority. To accomplish this goal, I cross-classify the three types of authority with each of the three types of structural arrangements of organizations; thus, there are two axis to assess authority systems--one for beliefs and ideology , i.e., the culture of authority and one for the administrative apparatus, i.e., the structures of authority. In Weber's ideal types classification of the authority, the emphasis was on the "pure types," for example, when the authority of charismatic leaders and their cultures were carefully aligned and congruent with a corresponding simple type of charismatic administrative structure.

However, subsequent research on types of authority have overlooked that Weber also observed historical conditions and actual empirical cases where charismatic authority could be combined or mixed with bureaucratic administrative "apparatus." Examples of the "combinations and mixtures" of authority include a type of institutionalized charisma, which he saw present in the early development of Catholic Church, or those initially charismatic based forms of authority that evolved into patrimonial structures called familial charisma (Weber, 1968).

In the re-formulation of Weber's ideal typology of the three legitimate forms of authority, these less "pure" types of authority can be categorized, which allows a more "fine-grained" comparison of those organizations that may exist outside of or on the borders of the three specific types of authority, as originally proposed by Weber (1968). In the Revised Model of

Authority Types, the characteristics of organizations are cross-classified on two dimensions: by the type of beliefs that legitimate the authority and by the type of administrative structure. For example, an organization may have been founded on the charismatic beliefs professed by an equally charismatic leader, though its also operate with a highly bureaucratized administrative structures. The Revised Model of Authority proposed in this study can differentiate between organizations that may display charismatic beliefs and traditional structures from those organizations with traditional beliefs and a charismatic structures-- a distinction unable to be made with Weber's single dimension typology. In prior studies, these exceptional and alternative organizations to Weber's types are announced as new types that exist outside his original formulation (Biggart, 1989; Swidler, 1979; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). The revised typology allows a better application of Weber's ideas on authority and helps to understand those organizations with "modified, adapted, or mixed" forms of authority, a distinction Weber initially recognized, but did not account for in his typology of authority.

Adapting Weber's Model of the Transformation of Authority:

In this study, the concept of an "ideal trajectory" of authority will be defined and developed. Weber's study of organizations used the "ideal types" method of analysis to measure and compare empirical cases of authority to a standard point of reference—the ideal type. In a similar vein, the concept of "ideal trajectory" is used as a "yardstick" to trace empirical cases of organizational development against Weber's predicted path of rational organizational development.

The term of trajectory has briefly appeared in previous literature but is underdeveloped as a concept useful to describe the different directions and stages an organization may take over

time. The term of trajectory has been used to describe the route of formalization or the “trajectory of institutionalization” that Robbins (1988) found occurring in religious organizations. The term is used by DiMaggio in a discussion describing the intentional and directive processes setting organizations and organizational fields “upon trajectories that eventually appear as ‘natural developments’ (DiMaggio, 1988:268). In a discussion on how researchers can “trace” the transformation of the medical care services sector, Scott (1993) used the term of “trajectories of development” to describe the major trends occurring over the last fifty years.

The idea of a trajectory of authority is conducive with and parallels the work of Weber’s colleague Ernst Troeltsch, who originally conceived the idea of a “cult-sect-denomination” stage model of development occurring within religious organizations. The concept of a “trajectory” of authority may illustrate and better translate Weber’s actual ideas of the processes, changes, and/or movement from one type of authority to another, either through transfer of authority or the transformation of structures. Weber saw the directional trend and development of authority was simple: “charisma becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both” (Weber, 1947:364). Based on this idea, it could be argued that Weber’s theory of rationalization would require the ideal “trajectory” of authority will follow the path of charisma, tradition, and ultimately, all organizations end up as rational organizations. However, Weber recognized there were mixtures and combinations of authority and he was adamant that the development of authority was not always smooth or linear.

Based on and utilizing Weber’s typology of ideal types, the concept of an “ideal” trajectory of organizational development is a conceptual tool that helps to compare the speed, sequences, and direction of the movement through the “stages of authority” while allowing for

an investigation into those factors that change the direction of the path over time. A study of the trajectory of authority, rather than only a descriptive accounting of the types, requires a longitudinal study--one that examines and illustrates those defining moments, critical junctures or turning points across the lifespan of an organization, while accounting for the influence of the institutional environment to set the course or set up obstacles that may detour the organization along its distinctive path.

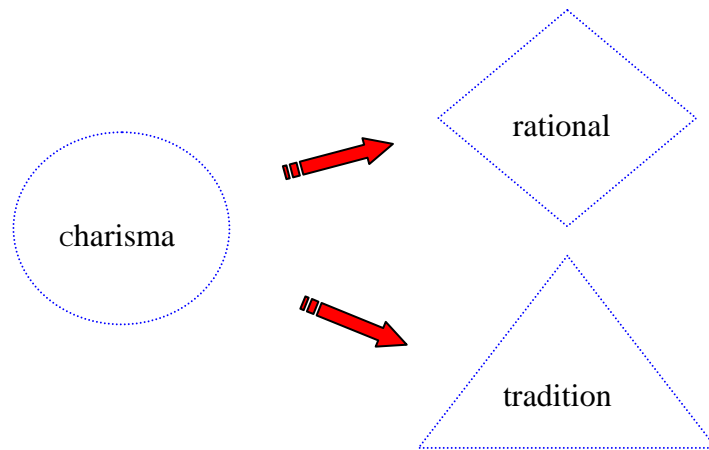


Figure 2.1: Weber's Model of the Transformation of Authority

In Figure 2.1, Weber's view of the change in organizational structures is presented, based on a model described by Turner and Beeghley (1981). In the above model, charismatic authority has must become either a traditional or rational form of authority, or, as Weber concluded, a mixture of both.

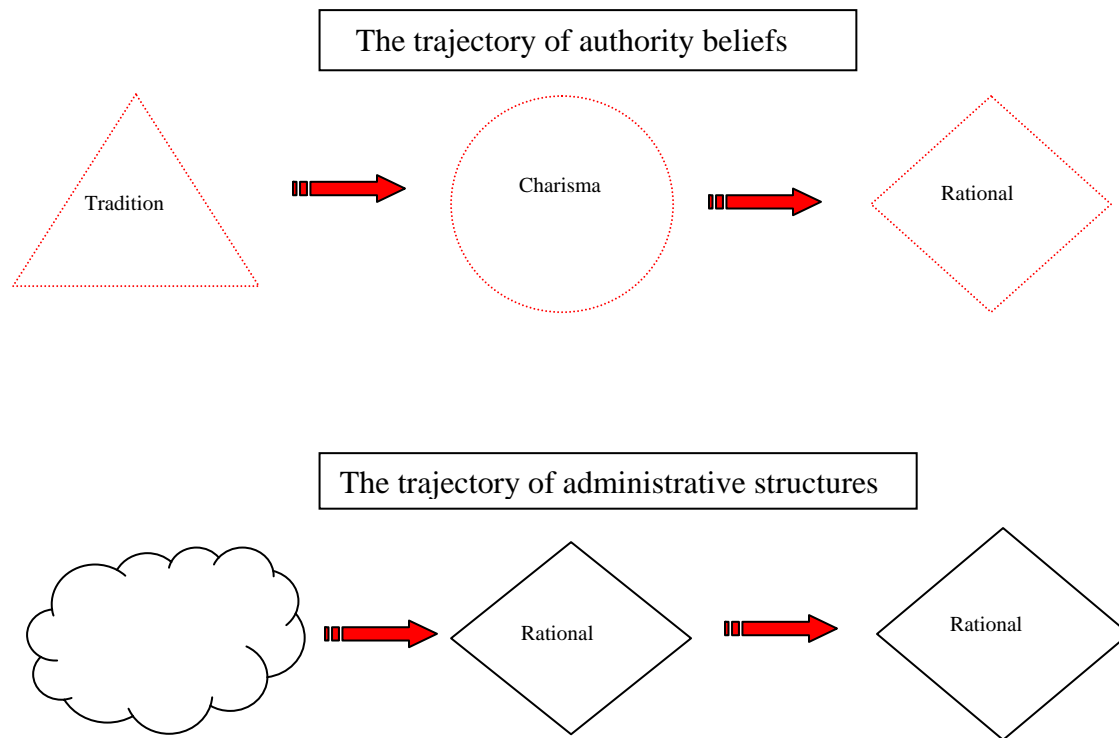


Figure 2.2: Adapted Model of the Trajectory and Transformation of Authority and Structure

In the above depiction of the evolution of organizational structures, the Adapted Model proposed for this study illustrates how the type of authority and the type of administrative structures may have independent paths or “trajectories” in the path of their development over time. This observation will allow a more accurate analysis of each component of organizational structure. In addition, the Adapted model is a tool to assess whether an organization will become rational in both beliefs and in administration, as predicted by Weber (1968).

Background: Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA)

Studies of the alcoholic and AA are extensive, including over 3,000 professional articles, books, and monographs addressing some aspect of AA and the Twelve Step program of recovery (White, 1998). The majority of research takes ethnographical approaches and studies individual behavior and group activities, as first conducted by Rudy in 1986 or takes a descriptive view to provide detailed biographical or autobiographical accounts of the origins of AA (Kurtz; 1979/91; Gellman, 1964; Roman, 1970; Room, 1993). Described as an “organized anarchy,” and espoused as a miracle of management, past researchers have extolled the virtues of the AA’s simple organizational principles, structural innovation, and immunity from environmental pressures (Room, 1993; Makela, 1996; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). Though AA, like other “faith-based” organizations, began as a small, unstable charismatic community, it has outlived the triumphs and failures of its “gifted” co-founder, and as some would believe, successfully evolved without developing hierarchical, oligarchic, and bureaucratic organizational structures (Makela, 1996; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996; Room, 1993).

Based on the single case of AA, researchers have concluded that a non-bureaucratic type of organization can exist. The “uniqueness” of AA as an organizational type has left researchers the hope of finding a viable and reproducible alternative form of organization that stands in opposition to Weber’s model of bureaucratic organizations. But, even if AA were proven to be exist as an exception to Weber’s model of authority, those findings could not necessarily be generalized to other cases of organizational structure and development. However, there is a noticeable lack of research into the organizational aspects of AA, both as a group and organization level. The most complete organizational analysis of AA was done by Gellman (1964), but research since that time has not explored how AA has changed since the 1960s.

Thus, the research on AA is not taking advantage of or utilizing the more current theories and methodology used in the field of organizational studies.

Although, Makela (1996) and Bufe (1998) have found almost one hundred other organizations that have adopted AA's Twelve Steps as their guiding principles, surprising, very little sociological attention is directed at studying the origins and development of other organizations that attempt to imitate the AA ideology and structure. One such organization that is notably visible, Narcotics Anonymous (NA), began practicing the beliefs associated with the AA model for recovery, but has been the topic of interest in only a handful of published articles. NA is only one of the many 12 step based organizations adopting the core beliefs found in the Steps, but researchers have overlooked the value of exploring how the AA model of authority and structure has been successfully used by NA members as an archetype for their organizational structure and as a guide to their development and survival in a emerging and turbulent environment of "recovery services organizations."

To most researchers, AA and NA are interchangeable, since "organizational structure, meeting formats, literature formats, sponsorship rituals, and even slogans are similar between the two fellowships" (White, 1998). On a superficial level, AA and NA may appear as mirror images. Yet, each of the organizations had their identity shaped by differing coalitions of actors and agents attempting to respond to varying institutional and environmental pressures. Further, each of the organizations was guided by two different groups of enterprising and often competing coalitions of individuals attempting to gain legitimacy and positions of power. Despite their differences, according to Weber (1968), NA and AA, can both be classified within his typology of legitimate authority and they are both subject to internal and external forces and the inherent nature of bureaucratic tendencies. Regardless of the differing characteristics of the

founding members and the differences in initial type of authority and structures, NA and AA, following Weberian logic, should have become more rationalized in beliefs and increasingly bureaucratized in structure over time.

Only recently have researchers studied AA as something other than a program of recovery, such as, the Makela, et al, (1996) study of AA as a mutual-help social movement. The most recent investigation of AA as an organization was the cursory study by Seabright and Delacroix (1996) who concluded that AA was a post-bureaucratic organization, though they based their conclusions by using AA's formalized (and mythologized) beliefs as their main source of data, while neglecting to provide a longitudinal analysis that might have contradicted their assertions.

The application of the more recent advancements in organizational theory, such as population ecology (Hannan and Freeman, 1977), field structuration (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), power theories (Pfeffer, 1981; Perrow, 1963, 1986), or institutional analysis (Scott, 1991) have not spread to the studies of AA or NA. The organizational structures of AA and its spin-off organization of NA could provide useful empirical data and unique research opportunities to study the possibility of post-bureaucratic exceptions to Weber's theory of rationalization. The ability to investigate and provide explanations for organizations that have broken Michel's iron law of oligarchy and are absent of power struggles, while also avoiding the influence of their institutional environment and organizational conformity would be an important contribution to organizational theory.

From a review of the literature, I identify two basic areas neglected in the previous studies of AA and their unique type of authority. The first issue is methodological and involves defining the appropriate level of analysis to study AA and NA. Driven by the most convenient

methodology and data collection techniques available at the time, the AA meeting was an ideal ethnographic opportunity to observe the alcoholic members and their emerging subculture. Inadvertently, the focus of research emphasized the characteristics and the conversion of the alcoholic rather than the origins and the development of organization. Efforts to aggregate the experiences of individual members and move beyond the group level of analysis have resulted in classifying AA as a mutual-help group and/or a social movement (Makela, 1996). Recently, students of social movements have recognized the need to separate the actions of social movements from the behaviors of social movement organizations (SMO). Students of social movements explore the mutually re-enforcing relationship between social movements and the organizations supporting them (Zald and Ash, 1966; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). While these innovations in the approach to research on social movements are now a common practice, the research on AA or NA has not included a consideration for the influence of the environment and the affects of inter-organizational relationships by those who study the organization of AA.

I argue that the conditions affecting the origin and development of AA as an organization (although related) should be analyzed separately from the emergence and growth of the broader 12-step social movement or as a program of recovery for individuals. More importantly, they should be analyzed separately from the wider field encompassing recovery related services associated with recovery from alcohol and drug dependence.

Since its inception in 1935, to some degree or in some combination, AA has functioned and “morphed” itself under multiple identities, i.e., fellowship, support group, social club, non-profit foundation, voluntary association, corporate publishing enterprise, social movement organization, and/or institution. Therefore, it is necessary to move beyond descriptions and analysis of AA as simply an “organized anarchy” of local members that are part of a larger,

emerging social movement and move to explore the external pressures and internal processes that have contributed to the creation, maintenance, and transformations of the formal organization of AA.

A second gap in the research on AA involves the critical assessment and analysis of the types of authority and power within the organization. Research on AA have based their conclusion on observations the less organized and less complex level of local group activities, thus omitting the more “bureaucratic” behavior of the organization at its more structured and formal levels. The research neglected to observe and consider the organizational behavior in the central headquarters of the organization and failed to draw meaning or see the importance of this higher level of organization.

Another oversight of past research is that the prescriptions for authority, as found in the principles of the Steps and Traditions of AA were the focus of analysis, rather than on actual behaviors of those in authority (Scott, 1987:16). Using Steps or Traditions as data is misleading, because it uses “values to predict action” and there exists a “sizable gulf” between professed beliefs and actual behavior (Scott, 1987:16). The Twelve Traditions were not only taken at face value by researchers; they were also adopted as a model of organizational strategies that provided a “clear path” through problems presented to any growing organization (Room, 1993).

Based on the rhetoric of the Twelve Traditions, many have considered AA as a perfect example of a post-bureaucratic, minimalist organization (Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). Indeed, if the organization had followed the Twelve Traditions, persisted without developing any type of functioning bureaucratic administrative apparatus for all these years, it would have been more than deserving of its presentation by some as an organization exempt from the typical

developmental problems or “natural laws” confronting other social movements or organizations and as one of few organizations to have broken “Michel’s iron law of oligarchy” (Room, 1993).

The third mistake made by researchers was imagining AA as existing in a “suspended state” of organizational development, without any major transformation to the more rational forms of authority and without major changes in its organization structure, despite the problems arising from continued growth in the organization and the increasing complexity of its institutional environment. More important to my research is that AA is seen by other analysts to exist in a vacuum or closed system, where it is unaffected by the institutional environment and interactions of other organizations within its field, networks, or the treatment services industry.

These lapses in research judgment are troubling, but perhaps understandable. It is possible that interest in the uniqueness of AA as a organization and the desire to find an organization which would disprove Weber’s theory may have overcome the objectivity of prior researchers, hindering their ability to assess critically the actual nature of the AA organization. Just as “going native” is an occupational hazard for anthropologists, Selznick warned that those studying organizations of any type can become too subjective and less critical after having “gazed at the devil with fascinated eyes” (Perrow, 1986).

An alternative explanation is offered by Weber’s theories; any authority can be disguised, and the presence of bureaucratic characteristics may be overshadowed by the “rational myths” made by members about the unique characteristics of their organization. Kingsley Davis’ observations help to understand the two sides to organizational analysis: “in human society there is what may be called a double reality--on the one hand a normative system embodying what *ought* to be, and on the other a factual order embodying *what is*...these two orders cannot be completely identical, nor can they be completely disparate” (Davis, 1949:52). Scott (1987), also makes the distinction between the normative structure, i.e., the values, norms and role expectations, those situations that Davis describes as the “factual order,” and the behavioral

structure, which are those “activities, interactions, and sentiments” (Homans, 1950:33-40, Scott, 1987: 22). Though both sides of the structure are important, it is crucial that research of alternative type of organizations does not mistake the perceived values of an authority type from the actual activities, practices, and justification of those claiming the right to have legitimate power.

One notable exception to the research on change among charismatic organizations is a study conducted by Trice and Beyer (1986), which compared different changes, problems, and outcomes of two organizations moving from a personal and charismatic type of authority to a type of that was based on rationalized types of beliefs and more routine practices. In their study, they argue that the success of AA is based upon the charisma of their founder, Bill W., and they contrasted the case of Marty Mann, also seen as a charismatic leader, but one who failed to “routinize” her charisma because her administrative “apparatus,” the National Council of Alcoholism, was unable to maintain the force of her personal authority though they did create a highly functioning and effective administration. .

In my case studies of AA and NA, I will not only look at the beliefs as stated by members but focus on the activities of those directing the execution of those beliefs and the institutional forces influencing the direction the organizational change.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

The methodology used for this study is inductive. Drawing on a wealth of data on AA and NA, including the official publications and legal documents of the organizations and unpublished documents and accounts, I chronologically organized the data for each organization to assess the type and degree of change in authority beliefs and administrative structures over time. To understand these two organizations with unique characteristics and distinctive structures, the research focused on the acts of agents, the emerging historical conditions, and even those accidental events which may affecting an organization, thus this researcher will follow those previous studies using a method that “stresses interpretation” (Clark, 1970: viii).

While my collection of data and analysis focused on both NA and AA, there is a very abundant descriptive and historical literature on AA that is publicly available. The details in both the descriptive and research literature on AA have accumulated to the point that new materials seem to focus on increasingly minute questions, examples being how Bill Wilson was able to pay his hotel bill in Akron when he was supposedly completely broke and alone, or who exactly was the first woman member of AA. In very sharp contrast, very little about NA is available to the public. Studying NA largely requires searching and “digging” well beyond a Google search or a review of research databases. By necessity, my data collection activities were heavily focused on gathering organizational document and reviewing the few available published accounts of NA’s origins and development as an organization.

My research design entailed collecting data using the following three methods: 1) Archival data searches; 2) Literature reviews; and 3) Field observations as a non-participant observer. In the following paragraphs, the three methods of collecting data are discussed.

Archival data was gathered from a number of sources. Published and unpublished sources were utilized, including both recent and historical documents. One primary source of documentation was found via the Internet. NA World Services (NAWS) has a website that post conference reports, newsletters, and membership statistics. These downloaded documents were previously unavailable through normal channels. Through the Internet, I have also found several archives or repositories located in the U.S. One of these archives posts documents on their website and became a useful resource for documents and opinions not available on the official AA and NA websites. In addition, anonymous members of NA have posted numerous documents related to the history of NA, including their own accounts of the history of NA and AA found in unpublished documents and from previously published articles, such as the Saturday Evening Post article written by Jerome Ellison in 1954. Data collected from the various Internet sources and from my secondary analysis of organizational histories provided detailed information on the more recent corporate business practices and furthered my knowledge of leadership accession and succession within NA and AA.

I planned on-site searches of archival and historical documents at corporate offices of NA and AA. In planning my request to visit the archival data at the NA's World Service Offices in Woodland Hills, California, I developed a preliminary list of documents pertaining to my research topics to search at the archives and I began a regular dialogue with officials at NA's World Service Office (WSO) informing them of my interest to collect data for my dissertation. After numerous inquiries on the requirements for access to historical documents, the management of NA stated they were unable to approve any request, citing tight budgetary conditions, the strains of their structural transition, and the inability to provide resources as the

reason for having to prevent access. George H., Co-Executive Director of the World Services, suggested the NA Board would be more willing to review requests and provide cooperation with researchers after the main offices of World Services were relocated in 1999.

In December of 1999, I renewed my contacts and conversations with NA management and submitted a formal request to the NA World Services Office for their cooperation. After numerous e-mails and phone conversations about my research intentions, Anthony E., Co-Executive Director of the World Service, suggested I submit a formal request to the World Board to collect data located at the World Service Offices, in Woodland Hills, CA. On April 6, 2000, I faxed a copy of my request for NA's cooperation in my research to Michael W., the Chairman of the Executive Committee of Narcotics Anonymous World Board. The letter asked the World Board to assist my research in the following ways: 1) access to personally visit their archives and gather historical data; 2) an opportunity to visit the NA offices; 3) informal interviews with administrative staff to discuss recent structural changes in NA; 4) attendance at the 25th World Service Conference April 30-May 5, 2000; 5) attend the NA History Workshop on April 29, 2000. I was informed by letter that the NA Archives were being catalogued and inventoried, and that the World Board, despite my repeated requests, had decided to restrict all access to the archives, although, they were willing to provide at no cost copies of various organizational documents.

In spite of being denied access to their archives, the management of NA would allow me to attend the 2000 World Services Conference of NA, to be held in Woodland Hills, CA. This concession would prove to be invaluable, since the conference would be a crucial turning point in NA's development. It was slated to be the first Conference since the merger of NA and the members would be asked to ratify major changes to the organizational structure of NA. I was able to obtain much of the information I sought through online archives. One archive regularly posts historical documents on their web site and has become a useful resource for documents

containing data not available on the AA and NA web sites. Both the NA and AA organizations have web sites and from those sites I gleaned conference reports, newsletters, and membership statistics.

A crucial source of previously un-obtainable or limited access documents are the Annual Reports of the Narcotics Anonymous World Services, Incorporated. These formal reports provided comprehensive data from 1996-2002 on all aspects of the organization and its activities, including the accumulated data on the World Service Office (WSO) of Narcotics Anonymous, the non-profit corporate entity. Legally incorporated in 1976, the WSO is the administrative branch of NA, and was created to provide services for its members, including literature publication and communication to further the message of the fellowship of recovery addicts collectively known as Narcotics Anonymous.

Few records detailing the earliest activities of the “office” during the 1950-1960s still exist. Many recollections of the activities were passed along through as “oral” accounts. The WSO produced its first formal accounting of its financial and service activities in November 1976. Similarly, in 1976, the World Service Conference (WSC) was created as the representative body of NA, and the WSC’s activities are compiled in a variety of forms, with the most comprehensive being the Conference Agenda Reports (CAR) which informs the fellowship and conference participants of the motions to be considered and record of decisions made during their annual meetings.

In addition to these organizational documents, NA published its own historical account, in 1998, with *Miracles Happen: the Birth of Narcotics Anonymous in Words and Pictures*. Written without the knowledge of the voting members of the WSC and unapproved by the Conference, this publication, produced by the World Service Office, was professionally written based on the material found in the archives of NA. In the Preface, the authors state the book is not intended to be a comprehensive or “official” history , instead, it is a “a kind of NA

scrapbook, like a collection of old photos, letters, and picture postcards,” and is thus a valuable collection of primary sources of previously unpublished of the documenting the activities of those founding members. These “keepsakes” and mementos such as pictures of the first locations of meetings, reproductions of early organizing documents, and the historical narration of these items make this a valuable source to corroborated data from other sources. The historical summary has visual depictions of the primary source documents from NA’s earliest history, and though access to the archive for this study was denied to the researcher, *Miracles Happens* provides a substitute source of archival data.

In the data collection, primary sources previously unavailable to researchers were collected as well as secondary sources. These “original” documents proved an important resource of data detailing the formative and critical stages of change for the organization. In 1997, Bob Stone, the ex-Executive Directors of NA World Service Office wrote a history of NA from 1947-1990, which included his autobiographical accounts of his activities for the organization. In his writing of *My Years in Narcotics Anonymous* (1997), Stone had unlimited access to the historical archives of NA, and cited from primary sources on meetings activities, inter-office memos, and other internal organizational documents. Also, Stone’s historical account is not only a useful source of data, but it is also an eyewitness account of actors, activities, and conditions affecting the growth of the administrative branch of NA. Stone recounts his role in 1976 as parliamentarian for the World Service Conference and his selection to replace the founder as Office Manager in 1983.

Stone was the first paid, outside administrative employee of NA, and he would be eventually promoted to Executive Director of the World Service Office. Stone was a confidant to early members of NA, a consultant to the World Service Boards of Trustees, and the brains behind the World Services Board of Directors. Stone’s writing of his 14 years of being involved at the highest levels of NA gives insight into his and other organizational actors influence on the

development of the administrative aspects of NA and the direction of the organization and fellowship as a whole.

Two other biographical sources, both formally unpublished, were utilized for this research. Bo S., the driving force behind the writing of the Basic Text of NA and a Board of Trustee member in the early 1980's has consistently produced of literature about NA. Bo's historical account in *The Story of the Basic Text*, (1990) details his own activities during the "charismatic" stage of NA's history which radically re-shaped the direction and development of NA. The document is a daily diary of Bo's his first hand accounts of events from 1977-1982, including, his first meeting in 1977 with Jimmy K., the founder of NA, and his appointment to be Chairman of the Literature Committee. In this narrative account, Bo S. describes the "insurgent" movement in NA that developed to produce a book and the subsequent activities of the vocal "standing opposition" within the WSC that challenged the authority of the WSC and became a moral conscience questioning the goals, structure, power, activities and direction of the WSO.

A second book with historical information on NA was begun by Bo. S. in 1991, and is available as presentation copy in 1999. In the *N.A. Way of Life*, Bo S. and the other anonymous contributing authors discuss wide variety of topics, including, the Steps, Traditions, and a set of principles, not found in official publications, that describes when and how NA works. Of importance for this study, is the section discussing Bo's accumulated knowledge of the history and origins of NA. In *N.A. Way of Life*, the recollections are personal and often, critical accounts of the activities of NA members and the WSO, and along with the empirical data on the history of NA, Bo S. provides a "thick description" of the critical events in the transformation of NA. Although some questions may be raised as to the veracity of these autobiographical accounts, these unpublished and unapproved data sources often provide a unique insight into the working of the organizations, as they are often unfiltered and critical account of the actions of the World

Service Offices, and would not typically be found in official documents produced by the World Service Office.

In particular, the *N.A. Way of Life* recounts the legal battle between the WSO and a member of NA who was sued over his publication of the Basic Text in defiance of the copyright. This data describing and actual “challenge” to the authority of NA’s WSO is treated much differently in official documents produced by NA formal organization, thus, the information provides both sides of the story, not possible by reliance on one “official” source of data.

Also useful in my research was the *NA Way Magazine*, the “International Journal” of the fellowship of NA, this magazine to serve as a means of communication between members of the fellowship on everyday issues related to recovery and service. A related source of information is the Narcotics Anonymous World Services (NAWS) News, a separate corporate newsletter. Published quarterly since 1999, the World Board of NAWS uses this publication to informally communicate their activities to the fellowship at large. Review of the NAWS News for this study provided unique view into the account of the activities, challenges, changes, inter-organizational interactions, and environment facing the administrative offices/branch of the NA organization.

The second area of data collection include literature reviews. As seen in the previous chapter, I conducted an extensive review of the literature of organizational theory. In addition, I reviewed the research literature focused on AA, which is extensive, including over 3,000 professional articles, books, and monographs addressing some aspect of AA and the Twelve Step program of recovery (White, 1998). The majority of research takes ethnographical approach and studies individual behavior and group activities, as first conducted by Rudy in 1986. Descriptive views of AA include the detailed biographical or autobiographical accounts of the founders, including: *AA Comes of Age*, *The Big Book*, and others.

However, there is a noticeable lack of research into the organizational aspects of AA, both at the group and organization level. The most complete organizational analysis of AA was

done in 1964 by Gellman, but research since that time has not explored how AA has changed since the 1960s. Only recently have researchers studied AA as something other than a program of recovery such as the Makela, et al, (1996) study of AA as a mutual-help social movement. The most recent investigation of AA as an organization was the cursory study by Seabright and Delacroix (1996) who concluded that AA was a post-bureaucratic organization, though they based their conclusions by using AA's formalized (and mythologized) beliefs as their main source of data, while neglecting to provide a longitudinal analysis that might have contradicted their findings. Thus, the research on AA is not taking advantage of or utilizing the more current theories and methodology used in the field of organizational studies.

3) Field observations. As a non-participant observer, I attended conferences and group-meetings to collect information about the experiences of early NA leaders and members.

On April 29, 2000, as pre-cursor to the World Service Conference of Narcotics Anonymous, I was allowed to observe a one-day History Workshop on NA. At the videotaped workshop, over 15 of the earliest remaining members of NA had been invited to share their remembrances of the origins and growth of NA in California. Audio recording of these discussions were made and I purchased copies for my files. On April 30, 2000, I began my day by attending opening ceremonies of the 25th Anniversary World Service Conference of Narcotics Anonymous in Woodland Hills, CA. This week-long event allowed me to witness the actual "governing" and decision making processes of this international organization, while also proving a unique opportunity to see the administrative branch of the organization in action.

During breaks from the official activities of the NA World Service Conference, I was able to visit the actual location of the first meeting place of Narcotics Anonymous and also attended (as a non-participant observer) five open-discussions 12 Step meetings of NA. Before and after the formal meeting times, I introduced myself as a researcher studying the organizational growth of NA. Numerous members showed an interest in my project, thus

allowing me to establish contact and engage in conversation with a number of current delegates to the World Service Conference and members of the World Board.

A brief summary of my data collection activities during the Conference include: 1) a formal guided tour of the World Service Office and a personal look at the publishing and distribution operations; 2) informal interactions with over five of the current members of the World Board (the Board of Directors of the World Services); 3) an agreement with the Co-Director of World Services Office (WSO) to provide internal organizational documents. At the end of the week long activities, I met with the Co-Executive Director of NAWS, and was provided with the following documents: *Annual Report of Narcotics Anonymous World Services, Inc.*, from 1996-1998, a bound copy of the legal Trust Agreement between NA and its member (regarding trademarks, intellectual property, and conflict resolution within the fellowship); formal final reports from 1995-1997 from the Composite, Transition, and Resolutions Committees proposal to restructure NA; *A Temporary Working Guide to Our World Service Structure*, dated May 1998, which included the proposed “restructured” organizational chart for the World Service System; and a two volume set of the Final Report of NA World Services Inventory conducted in March 1995, including the complete consultant’s assessment of changes needed for NA.

In October 1999, I had initiated contact with one of the key figures of NA History, Bo S. from Atlanta, GA. Bo S. was the main force behind the writing of NA’s Basic Text. Through an Internet search, I located his website and began regular communication through e-mail. In late September, Bo S. agreed to meet during a weekend gathering of NA members called the Tybee Island II, in Savannah, GA. Over a two day period, I had a number of occasions to be a non-participant observer and take notes on his role in the development of NA. In October 2000, I again renewed my contact with Bo S. and he invited me to participate at the Tybee Island III gathering. At this event, Bo S. provided early documents on NA, his latest version of *The Story*

of the Basic Text, and the *NA Way of Life*, and allowed me to take notes during a discussion of his early days of NA, his personal history, and the activities surrounding the publication of the Basic Text. Also discussed were the problems and power struggle among the leadership of AA caused by the dramatic increase in resources to the World Service Office as a result of the publication of the NA Basic Text. These revelations gave a new perspective to the authority relations in NA

As with most case studies, I examine the sequences of events in the development of AA and NA, thus my research required a historical analysis. I use the natural history method as a part of my research design. A natural history is “the account of an evolutionary process” and allows “the career of the phenomenon [to be] ...divided into several periods, each characterized by its own distinctive kind of activities, participants, and dilemmas” (Park, 1955:149). Natural histories are based on sequences of events common to particular cases, whether among persons, social problems, organizations, or institutions. Clark (1960) describes the purpose and benefits of a case study, in that, “This interest entails temporal inquiry. In creating a natural history, a researcher looks back through the organizational history until he or she finds the critical years when the basic present orientation was initiated. For that period we wish to know the conditions under which the orientation was introduced and precisely how it was managed. We then study the ensuing years and decades to discover how the basic orientation, the expression of a certain set of values, became firmly fixed in the workings of the institution.

Finally, if the organization has a further history, we can look for problems of fixed character in a changing environment. This approach to the study of organizational brings us quickly to central organizational problems. To go back to the time of critical change is to approach innovating leaders in the broad sense— influential men who affected the long run nature of the entire organization.” (Clark, 1960: 6) By constructing a historical account documenting

the change in AA and NA over time, I hope to illuminate the factors affecting the transformation between the specific stages in the life-course of an organization.

As we will see, I have analyzed the case studies at the organizational level. However, as suggested by previous research by Perrow (1979), to understand the interactions between an organization and its context, one may benefit by observing the organization from “one level below and one level above” the area of their research interest, thus the structuration of the field in which the activities of NA and AA organizations are discussed. A description of the various organizational forms that have existed over the course of the development of the corporate entity, including, the meeting, groups, regions, conventions, conferences, and service offices will be discussed.

Researchers have called for a longitudinal approach to the study of organization, not just a snapshot of the organization in its most stable stages, but during the critical junctions, disjunction, transitions, or threatened with failure (Selznick, 1947). My research will follow the similar practices of the early institutional theorists and researchers, beginning with Selznick, who was one of the first to argue for studies exploring the processes affecting organizations. The case studies of AA and NA will be concerned with: “what happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization’s own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment” (Selznick, 1957:16-17).

I will describe the separate stages where the claims to direct the organization is based on charismatic, traditional, or rational types of authority. In the case of AA, I trace the origins of authority from a charismatic event where the founder had a spiritual awakening. Next, I describe the transformation of those original beliefs through the “inventing” of AA’s organizational principles, called the Twelve Traditions. Finally, I explore the forces affecting development of AA into a more rational form of authority and a more bureaucratic type of organizational

structure based upon and expressed in the Twelve Concepts of AA Service. I will speculate on the environmental forces influencing the transformation of AA, and the problems and consequences of those changes of the structuration of the organizational field.

I argue that AA was initially affected by its environment at the time of founding, and when threaten with illegitimacy and failure, they founder adapted its beliefs and administrative structures as survival strategies to gain legitimacy, thus becoming more isomorphic to its institutional environment. More importantly, I describe how the AA model for development has been adopted and mimicked by other organizations. I discuss the influence of AA on the “structuration” of the field of treatment services, and the consequences upon other 12 step organizations within their field, such as, Narcotics Anonymous.

To further this goal of understanding the environmental conditions affecting the transformations of organizations, I introduce the case of Narcotics Anonymous (NA), an organization closely modeled on the beliefs and structures found in AA, but having experienced differing external conditions and internal challenges. AA and NA are unique cases for study because they have similar goals, and exist in the same industry, societal sector, organizational field, and institutional environment. More importantly, the case of NA allows the examination of another organization “bounded” by the same three basic sets of beliefs—The Twelve Steps, Twelve Traditions, and Twelve Concepts. As such, those beliefs can be held as the constant in the analysis since the three sets of beliefs will vary little over time, thus allowing for closer examination of the administrative “apparatus” and how it may be influenced by isomorphic pressures of the environment and through changes in the organizational field. These two similar, yet separate organizations provide a unique case for comparative analysis of the forces affecting organizational change. They may share the same set of core beliefs by which they can legitimate or validate their authority, yet, they had different actors contesting the type of structural arrangements upon which to base their organization.

CHAPTER 4

A CASE STUDY OF ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS

Three main questions guide this case study of AA. First, what type of authority--bureaucratic, traditional, or charismatic--is present and defines AA at the different stages of their organizational development? To answer the question, the determination of authority type is assessed by observing the organizational characteristics and analyzing the authority accounts, i.e., those justifications used by organizational actors to legitimate their right to authority. Secondly, what type of administrative arrangement is present in AA? The administrative forms invented or borrowed by AA's organizational actors are described and assessed by the organizational characteristic and the "vocabularies of structures" being utilized at the specific points in the organization's history. These vocabularies of structure include the organizational charts, statements of policies or procedures, and any informal or formal descriptions explaining organizational relationships. Based on a thorough review of organizational documents and previous research literature on AA, the third area of investigation asks: What is the degree of "structuration" of the organizational field of Recovery Services Organizations? The extent of the structuration of the organizational field is assessed by the presence of a common meaning system and the frequency, intensity, and visibility of the interacting organizations within the field.

Once AA's organizational structure and the characteristics of the field have been discerned, then the discussion turns to tracing the trajectory and transformation of AA as it adopts the differing combinations of types of authority beliefs and administrative structures. The main interest of this study is to determine if AA has become more "isomorphic" to the field of Recovery Services Organizations, and the originally unique combination of charismatic beliefs

and a minimalist structure found in AA are being transformed to rational beliefs and bureaucratic administrative practices.

This case study uses the three periods in AA history, as proposed by Kurtz (1987), as a framework to study AA's transformation from a charismatic fellowship to a more rationalized organization. For each stage in AA's history, there is a description of the types of authority, administrative structures, and the degree of "structuration" of AA's organizational field. In this case study of AA, the Revised Model of Authority Types is used to assess the organizational characteristics of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) at the different stages in its development. By using this Revised Model, the various "mixtures and combinations" of authority beliefs and administrative used by the organization can be more clearly observed.

Stage One-1934-1949: Charismatic Bill, the Steps, and the Fellowship

Based on Kurtz' historical analysis of AA, this stage in the organization's development starts in November of 1934 and covers the time period: *"from the beginnings until about 1950: the period of the Twelve Steps being practiced, accepted, and confirmed in the lives of the members and the fellowship itself"* (Kurtz, 1987:161). The type of authority present in AA at this time is based on the spiritual experience of AA's founding member, Bill W., which he believed "cured" his medical condition of alcoholism. Authority legitimated by a divine calling or the "grace" of a "higher power" is considered as charismatic by Weber (1968). The case study of AA begins with a description its early days as a charismatic organization.

Weber and the Charismatic Beliefs in Authority

Modern definitions of charisma differ from the concept of "charismatic authority" as originally proposed by Weber (1968). The popular view of charisma is equated with the extraordinary characteristics of personal charm and it is conferred upon celebrities of the caliber of Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe or to those individuals with intense personal magnetism, such as, Adolph Hitler or John F. Kennedy. For Weber, charismatic authority has more specific

and exacting requirements than just good looks or a pleasing persona. According to Weber (1968), charismatic authority is defined by the following: 1) The leader is “called” to leadership as the result of magical powers, revelations, heroism, or other extraordinary gifts; 2) The leader’s legitimacy is based in his or her extraordinary experience or qualities as defined in the first criterion; 3) The leader espouses and pronounces a “definition of the situation” that offers a plausible explanation of the causes and cure of a crisis confronting the members; 4) The group’s mission is endowed with “extraordinary” qualities and is proven by continued success; 5) A follower’s obedience to the leader is voluntary and predicated on acceptance and the maintenance of the legitimacy of leader’s definition of the situation. Based on the above criteria, the first task of this study is to determine whether AA began as an organization based on charismatic authority and was administered by an equally “charismatic” structure.

The following discussion will explore how closely AA, and its leadership, fulfills the requirements of charismatic authority, as outlined by Weber (1968). Weber said that charismatic authority is defined by magical powers, revelations, heroism, extraordinary gifts, and/or by being “called” to a mission. According to Weber, the first condition for charismatic authority is the presence of extraordinary personal gifts in the leader. Past researchers have noted Bill W.’s self-confidence, oratory prowess, animal magnetism, business talents, and appealing physical attributes (Wilson, 1957; Gellman, 1964; Kurtz, 1979; Rudy, 1986; Trice and Beyer, 1986; Room, 1993; Makela, 1996; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). Those people who met Bill W., and subsequently, those who have researched his personal characteristics, seem to all agree that he had an unusual gift of personal “attraction”, a primary requirement of individual possessing charismatic authority. Bill W. had successfully used his gift of personal magnetism as a stockbroker on Wall Street, and this talent would aid in his appeals to get individuals to join AA and become committed members.

According to Weber, a second feature of charismatic authority is whether the leader has an extraordinary experience. Bill W. tells his story of being “called” to begin AA by virtue of a revelatory experience he had while in the hospital being treated for alcoholism. Described as a “hot flash” experience, Bill W. called out to God for help and Bill W. came to believe that God had answered him by removing his desire to drink (Wilson, 1957). Based on this personal experience, Bill W. has met Weber’s second characteristic of charismatic authority.

To meet the third criteria of a charismatic authority outlined by Weber, the leader’s “definition of the situation” must offer a plausible explanation of the causes and the cure of the current crisis confronting the individual and/or potential members. There could be several “definitions” of Bill W.’s experience of “talking with a higher power”. A medical explanation of the experience was that Bill W. was a hallucinating from the belladonna, a known hallucinogen that had been given to him by his physician. Another explanation is that the “spiritual awakening” may have been a part of the Delirium Tremens, commonly known as the DT’s, and Bill was just delusional as a result of his withdrawal of alcohol. The actual experience may have been a hallucination, or a psychotic episode, but when the event was defined as spiritual—the event became the basis for his charismatic authority. When Bill W. asked if his experience was real, his friend and physician at the time, Dr. Silkworth, replied: “There has been some basic psychological or spiritual event here...sometimes spiritual experiences do release people from alcoholism” (Wilson, 1957:63). This confirmation by a medical professional of the incident as “spiritual” would legitimate Bill W.’s claim to an “extraordinary” experience. If Bill W.’s experience was authentic, then his mission to create AA was legitimate because he was doing God’s work, and not his own.

Bill’s would find further support for his “revelation” in the work of the noted philosopher William James’ in his book *The Varieties of Religious Experiences*, which Bill W. read in his hospital bed during those first days of his recovery. James provides his research on a “variety” of

spiritual experiences and these examples helped to confirm the evidence Bill W. needed to believe that his spiritual experience had an objective reality—it was real and not a hallucination--and through these “gifts from the blue” (as James called them) a person can be transformed. Had there been a different definition of the situation, Bill W. and later AA, would not have been considered as legitimately charismatic, or “touched” by a higher power. Without this “spiritual” seal of approval from a higher power, the member’s commitment to AA would have been different and AA would be just another voluntary organization.

The fourth criteria to be considered as having the charismatic type of authority requires the group’s mission to be endowed with “extraordinary” qualities and that mission is proven by continued success. After his “hot flash” of a spiritual awakening, Bill W. became a man on a mission; he had a sense of being called to help other alcoholics. As he saw it, he had called out to God, and some Higher Power answered by removing his craving for alcohol. Given Bill W.’s miraculous experience, his mission would be to spread the message and his method to help others heal their alcoholic illness. Bill W.’s vision and a missionary zeal for the spreading of his AA message were based on his firm belief that a “higher power” had called him to heal the alcoholic. In addition to the initial revelatory experience, Bill W.’s right to charismatic authority must be proven. Although some of Bill’s initial attempts at helping others failed, his persistent vision of himself as an instrument of a higher-power “led” him to his first convert. Dr. Bob, accepted Bill W.’s vision and became the first of many successes. Bill’s calling by a higher power, his ability to attract followers and this proving of his “gift” by successfully healing others are all consistent with the qualities of a charismatic type of authority, as described by Weber (1968).

The final criterion for the type of charismatic authority as outlined by Weber (1968) is that the followers voluntarily obey out of an acceptance of their leader’s definition of the situation. Weber (1968) says the justification of the obedient is to say that the "maxim" of their

conduct was "for its very own sake," which separates the charismatic-based authority relations from those types of authority using coercive power to gain and maintain obedience. In a description of his claim to authority and the process of becoming obedient, Bill states how this works for AA: "We begin to obey them because we think they are right for us. We obey these principles because we think they are good principles, even though we still resist somewhat. Then comes the final level of obedience, the best of all. We obey A.A.'s Steps and Traditions because we really want them for ourselves. It is no longer a question of good or evil; we conform because we genuinely want to conform" (Wilson, 1957:106). Bill W.'s description of members' obedience to the Steps is the quintessential example of a person learning to accept another person's definition of the situation as legitimate. This statement by Bill W. parallels Weber's description of authority as a non-coercive form of power, entailing the voluntary submission in a relationship to some other agent.

The concluding indication of the charismatic nature of Bill W.'s authority comes from the type of obedience afforded his teachings. It should be noted that given the defiant stance traditionally associated with alcoholics, it is remarkable that Bill's converts became obedient members of AA. Presumably, these participants had previously been non-responsive to other forms of authority, including those with coercive power, such as the legal system. This raises the vital question of why the authority of Bill W and of AA was so compelling and ultimately transformative, both for individuals, and later for the field of alcohol treatment. The answer lies in the nature of the charismatic authority-beliefs which are based on the leader's ability to justify their authority as derived from God or through divine revelation. As stated by Bill W.: "we of A.A. do obey spiritual principles, first because we must and ultimately because we love the kind of life such obedience brings" (Wilson, 1957:120).

The early members of AA, before it was even called AA, believed that a spiritual force played a direct role in their recovery, and when applied to the group actions, the charismatic

authority served to direct and to protect the organization. The unparalleled obedience found in AA was the result of charismatic authority, which is evidenced in the following statement: “Unquestionably many members of AA believe that a religious or spiritual force has been the principal factor in their recovery...often referred to as a ‘miracle’” (Gellman, 1963:163).

Based on the evidence found in this research, it can be concluded that AA’s organizational development was sparked by Bill W.’s own personal charisma. However, this data suggests the type of “charismatic authority” found in AA, as defined by Weber, was based on and maintained by a carefully constructed set of “authority accounts” that helped to legitimate Bill W.’s position and the mission of the organization. In the following section, the accounts of charismatic authority are identified and their affect on organizational structure are discussed.

Accounts of Charismatic Authority in AA

The hallmark of AA’s early phase of development was its charismatic leader, Bill W., whose extraordinary “gift of grace” and his “miraculous” recovery from alcoholism served as his calling to go on a “divine” mission to help other alcoholics. Previous research to assess Bill W.’s charisma has focused on his “extraordinary” personal characteristics (Wilson, 1957; Gellman, 1964; Kurtz, 1979, 1988; Rudy, 1986; Trice and Beyer, 1986; Room, 1993; Makela, 1996; Bufe, 1998). Although the success of early AA is attributed to the personal traits of the founder, the influence of Bill W.’s account of a “spiritual experience” must be recognized as a contributing factor the development of AA’s organizational structure. Bill W.’s claim to authority served as the inspiration for their founding beliefs and was the major force in attracting members with an intense commitment to the AA mission. Without the benefit of charismatic authority driving AA and serving to legitimate its administration during the early years of formation, AA members would not have been able to overcome the problems associated with the “liability of newness” that typically confront organizations.

Based on literature on AA, Bill W.'s account of his spiritual awakening and the subsequent acceptance of the "miracle" as legitimate by others is the main factor that qualifies AA as a having a charismatic type of authority. For Weber, Bill W.'s legitimacy as a charismatic leader must be founded on an "extraordinary" experience. By looking at the "accounts" used by the AA leadership in explaining the organization's founding, the type of authority being claimed and the justifications for the positions of leadership can be assessed.

One of the main accounts substantiating the charismatic authority of Bill W. is his story of being "called" to begin AA by virtue of a revelatory experience. At the low point of his drinking career, he found himself once again "drying out" in a hospital after a long binge, one step away from being admitted to a mental asylum. Heavily medicated and lying in his hospital bed, the founder of AA was inspired by a "divine" wind. He interpreted this mystical experience as direct aid from a supernatural power. The account, though part of his oral narrative recounted to known by every early member of AA, is first published in *AA Come of Age* (1957), and in Bill's own recollection of the event, he says: *"All at once I found myself crying out, 'If there is a God, let Him show Himself! I am ready to do anything, anything!' Suddenly the room lit up with a great white light. I was caught up into an ecstasy which there are no words to describe. It seemed to me, in the mind's eye, that I was on a mountain and that a wind not of air but of spirit was blowing. And then it burst upon me that I was a free man...for a time I was in another world, a new world of consciousness"* (Wilson, 1957: 63).

Bill W.'s spiritual experience requires the belief that Higher Power was working through him. AA members who learn to follow the beliefs found in the Twelve Steps are also given an "account" that explains their own recovery. Since the key factor in Weber's definition of the charismatic type of authority is to have a supernatural experience, the Steps provide members a similar means to achieve the same "charisma" or gift of grace as Bill W. had experienced. Receiving grace is a powerful attraction for membership. By following the procedures and

rituals of “The Steps,” members are following the path of the founder in the hope that they can be “restored” to sanity—provided they are willing to submit to a higher authority. The authority of the “The Steps” is evident in the participant’s voluntary submission to Bill’s definition of the situation, which is: Alcoholism is a disease, and the Steps are a spiritual solution to a medical problem. If the account of Bill’s “hot flash” was questioned by members or outsiders, then his definition of the situation becomes illegitimate, and the Steps no longer carry any “authority”. When the definition of a “miracle” is accepted, then following the Steps is the means to achieve a similar spiritual awakening—the necessary requirement to remain abstinent from alcohol.

