

Therapeutic Drug Communities as Social Cocoons:
Commitment and Identity Transformation

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Paper presented at the
Annual Meeting of the Society for the
Study of Social Problems
Toronto, Canada, August 1981

This research was partially supported by Grant #22-2208-31
provided by the Morehead State University Faculty Research
Committee.

Introduction

One of the explicit goals of therapeutic drug communities (TDC's) like Synanon is the transformation of identity. The "addict," "junkie," or "dope fiend" becomes a "rehabilitated addict," a "reintegrated individual," or a "professional ex-addict" if the therapeutic drug community is successful in its efforts. Identity transformation is most likely to occur when the organization or community is successful in structuring interaction so as to encourage commitment. This paper examines the structures and processes within TDC's that make commitment and hence identity transformation more or less likely.

Theory

Researchers in the sociology of religion view religious identity change, conversion, as "a radical reorganization of identity, meaning and life" (Travisano, 1970:600). Such radical changes of perspective, identity, and world view occur in other non-religious settings (Greil and Rudy, 1980) including self-help groups, prisons, rehabilitation programs, and others. We choose to use the term "transformation of identity" to refer to any process involving conversion from one perspective to a radically different one, regardless of whether the perspectives involved are generally seen as religious in nature.

The central dynamic in the transformation of identity, as we see it, is the process of coming to see oneself and one's world from the perspective of one's reference group. Lofland

and Stark (1965:871), to illustrate, view conversion as coming to accept the opinions of one's friends. (For a more thorough discussion of the theoretical perspective that underlies our view of the process of identity transformation, see Greil, 1977.) Organizations that explicitly seek identity transformation are characterized by important structural features--the most notable being encapsulation. Encapsulation prevents prospective affiliates from sustained interaction with reference others who might attempt to discredit or contradict the perspective being considered. Therapeutic drug communities as organizations for identity transformation can be regarded as social cocoons in that like cocoons they protect the transformation within from the contamination without, with a protective covering (Greil and Rudy, 1980). Within the cocoons of therapeutic drug communities many affiliates radically change. The mechanisms that TDC's use to facilitate commitment to the community and hence increase the likelihood of identity transformation are the major foci of this paper. Our view of commitment mechanisms draws heavily from Kanter (1968, 1972) who views them as structural features of an organization or group which operate to engender commitment.

According to Kanter (1972:61-74) communes and utopian societies strive to develop commitment of their members in three relatively autonomous areas: continuation of membership, group cohesion, and social control. These three types of commitment are developed through six distinct commitment mechanisms which serve to attach members to the new group, its members and its

norms and to detach members from other competing groups. In this paper we view commitment as a single phenomenon with several dimensions rather than as several separate but related phenomena.

Methodology

Data were collected by consulting standard book and periodical indices for citations on TDC's. Special attention was directed to those TDC's that have been the subject of book length ethnographies or personal accounts. These include: Synanon, Daytop Village, Phoenix House, Exodus House, Odyssey House, and Delancey Street Foundation. Because ethnographies of two communities Synanon and Daytop Village were completed by a sociologist (Yablonsky, 1965) and an anthropologist (Sugarman, 1974) we found these sources particularly helpful. The major weaknesses of our data collection strategy relate to the possible "vested interests" of some authors in personal narratives and the obvious limitations of any secondary analysis.

The organizations described in this research are residential programs that primarily house narcotics "addicts." Synanon, the oldest of the communities was initiated in 1958 by Chuck Dederich. Dederich had been an A.A. member but desired starting a more "free-wheeling" therapeutic approach. (Brown, 1979; Yablonsky, 1965). Synanon¹ has become the prototype for most therapeutic drug communities. Most of the organizers and directors of the TDC's described in this paper are ex-Synanon members. Systematic, detailed description of the programs cited in this paper can be found by consulting the works listed in the references.²

