

Addiction, spirituality and 12-step programmes

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Abstracts

Drawing on qualitative data, this article attempts to clarify the language of spirituality as used in relation to addiction and recovery. It explores what is meant by 'spirituality' in the context of 12-step programmes followed in the numerous anonymous mutual help groups which address the problem of addiction to a variety of substances and behaviours, and raises some of the most frequently cited problems with a 'spiritual' approach. It argues that wariness on the part of social workers (and other professionals) of 12-step programmes on grounds of their religious/spiritual dimension may benefit from reconsideration. It also suggests that social workers might be informed and empowered to support those individuals and families who chose to seek recovery through the 12 steps.

Keywords

addiction, Higher Power, recovery, spirituality, substance misuse, 12-step programmes

Background

High on the list of concerns for social workers are those dependent on alcohol, drugs, gambling or other behaviours and substances, and the complex task of how best to support and refer them and their family members. Whilst spiritual approaches to addiction remain contested and controversial, they are very much part of the recovery scene, and appear to be effective (in both

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the short and long term) for some clients. A much referenced but controversial project in the 1990s in the US, Project MATCH, which compared 12-step facilitation with cognitive behavioural coping skills therapy and motivational enhancement therapy for alcoholism in the largest randomized trial of alcohol addiction treatment ever conducted, claimed to show that spirituality orientated treatment programmes such as 12-step programmes (TSPs) or Alcoholics Anonymous 'performed at least as well as treatment programs that have no religious or spiritual content' (Humphreys and Gifford, 2006: 266). The design, reporting and conclusions of MATCH have been criticized (e.g. Cutler and Fishbain, 2005; Peele, 1998), but the project continues to be influential (Babor and Del Boca, 2003; Pagano et al., 2012). Whilst efficacy is undoubtedly a key concern for social workers, it needs to be clear that it is not the purpose of this article to evidence efficacy, but merely to begin to clarify the 'spiritual' nature of the 12-step approach.

Spirituality

TSPs are practised in mutual help groups like Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), Narcotics Anonymous (NA), Al-Anon Family Groups, Gamblers Anonymous (GA), Overeaters Anonymous (OA) and dozens of other '12 step fellowships' (Kelly and White, 2012) and inform or play a part in many otherwise secular treatment programmes and protocols. Whilst unstable membership makes figures difficult to verify, AA claims to have more than two million members worldwide (www.alcoholics-anonymous.org.uk/?PageID=43) and NA, the second largest 12-step fellowship after AA, now has approximately 58,000 groups worldwide (<http://www.na.org/?ID=PR-index>). Explicitly faith-based responses are also proliferating. These may adapt a 12-step approach or use the resources of the relevant religious tradition more directly. They should not, however, be confused with TSPs as practised in anonymous fellowships or as adapted for secular treatment programmes.

Research has shown that there is a resistance to referring individuals to TSPs because of the apparently religious nature of the programmes (as well as for other reasons), and social workers may consider them inappropriate for clients other than those explicitly identifying as Christian, and would not wish to risk imposing religious beliefs or activities on them (Caldwell, 1999; Kurtz and Chambon, 1987; Laudet, 2003). Whiting (2008) argues there is an unspoken secular humanism at the heart of social work practice. Coupled with a possible suspicion of the spiritual, Collins and Cummins (2002) described social workers as lacking training in the area of addictions recovery, and this has been affirmed more recently by a Scottish Government

Report (2011). With this in mind social workers may value: a) an account of the spiritual nature of TSPs so as to be able to make more informed recommendations; b) a deeper awareness of the nature of the life transformation experienced by those who work the 12 steps, so as to be better able to support those working for recovery through these routes, and their families; and c) a more nuanced understanding of what service users might understand as 'spirituality' in the context of addiction and recovery.

The material in this article is drawn from the literature, and from the Higher Power Project (HPP), a qualitative research project currently underway in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Chester University, exploring spiritual dimensions of recovery through 12-step programmes. Objections to TSPs, and to their respective mutual help groups are many and varied (see Collins and Cummins, 2002). It is not the purpose of this article to mount an entire defence of a 12-step approach but simply to attempt to clarify what is meant by spirituality in this context, and to ensure that if that referral route is rejected, it is not on the basis of a misunderstanding of the role and place of spirituality.

