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Social work in the Revolution: Political agency and intervention of social workers in the democratic transition in Portugal (1974-1975)

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Doutoramento em Serviço Social/Doctorate in Social Work

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Departamento de Ciência Política e Políticas Públicas, CIES-IUL
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Cover image: poster “A poesia está na rua II” (“Poetry is on the street II”), Helena Vieira da Silva, 1975. Reproduction of the original work retrieved from Harpad Szenes-Vieira da Silva Foundation at http://fasvs.pt/. The poster is part of a series celebrating the April 25 1974 Revolution edited by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

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Bem-hajam.

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Abstract

This study, framed as an article dissertation consisting of four independent peer-reviewed scientific publications and a summary report, examines the participation of social workers in the transition to democracy in Portugal following the 25 April 1974 Revolution. That transition was marked by radical political, social, and economic changes, particularly during the 1974-75 PREC (Revolutionary Process Under Way) period. Knowing and understanding the impacts of the Revolution in Portuguese social work and the contribution social workers made to the PREC constitute the general subject and aim of this research. In particular, it implies responding to how social workers connected to the political opportunities opened by the revolutionary transition to affirm an overtly politically engaged practice and to what extent it corresponded to radical social work forms.

The Political Opportunity Structures perspective taken from social movements theories and 1960s and 1970s radical social work proposals from the UK, the USA and Latin-America constituted the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study, underpinned by a constructionist approach. Qualitative methods were used to collect and analyse data. A set of 14 biographic interviews with social workers and archival documental information constituted the empirical basis of the research. Qualitative data analysis was done through categorial content and narrative analysis, supported by Portuguese social work historiographic literature and international radical social work publications.

The results confirm previous claims that the PREC was not a definite moment of rupture regarding traditional, conservative and politically-neutral social work conceptions, but the confirmation of a series of intentions of rupture that started to take place prior to the Revolution. The results also state that: professional radical engagement and social workers' political activism were not impediments to professional identity neither did they cause professional disaffiliation; participation in revolutionary initiatives contributed to politicise professional practice; social workers´ experiences alongside the revolutionary fronts did conform to radical social work, without originating from or leading to an organic radical professional movement, though.

Key-words: Revolution, radical social work, political activism, history of social work, social movements

Resumo

Este estudo, consistente com o formato de compilação de artigos científicos (quatro artigos publicados em revistas científicas com revisão de pares), examina a participação de assistentes sociais na transição democrática que ocorreu em Portugal a seguir à Revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974. Transição essa pautada por mudanças políticas, sociais e económicos radicais, especialmente durante o período do PREC (Processo Revolucionário em Curso). Conhecer e compreender os impactos dessa Revolução no serviço social português e o contributo de assistentes sociais ao longo do PREC constituem os objetivos centrais desta pesquisa. Em particular, procura-se perceber como os/as assistentes sociais afirmaram abertamente práticas politicamente engajadas (interagindo com as oportunidades políticas abertas pela transição revolucionária) e de que modo tal engajamento correspondeu a formatos de serviço social radical.

Para o quadro teórico e conceptual recorreu-se às teorias dos movimentos sociais, em particular à perspectiva das Estruturas de Oportunidade Política e às propostas do Serviço Social Radical dos anos 1960 e 1970 com origem no Reino Unido, Estados Unidos e América Latina, numa abordagem inscrita no paradigma construcionista.. A pesquisa recorreu a métodos qualitativos para a recolha e tratamento da informação. A base empírica consistiu em 14 entrevistas biográficas com assistentes sociais, complementadas com documentação arquivística. O tratamento dos dados qualitativos fez-se através de análise de conteúdo categorial e análise narrativa, teórica e concetualmente suportadas por literatura historiográfica de serviço social português e publicações de serviço social radical internacional.

Os resultados confirmam que o PREC não constituiu um momento de rotura com o serviço social tradicional, conservador e politicamente neutro, senão a confirmação de intenções de rotura que se vinham evidenciando antes da Revolução. Também se afirma que o engajamento radical e ativismo político de assistentes sociais não são impeditivos da identidade nem causadores de desfiliação profissional; que a participação em iniciativas revolucionárias contribuiu para politizar a prática profissional; que as experiências de assistentes sociais nas frentes revolucionárias corresponderam a formatos de serviço social radical, embora não tenham partido de nem originado movimentos orgânicos radicais na profissão.

Palavras-chave: Revolução, serviço social radical, ativismo político, história do serviço social, movimentos sociais

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List of acronyms

CDE – *Comissão Democrática Eleitoral* (Electoral Democratic Commission)

CERCIS – Cooperative for the Education and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children

CEUD – *Comissão Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática* (Electoral Commission of Democratic Unity)

CGTP-IN – *Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses* (Inter-Union General Confederation of Portuguese Workers)

EEC – European Economic Community

HDF – Housing Development Fund (*Fundo de Fomento da Habitação*)

IFAS – *Instituto da Família e Acção Social* (Institute of Family and Social Action)

IRA – *Instituto de Reorganização Agrária* (Institute of Agrarian Restructuring)

ISSSC – *Instituto Superior de Serviço Social de Coimbra* (Coimbra's Higher Institute of Social Service)

ISSSL – *Instituto Superior de Serviço Social de Lisboa* (Lisbon's Higher Institute of Social Service)

ISSSP - *Instituto Superior de Serviço Social do Porto* (Porto's Higher Institute of Social Service)

LARM – Latin-American Reconceptualisation Movement

MES – *Movimento de Esquerda Socialista* (Socialist Left Movement)

MFA – *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (Movement of the Armed Forces)

MOFA – *Movimento dos Oficiais das Forças Armadas* (Movement of the Officers of the Armed Forces)

NASW – National Association of Social Workers

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

PCP – Portuguese Communist Party

POS – Political Opportunity Structure

PREC – *Processo Revolucionário em Curso* (Revolutionary Process Underway)

RB – Revolutionary Brigades (*Brigadas Revolucionárias*)

RQ – Research Questions

RSW – Radical Social Work

SAAL – *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local* (Local Mobile Support Service)

SNPSS – *Sindicato Nacional dos Profissionais de Serviço Social* (National Union of Social Service Professionals)

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

USA – United Stated of America

Foreword

This doctoral research, presented in the form of a compilation of articles/summary article, is the result of a cotutelle agreement between two Universities from different countries, each having specific norms regarding the organisation of academic texts. Whenever feasible, the terms of that agreement were followed. Thus, the designation of this text as *summary article* corresponds to the term agreed in the cotutelle document. However, considering that the afore-mentioned agreement does not establish a rule for the formal organisation of the summary article's text, the option fell on ISCTE-IUL's norms (the institution designated to host the public defence). According to ISCTE-IUL's norms, unlike JYU's, the Introduction and Conclusion parts of doctoral dissertations (doctoral research summary articles included) are not considered chapters, therefore, they are not numbered. In order to comply with JYU's evaluation parameters, besides the mandatory English and Portuguese abstracts established in ISCTE-IUL's norms, a Finnish summary (*Tiivistelmä*) is added to this summary article.

Introduction

Social work is a fundamentally ambiguous and conflict-ridded activity which it is difficult to define or describe in a way which outsiders can easily understand.
Simpkin (1979, p. 1)

This research focus on a specific moment of Portuguese social work history, the years 1974-1975, when the country underwent radical political, social and economic changes that would set the scenery for the future to come until the present-day. That moment was conceived as a Revolution and, like many other revolutions, it was made of struggles, political battles, social conflicts, utopian hopes, enthusiasm and expectations of change. The impacts of the Revolution in Portuguese social work and the latter's contribution to the revolutionary process constitute the general subject of this doctoral research.

The Portuguese 25 April 1974 Revolution and the ensuing 20-month Revolutionary Process Underway (commonly referred to by the Portuguese acronym PREC)[1] constituted the transitional stage from an almost 50-year-old dictatorship to what came to be Portugal's present constitutional democracy (Rezola, 2008). A transition that was marked by widespread social mobilisation in connection to a socialist revolutionary project. The revolutionary phase ensured people (industrial workers, rural workers, service workers, civil servants, the disenfranchised, and so on) the right to have their voices heard out loud, mainly through free and invigorated trade labour unionism and social movements (Varela, 2014).

Portuguese social work historiography offers relevant information on the participation of social workers in multiple revolutionary fronts and evidence of social workers participating actively in support of revolutionary initiatives appears scattered in literature (mainly produced in the framework of sociological and contemporary history and anthropological production). Despite the body of knowledge about the relation between social work and the Revolution produced in the 1990s, it tended to become a peripheral subject in social work's scientific research in Portugal. Furthermore, with the exception of Negreiros' (1999) doctoral thesis, the existing historiography on social work's connections with revolutionary social mobilisations lacked analytical inputs from social movements theories. The idea that some advances to previous historical research could be done led to the design of this doctoral project. Besides synthesising the results that stemmed from the published articles and presenting the overarching research questions (RQ) of the study, this summary article delivers a socio-historical contextualisation, a more detailed description and discussion of the methodological options, and an integrated view of the theoretical and conceptual frame used to analyse data. This frame is used to expand the analysis and interpretation of findings and results and advance key conclusions.

[1] In Portuguese, PREC stands for *Processo Revolucionário em Curso*.

Exploring and understanding social workers' role in the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Portugal, particularly during the 1974-75 revolutionary process, constitutes the main aim of this research. An initial – yet unremitting – question guided this study: what was the impact of the revolutionary transition in the affirmation of the profession's political engagement with progressive values? Proceeding from that overarching question, four specific questions arose:

1. How was social workers' involvement in the revolutionary transition – what cases and situations represent social workers' revolutionary commitment?
2. How did the dynamics of the revolution prompted radical changes in Portuguese social work and what contribute did social workers had in sustaining the revolutionary transition?
3. To what extent did the experiences of Portuguese social workers in the revolutionary process conform to radical social work (RSW)?
4. How commitment to revolutionary initiatives reflected on the professional identity of social workers?

To address these questions, political opportunity structure (POS) proposals from social movements theories were used.[2] The POS tends to situate the analysis on the structural dimensions and political processes that nurture collective mobilization (Opp, 2009). Within this theoretical tradition, Tarrow's (2011) proposals were particularly useful, considering its emphasis on the relation between social mobilization and political transition, highlighting the relation between the powers and forces operating at the level of central political decision and the movements and actors that dwell in the base. Accordingly, changes in the political system give socio-political actors – institutional or non-institutional – opportunities to assert claims, create solidarities, define strategies of contention which may open the way to collective mobilization, hence achieving representation that was previously limited or denied (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

RSW from Latin-America, the USA and the UK, particularly the movements that were formed there in the 1960s and 1970s, provides the conceptual frame to address the Portuguese radical experience. That conceptual framework helps recognise and interpret the eminent political, transformative and emancipatory features of social workers' participation in Portugal's revolutionary transition. The intention is not to establish any causal rapport between those international RSW movements and Portuguese social work, but to use it as a conceptual lens for a better understanding of Portuguese social workers' interventions in the revolutionary turn. Opting to take the British and USA RSW as part of the basic conceptual frame has to do with the fact that these arguably represent the most prolific centres of radical thinking in what can now be considered the Global North. Prolific not just in terms of published materials, but

[2] POS theorising was used in articles A2 and A3 (see below). The POS core concepts and principles are addressed in Chapter 2 and used to further interpret the results in Chapters 4 and 5.

also of radical mobilisation and organisation within the profession (Reisch & Andrews, 2002). The LARM is used, firstly, because it had an enormous historical footprint in Latin-America, constituting one of the most influential forces in the radical transformation of the profession in the continent, and foremost, because out of the international radical movements of that time, it had an impact on Portuguese social work (Martins & Tomé, 2016; Matos-Silveira, Silva, Martins, Carrara, & Perelló, 2020).[3]

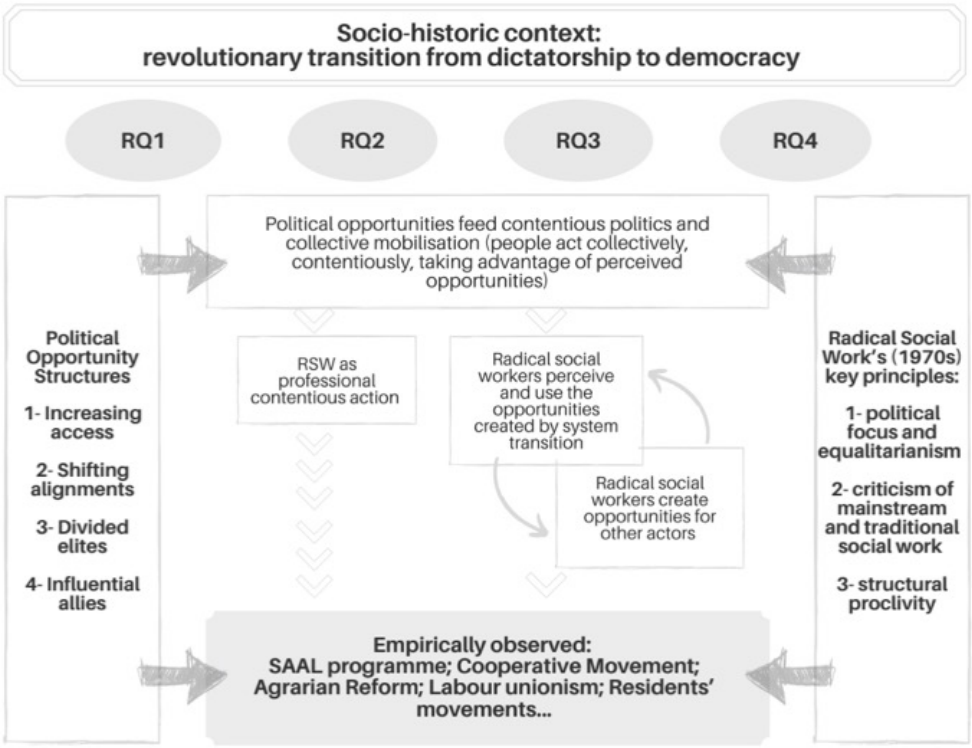
Eminently qualitative and inductive, this research departs from a constructionist approach, inserted in the tradition of social work history inquiry.[4] Although the research focus is set on a relatively short time span within the limits of a national context, a more comprehensive capture of the Portuguese social workers' participation in the revolutionary process implies situating it in larger diachronic and global perspectives, particularly, in the development of the RSW manifestations that sprouted all over western Europe, Australia, Latin and North America in the late 1960s and 1970s (Andrews & Reisch, 2002; De Maria, 1992; Langan, 2002; Mullaly, 1997; Netto, 2005; Steinacker & Sünker, 2009).

The social constructionist approach taken acknowledges the fact that research participants have a "grounded expertise about their own experience and that the researcher cannot and should not presume to know all the questions that are worth asking at the start of the research project" as Hardesty and Gunn (2017, p. 3) have suggested. It brings alterity to the core of scientific inquiry, as "different forms of information or understanding" (Witkin, 2012, p. 2) are to be valued by the researcher as part of the social constructionist endeavour. It also places the emphasis, as Charmaz (2008, p. 398) pointed out, on the "abstract understanding of empirical phenomena". In this research, the definition of the RQs did not derive from a pre-existing set of hypotheses bound to be tested so that latent causalities might be verified. Instead, they build on and highlight the inter-subjective nature of phenomena and its comprehension, prioritising questioning the *what* and the *how* (Charmaz, 2008).

[3] The Canadian (also referred to as *Structural*), the Australian and other radical (or *alternative*) social work traditions such as those that emerged in Germany or in the Nordic countries in the late 1960s and 1970s will not be focused. Regarding the German case, there is evidence of a critical movement in the late 1960s connected to anti-authoritarian and progressive currents. This movement, articulated with socialist radicals, far from being composed of isolated contentious groups, proposed a common alternative professional praxis (Steinaker, 2013). In Finland, the late 1970s and early 1980s also saw emancipatory approaches emerge, based on critical thinking led by social work academics, social workers placed in the social welfare ranks and social work students who struggled to increase users' participation in social services and policies' planning (Tapola-Haapola, 2014).

[4] The value of social work historical inquiry for the profession was recognised by authors like Bamford (2015), Burnham (2012), Fisher & Dybicz (1999), Gambrill (2012), Hauss, (2009), Hering & Waaldijk (2003), Leighninger (2008), Leskosek (2009), Lorenz (2007), Martin (1992; 1999), Reisch & Andrews (2002), Santos (2009b), Shaw (2016), Starkey (2016).

Figure 0.1 – Model of analysis



Source: Own elaboration

Inherent to the historical approach, the methodological design of the research combined oral history and documental search. In that combination, biographic methods and, in concrete, life stories, stood as the main data source. The documental sources consisted mainly of materials collected in the Lusíada University library archive and Porto's Higher Institute of Social Work (ISSSP) library. Porto's Municipal Library was also a site of documental search, particularly regarding sources on the development of revolutionary housing programmes like the Local Mobile Support Service (known in Portugal as SAAL, the acronym for *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local*). Recent developments in the digitalisation and public display of institutional historical archives allowed online access to the repository of *Ephemera*, the Mario Soares Foundation, the *Fundação Cuidar o Futuro – Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo* (Care for the Future Foundation – Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo) and the 25 April Documentation Centre. Personal archival documentation, especially in the form of student reports and assignments, was also made available by one interviewee. The literature on Portuguese social work history produced in the last four decades was also important, sometimes working as secondary source (besides providing theretical and conceptual formulations, it also referred events, facts, and persons related to the research subject and time-frame).

Oral sources constituted the empirical core of the research and 14 subjects were interviewd between 2016 and 2018. The methods and instruments used to analyse data consisted of categorial content anaysis and narrative analysis. The former integrated oral and documental sources in a coding framework that was both data- and concept-driven (Schreier, 2012). Narrative analysis was done at a final stage of the research. This strategy implied (re)reading all the interviewees' recorded and transcribed accounts regardless of the previous categorial analysis and coding. Those accounts were then read as plain texts (Frank, 2012) in search for *internal conversations* (Archer, 2003), *disruptive life events* (Riessman, 2001b), *biographic crisis* (Caetano, 2015; Lahire 2008), and reflexivity and identity (re)framing (Shaw & Holland, 2014).

The outputs of the research unfolded in the form of four scientific articles submitted to publication in social work-related international journals:

- *A1* (Article #1), 2018, Social workers in the Revolution: Social work's political agency and intervention in the Portuguese democratic transition (1974-1976), *International Social Work*, 61(3), 436-236;
- *A2* (Article #2), 2019, Radical experiences of Portuguese social workers in the vanguard of the 1974 Revolution, *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, 30(3), 239-259;
- *A3* (Article #3), 2019, The radical turn of Portuguese social work during the democratic transition (1974-76), *Critical and Radical Social Work*, 7(1), 7-23;
- *A4* (Article #4), 2020, The relevance of biographic narratives for social workers' professional memory, reflexivity and identity, *Qualitative Social Work, 20(5), 1374-1392*.

Table 0.1 provides a generic framework of the articles' thematic focuses, underlying questions and sources.

The first article contextualises the research, identifies its departing points, frames the existing research on the topic, and stresses the emergence of developing further research on Portuguese social work during the revolutionary transition (especially to avoid the growing risk of professional memory loss). While revealing the study's programme and introducing contextual elements, the first article addresses the first RQ by providing an overall charting (based on previous Portuguese historical research) of social workers' revolutionary involvement in the revolutionary transition.

If the first article offered an initial mapping of social workers' involvement in the revolutionary process, the second provided a more in-depth perspective looking into two specific revolutionary initiatives: the SAAL programme and the occupation of the Torre Bela private hunting estate. Together, they offer a valuable perspective of social work's participation in revolutionary vanguards and grass-roots initiatives as political opportunities appeared (Cerezales, 2003; Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007; Tarrow, 2011). The above-mentioned initiatives, besides showcasing social work's adhesion to the Revolution, unveil how those experiences collided with traditional representations of professional practice and identity.

Table 0.1 Articles' research questions and data

Article	Title	Research Questions	Data
#1	Social workers in the Revolution: SW's political agency and intervention in the Portuguese democratic transition (1974-1976)	Which situations and cases portray social work's political agency alongside the Portuguese revolutionary agenda?	Secondary sources (analysis of previous research on Portuguese SW and social history of the Revolution)
#2	Radical experiences of Portuguese social workers in the vanguard of the 1874 Revolution	How Portuguese social work took a radical turn in face of the existing structural setting – how practitioners and academy engaged with the revolutionary path (in collision with the canonical views of professional practice and identity)?	Interviews, private documental sources and secondary sources (as in article 1)
#3	The radical turn of Portuguese SW during the democratic transition (1974-76)	To what extent did the experiences of Portuguese social workers in the revolutionary process conform to radical social work?	Interviews and secondary sources (as in article 1)
#4	The relevance of biographic narratives for social workers' professional memory, reflexivity and identity	How the use of biographic methods allowed interviewees to re-capture, re-interpret and re-signify their experiences? How resorting to oral history can contribute to produce critical self-reflective accounts?	Interviews

Source: Own elaboration

The third article compares the involvement of Portuguese social workers in the revolutionary process with the conceptual frames laid by its contemporary Anglo-Saxon radical peers in order to establish the extent to which the Portuguese revolutionary experiences of social workers can be classified as radical social work. This possibility started to take form following the first doctoral seminars held in Portugal and in Finland, that prompted the inclusion of radical social work literature from the USA and the UK. As these readings accumulated, coincidences between those international radical social work tenets and the Portuguese social work experiences during the revolutionary process kept on pilling up. The challenge of comparing what, at first glance, could not be admitted to comparison (the UK and USA and Portugal[5]) demanded a comprehensive examination of the RSW movement stands and strands and its judicious use in the analysis of the Portuguese experiences. The concept and substance of the third article were discussed in two doctoral seminars in Portugal and in Finland and an improved draft was presented in an international social work research conference before submitting it to publication. The article evidences the points in common and the pertinence of using radical social work concepts as a lens to further understand the

[5] A difficult comparison, considering the completely different social, economic and political contexts, disparate professional histories, diverse systems of social services provision and the fact that there were no evidences of any kind of interlocution between Portuguese social work and USA and UK radical professionals and academics. The interlocutions with international critical and RSW movements before and during the revolutionary phase identified in literature and referred to by informants in this research epitomise the Latin American Reconceptualisation Movement (LARM).

politically-engaged facet of Portuguese social work in the 1970s. It also sought to situate the Portuguese experiences and its radicality in the context of a larger international radicalisation of social work.

In the fourth and last article excerpts of interviews are used to illustrate processes of reflexivity and identity framing. It takes the biographic inquiry done in the framework of oral history research as an instrument capable of stimulating reflexive accounts and identity discourses. The article applies narrative analysis and uses concepts like critical reflection and reflexivity (D'Cruz, Gillingham, & Melendez, 2007), internal dialogues (Caetano, 2015) and biographic crisis (Lahire, 2008) to grasp the interviewees' (re)interpretation of their revolutionary experiences in the past. To do it, three examples were taken from the interviewee's sample (subjects #3, #5 and #9, Appendix E) to illustrate how that very same reflexivity and identity (re)framing emerged from biographic narratives. The article closes in on aspects that were signalled in the previous two publications addressing the identity issue, particularly the inner conflicts associated with the subjects' radical experiencing.

The structure of this summary article is divided in seven parts, including the Introduction and the Conclusion. Chapter 1 introduces the research design and the justification of the methodological options. In this chapter, strategies to accede oral sources and circumstances surrounding interview collection are also addressed, including a reflection on the limitations and constraints of the methodological choices taken and a discussion around ethical aspects of the research.

The option of initiating the summary article with a methodological section was intended to enable a better sequence between the theoretical, contextual and discussion parts. As such, this text flows from a larger international theoretical and conceptual debate to a socio-historical contextualization of Portuguese social work (1930s-1970s), and the discussion of social workers' participation in the revolutionary process in the 1970s. In that order, Chapter 2 offers the key theoretical frame to address the involvement of social workers in the revolutionary process and the conceptual base to understand that experience as *radical*.

Chapter 3 addresses the institutionalisation of the social work profession by the conservative, fascist-prone dictatorship. Going this far back in history is essential to understand the conservative, normative and social control features that marked Portuguese social work in its earliest days as a profession. Knowing that trajectory is also very important to contextualise the ruptures that started to appear within the professional milieu in the years that preceded the 1974 revolutionary events. This chapter also unfolds the steps that led to the Revolution, identifying its key institutional and political players and the role of social movements in the revolutionary process. In its final section, the chapter focuses on the transition from the revolutionary process to Constitutional democracy and on its impact on the profession.

Chapters 4 and 5 offer an integrated overview of the results expressed in the published articles. Rather than presenting a separate summary of each article, the results are addressed in an integrated way considering the axes of analysis opened by the POS theory and conceptual debates regarding RSW.

This summary-article finishes with a concluding section which provides the conclusions drawn from the results and its discussion, mentioning the study's limitations and possibilities for further research as well. The conclusion ends with a reflection on the meaning of revisiting the radical tradition vis-à-vis contemporary societal and political challenges faced by social work.

Chapter 1
Study design and methods

1.1. The historical research approach

Studying the role of social workers in the transition from dictatorship to democracy called for a qualitative research approach. This approach places social work research in the intersection with contemporary history. Considering the time frame of 1974-75, the possibility of combining documental and oral sources was envisioned as the suitable methodological option. The fact that many social workers' personal and collective experiences could be voiced first hand by the actors themselves (not forgetting the impending risk of that memory being lost) constituted a plausible reason to select the oral history approach. Since radical experiences during the transition period to constitutional democracy could not be understood based solely on that particular period, a more extended diachronic perspective was needed. That perspective was given through searching the development of the social work profession in the decades prior and immediately after the revolutionary events. To that purpose, the analysis of the existing published research offered valuable information to support the primary biographic sources collected in the field.

As stated in A4, biographies have been in use in social work research and in support of practice for many years. So far, they have had a significant place in the profession's historical research (Allen, 2008; Branco, 2010, 2015b; Carey, 2012; Salomon & Lees, 2004; Santos, 2009a). For Shaw and Holland (2014, p. 147), biographies can be considered "as sources of substantive knowledge about individual and group experiences, as being functional in creating and reproducing group identities and memories, as being produced in relationship to others and in having form as well as content". As such, collecting and analysing biographies can be both a means and an end in itself (Santos, 2009b): firstly, because they allow understanding larger historical processes within the profession from the social actors' personal and collective life experiences; secondly, they allow collecting, registering, safeguarding, storing and sharing valuable data regarding the collective memory of the profession, which can be used for further research. It should be noted that the first objective of this doctoral research was linked to the need to preserve professional collective memories through biographical inquiry.

According to Hering and Waaldijk (2003), resorting to biographic methods in social work research provides valuable empirical data that is useful for cross-country comparison. However, the same authors note, among the most distinctive aspects of the biographical approach is the possibility it offers to bring to the front stage of empirical research the voices of social actors who are usually left out of the grand historical narratives. That is, biographic methods can give prominence to minorities' lived experiences and discourses as well as acknowledge and further enable women's' narratives. Additionally, according to Gwilym (2019),

biographical inquiry and constructionist grounded theory make a good combination, resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of how personal political and ideological affiliations evolve, thus permitting a further grasp of social workers' political trajectories through the analysis of their biographies.

These arguments explain the inclusion and prominence of biographic inquiry in this research. The methodological design was, thus, intended to link the personal biographies and micro-histories of socio-political processes and events to the larger contextual circumstances and structural conditions, in what could be described as an attempt to connect micro-history to the socio-historical research tradition.[6] This methodological proposal dialogues with the critical tradition that has brewed in social work research for the past four decades and has had a major influence on the development of social work historical research (Fisher & Dybicz 1999). In fact, in the last decades, research emphasising the historical connections between professional stands and inherent contextual political systems has multiplied (Hauss, 2009). This circumstance has contributed to social work recognising, understanding and negotiating diversity within the profession (Lorenz, 2007) and its intertwining with external systems and forces.

In the methodological design, biographic methods were instrumental for concretising an oral history approach. The latter played an important role in filling in the gaps left by the historical literature based on macro documental research (Martin, 1995). The present research meant reaching social workers who had been engaged in the revolutionary process to collect their testimony as full actors of social and political change. Hence, reaching these individuals' professional, personal and political biographies served the purpose of shedding (more) light on this historical facet of the profession: social workers' radical and political commitment.

The methodological approach that was followed renounces to a Hegelian modernist type historiography (Hegel, 2001[1837]) fascinated by the study of the great achievements, leaderships and ruling powers (institutional and individual) that marked the relentless path of history. In its place, the proposed methodology aims to observe the experiences of diverse social actors, including those who stood in the shadow zones of mainstream historiography. This option dialogues with Lorenz's idea (2007, p. 609) that history is not only made by the "big names"; instead, he argued, it is "always a co-production by a variety of actors, some well-known, some totally unknown". Thompson's (2000) influence is evident here. The option to collect the voices of social workers and take their discourse as valid historical information

[6] The socio-historical tradition frames the evolution of the profession as the result of a continuous relationship between social workers (and their professional bodies) and the wider social, political and economic context, hence refusing to abide by an exclusively "endogenous" approach to the profession's historicity (Netto, 2013, p. 15). Latin American critical authors, reflecting the influence of Marxist thinking, provide good examples of social work's history research according to socio-historical analysis (e.g. Baptista, 2001; Eiras et al., 2017; Iamamoto, 2007; Netto, 2005; Yazbek, 2014). The works of Lorenz (1994), regarding the European continent, Reisch's and Andrews's (2002) for the USA or Martins' (2010) for Portugal hold much in common with that tradition.

confirms their status as full actors of social life. A status that has not always been acknowledged by the profession's historiography, often more preoccupied with registering the role of those organisations, policies and personalities that stood out (Burnham, 2012).[7] Furthermore, listening to what *common* social workers have to say about their lives, professional experiences, ideals, expectations, frustrations and enjoyments and recording it is vital to preserve the collective memory of the profession. This is especially salient considering that the large majority of these social actors have rarely left any written records (Reisch & Andrews, 1999).

The historical design of this research considered a threefold methodology of data collection: oral history, biographic methods and documental search. Once triangulated, the data collected through these three methods was expected to further complement the information and render its verification possible. The preparation of the semi-structured interview guides benefited from the exploratory collection of information that was available in the historical literature of Portuguese social work. The first interview took place in April 2016, although the bulk of the interviews occurred in the summer of 2016, the last one having been collected in April 2018 (Appendix F). Initially, the treatment of documental sources and biographic interviews consisted of a qualitative content analysis resorting to categorial analysis (see Appendix G). In this process, the data gathered from secondary and primary documental sources was analysed alongside with the interviews (data from distinct sources, both oral and documental, was treated using the same coding). This process led to the production of A2 and A3. At a later stage, the interviews were treated using narrative analysis, leading to the preparation of A4. The preparation of A1 was based on the analysis of historical literature on social work in Portugal during the dictatorship

[7] On this topic, Reisch and Andrews (2002, p. 3) blamed the dominant social work historiographies (regarding the USA) for inducing "historical amnesia", especially when it came to studying the influence of radical individuals, collectives and ideas on the profession. Chapman and Withers (2019) provide a very critical analysis of social work's standard accounts that tend to place the origins of the profession in England's charity organisations and settlement houses. Wagner (2005) revisited the history of poor relief institutions in the USA such as the poor-houses and poor farms. Lorenz's (1994) and Sünker and Otto's (1997) work on social work under Germany's national-socialism or Reisch and Andrews's (1999, 2002) research on the relation between organised social work and McCarthyism represent seminal efforts to disclose less joyous moments of the profession's history. More recently, Ferguson et al. (2018) exposed the *horrible histories* of social work. Some of these episodes were revisited on a recent number of Social Dialogue, the Magazine of the International Association of Schools of Social Work. In it, Harms-Smith (2020) called the attention to the historic role of social work in the enforcement of apartheid in South Africa; Herrero (2020) and Ioakimidis, Martinez, and Wyllie (2020) reflected on the role of social workers in Spanish Franco's dictatorship (Ioakimidis [2005, 2011] had previously studied social work's complicities with the Greek dictatorship); Ferguson (2020) discussed social work's involvement in inhuman psychiatric treatment; and Kuhlmann (2020) and Sünker (2020) readdressed social workers' role in Nazi eugenic policies in Germany. Other historical research focuses on the capacity of social workers to resist oppressive statutory intervention and take on political stands against repressive regimes. Regarding Portugal, Martins (2002, 2003, 2017) offers good examples of such research. Wieler's (2006), Lorenz's (2007) and Ferguson et al.'s (2018) writings on Irena Sendler show how, under highly risky conditions, social worker's individual initiative can contribute to save lives (and personal and familial memory) even in the most horrific conditions. Along the same lines, Arce (2020) gives clues about the taking of stands by social workers against Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile.

and on the revolutionary events. Transcription of interviews, coding, management and storage of data was done with the support of Nvivo software, although none of its embedded functions were used for analytical purposes.

Regarding a critical reflection on the sources used in this study, it should be stated that oral sources, like written documents, are not problem-free (Scott, 1990); they stand as eminently subjective resources at the hands of the researcher. Inaccurate data, omission (purposeful or not) and confusion (places, persons, events) are likely to happen when collecting oral sources (Thompson, 2000). Although objectivity is not the goal, dealing with reliable and, as much as possible, accurate information remains key to develop consistent analyses. The possibility of collecting biased information based on the participants' worldviews and ideological stands (Soydan, 2010) was an ever-present concern in this research. This issue becomes more relevant due to the prominent political character of the events under scrutiny. Because the reliability of the sources should not be taken for granted (Ritchie, 2003), collecting background information about the individuals and the contexts where they operated was done (namely, by searching previous studies that might apport pertinent information regarding the subjects' experience and by collecting information from professional peers in the exploratory stage of the research) alongside cross-checking with other sources (oral or documental) – a procedure associated with the already-mentioned triangulation.

1.2. Data collection

1.2.1. Documental sources

The historical archives of the ISSSL, the ISSSP and the former ISSSC were targeted as possible locations where documentation on the participation of social workers in the fronts of the revolutionary process could be found. The possibility of finding internal documents and inter-institutional correspondence exchange during the revolutionary phase was envisaged from the start. Also, it was expected to find students' works reflecting their apprenticeship and revolutionary activity, especially in the form of internship reports and degree conclusion works. However, that turned out to be an unfulfilled prospect, as the archives of the ISSSL containing documentation pertaining to this period were unavailable to researchers then. Unlike the ISSSL, the ISSSP archive was partly accessible (except for its institutional correspondence and documentation) and the surviving internship training reports and monographs from the 1960s and 1970s were available for consultation in the library. The downside was that the bulk of the archive on students' internship reports was permanently lost in the 1990s, a librarian informed.[8] Still, about 30 reports from the late 1960s and early 1970s had been saved. They

[8] On the importance of adopting and keeping a policy regarding the treatment, preservation and availability of social work's historical archives, especially by public agencies and academic institutions responsible for social work training, see Starkey (2016).

offered a clear view of the way community social work methods were being used by social work students in some of Porto's community centres, revealing intervention strategies that defied conservativism and promoted conscientising even under the dictatorial regime.[9] The search in the ISSSP archive also gave access to a few issues of the ISSSL's students' association magazine, *Intervenção Social* [Social Intervention]. One of these, published in September 1979, was dedicated to the residents' movements of the Revolution and the SAAL programme. Among the contributing authors were social workers and other SAAL's key participants. Another issue, dating back from April 1979, consisted of a special number dedicated to celebrating the April 25 Revolution. Consulting the archives of the former ISSSC, now integrated in Miguel Torga Higher Institute, in Coimbra, was initially planned to happen in 2016. However, as interviews accumulated, the information hoarded to a point where its handling for the purpose of processing the articles that were part of the publication plan started to become less viable. Hence, it was decided to invest more on the interviewing process, and, when possible and reasonable, try conducting the interviews in, at least, two separate sessions. Besides, some interviewees also contributed with personal documents, including copies of internship reports and class notes.

Archival search was also directed at extensive online repositories, gathering diverse documentation on the resistance against the dictatorship, the Revolution and the transition to democracy. That was the case of *Ephemera* archives, where information on the urban struggles was available, in particular bulletins by residents' commissions; of the *Fundação Cuidar o Futuro – Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo* (Care for the Future Foundation - Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo) archives, where early publications on community development in Portugal could be found; the *Mario Soares Foundation* archives, from where documentation on social work students' reaction to the authoritarian regime could be retrieved; the *Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril* archives, gathering data about the SAAL programme and workers' commissions and social workers' involvement in labourers' movements. A visit was paid to the archives of Porto Municipal Library, where documentation on the city's SAAL projects was available. Access to the archives of the former SNPSS, the social work union, was initially planned, but attempts to track its location proved unsuccessful. The search in these archives was mainly done in the first half of 2016.

1.2.2. Oral sources

Aligning with the constructionist paradigm, the present research had no wish to produce a generalisable set of results, nor was representativeness its major concern.[10] The idea was to

[9] One of the surviving internship reports was authored by a social work student who turned out to one of the interviewees in this research.

[10] Corbin's and Strauss's (2008, p. 26) perspective applies well here. Both authors agree, as I do, "concepts and theories are constructed by researchers out of stories that are constructed by research

look for individuals who could contribute with their voice and memory, presenting a dense, consistent, descriptive as well as critically reflective and reflexive narration of personal and inter-personal experiences.

The first exploratory contacts with Portuguese social work scholars and the existing historiographic literature pointed to a series of personalities, almost all of them well-known in the academic and professional milieu of social work. These were included in a first group of potential informants. Despite the fact that some had extensive publications and research in issues more or less related to the history of Portuguese social work and social policy, the substance of these publications was not of a biographical nature, nor did they explore personal experiences. But it still made sense to reach them, especially knowing from third-party information that some of these individuals had *interesting* experiences to report about their participation in the revolutionary process. Nonetheless, an initial concern pervaded the informants' selection strategy: avoiding focusing exclusively on individuals with an academic profile. The quest was to form a set of 12 to 20 interviewees who had willingly participated in the various revolutionary initiatives and programmes, whether or not their personal life trajectory had led them to attain relevant academic, political or professional positions. It was about seeking and listening to that "variety of actors, some well-known, some totally unknown" Lorenz (2007, p. 609) speaks about.

In order to expand the initial list of potential interviewees, a series of exploratory contacts with social work academics was established often through informal communication in conferences, meetings, and other unplanned encounters. A process of snowball or *strategic sampling* (Thompson, 2000) was in motion based on information found in documents, especially in documents referring to SAAL projects.[11] A first list of 10 potential interviewees was then obtained. Of those 10 names, seven were subjected to semi-structured interviews and one to an exploratory interview. Two individuals ended up not being interviewed (one did not respond to the contacts and another one passed away before the inquiry could be done). As a result of the interviews collected from this first group, 17 other potential subjects were suggested, of which seven agreed to be interviewed, two were subject to short informal interviewing, two died before the last round of oral inquiry was finished and two did not reply to the initial contact. No more interviews were made due to the saturation of information (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and the volume of qualitative data gathered was considered adequate to prepare the main outputs of the

participants who are trying to explain and make sense out of their experiences and/or lives, both to the researcher and themselves".

[11] The strategy to construct the sample and accede to the subjects reveals the influence the constructionist approach had on this research and its proximity to grounded theory. Snowball sampling, here, could be translated into what Thompson (2000) labelled as *strategic sampling*, a process he particularly ascribed to oral history. Strategic sampling is, the author claims, a way of circumventing the issues of representativeness and is based on creating an alternative to "standardized random battery samples" in the form of a "more tactical approach such as the 'theoretical sampling' advocated by Glaser and Anselm Strauss" (Thompson, 2000, p. 151). Such methodological and theory-building proposal echoes in Gwilym's (2019) work on the political biographies of social workers.

thesis and submit them to publication, i.e., the research articles. In the end, a total of 14 semi-structured in-depth biographic interviews were collected from April 2016 until April 2018 (12 women and one man).[12] There were doubts about including one of the interviewed subjects (interviewee #14, Appendix E) whose profile somehow broke the consistency of the sample, especially in view of her involvement in the revolutionary period having not been as a social worker. Nevertheless, her testimony ended up being considered and included in the main group of in-depth interviewees.[13] The eldest of the interviewees was born in 1942 and the youngest in 1955. The average age of the interviewees was, at the time of the inquiry, 69.4 years of age. Excluding more informal conversations and exploratory interviews, the total amount of biographical interviews reached 43 hours and 45 minutes. The longest interview lasted 10 hours and was conducted in two separate sessions, while the shortest took one hour and 15 minutes. The average interviewing time was slightly above three hours.

An initial contact via email or telephone was established with the subjects, informing them about the research's aims and clarifying the relevance of their testimony. In this earlier contact, subjects were also informed of the biographical feature of the interviews and were asked about the possibility of sharing personal archive documents. In this phase, scheduling of interviews (dates and time as well as venues) rested on the subjects' discretion. The issue of the identification of the informants was discussed in the beginning of the interviews. Once the first four interviewees showed their preference to having their testimony remain anonymous, it became the agreed rule from then on.

The preparation of the interview guides began in early 2016, considering the axes of analysis proposed initially in the research's design and project and the information that was being gathered from the literature. Given the biographic content of the interviews, a common structure of inquiry was devised to guarantee key biographical elements were collected regarding interviewees' dates and places of birth, childhood and youth school trajectories, familial, social, economic, political and ideological background, household livelihood, interpersonal relations, likely personal political affiliations and their motivations to choose social work. Despite the common general framework, the interview guides were adjusted to each interviewee, considering prior information about their role in the revolutionary process. The first contacts established with the potential informants, especially telephone contacts,

[12] Of the 14 respondents, 12 had their interviews digitally recorded, a possibility none of them objected to. However, interviewees #14 and #12 (Appendix E) could not be recorded, due to constant back noise and technical issues, respectively. Instead, notes were taken in these cases.

[13] It is a French social worker, married to a political exiled Portuguese citizen. The couple came to Portugal right after April 25, 1974, where they lived until 1976. She worked in a kindergarten created by a social cooperative (born out of a local grassroots movement) in the district of Castelo Branco. By that time, she had basic qualifications as a pre-school educator earned in France. Her intention then was to qualify as a social worker, which happened only after 1978, upon her return to France. Her testimony was of interest, especially as regards the capacity of the revolutionary phase to attract foreigners and the prospects of utopian fulfilment it afforded (McGrogan, 2017).

were important to provide initial background information which was later used to prepare the interview guide. It is also worth mentioning that, as the interviews accumulated, its data was used in subsequent conversations with new respondents (ensuring the necessary anonymity of the source), configuring a deliberate constructionist methodological option (Charmaz, 2008). The first interview served to test the initial version of the interview guide. This version was later improved, in the course of the second interview and, from the third interview onwards, a definite general layout was finished and used with the rest of the respondents (Appendix H).

As mentioned in A4, the interview guides were not meant to become rigid instruments, as rigidity might hinder the subjects' autonomy to deliver descriptive and reflexive discourses. The interview guides were, thus, designed to function as a conversation script in which a set of key themes was signalled, inviting the respondents to spontaneously elaborate on them. The idea of using the interviews to generate internal conversations (Archer, 2003; Sayer, 2010) or internal dialogues (Caetano, 2011, 2015) was not considered when the interview guides were prepared. However, internal conversations ended up taking place, as a rather fortunate unintentional result of the way the guides were constructed.[14]

When preparing the interview guides and while doing the interviews, special care was put in avoiding the use of conceptual and theoretical formulations, in an effort to ensure the discourse was as *natural* as possible, i.e., exempt from preconceived assumptions and labels. Considering that one of the driving research questions was whether or not the Portuguese social work experience during the revolutionary process was radical, that label was not included in the guides. Furthermore, particular attention was given to the analysis of the vocabulary respondents used to classify the nature of their participation and intervention during that period. Interviewees would be asked to reason about the radicalness of their experiences only at a more advanced stage of the interview, and just then, the notions of radical, alternative, revolutionary social work (or others, according to the context of the conversation) were likely to come up.

As reflected in A4, the contextual and environmental conditions in which interviews were conducted held considerable influence on the dynamics of the interview process and on the level of description and reflection attained. Some of the longest and most detailed interviews happened in the subjects' houses, where the speech and memory were often complemented with personal documents. Interviewees #4 and #5 were each met on two distinct occasions nine days apart. These made for the longest accumulated interview time and some of the most expressive examples of reflexive account. As a result, interviewee #5 became one of the three examples used in A4 and interviewee #4 became an important source of A2 (see Appendix F for the usage of interview empirical material in the published articles).

[14] The interplay between methodological options and the resulting processes of critical reflection and internal dialoguing is addressed in A4.

1.3. Data analysis

1.3.1. Categorial content analysis

The methodological strategy partly relied on categorial content analysis using code framing for both oral and documental sources. This option allowed juxtaposing, complementing and/or confronting information provided by different types of sources. Coding, Schreier (2012) noted, can be arranged in three main ways: as the result of pre-defined topics (deriving from theoretical and conceptual literature); as the result of the input given by empirical sources; as the result of both. In the present research, the choice fell on the third alternative.

Before initiating the transcription of the accounts, an initial coding frame was produced deriving from the literature and from previously existing information (from secondary sources and exploratory inquiries). In this "structuring phase" (Schreier, 2014, p. 176), the transcription process began using an initial set of eight categories, still not broken down in sub-categories of coding: urban struggles; agrarian reform; grassroots initiatives; political activity and militancy; influence of the Latin-American Reconceptualization Movement (LARM); self-representations of revolutionary involvement; the ending of the revolutionary process; labour union activity.