Views on the "Addict" Lifestyle

The views of addiction held by "mainstream" society, professional drug researchers, and professional ex-addicts working in TDC's shape the organization and regimen of drug rehabilitation programs. "Addiction" to narcotics and regular recreational drug use can be viewed as a career or lifestyle (Becker, 1963; Fiddle, 1967; Hawkins, 1979). Irwin (1970:3-7) views "addict" careers as a particular type of criminal career involving perspectives, behavioral systems, and identities. According to Irwin:

. . . there is a group or collectivity or persons who sometimes think of themselves as . . . "dope fiends," . . . or "heads," and who during these times share, interact upon, and negotiate a set of understandings, meanings, values, beliefs and symbols relative to . . . a dope fiend's or head's life style (1970:3).

For many addicts, particularly those who become involved with various types of drug programs, their status and identity of "dope fiend" or drug user has become a master status. Irwin quotes an ex-addict on the dominance of drug use in his life:

When you're hooked, man, nothin' else matters. It's like putting all your worries in a spoon, cooking them up and sucking them up into a dropper and then sticking them in your arm. As long as you got stuff you're loaded, you just don't care about nothin'! When you don't have any and you're sick, well, nothin' but getting some more gaw is on your mind. In a way it really makes life simple for ya. (Irwin, 1970:16) (Field notes, March 1967).

Hustling and scoring are dominant themes in the world view of addicts (Irwin, 1970). Considerable skill and control over a hostile environment must be maintained in order for the street addict to score and to avoid being busted. The skill and atti-

tudes developed in holding one's world together contribute to the self-identity of participants as competent and powerful individuals. . . . (Hawkins, 1979:35). Such a conception of "addicts" is held by therapeutic drug communities and has numerous implications for rehabilitation. According to Hawkins:

If street drug abuse offers rewards, the task of rehabilitation is not simply to create bonds to the dominant social order, as implied by control theory. Rather, the task is to replace bonds to a deviant social world and its activities with stronger bonds to a more conventional social world. This is no small task. . . . Revising the cumulative effect of a street drug abuser's experiences which led to the present life style is not likely to be easy. (1979:35)

Therapeutic drug communities view addicts as "coniving," "stealing," "sick" individuals who would lie, cheat, or kill to score on dope. They are living in a fantasy world and lack maturity. In fact they act like "babies," and "stupid" individuals. They cannot be trusted and cannot be reached through conventional methods. Using drugs to "escape from reality" is merely a sign of or a response to the addict's "screwed-up" head. These and similar beliefs are significant in planning and structuring the identity change process in TDC's and they illustrate the radical nature of that change.

Recruitment and Motivation

Newcomers approach therapeutic drug communities for diverse reasons. Some have "hit bottom" or "hit rock-bottom" (Waldorf, 1979). Others come, who may or may not define their situation as "bottom," because friends, families, employers, or the law demand it. For obvious reasons the law is more consequential in

TDC's than in programs like A.A. (Rudy and Greil, 1980). Many "prospects" come on an "either-or" basis, i.e., they either come to Synanon, for example or do time. How is it that TDC's manage to affect transformations of identity among prospects who came involuntarily? Our view is that considerable persuasion, ridicule, and force are frequently used to discredit an identity with which the individual has up until now been more or less satisfied. Those newcomers who are not willing to discredit their previous identity or who are not ready to get on with a vigorous program are turned away. The severity and style of these discrediting attacks is similar to contemporary deprogrammers (Kim, 1979) and to the "unfreezing" process described by Schein (1961) of American civilians by the Chinese.

