

Reporting One's Current State and Recovery at a Support Facility for Drug Addicts : Objectivation and Incarnation of Institutional Maxim in SMARPP Type DARC Meeting¹

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Introduction

We'd like to present our research at a residential drug addiction rehabilitation center known as DARC (that is, Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Center). Our study focuses on the various practices employed at this facility to aid in the recovery of its residents.

The DARC Meetings

DARC usually hosts three meetings each day for residents, modeled after NA (Narcotics Anonymous) meetings, using the "speak and listen but no crosstalk" format. Since 2014, our research field also incorporates SMARPP (which is short for Serigaya Methamphetamines Relapse Prevention Program), which includes some time for sharing personal experiences. These sessions occur once a week instead of NA type meeting, at a set time, and are led by staff members, who are themselves recovering addicts, facilitating and guiding the discussions. Between January to May of 2018, we recorded one season of the meetings comprising 17 sessions using video cameras and IC recorders (Original Data in Japanese). Participants included users, and staff. One staff member acted as the facilitator during the meetings. Staff members are recovering addicts themselves. In comparing the "speak and listen but no crosstalk" sessions and the SMARPP, the participants liked the latter because they were able to "get advice and opinions" (Minami 2019 : 29). During "check-in" (the beginning) phase, participants reflected on their week, discussing their physical and emotional states and significant events (Minami 2019 : 29).

In DARC's recovery program, participants deepen their experience as "fellows" and respond to each other's actions and words based on principles like the "12 Steps" and the "Serenity Prayer" which are used as texts at the meetings. As the participants listen to each other's narratives, this process helps them to make "incarnate" these principles, guiding participants to act as "fellows". Let

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us now investigate the practices that the participants are doing in their exchanges, from the viewpoint of EMCA.

EMCA Research in Phenomenological and Pragmatist Tradition

As time goes on, social facts that later become resources for interaction are continuously “objectivated”. Garfinkel, who extensively theorized about communication, considered that “Each action becomes an “experiment in miniature,” whose success is instantiated by the co-participant’s next action. And the meaning of each action arises only in and through the next action” (Garfinkel 1948=2006). This implies that it is only through the practical actions of the actor towards an object that the object can be experienced in a specific way. The pragmatist idea of viewing experience as learning is also shared by the cognitive behavioral therapy that supports SMARPP. Later, Garfinkel suggested that “Work-site practices … are developingly objective and developingly accountable ” (Garfinkel, 2002: 189). In the tradition of phenomenological sociology by Schutz, Berger, and Luckman, the process of producing “practical objectivity” is called “*objectivation*.” Liberman, continuing the terminology of phenomenological sociology, refers to the production of social facts during interactions as “*objectivation*” and states, “ Objectivation is the work of turning our thinking or activities into objects that are publicly available for people to use for organizing the local orderliness of their affair” (Liberman 2018). Schematically, this process can be represented as “Account — Ratification (or Confirmation) — *Objectivation*” (Liberman 2013: 108). An “account” that has been “objectivated” through ratification becomes a social fact that serves as a “common ground” for communication, thus becoming a resource for subsequent interactions. Meetings are a process where discussions, advice, and opinions are digested to “incarnate” wisdom and deepened as the intersubjective experience of “fellows.” Clarifying the meaning of words through “*objectivation*,” and further making them comprehensible through “incarnation,” is naturally accountable.

Overview of the Data

Let's examine the following two fragments which we call the “An Unlikely Story” and the “Transparent Lie”.

1. “An Unlikely Story”

Shin's assertion of “not looking at women as the opposite sex” is initially denied. However, by using the “code” of “fellow”, Shin's assertion becomes something that can be understood.

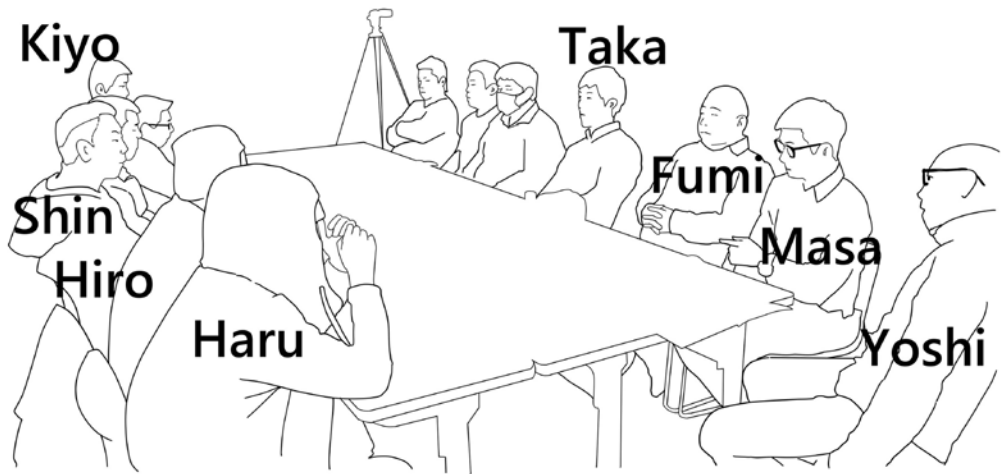


Fig.1

1-1. The Simplified Sequence 1

Shin: "I don't look at women as the opposite sex."	Formulation of one's stance (Assertion)
Masa: "You do, though."	Denial
Shin: "Well, some women sometimes, but."	Mitigation
Yoshi: "What do you mean, what do you mean?"	Clarification question
Shin: "Well. I mean, like, we are all fellows."	Formulation using code

In "objectivating" and distinguishing between "opposite sex" and "fellows," we see how the "maxims" are followed as instruction thus "incarnating" them and having them recognized as social facts.