Bill W. had his miracle and then he would learn to work the Steps. For other members, the Steps are an exercise in accepting authority and learning obedience. In Step One, AA members must admit their powerlessness. Steps Two and Three strongly suggest a process of conversion for individual members: the participant states a belief in a higher power and surrenders his or her life and will to that power. Becoming a convert, and accepting a new way of life entails becoming obedient and in return the members are offered connection to a spiritual power greater than their own. In the language of the group, members “turn it over;” this catchy phrase is used to describe the member’s willing subordination to an authority other than his or her own rational mind.

The next three steps, Steps Five through Seven, include three references to forming a connection and relationship with a higher power, now, actually described as “God.” Thus, the first six steps of the AA program--the first half of the core beliefs held and followed by members—require those members to obey the commands and precepts of a supernatural power. In step Eleven, this connection is intensified, as it states: “We sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious contact with God *as we understood Him*, praying only for knowledge of His will for us and the power to carry that out” (Wilson, 1953). The connection to “charismatic” authority is finalized in the Twelfth Step Twelve, where: “Having had a spiritual

awakening as a result of these steps, we tried to carry this message to addicts, and to practice these principles in all our affairs.” (Wilson, 1953) The charismatic experience of Bill W. was codified in the beliefs of the Twelve Steps and the original “experience” of recovery could be transferred to other members and replicated by those individual willing to practice the principles in “all their affairs”.

The extraordinary characteristics of Bill W. and the account of his spiritual experience support the conclusion that AA, in its earliest stage, had been founded on charismatic authority. In addition, the charismatic authority of Bill W. and his vision was sustained by the successful recovery of each new member, the publication of the Big Book, and acceptance of the AA model from other organizations. For AA to be considered as an example of a “pure” or true form of charismatic authority, where its beliefs are isomorphic with its structure (Seabright and Delacroix, 1996), it must not be revolutionary in its mission, but novel in its structural arrangements. Researchers agree that Bill W. was charismatic, but few studies have explored the type of organizational models available to Bill W. and how he was able create an organizational structure to manage the “business side” of AA during the group’s infancy. In the next section, the origin and characteristics of AA’s unique organizational structure are discussed.

Charismatic Administration and the Fellowship of AA

In this section of the study, the type of organization structure in AA is first assessed by using the criteria Weber (1968) associated with a charismatic type of structure. Next, the AA’s administration is observed and the “vocabularies of structures”, i.e., the organizational language used to justify policies and procedures are evaluated (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). If AA is a charismatic type of organization, then both the organization’s characteristics and the organizational language should reflect the type of non-bureaucratic administrative practices associated with Weber’s definition of a charismatic type of structure. Using the Revised Model

of Authority Types, the “mixtures and combinations” of authority beliefs and administrative practices are identified at this time in AA’s development.

According to Weber, a non-bureaucratically structured organization is only possible when: 1) membership has not increased “beyond a certain size”; 2) members are not “differentiated from one another”; 3) the tasks of administration have not “become too difficult to be performed by everyone who might be designated through rotation or election” (Bendix, 1960:296). Later researchers would expand on Weber’s ideas and attempt to discover concrete examples of the non-bureaucratic administrative type. Organizations lacking bureaucratic tendencies and having nominal administrative structures have been termed as “alternative, “collective-democratic” or “minimalist” organizations. These alternative organizations are characteristically non- hierarchical in relations, democratic in decision-making practices, have weak membership boundaries, and show little specialization or differentiation of tasks (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Halliday, Powell, and Granfors, 1987; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996).

Does AA at this stage of development meet the conditions associated with what Weber would have called a “charismatic structure”? The membership in AA in 1939 was less than one hundred active members and the members were located mostly in three main groups, one in New York City overseen by Bill W., and a couple of others directed by Dr. Bob, in Akron and Cleveland, Ohio. The level of administrative activities were mostly at the group level with rotating positions of authority and administration, and little need for formal organizational structure. Communication of problems could be made directly from members to the co-founders and in decision making situations, every member had an equal vote. For example, when the time came to decide on a name for this emerging group, some members had suggested naming the organization after the founder, but the groups held a vote and they democratically decided that the name of Alcoholics Anonymous had a special quality that best represented the principles of the group. The administrative tasks of this organization were minimal (until the writing and

publication of the Big Book in April 1939) and any responsibilities for the efficient running the groups were so simple that even a half-sober member could be asked to and hold a “position” in the organization.

Two events signal major turning point in the type of administrative activities in AA. The first effort to become a legitimate organization was the creation of The Alcoholic Foundation in 1938. Originally chartered to educate and do research, the Foundation was fashioned as trusteeship for a tax-free charitable organization and main function was to manage the donation to AA. A second move towards a more formal organization was the opening AA’s first “world service” office in February of 1940. Known to members as the “Headquarters”, the central office main responsibility was handling the communication from members to Bill W. and Dr. Bob. With the publication of the Big Book, there was a sudden increase in the duties required to meet the needs of the fellowship. These demands for services led AA to diversify its operations into Works Publishing, Inc., the Foundation, and the Office. During this time, the administrative tasks of the Office went from being performed by volunteers to being held by hired personnel paid for work. This distinction of members and “trusted servants”, though a subtle change, would start the process of differentiating those who worked for AA and those who lived the AA way of life. Based on this description of AA’s activities in its early years as an organization, there is substantial evidence that AA had benefited by having a rational type of administration to manage its affairs.

The Organizational Language of Charismatic Structures in AA

Prior historical documents and research on AA has characterized AA as having unique characteristics as an organization (Wilson, 1957; Kurtz, 1979, 1988; Makela, 1996; Room, 1993; Gellman, 1964; Rudy, 1986, Trice and Beyer, 1986, Bufe, 1998; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). These researchers have suggested that AA’s organizational structure is a “miracle”, has broken Michel’s “iron law of oligarchy” and serves as the “exemplary” of the non-bureaucratic,

collective-democratic, or minimalist structured organization (Room, 1993; Makela, 1996; Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). This researcher will further explore the question of whether AA fits the definition of Weber's charismatic type of structure. While past research base their conclusions that AA is uniquely minimalist in structure on the evidence found in the organizational principles developed for the groups and stated in the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions, this description of AA's administrative activities are assessed by the types of "vocabularies of structure", i.e., the organizational language used by its leadership and members to describe their actual administrative activities, policies, and procedures.

Did AA have a charismatic type of administrative structure corresponding with its charismatic type of authority? To answer the question, the discussion turns to assessing the types of organizational language. In the early days of AA, there are at least two different "vocabularies" used to describe the activities of the organization. For example, the leadership describes the group as a "fellowship and not an organization". The literature of AA has numerous discussions that AA is a fellowship, while focusing less on its status as incorporated, non-profit charitable organization, of which it was both. The "vocabularies" of structure used by AA members include a statement about the spiritual foundations of the "non-organization" and the mythical status of the organization is reinforced by statements such as: "A.A. is a society without organization, animated by the spirit of service—a true fellowship." (Wilson, 1957:120)

Early on in the development of AA, the members actively resisted "vocabularies" that suggested formalization, especially, the expected requirement to be a recognized legal entity. In expressing the constraints of legal incorporation, some members noted: "[If] we ask for legal rights, enforceable in courts of law, we by the same act subject ourselves to possible legal regulation" (Wilson, 1957:127). This statement reveals that the members were aware of the different possible "building blocks" by which they could construct a functioning organization--

legal, traditional, or spiritual, and also, the inherent problems associated with the “legal” organization.

In the organizational language of AA, organizational roles are redefined to mask the political or hierarchical aspects, for example, in this statement: “The members fully realize that they are actually servants, not senators. These are universal A.A. experiences. Thus throughout our fellowship does the group conscience decree the terms upon which its leaders shall serve.” (Wilson, 1957:122) This claim to a unique relationship among members, where members “serve” each other was observed by Weber (1968). Weber argued that traditional organizations will often depict the king as a “servant of his people”, but there should be no mistaking the reality of the differences between the benefits accrued to his position of authority and those of his loyal, obedient subjects. As Weber argues, authority may be “cloaked in rather innocent garb” and though the term of “trusted servant” may sound less political than senator, each of the positions is part of a hierarchical system of relationships.

The organizational language of AA in this early stage of their development involved proposing questions as much as providing solutions to the question. For example, Bill W. asked the following question: “Did anyone ever hear of a society that could not somehow discipline its members and enforce obedience to necessary rules and regulations? Does not nearly every society on earth give authority to some of its members to impose obedience upon the rest and to punish or expel offenders? Therefore, every nation, in fact every form of society, has to be a government administered by human beings. Power to direct and govern is the essence of organization everywhere.” (Wilson, 1957: 118) This question indicates that Bill W. was concerned very early in AA development that the organization would have to address the topics of authority and administration. Bill W.’s response to his own question was: “To this rule Alcoholics is a complete exception. It does not at any point conform to the pattern of a government.” (Wilson, 1957:118)

The description by an early witness of the origins of AA's operations provides some evidence that AA met all the criteria of a charismatic organization--in the type of beliefs used to legitimate authority, the group's structural arrangements, and by the "vocabularies of structures". According to the observations of an associate of John Rockefeller, in 1938, AA had no predictable source of income, no economic responsibilities, and no headquarters, but he recognized AA's ability to foster intense and committed relationships within its ranks. In his estimation, AA had used the organizational model of the early Christian Church, producing a truly egalitarian fellowship uncorrupted by established rules of orders and the motivation for profit.

Bill W.'s claim that there is no authority, or a least little recognizable authority, in AA may be an accurate reflection of the organization at the time, however, the question remains if AA has changed since that time. According to Weber, the charismatic type of authority and its administration are unable to endure for long periods of time because it is inherently unstable, inefficient in routine activities, slow in decision making (since everything has to be debated before voting) and prone to problems of succession (Weber, 1968).

As seen throughout this section, the group's self-descriptions of organizational relationships point to a charismatic form of administrative structure in the earliest days of the development. By 1938, the literature and organizational documents indicate that the simple, "minimalist", and direct democratic practices of AA version of administration were on the decline and being replaced, or at least eclipsed, rational beliefs in authority and a "patriarchal" form of administration.

1934-1949: The Structuration of the Organizational Field of AA

AA's relationship to other organizations within its surrounding environment has received little attention by past researchers despite the argument of institutional theorists that an organization's environment influences the type of authority and the administration of its

activities. No study of AA's early years would be complete, however, without an understanding of the group's early relationship to the institutional environment. Knowledge of the field into which AA entered during its founding moments is vital, since groups "are more likely to adopt and adhere to logics predominant in the field at the time of the entrance into the field" (Scott, Mendel, and Pollack, 1996: 14).

In this section, I examine organizational field and the institutional environment of Recovery Services for information about the extent of the structuration present when AA entered the field. The assessment of the organizational field includes: 1) establishing if there is a shared common meaning system; 2) the boundaries of the field; 3) determining the number of organizations in the field, as well as the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions.

One indicator of an organizational field is shared meaning system by which the members communicate and participate. Since a meaning system was not in place for AA, they borrowed the vocabularies of a meaning system of more legitimate and established members of the greater environment. AA "borrowed" the Oxford Group beliefs and Bill W. expanded them into AA's Twelve Steps. Bill based the idea of the alcoholic having to "hit bottom" before recovering on the Carl Jung's idea of "deflation at depth" (Kurtz, 1979). The following self-description offers an example of AA's willingness to adopted the meaning system being shared by the leading experts in the "field": "AA is a synthetic concept-- a synthetic gadget, as it were, drawing upon the resources of medicine, psychiatry, religion, and our own experiences of drinking and recovery" (Wilson, 1957).

When AA began its operations in 1935, the boundaries of the field were not clear and there was not an existing identifiable "field" or industry of Recovery Service Organizations (RSO). One of the challenges faced by the young group of AA members was finding a way to link itself with other organizations. AA's relationship and position among other institutions is indicated by Bill W., who saw AA as located somewhere in the "middle ground between

medicine and religion”. AA had found its niche and Bill W. saw the organizations as a “synthesis” of these two institutions.

When the field of Recovery Services emerged in the late 1940s, AA was the dominant player and major actor within the field. It had established its own legitimacy thanks in part to its unparalleled success in helping alcoholics recover. The publication of AA’s Big Book in 1939 spread the message of recovery beyond its members and several favorable media publication helped to increase the awareness of the activities of AA among the general public. AA was also able to gain acceptance and legitimacy by conforming to expectations of the larger society. For example, AA moderated its radical approach to recovery by only spiritual means to accommodate some initial misgivings of the medical professionals and religious leaders.

The next step in understanding the organizational field requires an assessment of the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions. For AA at this time, the interaction began on a individual level. In that it was Bill W. interacting with another individual who represented was a member of the Oxford Group. At this time, Bill made efforts to associate with notable figures in the business, academia, medical, and in the media. AA called it “being friendly with our friends”, but it was a strategy to gain legitimacy from the notoriety of popular cultural figures. Bill W. linked AA’s founding to the work of William James, cited the work of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung as a foundation for approach to the problem of alcoholism, asked the well-respected journalist Jack Alexander to “investigate” AA, and solicited and received donations from John Rockefeller. These ties to importance figures in the field of psychiatry, philosophy, medicine, and the media helped to have AA’s spiritual program become part of the accepted vocabulary of the field.

Stage Two-1950-1971: Bill the Father, the Traditions, and the Patriarchal Structure

The second stage of AA’s organizational development, according to Kurtz, can be defined as a time period that: “*spans the era from the fellowship’s coming of age in the early*

fifties to Bill's death in 1971. This was the period in which the Twelve Traditions were finally internalized and tested in A.A. practice" (Kurtz, 1988:161). AA began as a charismatic organization based on the spiritual experience of its founder Bill W., but the publication of the Big Book led to financial success and rapid growth in members during this time. These factors would present new problems not accounted for by the earlier set of beliefs, i.e., the Twelve Steps. This increase in number of members, the scope of operation, and the increased interaction with other organizations would put challenges the authority found in the Steps and put increased strain on the functionality of its "minimalist" administrative structures. As a result, AA would need to change both the type of authority beliefs binding the members and the type of administrative structures required to maintain its expanding operations.

Based on the historical literature and organizational documents, the authority beliefs and the type of administrative structures found in AA are assessed on two levels: first, based on Weber (1968) criteria for traditional types of authority and "patriarchal" types of administration; and secondly, using the types of authority accounts and "vocabularies of structures" documented in the literature on AA. Utilizing the Revised Model of Weber's Authority Types, this research that can assess the "mixtures and combinations" of authority beliefs and administrative structures found in AA. After determining the type of authority, this research will document the degree of structuration in the organizational field of Recovery Services.

Weber and the Traditional Beliefs in Authority

By the mid 1940s, AA was no longer a "purely" charismatic type of organization. The AA's organization had grown substantially in membership to the point that the members were becoming differentiated from another: there were old-timers and new-comers, trusted servants or paid employees, and individuals were seen as elder statesmen and bleeding deacons. The once simple task of making coffee and chairing the meeting had become more complex.

According to Weber, every organization has difficulties maintaining the legitimacy of authority, and the Twelve Traditions were Bill W.'s solution to those problems inherent to charismatic authority, i.e., the possibility of losing miracle contests, the lack of succession policies, and the need to replace inadequate or inefficient structures. As Weber argued, the charismatic forms of structure and authority are short-lived. The strength of personal authority wanes, no matter how extraordinary, and when it does, the group either dies or evolves. Evolving requires the transfer or transformation of authority, either through ceremony or through canonized texts. Optimally, an organization will have both. This was the case with AA when the original beliefs that animated the commitment of early members were codified into the Twelve Steps. This codification of the beliefs was the first step in the transformation of the authority and the second step was to create a functioning administrative structure, albeit, one that was small in size, and able to be managed entirely by the co-founders and a few trusted members.

The new principles found in the Traditions and the adoption of more permanent administrative arrangements were necessary improvements, but these efforts redirected AA organization away from a dependence on the miraculous personal performances of their charismatic founder and move towards a more stable set of beliefs and practices associated with patriarchal authority. To equal the legitimacy of the charismatic authority found in the Steps, the beliefs reflected in Twelve Traditions had to also be divinely inspired. However, the principles found Traditions did not have the same "legitimacy" with members and were not widely accepted as the "authority" among members. Some members actively resisted the introduction of a new set of beliefs, as they believed the Twelve Steps were so divinely inspired in the first place that no other authority was needed.

The introduction of the Traditions was not without conflict. As argued by Weber, the "routinization" of charisma is a process to resolve the contradictions and allow a transformation of the old beliefs into and the new beliefs. AA would be able to routinize Bill W. charisma, but

not without a “contest” between Bill W. and his efforts install the Traditions as the operating policies of the organization versus those group members quoting the Steps as the major source of inspiration and guidance for the organization. In the next section of the paper, the importance of using authority accounts to create legitimacy and ease the transformation of an organization is discussed.

Accounts of Traditional Authority

In 1955, during a dramatic presentation, Bill Wilson, the charismatic originator of the 12-Step movement ceremoniously bequeathed the Twelve Traditions to the fellowship and officially transferred his authority to the members of the organization known as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). As the remaining founder of AA (his founding partner, Dr. Bob, had died in 1950), Bill W. said: “In the course of this experience we have evolved a set of traditional principles by which we live and work together and relate ourselves as a fellowship to the world around us. These principles are called the Twelve Traditions of Alcoholics Anonymous. They represent the distilled experience of our past, and we rely on them to carry us in unity through the challenges and dangers which the future may bring.” (Wilson, 1957:79) In this statement Bill W. describes the beliefs that guide AA during this time period, the fact that AA had to “evolve,” and this adaptation was prompted by the need to maintain relationships with the “world around us,” i.e., their institutional environment. In addition, the statement notes that the transformational process had already been taking place for years, AA was now a different type of organization, but it was on this ceremonial occasion, that the official “transfer” of the authority would take place.

The following account describes how legitimacy for the organizational change was created by making the event seen as sacred: “Above us floats a banner on which is ascribed the new symbol for A.A., a circle for whole world of A.A., and the triangle stands for A.A.’s Three Legacies of Recovery, Unity, and Service... That we have chosen this particular symbol is no accident. The priests and seers of antiquity regarded the circle enclosing the triangle as a means

of warding off spirits of evil, and A.A.'s circle and triangle...has certainly meant all of that to us and much more." (Wilson, 1957:139)

In the following authority account, Bill W., uses the moment to symbolize the transfer of authority to the elected Service Conference members, who will be: "taking over the guardianship of our Traditions and the custody of World Services, would then become the successor to the founders of Alcoholics Anonymous" (Wilson, 1957:40). As the group matured, Bill W. began the process of transforming the small group based on his charisma into an organization with traditions to guide their development. He "routinized" the beliefs of the authority into the sacredness of the Traditions, then he transferred administrative authority to members of AA, thus he would "secure the future" of the AA organization. The traditions were "invented" and were slowly becoming accepted among the members of the expanding organization.

As AA began to change, Bill W.'s role in the organization had shifted from charismatic founder to the patriarchal father, and was on the verge of changing again. The authority accounts of the period describe this change in authority, which is especially evident in Bill W.'s following statement: "Standing before the convention for the last time I felt as all parents do when sons and daughters must begin to make their own decisions and live their own lives. No longer would I act for, decide for, or protect Alcoholics Anonymous. I saw that well-meaning parents who cling to their authority and overstay their time can do much damage." (Wilson, 1957: 48) In this particular authority account we see now only a statement of the current power structure (well-meaning parent) but also a clear example of the importance of accounts for the successful to transfer or transformation of the authority in an organization:

Patriarchal Administration and the Democratic Conference Structure

Members of AA attribute their longevity and success as organization to the principles found in their Twelve Traditions, which plainly state: they have no leaders, are not organized, and are self-supporting and have no opinion on outside affairs. For most of the history of AA, the

Twelve Traditions are seen to provide solutions to many of the problems which confronted the survival of local groups. In this section, AA's organization structure is assessed using the Weber's (1968) criteria for a traditional type of administrative structure.

Does AA fit the criteria of a "traditional" type of authority structure? According to Weber (1968), the leader is seen as the "father of his people," and the followers are treated like members of his family.

The chief criterion to be included in this type of administration is the unwavering loyalty to the leader, and not the extraordinary personal qualities associated with charismatic structures.

In this type of structure, the administrators have no rights to their office or position and the positions are "bequeathed" upon members, and can be given and taken away on the basis of the loyalty to those in charge.

Weber said that traditional authority, like charisma, is based on a personal relationship between leaders and followers, thus it is inherently unstable.

The administration of the "patrimonial regime" is made up of those individuals on a personal retainer, members of the household, relatives, or personal favorites of the master, and not chosen from democratically elected group of equal members or

The Organizational Language of Traditional Structure in AA

At this time in AA's history, there is a shift in the organizational language used by the members--from one talking about the individual experience to discussion of the group conscience. There are now two sets of beliefs or accounts that can be used to justify the right to

authority, the Steps for the individual and the Traditions for the groups. As an organization develops, the old and new “vocabularies of structure” may come in conflict or may be contradictory. In AA, the leaders like to tell the story of a member who had a spiritual talk with his higher power and was told to go on the radio and broadcast his message of recovery.

Evidence of patriarchal type of structure is revealed by the descriptive terms or the “vocabularies of structure” used to describe AA’s changing types of administrative apparatus. At the beginning of AA, the organized arm of the members was called the Alcoholic Foundation (a non-profit Board), which was later changed to the General Headquarters (a bureaucratic military type of term for communications center), and then to the World Services Office (a bureau of offices to oversee the various departments).

According to the founder of AA, the simple change in organizational language has important consequences. Bill W. was concerned that the simple change in the name of the organization change AA, as evidenced by this statement: “It would mean the legal organization of a fellowship whose Traditions insisted on its being unorganized.” (Wilson, 1957: 126) This statement foreshadows some of the problems AA would have if they moved towards becoming a legal and more rational organization. Bill W expressed his concerns and justifies the need to be “traditional” in structure: “Continuously since its beginning, and today, A.A. has been a fellowship and not an organization. Incorporation necessarily makes it an organization.” (Wilson, 1957:127).

In 1955 at the St. Louis convention described earlier, Bill W. celebrated the successful transformation of his charismatic authority into a form of traditional authority, with him playing the role of the patriarch, a type of father figure to the members. At this time, he was transferring his leadership position, his type of authority, and some of his administrative duties to his designated successors-- elected general members of the AA General Service Conference. “Its elected Service Conference, taking over the guardianship of our Traditions and the custody of

World Services, would then become the successor to the founders of Alcoholics Anonymous.” (Wilson, 1957:40)

The following statement is Bill’s account of succession in AA, when he turned over his power and transferring or conferring his father figure role to the Elders of the organization: “The service structure ties individual groups into an orderly movement without forsaking AA’s grass-roots principles. This requires mechanisms that are compatible with the legal requirements of outside society and internal principles expressed in the Twelve Traditions.” (Makela, 1996: 73)

In 1955, Bill W. transferred his authority to Conference and made the Traditions the set of the beliefs would not only guide their efforts, but legitimate their roles. The Traditions were divinely inspired, as Bill W. wrote them in same way as he wrote the Twelve Steps, AA had a new set of beliefs and a new structure of authority, one that was designed by the founders of AA, and “whose dedicated labor had been given for years to perfect the structure that would now be given into the final keeping of the fellowship itself” (Wilson, 1957:46)

The arbitrariness quality of traditions and the traditional type of authority, as offered by Weber, is seen when, the traditions become a rigid and “a determination to enforce the traditions to the letter, without any elasticity. If the attitude became widespread, the fellowship could not function” (Kurtz, 1988:1970)

According to Gellman “the Twelve Steps and Twelve traditions are documented for membership guidance but do not embody the force or authority of a regular constitution,” and goes on to say that: “AA has no such written constitution,” but ignores the legality of the conference charter and the service manual that outlines how AA is structured (Gellman, 1964:148). Gellman says there are no codified rules or regulations specifically defining the formal structure and procedures.

“Tradition Nine States: A.A., as such, ought never to be organized, but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve.” (p.118)

When first written Tradition nine said, “Alcoholics Anonymous needs the least possible organization.” In the years since then, we have changed our minds about that. Today we are able to say with assurance that Alcoholics Anonymous—A.A.as a whole—should never be organized at all.”

Towards the end of its charismatic period, AA was the recognized “cure” for alcoholism by the medical and religious community—the two institutional groups who could threaten their legitimacy and withhold their “resources” of institutional seal of approval. By 1946, AA was growing rapidly and reached a critical stage in their organizational life-cycle. They were experiencing new problems brought on by growth in membership and from challenges associated with being based on a charismatic type of authority. These were the turbulent times. New questions were being asked and the Steps, as a set of operating principles for a growing organization did not account for or provide guidance, except for spiritual concerns, in solving organizational problems. With a change in the environment, AA would have to decide which field to draw their resources from and which normative beliefs to adopt, medicine, psychiatry, or religion, and what type of structure to adopt.

The Traditions are a set of principles to guide the groups, but they also serve to justify and legitimate the sanctity of the groups—they are AA’s second type of authority. In a changing environment, AA could no longer afford to exist with just the charismatic authority found through of the Steps. According to members, the “the Traditions are to the groups what the steps are to the individual.” Those in charge state that these principles are simple suggestions and present no demand for compliance—their “leaders do not govern, they are but trusted servants” (Wilson, 1957). And, with the acceptance and implementation of the Traditions among members along all levels of the AA organization, these Traditional beliefs provided the foundation for a new, but more traditional type of administrative structure, i.e., a rule by elders.

The Twelve Traditions of AA were meant to be the end-all principles of organization and operating policies to guide the path of AA. While it is true that the traditions have provided solutions to many of the problems which confronted the survival of local the groups, there is a disconnect, however, between the authority exhibited in local groups and that type directing the activities at the national level. One example of the differences in authority between that which is present in individual AA meetings and the authority present in the national office is the service manual. The Traditions prescribe: loose membership boundaries, the autonomous power of the group, egalitarian relationships among members and prohibition on owning property. The organizational policies are meant to provide a “clear path” through organizational problem, but Room notes there are exceptions to the “rules.” For example, on a group level, Room states AA operates through oral occasions, i.e., the meeting. Thus, the principles of organization are not formalized in out in writing. This lack of formality may be true on the group level, but for rational activities that guide the corporation, there is a great amount of literature that prescribes exactly how the “business” is to be carried out. Like most organizations, AA has a service manual explaining the policies.

Room mentions that no existing group can exclude another from forming and that there are no exclusive territories or franchises within AA.

In a commonly repeated AA proverb: “all one needs to start a meeting is a resentment and a coffeepot,” However, for a region to be recognized by the World Service Conference, a newly formed region must petition the WSC before being included as a voting member. In Tradition six there is an implied prohibition on property ownership, the acquisition of property, and the prestige of material goods may be seen to divert the spiritual aims of the program.

The exception that Room notes to this prohibition is the ownership to the copyrights of AA publications. Room outlines a number of principles and procedures that may prevent the rise of a hierarchical system or oligarchy within AA. Elections and rotation of leadership are

assumed to provide equal opportunities for leadership and prevent the rise of an oligarchic class. On a group level this principle may be more relevant since the natural attrition of members caused by relapse or geographical relocations may prevent the accumulation of power and the openness to leadership.

Members of AA like to say the Twelve Step are optional if they want to stay sober, they can chose to practice them or not. In contrast, AA members consider the Traditions are “non-negotiable,” thus, they are sacred principles that can not be broken, or the organization will fail.

Non-compliance and lack of obedience to the principles found in the steps and the individual may relapse, but violation or non-adherence to the Traditions and the individual may suffer the disapproval of the group or perhaps be subject to the wrathful justice of higher power who enforces their practice. Bill W. warns relapse is the consequence for those who violate the principles.

1950-1971: Structuration of the Organization Field of AA

In this section, I examine organizational field of Recovery Services for information about the extent of the structuration of AA’s organizational field during the second stage of their development. The organizational field of AA will be assessed for the presence or change in shared meaning system, the boundaries of the field, and the frequency, intensity, and visibility of the interactions among field participants.

AA had long been a dominant player in the field of Recovery Services. In the late 1930s, AA was making concerted efforts to structure the field. The core principles and rules of the field were shaped by AA. The emerging dominant ideology of the field was based on AA’s concept of alcoholism as a disease and the approved “structures” were based on the model set by AA.

Scott and others, note that organizational are not only shaped by their environments, but in some cases: “powerful organizations force their immediate relational networks to adapt to their structure and relations...powerful organization attempt to build their goals and procedures directly into society as institutional rules...Rivals must then compete...in contexts of institutional rules which are defined by extant organizations” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977:49). In this case AA was one of the most powerful organizations affecting other organizations and the entire field of Recovery Services.

AA, as Kurtz notes, not only grew internally in size and in membership, but members of AA began to have influence on the field of Recovery Service. AA’s success stories garnered respect from politicians and government agencies. To be officially in accordance with the Tradition, the more prominent members of AA would “temporarily suspend” their membership in AA to testify before government committees or provide other public commentary that would directly affect the legislation just happened to be in agreement with AA way of life. As Kurtz states: “the legislation had not emerged out of a vacuum” instead it was a sign of AA’s direct impact on the structuration of the field. AA was shaping the field of Recovery Services Organizations and though its influence was often “anonymous”, it was “nevertheless real and significant” (Kurtz, 1988:174). During this period of AA development, the Service Office had a policy that they ought to “cooperate with agencies dealing with alcoholism” (Kurtz, 1988:175).

Stage Three-1972- 2003: Rational Bill, The Concepts, WSC, and the World Services Office

In this section, the study describes the developed and matured organization of AA. Kurtz notes that the final phase of AA’s development began when: “*Bill W. wrote the Twelve Concepts for World Service in 1959 and witnessed their embrace in 1962, the era of the Concepts truly began after his death...it is an epoch that still run.*”(Kurtz, 1988: 16) At this point in AA’s

history, Bill W.'s authority in the organization has evolved from charismatic founder to the patriarchal father, and before his death in 1971, he created and codified AA's third set of beliefs that would legitimate a more rational type of authority and serve as a justification for a bureaucratic type of administration.

Following the criteria in Weber's (1968) model of authority types, and then utilizing the Revised Model to accommodate the "mixtures and combinations" of types, this part of the study will assess the authority beliefs and the type of administrative structures found in AA during this late stage in their development. A second means to identify and classify organizational structures involves identifying the types of authority accounts and organizational language used by members during this stage of AA's development. Next, this study will assess and discuss the increased structuration of the AA's organizational field.

After comparing the beliefs and practices of AA to Weber's characteristics of the rational type of authority and of a bureaucratic administration, and determining the extent of the structuration of the field of Recovery Services during the 1980s and 1990s, this study explores the internal and external influences on the changes in AA's organizational structures. The administrators of AA introduced the rational beliefs of the Twelve Concepts to supplement the authority found in their Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions, and the motivations behind this transformation of the main organizational principle has not been addressed or explained in previous research.

Weber and Rational Beliefs in Authority: The Twelve Concepts

Researchers evaluated AA based on the Beliefs found in the Steps and Traditions, but they have neglected see the importance of AA's the Twelve Concepts, a lesser known beliefs and operating policies that have been quietly assisting AA to become a more rationalized

organization. In this section, the Twelve Concepts, published by Bill W. in 1962, are discussed to see how closely they reflect Weber's characteristics of the rational authority and the bureaucratic type of administration.

A short review of the characteristics of bureaucracy pertinent to the classification of AA's organizational structure include: authority based on the belief of rationality and the legality of "enacted" rules; an organization that is continuous; the person is separate from the office that is occupied; the transactions must be in writing to be valid; superiors are elected or appointed to their position based on technical competency; the authority is impersonal and limited by rules; there are clear boundaries defining who is a member; there is a "hierarchy of offices" and specialization of duties; the power and governance is centralized at the administrative level; and careers are possible in the organizations and pensions may be granted (Weber, 1968).

What is the evidence that AA is a bureaucracy? In the 1970, AA was changing and so was the institutional environment in which it had so successfully extracted resources. Evidence of this change is a slow drift away from the Traditions and a movement to becoming more rational and bureaucratic. This shift was slow and not without conflict, as the 12 Traditions limited the amount of change the organization could make and still remain true to its origins and beliefs. Rapid change would undermine the Traditions, which were put in place to transform the charismatic authority and provide a legitimate justification for the succession of the founder and the transfer of power by splitting his authority to the Board Members, administrative arm of the General Service Offices, the Conference and its delegates.

According to Weber (1968), the characteristics of rational/legal authority involve those situations where superiors are elected through rationally enacted and legally sanctioned procedures or are appointed to their position. The legitimacy of the bureaucratic type is

supported by a “hierarchy of offices” where those in lower positions report to those in higher positions, the power and governance is centralized (in the administrative level) and not only are careers are possible, but pensions may be granted. In AA at this time, there are the characteristics of a bureaucracy, in that, there are regions, districts, and areas that all form a hierarchy for members to achieve to have voting positions at the conference. These positions carry authority and some members make a career at being group representative or District Delegate.

Researchers, and members of AA, have neglected to understand the Twelve Concepts, a lesser known, but no less important set of operating policies and legitimation techniques that have been quietly shaping the development and survival of AA as an organization. These Twelve Concepts, published by Bill W. in 1962, were designed to further direct the actions of those authorities responsible to the AA’s service organization. Though the concepts are the sets of beliefs held by those in authority, there must be some to means to regularly legitimate or affirm those principles, and the implementation or exercise of these beliefs will have real consequences upon the organization, i.e., the subsequent tendency towards bureaucracy.

It may be said, that the 12 Concepts take back the authority Bill once granted to the Conference and stated in the principles of the Traditions and in the hands of a legal and rational organization. The Concepts were a series of “justifications” invented to serve as a improved or additional set of principles to structure and give authority to the actions needed to manage the different operating “corporate “ enterprises (just as the Steps guided the individual and the traditions legitimate the groups). The concepts were designed to make account for the management of changing institutional environments, including the increasingly complex inter-organizational relationships found in a field of organizations with related activities, such as:

alcoholism treatment, religious organization, government agencies, and the publishing and media industries.

According to Kurtz: “Bill designed the Twelve Concepts to guide change” (1988:162). This is not only the internal development, but Bill W. seems to have been conscious of aligning the organization with its environment and recognizing the value of being a “structure of the organizational field. AA has “safeguard” in place, to both promote structural adaptation and prevent the rise of charismatic, both factors that would weaken their positions as a powerful player in the field. It may be argued that the Twelve Traditions were “invented” to prevent too much change or keep the organization from moving in the wrong direction. Administration had to be developed as there were changes in the larger culture and as they experienced growth and diffusion.

Researchers, and members of AA, have neglected to understand the Twelve Concepts, a lesser known, but no less important set of operating policies and legitimation techniques that have been quietly shaping the development and survival of AA as an organization. These Twelve Concepts, published by Bill W. in 1962, were designed to further direct the actions of those authorities responsible to the AA’s service organization. Though the concepts are the sets of beliefs held by those in authority, there must be some means to regularly legitimate or affirm those principles, and the implementation or exercise of these beliefs will have real consequences upon the organization, i.e., the subsequent tendency towards bureaucracy.

According to Kurtz, two types of changes would require AA to change in order to survive. One was internal, in that AA was growing in size of members, meeting, and geographically. The other change was external changes in the cultural environment, which would require innovation or adaptation in the way it communicated its message, both to members and

the “ever-increasing professional.” The treatment industry was begin to co-opting AA program and began to employ AA members as counselors in their program. Thus, though the members were being checked and sanctioned for violating or breaching the traditions, it was another matter when the AA organization decided they could “bend” the traditions in the best interests of the fellowship.

Accounts of Rational Authority

A portion of AA’s success can be attributed to the Bill W.’s talent at giving “written” accounts to defend his claims to authority and justify the need for administrative arrangements. The written account of AA’s charismatic beliefs are found in the Big Book of AA, the “bible” telling the story of AA’s founding, Bill’s miracle, and the recovery stories of the early members. The story of AA’s authority continues in *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, a book dedicated to giving further “accounts” of AA’s origins, the transformation of Bill W.’s charisma, the “invention” of the Traditions, and the transfer of the paternal authority of the Father of AA to the Conference delegates in 1955. Both of these books are well-read by members of AA (and NA) and have helped to tell the story of AA and legitimate the authority in writing. To get information describing AA’s rational beliefs, the story is only told in AA’s Service Manual, which includes the Twelve Concepts written by Bill W. in 1962. Researchers have overlooked the “concepts” and the role they play in the justification for the actions taken by the administration. In Kurtz’ (1979) text on AA, the Concepts are only cited twice and he mentions that members are unlikely to know or understand their importance.

The stages of development in AA leading to their rational beliefs may be seen as one of the “trajectories” of authority described by Weber when he discussed the change of charisma to traditional authority, and traditional authority to rational authority. If this is the case, then AA is

an organization that at some time or another in their development have exhibited each of Weber's Three Types of Legitimate Authority. In this next section, the discussion turns to assessing the Concepts for the characteristic Weber believed are associated with bureaucratic type of administrations and rational authority. The Twelve Concepts are listed below, in the long form first developed by Bill W., to be used as a reference for the comparison.

The Twelve Concepts of AA (the long form)

- 1.) The final responsibility and ultimate authority for A.A. world services should always reside in the collective conscience of our whole fellowship.
- 2.) When, in 1955, the A.A. groups confirmed the permanent charter for their General Service Conference, they thereby delegated to the Conference complete authority for the active maintenance of our world services and thereby made the Conference - excepting for any change in the Twelve Traditions or in Article 12 of the Conference Charter - the actual voice and the effective conscience for our whole Society.
- 3.) As a traditional means of creating and maintaining a clearly defined working relation between the groups, the Conference, the A.A. General Service Board and its several service corporations, staffs, committees and executives, and of thus insuring their effective leadership, it is here suggested that we endow each of these elements of world service with a traditional "Right of Decision."
- 4.) Throughout our Conference structure, we ought to maintain at all responsible levels a traditional "Right of Participation," taking care that each classification or group of our world

servants shall be allowed a voting representation in reasonable proportion to the responsibility that each must discharge.

5.) Throughout our world service structure, a traditional "Right of Appeal" ought to prevail, thus assuring us that minority opinion will be heard and that petitions for the redress of personal grievances will be carefully considered.

6.) On behalf of A.A. as a whole, our General Service Conference has the principal responsibility for the maintenance of our world services, and it traditionally has the final decision respecting large matters of general policy and finance. But the Conference also recognizes that the chief initiative and the active responsibility in most of these matters should be exercised primarily by the Trustee members of the Conference when they act among themselves as the General Service Board of Alcoholics Anonymous.

7.) The Conference recognizes that the Charter and the Bylaws of the General Service Board are legal instruments: that the Trustees are thereby fully empowered to manage and conduct all of the world service affairs of Alcoholics Anonymous. It is further understood that the Conference Charter itself is not a legal document: that it relies instead upon the force of tradition and the power of the A.A. purse for its final effectiveness.

8.) The Trustees of the General Service Board act in two primary capacities: (a) With respect to the larger matters of over-all policy and finance, they are the principal planners and administrators. They and their primary committees directly manage these affairs. (b) But with respect to our separately incorporated and constantly active services, the relation of the Trustees

is mainly that of full stock ownership and of custodial oversight which they exercise through their ability to elect all directors of these entities.

9.) Good service leaders, together with sound and appropriate methods of choosing them, are at all levels indispensable for our future functioning and safety. The primary world service leadership once exercised by the founders of A.A. must necessarily be assumed by the Trustees of the General Service Board of Alcoholics Anonymous.

10.) Every service responsibility should be matched by an equal service authority - the scope of such authority to be always well defined whether by tradition, by resolution, by specific job description or by appropriate charters and bylaws.

11.) While the Trustees hold final responsibility for A.A.'s world service administration, they should always have the assistance of the best possible standing committees, corporate service directors, executives, staffs, and consultants. Therefore the composition of these underlying committees and service boards, the personal qualifications of their members, the manner of their induction into service, the systems of their rotation, the way in which they are related to each other, the special rights and duties of our executives, staffs, and consultants, together with a proper basis for the financial compensation of these special workers, will always be matters for serious care and concern.

12.) General Warranties of the Conference: in all its proceedings, the General Service Conference shall observe the spirit of A.A. Tradition, taking great care that the conference never becomes the seat of perilous wealth or power; that sufficient operating funds, plus an ample reserve, be its prudent financial principal; that none of the Conference Members shall ever be

placed in a position of unqualified authority over any others; that all important decisions be reached by discussion, vote, and, whenever possible, by substantial unanimity; that no Conference action ever be personally punitive or an incitement to public controversy; that, though the Conference may act for the service of Alcoholics Anonymous, it shall never perform any acts of government; and that, like the Society of Alcoholics Anonymous which it serves, the Conference itself will always remain democratic in thought and action.

Rational Administration: The Office and the Board of Trustees

In Gellman's (1964) organizational analysis of AA, he provides a descriptive summary of the slow but cumulative process of bureaucratization and his account of the events supports Weber's explanation of how AA and other organizations may "drift" into a rational type of administration. According to Chapin, the bureaucratic process is follow the following pattern:

"committees are appointed...half-time services of executive secretary are provided...the work grows in volume... bylaws are adopted...the organization may be incorporated...funds accumulate and a bank account is established...an annual report is required....meanwhile, the organization finds more office space necessary. A full-time secretary is engaged.... Additional clerks are needed.... Office equipment is increased...An office manager is chosen. As time passes, the full-time staff grows in size, vested interests 'in the job' appear. Some staff persons become more concerned with the perpetuation of their jobs and guarding their rights than in the function and purpose of the organization...Along with the expansion of the staff hierarchy....the dignity and status of office take on added prestige and social positions is sought for by interested persons...All these tendencies are signs that point to the formalization of the organization which was originally quite innocent of bureaucratic trends and characteristics (Chapin, 1951).

Although Gellman feels that the above scenario is not “exactly descriptive of AA’s growth” he would agree that AA has become more rational and bureaucratic, thus the “general trend has been followed.” (Gellman, 1964; 149) The problems associated with this stage were recognized by Gellman, who argues: “If the movement successfully survives the second stage, the third is characteristically one of continued expansion and diversification. The movement becomes established and takes on a variety of organizational forms...At this stage a religious movement become a victim of its own success” (Gellman, 1964:149).

Gellman observes that AA is not “entirely free of bureaucratic trends” and that says that AA has shown a “growth in structure and functions” over the years. And that AA has shown “tendencies toward bureaucratic structure” (Gellman, 1964:149).

The Organizational Language of Rational Administration in AA

As suggested by Meyer and Rowan, the “vocabularies of structures” use by an organization can legitimate their activities with the outside world, and those organizations that fail to adapt, avoid the obvious standards, or migrate in their own direction away from accepted practices are subject to loss of legitimacy and decrease their ability to survive.

Discuss the language used in the concepts....

The organizational language may have begun to change in 1977 with surveys of the membership which began in 1968. The surveys were intended to gain legitimacy to external sources, in that, AA will be able to “furnish more accurate and scientific data about AA and its effectiveness to the growing number of professional—doctors, psychiatrists, social workers, law enforcement officials and others” (Kurtz, 1988:177).

The Service Office ought to “cooperate with agencies dealing with alcoholism” (Kurtz, 1988:175) legislation anonymously had helped to promote AA philosophy as the accepted means of member.

The theme of the 21st General Services Conference (GSC) was “Communication: Key to A.A. Growth, and this indicates a need to change how AA communicated their message, both to members, and the increasing number of treatment professional making up the “alcoholism treatment industry.” Changes were occurring in the larger culture, and in the organizational field that was to be soon called “the alcoholism industry.

The organizational language may have begun to change in 1977 with surveys of the membership which began in 1968. The surveys were intended to gain legitimacy to external sources, in that, AA will be able to “furnish more accurate and scientific data about AA and its effectiveness to the growing number of professional—doctors, psychiatrists, social workers, law enforcement officials and others.” Kurtz, 1988:177)

Two concerns were addressed at the Conference, one dealing with how to deal with “outside enterprises” emerging as the “alcoholism treatment industry. This was largely the result of the establishment of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) within the Federal government. This created a large new resource base but also began an increasing involvement and influence of “government attention to alcoholism and the provision of federal money for its treatment would irrevocably change the world in which Alcoholics Anonymous operated” (Kurtz, 1988: 163) and federal money which money and funding agencies.

1972-2003: The Structuration of the Field of Recovery Services Organizations (RSO)

In this section, I examine organizational field of Recovery Services for information about the extent of the structuration present during the third stage of AA's development. The assessment of the organizational field includes: 1) establishing if there is a shared common meaning system; 2) the boundaries of the field; 3) determining the number of organizations in the field, as well as the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were broader societal environmental changes that would increase the conversation between members of the field of "treatment services". One societal wide change that affected the field of Recovery Service organization was the widespread destigmatization of alcoholism. The definition of alcoholism had changed and being an alcoholic was being seen as a legitimate disability. This change in the shared common meaning system would restructure the boundaries of the field of Recovery Services.

Numerous government policies were beginning to have a coercive, if not willing hand in the changing the legislation. If the "legitimacy" of the disease of alcoholism had change, then it is likely that AA's legitimacy as a treatment would also benefit. This indirect change would increase the structuration of the field of alcohol and substance abuse treatment services.

Coercive isomorphic influences

AA, perhaps as a result of its entanglement with governmental policies, began receiving criticism, and several direct challenges were made to AA's claims about the treatment of alcoholism. One of the more notable challenges was the 1976 Rand Report, funded by the NIAAA. It suggested that alcoholism might be controlled by some means other than total abstinence and that some alcoholics could control their drinking.

Some have argued that AA's influence on the field has not been entirely positive. The influence of AA in its field is described in an article by Robert E. Tournier (1979), which stated: "Alcoholics Anonymous' continued domination of the alcoholism treatment field has fettered innovation" (Kurtz, 1988:176; Tournier, 1979). This statement indicates that not only did AA have to adapt to the field, but the field would have to adapt to AA. AA's belief that the only solution to alcoholism is spiritual constrained those in the field to develop alternative meaning systems that contradicted AA basic principles.

The affect of the field of Recovery Services Organizations on AA has come from several sources. AA is "coercively" affected by the actions of state agencies and through politically motivated legislation. For example, the Alcoholism Rehabilitation Act of 1968, the Comprehensive Alcohol and Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation Act passed in 1970, and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 would all have a direct affect on AA and on the field of Recovery Services. The change was prompted by treatment pioneers, celebrities, and some political figures and their efforts led to, the Hughes Act, helped to establish the federal agency specifically designed to direct federal efforts and became a voice in matters of the public health, the NIAAA. Early AA members, including well-placed politicians, celebrities, and academics had helped to influence the passage of this legislation from the "political" arm of AA, the National Council on Alcoholism, which could promote AA, shape public perceptions, government policy, in ways that would not contradict the Traditions.

AA was in turn shaped by the field; as witnessed by the aforementioned creation of the National Council on Alcoholism. This allowed the group to keep the letter of the 12 Traditions law against taking positions on outside issues. AA could continue saying that it had no formal opinion on increasing governmental attention to and was removed from having an opinion on the

funding of alcohol treatment that would be a contradiction of the Tradition. However, it was apparent to many that AA was benefiting from the shift in governmental policies.

Table 4.1 Timeline of Organizational Change in AA from 1934-2005

Date	Agent	Activity	Type of Beliefs	Type of Structure	Type of Isomorphism
1934	Bill W.	Bill's spiritual experience	C	C	mimetic
1935	Bill/Bob	AA's founding-1 st proof	C	T	mimetic
1938	Bill/Bob	Rockefeller Donation	C	C	normative
1938	Bill/Bob	Alcoholic Foundation	C	T	coercive
1938	Bill	Twelve Steps written	C		mimetic
1939	AA	Big Book published	C	C	mimetic
1938	AA	Bills' letter to Jung	C		normative
1940	AA	Rockefeller Dinner	C	C	normative
1940	AA	1 st World Service Office	R	R	coercive
1942	Fellowship	Challenge to Bill's authority	C	R	
1945	Fellowship	Marty forms NCA	C	R	normative
1949	AA	AMA recognizes AA	C		normative
1950	Bob	Dr. Bob dies-transfers power	T	T	
1950	Bill	Traditions adopted	T	T	
1951	GSC	1 st Service Conference	T	T	normative
1955	Bill	20 th Anniv. Convention	T	T	
1962	Bill	Writes the 12 Concepts	C	R	normative

CHAPTER 5

A CASE STUDY OF NARCOTICS ANONYMOUS

This chapter details a case study of Narcotics Anonymous (NA). Following the outline of the case study of AA, this study of NA uses the Revised Model of Weber's Authority Types to guide the assessment of the organizational structures of NA with the intent of distinguishing the various "mixtures and combinations" of authority beliefs and administration adopted by the organization. In addition to reviewing the type of authority beliefs professed by the organization, the determination of authority type is made by identifying the specific claims and justifications, i.e., the authority accounts made by its organizational actors. The next task of the study is to define the different types of administrative structures based on organizational characteristics, practices, and from the types of "vocabularies of structures" used by NA's actors during the different stages of their history. The case study will then make observations of the organizational field of NA and will discuss the degree of "structuration" in the field of Recovery Services Organizations over time.