Daytop, Synanon and Dalancey Street, in particular, test prospective members motivations by utilizing demeaning demands prior to acceptance into the program. For example, a prospect may be told to call Daytop or one of its induction centers at a specified time. The request will be repeated several times and should the prospect make a series of calls promptly at the specified times he/she will be invited to the house for an interview (Sugarman, 1974). Upon arrival the prospect may be required to wait for hours or to be seated in the "prospect chair." This positions the prospect in a busy area of the house and he/she is forbidden to move without permission and not allowed to speak (Sugarman, 1974:11, 12). Prospect isolation conveys to the "addict that he/she is in a unique environment--much unlike street life; and it reaffirms the boundaries separating competing identities and world views. According to Sugarman:

. . .when a person enters Daytop his loyalty is expected to be transferred from "the streets" and his "junkie values to the Daytop community and its values of honesty, concern, and responsibility. The former junkie who has entered Daytop and "taken his vows" is supposed to have set his sights in a totally different direction from those of the antisocial, irresponsible, dishonest street junkie that he once was. Each and every Daytop resident is supposed to have crossed a moral divide which separates him from his former way of life and those who are still identified with it. (1974:12)

Excerpts from a detailed prospect interview observed by Sugarman (1974) illustrate how the group pressures the prospect to verbally reject his former way of life and to ask for help. After denying that a drug charge was important in his coming to Daytop some group members verbally attack:

"You lying bastard! You dishonest motherfucker! You really expect us to buy that bullshit? You're here because you're scared you just might not beat that rap. . .And here's something else. I don't buy for one second that you've been clean for ten days. You're high on something right now. I know it, and everyone else in the room knows it. . . (Quoted from Sugarman, 1974:13).

After an hour of vicious verbal assault the newcomer admits all of what the group knows. Finally, one of the leaders, Greg, says:

"We don't give a shit what you did before you came here. . .All we ask is that you try to be honest, hard as that may be. Listen. You didn't do too bad. It takes some guys three hours to even admit they like shooting dope. What we want from you now is to make some kind of investment. . .What we want from you now is more an emotional investment--like just asking for help."

"How do I do that?"

"Just say it: I need help."

"I need help. . ."

"Louder," shouts the group. . .

"Do you need help?"

"Yes."

"Then shout it over and over until we can feel it. And look at each one of us as you say it." (Quoted from Sugarmen, 1974:14)

Attempts at testing motivation and asking for investments can be viewed as "sunk costs." The time, energy, entrance fee,³ and degradation invested during initiation would be lost should the prospect decide not to affiliate.

Until prospects verbally accept with conviction the community's view of themselves they cannot be accepted. However, once intensive interviewing ceases and the prospect is accepted into the group, the climate radically changes from attack and ridicule to warmth and smiles. The new prospect may be escorted around the house and introduced to groups of community members. These situations frequently produce group applause and warm congratulations to the newcomer. These rewards serve to attach the prospect to the new community and world view just as the earlier attacks served to detach the prospect from the old identity, world view, and life style. These dual processes are accentuated because the decision not to affiliate would result in loss of the "sunk" costs. In an economic sense the prospect may have "too much invested to quit." (Teger, 1980)

Encapsulation

One of the most universal and important structural features of organizations for the transformation of identity is encapsulation (Greil and Rudy, 1980). Encapsulation prevents prospects from engaging in sustained interaction with reference other who

might discredit the perspectives to which the prospects are being exposed. Furthermore, to the extent that interaction occurs with "outsiders" or with reference others, it occurs with individuals who are supportive of the perspective being promulgated. By restricting contacts with outsiders, encapsulation allows the chief dynamic of the identity transformation process to take place--intensive interaction with individuals who will confirm the prospects emergent senses of self and reality. Encapsulation is achieved with physical, social, and ideological mechanisms. Physical encapsulation restricts interaction between insiders and outsiders through physical boundaries or barriers. Social encapsulation regulates interaction in specific ways and at specific times between newcomers and outsiders and insures that newcomers spend most of their time with seasoned members. Ideological encapsulation shapes the attitudes of members in their contacts with others and provides them with a distinct world view.