1-2. Yoshi's "Unlikely Story" is scrutinized.

As the content of the narrative by Shin is idealized, the "fellow/the opposite sex" distinction is reified to make Yoshi and Masa a judgmental dope (Garfinkel 1967).

The Simplified Sequence 2

Yoshi: If you ask me, I've always thought that way	Assertion
Haru: No way.	Denial
Fumi: Oh, really?	Request for confirmation (Neutral)
Taka: That's great.	Positive evaluation
Shin: That's great.	Positive evaluation
Kiyo: That's great.	Positive evaluation
Masa: We're the same there.	Team formation

Masa: Everyone's the same, right?	Request for confirmation (upgrade)
Yoshi: (Nods)	Confirmation
Haru: Why do you lie like that?	Denial in question form
Yoshi: (Grin)	Possible confirmation by silence

The "denial" of the assertion, whereby the words "the opposite sex" and "fellow" as distinguished in relation to "sexual desire" are "objectivated".

2. "Transparent Lie"



Fig.2

2-1. Through the example of Masa's "transparent lie" regarding quitting "smoking," smoking as something Masa doesn't really want to do but continues to do, is "objectivated."

The Simplified Sequence 3

Masa: "Me too. I've quit smoking for a while now, but..."	Formulation of one's stance (Assertion)
Sabu: "That's a lie."	Denial
Sabu: "How many days? Three hours?"	Question implying denial
Taka: "There are cigarettes in front of you."	* Fig.2
	Encouragement of observation through a report
Haru: "Ten minutes? Five minutes?"	Question strongly implying denial

Here, as "smoking" is understood as an activity that fulfills the maxim "do what you can," the "do what you can" maxim is "incarnated" as a deontic logic or norm to be followed.

ANALYSIS

1-1 From assertion and negative evaluation to understanding through the "code" of "fellow"

Let us show you an example in which the formulation of an assertion is denied, and an institutional reason is added to supplement the assertion. In response to Shin's statement formulating his position as "I don't look at women only as the opposite sex". Masa immediately denies the statement, saying, "You do, though" Shin denies and mitigates part of the content of his assertion which used the general proposition "women" by saying, "well yes some women sometimes, but" When asked by Yoshi about his true intentions, Shin uses "fellow," a jargon (a kind of "code") known to all participants, to justify the content of his assertion (cf. Wieder 1974).

1-2 "An Unlikely Story" : "making it explicit" through denial

Continuing from the interaction in 1-1, Yoshi makes a comparison between himself and Shin by preceding his comment with "If you ask me", and then saying he'd "always" thought like that. The "If you ask me," sounds as though Yoshi is signaling that he will make an even stronger assertion. Yoshi's word selection of "always" is a continuation and upgrading of Shin's formulation of his position in the statement. Yoshi's utterance sounds like the start of a "second story" (Sacks 1992) that indicates an understanding of the content of "not seeing women only as the opposite sex". After Masa forms a team with Yoshi with the "we", the utterance "always thought like that" raises the degree to which they all are "fellows" beyond just "not seeing women only as the opposite sex". By nodding here, there is implicit approval from Yoshi for the team formation and the use of the *general* proposition "everyone" which further upgrades the assertion. Haru, however, immediately denies the assertion of Masa and Yoshi's team. The deontic logic of "fellow" is something that is learned at DARC, and general proposition "I've always" and "everyone" do not include this necessary "growth" and "learning" of that process.

Returning to the exchange, several evaluations are presented at this point as if to challenge Haru's "denial". Here, Fumi asks a neutral confirming question on whether this is true or false. Taka, Shin and Kiyo make an apparently positive evaluation "That's great" in succession. One may read "doubt" into the confirmation question, and one may read a stance of "not wanting to determine whether it was true or not" into the "that's great".

Haru's denial competes with these responses and ultimately cancels them out. Masa further upgrades the content of Yoshi's argument by using the general proposition "everyone".

By nodding, Yoshi implicitly approves team building and upgrading. In response, Haru again

immediately denies the content of Yoshi's upgraded assertion with his comment "Why do you lie like that?" Yoshi does not negate this, but responds with a "grin". After the "grin," we see that he does not continue with words that restore the truth of his assertion which implies, according to the "challenge and default" principle that something is approved if not challenged, that he has approved. Haru, from the very beginning, takes a different stance, questioning the truth of the content of too general assertion, and Yoshi's grin appears to approve the denial. Here, approval and denial intersected in response to the assertion. Through the process the content of the assertion is listened to and then denied, Shin's distinction is "objectivated" into common ground and utilized as a resource. After this, a third story which supplements the first and second stories is further told by Kiyō (although we will not investigate that today).