Before beginning the identification and description of NA's type of authority and administrative structures, the organizational field and the institutional environment at the time of NA's founding is discussed. The benefit of this approach is show that NA emerged into a organizational field already highly structured by AA, thus helping to illustrate the over-riding mimetic influence AA had on the development of NA as an organization.

The Early Institutional Environment of NA

One of the main arguments of institutional theories suggests that the environment of an organization is the most influential factor in the development of any organization's structure. DiMaggio (1993) explains that to conduct an analysis of organizational structure, even for those unique types found in AA or NA, the researcher must first determine the "structuration" of the field in which that organization exists. The concept of an organizational field is based on the observation that organizations are open-systems influenced by the relationships and interactions with other organizations. To better understand NA, it is important to consider how their ideology, structural arrangements, and successful development over time are linked to the actions of individuals and the collective activities of other organizations. Organizations can be considered to be a part of the same field if they recognize their linkages to other organizations, realize they share a common meaning systems and engage in similar activities (DiMaggio, 1983), but the boundaries of the field must be discovered and defined on the basis of empirical investigation (Scott, 1994; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this section, the extent of the structuration, including, the common meaning system, the number of organizations in a field, and the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions with NA are assessed and discussed.

At the time of NA's emergence in the late 1940s till mid 1950s, the organizational field surrounding AA was in the beginning processes of becoming "structured." AA had been legally organized in 1938, and only three years after its founding, it had established the Alcoholic Foundation, a non-profit charitable type of organization to handle the money generated by their activities. AA had linked it self to prominent members of societies and received the financial support of John Rockefeller, which gave them both financial and social legitimacy. AA had

begun a promotion program to advance their organization and inform the public. AA was getting noticed from outside sources due to contacts with the American Public Health Association (APHA) and speeches made by Bill W. at conferences held by the American Medical Association (AMA). These activities provided a forum for AA's ideas on alcoholism and interactions with professionals in the established institutional fields. Also, with the acceptance of AA, these activities served to give "external criteria" of worth to AA programs and helped to structure "friendly" relations between members of other professions that might have become territorial about AA entering their field. Bill W., the founder of AA, made concerted efforts to reach out, and often allay the fears, of both medical and religious professionals and groups interested in this emerging social movement.

AA had been interacting with other organizations, and informally structuring the relationships among field members, but these "friendly" relations occurred before the Traditions, which would set new rules and create restrictions for those attempting to engage in "recovery services." At this time, the mid 1950s, the field of recovery services did not display a high degree of "structuration." Most of the interactions between organizations were informal and limited to personal interaction with prominent members of others' field. However, by the late 1950s, AA was the predominant actor in the field of recovery services and the field had become complex. Those involved in recovery services were the mostly the anonymous and loosely connected members of AA, who were working behind the scenes and inadvertently were developing and spreading a shared meaning system based on AA's ideology. The only large "coercive" force of the environment were the executives and agents of government policy, i.e., bureaucrats and politicians and the administrative, and those administrators of criminal justice, i.e. prison wardens, judges, and prosecutors. AA had begun to make contacts within the prison system, such

as, in the Lexington program, and. through these Institutional committees, AA was having a major influence on the actions of anyone attempting to establish a foothold or have a voice in the recovery dialogue.

For NA, their organizational field was more local and less structured. In California, NA members, based on what AA had been doing, began to form Institutional Committees within their groups as a means to make informal contacts with prison officials, mental health administrators, and local law enforcement interested in the NA program. In late spring of 1953, Captain Hamilton with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) had asked Institutional Committee about starting an “AA meeting” for a group of addicts. These specially held meetings were probably a carbon copy of the AA meetings being held at the time, except, for the fact that AA would not have approved of the forced participation. The Steps and Traditions of AA emphasized that membership was voluntary and members had to be willing to attend not “coerced” with any promises of reduced sentences. Although, the LAPD referred a number of people to these meetings, the records indicate that only 3-4 meetings were held, and the “group” only continued to meet for about two months.

Stage One (The Protean Stage 1947-1959): The Two Origins of NA

In this section of the paper, the discussion will focus on NA at their “protean” stage in their development. The term is used because NA (as an organization) at this time does not have a established set of beliefs that legitimate its authority and the administrative structure is “amorphous”, i.e., can not maintain any continuous functioning as an organization. Although individuals would emerge as leaders and make efforts to create a viable spin-off of the AA model for addicts, these two attempts to replicate the AA model of organizational structure, the New

York version of NA and the California version of NA, are discussed to gain insight into the problems of “protean” organizations as their development.

The case study of NA begins with the following two questions: What type of authority is claimed by early NA leaders? What type of administrative structure is implemented for this each version of NA? Institutional theory proposes that the meaning systems and “building blocks” of organizational structures exist within the field and all NA would need to do is to choose from the acceptable models and gain legitimacy to insure their survival. After determining the type of authority and structure selected by NA, the focus of the study turns to the environment of NA, and asks: What was the nature of the organizational field and its degree of structuration at the time of the NA’s early attempts at founding an organization? Of special interest are those inter-organizational linkages that served as a resource of legitimacy, thus contributing or constraining the formation and success of the organization. With the goal of explaining why the early organizational efforts by members in NA of New York and the California NA were not able to survive, the study will observe those issues confronting the authority agents when adopting types of authority and forms of administrative structures in attempts to become isomorphic (or not) with their environment.

If you were to ask any active member of AA, most of them could easily recount in detail the story of how their founder, Bill W. had a spiritual awakening. This founding event served as clear example of Bill W’s rightful claim to a “charismatic” type of authority. The story of AA’s founding, though romanticized, serves the task of grounding the origins and legitimacy of the organization in real situations, in that, there is a special person, a unique experience, and a defining event that declares and document the beginning of the organization. The belief that Bill W. was guided by the divine grace of a higher power and his creation of the revolutionary type

of structure fellowship clearly qualifies AA as a charismatic type of authority based on the criteria established in Weber's typology of legitimate authority.

Did NA have the benefit of an equally charismatic individual to spark the origin of the organization and attract committed members? The answer to this question can be answered by asking the typical member of NA is asked who founded their organization. Some members of NA might argue that NA began with Danny Carlson, who was introduced to the AA program by a recovering alcoholic, Houston S. while at a Federal Prison Hospital for addicts in Lexington, Kentucky. After Danny Carlson release from "treatment", he returned to his home in New York City, and officially incorporated an organization called Narcotics Anonymous in March 1951. Others informed member will claim the real NA (as they like to say: "NA as we know it") began in 1953 in California with another AA member, Jimmy K., who gathered other alcoholics together and had meetings where addicts were welcomed, based on the belief that the AA program should work for addicts. These two different "accounts" of the origins of NA reveal the problem of identifying the type of authority driving the development in its earliest days.

The known accounts of the origins of NA beliefs are somewhat convoluted, and less clear than those of AA. Further, the type of organizational structure implemented to support and guide the NA organization at that time is also unclear. Somewhat ironically, NA members are more likely to know that AA was started by Bill W., since the story of Bill W. is a vital part of the oral tradition upon which members of all 12 Step programs base their own conversion experience. NA founding moments did not have the advantage of a similar "hero myth" in its cultural toolkit. While AA has accounts of its origins beginning with one founder at one specific and momentous point in time, the creation of the NA would slowly appear from a mixture of sources over a long period of time. Unlike AA, NA is not based on inspiration and motivated by a spiritual

experience; instead, NA would develop by the slow and habitual adoption of AA's idea of recovery through the Twelve Steps and by closely modeling the administrative structures on AA.

1947-1956: New York Narcotics Anonymous (NA)

The following discussion will explore how closely the version of NA founded in New York City in the late 1940s meets the criteria of the three types of authority outlined by Weber (1968). The first recorded attempt to apply the Twelve Steps of AA to addicts occurred in 1947 when Houston S., a recovering alcoholic, began holding a meetings for "patients" confined to the federal program at the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky. Clients at the hospital were voluntarily admitted to this cross between a large-public mental health hospital and a prison. Individuals sent to the "Farm" were often convicted of drug crimes or drug-related crimes and were offered "treatment" as a precursor or alternative to prison.

Weber and the Authority Type of Danny Carlson and New York NA

At the Lexington Farm, Houston S. met Danny Carlson and introduced him to AA's program of recovery. Danny Carlson had become addicted at 16 when given morphine to relieve the pain caused by an ear infection. His addiction eventually led to criminal offenses and jail time, and on his seventh or eighth trip to Lexington to deal with the physical addiction of heroin use, he met Houston S., a recovering alcoholic. The AA program had not worked for Danny in the past, but on this occasion he "kicked the habit" and more importantly, the revolutionary changes in his attitude was attributed to the beliefs that the problem of addicts were no longer seen as "criminals or degenerates—but being sick people trying to get well" (Ellison, 1954).

Was Danny Carlson a "charismatic" individual meeting the criteria established by Weber? According to Weber (1968), charismatic authority requires extraordinary personal gifts in the leader and the calling to a mission. Although Danny may have had a life changing spiritual

experience while at Lexington and may have “gotten” the Steps through his association with an AA member, the evidence would suggest that Danny Carlson was not charismatic type of individual, in the model proposed by Weber and others.

Based on the early media reports and newspaper articles, Danny did not have the “extraordinary gifts” seen to be associated with charisma, nor did he declare a link to “transcendent powers”. Instead, Danny Carlson took a rather rational approach to recovery. This New York version of NA had a much different core set of beliefs than AA, and they showed even less attention to following the Tradition’s, although, mimicking those practices might have proved a success, based on the of the accomplishments of AA members to maintain personal abstinence and create a functioning organization. Although, Danny Carlson had good intentions on spreading the message of AA to addicts, his mission was not able to attract a lasting set of followers.

The differences in the New York version of NA and AA began with the codified beliefs of the organization. New York NA had adopted 13 steps as their basic principles to recovery, and though an adaptation of AA’s Twelve 12 Steps, there was one noticeable difference. Rather than the mention or reference to higher power or God that is explicitly found in the six of the 12 Steps of AA, the 13 steps suggested by the New York version of NA only directly mentions God in their final step, where they asked, in bold letters: **GOD HELP ME!**

The Twelve Steps of AA show a marked reliance on a spiritual force in order for members to recover from their addiction. For example, in Step Two, the person seeking help is asked to “believe in a Power greater to ourselves” and in Step Three of AA, members need to “make a decision to turn our will over to a God as we understand him”. The importance of a supernatural power is consistent throughout the steps and members are asked to seek “through

prayer and mediation to improve their conscious contact with God as we understood him.” Based on the emphasis of being connected to a supernatural or “spiritual” power in the Twelve Steps, these beliefs are most likely to legitimate the charismatic form of authority.

In contrast, the presence of a charismatic type of belief, i.e., one that Weber argued was based on affect or emotion and the personal devotion of the follower (Weber, 1946), is lacking in the beliefs upon which the New York version of NA was founded. The only mention of God in NA of New York is in step 13, and in the previous steps, the person is asked to develop inner strength, find someone to help them, find a purpose in life, and learn to accept their fears. From these beliefs, the adapted version of the NA’s principles are more focused on group therapy and the cure for addiction, though a disease, will deal with the psychological aspects of their condition. The change from the emphasis on the physical illness as a result of an allergy to alcohol to a more of an emotional malady that can be cured from seeking help from other members with a common condition. The Steps of New York AA sees the solution to the problem of addiction is achieved through accepting responsibility, realizing their fears, and developing inner strength, rather than the intervention of supernatural power.

In the Big Book of AA, Bill W. promoted the idea that AA was a religious solution to a physical allergy. The nature of the problem for NA in New York would replace the spiritual appeal for recovery with the idea that communal assistance was needed to address psychological shortcomings. According to Danny’s view of the problem, “Addiction’s like a disease you cannot cure. But you can learn to control it” (Ellison, 1954). For AA, recovery was a miracle experience, first by divine intervention of the variety described by Bill W. in his own “hot flash” encounter with a higher power, and then, as something that could be learned and taught and achieved through a careful working the required steps.

Based on the organizational descriptions of the authority beliefs promoted by NA during this stage of their development, it can be suggested that New York NA was founded more on rational beliefs, than on the legitimacy of a charismatic experience. Though the New York NA organization has a spiritual basis, it does not appear to have the same charismatic force upon which AA was founded. Danny Carlson did not have the characteristics of a charismatic founder, and he does not attempt to follow in the footsteps of Bill W., and more importantly, he did not promote a charismatic type of structure or activities, which will be discussed in a following section of the paper.

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time is based on rational beliefs.

Authority Accounts of New York NA

The case study of New York NA will now consider the type of authority accounts made by Danny Carlson. The most notable accounts from this stage in NA's history are found in two of the few remaining documents left from the early days of Danny's Carlson organization. One is a letter to the State Board of Education of New York and the other a letter to the Department of Social Welfare of New York. By these accounts, it appears that Danny Carlson was attempting to get support from these organizations as a seal of approval for his activities. Danny had legal representation and the letter speak in the terms of the professional relationship between the organizations. This tactic may have contributed to the problems, as he tried to become to professional, and was co-opted by the local officials and he was receiving compensation and was being supported by the activities, then didn't need members.

The following is an account of the one of the early meetings held by Danny Carlson. The format was a speaker meeting and there were said to be more public officials, than there were

addicts in attendance. His account was of his own recovery, and essentially never created a legitimate authority account to support the legitimacy of this claim to be the “founder of NA. Legally, he had legitimacy, but was not able to attract members like someone with charismatic authority.

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the authority accounts indicate that NA New York at this stage of development would fits Weber’s definition of authority legitimized by rational beliefs.

The Rational Administrative Structure of New York NA

Danny’s design for New York NA was more rational in design. Early in the development of the organization Danny was concerned with funding sources and found ways to get office space paid by linking his cause to those of local non-profit organizations and government agencies. Danny established a Board of Directors (not composed of addicts) for his legally incorporated non-profit organization, and he made concerted efforts to establish inter-organizational connections with the YMCA, Father Dan Egan (known at that time as the “Junkie Priest”), and with Major Dorothy Berry of the Salvation Army. It can be logically assumed that NA of New York structure would be directly affected by such a tight relationship with the established actors in the organizational field.

New York NA adopted the model of administration from its organizational field and mimicked the activities of the Salvation Army, government agencies dealing with alcoholism, and the business model learned by Danny Carlson while at Lexington. Based on the organizational descriptions of the administrative arrangements adopted by NA during this stage of their development, it can be suggested that New York NA was founded on the basic principle

of a rational administration, despite the beliefs that may have legitimated its authority and the small number of members and activities.

Based on the administrative characteristics of NA during this stage in their development, the organizational structure has the qualities of a Weber's patriarchal type of administration.

The Organizational Language of NA New York

In a newsletter dated 1963, the goals of the NA in New York were outlined in one of their first documents called "Our Purpose." They gave credit to AA for their "precepts" and "claim no originality" for their beliefs. The purpose of the organization at the time was to "foster means of rehabilitation for addicts and carry a message of hope for the future.", The combination of a spiritual program from AA with more medical/therapeutic model of recovery is evidenced by their stated mission of providing to others "our group therapies as prescribed by NA," thus carrying the message of recovery; and to "to acquaint the public" with the cause of addicts behavior and "the seriousness of the disease of addiction" (NA Newsletter, May 21, 1963).

The structure of the organization of NA in New York was also different than the type that would emerge in California. Early on, Danny Carlson had legally incorporated an organization, and officially taken decided to adopt the name of Narcotics Anonymous. By taking the name of "Anonymous," he gained the legitimacy already established by AA. No mention of using the traditions is suggested as part of the organizational principles guiding the rules to structure the relationships between members and the external environment of NA in New York. In AA's early days, Bill W. and the early members of AA did not have to follow the Traditions, and it appears that Danny Carlson did not either. His activities remained outside the field and were not constrained by abiding to the AA model for organizational structure. AA had benefited in the early days by not having the Traditions. For example, they had received outside contributions,

they had allowed themselves to be in the media, and there were few prohibitions on external affiliations and endorsement.

Based on the organizational language used at this time, it appears that NA New York was a rational type of administration.

New York NA and the Structuration of the Organizational Field

What was the nature of the organizational field that NA was entering? The federal program gave them some legitimacy, and recognition, from respected agents such as Dr. Victor Vogel. They were receiving help in providing meetings space from the local YMCA and had ties with the Major Dorothy Berry of the Salvation Army. Most telling of their connections, are the formal letters written by Danny Carlsen to State and Federal agencies to gain support for his activities. In these responses to his inquiries, as it appears he was taking more of “legal” and educational role, their responses, seem to reinforce this assumption.

Although, operating in New York, home of AA’s headquarters, there is no record of New York NA attempting to join forces and get the approval by writing or contacting AA Service Office. Instead, by changing the Steps of AA, through adding one, removing the “God” parts and paraphrasing the rest, it appears that NA of New York was trying to set themselves apart from AA, in at least two ways. The effect of the “psychological” leanings of Dr. Vogel and the medical direction of the Lexington program influenced the beliefs, but also, the structural models.

1953-1959: California Narcotics Anonymous (NA)

In the following section, the nature of authority present in NA during the 1950 and 1960s is assessed: first, by the characteristics Weber (1968) outlined in his typology of authority; secondly, by identifying the authority accounts, i.e., those specific claims and justifications of the

power to command and from the “vocabularies of structures”, i.e., the type of organizational language used to describe the administrative practices, policies, and procedures.

Did Jimmy K. have the personal characteristics that would qualify him as a charismatic leader? Was his claim to authority legitimated through charismatic beliefs, i.e., a connection to the divine? If he possessed charismatic authority, did he also construct a “charismatic” type of structure to distribute the power among the members of the organization? Based on Peyrot’s personal interview, Jimmy K. was not only an original member of the founding group in California, but he was also a “charismatic leader in the mold of Bill W. of AA” (Peyrot, 1985). The historical record is replete with the cumulative affect Jimmy K. had on NA, as he performed a multitude of roles over the course of his association with NA. From 1953 and until his death in 1986, Jimmy K. was the main author of the early literature, the de-facto office manager, and member of WSC Board of Trustees and chairman of the Office Board of Directors. However, prior research has not presented convincing empirical evidence that he was a “charismatic” leader possessing the characteristics described by Weber’s typology (1968). The fact that Jimmy K. was not charismatic in personality or in legitimating his authority to other members would have lasting consequences on the development of NA as an organization.

Weber and the Authority Type of Early California NA: Jimmy K. and Traditional Authority

The biographical information on Jimmy K. is incomplete making it difficult for researchers to assess if his personal characteristics fit Weber’s criteria on charisma type of individuals. Few accurate facts are known about Jimmy’s early years and less is known concerning his ability to create and maintain the administrative duties of the NA organization. From the few records available on Jimmy K.’s, the literature indicates he was born 1911, in Paisley, Scotland, of Irish parents. He immigrated to the United States as a young boy and lived

in NYC and Philadelphia. Jimmy entered prep school as avenue to enter the Catholic priesthood and around this time, Jimmy's addiction began. As a young man, Jimmy ended up in Los Angeles where he was married, had a family of three boys and three girls, lived in a small house, and held steady employment in the roofing trade (Stone, 1997: 38). From this scant information, it appears that the stable nature of Jimmy's family life does not fit the model of the typical charismatic founder, as described by Weber. For Weber, a charismatic individual turned away from the world, were not interested in material possessions, and remains apart from the routine activities of everyday life (Weber, 1968).

In the classic example of Weber's the patriarchal type of authority, Jimmy K. deserves his title of the Father of NA. In his positions of authority in NA he was basing his right to command on beliefs of traditional authority, and his organizing activities were more representative of Weber's description of a those "traditional" types of administrative structure. This may be a fine distinction, only of interest to Weber's acolytes, but this continued insistence by Jimmy K on "following" the traditions of AA and equally holding the administrative tasks within his "household" would have major consequences upon the development of NA.

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a "mixture and combination" of beliefs and administrative type.

Authority Accounts of California NA

Charismatic founders of organization are often seen to display their chosen status in early stages of their life. Retrospective accounts of Bill W. childhood have been told, and these "hero myths" are cited examples of his innate potential for charisma or extraordinary achievements. In the case of the founder of NA, there is hero myth type of story retold about Jimmy from his childhood. Jimmy was said to have befriended the town-drunk, a man named Crookshank. The

story is told that Jimmy once found him bleeding and needing help, and with Jimmy's help, he was taken to hospital. When his mom took him to see him in a mental hospital, Jimmy said: "when I grow up I'm going to help people like Mr. Crookshank." Jimmy was said to have never forgotten the experience, and what it might mean for his future, "even though he did not fully understand what he meant at the time." (Stone, 1997: 38) These types of "hero myth" stories are common to charismatic type leaders and are recounted as a sign that the "hero" had been destined for greatness, and chosen for God's work, even at an early age. The problem with these stories is that they are often created after the fact, and the coincidental events of a normal childhood, become seem as "extraordinary" in light of their later achievements.

One prerequisite of charismatic authority is a "calling" by a higher power or some extraordinary experience that sparks the individual on their revolutionary. The following recollection of events was said to have occurred when Jimmy got clean in 1950. This account is Jimmy K.'s version of a spiritual experience—unusually similar to Bill W. "hot flash" of a spiritual awakening as found in the Big Book of AA (Wilson, 1976; 13). Jimmy recalls:

"On the third night, he had been asleep for awhile when he awoke in abject terror...he felt paralyzed; he couldn't move; he was unable to scream or ask for help. It was then he saw a great big round glow of light ahead of him, 'it was like a great big orange disk of hammered silver with a large post on either side and a caduceus around them and some steps'. His mind leapt to the fear from his rejection of religion and he felt 'they were going to get him'. For an instant the fear continued, then the fear passed and he was not afraid. And the voice told him what to do. But he said he couldn't do that. But the voice spoke again and struck away the mental shield he was trying to hide behind. Jimmy knew the voice knew him too well. ...this was the first Higher Power he had ever found. And for the next twenty-four hours he knew complete and absolute serenity." (Stone, 1997, 39)

This type of spiritual experience found in the above story is typical for most charismatic leaders. Bill W. had a similar experience which he regularly recounted in the early years of AA

as a means of attracting new members and as the basis for his rightful claim to elevated position in AA. It is obvious that members of AA accepted this first “miracle” of recovery, and many members since, can also lay claim to a similar “spiritual awakening” as the basis for their own recovery.

Based on Jimmy K.’s “vision”, this extraordinary experience would qualify him in the same category as the charismatic founder of AA, as suggested by Peyrot (1985). However, this accounting of Jimmy’s “spiritual experience” cannot be found in any of NA readings, and the above experience was not shared with members until 1982, long after NA members would have benefited by the claim that their program was directly sanctioned and guided by a higher power. In first telling his story to members shortly before his death, Jimmy claimed that the “NA program came, in part, as a result of that experience...He felt that he had made contact with some inner part of himself and the entire universe, and that was the Higher Power. It was undoubtedly this experience and his single-minded determination to make NA succeed that sustained him in the middle and late 50s.” (Stone, 1997:39)

Although, the success of Jimmy’s own personal recovery may have been based on and benefited from the experience, the failure of Jimmy to communicate this experience to other members, and have members join in his mission and share his vision of recovery may contradict the suggestions that Jimmy K. possessed charismatic authority. Jimmy K. may have had the right to claim his spiritual experience, in the model of Bill W., but this message and mission did not have the same emotional appeal and lead members accepting the call to do the work of a higher power. The available evidence on Jimmy K. early effort at starting NA indicates he was unable to legitimate his claim to charismatic authority.

If Jimmy K. was not a charismatic leader, then what type of authority was the basis for NA's development? To answer the question, the organizational records of this time reveal another claim to authority in what can be called the birth announcement for NA. On August 17th, 1953, the founding members made claim to their existence as an organization: "This Society or movement shall be known as Narcotics Anonymous", as the stated in the Bylaws. Members of NA were making their claim: to a name, an ideology, the founding principles, the relationships to each other and a higher power. At that time, NA was no more than a group of individuals holding meetings, so the main purpose of calling themselves an "Anonymous" type of organization was the ability to link their efforts with the success of AA and give themselves the "legitimacy" by association.

Although, few archival records still exist, Jimmy K. made a point of keeping the original sign-in sheet for the first "official" NA meeting in California, held on August 17th, 1953. This organizational artifact has been crucial in establishing that the California version of NA was the rightful heir to AA and confirms Jimmy's place in NA history as one of the last sole survivors of "NA ass we know it." The founding date of August 17th, 1953, would with time, become to hold some mythical and legendary status as the founding moment of NA. In later years, members would memorialize the moment by creating T-shirts with the original sign-in sheet for the meeting. The first formal claim indicates the type of authority and administrative structure present in NA at this stage of development. They would have the same type of traditional authority beliefs as AA, i.e., the Traditions and they would use the AA model to guide their organization.

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a "mixture and combination" of beliefs and administrative type.

The Traditional Administrative Structure of California NA

In 1953, five or six members of AA met in Sun Valley, California, with a singular goal of organizing a regular meeting for narcotics addicts. Borrowing the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions from Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), and believing that the same spiritual principles would work for addicts, this group of mostly members of AA, would be the first coordinated attempt to form a “governing” or steering” “committee” to oversee and direct the activities of a small but emerging fellowship. These few members would meet six or seven times over the course of a couple of months to write the bylaws, elect officers, assign duties, secure resources, and initiate communication with the outside world to establish a regular meeting of individuals seeking to address their common drug problem. In accordance with the Traditions of AA, the steering committee had no formal strategy or long terms intentions other than the goal of staying together long enough to hold meetings for a year. Although, the Twelve Traditions clearly state that members “ought never be organized”, an exception is made if the members followed the principle of being a “committee directly responsible to those they serve” (AA Traditions, 1946/55).

There is evidence of the democratic nature of the group, based on the following notation: “Any Committee member who is in continual disagreement with the majority voice in the committee affairs to the point of departure from the traditional and accepted welfare of the Group may be asked to resign from such committee. On refusal to resign such member may be removed by a majority committee vote.” (NA Bylaws, 1953) Based on the information from the Bylaws of NA describing that they were local in the scope of activities, simple in goals, and the officials had with limited authority, it may be concluded that NA was an organization with a democratic-collectivist type of structure (Weber, 1968; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). However, other

information of the time indicates that NA was trying to install a bureaucratic and rational form of administration for their group's activities. For example, the meeting minutes indicate the use of formal language to describe their activities, such as, stating the chairman: "shall preside at all meetings of the governing committee" and had the "right to appoint committees wherever such are required." The formal language used in the minutes seems to create a legal form of authority as it describes that first mentioned of specialization of duties usually associated with more formal organization. The division of labor was in a chairman and "in event of his ability to act," the person next in seniority "shall act as chairman in his stead." The duties of the secretary "shall be" to keep a "full and complete record of the business transaction" and keep the books, accounts, and disperse the funds of the group."

At the next meeting, the members proclaimed that: "All laws or amendments there to pertaining to the organization as a whole, all business matters, publicity, etc. must require a majority vote of the Steering Committee (note changed name) for enactment. Also, it was decided that that a member could not hold office or serve as a "committeeman" if they "simultaneously" served in a other "group of this kind." In the next meeting, on September 14, 1953, a member was voted in as alternate "to relieve" the Chairman of his duties. For a group that is not supposed to be organized and have any rules, the members of California NA held six or seven meetings to decide how to run just one meeting. Based on this information, it appears that NA members had become very formal and bureaucratic in there efforts to start the organization, and the burden of the rules, with out the legitimate authority to back the rules, which may have led to the numerous resignations.

The records of the final meeting of the Steering Committee reveal some of the problems in NA's development as a functioning organization. The acting secretary, in a one sentence

notation dated October 5th, 1953, states that the group recognized the absence of a member, which suggests the person may have relapsed, then the next four entries were all “accepted resignation” notations, including a resignation of the Chairperson, Jimmy K. These records present evidence of the problems threatening the success and survival of NA at this time in their development. According to Jimmy K recollection of the events: “I resigned...as chairperson of NA before I really got going...because we were not following the Traditions of Narcotics Anonymous” (Stone, 1997:32).

Based on the organizational descriptions of the administrative arrangements adopted by NA during this stage of their development, it can be suggested that NA was an unusual configuration of many different administrative types.

The Organizational Language of NA California

In June of 1953, “NA, as we know it” will become the identifier used by California members of NA to clearly distinguish them from all previous other versions of NA. This statement is a direct claim to have their own authority and organization and not have any association with the group from New York. California members would not have considered themselves to be a part the NA forming in New York, although, they were aware of there is evidence of knowing of their existence and sharing of a common affliction. This strategic separation of the two NAs, rather than both uniting and joining forces to contribute to the common growth and serving to unite the bi-coastal fellowship, instead, led to a stunted and isolated development of both because of a need to establish territorial claims to be the one and only legitimate NA.

The organizational language of the governing committee reveals the version of NA was being “morphed” from AA. AA had shown support for previous attempts to start a similar

program for addict. The decision was to change the name of the organization from AA-NA to Narcotics Anonymous was predicated by contact with the General Service Office of AA, who suggested that use of the AA name would be a violation of the Traditions.

The group of members from California would adopt the Traditions of AA and attempt to implement an administration structure based on or copied from AA's minimalist's model (as proposed in the Twelve Traditions). The level of organization development was primitive with the only function is to hold semi-regular meetings under the name of Narcotics Anonymous. By

From 1955 to 1960, Jimmy K. would say that there was no "real" NA, and for "about four years, there was no Narcotics Anonymous." According from Stone, in 1973, Jimmy K. supported the type of authority found in the traditions: "Jimmy was harsh in his judgment of NA during this period... one of the things we said...that we would call ourselves an NA organization and fellowship as long as we used the Steps and Traditions. So when we stopped using the Traditions and became a one-man rule proposition, there was no longer really any NA. It died out and there were only a few of us left" (Stone, 1997:37). This statement by Jimmy K. is his claim to being the rightful "definer" of authority and is also an "account" of the activities that will retrospectively delegitimize another individual's claims to authority.

Based on the organizational language used at this time, it appears that NA was a mixture rational and traditional type of administration.

California NA and the Structuration of the Organizational Field

In a published interview in 1985, Jimmy said: "They were aware of the New York Group but felt that it was not true to the program as originally outlined by AA. Strict adherence to this program, including following all the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions, was seen as crucial for the organization" and Jimmy and the California group "believed in anonymity and putting

principles before personalities,” while criticizing Danny and the New York group for violating the tradition. (Stone, 1997:40). California members they would not have “considered themselves part of the same organization” as the members of NA in New York (Stone, 1997:13).

The first evidence for the “structure of the organizational field” can be found in the meeting minutes from the time. Records show that members were required to have one year clean if they are qualified to take meetings to prison and hospitals. A member was assigned the task of contacting all heads of Narcotics Division of Police Departments and newspapers to notify them of the meeting. The meeting was held in a Salvation Army meeting hall, a location that was also being used to hold AA meetings. Around this time there was a local “half-way” house for alcoholics, called Shrier’s Dryer, and a well-established and operating local AA club. This data is an indication of the extent and structuration of the field at the time.

Peyrot states that the “NA and AA organizations are completely independent of each other” (1985:1512), but this ignores the importance of inter-organizational relationships, and the literature provides evidence of indirect relationships. Although formal alliances are prohibited by the Traditions, the reality is that each one is part of an emerging institutional environment are linked by the “organizational vocabularies, institutional rules, and the structural, procedural, and personnel conformity that are collectively defined” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and will have the same “building blocks” of authority beliefs and administrative models to construct a working organization.

Stage Two (1960-1976): Jimmy K., the Traditions, and Patriarchy

In 1960, with only four people, and “the Steps for the individual and the Traditions for the groups”, this fledgling organization of recovering addicts once more tried to spread their message. NA had briefly died out in 1959, and with the few members left over, Jimmy K. looked

to the past for answers to their problem--the failure of NA was attributed to a lack of following the beliefs set down in the Traditions. This second stage of NA's organizational development is defined by organizational problems created by NA's determination to maintain the Traditions as outlined by AA. At this time, Jimmy K. leadership position depended on closely following the strategy of AA, despite the fact that NA had not experienced any semblance of their success in attracting and keeping members. Both internal and external forces would lead to NA's "patriarchal" type of administration, Jimmy K.'s claim as the father of NA, and the continued dependence on the Twelve Traditions as NA's core set of beliefs.

Based on the historical literature and organizational documents, the authority beliefs and the type of administrative structures found in NA at this stage are assessed on two levels: first, based on Weber (1968) criteria for traditional types of authority and "patriarchal" types of administration; and secondly, using the types of authority accounts and "vocabularies of structures" documented in the literature on AA. Utilizing the Revised Model of Weber's Authority Types, this research will assess the "mixtures and combinations" of authority beliefs and administrative structures found in AA. After determining the type of authority and administration, this research will document the degree of structuration in the organizational field of Recovery Services.

Weber and the Authority Type of NA: Jimmy K. and NA's Patriarchal Authority

During the 1960s and the early 1970s, Narcotics Anonymous was going through a period of uncertainty in its development. Members were staying clean for extended periods, meetings were being held on a regular basis, and the groups were beginning to coalesce into specific territorial areas. Some basic literature had been written and the NA message was spontaneously erupting and slowly circulating across the United States, Canada, and as far as Australia.

However, there were some major problems. There were financial problems and group donations were barely sufficient to sustain their groups activities, much less fund the activities of an administrative office. Without effective administration there was lack of communication between members and mailed inquiries to NA about seeking assistance for addicts were not going to the correct address, besides the “service center” seemed to every few months. A phone hotline was started to reach out and provide information about NA, but it could not be manned on a regular basis, while others questioned whether this tactic might violate the Tradition. There was no structure to NA as an organization, and the groups were so autonomous and loosely connected, they had no real voice in the decisions and no representation of their needs. Groups were beginning to ask: how is the donated money being used, who has the authority to assign duties to the members, and who is in charge? The rights to claim authority and more crucial, the obligations of the emerging administration, or “offices” was being questioned.

NA had functioned over the last ten years on the simple faith in their cause and as one member describes it: “good guesses, opinion, or misinformation”. The only certainty at the time was that AA was a success and NA members hoped that if they closely followed the beliefs and practices set down by AA, then NA would survive. But AA was different, AA members had their Big Book, which served to bind members to a common experience and purpose, while NA had no defining literature. More importantly, NA members did not have a legitimate “founder” with a claim to authority and a functioning administration or office to carry out and implement those beliefs.

What were Jimmy’s claims and justification for authority? In times of uncertainty, Jimmy answer was to follow the AA model and copy their procedures and practices. Jimmy strategy was to follow the Traditions because the beliefs supported his position of authority, but the Traditions

also prevented the organization from having capable administrative offices designed to handle the everyday, routine operations of a growing fellowship. Even AA did not have to follow the traditions at its origins or it would have never gotten off the ground.

It wasn't until 1975, that NA's founder, Jimmy K. began leading the way for "a group of concerned members" to make an attempt at creating their own version of "service structure" apart from what they had borrowed from AA. The relationships between leaders and members were change at this time. The environment of NA was also changing and Jimmy's reliance on Traditions to solve every problem restricted his ability to meet both the internal demands of the membership and environmental challenges. His strategy to deal with the institutional environment and other organizations within the field was to mimic AA.

Jimmy K and the Traditions as Authority Accounts

NA as an idea, and the NA Steps as an ideology, the beliefs were in place, but there was no leadership, no administrative apparatus, and thus, no authority. This re-birth of NA is retold in a taped conversation by Jimmy K and another early member of NA:

"Surveying the situation, Sylvia began to cry. " 'Oh Jimmy,' she said, 'what are we going to do? How can we help any addicts now? There now, Sylvia,' Jimmy said, 'it's gonna be all right. The first thing we're going to do is, we're just going to sit down and have another cup of coffee. Then we're going to figure out what we're going to do. We're going to have to go back to what we started with in 1953 when we first sat down to try to put something together to help addicts, and we're going to have to follow the traditions all the way. It's going to be all right.'" (NAWS, 1998; 39)

This statement is very telling for many reasons. First, it is the actions of a nearly fifty year old man who is not in a hurry, but rather will take the time to think things through over a cup of coffee. It is not the actions of a charismatic leader that is trying to create rapid and revolutionary change. This account reveals the actions of a "father figure" or in this case, a

grandfatherly position, one who comforting and patient. Secondly, this authority account reveals that what type of authority is driving NA—a traditional type that looks to the past for answers.

In this authority account, Jimmy K. describes how there were challenges by charismatic types for authority and in this response he gives his “definition of the situation” as to why traditional authority is better suited for NA: *"For awhile after we formed -- A lot of things happened that I'm not going into tonight ---- but due to some things that happened and due to the nature of the addict, the nature of our illness, some people were put in a position where they became the leaders again, the Great White Father. You know, we can't have a Great White Father or a Big Momma, you know, it does not work in this organization....But again and again this happened in this organization. One person would try to dominate the whole movement. And every time it happened we began to die."*(Stone, 1997).

Members of NA recognized the earlier demise of the California NA and attributed their problems on the failure to follow the Traditions—not on the lack of a charismatic leader or the incompatibility of their efforts to demands of the organizational field. Bolstered with the enthusiasm of a few crucial members, the re-invented NA began to not only mimic the beliefs found within the Steps, but the members closely copied the literature, activities, and organizational structure of AA. However, without the benefit of the charismatic authority created by Bill W. for AA, NA would base their common purpose on the suggested organizational principles and solutions found in Traditions.

1960: The Traditional Administrative Structure of California NA

In this section, the organization structure of NA at this time in their development is assessed based on Weber's (1968) characteristics of the traditional type of administrative. Weber said that traditional authority is legitimated by a particular belief system and like charisma, the

relationships between leaders and followers are personal, thus it is inherently unstable. To solve their problems, AA invented the Twelve Traditions and at one time implemented an administrative structure that was patriarchal in nature. NA borrowed AA's Twelve Traditions as their organizational beliefs, while also creating type of organizational structure based on "patriarchal" relationships.

How does NA's administration at this stage of their development meet Weber's criteria of a "traditional" type of authority? This is the first continuous functioning stage in the development of NA. During this period, Jimmy K would emerge as the dominant leader of the organization and his type of administration has characteristics of what Weber (1968) considered the rule by elders. Rule by elders is an early form of "patriarchal" administration and involve members who take their positions as an avocation, and these "dilettantes" are a pre-cursor to more formalized and specialized duties of the bureaucratic type. Inferior to a bureaucratic form of administration, this type of administration relies on the wisdom of past experience over the charismatic fire of those wanting to change the world in a day.

In the patriarchal administration, the leader is seen as the "father of his people," and the administrative positions are held by "relatives" and are treated like members of the family. For NA at this time, Jimmy K. was maintaining a traditional "patriarchal" type of structure. The "office" was moved to a spare room in his house and he did not separate the operations of his household from those of the organization. Over time, he had a nice little "mom and pop" business that involved printing literature, answering the phone, and receiving communication from members. The workers at this time were friends and/or sponsee's of Jimmy, or his family members. Jimmy's wife was in charge of keeping track of groups and printing the directory of meetings, and later his son and his wife would be on the Board of Directors when NA was

incorporated. Patriarchal structure have “servants” dependent on the “master”, and loyalty, not competency is required for those holding the administrative positions. In the years of 1967-69, the first attempt at designing a formal structure for NA was called the Parent General Service Organization, the loosely formed who “Board of Trustees met with group representative, on a semi-regular basis. These Trustees were NA’s council of elders, a group of selected officials appointed for life. The Trustees, included Jimmy K, Bill B., Bob B., and Jack W., noticeably, all close to Jimmy K. loyal to his vision of having NA look like AA.

Jimmy was the first “trusted servant”, and though the Traditions say they do not govern, he was the administrator for NA and he did all duties—public relations, answering the phone, shipping and production of literature, accounting, and office management. In this type of structure, the administrators have no rights to their office or position and the positions are “bequeathed” upon members, and can be given and taken away on the basis of the loyalty to those in charge. As members would find out later, all it took was Jimmy’s seal of approval and he could appoint someone, to committee and even the Board, without so much as an election. In the same respect, anyone who challenged Jimmy K. and violated their loyalty could be removed without any question.

This patriarchal type of administrative apparatus implemented by Jimmy, though fit the needs of NA during the late 60s and early 1970, it was inherently inefficient and would not be able to meet the needs of the growing fellowship of NA. For example, Jimmy had produced some of NA’s early literature, but in 1970 he suffering from tuberculosis and almost sixty-years old, so the demands of NA at the time stretched his literary and management skills. Common to traditional structures, Jimmy’s claim to his authority position in NA was by “mere habituation”, in that, he was one of the only surviving members from the early days of NA. While charismatics

are “called” to positions and technical competency determines employment in the rational types of structure, Jimmy K. had earned his role by ling longest.

Based on the administrative characteristics of NA during this stage in their development, the organizational structure of NA has the qualities of Weber’s patriarchal type of administration.

1960: Organizational Language of NA’s Traditional Administrative Structure

One way to assess the type of administrative structure in NA is to look at the organizational language used at this time. The official document stating the policies of AA administration was the NA Tree, first published in 1975. The following account describes a turning point in the development of NA. As stated by an early member of NA:

“in 1959, our fledgling fellowship survived a major crisis. Lack of adherence to the Traditions almost destroyed us. As the fellowship started to grow again the concept of a Board of Trustees was put into action to help prevent this from happening again. In the beginning our Trustees acted as a “Board of Directors,” guiding the growth of the fellowship, and safeguarding our Traditions. The Board of Trustees was given the authority to act in this manner until such as a time as our fellowship could manage its own affairs” (NA Document, World Service Conference Report, 1976).

The language used by the “elders” in the above statement is a proclamation of their “right to command” and serves as an example of the type of justifications used by members of the organization. The above claim states the cause of the problem, i.e., the lack of adherence to the Traditions, while also prescribing the solution, the need for a group of managers or administrators to take “authority” and guide the growth of the fellowship. The claim to authority by the “trustees” is the beginning of a hierarchical structure, and is the movement away from amorphous authority and undeveloped structure of the earlier form of NA and towards a type of administration directed by intentional and rational actions.

The language of those claiming authority is patriarchal and paternal, when it implies these “elders,” the more experienced members must take charge “until such time fellowship could not manage its own affairs.” The proclamation is a formal written statement and could be considered a legal document, another step in the movement towards becoming bureaucratic. The term of fellowship is used but it is an amended form and its legitimacy is based on the rationale that there is a practical need to have “administrative” body guiding the fellowship. This statement provides evidence of the changing nature of the relationships between members and the first indication of a second level of social organization—the administrators. NA members had addressed their problem of addiction to drugs with the help of AA’s Twelve Steps, so it was a practical extension to also “borrow” and apply AA’s methods of organizational success to facilitate their development and confront problems of survival.

In July of 1971, the Board of Trustees formally authorized the creation of a Central Office for NA, and changed their name to Parent Service Committee, a very paternal sounding name they had borrowed from AA. The creation of this new Committee was a simple change in name, but it shows a switch to a new type of organizational vocabulary that would be used to explain the structure. From the name chosen, the members are suggesting a paternal relationship rather than one that was legally enacted. The Committee created an office and according to Weber’s terminology, the office could mean means the physical location, a place of business, or also a centralized location of authority.

Along with the decision to open an office, the Trustees created their first official position—the first step in movement towards a bureaucratic form of structure. They voted to “elect” or more likely to appoint one of their fellow members to fulfill the duties of business manager that now had a “formal” office, i.e., position of authority. The physical location of the

“office” would go through many official names changes and be moved to many locations which is characteristic of the bureaucratic type of structure that allows the assignment to the “idea” of an authority rather than in a person. Although the intended purpose of the office at that time was to be a “clearinghouse” for literature, as in a physical location, the members of NA had “appropriated” the duties and activities and the “Office” became more than a place to store literature. NA had once operated out a trunk of a car, but the Office, as a concentrated and centralized location of authority had also “evolved”.

The first General Service Office of NA was opened in 1972, and though it would move several times, Jimmy K. always seemed to end up being the office manager. Jimmy positions and roles also evolved in NA, from founder to father figure, from fellow brother in recovery to Chairperson of Board of Trustees, from phone answerer to business manager.

The growth of the NA organization and fellowship was affected by social upheaval or cultural shifts of the late 1960 and 1970s. However, internally, the trusted servants directing the future of N.A. were changing. The typical of the ex-convict “narcotic” user was being replaced by lawyers and college-educated individuals possessing organizational skills and professional ideologies, e.g., the directors of drug treatment centers. Gradually, recovering addicts were no longer “dead or in jail,” instead, NA members were renting business offices, making deals for publishing literature, running treatment centers, renting hotels to hold conventions, and generally becoming “responsible members of society.” This increase in the numbers of meeting and the type of meetings led to changes in the organizational strategies and structures of Narcotics Anonymous during the middle 1970s.

Until 1976, NA was still doing business from the founding member's home and was struggling to become a legitimate organization. NA was stuck in the tradition phase, without a

means to move forward. This situation led to Jimmy's authority being challenged on two fronts, first by Bo S. and those members following him in the writing of the Basic Text, and secondly, by those members questioning his ability to administer and manage the increasing complex affairs of NA by himself. The deficiencies and inefficiencies of Jimmy K.'s patriarchal structuring of NA were increasing and there were calls to replace him, or at least, introduce a more rational form of administration and collective decision-making. The authority Jimmy K had maintained from 1960-1976 was fragmenting.

Jimmy had been challenged in the past and his knowledge of how and when to apply the Traditions had helped to maintain his position. In the 50's, his reliance on the Traditions helped him to remove himself from the charisma contest with Cy Malo. In 1960, in his battle with Sylvia M., the split was solved with a geographically cure, members split into a north and south region. In the late 1960s, during times of uncertainty, he would respond to challenges of his authority by mimicking the beliefs and the structures found in AA.

Members of NA had asked AA and were granted the use of the Twelve Steps to create a similar program of recovery for addicts. NA "borrowed" set of beliefs to help the addict, but the creation of the "unifying structure" practiced by AA was harder to model. As NA grew, the members recognized the "need for some kind of structure," but what kind of structure would provide the necessary services to "ensure the continuation and growth of our fellowship." According to an early document of NA, some members suggested: "Why do not we just use AA's Structure and be done with it?" (NA Tree, 1975)

In 1975, the Jimmy K. and the active leadership of the time had developed a type of structure to guide NA's development. Known as "the N.A. Tree," this organizational document borrowed heavily from the Service Manual written by AA. In the Tree, a small group of

members made their claim to authority and un-expectantly announced to the other members their right to “express, in simple terms, basic ideas about how we as members and servants of N.A. relate to each other and to N.A. as a whole” (NA Tree, 1975). The expressed goal of the NA Tree was to “give some purpose, guidance and unity to the fellowship as a whole.” (NA Tree, 1975), and as Jimmy K. said: “we have done our best to make the proper decisions when they had to be made and will continue to due so.” This “ideal” service structure was presented to improve the fellowship and “better fulfill our primary purpose of carrying the message of recovery to the addict who still suffers.”

Using the same language used by Bill W. in 1955 when he ceremonially transferred his authority to the elected representatives of the AA Conference in 1955, The Tree was a formal and public declaration to create an administration and service structure, albeit, a more rational type, and to share the decision-making among members in a more democratically structured “conference” model. Based on an adapted version of AA organizational structure, The NA Tree was published in a booklet as official NA literature without prior notification or approval of the fellowship. The document was written by the Trustees to “legalize” the structure already in place.

The first official organizational chart showing the relationships between the structural components of NA are shown in the Figure 5.1. The “design” of the organizational structure called for in The NA Tree “legally” established a World Services Board of Trustees. The Trustees were honorary positions granted by loyalty to NA and at the time held no real duties, other than ceremonially. The Tree called for a representative body, the World Service Conference. In the document, Jimmy K. justifies the existence of the World Service Office and states that the “WSO” is to be more of a “business” than a part of the part of the fellowship. In a

statement that will generate much conflict in later years, the NA Tree states that the: “WSO is separate from NA, but works with NA.” The description of the WSO has all the characteristics of a bureaucracy, and though anon-profit corporation, the WSO is allowed to have with managers, departments, administrators, paid employs, and subsidiaries (NA Tree, 1975).

In the hand drawn diagram, The Service Structure of NA is outlined. The diagram has members at the top, with group to group boxes, and then group service representative which are connected to area service committees that elect Area Service Representative. Area service representative are then combined in a committee which produce a delegate to the World service Conference. In the diagram, the World service Board is on the left and connected to the NA symbol (a square turned on it's side, standing on it's point within a circle) with the World Service board and World service conference making up the other corners.

In the NA Tree, the members are said to have “given the board the right to act on our behalf” and that the “day to day activities are its own province”. Most importantly, this document “legally” claims that the WSO will be responsible for administration of the conference, and will be responsible for public relations, finance, literature, policy and planning, and contact with institutions. Jimmy and the concerned members had given the world service board the right to function as a corporation and “help deal with anything that affect NA as a whole; both internally and externally” (The NA Tree, 1975).