Prospects, "noddle heads," or "candidates in" are forbidden to leave most TDC's. Technically, they are not physically confined as in prison but they are subject to numerous incentives that forbid leaving--for some this includes prison sentences. In Synanon newcomers may leave the house for walks or errands but they must be accompanied by a senior resident. In Daytop prospects may not be visited by friends or family and they are forbidden to send or receive phone calls or letters. In addition they are further encapsulated within the confines of the community. Specifically, they are strongly discouraged from talking with other prospects ". . . lest they reinforce each other's

negative attitudes and tend to form a mutually reinforcing group of deviants within the house (Sugarman, 1974:16). This social encapsulation has the same consequences as the construction of physical walls in that the perspectives of all those who may challenge or be in disagreement with the Daytop world view are systematically excluded.

In Odyssey House "candidates-in" spend their first 72 hours with a "buddy." In Synanon members choose a "director." In all TDC's failure to participate in daily meetings or seminars is not tolerated. According to Sugarman:

Daytop residents are not allowed to isolate themselves or spend time alone; they are required to "relate," to communicate with others. This policy is supposed to help residents pry themselves out of their shells, and keep them from wallowing in self pity, from feeding themselves excuses for rejecting the unpleasant truths that confront them here. (1974:94)

In case the prospect should try to circumvent these mechanisms of social encapsulation the community forewarns his family. They are advised:

Make yourselves as cold, as hostile and rejecting as you can toward Johnny. If he telephones, hang up! If he sneaks out a letter, return it unopened to Daytop. And, if he suddenly turns up at home and turns on the woebegone, contrite mannerisms the addict puts on so well, if he tries to melt your hearts with tales of the abuse he suffered at the Village, then grit your teeth and tell him, 'go back to Daytop, get lost.' And slam the door in his face. (Bassin, 1968:50)

Social encapsulation is further facilitated by the "pull-in" responsibilities of old timers. In Daytop old timers are required to go out of their way to develop affective ties with prospects and to keep them from retreating. In Synanon:

It is assumed 'in front,' that the newcomer at this time is relatively incapable of handling a productive association with 'squares' and the outside community. His relationships are closely watched and regulated for his own benefit and personal protection (Yablonsky, 1965:266)

As social encapsulation continues more and more relationships are formed by the prospect within the community. Consistent and intensive interaction becomes the dominant characteristic of all the prospects' activity both formal and informal. Similar findings on the importance of affective ties have been noted often in the religious conversion literature. (Greil, 1977; Harder, et al., 1972; Heirich, 1977; Lofland, 1966; Lofland and Stark, 1965; Richardson et al., 1978).

Encapsulation makes commitment and hence identity change more likely because it prevents or restricts contact with outside worlds and their perspective. Encapsulation also shapes the character of interaction within the confines of TDC's as we previously noted. Such structuring allows members of TDC's to have more influence as "significant others" than do the prospects' previous "significant others." Identity change organizations manage this influence with the manipulation of rewards and punishments.

Status Systems

All privileges and all rewards are earned through an elaborate achievement system. Some TDC's weekly evaluate the performance of all members. Residents earn better rooms, better jobs, and more freedom by performing their required duties. While proper

thinking and acting earn status, improper behavior brings punishment or demotion. These basic and simple principles of learning illustrate clearly to members of the community the narrow road that they must follow. Prospects are advised of behavioral and attitudinal expectations during their initial interviews and during their first few days in the community. In Odyssey House, "The inquiry-in openly confronts the patient with the expectations and demands of the community upon him as regards his behavior, and the consequences that will ensue from negative behavior" (Densen-Gerber, 1973:410). Around a month after the "inquiry-in" the candidate is evaluated in a formal session called a "probe" to make sure progress is being made relative to house expectations. The "probe" assesses whether the "candidate-in" ". . . has a usable understanding of the concept of the house and a commitment to live by it while in residential therapy. (Densen-Gerber, 1973:411)