Background and development of 12-step spirituality

The founders of Alcoholics Anonymous, the prototype 12-step fellowship (TSF),¹ Bill Wilson and Dr Bob Smith, were both alcoholics in 1930s America, unable to achieve sustained abstinence despite their Christian faith and membership of the Oxford Group. According to the traditional historical account, this changed when they met and started working together and with other alcoholics (Dick, 1992; Kurtz, 1991 [1979]). Whilst AA separated from the Oxford Group during the second half of the 1930s, the Group's principles and practices heavily influenced the development of the 12 steps published in AA's so-called 'Big Book', *Alcoholics Anonymous* in 1939.

However, the book was also shaped by other influences (William James and Carl Jung, amongst others, are referenced) and, significantly, by the attempt of the early membership of AA to prevent aligning the fellowship with any specific religion (Cook, 2006; Dick, 1992; Kurtz, 1991 [1979]; Makela et al., 1996; Morgan and Jordan, 1999). The Preamble of *Alcoholics Anonymous* explicitly states 'AA is not allied to any sect, denomination, politics, organisation or institution' (<http://www.alcoholics-anonymous.org.uk/>). Cook et al. (2010: 141) point out that one of the legacies of the influence of William James on the fellowship was an ingrained 'wariness' of organized religion, and this is also reflected in the vigorously defended

independence of the fellowships, which are financially self-supporting and do not accept large donations or bequests, so they cannot be linked to any outside agendas – be that religious, political or the addictions treatment professions.

Thus at a very early stage the 12 steps were understood as ‘spiritual’ and not ‘religious’. Often quoted in meetings (and variously attributed) is the claim that ‘religion is for people who are afraid of going to hell, spirituality is for people who have been there’. This non-religious spirituality was, even in the early days, highly individual, completely non-denominational and extra-institutional, but unquestionably essential. Although the words ‘God’ and ‘Him’ appear frequently in the text of *Alcoholics Anonymous*, the reader is invited to substitute the concepts of ‘Higher Power’, ‘Power greater than themselves’, ‘God of their understanding’ and to develop their own meaning of this power.

Wilson, who had undergone a sudden, identifiably Christian, religious experience, modified his views about the need for religion. In AA’s *Twelve Steps & Twelve Traditions* (1952) he wrote:

First, AA does not demand that you believe in anything. . . . I must quickly assure you that AAs tread innumerable paths in their quest for faith. . . . You can if you wish, make AA itself your ‘higher power’. . . (pp. 25–7)

As the membership grew, it became apparent that most do not have a dramatic ‘spiritual experience’, but rather a gradual ‘spiritual awakening’, also described as a ‘psychic’ or personality change. After the first printing of *Alcoholics Anonymous* in 1939, ‘spiritual experience’ was substituted by ‘spiritual awakening’ in Step 12 and Appendix II was inserted into the second and subsequent printings and editions (1955, 1976, 2001) to acknowledge this fact. Appendix II concludes:

Most emphatically we wish to say that any alcoholic capable of honestly facing his [*sic*] problems in the light of our experience can recover provided that he does not close his mind to all spiritual concepts. He can only be defeated by an attitude of intolerance or belligerent denial. We find that no one need have difficulty with the spirituality of the program. (pp. 567–8)

Nonetheless, in the AA publication *Came to Believe* (1973) which gives individual AA members’ accounts of their spiritual journeys and how they found or re-discovered the God of their understanding, the language used is largely explicitly religious.

With the formation of many other Anonymous Fellowships during the second half of the 20th century, the spirituality of their TSPs developed

without the direct influence of the Oxford Group or the founder members of AA. The Narcotics Anonymous *Basic Text* (1982), for example, suggests that members choose an understanding of a 'Higher Power' that is loving and caring and greater than themselves (p. 24). First formed in California in 1953, NA grew rapidly in the 1970s. The 12 steps used are identical to those of AA, other than the substitution of 'our addiction' for 'alcohol' in step one.

Al-Anon, known as Al-Anon Family Groups, was formed in 1951 by Lois Wilson, wife of the co-founder of AA, for the relatives and friends of alcoholics. The 12 steps of Al-Anon (and Al-Ateen) are identical to the steps of AA. Families and friends are able to find support, empathy and a release from the isolation that alcoholism and denial bring to family members, and many members work the steps in recognition that they too have become affected by and played a part in what is understood to be a family illness.

Overeaters Anonymous, founded in 1960, provides a similar TSP and fellowship for those with food problems, including binge-eaters, bulimics and anorexics. Anorexics and Bulimics Anonymous (ABA) was developed in the 1990s to provide a different focus from OA, whose first step admits powerlessness over food. ABA's step one admits powerlessness over 'insane eating practices'.