How did the members respond to this power grab and claim of authority? In November, 1976, at the First World Service Conference, a new direction and claim to authority was being exercised by Jimmy K. and his new team of administrators, when it was declared: “Today, we again stand at a crucial point in the growth of NA. The stage is set. This is the First World Service Conference. An important event, for the fellowship and the Trustees, an event that is the

result of three years of planning and work. It is, and has been, the intent of the World Service Board to transfer the decision-making process and guidance of NA to the fellowship.” (The NA Tree, 1975)

The general responsibilities of the members of the BOT are outlined in the NA Tree. This is an example of the beginning of bureaucratic tendencies, where the organization is dividing up the labor, tasks and responsibilities are assigned, and inadvertently, it is the beginning steps in the creation a hierarchy of power relations. The vocabulary of structure is revealed as Jimmy K. is still using the AA terminology of General Service, not World Service, and no mention at all of the concepts. Jimmy’s authority accounts states the decreed roles and responsibilities of the self-appointed Trustees: “Principally we are here to safeguard NA Tradition, to be responsible for service funds, to oversee service units, service staffs and all functions of present and future unit” (NA Tree, 1976).

The attempts to “construct” a working organization for NA is an unusual or strange mixture of traditional principles and beliefs borrowed from AA. Guided by a patriarchal or paternal type of relationship between the “elders” and the other members” and mixed with an early form of democratic-like conference structure attempting to combine rational “building-block” or models, mostly, taken directly from AA, in a highly mimetic manner.

As stated in this “open-letter to the fellowship”, the Tree represent a claim by the old-time California members to become the rightful heirs to the inheritance of authority from AA. There seems to be this heredity relationship or claim of a “blood” relationship to AA. With the coming growth of NA in members and of groups, 1976 was a time for the elder members to establish their hold upon the authority and design a structure that would support and legitimate their position as the center of operations.

In this proclamation laid out in the Tree, the “Group of Concerned Members” saw that NA was in very “critical stage of the ‘coming of age’ process. This term, borrowed from AA, makes it obvious and is evidence that these NA members had used Bill W.’s AA Comes of Age book as a textbook to guide to the first “structuring” of organization and their activities. Jimmy’s theory was that if AA came of age after 20 years, then NA should do the same and the members would accept this change in authority and administration. Not only was NA using the Steps and Traditions of NA to guide their members in recovery, but the leaders of NA blindly adopt the administrative arrangement used by AA in their creation of a service structure.

1975: The Rational Administrative Structure of California NA

Until 1975, the principles stated in the Traditions determined the type of organizational structure in NA. AA members had recognized noticed a contradiction in the principles, in that, Tradition Nine states: “AA as such, ought never be organized; but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve” (Wilson, 1953). In the NA Tree, the members foresaw that “regular” members might question the decision to claim the right to authority and raised the question themselves: “How can we create a structure without proposing organization?” (The NA Tree, 1975:7) This contradiction, one equally recognized and addressed by AA members, justifies the discrepancy by saying: “the purpose of the structure is service”, and then skirt the issue, by saying that the creation of these rules is not “organizational in nature, but informational. What we are presenting is not an organization, but a method; a method by which the services necessary in N.A. can be performed with a minimum of confusion” (The NA Tree, 1975:7), thus the claim that the service structure is keeping within the bounds of the Ninth Tradition.

The claim to uniqueness of the structure is made by these members when they said: “this structure of ours isn’t exactly like any other and it can just be plugged into any existing framework” (NA Tree, 1975). NA adopts the organizational language used by AA and by avoiding the use of terms like “organization” and “Service Board and Service Committee”, then those efforts to become organized and their administrative structures are not misconstrued as violating the traditions. In terms of organizational language, NA members were aware of the problems, and were careful of the “vocabularies of structures” they used in describing their relationships. However, using the appropriate AA terms does not mean their fellowship was not an organization with a hierarchy. Instead, the actions and activities of those in authority (Dow, 1969), not the terms they use, that qualify an organization’s structure as charismatic, traditional, or rational.

In the NA Tree, each of the duties are clearly spelled out for each member, group, area and regional service committees, and the World Service Board, World Service Office, and the World Service Conference. Stated hierarchically, the member is on top, and the World Board and Conference is at the bottom of the “inverted pyramid” model of structure borrowed from AA. IN the organizational chart, there is a distinction made between “personal service”, General Service, and World Service which was taken from the Service Manual of AA. With these three levels of service, NA meets another qualification for Weber’s idea of a bureaucracy, in that, there must be three levels of social organization for a bureaucracy: the top layer of leaders, the middle layer of administrative officials, and at the bottom, the followers, clients, and regular members of the organization. As noted by Weber, bureaucratization is the process of the expansion of this middle layer, and when the true power of the organization is concentrated among those in the middle of the hierarchy.

According to the Tree, “The General Services Committee are the real working body of N.A. It is these committees which contribute more to the growth of N.A. than any of the other parts of the service structure.” (The N.A. Tree, 1975:18) Members of these groups, as part of the World Service Conference (WSC) were intended to form, like AA the elected delegates of a truly representatives type of a democracy within the organization. The third area of Service in NA is the World Service, where the basic purposes are: “communication, coordination, information, and guidance”, all the qualities of an active administrative branch of any complex organization. The “service bodies” are clearly distinguished and assigned power in the Tree. The World Service Board, the World Service Office, and the World Services Conferences make up the “three branches” of service and they are “inter-related and work together to benefit N.A. as a whole”. As stated in the Tree, the World Services System was in a “developmental stage”.

The type of responsibilities given to the committees can give some indication of the specialization of duties, one of the main criteria of a bureaucratic organization. In 1975, the Committees included: Planning and Coordinating, Finance, Literature Review, Institutional issues, Conference, and Public Relations. Indications of hierarchal positions are the positions of chairman, secretary, and trustee. Two additional indicators of bureaucratic practices in NA are seen in the introduction of rules to produce written reports and the requirement to keep files on the activities: “a copy of the minutes of all conference Committee meeting be kept on file in the WSO and made available to any member on request” and “that each Conference Committee prepare and present a report at the next World Service Conference”.

The main guide for the structure of NA at this time was found in the Tree, NA’s first service manual outlining the right and responsibilities of the NA. The Tree was called “visionary” and the structure is outlined was designed to be a truly representative type of

structure based on what AA had created in the 1950 with its conference model. However, according to Bo, “the structure outlined did not yet exist” except on paper (Bo, 1991:33). And, though the structural relationships outlined in the Tree looked good on paper, it untenable in practice and was designed by those with little knowledge of the working of a complex organizations, and legalities of non-profit corporation. It was an ideal type borrowed from AA, though its principles and promises was not followed in practices, and doesn’t reflect the actual relationships and distribution of power and administrative authority of the members.

The Tree, copy righted in 1976 by Jimmy K.’s publishing company C.A.R.E., in the model of AA separate publishing arm of AA. The Tree main goal was to present the “basic ideas about how we as member and servants of N.A. relate to each other and to N.A. as a whole.” (NA Tree, 1976). In this open letter to the fellowship, using a unique type of claim to authority, says that members must follow the Steps and Traditions as borrowed from AA. It makes no mentions of the Concepts of AA, which had been written at that time, but this lack of recognition and the use to further the goals of the organization indicate that NA was one stage behind in their development. Na tries to be innovative, and while claiming to hold tightly to the model of AA to borrow legitimacy, they also decide to step away from AA and create a “better” structure more suitable for addicts,

One of the justifications for not accepting the structure model as outlined by AA was that there is an inherent difference in AA members and NA members, in that “how many addicts have ever had anything even resembling a successful business or family relationship” (Tree, 1976:3) while, in AA their member have been “reasonably successful”. This indicates that those early members of NA, those who were more AA than NA, saw themselves and other alcoholics,

differently than the “newer” the members of NA. The addicts were seen as “financially irresponsible” and would need the guidance, or the administrative savvy of those AA members.

1975: The Organizational Language of Rational Administrative Structure of California NA

As stated by the writers of the NA Tree : “The World Services Office is the ‘heart’ of our World Services, the ‘soul’ is the World Services Board and the ‘mind is the World Service Conference’ (The NA Tree, 1975). In the Tree, each of the specific function, using a body analogy, is attributed to each of the separate parts of the “Service Systems”. The Board was designed to deal with “anything that affects N.A. as whole; both internally and externally”, though avoids violating the Traditions by reminding members they “do not govern”, but their role is only “custodial” and to provide guidance.

One of the most telling aspects of how the Tree helped to redefine the situations of authority in NA, is found in the following account: “like the World Service Office, the World Service Board (WSB) functions as a corporation apart from our program” and the WSB is the traditional authority lording over the “administration of our World Service Office” (The NA Tree, 1975).

Based on the organizational language used at this time, it appears that NA was a mixture of rational and traditional type of administration.

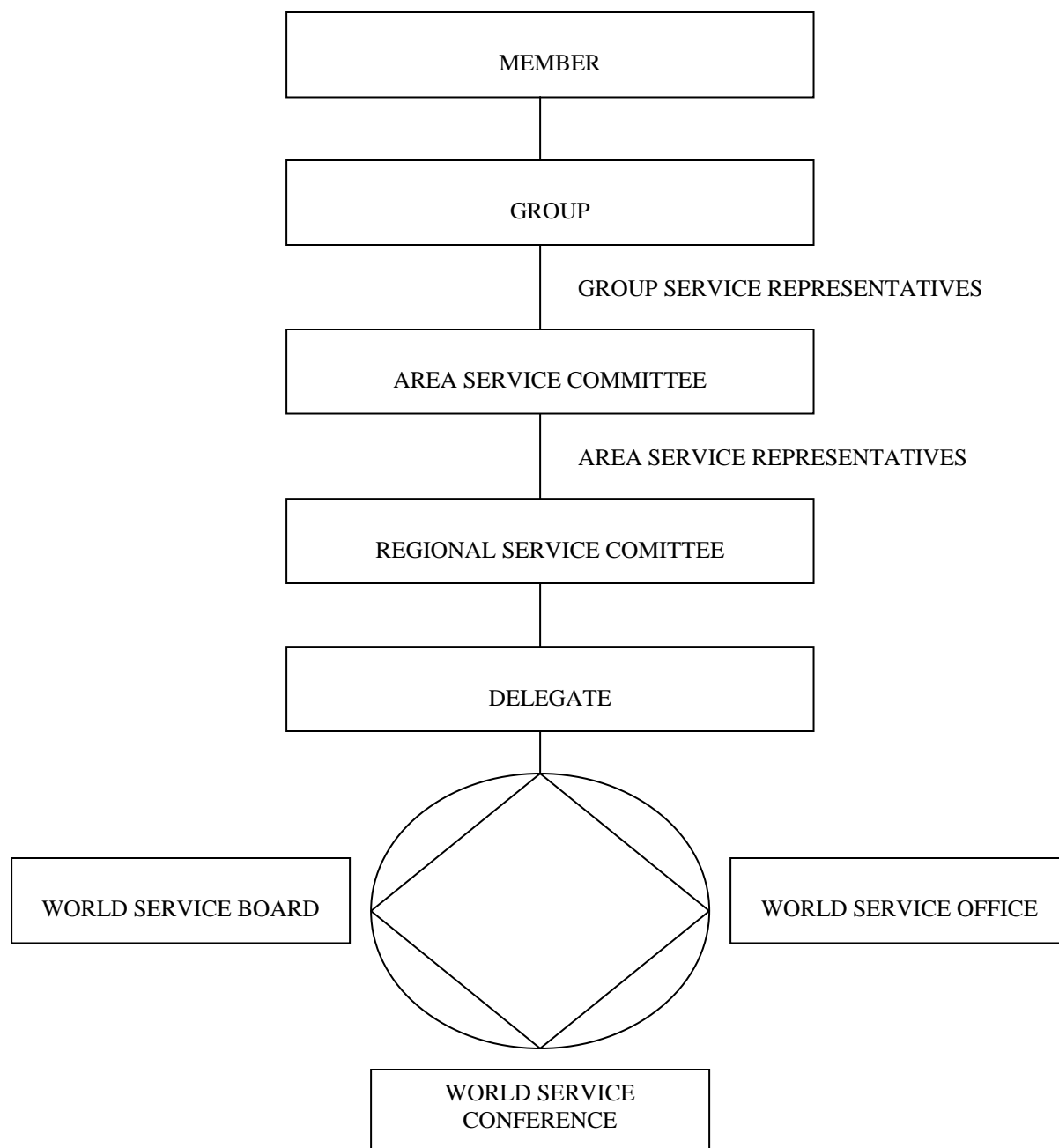


Figure 5.1 Organizational Chart: The Service Structure of Narcotics Anonymous in 1976

The Structuration of the Organizational Field 1960-1976: The Local Environment of NA

To better understand NA, it is important to consider how their ideology, structural arrangements, and successful development over time are linked to the individual actors and the collective activities of other organizations. Organizations can be considered to be a part of the same field if they recognize their linkages to other organizations, realize they share a common meaning systems and engage in similar activities (DiMaggio,1983), but the boundaries of the field must be discovered and defined on the basis of empirical investigation (Scott, 1994; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this section, the extent of the structuration, including, the common meaning system, the number of organizations in a field, and the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions with NA are assessed and discussed.

According to Bob Stone's historical assessment of NA in the 1960s, the growth of NA during this time was supported by contextual changes in American society, such as, the Vietnam War, anti-war movements, the hippie generation, and the growth of drug-subcultures (Stone, 1997). However, these cultural and environmental changes were slow to have their effect. In 1965-1966, there were about 10 known meetings and by 1973 with N.A. celebrating its 20th year anniversary, there were still only 45 meetings in California and less than 20 more in the U.S. and Canada. This lack of growth and the failure of NA can be attributed to internal failure of authority and structure or by the isomorphic forces operating in their environment that constrained and limited their growth, or both. In this section, the problems of NA during this stage of their development are discussed.

For NA to become legitimate within its field, new networks and organizational linkages would have to be developed. The growth and success of treatment rehab centers specifically devoted to treating addictions and the failure of punitive incarceration attitude were

preconditions for an environment favorable to the expansion in Narcotics Anonymous. The rise in the number of these “rehab” centers in California is evidence of the increased structuration of NA’s immediate field, but because members of NA were founding these organizations, the intensity of the interactions would increase the influence upon NA. As these treatment centers became successful, the models of success, and the members influence on NA to become more rational would also increase. Stone calls this period, “the uncertainties of 1970”, and as institutional theorist agree, in time of uncertainty, one strategy is to mimic those organizations that are successful. NA would begin to “move towards better organization” during this period, with some consequences. In California, two treatment Center were started by “members” of NA, the Chrysalis and Reprieve programs. Little more than halfway houses at the time, the addicts were taken into the home of members to detox. This type of rehab in a “half way house” became an organizational model, a new “building block” other than AA, and they were financially beneficial to some of the more enterprising members of NA. Members of NA would rent a large house, teach their clients to practice the Steps, and have on site meetings. Another of these types of halfway houses was Impact and Cri-Help opened in December of 1970. These organizations were “related facilities or outside enterprises”, according to the Traditions, but as they would grow into “multi-million dollar” recovery programs. The success of these programs would provide a ready supply of members funneled to NA, but also, the “management” skills of those “members” became the conduit by which more rational business practices to become part of the accepted practices of NA. As business organization, these rehab organizations had a bottom line, and the required successful management. As a result, this period saw the rise of the “Notables”, a group of individual whose power and success would filter into the administrative and democratic branches of NA, and eventually serve as a legitimate source of authority to challenger of the long

power of “The Elders”, i.e., Jimmy and AA friends, whose power was firmly based on “the” traditions. These “former clients” of the recovery house would take over leadership positions and became the active members within the conference structure, with some mixed loyalties, not longer committed to following the rule of Jimmy K..

The formal contacts and level of relations with the “outside” world was mainly formal; and included contacts from practicing addicts and their families, as well, as “probation officers, drug abuse programs, doctors and judges.” The message of recovery within 12-step programs may have benefited from the growing popularity to handle social problems within, and by, the community. Attitudes about “one addict helping another” had begun to catch on with government agencies, the academic research community, and the general public. During this stage of NA development, NA members were renting business offices, making deals for publishing literature, running treatment centers, renting hotels to hold conventions, and generally becoming “responsible members of society”.

Some of the structuration activities of the field were mostly local by was beginning to increase the interaction and the communication between members of the field. As the field changes, NA would adapt and assimilate to the resources available and model themselves on the activities of the other, more rational members of their field. During this period, a “drug conference” of state and local officials was held in the San Fernando Valley made front page news in 1962. This growing awareness and publicity gave credence to NA new goals and brought public support from local law enforcement officials. Jimmy K. was an invited speaker at the conference.

As a response to the public attention brought about by the conference, the “professional community” began to get on board and at UC Berkeley efforts were made to create an outpatient

center specifically designed for addicts. Called the ADD Center (ADD is short for addiction), members of NA were contacted to help serve and be employed to help start the center. This center had some success within the research community but mostly extended the boundaries of NA further into the field of the merging treatment industry.

As for the institutional side of NA, they would follow AA patterns of forming Institutional Committees designed to take meetings into the prison system ..

The type of isomorphic pressures and response by the NA organization.

The increase numbers of members and meetings required changes in the organizational strategies and structures of Narcotics Anonymous during the middle 1970s.

Stage Three (1977-1982): Charismatic Bo, the Miracle Text, and the Fellowship Structure

Based on the historical literature and organizational documents, the authority beliefs and the type of administrative structures found in NA are assessed on two levels: first, based on Weber (1968) criteria for traditional types of authority and administration; and secondly, using the types of authority accounts and “vocabularies of structures” used by members of NA. The case study assesses the “mixtures and combinations” of authority beliefs and administrative structures found in NA utilizing the Revised Model of Weber’s Authority Types. After identifying the authority and administrative types, this research will document the degree of structuration of the organizational field of Recovery Services.

The focus of the discussion on NA is to explore the internal and external forces leading to a transformation of NA over time. Three different explanations for the transformation of NA’s organizational structure are considered: first, Weber’s (1968) observation that problems inherent to the particular type of authority and structure will necessitate change; second, organizational structure is seen to be altered as a result of the power struggles between individual agents and

coalitions of individual; finally, this study will consider the neo-institutionalist explanation that organizational structures are modified by the mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic influences produced by an increasingly structured organizational field (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

Weber and the Authority Types of NA: Bo S. and Charismatic Claims of Authority

In any study of authority, the first task is to measure or assess whether an individual actually possesses a particular type of authority. The literature on the charismatic type of authority has taken three approaches towards observing charisma: one, asks others if the person was charismatic; another looks at particular traits associated with self-confidence, conviction, self-righteousness (House, 1977:195) and/or oratory prowess, heroism, magnetism, and magical abilities (Weber, 1968); and a third approach look at the effects of charisma—if the person has a “calling” that is able to radically change the hearts and mind of a group of individuals, then those consequence are the measurable evidence of charismatic authority (Weber, 1968; Trice and Beyer, 1986).

For AA, Bill W. is clearly considered to meet the criteria as charismatic authority, not only based on his personal characteristics: tall and looking like Jimmy Stewart, intelligent, personable, and a great story-teller, but also by his “hot flash” miraculous encounter with a higher power in his hospital bed. In addition to his personal authority, Bill W also was able to create a revolutionary type of “communal” organization, i.e., the fellowship of AA, a group of like-minded charismatic individuals united by their recovery and willing to follow Bill W.’s revolutionary mission to help hopeless alcoholics overcome their affliction.

Is there equal evidence that NA’s founder, Jimmy K., was also personally charismatic and created his own, or at least, borrowed the model of charismatic structure used in AA’s early

stage of development? Although Jimmy K. would later describe his own version of a “spiritual awakening,” from the descriptions of people who knew him in NA’s early days and the documents gathered for this research, the available evidence does not seem to equate his authority as charismatic. Based his own authority accounts of the early days of NA and his insistence to use the Traditions as the predominant principles guiding the organization, Jimmy K. is better described as having what Weber would have classified as traditional authority. However, NA did have a charismatic, Bo S. from Atlanta, Georgia, who would challenge Jimmy’s traditional form of the authority thus having a profound influence on growth, goals, development, and ultimately, the transformation of NA. Before discussing the changes in NA, this portion of the case study assesses the type of authority Bo S. brought to NA, and its consequences for the membership.

According to Weber (1968), charismatic authority is defined by the extraordinary gifts of the leader, a crisis and transcendent experience that called the leader to a mission, and voluntary acceptance of the leader’s definition of the situation. This portion of the case study describes the “extraordinary” personal characteristics of Bo S., the authority accounts he claimed linked him to transcendent powers and how he attracted followers to his radical mission to write the Basic Text for NA. The successes and the problems associated with his charismatic authority and the type of administrative structure developed by Bo S. to support his charismatic mission are identified and discussed.

The type of authority supporting Bo S’s role as a leader in the NA organization is assessed to determine its fit with Weber’s description of the ideal type of charismatic authority. According to Weber, the individual said to be possessing charisma must be “extraordinarily gifted”. Bo S. had the “gift”, whether by birth because he was born into a wealthy family, or as

indicative by his given name of Victor Hugo, a seemingly auspicious moniker to give a boy from Georgia. Even his date of birth was special, November 22, 1944. The date of 11-22-44 has numerological significance and it was not just coincidental, but these facts suggested there would be something unusual, if not “extraordinary” about the man who people called Bo.

Bo’s unusual story continues as an adult, as he was a one of those dope-shooters, injecting LSD and the powerful stimulant, crystal meth. Bo legend continues, as he was known to carry a gun, and, not just any gun, but a flashy long-barreled six-shooter of a gun, of the type mostly found in movie westerns. Bo gives a personal account of his state of mind at that time, and says: “he had shot crystal and acid until his dope shooting buddies thought he was weird, he was a burn-out, and unable to speak for almost two years. According to Bo S.: “Failure was nothing to him...People had laughed at him before” (Bo S.,1990) These qualities help to distinguish Bo as an extraordinary individual with charismatic tendencies from an early age.

In addition to the exceptional qualities related to the “personal” charisma, Bo saw himself as not only a part, but on the front lines of several crises that called for immediate change. Bo was a draft dodger and had openly protested against war in Vietnam. In addition, during the 1960s, he recognized the emerging problems of the discontented youth population in Atlanta and he became president of a non-profit corporation doing community service work on “the Strip”, the Georgia version of Haight-Ashbury. These examples of Bo being called into action indicate his ability to recognize societal problems and have the courage to act. When Bo S .got clean, it is no surprise, he would be one of the most vocal to identify the crisis he saw was keeping NA from growing and helping addicts. AA had their Big Book, but as of 1977, NA did not have a “bible” to guide their members.

Weber argues that the person said to have charismatic authority must be able to attract other followers who join in the “mission” and find a radical solution to a problem. As of 1997, Jimmy K. and the membership in California had seen steady but slow success creating a recognizable mission for members. Bo saw the writing text was more that book to codify their beliefs, but might be the common mission that motivated members to find their own brand of recovery, apart from the AA model based on following Traditions and being practiced by Jimmy K. out in California. In AA, Bill W. had listened to the members, collected their stories, and then let a “divine hand” guide his writing of the Big Book. For NA, up to this point, most of the literature was written Jimmy K., and the “pamphlets” were mostly modeled after what had been written by AA. For Bo, NA was going to be different, the collective experience of the members, and the voice of a higher power speaking through them, would be the way that NA would produce their “bible”. In discussing how NA members came together to write their Basic Text, Bo said: “there were no precedents for what they had done” (Bo S., 1990).

The final characteristic necessary for a person claiming to have charisma is that their mission or calling must be “directly linked to transcendent powers” and they are able to validate their claims to divine gifts or divine guidance by repeated successes (Trice and Beyer, 1986; 118). Jimmy K. inherited his experiences from AA and his legitimacy was linked to being the member who knew and followed the Traditions, at all costs. Bo saw the real, everyday world as divided from the holy, and separated the spiritual from the mundane. In one story recounted by Bo, he describes his thoughts on his connection to the spiritual forces at work. In offering his explanation for the marital turmoil his family had experienced, Bo told his wife that the disease of addiction was a “supernatural agency that would not like what they were doing” and that if this hostile force “could not stop him directly, it would attack him indirectly and that meant her”

(Bo S, 1990). While in AA, the physical malady of alcoholism had a spiritual solution, in Bo's approach to recovery, he had "true" charisma (Friedrich (1961:22) of someone being "called" by a divine being to do battle with the "supernatural" power of addiction.

Weber said the charismatic leader is unconcerned with the "material" world, and the truly charismatic leader is willing forgo fame, and leave family and friends behind in the pursuit of the mission. Jimmy K. was a working-class, family man, proud of his home and content with living out his days as the "Father" of NA. Bo came from old Southern money, but money or material goods were not the driving force behind his actions—his calling was elsewhere. At one time during the writing of the Basic Text, Bo S. was nine months behind on rent and his family had to move in with family members, but Bo's mission took precedent over the material comforts of his family. These qualities of Bo S. represent a close match to Weber's definition of a charismatic individual who is not concerned with the routine tasks of everyday life.

At this time, NA members were being asked to choose between different set of beliefs and administrative structures. First, member could follow the Traditions and give their obedience to Jimmy K. and his vision of an NA that looked a lot like AA. Jimmy K.'s authority was based on the traditional principles developed by AA to address their organizational problems. Jimmy K.'s legitimacy was based on AA and when organizational challenges arose, he copied AA's administrative practices and arrangements, in spite, of the changing nature of an organizational field. The second set of beliefs, and the emerging movement within the NA organization, was being led by Bo S., who was taking NA in a charismatic direction, in both beliefs to guide the actions of members and in the type of relation between administrators and the fellowship. In addition, during this period, there was the ever increasing influence of Bob Stone, the newly elected Manager of the World Services Office (WSO), who was not as concerned with the beliefs

or ideologies of the members, but was determined to implement the logical and rational approach of a business model to administer the inefficient and illogical the activities of the organization. These authority contests and their affect on the organizational structure are discussed in detail in the analysis portion of the paper.

Assessing the organizational structure at this time in NA's development is complex, especially, if there are only three categories of authority, as suggested by Weber (1968). During this "turbulent" stage in NA's history, there at least three differing coalitions of authority competing for legitimacy, while, the organizational environment is also experiencing major changes.

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a "mixture and combination" of beliefs and administrative type.

Authority Accounts of NA: Competing Accounts

From the historical recollections of Bo, it is evident from the following authority accounts that Bo S. believed he was called by a higher power to his position. As an example, the literature on NA tells a story that when Bo had just began his mission to write the Basic Text, a fellow member questioned his legitimacy and asked what made Bo think he was the "one" with the right to write the book of NA. As recalled by Bo, he closed his eyes for a moment and then replied: "I'm surprised at your question. I am willing. I thought God does all the work and all he needs is willing instruments. Is that not right?" (Bo S., 1990)

Clearly, Bo's believed his willingness and power comes directly from a higher power. His claim is that God was working through him, and it is his duty to obey was commanded by a higher power, and when questioned, he throws the question back to the challenger to examine their own beliefs. By staking his rightful claim to authority based on direct and conscious calling by God,

the challenger becomes the unfaithful, while Bo is following the will of a Higher Power. To support the claim, Bo must provide evidence of a divine hand guiding him and the evidence of calling was: first, he had stayed clean, and secondly, the Book would be written. Bo recounts that he and an fellow recovering addict had “the idea that they were indeed getting help from...the spirits of addicts who had died from their addiction were around them and helping things to work out in a special way for the Basic Text to become a reality” (Bo, 1990, 48).

Bo as a man on a mission to get a Basic Text written for NA and he wasn't concerned with routine activities of everyday life, but lived in a world, that Shils' (1982) said was only concerned with “the serious aspects of life.” Bo said the NA book would be “descriptive of an undeniable reality” that was written so simply and true to spirit that others could not attack or defeat its pronouncements. In 1977, Bo's clear mission was that NA needed a book, but he was calling for more. Bo felt the book would show that addicts had common spiritual experience, separate from AA, and the experience needed to be expressed in writing. Bo was calling for members of NA to find their higher power (not just the one found in AA) and through their collective writing of their “Book”, they could experience and have a part in a common miracle. While Jimmy K. saw the road to success would come by following the traditions as prescribed by AA, Bo and the members of the Literature Committee were having their own spiritual experiences, one that was unique to their own brand of suffering, and something apart from AA.

At this time, for Bo to be considered charismatic, he would need to gain committed followers. The evidence of Bo's “extraordinary” ability to attract followers is part myth and fact. And, the legends grow when compared to the fact that Jimmy K. and his “followers” were having a difficulty getting members to commit to even the most basic task, such as, opening a

meeting, or the fact that it over three to four years to create an office, just based on by official decree by the Parent Board members.

In comparison, one well-known account during the time of members getting together to write the basic text, is told: Motorcycle Ed, was so moved by the passion of Bo and the mission to write the Basic Text, that he sold his motorcycle to fund the activities. Other accounts include that members, running short of money, would go down and sell their blood when finances got low. They would say: “if we did it to get out drugs, then why not do it to stay clean and write a book.” These stories recounted help to indicate the “charismatic experiences” of the early literature conferences when the member “ran on faith”, spending long nights working non-stop, and fully believing that when two or more addicts came together, the “spirit” of recovery would come to them and speak through the members.

Bo describes his motivation at during those times: “He prayed and searched his heart for things to do that would make himself fearless and selfless. After a time, he started going to the top of a small mountain nearby on the full moon and taking his shirt off, yelling at the western sky, “Oh Great Spirit, grant us our Book!” This act, which he would follow every full moon for five years, was his recognition and re-enactment that he was “appealing to God for help with the work.” According to Bo, he had no clear understanding of God in the beginning, but he prayed anyway.

Bo’s idea on a higher power of his choice, this was not the God of religion or southern Baptist, but the God of Native American, where power or God was a spirit or force existed in all living things, in a “thing of beauty, in a person, in an idea, in a thought of God.” As Bo recounts, that even as a young child, he felt that he had “ability to speak directly to this spirit in people,”

and that that sprit he was “one of those people who would be talking to someone and they would stop and say, “I’ve never told anyone else this before!” (Bo S., 1990, 19)

An account of his motivation for writing the Basic Text and the source of his strength is revealed in this Bo’s own personal recollection. “In a dream he had a vision of an old man on a park bench with his head down on his chest. He thought it was his grandfather but when he came close the man raised his head and it was Bill W. he old man looked at him in the eye and said, ‘just keep doing the next thing’ (Bo, 1990: 27). Bo described that he would get tired of writing and when he did: “he could hear the screams of the dying. It sounds creepy and it was. The only thing that would help was the writing. Like many who write, he had little choice.” (Bo, 1991:27)

What do these accounts reveal about the type of authority animating the members of NA during this period? Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a “mixture and combination” of beliefs and administrative type.

The Type of Administrative Structure of NA: Charismatic, Patriarchal and Bureaucratic Types

While there has been an increase in the research on charismatic leadership over the past few years, the nature of the charismatic type of structure has been a little studied phenomenon. Most research tends to emphasize the description of the leader and their characteristics, however, according to Weber, “charismatic authority does not imply an amorphous condition; it indicates a rather definite social structure with a staff and an apparatus of services and material means that is adapted to the mission of the leader.” (Weber, 1968:1192) In the process of researching authority, the description and analysis of beliefs ought not to overshadow the importance of the administrative side of an organization.

The dream was that the Basic text, a common voiced expressed by all suffering from addiction, would bring the fellowship together, rather, than split them apart. Bo describes that the “spirit was with them” and all the members had to do were have the “discipline, faith, courage and trust to follow this inspiration with consistent action” (Bo S., 1990:14). The “shared vision” and the mission was tangible, as made real by Bo, and when displayed some success, as he wrote and had actually compiled 100 pages of material for a Basic Text (More than existed for NA after 25 years of trying), this dream became a reality and one of his first converts or disciple was Greg P. Which, was Jimmy’s second-hand man, the force behind the Service Structure and as outlined in the Tree, and this “conversion” would play a major role in setting the stage for a contest between the WSO and the BOT/BOD and the emerging movement forming around a small but active committee writing the Basic Text. How a committee took on the office, and almost won...the stole him from Jimmy K.

According to Weber, to become bureaucratic means that the “regular administrative work is predominantly and increasingly performed by bureaucratic forces” (Weber, 1946:6). At this stage in NA’s development, what are the structural characteristics that resemble Weber’s definition of a bureaucracy?

Compared to an egalitarian organization, in a bureaucracy there is the presence of unequal authority based on hierarchical relationships between members.

Bureaucracy can be assessed by “intensity of administration” , in that, there is an administration where an increasing number of functions are appropriated by the “bureaucratic machine” and an administrative component comes to dominate, not only in size, but, in power compared to the other sub-units of the organization. y of the production activities (Scott, 1992).

The “intensity of administration” is measured and illustrated as the amount of or degree or number of activities done by the administrative component, or under bureaucratic rules and procedures. For example, in Gouldner’s research, the factory was bureaucratized because of the need for control of worker, by the operations of mine were not. Examples of bureaucratic organization would be the top heavy organizations with a high ratio of managers or administration relative to the actual number of production workers.

Some of the problems associated with and inherent to the charisma committee of Bo. There was problem of trying to write. The infinite spirit is without limits, it is omnipotent and omniscient, but the restrictions of language would “diminish the spiritual experience members had in recovery.” The Basic Text was intended on being a spiritual document.

His voice said: this is all an ego trip, “who do you think you are, Bill W.. But, according to Bo, he prayed and God was taking out the fears and doubts...He was finally good for something.” “

Bo describes the “closeness that common recovery brings.

The writing of the Basic Text was “a spiritual event and not the functioning of a mere Committee” (Bo S. ,1990:48) Though the WLC were a organized committee, there was a friendly tone to the work, that allowed for mutual criticism, it was sidled with intuition, ideas and humor—an atmosphere that allowed them to open their hearts to the true spirit of the work. Where medicine, religion and psychiatry had failed to focused on the causes, these addicts were was willing to tell the truth, and thus finding the solutions.

“Members of the World Literature Committee felt that “they had been chosen for the work in some strange way” (Bo, 1990:49) and were being used “as channels of God’s love and wisdom.”

NA had been “riding on AA’s good name” is an example of the mimetic value of copying AA, because AA had an established record of successfully helping alcoholics.

Jimmy’s position of authority and his beliefs were being challenged on two fronts. First, Bo would offer the members a new “miracle” and a mission, and would challenge the Traditions with his charismatic beliefs and authority. In a additions to the beliefs espoused by Bo, he was providing a new type of structure, one not only in California, not one controlled by a loyalty to Jimmy and his early AA connections, and not one, content with following the model of AA, and one driven by a new generation of addicts. No longer looking like “longshoremen”, and being traditionally, male, narcotics addicts, this younger crowd of NA, with new energy, and not as tied to Bill W.’s traditional notion of authority, but more interested in finding their own “varieties” of religious experience,

In addition, a new “master bureaucrat” would become involved with NA, the Office manager that would replace Jimmy as the chief administrator of NA. In addition, Bo would challenge Jimmy’s ability to administer and manage the complex affairs by the growing NA. The traditional beliefs claimed by Jimmy K. were questioned, eclipsed and/or or overshadowed by those building a charismatically driven coalition surrounding Bo S., while the deficiencies and inefficiencies of his patriarchal structuring of NA were being slowing replaced with more rational and collective administrative decision-making. The authority was splintering and fragmenting and Jimmy’s hold over the direction of the organization.

At this time, the Trustees and their Traditional authority and patriarchal structure was moving towards establishing legitimacy through legal means. The authority held by the WSC was a platform to express their claims to a piece of power and as newly emerging extended fellowship was becoming organized into declaring the democratic rule.

Based on the administrative characteristics of NA during this stage in their development, the organizational structure has the qualities of a Weber's patriarchal type of administration.

The Organizational Language of NA's Changing Administrative Structures

What kind of organizational language was used and what degree of power was in the structure? Most of the typewriters and copiers were borrowed and donated. Money and resources were needed for supplies so some members sold their blood bank to raise money to meet expenses. None of these people were professional writers, or had much clean time, "the spirit was strong in the room, it was believed that if members. Members would sit in a large circle, every face was visible, each had equal status, and a true form of group conscience developed, the members ate together, had meeting, and they even a "special" literature prayer, to "pray to God's will and be able to work selflessly, and being granted to be used as an instrument. They would need to "trust their spirits to motivate" the work (Bo, 1990:53). The members were instructed to "know, love and trust one another" (Bo, 1990:52).

The Literature Committee as a power source or a base for authority, and their conference as a traveling "structure." The Wichita Literature Conference began in October 1979 and with about 25 members, for two days. Held in a community center, a small registration was charged that paid for copies and rent on the building. The Book was a "miracle" that was happening, in slow motion, but many began to see it as well. Bo sated that the "real interworkings of the Twelve Step recovery process involved some deeper aspects of human beings and it was akin to

sacrilege to try to figure it all out. Kind of like dissecting a woman to see why she was beautiful”(Bo, 1990:60) just appreciate and accept the beauty of recovery without trying to define it.

At Memphis,, about fifty members showed up, and the cut and paste form was nearly completed and needed to be typed up. , to open the meeting the had a “miracle list,” that described all the unlikely ways that brought members to this common place. At the end of the Memphis Conference, a little over 2 years since Bo bought a typewriter, the had a “Review” copy of the basic text that would be sent out to all known groups. The Review form was close to 400 pages long, and took over a quarter of a million pages for the printing, probably \$50,000 dollars that had emerged almost out of no where.

The story of how, at the end of Memphis, and no official readings were in the house, so a member began with “who is an addict. Most of us do not have to think twice about this question,” and that night they were able to do the entire readings, one member picking up where the other left off, as they “knew the White Booklet by heart!” (Bo, 1990. 67)

It was at Miami, when the “impossible had been done,” an ‘Approval Form’ had been offered as completed by the World Literature Committee.

The work was a group effort, and it required “a miraculous suspension of the rules and limits that govern people in ordinary times” (Bo, 1990:54) As Bo put it “you had to be there” to describe the experience and the effect the literature movement had on the fellowship, and on the recovery of individual members. Members from all over the states were talking about what had been happening.

By 1980, at the World Service Conference, political camps were being formed as to the “legitimate authority” in NA.

His marriage and business was beginning to fail, Bo spent hours on the telephone and in correspondence. In Memphis in February 1981, the Literature conference would last nine days, and run 24 hours a day, as a hundred members would show up to give their input. The work went on all day and all night, and during this time the “Committee had become one mind during this time,” as part of the process, and one voice.

As the fellowship grew, the validity of Jimmy’s authority and the basis for its existing structural arrangement was challenged by those not bound by the “ways of old” and questioned his abilities to be the manager. At one time, Jimmy K was NA, in that he was writing the literature, answering the phone, and in charge of all communication, was responsible for production and printing of literature, and served as accountant.

The “history” of NA was being eclipsed by the experiences of the new members. Traditional customs and loyalties, inherited statuses as the rightful heir or the transfer or grant of legitimacy from Bill W. and AA or just the determined perseverance had exalted him to his position as the founder, manager, and supreme authority for the direction of NA.

Based on the organizational language used at this time, it appears that NA was a mixture rational and traditional type of administration.

The Structuration of the Organization Field 1977-82: New Institutional Environments

According to institutional theories, the boundaries of an organizational field must be discovered and defined on the basis of empirical investigation (Scott, 1994; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organizations can be considered to be a part of the same field if they recognize their linkages to other organizations and realize they share a common meaning systems

(DiMaggio, 1983). In this section, I begin with a discussion of how the organizational field of NA was in the midst of change. Changes occurring during this time include an increase in the structuration of the field of “Recovery Services”, as measured by the formation of a common meaning system, an increase in the number of organizations in a field, and changes in the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions.

AA was still one of the dominant players in the field of recovery and through their efforts, they had provided the dominant ideology—the Steps, Traditions, and now, the Concepts—that serve as the boundaries of the field. AA activities served as common ground for the organizational field, as AA brought their interested parties together by invitation to and the attendance at others conferences and conventions thus increasing the contacts, building bonds on an individual level, and causing an “increased mutual awareness” by sharing in similar activities (Scott, 1983b; DiMaggio, 1991).

Though major changes were going on within the field, and the field was becoming increasingly structured, there were too many internal problems for NA members to notice. Rather than being concerned with the growth of the medical care industry, and rise in treatment centers, and though these forces were shaping the field, the NA member had their hands full just trying to hold down internal dissent and establishing a working structure. In a sense, they were oblivious to the changes in the external environment. During this time, members were moving in different directions, some were attempting to write a Basic Text, others were trying to incorporate the operations and consolidate their power, while others were trying to create a democratically run conference to guide the activities of NA, and still others were intent on creating a working office to coordinate and centralize the authority. These divergent forces would be pulling NA apart, and are discussed in this section.

Stage Four (NA 1983-1989): Bob Stone, Rational Authority, and Office Bureaucrats

Based on the historical literature and organizational documents on NA, the authority beliefs and the type of administrative structures found are assessed on two levels: first, based on Weber (1968) criteria for traditional types of authority and administration; and secondly, using the types of authority accounts and “vocabularies of structures” used by members of NA. The case study assesses the “mixtures and combinations” of authority beliefs and administrative structures found in NA utilizing the Revised Model of Weber’s Authority Types. After identifying the authority and administrative types, this research will document the degree of structuration of the organizational field of Recovery Services.

The focus of the discussion on NA is to explore the internal and external forces leading to a transformation of NA over time. Three different explanations for the transformation of NA’s organizational structure are considered: first, Weber’s (1968) observation that problems inherent to the particular type of authority and structure will necessitate change; second, organizational structure is seen to be altered as a result of the power struggles between individual agents and coalitions of individual; finally, this study will consider the neo-institutionalist explanation that organizational structures are modified by the mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic influences produced by an increasingly structured organizational field (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

Weber and the Authority Type of NA: Bureaucratic Bob, Rational Beliefs and the Office

At this stage in NA’s development, the first task is to identify and describe the type or types of authority--bureaucratic, traditional, or charismatic—that defines NA. The authority type is assessed by observing the organizational characteristics and analyzing the authority accounts,

i.e., those organizational beliefs and their justifications as organizational actors seek to legitimate establish their right to authority. According to Weber (1968), the characteristics of rational/legal authority involve those situations where superiors are elected through rationally enacted and legally sanctioned procedures or are appointed to their position.

The “leaders,” administrative branch, and the followers are legal equals subject to the same stated principles. The bureaucratic organization is continuous and its legitimacy is based on belief of rationality or legality of rules. The authority of those in charge is impersonal, limited by rules, which also control over the arbitrary exercise of those rules. The persons’ own activities and social position are separate from their office duties and status. The transactions of the organization must be in writing to be valid.

Further, there are clear boundaries defining who is a member (Aldrich, 1979) and what activities or behaviors are considered part of the organizations scope of operations (Scott, 1972).

The legitimacy of the bureaucratic type is supported by a “hierarchy of offices” where those in lower positions report to those in higher positions, the power and governance is centralized (in the administrative level) and not only are careers possible, but pensions may be granted.

In the reorganization of 1983, the leadership duties were both transferred and co-opted by to Bob Stone. The first non-addict to be employed as a “trusted-servant,” Stone was hired to manage the activities of the World Service Office, Inc. Stone was in a position to both witness and shape the growth of the internal organization. Part of Stone’s contribution to the organization was to direct the communications between emerging local groups of recovering addicts and the World Service Office. Under Stone’s guidance, the formalization of NA as an organization was advanced by utilizing the organizational skills of members and non-members,

thus, involving the organizational restructuring and the movement away from a volunteer to non-volunteer organization. Though stipulated in the beliefs, and as stated in the Traditions, the organization is required to remain non-professional, yet, poorly trained volunteers in occupying vital positions created an unstable work force. Low level functioning of members, the rotation of office, and maintaining democratic principles in elections, worked in small group situations to prevent the accumulation of power and status.

When Stone left the organization in 1990, NA had grown from a one-person office located in a member's home to a multi-office, world organization overseeing a literature publishing and distribution system with a multimillion dollar operating budget.

The best description of Bob Stone may come from the following self-reported recollection of his early days in NA: “I realized I was a fish out of water. I stood there with my crew-cut hair, in my shining black shoes, white shirt, blue-striped tie and neatly pressed suit and faced a fairly ferocious looking group” (Stone, 1997: 127). Stones “organizational vocabulary was that of a parliamentarian, the reason he had been invited to ANA conference in 1976. He tells the story of how he tried to make the members “abide by the standards of Robert’s Rule of Order”, but these members didn’t recognize any such type of formal rules.

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a “mixture and combination” of beliefs and administrative type.

Authority Accounts of NA: Bob Stone, the Board of Trustees and Directors, and the WSO Staff

Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a “mixture and combination” of beliefs and administrative type.

The Type of Administrative Structure: The Democratic Conference and the Office Structure

This section of the paper provides a description of the type or types of administrative structures --bureaucratic, traditional, or charismatic—being used by NA at this stage of their development. The administrative forms invented or borrowed by NA's organizational actors are described and then assessed by the type of “vocabularies of structures”, i.e., the organizational charts, statements of policies, and any informal or formal descriptions explaining organizational relationships.

The official organizational chart showing the relationships between the components can be sketched or depicted. In the following Figure, I will discuss the structural relationship of the organization and how they have changed over time.

Organizational turning points and evidence by a new name and a well-defined mission, this change by and for those at the top led to a change in the direction of the organization. NA is centralized and made more efficient. This is about the assessing of the type of structure and practices of the organization during the stone years. As organizational theory speculates, those individuals or groups of individuals who take responsibility for running an organization must be able manage the technical and institutional environment, or both, while also managing the internal developments and external relationships of the organizational field. At this time, less than five hundred members attended the 1983 Convention, and there were 1100 meeting in 1981. The number of meetings went from 200 meetings world wide around the time of the incorporation of NA in 1976, with almost half of those meetings (83), taking place in California.

Annual reports of the WSO provided accounts of the “legitimacy” of the authority and justifications for the structure of the organization at a particular time. They can provide examples of the types of organizational language regularly used by the managers and are expression of the

authority as stated in the type “vocabularies of structures” used to describe the activities of the organization.

According to Weber (1968), the characteristics of rational/legal authority involve those situations where superiors are elected through rationally enacted and legally sanctioned procedures or are appointed to their position. The “leaders,” administrative branch, and the followers are legal equals subject to the same stated principles. The bureaucratic organization is continuous and its legitimacy is based on belief of rationality or legality of rules. The authority of those in charge is impersonal, limited by rules, which also control over the arbitrary exercise of those rules. The persons’ own activities and social position are separate from their office duties and status. The transactions of the organization must be in writing to be valid. Further, there are clear boundaries defining who is a member (Aldrich, 1979) and what activities or behaviors are considered part of the organizations scope of operations (Scott, 1972). The legitimacy of the bureaucratic type is supported by a “hierarchy of offices” where those in lower positions report to those in higher positions, the power and governance is centralized (in the administrative level) and not only are careers possible, but pensions may be granted..

Written rules. The 200? Conference Report for NA was almost 350 pages long. This report detailed the agenda for activities of the five-day business meeting of NA, including written issued discussion papers submitted to be reviewed. One document presented in the report is the “NA Service Resume “which must be completed before any person could be elected to any world level position. In this same Report, a description for the position of WSC co-facilitator stated that the requisite qualifications-- including the ability to demonstrate

organizational skills and a working knowledge of Robert's Rules of Order. These conference agenda reports are not mailed out to individual members but are only provided to the regional delegates of the ninety-odd franchises of NA. This practice would definitely challenge the claims of equality for all members. The conference report included a vision statement proclaiming the written mission of NA World Services.

The "required" reports from each region to the WSC, the NA News as a company paper" produced by the World board, and the 350 page Conference report are just a few examples of the increasingly formal, written communications between the average member, the trusted servant, the elected officials of the WSC and the career administrators of the WSO. These formal communications are far cry from the observation that the proceedings of meetings are unspecified, carried on orally, or are rules are found on a "dog-eared sheet handed on from one secretary to another" (Room, 1993).

Boundaries. Room mentions that no existing group can exclude another from forming and that there are no exclusive territories or franchises within AA. However, for a region to be recognized by the World Service Conference, a newly formed region must petition the WSC before being included as a voting member. A recent dispute over the territorial boundaries between two regions may have been resolved amicably but is still an indication that at a regional level, there are exclusive territories for defined populations.

However, on a corporate level there are clean time requirements for positions. There is a ten-year clean time requirement for most positions on a World Level. Detailed job qualifications requiring administrative, organizational and communicative skills may tend to negate the equality of participation. The length of terms for board members is six years. And members may be re-elected to two terms.

Although there may be an openness of membership, stated in tradition three as membership is based only on the desire to stop using, the membership of a World Board member is highly structured. Written policies and procedures are in place to remove any relapsed member. Also, there may be a dominance of treatment professionals comprising the core members of the service structure. Those known as two hatters have a greater interest in the organization, while increased status as world service members may compromise the idea of the equality of members.

Prestige. In tradition six there is an implied prohibition on property ownership, the acquisition of property, and the prestige of material goods may be seen to divert the spiritual aims of the program. Quote<< >>> The idea of “corporate poverty,” as suggested by Bill W., states that and was implemented on the premise that if the positions have no prestige that might incur from “wealth” then the normal tendencies to struggle or compete will be minimized. Room notes an exception to this prohibition is the ownership to the copyrights of AA publications, which provide a majority of revenue to maintain the operation of the organization.