All members are assigned jobs within the community. Initially, newcomers work on menial tasks like grounds keeping, bathroom and house clean-up, or related activities. Soon the newcomers will be integrated into one of the community's business ventures. Delancey Street operates a credit union, restaurant, parking and repair garage, moving and construction businesses, and a floral shop. Daytop and Synanon also have numerous outside ventures. In all TDC's members start from the bottom and work their way up the ladder. When members enter the community with skills in particular areas they are assigned to unrelated tasks to assure an equal starting point for all. The status ladder is so specific in some communities that every resident is given a

rank. In addition all residents can quickly anticipate upward mobility in the stratification system if they abide by the rules of the community (Glaser, 1971). Group facilitators, work supervisors, outside speakers, house directors, and business managers are positions easily within the range of most members. These and similar rewards may serve as "side bets" (Becker, 1960). In pursuing commitment to an ex-addict career these other benefits or side bets accrue. One remains committed because of the side bets as well as because of one's desire to keep clean. In fact once one has been clean for a few years the side bets of acceptance, prestige and employment are probably the most important commitment mechanisms in maintaining commitment to TDC's. (1976)

Rules and Sanctions

Therapeutic drug communities have highly articulated systems of rules. Prohibitions or serious restrictions exist for violence, theft, sex, insubordination, and contraband. No recreational drugs including alcohol are tolerated, and there are severe restrictions on pharmaceuticals including aspirin. Even personal conflicts, like arguing, are forbidden in community life. Conflicts must be handled within the confines of encounter groups.

Not only are residents responsible for their behavior but for the behaviors of others as well. Total honesty and/or confession of all norm violations is a requirement in TDC's. If a member sees another member failing to clean an ashtray, for example, he/she must report this behavior. Failure to do so would get the non-reporting member in more "trouble" than the initial norm violator.

In all Synanon type communities norm violations are responded to with the sanctions of "pull-ups," "haircuts," "head shaving," or expulsion. It must be emphasized that all sanctions are an attempt to alter "self-destructive behavior patterns." Therapeutic drug communities view total conformity and allegiance to the group as essential for successful rehabilitation. "Pull-ups" are viewed by the community as learning experiences. Detailed comments by Sugarman describe the "pull-up":

. . .all of the main features of a learning experience in Kaytop are designed to help someone change his self-destructive behavior; all learning experiences are administered by a person's peers, which is not only more effective for him but is also beneficial for them; both giving and receiving learning experiences is the common experience of life in Daytop; and failing to play one's role properly in administering a learning experience to a fellow is treated like any other failure to behave in the required way--one may receive a pull-up for failing to make an earlier pull-up or for failing to make one at all. (1974:56)

"Pull-ups" are administered when a norm violation is observed. The person making the "pull-up" speaks in a loud voice so that others who may be present may witness it. Norm violations leading to "pull-ups" include: leaving lights on, untidiness, insincerity, tardiness, etc. From a functional perspective pull-ups contribute to group solidarity. The range of behaviors that must be corrected by pull-ups is so encompassing that all activity becomes interpretable and is a focus of a learning experience vis-a-vis Daytop ideology.

In Daytop when residents fail to accept "pull-ups" or when they engage in more serious norm violations they are sanctioned with a "haircut." "Haircuts" take place in a director's room when:

. . . in a prearranged sequence, each person in the semicircle delivers a tirade of verbal abuse at high volume, castigating the behavior which led to his appearance here. He will be called a 'stupid asshole' and similar names. It will be pointed out to him that he is acting like a baby, which is what he came here to change. . . . Through all of this the person receiving the haircut must remain silent and deferential. . . . After the haircut is over, he will not be shunned by his fellows. . . . He is expected to talk about it in a 'positive' way, not justifying himself but showing that he is trying to learn from his mistake. (Sugarman, 1974:58)

"Haircuts" are administered in Daytop around fifty times a week. Failure to participate fully in giving a resident a "haircut" leads to a "haircut" for the reluctant member.