Co-dependents Anonymous is a fellowship for those wishing to develop healthy relationships. In CoDA the first step reads 'We admitted we were powerless over *others*, that our lives had become unmanageable'. There are dozens more anonymous fellowships or mutual aid groups which base themselves to a greater or lesser extent on the 12 steps of AA, and focus on a different substance or behaviour. All are entirely unaffiliated with each other. However, they all hold in common the same dynamic summarized in steps one to three, that the individual is powerless, and that to achieve abstinence and sanity, a Higher Power must be sought.

The Minnesota-based giant of the treatment industry, Hazelden, was founded in 1949. The 'Minnesota Model' has dominated the discourse on contemporary recovery and spirituality for the last few decades. It has sold more than four million copies of Melody Beattie's (1987) *Co-dependent No More* and, through other publications, it has attempted to make the 12-step programme more accessible to women (Covington, 1994) and 'skeptics' (Phillip, 1990).

The Higher Power Project

The HPP draws on literature from the field of Religious Studies to question clear distinctions between the categories of religion and non-religion, such as studies by Davie (1994, 2002), Tacey (2004), Heelas et al. (2005) and

Lynch (2007), all of whom suggest in different ways that a new late-modern, postmodern or post-secular language of spirituality has been emerging. The HPP is a qualitative project with a constructivist approach which seeks to map the nature of the language of spirituality and Higher Power used in TSFs and other settings in which TSPs are used, against the backdrop of these responses to secularization theory. Phase one, which involved a year-long period of field research in both residential treatment and TSF settings, and the direct participation of 15 graduates of a UK-based 12-step treatment centre, is now complete and phase two is about to commence. This phase will extend the project for participation by members of TSFs, and those from other 12-step treatment backgrounds.

Phase one participants were recruited at treatment centre reunions and, during the period April–November 2012, responded to comprehensive questionnaires and 30-minute semi-structured interviews on the subject of their construction of a concept of ‘Higher Power’ and other spiritual aspects of their recovery. The participants have been clean and sober for between 15 months and 15 years, say they use the TSP principles in their lives and are (or in one case have been) active in their respective fellowships. All worked the steps initially in the treatment centre, all have a daily discipline (steps 10–12) and most continue to work with sponsors and sponsees. As with any small-scale qualitative study, findings (which will be published in detail elsewhere) cannot be taken as representative of those in 12-step recovery, and must be seen in their own terms.

The spiritual approach

Most participants’ responses indicated that the foundational concept for a spiritual approach to addiction is that of powerlessness. If addicts concede they are genuinely powerless over the substance or behaviour, then they must (logically, it seemed to them) despair of personal willpower and seek the power to remain abstinent outside of themselves. The 12 steps explicitly identify this power as God (in step three – ‘Made a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of God as we understood him’), but leave the interpretation of the term ‘God’ up to the individual. The 12-step literature and the ‘interpretive community’ (Fish, 1976) of the fellowships make suggestions for functional interpretations of the term God for the non-theistic of whatever stamp. Thus ‘Group of Drunks’, ‘Group of Druggies’, ‘Good Orderly Direction’ or ‘Gift of Despair’ – can function as ‘God’. Several participants in the HPP used these terms, and some were keen to distance themselves from religion. Jill said, ‘I don’t need to go to church’. Ian said, ‘I’m pleased to say I’ve been able to separate God from religion [. . .] it’s not

the archetypal fellow with the white robe, the grey beard and the halo over his head and all that shit’.

A crucial element of the spiritual approach, however, is the despair of self-will, an experience which came through strongly in personal accounts. It might reasonably be argued that if powerlessness is not experienced, and also acknowledged, there is no need for power, and thus no need for a spiritual programme of recovery. In this respect, the 12-step approach echoes the spiritual or mystical structure of several religious traditions in which introspection and despair of self, or ‘the dark night of the soul’, as exemplified by the experiences of for example, St John of the Cross (May, 2004), result in a spiritual vision of the path or of ultimate reality. Furthermore, it resonates with the kind of apophatic language found in mystical traditions. David said, ‘I don’t really talk about my Higher Power with other people. Part of this is because I cannot really articulate clearly what my High Power is but it is important to me and so I don’t want to debate it’. Though it falls short of medicalizing the problem, the 12-step approach also broadly accords with disease models of addiction, in that it recognizes that the behaviour of the addict in addiction is beyond their control, and it is not best understood as insufficient willpower, but as a condition *beyond all reach* of individual willpower.