In NA, there are turf war or territorial claims for the assets of the NA organization is indicated by the recent legal battles over the rights to publish literature. Some member have challenged the “rational” policy enacted by the WSO concerning the price of the text and the distribution of funds. Simply put, there has been a belief and conflict over the accumulation of assets in NA, and some of more persistent members try to live by the rule, although it is contradicted by the values of a coalition promoting efficiency and economic success.. Thus, some vocal members of a coalition we could call the charismatic, book coalition, because they contributed to the writing of the NA Basic Text have expressed a proprietary right to circulate cheap copies of the original version or determine the fixed cost of the Basic Text relative to the

total amount of the prudent reserve, and a simple feeling that NA ought not make too much money from sales. Yet, the World Service Office have made attempts to protect the source of revenue which supports the activities of the World Service Office and NA services, such as,

Hierarchy. Room outlines a number of principles and procedures that may prevent the rise of a hierarchical system or oligarchy within AA. Elections and rotation of leadership are assumed to provide equal opportunities for leadership and prevent the rise of an oligarchic class. On a group level this principle may be more relevant since the natural attrition of members caused by relapse or geographical relocations may prevent the accumulation of power and the openness to leadership

Division of labor and experts/professionalization. Although there are procedures for removal of members by a two-thirds majority vote for reasons such as relapse or felony convictions, the board member may make a “profession” or career out of their service within the organization. A recent example of the career of a World Service professional maybe evidence by the fact of the recently elected eighteen member World Board, over 75% of the members elected to the highest positions were previously positioned at the World Service level. Requirements for years of service, organizational skills, and administrative abilities may restrict most members from being selected to hold the highest positions within the organization. According to Michel’s’ “iron law of oligarchy,” once members rise to the top, they seek to hold on to their positions. One of the current top paid positions--estimated salary of 60,000 per year, is occupied by a “member” of NA that has been in the upper-levels of service since for over 15 years. As a result, some of these “elite” members have a stake in maintaining the current structure of the organization over and above the original intended goals of “helping the addict who still suffers.”

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Peyrot describes that NA, as an organization form, is considered as a fellowship by its members, “which they mean to indicate that authority flows from the bottom upward rather than from the top downward.” NA, copying or borrowing AA’s form of structure is seen to have an “inverted pyramid” form of organizational structure, as describes in their early literature. The fellowship is at the broadest top point with the most power who delegate limited authority to the groups (GSR), area (ASR), regions (RSR), and the conference and then World Service Board of Trustees, known as WSB trustees. The duties, as outlined in the Tree, NA, organizational manual, says....

Also, there is a separate board, called the Board of Directors (BOD), which are the separate administrative and overseeing body of the activities associated with the World Service Office (WSO).) The “higher levels above the group structure, is made up of not leaders or officials, but “trusted servants who do not govern, or impose or enforce decisions, but they are “collective forums which facilitate collaborative problem sharing and problem solving, and act only in an advisory capacity” (Peyrot, 1985:1512). The three parts, the fellowship as a whole who elects two representatives, one voting and one non-voting alternate at a regional level (meetings, groups, areas, regions) to the (at this time) World Service Conference (WSC). The

conference include conference officers and committee chairperson, elected from the conference participants, a parliamentarian, The world services office manager.

Based on the organizational descriptions of the administrative arrangements adopted by NA during this stage of their development, it can be suggested that NA had an unusual configuration of many different administrative types.

The Organizational Language of NA's Rational Administrative Structures

The detailed agenda report is a far cry from Room's idea that the proceedings of meetings are unspecified, carried on orally, or are rules are found on a "dog-eared sheet handed on from one secretary to another" (Room, 1993).

The 1998 conference agenda report for NA was almost 350 pages long. This report detailed the agenda for activities of the five day business meeting of NA, including written issued discussion papers submitted to be reviewed. One document presented in the report is the "NA Service Resume "which must be completed before any person could be elected to any world level position. In this same Report, a description for the position of WSC co-facilitator stated that the requisite qualifications-- including the ability to demonstrate organizational skills and a working knowledge of Robert's Rules of Order. These conference agenda reports are not mailed out to individual members but are only provided to the regional delegates of the ninety-odd franchises of NA. This practice would definitely challenge the claims of equality for all members. The conference report included a vision statement proclaiming the written mission of NA World Services.

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included as a voting member. A recent dispute over the territorial boundaries between two regions may have been resolved amicably but is still an indication that at a regional level, there are exclusive territories for defined populations.

In tradition six there is an implied prohibition on property ownership, the acquisition of property, and the prestige of material goods may be seen to divert the spiritual aims of the program. The exception that Room notes to this prohibition is the ownership to the copyrights of AA publications. This territorial nature of the NA organization is indicated by the recent legal battles over the rights to publish literature. Members of NA who contributed to the writing of the NA Basic Text feel they have a right circulate cheap copies of the original version, while the World Service Office have made attempts to protect the source of revenue which supports the activities of the World Service Office and NA services.

Tradition Nine states: N.A., as such ought never be organized, but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve.” The Steps are optional (though some members like to say “work the steps or die”), yet, it is widely agreed upon that “the Traditions are not negotiable.”

The following excerpt from the approval draft of NA’s first Basic Text shows how the Traditions have evolved and changed in their interpretation and implementation of a principles over time to meet the needs of a changing and growing Fellowship.

The major change to the organizational language used in NA, was how the beliefs about organization are expressed in the Traditions. NA is.

Originally, voted by entire fellowship as their precepts, the traditions stated: Tradition Nines “defines the way our Fellowship *functions* [is run]...Our Steps and Traditions are uniform and set in a specific order; they are not random and unstructured. Certainly they are organized,

but this is not the *type of organization referred to* in the Ninth Tradition. In this tradition, “organized” means having [an administrative structure, and this implies] management and control. On this basis, the meaning of Tradition Nine is clear. [N.A. should never be run by bureaucracy or management nor controlled by individuals within an administrative structure. If we were to allow this, N.A. would surely lose the best it has to offer and choke to death on our insanities.] Without this tradition, *our Fellowship* [organization such as this] would be in opposition to our spiritual principles. A loving God, as He may express Himself in our group conscience, [would find no place within an administrative structure] is our ultimate authority. [How could a trusted servant manage and control? Service and management are contradictory. Government implies control, but our leaders do not govern. How could autonomy exist in an administrative structure? Specialization and professionalism are the basis of any management scheme. Any administrative structure, by its very nature eliminated the possibility of autonomy. An organized N.A. is a contradiction in terms and any attempt to force organization on us would destroy us.]. (N.A. Basic Text, Review copy, 1983:111-112; N.A. Basic Text, 5th Edition, 1988:70).

The above excerpt from the two different versions of AA text. In the Review copy of the draft form of the Basic text, clearly expresses a hostility to administrative authority, as shown in the bold text. [N.A. should never be run by bureaucracy or management nor controlled by individuals within an administrative structure. The statements in the bold would be removed completely or replaced with the italicized version, as found in a later version of the text. The removal, by whom, and with what authority would define the struggle between the “coalitions” of authority, each trying to defend and promote the legitimacy of their authority and the presence of an administrative structure. These changes cause a split between “coalitions,” those who

argued the changes were simple editing and those who saw the change opening the door or setting a course for the organization to accept or accommodate the accession of the administrative importance. An organized N.A. is a contradiction in terms and any attempt to force organization on us would destroy us.].

The Ninth Tradition goes on to define the nature of the things that we can do to help, [outside N.A.,] to help N.A. It says that we may create service boards or committees [directly responsible] to [those they] serve *the needs of the Fellowship. They exist solely to serve the needs of the Fellowship.* [This is the basis of our service structure, but keep in mind that although these entities are created to serve our Fellowship they are not, in fact, a part of Narcotics Anonymous. Our service structure consists of our groups and their business sense: our area service committees, regional service committees, World Service Conference, World Service Board of Trustees, and the World Service office. Each of these are directly responsible through the service structure, to the members of N.A. and to be loving God as he may express himself in our group conscience]. *This is the nature of our service structure as it has evolved and been defined in the N.A. Service Manual*” (N.A. Basic Text, Review copy, 1983).

In NA’s Basic Text, the traditions states, as a means of preventing affiliations and establishing an organizational boundaries. The Traditions state that anyone can become a member, with a desire, yet, for the protection of the organization, as a group, we find that the proscription, or warning that “the third thing warned against is lending the NA name. This means letting someone use the name, Narcotics Anonymous, for something that is not Narcotics Anonymous. It means letting an outsider mention or utilize our name for their own purposes someone use the name, Narcotics Anonymous.

(N.A. basic text, Review copy, 1983;104)

The NA text says: “An outside enterprise is any agency, any business venture, any religion, any society, any organization, any unrelated activity, or any fellowship....Let’s face it Narcotics Anonymous is not Alcoholics Anonymous, Overeaters Anonymous, Gamblers Anonymous... or any other anonymous. Narcotics Anonymous is a separate and distinct fellowship in its own right. Our problem is addiction, and the other twelve step fellowships specialize in other problems, and our relationship with them is one of “cooperation not affiliation.” The use of the literature of another fellowship in our meeting constitute an implied endorsement of an outside enterprise” (N.A. Basic Text, Review Copy, 1983:5).

The above is about establishing organization boundaries, (not just who is a member), but, what activities are to be conducted under the “umbrella” of the organization. Marking the borders of what is NA—those activities that are inside and outside their defined domain.. Wilson would be saying that it was separating the spiritual from the material, which was the first attempt at decoupling, but also could be seen as a way of differentiating themselves from others, claiming a territory, i.e., institutional.

Based on the organizational language used at this time, it appears that NA was a mixture rational and traditional type of administration.

The Structuration of the Organizational Field 1983-1989: The Spread of NA World Services

This period in the development of NA is best described as time of a transition. The authority and structures of NA were being challenged. NA was moving away from a traditional form of authority, i.e., a patriarchy led by Jimmy K, and moving towards beliefs associated with charisma authority and collective-democratic decision making by members. Yet, the move towards a utopian organization would not last; like many charismatic revolutions, NA’s charismatic stage was brief, unstable, and full of conflict, but the short term consequences was

that it propelled the fellowship in new directions. The slow change from the form of patrimonial structure legitimated by the Traditions, and the rule by elders type of administration was becoming more rational and bureaucratic, while an functionality of a direct democratic governing system based on charismatic ideal was beginning to wane. All of this was occurring as the field of recovery services was increasingly interacting with those outside their normal boundaries. The sudden increase in NA financial resources, due to the publication of the Basic Text, combined with a change in the structuration of the organizational field, and the beginning of linkages to bridge NA with other organizations was pressuring NA to become more bureaucratic, and move away from a “traditional” type of organization.

As the fellowship grew, the validity of Jimmy’s authority and the basis for its existing structural arrangement was challenged by those not bound by the “ways of old” and questioned his abilities to be the manager. At one time, Jimmy K was NA, in that he was writing the literature, answering the phone, and in charge of all communication, was responsible for production and printing of literature, and served as accountant. Yet, these one-man operation, and the definition of staff, and is when “duties once conducted by founders, are take over, because become to great for one person to handle,<<get quote from Scott>>> with loyal servants and volunteers.

“Any ‘authorities’ who claim legitimacy successfully by virtue of mere habituation represent most typical, contrast, on the one hand, to the position of the contractually employed worker in business enterprise; on the other, to the way a faithful member of a religious community emotionally relates to the prophet.” (Weber, 1946: 9)

In this section, changes occurring in organizational field of NA are discussed. These changes include the formalization of a common meaning system, an increase in the number of

organizations in a field, and the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions. The analysis of the cumulative effect of changes to the field reveal the degree of structuration and the shifting boundaries of a field must be defined on the basis of empirical investigation (Scott, 1994; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organizations can be considered to be a part of the same field if they recognize their linkages to other organizations and realize they share a common meaning systems (DiMaggio, 1983).

The organizational field at this stage of NA's development was changing. The publication of the Basic Text increased NA's financial resources, but it also resulted in increase in the structuration of the organizational field. NA was increasingly interacting with organizations other than AA. The need for efficiency and legal status initiated the linkages to bridge NA with other organizations and would pressuring NA to become more bureaucratic, and move away from a "traditional" type of organization. In this section, the extent of the structuration, including, the common meaning system, the number of organizations in a field, and the frequency, intensity, and visibility of their interactions are discussed. The purpose of assessing the boundaries of the organizational field and degree of structuration of the field is to understand the changes caused by isomorphic pressures and the strategic responses by the NA members to adapt to the environment.

Stage Five (1990-2003): WSO, the World Board, the Merger and Restructuring

Based on the historical literature and organizational documents, the authority beliefs and the type of administrative structures in NA at this time are assessed on two levels: first, based on Weber's (1968) criteria for types of authority and administration; and secondly, using the type of authority accounts and "vocabularies of structures" used by members of NA. The varying "mixtures and combinations" of authority beliefs and administrative structures found in NA are

assessed by utilizing the Revised Model of Weber's Authority Types. After identifying the authority and administrative types, this research will document the degree of structuration of the organizational field of Recovery Services.

The focus of the discussion on NA is to explore the internal and external forces leading to a transformation of NA over time. Three different explanations for the transformation of NA's organizational structure are considered: first, Weber's (1968) observation that problems inherent to the particular type of authority and structure will necessitate change; second, organizational structure is seen to be altered as a result of the power struggles between individual agents and coalitions of individual; finally, this study will consider the neo-institutionalist explanation that organizational structures are modified by the mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic influences produced by an increasingly structured organizational field (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Weber and the Authority Type in NA: The Twelve Concepts and the WSO

For most of the history of NA, the members borrowed beliefs from AA, and these beliefs and the corresponding administrative structures provided adequate solutions to most of their organizational problems and challenges. The beliefs found in the Steps and the Traditions had served the purpose to guide the groups, but as Bill W. had found for AA, those two sets of beliefs would only take the organization so far in the stages of their development. At this time, new problems were confronting NA, and a movement arose in NA that seemed to naturally turn to the Steps and Traditions to solve the problems of their "growing pains".

For AA and NA, the Steps successfully guided individuals through their recovery, and the Traditions set policies to prevent internal problems caused by group conflict, while building "buffers" from the external threats from those organizations outside of NA. In the 1990s there

were new threats on NA's horizon. Managed care was on a rise and the field of Recovery Services was certainly turbulent, to say the least. Rather than resisting change, and creating buffers against influences from their environment (by applying the Twelve Tradition) the 12 Tradition), NA would now be willing to "accommodate" the outside world and assimilate to their environment. The once hostile attitude of NA leaders to authority in the forms of government bureaucracies and the "the medical model" had changed. The leaders of NA would claim: "NA is no longer a secret society".

A short review of the characteristics of bureaucracy pertinent to the classification of AA's organizational structure include: authority based on the belief of rationality and the legality of "enacted" rules; an organization that is continuous; the person is separate from the office that is occupied; the transactions must be in writing to be valid; superiors are elected or appointed to their position based on technical competency; the authority is impersonal and limited by rules; there are clear boundaries defining who is a member; there is a "hierarchy of offices" and specialization of duties; the power and governance is centralized at the administrative level; and careers are possible in the organizations and pensions may be granted (Weber, 1968).

What is the evidence that AA is a bureaucracy? In the 1970, AA was changing and so was the institutional environment in which it had so successfully extracted resources. Evidence of this change is a slow drift away from the Traditions and a movement to becoming more rational and bureaucratic. This shift was slow and not without conflict, as the 12 Traditions limited the amount of change the organization could make and still remain true to its origins and beliefs. Rapid change would undermine the Traditions, which were put in place transform the charismatic authority and provide a legitimate justification for the succession of the founder and

the transfer of power by splitting his authority to the Board Members, administrative arm of the General Service Offices, the Conference and its delegates.

Twelve Concepts for NA Service

1. To fulfill our fellowship's primary purpose, the NA groups have joined together to create a structure which develops, coordinates, and maintains services on behalf of NA as a whole.
2. The final responsibility and authority for NA services rests with the NA groups.
3. The NA groups delegate to the service structure the authority necessary to fulfill the responsibilities assigned to it.
4. Effective leadership is highly valued in Narcotics Anonymous. Leadership qualities should be carefully considered when selecting trusted servants.
5. For each responsibility assigned to the service structure, a single point of decision and accountability should be clearly defined.
6. Group conscience is the spiritual means by which we invite a loving God to influence our decisions.
7. All members of a service body bear substantial responsibility for that body's decisions and should be allowed to fully participate in its decision-making processes.
8. Our service structure depends on the integrity and effectiveness of our communications.
9. All elements of our service structure have the responsibility to carefully consider all viewpoints in their decision-making processes.
10. Any member of a service body can petition that body for the redress of a personal grievance, without fear of reprisal.
11. NA funds are to be used to further our primary purpose, and must be managed responsibly.
12. In keeping with the spiritual nature of Narcotics Anonymous, our structure should always be one of service, never of government.

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Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a “mixture and combination” of beliefs and administrative type.

Authority Accounts of NA: The World Board and Rational Authority

A visible sign of this transformation of NA can be documented in the type of authority accounts and in the organizational vocabularies used during this time of their development. Around 1990, the administration arm of NA located in the WSO beginning to shift the focus from talking about recovery and spirituality to an increase in the information that discussed the “effectiveness” of the organization.

New arguments arose over the “correct” version of the Basic Text and NA at an impasse, in the development as an organization. Bob Stone, the man behind the wheel in getting AA moving in a rational “direction” of NA had been fired, and the changes in the field produced a period of uncertainty, both internally, and externally. In addition, the guidance from the fellowship that was supposed to come from democratic decision making body of the WSC was also becoming stagnant.” The problem at this time was that world services and the fellowship have been “at odds” with each other, in a struggle over power in the organization. Simply put, after the battle for authority between Jimmy K. traditional authority, Bo’s emotionally charged charismatic beliefs, and the rational beliefs and even more efficient Office administration of Bob Stone, left NA on a course to nowhere.

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Using the Revised Model of Authority Types, the type of authority present in NA at this time must be classified as a "mixture and combination" of beliefs and administrative type.

The Type of Administrative Structure: World Service and NA's Restructuring

As stated in the Resolution Group Report, a task force of NA's elite members was assigned the task to put NA back on course. The report said: "that no single group of individuals could or should determine the direction of Narcotics Anonymous World Services" (NA Document, 1995). However, the Resolution Group then prescribes the direction—towards a more rational form of authority--that NA ought to take.

The Resolution Group then states that members get involved in the "process of change", but it will be a group of elected members of the resolution group that were reframing the structure of NA. Their vision of NA was based on the "professional" and "bureaucratic" background of those members and their solutions to NA problems would come from their own experiences within the environment—one made of legal rules and rational principles from which they came. The Resolution Group was the conduit through which new policies and practices would become part of NA's organizational structure and resulted in the NA becoming "isomorphic" to the major players in their organizational field.

One of the responses to NA's uncertainty at this time involved the re-writing of the Temporary Guide to Service Structure (TWGSS), in order to resolve some of the structural failures put in place since 1975 with the NA Tree guide for service. In NA's history, there had been three major restructuring of the organization. In 1969, the first Bylaws of the Parent Service Committee were enacted. The second effort was the plan developed for the NA Tree in 1975 that was intended to redesign NA differently than the AA, though it was modeled on AA. The third plan was the TWGSS in 1985. Each of these plans for the restructuring of the administrative arrangements was implemented as an working strategy to create a working model that could define and defend the relationships between the increasingly complex and differentiating parts of

the NA Service Structure. The Temporary Guide to Service (TWGSS) was in place for 10 years, though not often followed, but it was “evolving” document that would adapt to the problems of Fellowship. A new group of members were assigned the task once again revising the roles and responsibilities of NA service structure, and in 1993, a “manual” of their accumulative efforts was presented to the WSC for approval. At this point, NA would finally have a formal document outlining their organizational structure, officially called: A Guide to Service in Narcotics Anonymous..

The 1993 Guide was not adopted by the WSC and further efforts to give guidance to the Conference and the administration by the WSO were not a major priority. Instead, NA was having financial problems and the organizational field was “turbulent” due to a decline in treatment. As a result, from 1993-1995, the Composite Group, a select “committee” of World Service members were appointed to survey the fellowship and “take inventory” through “self-assessment” type of evaluations to determine what were the problems regarding the lack of effectiveness of world services. The results of these “surveys and self-assessment” were compiled and a “consulting firm” of organizational experts was hired to analyze the data and make recommendations. These document were presented to the WSC in 1995 and they called for a Resolution Group, a task force to “study the inventory material and make recommendations” to direct the best type of change for world services. The Resolution Group met for a year, and in 1996, they were ready to present the “proposed resolutions” to set a new course for NA. The path set down by the Resolution Group would send NA in a new direction, one that would make them more isomorphic with their environment, and other organizations, and put them squarely in the category of a rational administration and on the road to bureaucracy.

Based on the problems identified in NA's inventory, the Resolution Group suggested three new goals for NA: to write a vision statement, to write a mission statement, and to create a proposal for structural change of world services. As a result, it was decided that the Twelve Concepts would become the new set of beliefs to serve as a guide for resolving the problems of NA.

This strategy of constructing a new set of beliefs to match and legitimate the type of administrative structure already in place had work for AA during the later stages of its development. Bill introduced the Traditions to smooth the transition of AA to a more patriarchal structure, and then when the practices of the World Service Office were questioned, he created the Twelve Concepts, as a set of beliefs to justify the more rational practices of AA's administration. For AA, the Concepts would provide a set of beliefs that would serve to legitimate the activities of the "corporation" of World Services and prevent their actions from being questioned, in that, the Concepts clearly state: "effective leadership" is needed.

In the report of Resolution Group, the members of the selected committee developed and proposed an "architectural" structure, one that was not based on the AA model, but a model that was more conducive to and legitimated by the more rational members in NA's their organizational field.

An analysis of how the vocabulary of NA was changing over time can be made by comparing the differing version of NA's organizational charts. The first design of organization relationships was borrowed from AA and called the "inverted pyramid"; next, NA had a simple structure that was outlined in the NA Tree in 1975; a third organizational chart was drawn up for the TWGSS of 1983, though never practiced; and finally, the organizational structure designed by and showing the relationship after the "merger" and consolidation of services in 1999..

Based on the organizational descriptions of the administrative arrangements adopted by NA during this stage of their development, it can be suggested that NA is adopting rational types of administrative structures.

The Organizational Language of NA's Rational Administrative Structures

This research is concerned with changes in the vocabularies of structures, as they are representations of the actual structures of organization as they change over time. Thus, one can expect that there will be a particular dominant “vocabulary”, including, accounts, justifications, and description for each particular type of authority. A bureaucratic or rational vocabulary will be very different than the vocabulary that used by a charismatic or traditional type of administrative apparatus. These vocabularies may be taken as the guiding “myth and ceremony” of formal structure as described by Meyer and Rowan (1977).

The corporate documents of NA at this reflect the change in their organizational vocabulary. Members were discussing the “new vision” for NA world services “in a direction we can all follow as we walk into the future together” (NAWS, 2000). The conversations of the WSO were concerned with the adoption of a “vision statement” and a “mission statement”. Among Conference Representative there were rumors about the move to reduce the number of participants at the conference, and there was a shift to a “consensus based decision process”, rather than the democratic version set forth by Bill W. in AA's Conference model of “government”.

The organizational language used by the leadership was changing with a growing concern on how to response to the external environment.

Group of members were chosen to develop a “structural model” for world services, and then plans to “transition to the new structure. The transition plan will be written in clear language and include structural diagrams that define the elements and their functions. Created a Human Resource Panel and A world pool of experienced trusted servant as a resource for projects, And, these that eliminated standing committee within the conference and “downsized” the committees, and World Board would now oversee the committee functions that were once part of the WSC. Most important change was Resolution B that called for the consolidation of all administrative bodies (WSO board of Directors, WS Board of Trustees, WSC administrative committees and World Convention Corporation into a single entity called the World Board. (The vote was 74 yes, 11 no, and 1 abstained). Goal of Conference became a need to “establish an efficient and effective service structure.” And a set of policies and procedures that would guide and change the direction of world services.

Examples of organizational structure are often expressed in the official organizational chart of AA and NA at different times in their history. Though small, incremental changes in an organizations movement towards bureaucracy may be hard to measure, over the accumulation of long-standing, or sudden shifts in external environmental pressures may be seen as they are mapped onto an organizations structure.

Another example of the “vocabularies of structure” that may be used to assess the type of organization is the mission statement. More importantly, evidence of structuration of the field may be seen in the adoption of a mission statement by the organization and indicates a change in direction and give notice of their “accommodation” and conformity to the accepted practices of the organizational field. The language used in mission statement may show how AA and NA are willing to throw off the past organizational principles found in the traditions and accept the

operating principle of a broader “medicalized” and rational field of mental help and human services delivery.

The “vocabulary of structures” being used at this time can best be seen in the Conference Reports generated by the World Service Conference and in the World Services Office Annual Reports. The detailed agenda found in the Conference Report is a far cry from Room’s idea that the proceedings of meetings are unspecified, carried on orally, and that all the rules of AA were found on a “dog-eared sheet handed on from one secretary to another” (Room, 1993).

The changes in organizational vocabulary used by NA members at this stage are revealing for assessing the basis and type of organized structure. In the Steps, the vocabulary makes many references to higher power as a spiritual basis of authority that would guide the members through all problems. The Traditions state a similar theme and say that NA ought never be organized, and that NA leaders don’t govern, they are “but trusted servants.”

Contradictions in NA’s vocabulary can be seen when the Resolution Group says there is a lack of vision for the organization and the members are saying: “one day at a time”.

The rational type of vocabulary being used by the Resolution Group includes concepts and the terms of: a “lack of strategic plan”, “right-sizing”, and “effective”. Not only are the terms used to describe NA, but they identify problems and imply solutions that are only solved by the “integration of management techniques”. NA at this time is describing the typical problems of any bureaucratic and the above vocabularies of structure are not the type of terms used by those organizations based on with charismatic or traditional types of authority or administration.

If only the beliefs stated in the Steps and Traditions are used to assess the type of structure and authority present in AA and NA, then it is likely that researchers might conclude that NA and AA have a “minimalist” type of structure. However, the evidence revealed in

“company documents” presents a different picture of the nature of the organizations and their structures

The type of change called for in the authority accounts by the resolution group in charge of setting NA future course of development, have defined the situation in the following way: “significant change within any organization is usually the result, as one of our invited embers put it, of revolution, not evolution” (NA Document, 1995:4). In this document, the Resolution Group was calling for “sweeping changes” for NA, in an effort to respond to encroaching threat of the changing environment. If members accepted this appraisal of the situation and agreed to abide the “resolutions”, then these members gained authority, one based on rational and bureaucratic principles. The change in vocabulary that describes NA and its type of administration at this stage is evident by the following statement by the members of the Resolution Group: NA needs a “leaner, more responsive, more accountable world services”.

By assessing the type of authority and administration in NA based only on the beliefs stated in the Steps and Traditions, then it is likely that researchers might conclude that NA (and AA) have the “minimalist” type of structure. However, by observing the evidence revealed in organizational vocabularies found in “company documents”, then the data presents a much different picture of the actual type of organizational structures.

Based on the organizational language used at this time, NA had a rational and bureaucratic type of administration.

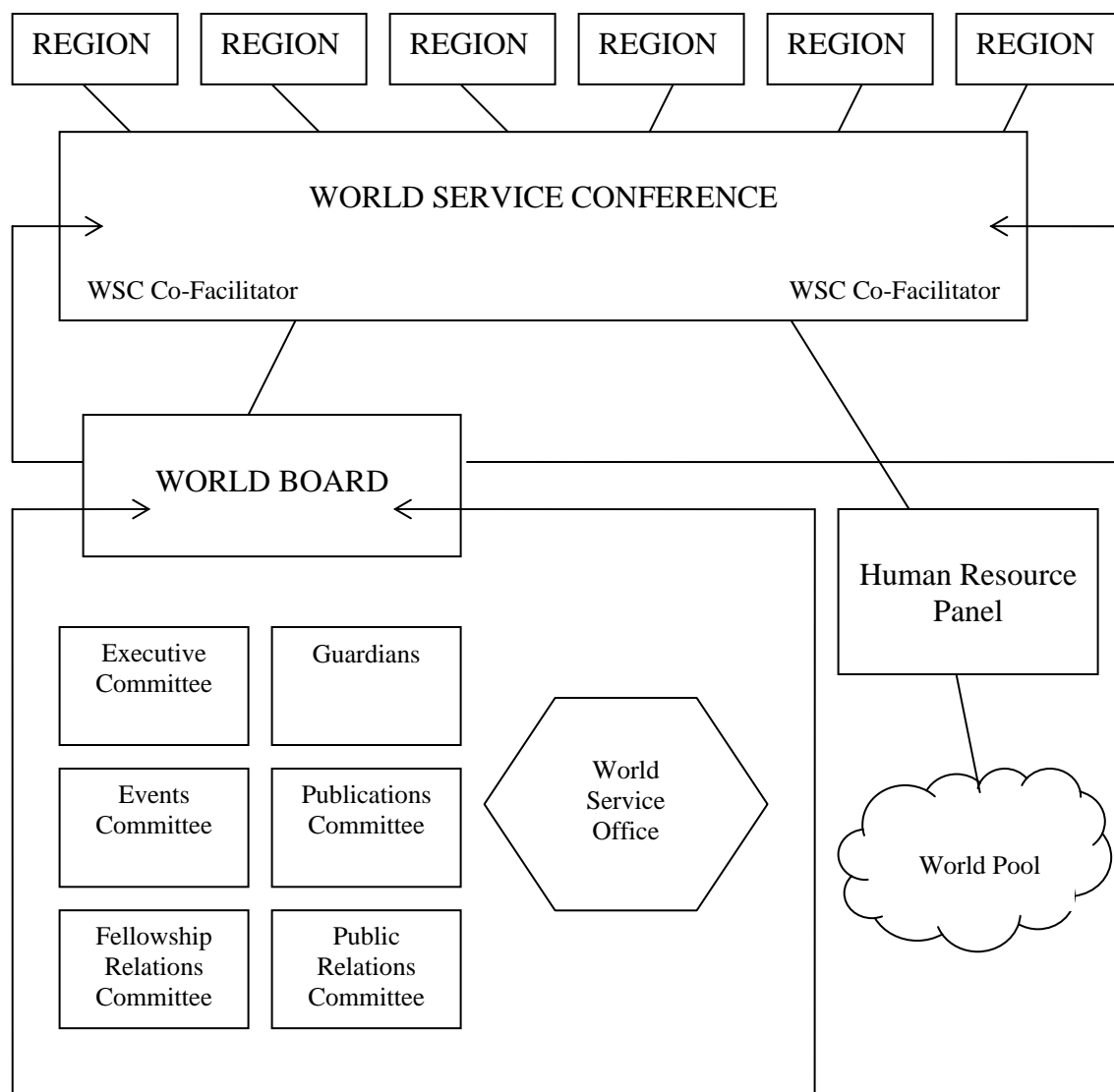


Figure 5.2: Organizational Chart: The Narcotics Anonymous World Services Structure in 1998

The Structuration of the Organizational Field 1990-2003: An International Environment of NA

The degree of structuration of an organizational field can be assessed by observing the interactions and linkages between one organization and the other organization in the field (DiMaggio, 1983). A “structured” field will display a common meaning system and have an increase in the frequency, intensity, and visibility of interactions between organizations. In this

section, the increase in the structuration of the field of “Recovery Services” and its affect on NA’s development of authority and structures is discussed.

NA as an organization has always been willing to adapt itself, within the parameters of set out by the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions, put simply, to “whatever circumstances that exist in the outside world” (NA Way Newsletter, Winter, 1998).

The leadership of NA, which at this time is centered at the corporate offices of NA, also, known as WSO. During the 1990s, there was a new set of internal challenges facing the fellowship, but there were also external changes to their organizational field. Organizational fields are dynamic, and in this section, the extent of the structuration of the “Recovery Services” field is discussed. The frequency, intensity, and visibility of the interactions between NA and the other players in the field are described.

The changing nature of the organizational field for NA during the 1990s can best be described by the Marketing Manager for the NA World Services Office. According to Bob Stewart, “Around 1991 or 1992, most insurance companies restructured their policies to prohibit lengthy inpatient treatment and went to shorter detoxes. So when that happened, our sales plummeted.” (NA Way Newsletter; Winter, 1998) The low-key, mutually rewarding, and informal nature of interactions between organizations in Recovery Services Field were changing. The once sedate environment of NA was becoming “turbulent” and the upper management of NA saw the conditions changing. NA beliefs and administrative apparatus were in crisis, and the events that lead to the crisis “had their roots in managed care.”(NA Way Newsletter, Winter, 1998)

The degree of structuration of the environment at the time include an unusual relationship, some would say strictly “business relationship” with Hazelden, a prominent drug

treatment center in Minnesota. Hazelden was a major purchaser of NA recovery literature and had been NA largest customer for years. Hazelden had been acting as unofficial “distributor” of NA recovery literature, a major supporter of NA ideology, and had an informal alliance with the NA World Service Office since its earliest days. Thus, Hazelden become a resource for NA and a source of legitimacy, but they also influence how NA was to conduct their business. This relationship, though innocent at first, entangled NA in a relationship with Hazelden that affected its course of development. There was an understanding of the mutual dependency between the organizations. NA as a struggling organization, could use a friend in the “business” and Hazelden, as a well-known “treatment center” could provide much needed legitimacy from external source. NA leaders had negotiated with Hazelden management to provide them a “discount” on large purchases, and in return Hazelden would be able to do the 12 Step work for NA, in that, they could spread the NA message and reach those addicts coming to their treatment. In return, when members completed their “medical” treatment at Hazelden, they would send the members to NA. This relationship, one of alliance, coalition, or domination, depending on the viewpoint, skirted the boundaries of the Tradition that stated there “ought” to be no affiliations of outside enterprises.

By 1996, the relationship with Hazelden had changed, as evidence by the decreased amount of purchases made by Hazelden from NA. Hazelden no longer needed NA literature, they were producing their own literature. As a response, NA decided to “go after the correctional institutional market.” While members might question whether this new “strategy” would violate the core principle of 12 step organizations to seek members through attraction and not promotion, the WSO would counter that argument by saying the fellowship does understand the need for aggressive steps, such as marketing. As argued by Bob Stewart, NA Marketing Manager: “we’re

not selling the program. We're selling a product" (NA Way Newsletter; Winter, 1998). Simply put, when it comes to whether to maintain beliefs and tradition, or make changes in response to the environment, Stewart states "it's simple: If we don't, we don't survive" (NA Way Newsletter, Winter, 1998). No longer in a vacuum, the new leaders of the NA organization—the administrative arm and the rational bureaucrats of NA holding positions of authority in the World Service Office, began to see the relationship in the environment differently, and as a response, began to plot a different course for their success.

Another way to document and measure the changing nature of the NA's organizational field is to observe the frequency and intensity of interaction with other organizations. The administrative arm of NA, the WSO, was increasingly taking part in activities sponsored by the other organizations. In WSO annual reports, these interactions are described. In 2000, members of the Office attended three conferences, including: the National Association of Drug Court Professional (NADCP), the Adult Court Conference, and NADCP's First Annual Family and Juvenile Court Conference.

The Board Report for the March 2000 Conference indicates that "this reflects the tremendous growth and increasing sophistication and specialization of the drug court movement." At the conference, there were over 300 attendees, and from this NA "made numerous contacts, learned more about drug court developments." The type of relationship is shown by the fact that the conference was jointly held the NADCP and the U.S. Justice Department, whose focus was "Community Orientation Policing Services" to better relationships with law enforcement. In the past, this might have been considered an outside issue, as stated in the Traditions. NA is becoming linked to those professionals in law enforcement, government agencies, and becoming part of "dialogue about problems" and promoting the "courts interfacing

with our fellowship's meeting." NA celebrates this interaction by saying: "For professionals involved in all aspects of criminal justice systems, Narcotics Anonymous is the first choice," which is a sure sign of courting external source of legitimacy from drug courts and the criminal justice system.

At the Annual conference by the International Council on Alcohol and Addictions held in Vienna, Austria. This conference, according to the report "offers particularly valuable opportunities to make contacts with professional and government officials from countries where no Narcotics Anonymous meetings presently exist." A third area of public relations was a conference sponsored by the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA), which was an addiction research academic, and public Policy conference on "Substance Abuse in the 21st Century: Positioning a Nation for Progress." The report states that that prominent figures, including Nancy Reagan, and a "multitude of nationally prominent figures" and even General Barry McCaffrey, ex-drug Czar, and current head of the US National Drug Control Policy Office, has "acknowledged NA role in the recovery scene—something they say we can be proud of?" Based on these statements, the willingness to interact with "outsiders" and outside of the Tradition that states "non-affiliation" can be seen in the type of organizational language readily used by members. The Staff at the WSO were promoting ideas that NA members ought to be concerned with "furthering NA's visibility and gaining valuable personal contacts" and be ready to become educated on "the role of other key segments of society in national policy about drug abuse" A common meaning system developing for the field when NA members are asked to develop an "informed policy making approach" that takes into consideration the other field participants, such as, drug courts, the criminal justice system, substance abuse treatment provider, and government official.

Table 5.1: Timeline of Organizational Changes in NA from 1947-2003

Date	Agent	Activity	Type of Beliefs	Type of Structure	Type of Isomorphism
1948	DC	starts NA meeting	charisma	rational	mimetic
1953	JK	1 st “committee”	tradition	charisma	mimetic
1960	JK	NA in CA restarts	tradition	tradition	mimetic
1964	JK	Forms BOT			mimetic
1965	CM	1 st contest	charisma		
1969	BOT	1 st “Parent” Committee.	tradition	tradition	mimetic
1973	BOT	20 th Anniversary Banquet	tradition	tradition	mimetic
1975	BOD	1 st formal organization chart	tradition		mimetic
1975	FSHP	Authority questioned			
1976	BOT	1 st WSC held	tradition		mimetic
1976	BOT	NA Tree structure	tradition		mimetic
1976	BOD	Bob Stone becomes parliamentarian,			normative
1977	BOD	WSO is incorporated	tradition	rational	coercive
1977	FSHP	Bo attends Conference	charisma	charisma	
1979	WSC	Bo start book committee	charisma	charisma	mimetic
1981	BOT	Jimmy changes Basic Text	tradition	rational	coercive
1982	WSO	Office moved from Jimmy house	rational	rational	
1984		Death of Jimmy K			
1988	WSO	40 employees			normative
1988	WSO	Meets with UN and WHO	rational	rational	normative
1989	WSC	BOT turnover;	rational	tradition	normative
1989	COA	move to restructure			mimetic
1989	WSO	Legal action over for Trademark	rational	rational	coercive
1989	BOT	Stone is replaced	tradition	rational	normative

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS

This research began with a simple question: Is AA a bureaucratic type of organization? A review of the literature found some researcher strongly contending that AA stands outside Weber's typology of legitimate authority and thus is an "exemplary" case of an anti-bureaucratic organization, immune from internal change, and buffered from environmental turbulence. If AA is a viable case of a non-rational form of authority, then it would openly stand as a direct challenge to Weber's theory of rationalization. The lack of adaptive change in AA would also contradict those institutional theories arguing that organizations must accommodate and adapt to their institutional environments if they are considered to be legitimate (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

AA is a single case, and to further the validity of the analysis, a second case study is conducted on Narcotics Anonymous (NA), an organization closely modeled on AA's organizational beliefs and administrative structures. Tentatively accepting the conclusion that AA's model is a viable form of non-bureaucratic organization, and not an anomaly or only a transitory form, then it can assumed that an organization sharing the same three sets of organizational beliefs, such as NA, will be the able to reproduce AA's anti-bureaucratic type of organization.

To investigate AA's and NA's lack of bureaucratic tendencies, this analysis follows Weber's approach to the assessment of organizational characteristics and their transformations. According to Weber (1968), organizational change can be observed on three dimensions: 1) the

beliefs that validate the authority, 2) the administrative structure that implements, administers and distributes the power, and 3) the problems associated with each type of authority as it changes over time. In addition to those qualities Weber felt crucial to determine the type of authority, this analysis identifies and evaluates those specific claims made by the leaders of the organization to justify their right to command, which are termed “authority accounts”. To appraise the administrative characteristics of NA and AA, the analysis focuses on the type of organizational vocabularies used to describe the policies and procedures of the organization. In addition to Weber’s perspective on the important features of organization, insight into organizational workings can be gained by documenting the degree of structuration of the organizational field and the responses to isomorphic pressures.

Trajectories and Transformations of Authority in AA

This study has benefited by the extensive research on AA by Ernest Kurtz and his observation that AA’s history is distinguished by three distinct periods. Each stage in AA’s development is set apart by a predominant set of beliefs: first, the Steps defined the early years of AA, next came the Traditions were the core principles guiding the organization, and finally, the Concepts were introduced to the AA lexicon before Bill W’s death in 1971. Based on these three stages mapped by Kurtz, the causes for the transformation from one type of authority and administration to another type are analyzed. The path and direction of AA’s actual development will be compared to Weber’s theoretical model of rationalization of authority and administration and three explanations for AA’s transformation are considered. In Figure 6.1, the sequence the authority types in AA’s development are presented according to Weber model and each stage is distinguished by a distinctive set of distinctive beliefs that are predominant during each the time period. Problems with Weber’s model are discussed and help to ground the introduction of a

Revised Model to depict the trajectory and the transformation of mixed types of authority and administrative structures.

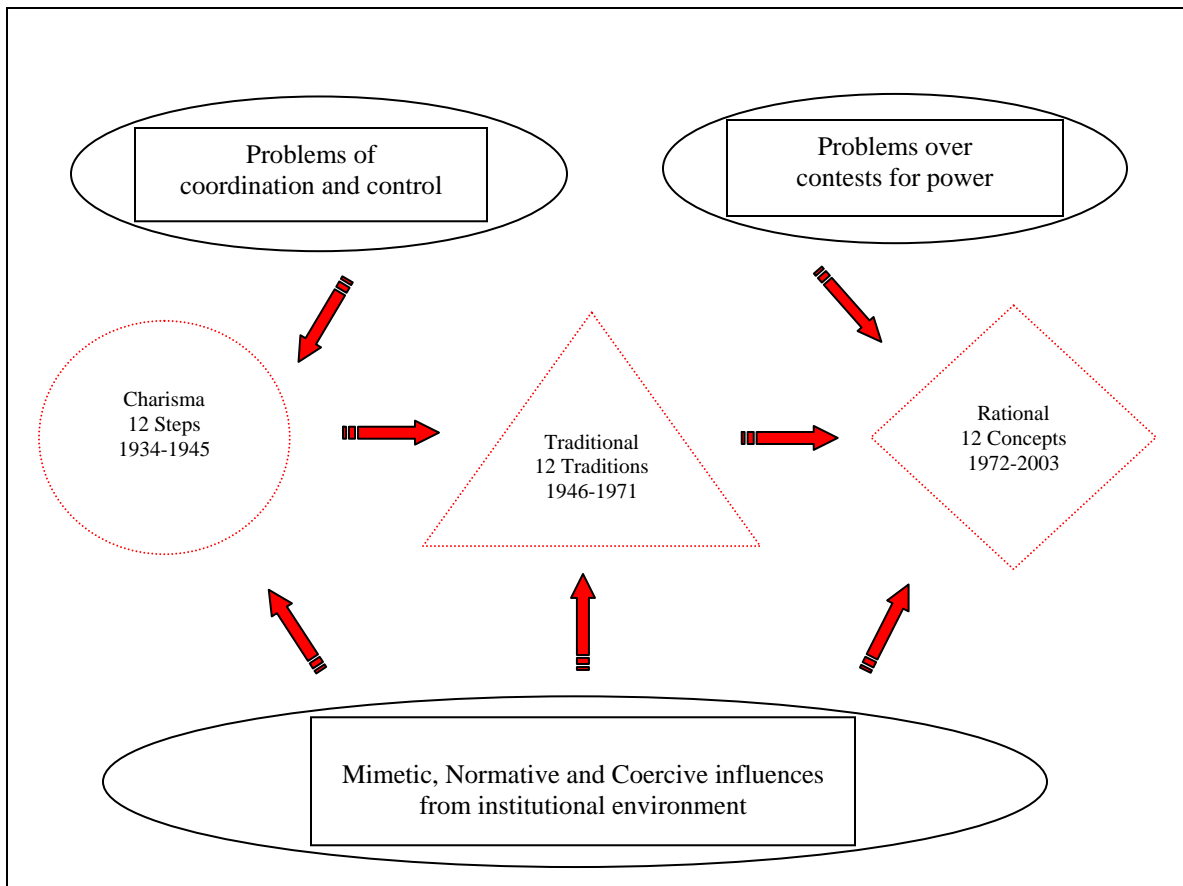


Figure 6.1: Stages of Authority in Alcoholics Anonymous 1934-2003

Three explanations for the change in AA's authority beliefs and administrative structures are explored. First, the changes in AA's organizational structure are a response to the problems and failures of charismatic or traditional forms of authority, as suggested by Weber (1968). For example, the adoption of rational authority and bureaucratic techniques would increase the efficiency of AA, and as AA grew in size and scope, they naturally drifted towards bureaucratic tendencies. Second, the transformation of AA's organizational structures is caused by struggles between individual agents and collective actors for power and legitimacy, as seen by the classical

and modern “power” theories (Michel, 1931; Weber, 1968; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Perrow, 1986). Finally, this study considers the change in AA’s organizational structure, as represented by the “invention” of a new set of beliefs, i.e., the Twelve Concepts, is a response to an increasingly structured organizational field with mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic pressures (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

In this section, the second stage of AA’s development is analyzed for those influences leading to changes in authority beliefs and administrative structures. First, the changes adopted by AA are a response to the problems and failures of charismatic or traditional forms of authority, as suggested by Weber (1968). For example, the adoption of rational authority and bureaucratic techniques would increase the efficiency of AA, and as AA grew in size and scope, they naturally drifted towards bureaucratic tendencies. Secondly, the transformation of organizational structures is seen to be caused by struggles between individual agents and collective actors for power and legitimacy, as seen by the classical and modern “power” theories are discussed (Michel, 1931; Weber, 1968; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Perrow, 1986). Finally, this study considers that the change in AA’s organizational structure, as represented by the “invention” of a new set of beliefs, i.e., the Twelve Concepts, is a response to losing legitimacy in an increasingly structured organizational field with mimetic, coercive, and normative pressures to become isomorphic to their institutional environment (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

AA’s Charismatic Stage: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Pressures to Change

Weber’s explanation for the change in AA’s organizational structure

According to Weber, every authority type has unique problems and the adoption of a new type of authority or administrative structure is an attempt to resolve the inadequacies of the

previous form. Authority based on a charismatic leader and charismatic beliefs, such as found in AA, is unstable and typically will become extinguished upon the death of the leader unless the authority is “routinized” into one of the other two forms of authority—traditional or rational. Solving the problem of charisma creates new problems until the organization ultimately develops a rational type of authority and bureaucratic form administration.

By 1938, AA was in the process of moving away from an organization with charismatic beliefs as the predominant claim to authority. According to Weber, the first step in the survival of the charismatic organization is “routinization”, i.e. transferring or transforming the authority, preferably before the dies. For AA, Bill’s charisma was “routinized” in two ways: first, by the writing the Big Book to codify the beliefs, and secondly, by creating a legal non-profit corporation to handle the everyday responsibilities of administration. According to Weber, an organization only had two choices in the process of “routinization”: 1) create and promote a set of traditional beliefs, then implement one of the “patriarchal types of administration, such as, rule by elders or rule by notables; or, 2) adopt a rational set of beliefs and their bureaucratic practices. AA took the first option and moved toward a traditional type of authority, while their administrative structure became more rational.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

Bill’s charisma was the motivating force behind the success of the organization in the early years, however, Weber’s historical research found that charismatic leaders may be challenged by other individuals who have their own charisma or have an equally legitimate claim to being “directed” by a higher power. Because charismatic leaders must routinely “prove” their charisma, organizational structures based on this type of authority are subject to challenges, both

from other charismatics and from those individual with abilities in operating a more functional type of administration.

During the 1950s, AA was being re-shaped as an organization when some members began to question Bill's original claim to authority and the administration of the group, especially the finances. For example, the Steps were working for other individuals and as they were getting sober from practicing the principles of AA, their lives were changed and they were "pillars" of recovery, and in their communities. These members began to have their own "varieties" of religious experiences, thus allowing them to make a similar claim to have their own version of a higher power speak "through" them. One notable charismatic type figure that was in competition with Bill W. for the charismatic leadership in AA was a famous sports athlete. This baseball celebrity was getting attention in the media concerning his recovery from alcoholism through AA, just at the same time Bill W. own charisma was waning and he was trying to move away from the earlier days of AA evangelism. Weber implies that there is little room in an organization for dueling charismatic leaders because the conflict has a tendency to split the group into spiritual camps. To prevent the ascension of other individuals with "extraordinary" characteristics, AA could solve the problem of AA celebrities through the principle of anonymity for members (except Bill W. and Dr. Bob).

In addition, Bill W.'s position as the main "spiritual" leader in AA was being questioned by some of the more religious of the members of the Fellowship. Behind the scenes, these members questioned whether Bill W.'s "hot flash" was cooling off and assessed that some of his personal affairs did not equate with the notion of being divinely inspired. Simply put, by the 1950s, Bill W. and other members were seeing the "waning of his charisma". In a sense, Bill had achieved his original mission. With his financial success from the publication of the Big Book

and having the assets to “purchase” a home for the first time in years, he was experiencing the pressure of all charismatic leaders --to settle down and enjoy the fruits of their spiritual labor (Weber, 1968).

As a force in AA’s change in organizational structure, Bill W. invented the Traditions to prevent the loss of his authority and to redefine the relationship between him and the members. These Traditions would protect AA from having other charismatic authorities claim control by way of their own spiritual position. AA would have only one charismatic leader if members would just follow the Traditions. The principle of anonymity would reduce the possibility that any person, by the fame of their name, could become latched onto by the media and overshadow the original claims of AA’s founder. AA, in its early years, would not be hindered by this restriction, which led to Bill W. to having this advantage over the other organizations following in AA’s “Traditional” footsteps. While AA’s early members could court the press and gain publicity, the organizations trying to follow in AA’s path could not advertise without being in breach of the Traditions and would not benefit from Bill W. very carefully constructed promotional campaigns. AA’s initial growth and popularity was accelerated by not having to abide by the Traditions in their early years.