Information derivative of documental sources had already been allocated to these initial categories. As the transcription evolved, units of discourse were extracted and placed in the existing categories while, at the same time, generating new categories and sub-categories. By this time, the process was on its "generating" phase (Schreier, 2014). Because the bulk of the interviews was collected in a relatively concentrated time window, the transcription of most of the recorded inquiries could be done intensively. This circumstance enabled comparative analysis to take place right then and favoured *axial coding*.[15] It also helped prevent the risk of excessive disambiguation and contributed to the construction of a consistent coding frame for the information gathered in the 14 interviews.

As mentioned above, the categorial analysis strategy and process of coding combined *concept driven* and *data driven* approaches (Schreier, 2012). Using a coding procedure based only on a battery of concepts extrapolated from theoretical and conceptual literature or even from secondary empirical material would not meet the constructionist proneness of this research. Hence, constructing an *open coding* (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) frame drawn as much as possible from the data constituted a methodological imperative and an epistemological condition which, as Schreier (2012) puts it, is relevant to foster inductive reasoning.

Initial analysis of the discourse took place as transcription advanced. Along this process, excerpts of speech were allotted to the existing categories or, whenever suitable, used to

[15] Corbin and Strauss (2008) presented axial coding as the process of crosscutting and relating concepts and categories to each other.

create new topics or subcategories. A total of 15 categories and 12 subcategories structured the coding frame for the 14 interviews (both recorded and non-recorded ones) (Appendixes F and G). An example of new categories framed out of the interviewees' speech were the "Discourses on differences in pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary social work". This category surfaced as several respondents developed critical reflections on this issue. Another example is that of "The revolutionary process and community practice". Although not being asked to address this topic, the majority of the interviewees brought it up, establishing connections between previous involvement in community practice and community development projects (evidencing details about projects, its actors, territories, time-frames, etc.) and participation in revolutionary fronts. The volume of empirical data as well as the *quality* of the material and its value for analytical purposes fully justified opening new topics and sub-categories.

The 15 categories plus 12 sub-categories coding frame was completed when a larger group of nine interviewees was processed in the first trimester of 2017. At this stage, *conceptual saturation* (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) had been reached and no new categories and subcategories were justifiable. Besides, as further analysis of coded blocks was done, situations of category overlapping were spotted as well as an excessive spread of topics, which limited a more comprehensive and integrated analysis of the empirical materials. Consequently, the coding frame was revised and the data retrieved from four other interviewees (collected in 2017 and 2018) was processed through this final version, now abridged to 10 major categories and 19 sub-categories (Appendix G). At this stage, the Nvivo software began to be used, although only for organisational purposes and data storage.

The data processed through category content analysis was used to prepare A2 and A3. In the preparation of the articles, material from selected interviewees was used, depending on the specific subject and purpose of the publication. A3 used more data collected from a larger number of subjects (10), while A2 revolved around the discourse of five participants (Appendix E).

1.3.2. Narrative analysis

A fourth paper that would focus on methodological issues was considered from the start. Taking part in the International Oral History Association Conference in Jyväskylä in June 2018 motivated the use of an analytical approach that had not been contemplated initially and led to the choice of the subject for the last article: oral history and the use of the biographic approach in the production of reflexive accounts in social work research. The communication presented at the conference was partly based on categorial analysis and on an exploratory approach to the narrative analysis of the interviews. In the event, larger chunks of the interviewees' discourse were presented, revealing identity framing and what surfaced as speeches of reflexive nature. The conference presentation and subsequent discussions (at the conference,

at PhD research seminars, and in supervision meetings) strengthened the initial premise of reflecting on the relationship between methodological options and the results attained. Consequently, a more systematic process of narrative analysis followed, one that meant revisiting all the recorded interviews regardless of the previous coding. This step was crucial to prepare the fourth and last article.

Aspects regarding the way narrative analysis was carried out are addressed in A4. In short, narrative analysis was conducted taking the interviewees' integral account as a full text (Frank, 2012; Hyvärinen, 2008; Riessman, 2001a; Riessman & Quinney, 2005; Shaw & Holland, 2014), as a textual (co)construction in which the subjects do not just respond to a set of non-directive topics, but elaborate on them.[16] Here, as Riessman and Quinney (2005) argue, narrative analysis must take into consideration the descriptions offered by the narrators, the language they use (and possible variations), the context of narrative production (the place, the time, the existence of other subjects around can be influential), the structural features of the discourse, the dialogues established with the interviewer or with him/herself and the narration of multiple stories in the same account.

Riessman's (2001b) approach highlights the importance of what she called *disruptive life events* - instants in the narrative when subjects introduce key liminal situations. These situations often correspond to moments of choice making, biographic turns, personal achievements or annoyances. Configured in the account as disruptions, these life events are comparable to the concept of *biographic crisis* presented by Caetano (2015, 2016, 2018) and Lahire (2008). These *crises*, either consubstantiating moments of distress or simply situations in which individuals face life turns, may surface in the *internal conversations* (Archer, 2003) or *internal dialogues* (Caetano, 2015) during the subjects' accounts.

Tailing the internal conversations present in the interviewees' accounts meant discovering moments of critical reflection and reflexivity, a possibility rightly informed by Archer (2003). The internal conversations often revolve around those moments of life rupture, a circumstance observed in the present research's narratives. Understanding those moments of biographical crisis and possible life rupture allows a better understanding of the subject's options in light not only of their idiosyncrasies but also considering the interactions they established with others and with the social, political and cultural context. Ergo, discourses on identity emerge as a natural by-product of the biographic account, especially if the analysis is pointed at tracking down the life ruptures in the discourse and the moments of reflexivity. That was what happened when narrative analysis

[16] Because the interview obeyed to a semi-structured script (an instrument that allowed the interviewing process to turn into a conversational interaction), there was, obviously, researcher interference in the subjects' narrative production. However, the conversational mode and the use of a flexible interview guide did not limit the participants' ability and opportunity to express themselves in critical and reflexive ways.

was used to examine the oral accounts collected in the present research. On this issue, it is worth mentioning that identity was not a category used in the categorial analysis' coding frame.

The analysis of the narratives started with an integral reading of each transcribed interview. This first step permitted selecting a set of five accounts that were distinctive for the purpose of evidencing points of rupture, critical reflections and reflexivity. Those five interviews were, then, re-read and analysed, seeking to identify the constitutive parts of the interviewees' discourse and how their biographical accounts were composed.[17] Despite the fact that narrative reading did not follow a Labovian analytical model, attention was given to identifying conceivable Labovian units, especially those referred to as *Orientations*, *Complications*, *Evaluations* and *Resolutions* (Labov & Waletzky, 1997; Overlien, 2014). The former and the latter actually surfaced more clearly in the narratives studied. Due to editorial reasons, and following referees' suggestion, the number of interviewees' narratives to be included in the final article was reduced to three (Appendix E).

1.4. Limitations

Since the very beginning of the research design, defining the ideal dimension of the sample was a matter of concern. The choice of the qualitative approach dismissed more extensive methods of inquiry. As a consequence, non-probabilistic sampling was required and the size of the sample was more the result of purpose rather than of representativeness (Given, 2008). That said, a relatively small-size sample (12-20 subjects) was foreseen. However, the idea that more accounts from additional interviewees could have been collected remained during the last phase of the research. Although the characteristics of the sample and its size fitted the research's aims and provided useful data to respond to the research questions, amassing additional accounts could have diversified the participants' profile and provided further information on other revolutionary fronts that were not covered in the present work. The strategic sampling and the criteria of favouring data collection on selected stages of revolutionary action to the detriment of others (like social work labour unionism or involvement in workers' control) limited the possibilities of providing a more comprehensive look into the participation of social workers in the complex process of political transition after 1974.

Studying socio-professional identity issues in relation to social workers' participation in the revolutionary process could actually have received more attention, but identity issues were not part of the initial objectives of the research. It was only at an advanced stage of the research that identity gained protagonism as a result of the methodological option of using narrative analysis. It must be admitted that a deeper understanding and interpretation of the identity issue featured in the discourses would have greatly benefited from theoretical contributions on socio-professional identity in social work and other social professions, given that this is indeed

[17] Special attention was devoted to aspects like what life memories were reminisced over first; what moments and events were given more relevance in the account; when reflexivity tended to occur and how it was expressed; how personal experience and individual option-taking related to wider social-political contexts.

a field of study which has received vast attention in Portugal and elsewhere in the last decades.[18] However, deepening the analysis of identity framing was not compatible with A4's theoretical framework and purpose; besides, it would also present an untimely stretching of the research's theoretical and conceptual approach.

1.5 Research ethics

The research followed the ethical guidelines in use in ISCTE-IUL and JYU, the Code of Ethical Conduct in Research (ISCTE-IUL, 2016) and the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity Guidelines (TENK, 2019).

Informed consent was obtained at the beginning of each interview after explaining the aims of the research, the interest on collecting biographic data, its use for the purposes of academic and scientific publishing and the estimated length. It was at this stage that the terms of anonymity were agreed. In this early stage, the subjects were informed that they may interrupt the interview at any moment in case they felt any discomfort. On this issue, at least three interviewees requested that certain facts and names not be mentioned in the research, demands that were taken into consideration. It should be noted that, as referred previously in this chapter, each interview was preceded by an initial telephone call, hence, the participants had prior information about the research objectives, its institutional context, and the researcher. Informed consent was recorded in the beginning of the interviewees and at any moment any participant withdrew their participation.

No minors were involved in this research and only three of the subjects were, at the time of the interviews, still practicing social workers. The inquiry did not involve collecting information on present professional activity or any kind of data related to actual services' users and hiring institutions. The condition of one of the interviewees, introduced to me by a close friend of hers who was already participating in the research, might befall under TENK's (2019) considerations regarding "research involving people with limited capacity" (section 3.4, p. 11-12). I was told by the above-mentioned participant that her friend was suffering from memory loss, although still autonomous and very aware. Access to this interviewee was mediated through that friend. When I contacted her for the first time, on the phone, to assess her interest in participating, she readily gave her initial consent, inviting me to visit her. Upon arrival, in the agreed date, I was first met by an on-duty nurse, who informed me that the interviewee had sometimes memory blanks. Right at the beginning of the interview, following the initial greetings, the participant mentioned having been diagnosed with a *condition* that affected her remembrances, asking for my comprehension in case she found it hard to find the words. When doing oral history the memory is a primary resource, being the physiological, cognitive

[18] For the Portuguese case, authors like Amaro (2015), Branco (2009, 2015a), Caria, Sousa, and Almeida (2017), Caria and Pereira (2017), Passarinho (2012) or Santos (2011) have directed their attention to professional identity in social work.

and emotional dimensions of great importance. In face of this circumstance, I was confronted with a possible limitation. In her case, difficulties in remembering dates, names and re-creating events were more notable regarding the post 1980s era, however, the memory of the 1960s and 1970s was still vivid and her testimony granted important information on labour union activity and social workers' participation in the agrarian reform movements and residents' commissions in the Greater Lisbon area. The ethical principles stated in TENK (2019) were not breached: the participant was informed about the research and showed clear signs of understanding its purposes and her role as participant; she was not dependent on the formal approval of a legal representative; the autonomy of the participant was respected as were her limitations – this was the shortest interview (Appendix E) – the interview guide was used in a more pragmatical way and the meeting stopped upon noticing signs of tiredness and the participant's intention to finalize the interview.

Regarding processing personal information collected in the interviews, only data necessary for the purpose of the research was gathered. When transcribing the interviews, its content was anonymised and care was taken not to show names of individuals regarding which verification was needed. However, in some situations, real names of personalities mentioned in the interviews were used when they held office positions known to the public and whose action was already disclosed in scientific research, public reports and/or in the media. In certain cases, particularly interviewees who held executive positions in organisational structures or those who developed academic careers were aware that complete anonymity could not be guaranteed, a possibility duly acknowledged by TENK's (2019) ethical guidelines (expressions of that awareness were recorded in the interviews).

The data collected during the interviews is privately stored by the researcher and used solely for the purpose of the present doctoral study, as agreed in the oral informed consent at the beginning of each interview. There is no formal procedure accorded in relation to the protection and future storage of the interview recordings and transcriptions; however, the intention is to preserve the materials and eventually bestow them on an archival institution, safeguarding all legal and ethical issues, particularly those regarding anonymity and preservation of third-party information. The possibility of opening the research data to other researchers through its storage in archives was not foreseen, neither negotiated, in the interviewing process. Hence, any advance taken in that direction must take into account the ethical guidelines of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK, 2019), of ISCTE-IUL's Code of Ethical Conduct in Research (ISCTE-IUL, 2016) and the relevant Portuguese and Finnish legal norms.

Chapter 2

Theorical and conceptual frames

2.1. Political Opportunity Structure in the study of Portuguese social work during the 1974 Revolution

Political Opportunity Structure (POS) offered a theoretical base to approach the radicalization of Portuguese social work during the revolutionary period.[19] Although not a theory originating within the social work discipline, the POS, as part of an interdisciplinary social movements theorizing (Opp, 2009), has been equated as an instrument of social analysis of interest to social work scholarship (Noble, 2007; Reisch, 2013). That relevance is particularly evident when it comes to study the relation between the profession and collective mobilization. I am talking about social work's historical connections with the Settlement Movement, the labour movement, feminism and pacifism, civil and welfare rights movements, and more recently, with the New Social Movements[20] that bear a significant relation to emancipatory, identity and anti-globalisation issues (Thompson, 2002; Reisch, 2013; Zaidi & Aaslund, 2021).[21]

The POS approach rejects the social-psychology and sociological perspectives that saw collective action and protest as forms of pathological behaviour, social anomy and erosion of social consensus (Cerezales, 2003; Flacks, 2005; Tarrow, 2011). Earlier works by Tilly (1978) and later studies by Gamson and Meyer (1996), McAdam (1996) and Tarrow (2011) reveal a tendency to stop looking at social movements as masses' psychological phenomena, paying attention instead to the interplay between perceived political opportunities, threats and available resources and their influence on collective mobilization framing (Cerezales, 2003).

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[19] Three major theoretical trends were established, from the 1970s onwards, to address the phenomenon of social movements: the Resource Mobilization perspective; the Political Opportunity Structures; and the identity/cultural approaches (Edelman, 2001; Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007). The first was influenced by social psychology and owed a lot to the seminal studies conducted by Mayer Zald and John McCarthy (Opp, 2009). It focused on how actors were capable of mobilizing resources (material, cognitive, organizational, technical) to attain political goals (Edelman, 2001). The POS perspective became dominant after the 1990s, pushed by the works of Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow or Doug McAdam (Goodwin & Jasper, 2004), being challenged in the last two decades by phenomenological and post-modern authors (Goodwin & Jasper, 2004; Polletta & Jasper, 2001) who critiqued the POS' structural propensity and its inattention to the dimensions of identity, culture and emotions in the framing of collective mobilization (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999).

[20] NSM refer to an alternative conceptualisation of social mobilisation emerging in the 1980s. It reflected the perception that contentious collective mobilisations, from the 1960s onwards, were different from the *old* labour and class-oriented collective protests (Buechler, 2015). The *new* movements stemmed from gender, sexual identity, race, ethnicity, environmental, human rights, and many other issues, challenging hierarchies and the social, institutional and organisational orderings that legitimised oppression and denied rights recognition (Buechler, 2015; Reisch, 2013).

[21] Although social movements will be conceptualised afterwards, it should not be conflated with collective action, meaning that not all forms of collective action might befall under the concept of social movement, especially if destitute of a clear political direction. In 1985, Melucci defined "a social movement as a form of collective action (a) based on solidarity, (b) carrying a conflict, (c) breaking the limits of the system in which action occurs" (p. 795). These dimensions, the author stated, separated social movements from diverse forms of collective action"

The POS frame tends to make social movements dependent on supra-political conditions that warrant people the necessary opportunities, channels and boundaries to express their grievances in the form of collective challenges (Flacks, 2005). That relation is clear when Tarrow (2011) points out the basic character of a social movement:

> contentious politics emerges in response to challenges in political opportunities and threats when participants perceive and respond to a variety of incentives […], building on those opportunities and using known repertoires of action, people with limited resources can act together contentiously. […] When their actions are based on dense social networks and effective connective structures and draw on legitimate, action-oriented cultural frames, they can sustain these actions even in contact with powerful opponents. In such cases – and *only* in such cases – we are in the presence of a social movement (p. 16).

This formulation adds the cultural aspect to Tarrow's (1994) initial proposal, as a response to the critics who pointed their fingers at Tarrow's inflated structural design (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Nonetheless, the possibilities of collective protest and its progression to social movement forms sit on opportunities opened by higher political levels (Opp, 2009). In short, POS posits the dynamics of social mobilisation on a complex web of interactions between higher level institutionalised power holders and lower level actors, where the latter's capacity to develop collective movements depend on the possibilities offered by structural opportunities created in the context of political transition (Gamson & Meyer, 1996; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Opp, 2009; Tarrow, 1994).

In the next sections POS will be further introduced, highlighting the social movements basic properties and their connections to changes in political systems, clarifying what is assumed as political opportunities.

2.1.1. The basic properties of social movements

POS' chief argument concedes that changes in the structures of political opportunity provide incentives to collective action in the form of social protest and collective challenges against notable power instances, depending the magnitude and duration of such contention on the capacity people have to mobilize and sustain mobilization (Opp, 2009).

According to Tarrow (2011, p. 8-12), social movements' basic properties are four-fold: (i) collective challenges (an identifiable cause that poses a challenge or a threat to people who resource to contentious action capable of drawing others into collective mobilization); (ii) common purposes (common claims against opponents, often powerful, authorities or elites); (iii) social solidarity (implies mobilizing social networks, both internal and external, as a means to ensure the cohesion of the contesting group; solidarity functions as cement of basic social consensus, vital to make personal interests converge, without which collective action would

not endure in time); (iv) sustaining contention (fundamental property of social movements since it is its duration what qualifies the collective contention as social movement).

When political systems change, e.g. in transitions of regime like the one occurred in Portugal in the 1970s, opportunities emerge allowing the activation of these properties which, in turn, facilitate the brewing of social movements. The case of the SAAL housing programme, addressed in the next chapter (and in A2) offers a good picture of how the opening and closing down of new political cycles enable and restrain contentious collective action in the terms proposed by Tarrow (2011).[22]

2.1.2. Political Opportunity Structure – concept and functioning

Political opportunities are conceptualized by Tarrow (2011, p. 163) as "consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment or of change in that environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting expectations for success or failure". The factors in the *environment* that visibly influence the prospect of collective mobilization and the success of contentious action, Tarrow (2011, p. 164-165) points out, are "the opening of access to participation for new actors", the "evidence of political realignment with the polity", the "availability of influential allies", and the "emerging splits within the elite". These factors present observable mechanisms that open or close political opportunities, classified by Tarrow in this manner:

1. increasing access: gaining access to participation provides people with incentives to express dissent and converge into a movement;
2. shifting alignments: the instability of political alignments can encourage contention while political alignments become unstable when radical regime changes take place;
3. divided elites: conflicts within and between elites can encourage outbreaks of contention and its evolution to social movements; the divisions among elites not only provide incentives to resource-poor groups to take their changes in collective action, it urges parts of the elite more deprived of power to seize the role of "tribunes of the people" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 166);
4. influential allies: contenders are incentivised to take collective action when they co-opt allies who can act on their behalf.

These political opportunities are often encompassed by a decline in the state's capability to repress dissent (Opp, 2009), like the Portuguese revolutionary stage showed: as the country transited from dictatorship to democracy, new authority bodies took executive power, replacing the traditional state structures of the old regime.[23] Even the institutional bodies that enforced state authority and were entrusted with the legitimate monopoly of violence by the state, like

[22] See also Cerezales (2003) and Pinto (2013).

[23] The Council of the Revolution, the Provisional Governments, the Constitutive Assembly, the Continent's Operational Command, among others (Ferreira, 1994).

the police forces, were temporarily overpowered and delegitimised by the Revolution (Barreto, 1983; Cerezales, 2002).[24]

These four dimensions of POS are thought to be observed empirically. Because mobilisations are highly dependent on historical, cultural and social particularities, the structures of political opportunity need to be inferred directly in each context (Opp, 2009). In an earlier study recurring to POS, Kriesi, Koopmans, Dyvendak, and Giugni (1995, p. vii) noted that POS determine both the strategies of contentious individuals and of political authorities, implying a "country-specific mix of facilitation/repression of the movements' mobilization". What looks at first glance to be an objectivist frame of analysis is, in Tarrow's terms, a subjectivist enterprise: the *exact* opportunities are those that were perceived as such by the participants.[25] According to this understanding, it is reasonable to see social movements as the result of political opportunities only if they have been perceived by the individuals. This principle lessens the structural leaning of POS, acknowledging subjective infra-structural components.

Critics of POS denounced, precisely, its structural leaning (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999; 2004). The little attention given to cultural, identity and emotional aspects underlaid most of that criticism, accusing POS' pundits of seeing social movements from above, from pre-defined sets of structural opportunities that acted as switches and buffers of collective action (Flacks, 2005). Conversely, Tarrow (2011) categorically asserted that the individuals involved in contentious movements were not passively dependent on the political opportunities given by a certain political environment, on the contrary, they were able to decide their participation upon assessing the affordances political opportunities might present (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007). Participants in social movements were, hence, creators of opportunities considering that protest mobilisation ends up influencing both the opportunities and the levels of threat perceived (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001). Besides, as Tarrow (2011, p. 167) noted, "one of the most remarkable characteristics of contentious politics is that it expands opportunities for others". As Opp (2009, p. 198) stated, despite POS' being generated primarily at the macro level, they "affect protests via changing incentives on the micro level […] [that], in turn, lead to individual protest participation which translates into collective political action".

Tarrow's (2011, p. 169) frame tends to set political opportunities in dialectic terms: "the opening of opportunities provides external resources to people who lack internal resources. It opens gates where there were only walls before, alliances that did not previously seem possible, and realignments that appear capable of bringing new groups to power". But, as

[24] Early in 1996, McAdam claimed that state representativeness should be considered fully as a POS, since it influences constantly the activity of contentious mobilisation.

[25] The more objectivist approach within POS theorising upholds that the changes in the political environment constitute independent variables that alter the subjects' possibilities of attaining their goals, without necessarily needing to perceive them (Opp, 2009).

opportunities open, they soon might close, “as new challengers with different aims march through the gates that the early risers have battered down”. This shifting opportunities frame was particularly evident in the case of the revolutionary transition in Portugal between 1974 and 1976 – it helps understanding the development and decline of social movements as the country transited from right-wing conservative dictatorship, to radical revolutionary environment, to constitutional democracy (Accornero, 2013; Cerezales, 2003) – addressed in the next chapter.

By creating and expanding opportunities for a varied array of participants, from the micro to the macro levels of political and social action, social movements establish hinge points between structure and agency. Agency is conceived, here, following Giddens' (1984, p. 5) classic formulation, as the capacity social actors have to devising possibilities of action in face of constraints, mobilizing knowledge and capabilities to solve problems, “maintaining a continuing theoretical understanding of the grounds of their activity”. The quotation evidences the reflexive imprint of Giddens’ concept, more clear in this passage: “agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things […]. Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently” (Giddens, 1984, p. 9). Agency is a dimension of human *action*,[26] both marked by *dispositions*[27] presented by the structures that condition the individuals’ social action and as the result of their creativity. Therefore, action is the composition of rational, utilitarian, interpretive and strategic elements, as well as practical, ritual and pragmatic (Caetano, 2011, p. 160).

Still following Giddens’ (1984, p. 14) steps, agency depends on the capacity individuals have to “make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs”. Henceforth, in order to have agency and to be recognised as *agents*, individuals must exert some sort of power that may change their life courses and, ultimately, the course of social structures and political systems. Individual and group agency is not always un-conscient and reflexivity has an important role revealing it. The reflexive processes contribute to disclosing how social structures influence the individuals’ lives and how their options may exert influence on those very same structures.

2.1.3 From POS to RSW

POS perspectives see collective mobilisation as political action. It considers that for a social movement to be understood as such, there must be a challenge or a grievance behind it, it should imply contentious action, defy strong opponents, mobilise alliances with other

[26] Human action is defined by Giddens (1984, p. 5) as a continuous process, “a flow, in which the reflexive monitoring which the individual maintains is fundamental to the control of the body that actors ordinarily sustain throughout their day-to-day lives”.

[27] This reference taken from Bourdieu’s dispositional theory contributes to connect the individual reflexive and creative autonomy to the structural frames (Caetano, 2011).

agents (institutional or not) and take on struggles either to force or to resist changes (social, cultural, political, normative) (Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Klandermans, Weerd, Sabucedo, & Costa, 2002; McAdam et al., 1996; Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007; Tarrow, 2011).

One of the possible meeting points between POS and RSW lies in the contentious leaning of the profession's radical movements and on how such contention takes on political meanings. That becomes particularly clear when radical social workers engage in activism and approach social movements, taking part of, collaborating with, when not initiating them (Durigetto & Bazarello, 2015; Ioakimidis, Santos, & Herrero, 2014; Kleinschmidt & Silva, 1984; Noble, 2007; Reisch, 2013; Reisch & Andrews, 2002). The emergence of radical movements in social work polished the political element of the profession. As shown in the next section, becoming radical takes social workers to antagonise the status-quo, the power authorities and the normative frames that impede radical transformation or progressivist reform (Ferguson, 2009). The chances to succeed in that endeavour are influenced by the structural context and, when political systems go through changes or are subject of contestation, actors can take advantage of the opportunities opened by social-political dissent and instability, as Portuguese social workers did in the 1970s.[28] This theory is relevant to address the interplay between social workers and other agents and actors dwelling in the processes of political transition, most notably with the social movements that emerge from those contexts. Such interplay was subject of the attention of articles A2 and A3 and is to be further elucidated in Chapter 4.

2.2. Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American RSW in the 1970s – a conceptual lens to look at the revolutionary experience of Portuguese social work

This section revisits the main debates brought up by Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American RSW movements, identifying key concepts, political and ideological perspectives and theoretical bases.[29] The aim is to provide a more systematised contextualisation of social work's international radical surge in the 1970s. This contextualisation was decisive when it came to develop a comprehensive understanding of Portuguese social workers' revolutionary engagement.

[28] A example of the use of social movements' theories In the analysis of "self-mobilization and collective action among poor people in Norway" was given by Seim (2014, p. 167). The author analysed the interplay between grassroots poor people movements and welfare organisations and professionals in the 1990s and early 2000s considering the inherent challenges and conflicts, the changes in the stands of the institutional and professional opponents (ranging from antagonism to alliance), the processes of allies' co-option, all of which relate to opportunity structures.

[29] Radical authorship in social work was not limited to the UK, the USA and Latin-America. As referred to in the Introduction, reducing the scope to these geographies was an option mainly justified by the fact that it was in these countries that a larger number of published materials came to exist early on and, arguably, more animated discussions on radical practice were held, no forgetting that, if there were any direct links between Portuguese social work and critical movements in the late 1960s and 1970s, it was with the LARM (Branco, 2009; Henriquez, 1991; Martins, 2017, 2019; Martins & Tomé, 2016; Matos-Silveira et al., 2020) (Table 2.1).

Roughly brewing at the same time, the LARM and the Anglo-Saxon RSW movements sat on a common context of large capitalist development and economic growth. Since the middle of the 1960 decade, the UK and the USA registered high gains in productivity, low unemployment rates, the widening of state services and welfare policies to ensure social rights (Payne, 2005; Santos, Defilippo, Eiras, & Yazbek, 2021). These countries' enormous economic power awarded them prerogatives to influence the world's political and economic order. Such dispositions prompted a series of dependencies over nations that stood on the peripheries of the more industrialised capitalist states, like Latin-American countries (Netto, 2005). Social and economic development programmes, often financed by the UN and other organisations from North-America or Western Europe (Londoño, 2021; Machado, Closs, & Zacarias, 2018) ended up contributing to reproduce the political and economic subordination of Latin-America (Santos, Defilippo, Eiras, & Yazbek, 2021). The LARM grew partly as a critical reaction to this subordination, perceived not just in the economic and political spheres, but also on the professional realm, denouncing the inadequacy of traditional social work methods to Latin-American problems. In the USA and in the UK, RSW movements were driven by a blatant critique of the evolution of welfare state models, the bureaucratization of social services and the prevalence of psychodynamic casework intervention (Reisch & Andrews, 2002).

Table 2.1 LARM's reach in Portugal

Year	Context
1973	Maria Teresa Abrantes (former SNPSS leader), persecuted by the political police for participating in oppositional activities, chose to exile in Brazil, where she attended a MSW. In Latin-America, she met key MRLA individualities (Natalio Kisnerman, Vicente Faleiros, Herman Kruse). Upon her return to Portugal, she brought along new SW curricula from Argentina and Chile (Fernandes, 1985b; Martins & Silva, 2022).
1973-…	Brazilian LARM authors cooperated with the ISSSL. Documentation and texts from LARM authors (Ezequiel Ander-Egg, Natalio Kisnerman, Herman Kruse) was integrated in the syllabi of social work courses (Martins & Carrara, 2014).
1973	The SNPSS, despite the surveillance of the political police, organised seminars to divulge the MRLA with Uruguayan notable author, Herman Kruse (Martins, 2017).
1975-…	Chilean student, Bernando Henríquez, former president of a students' association in his home country, sought exile in Portugal following Pinochet's repression. He finished his social work degree at the ISSSL, becoming a faculty member. From Latin-America he carried along MRLA texts (distributed to faculty and student peers) (Martins & Silva, 2022).
1976-…	Brazilian critical social work author, José Paulo Netto, found exile in Portugal and taught at the ISSSL After 1977, he steered encounters with professionals in several parts of the country to divulge Latin-American social work. He contributed to the creation of a social work journal (1978-1980) that published pieces on the MRLA and offered translations of critical Latin-American texts (Martins & Carrara, 2014; Martins & Silva, 2022).

Source: own elaboration

The interlocutions between Anglo-Saxon RSW and the LARM were scarce, especially when compared to the interlocutions with the Iberian Peninsula (Martins & Carrara, 2014; Matos-Silveira et al., 2020) – see Table 2.1. The former reached Latin-America, usually thorough the publication of translated materials in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Santos et al., 2021). In North-American and British RSW literature, few notes on the critical mobilization of professionals

in Latin-America came to evidence, mostly in relation to the case of Chile and the persecutions social workers were being subjected to (Bailey & Brake, 1975).

2.2.1. RSW as a relativistic, changing, and multisited concept

The task of conceptualising RSW can be deceiving, especially when one seeks to produce a neatly precise definition to cover the whole picture of social work's radical professional action and thought (in A3 the main strands of UK and USA RSW are synthesised). The very fact that variations in labelling to refer to a somewhat shared subject have surfaced in literature in the past five decades gives one a good idea of how the phenomena have been differently perceived according to diverse theoretical, ideological and political stands, not to mention particular regional viewpoints (Pease, 2009).[30]

The differences were not only in labelling but also in meaning. According to De Maria (1992), radical social work implies transiting from a non-structural to a structural stance and from structural analysis to structural practice as requisites for radical engagement. Such transition entails change and transformation, and, in accordance with its inherent dialectics, it ends up producing crises. Social work's radical mobilisation in the USA and in the UK and elsewhere in the 1970s exposed a growing internal professional conflict consistent with what Richan and Mendelsohn (1973, p. 188) described as the "internal contradictions" of social work. These contradictions come to evidence as professionals tended to identify themselves as working class members. Perceiving such belonging, Santos et al. (2021, p. 140) note, showed the ethical-political dimension of the profession and its ambiguities: the social workers as "instruments of the ruling class" and, at the same time, "the basis of power of their clients, who also belong to the working class". Here lies a difference between Anglo-Saxon RSW and the LARM. According to the authors mentioned above, Latin-America was able to make advances on this issue: "the truth is that this relationship is not one of exclusion […] or of ambiguity […], but rather of contradiction". The point is that, according to the Latin-American exegesis, social workers can both serve the working and the ruling class, however, to avoid the pitfalls of ambiguity, they should choose sides.

Common in RSW literature of the 1970s, on both sides of the Atlantic, was the idea that it presented itself as a utopian transformative advance in a moment of social and political crisis.

[30] These references exemplify the diversity of labels used; in the late 1970s, in Canada, based on Maurice Moreau's works, Mullaly (1997) presented *structural social work* as a distinct form of RSW, while, in 1993, Fook argued that structural was the same as RSW. In Latin America, in the aftermath of the LARM, in the late 1980s, the designation *alternative social work* was often used (Iamamoto, 1992). The concept was also applied by Amaro (2015) to refer to social workers' involvement in revolutionary Portugal. In Germany, *progressive professional practice* was, according to Steinacker (2013), what distinguished a new arrangement in social work in the late 1960s. *Progressive social work* was also used in the USA in the late 1980s and in the 1990s instead of radical social work (Wagner, 1999). Reeser and Epstein (1990, p. 4) preferred the designation *activist social work* to that of radical social work, arguing that radical (and also conservative), were "misleading and ambiguous terms", unable to reflect the exact character of individuals' actions, ideologies and political stands.

Thus, it was cast as an opportunity to provide an alternative framework of social analysis and sets of practices capable of promoting equality and social justice and obliterating oppression. In the case of the UK, RSW authors can be said to have shared a progressive and socialist-leaning ideology, however they have not developed a common understanding of what RSW stood for and, especially, of how it should be carried out (Table 2.2). The disparate designations used to refer to RSW reveal the political and ideological differences among radicals.[31] For Langan and Lee (1989) and Simpkin (1979), it is not just a matter of having different labels to refer to a somewhat common subject; for them, social work's radical mobilisation in the 1970s was definitely not a monolithic single-minded enterprise for it held different and sometimes contradictory stances regarding theory and strategy.

Table 2.2 Anglo-Saxon RSW's four key approaches

Approach	Characteristics
Libertarian	Emphasis on self-help and community action - the community of "the underprivileged […] [as] the milieu of action and change" (Simpkin, 1979, p. 21).
Reformist	Social workers should defend the gains and rights of the welfare system while endorsing socialist strategies to widen welfare services (Langan & Lee, 1989).
Revolutionary	Marxist principle that social life is "fashioned by […] the production system" and must be overthrown, being organised class struggle the main form to counter capitalism (Simpkin, 1979, p. 22); Critique of state control functions and endorsement of socialist social, economic and political transformation (Langan & Lee, 1989).
Prefigurative	Denounce of Marxism's excessive focus on class as the reason for misreading other causes of inequality, discrimination and oppression (gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age) (Langan & Lee, 1989).

Source: own elaboration

The Latin-American reconceptualization could hardly be seen as a homogeneous project (Aquino, 2021; Macedo, 1981; Netto, 2005). Coalesced to confront traditional social work, it followed diverse theoretical paths and proposed different methods (Netto, 2005). Theoretically and methodologically eclectic, the LARM was built around distinct political movements, ideological stands and theoretical approaches, ranging from Che Guevara's ideas, to the Theology of Liberation, to the Chinese Cultural Revolution, to Soviet Marxism-Leninism, to German-inspired Social Democracy, to Freire's popular education, among others (Iamamoto, 2019). In the Spanish-speaking countries the reconceptualization movement tended to relate professional challenges to the structural social demands, based on a critique of society's functioning and power relations (Netto, 1975). By doing so, the profession became more aligned with revolutionary ends and closer to grassroots mobilizations. Hence, political-associative action of social workers and social work students, coalition building with social movements, support of direct democracy practices and overt participation in Left-Wing revolutionary organisations marked the reconceptualization of social in the Hispanic Latin-

[31] Among the variety of designations, Mullaly (1997, p. 107) identified Marxist social work, political social work, progressive social work, RSW, socialist social work, socialist welfare work, structural social work.

America (Marro, Duriguetto, Panez, & Orellana, 2021; Martínez & Díaz, 2021). In Brazil, although sharing the above-mentioned features, the reconceptualization movement was more concerned with what Netto (1975, p. 93-95) called a *critique of the profession's intervention modes* that led to a *methodological theory fetichism*.

Inscribed within the profession's growing international critical trends of the time, the LARM reflected the particularities of the Continent. In brief, it based its action frames on the denouncing of imperialist and dependency relations and on the critique of capitalism as producer and reproducer of dependencies that prevented the nations' development and the people's emancipation. Reconceptualizing the profession meant rejecting practices that produced palliative results, adopting, instead, practices that could be able to overcome underdevelopment (Netto, 1975). It was not just about reconceptualizing the theoretical fundaments of the profession, it was also, and foremost, about reconfiguring the praxeological apparatus of the profession (in strict articulation with theoretical frames adequate to comprehend the structural manifestations of the social question and in face of the local particularities). What resulted from this was the refusal of the *classical* practice methods of casework, groupwork and community, deemed as inventions cast in another socio-economic context, inappropriate for the Latin-American reality.[32]

Table 2.3 LARM's main aims

Aims	How
Develop a comprehensive approach to Latin-America's historicities	By recognising Latin-America's specificities, considering and comprehending its historical peculiarities.
Refusal of traditional social work	By relinquishing traditionalism and attempting to create a wide professional project closely related to the characteristics of Latin-America, its specific national and regional contexts, parting from charity and paternalistic practice.
Achieve scientific recognition	By fostering social work's scientific status through widening its the theoretical base to the social sciences.
Politicise the profession	By overtly admitting and professing politicised professional action, (aligning it to the liberation of the oppressed and to a commitment to social transformation).
Rethink and redesign social work education	By restructuring social work education, bridging teaching, research and professional practice (challenging universities to be pivotal in the development of the profession's critical thinking, knowledge base and link to society).

Source: Own elaboration (based on Iamamoto, 2019, p. 446)

[32] The LARM proposed alternative models of intervention in different countries. The Belo Horizonte Method, from Brazil (Iamamoto, 2019), the Caldas Method, from Colombia, the Boris Lima Method, from Venezuela, the Ander-Egg Integrated Method, from Argentina (Londoño, 2014), constitute examples of such new methods. The regional specificities of Latin-America, endemic underdevelopment and its structural causes like the low alphabetization of the population, partly explain the integration of Paulo Freire's method in social work intervention (Netto, 2005). Paulo Freire's thought is also present in other experiences of praxis renewal in Latin-America (Scheffer, 2013; Marro, Durigetto, et al., 2021; Martínez & Díaz, 2021)) and outside of the continent (Soydan, 2010), like the case of Colomer's Basic Method, in Sain (Matos-Silveira et al., 2020).

2.2.2. The historical roots of RSW

Although roots of RSW work can be traced back (Table 2.4) to the dawn of the profession, it was in the 1970's that social work met its *radical hour* (Payne, 2005). In the USA and in the UK, the vast social mobilisations of the 1960s and the *New Left* currents (Santos et al., 2021) had an enormous influence on the students who were then entering social work. The anti-war movements, the civil rights movements, the women's movements, and a growing inter-generational gap regarding social, cultural, and moral values contributed to create a "counter-cultural brew from which RSW was distilled" (Simpkin, 1979, p. 20). Professional radicalisation seems to have kept pace with the wider social, political and cultural radicalisation. In the USA, growing numbers of young social workers originating from less affluent minorities sought more politically determined forms of practice in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Wagner, 1990). In the UK, influenced by civil rights movements stemming from the other side of the Atlantic and by the counter-cultural waves, social work's radicalisation was predominantly rooted in the strong trade-union movement and on the International Socialist Movement (Langan, 2002; Weinstein, 2011).

The influence of social sciences on social work education and practice is another aspect tied to the emergence of RSW movements on both sides of the Atlantic. Marxism (most notably in Latin-America), Frankfurt School's critical sociology, conflict theories, interactionism and theories of deviance, all represented an influx of critical thought that shook social work's theoretical, epistemological and ethical dispositions (Cohen, 1975; Netto, 2005; Pease, 2009; Powell, 2001; Rojek, Peacock, & Collins, 1988).

In Latin-America, Iamamoto (1992) says, the reconceptualization movement sprouted from a modernisation trend of social work initiated in the early 1960s, oriented by development goals and edged by capitalist arrangements (Iamamoto, 1992). The same author claims that the LARM developed as an alternative to this renovation tendency, seeking to counteract any traces of conservativism and commit the profession to an emancipatory revolutionary process based on the recognition and overcoming of the social contradictions present in the professional exercise of social workers.

Active between 1965 and 1975 (Iamamoto, 2019), the LARM was referred to by Netto in 1975 as the most relevant step in the history of Latin-American social work so far. The 1st Latin-American Regional Seminar of Social Work held in May 1965 in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre still symbolises a foundational moment in LARM's history. There, participants from Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay met, starting a series of seminars that were to be repeated in other Latin-American countries (Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia) until 1972 (Iamamoto, 2019; Netto,

2005). From the start, the LARM had a distinctive internationalist mark promoted by a network of social work research and education associations (Iamamoto, 2019; Santos et al., 2021).[33]

Although RSW brought up an intense criticism of community development (Mayo, 1975), several authors noticed a link between the participation in community organising in the 1960s and an inclination towards professional radicalisation (Payne, 2005; Reisch & Andrews, 2002). Despite the criticism directed at community organising, Reeser's and Epstein's (1990) study showed social workers with community work training were more reluctant to follow therapeutic frameworks and more likely to engage in and endorse activist approaches to practice. A similar situation was found by Wagner (1989, 1990) in his 1990s follow-up on radical social workers' personal and professional trajectories. This relation between community practice and the radical proclivity of social workers was not exclusive of the USA or the UK and it is most pertinent to the analysis of the Portuguese experience, given the obvious commonalities between the latter and the former, as it will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Table 2.4 RSW roots before the 1960s in the USA and in the UK

Time	Place	Manifestations
1890	USA	(Not be taken as explicit expressions of radical engagement): • direct involvement in political discussions, taking public stands on political issues and influencing policy decision making; • organising local structures of professional representation and transforming local groups into national alliances; • first wave feminism, trade unionism and socialist ideas drew social workers closer to issues of poverty and social justice; • criticism of charitable assistance.
	USA/UK	The Settlements Movement: • endorsing democratic participatory community intervention; • defying *old style* charity and philanthropy.
	UK	The Fabianist Movement: • brought in the influence of Marxist thinking and humanistic idealism.
	USA	Refractory movements within the profession: • instilled by personalities like Berta Capen Reynods, social work was challenged to take on partisan political stands".
	USA	Rank and File Movement: • instilled progressive and socialist ideas at least until the end of World War II
1940		

Source: own elaboration; based on Reeser and Epstein (1990), Jones (1996), Mullaly (1997), Reisch and Andrews (1999), Powell (2001), Reisch and Andrews (2002), Leighninger (2004), Payne (2005), Satka (2014).

[33] Like the ALAETS (Latin-American Association of Social Work Schools) and its academic chapter, the CELATS (Latin-American Centre of Social Work Research) or the CBCISS (Brazilian Centre of Cooperation and Interchange of Social Services) (Aquino, 2021; Elpidio, 2021; Lemos, Matos, & Ramos, 2021; Raichelis & Bravo, 2021).

2.2.3. Principles of RSW

Three key principles oriented the RSW movements of the 1970s: political focus and defence of social equality; criticism of *mainstream* social work practice (in Latin-America, *traditional* social work); structural proclivity (Table 2.5).

Among RSW's most distinct marks, in Latin-America as well as in the UK and in the USA, was an open call to the politicisation of the profession. An outspoken denounce of capitalism was inextricable from this politicized view of the profession (Withorn, 1984). In the UK and in the USA, radicals social workers summoned their peers to engage in leftist causes, calling for their class consciousness and sense of egalitarianism (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Wagner, 1989). In Latin-America alike, social work's radical renovation was erected on a vigorous anti-capitalist sentiment and on a fierce critique of international development programmes following Mauro Marini's or Gunder Frank's dependence theories, Aníbal Quijano's anti-colonialist ideas, and advocates of popular education like Paulo Freire (Martínez & Díaz, 2021).

Galper's 1980 (p. 146) formulation that the role of the social worker as an expert "must be downplayed in favour of the notion of the [social] worker as colleague, political ally, and facilitator" takes us closer to one of the most pervasive issues in RSW critique: that of the relation with mainstream or *conventional* (in Galper's verbalisation) forms of practice and professionalism. Similar proposals can be found in the LARM, using a different wording, though. There, preference was given to the term *traditional* social work. Traditional social work corresponded to a professional build, mainly of North-American extraction, marked by intuitive, charity-oriented intervention, devoid of rigorous technical and scientific procedures, informed by liberal values and aimed at the social adjustment of individuals and groups seen as socially disfunctional (Netto, 1975). Associated with the critique of mainstream and traditional social work, was the criticism of professional ideology – this one particularly evident in USA and UK literature (Reisch & Andrews, 2022). Similarly, for the Latin-American movement, the building of professional status should not be seen as an end in itself, rather as a co-construction done alongside the subjugated groups, in rupture with the institutional order (Faleiros, 1986). This order was seen by radicals as relying intrinsically on the capitalist system and class privileges. Thus, professionalism, while associated with the social capitalist order, was perceived as a way of disengaging from the poor (Faleiros, 1986; Reisch & Andrews, 2002).[34]

[34] For RSW, deprofessionalisation did not necessarily mean deskilling the profession. On the contrary, according to Corrigan and Leonard (1978) and Simpkin (1979), keeping the capacity to intervene within complex structural conditions demanded social workers to acquire and use skills. It was particularly evident in the case of Brazil, where the reconceptualization movement strived to develop and put into practice alternatives to the traditional case, group and community social work methods (Aquino, 2021; Machado et al., 2018).