Those who attend 12-step meetings may or may not decide to ‘work the programme’. Some participants in the HPP said they remained abstinent simply by attending meetings. Others said the quality of their abstinence is progressively more secure and their life is enhanced by a more personal and sustained engagement with the 12 steps. Working the programme usually meant asking an experienced member to act as a sponsor, or guide, through the 12 steps, and expending effort in applying the steps meaningfully to their own life situations. Underlying the steps is the assumption that what is variously termed ‘a psychic change’, a ‘personality change’, or a spiritual awakening must occur for the person who was in the past unable to stop the addictive using or behaviour, to become someone (sufficiently different) who no longer requires the substance or behaviour. Thus TSPs are understood as programmes of ‘change’.

Jill (18 months sober) said, ‘I feel that my spiritual awakening is more gradual rather than a flash. It is more about feeling better about myself, being able to relate to other people in a kinder way and starting to feel more at peace within myself’.

Interpretations of the nature of that change are many and varied. In this respect TSPs dovetail closely with the assumptions of CBT, Motivational Interviewing, and more general therapeutic notions of cognitive and behavioural change, and emotional management. For these participants, crucial to

long-term and progressively secure recovery is the engagement of the recovering person with the addict or alcoholic who is 'still suffering'. This is known in the academic literature on AA as 'AA helping' (AAH) (Pagano et al., 2012). Members are invited to take up positions of responsibility for limited periods of time. Time limitations are in place so that individuals and their personal interpretations of the TSP do not become associated with positions. This guards against abuses of power, and safeguards both the individual and the wider fellowships. However, service positions are foundational to 12-step recovery. They may range from being responsible for refreshments, to chairing meetings, 'sharing' in meetings, and providing representation within the service structure from group level to regional, 'conference' or 'board' level. Service may also involve the 'sponsorship' of others. This is the development of a particularly close relationship characterized by honesty and straight-talking. It is sometimes described as more than and different from friendship, though some prefer the term 'friend' to sponsor. The sponsor is usually someone with significant clean time and experience of working all the 12 steps. That individual is willing to freely share their experience with the newcomer, and offer guidance on how the newcomer may work the steps in her own life. The norm is for women to help women and men to help men, though in this as well as other aspects of TSF organization there are no rules, only powerfully regulating group norms. The sponsor–sponsee relationship may be understood as a spiritual friendship, models for which can be found in many of the world's religious traditions (for example, the idea of 'mitra' in Buddhism). Being a sponsor (or a sponsee) is a significant time commitment, and it can be an emotional journey. Good boundary maintenance is important for sponsors, who may only share their own experience of working the steps, not provide formal counselling (beyond that of friendship) or other guidance or advice that would be best provided by professionals. However, the relationship is reported by HPP participants to be as profoundly life-changing and recovery supporting for the sponsor as it is for the sponsee. Providing service in these ways is understood as 'giving it away to keep it'. Huw said, 'My wish to help another drunk is the key to my spiritual wellbeing'.

Recovery is seen as a daily 'spiritual reprieve' contingent on maintaining 'a fit spiritual condition' (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001 [1957]: 85). TSPs tend, though not exclusively, to see recovery as a process, rather than as an event. The individual addict or alcoholic is understood to be 'in remission' rather than 'cured'. The task of those in TSPs of course is to attain arrestment of the 'active' part of their illness, and this is seen by most as a daily issue. Thus people 'working' the 12 steps tend to have a 'daily programme' which is likely to be highly individual. For the HPP

participants, it involved an awareness of the presence of their addiction and that today they have a choice not to use drink/drugs/behaviours with the help of their Higher Power. For some, it involved consciously developing a sense of gratitude for not having used today and for other positive aspects of life and trying to help the addict who is 'still suffering'. Some talk of 'ego-deflation' or of trying to live less selfishly. A daily programme might include attention to service responsibilities, sharing in a meeting, or speaking to another addict on the phone. As recovery becomes progressively more secure, the amount of time these aspects of a daily programme take out of the addict or alcoholic's day may diminish, but experienced members said that they can never fall away completely, as the reprieve from addiction contingent on a good spiritual condition remains just as much a day-at-a-time condition for the long-time clean or sober person as it does for the 'newcomer'.

The transformation that takes place for individuals and families when someone embarks on recovery from addiction using the 12 steps impacts heavily on those lives in many different ways. The family may feel that their loved one is spending too much time on recovery matters, in meetings, and working with others, and may struggle to understand the nature of the personal and spiritual transformation that has occurred. The supportive role of the well-informed social or health worker may be crucial here.