Unrestrained in the early years by rules over anonymity or against “promotion, rather than attraction”, AA would grow in popularity and their legitimacy was unquestioned by outside sources. As the dominant player in their organizational field, AA had the power to initiate a new set of beliefs, the Traditions, and operate with an administrative structure that could maintain those beliefs. Under the principles in the Steps, problems arose for AA. Media attention initially sought to increase membership and secure adequate resources led to the unintended consequences of creating new problems beyond the scope of the “rationality” set down in the

Twelve Steps. The AA organization was experiencing development problems, and those “growing pains” would require new beliefs, structures, and strategies more in tune with the environment.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change in AA

Weber (1968) argued that internal problems of efficiency, distributing rewards, and competition, charismatic or otherwise, lead to changes in organizational structures and the eventual adoption of the rational forms of authority and administration. Institutional theory agrees that problems force organizations to change, however, they contend that external forces, such as, coercion by state agencies or the loss of accreditation granted by “professional” associations, can lead to sudden and dramatic transformation in organizational structures. AA’s relationship to its organizational field, both in determining its characteristics and being constrained by them, are the focus of the following discussion on organizational change in AA.

Meyer and Rowan found that in “institutionally elaborated environments,” organizations need to be aware of and seek out “external criteria of worth” to increase the ability to survive (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). AA responded to their problem of gaining legitimacy by receiving “external criteria of worth” from other organizations. The most notable of these events occurred on February 8th, 1940, when AA representatives, including Wilson, were invited to a “dinner party” at the prestigious Union Club in New York City. Arranged by John D. Rockefeller to show his support of AA, the event was set up as a “coming out” party for AA as an organization (Wilson, 1957:182). Bill W. had hoped these guests would make generous donation to the AA cause, which they did not. Though AA would need financial resources to survive, the capital gains received from the evening were not measured in dollars, but in a more valuable “resource” of legitimacy, when the AA’s organization was “accepted” among the dominant players within

their environment. Another example of AA receiving “organizational capital” from outside sources is their recognition by the American Public Health Association (APHA). In 1951, AA received their Lasker Award which noted that was not only was AA a new therapy for the aged-old social problem of alcoholism but was also a “great venture in social pioneering which forged a new instrument of social action” (Wilson, 1957:301). AA had restrictions in the Traditions against self-promotion but they were astute at acquiring legitimacy from influential outside sources.

Organizations will experience uncertainty at their founding and when environments change though they may increase their success by responding to the pressures of the environment. For an organization to exist in an “institutionalized” field it must adopt the rules and practices of that field. AA recognized the importance of conforming to the wishes of the field partners. These type of pressures work subtly but an appropriate response can make the difference between becoming legitimate or labeled an anarchy and unlawful. One example of this normative type of pressure is recounted in *AA Comes of Age* (1957), when Bill W. describes how he “tested” the rough draft of Big Book on some religious leaders. Originally, Bill had written: AA had created Heaven on earth. This statement was taken by a member of the clergy to be in contradiction with the pronouncements of his faith so the clergyman suggested Bill change Heaven to Utopia. If Bill would have said that the Big Book was God’s words and he was just a instrument of the divine and would not accommodate, then AA would have lost legitimacy in the eyes of those in the field he was so desperately courting.

In the following quote, AA describes their “synthesis” of the prevailing norms of their field and was able to appropriate the legitimacy of these three well-respected fields without describing itself as an organizational agent of any of the fields. On one occasion, Bill W. wrote: “Certainly

nobody invented Alcoholics Anonymous. AA is a synthesis of principles and attitudes which came to us from medicine and from religion. We alcoholics have simply streamlined those forces, adapting them to our special use in a society where they can work effectively” (Wilson, 1957). By synthesizing the rules of the fields of medicine and religion, AA participated in the genesis of a new organizational field, that of Recovery Services.

Not only is organizational change a product of subtle pressures but often change to an organization is from more coercive pressures that do not suggest just small accommodation but demands major restructuring. One of the main justification for change in an organization centers on the need to become more efficient. Charismatic organizations are not concerned with routine tasks, but as an organization grows, some individuals have to handle the every day duties. The first movement towards more rational forms of structure was the creation of the Alcoholic Foundation, a non-profit entity, which could legally take donations. AA was quick to respond to the problems associated financial concerns, and just three-four years after their founding they had put in place an administrative entity to handle that touchy issue of money which has been known to split many young organizations. This “coercive” pressure on AA and their timely response to meet the legal requirements of a formal organization prevented problems with a very influential organization, i.e. the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

Another strategy to prevent the “illegitimacy” of an organization is making connections to the most dominant player or power center of the field. From 1940 to 1950, AA leaders made concerted efforts to increase the structuration of their field, or as they called it, to “be friendly with our friends.” Bill W. initiated interaction with established actors in several different organizational fields, connecting AA to important figures in the field of psychiatry, business, philosophy, and medicine, and religion, including, Carl Jung, John D. Rockefeller, the American

Medical Association (AMA), and the Oxford Group. As a consequence of his efforts to link AA to other organizations, Bill W. started the process of structuring the field of those individuals and organizations having a stake in “recovery services.”

Organizational responses to pressures from the field can involve strategies to build bridges when their legitimacy is being questioned or create mechanisms that buffer themselves from outside influences. AA had successfully completed the first step in structuring the field of Recovery Services, the inclusion of those who could establish the group’s credibility. The second step, however, was equally critical, the exclusion of groups which could threaten their legitimacy. AA was successful in severing ties to those organizations that may have hindered its drive for acceptance. Wilson saw what could happen when an innovative idea and an emerging movement was co-opted by outsiders who wanted to use the success of an organization for their own purposes. Early institutional theory as proposed by Selznick, recognized how an organization was able to gain resources from its environment, but the administration duties could be “co-opted by interested parties, who shaped the direction and nature of the organization to suit their needs” (Selznick, 1949). The same process was described by Wilson, who stated: “the Washingtonians [of the mid-19th century] permitted politicians and reformers, both alcoholic and non-alcoholic, to use the society for their own purposes... Within a very few years they had completely lost their effectiveness in helping alcoholics, and the society collapsed” (Wilson, 1957:125).

According to Bill W., “The lesson to be learned from the Washingtonians was not overlooked by Alcoholics Anonymous. As we surveyed the wreck of that movement, early A.A. members resolved to keep our society out of public controversy.” (Wilson, 1957:125) AA maintained credibility and sustained the life of the emerging field of Recovery Services by

buffering the influence of those groups with alternative agendas or whose reputations might damage that of AA. Those “buffering” strategies are what their members call the Twelve Traditions and they were designed by Bill W. to “safeguard” the authority of AA in the face of both internal problems from charismatic upstarts and against external problems from too much or too little interaction with their inter-organizational and institutional partners.

AA’s Traditional Stage: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber’s explanation for the change in AA’s organizational structure

According to Weber (1968), all forms of authority have problems that are unique to their type of authority, and the adoption of a new type of authority and administrative structure is an attempt to resolve the failings of the previous forms. By 1955, AA was a much different organization than the one founded in 1934 on Bill W.’s charismatic experience, the Twelve Steps, a “minimalist” administration overseeing the one hundred members of spread out in a few small groups. For AA, the Twelve Traditions were Bill’s solution to the problems inherent to the charismatic type of authority, such as, the need to “prove” legitimacy by regular miracles, the challenges to authority by other individual’s claims of charismatic authority, a method of transferring authority through rules of succession, and the inefficiency of minimalist or undeveloped structures. The adoption of a new set of more traditional principles and the formalization of administrative arrangements help to set the direction of the AA organization away from a dependence on the miraculous personal performances of their charismatic founder and on the path towards a more stable set of beliefs and practices associated with patriarchal authority. Bill W. had solved the problems of his organization by incorporating a new set of beliefs, formally creating the administrative wing to replace the earlier minimally structured, and

helping to begin the structuration of the field of recovery services in a way that was most favorable to AA.

The Traditions, as written in 1946, were a set of beliefs advocating traditional authority. Bill W. said these practices were “hammered on the anvils of experience” and were developed as AA addressed the difficulties and pressures of organizational growth. More importantly, the Twelve Points to Assure Our Future (Wilson, 1957), as they were first called, were “invented traditions” (Hobswam and Ranger, 1983) that were part of a conscious strategy to deal with those problems known to be associated with charismatic authority and administration:

- the waning of charisma
- challenges to the charisma of the founder
- problems of coordination and control
- problems in redistributions of reward
- problems from threats from the external environment
- instability due to personal nature of authority

In this “transformed” state, AA leaders would encounter and need to address a different collection of problems associated with an evolving organizational field and a form of traditional authority with “patriarchal” tendencies of administration.

- splintering into factions by charismatic resurgence
- problems of the correlation, of power, wealth, and prestige
- arbitrary and unequal distribution of rewards
- low rates of social mobility
- problems of coordination and control
- instability due to personal nature of authority

One of the main problems with the traditional type of authority is that it can be challenged by a charismatic individual who recognizes that stagnant nature of relations and compels some members to return their roots and become revitalized. Those problems confronting AA during its traditional phase and their response are discussed in the following section.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

The Traditions are all about preventing “big shots” or new charismatic authorities who could challenge Bill W.’s claim of being “divinely inspired.” The Tradition united the groups and neutralized any internal challenges to the authority of their founder. Bill W. argued: “If AA were really guided by the Twelve Traditions, we could not possibly be split apart by politics, religion, money, or by any old-timers who might take notion to be big shots” (Wilson, 1957: 43). This statement shows that AA recognized the increasing threat from “old-timers” who worked the Steps and as a result, had a “spiritual awakening” equal to Bill W.’s or from those “new-comers” who might bring to the organization more celebrated charismatic characteristics that could eclipse Bill W.’s unique position as “the one and only” charismatic founder of AA.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change in AA

Organizations respond to isomorphic pressures in different ways. One method is to resist the environmental pressures and create structures that prevent the transfer of rules from the field to the organization. AA’s Traditions were meant to serve as a buffer from outside influences, and as stated by Meyer and Rowan (1977), to prevent the evaluation by external sources. In the earlier charismatic stage, when the “uncertainty” of their success was evident, AA had tried to be “friendly” with influential power center of players in the field, such as, the American Medical Association (AMA) or the media. With their achievements recognized by public and their legitimacy on the way to becoming well-established among other organizations, the Traditions of

anonymity would prevent being questioned on the matter of their efficiency. Too many questions about the activities of AA and critical evaluation by outside sources might threaten their growth and their legitimacy.

Reducing uncertainty and resolving the pressures to conform within their organizational field is needed for an organization to survive. One way to solving the problem of legitimacy among members and with inter-organizational partners is through performing ceremonies that promote the “logic of confidence and good faith” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). One such “event” was the St. Louis Convention of AA in 1955. The Conference gave voice to the concerns of the groups that made the “voluntary” sides of the association in AA, while the long-term decision making, strategic plans, and the direction of the organization was shaped by the Board of Trustees.

AA's Rational Stage: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber's explanation for the change in AA's organizational structure

According to Weber, every authority type has unique problems and the adoption of a new type of authority or administrative structure is an attempt to resolve the inadequacies of the previous form. From 1946-1955, the Traditions had served their purpose. They had prevented any new personality from challenging Bill W. with new claims of charismatic authority. The Twelve Traditions were a set of solutions to deal with the problems inherent in a charismatic type of authority and its structure. The Traditions were a guide for the internal development at the coming of age period, and now, those solutions, if set in stone, were going to prevent further growth. A new set of conditions led up to changes in AA in the late 1960 and 1970s, as the environment was changing, and if AA was going to keep up, they would have to adapt. Bill

warned that an organization might become rigid and to survive they would have to be willing to adapt and be “flexible” to the changes occurs around them.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change in AA

During this stage, AA was changing and so was the institutional environment in which it had so successfully extracted resources. Evidence of this change is a slow drift away from the Traditions and a movement to becoming more rational and bureaucratic. This shift was slow and not without conflict, as the 12 Traditions limited the amount of change the organization could make and still remain true to its origins and beliefs. Rapid change would undermine the Traditions, which were put in place to transform the charismatic authority and provide a legitimate justification for the succession to the Conference Model, while splitting his authority to the Board Members, the Administrative arm at the World Service Offices and the Conference and its delegates.

One of the defining features of this stage is the lack of conflict that exists in AA. The organizational structure was working and there were few conflicts between the members, the “department”, or with the outside world.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change in AA

At this time, AA was not only being influenced by their environment, but they were influencing the policies and procedures in the Recovery Services field. AA would adapt to the environmental conditions and move towards becoming more bureaucratic tendencies in their administrative practice and adopt a rational approach towards recovery.

Have institutional isomorphic forces—normative, coercive, or mimetic—led AA to become more similar to the organizational players of their environment. How did AA shape the emerging institutional environment of drug treatment, 12 step organizations, and drug courts and

define the standards practices that of legitimacy? And, with the invasion or the accommodation of the outside influences and from seeking legitimacy, has AA changed not only their structure but their beliefs. More importantly, at what cost or consequences?

The Trajectories and Transformations of Authority in NA

Ernest Kurtz’ research on AA delineated three distinct periods—each set apart by the predominant set of belief—the Steps, the Tradition, and the Concepts. This method worked well for AA, since they had only one “leader” claiming authority and direction the administration of the organization for almost forty years. In the case of NA, they had the same three set of beliefs but their history is marked by numerous individuals making claims as the “founder”. The analysis of NA’s transformation is better served by distinguishing a stage change based on a specific leader making claims to a particular type of authority or administration. The causes of the transformation of NA are considered and the applicability of Weber’s theory of rationalization for organizations based on the principles of AA is examined.

In Figure 6.2, a simple Weberian type of model is presented to depict the sequence the authority types in NA’s development.

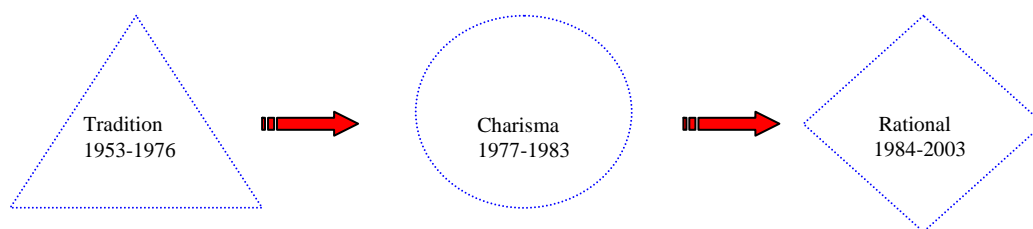


Figure 6.2: Stages of Authority in Narcotics Anonymous 1953-2003

In this model, the beliefs in authority and the type of administration are not separated as two separate aspects of the organizational structure. This model represents NA as a “pure”

version of Weber's Ideal Types of Authority. The "pure" type is when the type of authority is in congruence with its type of administration, although, Weber noted that organizational structure may be "mixed" forms of authority. The model in Figure 6.2 is used to illustrate that that NA did not begin as a charismatic organization like AA and when compared to the model for AA in Figure 6.1, the "trajectory" or the sequences in types of authority in NA have varied from those in AA. The fact that NA began as a traditional form of authority would lead to different problems at each stage for the development of organizational structures.

To explain these differences in the "trajectory" of organizational structures present in NA's development, the three main forces must be considered. First, from the Weberian perspective, the changes in authority and structure within organizations are seen to be driven by those inherent problems of legitimacy, competition and efficiency. Secondly, based on the theories of classical and more recent "power" theorists the transformation of organizational structures is caused by individual agents and collective actors in contests over power and legitimacy (Michel, 1931; Weber, 1968; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Perrow, 1986). Lastly, changes in organizational structures are further explained by the effects of changing institutional environments and the influence of mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic pressures that are produced by an increasingly structured organizational field (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In the following paragraphs, the unique and typical problems affecting New York NA and California NA, the response made to solve the problems, and explanations for the motivating forces causing the transformations in NA's organizational structure are addressed.

New York NA's Protean Stage: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber's explanations for organizational change in New York NA

All forms of authority and administration have problems. According to Weber, the changes in organizational structure are the result of individuals, often in their own interest, attempting to resolve the failings of the previous form of authority or administration. It has been argued, especially by certain members from NA California, that the problems befalling New York NA was a result of not adhering to the Traditions. The Traditions of AA are the standards used to guide AA's and NA's organizational operations at all levels—from the local groups to the World Board of Trustees. But these Traditions are more than just effective business policies, they are sacred principles, and according to the AA ideology, those who violate those principles have diverted off the path prescribed by a Higher Power and will suffer the consequences. In a way of reiterating the importance of the Traditions, members of both NA and AA will say: “the steps are optional but the traditions are mandatory”. The accusation that NA of New York was not following the traditions and is the “divine” cause of their failure can not be supported. At this time in the late 1940s and early 1950, even the founders of AA and their members were not practicing the principles on a regular basis, and still they had been very successful at attracting and keeping members. Thus, the problems confronting NA had more to do with their leadership and the inability to establish a set of beliefs to legitimate his authority. The eventual dissolution of New York AA can be attributed to the lack of a charismatic founder with an inability to attract and keep members and the absence of a codified set of beliefs to express and bond to a common experience. New York NA needed an eye-catching, heart-stopping authority account to legitimate the claims of Danny Carlson as the man on a mission to help addicts. Although Danny was efficient and rational and had made all the right contacts with a few influential professionals

in the Salvation Army and Department of Social Services, it was not enough to guarantee the organization's success.

The eventual failure at this time was due to an inability to attract members. Without the type of charismatic authority possessed by Bill W., the New York NA had become too rational too quickly. A more likely explanation for the eventual dissolution of the organization in New York is that their version of NA lacked the fire to gain committed members and Danny Carlson missionary efforts were "co-opted" by the others on whom he had become dependent on for his legitimacy.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

For Danny Carlson, the rule of anonymity was a major concern, and possibly a limiting condition that served to prevent, to some extent, the success of NA New York. The Traditions required attraction, not promotion, and although AA had sought publicity early in their development, NA it seemed that like they had to tread carefully. Pictures of Danny appeared in a national publication, *The Saturday Evening Post*. These pictures were meant to get the message out to the public, in the hope that the promotion would be an "external criteria of worth." In one somewhat unflattering picture, Danny C. is shown as a balding middle-aged man dressed in suit and tie, smoking a cigarette. Those early members had "volunteered to have pictures taken" to drive home their message, possibly thinking that the addicts should not be ashamed to show themselves it public. Trying to appear as normal, the photos presented a negative image, rather than attracting people to their message. The apparent violation of the Tradition of anonymity at the "levels of press, radio, and films" was considered by California NA as the one reason leading to NA New York's eventual failure.

Isomorphic Explanations for organizational change

AA's tactic of non-promotion and having no "organizational opinion" would keep AA from having their legitimacy questioned by other organizations. AA's principles against affiliation were designed to prevent cooptation by other organization, a mistake made by the Oxford Group, AA's precursor. Because Danny Carlson did not adopt the Traditions (AA had barely began to practice them), there were unintended consequences. NA of New York was more willing to create formal and official alliances with other organizations, in the hope of gaining legitimacy and receiving the financial support needed to survive. .

Because the addict was more stigmatized than the alcoholic, there was an "uncertainty" in the ability to be accepted by the mainstream public, so early NA founders had a greater need to have outside organizations endorse their activities. This "normative" influence of professionals, in the Lexington Hospital and from the well-wishers in Salvation Army led Danny Carlson to adopt a more formal, rational and bureaucratic approach to the founding of his organization. Though the connection provided legitimacy, it is possible that in his effort to accommodate those organizations controlling his resources, the meetings of NA New York were "co-opted" by those outside organizations. An early member described a meeting held by NA New York as not being a small, "closed" group made up of addicts seeking to address their own recovery, as was the model of AA. Instead, the meeting was a large gathering of mostly professionals and family members seeking information.

While some have argued NA New York failed because they did not follow the traditions, instead, the problem was an imposing external environment that kept them from expanding and set too heavy constraints upon their developing. For example, at the time of NA New York founding, under the Rockefeller laws, it was illegal for two addicts to associate without the threat

of arrest. Ironically, where John D. Rockefeller's support for AA in the late 1930s had given them the financial resources to write the Big Book and help alcoholics recover, the Rockefeller Law was keeping addicts from getting help.

California NA's Protean Stage: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber's explanations for organizational change in California NA

According to Weber, to solve problems an organization will create new and different beliefs or adapt the administrative structure in an attempt to resolve the failings of the previous form. Weber's analysis of changes in authority argued that individuals within the organizations are "constantly tempted to transgress the built-in limitations of their power, and so under every system of domination men tend to change the system in the course of pursuing their material and ideal interests" (Bendix, 1960:300).

The following discussion investigates how Weber's theory of rationalization would explain the changes occurring in NA's organizational structure during the 1950s. As suggested by Weber, Jimmy K. had three choices to legitimate his position—charisma, tradition, or by rational means. In the early days of NA, Jimmy K. followed AA's patriarchal type of administrative structure and his claim as NA's oldest member gave his special rights to claim the authority to direct the actions of NA. However, the traditional form of administration, i.e., a patriarchy, would have unintended consequences. By firmly adhering to the beliefs found Traditions (which AA did not follow at its origins), the growth of NA was slowed. Without the benefits of a charismatic authority attracting a committed group of followers and motivated by an impassioned mission from a Higher Power, there was a lack of emotional bond to attract and keep members in NA. The NA group founded in California was first formed in 1953 but had failed to establish its authority among a committed group of followers. Members came to the

program of NA but did not stay for long. As for the type of authority beliefs in NA, the Steps were used to guide individual members and the Traditions to help the groups, but the authority in NA was under-developed and not providing a firm basis of legitimacy. Bill W.'s story of his "miracle" gave a legitimate account that energized his mission, but in NA, Jimmy K. lacked the equal authority account that animated and illustrated the NA message.

In addition to his dependence on traditional authority beliefs to maintain his legitimacy and be the Father of NA, Jimmy K. enforced an unusual brand of a patriarchal administrative structure and this set extreme conditions that constrained the newly emerging organization. At that time, the organization was barely able to sustain meetings on a continuous basis and membership was less than one hundred, rather irregular members. The major accomplishments for the first six years of existence include: semi-regular meeting and producing a small pamphlet outlining the goals of the organization. NA in New York has problems because they did not follow the Traditions, but in the case NA in California, their problems came from following the Traditions so closely that it prevented any innovation.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

Based on the insight of Weber, Michel and the later arguments of the modern "power" theorists (Pfeffer and Salanick, 1978; Perrow, 1986), the explanation for change in the organizational structures within NA must also account for those transformations resulting from the power struggles between individual agents and collective actors.

In NA, there is the inherent contradiction between an organization founded on the traditional beliefs with a wise father-figure providing direction and the personal authority from a charismatic leader being called on a spiritual mission. The struggle for power that has defined NA's history is illustrated in the following accounts. In one recollection, the conflicts in NA are

seen as due to the confusion over who would be the “true” leader of NA. In one account of the conflict, the following denial of authority is told: “Jimmy had given up the leadership role”, and in another account, the documents say that a man named Scott was “the leader of NA at the time” (Stone, 1997; 35-36). This note in NA history is important because it shows the difference in a traditional and charismatic leader—a charismatic leader would never give up the mission. In subsequent cases of conflict in NA, if the members of NA were not following the expressed directions as prescribed by Jimmy K., then he would battle to maintain his position, often to the detriment of the organization as a whole. Jimmy K. was a “fighter”, as he described himself, but his willingness to do battle was not as much for the mission of NA, but to maintain his hold over the administration of NA.

The distinction of the “real” founder of NA is further confused by documents that detail how Cy Malo was a dominant personality at the time. Some recollections state that Cy “claimed he was the founding father of NA,” which caused a controversy among the early factions and coalitions within NA. Cy Malo and Jimmy K. seemed to have a “personality” conflict and disagreed on the direction of the organization. Much of the conflict arose from Jimmy K. insistence on replicating the AA model, both as a means to maintain his legitimacy as NA’s original member and as the most workable model for structuring their activities.

A second “contest” over authority was between the NA New York and the California NA. Rather than embrace the efforts of NA in New York, Jimmy K. tried to diminish the importance of other groups and distance himself from the other organizations. The conflict between the East coast and West coast groups was less over the ideological differences and more about the territorial claims to a particular authority type and the appropriate administration to base the groups. Jimmy said: “Before, there was the Habit Forming Drugs group...they

demanded certain things and were dominated by one or two person. You and I know...we do not like authority” (Stone, 1997:20). In this account, Jimmy K. is arguing that the members do not like the type of authority found in charismatic groups, although, the charismatic type of authority was the basis for AA’s early success. In NA, Jimmy saw the contest between his patriarchal style of authority, which he saw as prescribed by AA, and the beliefs of those charismatic individuals, which he felt led to the failure.

The contest that shape NA’s organizational structure can be seen in the following statement: “Considering all the information available, about the New York fellowship, it is probably fair to suggest that it was too closely controlled by one member– first Danny then Rae– and that a group conscience process as presented in the Second Tradition did not exist” (Stone, 1997:17). In Bob Stone’s interpretation of the difficulties involved in the early attempts at NA, he believes that “the facts clearly show that they were different organizations” (Stone, 1997:40). From the perspective of some members in California, the New York version was not the real NA, and the fact that they dissolved was a consequence from not following the Traditions, and the transgression of New York NA is what led to their led to demise.

The slow growth in forming a core group of ex-drug using individuals, the logistics of maintaining consistent meeting places, and internal squabbling and struggles to gain legitimacy almost forced the NA movement to disappear. The original NA group of Los Angeles floundered after five years and then completely died out completely until 1960. For a number these original imitators, the attempt to replicate a viable copy of AA’s “minimalist” model for addicts eventually failed.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change

NA had one strategy to deal with problems at this time—mimic the AA model, despite the internal demands of the membership and the nature of the organizational environment. The Twelve Traditions borrowed from AA were designed as strategies to deal with and warn group members of the dangers associated with a dependence on external resources. AA had seen and experienced problems caused by having too close associations with their field. As a result, they developed a specific policy to decline outside contributions, either financially, or through the explicit endorsements from other organizations. AA had observed and learned from others' failures, such as the Washingtonians and the Oxford groups, thus developing a specific strategy to address problems of public relations. AA's tactic of non-promotion and having no "organizational opinion" would keep AA from becoming entangled in compromising positions that might raise questions of their legitimacy.

Imitating the AA model of recovery was important for those individuals seeking to "get clean," but AA also provided a design for NA on how their organization could be structured. Institutional theory states that: "in times of uncertainty," organizations will follow the model and become isomorphic because: "organizations that omit environmentally legitimate elements of structure or create unique structures lack acceptable legitimated accounts of their activities. Such organizations are more vulnerable to claims that they are negligent, irrational, or unnecessary" (Meyers and Rowan, 1977:349). Jimmy K.'s version of NA would find it beneficial to conform to the institutional rules being set by AA, in both type of structures and the types of authority beliefs. Also, Jimmy K. imitated the organizational language of AA and used AA's "legitimated accounts" to link NA to AA.

The changes in organizational structure in NA during the 1950-60s can be explained by the mimetic strategy of Jimmy K. and his patriarchal family. Although there were others players and models that could have been imitated, including the New York NA, it was AA that became the most dominant influence within its field for NA at that time. NA would “borrow” the beliefs of AA. The uncertainty of their own efforts to run the business of NA led to their numerous attempts to “mimic” AA’s organizational structure, as found in the Traditions and in their service manuals. One example of how closely NA felt the pressure of AA is in the selection of their name. Members had decided to call themselves a AA/NA group, and though the name was voted on and accepted, it had to be later changed or be in “violation” of AA’s Traditions to let another use their name for some implied affiliation. So, although, the name changed, the impetus behind the organization, and the principles remained decidedly an AA clone.

Other examples of the NA’s mimetic strategy can be seen in the formation of NA’s first group. Nominations for positions of authority at that time show that Jimmy K. was voted and accepted as Chairman, Doris C. was voted as Secretary (we can assume that these documents are in her handwriting), as that would be her “secretarial duties” along with four other members forming a “rotating committee” for leadership. On that date they found it useful to enter and accept the bylaws to be “in effect as long as the group is active” and any change can be made if four or more active members “call the secretary and request a committee meeting.” These activities of NA to create a working structure closely follow the AA model of organization called for in AA’s Service Manual. The difference is that Jimmy K was applying the formal structural policies and procedures to a group of less than thirty newly-recovered addicts while AA implementation of the administrative rules had come at a time when their membership numbered in the thousands.

NA's Traditional Authority: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber's explanations for organizational change

All forms of authority have problems and Weber (1968) saw the introduction of authority and administrative structures as a way to resolve organizational problems. The problems that had confronted NA in its early days were many and included a scarcity of literature, uncommitted members, and a lack of regular meetings. NA as an idea, and the Steps as an ideology were in place, but the main problem was a lack of leadership, no administrative apparatus, and no legitimating accounts, thus, no authority.

For NA to get off the ground the members would have to create or borrow beliefs that would legitimate their authority and then design a functioning administrative structure that did not conflict with those Traditions they had willingly inherited from AA. Six years before, the NA group in California had tried to form a group, but the member faded away, and in 1959, with only a few loyal members left over, Jimmy K., would make his second effort at creating a functioning program of recovery for addicts. Based on a simple idea: "the steps for the individual and the Traditions for the groups", Jimmy K. and three other committed members restarted the organization in 1960 and tried to renew the message of NA recovery. The first priority was to identify their previous mistakes. The failure of NA, according to Jimmy K., was attributed to the members not following the beliefs set down in the Traditions, as AA had pronounced them. If the Traditions are sacred, then those individuals and groups detouring from the principles, are no longer protected by the higher power, and are doomed to failure. NA members decided they would not make the same mistake again—they would follow the Traditions.

The story of NA rebirth is told by Jimmy K: "Surveying the situation, Sylvia began to cry. 'Oh Jimmy,' she said, 'what are we going to do? How can we help any addicts now? There

now, Sylvia,’ Jimmy said, ‘it’s gonna be all right. The first thing we’re going to do is, we’re just going to sit down and have another cup of coffee. Then we’re going to figure out what we’re going to do. We’re going to have to go back to what we started with in 1953 when we first sat down to try to put something together to help addicts, and we’re going to have to follow the traditions all the way. It’s going to be all right.” (NAWS, 1998: 39)

This statement is not representative of the attitude and actions of a charismatic leader “on fire” and ready for revolutionary change. Instead, this “founding myth” of NA’s organizational beginnings is indicative of the actions of a “father figure” or in this case, a grandfatherly type who is comforting, patient, and in no hurry to change the world. The value of this authority account is that it indicates what type of authority will be adopted by NA, and it shows Jimmy’s belief that the solutions will be found by looking to the past, the Traditions, and AA, for answers.

Another problem of the NA organization at this time was a lack of structure, formal or otherwise, that would work for addicts. There were few formalized meetings, but with so few meetings, “a specific structure for NA wasn’t needed and really wasn’t wanted”, but as NA grew in both size and geographically, the groups and areas had “moved in their own direction—usually apart” (NA Tree, 1976). Without a sense of common purpose and often in direct contradiction to the suggested organizational solutions found in Traditions and practiced with some success by AA, the members of NA were hesitant to create a formal organization.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

Based on the insight of Weber, Michel and the later arguments of modern “power” theorists (Pfeffer and Salanick, 1978; Perrow, 1986), the explanations for change in organizational structures must account for transformations resulting from the power struggles between individual agents and collective actors.

Two of the main areas of conflict in NA's Traditional stage revolved around contest between personalities and over the claims to "territories". The first sign of conflict within the fellowship during this stage occurred around 1965, when a group of addicts from the Los Angeles area moved north to San Francisco. The movement north was the solution to a long-standing conflict between Jimmy K. and Sylvia M. These two very dominant members each had a different vision for NA and each had loyal supporters divided into camps backing their version of NA. Jimmy and Sylvia battled over the locations for conferences, the literature being published and the closely held reins by the AA old-timers on the decision making for the organization. As Weber described, traditional authority is prone to splintering, and Sylvia's solution was to move to San Francisco and become associated with ADD Center, a program developed in coordination with University of California at Berkeley.

Jimmy K. had been able to hold NA together in the past, using different strategies. In the 50's he tried a rational approach but failed and then removed himself from the charisma contest. In 1960, in his battle with Sylvia, the split was solved with a geographic cure and members split into a north and south region. Similar to the solution found in a feudal system, when there are challenges to authority, the territory is divided and individuals are granted the authority over them. In this case the conflict contributed to NA's growth as Sylvia's effort led to a new brand of NA in the North California area and meeting there seemed to flourish without the rules of Jimmy's patriarchal control.

Another major conflict of the Traditional stage of NA's development involved ideological disputes. Without the unquestionable authority of charisma, as AA had in their origins, Jimmy K. was left to guide the organization based on the Traditions. NA was closely following the Traditions of AA, but these principles were designed to meet the specific problems

encountered by an organization in different time and for different environment. The rules of the Tradition would put constraints on NA that limited its growth. Jimmy's response to the problems in NA is shown in the following statement: "I resigned... as chairperson of NA before I really got going...because we were not following the Traditions of Narcotics Anonymous" (Stone, 1997:32).

In Bo S.' reflective assessment of the conflict, NA was comprised of two groups--those who were directly connected to the WSO and its operations, and those who were not. Those with the power were coalesced around Jimmy K. and the authority claimed by this group was based on the habitual following of the Traditions. These members were hand picked for their loyalty to Jimmy K. This group was powerful because of their clean-time and the connection to the AA in the 1950s and the earlier form of NA. The second group involved in the conflict was the "Conference People" and this group included those members who had less clean time, but were more representative of NA because they came from across the United States. These "new-comers" were not part of the California old-guard appointed to positions out of their loyalty to Jimmy K., instead, these members were elected to their positions based on the local popularity, their own charismatic notoriety and not necessarily their clean time. These members were part of the conference structure and came together every year with the belief that NA was run on democratic decision-making principles.

Based on his review of NA's records, Bob Stone saw that the main elements of the conflict during this time arose from "the appearance that Jimmy and his friends had more power than anyone else, and didn't often listen to what others said or wanted" (Stone, 1997: 103). In patriarchal types of traditional authority, the leader's position is guaranteed by custom and in many ways unlimited, so there is no need to accommodate others opinions or ideas. Examples of

conflict occurring in NA at this time include: the battle between Jimmy and Cy Malo over the way to run meetings, and the conflict between Jimmy and Sylvia over time the need to have additional literature for the fellowship, i.e., a Basic Text. Stone related that the consensus of members was the “trustees were making the decisions” and members just were supposed to accept the decisions (Stone, 1997).

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change

According to Meyer and Rowan: “the building blocks for organizations come to be littered around the societal landscape; its take only a little entrepreneurial energy to assemble them into a structure” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977:345). For NA, two different sets of “building blocks,” both based on AA, were available to those members of NA seeking to create a legitimate and viable organizational structure. A third set of beliefs and an accompanying organizational model would be designed by Bill W. in 1959 when he wrote the Twelve Concepts. Although, the Concepts were official beliefs sanctioned by Bill W., they were not part of AA’s organizational vocabulary at the time of Bill W.’s death in 1971, and would not be adopted in NA leadership until the 1990s.

The first of the models available for NA was the charismatic type of authority claimed by an extraordinary leader (in AA’s case, Bill W) and the corresponding arrangement of faithful disciples joined together in a fellowship—the type of charismatic and “minimalist” organizational present in AA at its early stages of development, from 1935-1938. A second model for NA to imitate was the AA of the 1950s—one that had initially benefited from an intense commitment of members to their radical charismatic leader, but had moved beyond the unstable form to become a more patriarchal and stable administrative base. AA’s form of traditional authority was shaping and dominating the emerging institutional environment in the

1950s and 1960s just at the time NA was trying to become established as an organization. This patriarchal model of authority, one based on the principles initially “invented” in 1946 by Bill W. and later to be known as the Twelve Traditions would become the basis for the formally organized administrative apparatus of NA and serve as a roadmap to guide the development of NA.

According to DiMaggio and Powell, “when goals are ambiguous, or when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty, organizations may model themselves on other organizations” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983:151). This strategy of adaptation or accommodation is called mimetic isomorphism. In NA’s earliest attempts at developing a workable organizational structure, the one strategy that worked for NA was a mimetic response to AA influence within the emerging field of Recovery Services. AA was the primary force in their environment and held the resources, i.e., legitimacy, within their institutional environment. By copying AA, and asking for their implicit approval (members of NA wrote to Bill W. for his consent to name NA after AA), NA members were following the traditions and their uncertainty would be replaced by success.

At NA’s founding and until 1976, Jimmy K. had one response to the “uncertainty” of NA’s position within a turbulent environment--to become “isomorphic” with AA. The problem with Jimmy’s strategy was that he adopted the type of authority and structure that was functional and adapted to AA’s environment of the 1950s. As the environment changed, that model of AA, one based on traditional belief and traditional structures, was unfit for the rapidly changing institutional requirements of the 1970s.

In these times of uncertainty, the common response of Jimmy K. and others was to model AA, even to the point of directly plagiarizing their literature. The members of NA had been using

AA's Big Book, but in an effort to have their own book, rather than write a text for NA, their approach was to retype the Big Book of AA, and just substitute the word drugs for alcohol. The mimetic pressure of AA was so strong, that members felt they could not divert or diverge from the AA model. Although, NA tried to follow AA's lead, in the case of NA, their mimicry of AA did not produce the same results as when AA invented the Traditions. For example, in 1975, Jimmy K. thought NA had "come of age", like AA, and made attempts to move NA in a new direction with a formal structure modeled on AA and with similar "ceremonial" events that would celebrate the transfer of power (just as AA had done in 1955).

These events were more symbolic than functional for the organization at the time but NA was determined to follow AA's lead rather than enact the change as a response of any actual needs to become more organized. By having the Conference and announcing the intention to "re-structure", Jimmy may have believed he was building "the logic of confidence and good faith" among members; instead, his "letter from a group of concerned members" was met with questions about the power structure in NA and members actually refused to attend the Conference that Jimmy K. arranged to vote on NA's official business. Jimmy K. was correct that members of NA had a hard time accepting authority, whether it be chromatic, traditional, or rational, but there strongest opposition was to any "form of government" or administration short of a direct democracy. Members of NA recognized the uncertainty of their previous enterprise in the 1950s and 1960 and some attributed their problems on the failure to follow the Traditions, but even in 1975, the members were not ready for any one leader to take control of the organization. This resistance to charismatic types, and the acceptance of the traditional authority they inherited from AA, would prevent innovation and slow their growth, but it did keep them true to the principle of every group "ought to be autonomous".

Another type of isomorphic pressure that leads to change is the coercive type. In the case of NA, there were efforts to make contacts with the local law enforcement, and vice versa, which would shape the way the organization could operate at this time. Meetings in NA were “sporadically” held at different places and different times as a response to supposed surveillance by law enforcement. Called “rabbit” meetings” because they had to hop around, the members felt that the police might misconstrue the occasion when numerous known “drug users” were assembling in one place. When NA only had a few meetings, “a specific structure for NA was not needed and really not wanted,” but as NA grew in both size and was spreading geographically, the groups and areas “moved in their own direction—usually apart” (NA Tree, 1975). Without a sense of common purpose and often in direct contradiction to the suggested organizational solutions found in Traditions and practiced with some success by AA, the members of NA were struggling to maintain the past principles and move forward as an organization. Bolstered with the enthusiasm of a few crucial members, the re-invented NA began to not only mimic the Steps to recover, but closely copied the literature, activities, and organizational structure of AA.

NA at this time was also experiencing the normative pressures to conform to AA and the business practices of those half-way houses and newly invented rehab center specifically designed by and for recovering addicts. According to Meyer and Rowan (1977:349), organizations that practice: “Vocabularies of structure that are isomorphic with institutional rules” as seen as legitimate and these models become prescriptions of how organizations “ought” to organize. At the time, NA had one “vocabulary” and it was based on AA. By following these procedures NA could obtain the legitimacy by conforming to AA practices and increase their opportunities for success and survival. NA had failed before, and in their second attempt to

become organized in the 1960s, this time, they would adopt “acceptable legitimated accounts of their activities” to avoid challenges to their authority and increase their legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The trusted servants directing the future of N.A. were changing. The old guard of NA, identified by the ex-convict “narcotic” user was being replaced by new types of addicts. These newer members wanting to re-direct the activities of N.A. were also lawyers and college-educated individuals possessing organizational skills and professional ideologies, e.g., the directors of drug treatment centers and from the “normative” influences that came from the association of NA members with the ADD Center, a program developed in coordination with University of California at Berkeley.

For NA, their early strategies of development are littered with examples of mimetic modeling of AA rather than the affect and innovation typically associated with Weber’s description of a charismatic type of founder. Based on the recognized success of AA, individuals in NA would utilize and/or adopt the Twelve Steps. Just as AA and Bill W. would readily admit that they had “borrowed” the basic ideas found in 12 Steps from the Oxford Groups (Wilson, 1957, 1972; Kurtz, 1979), the early members of NA would model their activities in the image of AA meetings. The most likely response of NA to these problems of uncertainty and ineffective administration was to do what AA did--write a book, create a working headquarters, have a conference.

Without a charismatic leader to take risks and set NA on its own course, Jimmy and the early NA members choice was to they model AA, both in type our authority and as the “building block” to create their organization. As a result, Jimmy had influenced members to create a Parent Service Committee. One of the first acts of the Committee was to establish a central office, like

AA had; the idea was that an office would act as a clearing house for information about NA, rather than a legislative or governing body.

The creation of the formal structure of NA began in 1969. The justification was given that NA needed a formal structure to respond to the continued growth as a fellowship. Did NA require a formal structure at the time? Or, were the leaders responding to other forces—the need to solidify their authority position and the changing nature of their environment that was pressuring NA to conform? With only 20 meeting around the world, the creation of the Bylaws and the establishment of a permanent Office to handle the affairs seemed to be premature.

In the NA Bylaws of 1969, which were directly based on the structure prescribed in the AA service manual, NA leaders created the General Service Conference: “composed of officers of the GSO and the trustees both addict and non addict...This present unit will be a working and functioning committee. Their joint responsibility will be to conduct the business affairs of NA until such time as we grow in numbers and in regional representation to the ideal structure to take over its legal functions as outlined in the full charter” (Stone, 1997:55-56). The creation of these rules did not “break” the principles found in the Traditions, as they were only forming “committees”, but NA (and AA) has bent the Traditions in the interests of those in power..

Previously, the NA program lived solely by the spiritual principles of the Twelve Steps and a strict application of the Twelve Traditions, which required democratic elections and rotation of officers to promote an egalitarian, non-hierarchical, and voluntary structure. However, the growth of NA led to uncertainty among the members and there were increasing pressures to appoint competent and rational individuals, with organizational and leadership skills, who could respond to the changing conditions, or at least open a meeting on time. Though

a small and subtle change, once there is a differentiation between service volunteer and paid employee, according to Weber, the organization is on the path to becoming a bureaucracy.

A small, but meaningful change for NA occurred during the World Convention of 1971 (somewhat a misnomer cause the members were predominantly centered in California), when the general membership voted to elect a Narcotics Anonymous business manager--with a "formal" office. At the time there were approximately 150 to 200 members, from 40 known groups who voted on the issue. This vote had no real manifest consequences, just another vote to say that a job needed to be done, but no one in the Fellowship at this time had the authority to act on the resolution. The "unanticipated consequences" of this passed motion was that it established a process to legitimate the first official "non-supernatural" authority in NA, thus directing power to an "office" rather than the groups. As a result, in the mid 1970s, the once grass-roots, voluntary, and mostly local organization had taken the first steps in the direction of becoming incorporated, tax-exempt organization, with a copyrighted name, and now in the business of creating and distributing their own literature.

In order to further legitimate NA as having viable message of recovery, the decision-makers of the organization were becoming more rational and cost-effective in making business decisions. New strategies and techniques had to be sought to assure the continued commitment of members. For NA to become an effective organization, standard operating procedures and management principles had to be adopted. Other means to "define the situation" were being utilized and there was no "real" way of communicating the NA message, as of the early 1970s, except, through the meeting. Until 1976, NA was still doing business from the founding member's home and was struggling to become a legitimate organization. NA was stuck in its Tradition phase without a means to move forward.

NA's Charismatic Authority: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences on Change

Weber's explanations for organizational change

All organizations have problems, even those organizations like NA and AA that are considered as unique in their type of authority or administrative structure. Weber would argue that NA must resolve their problems by creating a new different beliefs or changing the type of administrative structure. In the case of traditional forms of authority, Weber notes that the phrase: "It is written, but I say unto you" is indicative of the inherent conflicts between traditional and charismatic authority. Whereas traditional authority seeks to maintain the status quo, charismatic authority will be revolutionary in actions and resist the habitual following of age-old of rules. The conflict leading to organizational change is not only a result of power struggles between opposing authority types but may also be the result of "legitimacy contests" between two or more rival administrative systems. Or, in the case of NA, where the patriarchal administration and charismatic authority beliefs was pulling the organizations in two directions, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Jimmy K. had based his legitimacy on traditional authority and instituted a patriarchal type of administration with him as the "Father" of NA, but other coalitions of authority with different bases of legitimacy, would eventually question his right to leadership of the organization. Problems typically associated with traditional authority are: the concentration of power at the top; the unequal distribution of money, power, and prestige; the "fragmentation" of authority arising from the inability to legitimate the power in face of change; the threats from more efficient forms of administration, and the challenges from the achievements of charismatic individuals promoting change. The problems of the traditional authority create the precipitating conditions for the emergence of a charismatic authority to challenge the customary ways of

doing business and maintaining commitment. For NA, their charismatic leader would be Bo S. and he would challenge and overthrow the patriarchal authority in NA.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

Changes in organizational structures may result from the power struggles between individual agents and collective actors. For NA, conflict between two types of authority can be seen as a major force in their organizational development. For the old-timers, i.e., those who had gotten clean using the AA's Big Book, the program was working fine and following AA's Steps was keeping members clean, so they saw no need for change. For the increasing number of "new-comers", they wanted their own experience, apart from AA, and believed that a Big Book of their own would give them a new mission. The "old-timers" in California were hoping the book would come from one their loyal members, and even the new members were expecting the old-timers to write the text since they had longer experiences in recovery. This growing discontent was felt among members and Bo S. assessed the situation in the following statement: "Jimmy represented the safety and certainty that had built up over the past few years. Coming growth and unprecedented changes were to set them in different camps but the affection beneath the surface never went away" (Bo S. 1990:32).

To begin the process of writing NA's Basic Text, Bo had to question the present type of authority guiding NA at that time. Confrontations in the past had ended in a draw or with Jimmy the only winner, but the dispute over the Basic Text would shake the unwavering loyalty to the "father and the king". As a charismatic renegade, Bo began to raise questions to his local NA group. Members who knew Bo at the time recall he would come to meetings and rant: "Who's working on the Book? Why is not there a book on N.A. recovery?" (Bo S, 1990:19) At this time, no one in NA had an answer to the question, except Bo S..

In five short years after Bo first bought his “magic” typewriter, and over 30 years since the first NA meeting, NA members would have their “bible”, a written document of their experiences and a codification of their beliefs. The Basic Text would not be a literary masterpiece, but was intended to be “true to the N.A. spirit and were thing you would say or expect to hear in a meeting” (Bo S., 1990:21). With the writing of the Basic Text, the legitimacy of Jimmy K.’s authority was being challenged, and his right to “command” called into question. The problem with traditional authority is that once it is successfully challenged, it quickly loses its legitimacy. The writing of the Basic Text of NA was Bo’s claim to authority. Bo and his followers would accomplish NA’s first official and “proven” miracle--the publication of a Basic Text. More importantly, every member saw that something had happened to transform NA. The members had a difficult time trying to define the “difference”, but some have described the change as: like in AA, in the NA they used to shake hands, but in NA, the members give each other hugs.

Jimmy’s authority was being challenged on two fronts; first, the traditional beliefs claimed by Jimmy K. were being questioned by those building a charismatically driven coalition surrounding Bo S.; and secondly, there was a challenge to the deficiencies and inefficiencies of Jimmy’s patriarchal administration over NA. Jimmy’s hold on his authority and administration was slipping as his “accounts” and “vocabulary of motives” failed to have meaning within the organization. For AA, the organization was shaped by “strong personalities and personal charisma” and researchers have noted that the organization survived because of the successful “routinization” of Bill W.’s charisma (Trice and Beyer, 1986). In the case of NA, it was uncertain at this time whether the organization could “survive” its patriarchal leader.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change

Changes in NA's environment would lead to increase pressure to move away from the traditional form of authority being practiced in NA, i.e., a patriarchy led by Jimmy K. and his band of elders. Jimmy's strategy when confronted by problems, either internal or external, was to refer to the Traditions and mimic the steps AA took in their development. Jimmy K. repeatedly used the Traditions to justify his position of power. For example, he attributed the failure of the earlier NA in New York to their lack of adhering to the Traditions. Jimmy K. had also designed his versions of NA after the "patriarchal" structural model used in AA during the 1950s and 1960s.