Pervading the discussions around professionalism was the issue of the institutional placement of social workers and how it might influence developing radical practice. Statham (1978) recognised social workers in the UK had been firmly placed in welfare agencies for decades and held substantial power within, but she was also convinced that, once destitute of that power, they would become powerless to solve major social problems. The issue was not necessarily institutional placement *per se*, it was the way social workers acted in the institutions and used their power. This discussion was also present in the LARM. As synthesized by Faleiros (1986), three alternatives to traditional professional institutional placement and intervention loomed: the most radical one, which implied denying institutional work (social workers were to act alongside the social movements, organising grassroots services and power structures like popular tribunals, community kindergartens, canteens, housing, and so forth); a counter-institutional one (influenced by counter-cultural currents like the anti-psychiatry movement, proposed the possibility of social workers ensuring professional services in institutions where users were entitled to participate in decision processes); one based on the transformation of institutional power relations (implying the creation of an alliance between professionals and socio-economically classes, upholding their claims, taking part in struggles against hegemonic forces and relinquishing old-time loyalty to institutional power holders).[35]

RSW's structural proclivity was one of its most distinguishable aspects. The appeal to a radical change necessarily called for a transformation which had to take place, as Pearson (1975, p. 17) remarked, at the roots "of the dominant social order". Therefore, in order to act structurally social work would have to challenge the methods, procedures and policies that served social stability and control purposes. This type of action implied turning away from exclusive individualistic practice (whenever it was not directed to stir the people's consciousness and political emancipation), defying the "social welfare industry" (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973, p. 34), and rebelling against existing policies and institutions.

Throughout radical literature, the *community* appears as the ideal instance to do social work, particularly when it comes to doing it in a *structural* way. The community work was seen as the archetype of participatory and emancipatory intervention and the best way to foster political involvement and achieve structural change (Jones & Mayo, 1974). Unsurprisingly, RSW identified community organising methods as the main instrument of radical intervention (Andrews & Reisch, 2002).[36] However, in order to become a radical instrument of practice,

[35] The discussions around institutional placements become relevant when one looks into the Portuguese experience following the 1974 Revolution. Between 1974-1975, social work schools were showing signs of animosity towards traditional venues of institutional student practice placement as seminal research works have shown (Negreiros et al., 1992) and data collected in the course of the present research has confirmed (A2, A3).

[36] On this topic, it is worth mentioning Wagner's (1990, p. 206) research: "perhaps it is not surprising that the few subjects [in the 1990s] who seemed to practice 'aggressive' approaches to 'clients' […] had training, if not functional roles, as community organisers". This is particularly relevant for the Portuguese case, since

social work should turn the back on previous community methods (Mayo, 1975), especially those established by the principles of community development, judged as bearers of conservative Christian liberal ideologies (Pearson, 1975). In Latin-America, community intervention carried out under the auspices of the UN's development programmes was also subject of critique (Aquino, 2021; Machado et al., 2018). There, community development and community social work methods were cast as another example of the methodological colonisation of Latin-America's social work (Iamamoto, 2019).[37]

The structural proclivity of RSW movements in the 1970s in the USA, in the UK and in Latin-America was fortified by the adoption of Marxist theory. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon movement, despite the critiques around its theoretical insufficiencies,[38] radicals tended to progressively nurture on the Marxist thought. Marxism provided them a system of thought, a frame of social analysis and a vocabulary (Simpkin, 1979). Galper (1975), having Corrigan and Leonard (1978) among the more enthusiastic transposers of Marxist principles to social work's practice and public action. For Rojek et al (1988, p. 49), Marxism provided social workers with "a more comprehensive and systematic model of the causes of social problems", carrying along a new concepts (like production, alienation, ideology, state, and class) to conduct critical social analysis.[39] In Latin-America, particularly in Brazil, the reconceptualization movement's approach to Marxism started to take form after 1964 as a result of social workers' adhesion to anti-dictatorship resistance and participation in political movements and organisations on the Left (Netto, 2005). There, as social workers participated in oppositional and resistance actions alongside the working-class and its allies, their politicization within the Marxist tradition grew stronger.

For RSW, class was more than an analytical category useful to critically understand and locate the recipients of social work services within their social, economic and historical realities. The use of the concept had an ontological, reflexive and critical purposefulness, as it challenged social workers to consider their own position in the liberal capitalist system. In other

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a similar conclusion has been reached in the course of the present research (as shown in A2, A3 and A4, and also addressed in Chapter 4).

[37] Mayo (1975) pinned the initial 1960s community development approaches to post-colonialist agendas. Under the aegis of community development, Mayo argued, social intervention programmes became instruments set to impede the spread of socialism and communism in third world countries and to stimulate the economic development of less affluent regions and groups within the boundaries of the market system. In her opinion, in the case of the USA, community development worked as a tool of racial, political and economic domination. This stand converges with the LARM's anti-developmentism (Iamamoto, 2004, 2007; Netto, 2013) and critical theories of dependence (Marini, 1992).

[38] Richan and Mendelsohn's 1973 book is a good example of radical literature that served more as a manifesto for action than as a strongly sustained theoretical proposal for transformation.

[39] In the early 1970s in Chile, the dialectic relation infra-structure/super-structure commanded practice internships. Through placing students in working-class or rural collectives, wider conscientization, social, political and cultural emancipation were sought, expecting, therefore, greater participation in and control of the means of production would be promoted, hence contributing to the transformation of the social, political and economic capitalist super-structure (Martínez & Díaz, 2021).

words, class served not just to classify the client or the service user (as the *other*), it also invited social workers to critically debate their position within the socio-political structure and in relation to the existing statutory professional frameworks. Class and class condition were not to be taken as an abstract analytical category external to professionals themselves, which is why becoming closer to clients' and service users' living experience was essential in radical practice. This meant taking a *class option*, or *class rupture*, i.e., unconditionally identifying with working class and breaking away from middle class bourgeois values. That challenge was present in USA and in UK RSW and in the LARM. It could be found, as well, in documents of Portuguese social work schools (Negreiros, Andrade, & Queirós, 1992) and was vividly recalled by some of the participants in the present research (A2) (to be addressed in Chapters 4 and 5).

Table 2.5 Principles of RSW (Latin-America, UK, USA)

Principles	Main features, critiques and proposals
Political focus and equalitarianism	• RSW as socialist social work (Galper, 1975, 1980); • promoting advocacy and small-scale changes through placement in services to achieve wider transformation (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978); • taking participation in trade-unionism beyond the fights for social workers' labour rights, benefits and professional status (Langan & Lee, 1989; Wenocur, 1974); • involvement in community collective action, from service users' organisations to grassroots collectives (Lichtenberg, 1976; Statham, 1978); • using critical socialist perspectives to analyse the clients' issues (Galper, 1980); • upholding participatory democracy (Wenocur, 1974; Moljo et al 2021); • engaging in party-politics to politicize professional practice and take practice issues to politics (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978); • embracing Gramscian ideas of the social workers as working class organic intellectuals (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Iamamoto, 2019; Martínez & Díaz, 2021).
Criticism of mainstream & traditional social work practice	• critique of social work's function as society's *safety valve* (Galper, 1980) and of professional social control roles as *policemen* (Cloward & Piven, 1975), *soft-cops* (Pearson, 1989); • censuring social work's education system: academic curricular reform; practice training in grassroots and community-led organisations (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973; Bailey & Brake, 1975; Marro et al, 2021; Martínez & Díaz, 2021); • criticism of clinical psychological-oriented principles (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973; Iamamoto, 2019); • critique of behavioural paradigms (Epstein, 1975); • dismissal of casework as the primary method of intervention and critique of systemic and ecological approaches (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Cohen, 1975); • doing casework with transformational purposes (taking advantage of social workers' strategic positioning in the communities and services) (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Faleiros, 1986); • critique of *North-American methods* by the LARM (case, group and community social work) and defence of alternative methods adjusted to Latin-America (Iamamoto, 2019); • critique of professional ideology and social work specialization (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973; Leighninger & Knickmeyer, 1976; Wenocur & Reisch, 1983).
Structural proclivity	• intervention to be taken as closely to the people and the communities as possible (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973; Abramides, 2006); • community organising methods as key instrument of intervention (Mayo 1975); • extensive use of Marxist theory (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Netto, 1975)

Source: Own elaboration based on the sources provided

2.2.4. RSW's crisis and outcomes

Although the Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American RSW shared a set of principles, they ended up having different outcomes. In the 1980s, social work's radical mobilisation in the UK and in the USA was fading, alongside a crisis of the welfare state.[40] The 1980s' liberal turn progressively constrained professional radicalism, replacing the political idealism of the 1960s and 1970s (Reisch, 2018). [41]

The relation between radical activity in social work and the fluctuation of "cycles of contention", to use Tilly's (1978) concept, was evident in the USA: if in the late 1960s and 1970s social work's radical movements were roused by larger social mobilisations and were implicated in building coalitions, after the 1980s, radical social workers tended to become isolated, as cycles of protest and overall radicalism dissipated (Cloward & Piven, 1990).

As Statham (1978) affirmed, the emergency of RSW greatly depends on the existence of ideal structural conditions. Conditions that, in the 1960s and 1970s were blatantly present: the social and political climate was marked by political discussion, social unrest, civic activism and a widespread counter-cultural libertarian philosophy. Statham's (1978) scepticism about the future of RSW in the UK in the years to come was understandable, as she saw no prospects of a political transition to socialism there. She argued it was in countries going through socialist revolutionary transition that RSW could strive (giving the example of Salvador Allende's Chile, although disregarding the Portuguese case). In situations such as the Chilean, Statham found the conditions for social work to develop its revolutionary potential because countries going through socialist revolutions guaranteed social work the structural support, the legitimacy and the resources needed to advance its own radical transformation into a revolutionary-serving profession.[42] This point in Statham's analysis is of great interest to the present research, considering the fact that from 1974 until late 1975 Portugal was home to a process of radical revolutionary socialist transition where the same optimal structural circumstances mentioned by Statham for RSW to occur could be found.

In the UK and in the USA the RSW movement declined to near inexistence in the wake of the 1980s. Nevertheless, it left a legacy to the profession. It was able to lay the seeds of

[40] The same welfare state that, in the 1950s and 1960s had led to the creation of an unprecedented number of social work job positions in both countries and had demanded an invigorated educational offer (Bamford, 2015; Payne, 2005).

[41] Like the UK, the USA witnessed an invigorated conservativism and economic liberal tide in the 1980s that impacted on the social work profession (Reeser & Epstein, 1990). Thatcherism and Reaganism, whose policies implied large cutbacks in social programmes, were to be widely associated with this ideological and political change (Jordan & Jordan, 2000; Mullaly, 1997; Payne, 2005; Pearson, 1989; Rogowski, 2010).

[42] Statham's idea coincides with the conclusions of Latin-American studies on Chile's radical path in the early 1970s (Marro, Duriguetto, et al., 2021; Martínez & Díaz, 2021; Ruz, 2016).

epistemological, theoretical, ethical and praxeological transformation in social work (Mendes, 2009; Pease, 2009; Reisch & Andrews, 2002), namely by taking to the profession's mainstream some of RSW's *defining values* such as community commitment, equality, empowerment, anti-racism and feminism (Andrews & Reisch, 2002; Dominelli, 2002; Ferguson & Woodward, 2009; Healy, 2000; Jordan & Jordan, 2000; Langan, 2002; Langan & Lee, 1989).

In Latin-America, radical professional mobilisation brought along different outcomes. Despite Netto's (1975) claim that the reconceptualization movement in Latin-America went into crisis after 1975, some of the core proposals and principles did, indeed, influence the profession.[43] Arguably one of the best examples comes from Brazil. There, from the 1980s onwards, endorsing rights' based social policies (Elpidio, 2021) and converging with workers' organisations, movements and struggles was collectively assumed as the backbone of social work's professional project (Iamamoto, 2019).

If the radical reconceptualization movement launched the debates around a Marxist-based theoretical, methodological and ethical-political professional project (Iamammoto, 2019), the 3rd Brazilian Congress of Social Workers, in 1979, constituted a determinant moment for its consolidation (Abramides, 2006, Iamamoto, 2019). The *Congress of the Turn*, as it still is referred to, forced Brazilian social work to rupture with conservativism and with the supposed political neutrality of the profession. It also required overcoming the more technicist tendencies (associated with the modernization agendas) as well as the reconceptualization movement's earlier messianic stands (Elpidio, 2021).[44]

The influence of RSW on the profession was, Reisch and Andrews (2002) claimed, not radical, but rather gradual. That can be noticed in the UK and in the USA, as well as in Latin-America, where fundamental concepts of radical thought like social justice, the legitimacy of social struggles, and the ethical-political dimension of professional practice serve as good examples of the impact of radical proposals on the profession (Iamamoto, 2019; Reisch & Andrews 2002). Besides constituting a disruptive and conflictive aspect, bringing the *political* to the core of the profession was one of the most salient and pervasive features of RSW in the 1970s: the UK, the USA and Latin-America provide good examples of such and offer a useful lens to look at the Portuguese social work's politicisation during the revolutionary period.

[43] In the case of Brazil, Netto (2005) theorized that the crisis of the LARM was tied to the historical process of social work's modernization initiated in the early 1960s. He claimed that the reconceptualization movement started as an anti-authoritarian and anti-imperialist reaction to a process of professional modernization erected around capitalist categories. This modernisation was moving the profession away from more traditional charity assistance-focused intervention, but without contemplating the radical tendencies that were looming in the academy in the 1960s.

[44] The LARM was often marked by messianic urges, partly resulting from radical or revolutionary voluntarism devoid of theorical backup, often reducing professional action to essential political activism, rendering difficult to draw the line between professional intervention and militantism (Iamamoto, 2019; Netto, 2005).

Chapter 3

Overview of Portuguese social work and society: from dictatorship to the Revolution

3.1. The emergence of social work in Portugal under the *Estado Novo* dictatorship

While by the end of the 19th century social work was increasingly recognised as a profession in the UK and in the USA (Woodroofe, 1962), carving its space in academia (Lorenz, 1994; Lubove, 1965; Payne, 2005; Reisch & Andrews, 2002),[45] in Portugal, it was only in 1935 that the first social work school was inaugurated and another four years would go by before the profession was legally recognised.[46]

To be more precise, the social work profession was constituted in the early years of the dictatorship that came out of the military coup in 1926 (Pimentel, 2013). In 1928, the military formed a government cabinet and invited Oliveira Salazar, a conservative academic, to be Minister of Finance (Rosas, 2012). Salazar established a series of austerity measures and became President of the Council of Ministers in a context of international economic depression. His economic protectionism and financial policies (Rosas, 1989, 1998) coincided with his public image of a frugal, prudent and discreet person; even his celibacy was understood as a sign of his full personal commitment to the nation (Menezes, 2009). Salazar's moral conservatism and Catholicism brought him closer to the Catholic Church's secular and non-secular ranks which ended up becoming a powerful ally of his political project (Pimentel, 2001; Rosas, 2012) and a key instrument in the organisation of the first schools of social work (Martins, 2010). As a nationalist, Salazar praised tradition and colonialism (Almeida, 1991) while refusing ideas of modernity and liberal democratic representation (Rosas, 2001).

Once entrusted with the control of the government, Salazar's image of a charismatic leader of the nation grew stronger and, in 1933, a new Constitution was approved (Pinto, 1992b) formally instating what was to be known as the *Estado Novo* (New State). According to Rosas (1998), the new constitution set up a true political revolution based on five guiding principles: the refusal of democratic liberalism, the admission of national corporativism, the institution of state authoritarianism (marked by the reinforcement of the powers of a police branch meant to

[45] Also, social work emerged in the USA as a relevant partner in sociological research (Branco, 2015b; Lee, 2018).

[46] In 1939, the Government Decree 30:135 formally recognised the profession of *social service assistant,* which until 1961 was exclusively for women (Branco, 2015a; Ferreira, 2008). Social service assistant was later shortened to *social assistant*, a designation that has remained to this day. In the revolutionary period, a tendency to replace it by *social worker* was documented. That could be read as an attempt to cut ties with traditional professional profiles (Martins & Silva, 2022; Negreiros et al., 1992), an issue to be approached in chapter 4. Unlike what happened in Spain (Cintora, 2001; Colomer-i-Salmons, 1990; Matos-Silveira et al., 2020), in Portugal the profession's designation was not changed to *social work* neither was the designation of its professionals (Branco, 2017; Navarro, 1998). *Serviço social* (social service) and *assistente social* (social assistant) have endured until the present day (Branco, 2015a; 2017). In international publications and in presentations in international scientific events, there has been a tendency for Portuguese social work researchers to employ the terms *social work* and *social worker* to refer to the profession. In light of that tradition and considering that those were the terms used in this research (from the beginning and in all published outputs), the same will happen in this document.

investigate and repress political opposition), social and economic state intervention, colonial imperialism. Based on the new constitution, the *Estado Novo* cut civil liberties, eroded democratic representation, terminated the multiparty system and outlawed free labour unionism, replaced by a corporative system under the control of the state (Freire, 2012; Rosas, 1998). Simultaneously, the 1933 constitution legitimised the historical nexus with Catholicism that resulted in the Catholic Church's social doctrine deeply influencing the way social care, welfare and social work were to be conceived and materialised (Martins, 2010).

Under the new constitution, public welfare was not a right and the role of the state was to supplement the efforts of private organisations (especially in the sphere of the Catholic Church) and corporativist bodies (Monteiro, 1995). In the realm of family assistance, the state favoured supporting what was considered the normal functioning of the family and its productive and reproductive functions (Pimentel, 1998), thus reflecting the influence of Leplaysian principles (Branco, 2015a; Martins, 2010; Monteiro, 1995; Wall, 1993). This supplementary and limited subsidiary role of the state was outlined in the first congress of the only political party allowed by the regime, the *União Nacional* (National Union), in 1934 (Monteiro, 1995), when the pivotal role of the Catholic Church as provider of social relief was definitely settled (Pimentel, 1998).[47] In that historic political gathering, French-born Elizabeth Bandeira de Melo, Countess of Rilvas, an illustrious representative of the Catholic conservative social elite, argued in favour of the creation of a social work school (Martins, 2010; Pimentel, 1998).

The first school to open was the Lisbon Institute of Social Service in 1935, followed by the Coimbra Social Normal School in 1937 (Henriquez, 1991). [48] As Branco, (2015a) and Martins (2010) state, before these schools were established in the early years of the dictatorship, the training of health visitors and school visitors had already started, responding to hygienist and social medicine movements' long held claims. According to the same authors, under the *Estado Novo*, these professionals, as well as social workers, had to strictly comply with a moral and ideological abidance to the regime's political project and to its idealised view of society.

The foundation of the first schools of social work owed much to the influence of Catholic layman organisations that sprung in the late 1920s and early 1930s (Fontes, 1994). The Portuguese Catholic Action, the Noelist Movement and, later, the OMEN (Organisation of the Mothers for the National Education) played an important role in the institutionalisation of social work in the country (Pimentel 2001).

[47] The vision of assistance based primarily on charity done through private and religious organisations remained salient in the 1940s. In fact, the policy and legislation regarding social assistance approved in 1945 were established on the principle that the Portuguese people was naturally drawn to piety and to religiosity. Accordingly, it was up to the state to endorse the Portuguese charitable spirit through socially legitimising and formally allowing the deployment of social relief by private entities. As Pimentel (1998) noted, the 1940's legislation on social assistance already mentioned Beveridge's advances on welfare policy, despite signalling public intervention should not supress or overlap private beneficence.

[48] A detailed history of the Coimbra social work school foundation can be read in Martins (2010).

As Martins (2010) points out, those linked to social medicine and to the hygienist movement preferred Anglo-Saxon social work models and having social workers trained in the public university system. Contrarily, the regime favoured placing social work schools under the wing of Catholic-affiliated private organisations (Martins, 2010; Silva, 2016). [49] Simultaneously, French social work models were chosen over Anglo-Saxon ones (Martins, 2010). The nomenclature used from that stage onwards is a self-expression of that influence, contributing to crystallise the use of *social service* to refer to social work (Branco, 2017). Hiring training staff in France (e.g. the case of Marie Thérese Lévêque, in the Lisbon school and Marie Constance Davon in the Coimbra school) is another example of that leaning towards French and Belgium social work (Fernandes, 1985a, 1985b; Henriquez, 1991; Martins, 2010; Santos, 2009a; Silva, 2016).

According to Branco (2015a; 2017) and Martins (2010), the 1939 decree officialising the creation of the first social work schools and limiting the use of the title of social worker (assistant of social service) to holders of a diploma in Social Service clearly established the profile of the profession. This decree shows how the profession was shaped around doctrinal and ideological codes rather than based on theoretical and methodological principles (Branco, 2015a; Ferreira, 2008). It urged professionals to act as "labourers of social service" with missionary zeal towards the "more influenceable" "humble families and of restricted culture" (Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1939). Thus, social work was instated as an exclusively feminine profession which rested on women's motherly nature as the ideal condition to assist the poor – a feature often found in European right-wing dictatorships of the 1930s (Gallego, 2015; Guillen, 1992; Lorenz, 1994, 2014; Mabon-Fall, 1995; Schulte, 2009; Sünker & Otto, 1997).

As Matos-Silveira, Silva, Martins, Carrara, e Perelló (2020) point out, the institutionalisation of social work in Portugal in the 1930s was paralleled by a political process of suppressing rights and liberties. In that decade, Salazar fought all sources of opposition, from the more radical fascist and national-syndicalist movements to the republican and socialist groups while violently repressing the influence of the Communist Party (Pereira, 1999; Pinto, 1992a).

3.2. The 1960s: a decade of social change and political decline of the dictatorship

1958, a year of presidential election, represented the unfulfilled promise of political change. General Humberto Delgado, the opposing candidate, drew massive popular support, although, in the end, the regime's candidate, Admiral Américo Tomás, emerged as the winner of an election fraught with fraud (Pimentel, 2013). In the face of such outcome, a military action led by military officers and supported by civilian activists (including social workers) took place in

[49] Lisbon's Patriarchate in the case of the Lisbon Institute of Social Service (Silva, 2016) and Mary's Franciscan Missionaries in the case of the Coimbra school (Martins, 2010). The third school, founded later, in 1956, in Porto, fell under the purview of the city's Patriarchate (ISSSP, 1985). It should be said University institutions were viewed suspiciously by the regime as a (still) potential site of resistance and opposition (Martins, 2010).

March 1959 (Martins, 2002). This unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the regime revealed different social, professional and ideological sensibilities converging to resist the dictatorial regime and the growing importance of left-wing Catholics in oppositional actions (Almeida, 2008).

On January 1, 1962, another failed move to overthrow the regime took place. This attempt, known as the Beja coup, represented the last military effort to oust the *Estado Novo* until 1974 (Rosas, 1998). Social workers were personally involved in the operations, as was the case of Eugenia Varela Gomes[50], wife of one of the leading officers, whose participation would cost her 17 months of imprisonment and torture (Martins, 2017).[51]

Tolerated by the western block powers, the Portuguese dictatorship endured, toughening repression of internal and external threats (Pimentel, 2008, 2013). In 1961, social unrest and native rebellious mobilisations in Angola were responded with force by the colonial administration. The conflicts would soon escalate to open armed confrontation between organised independentist movements and the Portuguese army (Rosas, 1998). In less than two years, the uprisings extended to other Portuguese colonies in Africa like Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique (L. N. Rodrigues, 2015). In *metropolitan* Portugal, as the Portuguese European continental territory was then referred to, military conscription grew, making the colonial war a dark shadow looming over the future of a number of youth cohorts (Rosas, 1998).

As Accornero (2009), Cardina (2008a) and Oliveira (2004) have documented, a series of student revolts took place in the 1960s and early 1970s. Among students' claims were the introduction of political reforms that could lead to freedom, democracy and the end of the colonial war. The 1969 revolts disclosed the extent of the rupture between university students and the regime and revealed Marxism as a bonding factor of the contentious groups (Cardina, 2008a). Besides open demonstrations of opposition to the regime, student contention also enacted academic solidarities (Cardina, 2008b) around resistance initiatives against the Government and its policies. An example of such solidarity was the public declaration of support made by the students' association of one of the country's largest engineering schools, the Higher Technical Institute, to Father Reker, a Dutch Catholic priest who taught at Lisbon's social work school, the ISSSL. On February 18, 1970, Father Reker was detained by the political police and expelled from the country, possibly as a reprisal for his public stands on the Portuguese colonial policy.[52] In their associative journal, the engineering students amplified a previous denounce made by their social work peers.[53] In the form of a collective communication, the students of the ISSSL

[50] Along with Maria Manuela Antunes (Martins, 2002).
[51] Details of Eugenia Varela Gomes' participation in the Beja coup and in other initiatives against the dictatorship can be found in her biography published by Cruzeiro in 2003.
[52] Binómio, 27-02-1970, Boletim da Associação dos Estudantes do Instituto Superior Técnico, *Fundação Mário Soares* archives.
[53] Communication, ISSSL's students collective, undated, *Fundação Mário Soares* archives.

claimed Father Reker was arbitrarily arrested and unfairly treated, denouncing the decision as an illegal and blatant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That communication exemplifies the ISSSL's Council conflictive relation with the conservative hierarchies of the Catholic clergy and its all-out confrontation with the regime (Negreiros et al., 1992). Moreover, that public statement showed how social work students were detaching themselves from doctrinal and political abidance to the regime, favouring instead a stand based on human rights and its advocacy.

In the 1950s, a progressive migration pattern from the rural inland to the costal urban peripheries started to take place, especially in the expanding industrial centres around Lisbon (Bandeira, 1996). A decade later, the migratory route also took Portuguese citizens to western European countries, mainly to France and Germany (Pereira, 2009, 2014). These migratory flows contributed to gradually depopulate the countryside and to create new pockets of poverty in urban suburbs (Maranhão, 1989; Moreira, Rodrigues, & Henriques, 2009) and in the old historic quarters of cities like Porto (Queirós, 2015).

In the Autumn of 1967, heavy rain and intense flooding submerged vast areas of the river Tagus valley, Lisbon's urban periphery and some of its poor inner-city neighbourhoods. Despite the censorship exerted by the state, reports of the accident uncovered the poverty and deprivation faced by thousands of Portuguese people packed in shantytowns (Costa, Cardina, & Vieira, 2016; Malheiros et al., 2018). Student voluntaries, summoned by academic associations and informal student networks, immediately intervened, joined by civil associations already involved in oppositional activities (Cardina, 2008b).[54] For this young Portuguese intellectual *elite* (some already politicised and critical of the regime), meeting the people affected by the floods, setting feet in their dwellings, being face-to-face with the hardships of the downtrodden, did much to increase their disapproval of the dictatorship. This event surfaced in this research when four social workers recalled having participated in volunteer actions and how it influenced their political attitude to the regime. The floods also prompted the building of new residential infrastructures to relocate some of the families affected by the disaster. That effort defied the existing housing policies and led to the creation of the Housing Development Fund in 1969, a state department responsible for handling housing policy (Malheiros et al., 2018). This state body, with social workers among its staff, had a key role in the development of one of the most strikingly progressive initiatives during the revolutionary period, the SAAL programme (Coelho, 1986; Portas, 1986; Queirós, 2015).

[54] Among which collectives of progressive Catholics and the Catholic University Youth (Cavaco, 2014).

3.3. Social workers and the(ir) political opposition to the dictatorship

In the Summer of 1968, the dictator Oliveira Salazar fell from a chair and a brain haematoma impeded his continuing as the head of the Council of Ministers (Ferreira, 1994). As a result, in September 1968, Salazar's *dauphin*, Marcello Caetano, was designated to lead the regime.[55] According to Rosas (1998), Caetano's nomination was seen as an opportunity to reverse the policy of diplomatic isolation led by Salazar. For the progressive and oppositional groups, this prospect entailed the hope for internal political reform and a relief of state authoritarianism. However, the same author argues, the antidemocratic and antiparty nature of the regime prevailed and expectations of reform were met by elusive measures: the political police's denomination was altered, but not its methods and purposes; censorship was not banned and the unions were given more freedom to elect its leaderships without the need of Government approval.[56] Also, a few political exiled personalities were allowed to return, including the influential bishop of Porto, D. António Ferreira Gomes,[57] who was highly respected by the progressive Catholics (Lopes, 2007) and played a major role in the creation of Portugal's third school of social work, in the city of Porto, in 1956 (ISSSP, 1966, 1985).

Under the leadership of Marcello Caetano, unable or unwilling to promote wider internal political reforms, the regime was far from turning into a parliamentary multiparty system. In 1969 general elections were held. According to Rosas (1998), these elections represented Caetano's disposition towards the political opening of the regime, allowing additional electoral lists and the inclusion of known opponents to the regime. In order to participate in this election, different progressive groups as well as individuals and organisations resisting the regime converged to create the CDE (Democratic Electoral Commission) and the CEUD (Electoral Commission of Democratic Unity). The elections were marked by a high level of abstention (42% nation-wide), with the above-mentioned oppositional lists gathering 12% of the ballots (Rosas, 1998).

The following elections for the National Assembly occurred in 1973. This time, the opposition gathered around a single list, the CDE. The CDE was able to present lists in almost every electoral circle, partly due to the oppositional leaderships' capacity to reach out to the labour unions and other labour-related structures. However, hampered by lack of freedom to campaign and facing the likelihood of electoral fraud, the CDE withdrew from the elections (Ferreira, 2003).

According to Martins (2017), social workers were not parted from this electoral processes. Ferreira (2003) identified two social workers involved in the CDE lists of the 1969 elections, Eugénia Varela Gomes and Eugénia Pereira de Moura, the latter, a member of the CDE's national political

[55] Marcello Caetano was a highly credited Law academic, well-informed about welfare systems and welfare policies as well as colonial matters (Rosas, 1998).

[56] These changes in the functioning of labour unions had a strong influence on the profession in the early years of the 1970s, insofar as it allowed the election of a progressive and anti-establishment union board (Martins, 2017).

[57] As of 1959, this Catholic Church dignitary underwent a period of exile following the disclosure of a letter he had sent to Salazar suggesting the need for liberty and non-discrimination (Lopes, 2007).

commission. In the 1973 elections, the social worker Berta Granja (then Monteiro) was on the lists of the Porto constituency (Ferreira, 2003). Besides formal participations as candidates, social workers and social work students were active in campaign actions, a fact that was reported by some of the interviewees participating in this research and had already been signalled in the historiography of Portuguese social work (Ferreira, 2003; Martins, 2017). The involvement of social workers in the lists of the democratic opposition represented an effort to both contest and escape the authoritarian political order (Ferreira, 2003).

Resistance and opposition to the regime grew during the 1960s with the thrust of the civic activism that was brewing in the recently formed progressive Catholic cultural cooperatives and associations (Lopes, 2007; Pimentel, 2013). The *Pragma*, the National Centre of Culture, the *Confronto*, the *GRAAL* and the *GEDOC* stood as important settings of opposition also gathering social workers.[58] Besides carrying out activities related to intellectual reflection and organising cultural activities, these groups were a key instrument in building up networks of anti-dictatorship opponents of all sorts and distinct ideological positions (Ferreira, 2003). For some social workers and social work students, participating in these structures represented their initial politicisation and, for others, it was a vehicle to convey their deeper political involvement and revolutionary enthusiasm, as Martins (2002) has pointed out and many of the interviewees acknowledged.[59]

3.4. The advent of community development: methodological diversification and epistemological turn in Portuguese social work

Participating in the elections for the National Assembly in the opposition lists, taking part in anti-government political and cultural collectives, leading what could be envisaged as a rank-and-file type process within the labour union evidenced social workers' gradual distancing from the authoritarian regime and the affirmation of a political proclivity somehow new to the profession in Portugal (Matos-Silveira et al., 2020). These traces of dissent in the profession cannot be separated from the methodological renovation in terms of intervention that took place in the 1960s, particularly involving community organising and community development. Ferreira (2003, p. 120) referred to this renewal as the most significant experience (*sic*) of Portuguese social work in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[60]

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[58] For details on the participation of social workers in cultural cooperatives see Ferreira (2003) and Martins (2002, 2017).

[59] Similar connections between progressive Catholic movements, particularly those inspired by the Theology of Liberation, and social work's radical movements could be seen in Brazil throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Iamamoto, 2019).

[60] Since the early 1960s, Portuguese social work has seen methodological renewal with the introduction of community and group social work (Ferreira, 2003) and in the late 1960s critical expressions associated with the LARM started to reach the professional milieu (Martins & Tomé, 2016). These processes counter superficial and reductionist historical appraisals of sub-development of southern European social work as the following excerpt illustrates: "southern European states had little development in social work,

Efforts to strengthen community development activities were made in the aftermath of World War II (Healy, 2012); these efforts were sponsored by the UN (Payne, 2005) and soon incorporated in the new geo-politics of the Cold War (Rist, 2008)[61]. According to Coutinho (1993), in the 1960s, Portugal embraced the UN's concept of community development and re-oriented its social assistance policies. In Silva's (1968) opinion, this new developmentist approach brought along an innovative, if not rupturing, dimension: the call for the participation of the public in community intervention. Furthermore, community development made use of integrated approaches to respond to social problems, taking into consideration fundamental aspects, such as economy, employment, education, labour training, family safety and human well-being (Coutinho, 1993). For Silva (1964), community development should be conceived as an instrument of regional development policy and, in the Portuguese case, it should be used to promote agricultural extension, health education, public health and agricultural credit. As such, community development called to wider reaching programmes in order to stimulate economic growth, employment and well-being in the medium and long term.

By embracing community development, especially after 1965,[62] Portugal took steps to bring together social work and other professions and fields of social-economic planning. Coutinho (1993) believes community development has contributed to change the customary notion of assistance and the concept of assistance recipient: a less embroiled in bureaucracy and more humanised intervention; the assisted as a rights-holder.

The participation of the public was, by far, a distinctive and rupturing mark of Portuguese community development experiences in the 1960s. Coutinho (1993) points out Manuela Silva's crucial role in the development of those programmes. Besides leading the service of Community Social Promotion, she had a considerable share of responsibility in the involvement of social workers and social work students in community development projects as signalled in previous researches (Passarinho, 2012) and recognised by some of the subjects enquired in the course of this research.[63] For Manuela Silva, participating in community development meant allowing people to have their voices heard and creating the conditions for all to engage in a communal undertaking, augmenting the capacity to mobilise resources endogenously (Silva, 1968). Beyond its implicit philosophical and political democratic principles, community development implied its own

mainly because of the influence of conservative Catholic regimes, including the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships. Leibfried (2000) argued that their system was rudimentary" (Payne, 2005, p. 71).

[61] Several articles published in the journal *Cadernos de Serviço Social* in the 1960s, usually translations of communications presented in international conferences and meetings, highlight the close relation established between the adoption of community development strategies and the United Nations' agenda (Figueira, 1962a; Guerreiro, 1966; ONU, 1962).

[62] When programmes of Community Social Promotion are put in place (Coutinho, 1993).

[63] As Martins (2009) recalled, Manuela Silva had a firm belief that social work should assume a more prominent role in the conception and delivery of social policies, also claiming that economic development should be under the larger umbrella of social policy planning, social work being instrumental in the concretisation of development plans.

technicalities, among which participation was indispensable. From Manuela Silva's (1968, p. 13-16) stand, participation was to be reached through three key "techniques": social enquiry (research conducted in accordance with social scientific methods), construction of a relationship with the community (creating engagement between the projects' external agents and the distinct and relevant social groups of the local community), creation of local participatory structures (fundamental to ensure a shared and sustained administration of the projects).

The technical, methodological and relational features of community development necessarily called for the acquisition of know-how and competences on the part of the staff involved. In fact, the integration of community development approaches in the social work curricula had already begun to take place in Portuguese schools (Ferreira, 2008; ISSSC, 1985; ISSSP, 1985) and the international developments of this particular method of social work were already being followed, commented and divulged in Portugal since the early 1960s (Ataíde, 1962; Figueira, 1962a; Moura, 1962). Furthermore, interventions under the framework of community social work were being delivered in rural settings (Cabral, 1962) and in urban peripheries (Figueira, 1962b) since 1961.

For social research to be able to assess local issues, get to know local networks better and identify potential leaderships it has to rely on people capable of handling instruments of sociological enquiry and analysis (Coutinho, 1993; Silva, 1968). Therefore, social workers and social work students who participated in community development programmes were directed to study social theory, so as to enlarge their sociological knowledge base. Gradually, sociological theory contents other than the customary Leplaysian theory were introduced in the curricula of social work schools (Ferreira, 2008; Martins, 1993). To respond to this demand for increased expertise in the field of community intervention, in the second half of the 1960s social work schools offered complimentary courses, counting on teachers from Brazilian social work schools.[64]

Although community intervention projects and practices had already been taking place from the early 1960s, the most prominent and structured experiences only happened after 1965, conducted by the newly instated Service of Community Social Promotion.[65] A total of 13 projects of Community Social Promotion were deployed in rural areas – 12 in mainland Portugal and one in the Madeira islands. They primarily focused on the integrated promotion of the agricultural and industrial capacity of the territories in question (Coutinho, 1993). Despite its ground-breaking

[64] Exceling in community and groupwork methods, these teachers held post-graduate degrees in social work obtained from USA institutions (Martins, 2002; Santos & Martins, 2016).

[65] Forerunner of the Service of Community Social Promotion was the Community Development Study and Experimentation Team, created in 1962. This structure brought together experts from such areas as economics, social work, law, architecture, agronomy and public health and had the support of private institutions (industrial association), the state (Office of Internal Colonisation) and a non-profit organisation, the Gulbenkian Foundation. The latter, based in Portugal, would be considerably influential in backing community development programmes internationally during the 1960s (Banks, 2011; Cannan, 1975).

quality, these experiences shared the developmentist nature (Martins, 2002) so characteristic of UN's development programmes (Cloward & Piven, 1975; Mayo, 1975).[66]

Nonetheless, the community development programmes of the mid 1960s and the training and implementation of practices using community organising were vital to introduce social work to more politically fracturing interventions. When looking into the internship reports of students from the Porto social work school during that period, it becomes evident to what extent community organising supported participatory practices, the renegotiation of practitioner/user power relations and the introduction of socially and politically sensitive issues (like war, collective action, education, gender relations and women's rights). Inherent to the approaches used in social work internees' practice in the city's community centres was an intention to foster conscientisation processes (ISSSP, 1985; Palma, 1967; Salselas, 1970; Silva, 1967). At least four of the social workers who were interviewed in the course of this research had participated in community development programmes and acknowledged that experience as having been instrumental in moulding their critical and progressive perspectives on social issues as well as their political consciousness, a circumstance also pointed out in previous research (Coutinho, 1993; Passarinho, 2012).

3.5. Framing the counter-current: the social workers' Union and the early expressions of collective political rupture

In a period of growing social unrest and political contestation, the introduction of community practice in social work curricula and practice training and the advance of community development programmes was determinant to increase students' and professionals' contact with the social reality and people's everyday problems. This contributed to alter professional practices, gradually leading to what Ferreira (2003) called a counter current to more traditional forms of intervention, and the non-acceptance of the existing order. However, the most distinct sign of collective professional political stand before 1974 was given when control of the only social work union changed hands (Matos-Silveira et al., 2020) and younger progressive social workers sat on the board of it from 1970 onwards (Ferreira, 2003). According to Rosa (1979), this was both a result of Marcello Caetano's reforms[67] and a sign of the decline of the Marcelist era.

Ferreira, Couto, and Fernandes (1992) and Ferreira (2003) have documented the events, the activities and the actors involved in this particular tract of Portuguese social work history.[68] According to these sources and other literature available (Martins, 2017; Martins & Silva, 2022; Semblano, 2003), the changes in the social work union control (historically assumed by senior

[66] The developmentist guise of those community projects can be perceived in some of Silva's (1964, 1968) publications, in which she frames community development as part of a wider regional and nationally planned economy and encrusted around a productivist concept of economic and social progress.

[67] Clearing labour union representatives from Government approval (Rosas, 1998).

[68] Passarinho's (2012) doctoral work provides a few accounts of participation in the social work union and the implicit oppositional meaning of that involvement.

social workers who were politically and ideologically aligned with the regime) represented a turn towards a more political intervention and the assumption of social work professionals as working class members. According to Ferreira's (2003) analysis, the labour union struggle offered social workers a bridge to a more politicised social intervention. The politicising of the profession and the introduction of Marxist thinking was also done through the organisation of meetings and non-graduate courses on the new critical social work stemming from Latin America by the social workers' union even prior to the Revolution (Fernandes, 1985a; Ferreira, 2003; Martins & Carrara, 2014; Santos & Martins, 2016). In parallel, through networking with other labour union structures from the most varied sectors, the social workers' union board participated in clandestine meetings of the movement that would lead to the establishment of a common progressive union organisation (Ferreira, 2003; Martins, 2017). These stands and actions gave a strong sign of social work's disaffiliation from the conservative and politically neutralist perspectives that had marked Portuguese social work from the beginning.

3.6. The April 25 1974 coup, the end of the dictatorship and a Revolution underway

After 1970, the crisis of the *Estado Novo* regime accelerated, hit by rampant internal contestation and the loss of international support (Ferreira, 1994). In the wake of the disappointing results of the 1969 elections, the political opposition became more radicalised, as new left-wing movements of Maoist and Marxist-Leninist extraction emerged (Cardina, 2011). The already mentioned attempts to unify labour union structures into a common platform was producing some results. Strikes in various services and industrial sectors provoked unremitting social havoc; besides, as far as the economy is concerned, Portugal endured the effects of the 1973 oil crisis and inflation mounted (Rosas, 1998).

As Cardina (2010) and Lopes (2007) point out, progressive Catholics kept internal opposition alive while conducting actions of anti-war subversive propaganda and other forms of pacifist resistance against the regime. A major example of such resistance was the Rato Chapel vigil, organised in Lisbon on the eve of January 1, 1973 (Azevedo, 2011). The vigil, meant to protest against the war, was complemented by a 48-hour hunger strike (Lopes, 2007). The event was fiercely repressed by the regime, resulting in a violent police charge and up to 70 arrests (Pimentel, 2013). Among the detainees were some of the more prominent progressive Catholics, including Francisco Pereira de Moura, then teaching at the Lisbon social work school (Almeida, 2008; Passarinho, 2012).[69]

Internationally, the regime was struck by a series of political setbacks. Early in 1970, the movements fighting for the independence of the then African colonies were formally received in

[69] The involvement of social workers and, particularly, of the social work union in the Rato Chapel vigil was studied by Martins (2002, 2017) and by Ferreira (2003).

the Vatican by Pope Paul VI (Rosas, 1998).[70] The event had a major political and symbolic reach, considering the Catholic Church's historic role as an ally of the Portuguese dictatorship (Pimentel, 2013).

Marcello Caetano kept his resolve in following through with the war effort (Ferreira, 1994; Rosas, 1998). Discontent among lower rank officers grew and, in the beginning of 1974, a book by a high-profile military commander, General António de Spínola, vice-chief of the Armed Forces, hit the bookstores like a bomb. *Portugal e o Futuro* [Portugal and the Future] (Spínola, 1974) was indeed a political blow to Caetano's leadership and especially to the regime's obstinacy in continuing the warfare (Rosas, 1998). In Spínola's (1974) opinion, the military effort would lead to a dead end and only a political solution could stop the war and provide a shared political future for Portugal, its colonial territories and its people.

As Rezola (2008) points out in her thorough study of the political revolutionary process, the above-mentioned discontent of lower rank military officers brew into a movement in 1973. In the morning of April 25, 1974, the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) successfully conducted a series of military operations, taking control of strategic objectives and, in less than 24 hours, causing the almost five decade-long dictatorship to fall like a house of cards (Ferreira, 1994). Despite radio appeals to the population to stay at home, since the early hours of the day crowds gathered in the streets by the thousands, meeting and circulating around the several key-points of military action, particularly in Lisbon (Varela, 2014). That day, Marcello Caetano was escorted out of the country to a definitive exile in Brazil and power was provisionally handed over to a National Salvation Junta (*Junta de Salvação Nacional*), a group of militaries representing the various military branches designated by the MFA (Rezola, 2008).

The enforcement of the MFA's political programme was entrusted to the National Salvation Junta headed by General Spínola.[71] Despite the considerable disagreement with that programme, seen by Spínola as a manifestation of communist influences (Rezola, 2008), the MFA's agenda of transition started to be carried out. Among the most emergent actions was the dismantling of the institutional and authoritarian order of the *Estado Novo*, namely the political police[72]. Transitorily, the presidency of the state would be assumed by the leader of the National Salvation Junta (Ferreira, 1994). Within three weeks after April 25, a provisional civil Government would be chosen and, in a year's time, a Constitutive National Assembly was to be elected by way of a direct, secret and universal election. In the meantime, the MFA's programme stated

[70] The African territories under Portuguese colonial administration were Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé e Princípe, although the military conflict was only taking place in the first three.

[71] The programme and aims of the MFA would be summed up in the *three DDDs*: Democratise, Decolonise, Develop (Almeida, 2009; Lauret, 2016).

[72] The political police had persecuted social workers for their involvement in oppositional activities throughout 1960 and 1970 (Martins, 2017). Vigilance covered a variety of actions, from pacificist mobilisation to subversive action (Cruzeiro, 2003), including those of the Revolutionary Brigades (Lindim, 2012). It also included a stronger control of social work's labour union activities in the 1970s (Ferreira, 2003).

that the provisional Government should be able to find a non-militaristic solution to the colonial conflict, establish diplomatic relations with socialist countries, develop new social policies capable of supporting the needs of the working class, and establish judicial autonomy (Rezola, 2008). The proposed reforms met the democratic, pacifist and social justice aspirations of at least the younger generations of social workers, especially those who had been involved in oppositional activities (Martins, 2017). The MFA's political plan also met the social work union's expectations, particularly as regards the possibility of free and fully independent labour union participation (Ferreira, 2003; Ferreira, Couto, & Bizarro, 1992).