Addicts who consistently receive "haircuts," those who split and return, and other reluctant residents may receive a "shaved head." Only males receive shaved heads, females receive a functional alternative--wearing a stocking cap. When residents receive shaved heads they also are formally moved down to the bottom rung of the status ladder. They lose their jobs and privileges and are usually given hard and tedious tasks--scrubbing pots and pans in the kitchen. Community members justify what might seem as harsh sanctions because of the nature of the task at hand--rehabilitating a life style. Additionally, harsh and immediate sanctions are instrumental in lessening the possibility of the development of a negative inmate subculture. In the constant exchange of norms and information in sanction application the community is reinforcing its boundaries. (Durkheim, 1958; Erikson, 1966; Rudy, 1980).

The scope and certainty of rewards and punishments is effective in building commitment to TDC's. The successful ex-addict may become a house manager or occupational director and

receive considerable prestige from within the community and from the outside world. Such mobility and prestige is not likely to be gained in other avenues for the ex-addict. The professional ex-addict also becomes a valued asset to the larger community as an expert--as one who can give testimony, first hand, to the evils of drugs (Johnson, 1976). However, all of this can be lost through the immediate application of punishments should the member violate the norms. In short, the use and the immediacy of rewards and punishments is more likely in TDC's than in the broader society.

The Game

The most well known and dramatic aspect of TDC's is the encounter group. Synanons are routinely held and residents participate three times per week. Sessions usually run more than an hour but special sessions may continue for a week. Daytop has regular encounter groups, "probes," and "marathons." Probes are directed to specific problems while marathons try to actualize emotions like fear, pain, anger and love. Pheonix House requires free-wheeling group psycho-therapy sessions along with daily "floor encounters," or "staff tutorials." Delancey Street and Odyssey House have similar programs of therapy. Phoenix House and Odyssey House devote over three hours per day in therapy (System Sciences, Incorporated, 1973 a,b).

There are few rules during encounter groups--virtually anything goes. In fact in Delancey Street and some of the other TDC's the groups sessions are known as "attack therapy."

Attacks may be directed at any member for any past or current behavior or attitude that may be viewed as troublesome. If the behavior or attitude represents a serious concern the entire group may align itself against a single individual. Attack therapy forces the residents to respond to pressure and problems without escaping or hiding physically or with drugs. Sessions are directed by senior residents and can be structured or free-wheeling. Synanon has evolved its games (synanons) into a strategy for running the organization itself (Simon, 1978). The freewheeling, vicious nature of the synanon is in direct contrast to the all encompassing forced compliance of out-of-game life in Synanon. Simon (1978) views this basic dichotomy as the structure of Synanon that shapes and regulates organizational life.

All the values of the "addict's" life style are attacked in the game. The game is characterized by total honesty and freedom. Anything and everything can be said to anybody. Rosenthal (1974) describes the style of the game in Phoenix House:

. . .the encounter demands that the individual express himself. We direct ourselves against stupid behavior, past and present, as well as against the camouflage of rationalization and denial that follow in the wake of such behavior. . .facades of bravado, self-righteousness and rationalization crumble under the blistering scrutiny of the group. . .Stripped of his stupid behavior the individual is now open to learn new techniques of controlling his feelings. Frequently the group will give the patient a 'motion' or suggestion to follow. (1974:19)

The "game" as well as the group sanctioning activities are commitment mechanisms that assist in identity change because they allow for a constant flow of social meanings and norms that specifically elaborate acceptable and non-acceptable thoughts, morals, and actions. To the extent that old or current selves

and behaviors are viewed as "stupid" and new ones suggested mortification (Goffman, 1961; Kanter, 1972) occurs. In our view this occurs not because the "game" is a mysterious potent enterprise, but rather because the participants have become significant reference individuals for each other.