The 1970s were times of uncertainty for NA. The external forces led to a lack of legitimacy and the unresolved internal problems would put pressure on NA leaders try various "mixtures and combinations" of authority and structures in the hope of providing some stability to NA's organizational structure. The best explanation for the problems of NA at the time can be explained by the fact that NA was in the middle of trying to change its authority and attempting to restructure the operations, at the same time, and in the midst of extreme "turbulence" in the environment. The response of NA was to change, but they may have attempted too much change, and they used as their model what AA had done twenty years previously, rather than what alterations were being required to conform and receive legitimacy from other sources. At this time, the isomorphic pressures of NA's changing environment were a catalyst for the changes in their organizational structure, but an institutional environment may also have "isotropic" forces that cause an organization to re-orient the direction of their organizational development. For NA, the "trajectory" of their development change and they would move in the direction of rational authority and bureaucratic forms of administration.

NA Rational Administration: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber's explanations for organizational change

Every organization has problems unique to their type form of authority and administrative structure. All forms of authority and administration have problems. According to Weber, the creation of organizational structure is the result of individual, often in their own interest, attempting to resolve the failings of the previous form of authority or administration. According to Bob Stone, the problems of NA at this time had to do with the inconsistencies in structure of NA, or more appropriately, the lack of structure.

Bob Stone began work for NA under the organizational principles laid out in the Tree, NA's guide to service structure. For Stone, the drafters of the Trees had used "more guesswork than knowledge" and had only a "vague understanding of the rights and responsibilities of corporations" and he saw the idea that that WSO and WSB would operate as a "corporation apart from the program as "mumbo-jumbo double talk". Stone was a rational "bureaucrat" who saw NA residing in "mythical world" of minimalist organizations of which his rational understanding couldn't conceive. His disdain for the Tree is revealed when he states: "There was a general unwillingness to accept the 'legal real world' as it and abide by its convention. There was almost an universal attempt to disregard those realities, and attempt to exist within a cocoon, maintaining an attitude of, 'this is how we want it to be in NA regardless of what the rest of the worlds lives by'" (Stone, 1997: 117).

NA had barely survived the battle between its paternalistic and charismatic elements, and during this stage of development, Stone would make certain NA was financially sound and more organized than in any other time in their history. With Stone solution for NA's internal problems of inefficiency, there would be new problems: the membership was falling off and there was an

uneasiness of where NA was headed. For Jimmy K., the solution to all problems could be found in the Traditions, but the application of rational and reasonable good-business practices was Stone's solution to get NA on track and financially sound. For Bo and the charismatic authority, the proof of their divine calling was the miracle of the Basic Text and trust in a higher power to guide the Fellowship. These three "leaders" of NA at this time would each attempt to make claims as the one legitimate authority in NA and imprint their vision on the organization. The consequences of the conflict and the inability to settle the disputes are discussed in the next section.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

During this stage, the conflict in NA was a three-way struggle between Jimmy K and his loyal followers, the contingent led by Bo S. and the fans of the Basic Text, and those paid employees of the WSO under their boss, Bob Stone. This "battle royal" would splinter the fellowship into three camps, each claiming the legitimacy of their beliefs or the effectiveness of the administration, or both.

The conflict over the direction of NA's organizational structure had begun in 1975, when Jimmy K. and his "group of concerned members" decided to formalize the structure in a way that concentrated and centralized the authority. Jimmy and his protégé worked for several years to adapt the structural guidelines found in AA's Service Manual and in 1975 they produced a document called the NA Tree. In this document, Jimmy K. created a set of rules re-charting the power relations between the emerging components of the organization. The NA Tree described how the earlier form of direct democratic fellowship organization would be replaced by a "representative" type of democratic Conference which would make decisions for the Fellowship, under the guidance of a WSC Board of Trustees (BOT). The administrative tasks were given to

the Board of Directors (BOD) overseeing the World Service Office. Jimmy J. was intent on converting his inefficient patriarchal structure into a working rational organization, while trying to take on the new role of Office Manager, while still being considered as the “spiritual” Father of NA, the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees, the President of the Board of Directors, and chief author of the literature.

Although, Jimmy K., as NA’s “founder”, was the guiding force in shaping the development of NA, he is also a classic example of the problems inherent to traditional authority. One of the main problems confronting those claiming this type of authority is: “Traditional authority has distinctive dynamics: once it is challenged successfully, once a command is given but not obeyed, the whole edifice of authority begins to crumble” (Swidler, 1979:16). In Jimmy’s role of the Father of NA, he was constantly being challenged by those “upstarts” wanting to have a say in the operation and direction of an organization in which they were supposedly “equal members”. NA’s development as an organization was shaped by those conflicts and Jimmy’s ability to use the Traditions to maintain his claim to authority.

Bob Stone knew he could not compete with Jimmy K. to be the Godfather of NA, but he could make the “Office” into the million-dollar operation. Over time, the Office was going to be the only “stable” form of authority in NA. The Office became a place for rational policy and procedures to meet the needs of the organization. The Office was more than a physical location or a central communication center, the office became a recognized type of authority, “authority of the officials”, and more importantly, it became a “bureau” for the enactment of beliefs and the exercise of authority. The battle between Jimmy’s traditional authority and Stone’s rational administrative practices resulted in Jimmy K.’s resignation from all his positions and Stone’s elevation as the new “executive director” of NA, although, he was not an addict and was being

compensated for his efforts. Stone's strategy at this time was to let Jimmy and Bo do battle over who was the "leader" of NA, in the meantime, he would exert his authority in the realm of effective administration, and then let the members decide who had done the most to "transform" and take NA in the right direction.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change

The literature on NA's is filled with attempts by NA members to shape their organization to be "isomorphic" with their environment, which for much of their history—that meant AA. Typically, uncertainty leads to mimetic responses, but in the case of NA, it was the uniformity of their environment that demanded conformity to AA's Traditions. There were few other choices to follow without violating the principles upon which they were founded. As the field changed, and new models and new pressures arose, i.e., normative and coercive, then NA began to reflect and receive legitimacy from other sources.

One example of the shift to normative influences in the environment of NA can be seen in the following statement. In the early versions of NA's Basic Text (which the charismatic movement believes was inspired by a higher power), the discussion on the Traditions Nine states: *"N.A. should never be run by bureaucracy or management nor controlled by individuals within an administrative structure...Service and management are contradictory. Government implies control, but our leaders do not govern. How could autonomy exist in an administrative structure? Specialization and professionalism are the basis of any management scheme. Any administrative structure, by its very nature eliminated the possibility of autonomy. An organized N.A. is a contradiction in terms and any attempt to force organization on us would destroy us"* (N.A. Basic Text, Review Copy, 1983:111-112).

This declaration in the above account clearly indicates that at one time NA members were entirely against ever having anything more than group based administration of the fellowship. Of course, the realities of running a large and complex organization and the pressures to “become legitimate” led to removal of the above controversial opinion from NA Basic Text—by the “President” of the NA’s administration.

The type of normative isomorphic pressures affecting NA can be seen in the following statement by the Office Manager, Bob Stone: According to Stone, “To anyone familiar with the basics of organizational structures it would be clear that the office, a non-profit corporation with such direct responsibility as the focal point of communications in the fellowship, would never be able to operate separately” (Stone, 1997: 117). Stone recognized a basic contradiction in the NA structure; one NA had inherited by trying to copy the AA’s organizational principles. The principles for organization in AA are the Twelve Traditions and Bill W. “invented” them to handle the activities of AA in the 1950s and 1960s, when AA was “coming of age”. In AA’s next stage of development, Bill W. recognized the organization and environment was changing. To solve these problems, Bill W. created a separate set of beliefs that would be congruent with the practices of the type of administrative activities of a modern corporation, which he called the Twelve Concepts. Bill designed the Steps for the individual, the Traditions for the problems of the groups, and the Concepts were created to guide and legitimate the “administration” of AA, and eventually, NA.

The problem for NA at this stage was that the Traditions and its administrative apparatus were being used in disregard to an environment that had changed. This change in the environment led to an increasing need for NA to become isomorphic to practices within its organizational field. Their strategy of becoming mimetic to AA was failing because they were

modeling a structure created to be adaptive to an environment that no longer existed. AA success can be attributed to Bill W. creating beliefs and structure that worked for the environment at each stage of AA's development, and he was willing to change the organizational structure to the correspond to the demands of the organizational field. However, Jimmy K. was locked into a strategy of mimicking a model of organization that was not longer conducive to the changing resources of the environment.

NA's Rational Authority: Organizational Problems and Isomorphic Influences for Change

Weber's explanations for organizational change

According to Weber, changes in organizational structure are a result of attempts to resolve the problems associated with failing of the previous form of authority beliefs and/or administrative arrangements. In this section, the problems associated with NA's at this stage of their development are discussed. During this stage, the administration was moving to become a rational efficient and coordinated body. When the "extraordinary" leader of a charismatic organization has been deposed or dies, then the authority must be transferred or transformed, or the organization will cease to exist. More efficient and less stable than charismatic authority, the patriarchic and bureaucratic forms of authority and administration may be adopted but they have their own problems. The ascension of the World Services Office (WSO) as the center of leadership, the growth in membership and scope of operations, and changing organizational environment were producing pressures for NA to abandon its old ways and become rational and structured.

Challenges to authority and contests for legitimacy to explain organizational change

Jimmy's once declared, when his authority was being challenged: "I'm the President of NA" (Stone, 1997) and from 1960-1976 he would make or shape all the decisions, and thus the

direction of NA. But his hold on the administration of NA was beginning crumble and his traditional type of authority was being replaced. Members of the Fellowship were beginning to find their own beliefs, through their own experiences of working the Steps, and they were able to put them into action by writing the Basic Text. Other members, often as a way of redirecting their old drug using actions, began to take part in the administrative activities of the NA organization and were able to maintain an efficient structure based on active participation at a grass root level. However, since NA's development of organizational structure is marked by struggles between different leaders promoting different types of beliefs and administrative practices, then even in NA rational stage, there would be disputes.

An example of the conflicts behind the change in NA's organizational structure is seen in the following statement by the Resolution Group (those appointed members selected to chart NA's restructuring). As a justification for their decisions, the Resolution Group concluded: "No organizational structure is necessarily any more "spiritual" than another" (NA Document, 1995:6). This statement allowed the Group to introduce a business model for NA under the administration by the World Services Offices and the World Board. From an organization based on a Tradition that clearly states: "we ought never become organized", NA was now adopting the accepted "leaner" types of organizational structures much different than the type designed by Bill W. and his goal to have AA stand apart from other organizational forms.

Isomorphic explanations for organizational change

During this stage, NA is a beginning to becoming aware of the necessity of possible inter-organizational relationship within their field. In the past, an open and formal connection to other organizations was seen to conflict with the Traditions. With the advent of managed care and its introduction of a new player in the Recovery Services field, NA could no longer stay "old-

fashioned” and follow the Traditions. Nor could NA only depend on a charismatic type of authority, as represented by Bo S., to administer its increasingly complex operations.

Instead, when the organization was confronted by problems and the solution was to turn to “outside” experts and professionals, who would suggest that NA ought to become more isomorphic, i.e., adopt the similar practices, if they were going to make it through the “legitimacy” crisis. At this stage of NA development, there was a confluence of forces affecting the predominant beliefs and type of administration, which are discussed in the following section.

Comparing the Trajectories and the Transformations of AA and NA

In this study, I asked several pertinent questions on the nature of authority and structure within AA and NA. How do AA and NA fit in the Weber’s typology of authority and administrative apparatus? What were the conditions or events that led to a change toward the development of their bureaucratic tendencies in AA and NA? Have institutional isomorphic forces—normative, coercive, or mimetic—led AA and NA to become more similar to the organizational standards required by the influences forces of their environment?

The trajectories of AA’s and NA’s adoption of authority types and administrative structures have differed. Both NA and AA are in the process of becoming bureaucratic, but at different paces and from different forces. AA has slowly been changing their beliefs since Bill introduces the Concepts, but the change in organizational structure was intentional and strategic. In addition, the changes in authority for AA were guided through the stages by Bill W. who gave enacted ceremonial performances to help legitimate the new forms and ease the transitions. Every year, when the members have a Conference, the reaffirm the legitimacy of their beliefs then the members return home and the administration of the WSO handles the important tasks that maintain the organization. Therefore, it is safe to assume, that since 1971, the fellowship, the

Trustees, and administrative apparatus of WSO have intentionally “decoupled” their beliefs and the actual workings of the administrative structures. AA’s mixture of Traditional beliefs and a rational administration that are kept separated is a useful strategy to meet both the internal demands of the members and the external forces of their environment. AA has not restructured their organization since before 1970, and their slow growth and adherence to traditions, has reduced threats to structure. Thus, Bill’s strategy of de-coupling the parts and using the Traditions to buffer the groups from external influences strategies has worked.

For NA, there was not the same initial legitimacy tied to a charismatic leader accepted or at the least, tolerated by the medical profession, as was the case for AA. Instead, without a valid authority account to bring legitimacy and due to the lack of a structure for the first 20 years, NA has had a more difficult time becoming an organization. NA did not have the benefit of a charismatic founding and holding on to the Traditions as espoused by AA made it difficult for NA to establish own identity. Though NA borrowed the Steps, Traditions, and later the Concepts of AA, the origin and developmental experiences of NA, would be much different. The actions of NA in the early days of formation were determined by the main player in their environment, that is, AA. The survival of NA was tightly linked to the success of AA, thus they were heavily dependent on the close observance and obedience to the Traditions to guide their activities and provide them an organizational vocabulary that was acceptable.

In this analysis of AA and NA, the trajectory of each organization is traced and compared for differences and similarities. These two cases can be used to assess whether AA and NA have been able to resist institutional pressures and not become bureaucratic. Based on the data gathered on both organizations, Bill W. put in place the Concepts to allow change towards a more rational form of administration, but AA has slowly “drifted” into its bureaucratic practices.

The observation of these “rational practices and bureaucratic tendencies” gets overlooked when the beliefs stated in the Traditions and group behaviors are taken to represent the organizational practices. For NA, there “managers” made a strategic decision to actively pursue and mobilize the rational resources to decrease their uncertainty and the possibility of failing to adapt to a changing institutional environment. Though the path of NA is much harder to follow than AA, they both have become bureaucratic. Both AA and NA were ruled by patriarchal types of authority figures and charismatic leaders but at different stages of their development and in response to different environments.

DiMaggio and Powell argue the driving force of rationalization is from other organizations operating in the same field and those organizations create pressure to become similar to the accepted structure and beliefs of the field. However, the internal processes transforming an organization, such as, routinization of charisma and leadership changes are mediated by the isomorphic forces within an institutional environment. Put simply, the ability to create a lasting or resonating organizational culture, the timing of routinizing the charisma of the founder and influence of isomorphic change has produced an NA organization that is more similar to the “businesses” in their institutional environment than to the original image of the egalitarian AA.

Institutional theory predicts that an organization that becomes isomorphic to its environment will gain legitimacy and improve chances of survival (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), but this was not the case for NA. NA members needed the legitimacy of AA, in order to succeed. Those organizations that did not get the legitimacy of AA, such as, NA in New York, Habit Forming Drugs (HFD) and Addicts Anonymous were at risk for failure, due to the following reasons: a lack of authority and a functioning administrative structure; failing to adopt

a isomorphic strategy to conform the institutional environment; establishing those crucial connections to other organizations within their field. One way to gain the legitimacy and have a rightful claim of authority, as found in this study, is to create “authority accounts” and adopt the vocabularies of structure of the field.

This study argues that NA’s response to “environmental uncertainty” began as copying the guiding principles of AA, i.e., the Twelve Steps. In the formative years of the 1960s, NA had failed to take hold and make valuable connections within its organizational field. NA failed at its first attempt to organize, not because a lack of charisma or from violating the Traditions (as argued by Jimmy K). Instead, Jimmy K had not recognized the boundaries and challenges of the institutionalized environment. His strategy to seek “resource legitimacy” from only one source, which made NA at that time overly dependent on following the AA model. In the case of the early NA, their extreme “mimetic” response to the environment actually made them less able to survive in the field, in contrast to the arguments of institutional theorists. NA had staked their claim on one model of development, but that model was designed for an earlier era, in a sense, they had become adapted to a non-adapted environment, i.e., a form of “trained incapacity” to deal with their changing environment. Although, mimetic isomorphism has been crucial to the survival of NA, Jimmy K.’s same mimetic response to different forces of isomorphic pressures limited his solutions to the problems NA was experiencing.

The mimicking strategies of AA and NA did not always result in parallel adaptations, or similar trajectory, thus causing NA to differ significantly in organizational culture and structure from AA. As suggested by Zald and Garner (1966), there are alternative processes of change (other than Weber’s examples of rationalization and routinization) that may affect the direction and content of transformation, and subsequently, the ultimate character of an organization.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The search for exceptions and alternatives to Weber's model of authority types is not new endeavor. Though noteworthy, these prior suggested alternate models of organizational structuring offered to repudiate Weber have not borne the test of time. Kibbutzim threatened with failure have become commercialized and less utopian; charismatic communes either turn into destructive cults or slowly adopt and "accommodate" the rules of the wider society; once happy, egalitarian unions become oligarchic power machines; and even those intentionally anarchistic goals of "free schools" lose their fervor over time, and get displaced by more reasonable and respected academic outcomes (Etzioni, 1980; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, 1956; Swidler, 1979). Leaders die, disciples feel a need to settle down, structures become standardized, and the once "munificent" and open environment may experience a shift in material or non-material resources. As a result, the rational type of authority and a bureaucratic form of administrative structure is still the predominant model for the vast majority of modern organizations (Perrow, 1986; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

The search and research into organizational alternatives continues in this study. However, those challenging Weber's argument that all large and complex organization are subject to becoming bureaucratic type of organizations must do more than just speculate, or envision this ideal organization. Those researchers claiming to have discovered an exception to Weber's "iron cage" must subject their empirical examples of non-bureaucratic and authority-less organizations

to critical observations (Kalberg, 1994) and test whether these “unique” organizations can survive over time.

AA has been suggested as the latest organization to contradict Weber’s theory of rationalization. Seabright and Delacroix (1996) concluded that AA is not only an exemplary of the non-bureaucratic model of authority, but has a viable and functioning form of minimalist administrative operations. In this section, the discussion will address the some rather simple questions: Is AA a non-bureaucratic organization? Can any organization resist the forces of rationalization? To answer the question, the current literature describing AA as a “unique” organization devoid of the rationalization of authority was evaluated and was found to be incomplete. To improve on the past studies, the purpose of this research is to be more comprehensive in the collection of empirical data on Recovery Services Organizations (RSO), expand Weber’s typology to the include “mixed” or “alternative” organization, and bridge the gap between the classical and modern institutional theories by integrating their analytical and methodological techniques.

Prior studies of AA have taken a “snap-shot” view of AA, usually at its origins, and assumed that the structures described in the stated beliefs of the organization were an accurate reflection of the current organizational structure. This research took a different approach to the assessment of organizational structure: first, by conducting a longitudinal study of the organizations to detail the origins, distinctive stages in their history, and those transformations producing NA’s and AA’s current state of the organizational structure.

Secondly, this study focused on organizational accounts of authority claims, organizational vocabularies, formalized organizational charts, and the actual administrative activities of AA and NA to evaluate the organizations, rather than assessing authority and

structure based on the professed beliefs (Dow, 1969; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

What Happened to AA? The Transformation of Authority and Administration

To structure the discussion of AA's and NA's transformation, the researcher will follow the suggestion given to the new-comer in AA to assist in telling their transformational story of recovery. To keep it simple, the old-timers of AA will suggest that the person just tell: "what it was like, what happened and what it is like now" (Rudy, 1986; Pittman, 1988). The discussion of the findings and analysis of AA's transformation will follow a similar strategy.

What AA was like?

In this case study of AA, the origin of authority in AA begins in 1934 with Bill W.'s "hot flash" story of spiritual awakening and his unstructured charismatic fellowship. Followers offered obedience based on the legitimacy of Bill W.'s miraculous cure from alcoholism and through his experiences found their own inspiration to recover. The very early days in AA was focused on experiencing the steps, meeting with others and sharing recovery. These qualities can still be seen in meetings today. For the old timers of AA, they described that AA was like having a new family, while other have described the experience as communal, much like what it must have been for 1st century Christianity.

The authority accounts from this time seem to predominantly relate to the "spiritual" side of AA. The Twelve Steps are the one and only set of beliefs and they are used to guide individual recovery and relationships to the outside world. If conflicts or problems arise, then the situation can be settled by finding a solution in one of the steps. For example, if a "trusted servant" misappropriated money from the group, members would not have them arrested, but make reference that the person might want to "make amends". AA during this time may best be

described as having charismatic authority. Did AA also have a “charismatic” or minimalist administrative structure supporting their spiritual beliefs?

At the early origins of AA, there were limited vocabularies of structure, mostly, related to the type of administrative model already present in religious organizations, temperance movements, non-profit charities, or from the medical professions, which all didn’t exactly fit AA’s definition of itself. Bill W. was a charismatic and the organization took on his charismatic qualities, as they saw the group as a “fellowship” of equals. AA’s self-descriptions of their structural arrangements show evidence of a charismatic type of administrative structure, in that, the members are unconcerned with predictable sources of income, lack financial responsibilities, and maintain the organization without any permanent continuous headquarters—the members and the “administrators” were “living one day at a time”.

AA could not remain in their charismatic bliss for long. Weber (1968) argues that all charismatic types of authority are unstable. The authority in AA began to change when the founder of AA began routinize his authority by codifying his experience into the Big Book, which is the repository of their beliefs, known as the Twelve “suggested” Steps of AA. In a move towards financial security, Bill W. recognized that the public was unlikely to trust “alkies” with money, regardless of his personal charisma and spiritual experience. Financial concerns and the need to have legal base for the organizational operations led to the formation of the Alcoholic Foundation in 1938. Bill may have prayed for guidance and the intervention of a higher power, as any charismatic will, but the creation of the Foundation was a “rational” solution to a problem. As Weber argues, when organizations begin to follow rules, rather than miracles or customs, then they are showing bureaucratic tendencies.

In six short years after their founding, AA had evolved from a small group of recovering alcoholics, sharing their experiences, with all administrative duties handled voluntarily, and decisions made by voting to a non-profit legal foundation, overseen by a Board of Trustees. Bill W. was the chief administrator of the corporation which had three divisions: one to handle publishing of the Big Book another that printed the Grapevine Newsletter and the third was the World Headquarters, which was responsible for administration and fellowship services. The administrative activities at this time included: publication and distribution of the literatures, and managing their Conferences and Conventions.

AA's move to establish a non-profit, tax-deductible charitable organization was not only driven by the need to improve the efficiency of the organizational operations, but creating the Alcoholic Foundation also made AA "legal" in the eyes of influential actors within its field. By becoming incorporated, AA gained legitimacy and would be more likely to be accepted by those influential individuals and groups outside the organization in control of the institutional resources.

In discussing AA unique circumstances as an organization at this time, the discussion will need to address the type of authority in AA and its affect on AA's organizational structuring. First, AA's organizational history indicates that there were a mixture of authority types and administrative arrangements present during each stage of their development. This fact has been overlooked by other researchers, mostly, because the conclusion that AA had a "minimalist" structure is based only on the beliefs espoused in the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions, and not by a separate analysis of the actual activities of AA's administration. According to Seabright and Delacroix (1996), AA ideology and structure are "isomorphic" to each other. This conclusion is possible if the researchers take a snap-shot view and measure the type of authority

and structure based on the beliefs proclaimed in the Twelve Steps and Traditions Tradition. However, when the beliefs and structure are addressed separately, it appears that AA had begun to take a rational approach to administration by the time the Big Book was published in 1939.

My analysis of the AA documents and the literature suggest that the administrative structures and beliefs used by AA have varied in type and have evolved at different rates. In Gellman's analysis of AA, he described the type of organizational structure in AA at the time of his study [1964] and some of the problems with classifying AA as an organization: *"AA cannot be classified as either a denomination or a sect nor does it have the characteristics of a cult. Having passed through the first stage of development dominated by a charismatic founder, AA is now in the second phase of in terms of a religious movement. It has emerged as a church... qualifications for memberships are made more explicit and the lines of authority are more clearly drawn. If the movement successfully survives the second stage, the third is characteristically one of continued expansion and diversification. The movement becomes established and takes on a variety of organizational forms"* (Gellman, 1964:169).

Gellman agrees that AA has passed through charismatic stage, but he struggles with the appropriate terminology to describe their second stage, and calls consider them in a "church" phase. What Gellman does indicate is that AA had "lines of authority" and by 1960, those boundaries were being clearly drawn.

Though this research, and prior studies have clear and convincing evidence that Bill W.'s beliefs and personal characteristics are representative of Weber's view of charismatic authority, this study has found that the evolution of authority beliefs and structure in AA has taken a more complicated path than previously recognized. Kurtz' historical account of AA describes the charisma of Bill W. and his beliefs and says this stage of charismatic authority lasted until the

1950s. However, the literature on AA indicates that the process of “routinizing” Bill W.’s charisma began in 1938. According to Weber, the routinization process begins when the either charismatic leader or the administrative staff become concerned with necessities of everyday life and make efforts to reduce the instability of the charismatic lifestyle and establish some permanence to the unpredictable nature of the charismatic community. For example, before 1938, Bill and Dr. Bob, as the “executives” of the organization, were still living precariously at the time—no steady employment, a lack of housing, and deep in debt. These factors are characteristic of a charismatic structure, but when Bill W. and Dr. Bob began making “rational” plans for their future, i.e., buying houses, paying off debts, and acquiring copyrights, then these activities indicate an organization moving away from the charismatic stage of their development. With the creation of the Alcoholic Foundation, the “living one day at a time” philosophy was subverted by the necessity to deal with the routine activities and provide a means to legally “administer” the financial resources of AA.

By utilizing and revising Weber’s classification scheme, the better depiction of AA at this time is an organizational structure with a mixture of traditional beliefs and a patriarchal administration. In his final analysis of AA, Gellman does point to the potential problems associated with the transformation of an organization like AA: “The dangers inherent in the transition to the third stage should not be overlooked by the fellowship” and by those of us who research the organization. (Gellman, 1964:169)

To understand what AA was like at the time, it is necessary to look at the nature of the organizational field and its degree of structuration. Bill W. saw that AA could neatly fit into a niche between, medicine, psychiatry, and religion. With some work, his claims were considered legitimate and he was successful in his efforts to become “friendly” with the other field

participants, thus reducing the uncertainty of AA's success. However, the ability to skirt the boundaries as a legitimate organization and on the margins of between the organizational fields would become more complicated. AA's claim as a "non-profit" and their "stake" in the territory between religion and medicine would become challenged. AA had a good thing going, and other organizations would want to get in on the action. AA made it through the first stage by learning to adapt and accommodate, in the second stage, they would endure by making others adapt to their way of life. AA could limit others from entering "their" field by establishing the rules that would set the boundary conditions of the field. These rules would become known as the Twelve Traditions.

In the following Figure 7.1, the transformation of AA as an organization is shown by depicting the separate stages of development. As suggested by Kurtz and this research, AA began as an organization based on charismatic beliefs, but with the introduction of the Twelve Traditions, Bill W. had changed relationship to members and thus his claim of legitimate authority. Bill had become "parental" in his relationship to members and the Traditions became the principle set of beliefs to address problems. This type of authority can be seen as still existing today, as members depend on the Traditions, since Bill has long since passed. More importantly, the model depicts that AA administrative structure has also evolved but at a different pace and in a different direction. In Figure 7.1, the model is used to illustrate how AA began with an undeveloped structure, one that some might call "minimalist", and then the undeveloped structure was replaced by a rational administrative type of structure that still exists today. The utility of this model is to reveal the possible combinations and trajectories that an organization may take as it develops over time.

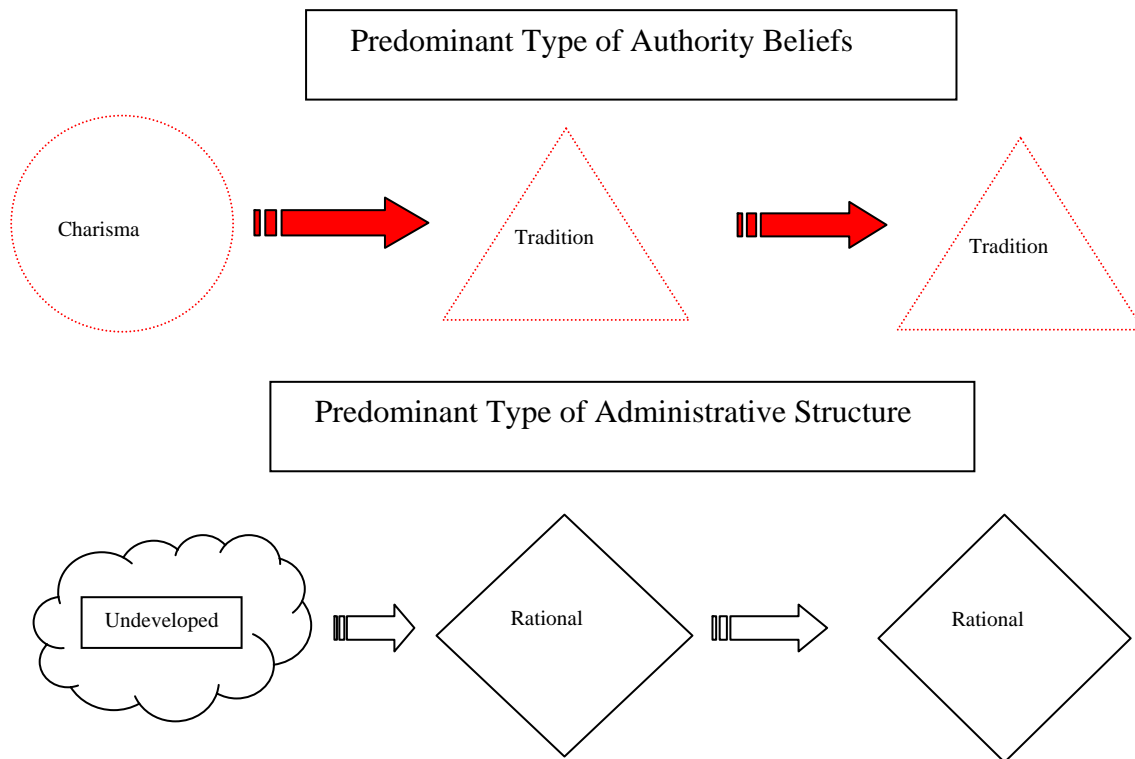


Figure 7.1: The Transformation of Authority in Alcoholics Anonymous 1934-2003

What happened to AA?

The simple explanation is to say AA has not changed since the 1970s. This assumption would be predicated on AA being in an environment that has remained stable and that the “rational” and post-bureaucratic design of a minimalist organization is superior and more adaptive than Weber’s bureaucratic type of organization. This finding would proclaim AA as an alternative for and exception to Weber’s rationalization hypotheses and would place AA’s type of authority and administration outside of Weber’s classic typology of ideal types of authority beliefs and structure. An alternate conclusion is that AA is like any other organization, and despite their organizational mythology, their successful development is attributed to “mixture

and combination” of charismatic beliefs, traditional power relationships, and rational administrative structures, rather than post-bureaucratic practices. The sparse literature on AA has not addressed this problem, instead, AA is claimed to have a workable model of a non-bureaucratic and minimalist organization.

At this point of the discussion, the problems experienced by AA, and their strategies to resolve those problems are explored. The matter of explaining what happened to AA is only part of the story. More importantly, is the consideration of whom, when, and how AA responded to what was happening, both internally, and in their environment. Identifying AA’s strategic management of internal and external problems may shed some light on how other organizations can avoid the bureaucratic tendencies. Following the previous outline used to explain organizational changes, three types of responses must also be considered. First, the problems of legitimacy, competition and efficiency, according to Weber (1968) are resolved by changing authority beliefs or the administrative apparatus, or possibly both. The efficacy of the resolution of the problem is dependent on the proper assessment, and possibly the timing of the change, by the leadership. For the successful routinization of charisma, Weber (1968) noted that the leader should routinize “early and often”. Secondly, the “power” perspective will say the response to problems must be made through revolutions, not resolutions, or evolution. The institutional school will say resolving problems is simple: every mimetic, coercive, and normative pressure from the environment must be met by an equally appropriate mimetic, coercive, and normative response. The discussion of AA, and then NA, as organizations with non-isomorphic tendencies (if that is possible) may reveal what happens if an organization responds to a mimetic pressure with a normative response.

AA's response to changes in authority and structure as solutions to internal problems

AA in its initial phases, and NA as a willing imitator, may have been unique in their adoption of an "anonymous" type of authority. Although, AA's beliefs were outside of Weber's typology at that time, the problem for AA and the challenge to any charismatic based organization is whether the successors to the original authority can call upon and maintain the legitimacy of their special status, despite internal dynamics or changes in the institutional environments. Past research on AA would argue that AA's charismatic organization has sustained its unique principles and non-hierarchical relationship despite the influence of an increasingly structured field of rational organizational relationships. However, Weber would argue that AA, NA and all large and complex organizations are subject to becoming bureaucratized over time.

How has AA "minimized" its bureaucratic tendencies? To accomplish his task, Bill W. had to bureaucratize the organization with the least amount of hierarchy. He also had to develop not one set of beliefs and value-systems, i.e., culture, but three, commonly known as--the Steps, Traditions, and the Concepts. Each would have a crucial role in the success of AA, and the organization would not have developed or been able to function without the "trinity" or legacy giving to the fellowship, groups, and the organization. It was Bill W.'s ability to create a new set of beliefs at the crucial and uncertain times of the AA's organizational evolution, which would help to propel the organization past its problems, and provide the "legitimate" solutions to meet the changing conditions, both those internally driven by growth and from the external expectations and demands of the environment.

Bill W. discovered through experience what Weber's extensive research had found—that each new type of belief and administrative practice is: "the solution to a problem or defect

contained within the earlier administrative systems” (Scott, 1987:42). AA’s accumulated practices worked in coordination with each other to allow a more efficient and effective administration than the “pure” types of charismatic and patrimonial authority and administration. It appears that Bill W. also recognized this fact, and he carefully designed and strategically implemented three different types of authority beliefs and administrative structures to manage the challenges of the environment and prevent internal struggles of a growing organization. Further, Bill W. was able to successfully place AA at the center of a newly emerging institutional domain where they controlled the correct vocabularies and they set the rules for the structuring of the relationships within the field. Bill W. may have had some charismatic qualities, but his greater contribution was the ability to recognize those isomorphic pressures and responding to them in a way that was in the best interests of AA. Bill’s spiritual foundation may have gotten AA started but his business acumen helped AA to maintain their position as a legitimate organization.

AA’s response to changes in structure due to conflicts and power

Threats, challenges, and contests among organizational actors may lead to or prevent changes to the authority and structure within organizations. The legitimacy of the authority may be challenged and “every system of domination of authority will change its character when its rulers fail to live up to the standards by which they justify their domination and thereby jeopardize the beliefs in those standards among the public at large” (Bendix, 1960: 300).

To prevent the rise of conflict between members, and those struggling for powerful positions, the founder of AA, Bill W. “invented” a new set of beliefs, the Twelve Traditions, and these beliefs served to legitimate the adoption of a patriarchal style of structure that would replace the old charismatic or minimalist form of administration. By creating a set of rules for

the formal transfer of the founder's authority and by the sharing of power in democratically designed conference model of decision making, AA avoided conflicts. Inadvertently, the introduction of rational principles led to the expansion of the administrative branch of the organization, known as, the General Service Office, and the Board of Trustees.

AA's response to isomorphic influences

Past research on AA and NA has minimized the ways that external forces influence the beliefs and structures of AA and NA. This research has sought to understand how the wider systems, i.e., the organization field, of NA and AA have shaped their unique form of administrative structure (Scott, 1993). As suggested by Scott, researchers can no longer treat AA and NA as "isolated, independent entities" that exist within a vacuum.

The vocabularies of structure of AA and the players in the field of Recovery Services are becoming increasingly similar. AA invented and codified their beliefs—first, the Steps, then the Traditions, and finally, the Concepts—as "authority accounts" that helped to legitimate their activities as the organization developed and to meet their needs of changing institutional environments. These three sets of beliefs became the common meaning system of field participants and set the institutional norms, acceptable value-systems, and appropriate structural arrangements of the field.

AA also helped to set the boundaries of the field of Recovery Services over the last 50 years. AA developed anonymous affiliations and cultivated connections with other powerful organizations in the field (NCA and AMA), thus building bridges to gain legitimacy and ensure their success without forgoing the practices and principles permitted by their originating beliefs. By stating that AA was not a religion, but a spiritual program, they were able to slowly adapt their "vocabularies" of authority and structure to fit their environments. With the Traditions, AA

has been able to buffer their own faults and failures which safeguarded them from outside challenges or criticism. Bill W. said that AA spiritual cure for a medical malady and this statement placed their organization somewhere between religion and the medical field, and in a sense, he “synthesized” the two fields into one, where AA was the dominant force.

Structurally, Bill W. designed AA parts—Works Publishing, The Alcoholic Foundation, and the General Headquarters, later known as the General Service and World Service Office—to be independently operated, autonomous and exist in “decoupled” state. AA separated the “spiritual from the material” parts of the organization (Wilson, 1957), so that if one of the parts of the structure became corrupted, co-opted, or failed, it could be discarded and the other parts might succeed or survive with little damage to the entire system. Bill created more than one board of directors, divided the labor and activities, and arranged the parts in a “loosely coupled” enterprise—the Conference could maintain and ritualize the Traditions, the Fellowship could celebrate charisma and spirit of service, while the World Services offices could be rationally administered as an efficient, money-making organization. Bill W. distributed the authority that he and Dr. Bob had held equally among its part, thus each “division” of the organization was infused with a little charisma, and animated by his original spirit of service.

Several times in AA’s history, the rapid growth of membership and public success threatened the basic principles of this organization which was guided by a simple, representative democratic structure and founded upon spiritual beliefs. Each time, AA’s old beliefs were insufficient, and to move forward, Bill W. created a new set of principles to guide the changing relationships within the groups and with those organizations outside of AA.

AA’s beliefs--the Steps, the Traditions, and finally, the Concepts--represent the only three types of authority Weber argued are available to legitimate the activities of an organization.

Not only did AA adopt these beliefs, but the three sets of beliefs became the common meaning system of field participants and set standards of the institutional norms, acceptable value-systems, and appropriate structural arrangement within the organizational field.

In 1939, the Twelve Steps were a divinely inspired gift given to Bill W., and then to its members. They guided the founding of AA and allowed some members to gain obedience from other members. The Steps served AA well during this early phase, but with growth, there would be new problems. The Traditions of AA were invented to introduce a new type of the authority, and then transform the organization as it moved from charismatic to traditional authority. Around 1945, a new stage in the development of AA as an organization was beginning. Routine and stable finances had to be acquired and arranged, as Weber argued (1968), economic concerns are a great motivator for rationalization. During a short period of time in 1950s, AA fits what Weber would most likely consider as a traditional type of authority with traditional, i.e., patriarchal, type of administrative structure. The Traditions, with their requirement for anonymity, would prevent any upstart individual from claiming charismatic authority.

The Traditions were designed Bill W. to guide group behavior and legitimate the structural relationships in AA. Yet, traditions grow staid; customs are forgotten when they no longer serve the same purpose as when first developed. Kings “die”, fathers grow old and forgetful, and like charismatic authority, traditional authority is inherently unstable. New ideas are circulated and when all else fails, even rational solutions are tried to deal with the realities of everyday life. Therefore, the “purely” traditional stage of AA did not last long.

As seen by Bill W., the principles proclaimed in Concepts were conceived to promote change and solve the problems of “fathers who hold on to long”. In AA, the Steps bestow authority based on a connection to a Higher Power; the Traditions divide the authority between

the members of the Fellowship; and the Concepts gives the power to those administrative officials of AA. The Concepts are AA's third set of beliefs, and though "written" by Bill W. in the final years of his life, they are the most "rational" of all the beliefs. Groups have large displays of the Steps and Traditions hung all their walls and most members will be able to recite the Steps. Some members can list all Twelve Traditions and will even be able to know how to apply them when problems occur. Yet, the Concepts do not have the same legitimacy among members.

What AA is like now?

AA is seen by researchers to be unique in both beliefs and structure, and outside the range of any classification system. Seabright and Delacroix (1996) have proposed that AA is a minimalist organization, the exemplary of non-hierarchical relations and lean administrative functions, and unchanged in the face of institutional change and the increase in the structuration of their field. AA may have a unique brand of authority; call it anonymous authority, since it is difficult to assign a label, but Weber says: authority can be "cloaked in rather innocent garb" and every organization must have it to function. Is the lack of authority in AA an accurate assessment, or, is the inability to find authority in AA more of a failure of the classification system?

If AA does have an alternate form of administration, what strategies have they employed to resist both internal changes and those arising from environmental forces? Attempts to explain this "non-bureaucratic" organization have argued that the "isomorphism" between its beliefs and structure has kept AA from becoming bureaucratic (Seabright and Delacroix, 1996). In contrast, Meyer and Scott (1983), in *Organizations and Environment*, argue the environment is now the major explanation for organizational structures and their transformation. Are AA's beliefs

“isomorphic” or is AA becoming “isomorphic” to their environment? DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have suggested that the question of organizational structure must consider those isomorphic forces affecting organizations to become similar to other organizations. The two sides of the question are clear. To explain the structure of an organization, the researcher can look to internal dynamics, as Weber argued. Or, the researcher can look to the “structuration” of the environment to explain the shapes and directions taken by organizational structure.

Taking an open-system perspective on organizational development, institutional theories argue that organizations do not exist in a vacuum. This observation requires the research on “alternative” organizations consider the reciprocal affect between organizations, and also recognize that as the environment shifts, dramatically or gradually, the organizations within the field, will be increasingly be pressured to conform. The conformity will include: the type of “accounts” used by organization to justify their actions, the accepted “vocabularies of structure” that increase legitimacy among field participants, and the types of “building blocks scattered around the landscape” that may be used to construct the administrative structure found in organizations.

A basic idea of institutional theory is that those organizations existing in complex and differentiated environments are more likely to map those features into their structures. AA ought to be no exception to this rule. If AA’s structure is “minimalist”, then it can be reasonably assumed that they are experience fewer, weak and less than complex interactions within its institutional environments. However, an “environmental force,” as described by Perrow (1986), must not be unspecified. For AA, the organizational field has grown and the “institutional” forces shaping AA include: government agencies, medical professionals, the field of psychiatry, and criminal justice system, each with well-developed strategies of efficiency. As the

institutional field of AA has matured and becomes more complex, so has AA as an organization must accommodate the different demands of its environment, or if it does not change, AA will risk losing its claim to legitimacy.

What Happened to NA? The Transformation of Authority and Administration

This impetus for this research was a statement that AA, and thus NA, are unique organizations that are the polar opposites of Weber's bureaucratic type of organization. If the evidence supports this proposition, then Weber's argument that all organizations are becoming more rational in authority type and administration would be invalidated. To address this question, this research reviewed the historical accounts and organizational documents to assess and trace the types of authority and administration adopted by NA over time. Integrating Weber's typology of authority types with neo-institutional theories, the premise of the study was that current state of NA organizational structure could be better determined by exploring the origins of the authority, the subsequent adaptations, and identifying the isomorphic influences produced by the "structuration" of NA's organizational field.

Three different explanations are considered in this analysis of "what happened" to NA. The transformation of NA's organization structure can be explained by Weber's (1968) theory of rationalization that say problems inherent to the charismatic and traditional types of authority and structure will necessitate change towards an organization with more rational beliefs and bureaucratic administrative arrangements. A second explanation for changes in organizational structure is seen to be the result of the power struggles between individual agents and coalitions of individuals, as suggested by classical and the modern power theorists. Finally, this study will consider the neo-institutionalism explanation that organizational structures are modified by the

mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphic influences of the field of Recovery Services Organizations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

Following the technique used to analyze AA, the study will recount the transformation of NA by describing “what it was like, what happened and what it is like now” (Rudy, 1986; Pittman, 1988). In the following section, the discussion will describe what NA was like in the early days, what internal and external forces caused the organization to change, and what it like now.

What NA was like?

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, NA can best be described as being in a “protean” stage of development. The NA in California and in New York had under-developed administrative structure and amorphous authority. The membership was fluctuating and those reluctant leaders addressed the uncertainty of their efforts to organize by engaging in a mimetic strategy, i.e., borrow the Steps as the type of authority to justifies the miracle of recovery and imitate the principles found in the Traditions to guide their organizational development. By following the principles and procedures, the leaders founded the organization that was committed to conforming to AA model in order to become legitimate.

In addition to having a set of beliefs that legitimate the authority, a functioning organization will need some individual or group of individuals to take charge of everyday operations. In California, there was a not a definitive leader who was willing to take charge and direct even the most basic of activities. The main thrust of organization revolved around securing a location to hold meetings, notifying possible interested parties, and facilitating the meeting or recruit someone to speak. Although it was recognized the AA method could provide a program of recovery, the early attempts to become organized met with mixed and limited success. The

meetings were conducted by members of AA who had also used “narcotics” and were gathering to discuss their dual-addictions.

At the time, AA had developed and become organized to the point that there were members involved in committees specifically formed to carry the AA message to recovering populations confined in the institutions, such as, mental hospitals, drunk tanks, and prison. The organizational field was loosely structure band of individuals without a ideology, except for AA, dominating the field.

The loosely formed Institutional Committees would lead to informal contacts with prison official, mental health administrators, and local law enforcement interested in the AA program. In late spring of 1953, a Captain Hamilton with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) had asked Institutional Committee about starting a AA meeting for a group of addicts. These specially held meetings were probably a carbon copy of the AA meetings being held at the time, except, for the fact that AA would not have approved of the forced participation. The Steps and Traditions of AA emphasized that membership was voluntary and members had to be willing to attend not “coerced” with any promises of reduced sentences. Although, the LAPD referred a number of people to these meetings, the records indicate that only 3-4 meetings were held, and the “group” only continued to meet for about two months.

Although, the meetings were not a continued success, they did provide the stage (or platform) for two members, Jimmy K. and Cy M. to emerge as leaders. Each member would have to build an “institutional core” of member and find the “building blocks” necessary to create a functioning organization—but with differing results.

The traditional model, based on AA’s success, stunts growth of movement with lack of charismatic enthusiasm, and real sense of mission, other than just following the traditions, power

is tightly held, based on loyalty, and ritual are mimetic of AA, Of the prototypes, Jimmy's model would prevail, though does not mean was a success.

For Jimmy K., his success as a leader was based on following the traditions. It was his rationale, and it may be that he did not possess the necessary administrative skills, or that just was not charismatic. Whether by choice or default, Jimmy claimed to be the traditional of authority in NA, and in spite of problems, he never wavered from the belief that, like AA, the Traditions would be the key to NA's success. Jimmy was imprinted by his early contact with AA. He sought to form a fellowship when AA and its traditions was the dominant form of authority and the AA model dominating choices in the field at that time. Had he discovered AA in the late 1930s, he may have been more attuned to the charismatic aspects or would have modeled NA after the earlier form of AA. Similar, to the fact that those becoming involved with NA today they have a more diverse set "building blocks" to construct an organization, though in the current environment, the type of authority is more likely to be rational.

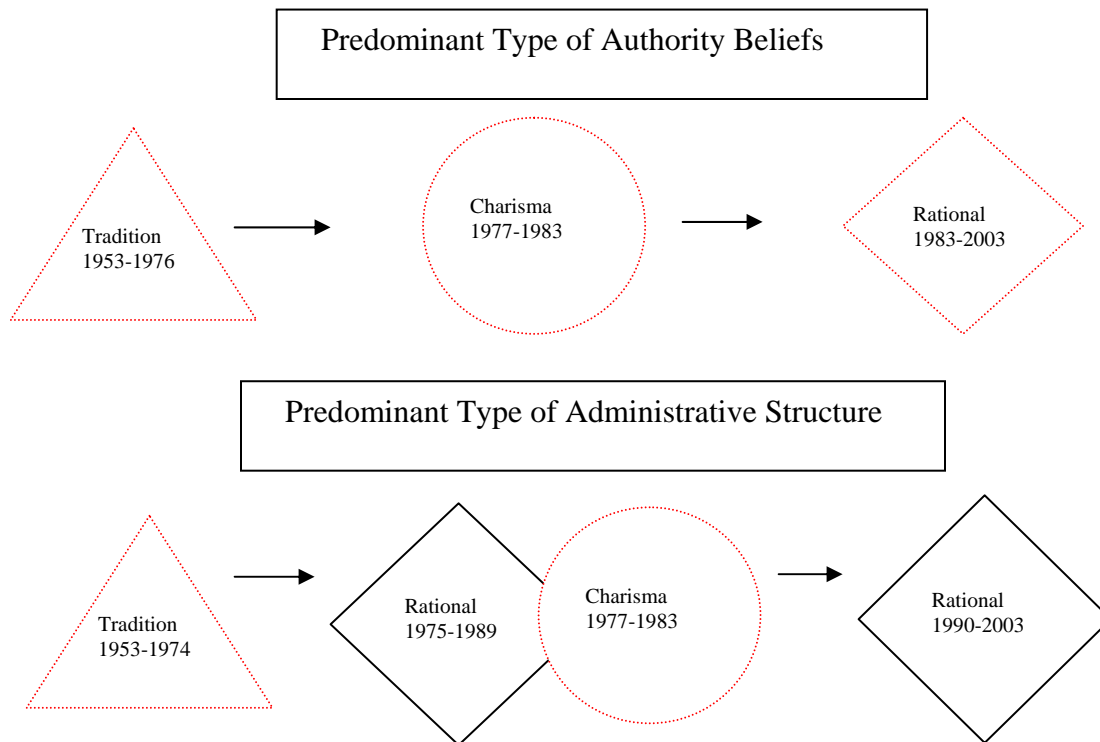


Figure 7.2: The Transformation of Authority in Narcotics Anonymous 1953-2003

What happened to NA?