Arguments against the need for a spiritual approach

Alternative treatment modalities and recovery organizations are growing in number, and the 12-step or spiritual approach is now one amongst many, and often criticized by other organizations. It is important to note that 12-step fellowships are not professional organizations. Membership, defined by the individual claiming membership by attending, not defined by the group, requires no subscription or fee. Members make voluntary contributions only. So unlike most other forms of treatment, the 12-step fellowships have no financial interest whatever in self-promotion, whereas many of their critics do have pecuniary vested interests. This context notwithstanding, important criticisms of the 12-step fellowships' emphasis on spirituality revolve around four key issues.

- 1) That 12-step spirituality is a thin veneer for what is in fact religion.
- 2) That 12-step spirituality is inherently disempowering for women.
- 3) That 12-step spirituality is inherently exclusive to non-Judeo-Christian or post-Christian views of the world.

- 4) That the casting of the problem as a 'spiritual illness with a spiritual solution' is a) to further judge and stigmatize the alcoholic or addict, or b) to perpetuate the sense of powerlessness over the problem, thus allowing it to remain in place.

The first criticism, that 12-step spirituality is a thin veneer for what is in fact religion is an important one, made by Bufe (1998), Peele et al. (2000) and others. Whilst the Preamble strongly asserts the independence from organized religion, someone attending a meeting for the first time might remark on the contradiction between this assertion and the frequent references to 'God' and 'prayer', and if that weren't confusing enough, meetings usually end with those present (unless they object) holding hands to say (in the Europe, Australia and New Zealand) the Serenity Prayer or (in the US) the Lord's Prayer. Rudy and Greil (1989) argued that AA must maintain an 'atmosphere of transcendence' and a 'total worldview' if it is to be effective, but at the same time it needs to be broad enough not to alienate, and furthermore it needs to preserve this tension. For this reason they argue it is best described as a *quasi-religion*. This assessment needs to be qualified by the fact that individuals are not turned away from TSPs for having the 'wrong beliefs', and many agnostics and atheists claim to follow TSPs (Frank, 2012).

The second criticism, that twelve-step spirituality is inherently disempowering for women, comes from four distinct perspectives. First, the patriarchal language of the literature, especially in Alcoholics Anonymous, is undoubtedly oppressive, and very much reflects the language of the 1930s in which it was written. The central organizations are more conservative in their attitudes to preserving their 'sacred' texts in their 'original' form than are many religions (Brown, 2010). Second, the religious language which runs through especially the main text of *Alcoholics Anonymous* is patriarchal religious language. God is male (and as Davis and Jansen [1998: 172] put it, probably 'suspiciously white' as well), and is referred to as 'Father'. That said, one of the HPP participants, Ben said, 'I describe God in the feminine because my concept of "life giver" is exclusively purported to the feminine of all species'.

The third problem centres on the concept of powerlessness. Central to TSPs understanding of the problem and its solution is that the individual will not recover until she first accepts her own powerlessness over the behaviour or substance. For many women the experience of addiction is associated with experience of abuse, from childhood, and/or in the context of their substance use, and the baseline experience of womanhood is one of relative disempowerment. Thus to be told that they must yet again be powerless, surrender and become dependent on something outside of themselves

is perceived as perpetuating their victimhood, and felt to be anti-feminist. Whilst the critique is powerful, it fails to acknowledge the profound empowerment brought about by subsequent recovery if it is achieved. Furthermore, women using TSPs develop their own responses to this issue. For example, HPP participant Jill describes the use of literature outside of the so-called 'approved' literature of the fellowships:

[. . .] I think that the 'Twelve Steps for Women' [she is referring to Covington, 1994] um it sort of introduces a more loving God a more feminine God [. . .] rather [. . .] rather than this more sort of [p] powerful judgmental God that women have been sort of um powerless and hopeless and th[. . .]that's not possibly the best approach to feel tha[. . .]that we've got no power and God's got all the power.

The fourth perspective encompasses all the others, and this is that (second wave) feminists argue that TSFs cannot be apolitical, since any organization which is not committed to the uplift of women is necessarily complicit in the patriarchal superstructure which oppresses them. Jolene M. Sanders's monograph *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous: Recovery and Empowerment* (2009) argues cogently that contrary to the assumptions of second wave critiques, women in AA exhibit higher levels of feminist indicators than in the population generally, and that 'both collective and individual empowerment is beyond doubt a primary outcome of participation in the twelve-step programme of AA' (p. 134).