In Kiyō's story, a growing up story is told in which the sense of "fellow" gradually arises, and the division of meaning between "fellow" and "the opposite sex" is further concretized and "incarnated" in dialectic process.

2: "Transparent Lie"

As Sacks (1975) noted, for an utterance to be evaluated as an assertion, it must be genuine, and its authenticity is always subject to scrutiny. But, being labeled a lie does not nullify the content of an assertion. Instead, the practice of confirming something as a "lie" helps establish and verify social facts without going through the basic forms of *objectivation* and clarification through the process of assertion and confirmation. It is through the process of denial that "common ground" is produced. In the exchange mediated by "lies" and denials, some social fact, such as "suppressing another desire by smoking," and the ad hoc identity associated with it, are mutually objectivated and approved.

2-0 Ad Hoc Naming: pre-beginning episode

Data 2 starts with the participants introducing themselves as they routinely do as "I am Sabuchan and I am a drug addict" in response to which the other participants repeating in unison the anonymous name part of the introduction. This process of "self-introduction" and "repetition" is a process that serves to "acknowledge" and "objectivate" the institutional identity behind the meeting. The term "Cigarette Sabuchan" is given to him who is "doing what he can" in the form of smoking, which he does not want to do if possible, in order to suppress his desire for drugs. Sabuchan acknowledged the name and said "I can only do what I can do". This seems to be a practice of acknowledging reality and moving on (*factum valet*), even if it is not ideal (Garfinkel 1967), and is oriented toward the "wisdom to distinguish what can and cannot be done" in the "Serenity Prayer." "Cigarette Sabuchan" was initially a designation given ad hoc to the smoker Sabuchan, but through

the process of denial, it becomes clear that smoking is one way of "incarnating" the normative status of "doing what I can" and its significance in the process of "recovery" is recognized.

The "that Sabuchan" and "the Sabuchan now" are associated with positive evaluation, and the anaphoric "that" and "the now" show the connection between the designation "Cigarette Sabuchan" and the institutional norm of DARC.

2-1 "Transparent Lie": various practices which constitute denial

The fragment in data 2-1 is a scene involving the evaluation of this "Cigarette Sabuchan". Ultimately, the importance of Sabuchan's "wisdom" in distinguishing between what can and cannot be done, and doing what he can, as in the Serenity Prayer, can be seen in his being anaphorically named "that Sabuchan" or "the Sabuchan now" by several participants. In the exchange we will examine here, Masa makes the first formulation is by expressing sympathy with Sabuchan, saying "Me too". However, Sabuchan, the addressee of the "too", has not "quit smoking".

Then, the central element of the Masa's assertion "quit smoking," is denied as a "bold-faced lie" by Sabuchan, who is the center of this topic. Sabuchan denies Masa's assertion using words that do not attack character (unlike "liar"). It sounds as if Sabuchan, the sympathetic addressee considers Masa's assertion to be a transparent "lie." Sabuchan then asks "how many days? 3 hours?" Which are "clarification" questions to specify the extent of Masa's quitting smoking.

Taka then points out that there is a cigarette packet in front of Masa's hand, saying, "There are cigarettes in front of you." Everyone then looks at the "observable evidence" of the lie, and the fact that it was a "lie" is publicly displayed.

Haru further indicates that what Masa means by quitting smoking is not quitting smoking in the usual sense by talking about the length of time using "minutes", an extremely short unit of time inconsistent with the activity of quitting smoking. What is in common between the two is that the activity of smoking is seen as different from the use of other drugs. By observing the exchange during this meeting, we were able to understand the use of the "too" in Masa's assertion "Me too". Assertions that are "denied" by being pointed out, for example, as "lies" are linked during the interaction to the *factum valet* character of "smoking," which implies something is missing and inference is needed to fill in missing component. Smoking is an activity that should be avoided per se, not least because it is harmful to one's health, but Sabuchan is smoking, out of necessity, in order to break the temptation to drugs, and it becomes clear that Masa would like to quit smoking, even if he is unable to do so.

Discussion

We have seen the importance of the interactions at DARC meetings, particularly focusing on

the practice of "SMARPP" which is an important component of the meetings. The deontic logic of the facility are internalized through discussion, often linked to "maxims" or "codes" that participants use to guide their actions. Even when an assertion is not approved, perhaps by being denied as a "lie," the content of the assertion is not nullified. Instead, through a process akin to dialectic, the meaning of the words becomes "objectivated" and are used as resources to make the deontic logic "incarnate". Here, in the exchanges during the meetings in the rehabilitation facility for drug addicts that we attended and video-recorded, through the process of "denial" of the content of the assertion, and the process like "thesis-antithesis-synthesis," we have seen in each example how an understanding is produced in the actual setting, how the subjective reality of the initial assertion is "made explicit," or "objectivated," then the "maxims" and deontic logic given in the text was "incarnated".

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