The simple explanation would be to say that NA origins and development paralleled the experiences of the AA organization, since both share common beliefs, interact in a common organizational field, and extract resources from the same institutional environment. Researchers might argue, as some have (Peyrot, 1985) that NA, like AA, began as simple charismatic organizations and has not changed over the last 50 years. To substantiate this argument, it would need to be shown that NA originated with a charismatic leader, which it didn't, and the environments of both organizations would have to have remained stable and avoided becoming "structured" over the last seventy years. NA would become a second case of an exception to the Weber's typology of authority and they would extend the ability to generalize the finding that

some “unique” organizations can remain immune from the forces of rationalization that all others organizations have been subjugated.

NA’s response to changes in authority and structure as solutions to internal problems

Jimmy K. was obedient to the Traditions because his legitimacy and personal position was based on the correct performance of the rules: you live by the traditions, you die by them. Jimmy’s position as an “elder statesmen” and the founding father of NA were a ready justification and his only legitimate claim for who had the right to “control” NA. AA had old-timers and the trustees practicing a patriarchal type of rule by elder structure and these members commanded the right to the official duties of NA. as discussed by Weber, Jimmy had a personal and material interest in maintaining his position and was unlikely to willingly turn over control of the only tool or instrument at this disposal, regardless of any principles that states members do not govern and positions ought to be rotated to prevent the accumulation of power. Jimmy’s had “safeguarded” his position by claiming the traditions as the guide for the organization and his knowledge of and when to use the Traditions gave him the ability to prevent challenges to his authority, despite any arbitrary interpretation and application of the Traditions. The Traditions had served him well, way past their benefit for the organization as a whole, although they created a somewhat stable, permanent, but ineffective administrative system.

Jimmy’s personal authority would become problematic when he tried to juggle too many different kinds of authority. His downfall came when he violated the very the standards that justified his authority and he failed to administer his authority to keep the organization operating smoothly. When the situations had changed in NA, due to growth, the expansion of administrative requirements, and increasingly complexity of the developing institutional environment, Jimmy fervently tried to maintain his position. NA was no longer a mom-and-pop

operation. Jimmy was getting older, and had increasingly become ill with tuberculosis, and he was twice the age (66) of the emerging challenger to his authority, Bo S. (age 33 in 1977). Although he tried, Jimmy could not maintain his hold on the rapidly differentiating parts of the structure—WSC, WSO, the BOT, the BOD, and the literature committee.

At one of the most crucial time of NA's development, when they were at a major turning point, NA needed direction. Jimmy faced challenges and threats to his legitimacy, such as, stumbling through his symbolic performances of authority and showing his inadequacies in abilities manage and maintain the viability of the administrative structure. No one can say he did not put up a fight though—he changed the basic text based solely on the personal loyalty of his court. The authority was in a transition stage, and the challenges in basic beliefs brought about by Bo and the new fellowship and the threats to modernize the administrative structures, both threatened his rightful claims to authority. Jimmy's sixteen year hold over the administrative part of NA's structure began to "fragment" and become "eclipsed" by other beliefs and structures. This "legitimacy crisis" was tied to his inability to maintain his "definition of the situation" and he had almost no choice but to retire, resign, or put up a fight. Jimmy liked to say that he was a "fighter" and in a talk he regales the audience with his lack of fear to take on any challengers, even though he was outnumbered. It is no wonder that he chose the same strategy when his authority was being challenged.

AA's response to changes in structure due to conflicts and power

Jimmy's downfall is a tragic story, not at all a story of successful succession. Jimmy's legacy doesn't end with his death, because there was a directed and purposeful revival of Jimmy K. as the "hero" of NA. The "Are you a friend of Jimmy K.?" movement was used by the WSO, to re-establish or re-affirm his authority so they could then claim to be the rightful heir to his

legitimacy. As described in the only “official history” of NA, the *Miracles Happen* book was written to give account to the administrative structures initiated by Jimmy. The “Jimmy as the founder coalition” was promoting the importance of the tradition, while at the same time, minimizing the contributions of Bo S. so they could back a belief model of authority backed by highly organized bureaucratic machine.

Bo S.’s faith was in the steps and those beliefs gave him the ability to transcend the everyday routines. He was a radical and he could find justification for his beliefs in miracle. Bo was the perfect example of someone “possessed” by charisma. A story of his life in Atlanta describes his belief in the present, not the past. A friend of Bo’s told a story, that in his early days of being clean, he would test his fate and his faith. The streets of Atlanta were a dangerous place in the 1960s, and Bo is told to have openly carried a long-barreled six-shooter for personal protection, and probably more, for show. The story goes that he and a friend, for fun, would shoot live rounds at a brick wall and try to catch them when they bounced off. In laughingly retelling the story, Bo’s friend made the point that the inherent danger of this activity was overshadowed by a sense of providence.

In contrast, Bob Stone was the master bureaucrat of NA. Stone was bent on dealing with technical efficiency of the organization. The New World Board members could not compete with Bo’s charisma or Jimmy’s fatherly authority, so they would stake their claim by conquering the institutional environment. Through normative isomorphic strategies of professional management techniques, the WSO and World Board would acquire new forms of legitimacy, through accruing personal material rewards and reaping organizational benefits, such as, stability, stockpiling, predictability, and through mergers and consolidation.

Each of these three personalities--Jimmy, Bo, and Bob, would develop and use their personal authority to set a different course for the trajectory of NA. The WSO and the Board, this highly rational coalition, were the unabashedly type of bureaucratic administrative apparatus and would come into dominance when NA would no longer be directed and influenced by personal authority, whether charismatic, tradition, or rational. Henceforth, NA would be able, like all bureaucracies, to lose key players and still maintain authority. As hypothesized by Zald and Garner (1966), the more bureaucratic the organization, the less likely the loss of key players will cause uncertainty, or disruption of routine activities.

Each of the types of authorities, would have their turn at the helm of NA, some for longer periods of time, some more bold in their directions, and some even would jump ship, but all attempted to guide and direct the trajectory of authority and its administrative structures. The battle, struggle, or contest over the right to steer (divinely, by custom, most cost efficient, or best eyesight/vision) is what makes the story of NA interesting.

NA's response to isomorphic influences

NA has a history of using isomorphic strategies to deal with uncertainty was mostly mimetic in the early days. NA strategy was simple: Do what AA did. For much of NA history, the major "institutional" rule or strategy was to follow AA's lead. This strategy would serve NA for the early years, but when the environment changed or shifted, NA was unable to would be prone to turn and face the change—they were too set in their "traditional" ways. Internal forces might be pushing NA along to becoming more rational, all organizations need workable policies, but the Traditions required that less authority and a lack of administration. However, the real advance or increase in the momentum of their trajectory of NA came from the "isotropic" forces

that were “pulling” them to become more bureaucratic and increasingly similar to the organizations in their institutional environment, as suggested by DiMaggio and Powell (1983).

The uncertainty of the 1950s was based not due to a lack of beliefs, but in the failure to legitimate those beliefs and the lack of a valid vocabulary of structures. In 1950, strict mimetic modeling of AA had worked for Jimmy, but by 1980s, the field and the appropriate isomorphic strategies had changed

Evidence in the changes occurring for NA it found in the “vocabularies of structures”. In the early days, members talked of an “inverted pyramid”, a type of hierarchical structure where the members were on top, and the trusted servant was only granted limited powers to supply services. By the mid 1970s, the inverted pyramid has been flipped on its head by the forces of rationalization. The means of legitimation have changed--new vocabularies of structure are being learned and spoken. As for the centralization of power in an oligarchy, for NA, the WSO, its Office is becoming bureaucratic in structure and has appropriated the legal mandate to justify its actions, if necessary. More importantly, the institutional audience of NA and AA has changed. The isomorphic mechanisms are expanding--from simple mimetic conformity based on the single model of AA and “charismatic” relationships with the environment to the increasingly normative and coercive influences from multiple models and complex and rational relationships. As predicted by Weber, once in place, the bureaucratic administrative structures will be hard to remove. Why? The Traditions will prevent charisma from arising, and Concepts are replacing the Traditions and are promoting bureaucracy.

AA’s trajectory was shaped, driven, based on and can be delineated by the type of beliefs in authority, as expressed by Steps, Traditions, and Concepts. For NA, their major changes are shaped by the different struggles for and distributions of power, i.e., administrative structures—

patriarchal, charismatic, and bureaucratic, as best witnessed by an examination of “administrators”—Jimmy, Bo, Bob, and the WSO, and their activities and/or by the major shift in their institutional environments.

The trajectory of authority and administration was different for AA and NA.. For AA, change in authority involved the accumulation of beliefs, and succession of the leader. For AA, Bill W. bequeathed the formal organization and the appearance of leadership to conference in a formal ceremony, to create the formalized organizational authority, while he continued to maintain control over the informal

In NA, there was no clear-cut leader, and so the change would come through the succession of the “administrative staff.” Unlike Bill W, Jimmy was not willing to move aside so there had to be a “coup d’etat” (Zald and Berger, 1978) of the leadership to remove him from his roles in the “office.” Jimmy had co-opted or appropriated the duties of the office, although he lacked the technical competence to be the administrative head of such a rapidly changing organization. His interests were material, in that, the running of the office and the associated duties were providing him status, and assumedly, had been providing him with economic resources. As with any traditional authority, there is a no “separation” of monies between the individual and the organization. Jimmy was NA, and what money he had went to NA, and what money came in, was also part of his traditional rights.

Jimmy K. was maintaining a traditional type of authority with “patriarchal” type of structure-- he moved the office to his house, he did not separate the two operations of his household from those of the organization. Over time, he had a nice little “mom and pop” business—covering his expenses, printing his literature, covering costs of phone, etc. Jimmy was the administration and he did all duties—public relationships, communication, i.e., answering

phone, shipping and production of literature, accounting, and office management. But this type “traditional” type of administrative apparatus has a tendency to be very inefficient and, in Jimmy’s case would not be able to meet needs of the growing fellowship of NA.

For NA, those problem unaccounted for in the Traditions, such as, power struggles to control leadership, has led to incomplete or inadequate routinization of the charisma within the NA organization. I argue that although NA followed the traditions of AA, the early leaders of NA had to “borrow” the charisma of AA and mimic the organizational practices of AA. As the environment changes, the traditional strategies and structures used by NA were insufficient to provide solutions to the new problem, i.e., create a legitimate successor for Jimmy. When leadership and authority relations were challenged by members, powerful factions within NA found it necessary to construct organizational sagas around their own “founder” of NA. These myths gave direction to the organization and served to legitimate the authority, but they caused NA to take two Steps backwards, rather than to move forward. As such, the problems continued to grow, and when change was finally made, it would be dramatic.

The data derived from archival document indicates NA has legitimated its authority by basing its organization on the tested principles it “borrowed” from AA--the Steps, Traditions, and Concepts, while also modeling the AA type of administrative structures. However, the trajectory of authority for NA—the series of ideological changes and administrative transformations-- have been influenced internally by differing array of contests between individual and collective actors and externally from the varying degrees of structuration of its organizational field and from different strategies of institutional isomorphism. Although. AA and NA have a set of basic beliefs that they share, it is the forces of their environment that had led

them to similar destinations—one of rational authority and bureaucratic administrative structures.

Although Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) was already firmly established nationwide by the 1950s, the early versions NA would have a more difficult time becoming accepted among the general public and from an emerging group of “recovery professionals” suspicious of the promises of a group of addicts. Based on the success of AA as a program of recovery, other individuals would make attempts at starting a similar but separate program for addicts. These efforts to mimic AA started to spontaneously spring up in different parts of the United States and led to local success in organizing meetings. However, each attempt to apply the AA model for addicts failed for several reasons: the public image of the criminal and deviant narcotic addict of the late 1940s and early 1950s was much different when compared to the sad, but funny alcoholic; the leaders of the upstart groups lacked a legitimate authority accounts for a type of authority that could justify their “right to command” and maintain commitment among the member through their “duty to obey”; there was a noticeable lack of a functioning, permanent administrative structures to support any efforts other than the meeting to meeting activities; and the early leaders had weak ties with other organizations and had problems defining themselves and their goals in the “vocabularies” that could gain resources and the “legitimacy” from powerful external sources within their environment. These differences between the early years of formation for AA and NA are important to the understanding of their similar, but separate paths of organizational development and the responses made to the changing institutional environments.

By 1955, individuals seeking to follow the success of AA had a complete and workable organizational model (based on the Twelve Traditions) to guide their efforts and build their own

organizations. The AA model was more than a set of beliefs on how to abstain from harmful substances. In addition to the beliefs, the AA model included a tested administrative strategy to deal with organizational problems emerging from environment and offered a plan “to secure their future” from the threats and challenges created by their increased interaction or associations with other organizations. The Traditions were the standard operating policies to conduct business practices. Not all attempts to mimic AA had long-term success, and their “sagas” are described here to illustrate those cases of failed or incomplete authority. Some efforts to establish a workable a copy of AA for addicts would survive while other seemingly motivated versions, would fail. The goal of this study is to better understand how those “isomorphic pressures” of the institutional environment contribute to successful organizational structure and legitimate authority that succeed over time.

When the early founder of NA, Jimmy K., began establishing a “separate” organization for addicts, he had the benefit of a having a pre-tested set of beliefs and a workable model of organizational practices to assist in his construction of a program of recovery for addicts. Institutional theory suggests that in times of uncertainty, “organizations may model themselves on other organizations” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983:151). This strategy of mimetic isomorphism, where AA is the primary model, would serve to determine the type of authority and administrative structures used by members NA in order to achieve similar success and reduce uncertainty.

Although, NA could “borrow” the model of AA, their early attempts to re-create an AA’s type of organization for recovering addicts proved to be unsuccessful. These spin-offs of AA’s innovative idea were based on the success of AA’s 12- step philosophy in helping alcoholics. Each of these early imitators of AA would have an advantage when establishing the legitimacy

of their beliefs and beginning their organizations, in that, they had the benefit of a having a pre-tested set of beliefs and workable organizational model of AA to build their own individual program of recovery, and they could also “borrow” the legitimacy this successful model would provide. However, each of the early imitators would be unable to succeed and establish an organization of addicts with the initial and continued success as maintained by AA.

NA chose a different set of authority beliefs to legitimate their authority, and the selection of a “patriarchal authority structures” set them on a much rockier path of organizational development. Without having a charismatic leader to spark interest, attract followers, and “animate” the organization, all factors important in getting an organization moving in the right direction, NA was slow to develop.

What is NA like now?

In this section, NA is discussed in its present form. The goal of this study is to explore the type of authority that legitimates the organization, what administrative structures are implemented, and what efforts are needed to restructure operations, especially those actions taken in response to changing internal and external forces. The transformation of NA organization to “what it like now” is seen a result of internal and external generated by growth in the organization and the pressure to conform to the institutional authority of their environment that has increased with the structuration of the relations between organizations in the field of recovery services.

In 1953, AA was the dominant model, both in forms of authority and the type of administrative structure that was appropriate for the environment at its origins of NA. As the organization developed, there were different sets of organizational models to choose from and

there would be choices on which organizations would be allowed “on” the field and how far to extend the boundaries of the organizational field.

Today, the leaders of NA have employed organizational consultants to scan the current environment, assess the resources and the direction of the field, then design a structure, devise a vision statement, and create a set of operating principles that make NA less like AA and more similar to a McDonald’s franchise or a Japanese car corporation.

What Happened to Recovery Services? The Transformation of the Field

The narrative tool of “what it was like, what happened and what it is like now” used by the recovering alcoholic to describe their conversion (Rudy, 1986; Pittman, 1988), and previously applied to AA’s and NA transformation is now utilized to discuss the changes occurring in the organizational field of Recovery Services. Changes in the authority and administrative practices are influenced by its field, so this section of the analysis begins with a description of “what the field was like”, “what happened” and “what the field is like now”.

One of the first things to happen to the field is a “structuration” of the activities and the meaning system. With the strengthening of the field boundaries and an increase in the number, type, and intensity of interactions among participants within a field, there is the “isomorphism of structural forms” within the populations in the field. In addition, Changes in the type of language commonly used by organizations would be an indication of the increased influence due to the structuration of the field. A mission statement of an organization is part of its “vocabulary of structure”. Evidence of the increased structuration of the field may be seen when an organizations are “pressured” to adopt a mission statement similar to others in their field, thus giving notice of their “accommodation” and conformity to the accepted practices of the organizational field. In NA’s following mission statement, the goals of NA have changed.

Evidence of the increased structuration of an organizational field may be observed by: 1) assessing the composition of board of directors; 2) the type of vocabulary used by the board of directors of the organization; 3) the number of formal contacts and type of interaction with other members in the field, such as, participation in conferences or membership in trade and professional associations.

What was field of Recovery Services Organizations (RSO) like?

According to the institutional perspective the “key task of the institutional analyst is to specify these fields and to show how they shape and constrain the pattern of development operating within a particular field...such analysis will be historical in character” (Brint and Karabel, 1991:346).

The recovery field of the 1950s began as a “loosely coupled” environment of inter-organizational players with a lack of competition, and no “efficiency motivation and low transaction cost.”

What happened to the field of Recovery Services?

To understand those changes affecting AA and NA’s organizational structure, researchers have asked: What happened to the field of Recovery Services Organization? AA is no longer the dominant player in the niche it had created between religious, medical, and business types of organizations. Researchers can no longer treat AA and NA as independent of the effects of their respective fields. According to Scott, “Treating organizations as isolated, independent entities and overlooking the fundamental ways in which external forces shape them and connect them to wider systems is regarded today as both old-fashioned and naïve” (Scott, 1993: 272).

This idea of organizational adaptation was developed in institutional theories of organization (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), and suggests that changes within organizations are

produced as a result of *isomorphism*, i.e., structural conformity in response to the uncertainty of environmental conditions. Since, 1990, there has been an increased structuration in the field of recovery organizations. Increased interaction, mimetic processes, and authority contests for legitimacy have led the once predominately charismatic and traditional recovery organizations to re-configuration their organization structures and find new basis of legitimacy in response to isomorphic pressures.

What is the field of Recovery Services like now?

The field of Recovery Services Organizations has changed, more importantly, those fields that they interact with have also become transformed. The evidence from research over the last 20 years is indisputable—health care organizations have undergone severe and revolutionary changes (Scott, 1993). Over the past 50 years, there has seen a dramatic change to the field of mental health services (Schlesinger and Gray, 1987, D'Aunno, Sutton, and Price, 1995; Dowdall, 1996), a transformation of the U.S. Health care sector (Starr, 1982; Scott, 1993; Scott, et. al, 2000), the transformation of private alcoholism problem treatment (Roman, Blum, and Johnson, 2000), and the expansion of self-help organizations (Humphreys, 2004).

Today, the field of Recovery Services is “institutionalized”. The field of recovery services has culture of its own, established vocabularies of structures, and a “way of life” unique to the members of this field. Further, there are the “rational myths” of the fields, those accounts that seem to define the legitimate structures and the accepted types of authority. AA’s principles and rules of organization are pervasive--the Twelve Step of AA program is a dominant part of the recovery philosophy and almost 98% of the treatment centers sampled in a national survey use this “spiritual” solution to treat the medical problem of addiction (Roman, Johnson, and Blum, 2000).

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This study has traced the trajectories of the administrative structures and the authority of AA and of NA. It has revealed that AA, as well as the mythologized AA-method for organizations, has not escaped bureaucracy and is therefore not an “exemplary” case or an exception to Weber’s theory. Yet, the image of uniqueness is crucial to AA and NA because they are founded by the divine hand of a mysterious and supernatural entity. AA and NA as organizations want to have it both ways. They let others claim they are a “minimalist” type of organization lacking all bureaucratic tendencies, while still wanting to be taken seriously by other organizations as a model of legitimate, efficient organization; and not an old-time charismatic religion depending on the prayers of well-wishers and divine guidance. But, what is the reality behind the success of the organizations of NA and AA: Miracle or administrative effectiveness, or both? Furthermore, the case study of NA calls into question the viability of the AA-model, since the unwavering application of this model stunted the growth of and nearly killed NA.

AA is seen by researchers to be unique in both beliefs and structure, and outside the range of any classification system. Is AA a unique and minimalist organization, or is their elevated status a failure of the classification system? Some might argue for the first conclusion, based on observations at group meeting, when the structure is assessed by the beliefs professed in the Steps and the Traditions, and when seen in a cross-sectional perspective. However, with a analytical model that separately identifies the beliefs of the organization from its administrative

structures then both NA and AA serve as excellent case studies of mixed organizations, those in which the authority and administrative structures are not always matched. In addition, this research discussed how an adaptive organization, in this case AA, changed its administrative structure or its authority (or in some cases both) in response to internal and isomorphic pressures thus demonstrating the benefits accrued by adaptive organizations, and the consequence for those that can not adjust to the environment.

This study synthesized the ideas and tools from Weber's research with the institutional perspective and power theories. To better address the complexities of organizational change, the analysis involved considering a variety of factors seen to have an influence on the organizational structure of AA and NA: internal problems driven by inefficiency and succession, the authority contests for positions of power, and increased field structuration and the isomorphic responses. Each of these explanations for the transformation of AA and NA were found to have merit and are discussed in turn.

First, as suggested by Weber, the progression of AA and NA through different types of authority beliefs is driven by their increased scope, and complexity of the tasks associated with the functional administration of an ever increasing membership. Each of the types of authority and its administrative apparatus is a solution to a set of problems. And, when the conditions on which the original "premise" of the organization have changed, those in authority have several choices: hold on to the old beliefs and hope the opposition dies out; adopt new beliefs that replace the old ideas; or add to the old beliefs in a way that complements rather than contradicts them. This research concludes that AA's success and NA's survival were the result of calculated responses to introduce new beliefs or administration to solve the internal problems of organization.

Secondly, the changes in AA and NA's organizational structure were the result of contests for power and legitimacy among an organization's actors. This study supports the research arguing that claims of authority must be defended, whether by charismatic contests (Geertz, 1983), the social formation of authority (Bryman, 1992) or through cultural performances as described by Trice and Beyer (1984, 1985). Authority change is threatened at times of succession and "command performances" are exercises in the public relations to help stake a formal claim or give credence to the transference of the legitimacy. Examples of the symbolic transfer of authority include how Bill W. willingly "surrendered" his authority to the representative body of the World Service Conference in 1955 (Kurtz, 1987). Also of interest are those situations where there is a "loss of authority" from challenges to authority or when traditional authority is fragmented or charismatic authority wanes.

The third explanation for organizational changes argues that the "uncertainty" of success and survival at crucial stages in the development of AA and NA led them to make ideological and structural changes as strategic responses to gain legitimacy and become isomorphic to their institutional environment. Those in charge of the organizations of NA and AA have become increasingly aware of the changing nature of their field. According to Scott, "Treating organizations as isolated, independent entities and overlooking the fundamental ways in which external forces shape them and connect them to wider systems is regarded today as both old-fashioned and naïve" (Scott, 1993: 272). And yet, the studies of the organizations of AA and NA still consider these two organizations as existing within a vacuum, or in a closed-system, immune from internal threats and completely unaffected by their interaction within other organizations, the inherent structuration of their organizational field, and the isomorphic pressures of their institutional environment.

The cumulative influences of isomorphic pressures on AA and NA have been transformational. AA and NA are no longer able to exist in a “faith-based” vacuum, but must address the environmental shifts and institutional re-orientations. Where legitimacy was once gained from mimetic conformity to AA’s institutional rules, NA has sought to increase their own legitimacy from meeting the normative expectations of professional organizations. NA is in the danger of becoming too closely tied to the justice system in their desire for members. To sustain and maintain the financial demands of the WSO operation, NA could become co-opted by the drug courts and professionals of the treatment field and the once sacred Traditions will become a thing of the past as they become a “lean and mean” recovery machine. NA has gone from an organization that said: “Medicine, religion, and psychiatry are insufficient” to having focus groups of “recovery professionals” in order to gain their approval and find ways to better accommodate the rational aspects of their field and gain legitimacy.

Although NA once incorporated the Traditions as sacred beliefs, the increase pressure from outside work cultures have led the WSO to adapt and implement “performance models”. These quality assurance measures have trickled down to the Regions, Groups, and to the individual members. The effect of rationalization for the member can be seen in the loss of the emotional bond based on a fellowship of equals. NA can become so similar to treatment and court-ordered recovery, that the boundary between them becomes unclear. As expressed by a member seeing the changes in NA: “I liked us better when we were a secret society” which is a direct contradiction of the WSO official policy: “we cannot be a secret society any longer.”

This research explored the influence the structuration of organizational field and isomorphic institutional environments on the transformation of the authority beliefs and administrative structures present in AA and NA at different stages of their development. The

research on the AA and NA strongly indicates that the power struggles of the organizations were between different organizational actors seeking to become isomorphic to differing institutional environments. The winner in these “legitimacy contests” was able gain the necessary resources from the field and as a consequence, transformed the small and autonomous Twelve Step recovery groups into the formal and hierarchical type of rationalized organizations that were suggested by Weber (1968) as the end fate of all organizations.

This study found evidence to support Weber’s argument that those in authority will be forced to change their means of legitimacy when they fail to live up to or exceed the limitations of the standard that govern their authority. An examination of AA and NA, as dictated by those beliefs stated in the Steps, Traditions and Concepts, showed that each of those set of beliefs represented a type of Weber’s authority. Further, each set of beliefs created by Bill W. was a strategy to solve the organizational problems of a specific time. When the problems changed, new sets of beliefs were invented to address the new problems or legitimate the administrative solutions already in place. This fact makes AA and NA ideal cases to chart the development of administrative structures over time and to test and expand on theories explaining rationalization or “isomorphism” among organizations.

The Twelve Steps and Traditions are AA’s “rational myths” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). They are the stories the organizations NA and AA members tell--they are part of the vocabularies of motive used to prevent evaluation and/or promote good faith that all is well with the organization. In this longitudinal analysis, the differences in the vocabularies of structure over time reveal that AA and NA are being transformed. These organizations have been transformed from having no rules, no hierarchy, no authority, little structure, and now are becoming “institutionalized” organizations.

Although only some of these “bureaucratic tendencies” are present on a group level, the organizations of AA and NA as a whole are slowly, but steadily being changed by their environment. NA has some choices in their response to change. They can “decouple” their authority from their administration and/or and buffer themselves from outside influences by abiding to the Traditions like AA does. If not, those major changes and the minor adaptations will increasingly filter down to make the groups become more rational (and less spiritual) and thus less unique. AA, but to a greater degree NA, have responded to “environmental uncertainty” by copying or as they like to say “borrowing” the principles, practices, and even the technology of other organizations (note: NA has a very well-designed website run by a talented a “web-servant”). It can be assumed that as the groups begin to experience uncertainty, they will tend to mimetic the practices of the Office, feel the coercive pressure to send donations to World Services, and act more like those professionals partners within the normative environment of drug treatment centers, the criminal justice system, social workers, and health care providers.

How has this research contributed to the knowledge of organizations? Empirically, this study has called into question the prevailing theory that AA is a non-bureaucratic organization. The results of the analysis indicate that problem of previous research can be attributed to type of data used to conclude that AA is a minimalist organization. This study collected data beyond what is espoused in the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions.

This study has contributed to the way organizations are analyzed. In past research on AA and NA, researchers have accepted AA members description of how they think or wished the organization could be, rather than addressing what are they are and what they are becoming. An organization’s public beliefs and its private practices may differ. Kingsley Davis insisted that “in human society there is what may be called a double reality--on the one hand a normative system

embodying what *ought* to be, and on the other a factual order embodying *what is*...these two orders cannot be completely identical, nor can they be completely disparate” (Davis, 1949:52). AA members recognize this problem of disjunction between thought and actions, and remind members: “You have to walk the walk, and not just talk the talk.” This often heralded AA slogan is an admonishment to someone who claims to be living one way, but they are talking with an entirely different vocabulary.

This study revealed a distinctive split between those beliefs publicly espoused by AA and NA and the administrative practices needed to operate on an everyday basis. As suggested by Scott (1987), there is a difference between the *normative structure*, i.e., the values, norms and role expectations and the *behavioral structure*, which are those “activities, interactions, and sentiments” (Homan, 1950:33-40, Scott, 1987: 22). This research concludes that previous researchers have analyzed the valued prescriptions for authority, as found in the carefully constructed principles of the Steps and Traditions. Although these parts of the structure are interesting and were informative, a more accurate portrait of AA’s and NA’s operating authoritative structures can be made by observing the actual activities, interactions, and behaviors of those in authority (Dow, 1969; Scott, 1987:16).

The results of this study gives credence to our supposition that research only using the Steps or Traditions as data can be misleading. If a researcher uses “values to predict action”, they must be aware of the “sizable gulf” between those professed beliefs and actual behavior (Scott, 1987:16). The power structure is part of the behavioral structure, and can be analyzed by “observing a group over a period of time to see which individuals attempt to influence others” (Scott, 1987). The case of AA and NA, rather than serving as examples of exceptions to Weber’s theories, serve as stellar examples of organizations that hold democratic beliefs, but become

bureaucratic or engage in bureaucratic behavior as an isomorphic response to a changing environment

One of the flaws in previous research on AA is a reliance on assessing the organization based on the proclaimed beliefs found in the Twelve Steps or the Twelve Traditions. The focus on only beliefs to analyze authority not only diminishes the utility of Weber's typology, it may also lead to inaccurate portrayals of the group in question. To correct that problem, I borrow the idea of "accounts" that has been used to understand how individuals justify their actions or explain the motives (Scott and Lyman, 1968). I introduce the concept of authority accounts as a better illustration and indicator of the types of authority present in organizations. This approach was justified by research which shows that the basis of authority is more than beliefs, or the personal characteristics of the leaders. Authority can be observed in those situations when claims and justifications are made to validate the right to command, rather than taking the beliefs espoused by an organization as fact. The use of authority accounts reveals the justification of the individual claiming authority, and not the calculations of an outside observer, or the person in obedience.

Early in AA's development, Bill W. was confronted with this same question—what kind of organization is AA? His strategy was to "borrow" the beliefs and structures from other organizations and stake AA's territory neatly in an undeclared niche somewhere between a religion and a medical organization, hoping to enjoy the benefits of each, while, uninfluenced by imposing restrictions of the each field.

This research has advanced the methods used to assess organizational characteristics. While other researchers have concluded that AA must be a type of non-bureaucratic, minimalist type of organization since it is not accounted for in Weber's typology of authority. This research

seems to argue otherwise. Before deciding that AA and NA are “non-bureaucratic”, improvement in the previous methods of assessing the presence or lack “bureaucratic” tendencies must be made. The methodology of using an ideal type to compare organizations, as suggested by Weber (1968) was used in this analysis of AA and NA. However, Weber’s one-dimensional typology is replaced with a two-dimensional typology that accounts for those organizations that may have unusual or unique combination of authority beliefs and administrative structure, such as found in AA and NA. The conclusion that “mixed types” of organizations must be either charismatic or bureaucratic, or to propose that an organization’s authority beliefs are always “isomorphic” with their administrative structure can lead to misunderstanding the “continuum” of organizations that exist (Seabright and Delacroix, 1996).

By revising Weber’s typology of authority, the emphasis is shifted from the “pure types”, for example, when the authority of charismatic leaders and their cultures were carefully aligned and congruent with a corresponding simple type of charismatic administrative structure, to the more interesting cases of mixed types. Weber recognized the importance of these “mixed types”, however, subsequent researchers have overlooked those empirical cases where charismatic authority could be combined or mixed with bureaucratic administrative “apparatus”. Examples of these “combinations and mixtures” of authority types include a form of institutionalized charisma, which Weber identified in the early development of Catholic Church, or those initially charismatic based forms of authority that evolved into patrimonial structures called familial charisma (Weber, 1968).

This study supports the value of Weber’s typology of legitimate authority, but suggests by measuring the organization on two dimensions, there is a better “yardstick” to measure the mixed types of authority and administrative structures. Further, the Revised Model of Authority

helps to better understand the trajectory of the organization over time because it illustrates how the two parts of the organization may or may not “co-evolve” at the same rate, thus leading to organizational components that are too tightly connected or too loosely coupled.

Once the authority types of Weber’s typology has been expanded, from three possible “pure” types, to nine different “combinations and mixtures”, the research was better equipped to assess the types and trajectory of authority in AA and NA. Based on an analysis of their organizational documents, this study concludes that neither AA nor NA qualify as organizations exempt from Weber’s theory of bureaucracy. Instead, AA and NA exhibit “mixed” configurations of authority and structure. The combination of authority and structure in AA and NA provide support for the research by institutional theorists, who suggest that the incongruence of the organizational elements of beliefs and behavior, or authority and structure, can be resolved by decoupling formal structures from the activities. Also, the study of AA and NA have revealed how administrative or executive components of an organization, through diversionary tactics, can take the focus off their inconsistencies or inefficiencies and build good faith through ceremonial activities, seeking worth through ritualized practices, or gaining legitimacy from external sources, such as, consultants or professional associations..

AA, as an organizational form, was unique at its founding in both authority and structural arrangement, but can the authority be identified as it changes over time? The idea of trajectories of organizational structures turns the focus away from types of authority and emphasizes those critical events indicating a change in authority beliefs. Based on the analysis of the critical event, the researcher can explore those turning points in the trajectory of the administrative/bureaucratic structures of AA and NA. A goal of this research was to study the conditions affecting the institutionalization of an organization, which may include an awareness of both transforming

processes and transforming events. The case studies compiled on AA and NA allowed an examination of “trajectory” of authority systems over time.

This analysis of empirical cases of the parallel and divergent transformations of authority and administrative apparatus allowed for a more complete understanding of the isomorphic pressures which result in the similarity of organizational forms, thus furthering those theories suggesting the influence of isomorphic pressures in shaping organizational structures (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991). According to the data collected on the “structuration” of AA’s and NA’s organizational field, it is obvious that AA and NA are part of an open-system of interacting organizations within an increasingly structured organizational field of Recovery Services, which is also part of a larger institutional environment that includes, mental health organizations, addiction treatment organizations, medical care organizations, religious organization, and criminal justice systems.

This research sought to identify the type of changes, both in the authority claims made by the organizational actors, and its administrative structures as each of the organizations were responding to the “structuration” of their organizational field. I argue that AA carved out a section of the mostly “unstructured” territory of institutional environment somewhere along the borders between the incorporated enterprise, medical health, the professions of psychology, and the realm of spiritual, non-profit organizations. Once granted legitimacy by those organizations along their periphery, AA became the dominant player in the “structuration” of a new field, called Recovery Services that centered on their ideology of alcoholism as a disease. AA was now at the center of the field and their Tradition set the rules of interactions, and their leaders became the architects in the construction of the organizational field.

In addition to observations of the structuration of AA's and NA's field, this analysis compared the different field conditions over time and each organizations response to institutional pressures. There are subtle but constant forces that led to the de-structuring and restructuring of NA into a distinct organization form, and though similar, much different than its counterpart of AA. For AA, in the early days of formation, there was a lack of structuration of their environment thus they were less affected by isomorphic pressures, and the changes to organizational structures were the result of the slow processes associated with the internal problems of growth, differentiation, and competition, as suggested Weber. The findings of this study show that as AA beliefs slowly evolved from 1934-1971, from charismatic to traditional, and then a rational stage of organization. Of special note, although, the members of AA were left the Twelve Concepts by Bill W. before he died, these principles have not been embraced by the members of AA. There was no need to adopt a third set of beliefs and change; the organization is working successfully using a combination of the Traditions as beliefs and a fully functioning administrative branch, the WSO and the Boards of Trustees, to handle its daily operations.

In the case of NA, the development of structure has taken a different path. NA (in California) began with traditional authority beliefs borrowed from AA and embraced a patriarchal type of administration to handle the duties of the organization. The strict adherence to the Traditions, and the dominant role of AA as the power center in their organizational field, led to strong mimetic and coercive pressures for NA to be like AA, which limited their growth. Only with the rise of the charismatic movement led by Bo S. were members able to change the prevailing organizational beliefs propagated by Jimmy K. As a result, NA's development of organizational structure was shaped more by political struggles and the strategic responses to the external environment, as suggested by the institutional theories. For NA, they have been subject

to varying degrees of normative, coercive, and mimetic pressures from within their institutional environments. In a response, NA as an organization has become more rational and adopted the accepted structural arrangements of the surrounding environments.

Increasingly, normative, coercive, and mimetic pressures from within their institutional environments have influenced NA, as an organization, to become more rational and adopt the predominant types of authority and the accepted structural arrangements of the surrounding environments. It can be argued that the three different sets of organizing principles--Steps, Traditions, and Concepts in AA--were developed as strategies in response to internal threats to authority and/or to acquire legitimacy in times of uncertainty or crisis from external or institutional sources, in times of uncertainty. Each set of beliefs benefitted from authority accounts and “vocabularies of structures” that helped to legitimate these spiritual, customary, and rule-driven “rationales” as the appropriate problem solving mechanism or to serve as a justification for action.

In conclusion, AA and NA were founded on a unique set of beliefs designed to prevent the accumulation of authority and minimize the need for administrative apparatus. As a result, they have avoided some of the pitfalls predicted by Weber’s vision of a bureaucratic organization. However, the organizational field and the institutional environment of AA and NA have change and as suggested by DiMaggio and Powell, thus the “engine of rationalization” has changed. NA and AA, like all organizations, are subject to the forces of rationalization, and to remain legitimate, they are becoming isomorphic to an environment dominated by rational and bureaucratic organization.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Twelve Steps of Narcotics Anonymous

1. We admitted that we were powerless over our addiction, that our lives had become unmanageable.
2. We came to believe that a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to sanity.
3. We made a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of God *as we understood Him*.
4. We made a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves.
5. We admitted to God, to ourselves, and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs.
6. We were entirely ready to have God remove all these defects of character.
7. We humbly asked Him to remove our shortcomings.
8. We made a list of all persons we had harmed, and became willing to make amends to them all.
9. We made direct amends to such people wherever possible, except when to do so would injure them or others.
10. We continued to take personal inventory and when we were wrong promptly admitted it.
11. We sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious contact with God *as we understood Him*, praying only for knowledge of His will for us and the power to carry that out.
12. Having had a spiritual awakening as a result of these steps, we tried to carry this message to addicts, and to practice these principles in all our affairs.

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Appendix B

Twelve Traditions of Narcotics Anonymous

1. Our common welfare should come first; personal recovery depends on NA unity.
2. For our group purpose there is but one ultimate authority—a loving God as He may express Himself in our group conscience. Our leaders are but trusted servants; they do not govern.
3. The only requirement for membership is a desire to stop using.
4. Each group should be autonomous except in matters affecting other groups or NA as a whole.
5. Each group has but one primary purpose—to carry the message to the addict who still suffers.
6. An NA group ought never endorse, finance, or lend the NA name to any related facility or outside enterprise, lest problems of money, property, or prestige divert us from our primary purpose.
7. Every NA group ought to be fully self-supporting, declining outside contributions.
8. Narcotics Anonymous should remain forever nonprofessional, but our service centers may employ special workers.
9. NA, as such, ought never be organized, but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve.
10. Narcotics Anonymous has no opinion on outside issues; hence the NA name ought never be drawn into public controversy.
11. Our public relations policy is based on attraction rather than promotion; we need always maintain personal anonymity at the level of press, radio, and films.
12. Anonymity is the spiritual foundation of all our traditions, ever reminding us to place principles before personalities.

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Appendix C

Twelve Concepts for NA Service

1. To fulfill our fellowship's primary purpose, the NA groups have joined together to create a structure which develops, coordinates, and maintains services on behalf of NA as a whole.
2. The final responsibility and authority for NA services rests with the NA groups.
3. The NA groups delegate to the service structure the authority necessary to fulfill the responsibilities assigned to it.
4. Effective leadership is highly valued in Narcotics Anonymous. Leadership qualities should be carefully considered when selecting trusted servants.
5. For each responsibility assigned to the service structure, a single point of decision and accountability should be clearly defined.
6. Group conscience is the spiritual means by which we invite a loving God to influence our decisions.
7. All members of a service body bear substantial responsibility for that body's decisions and should be allowed to fully participate in its decision-making processes.
8. Our service structure depends on the integrity and effectiveness of our communications.
9. All elements of our service structure have the responsibility to carefully consider all viewpoints in their decision-making processes.
10. Any member of a service body can petition that body for the redress of a personal grievance, without fear of reprisal.
11. NA funds are to be used to further our primary purpose, and must be managed responsibly.
12. In keeping with the spiritual nature of Narcotics Anonymous, our structure should always be one of service, never of government.

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Appendix D

Narcotic Anonymous World Service Conference Mission Statement

The World Service Conference brings all elements of NA World Services together to further the common welfare of NA. The WSC's mission is to unify NA worldwide by providing an event at which:

- Participants propose and gain fellowship consensus on initiatives that further the NA World Services vision;
- The fellowship, through an exchange of experience, strength, and hope, collectively expresses itself on matters affecting Narcotics Anonymous as a whole;
- NA groups have a mechanism to guide and direct the activities of NA World Services;
- Participants ensure that the various elements of NA World Services are ultimately responsible to the groups they serve;
- Participants are inspired with the joy of selfless service, and the knowledge that our efforts make a difference.

Appendix E

NA World Services Vision Statement

All of the efforts of Narcotics Anonymous World Services are inspired by the primary purpose of the groups we serve. Upon this common ground we stand committed.

Our vision is that one day:

- Every addict in the world has the chance to experience our message in his or her own language and culture and find the opportunity for a new way of life;
- NA communities worldwide and NA World Services work together in a spirit of unity and cooperation to carry our message of recovery;
- Narcotics Anonymous has universal recognition and respect as a viable program of recovery.

As our commonly held sense of the highest aspirations that set our course, our vision is our touchstone, our reference point, inspiring all that we do. Honesty, trust, and goodwill are the foundation of these ideals. In all our service efforts, we rely upon the guidance of a loving Higher Power.

Appendix F

Archival and Unpublished Documents

NA and AA websites

Internet Documents acquired from official NA Website:

NA World Services, Inc. World Services Office at a Glance 1998 Summary Report of World Services

NA World Services, Inc: World Services Office at a Glance 1997 Summary Report of World Services

NA World Services, Inc. : World Services Office at a Glance 1996 Summary Report of World Services

NA fellowship (conference) approved literature

A Temporary Guide to Our Service Structure, May 1998 Edition, Published for the WSC by Narcotics Anonymous World Services, Inc. (NAWS)

It Works How and Why: The Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions of Narcotics Anonymous, 1993, Special Edition. WSO, Inc.

An Introductory Guide to Narcotics Anonymous, rev. edition booklet. 1992. NAWS, Inc.

The Group Booklet, revised 1997. NAWS, Inc.

Twelve Concepts for World Service, approved edition 1992. NAWS, Inc.

Narcotics Anonymous (Basic Text), 1st ed.-1983, 3rd ed.-1984, 4th- ed. 1987, 5th ed.-1988. WSO, Inc. And NAWS, Inc.

Miracles Happen: The Birth of Narcotics Anonymous in Words and Pictures, 1998. NAWS, Inc.

AA Archival and historical documents

A few of the articles include:

- 1) *THE WASHINGTONIAN MOVEMENT* by Maxwell, Milton A., Ph.D
- 2) *THE INSTITUTIONAL PHASE OF THE WASHINGTONIAN TOTAL ABSTINENCE MOVEMENT* by Blumberg, Leonard, U.
- 3) AA Grapevine article July 1947:
“Lest we travel the path of the Washingtonians”

- 4) AA Grapevine article December 1948: The Washingtonians (series)
- 5) AA Grapevine article January 1949: The Washingtonians (conclusion)
- 6) AA Grapevine article February 1971 -The
- 7) AA Grapevine article July 1976: "A reminder and a warning -- The Washingtonians."
- 8) AA Grapevine article January 1991: "Fragments of AA history -- The Washingtonians
- 9) AA Grapevine article February 1995: "The Washingtonians--Where are they Now?"

Unpublished Internal Documents and Memorandums

Data was gathered from a variety of archival Internet sites, and I retrieved the following documents from "non-official" AA related Websites:

History of AA website; Maintained by Jim B. (<http://historyofaa.com/index2.html>)

- A) Text and articles on the Washingtonians Temperance society, a pre-cursor to AA. :
- B) Talks by Bill W. (At this site, over 30 taped talks made by Bill W. are transcribed; also, numerous internal documents between founders, Board of Directors, and conference participants)
 - 1) General Service Conference speeches-- 1952 to 1965;
(transcribed from tapes made to conference participants)
 - 2) Proposal by Bill W. for Twelve Concepts of World Service;10th General Service Conference, 1960
 - 3) To the Trustees of the Alcoholic Foundation, (letter dated April 1947)
 - 4) Your Third Legacy-- From Dr. Bob and Bill, October 1950
 - 5) A Suggested Plan for the reorganization of the AA General Service Board, December 1957
 - 6) History of AA Services-- Summary of Bill's Talk at opening session of General Service Conference (GSC) ; 1951
 - 7) The Need for the G.S.O. (General Service Office) Chicago, Illinois; February 1951
 - 8) We Come of Age-- Cleveland, Ohio, July 28-30, 1950

C) Other documents

- 1) "A Statement of Principles Governing the Policies and Activities of the Board of Trustees of the Alcoholic Foundation" (Adopted at Board of Trustees Meeting, July 1948)
- 2) Letter from Royal F.S., Trustee, to Leonard Harrison, Chairman of Alcoholic Foundation, dated December 28, 1950. This document is a statement of one well-placed member who opposes the increasing bureaucratization of AA and the centralization of authority at AA Headquarters.

Transcribed recorded tapes

- D) Talks by Bill W. (At this site, over 30 taped talks made by Bill W. are transcribed; also, numerous internal documents between founders, Board of Directors, and conference participants can be found)

- 1) General Service Conference speeches– 1952 to 1965; (transcribed from tapes made to conference participants)
- 2) Proposal by Bill W. for Twelve Concepts of World Service; 10th General Service Conference, 1960
- 3) To the Trustees of the Alcoholic Foundation, (letter dated April 1947)
- 4) Your Third Legacy– From Dr. Bob and Bill, October 1950
- 5) A Suggested Plan for the reorganization of the AA General Service Board, December 1957
- 6) History of AA Services– Summary of Bill’s Talk at opening session of General Service Conference (GSC) ; 1951
- 7) The Need for the G.S.O. (General Service Office) Chicago, Illinois; February 1951
- 8) We Come of Age– Cleveland, Ohio, July 28-30, 1950

Internal AA documents and memorandums

- 1) “A Statement of Principles Governing the Policies and Activities of the Board of Trustees of the Alcoholic Foundation” (Adopted at Board of Trustees Meeting, July 1948)

AA Online Archival sources

History of AA website; Maintained by Jim B. (<http://historyofaa.com/index2.html>), including and articles on the Washingtonians Temperance society, a pre-cursor to AA.

- 1) Dick B’ ’s website; www.dickb.com/index.shtml)
- 2) Mitchell K.’s Favorite Alcoholics Anonymous History Links and other AA resources; (<http://www.geocities.com/hotsprings/villa/1576/index.html>)
- 3) Online Recovery Resources: A collection of Alcoholics Anonymous and related information; (<http://www.recovery.org/aa/>)
 - a) The Oxford Group Connection (to AA)
 - b) Dr. Bob’s (co-founder) last talk at 1950 International Conference
 - c) A flowchart history of AA (from 1895 to 1988)
- 4) AA back to Basics website: (<http://www.aabacktobasics.com/>)
 - a) The story of the circle and triangle (AA’s trademark logo)
 - b) The Evolution of the World Service Conference

West Baltimore Group AA homepage; (<http://www.smart.net/~alassoc/AA/testimony.html>)

- 1) Bill W.’s testimony before Senate Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics, July 1969

Published Archival AA documents

A. A. History: The Evolution of the General Service Conference, by Wally P.(1995, Internet Document)

Historical Data: The Birth of A.A. and Its Growth in U.S./Canada (1998, Internet Document)

Structure of A.A. General Services in U.S./Canada. (1998, Internet Document)

Membership Fact File, 1998. General Service Office (GSO). (1998, Internet Document)

Membership Fact File, 1996, General Service Office (GSO). (1998, Internet Document)

Conference Presentation, April 24, 1992. Presentation on the Structure of the Service Organization, by Desmond T., General Service Trustee. (1998, Internet Document)

Letter to Board of Trustees, from Royal S., Past Trustee., July Meeting 1948.

A Statement of Principles Governing the Policies and Activities of the Board of Trustees of the Alcoholic Foundation. (1998, Internet Document)

AA conference approved literature

12+12: Twelve steps and twelve traditions 1953. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services. (1953).

The A.A. group, 1990. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services.

A.A. service manual 1962. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services.

A.A. service manual combined with twelve concepts for world service, 1988-1989 edition. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services.

Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age 1986. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services.

Alcoholics Anonymous, 1990. Comments on A.A.'s. Triennial Surveys. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services.

Anonymous. 1990. AA Grapevine, Inc., March, pp.21-23.

Anonymous. 1990. Box 459, March, pp.21-23.

Alcoholics Anonymous: The story of how many thousands of men and women have recovered from alcoholism (the Big Book) 1955. (3rd edition) New York: Alcoholics Anonymous Publishing.

Box 459. News and notes from the General Service Office of A.A..

Came to believe. 1973. New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services.