In Rezola's (2008) view, the MFA's plan of democratisation and non-authoritarian political transition implied handing power back to civil society in a relatively short period of time. This aspect is vital to understand the evolution of the revolutionary process and the participation of large sectors of civil society in it. Also, the fact that the 25 April coup and the MFA were mainly controlled by lower and mid-rank officers under no explicit or assumed leadership of the top military hierarchy was decisive to avoid power concentration (Rezola, 2008).[73] While holding considerable power during the revolutionary phase, the MFA's inclination towards progressive political ideals and popular democratic participation partly explains an eagerness to engage with and support popular movements. This was particularly evident in the case of the social movements whose claims met the political agenda of the most leftist military side, consubstantiating a much desired outcome as well as the revolutionary logo: the People-MFA Alliance (Almeida, 2009).

The term *coup* has been used to refer to the military operations that overthrew the *Estado Novo* regime on April 25 1974; as to the term Revolution, it refers to the political events that occurred immediately afterwards. The Revolution, better still, the revolutionary phase, lasting from 1974 until the end of 1975, was a period of massive social and political mobilisation marked by radical economic reforms and detachment from cultural conservativism.

The discussion around the revolutionary nature of the April 25 events and the ensuing transition to democracy has caught the attention of many scholars and political actors (Ferreira, 1994; Lucena, 2002; Rezola, 2008; Rosas, 2005; Varela, 2014). There has been considerable consensus regarding the idea that the Revolution followed the military action. This idea, shared by the present research, implies that the military coup was framed around a set of operational steps and based on a political programme that, by no means, represented a Revolution *per se*. The Revolution was consubstantiated in the events and processes that were to happen after the April 25 military movement, when massive urban (Downs, 1980) and rural uprisings (Bermeo,

[73] Those mid-rank officers already had considerable levels of politicisation, often acquired during their war commissions or prior to conscription (Ruivo, 2013; Silva, 2013). Among the officers were former university students compulsorily drafted as a punishment for engaging in oppositional activities. It is worth noting that the drafting of working-class soldiers and officers who had already been developing political consciousness also contributed to conscientising other comrades in arms in the military barracks (Rosas, 1998).

1986) and workers' mobilisations (Varela, 2014) forced political power to be shared between the new state agents (the MFA, the political parties, the provisional governments) and the people (Cerezales, 2002). According to Rezola (2008), it was a Revolution because it brought about economic, social and cultural changes. However, Varela (2014) has presented a more nuanced view: on the one hand, she stresses the revolutionary aspect, considering the role of popular agency as a counter-power to the upper levels of political control, i.e., the state; on the other hand, despite producing ample changes in the country, the Revolution fell short of producing an enduring modification of production relations. This outcome was influenced by the process of state reorganisation in the second half of the 1970s, marked by the disabling of direct democratic practices customary of the 1974-1975 revolutionary period, a matter to address when closing the present chapter.

In the days that followed the April 25 coup, several events confirmed the progressive tone of the Revolution - exiled politicians and artists returned to the country;[74] administrators of state companies and public servants associated with the previous regime were dismissed and others who had been let go by the *Estado Novo* were reintegrated; labourers were given freedom to openly conduct union activities; occupation of houses started – giving rise to a large collective mobilisation that would last throughout the revolutionary period (Downs, 1983; Pinto, 2013; Rodrigues & Fernandes, 2018). Five days after the overthrow of the dictatorship, a major symbolic and political event took place: the celebration of Worker's Day. The event, that took place in several Portuguese cities, gathered one the largest public demonstrations ever seen in the country to that date, says Varela (2014). The same author notes that it was an expression of the labour movement's vitality and a massive public endorsement of the Revolution and of the MFA.[75]

As the weeks went by, diplomatic initiatives were taken to end the colonial war and negotiate decolonisation (Correia, 2016; Ferreira, 1994). Domestically, the labour movement organised strikes in various sectors and services demanding for more rights and higher salaries (Varela, 2014). In less than six months, what were to become the most intense revolutionary fronts took shape: the workers' movements (labour union activity and struggles for union unicity, workers' control and workers' auto-management in industrial and service corporations); the occupation of houses (in connection with the creation of residents' commissions and inseparable from the urban struggles for housing and access to social, educational and medical services in neighbourhoods); land occupations (in the context of the agrarian reform) (Varela, 2014). In all of

[74] Among them, Alvaro Cunhal, the historic leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, or Mário Soares, the founder of the Socialist Party, future Prime Minister and later President of the Republic (Ferreira, 1994).

[75] The celebration of May 1 in 1974 was remembered by some of the social workers interviewed in this research; at least four of them stated having participated in the preparations of the event in Lisbon and in Porto in connection to their activities in the social workers' union.

them, social workers were involved, as the present research means to demonstrate and has been addressed in A1.[76]

Political instability at the highest levels of power marked this period of revolutionary transition (Ferreira, 1994; Rezola, 2008) while the streets and the fields were swept by mounting social unrest (Ferreira, 1994). On November 1974, a series of land occupations in the south paved the way to one of the Left's most valued objectives: the agrarian reform (Bermeo, 1986). Following the land occupations, the agrarian reform was legislated and agrarian cooperatives and collective units of production proliferated (mainly in the southern half of the country, especially in latifundia areas) (Baptista, 2010; Barreto, 1987). These collectives soon became new venues of social work internship practice (ISSSC, 1985; Negreiros et al., 1992). A few days after the April 25 coup, groups of shantytown residents occupied empty houses (Bandeirinha, Sardo, & Moniz, 2016; Portas, 1986). Almost immediately, the HDF services, including a few social workers, hurried to meet them, working to organise residents into commissions, in what came to be the kernel of the SAAL programme (Andrade, 1992).

On March 11, 1975, a series of events took place representing a major milestone of the Revolution. Groups of officers, who had been lurking in the political backstage for months, gathered around Spínola and initiated military operations to seize control of the country. The attempt, however, did not meet with success, for, a soon as news about a possible counterrevolutionary coup broke out, left-wing organisations (and union labour structures) rapidly mobilised the population, organising picket lines, in both state-owned and private companies, roadblocks, and other forms of civil resistance (Brito, 2010; Ferreira, 1994). This botched coup resulted in Spínola leaving the country and the Revolution taking a sudden impulse, radicalising its socialist agenda (Rezola, 2008).

In the days that followed, a series of nationalisations were decreed (Ferreira, 1994) and land occupations kept their pace. Under the 4th and 5th Provisional Governments, legislation was produced to organise the agrarian reform and a state entity was created to support agricultural cooperatives – the Agrarian Reform Institute (Baptista, 2010; Barreto, 1987; Bermeo, 1986).

Restructuring state services in the face of the revolutionary political agenda had its implications on social work according to one of the social workers interviewed in this research (Appendix E), who was then working at the Agrarian Reform Institute. Pushed by nationalisations, the occupation of enterprises by workers' commissions increased (Ferreira, 1994; Varela, 2014), involving social workers employed by those companies in the process

[76] Similar actions were held in Chile before Pinochet's seizure of power, when social workers collaborated with the labour union movement in processes of factories' occupation and nationalisation, "offering guidance to raise the level of workers' consciousness" (Marro, Duriguetto, et al., 2021, p. 71).

(Fontes, 2016).[77] Ground-breaking revolutionary initiatives like the SAAL housing programme gained momentum and widened its geographical reach, as state support provided extra financial resources, partly legitimating house squatting. Linked to the growth of associative dynamics and collective grassroots mobilisation, cooperatives were created (Rodrigues & Fernandes, 2018) to provide key community services in the neighbourhoods lacking state responses. Whether in the SAAL programme or in the cooperative movement, social workers played a relevant role, as shown in A2 and A3. Forcibly, one of the most eloquent examples was that of the CERCIS, the cooperative network for the rehabilitation and education of disabled people. These resulted from the combined efforts of disabled children's parents and extended family members, technical staff (social workers included) and other volunteers (Negreiros et al., 1992). The CERCIS also benefitted from state sponsorship during this period of political radicalisation and, in some cases, they were the product of resorting to radical actions, as conveyed in A3.[78]

As the country was on a fast-track towards socialism, the changes prompted growing dissent from social sectors in the western and northern rural regions (and the opposition of the political forces aligned with the centre and the right). Institutionally, the MFA's plan was in place and organising the April 1975 elections was a clear sign of that.[79] In the summer, clashes between right-wing and left-wing sympathisers became more and more evident. The *hot summer of 1975*, as it was called, was marked by an escalation of civil unrest, with assaults on the offices of Communist and other left-wing organisations, road-blocks and land occupations (Cerezales, 2003; Rezola, 2008; Varela, 2014).

Framed by this escalating political and social radicalisation, the revolutionary process ended up providing what Tarrow (2011) described as the necessary political opportunities for widespread collective mobilisation to take place. As several authors have noted (Almeida, 2009; Cerezales, 2003; Silva, 2014), this massive structural change that took place between 1974 and 1975 stimulated the implementation of alternative projects, taking to the forefront new political actors who had traditionally been kept in the secondary rows of decision taking (Hobsbawm, 1959; Scott, 1985). The new public political actors coming out of grassroots collective mobilisations showed the downplay of traditional institutional agents like the state and the powers that gravitate around

[77] In the archives of *Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril*, the 3-CTS 1975 file holds information regarding the involvement of social workers in *Setenave* (a large dockyard in the city of Setúbal) workers' commissions during and after the revolutionary phase.

[78] More on the creation of CERCIS cooperatives can be found in M. C. S. Rodrigues' (2015) master's thesis.

[79] The results of the 1975 elections for the Constituent Assembly showed that the political preferences of the majority of the Portuguese fell on the moderate and liberal forces, rather than on the Communist and other Marxist-Leninist or Maoist parties (Rezola, 1994). The first elections after the downthrow of the dictatorship had a 91.2% participation. The Socialist Party, led by Mario Soares, won the election with 37.9% of the votes, followed by the Popular Democratic Party, with 26.4% (Ferreira, 1994). The Communist Party received 12.5% of the ballots, a figure far below the social and political influence the party had had, as some of its leaders recognised (Brito, 2010).

it. For Rezola (2008) and Cerezales (2003), not only did the revolutionary process embody the crisis of the state but also the radical events that took place during that phase signalled the retraction of state authority and state capacity to maintain social and political control. For Varela (2013, 2014), the Portuguese 1974-75 Revolution, was, above all, a struggle between new emerging grassroots political actors and the state in a dispute oriented towards rights' entitlement (housing, revenue, labour rights recognition, education, social benefits, justice, fair distribution of wealth).

3.7. The end of the revolutionary process and the ensuing *democratic normalisation*

The social and political turmoil of the summer of 1975, the proliferation of episodes of physical violence between pro-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary sides, the bombings, the occupation of press and media facilities, and the continuous state of alert of military barracks were ever-growing signs that political and social instability could develop into civil war.[80] And if the summer of 1975 was described as *hot*, it could be said that the autumn was scorching, as labour strikes and massive public demonstrations took place in the largest cities from October onwards (Rezola, 2008).

On November 25 1975, amidst an imminent military action by far-left soldiers, a group of officers, associated with the moderate faction of the MFA, initiated a series of manoeuvres, blocking the initiative of rebel units. The November 25 coup constituted a liminal point in this historic period. It represented the beginning of the end of the revolutionary process and paved the way to the reorganisation of state power around a constitutional democratic project (Rezola, 2008). As such, it played a pivotal role in guaranteeing the political conditions to develop and stabilise what was to become the future institutional layout of the country around constitutional multiparty parliamentary democracy and municipalism. It also meant moving away from the solutions, processes and practices that characterised political life during the revolutionary process. Participatory and direct democracy practices that were common in the revolutionary phase were repudiated and some of the most unique progressive programmes and initiatives like the SAAL were dismantled (SAAL, 1976).[81] Revolutionary processes like the agrarian reform were disturbed and reversed (Baptista, 1978; Barreto, 1987) and, in view

[80] A comprehensive chronology and analysis of public demonstrations, strikes, and other revolutionary and counter-revolutionary events (involving popular participation) is offered by Varela (2014). An analysis of political confrontation between 1974 and 1975 is presented by Cerezales' (2003) work and a seminal analysis of the Revolution under the Structure of Political Opportunities theory was offered by Muñoz (1997). Studies on the urban struggles and collective mobilisation in the cities can be found in Downs (1980), Pinto (2013) and Baía (2012). Studies on the revolutionary process and popular participation in the countryside can be found in Almeida (2009), Baptista (1978, 2010), Barreto (1987), Bermeo (1986) and Silva (2013). On student mobilisation during this phase see (Oliveira, 2004).

[81] Several interviewees were vocal of this aspect, signalling their perception of the changes brought by a more institutional model of social services delivery. One subject attributed to it her decision to leave social work professional practice (A2, A4).

of the country's aspirations to become a member of the then EEC, economic policies became more and more aligned with social-democratic principles.

This institutional normalisation implied the consolidation of power around state legislative and executive institutions as well as municipal authorities (Rezola, 2008). The institutionalised redistribution of power happened to the detriment of popular organisations and grassroots movements (Varela, 2008). The process led to major changes in social services provision and social policies, as it contributed to stall the dynamics of grassroots participation and the political legitimacy of the collective mobilisations that brew in the revolutionary process. Hence, institutional services tended to replace community participated initiatives, framing what was to become Portugal's late welfare state following the 1976 Constitution (Santos, 1990).

All these events, going back to the establishment of the dictatorship and its decline, the 1974 coup and subsequent revolutionary process, as well as the institutional democratic normalisation after 1976 cannot be dissociated from the history of social work. As a by-product of a political demand and a particular ideological orientation within a well-defined system of beliefs, in Portugal, the profession of social work was far from being politically neutral. On the contrary, not only was social work politically shaped, but also social workers' professional and civic action alone was a force of political reach.

Chapter 4

The loci and foci of social workers' participation in the Revolution

In the previous chapter a socio-historical contextualisation of Portuguese social work in the 1960-70s and a mapping of social workers' involvement in the revolutionary events was provided. Systematising information on social workers' participation in the revolutionary process was fundamental to answer the first RQ about which situations and cases best portrayed social work's political agency alongside the Portuguese revolutionary agenda. A1 offers this contextualisation, evidencing how the institutionalisation of Portuguese social work during the dictatorship set its initial conservative tone and influenced a politically neutral professional stand.

In this chapter, the second and fourth RQs are addressed, drawing the analysis of the empirical findings on the theoretical perspective of POS. Rather than being separately and descriptively presented, the findings published in each article are treated in a combined manner so as to provide a more integrated and dialogical exposition.[82]

4.1. Participating in the revolutionary process: determinants, actions, practices and ruptures

Out of the various revolutionary fronts identified in A1, the research focused primarily on the participation of social workers in housing movements and on rural mobilisation in the context of the agrarian reform. A2 particularly addresses this aspect while A3 provides a more extensive look into the participation of social workers in the context of the revolutionary process.[83]

The interviews allowed perceiving three main drivers of social workers' activism and revolutionary participation. The first condition, often regarding students, although not exclusive to them, was the sharing of idealistic principles, particularly linked to equalitarianism, social justice, and personal abhorrence of bigotry. The second factor, which cannot be dissociated from radical engagement, especially among those with a larger professional experience and political militancy, was social workers' previous involvement in political and civic activism. The discourses about their experience in the 1974-75 period reveal a tendency to develop a structural understanding of social problems. The majority of the interviewees, whether professionals or students at the time, favoured empowerment actions through participatory processes, the creation of community services and infrastructures, social pedagogic intervention, advocacy and community organising. Such eagerness to act professionally as well as civically with the communities in a structural way found in the revolutionary process the ideal context to be fulfilled. Thus, the socio-political context of the Revolution constituted the third driving factor of social work's revolutionary engagement. More

[82] Although this chapter and the next are mostly based on a metalevel analysis and synthesis of the published articles (especially A2, A3 and A4), occasionally, short quotations are added in order to provide a stronger and more elucidative support to the argumentation.

[83] In A3's Tables 1 and 2, social workers' participation in the revolutionary fronts is identified, informing the type of actions carried out.

than a mere vehicle to another social and political livelihood, the Revolution led people and organisations on the road to socialism, a subject that will be address later. The Revolution, here, provides militant social workers and more progressive faculty members what Tarrow (2011) determined as the first dimension of political opportunity – the one that enables contentious collective mobilization to start forming: *increased access*. Revolutionary changes granted social workers, particularly the more politicized ones, increased opportunities to express dissent and wider access to resources (institutional, political, even financial) needed to support alternative practice frames and policies.

When looking into social workers' participation in the revolutionary process, an initial trait stands out: the sheer enthusiasm of being involved in promoting citizen's participation through direct support and/or advocacy of democratic practices. Advocating for the rights of people often meant getting into open confrontation with institutional and political power-holders or, in some cases, with professional peers. As regards the latter, involvement in the SAAL programme and the support to house squatting implied opposing other social workers in municipal housing services.

A most distinctive aspect was the visibility given by the Revolution to connections between social movements and the profession. Adding to previous literature insights (Negreiros et al., 1992), the accounts of the interviewees, especially of those involved in the urban struggles and in agrarian reform cooperatives, showed more comprehensively their professional agency in collective mobilisations. Social workers' action gave the SAAL programme a strategic force to implement its processes and reach its aims. As mentioned by one of the interviewees, the SAAL was not (just) about building houses for the people, it was about promoting and producing social participation, conscientising, community belonging and solidarity. Making "people participate, partaking of the whole process" (A2, p. 246) was what social workers were expected to do, as evidence from oral sources, comprehensibly describing how it was done, shows.[84] The accounts of interviewees #3, #4 and #13 added detailed information on how social workers actuated in the SAAL programme, indicating how their agency became a vital force in collective mobilisation (and how they perceived it as such). If direct democratic practice constitutes a corner-stone of that initiative, social workers were instrumental in putting it into practice.

Social workers did not only participate in the intermediate and top governing structures; they were also in the field, advising and collaborating in planning intervention strategies, supporting the programme technically (using community organising skills to conduct participatory social

[84] Social workers' participation in the SAAL was summarised by interviewee #1 on A3 (p. 17) as "organising the residents, directing neighbour assemblies, developing animation activities, diagnosing collective needs and mediating contacts with public entities". The data from the interviewees who had been directly or indirectly involved in the SAAL programme describe and confirm the pivotal role social workers had in the preparation and implementation of housing projects, something emphatically acknowledged by Gonçalo Byrne, an architect involved in a SAAL project in the city of Setúbal (Byrne, 2014).

assessment of needs, identify potential community leaderships, organise collective meetings and assemblies, develop conscientising processes and collective cohesion, mediate intracommunity conflicts and facilitate the communication between the residents and rest of the SAAL staff, especially the architects). Mediation skills were not used simply to intervene in managing internal conflicts but also to support collective claims before either municipal or state power instances, when not both. Examples of this were retrieved from the accounts and reproduced in A2. There, episodes of collective confrontation with political powers led by SAAL's social workers or their participation in the unlawful occupation of houses illustrate radical side-taking with mobilised groups.

Social workers' intervention was not exclusively directed to organising groups of citizens who were already mobilised around some social claim. Their intervention was also pointed at creating and steering new popular movements and organisations, particularly in the form of residents' commissions, neighbourhood associations and so forth. This was especially true of the SAAL programme, although happening in other circumstances as well, like in the case of the involvement in the CERCIS movement. The Cooperatives for the Education and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children (CERCIS) are a notable example of a network of organisations founded by grassroots movements in which social workers had an important role, duly evidenced in the organisation's internal reports.[85] To that information, the present research added the account of a social worker who, from her position at the Institute of School Social Action (IASE), collaborated in the creation of a new CERCIS chapter in the southern bank of the Tagus river, in the greater Lisbon area. Her participation was threefold: mobilising a collective of disabled children's parents in order to create a new CERCIS structure (helping organise assemblies, gathering parents, teachers, doctors and other individuals professionally or civically engaged in the cause); lobbying (with other professional peers from her service and from local IFAS branches) the Ministry of Education for institutional and financial support;[86] squatting and refurbishing the Muxito Hotel (an abandoned private tourist facility where that local CERCIS structure was to be installed).[87]

Social workers' activity with and within the mobilised collectives was not restricted to community organising, mediation and supporting activism at the local level. It also stretched to coalition building between movements, striving to link local grassroots structures to regional and national associative clusters. This was particularly evident in the SAAL, as testified by interviewee #3, and in the actions carried out in support of the agrarian reform. The work of

[85] See Negreiros et al. (1992).
[86] Using her informal networks in the progressive Catholic movement to that purpose.
[87] That took place in March 1975 and onwards. According to interviewee #2, the Muxito Hotel was occupied with the help of an armed "[popular-]based organisation". Following the occupation of the Muxito Hotel, a commune named *Che Guevara* was established there (Ephemera Archive, Col. Com. Inst. Prov. da Estância Popular do Muxito, Communiqué "Por um Muxito ao Serviço do Povo"). Besides accommodating a CERCIS structure (the CERCISA), the venue also housed the Popular Circus (aimed at promoting the social insertion of circus artists), a parents'-run kindergarten, and a collective supporting agrarian reform initiatives and rural cooperatives (Página Um, 1976).

interviewee #10 as a facilitator of networks of collective production units (rural cooperatives) clearly shows the thin boundary between professional intervention and civic engagement, between statutory practice and party militancy. As a member of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries staff stationed in the Institute of Agrarian Restructuring, her service duties from 1975 until its dissolution implied accompanying rural cooperatives in their social needs and collecting sociographic data regarding community well-being; at the same time, off-duty and under the veil of her militancy in the Communist Party, she volunteered as technical advisor with collective units of production, assisting them in community organising.[88]

Besides granting *increased access* (Tarrow, 2011) to alternatives regarding professional practice, the political opportunities created by the revolutionary transition provided social workers a context marked by shifting alignments in the political system. At the same time, radical social workers steered through the *shifting political alignments* of revolutionary times, taking advantage of the decrease of power of traditional power forces (conservative Catholic Church bodies, military higher hierarchies, Right-wing political dignitaries) and the Revolution's *divided elites* (Tarrow, 2011) – new political parties, government structures, military ranks, state organisms, civil society organisations – to accomplish those professional alternatives and develop progressive intervention projects.

In A1, there are references to some social workers having shown signs of wanting to break away from conservative professional profiles and professional political neutrality even before the April 25 1974 coup. Those intentions of rupture implied confronting the ideological and political stands of the regime and asserting social workers' disaffection with the values, ideologies and political project of the *Estado Novo*. Signs of this gradual estrangement from the regime and from traditional social work forms besides the search for novel progressive professional possibilities abound in the testimonies gathered. That is especially true of those who graduated and were professionally active from the mid and late 1960s onwards.

The intervention framed around community organising was presented by some interviewees (mainly #3, #4, #5 and #9) as being distinctive from other forms of practice associated with charitable and individualised assistance. A major symbolic representation of an intention to break away from traditional social work was the discussion around a new nomenclature for the profession that was taking place in social work schools at the time. The accounts of the three youngest informants echoed the memory of these debates. The debate, to which the influence of LARM may have contributed, was about replacing *social work* with *social service* and *social worker* with *social assistant*. For interviewee #1, that discussion was based on a misunderstanding, a confusion that reveals historical unawareness and

[88] This interviewee was part of the Internal Colonisation Board (*Junta de Colonização Interna*), a structure launched by the Estado Novo to create and support agrarian colonies in Portugal's inland.

decontextualization. This interviewee acknowledged that the proposal to change the profession's name stemmed from LARM's intention to break away from palliative social work conceptions.[89] However, he was keen to emphasise that, in countries like Portugal, the francophone influence should stand in the profession's title, whereas using the terms *social work/social worker* would only lead to social service/*social assistant* being confused with other social professions. Unlike this interviewee, other participants (#5 and #9) approached that discussion recalling their disposition to refuse the historical professional designation. Interviewee #5 remembered the vivid debates this issue raised in her school, in Lisbon, and her preference for the new *social worker* (*trabalhador social*) designation. In her own words, that term seemed to better represent an emancipatory professional stand, while *social assistant* (*assistente social*) was incompatible with (speaking as a student cohort) their vision of practice based on participation, change and practitioner/collective movements allegiance. Interviewee #9 manifested her resistance to social assistance and social service labels in line with her blunt refusal of professionalism; instead, she preferred the *social intervention* concept. Social intervention, she admitted, was believed to widen the scope of professional practice to social animation, social pedagogy, community promotion. As regards this topic, she admitted having been influenced by a Brazilian professor teaching at Lisbon's social work school. It should be noted that, as demonstrated in A4, these two interviewees showed the highest professional identity disaffiliation, at least during part of their professional and biographic trajectories.[90]

The majority of the respondents, especially those with longer careers, stated that identifying with the profession was never at stake; others, however, reported signs of professional deidentification and professional identity crisis. A crisis which should not be dissociated from these individuals' participation in the revolutionary process. When addressing the professional identity issue, interviewee #5 revealed how entangled collective mobilisation and professional insertion were and how this affected professional and personal identification.

As regards this issue, the research found that professional identity was constructed not only internally (within the professional group through peer socialisation and academic social work education) but also in conjunction with elements external to the professional corps, i.e., the public. The role collectives had in legitimising professional mandate and identity was particularly acknowledged by interviewees #4 and 5, as illustrated in A4.

[89] *Palliative* in its adjectival form, as referring to interventions that would not deal with the root causes of problems neither render a transformative result.

[90] Doubts about the designation of the profession cannot be separated from the discussions around professionalism and students' placement in mainstream institutional settings *versus* activism/participation in social movements. These dimensions come together in the interviewees' accounts (A2), revealing their awareness of the crossroads the profession was faced with in the revolutionary phase.

4.2. Social work and revolutionary socio-political transition: mutual affordances

The theoretical insights drawn from social movements theories, especially from POS, were signalled in A1. Departing from this viewpoint, researchers have suggested that, although collective mobilisation tends to appear as a result of the opportunities created by structural political change and by the affordances given by agents higher up in the positions of power (Tarrow, 2011), collective mobilisation also affords these very same agents the opportunity to reinforce their power (Cerezales, 2003; Silva, 2014). In essence, all goes down to a set of complex mutual affordances between micro-level collective action and macro-level structural forces acting interchangeably (A3). This view can be applied to social work's involvement in the Portuguese revolutionary process, especially bearing in mind its participation alongside social movements and other revolutionary grassroots initiatives.

Firstly, it becomes clear that the Revolution provided Portuguese social workers with the opportunity to stage a radical cut from traditional assistance-focused and politically neutral professional expressions. Consequently, as the formal political control over the profession was relieved and statutory abidance to ideological and moral conservativism disappeared, social workers were free to politicise their professional practice. To put it more emphatically, they were not just freed to act politically, they were encouraged and buoyed to do it by the revolutionary dynamics.

Again, it must be stated that the evidence gathered points to the Revolution not representing an abrupt and unexpected rupture in social work, as signs of political disaffection from the authoritarian regime and intentions to renew practice and conceptual canons were lurking before 1974. A good example of that, besides social workers' gradual involvement in political militancy and oppositional activities, was the framing of community organising practices since the 1960s (visited in Chapter 3).[91] Nevertheless, the Revolution opened opportunities to further developing community organising by multiplying and varying the settings where these approaches could be concretised. The dynamics of the Revolution avowed the political legitimacy of such practices in light of their instrumentality in support of direct democracy. Furthermore, the Revolution also granted the profession access to social contexts and the material, human and financial resources required to exercise community organising.

Divided elites and institutions fought for power in the revolutionary process – perceiving those fractures, social workers involved in revolutionary initiatives sought backup for their radical endeavours from the new power holders (political parties, government bodies, the armed forces, municipal commissions, cooperative leaders, labour unions, state services, etc.). Radical actions were undertaken in face of the perception that the legitimacy of traditional power entities had

[91] Empirical evidence of a close relation between training and experience in community organising and radical and activist engagement was found in North-American social work research (Reeser & Epstein, 1990; Wagner, 1990).

weakened, as showed in the confrontation between residents' movements and municipal authorities led by SAAL social workers (A2, A3).

The SAAL programme offers a good example of the mutual affordances between mobilised collective claimants (and the radical professionals acting alongside them) and the interests of higher institutional and political stances. The case of the HDF's most progressive staff's readiness to go to the neighbourhoods and join the collective mobilisations brewing there (A2, p. 245) is particularly elucidative of that: encouraged by the revolutionary momentum, the shantytown residents sought the HDF for solutions for their housing needs, presenting an opportunity for the HDF left-leaning personnel (see A2 and A3) to put in action a long-time imagined novel housing policy, as recognised by a few SAAL's leading figures (Coelho, 1986; Portas, 1979, 1986). The case meets Tarrow's (2011, p. 168) argument that "protesters create political opportunities for elites".

Another evidence of this interdependence is the new internship policy instated in social work schools in 1974-75, which called for diverting students from the ordinary institutional placement in services often associated with statutory social work practice. The same services where older professionals, thought to be more conservative, were working. In this case, the massive land occupations and the ensuing agrarian reform afforded social work schools a variety of places to train social work practices outside the praxeological canons of classic methods and paternalistic assistance.[92] Underscored by a Marxist dialectical perspective, the subject of the social worker's trade was, now, a day-to-day transformative social practice in which practitioner and public converged as both subjects and products of history (Negreiros et al., 1992). In light of this conception, cooperatives, free labour unions, private companies under workers' control and other grassroots initiatives (ISSSC, 1985) became ideal places for students to undergo new apprenticeships in close involvement with the people and with all eyes set on structural societal transformation.[93] The radicalisation of social work curricula and the option of placing students in grassroots organisations and labour unions signals the seizing of political opportunities opened by the Revolution. Legitimised as the *truest* base experiences, popular cooperatives, resident's commissions and associations and similar initiatives (Varela, 2014) soon turned to be influential allies in social work's transition from traditionalism.

[92] The agrarian reform process was punctuated by the creation of over 400 rural cooperatives, amassing more than 60000 rural jobs in the 1976-77 period, (Baptista, 1978) compared to the 21700 work posts that existed before revolutionary land occupations began (Baptista, 2010).

[93] Interviewee #5 (in A2) pictures social work schools' interest in grassroots initiatives. More about it can be found in the narratives of interviewees #1 and #13 (in A3) and in the account of interviewee #9 (in A4). A close comparison with Argentina in 1960s and 1970s can be drawn. There, under the direction of the reconceptualization movement, the students' practice apprenticeship was oriented towards community organising, people's capacitation and conscientising, taking the popular *barrios*, the cooperatives and workers'-led companies as the ideal places to do it (Marro, Duriguetto, et al., 2021).

The empirical material gathered by this research allows seeing more clearly how the revolutionary process legitimised and empowered social workers (at least those committed to progressive and socialist beliefs) to act according to what could be considered radical ways. In short, the Revolution was empowering the course of social work's radical practice. The data collected also shows how those social workers provided support to the revolutionary process (in the ground alongside the masses and at intermediate levels through planning). Through their technical intervention and capacity to bolster community organisation, these social workers ended up contributing to align the popular collectives with the revolutionary programme. This was fundamental to socially legitimise the latter's political power. In brief, social workers were not just empowering people and communities; they were empowering the revolutionary process as well, providing political opportunities for others. It turns more visible the radical action of social workers as agency – considering agency as indissociable from power, through agency, social workers exerted power and a capacity to influence structures and the world around (Giddens, 1984).

The accounts of interviewees #3, #4 and #5 (in A2 and A4) show how revolutionary practice and the revolutionary process walked hand-in-hand. Furthermore, they prove the reflux of the revolutionary process affected not only the progressive programmes but also the subjects' utopian aspirations nurtured during the revolutionary phase. For some interviewees, the end of the revolutionary stage and the closing down of the political opportunities it had been affording resulted in sadness and disappointment, and in inner crisis to the point of their temporarily or permanently abandoning the profession.

4.3. Structural political change and the rise and retreat of social work's political discretion

The previous section signalled the interdependence between the structural proclivity of social work practice during the revolutionary phase and the possibilities it offered progressive social workers to pursue radical forms of social intervention. Those connections rendered more explicit the political and ideological features of social work in the revolutionary stages. Bearing in mind the fourth of the specific research questions, the next three sub-sections will address the rise of politically-driven professional initiative and its demise following the democratic normalisation.

4.3.1. From the streets to the schools, from the schools to the streets: the political coming-of-age of the profession

As mentioned earlier, the revolutionary phase took Portuguese social work further in its refusal of the profession's traditional politically neutral stands. The full admission of the profession as politically-driven was consubstantiated in a series of collective, institutional and personal actions in various settings, social work schools included.

The overt assumption of political and ideological principles as pillars of practice and theory in social work dominated the educational projects during the revolutionary phase. This was done

at the expense of techno-operative approaches, as pointed out by seminal historical research literature on Portuguese social work (Negreiros et al, 1992). The analysis of the empirical data collected in this research confirmed the political turn that was in motion in social work schools. The accounts referring to Lisbon Higher Institute of Social Work categorically and descriptively recalled the school as a venue of frantic political activity on the part of very mobilised students and faculty (during the revolutionary phase and even before the April 25 1974).

Social workers' political and ideological commitment resonated beyond the gates of the academy. Once again, the SAAL programme serves as a window into social work's political proclivity in that period. The very participation in it implied assumed a political and ideological stance on the part of the professionals and students involved (A2). The narratives of all the interviewees whose trajectories crossed the SAAL's highlight not just the political dimension of the programme but also the progressive and Left leaning ideology of the professionals and students who integrated the programme's brigades and coordinating bodies. That participation was acknowledged as the result of a personal option by a certain political and ideological affiliation.[94]

Social workers squatting buildings alongside the people and with the support of political organisations is another example of radical engagement and overt political commitment. That participation is most notable when it happened in the course of professional duties, [95] like in the case of the SAAL programme, reported by interviewee #4 (presented in A2 and A3) and of the internship of interviewee #5 in the Torre Bela Cooperative (A2). Other situations of social workers' involvement outside their professional mandate in the occupation of public and private venues were spotted (A3). Regardless of the personal, non-professional nature of that participation, it still represented an open manifestation of political commitment, a circumstance pointed out by many authors (see Chapter 2) as part of social workers' radical engagement and an extension of their professional radical action.

In some interviews, the political dimension of social work practice appeared *naturally*, even before the issue was raised in the conversation. The interviewees themselves explicitly or indirectly recognised the social work's underlying political mandate. Such representations were used to support their personal commitment to modes of intervention believed to attain broader transformative socio-political outcomes.[96]

Up to some point, it becomes virtually impossible to distinguish the political from the non-political when one tries to analyse the revolutionary initiatives and the functions of social workers within. This is most evident when progressive social programmes and policies and revolutionary initiatives merge with social movements. When that happened (and it happened regularly during the revolutionary process, as explained in Chapter 3 and addressed in all the articles) the formal

[94] With regard to this, note the interviewee's discourse quoted in A2 (p. 244).
[95] Note that social workers taking actions in support of families squatting private property in the early 1970s was acknowledged by the British radical magazine *Case Con* (Feldon, Chenu, & Weinstein, 2018).
[96] The accounts of interviewees #3 and #4, quoted and analysed in A4, are particularly relevant to this regard.

and informal alliances between social movements and revolutionary initiatives were so recurrent and intense that they became highly intertwined, almost like a single body. The testimonies gathered voiced out this umbilical relationship between revolutionary programmes and the mobilised collectives. A relationship which contributed to bolster the political militancy and activism of both the social actors partaking of collective action and the professionals and students. "Being part of", "being there", "being there with the people", living with and sensing people's grievances, joining their claims, expressed this strong relation with the social movements (A4, p. 15).

The political dimension of social work practice was also acknowledged by some interviewees when pointing out the influence of party-political militancy on conducting community intervention. Referring to the Brazilian case, Netto (2005) noted that the adhesion of social work professionals to the reconceptualization movement and to Marxism was done through previous political militancy in left-wing parties. Likewise in Portugal, the training and experience acquired in left-wing party-politics were signalled as an advantage when it came to organising and mobilising collectives, namely popular assemblies (A2). At this level, the involvement in party-politics can be understood as a booster of social workers' capacity to conduct community intervention. That was instrumental in achieving what Corrigan and Leonard (1978) affirmed to be social work's much-needed move "from the backseats of community meetings to the front end of community politics" (A3, p. 16).[97]

4.3.2. The profession's political outburst: social work's curricular reform and labour unionism

Drawing the attention back to social work schools, the fact that internship practice placements were extended to grassroots and labour union-related organisations diversified the possibilities of developing politically engaged macro practice. At the same time, it induced a sectarian perspective regarding the reputedly conservative traditional venues of social work intervention, that being a politically-informed choice. What would that change in internship policy mean and imply? Firstly, it called for a physical distancing of students (and their respective supervisors) from older social workers and from more bureaucratised and individualised assistance. Secondly, it pushed students to obtain an embedded experience of the living conditions of the working class and the challenges grassroots organisations and movements were faced with. That experience was fundamental to steer the necessary responses to fulfilling the rights and needs of those collectives.

This new approach to internship placement, documented at least in Coimbra and Lisbon schools, (Fernandes, 1985b; ISSSC, 1985; Negreiros et al., 1992) motivated feelings of uncertainty and identity crisis in some students. In the case of interviewee #5, analysed in A4, the qualms involving her professional self-identification become particularly evident. Reasoning on her own experience, she put forward three possible causes that could account for her feelings:

[97] Regarding the research's sample, the majority of the interviewees declared non-partisan affiliation and only three recognised belonging to a political party during that period. Interviewee #3 mentioned having integrated the Revolutionary Brigades until the early moments of the revolutionary transition; interviewee #10 referred joining the Communist Party; interviewee #12 mentioned her militancy in the MES.

the novelty of having internship placements in non-institutional settings where statutory social work practices were hard to conceive; the lack of a theoretical basis to situate and orient a social work intervention in an agrarian cooperative; the absence of senior social workers in grassroots organisations like the one in which she was doing her practice (and living).[98]

Social work's national labour union structure, the SNPSS, was the most prominent force behind the profession's affirmation as politically mandated. As mentioned in Chapter 3, important changes occurred when, in the beginning of the 1970s and before the April 25 1974, a group of young progressive social workers led the union in what could be presented as a rank-and-file type process. The new board, at odds with conservativism and contrary to a politically-neutral professional stand, organised meetings to promote critical reflection in the profession and divulge the critical developments stemming from Latin-America. Contact with LARM authors allowed further diffusion and discussion of social work's Latin-American reconceptualization project.[99] It meant debating with Portuguese social workers a professional layout founded on emancipatory resolve, participatory praxis, structural socio-political transformation, and Marxist-informed worldviews and theory. If the existing literature points to the union's decisive role in the politicisation of the profession before the revolutionary turn, several interviewees evidenced the union's contribution to bolstering social workers' political activism (A3). They also stressed the union's role as a political protagonist of the revolutionary labour struggles, alongside other labour syndicates. For example, interviewee #4, then a union board member, recalled the vivid discussions among members about union unicity and the option of integrating the CGTP-Intersindical (according to her, favoured by the union leaders).[100] That option, more in accordance with the vision of the profession as working class, was shared by the leaders of the union (the same interviewee told), much in line with what radical authors in the USA and the UK were defending for social work, as shown in Chapter 2. Interviewee #4, also a union board member, recalled social workers' union lending its facilities to welcome clandestine *Intersindical* meetings and union members helping circulate covert information on labour rights before 1974.[101]

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[98] These issues regarding this subject's professional (de)identification during her stay in an agrarian cooperative are explored in A2 and A4. In 1972 (p. 5), Specht brought forward five key conditions to determine whether one was in the presence of a profession. When looking into the discourse of interviewee #5, it conveys the idea that her radical experience lacked all of Specht's ingredients: "skills that flow from and are supported by a fund of knowledge organized into an internally consistent system called a 'body of theory'"; "professional authority to practice specific functions"; "sanction of the community"; "a regulatory code of ethics"; "a professional culture".

[99] An example of such meetings is the March 1974 seminar with Herman Kruze (Fernandes, 1985a; Martins & Silva, 2022; Martins & Tomé, 2016; Matos-Silveira et al, 2020).

[100] In 1970, a series of covert meetings (Accornero, 2013) between representatives of 11 workers' unions (Varela, 2013), among which the social workers' (Ferreira, 2003), promoted the creation of what was to become, later, in 1974, the Inter-Union General Confederation of Portuguese Workers - CGTP-IN.

[101] Interviewees #6 and #12 remembered their active participation through the local social work union structure in the preparations for the celebration of the Workers' Day in the city of Porto. At least seven interviewees revealed having had some kind of activity in the social workers' union: three were board members, four had participated in organisational tasks and in activist actions. The role of trade unionism

4.3.3. The end of the Revolution, the closing down of political opportunities and the twilight of social work's radical engagement

If the April 25 coup and the subsequent revolutionary process opened political opportunities for social workers to develop structural interventions outside traditionally assistance-focused and politically-neutral professional stands, the end of the revolutionary process also meant the end of those opportunities. Recalling Tarrow's (2011) dialectics, if the opening of opportunities provides external resources to people to express openly dissent and converge with others in a common platform of contention, allowing them to build alliances and accede power positions, the closing down of opportunities works the other way around.

As the 1976 Constitutional arrangement sedimented, the frantic social and political environment of the 1974-75 revolutionary period cooled down. *Normalising* the democracy required draining out the revolutionary *excesses* – an undertaking carried out under the new institutional organisation and following the loss of power of the most progressive and revolutionary sectors.[102] Revolutionary policies and initiatives were thwarted due to either the undermining of its political legitimacy or state institutional backup obstruction, or both (Baptista, 2010; Barreto, 1987). Quite frequently this was done through diminishing financial, technical and human support (Varela, 2013, 2014). Just as the revolutionary impetus fainted and progressive initiatives halted, so did grassroots enterprises and collective mobilisation, coinciding with a reduction of social workers' radical engagement, as interviewees noted in their accounts (A2, A4).

The end of revolutionary initiatives corresponded to a structural political shift in the country. A shift which had a considerable impact on the organisation and delivery of social services and, consequently, on the social work profession. Under the new 1976 constitutional provisions, four key areas of social service delivery strongly bound to a statutory and formal institutional layout were configured: social assistance, welfare and social rights were attributed to the Social Security, under a new Social Security act; health care became an autonomous domain of social work intervention under a new health care act; decentralised social support was extended to municipal authorities; in justice, further responsibilities were attributed to social workers (Fernandes, Marinho, & Portas, 2000). In parallel with this state institutional ordinance, the 3rd sector was to gradually become a significant hirer of social workers.[103] Nevertheless, these dispositions placed social workers within a "weak state welfare provision and a strong welfare society" (Rodrigues & Monteiro, 1998, p. 94). This configuration of social service provision around the state and the 3rd

on the promotion of the radical turn in social work since the 1930s was evidenced by RSW authors (Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Joyce, Corrigan, & Hayes, 1988; Reisch & Andrews, 2002; Wagner, 1990; Wenocur, 1974).

[102] The turnout of the municipal, parliamentary and presidential elections from 1975 to 1977 tended to concentrate popular voting on the parties and personalities that represented a moderate socialist programme and a liberal social-democracy project at the expense of the most radical left-wing organisations (Lobo, 2000).

[103] Mainly through the *Misericórdias* and an emerging number of NGOs, some deriving from grassroots initiatives of the revolutionary period, as Negreiros et al (1992) have documented.

sector tended to confine social workers to institutional formal organisations while rendering their action more dependent on statutory frameworks, thus diverting their professional paths from the domains of grassroots organisations and social movements.

As referred in A3, the changes brought about by the democratic normalisation and the ensuing new arrangement of political power relations constituted a serious blow to those who favoured socialist and progressive ideas. The new constitutional order was not strong enough to provoke a regression of revolutionary reforms and accomplishments; nonetheless, it was effective in neutralising the most radical forces on the left, especially the far-left military (Netto, 1986). That circumstance contributed to undermine popular movements (Varela, 2014), which was acknowledged by several interviewees. According to them, the end of the revolutionary process had an impact on social work, at least on their idealised perspective of a profession closely knit with grassroots movements and the population's interests (A2, A4). To some, the reversal of community work and the loss of institutional support to progressive projects contributed to their distancing themselves from the profession (A4).[104]

The end of the revolutionary process and the ensuing new Constitutional order was critically scrutinised, particularly its impact on direct democracy, community organising and involvement with social movements. The data collected during interviews and worked in articles A2, A3 and A4 suggest these three dimensions were interwoven and that the work developed by social workers, either in the field or at planning and steering levels, contributed to articulate them with each other.