The third major criticism of the spirituality of TSPs is that they are exclusive to a Judeo-Christian, or at best a post-Christian cultural context. They have certainly fared better in those cultural contexts than in Islamic contexts (Makela, 1991). Related to this criticism is that the three-fold disease understanding of addiction does not properly acknowledge the social dimensions considered to be features of addiction in populations who experience oppression, such as First Nation peoples. Spirituality amongst these groups is constructed differently from that of dominant cultures. For this and other reasons TSPs may be entirely inappropriate, or require modifying, in such contexts (Hillhouse and Fiorentine, 2001; Navarro et al., 1997; Westermeyer, 1990).

The fourth major criticism – that the spiritual illness concept both stigmatizes and encourages complicity in remaining 'ill' comes largely from the direction of the range of other treatment modalities available. Rational Recovery and Intuitive Recovery argue that the disease concept is a 'get-out' which enables the addict to fail to face up to responsibility for her actions (see websites for both organizations). In their view, the TSP approach of remaining in a fit spiritual condition to effect a daily reprieve from addiction, causes inevitable relapse which can be blamed on, or excused by, a

failure of spiritual practice on that particular day. Both these treatment modalities advocate the once-and-for-all silencing of the 'beast' of addiction, and for them it is not a spiritual but a mental and a moral issue. Comparison of efficacy is problematic because the self-selecting nature of all such groups results in sample bias. However, it seems likely that different treatment modalities would be appropriate for people with different experiences of addiction and different recovery preferences, and some recovery organizations are indeed growing at fast rates and demonstrating at least short-term success. As well as secular organizations which object to the 12-step spiritual approach, there are religious organizations which see the non-sectarian commitments of the 12-step approach as likewise limiting for their communities. Kelly and White (2012) argue cogently for a proliferation of forms of mutual aid groups to reflect the diversity of the population in need.

Conclusion

Whilst many factors are considered in referral or advice given to service users, potential efficacy over cost is inevitably important, and TSPs (because they are free through the fellowships) deliver in that respect for many people, formally religious or not. As well as being free, they are highly accessible and developing ever more sophisticated virtual/electronic presences. Moos and Timko (2011) summarize efficacy research stating that:

findings show that individuals with SUDs [Substance Use Disorders] who regularly attend and become involved in 12-step groups tend to experience better substance use and quality of life outcomes than individuals who do not participate in these groups. (p. 524)

Laudet (2003) and others see the perceived religious nature of TSP as amongst the reasons for a reluctance to refer. Data emerging from the HPP suggests that claiming TSPs *are* religious, or alternatively, that they are *not* religious is inadequate, and a new language of 'negotiated spirituality' must emerge to better reflect the self-reported spirituality of those involved. The participants in the project describe the autonomous and personal 'construction' of a Higher Power which 'works for them', drawing on resources found within the fellowships, but also outside of the fellowships in popular culture, traditional or new/progressive spirituality, and within themselves and their own experiences. In the light of this, social workers may consider raising awareness of the resources of TSPs, thereby offering services users greater choice. TSPs resonate with what Mel Gray (2008) describes as 'ecospiritual social work' which re-emphasizes social work's communitarian roots. Thus

sensitive to the demands and features of TSPs, and to their spiritual dimensions, social workers can help reassure recovering individuals and their families, and ease their transition to a recovery orientated life.

Websites

Al-Anon-Alateen: <http://www.al-anon.alateen.org/>
Alcoholics Anonymous World Services: <http://www.aa.org/>
Anorexics and Bulimics Anonymous: <http://aba12steps.org/>
Co-dependents Anonymous (CODA) UK: <http://www.coda-uk.org/>
Intuitive Recovery: <http://www.intuitiverecovery.com/>
Rational Recovery: <https://rational.org/>
Smart Recovery: <http://www.smartrecovery.org.uk/>
Secular Organizations for Sobriety: <http://www.cfiwest.org/sos/index.htm>
Narcotics Anonymous: <http://www.na.org/>
Overeaters Anonymous World Services: <http://www.oa.org/>
Women for Sobriety: <http://womenforsobriety.org/>
UK Recovery Federation: <http://www.ukrf.org.uk/>

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Note

1. In the literature TSF is the acronym for 12-step ‘facilitation’. Here it used as an acronym for 12-step fellowships (also known as Anonymous Fellowships).

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