"Acting as If"

All TDC's have psychological models of "addiction." That is, "addicts" have not developed properly, cannot face reality, are immature, etc. However, TDC's do not over-emphasize psychological change initially. Rather, they concentrate ". . . first on the person's acting out of constructive behavior" (Yablonsky, 1965:192). Chuck Dederich comments to a group of Synanon newcomers illustrate in general this theme:

If you wish to join us, if you wish to buy this as an assumption for yourself--I don't ask you to believe it, you can't believe anything right now, you're too confused--but if you come in here and act as if it's true and go through the motions, it will come true. (Yablonsky, 1965:207)

An excerpt from the Daytop setting further illustrates this important guideline:

. . . you must act as if you understand, act as if you are a man, act as if you want to do the right thing, act as if you care about other people, act as if you are a mature human being." (Bassin, 1968:51)

"Acting as if" in our view is one of the most important mechanisms that engenders commitment and hence identity transformation. If a prospect is willing to "act as if" the action can become stabilized through the application of rewards. The rewards include acceptance, rank in the prestige system, priv-

ileges, etc. The longer one remains straight by "acting as if" the more the side bets accrue, and the greater the side bets the greater the likelihood of continued commitment. This view would predict high attrition rates during the early phases of the various programs--a view consistent with the self-reported data from TDC's (Brook and Whitehead, 1980; Sugarman, 1974; Yablonsky, 1965). A final excerpt for this section demonstrates how behavioral commitment demands can lead to identity transformation:

I think when it really started changing I might have been around like 9 months. And I think what made it change was the fact that . . . people started expecting certain things of me, people started looking at me to assume some kind of postures, to be a certain type of role model and so forth. . . like they're saying you've been around 9 months and there's a certain amount of responsibility you should have attained. Certain people recognize this and the people who was just coming in and was below me was looking kinda up to me in certain degrees--I think this is what sorta began to tell me or where I began to realize that I must have changed, 'cause I couldn't see any physical change. And for the most part I knew that in certain instances I was somewhat negative, thinking-wise, and every once in a while I would act out in a way. But I think that the fact that you was getting the demand from above and below, you know, and the responsibility that you was expected to assume and the responsibility that you was actually doing--I think this was when I first realized that I was changing." (Sugarman, 1974: 96)

Conclusions and Implications

Commitment to TDC's like commitment to Alcoholics Anonymous can profitably be viewed as constituting a "commitment funnel." (Rudy and Greil, 1980). In the early stages of the process little is asked of the prospective affiliate other than "acting as if" and recognizing the hopelessness of one's present life. As time goes on more demands and expectations are placed upon members.

Members are expected to work in and for the community, to recruit new members, and to represent the community through public speaking engagements. They are expected to hold the community and its values as more important than any personal relationships with family or friends. TDC's and most organizations for the transformation of identity are a sub-class of what Coser calls greedy organizations. They ". . . are not content with claiming a segment of the energy of individuals but demand their total allegiance. (Coser, 1967: 198) Our view is that TDC's must be greedy because the identity change from the "addict" and the "addict" lifestyle to a non-addict identity is extreme. The undertaking of such a task is difficult to carry out unless the individuals involved depend on the therapeutic drug community and no else for the satisfaction of important needs. Compared to other organizations for the transformation of identity, TDC's are the "most greedy," (Kanter, 1972) Most members who complete their therapeutic regimens remain within the confines of the community as professional ex-addicts. This may illustrate the severe societal stigma of narcotics addicts (Johnson, 1976), the desire of Synanon members to build a new separate society, or the disparity between the world of the therapeutic drug community and "mainstream" society. Whatever the case successful affiliates to TDC's are rarely "rehabilitated;" rather they are "converted" to the world view and lifestyle of a greedy organization. (Johnson, 1976).

Footnotes

¹In recent years Synanon has directed its energies and funds to the task of building a new society. Many people from all walks of life who are not "drug addicts" have affiliated with Synanon and its way of life.

²General characteristics of TDC's are particularly well developed in Brook and Whitehead (1980), Sugarman (1974), and Yablonsky (1965).

³Synanon requests entrance fees from some of its newcomers (Kanter, 1972; Endore, 1968).

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