If for some interviewees (like interviewees #3 and #5) the end of the revolutionary process and the ensuing decline of community empowerment initiatives dictated their definitive or temporary disaffiliation from the profession, the majority just adapted themselves to the professional arrangements that stemmed out of the 1976 Constitution and its new rights-based policy frameworks (as referred to in chapter 3). Not without a sense of disillusion and nostalgia, though (particularly for interviewees #2, #4 and #6): nostalgia for a time of utopian fulfilment and pursuit of ideals; disillusion with the political course of the country (when politics became more institutionalised and distant from direct democracy), with having to give up experiences and watch how the achievements of the revolutionary stage were disregarded. The trajectory of interviewee #9, who decided to maintain her voluntary involvement in a residents' association (in the same Lisbon neighbourhood where she had done her internship practice in a SAAL project), shows a completely different personal reaction. In her case, the imminent abandonment of that

[104] The appointment of a new head of Setúbal's Social Security branch who had ties to the centre-right liberal Social Democratic Party motivated interviewee #3 to resign in the early 1980s. According to her, it represented a major blow to the community work done in the neighbourhoods during the revolutionary phase and the "complete destruction of our work principles" (A4, p. 11). An excerpt not included in any of the published articles shows more clearly the impact of the new institutional arrangement: "it was forbidden to speak with the boards of the [local] services. […] We could not visit the services without superior approval. […] She [the district's Social Security director] did not allow us to work with the people: [she said] "the institutions are autonomous; nobody needs to go there".

community project to which she and other professionals (like interviewee #1) had contributed justified continuing her collaboration. Her personal involvement was marked by the decision to move to and permanently live in that community in the end of 1976. This subject was the one who more openly resisted professionalism and, particularly, careerism (see A4), a condition Wagner (1989, p. 394) found among his sample of radical social workers in the USA in the 1970's: "those subjects who remained strongly committed to social change, whether strongly identified with social work or not, tended to limit their goals for upward mobility because of their idealistic principles". The account provided by this interviewee in A4 thoroughly expresses the radical nature of her engagement with the community and collective projects. An engagement that would not succumb to the end of the revolutionary window, as she remained in the community for more than a decade. Among all the interviewees, this was the only one who used the term *radical* to classify her intervention. The acknowledgement of the radical nature of her deeds had much to do with her personal commitment to the urban social mobilisations. As the revolutionary period faded, her voluntary activism unfolded outside policy and professional statutory frameworks, a possibility defended by radical authors like Statham (1978) and verified by Wagner (1989, 1990) in his USA research.

In their accounts, the interviewees referred to the changes in service provision and social policy framings adopted after 1976 (mentioned in the previous chapter). Under the canopy of the state's Social Security, a new institutional, universalistic and sectoral (Mouro, 2006) social policy layout tended to integrate the local and regional social responses created by revolutionary grassroots mobilisation. Instead of being directly involved in community organising, community mobilisation steering, and animation, social workers were ascribed the more technical tasks of accompanying and controlling the services (then converted into 3rd sector social service agencies, co-financed and controlled by the state). Besides, the growth of the Social Security structure and other state and municipal services in charge of social service provision attracted larger contingents of social work's labour force, virtually emptying the space of community intervention in grassroots settings. In Tarrow's (2011, p. 169) words, "because they shift so easily […] political opportunities are fickle friends".

Chapter 5

Portuguese social work in the Revolution as RSW

The impact of revolutionary events on social work and the way some of its professionals and students responded to the Revolution's progressive urge was addressed in the previous chapter and subjected to a more intense scrutiny in the published articles. The information gathered and its analysis helped answering the second and fourth RQs. Relying on that analysis and based on the empirical information collected, the fourth RQ is answered in the next sections, recognising and explaining the Portuguese experiences as forms of RSW.

Asserting to what extent the experiences of Portuguese social workers in the revolutionary process did conform to RSW takes the analysis back to the concepts of RSW found in Latin-America, North America and Britain. Despite the socio-historical differences between the Portuguese case in the 1970s and its USA, UK and Latin-American contemporaries, a series of commonalities emerge. In particular, the three key principles of RSW theory enunciated in Chapter 2 are to be found in Portuguese social work during the revolutionary process.

5.1. Political orientation and equalitarianism

The need to widen the profession's political outreach was omnipresent in the RSW debates of the 1970s, relying that achievement heavily on social workers' and services' capacity to engage with diverse social actors and agencies. Such engagement was envisaged in an inclusive way, in the sense that the actors were not to be considered passive elements, rather active parts of the intervention.[105] It necessarily meant renegotiating professional status and confronting ideologies of professionalism. Indeed, allowing the participation of other actors whose legitimacy derived not from their professional, technical, or scientific know-how, but from the sheer condition of being the constituents of social workers' intervention, defied professional authority and autonomy. What radical authors and radical practitioners were advocating was extending social work's partnerships to political parties who shared beliefs and programmes tuned with social justice concerns, emancipatory goals and non-oppressive conducts. It also included civic and cultural activist collectives, trade unions and community organisations, among which were cooperatives, residents' commissions and service users' commissions.[106] These were the sort of agents with whom Portuguese social workers interacted in a closely articulated way during the 1974-75 period.

[105] In the 1974-75 internships of the ISSSL, the representatives of popular organisations where students did their practice training participated in the evaluation of the students (Negreiros et al, 1992).

[106] Close interaction with neighbours' movements featured the activity of many radical social workers in Chile and Argentina in the 1960s and 1970s (Marro, Duriguetto, et al., 2021). In Brazil, Iamamoto (2019, p. 442) noted, influenced by the reconceptualization movement, professionals became associated with mobilisations of "combative entities" like associations of *Favelas*' residents, joining their struggles for better living conditions and helping them exert more pressure on public powers – similarly to what could be seen in Portugal within the SAAL programme.

Table 5.1 Portuguese radical manifestations and corresponding RSW tenets (1970s)

Portuguese radical manifestations in SW	Tenets of RSW theorising
Participation in left-wing political organisations; involvement in cooperative movements and collectivist initiatives; involvement in the agrarian reform; participation in urban/rural grassroots mobilisations.	Anti-capitalist and anti-colonialist stance, denial of professional political neutrality; engagement with structural socio-political change, endorsement of socialism
Post-revolutionary educational curricula aligned with socialist values; students' engagement with transformative collective action; Participation in projects and initiatives based on socialist principles (cooperatives, workers' control)	Opposition to forces and causes of social oppression, commitment to redistribute societal resources and power
Organisational support of direct democracy practices; involvement in public rallies supporting residents' movements and house squatting; active endorsing of service user involvement; participation in squatting; technical support to agrarian reform	SW agency through activism, advocacy, conscientisation, and service user co-option
Framing and steering national coalitions of residents' movements; SW students' movements	Involvement in social movements
Full embracing of community organising methods in State programmes and services; promotion of community-based services; promotion of community participation in services' delivery and decision-making	Emphasis on community intervention & criticism of community development
Post-revolutionary SW curricula promoting training and observation outside traditional settings; preventing students directed from contact with older professionals; internships as a means for student socialisation with grassroots movements; *class option* as part of educational aims	Resistance to organisational standards; identification of institutional work settings as venues of professional conservatism
Rank-and-file-like activism; political alignment of SW union with progressive forces	Professional mobilisation via rank-and-file movements and labour unionism
Community organising in the SAAL programme; resistance to do casework in public services	Resistance to mainstream practice standards and individualised therapeutic approaches (casework)

Source: Own elaboration (adapted from A3)

Those interactions are consistent with Galper's (1980, p. 131) concept of *political organising* as social work practice, i.e., "uniting service users involved with a direct service setting; linking service users with outside, existing political organizations; supporting these organizations in other ways". Nothing more, nothing less than what could be seen in the cases of the SAAL programme or the CERCIS movement.[107]

Contributing to that outcome was what Galper (1975, as cited in Rojek et al., 1988, p. 56) called the *tactical advantages* of radical social workers. It was the sort of tactics that might imply resorting to non-statutory, informal and, at times, unlawful procedures with the objective of diverting state resources "from repressive to emancipatory practices". The SAAL programme and the intervention of social workers in it presents a good case of the use of such tactics and their contribution to an alternative to traditional state housing policies.[108] These tactics conform to Pearson's (1975) concepts of *professional rebelliousness* or *professional*

[107] With the exception that in these cases, the focus was on organising people who demanded access to services and decent living conditions rather than on service users.
[108] Policies that had been tainted by discretionary, ineffective and oppressive traits (A2, p. 245).

deviance, or Richan's and Mendelsohn's (1973) notion of institutional *professional subversive action*.[109] Those tactics led practitioners in the SAAL programme to ride the revolutionary wave and mingle with its political power relations, and, while doing so, seek out opportunities to deploy intervention frameworks contrary to social control, paternalist and adaptive individualised practice.

Another hallmark of RSW's political stand were the calls to trade unionism, specifically aiming at making the profession's labour claims converge with the larger working class union movement. For RSW in Latin-America as well as in the USA and in the UK, social workers were understood as a proletarianised workforce and the problems they faced under capitalism were not perceived as being different from the issues that confronted the rest of the labour force. Thus, the call was to avoid class sectionalism (both within and outside the profession) and integrate larger union structures. The evidence gathered from three interviewees who were in the Portuguese social work union board in the 1973-75 period allows perceiving that the strategy followed by that national professional structure held similarities with RSW's ideas on the nature of the professional union engagement. Joining the CGTP-IN (General Confederation of Portuguese Workers) and converging with other progressive union structures before 1974 is a good example of how Portuguese social work conformed to the stands of the international RSW movement of that time.

Several researchers, particularly in the UK and in the USA, have long been trying to discover the determinants of social workers' radical engagement. Besides examining socio-political, contextual, and structural conditions that can cause radical professional mobilisation to surge and fade (Cloward & Piven, 1975; Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Galper, 1980; Jordan & Jordan, 2000; Langan, 2002; Langan & Lee, 1989; Mullaly, 1997; Reeser & Epstein, 1990; Reisch & Andrews, 2002; Rogowski, 2010; Rojek et al., 1988; Simpkin, 1979; Statham, 1978), attention has also been drawn to how individual trajectories and personal traits contribute to steer social workers radical commitment (De Maria, 1992; Epstein, 1970; Reeser & Epstein, 1990; Wagner, 1990). In this respect, Epstein's (1970) seminal work assessed the role of class belonging and political party militancy on social work radical engagement, concluding there was "no significant relationship between class of origin and social activism" (Reeser & Epstein, 1990, p. 67). The same can be said of the Portuguese case. In fact, only one interviewee referred to her being a member of the working class as an underlying factor of her radicality. The rest of the interviewees, either from urban social elites or the middle classes, referred to their politicisation as subsequent to their attending social work schools or, in some cases, their entering the work market. This was particularly evident in the discourses of those who participated in the community development programmes of the late 1960s, which, according to them, made them more aware of the exploitation and oppression going on in rural and industrial contexts.

[109] To avoid confusion with Carey's and Foster's (2011) *deviant social work* concept. Although prescribing a set of small-scale acts of resistance, deception or sabotage of institutional and statutory dispositions, its pragmatic, non-idealist and individualised nature does not meet – or at least not entirely – RSW's criteria.

Reeser and Epstein (1990, p. 67) have also noted that previous political party affiliation had a considerable impact on social workers' radicalisation. Revisiting Epstein's earlier (1970) study, the authors found partisan militancy (and its inherent ability to bolster political commitment) to be a decisive factor behind social workers' involvement in social and political activism – a similar conclusion was proposed by Netto (1975) regarding the case of the reconceptualization movement in Spanish-speaking countries. In the Portuguese case, although party affiliation was not to be disregarded, the evidence points to a somehow different, if not opposite, assumption: it was social work radicalisation and the participation in radical revolutionary initiatives as students or as professionals, what motivated their politicisation and, in some cases, their future party militancy. In other words: conforming to RSW formats bolstered the political militancy of those involved.

Beyond the social workers' individual political and ideological abidance, social work's political dimension is perceived through the collective professional interactions with wider societal instances and powers. In this case, the subjects' participation in social mobilisations during the revolutionary process offers a broad picture of the profession's political orientation. Following this lead, if radical social workers actively contributed to mobilise collectives and empower social movements (helping them burgeon as political actors in the evolving revolutionary political power relations), it can also be said that social movements empowered social workers' radicalisation as well. Entrenched involvement with deprived, impoverished and contentious segments of society was seen as a possible determinant of social workers' radicalisation since the early 20th century (Jones, 1996). The underlying risk was that of professionals being *contaminated* as a result of their close proximity to disadvantaged contexts and disenfranchised people; of their starting to see the world and understand social reality empathically, through the indigenous perspective; the risk of taking the *otherness* to a certain extent that professional relationship and status would be compromised – a sort of *going native.* At least, this is what the biographies of interviewees #5 and #9 suggest (see A4).

Deeply rooted in this political conception of radical professional action was the sharing of equalitarian beliefs. Beyond its intrinsic socialist outset and idealistic value, equalitarianism was set as a key principle deemed to guide the personal and professional stands of radical social workers (Reisch & Andrews, 2002). It was so in Portugal, judging from the experiences of some of the social workers who participated in this research. Interviewee #9, for example, explained she did not want to be any different from the rest of the people of the neighbourhood in which she intervened and where she lived, despite her qualifications – a higher education degree – which she put at the service of the collective in a community she felt part of (A4).

Equalitarian principles can be perceived also in the SAAL programme, especially in the way community empowerment was conceived and emancipatory processes were conducted. There, the people were not seen as a cluster of passive individuals thought to benefit from

eleemosynary help or subsidies. Instead, they were envisaged as partakers alongside other progressive allies in changing their living conditions. The role of social workers in the SAAL brigades was to build those alliances, to steer the communities' participatory potential, to organise the collectives and to mediate power relations with higher political stances. Thus, implementing the SAAL projects meant more than just building and rehabilitating houses (see A2 and A3). It was about developing collective processes in which community promotion and conscientising (Baía, 2012) went hand-in-hand with equalitarian ideals.

Equality was not pursued solely through promoting collective consciousness, cooperativism and solidarity though. It was sought also through supporting the creation of social services in the community and acknowledging the community's full right to administer those services. An example of that is the creation of kindergartens, day-care centres, sports and leisure facilities (plus entitling and preparing the members of the community to manage them) in the neighbourhoods served by Setubal's SAAL projects (A2, A4). This example resounds in Wagner's (1990, p. 23) analysis of USA's RSW in the 1970s, regarding which he stated that "the 'negative class consciousness' of radicals took the form of support for the new paraprofessional movement and for indigenous community residents [own underlining] without professional training assuming the many roles in the social service". Likewise, the previous example takes us to the issue of client co-option in social work, a prominent feature of the RSW movement, an attitude and a principle pronouncedly political that will be addressed in the next section.

5.2. Forging alternatives to mainstream assistance-focused and therapeutic practice

As seen in Chapter 2, the forging of radical alternatives to mainstream social work often called for the involvement of service clients in the processes of decision and assessment (Cloward & Piven, 1975; Knickemeyer, 1972; Cohen, 1975). Client co-option and alliance formation between professional organisations (and professionals at a personal level) and service users movements expressed a new perspective on how the relationship between agencies (and its practitioners) and service recipients could be established. Client co-option opened the door to an adjustment of the power balance between practitioners and their agencies and the public, from which challenges to practice methods, protocols and principles (in face of the felt oppressiveness of some of the interventions and policies) were likely to result.

Episodes and attitudes regarding co-option of service users and collective movements abound in the Portuguese social work radical experiences of the 1970s. The fact that interviewee #6 invited the elderly people of a disenfranchised neighbourhood in Porto to come as group to the city's IFAS facilities and learn about their entitlement to new social rights can be presented as an eloquent example of service users' co-option in the context of the revolutionary transition (A3). It also shows how those actions caused intra-professional conflicts and friction within the agency. In fact, not all her colleagues at the service were sympathetic to

her summoning those people, and, according to her account, some even expressed dismay and distress when they saw the elderly entering the building. Her suggestion that the group be attended in the staff meeting room can be understood as confrontational of the IFAS hierarchy and the more traditionalist professional peers. This episode reveals significant symbolic dimensions of this social worker's radical praxis, pointing to an intervention pattern based on proximity with and participation of the public at the expense of professional statutory power.

Very close to client co-option was the involvement with the community and the backing up of collective mobilisation within SAAL projects. Taking the public's side, joining in with peoples' complaints, creating conditions to expand the reach of the public's claims and their rights entitlement shared essential principles of client co-option defended by international RSW authors. Besides, that involvement was done at the expense of (and against) traditional practice orientations. Community collective decision taking in SAAL projects can also be interpreted as a form of client co-option, although the *client* here is not the typical recipient of a service or of a social pecuniary benefice; on the contrary, it emerges as an active partaker in the whole chain of provision.

The search for alternatives to traditionalist professional practice and to individualised social adjustive care becomes apparent in the changes in Portuguese social work curricula and practice training in 1974-75. By that time, in the UK, Bailey and Brake (1975) were pointing their fingers at the nefarious role social work education was playing on the maintenance of mainstream practices (especially casework) and on the reproduction of social worker's functions as agents of social control and accomplices of capitalist class oppression. For these two radical authors and others alike (Richan & Mendelsohn, 1973), the educational system had to change if radical structural changes in the *praxis* of social work were to be accomplished. What about Portugal? Right after 1974, Portuguese social work schools underwent major changes, first, by integrating Marxist readings (Matos-Silveira et al., 2020; Negreiros et al, 1992) and further opening the curricula to social sciences, social planning and policy while promoting group teaching and debate (Fernandes, 1985b);[110] secondly, by reorganising the system of internship practice to include social research and reflection and reorienting practice placement towards revolutionary grassroots and labour organisations; thirdly, by starting a struggle to vindicate greater academic recognition and the integration of social work schools in the public university system (Fernandes, 1985b; Fernandes et al., 2000;

[110] Since the 1960s, In the UK, the introduction of social sciences in social work curricula was connected to the radicalisation of the profession (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Jones, 1996; Powell, 2001). Likewise, in Brazil, a similar process took place, which Netto (2005) tied to the constitution of the reconceptualization movement. In Portugal, during the same period, social sciences courses and subjects started to acquire more space in social work curricula, although without the same impact seen in the UK and in Brazil. According to Netto (2005, p. 125), the universalisation of social work education in Brazil might have contributed to increase the critical capacity of social workers and provide theoretical density to the LARM. At that time, in Portugal, unlike what happened in the UK or in Brazil, where social work schools multiplied, the educational offer greatly depended on three schools.

Negreiros, 1991; Santos & Martins, 2016).[111] Adding their voices to the revolutionary choir, in 1975, among other repertoires of contention, the movement of social work students and professors organised a public demonstration in front of the Ministry of Education. There, the demonstrators shouted against social work as an instrument of capitalism and, in a letter delivered to the Minister, defended the integration of social work education in the public university system, which they thought was fundamental to safeguard the profession's unequivocal role in defending the interests of the working class (Negreiros, 1999).

Contrary to Richan's and Mendelsohn's (1973) radical proposal of diverting social work education as much as possible from the academy to the community agencies, Galper (1980) defended the importance of social work schools as primary instances of professional training. Was Galper (1980, p. 240) thinking about the Portuguese experience when he wrote: "there are several ways in which radical students and faculty can express their political sentiments through the fieldwork component of social work education"? There is no evidence that he was, but it certainly looks like it, namely when he added: "for some students [to engage in radical practice], fieldwork with radical community organizations, trade unions, or alternative agencies of various sorts is a desirable option" (p. 241). In 1974-75, the main objectives of the Coimbra school for internship practice in the 4th year (ISSSC, 1985, p. 155-156) were as follows: the development of "a social intervention aimed at change; the practice of a scientific methodology controlled by a process of working-class power-taking […] in line with a socialist project".[112] The influence of, or at least an interlocution with the LARM becomes evident as the Coimbra school identifies that the methodology to be used in the internship would be "Latin-America [*sic*] and Paulo Freire's method"; besides, the internship should be done "outside of the institutions" and "clearly in line with power taking mass mobilisations and organisations". That meant placing students in, "residents' commissions, municipal housing services, […] educational cooperatives", among other venues.[113] At the Lisbon school, the 1974-75 curricular restructuring literally acknowledged it was the overall objective of social work education to contribute to "social transformative collective action pointed at the autonomy of the dominated classes" (Negreiros et al, 1992, p. 39).[114]

5.3. Structural proclivity

Contributing to transformative collective action, countering capitalist-induced social inequality, empowering and emancipating the underprivileged and working towards the construction of a socialist society clearly show the Marxist foothold of the changes operated in Portuguese social work

[111] This struggle was conducted by a movement which relied heavily on the participation of students (Ribeiro, 2011) and recently graduated social workers, some having been involved in the SAAL initiatives like interviewee #1.
[112] Own translation.
[113] Own translation. In relation to placing the students of the Lisbon school outside the ordinary institutional work settings, a 1977 assessment pointed to the risk of the academy becoming "isolated" from the majority of the institutions where professionals worked (Negreiros et al, 1992, p. 89).
[114] Own translation.

academies in 1974-75. Although Marxist literature had been covertly passing from hand to hand among students and professionals prior to 1974 (Martins & Silva, 2022), as interviewees #2 and #9 reported, the revolutionary turn opened the gates of the academy to amenably integrate Marxist authors and Marxist concepts in the courses' syllabi (Martins & Tomé, 2016; Santos & Martins, 2016).

In Portugal, the challenge to think the profession from a Marxist perspective had been launched in 1973 in an article in *Vertice* journal.[115] The article "Social workers: profession in crisis or crisis of social work?", written by José Gomes Canotilho, then a teacher at the ISSSC, challenged the neutral stand of the profession and defended the political relevance of social work, especially under capitalism (Martins & Silva, 2022; Matos-Silveira et al, 2020). Thus, in the early 1970s, a wider discussion that was brewing internationally was transposed to Portugal, somehow following a previous debate introduced by the French progressive journal *Revue de L'Esprit*, in 1972 (Martins & Silva, 2022). A point must be made here, considering the internal repercussion of this debate: although Portuguese social work did not have a strong body of reflection and publications on the possibilities of developing a professional project based on structural principles prior to the democratic turn, some of the interviewees (who had engaged in radical interventions during the revolutionary period) mentioned having been to some extent influenced by Marxist thinking either because they had read Marxist literature or had been influenced by professors who were close to Marxist ideas.

One of the most notable signs of structuralist framing in Portuguese social work was the integration of Marxist readings in academic syllabi, especially Althusserian works, (Negreiros et al, 1992). The preponderance of the Althusserian structuralist approach in 1974 and 1975 may help explain the orientation of the radical reforms that took place in social work schools during that period. Those reforms somehow conform to the radical reproductive position – one of the three radical stands proposed by Rojek et al (1988) mentioned in Chapter 2. The radical reproductive position, influenced by Althusser's and Poulantzas' interpretation of Marxist categories, tended to see social work as fulfilling the ideological ends of the capitalist system and social workers as a means of social control and moral policing ready to destroy all forms of social life threatening the maintenance of the system. According to this perspective, social workers' mainstream technical and statutory procedures like home visits, interviews or therapeutic interventions promoted social adjustment and social control (Rojek et al, 1988). The strategy of keeping students away from the traditional institutional work settings corresponded to that radical call. Consequently, placing them in grassroots organisations and labour movements that challenged the capitalist order was a plausible choice in view of the opportunities and the general political environment brought about by the Revolution.

[115] An academic and cultural publication close to the neorealist movement with which academics from the University of Coimbra and from the Coimbra social work school collaborated.

Conclusion

The present study departed from a set of assumptions on the relation between the Portuguese revolutionary transition and the social work profession which have led to four main conclusions:

(i) the revolutionary process allowed social workers consubstantiate a progressive rupture that started to take form years before the end of the dictatorship;

(ii) there is no causal relation between social workers' activist and radical engagement and professional identity (dis)affiliation;

(iii) involvement in revolutionary initiatives politicised professional practice;

(iv) there was RSW in Portugal, although it did not derive from or give rise to a RSW movement.

As regards the first, the revolutionary process allowed social workers who shared progressive ideals and socialist beliefs to break away with traditionally conservative, individualised, assistance-focused forms of social work practice, an attitude that had already started to take place a few years before. Among social workers showing greater inclination to participate in revolutionary vanguards were those involved in oppositional activities to the dictatorship. They acknowledged social work's political professional mandate as well as its inherently socialist, equalitarian, ideological drive. As the revolutionary process made its way, shaking Portugal's political, social, economic and cultural bases, it contributed to accelerate and shape the above-mentioned rupture in the form of radical professional agency. If, as Accornero 2013) suggests, the social mobilisations of the revolutionary transition can be seen as the conclusive stage of a longer protest cycle beginning in the late 1960s, the same can be said of social work's radical surge in the 1974-75 period. That means looking at social work's radical experiences in the revolutionary phase as one step in a longer cycle of professional involvement in contestatory action, although this time infused with the structural political opportunities afforded by the Revolution.

The second conclusion is that there is no such thing as a univocal, constant, causal relation between social workers' radical engagement and professional identity representations. This research's findings show social workers' radical commitment can lead both to professional abrogation and professional self-fulfilment. Far from producing professional disaffiliation, radical engagement can reinforce professional identity, especially considering how radical commitment can contribute to assert idealistic and social transformational principles. Either professional abrogation or professional self-fulfilment can take place depending on a variety of circumstances, such as the locus and context of practice, the existence or absence of professional peers around, the level of experience accumulated and previous trajectories of professional identification.

Earlier studies on social workers' radical commitment conducted in the USA posited professional career mobility as a factor that tended to diminish activist engagement. In this

respect, Wagner (1990, p. 171) wrote that “while professional career mobility may not necessarily alter ideological commitment, it does affect militancy and oppositional activism”. This assumption is partially consistent with the discourses of the social workers who participated in this research. If Wagner’s initial conjecture is corresponded by the inquired Portuguese subjects, the second postulation is harder to match this research’s results. In fact, it is not possible to state that it was professional career mobility that led to the diminishing of the subjects’ radical engagement over time. The fact there was less radical intervention resulted, indeed, from the decline of the structural conditions that upheld militant, progressive and activist practice. It resulted, also, from the affirmation of service organisation formats and service provision formats linked to welfare provision (Rodrigues & Monteiro, 1998). More than political militancy and activist engagement, these formats demanded *technical expertise* from social workers.

According to 1970s RSW critics (Specht, 1972), activism would inexorably lead to the obliteration of social work’s professional project. However, the evidence collected in this research denies it. In the same context of radical participation, different consequences may surface. Participation in SAAL projects, for example, brought along professional self-esteem, self-recognition and identification with the social work profession, unlike what happened in the Torre Bela cooperative, which resulted in processes of professional identity dilution. While in the first case social workers’ participation contributed to affirm their own sense of professional identification and to their agency being recognised by other professionals (Byrne, 2014; Queirós, 2015), in the agrarian cooperative, the internship experience and subsequent full personal immersion in that collective gradually produced a sense of estrangement from the profession in one of its social work participants.

Two dimensions were key factors in maintaining social workers’ professional (self)identification untouched: their professional experience (especially in community organising) and their political militancy and labour union activism during the dictatorship (when political and civic activism were done in parallel with professional duties). Former professional experience in community organising and in political activism equipped social workers with the know-how and aptitude to support structural transformative projects without questioning their being members of the profession or their professional identity. In the case of SAAL’s social workers, the fact they developed radical work with other professional peers it was a sign they were not alone in their radical commitment and praxis, which contributed to develop a sense of shared professional endeavour. As to the student who did her internship in the Torre Bela cooperative, the process of professional disaffiliation was not the outcome of radical engagement *per se*, but the corollary of a series of circumstances that marked her internship experience. Circumstances that cannot be separated from another social work radical manifestation, the restructuring of educational projects in the 1974-75 period along with the

lack of a well-defined methodological and theoretical orientation to guide practice experiences in grassroots initiatives.

As concerns the third conclusion, both political militancy and sharing idealistic principles and progressive ideological beliefs were described in the literature as determinants of social workers' engagement in radical practice. The present research challenges that assumption, particularly its deterministic form, by introducing a nuance: it was also through commitment to radical practice that social workers were able to develop their own political conscientising and become more politically engaged. Taking that conclusion one step further, in Portugal, social workers' involvement in revolutionary initiatives promoted the politicisation of professional practice. That process contributed to empower professionals the same way their politically-engaged professional action contributed to empower groups, movements and initiatives in their claims to equality, well-being and dignity. Such politicisation was expressed through the alliance of social workers with social movements and progressive revolutionary powers. The very same politicisation that allowed unlocking resources (material, human and political) needed to frame alternative paths of intervention with wider collective reach and seeking structural social change.

Finally, the last conclusion is that, despite there being evidence pointing to social workers' experiences in the revolutionary transition conforming to radical social concepts, it cannot be said that a RSW movement existed in Portugal at that time, much less with the importance it had in the USA and in the UK. There are, however, unmistakable signs of a radical collective mobilisation of professionals, students and educators.

Portuguese social work's radical mobilisation was umbilically linked to the social movements of the time; yet, there was no consistent RSW movement in Portugal that could aggregate the dispersed radical experiences or establish points of convergence between the professionals and students dwelling in different places, agencies and services. The creation of alliances between residents' commissions and neighbours' associations done by SAAL's social workers to some degree correspond to an attempt to unify claimants' collectives in a common movement. However, that was not steered by any social work professional collective. Despite their involvement in the large social mobilisations of the revolutionary stage, Portuguese radical social workers did not create a professional movement of that kind.[116] On this issue, it is worth recalling Galper's (1980, p. 6) remark that "it is difficult for a well-formulated and organizationally developed radical presence to emerge within one sector, such as social work, in the absence of a broader support and stimulation". This assumption largely

[116] As for mobilisations in the schools and the creation of an inter-school movement, in 1975, in spite of the repertoires and vocabularies of contention conveying a radical political representation of the profession as an ally of revolutionary change, that movement was more oriented towards claims around academic status and recognition, mainly in the form of the integration of schools in the public university system.

relates to the Portuguese case. In fact, the emerging of radical practice encompassed a much larger radical social and political movement, but a structure (internal to the profession) that would congregate and support those radical experiences never saw the light of day.[117] Deterring Portuguese social work from developing a radical movement was the lack of theoretical bases. It can be connected to the incipience of Portugal's social work university project, at least when compared to the UK and Brazil. In Brazil, the widening of social work's university offer and its scientific recognition, joined by the circulation of critical social sciences perspectives, combined, allowed the creation of spaces of intellectual debate and political interaction that cemented what Netto (2005) called the *intentions of rupture* with traditional social work. The very same intentions that underscored the LARM.

Revolutionary transformation, Galper (1980, p. 63) argued, "cannot occur in the absence of a revolutionary movement, as revolutionary movements require the mobilization and political development of large numbers of people". This perspective helps understand why a radical movement in Portuguese social work did not take shape: although many professionals, students and educators became involved in the revolutionary movement(s), it was a minority rather than a majority engagement, besides being contextual. Furthermore, according to Galper (1980) and Wagner (1990), an important condition for the emergence of a RSW movement was the existence of clusters of mobilisations among social workers; but for the already mentioned labour union structure, that did not exist in the Portuguese revolutionary period. At least, there is no evidence of there being a formal or informal movement of professionals, students and social work teachers to represent the voices of those committed to radical practice and to propose strategies to bolster radical alliances within the professional category and with other agencies, powers and social actors.[118] In that sense, the Portuguese social work radical experiences of the 1974-75 period were more a contextual phenomenon rather than a coordinated movement, considering as Galper (1980) and Wagner (1990) noted, those experiences were not following one or more identifiable theoretical orientations and there were no platforms to promote radical professionals' and students' convergence.[119]

[117] A structure that could have galvanised a radical movement in Portuguese social work might have been its professional labour union, especially considering the political orientation it took in the years preceding the downthrow of the dictatorship. Nonetheless, the social workers' union did not contribute to house or stimulate a RSW movement in the revolutionary phase.

[118] At least like in USA's Catalyst and UK's Case Con collectives (Feldon et al. 2018; Reisch & Andrews, 2002; Wagner, 1990; Weinstein, 2011).

[119] Also, there were no platforms to discuss radical experiences and what it meant for professional identity and the profession's collective project, as it happened in the UK, in the USA, in Latin-America, and elsewhere. The venues where and the moments when those radical experiences were collectively discussed may have been the national meetings of the three schools when preparing a common strategy to struggle for their integration in the public university system (which needs to be confirmed and further scrutinised) and the practice group supervision meetings.

Since the early stages of the research, choices were made which implied concentrating the inquiry in selected revolutionary fronts, namely the urban struggles (particularly the involvement in the SAAL programme) and the agrarian reform (the rural cooperatives movement, especially the Torre Bela cooperative). Outside this study's scope was the participation of social workers in workers' control initiatives (in private, state and nationalised companies, as well as in state services). Looking into these actions, mapped in previous literature and referred to by some interviewees, would have contributed to a more complete scrutiny of social workers' revolutionary engagement. This aspect should receive further attention in future social work or labour movement history research, considering the importance of workers' control as a means to and a symbol of transition into socialism, as Galper (1980, p. 54) noted. Also, it is worth looking into those cases involving self-management of social services and breach of hierarchical divisions (as in the case of some IFAS, later called Social Security regional branches, like Porto's). An additional understanding of the interactions between social workers and the revolutionary process may also be achieved by a thorough study of the actions of the social work union during that period and the decline of its influence, given that, before April 25, 1974, it had been highly active in congregating the profession around progressive, emancipatory and transformative values.

The post-1976 democratic normalisation tamed the whims of collective contentious mobilisations, ending the popular grasp of the revolutionary transition, but it does not mean the influence of revolutionary radical changes on social policies (that were the spine of Portugal's late welfare state) should be overlooked.[120] After all, as Netto (1986) recalled, although the post-1976 institutional counter-revolution curtailed the revolutionary impetus, it was the strength of the revolutionary process (to which popular movements concurred) what guaranteed Portugal's relatively swift transition from authoritarianism, obscurantism, traditionalism and conservativism to democracy, progressivism, laicism and equalitarianism. The impact of revolutionary radicalism and progressivism on shaping the post-1976 welfare state and its policies needs further studying[121], a possible research track this study hopes to unravel.

The present research hopes to offer professionals, social work researchers and all who care about social movements and socio-political transition in an international perspective a clearer picture of a particular tract of social work's history.

As pointed out in the conclusions of the published articles, going deeper into what social workers did in the course of the revolutionary transition, describing and comprehending the

[120] Despite contextual and historical differences, Sjöberg, Rambaree, and Jojo (2014) point out the influence of early post-war social movements on the development of the Swedish welfare state.

[121] Although not specifically focused on that subject, Rodrigues' (1999) work on the history of social policies and the evolution of the Portuguese welfare state and also works by Santos (1990) offer valuable doorways to approach the relation between political revolutionary change and the emergence of the Portuguese welfare state.

nature, aims and formats of their interventions, besides presenting a better-informed perspective of the profession's history and its political ontology also provides further knowledge about the complex interconnections professionals and students established with a diversity of social and political agents. The Portuguese experiences also show how practitioners and students made use of structural transformative principles, putting the social justice rhetoric into practice. Data on Portuguese social work's participation in the revolutionary transition and its analysis are useful tools to develop a better understanding of: (i) how professionals coped with complex socio-political change; (ii) how they were able to creatively adapt technical-operative devices and methods in unusual, unforeseen, and novel contexts of intervention; (iii) how those professionals interacted with the publics, renegotiating power relations and their professional status; (v) how their intervention translated into concrete empowerment and emancipation of the publics with whom they intervened; (iv) which qualms aroused as a result of that participation and of the deployment of radical approaches to practice.

Portuguese social workers' experiences are not to be seen as fine relics of professional heritage to be displayed in the profession's museum. Rather than a trip down memory lane, recalling those experiences should be seen in the light of growing contemporary debates on the politics of social work's standings in the world system and the profession's inherently political feature (Duarte, 2017; Ferguson et al, 2018; Gray & Webb, 2009; Jonsson, 2019; McKendrick & Webb, 2014). In fact, contemporary social work has been claiming a larger engagement in community practice (Al-Makhamreh, Alnabulsi, & Asfour, 2016; IASSW-AIETS, ICSW, & IFSW, 2012; Pyles, 2007; van Den Berk-Clark & Pyles, 2012)[122] and a greater acknowledgement of its political guise, which is fundamental to enforce social justice goals.[123] Looking into the profession's past in distinct geographies in search of experiences that reflect the very same commitment to community emancipation as the Portuguese 1970s case did provides valid and diversified perspectives on the possibilities, hindrances and results of those experiences. Such perspectives can be useful to both rethink ongoing interventions and plan future ones.

[122] On this topic, note the IFSW's declared themes for the global celebrations of World Social Work Day in 2017 and 2018 (https://www.ifsw.org/world-social-work-day-2017/; https://www.ifsw.org/social-work-action/world-social-work-day/world-social-work-day-2018/ accessed in November 23 2020) and the generic topic of the 2018 Social Work, Education and Social Development world conference in Dublin, Ireland – *Environmental and Community Sustainabilty* (https://www.ifsw.org/event/swsd-2018-social-work-education-and-social-development/ accessed in November 23 2020).

[123] IFSW's Secretary-General Rory Truell's 2018 address to the UN openly acknowledged social work's necessity to assume political stands in the face of the pernicious effects some economic theories and policies have on people (https://www.ifsw.org/social-work-action/policy and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yZ-_y74ff1k&feature=emb_title, accessedin May 20 2020).

In order to be able to rise to their inclusive, universal rights-based, socially just, environmentally sustainable, diversity-sensitive and transformative[124] flags, social work professionals, students and academics are challenged to assume critical approaches to social issues and a clear political endeavour in their practices. Based on a slice of social-professional history, the present work is a contribution to how that agenda can be designed, the possibilities of action it allows, and the risks and obstacles it may encounter. The Portuguese experience reveals, above all, how the absence of certain key-factors (convergence of individual or group radical experiences into collective movement; perceivable radical strategies; recognition of radical professional roles of social workers by the organisations and movements they belonged to; theoretical bases) compromises the sustainable maintenance of alternatives to traditional and statutory social work.

Revisiting the RSW tradition takes us back to the birth places of social work's fundamental values framed around humanism and egalitarianism (Mullaly, 1997), allowing us to perceive the struggles that have been fought to establish them as fundamental beacons of the profession. Those very same values are presently at stake and a shadowy future has been looming on the horizon, as populist, nationalist and anti-humanitarian influences grow amidst uncertainties about what may happen in a (post-)pandemic global order. Furthermore, revisiting social work's radical pasts may help prevent structural, transformational and emancipatory aspirations from becoming discursive clichés, shallow categories of professional jargon. In view of the growing influence of neo-conservativism and the emerging ultra-right fascist-prone movements endorsing the normalisation of bigotry, racism and misogyny, more than ever it is necessary and urgent that social work openly takes on and endorses anti-oppressive, democratic and social and environmental justice stands.[125]

In light of current and future challenges, going through the legacy of Portuguese social workers' radical experiences in the revolutionary process, highlighting their political capacity and their willingness to engage in structural emancipatory action in every corner of social life (fulfilling their role as active agents of socio-political transformation and advocates of peoples' rights) is certainly not a useless exercise.

[124] Reflected on the IFSW's 2020-2030 Global Agenda for Social Work, as referred in https://www.ifsw.org/2020-to-2030-global-agenda-for-social-work-and-social-development-framework-co-building-inclusive-social-transformation/, accessed in November 23 2020.

[125] Especially *now* that we possess the wisdom learned from past histories and their darkest events and are aware of the human costs of totalitarianisms and authoritarianisms (Hering & Waaldijk, 2003; Herrero, 2020; Ioakimidis et al., 2020; Lorenz, 1994).

Tiivistelmä (Summary in Finnish)

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan sosiaalityöntekijöiden osallistumista Portugalin 25. huhtikuuta 1974 alkaneeseen vallankumoukseen. Vallankumous ja sitä seuraava 20 kuukautta kestänyt PREC-prosessi (Revolutionary Process Under Way) muodostivat siirtymävaiheen lähes 50 vuotta vanhasta diktatuurista nykyisen Portugalin perustuslailliseen demokratiaan. Vallankumouksen aikaa leimasivat laaja sosiaalinen mobilisointi, suoran demokratian käytännöt ja sosialistiseen vallankumoukseen liittyvät kauaskantoiset sosiaaliset, poliittiset, kulttuuriset ja taloudelliset uudistukset.

Tämän tutkimuksen yleisenä tavoitteena on saada tietoa ja ymmärtää vallankumouksen vaikutuksista Portugalissa tehtävään sosiaalityöhön ja sosiaalityöntekijöiden panoksesta PREC-prosessiin. Myöhemmin tutkimusta ohjasi seuraava ajatuskulku: vallankumous tarjosi tunnetusti erilaisille toimijoille monia poliittisia mahdollisuuksia vahvistaa omaa ohjelmaansa, sosiaalityön tapauksessa (ammatti, jolla oli jo merkkejä kollektiivisista pyrkimyksistä rikkoa perinteiset konservatiiviset ohjelmansa) kysymys oli siitä, millainen vaikutus vallankumouksellisella siirtymällä oli vakuuttaa edistykselliset arvot omaava poliittisesti sitoutunut ammatti? Tämän kysymyksen seurauksena esille nousi neljä tarkennettua tutkimuskysymystä: (i) Millaista oli sosiaalityöntekijöiden osallisuus vallankumouksellisessa siirtymässä – millaiset esimerkit ja tilanteet ilmaisevat sosiaalityöntekijöiden sitoutumista vallankumoukseen? (ii) Kuinka vallankumouksen dynamiikat heijastuivat portugalilaisen sosiaalityön radikaaleissa muutoksissa ja millainen merkitys sosiaalityöntekijöillä oli vallankumouksellisten muutosten ylläpitäjinä? (iii) Missä määrin portugalilaisten sosiaalityöntekijöiden kokemukset vallankumouksellisessa prosessissa kuvastivat radikaalia sosiaalityötä (RSW)? (iv) Kuinka sitoutuminen vallankumouksellisiin liikkeisiin heijastui sosiaalityöntekijöiden ammatillisessa identiteetissä?

Tutkimus noudattaa konstruktionistista lähestymistapaa. Yhteiskunnallisten liikkeiden teorioista peräisin oleva poliittisen mahdollisuusrakenteen (POP) käsite sekä 1960- ja 1970-luvun Iso-Britannian, Yhdysvaltojen ja Latinalaisen Amerikan radikaalin sosiaalityön sisällöt muodostavat tutkimuksen teoreettisen ja käsitteellisen viitekehyksen. Aineiston kokoamisessa ja analyysissa on käytetty laadullisia menetelmiä. Historialliseen lähestymistapaan soveltuen tutkimuksen metodologinen asetelma yhdistää suullista historiaa ja dokumenttien tutkimusta. Tässä yhdistelmässä biografiset menetelmät ja elämänkerrat muodostavat pääasiallinen aineiston. Strategista lumipallomenetelmää käyttämällä paikannettiin 14 henkilöstä koostuva kohderyhmä, jonka yksilöhaastattelut toteutettiin vuosina 2016 – 2018 käyttäen puoli-strukturoitua biografisen haastattelun rakennetta. Aineiston analyysissa käytettiin kategorista sisällön analyysia ja narratiivista analyysia.

Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset muotoutuivat tieteellisinä artikkeleina, jotka julkaistiin sosiaalityöhön liittyvissä kansainvälisissä tieteellisissä julkaisuissa vuosina 2018--2020. Tulokset vahvistavat aikaisemmat väitteet, joiden mukaan PREC ei ollut selkeä ”repeämä” ulos perinteisistä, konservatiivisesta ja poliittisesti neutraalista sosiaalityön määrittelystä, vaan se vahvisti jo ennen vallankumousta tapahtuneet sosiaalityön intentiot. Tulokset osoittavat myös, että radikaali ammatillinen sitoutuminen ja sosiaalityöntekijöiden poliittinen aktiivisuus eivät estäneet ammatillisen identiteetin muodostumista, eivätkä aiheuttaneet ammatillista irtautumista; osallistuminen vallankumouksellisiin aloitteisiin edisti poliittisia ammattikäytäntöjä; sosiaalityöntekijöiden kokemukset vallankumouksellisten rintamien rinnalla olivat radikaalin sosiaalityön mukaisia, vaikka ne eivät olleet peräisin alkuperäisestä radikaalista ammatillisesta liikkeestä tai johtaneet siihen.

Asiasanat: Vallankumous, radikaali sosiaalityö, poliittinen aktivismi, sosiaalityön historia, sosiaaliset liikkeet

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APPENDIX A – Article #1 (A1)

Original article **"**Social workers in the Revolution: Social work's political agency and intervention in the Portuguese democratic transition (1974-1976)", submitted to publication to the journal International Social Work in November 4 2015, accepted in April 1 2016, first published online in June 29 2016, published in International Social Work vol 61, issue 3, May 2 2018. DOI https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872816651706

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Social workers in the Revolution: Social work's political agency and intervention in the Portuguese democratic transition (1974–1976)

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Abstract
A period of profound social and political changes, the democratic transition that followed the 1974 military coup in Portugal had an enormous impact on social work. The Revolution set the ideal conditions for social workers to perform alternative forms of intervention, moving away from the assistance-focused practices characteristic of the former authoritarian rule. Incited by the new progressive political agenda, social workers stood at the forefront of the Revolution, working alongside grass-roots mobilisations and experimental participative projects, overtly assuming political stands. This article analyses the agency of social workers in the various political and social fronts during the democratic transition.

Keywords
Alternative social work, participation, Portugal, Revolution, social movements

Introduction

At the dawn of 25 April 1974, following a military coup, a group of mid-rank officers seized power in Portugal, overthrowing the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime and putting an end to almost half a century of right wing, conservative dictatorship.[1] In the following months, the Revolution's agenda was enforced, opening the way to what was to be called the Revolutionary Process Underway (RPU).[2] Democratisation, decolonisation and development were three keywords that guided the progressive programme of the Armed Forces Movement and the left-wing provisional governments that took hold of power. From 1974 to 1976, when the democratic constitutional project began to solidify (Cerezales, 2003; Rezola, 2008) and the earlier progressive radical drift diluted, Portugal was the setting of ground-breaking socio-political reforms and experiences. Backed by the Revolution's progressive agenda, a series of social services reforms,

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company workers' self-management projects and land reforms, as well as a vast array of social movements and direct democracy practices, startled a country doleful from decades of totalitarian rule. It was in the midst of this social and political environment that Portuguese social work and some of its professionals and students saw an opportunity to lay the ground for an alternative practise paradigm, distancing themselves from the traditional assistance – focused forms of intervention instated during the *Estado Novo* regime. This particular chapter in the history of Portuguese social work can improve our understanding of political and social change in the country, a transformation in which many social workers were not sheer spectators of political renovation or mere executors of measures, but had their share of responsibility and agency in social change.

Our approach to this subject stems from an on going doctoral project in the field of the history of social work devoted to the study of social workers' agency in the context of structural political change during the Portuguese democratisation process in the 1970s. The purpose of this article is to feature the basics of the aforementioned research while discussing its key-framing thesis and hypothesis. Taking the agency of social workers in the revolutionary process and their participation in the various political and social fronts that marked this period of Portuguese history as the central object of research, we meet Martins' (2002) challenge of producing a historiography of contemporary Portuguese social work that could become instrumental in the (re)configuration of professional identity and grant visibility to the ways in which social workers' professional practices became engaged with social and political movements. The aforementioned object of research can also provide interesting clues for developing a comparative analysis with other European countries facing similar historical processes of transition between right-wing authoritarian rule and democracy in the 1970s, for example, Greece and Spain.[3]

The intervention of social workers alongside a variety of emerging social movements and political organisations (as mobilisers of collective action and agents of state services or political forces within the revolutionary period: Negreiros, 1999; Semblano, 2003) requires special attention and, in part, justification for researching that topic. Besides the implicit and immediate interest that this study brings to a better understanding of such a particular period of Portuguese social work history, we must consider the possibilities it offers for comprehending the revolutionary process itself through the lens of the participation of a group of professionals who had, more than a decade earlier, been claiming and experimenting a more progressive, democratic and participative approach to social intervention (Amaro, 2009; Branco, 2009; Martins, 2009). Thus, the involvement of social workers in the revolutionary process and their intertwining with other political agents and social actors allows for further research into collective mobilisation and political participation, bringing to the surface novel understandings that hatch from new sources, either documental or oral, about the origins, vitality and fading of social movements.

Furthermore, studying the participation of social workers in revolutionary collective mobilisations may offer a deeper knowledge of the way in which Portuguese social work became subject to reconfiguration in the aftermath of complex, structural and socio-political transformation. In this sense, looking into the social workers' professional proceedings during this period may also provide a better understanding of the ways Portuguese social work formulated and adapted its theoretical and operative devices, whether in the context of professional practice or inside academia. Several historians have stated that the 1974 Revolution enabled a series of political opportunities for a very wide range of social and political actors (Cerezales, 2003; Rezola, 2008; Silva, 2014), a proposal that leads us to think that this may also be true for a large number of Portuguese social workers. It provided an opportunity offered by radical political change, with political backup and material resources, to put into place progressive intervention projects outside of the frame of eleemosynary forms of assistance.

In what follows, we will also address the present-day research on Portuguese social workers' participation in the 1974 revolution, particularly underlining its status as a fairly neglected field of study, where the few findings lack proper systematisation and wider disclosure. At the same time, it will be pointed out that this subject is becoming a matter of scientific emergence, as pivotal oral sources are in danger of vanishing, taking to oblivion important testimonies and information on this very rich moment in contemporary Portuguese social work history.

Social workers' revolutionary participation in Portugal – Prospects of a somehow derelict research object

Despite having caught the attention of a considerable number of researchers in the last three decades, the participation of social workers in the revolutionary process is still a fairly peripheral subject in the context of Portuguese social work research. Nevertheless, in the historiography of the Revolution and democratic transition, a few references, scattered and not particularly focused on social workers' professional agency, can be found. The most abundant examples refer to social workers' engagement with grass-roots collective mobilisations between 1974 and 1976 and projects of community organisation, as well as in programmes devised by state agencies or by the military, related to welfare, health, cultural and educational interventions (Almeida, 2009; Baía, 2012; Ferreira, 1994; Oliveira, 2004; Queirós, 2015; Silva, 2013; Varela, 2014). In this respect, in most of the published literature on the subject, oral sources are residual, with the consequential loss of valuable information voiced by the social workers that participated and, to some extent, took the vanguard of some of the flagship intervention projects of the revolutionary stage.[4] In a similar way, the historiography of social workers' intervention alongside the collective mobilisations that were sparked after the 1974 coup is virtually devoid of analytical input from social movements theories, an approach that would render a much clearer understanding, not just of the engagements these professionals had with institutional structures, social actors and political agents, but also of their own role as political agents and their capacity for influencing public policy and street-level intervention practice.

Social workers' participation in the revolutionary process epitomises a striking example of the singularity of the historical trajectory of Portuguese social work within the European context (Branco and Fernandes, 2005), reinforcing the importance of further examination of the subject. The relevance of this is justified, not simply because of the already-mentioned *emergency* for salvaging the important social memories of professionals, but also because it can contribute to organising, systematising and integrating data pertaining to a crucial stage in the history of Portuguese social work and welfare services provision. In addition, it presents an opportunity to deepen the knowledge and discussion about the Portuguese social workers' professional identity, in particular, when Portugal underwent a series of accelerated socio-economic and cultural changes that affected social intervention models, professional status and qualification.

Historical contextualisation becomes a requirement of social work research that cannot be neglected, especially when scientific scrutiny is focused on the theories and procedures of social intervention or when the professional identity of social workers is under examination. The rapport between political, social, economic and ideological structures and the reconfiguration of social work's professional practice models is just too obvious to go unnoticed. Agreeing with Baptista (2001), the evolution of social work's intervention practice models and the professionals' internal processes of category production cannot be properly understood if we do not consider the external environment that surrounds them, and, in this case, socio-historical analysis becomes a tool for understanding them.

Henceforth, the study of social workers' participation in the revolutionary process can contribute to the aforementioned exercise of cross-referencing professional action dispositions with structural socio-political conditions. Such an endeavour requires the profiling of the social workers who were involved in revolutionary intervention projects. Looking into the *whos* that participated may help to understand the *whys* and *hows* behind such participation and to reflect about the ways that these intervention experiences influenced the production and reconfiguration of conceptual, theoretical and technical-operative devices, in an exercise that should not neglect the tensions, conflicts and debates engendered within the professional community of social work, both in the work field and in academia. These are debates that, as several authors have pointed out (Amaro, 2009; Branco, 2009), were raised during that particular cycle of rising liberties and interventional experimentation.

Portuguese social work from the 1960s to 1970s: Trends, ruptures and transformations

The earliest schools of social work, established in Lisbon (1935) and in Coimbra (1937), were founded under the auspices of the *Estado Novo*, carefully intended to fulfil the dictatorial regime's political and ideological ends, in accordance with the Catholic Church's social doctrine. The option of awarding the administration of these schools to catholic religious entities, setting them apart from the university system and trusting the pedagogical and technical guidance to individuals deeply aligned with the *Estado Novo* (Martins, 2010), is an unequivocal sign of how the beginning of Portuguese social work stood side-by-side with the dictatorship.[5] Social workers, more than mere healing and palliative caretakers, were expected to act doctrinally (Branco, 2009) in defence of traditional values regarding family organisation, patriarchal authority and asymmetrical gender roles.[6] In its earliest conception under the dictatorship, social work education in Portugal tried to develop a format of intervention in straight accordance with the world-views of the regime. Involving the Catholic Church and the Catholic secular movements was a fundamental piece of this architecture, given the proximity between religious values and the *Estado Novo*'s political and ideological concepts (Martins, 2010; Pimentel, 2001; Santos, 2009). In this sense, the orientation imprinted by French and Belgian social work (Martins, 2010) and its religious and palliative inclination presented a secure solution when it came to choosing the professionals, hired outside the country, who were supposed to accompany the installation of the first schools. The extreme care taken by the regime when dealing with the opening of social work education was evident, and distrust in foreign examples could not go unnoticed when Salazar spoke in 1935 of the risk that some forms of social work carried out in other countries might open the way to communism (Martins, 2010). Until the late 1940s, social workers carried out assistance activities, mainly within the State's corporatist structure,[7] later extending to healthcare, schools and correctional services (Branco, 2009). As a product of a very selective and doctrinal educational scheme, Portuguese social workers were held captive by the *Estado Novo's* authority and, at the same time, stood as conveyors of the regime's moral order, acting as agents of social conformity and control.

However, from the early 1960s onwards, Portuguese social work was gradually affected by a series of transformations, whether at the level of professional practice or in terms of the education and training of those who aspired to become social workers (Branco, 2009).[8] Among the contributing factors to such discreet reconfiguration were the profound social, political and economic transformations that touched Europe in that decade, Portugal being no exception.

In the democratic and industrialised countries of Europe, social work was progressively enfolded by bureaucratised procedures, and welfare state models became stronger, driving social workers away from palliative, eleemosynary and paternalistic intervention (Fook, 2012). Along with this

tendency for bureaucratisation, both the United States and Europe witnessed the rise of novel approaches to social work practice as alternatives to the case and group social work methods, that is, community social work. Under this emerging approach, an intervention paradigm focused on capacity building, participation and empowerment-gained expression. The 1960s also brought important changes within the Catholic Church, in the guise of the II Vatican Council. The revision of its social doctrine brought the Church closer to secular sectors, appealing to a less elitist participation of communities in assistance tasks. In the wake of these developments, Portugal witnessed the mobilisation of an increasing number of laymen and women, taking part in distinct organisations coordinated by Catholic religious authorities whose influence had a large social reach (students from all educational levels, including those studying in the universities, industrial and rural workers, etc.).

The 1960s also brought new challenges for social intervention, rising from the emergent social problems that followed migratory movements. New phenomena – why not say *problems*? – took shape in Europe, such as the slums of industrialised capitalist nations holding thousands of migrants originating from their rural peripheries or from the southern countries. Such tribulations, which caught part of the continent in the middle of an economic boom only recently rebuilt from post-war devastation, challenged European states to conceive new social policies and social workers to develop alternative approaches to deal with increasingly changing complex social realities. Driven, in part, by these circumstances, the influence of social sciences grew in academia as well as in the context of public policy making, gaining prominence in social work academic curricula and research and breaking with the long-term trend of psychology and hygiene-sanitarian prophylaxis dominion in social work education. These changes in the configuration of European social work – most noticeable in countries subject to the intervention of the Marshall Plan – have impacted Portuguese social work as well. Throughout the 1960s, the three existing social work schools gradually began to show signs of adjustment to curricula and intervention models in response to the developing international trends (Amaro, 2009; Branco, 2008, 2009; Mouro, 2001). An unmistakable mark of such adjustments and an omen for the transformations that were yet to come was the admission of men into educational and professional practice in social work in 1961 (Branco, 2009). It was in the mid-1960s that the earliest experiences of alternative community-oriented and non-palliative social work took form in Portugal.[9] This represented a test for a future political agency of social workers that, during the 1974 Revolution, had found the space, the opportunity and the means to fully and overtly accomplish it, as we will discuss later.

This leads to a hypothesis that ventures the possibility of considering the 1974 Revolution, not as a definite point of rupture in Portuguese social work but, instead, as an event that, by providing the ideal political conditions, allowed the pronouncement of a series of trends and movements within social work that had already been taking shape during the dictatorship. In fact, presenting the Revolution as a definite and unambiguous point of social, cultural and political fracture produces a simplistic view of the process, often resulting from a hasty understanding of the political radicalisation that swept the country from 1974 until 1976. Indeed, when we take a brief look at social workers' professional action during the revolutionary stage, there is a perception of undisguised fracture, due to the multiplication and social visibility of alternative social work projects and the political involvement of a large number of professionals, as Branco (2009) suggests. However, a more thorough analysis of the literature on the evolution of social work in the years that preceded the 1974 military coup reveals that quite a few ruptures were already taking place in the final years of the dictatorship (Amaro, 2009; Coutinho, 1993; Rosa, 1997). As Martins (2002) puts it, we should not give in to the idea that during the dictatorship Portuguese social work was perfectly homogeneous, with all its professionals engaged with assistance-prone intervention and accessories to the state of oppression that affected the country. According to the same author, there were Portuguese social workers who defied praxeological canons and conceived alternatives to the

institutionalised models and intervention devices. These social workers, walking a path of rupture with the authoritarian regime in the 1960s, are presented in literature as a minority group actively engaged with an agenda devoted to instilling a paradigm change in Portuguese social work (Amaro, 2009). It was among these actors that community intervention models achieved greater adherence, having participated in the implementation of community development projects throughout the country (Amaro, 2009; Branco and Fernandes, 2005; Martins, 2002). As we have mentioned previously, the earliest phase of professional and academic institutionalisation of Portuguese social work was unmistakably coupled with the *Estado Novo*'s political and ideological project; however, in the 1960s, some 'pockets of resistance' to conservative intervention practices surfaced among the new generations of social workers and students who were politically active and already engaged in civic participation and with left-wing anti-dictatorship organisations (Ferreira, 2004; Gorjão, 2002). As a paradigm of such participation, Martins (2002) highlights the involvement of social workers in movements like the women's catholic progressive *GRAAL*, in cooperatives such as *Pragma* (Cooperative of Cultural Diffusion and Community Action, based in Lisbon) or *Confronto* (Porto), in the *GEDOC* (self-claimed anti-fascist catholic group), or collaborating in the production and dissemination of subversive actions against the regime and the colonial war (Lopes, 2007).[10] There are also cases of social workers' involvement in left-wing clandestine organisations carrying out actions of armed resistance.[11] Last, in the elections of 1969 and 1973, the opposition lists include social workers as candidates for the National Assembly.[12] Underpinning this political militancy and activism, so often interfering in professional practices, as the dynamics of community intervention show in the final years of the 1960s and early 1970s, we must not forget the influence of the Latin-American reconceptualisation movement (Amaro, 2009; Branco, 2009; Freitas and Santos, 1998; Marques and Mouro, 2004; Martins, 2002; Semblano, 2003), whose echoes dimly reached the Portuguese social work milieu.

Social workers in the Revolution

As stated earlier, the Revolution opened a series of opportunities for social workers to distance themselves from a depoliticised palliative intervention and to openly and freely put in practice alternative approaches. Nevertheless, the opportunities offered by the Revolution to these social workers were not restricted to the lifting of the dictatorship's freedom constraints; they also released the resources, conditions and institutional legitimacy for the implementation of emancipatory community actions, politically inscribed in the progressive agenda of left-wing revolutionary thought.

The echoes of such actions resound, scattered, in contemporary historiography. Downs (1983) took great interest in studying, in-depth, the residents' commissions and housing occupation movements in the cities of Porto, Lisbon and Setúbal, describing the process as a grass-roots social mobilisation assisted by diverse technical agents, among whom stood social workers. These movements, or *urban struggles*, as Downs (1983) referred to them, were backed in the field by professional agents of various sorts who acted as technical advisers and power brokers between the population and higher political levels. As such, they constituted one of the best examples of the Revolution's progressive tone and of the social workers' participation in revolutionary social mobilisation and community organisation. The participation of social workers in the organisation of residents' commissions in Lisbon was described by Alves (2001), who examined the case of the collective occupation of municipal dwellings in 1974 and 1975.[13] To provide a sense of the breadth of the phenomena, in 1975, in Lisbon alone, Downs (1983) identified 38 occupants' commissions and 75 residents' commissions (whether or not part of municipal housing neighbourhoods). The commissions were often organised in working groups assigned to provide solutions to improve housing conditions, to arrange services for infants and the elderly to organise sports, leisure and cultural events, and to promote the associative movement and local participation in decision making and urban planning. As Downs (1983)

surmises, the residents' commissions 'attempted not only to improve the material conditions of the *bairros* [neighbourhoods], but also to increase the participation of people in the control of their daily lives' (pp. 158–9). Social workers were seen as convenient allies and therefore were actively involved in these movements, as Queirós (2013) states in his study of the relationship between Porto's inner city residents and the state during the transition from dictatorship to democracy. In a series of interviews with professionals, the author tracked the involvement of social workers demonstrating a double-hinged feature in their testimonies: in one sense, when they integrated these processes, the social workers, who were sympathetic with progressive political agendas and alternative libertarian forms of social intervention, grabbed the opportunity to operate accordingly; on the other hand, their participation was envisaged by the social movements as an asset when it came to interceding with the authorities and helping to deal with organisational and bureaucratic issues.[14]

Alongside the agrarian question in the south, the lack of housing and the degradation of living conditions in the shantytowns that soared around the largest urban centres drew the attention of the political powers in 1974 and in subsequent years (Andrade, 1995).[15] This circumstance led, after 1974, to the development of new social and housing policies, some with a strong community focus, as was the case of the Local Ambulatory Backup Service programme, SAAL (as read in the Portuguese acronym). This was a decentralised service where multi-disciplinary teams, mainly composed of civil engineers and architects, intervened to support local communities in auto-construction projects (Bandeirinha, 2007). Community organisation, the management of resources, financing and legal and technical consultancy were the tasks embraced by the various professionals involved in SAAL and, according to Bandeirinha (2007) and Baía (2012), who studied this programme in several cities, social workers stood out as community organisers and mediators.

Another important feature of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period was the mobilisation of students, especially those in higher education institutions. This was the subject of Oliveira's (2004), Bebiano's (2006) and Cardina's (2008, 2010) attention. The latter two took great interest in the 1960s period, a time of particular interest to us as it nestled embryonic cases of social work student mobilisation in light of the reasons already discussed in this article. When referring to movements of social work students, it is worth mentioning Ribeiro's (2011) research on the struggles of these students in Portugal and Brazil, alike. Although the author's attention is focused on the 1980s' and 1990s' struggle for larger professional recognition, she introduces contextual elements that might come in handy for our analysis. For instance, it is noticeable that some of the participants in more recent mobilisations had already been engaged with alternative social work experiences and were politically active during the revolutionary period. In this regard, Martins (2009) suggests that the struggle led by social workers in the 1980s for the full recognition of their degrees within the national university system was indeed nurtured by the experiences and conditions laid down by the 1974 Revolution.

The Cultural Dynamisation and Civic Action Campaigns (CDCCA), undertaken in the centre and north of Portugal under military authority between 1974 and 1975, are another example of social workers' participation. As part of multi-task brigades, alongside soldiers and officers, physicians, nurses, teachers, engineers, agronomists, actors, musicians and others, social workers travelled to pre-chosen destinations, usually rural villages located in remote mountainous areas, to set in place the carefully planned operations focused on diagnosing the needs of the community and developing solutions to counter the most immediate problems (Almeida, 2009). These campaigns, far from being reduced to the diagnosis of the weaknesses and problems that affected the population, were aimed at improving popular participation and promoting direct democratic processes (Silva, 2013), an endeavour that many social workers were eager to embrace. As archival sources reveal (Silva, 2013), the imprint of social work comes to the surface when we identify some of the instruments used in the campaigns, such as the diagnostic device. When entering a hamlet or a village, each brigade would draw a precise map, a thorough social diagnostic of the

locale: access to healthcare, schools, health conditions of the population, housing, transportation and so on. Departing from that diagnosis, a series of tasks were assigned to different professionals with the objective of solving immediate problems while developing strategies for community empowerment and organisation.

In a recent study of popular involvement during the 1974 regime change, the participation of social workers in the CDCCA did not escape Varela's (2014) attention, claiming that they had a significant role within revolutionary grass-roots mobilisation. Such undertaking was clearly pointed out by Semblano (2003) in her analysis of the civic and political participation of social workers that integrated the Institute of School Social Action within the CDCCA campaigns in the Castelo Branco district.[16] Semblano's study offers a good example of how the civic participation of social workers could intertwine institutional tasks during that period, thus underlining the political dimension of the intervention. Therefore, it could be said that, in some cases, the Revolution set the tone for paradigm change in social work intervention in Portugal, as Negreiros (1999) had rightly shown.[17]

These contributions allow us to define the contours of the 'geography' of social workers' participation in political and civic actions during the revolutionary period and help identify key case studies. In addition to the already-mentioned CDCCA and the SAAL projects, other cases can supply a lens to reach and track the participation of social workers in the Revolution, namely in the Campaigns of Literacy and Sanitary Education,[18] in the Medical Service in the Periphery,[19] in the housing occupation movements and in the political and social intervention organisations. More than mere symbols of the Revolution, these processes and programmes substantiated groundbreaking political and social changes, and, in the case of social workers, they provided an ideal stage to put into practice the approaches to social intervention lined up with what Amaro (2009) called an 'alternative social work'. Associated with social mobilisation and the emerging political action of the time, many social workers saw an opportunity to give form to community intervention projects that focused on collective empowerment, far-flung from the classical case and group social work methods (Amaro, 2009; Negreiros, 1999). It is in this sense that Branco and Fernandes (2005) speak of a surfacing of innovative practices within Portuguese social work and also of the definition of new fields of intervention, where the support of grass-roots mobilisations and popular associations becomes a major source of attention for those professionals engaged with the already-mentioned view of *an* alternative social work. According to the same authors, in parallel with this involvement in civic and political action, the curricula of the social work degrees were, by then, being restructured to reflect a more progressive and alternative view of social intervention, one clearly influenced by Marxist input and reinforced by the social sciences as the dominant scientific background for social workers' education. Coincidentally, as social workers were taking part in organising collective mobilisations across the country, a corporative struggle for a larger academic and scientific recognition of social work education began to thrive from 1974 onwards.

In addition to mapping social workers' participation in the revolutionary process, it is important to reinterpret the discourses and rhetoric about that involvement. Far from plunging into a historical revisionist process, this reinterpretation exercise is vital in shaping a critical reflection on the political agency of Portuguese social work. It is also pertinent either to avert an over-romanticised portrait of social workers as paladins of the Revolution or to deconstruct present-day aprioristic misconceptions that tend to see their participation as an abnormal experience, where some social workers became engaged in the excesses of an 'excessive' time. To undertake a contemporary reading of such revolutionary involvement and drawing from the analysis of the Brazilian 1960s' and 1970s' reconceptualization movement, Faleiros (1985) and Iamamoto (1999) offer us an interesting critical framework. The former denounces a hegemonic tendency within social work literature to present the reconceptualisation movement as inseparably tied to popular organisations, a conception that Faleiros thinks is disproportionate and results from lack of critical thought. The latter, though not rebuffing the alternative, politically engaged character of the reconceptualisation

movement claims that the role of social workers, especially when working close to grass-roots social mobilisations, was frequently portrayed in terms of a messianic venture. Likewise, Amaro (2009) refers to the Portuguese alternative social work trend that erupted during the revolutionary period as a kind of *messianic volunteering*, stimulated by the Latin-American reconceptualisation movement that, as already mentioned, had been timidly making its way into Portuguese social work professional and academic milieus since the late 1960s.

Concluding remarks

What was the role of and what impact did the 1974–1975 revolutionary period have on the evolution of social work in Portugal? What influence did it have in the transition from the assistance, palliative and conservative features of *Estado Novo*'s social work to the 1980s bureaucratic and technocratic patterns? Or, instead, did this alternative trend represent an exceptional, out-of-the-line experience, powerless to influence the incoming generations of social workers and the future development of professional practice? We are not convinced of such; on the contrary, the involvement and political agency of social workers during the revolutionary process had consequences that outlasted that strict time-lapse that demand further inquiry. In addition to the symbolic capital it brought to Portuguese social work, representing a moment of professional emancipation, it had an impact on the structuring of social workers' academic curricula, on the enrichment of theoretical, praxiological and epistemological debates and also on the configuration of social policies (Negreiros et al., 1992).

Studying how social workers acted during the transition to democracy in Portugal is essential in order to understand the socio-political impact of the profession and also to understand its re-tooling. Our research proposal aspires to fulfil that aim, leaning on the already-available historiography of the evolution of Portuguese social work practices, professional identity and academic education, on archival data mining and on the social memory of the social workers who stood close to collective mobilisations and other projects aligned with the spirit of progressive political action in the years that followed the April 25th Revolution.

As stated earlier, this portion of Portuguese social work history might be useful to expand our understanding of political and social change in the country and the role that social workers played within it. This inquiry may also provide an example for those who study the agency of social workers in similar socio-historical contexts that were subject to transition between totalitarian regimes and democratic systems (such as Spain and Greece), or in countries where social workers have stood in the vanguard of political change, influencing social policy design or participating in intervention projects according to democratic paradigms.

Although focusing particularly on the agency of social workers alongside the revolutionary forces, the discussion of the tensions within the professional community following such involvement must not be neglected. In spite of the 1960s openness to alternative forms of social intervention, in the early 1970s social workers were still highly (de)politicised by four decades of palliative social work, tied to the *Estado Novo*'s conservative view of social intervention. In this respect, researching the revolutionary involvement of social workers is crucial to understanding how that experience brought up ruptures, not only in terms of intervention paradigms but also in the relationship between professionals. Ultimately, such an inquiry prompts an insight into the discipline's very own identity production and reproduction processes, focusing on the capability of social workers to articulate with complex structural change and become actors and agents of socio-political transformation.

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Notes

1. In 1926, a military coup established the dictatorship. Oliveira Salazar was invited to assume control of the Finance Ministry in 1928 and in 1932 became Head of State. In the following year, a new constitution laid the authoritarian foundations of what was to become the *Estado Novo* regime. The dictator died in 1970, 4 years before the Revolution of 25 April 1974.
2. The Revolutionary Process Underway (RPU) led to a left-wing radicalisation of the political programme. During this process, nationalisations, land reforms, decolonisation and a variety of popular-participatory social movements were promoted. In brief, the RPU represents the consecration of the progressive political agenda at a time of civic unrest and political turmoil.
3. See Ioakimidis (2011) and Tello (2004).
4. Sensing the importance of taking the inquiry to their very own social actors, the research design of the project and its methodological structure is framed within a qualitative approach that utilises a combination of ethnographic methods, oral history and biographic methods, as well as documental research in the archives of state and social work education institutions.
5. The Countess of Rilvas, a French citizen who married a Portuguese diplomat, stood out as one of the most preeminent personalities among the lay catholic elite. She took charge of the *Instituto de Serviço Social* (Institute of Social Service), the first social work school in Lisbon, and was an active interventionist in movements that configured the doctrinaire, ideological and political stand of the *Estado Novo* regime (Pimentel, 2001). Bissaya Barreto, a physician and a professor at the University of Coimbra, highly influential in regional politics and a close friend of the dictator Oliveira Salazar, was decisive in the installation of the *Escola Normal Social* (Normal Social School) of Coimbra, the second school to be opened. The administration of both schools was given to the Catholic Church (the Patriarchate in the case of Lisbon and the Franciscan's Missionaries of Mary in the case of Coimbra), and the influence of French social work was most notorious during this stage, as French-trained professionals were hired to provide initial pedagogical and technical backup (Martins, 2010).
6. Likewise, applicants were recruited among the feminine-conservative catholic elites, holding higher literary qualifications in comparison with the average female population, hence thought to convey the highest moral standards (Martins, 2010).
7. The *Estado Novo* regime produced a corporatist organisational system, formed by a network of parastatal entities with functions extending to the economic, social and professional realms. Adherence was compulsory, and through this corporatist structure, the State's political leadership could enforce its economic and social programme in all the sectors of economic activity and throughout the country (Freire et al., 2014).
8. According to Fernandes et al. (2000), at the beginning of the 1960s, reforms in public services were responsible for the incorporation of larger numbers of social workers in healthcare. At the same time, the private sector, especially the large corporations, hired more social workers to manage social services provision for their employees. The same authors point out, among the new trends of professional placement in the 1960s, the hiring of social workers by the Armed Forces following the Portuguese participation in the Colonial War and by the educational authorities (to work in primary and secondary level schools).
9. On the development of community intervention in the 1960s in Portugal and the role of the Syndicate of Professional Social Workers, see Silva (1964).
10. The Portuguese colonial war began in 1961 and ended in 1974.
11. As an example, we can refer to the participation of social workers in the Sé uprising in 1959 in Lisbon, or in the assault on the Beja military barracks in 1962, or to their militancy in organisations such as the FPLN (National Liberation Patriotic Front), the CNSPP (National Commission for the Relief of Political Prisoners) and the BR (Revolutionary Brigades) (Martins, 2002).
12. Under the dictatorship, these elections were much like a bogus process as opposition candidates constantly faced electoral fraud and harassment (on the side of the regime, there was only one party running, the *União Nacional* [National Union]).

13. On this subject, see also Andrade (1995).
14. In that sense, we approach Tarrow's (1994) concept of political opportunity structure, a theoretical frame used to analyse the dynamics of social movements where major structural political changes set the ideal context for social mobilisations to develop. Departing from this stand, it has been suggested that, besides the unequivocal opportunities structural political change brings to the emergence of mobilisations, the social movements themselves can be presented as convenient for the powers and forces that feature the upper levels of socio-political structures (Cerezales, 2003; Silva, 2013, 2014).
15. By agrarian question, we mean the process of agrarian reform in southern Portugal characterised by a series of land occupations from 1974 until 1975.
16. The Institute of School Social Action was a service created in 1971 by the Ministry of Education.
17. See also Negreiros et al. (1992).
18. Organised by the Pro-National Union of Portuguese Students, a structure joining various students' associations.
19. This service functioned from 1975 to 1982 and was aimed at bringing medical attention to rural areas. The main interventionists were physicians who took a year-long 'tour of duty' following their graduation (Cerqueira, 2009).

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APPENDIX B – Article #2 (A2)

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Radical Experiences of Portuguese Social Workers in the Vanguard of the 1974 Revolution

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the contribution of social workers to the Portuguese democratic transition in the 1970s. Their involvement in urban social mobilizations and in the cooperative movement will offer a perspective on the participation of social workers alongside the Revolutionary process and how they, through engaging with social mobilization, grass-roots initiatives and socio-political activism deployed practices consistent with radical social work frames. It is argued that the Revolution provided the structural conditions for social workers to engage with radical practice and that their intervention constituted a form of agency for socio-political transformation while influencing professional self-representations and professional agency.

KEYWORDS

Revolution; radical social work; social movements; agrarian reform; Portugal

Introduction

The present article focuses on the participation of social workers and social work students in some of the most representative epiphenomena of the 25 April 1974 Portuguese Revolution: the housing Program SAAL (Local Ambulatory Backup Service) and creation of the *Torre Bela* Cooperative, following the occupation of the homonymous estate. Both cases offer a good angle to observe the participation of social workers in what can be portrayed as vanguard movements of the post-Revolutionary process, closely knit to social mobilization and grass-roots initiatives.

The Portuguese Revolution of 1974 did not represent just a simple change of power and regime. It set the scenery for the expression of radical political action following the demise of the half-century-old conservative authoritarian rule.[1] In the two years that followed the military coup, Portugal lived through a period of political and social turmoil, as grassroots social movements, party politics activity and left wing vs. right wing confrontation swept the country. In a context where the emerging powers fought their way through a frantic socio-political arena, the

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[1]By seizing power in the dawn of 25 April, mid-rank military officers ended one of the longest lasting dictatorships of Western Europe, instated in 1926.

opportunities to lay the foundations for ground-breaking interventions and programmes multiplied. Here, progressive movements found the ideal environment to disseminate projects based on direct democracy and citizen's participation. These movements and projects often found in the highest levels of post-Revolutionary power (the provisional governments, the Revolution Council and the Armed Forces Movement) the resources needed to be put in place and, foremost, the necessary political protection. The Revolutionary course reached its quintessence between March and November 1975, in what was to be known as the PREC (the Portuguese acronym for Revolutionary Process Under Way).

Social workers were not parted from this process, nor was Portuguese social work unaffected by the 1974–1976 Revolutionary spiral. A wide variety of sources points to the involvement of social workers in nearly all the fronts of revolutionary action (urban residents' movements, adult education programmes, labor unions' organisation, progressive housing programmes, direct democracy initiatives, organization of cooperatives, workers' control, etc…), and to the impact of the Revolution in the academic curricula, in the supervision of internship practice, and in the theoretical as well as praxeological edifice of Portuguese social work (Dos Santos & Martins, 2016; Fernandes, 1985; Negreiros, Andrade, & Queirós, 1992; Silva, 2016).

The eminently urban SAAL Program and the rural *Torre Bela* cooperative, the cases that will be the subject of this article's attention, offer a clear view of how Portuguese social work took the above-mentioned radical turn in the face of the existing structural setting. They also provide a lens to observe how practitioners and the academy became engaged – and, simultaneously, sought that engagement – with the Revolutionary socialist path, often in collision with what had been, so far, the canonical views of professional practice and identity.

Though both cases presented an opportunity for social work to engage with radical forms of practice by participating in grassroots social movements in the city and in the countryside, they held distinctive features and induced a different awareness of professional self-fulfilment, as we will unveil in the following pages.

A note on the sources

The empirical data used in this text results from an ongoing larger study on the participation of social workers in the Portuguese transition to democracy in the 1970s. Considering the above-mentioned cases, the analysis draws from the testimony of five social workers, all women, collected in a series of in-depth interviews that rendered 21 hours of recorded interview time from July 2016 to March 2017. For the case of the SAAL Program, we relied on four interviewees, mostly on the testimony of a professional, born in 1942, then working for the Housing Development Fund, whose duties involved the coordination of a series of intervention teams. Another informant was a practitioner, born in 1948, who,

while working for IFAS (Institute of Family and Social Action) in the city of Setúbal,[2] got enthusiastically involved with the SAAL's activities in that city. Another informant was a practitioner, born in 1943, placed in Lisbon's municipal housing office (GTH), and the fourth informant was a social work professor, born in 1945, who supervised internship students' activities in the SAAL Program. Our work on the case of the *Torre Bela* cooperative is largely based on the interview of an informant, born in 1955, who participated in it since the earliest days, first as part of an academic assignment, then as a fully immersed activist. Each of the cases were contextualized in the historical process of political and social change that was taking place and the oral testimony was accompanied by data provided by published studies and, in the case of the *Torre Bela's* experience, the primary oral source was complemented with personal documentation such as an internship report and field and study notes taken by the student. Though having collected in-depth biographical information on these subjects, the present article is primarily based on data concerning the 1974–-1976 period, focusing specifically on their participation in the Revolutionary process. Albeit interesting, neither the space nor the aim of this article allows extending the analysis to larger professional and personal itineraries, as Wagner (1990) did.

Portuguese social work: from the kernel to the revolution

The dictatorship saw the light of day in the late 1920s, as part of the wave of nationalist and fascist-like regimes that swept Europe at that time. It gained full vigor after Salazar took hold of the country's destiny, formally instating what was to be labeled as the *Estado Novo* (New State) in 1933. Civil liberties were curtailed, the multiparty system was cast away, free labor unionism was outlawed and overridden by a corporative system centrally controlled by the State, and public administration offices were occupied by individuals trusted by Salazar and his associates, creating an expanded clientele network, under the surveillance of a repressive political police branch. Furthermore, under Salazar, an alliance with the Catholic Church strengthened the regime's influence throughout the country. Rather than directly mandating the universities to create the first social work educational offer, the regime deliberately awarded that responsibility to Catholic Church bodies, which, in 1935, in Lisbon, and in 1937, in Coimbra, founded the first schools, involving a mostly female elite that was already in support of the *Estado Novo's* political and social project, as well as actively engaged with the conservative Catholic movements (Martins, 1995; Pimentel, 2001), an historical aspect that holds

[2]This was the State's organism responsible for administering social protection services and general welfare policies (Cardoso, 2013) assuming later to designation of Social Security.

many commonalities with other authoritarian fascist prone regimes of the time (Lorenz, 1994).

In spite of the initial conservative trend, the 1960s paved the way to a renovation within Portuguese social work (Martins, 2002, 2003, 2009). This subtle renovation was felt, either in the field of practice and education, with the integration of community organization methods and the reinforcing of Social Sciences in the curricula, or in academic life, when the progressive Catholic movement stirred the political and civic participation of students and faculty.

Hence, as we claimed elsewhere (Silva, 2016), the 1974 Revolution did not represent an absolute rupture for Portuguese social work, since critical insights had already started to permeate the academy and the professional realm. From the second half of the 1960s onwards, early interchanges with Brazilian universities brought to Portugal social workers with curricula, among other specializations, in community methods and experience in community organization (Martins & Carrara, 2014). In connection with these international collaborations, the dictatorial government promoted a series of development projects that implicated social work students and professionals, inviting them to deploy territorial interventions, deemed as an alternative to palliative, curative and assistance-focused social work. In Latin America, the late 1960s saw the growth of an intense critical debate within social work, reclaiming the political facet of professional action and the refusal of socio-psychological adaptive intervention, building up a process that was to be known as the Reconceptualization Movement (Ferguson, Ioakimidis, & Lavalette, 2018; Martins & Tomé, 2016).[3]

If the Revolution did not represent an absolute and definite rupture for Portuguese social work, it left the door wide open for social workers eager to embrace activist forms of practice and radical structural interventions. In the midst of steadfast political transition, the revolutionary period awarded the conditions for social movements to emerge. From its earliest hours, the Revolution was taken to and by the streets, becoming a process vibrantly lived by the people, whether in the countryside, or in the urban areas (Silva, 2013). Following the military coup, a chain of uprisings stormed the country. Large estate farms were occupied by thousands of wage laborers and unemployed construction workers, recently built housing projects were occupied by families that crowded the shantytowns and the wrecked inner-city buildings, workers took control of private companies, State and private buildings were occupied by collective movements, using them as facilities for varied ends. The revolutionary process, backed by a series of progressive left-wing provisional governments and a radical faction of the Armed Forces, at least until November 1975, provided the political opportunities, to use Tarrows' (1994) concept, for collective mobilization to occur and granted the resources and political backup for it to endure

[3]According to Pereira (2016), the Latin-American Reconceptualization Movement can be seen as an expression of the radicalization trend that was starting to take form in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

(Rezola, 2008). Social movements were not merely tolerated or sustained by the higher revolutionary power-holders, they, themselves, acted as socio-political agents throughout the country, contributing to sustain and consubstantiate the whole revolutionary project (Cerezales, 2003; Silva, 2014).

Social work, through the participation of some of its practitioners and students virtually intervened in all these fronts of the revolutionary process. Just like the Revolution was providing social movements and left-wing progressive organizations the needed political opportunities to operate their agendas of social change, the context of the Revolution offered social workers the opportunity to foster their own radical agency. The Marxist, or, rather say anti-functionalist imprint of the Latin-American Reconceptualization Movement was suddenly brought to the field of practice, trading charity-based intervention for a social work framed from below, working alongside grassroots mobilization, focused in empowering communities (Pereira, 2016; Saracostti, Reininger, & Parada, 2012) and promoting democratization (Ammann, 1988). Thus, the Revolution granted Portuguese social workers not just the necessary political opportunity, but also the institutional backup and social frames to deploy what can be identified as a radical form of intervention, at times referred in literature as *alternative* (Amaro, 2015).

More bound to the theoretical stand of Latin American critical thinking, Portuguese social workers were not directly influenced by the radical movement that was sprouting in the United States and in the United Kingdom, though the practices developed during the Revolutionary process coincided largely with the recipe handed out by Anglo-Saxon radical social work. So far, there is no evidence of the inclusion of radical social work literature in the curricula during this phase and, at least in the case of the interview panel, these books were not read.

Social workers in the urban struggles[4] – the case of the SAAL program

The SAAL[5] Program represented an innovative form of housing policy that lasted from July 1974 until October 1976. It sought to implement what were then considered unconventional solutions to build and rehabilitate housing, joining State, municipal and residential resources, based in the creation of local collective structures in the form of residents' associations and commissions as well as cooperatives. The initiative sprang from the Housing Development Fund (HDF), a State service instated in 1969 to organize the national housing policy. Embroiled in its own bureaucratic yarn and tied by centrally driven processes, this organization was never able to act efficiently (Pereira, 2014; Portas, 1986), at

[4]*Urban struggles* was the term Downs (1980) used to coin the massive social mobilizations and urban uprisings around the housing question in Portugal.

[5]SAAL, the Portuguese acronym that stands for Mobile Local Support Service.

least considering the most compelling issue: the estimated need for 600,000 housing units (Andrade, 1992). Within it, a group of architects and other professionals had been, since the late 1960s, discussing alternatives to the existing policy regarding housing and urban planning that could elude the influence of construction lobbies and would not depend on State administrative procedures (Portas, 1986). Among the group was a social worker, Maria Proença, a high-profile member of the HDF's Studies Office, who later became the national coordinator of the SAAL Program (Andrade, 1992).

Suddenly, the 25 April coup opened the opportunity for that group to rehearse the desired alternative approach to the housing problem. In the ensuing days, meetings at the HDF took place, gathering a cluster of left-wing qualified staff (Andrade, 1992). As one of our interviewees points out, "in the HDF, the people who promoted the SAAL were the progressive ones, who saw themselves as far more leftist than those of the Communist Party. And that was how we were later seen, as the extremists, the agitators".[6] Soon afterward, this social worker, hired by the HDF in 1971, joined the working group that was about to launch the SAAL Program and was bestowed with coordination responsibilities. Considering that the HDF had amongst its personnel individuals with a more conservative profile,[7] the team that was committed to initiate the SAAL was handpicking volunteers amid the progressive leftist staff. This represented a clear indication of the proneness of that inner circle of technicians to proceed with the Program's radical intent. "Those who took part were on their own will and for the cause," stated the above-mentioned social worker.

Two key triggering facts precipitated the Program's implementation. First, the reception, by the Secretary of State of Housing and Urbanism, of a manifest originated from the residents of Lisbon's shantytowns where they declared their willingness to cooperate in the improvement of their quarters (Andrade, 1992). Secondly, a wave of housing occupations had been taking place since 29 April.[8] The SAAL was formally launched based on a dispatch of 31 July 1974 by the Minister of Internal Administration and the Secretary of State of Housing and Urbanism, Nuno Portas, an architect already involved with the HDF's progressive group. We say formally, because the HDF's team was already in the field, contacting the neighborhoods, mapping the occupations and identifying the emerging residents' base organizations. The HDF's social worker recalls those days of initial uprising:

> Maria Proença [social worker] was already part of that elite group that was meeting often with Nuno Portas [architect] and with other people from the HDF's technical and intellectual elite when Margarida Coelho [architect], from Porto, joined us. I clearly remember in one of those first meetings Teotonio Pereira [architect]

[6]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

[7]As recalled by the main coordinator, Maria Proença, in an earlier study (Andrade, 1992) andacknowledged by one of our interviewees (interview social worker, HDF/SAAL).

[8]In the following two weeks, 2000 homes were occupied (Andrade, 1992; Downs, 1980).

> saying 'in several neighbourhoods there are people calling for support and lots of people from the shantytowns are knocking on the HDF's door asking to be helped and we need to answer this immediately, so the best thing to do is to create teams to take care of different zones'. And that was how I ended up, from the start, coordinating SAAL teams in three municipalities.[9, 10]

Moving from the HDF's offices to the *bairros*, as the technical staff often referred to the neighborhoods, whether shanty towns or inner city degraded quarters, was swift:

> after the 25th April we saw huge movement in the neighbourhoods and we [HDF SAAL team] hit the street right away, as soon as the first occupations took place, between the 25th of April and the 1st of May. So we went straightaway to meet the people, to seek the movements.[11]

Directly addressing the population and meeting its base organizations or movements set the tone of what was to be the SAAL Program and the line of intervention of its professionals. In this sense, the SAAL was not just *another* housing program set to respond to structural housing problems, especially those affecting the least solvent groups (Andrade, 1992; Portas, 1979; Russinho & Ferreira, 1970). It represented, instead, a whole new concept of housing policy, bound to replace the discretionary, plundering (Andrade, 1992), ineffective (Portas, 1979, 1986) and oppressive (Coelho, 1986) traits of the existing policies and procedures. Besides its inefficiency and sluggishness, the housing policies of the prior decades have been promoting the seclusion of the poorest in consigned urban perimeters, thus aggravating and legitimizing processes of social disintegration and exclusion.

By counteracting this process, the SAAL was opening a window for a new rights perspective, in line with the principles of Marshallian citizenship. It was not just the right to decent accommodations, or a house, it was also the right to the city, the right to remain in the place where people were already installed, where people wanted to stay. "We stood for what we thought was the legitimate right of the population to housing, but not any kind of housing," stated the interviewed HDF social worker, shedding light on how practitioners and architects understood the housing provision services and the participatory dimension of the process. As such, the SAAL technical interveners were concerned with the centrifugal processes of urban displacement of the poor often generated by housing social policies. Besides, the social workers integrated in the SAAL program were pivotal agents in this process of rights promotion, especially through their involvement with the residents' commissions and associations, coupling their connection to the

[9]Teotonio Pereira was a distinguished architect involved with the progressive catholic movement in the opposition to the dictatorship.

[10]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

[11]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

grassroots urban social movements that were, then, sprouting, something to be addressed later.

The compromise towards a new housing policy was clearly stated in SAAL's legal dispatch, when considering the appropriation of valuable places by the population (Pereira, 2014) as one of the objectives, evidencing the Program's underlying radical and socialist character. Virtually at the same time, Cloward and Piven (1975) were denouncing in Bailey and Brake's (1975) landmark book the pernicious effect that the construction and real estate industries have had on the quality of housing and the fair delivery of services in the United States. Likewise, the SAAL Program was set to diverge from the prevailing system heavily reliant on private construction companies and on a rather lethargic State initiative (Portas, 1979). Counteracting the idea that housing policy was supposed to be carried out from within the State administration (Portas, 1986), the SAAL placed people and their participative base-organizations in the center of the whole process, from early planning to construction and subsequent management of the spaces.

Though the "content" – provide a decent housing solution – was an important aspect of the Program, its focus went beyond that, "it was about a process, a philosophy that put people in the center. The house could be consequence, but the essence was the resolve to make people participate, partaking of the whole process."[12] This social workers' discourse unveils the structural feature of the enterprise. After all, it was not just about building or rehabilitating houses, it was the whole process of participation and empowerment that counted and, here, the SAAL meets the social movements that emerged around the housing issue during the Revolutionary period.

The initiative of the residents was a requirement and commitment of the SAAL Programme (Portas, 1986) and, here, the role of social workers was elemental in promoting that initiative. "If I can presume that my intervention as a social worker may have had a distinctive aspect it was in promoting communal activities, trying to bring people together, to organise them, to form [residents'] commissions," asserted this social worker.[13] Though some *bairros* had their residents' commissions or associations already organized, others did not, and social workers took a great deal of responsibility of assisting in the creation of new popular organizations.[14] This social worker, placed in Setúbal, recalls that priority:

> I had been working in a study in one of those *bairros* and […] [Nuno] Portas creates the SAAL brigades, and I, who had that study stuck in my throat, because I knew that it was made to evict all those people, I went immediately to that *bairro*

[12]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

[13]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

[14]Other *bairros* had social workers involved in the organization of residents' associations since the late 1960s, like in some Porto neighborhoods (Queirós, 2015; Sancho, 1970).

> and said to the people over there: 'What if we organize here an association and start an auto-construction process?' That's how I became involved in the SAAL.[15]

Social workers also took part in integrating the growing number of residents' organizations in networks, called inter-commissions.[16] The planning and coordination tasks were fundamental for the SAAL Program to work, especially considering the articulation of the professionals that bore a "more technical" profile, such as the architects or the engineers, with their new "client." This brought a difficulty, blatantly described by a social worker (then a professor and supervisor of social work internships in one of SAAL's projects in a Lisbon suburb): "because the client was collective, not an individual one, for the architects, it was a serious problem. They just weren't able to work with a collective client."[17] As said earlier, if the SAAL was framing a new housing policy and an alternative process for contracting, negotiating and developing construction that involved the people, collectively, in the process, it was imperative to have a scheme and the resources to interact with that collective/client, which the architects did not have on their own. Therefore, social workers played a relevant role in filling this gap, as later acknowledged by some of SAAL's architects.[18]

The political background of the Revolutionary period turned the urban housing social movements and the SAAL into natural associates, a partnership in part strengthened by the militant action of its professional staff. Indeed, more than just a technical intervention, the SAAL's brigades and its coordinating bodies became activists. Empowering the social movements was vital to keep the Program on its course, especially when, by the end of 1975, the initial alignment of political forces changed and top-level State backup was disrupted. In certain situations, the SAAL teams went to the streets alongside the residents' movements in protest against a series of political blockages that were affecting the Program. In the process, the teams militantly assumed the advocacy of the residents' movements in the face of higher powers and institutions: "I went once to the Oeiras City Hall with a bunch of people and the mayor comes shouting 'Call the police!' At times, I went with them [residents] to discuss with municipal services, like in Sintra, where we even had direct confrontation."[19] Such activism can be also perceived in the intervention process in the neighborhoods:

> We [SAAL staff] were considered terrorists. […] We took part in housing occupations. What I recall is that we would go to a *bairro* and decide, "Let's occupy that empty house." It was done in large groups. […] Back then we had arguments about the role of the technician: was he there as a representative of the power [State] or

[15]Interview social worker, IFAS, Setúbal.
[16]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.
[17]Interview social worker, professor/internship supervisor.
[18]The role of social workers in support of the architects' communication with their "clients" under the SAAL initiative was clearly explained by Gonçalo Byrne (2014), Andrade (1992) and Queirós (2015).
[19]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

> was he there, just like as any other resident, to put pressure on the State? I guess that, for me, I felt like I was part of … that we were there with the people.[20]

The role of social workers in the SAAL's local brigades ranged from data collection about the residents' expectations, socio-graphic elements, to supporting community organizations. They were set to work on the "identification of what people wished for their houses, how they wanted the projects to be," because the social worker "passed more time in the *bairro* than the architects."[21] As a complex social process, the SAAL generated a dynamic that pushed forward a series of initiatives, allowing seeing another angle of its structural aptitude, as in this case:

> I worked […] in the creation of social facilities alongside the SAAL teams. We've created a kindergarten, a sports group. […] I worked with the mothers in order to know what kind of facility we should build. […] The residents constructed a sports pavilion because there wasn't enough money. Then I gave formation to the people so that the facilities could be used for several activities. Then we replicated the process in other neighbourhoods of the city. To have an idea: before, we didn't have any facilities [in the neighbourhoods], we didn't have nothing.[22]

Community social work and community organization are immediate methodological frames recognized by the interviewed SAAL's social workers. According to them, these stood among the most prolific instruments used, something that draws us back to the renewal of Portuguese social work mentioned in the beginning.[23] The political experience of those who were militating in left-wing parties was also an important factor that added to their community organization skills, as one of our informants recalls: "some knew how to organize and conduct assemblies. Why? Because they were party affiliated. […] By that time, in [Lisbon's Higher] Institute [of Social Work], there were students that knew very well how to conduct assemblies. "[24]

Other than technical expertise or political militancy, such participation also took social workers' and social work students' constant responsiveness and availability:

> I remember, in the beginning, a meeting in one of those *bairros* that looked like an open sewer. A few days before, they [group of residents] had visited the HDF, requesting a SAAL project. So, one evening, we went there for a meeting. It was in a house in ruins […]. The house only had the facade and a balcony, and we were up there, facing the crowd, discussing with the people, lit by a searchlight borrowed from the nearby military barracks. That's the way our meetings and

[20]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.
[21]Interview social worker, professor/internship supervisor.
[22]Interview social worker, IFAS, Setúbal.
[23]The connection between radical social work and community work has been extensively reported in the literature (Ferguson & Woodward, 2009; Jones & Mayo, 1974; Mayo, 1975; Turbett, 2014).
[24]Interview social worker, professor/internship supervisor.

> assemblies were made in the shantytowns: when people could, either in the evening or in the weekends.[25]

> Then it's like this: you work with the people until you reach a point when … when it's broiling, and you really need to be there, otherwise, you risk losing three months of work. That was work that only a person with a revolutionary mentality could do.[26]

If the revolutionary attitude of SAAL's social workers eased the way to the then hectic *bairros*, the social workers placed in municipal housing services could sense some hostility:

> I wasn't the type of fearing going anywhere. I never was. I never needed to go walking in pairs to … anywhere. But there was a time, in the summer of '75, that I remember going to the *bairro* [in the Chelas area, Lisbon] and some guys came running and screaming at me: "I'm gonna kill you. I'll do this and do that!" and I remember that, there were these guys from the UDP [progressive left-wing party] around … and it was said that the Revolutionary Brigades were hanging around and … We started to be driven by the municipal chauffeurs and they always kept the doors locked while circulating around the quarters.[27]

Since the start, a bare legal foundation was one of SAAL's Achilles' heels, and, when the political context changed and the representative democratic system overpowered the direct democracy trend, the Program fought to hold its feet. The SAAL, like many other Revolutionary programs, experiences, and intents was precipitated by the revolutionary socio-political context and, in that sense, was a product of the structural power alignments and the emergence of grass-roots mobilization. In the words of our informant, "the SAAL was strictly connected to the PREC, to its philosophy, to its functioning … and then, the 25th November[28] and the Constitution [1976] took care of it, put it in order."[29] To some of the social workers involved, that riveting immersion in the urban struggles during the revolutionary period gave way, later, to disappointment:

> it was very traumatic … the ambiance at the HDF was always frantic, right after the 25th April. It was an explosion. It must have been one of the places where the mobilization was more intense (besides the Ministry of Agriculture). […] When the SAAL was over, it was traumatic. Not that we weren't waiting for it to happen, but it was daunting.[30]

[25]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.
[26]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.
[27]Interview social worker, GTH. Regarding the acrimony between SAAL's social workers and the municipality's see Alves (2001).
[28]Counter-revolutionary coup occurred in 1975 that put an end to the radical left-wing trend of the Revolution. It represented the victory of the moderate and right-wing political forces and the start of the political normalization process (Rezola, 2008).
[29]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.
[30]Interview social worker, HDF/SAAL.

The fears of this HDF's social worker were confirmed in October 1976, when a legal dispatch transferred the competences of the SAAL teams and projects to the municipalities and set a new strategy based in the promotion of cooperatives instead of residents' commissions and associations, a process that would lead to a more institutionalized governance scheme and an organic dependence on the State and on the local administration. This process accompanied the fading of the social movements. At this point, about 40,000 families were being served by SAAL projects, 14 housing cooperatives, 16 residents' commissions, and 128 associations were organized by 118 technical brigades that were ready to deliver 2259 new homes and another 5741 were planned for 1977.[31]

A social work student in the agrarian reform – the case of the *Torre Bela* cooperative

In the aftermath of the revolutionary coup, the discussion of the agrarian question entered progressively in the political agenda. In short, discussions grew around the problem of the large uncultivated areas (mainly in the south of the country), belonging to the rural bourgeoisie, in part, absent landowners (Bermeo, 1986). This question overlapped another: the precariousness and low revenue of rural wage laborers and the rise of unemployment in the urban centers as a result of a crisis in the construction industry (Barreto, 1987). Political and social pressure over the control of agrarian property increased, and, in January 1975, a massive movement of land occupations started, mostly, in the southern region of Alentejo. Like in the SAAL Program, the State's tutelary organizations, in this case, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, politically backed these movements, with the complicity or even the active intervention of the Armed Forces. Until June 1976, as a result of this popular land seizure, one million hectares of property were occupied and about 500 rural cooperatives (or Collective Units of Production, as some were called) were founded (Barreto, 1987).

The agrarian reform, entangled with the broad rural social uprisings, offered an opportunity for social work schools to place their students' internships, considering the newly defined educational and intervention objectives. Indeed, the process of collectivisation of private property and the transferring of production means and assets into the hands of the population through base organizations was a tantalizing opening for social work students to achieve, directly in the context of social action and together with its social actors, their own *class option* via a more critical and transformational professional practice, as acknowledged in the Restructuring Project of Lisbon's

[31]Figures compiled by Pereira (2014). The overall number of social workers involved is difficult to determine, since the reports and documental information does not discriminate the specific professional background of all the team elements.

Higher Institute of Social Work (Negreiros et al., 1992). Accordingly, students were, then, oriented to develop their internship observation and practices, among other venues, in grassroots organizations, factories, and cooperatives, in the city or in the countryside. At the service of grassroots organizations, students were expected to support the necessities of collective mobilization and workers' movements (Negreiros et al., 1992). Likewise, in Coimbra, in the 1974/75 academic year, the local Institute elected the agrarian reform as the dominant field of internship practice for fourth year students (ISSSC, 1985).

The intent to break with mainstream social work by changing the internship placements, drawing students farther away from traditional institutional work settings, seen as alienating and numbing, was evident (Negreiros et al., 1992). This rupture is fully acknowledged by our interviewee, as she recalls her study of the rural cooperatives as part of an academic assignment as a first-year student, before entering the *Torre Bela* cooperative:

> we were stranded in those contexts, in a sense that we were parted from social workers. In fact, in those units, there was no social worker, there was not nor had ever existed, social work. Therefore, there was some kind of pioneering and a search for other paths.[32]

This informant also perceives the idea that social work was getting into an unconventional and new realm of intervention stemming from the structural political changes:

> the field of agrarian cooperatives was totally new to social work. There was no experience, not even theory, of the integration of social work. After all, the SAAL had practitioners working there. In the cooperatives, there weren't. That was really a BASE experiment, you see? And that makes all the difference.[33]

If, in general, the rural cooperatives' movement presented a new setting for social work to extend its intervention, the *Torre Bela* held particular features that distinguished it from the rest of the cooperatives. Located less than 70 km from Lisbon, this large estate owned by members of the Portuguese aristocracy had been serving as a hunting domain until its occupation by a group of local activists in 23 April 1975. Unlike most of the occupations of that time, more or less steered by political organizations, especially the Communist Party, the *Torre Bela* project advertised its political party independence and attracted dozens of students from varied disciplines, artists and all sorts of progressive activists that converged to the locale.[34]

[32]Interview social worker, *Torre Bela* cooperative.

[33]Interview social worker, *Torre Bela* cooperative.

[34]Another major factor that contributed to turn the *Torre Bela* occupation into a symbol of the Revolution was the homonymous film shot by German director Thomas Harlan. This cinematic documentary recorded the whole process, exposing the complexity and tensions surrounding the social and political relations, the forging of political alliances, and the paradoxes that dominated the revolutionary process.

Our interviewee was among the students that yielded to the *Torre Bela*'s revolutionary magnet, starting to take part in it from the first days. Along with her internship peers, she had been doing, since the beginning of 1975, work on the agrarian reform movement and cooperatives and that was what took her to the *Torre Bela* in the first place. With the approval of her academic supervisors, she selected the *Torre Bela* as part of her observation internship and, immediately, moved to the estate, where she lived until she graduated, in 1977. While living on the premises, she had a double status as a student and as a cooperative worker:

> I got to the *Torre Bela* to do a social work internship and became a cooperating member. Most of the time I was, in fact, a student. […] But the livelihood we had inside was so … intense. […] I, who arrived there for a [participant] observation internship, ended up working with the people, connecting with them, doing the same work they did. Well, if you ask whether I did organizational work, yes, I also did that. I was involved in alphabetizing, organizing the kindergarten, the canteen. […] One of the discussions we had in the *Torre Bela* was, precisely, about work, and, what counted, as real work, was the one you did with a hoe in hands. That was work! Taking a day off to prepare a space for some kind of activity, that wasn't considered as productive work. […] Everything that wouldn't comply with "hoeing" was seen with mistrust. That's why I was so welcome, because I was willing to do the same as the rest. That's why I got lots of blisters in my hands.[35]

Hence, what began as a student assignment soon turned into an experience of full personal immersion in a grassroots initiative that would lead her to achieve her very own process of class rupture, thus fulfilling the designated internship aims worlds apart from the institutional range of mainstream social work. A circumstance clearly pointed out by our informant: "when I was doing my internship, the whole institutional social work was highly questioned. The intervention done in the institutions was seen with discredit and there was this hyper-valorization of social movements, grassroots organizations and the livelihood of workers".[36]

Besides promoting withdrawal from the mainstream institutional settings where social work traditionally operated and from its eldest and presumed conservative practitioners, the new approach taken by the schools favored a certain distancing from the classical methodological apparatus, mainly casework (Negreiros et al., 1992). It was not just about inducing students to achieve their *class option*, moreover, this radical turn implied a "demetodologization" and "deinstitutionalization" of social work, a process that was bound to have consequences on the representations of this social workers' professional endeavor and identity.

That crisis is disclosed by a major symbolic and conceptual turn: the exchange of the traditional term of *social assistant* used to identify the professionals by the expression *social worker*. This change became a distinct mark of

[35]Interview social worker, *Torre Bela* cooperative.
[36]Interview social worker, *Torre Bela* cooperative.

the radical turn taken during the revolutionary period. A change that implied questioning the whole political and praxiological project of social work and, as our interviewee puts it, the profession itself:

> back then, we questioned the profession of the "social assistant" [sic]. Instead of it, we thought that what really existed was "social work" and that "social worker" translated better that position. The term "social assistance" didn't conform to our view about participation in processes of social change and the alliances it implied. I, myself, reflected about whether it should really exist a profession whose objective was to produce social change without a deep compromise and direct involvement in those very same processes. Well, by doing this, we were questioning the profession.

This internship experience produced a labyrinth where the student wandered while wondering about the possibilities and the dead ends of social work as it was being set along that radical path. Systematic doubts and ensuing discussions on what kind of social work could or should exist, if its existence was, indeed, feasible, under the ongoing structural change, marked this students' experience in the cooperative movement. The compatibility between social work professionalism and activist participation in grassroots movements was, thus, challenged:

> For a long time I thought that it wasn't possible to exercise the profession from the outside. So, in order for me to be the ally of a change, I needed to be inside, I had to partake from the inside, I had to live within [a grassroots organization]. […] And I asked myself: how can I be a social worker by participating in a movement such as this, or in a village, willing to partake in processes of change from the base? Who's my employer? Who's paying me? […] Because the legitimacy of the intervention comes from the "I, being part of", "I, being there", "I, being an ally". (…) If the movement doesn't take me as a social worker, what am I, then?[37]

In the 1970s, critics of radical social work were flashing the idea that activism and communalism, among other features attributed to radical thinking, were compromising social work's professional project (Specht, 1972). In that sense the participation of this student in the *Torre Bela* cooperative was contributing to push her away from the traditional social work professional standards, a process that she claims to have happened with others:

> I met a foreigner at *Torre Bela* that had been a social work student, I don't remember where from, and he gave up completing the degree. And then I had similar uncertainties. I even doubted if it was worth finishing a degree that, firstly, implied practicing a profession that looked pretty much like what you were, then, contesting.

This radical experience evolved into what looked like a paradoxical situation. If, on the one hand, the radical turn, by withdrawing from the ordinary professional and institutional stances, allowed the pursuing of alternative approaches via grassroots movements, on the other hand, the radical integration within these movements prompted a distancing from social work that brought along

[37]Interview social worker, *Torre Bela* cooperative.

the risk of professional abrogation. The personal commitment to a grassroots initiative confronted this student with the prospective dissolution of the professional guise that took her there in the first place: "in the end, its the annulment of the profession, meaning that, if you want to work in processes of social change, you have to be inside, you must be part of those movements".[38]

In spite of her uncertainties, the student ended up finishing her degree in social work in 1977, withdrawing afterward from the *Torre Bela* cooperative to pursue a career in the area of local development, cooperative organization and environmental project consultancy, settling, in the late 1980s, in a State institutional social work placement. In the interviews, this informant did not relinquish her experience, years before, in the occupation of *Torre Bela*, though signaling the frailties of that and other radical experiences during the revolutionary process. By this, she is referring, particularly, to the lack of a proper systematization and the absence of a theoretical frame that would better articulate the different experiences in revolutionary settings with a more demanding academic and methodological frame. A process that, according to our interviewee, would be difficult to implement, due to the instability that was affecting, internally, the social work schools by that time.

Conclusion

The *Torre Bela* Cooperative and the SAAL Program were flagship experiences of the revolutionary period. Each, in its own terms, symbolized revolutionary commitment and fed, while feeding on it, grassroots social mobilization. Together, they represented a form of counter-institutional action, participatory democracy and a radical fracture with conservative policy framing and centrally defined governance.

As said in the beginning, although both cases offered an opportunity for social work to perform radical forms of practice in close connection with grassroots social movements, they held distinctive features and induced a different conception of professional self-fulfillment. Against the SAAL Program's formal configuration, the *Torre Bela* cooperative stood as a highly unstable structure, especially in the earliest days, evidencing its grassroots nature and the susceptibility to internal divergences and external grievances. The latter's hastiness and near absence of planned organization contrast with the formers' thorough planning process. The SAAL, as an initiative originating from a State service, sustained by professional expertise, contrasted with the *Torre Bela* cooperative's non-technical grassroots origins. As such, the SAAL benefited from a multi-professional, multi-disciplinary task force and made of this trait an important asset to pursue the Programs' aims and bolster its social, political and technical legitimacy. In contrast, at *Torre Bela*, socio-professional distinction was relinquished and stigmatized, reducing the chances of professional assertion of its partakers.[39]

[38]Interview social worker, *Torre Bela* cooperative.

Both prompted social workers to work *with*, not just *for*, the people, both fall into the realm of radical social work intervention, denoting a posture consistent with radical professional agency.[40] This was an approach that, according to critics of radical social work in the 1970s (Reisch & Andrews, 2002), would lead to the deprofessionalization of social work (Specht, 1972). Nevertheless, the radical experiences of Portuguese social workers in the Revolution tend to refute such judgment. Based on the testimonies of our interviewees we could see that, out of the same urge, resulted different outcomes. Though the case of the *Torre Bela* cooperative reveals how that process of deprofessionalization and professional identity dilution occurred (and in part why), on the contrary, the SAAL experience brought about professional esteem and full professional self-reconnaissance *as* social workers, or, at least it was not sensed as an imperiling factor of the professional project. We would add that, indeed, the participation of social workers in the SAAL Programme contributed to affirming the professional position of social workers. Here, two major factors were decisive: first, the social workers engaged in SAAL held considerable professional experience, namely, in community organization, carrying a know-how that could be promptly deployed to support transformational intervention without questioning the professional project and identity; secondly, besides working in multidisciplinary teams, they often interacted with professional peers in the Program, thus contributing to develop a sense of shared professional endeavor.[41] Two of the interviewed social workers that were directly involved in the SAAL Program still acknowledge their participation during the revolutionary period as a self and professionally empowering experience that contributed to forming their future action and expertise throughout their careers.[42]

The process of professional demise we see in the students' trajectory should not be understood as a result of the radical engagement *per se*, but, rather, of the conditions that accompanied the whole process of internship placement. As she recognizes, a feeling of certain disorientation marked her passage through the cooperative, aggravated by the absence of a clear methodological orientation and theoretical frame – a process thought to embrace structural change, though deprived of formal and functional content. In that case, unlike the SAAL experience and other structural interventions during that period,[43] the social movement itself became the

[39]Healy (2000, p. 72) states that critical and radical social work literature have been signaling what looks like to be an apparent incompatibility between class and professional statuses and the process of radical social intervention, based on the concept that "the vested interest of professional social workers in the maintenance of the status quo compromises their capacity to commit to social transformation".

[40]Drawing from De Maria's (1992, p. 146) conception of radical social work as a process that elapses the discovery of the problems' structural causes, and moves onto a practice aimed at overturning them.

[41]We should also keep in mind that, from the first years of the decade, social work trade unionism was vivid (Ferreira, Couto, & Fernandes, 1992). Two of the interviewees whose testimony was used in this article held executive functions in the social workers' union at least until 1975.

[42]Paradoxically, in their discourse, the feeling of professional degrading emerged later, in the mid-1990s, as more technically bureaucratic practice limited their capacity to propose and participate in structural intervention.

centerpiece and hegemonic dictating instance of the social work students' action, hardly intermediated or filtered by critical assessment and procedural devices. For this young student, the radical experience at the *Torre Bela* cooperative worked as a centrifugal force, pushing her away from a professional core that was, then, under critical scrutiny in the academy; at the same time, the social movement functioned as a centripetal force, pulling her to the heart of that communitarian project, by nature non-institutional and non-statutory.

This experience is paradigmatic of the critical assessment that was to be developed later in social work of some of the early postulates and agendas of radical social work. Drawing from the Latin-American context, Iamamoto (2004) denounced a social work, driven by a messianic disposition, that naively embraced revolutionary practice as a means to transform society, and Netto (2005) called attention to the forging of a simplistic theoretical base reliant on dogmatic appropriations of Marxist thought and an extreme empiricist approach to practice.[44] On the other hand, the SAAL shows how social work professional agency and structurally bound social intervention are not incompatible and that, in order to engage with activist transformational action, social workers are not required to abdicate their professional status nor does it become eroded in the process of politically committed intervention with grassroots social movements.

The uniqueness of the period allowed exceptional practice experiences and projects to take place. The cases we reviewed here portray just a part of the Portuguese social work that took place after the Revolution and we believe that the continuity of this study will provide insightful contributions, not just to the history of Portuguese social work, but for contemporary research and debate around the possibilities and constraints facing the radical social work agenda.

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[43]See the case of the CERCI cooperatives, created to provide services for the disabled (Negreiros et al., 1992; Silva, 2016).

[44]Note that Statham (1978) already claimed that the radical agenda did not benefit from acts of casuistic rebel heroism detached from the Social Work institutional settings and networks.

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APPENDIX C – Article #3 (A3)

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article

The radical turn of Portuguese social work during the democratic transition (1974–76)

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The transition to democracy in Portugal in the 1970s provides the socio-historical background for this article. It focuses on the period of 1974–76, known as the revolutionary phase, when a series of progressive political programmes, forms of direct democracy, collective mobilisation and widespread grass-roots initiatives emerged in the aftermath of the dictatorial regime. The experiences of Portuguese social workers in the aforementioned revolutionary vanguards will be compared and interpreted by using the radical social work approaches that sprang up in the UK and US at the time. Ten in-depth interviews with social workers involved in radical intervention during the revolutionary phase will be compared to the key tenets of the radical social work literature of the 1970s.

key words Portugal • revolution • radical social work • political transition • activism

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Introduction

This article looks into the experiences of Portuguese social workers during the 1974–76 revolutionary period, which began with the military coup on 25April 1974, overthrowing the 50-year-old conservative dictatorship, and went on up to 1976, when constitutional democracy was reinstated. Particularly, it focuses on their experiences during the aforementioned period and the ideas underlying radical social work, and seeks to understand to what extent Portuguese social workers' and students' activist and progressive leaning during the revolution constitutes a form of radical social work.

Puzzlingly, or paradoxically to say the least, the relationship between the Portuguese experience and radical social work ideas lies in the notion that there is no evidence of such rapport. In fact, Portuguese social workers did not acknowledge their practices during the revolutionary stage as *radical social work*. Moreover, although Portuguese studies actually refer to a turn in the profession after the 1974 revolution (Negreiros et al, 1992; Branco and Fernandes, 2005), it has not so far been described as *radical*

social work. The same happens when professionals talk about their revolutionary experience. For them, the radical feature of some of the activities undertaken was attributed to the existing political and ideological context, rather than the result of an assumed theoretical stand.

Radical social work in the UK and US grew in a completely different context of service disposal, policy and statutory frames, not to mention a largely different socio-political and economic background. Yet, the radical proposals of the 1970s' literature (see Table 2) and Portuguese social work during the revolutionary period present striking similarities. Despite the fact that it is not possible to establish a link between Portuguese social work and 1970s' UK and US radical theorising, a careful reading of their proposals may provide valuable coordinates that will help understand the Portuguese radical experimentation that took place in the aftermath of the 1974 revolution.[1]

Following a brief presentation of the methodological approach supporting this article, a short contextualisation of Portuguese social work in the revolutionary period will be provided. The influence of Latin-American critical social work movements in Portugal will be addressed before focusing on the radical content of Portuguese social work in the revolutionary period.

Methods, data and data analysis

This article offers a dialogue between two different aspects: the extensive literary production of radical social work in the first half of the 1970s in the UK and US; and the actions of their contemporary social workers in Portugal, gathered through a set of interviews with some of their protagonists. This is a strange dialogue, indeed, given that Portuguese social workers were not aware of such production at the time.

The approach was based on the extensive literature feed produced by radical social work in the 1970s. This process allowed detecting general trends but also variations within a movement that can hardly be considered as single-minded. On the other hand, a set of 10 in-depth interviews with Portuguese social workers was chosen, taking into consideration their participation in the revolutionary process, namely, their involvement in a wide range of initiatives associated with the radical imprint of the period. Interview collection occurred almost simultaneously with literature reading; nevertheless, while preparing the scripts and conducting the interviews, special care was taken to avoid using labels and references drawn from the literature.

The semi-structured interviews had a strong biographical imprint. As they were being collected, everything was done to avoid directing the interviewees to qualify their experience in accordance with pre-established categories (whether coming from radical social work literature or not). The main bibliographic sources that were used are identified in Table 2 and the panel of interviewees is presented in Table 1.[2]

The qualitative nature of the research did not imply great concern about the representativeness of the units of analysis – the interviewed subjects. However, there was an effort to select informants whose experience could cover the heterogeneity of situations characteristic of the revolutionary period.

Accessing the subjects was done through snowball sampling, and the panel used in this article was extracted from a larger set of informants of an ongoing research focused on documenting this particular period in the history of Portuguese social work. The criteria used to select the 10 interviewees relied mostly on how the

subjects' experiences in the revolution paralleled the principles of radical social work, as referred to in the literature.[3]

In the coding process, categories and subcategories were extracted directly from the interview transcripts and later compared to the key tenets identified in the radical social work literature produced in the UK and US. At any time, coding depended on or was directly influenced by the theoretical and conceptual categories found in radical social work.

The revolution and the opening of political opportunities for the emergence of radical social work in Portugal

It is quite clear that the radical turn in Portuguese social work very much results from the structural opportunities opened by the political transition following the military coup of 25 April 1974. The influence of the political context on social workers' capacity to exercise radical forms of intervention was, in due time, pointed out by Statham (1978), referring to the case of Chile under Salvador Allende's

Table 1: Interviewees' participation in the revolutionary period

Interviewee	Occupation (1974–76)	Relevant activities (1974–76)
M1	Social work student; social worker	Involvement in social work students' mobilisation; member of a Local Mobile Support Service (SAAL) brigade; involvement in community organising; participation in political rallies
F1	Social worker	Supporter of the Cooperative for the Education and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children (CERCI) movement; involvement in the occupation of private property and in housing cooperative services for the disabled; coalition building among users
F2	Social worker	Backing up SAAL initiatives and residents' movements; promotion of community-based services; community organising
F3	Social worker	SAAL programme area coordinator; community organiser; promoter of social movements' coalitions; involvement in housing occupations; board member of the Union of Social Work Professionals (USWP); organisation of public political rallies
F4	Student	Involvement in agrarian reform/rural occupations; rural cooperative member and activist
F5	Social worker	Involvement in the occupation of public facilities; participation in the Cultural Dynamization Campaigns held by the Armed Forces Movement; active in promoting service users' rights; local delegate and social work union activist
F6	Social worker	Involvement in agrarian reform actions supporting rural occupations and cooperative organising; board member of the USWP; as head of regional welfare services branch, promoted state institutional support of residents' movements
F7	Social worker	Trade union activist; professional intervention in workers' union structures
F8	Student	SAAL brigade member; involvement in community organising, collective conscientisation; sociocultural animation; assumed membership of the community for over a decade
F9	Social worker	Social work union activist and board member; involvement in the agrarian reform (support of rural occupations and cooperative organising); Communist Party militant

government. Bearing some resemblance to its Chilean contemporary case, the Portuguese 1974 revolution staged a socialist turn that was to be eagerly embraced by the most progressive social workers and students. Simultaneously, the new political status quo contributed to ensuring structural political backup to progressive policies, revolutionary programmes and radical forms of practice.

Reisch and Andrews (2002: 19) claim that radical ideas and radical agency do not grow unless times are right for it; as a matter of fact, the revolution ploughed fertile soil for Portuguese radical social work to nurture. In 1974, the political opportunities opened by the revolution were just too obvious to go unnoticed and social workers either became involved (or co-opted) in the mobilisations that appeared right after the military coup, or became, by their own right and initiative, agents of those movements (Negreiros et al, 1992; Silva, 2018). It was the right context for setting in motion the idealistic principles that both Reisch and Andrews (2002) and Wagner (1989, 1990) showed to be prominent in the forging of radical social work.

If the widespread collective mobilisation that marked the revolutionary period was a product of structural opportunities, it was also the result of broad social and political unrest within large sectors of society. Much has been written on the interaction of social movements with higher-level political forces during the revolutionary period (Downs, 1980; Cerezales, 2003; Silva, 2014; Varela, 2014). As has been suggested by some authors (Tarrow, 1994; Cerezales, 2003; Silva, 2014), by observing the rise of social movements, it is possible to see how local actors, operating at the micro level, end up presenting political opportunities to the agents and actors that operate in the upper social and political structures. Thus, like an hourglass turning on its axis, micro-level collective action and macro-level structural forces act interchangeably, both nurturing and feeding on the political opportunities that they provide each other. Accordingly, both the social movements that emerged in the aftermath of the revolution and the social workers who endorsed them can be seen as agents that, from the micro level of social action, provided political opportunities for the forces operating at the higher levels of political action.

The revolutionary initiatives carried out by state authorities during the 1974–75 period drew popular involvement and, simultaneously, endorsed grass-roots collective mobilisation. These did not just emerge as an epiphenomenon of major structural political transformations; they also constituted a key ally of radical revolutionary forces, playing a fundamental role in the construction of the latter's social and political legitimacy. Discussing whether social work developed into a social movement itself (Thompson, 2002) in the context of the 25 April revolution, though tempting, will be out of this article's scope. However, it should be pointed out that the revolutionary experience in Portugal has made the interconnection between social movements and social work more visible. Far from being just another component of the complex revolutionary process, social mobilisation was, indeed, a key element of socio-political change in Portugal and a prominent vehicle of social work agency (Silva, 2018), as will be addressed later.

A door ajar to radical engagement: the influence of Latin-American critical renovation movements

The influence of the Latin-American Reconceptualisation that emerged in the second half of the 1960s in such countries as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Colombia,

to name but a few, reached Portugal in the early 1970s (Branco, 2009; Martins, 2017). This critical approach, considered by Ferguson et al (2018) as a radical social work movement strongly rooted on Marxist grounds (Ammann, 1988), sought to reconfigure concepts, methods and the fundamental philosophical and ideological principles of what was then deemed as traditional social work (Servio, 2014). Underlying this task was the notion that social work would not be able to challenge the social and economic problems of Latin America, or help these societies overcome the internal relations of domination by and dependency on foreign powers (ALAESS, 1971: 1–2), unless it broke with imported features. The Reconceptualisation Movement defended the rejection of professional political neutrality and proposed that, rather than being involved in assistance and adaptive intervention (Netto, 2013), the social worker should become an agent of social change, willing to commit to the dispossessed masses (CELATS/ALAESS, 1976).

In Portugal, the Reconceptualisation Movement reached mainly left-wing social workers, and in the years that followed the democratic turn, its dissemination grew, coinciding with the presence of exiled Latin-American social workers and guest academics (Martins and Carrara, 2014; Santos and Martins, 2016). In this process, professionals and students became acquainted with alternative critical formulations of social work.

It was possible to attain the Reconceptualisation Movement's main purposes in the context of the Portuguese democratic transition of the 1970s. Among the principles underlying that transition was the need for social workers to break with bourgeois autocracy (Netto, 2005) and engage in social movements, regarding which the participation and conscientisation of the public were pivotal (Faleiros, 1994). Theoretical discussions and the conceptual frameworks pointed to by the Reconceptualisation Movement provided alternative arrangements for social work practice in such contexts as Portugal, which had been deprived of liberty and were still afflicted by social and economic inequality.

In the next pages, the experiences of the Portuguese social workers during the revolutionary period will be addressed (see Table 1), based on a set of key tenets retrieved from the UK and US radical social work literature of the 1970s (see Table 2).

The radical content of Portuguese social work in the 1970s

Renouncing professional political neutrality and backing up socialist transition

Unlike the neutralist stance of traditional social work in the years that preceded the revolution, the post-dictatorship period fully undraped the left-wing political involvement of social workers. That engagement in opposition movements dated back to pre-revolutionary times (Ferreira et al, 1992), when many social workers had been involved in the *Comissão Democrática Eleitoral* (CDE) (Democratic Electoral Commission), either in charge of organisational tasks (like interviewee F3) or included in the electoral lists (like interviewee F7, whose candidacy in the 1973 elections cost her position as a social worker in a private industrial company).[4]

The revolution and the ensuing context of liberty, as well as the emergent model of multi-party democracy, paved the way for an overt political co-option of social workers. Let us keep in mind that engaging in left-wing party politics was then defended by key authors like Corrigan and Leonard (1978). Drawing from Gramscian

concepts, these authors asserted that such involvement could turn social workers into the organic intellectuals of the working class rather than of the capitalist system (a condition they associated with mainstream social workers).

Table 2: Portuguese radical manifestations and corresponding UK and US radical social work tenets (1970s)

Portuguese post-revolutionary radical manifestations in social work	Tenets of radical social work	Key references[a]
Participation in left-wing political organisations; involvement in cooperative and collectivist initiatives; involvement in the agrarian reform; participation in urban/rural grass-roots mobilisations	Anti-capitalist stance; denial of professional political neutrality; endorsement of socialism	Cannan (1975), Corrigan and Leonard (1978), Galper (1975, 1980), Lichtenberg (1976), Pearson (1975)
Post-revolutionary educational curricula aligned with socialist values; students' engagement in transformative collective action; participation in initiatives based on socialist principles	Opposition to forces and causes of social oppression and commitment to redistribute societal resources and power	Bailey and Brake (1975), Cloward and Piven (1975), Lichtenberg (1976), Rein (1970)
Organisational support of direct democracy practices; involvement in public rallies supporting residents' movements and housing occupations; active endorsing of service-user involvement; technical support for agrarian reform	Social work agency through activism, advocacy, conscientisation and service-user co-option	Cloward and Piven (1975), Cohen (1975), Knickemeyer (1972)
Framing and steering national coalitions of residents' movements; social work student movements	Involvement in social movements	Lichtenberg (1976), Statham (1978)
Full embracing of community organising methods; promotion of community-based services; promotion of community participation in services delivery and decision-making	Emphasis on community intervention and criticism of community development	Cloward and Piven (1975), Corrigan and Leonard (1978), Jones and Mayo (1974), Mayo (1975)
Social work curricula promoting training and observation outside traditional settings; internships as a means for student socialisation with grass-roots movements and *class rupture* as part of educational aims	Resistance to organisational standards; identification of institutional work settings as venues of professional conservatism	Bailey and Brake (1975), Cloward and Piven (1975), Corrigan and Leonard (1978), Knickemeyer (1972), Pearson (1975), Rein (1970)
Rank-and-file union activism; political alignment of social work union with progressive forces	Professional mobilisation through rank-and-file movements and labour unionism	Cohen (1975), Corrigan and Leonard (1978), Leighninger and Knickmeyer (1976), Wenocur (1974)
Community organising in the SAAL programme; clear resistance to doing casework in public services	Resistance to mainstream practice standards and individualised therapeutic approaches (casework)	Bailey and Brake (1975), Cloward and Piven (1975), Corrigan and Leonard (1978), Galper (1975), Pearson (1975), Rein (1970)

Note: [a] Overviews of radical social work in the 1970s can also be found in Reisch and Andrews (2002), Wagner (1990), Langan and Lee (1989), Withorn (1984) and Payne (2005).

Either as formal members or as mere followers, Portuguese social workers became involved in the activities of political parties: interviewee F3 was a member of the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP) and often used the party's alliances and organisational resources to bolster the effectiveness and reach of her community-related interventions; interviewee F4 reported her approach to the Popular Democratic Union (UDP); and interviewee F9 became a Communist Party member in 1975. One of the most striking examples of political involvement in this lot of interviewees is given by interviewee F2. Once a member of the Proletariat's Revolutionary Party – Revolutionary Brigades (PRP-BR), she later abandoned it for disagreeing with the organisation's intention to keep carrying out armed actions after the revolution. Her decision to leave the party coincided with the beginning of her work in the Setúbal branch of the Institute of Family and Social Action (IFAS), where she organised residents' associations and community social services.

Even when not engaged in a left-wing party, the interviewed social workers recognised the existence of close contacts with left-leaning party structures in the scope of their professional interventions. Regarding this matter, interviewee F1 mentioned the establishment of coordinated efforts between the Institute of School Social Action (IASE), her public employing entity, and neighbourhood associations coaxed by the Communist Party in the district of Setúbal.

Taking an anti-capitalist stance, engaging in structural socio-political change, endorsing socialism while denying the political neutrality of the profession and supporting left-wing political forces were distinct marks of radical social work in the 1970s. For Lichtenberg (1976), politics and social work were inevitably entangled and the practitioners that relinquished the radical way would be doomed to fall under the politics of conservatism. Subsequently, Langan and Lee (1989: 4) claimed that, in the 1970s, radical social work urged professionals to become involved in 'socialist political action', recalling authors like Galper (1980), who blatantly addressed radical social work *as* socialist social work. Radical social work authors claimed that the political commitment of social workers could be attained through either practice or party politics, or both (Reisch and Andrews, 2002), as illustrated by the Portuguese case.

Engaging in professional activism and taking the front line of participatory democracy

A major sign of radical change in Portuguese social work following the revolutionary events was given by the schools since they underwent a profound restructuring of educational and practice training curricula (Instituto Superior de Serviço Social de Coimbra, 1985; Negreiros et al, 1992). The new study plans were meant to prepare students to engage in transformative collective action and to promote class emancipation. The changes introduced students to theories on the production of social inequality and put them in close contact with the subordinated masses, their ways of living and their movements.

The radical redesign of academic curricula asserted the collective subject of social work's intervention, resembling what radical social work authors had been envisioning for social work: opposing the forces and causes of social oppression, and actively committing to changing the power balance in society and socio-economic inequality (Rein, 1970). Activism, conscientisation, advocacy and service-user co-option were considered instrumental to attain those ends. The point was to redirect

social work's intervention towards a restructuring, 'at the roots, of the dominant social order' (Pearson, 1975: 17) so that the different origins of societal oppression might be suppressed (Lichtenberg, 1976).

Bailey and Brake (1975) pointed out the need for social workers to acknowledge the legitimacy of their clients' right to dispute, disapprove of or even reject the solutions presented by social workers. In the SAAL programme,[5] the *brigades*, as the interdisciplinary task teams were called, interacted with the residents according to those values. In that initiative, building houses was not the ultimate purpose; as interviewee F3 recalls, "It was about a process, a philosophy that put people in the centre. [What did matter] was the resolve to make people participate, partaking of the whole process".

Indeed, the involvement in the organising of resident movements symbolises the proximity between social workers and the public. Such participation went beyond advocating the rights of less affluent people since social workers contributed with their expertise to the development of collective mobilisations and helped legitimise acts of civil disobedience and breaking legal rules, like occupying houses.

The squatting of private and state-owned property was also on the menu of post-revolutionary social work action. Both interviewee F1 and F5 referred to their involvement in two distinct actions. In 1975, the former, in her capacity as a social worker of the Institute of School Social Action, was asked to support the creation of a cooperative of parents of disabled children, who did not benefit from support services at the time. What started as an institutional request soon evolved into an activist plea that led her to the squatting of an abandoned private touristic facility in the municipality of Seixal. In this process, besides establishing contacts between different state services and political interveners, this particular social worker contributed to organising parents around a cooperative project. She also participated in the surveillance watches of the occupied premises while taking part in the improvement works of the building, a process that relied on auto-construction and on informal solidarities.[6]

The latter interviewee evoked her participation in occupying a building belonging to the National Institute for the Use of Leisure Time (INATEL) in Porto, right after the 25 April coup.[7] This professional, then working in the Porto branch of the Institute of Family and Social Action, recalled what could be associated with the service-user co-option loudly advocated by the radical social work literature of the time (Knickemeyer, 1972; Cloward and Piven, 1975; Cohen, 1975). In the months that followed the revolution, new legislation was passed awarding social subsidies to people over 60 years of age and reliant on state welfare; the Porto local Institute of Family and Social Action structure, then under self-management, needed to inform the potential beneficiaries of those new social measures. Fearing that communication by mail might not reach everyone, she took the initiative of inviting the elderly of a "then already problematic Porto neighbourhood" to come to the premises of the Institute of Family and Social Action on a given date so that they could be informed of this recently acquired right. On the scheduled day, "they took the bus [to come to the Institute of Family and Social Action services] and when they arrived, a colleague burst into panic: 'They are here to occupy the building! There's a group of old people coming to occupy the service!'… 'Why did you do it? Why so many people?… Where will you speak with them?' 'In our meeting room' [the interviewee replied]".

As a member of the Institute of Family and Social Action staff, this social worker also volunteered to collaborate with the Armed Forces Movement in the Cultural Dynamization and Civic Action Campaigns in Porto's urban perimeter.[8] These campaigns, like the SAAL programme, stood as flagship initiatives of the revolutionary period, being an embodiment of direct participatory democracy (Almeida, 2009; Silva, 2013, 2018; Varela, 2014).

Taking the people's side: transformative professional practice through social movement engagement and community organising

The involvement in social movements was another key feature of the radicalisation of social work. As stated earlier, the revolution prompted the ideal conditions for collective mobilisation to occur and social movements started all over the country. Closely connected with this widespread mobilisation was the agrarian reform movement, which was particularly intense in the south, where hundreds of rural estates were occupied by workers.

Interviewee F6, then a high-profile member of the Institute of Family and Social Action in Setúbal, directed institutional efforts and staff, including herself, to support occupations and to establish cooperatives, in articulation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Recalling that experience, she assumed that her commitment to those movements, "more than anything, was a question of giving people a voice and a chance to really take the land they farmed into their own hands".

The experience of interviewee F4 also reveals a close interaction with the cooperative movement, this time, the Torre Bela estate occupation – another salient event of the revolutionary period. What started as a first-year social work study assignment soon became an experience of complete immersion in that grass-roots initiative as she lived in the estate for about four years.[9]

This commitment to support collective mobilisation was clear in the radical social work literature in the 1970s (Statham, 1978; Powell, 2001; Reisch and Andrews, 2002). Establishing alliances with social movements was considered a means to reinforce the political dimension of social work practice (Cloward and Piven, 1975). Some defended that such involvement should also be part of the social workers' private life (Statham, 1978). For Lichtenberg (1976), taking part in larger movements granted social workers an opportunity to boost their political capacity and to incorporate it into their professional agency. A clear example of this is the participation of Portuguese social workers in the *urban struggles*, as Downs (1980) called the massive urban social mobilisations demanding dignified housing; these struggles were frequently marked by widespread housing occupations.

The SAAL programme represents the political commitment of social work to the revolutionary flow. In short, this programme was intended as a vehicle for a different housing policy, bypassing construction lobbies and bureaucratic state administrative procedures (Portas, 1986; Andrade, 1992). The motivation that led this programme showed wide resemblances to Cloward's and Piven's (1975) criticism as they denounced housing policies in the US as being at the service of market interests and real-estate agents that parasitised the public sector.

The testimonies offered by Portuguese social workers involved in SAAL's rehousing and urban rehabilitation projects in the city of Porto (Queirós, 2015), as well as those collected during the current research (interviewees F2, F3, F8 and M1), provide a

good image of how professionals viewed the housing problem, its endemic structural causes and the radical intervention options, in a stand that holds many parallels with the radical social work literature of the time. In the case of SAAL, social workers did not limit their intervention to local groups; they were also involved in turning local informal associative clusters into wider national alliances, forging networks of residents' associations.

In fact, coalition building with grass-roots mobilisations was an essential part of social work radicalising, as interviewee F3 puts it: "after the 25th April [revolution] we saw huge movements in the neighbourhoods and we [SAAL team] … went straightaway to meet the people, to seek the movements". Another interviewee (M1) remembered his *brigade* taking part in the *Houses, Yes. Shacks, No!* movement and in public demonstrations "in favour of the SAAL project and of [that] housing policy".

Not surprisingly, community social work approaches and, more specifically, community organising have surfaced in the majority of the interviews that were collected. In the course of their partaking in the SAAL programme, F2, F3 and F8 highlighted the extensive use of community organising in their work with residents. By that time, Corrigan and Leonard (1978) were suggesting community intervention as a privileged means to intervene with claimant organisations and other local or national organisations, stressing how essential it was for social workers to move from the back seats of community meetings to the front end of community politics. This was something that, in 1974, Portuguese social workers were beginning to do.

In 1977, Young came up with a formula for radical social work in which community organising played a chief role. In his proposal, by assuming a radical approach, social workers were expected to focus on 'decentralised organisation … participatory democracy', emphasising 'do-it-yourself direct-action politics', believing in 'organising all the poor' and 'building counter-institutions' (Young, quoted in Langan, 2002: 211). To achieve these goals, community intervention was set as the ideal instrumental approach to overcome oppressive practice. In Mayo's (1975) viewpoint, once community social work had gotten rid of the problematic developmentalist and paternalistic forms, social workers would be able to circumvent statutory constraints and to intervene beyond the restrictions of casework.

Promoting community intervention was often associated with criticism of the overwhelming influence of casework on social work. The literature on radical social work and movements like *Case Con* and *Catalyst* have explicitly denounced welfare services (and the social workers implementing its intervention protocols) as agents of control with little concern about addressing the structural causes of social injustices and inequality (Reisch and Andrews, 2002). Both situations, according to Bailey and Brake (1975), were rooted in the social work education system, which they accused of reproducing a vision of the profession that was indifferent to political struggles and to the scrutiny of power differentials in society.

In Portugal, the changes that were introduced in social work academic curricula during the period in question reveal that, in addition to a clear change in the political and ideological imprint of the educational project, individualised, palliative and casuistic practice standards were being challenged. Changing the curricula and the organisation of internship training also revealed hostility towards the institutional settings and services that had historically lodged social workers, seen as numbing and alienating venues of professional conservatism (Negreiros et al, 1992).

In what regards social sciences, the academic curricula of social work was initially based on Leplaysian sociology; after 1974, they included Marxist theory (Martins and Tomé, 2016) in an attempt to prepare students to make their own 'class rupture'. Students were led to take work placements in 'popular organisations', where they were expected to learn and put 'the instruments of "bourgeois science"' at the service of the 'proletariat' (Lisbon's school of social work 1975–76 study plan, quoted in Negreiros et al, 1992: 83).

Interviewee F4 recalls: "back then … the observation internships privileged contexts where students could experience … social struggles, grass-roots organisations and, in more institutional contexts, like hospitals, they were instructed not to interact with *social work*". According to this interviewee, it was part of a combined effort to urge students to do their "class rupture and their breaking with traditional social work".

Regarding this issue, interviewee M1 remembers the hardships that he endured during his observation practices in a farm south of Lisbon, where he watched and joined, under a scorching sun, the workers in the tomato harvest. Later, he became involved in a SAAL brigade, where besides organising the residents, directing neighbour assemblies, developing animation activities, diagnosing collective needs and mediating contacts with public entities, he also laid pipes during the construction works.[10]

Unlike the diverting of students from institutional placements proposed by Portuguese schools of social work in 1974 and 1975, radical social work advocated the continuity of professionals in those services, so that structural change could be made from within (Rein, 1970; Cloward and Piven, 1975; Corrigan and Leonard, 1978). Pearson (1975) urged professionals to turn into a mass of resistant practitioners, determined to bend the rules and to advance solutions outside tailored protocols, resembling what Scott (1985) called everyday forms of resistance. Borrowing the concept from Eric Hobsbawm, Pearson (1975: 38–39) depicted radical social workers as a sort of 'pre-political primitive rebels' guided by utopian promises, as 'noble robbers', whose undisclosed resistance activity would corrupt the foundations of institutional power and the political system, in what roughly sounded like a messianic venture.[11]

Rank-and-file activism in social work trade unionism

In Portugal, the first half of the 1970s was a period of high adhesion to trade unionism in social work (Ferreira et al, 1992; Martins, 2017). It coincided with the aforementioned changes in the political leaning of the Union of Social Work Professionals as a new board of younger social workers was elected in 1973 (Martins, 2017). The changes in the union's leadership were symptomatic of a general sense of disconnection from traditional social work and the regime's political status quo. It was "clearly a project of rejection of the Estado Novo" (the New State or the Second Republic, Portugal's corporatist authoritarian regime prior to 1974), stated interviewee F6, who was then a union leader.

Although discontinued after 1976 (when its members gradually joined vertical union structures), the Union of Social Work Professionals played an important role in the process of conscience raising of Portuguese social workers, fighting professional political neutrality and, in some cases, initiating politicisation trajectories, like the one pursued by interviewee F3: "I was going to clandestine meetings [with

representatives of the *Intersindical* Movement (the General Confederation of the Portuguese Workers)]…. Maybe it was then that I was introduced to the Democratic Electoral Commissions [and] turned leftwards".

In this article, it is not possible to address either the activity of the Union of Social Work Professionals during the revolutionary period or the motives for its dissolution; nonetheless, it is worth pointing out that trade union activity in social work in Portugal is yet another dimension of radical agency, an attribute also pointed out by radical social work authors in the UK and US at that time and afterwards (Wenocur, 1974; Cohen, 1975; Corrigan and Leonard, 1978; Joyce et al, 1988; Langan and Lee, 1989; Duarte, 2017).

Final remarks

When doing the history of the participation of social workers in the Portuguese revolution of 1974, there is no ignoring this important, yet relatively short, period of professional experimentation. Describing and understanding what social workers did in the turmoil of the revolution not only contributes to a better-informed view of the profession's history and its inherent political ontology (Duarte, 2017), but also provides knowledge about the complex interconnections that practitioners established with a variety of social and political agents. This view may contribute to provide an image of social workers as committed critical professionals, rather than mere tools of social policy, social engineering or charity. This particular experience can showcase how practitioners and students contributed to go beyond the social justice rhetoric (Spolander et al, 2016; Reisch, 2018) by putting in place interventions underpinned by participation and committed to enhancing emancipatory values.

The experiences of Portuguese social workers, rather than being left in the past or musealised as an object of professional heritage, can offer a valid input to contemporary debates on the politics of social work and the claims for social work as an 'inherently political activity' (Ferguson et al, 2018: 3). As seen previously, that experience may provide a window into: (1) the way in which professionals coped with complex political, economic and social change and its outcomes; (2) the way in which technical devices were placed in unusual intervention contexts and circumstances; and (3) the way in which social workers managed to interact with publics who, often enough, saw them as agents of social and political control, and how they were able to renegotiate and rebuild new power-balanced relationships with those publics.

From 1974 to 1976, Portuguese social work did, indeed, experience a radical turn and was able, under a politically favourable context, to achieve what the UK and US radical theorists claimed that social work should *be* and *do*. However, if it can be argued that radical social work took the form of a movement in the UK and US (Reisch and Andrews, 2002; Ferguson, 2009), the same cannot be said of the Portuguese experience.

The Portuguese radical turn in social work was more a contextual phenomenon than a coordinated movement insofar as it did not follow one or more identifiable theoretical leads. In fact, there were no platforms where professionals and students converged to discuss and reason their radical experiences and no radical statements were made – not like the ones that emerged in the UK (eg *Case Con*), in the US (eg *Catalyst*) or in Latin America (eg the Reconceptualisation Movement) in any case. If seen in the light of the ample literature produced in these parts of the world, it

seems clear that the Portuguese experience did conform to radical social work; yet, its emergence was conditioned by and depended on social workers' willingness to seize the structural political opportunities open to them by the revolution, rather than to rely on a collectively coordinated stand.

The radical social work turn in Portugal did not continue. Fostered within and by a context of radical political change, as soon as political opportunities vanished and the socio-political radicalisation gave way to *democratic normalisation*, the Portuguese radical social work experience faded.[12] The protagonists – as happened throughout the history of radical social work in other parts of the world – were a loud minority (Powell, 2001; Payne, 2005; Lavalette, 2011), who added their voices to the revolutionary choir. Their volume and echo were to gradually dim during the ensuing transition to a constitutional democracy. In the process, social movements, radical initiatives and the most progressive programmes were dismantled, while collective mobilisation collapsed and direct democracy practices were silenced. At the same time, Portuguese social work has resumed the institutional path as its professionals have become gradually incorporated into the evolving welfare state edifice, as well as in the thriving third sector.

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Conflict of interest

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Notes

[1.] According to the testimonies analysed by Amaro (2015), Portuguese social workers tend to classify the alternative forms of professional action of the 1970s as ideologically driven rather than theoretically supported.

[2.] It is worth mentioning that, for the time being, there is no evidence of radical social work literature from the UK and US having reached the Portuguese milieu in the 1970s. In 1992, Negreiros et al (1992), in their analysis of the bibliography used in Lisbon's school, could not identify any reference distinctively connected with radical social work in the 1970s.

[3.] Social workers' participation in state and private companies' workers' control was intentionally left out of this survey.

[4.] The CDE was a political opposition movement that was allowed to participate in the 1969 and 1973 parliamentary elections.
[5.] SAAL is the Portuguese abbreviation for Local Mobile Support Service, an unconventional national housing programme (1974–76) that combined state, municipal and residents' resources (see Andrade, 1992; Portas, 1986).
[6.] From 1974 until 1979, grass-roots organisations were responsible for the creation of 60% of the existing social support facilities for the disabled (Negreiros et al, 1992).
[7.] INATEL replaced, in 1974, the FNAT (Portuguese abbreviation that stands for National Foundation for Joy in Work), founded in the 1930s according to fascist models (Taboas, 2017).
[8.] The Armed Forces Movement was the self-proclaimed denomination of the military movement, mostly composed of mid-rank officers, responsible for overthrowing the dictatorial regime.
[9.] Galper (1980) considered an enlarged political and life commitment to projects and communities as an attribute of radical social work.
[10.] This interviewee acknowledged having been involved in adult education and in animation-related activities before entering social work, following Paulo Freire's method.
[11.] The messianic drive associated with radical social work activity was deconstructed and criticised by Iamamoto (1999) in the case of the Latin-American Reconceptualisation Movement. Stoic, hero-like positioning, seldom found in British and US activist social workers, was also the subject of Statham's (1978) criticism.
[12.] 'Democratic normalisation' is a term often used to coin the evolution of constitutional democracy after 1976, associated with the ideological ascendency of counter-revolutionary positions (Varela, 2014).

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APPENDIX D – Article #4 (A4)

Original article **"**The relevance of biographic narratives for social workers' professional memory, reflexivity and identity", submitted to the journal Qualitative Social Work in June 22 2020, accepted in July 13 2020, first published online in October 27 2020, published in vol. 20, issue 5 in 2021. DOI 10.1177/1473325020967725

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The relevance of biographic narratives for social workers' professional memory, reflexivity and identity

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Abstract

The present article is about the use of biographic methods and oral history, and its contribution to developing processes of critical reflection and reflexivity. It is based on a set of oral data collected from Portuguese social workers who played an active role in the revolutionary phase during the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Portugal (following the 25th April 1974 military coup). The article explores how the use of biographic methods (integrated within a historical methodological framework), other than simply producing accounts of past experiences, allowed interviewees to re-capture, re-interpret and re-signify their own experiences in the light of changing professional paradigms and socio-political arrangements. It will demonstrate how resorting to oral history methods can contribute to produce critical self-reflective accounts, allowing intra-professional tensions, self-expectations, beliefs and disenchantment, as well as professional identification and deidentification to surface. Three examples will be presented that reveal how favouring an approach based on oral history, biographic methods and narrative analysis allows perceiving individual dispositions, its construction

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and the influence they have on the subjects' relation with the canons of professional practice, while showing the ambiguities around professional representations and identification.

Keywords
Oral history, biographic narratives, critical reflection, narrative analysis, identity

Introduction

The present article revolves around the contribution of oral history and biographic inquiry to collecting social workers' social and professional memory, and, in particular, its ability to induce reflexivity and identity framing. The article will explore the relationship between oral history and biographic methods and narrative analysis, critical reflection, reflexivity and identity (re)framing, based on three examples taken from an ongoing research. The empirical ground is a set of biographic interviews collected from Portuguese social workers who were actively engaged in some of the most progressive programmes, projects and events developed in Portugal after the 1974 Revolution, when the country transited from dictatorship to democracy (Silva, 2019b).

The purpose here is not to produce an in-depth critical analysis of the narratives and the results attained, but to explore how the methodological framework based on oral history, biographic methods and a narrative analysis approach induced critical reflection, reflexivity and identity discourses in the subjects. Initially, the option of collecting oral histories was not thought to encourage critical reflections, much less reflexivity from the interviewees. In fact, it was during interview collection and later when the accounts were being analysed, that it became clear informants were producing discourses that highlighted points of rupture in their biographies whilst signalling the socio-political circumstances that influenced their life options and biographic trajectory. Besides identifying those moments and reflecting about them, some interviewees produced elaborate discourses on how they reasoned and dealt with professional identity, not just regarding the past, but also manifesting their position in relation to present-day professional situation and their personal identification – and in some cases, deidentification – with the profession.

The next section will focus on clarifying the conceptual framework, elucidating the importance of the critical reflection-reflexivity nexus in social work research and practice, and shedding light on the relationship between the latter and biographic methods and oral history. Afterwards, the research context and methodological framework on which this paper is based will be addressed, followed by three examples of critical reflection, reflexivity and identity framing taken from the empirical data set.

From oral history and biographic methods to critical reflection and identity in social work research

Oral history and social work research

Though relatively marginal to social work research, resorting to oral history sources goes back to the earliest days of the profession, when 19th century social reformists like Charles Booth, Octavia Hill or Beatrice Webb used historical oral accounts in their surveys (Thompson, 2000). Oral history was present in social work historical research before the 1950s, when research methodologies in this profession were far more pluralistic than one might consider (Fisher and Dybicz, 1999), though declining to a point of near invisibility . The staggering influence of logical positivism on mainstream social work prompted a fixation with scientific validity and reliability, hindering the use of history approaches and in particular of oral history sources as far as social work research is considered (Guiraldelli, 2013). Oral history, in the context of the social sciences and history itself, fought against similar accusations and endured a battle to seek a recognition that was to be conquered only in the 1960s (Williams, 2019), as ethnomethodologies and microhistory developed.

Historical research within social work was revived in the 1980s and 1990s, partly driven by the narrative turn (Riessman, 2001a; Riessman and Quinney, 2005) and thanks to the emergence of a critical re-examining of the profession (Fisher and Dybicz, 1999) and the historical ties to the political contexts and world-systems that had been framing social work's trajectory throughout time (Lorenz, 1994, 2007).

Interestingly, from the 1990s onwards, oral history has acquired space in social work as an instrument to support practice. Its relevance for social workers had already been implied by the sociologist and historian Thompson (2000), who signalled its instrumentality for therapeutic ends. From within the profession, the contribution of oral history to practice, namely in terms of intervention with older adults, traumatized patients or children, was explored by Martin (1995, 1999) who saw it as a means not only to counter the depersonalization often caused by psychodynamic methods but also to convey information about (and from) underrepresented groups. When using oral history in social work research, professionals are not just invited to speak about themselves. While doing it, they give voice to those who crossed their path of practice, bringing to the front-stage of research the singularities of people enduring harsh living conditions (Guiraldelli, 2013). For Martin (1995: 142), oral history was also fundamental to 'fill gaps in [the] historical literature' of the discipline and the profession. More recently, Williams (2019) showed how oral history can be used by social workers to produce and sustain participatory and empowering practices and De Wilde et al. (2020: 95) called the attention to the role oral history may have in questioning and critically deconstructing contemporary 'politics of apology'.

Grounded on a dialectic perspective, Guiraldelli (2013) counters the critics of oral history for its excessive focus on the micro-sociological level and its

dependence on the contingencies of personal life facts. In his view, oral history allows thinking the profession critically and reflectively in its singularities and in connection with the universality and totality of complex social life. In that sense, oral history allows perceiving the particularities not just of social workers within their personal and professional lives, but also the interactions and powerplays they establish with the recipients of their intervention, their professional peers and other social actors, as well as with policy frameworks and socio-political and economic structures. With the support of biographic methods, oral history does more than granting access to individual past experiences, insofar as it positions 'speakers within networks of social and cultural expectations' (Hyvärinen, 2008: 457).

Oral history, biographic methods and critical reflection

The use of oral history in social work should not be seen as an end in itself, but rather as a means to understand complex social life and the relations professionals establish within that complexity. Relying on narrative processes, oral history becomes a powerful tool to unearth critical reflective accounts, as subjects reminisce over their interactions over time, appraising and reconstructing their pasts. Here, oral history becomes the vehicle of an interpretive enterprise undertaken and shared by both the subject and the researcher. While often prompting biographic narrations, oral history invites producing more than a mere account of facts; it offers an interpretation of life experiences (Hyvärinen, 2008).

Following this interpretive footpath, oral history and biographic methods take the researcher beyond the thresholds of descriptive inquiry, enabling to see reality in a phenomenological perspective as biographic trajectories reveal the moments of crisis, the ruptures (Caetano, 2011) and the contexts of decision-making (whether instilling changes, or maintaining existing options). In the context of sociological and historical research of professions, social professions included, life histories collected through oral history grant the researcher access to the making of alternative professional projects and to the mediations and/or ruptures with the mainstream. This idea brings us closer to the notion that biographic narratives are particularly useful to reach not just stigmatised, marginalised and less empowered actors. As Thompson (2000) suggested and Schiettecat et al. (2018) have demonstrated in their study on mobilities in and out of poverty, life histories can also provide access to the accounts of other less visible and 'rarely heard narrators' (Shaw and Holland, 2014: 151), like in the case of this research, social workers.

The narratives generated through biographic inquiry are highly prone to produce critical reflection and reflexivity. Both have become key in social work research and practice (Fook and Gardner, 2007; Nygren and Blom, 2001; Shaw and Holland, 2014) especially after the 1980s, in the wake of post-modern and post-structural debates and, later, critical realism (Burack-Weiss, 2017; Healy, 2005; Houston, 2001; Longhofer and Floersch, 2012; Witkin, 2012). Here, the terms critical reflection and reflexivity are not to be used interchangeably. To differentiate both concepts, I rely on D'Cruz et al. (2007) who, based on

Schon's (1983) distinction between *reflection-on-action* and *reflection-in-action*, suggest critical reflection occurs when critical incidents are evoked by the subjects and knowledge is produced around that process of remembrance. Because the 'critical incident is firmly in the past, and is represented as a learning opportunity for the future' (D'Cruz et al., 2007: 83), critical reflection diverges from reflexivity, insofar as the latter represents a critical form of knowledge production that is founded in close time proximity to the subject's experience, whilst the former sits in a broader time frame, i.e., more entrenched in the past. From this perspective, critical reflection can be understood as a process particularly suitable for bridging individual action and the socio-historical context.

Presenting critical reflection in these terms brings us to Archer's (2003) concept of reflexivity as a mediating mechanism between structure and agency. As such, the internal conversations produced by the individuals, when asked to narrate their biographies, become *reflexive* as subjects reveal mutual causal relations between structures and actors. This subjectification of personal and interpersonal experience offered by biographic narratives presents a window to observe identity formations (Dubar, 1998; Hall and White, 2005; Shaw and Holland, 2014).

Being reflexive means becoming able to critically reflect on actions and interactions and, based on that, to act in the world (D'Cruz et al., 2007). This can be attained through biographic narratives, as they have the power the produce (or induce) critical reflexion and reflexivity (Dubar, 2006). What I am referring to is a process of self-induced reconstitution of actions and interactions which allows the identification of biographic ruptures (Lahire, 2005, 2008). When doing so, subjects can do more than simply reappraising their deeds, they can instil changes in their future action, shaping and reshaping identity. However, not belittling the capacity biographic inquiry has to turn biographic narratives into reflexivity (Dubar, 2006), if we mean to address reflexivity in its full extent, other than identifying critical episodes and incidents (D'Cruz et al., 2007), in that case, the individuals' narratives should substantiate points of rupture in their biographies in a highly descriptive manner (Caetano, 2015) and produce propositional discourses and conceive possible lines of action (Archer, 2003).

Using oral history to produce biographic and professional narratives: Contextual and methodological frameworks

As mentioned earlier, this article draws on an ongoing research on the participation of social workers in the process of transition from right-wing conservative dictatorship to constitutional democracy in the 1970s in Portugal. It was a process launched by a military coup led by mid-rank officers on April 25th 1974, which overthrew the 48-year-old repressive regime. In the almost two years that followed the coup, a series of radical political, social and economic changes affected the country, leading to direct democracy practices, massive social reforms to recognise and protect labour and civil rights, the nationalisation of private economic assets

and companies, not forgetting the independence of African and Asian territories under Portuguese colonial administration. This stage was to be called PREC, a Portuguese acronym for Revolutionary Process Under Way, a period which harboured a diversity of participatory social and political experiences and progressive programmes. It was also a time of political turmoil, civic unrest and vast collective mobilisation. This radicalisation, which brought Portugal to the brink of civil war, was stopped by a counter-revolutionary coup led by moderate army officers in November 1975, paving the way to what was to become Portugal's multi-party constitutional democracy. The aim of this research is to identify and interview social workers who willingly and actively participated in those Revolutionary programmes and contexts, collecting and analysing the memories they held from those experiences.

From 2016 to 2018, 14 in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with 13 women and one man. The interview guides were thought to be as flexible as possible to provide interviewees with the autonomy to report, describe and elaborate on issues they saw relevant. Though not initially conceived to prompt internal conversations (Archer, 2003), the interview guides included topics that somehow invited the subjects to elaborate on their current concerns and on how they understood the changes in the profession in particular and in society in general. The presence of such questions in certain points of the guides were, indeed, able to initiate the internal dialogues (Caetano, 2015), which turned the biographic inquiry into a critical reflective instrument. All interviews but two were collected in a single session, which lasted from two to five hours. Regarding the double session interviews, one took four hours total and the other 10 hours total.

Though critical reflections pervaded all the testimonies, it was the two subjects whose interviews occurred in two separate sessions (with a two-week interval between the first and the follow-up interview) who developed more critical and reflexive insights. Without disregarding each interviewee's idiosyncrasies, the result was highly influenced by their having been interviewed twice. On the second session, both subjects inadvertently started the interview on their own without being asked to, resuming topics and ideas they had been turning over in their minds after their first session. The second encounter allowed revisiting the issues, episodes and rationalisations which were invoked in the earlier meeting, producing not just a re-narration, but also a critical reasoning of previously told facts. A circumstance which should not to be regarded as strange because, as Frank (2012: 37) notes, concerning the dialogical nature of narrative analysis, 'people tell stories in order to revise their self-understanding, and any story stands to be revised in subsequent stories'. If the first interview prompted an encounter with the subjects' past, allowing more descriptive elements to emerge, the second one allowed a reflection about the facts, deeds and interactions of the past, thus adding more historicity to the process and leading to the identification of multiple points of rupture in the subjects' life trajectories, a condition closely tied to the production of reflective narratives, as mentioned by Dubar (2006).[1]

In terms of research, the data gathered during the interviews was analysed using two distinct methods. Initially, the transcribed material was subjected to categorial content analysis. On a second phase, those very same interviews underwent narrative analysis, which resulted in a more clear surfacing of critical reflection and identity. Fragmented by the coding process, the information allowed cross subject comparison and interesting analytic scrutiny, considering the topics of the discussion. However, dense critical reflection, reflexivity and identity (re)framing became evident once the subjects' discourse was analysed *in continuum*, as a 'whole' (Frank, 2012: 43). This was not a surprise, considering the limitations of inductive thematic coding when compared to narrative analysis (Riessman and Quinney, 2005). Here, I align with Hall and White's (2005) critique, placing coding analysis closer to an empiricist approach which tends to deviate the researchers' focus from the complexity of social life and from more dense interactional rapports.

The narrative analysis conducted in this research relied on reading the interview transcripts as a *story*, as an account where description, language and context of production, structural features of discourse, dialogical aspects and relation with other stories were taken into consideration, as Riessman and Quinney (2005) suggested (in turn, based on Elliot Mishler). My approach was also influenced by Frank's (2012) dialogue narrative analysis. Both Riessman and Frank take the stories produced by informants as plain objects of narrative analysis where the search for 'disruptive life events [and] accounts of 'personal troubles'' (Riessman, 2001b: 55) as well as 'complicating events' (and resolutions) (Frank, 2012: 42) become key. These disruptions very much resemble the already mentioned biographic crisis or ruptures present in life stories (Caetano, 2015; Lahire, 2008). Though drawing on Frank's (2012) dialogue narrative analysis, which suggests a somewhat less tightly systematized scheme, my analysis, in certain points, evidenced Labovian key-moments in the subjects' account, especially resolutions (Hyvärinen, 2008; Shaw and Holland, 2014).

As Riessman and Quinney (2005) note, writing articles whose results depend on dense qualitative information, often manifested through long thick narratives, is always a challenging task. When writing this article, that difficulty came up. Given the impracticality of presenting a thorough narrative analysis, three examples from the set of 14 interviewees will be used. In each case, moments of critical reflection and discourse on identity will be signalled, analysed and illustrated with excerpts taken from the transcripts.

From narrative to critical reflection and identity (re)framing – Exploring three examples

Example 1

The first example refers to a female interviewee, born in 1948 into a Lisbon's urban high bourgeois family, closely aligned with conservative right-wing values and supportive of the dictatorial establishment. When the interview took place, she

was retired from an University academic position. The interview was recorded in a single session that lasted 1hr and 45 min. Right in the beginning of the interview, in reaction to the first topic concerning her initial academic trajectory, she addressed the path that took her to social work:

> [When enrolling in higher education] I applied, in that first year, to two places: philosophy and social work. Between becoming a philosophy teacher or changing the world, which was something we believed could be done through social work, I chose changing the world. Where did my politicisation come from?

The issue of the political dimension of the profession was highlighted, almost immediately, without being directly asked about it – note the question posed by the subject, suggesting a possible direction of the story into a foreseeable self-reflective account. A sense of naiveté transpires when remembering past options: it was 'something we believed' expresses, with candour, both the ingenuity and the idealism which commanded her decisions when she was younger. Note, also, the change from a first person to a collective voice when referring to idealistic views of the world. This sense of naiveté will appear again in the account and it will be important to understand the subjects' future options, biographic ruptures and professional (dis)identification, as we will be able to see later. That question marks an earlier point of reflection in this interviewee's life story and sets, from the start, the significance of identity in her account, especially regarding politically-related choices and political affiliation. One might argue that when she asks 'Where did my politicisation come from?', she is asking for something more than a *where did it come from*, she is inquiring *how did I became such*, as if the question implied an early allusion to personal identity and political self-identification.

Personal actions and life choices take on meaning when analysed in the framework of the subject's life trajectory, her contextual social milieu and her family relations. An evidence of such appeared in the first quarter of the interview:

> In my last [social work] internship, in a horrific shantytown, it was raining heavily and the priest allowed people to seek refuge inside the church. Then, I had the brilliant idea, with other two fellow colleagues, of making an exhibition outside of that rich church in that affluent neighbourhood: we held a photography display taken by the [poor] people – ahh... participation! In less than 24 hours, the PIDE [political police] went there. The priest was taken in for interrogation and the senior social worker considered terminating our internship because we didn't comply with professional deontology, though later she ended up defending us before the School's board. We were so naïve.

References to the inherent political mandate of the social work profession pervade this interviewee's account. When referring to the interactions she had established with her professional peers or publics, this subject, who graduated in social work in

1970, produced a narrative punctuated by critical reflections which reinforce her claims regarding what she considered social work should be about. As the interviewee, herself, set a dialogical dynamic with the researcher, those critical reflections around her days as social work student emerged in the midst of the conversation:

> This is to show you that the profession and its politicisation or the issue of justice and inequality, they've always been tied to professional practice. However, we weren't conscious of that political dimension. By that time we were kind of silly, we had no idea.

The narrative becomes reflexive, exposing a paradoxical or divergent rapport between social condition and professional and life options. As the account develops, it shows the trajectory of a bourgeois social work student who defies traditional professional canons, seeking a commitment with the downtrodden through forms of intervention outside of conservative assistance charity, defying, also, her own patriarchal authority and relinquishing social *status quo* and financial security. For her, working as social worker in Portugal, then, was as an unlikely possibility:

> There was a problem: in the meantime, I became a single mother... [silence]. Before the 25th April [1974] how could a single mother get a job as a social worker, when social workers were there to show people models of virtue?

Her option of leaving Portugal to study abroad, in 1970, can be read as another step towards the construction of her political self and disaffiliation from conservativism (social, professional, educational, familial):

> Back then [late 1960s], I didn't separate the political from the professional. How did I acquire it [political conscience]? Because my education [social work degree] had been very flimsy. What interested me most was sociology and I ended up in Paris [1970] in the aftermath of May 68, where all the [Portuguese] refugees were, amongst some of the best professors of the time, Alain Touraine, Castells. [In 1971] I decided to move to the United States. The UCLA was highly politicised then. Angela Davis was there, the black power guys also. That was very violent.

The story easily turns into a biographic account of how political identity and action took form. Already graduated as a social worker, facing the enduring social and professional conservativism and unable to foresee changes in the short run, she sought other places to carry on her life and apprenticeship. Paris and Los Angeles, as elected destinations, represented sites of liberty, free thinking, vibrant intellectual discussion, academic advancement and venues of revolutionary action and thought. Living abroad for nearly four years was important to develop political conscience, critical thinking and to establish contact with political

activists. When she returned to Portugal, before the 1974 Revolution, she joined the Revolutionary Brigades (RB), a subversive political organisation known for carrying out armed actions against the dictatorial establishment. Joining the RBs meant taking another step, a more radical one, towards change:

> In Paris, the arguments we had were very intellectualoid. It was café talk, a bit dilettante. When I returned to Portugal, I got involved in the [Revolutionary] Brigades, until 74. I was there for about a year. We held political meetings to discuss how to get rid of the situation [dictatorship] and start throwing bombs to make a Revolution. There it is: we wanted to be more radical than the Communist Party brigades. My adhesion [to the RBs] was political, meaning that 'It must end! It's not possible to continue living in this ignorance. This dark night must end. People must regain their freedom. We must retake democracy'.

Integrating the RBs forced the subject to go into hiding and it was under that condition that she saw the 25th April Revolution happen. Realising that the Revolution was indeed laying the ground for democracy, she disaffiliated from the RBs:

> I can tell you that I didn't kill anyone, neither went shooting around, but that part I don't want to talk about. Anyhow, after the 25th April, the RBs went nuts. I understood perfectly that the Revolution was a rupture with fascism and an attempt to implement a democratic society. There was no need to keep pursuing that radical way. I became more conservative in defence of democracy according to European standards.

The above mentioned passage showcases how reflexivity looms in the narrative, as the subject interprets her life experience. What sounded like a firm progression along a radical path is reframed as the subject assumes her ideological repositioning in the context of socio-political changes. The passage shows identity forming and reframing under changing circumstances and how it develops in the story: the rebellious naïve youth, the radical activist, the not so radical idealist.

The 1974 Revolution brings the subject back to the social work profession and to one of the forefronts of the revolutionary process, the SAAL programme. The SAAL (Local Ambulatory Backup Service) was an innovative housing programme led by the national Housing Development Fund, active between July 1974 and October 1976. Among its objectives was the implementation of unconventional solutions regarding housing construction and rehabilitation, relying on participatory processes and wide involvement of local collective structures (Andrade, 1992). Part of the programme implied setting community organisation strategies to which social workers gave a major contribution (Silva, 2018, 2019a). Referring to this period, the subject's narrative reveals the presence of decisions that do not coincide and, in certain moments, collide with dominant social work professional identity discourses:

> As people were about to be evicted I went immediately to that neighbourhood and said: 'What if we organise an association and start a self-organised construction process?'. Afterwards, I worked in the creation of social facilities: we've created a kindergarten, a sports group, those things a community social worker does. My colleagues said: 'Everybody must do intake and casework. And I replied: 'Yes, indeed. If everyone does community intervention'. So, my stand was: 'While everybody isn't doing community intervention, I won't do casework'. Community work meant working beyond normal work hours and on weekends, while staying put, waiting for people to come over, was more comfortable.

After 1976, as she perceived that her ideal of professional practice (which was, in her own words, promoting change and making communities grow) no longer had the contextual political conditions to be held, she retired from direct practice, and disaffiliated herself, as a professional, from social work.

The narrative shows that the politically driven and community-immersed type of practice was a basic condition of her professional commitment and a key axiological element of her identity as a social worker. The demise of the Revolutionary project, which occurred after 1976, is connected to a moment of life crisis which led to a detachment from the profession. The subject's account identifies points of structural socio-political change, signalling corresponding moments of rupture with the profession:

> My greatest accomplishment as a social worker: I've never given a subsidy to the poor. [After] that involvement in the Revolutionary Process, no job would satisfy us. So, I entered [a Public University], and had no regrets about leaving the Social Security, because nothing was done there anymore. It was no longer possible. We were forbidden to speak with the [community] services. That was the complete destruction of our work principles. So, I changed careers.

Rather than justifying parting from the profession as a consequence of a mere personal option, the narrative shows her choice was influenced by the changes that were affecting the profession in terms of service organisation and intervention profiles. Changes which clashed with her ideal professional cut. Her identification as a social worker found no match in the kind of services, practices and institutional design that followed the post-Revolutionary era – 'So, I changed careers' appears as the closing remark, the resolution to the story.

Example 2

At the beginning of the interview, this social worker, born in 1955 into a working-class family from Lisbon's industrial periphery, flashed back to her childhood and early school days. At the time of the interview, she held a position in a public library in Lisbon, being in charge of educational and occupational activities. In the initial part of the narrative, collected in a 2hr and 30mn interview, visiting the past

meant more than a simple diachronic contextualization of her social and family background. The account, while reminiscing on earlier biographic circumstances and facts in the manner of an internal conversation (Archer, 2003), provides crucial information to the understanding of the subjects' life options and ruptures as well as her peculiar professional trajectory and (de)identification. It was as if those earliest moments of interview could work as a Rosetta stone, allowing to decode and comprehend the various moments and actions in life:

> In my first year at school the teacher called my mother in to say that I might be somewhat retarded. On the second year, I was already a good student, but I didn't like school. I just wanted to go to work. When I finished the fourth grade, I became a good student, though wishing all the time to drop out of school and get a job. My grades were excellent and I already knew that I wanted to work in something related to the *social*.

Unlike most of the social workers who were interviewed, her narrative does not present clear points of rupture or situations of evident crisis; instead, it frames a continuity in which biographic and professional trajectories (dimensions which cannot be separated) hold an intrinsic coherence and a structured orientation. The following quote offers a perspective of how that continuity is voiced in the narrative:

> I was so lucky, because in my first year in the social work degree [1972] I had professors who had been educated in France during the May 68 period. It was at [Lisbon's Higher] Institute [of Social Work] that I found myself. Back then, the Institute was an oasis in the desert, filled with very active people. I went [1972-1973] to a few social workers' Union meetings and it was there that I really started to understand the country I was living in. My militancy at the [social work] school made me participate in everything, in all the meetings, in all the assemblies. I was involved. My first internship happened in 1974, right after the 25th April [Revolution], in Trás-os-Montes [the mountainous rural north-easternmost part of the country]. There, we worked in the fields, which was harsh, and I also did adult-education with women. That experience struck me a lot. In my third year, my internship was in a neighbourhood in Lisbon, in the SAAL. That was an option. Wanting to work in housing was probably influenced by my own childhood experience in the [working class] neighbourhoods [in the outskirts of Lisbon]. My radicalism was about that: I thought that I would learn from the people and I didn't want to be paid for it. Ultimately, I went and lived in that neighbourhood until 1990 [where she developed her internship practice in a SAAL project]. My option was to live in the neighbourhood as a fully entitled member [of the community].

When points of rupture and crisis seem to occur in the narrative, they are not presented as situations of deadlock in which the subject finds herself facing hard-to-solve dilemmas. In turn, those situations are depicted in the narrative as natural

life stages when the subject takes somewhat likely decisions, confirming and reaffirming the subject's will in obedience to a well determined ethical and political canon. This is representative of the narration's reflexive feature. The narrator moves beyond simply describing her actions and informing her decisions, revealing mutual causal relations between structural circumstances and her own actions.

As referred earlier in this article, in social work, biographic narratives collected through oral history allow researchers to access the making of alternative professional projects, leading, necessarily, to grasp identity related issues. In this case, the narrative provides clues that become useful to understand the radical construction of this subject's refractory professional identity:

> [When working in a SAAL project] I used my social work education, which I have never renounced. There, I did adult education work [using the Paulo Freire method] and participated in the managing and dynamisation of the residents' commissions and associations. My life experience led me to not wanting to become a social work professional. I didn't want to be a social work technician. I wanted to use the education and the knowledge provided by social work to be *a* person.

The subject's identification as a social worker is never at stake throughout her discourse; yet, she refuses to abide by or affiliate with mainstream social work. Rather than assuming an institutional position as a front-line practitioner or becoming a bureaucratic professional, she manifests a recurrent preference to work in adult education processes and in close articulation with grassroots movements. As the narration continues, frequent critical reflections situating herself in relation to mainstream professional profiles appear. These critical reflections are often enfolded in identity statements, where the professional 'I' is hardly separated from the personal *self*:

> And there's always that issue about the professional model and professional profile and today I still think about it in these terms: it is so hard being a human being, that I no longer worry about being a professional.

Across her narrative, decision making constantly points in the opposite direction to what one would expect: the good elementary school student who favoured switching from education to work; the high-achieving high school student, qualified to be enrolled in a financially more rewarding degree, but who preferred to study social work instead; a politically active social work student, with a good academic performance, who chose to take a diverging professional path, resisting to incorporate a collective identity that was being forged around the values of professionalism. It is worth noting that, in the late 1990s, when applying to a public job, she refused being hired as a Social Work Higher Technician. Then, the designation of the social work career in public services (Branco, 2009) which evokes a professional identity related to positivist, rational and scientific-bureaucratic principles (Amaro, 2015). The interviewee's final statement, which

can be read as a form of resolution to the story, renders the refusal of professionalism particularly evident:

> Never wanted, never was [a social work professional]. I've always thought that there was a place for a less standardized model of intervention, in line with Latin-American social work. [When] I walked away [from the profession], I told myself: 'No, I don't want to be a social work professional'. Though, deep down, I ended up being that. And I'm perfectly aware of the contradiction.

Example 3

This example is taken from the statements (recorded in two sessions) provided by the youngest of the interviewees, born in 1955 into an urban middle-class family from Lisbon. At the time of the interview, she was a social worker in a Social Security branch. Having entered Lisbon's Higher Institute of Social Work in September 1974, she soon caught up with the revolutionary flow and, following the radical changes introduced in social work's academic curricula and internship practice, she developed field observation assignments in rural cooperative movements, becoming a full member of one of the flagship initiatives of the revolutionary times, the Torre Bela agrarian cooperative. This cooperative, situated only 70 kms away from Lisbon, was founded in April 1975 by a grassroots movement which occupied the hunting estate of an aristocratic family (Silva, 2019a).

The subject's narrative reports the frenzy of the revolutionary period and how it affected her perception of the profession and the inner crises she endured, especially those related to the ambiguities around professional representations. The next passage is expressive of such and the note on reconciliation can be read as an example of emerging reflexivity:

> When I was doing my internship [1975], social work in institutional settings was highly questioned. The intervention done in the institutions was discredited and there was this hyper-valorisation of social movements and grassroots organisations; there was an alliance and an immersion in those movements without which social work was inconceivable, to the point of... it took me a lot to reconcile to social work.

The social work internship in the Cooperative during the revolutionary process did not promote a strong professional identity, on the contrary. As the narrative unfolds, in a reflective manner through a sequence of internal dialogues, all those identity issues and crisis, it also entails the subject's own interpretation of the causal relations between revolutionary immersion and professional disaffiliation:

> The immersion [in the Torre Bela cooperative] was so intense that we almost forgot we were doing an internship. For a long time, I thought that it wasn't possible to

> exercise the profession from the outside [of grassroots movements]. So, in order to be the an ally of change, I needed to be inside. I had to partake from the inside. I had to live within. And that was a hard-to-solve inner conflict. I asked myself: how can I be a social worker while participating in a movement such as this, participating in processes of change from the base? Because the legitimacy of the intervention comes from the 'I, being part of', 'I, being there', 'I, being an ally'. If the movement doesn't take me as a social worker, what am I?

The internal dialogues produced during narrations are too obvious to go unnoticed in the analysis. They evidence the uncertainties, the doubts, the hesitations, instead of sound convictions and solid beliefs. Thus, the narrative develops over identity and around the qualms and possibilities that might contribute to frame it – 'For a long time, I thought that it wasn't possible'; 'What am I?'.

In 1976, the ending of the revolutionary process nearly made her giving up the social work degree:

> Back then [1974-1975], my reflection made me question social work as a profession. I finished my degree in 78 and, the first time I was hired as a social worker, it was in 87. We questioned the exercise of the profession because, especially I, thought that it had to be done through active and militant participation in transformative processes. Besides that, I don't know exactly for how long I reflected whether it was worth exercising a profession aimed at producing social changes without participating in the processes. It was nearly questioning the profession itself.

In fact, after 1978, right after graduating, she abandoned the profession (in her own expression) and went to work in Mozambique and, later, in the early 1980s, in southern Portugal, supporting rural cooperatives and agrarian projects. In the late 1980s, she assumed an institutional professional position in the Social Security, the State's general welfare service structure. The narrative stressed the biographic discontinuities and the seemingly paradoxical situations and life decisions. Returning to statutory social work can be read as a crucial rupture in a long developing process of estrangement from the profession:

> I stepped away and it took me years to re-join social work. But, when I returned, I didn't do casework. I worked [in a local Health Centre unit] in school health programs. I entered the Social Security [in 1988] to occupy a position of Social Work Higher Technician - huh? - what to say about this?

Entering statutory social work influenced her decision to take a master's degree in social work and to become a social work teacher and that, in her own words, have proven to be two fundamental steps to reconcile herself to the profession. The way the narrative exposes the subject's coming back to the profession shows, again, the emerging of reflexivity as she re-interprets and re-signifies her past experience. Here, the subject does more than simply identify a moment of reconciliation,

she suggests that, firstly, reconciling is produced by a rationalisation happening in the very moment the narrative is being told and, secondly, that that rationalisation has the effect of validating a life trajectory and the choices made in the past:

> [If] we're talking about rights' enactment, I think that my whole trajectory was one of a social worker. I'm thinking about that now... a reconciliation... I'm not sure if that's the right term, but reconciling is, somehow, validating all that path, which was not necessarily external to social work. I've always understood my job as a [process of] involvement. In several moments I've been able to do that sort of professional militancy.

As in the previous example, right at the beginning, this interviewee's narrative provides pieces of information and a reflection that show how her dispositions were constructed and how they influenced the subject's relation with the professional practices that were to become mainstream after the revolutionary period. Carrying out assignments in cooperative projects and becoming a member of one was important to outline her perception of social work in more critical and radical terms and to disengage herself from more traditional, conservative and individualised concepts of professional practice. According to her, countering the constraints imposed by highly regulated institutional professional settings implied a stand of 'professional militancy', which meant being more actively involved with the publics when implementing programs and social measures. Identifying as *professional militant*, readdressed and reaffirmed how she reconciled herself to the profession, offering another example of how biographic interviewing prompts processes of reflexivity and identity formation.

Ending remarks

The use of biographic methods associated with oral history and supported by narrative analysis is not just a way of looking back at the past. It also allows researchers to perceive and understand the subjects' identification with the profession over the years until the present-day. Instead of conveying passive reports of individual life trajectories, this biographic approach invites the subjects to actively reflect on their life accomplishments and biographic options, allowing richer reflexive accounts.

The three examples presented in this article reveal how a methodological framework based on oral history, biographic methods and narrative analysis can contribute to induce the reflexive capacities owned by subjects, especially in view of their ability to develop critical reflections on their life trajectories.

The analysis of the narratives showed that, other than simply producing static accounts of past experiences, the use of biographic inquiry allows interviewees to re-capture, re-interpret and re-signify their own experiences while producing and reframing identity discourses in light of changing socio-political contexts.

Identity frameworks come out of oral history and biographic inquiry as people are invited to *evaluate*, as Thompson (2000: 157) puts it, their life trajectories, deeds and interactions. That process was particularly evident in the analysis of the interviewees' narratives. Though not having been directly asked to develop any kind of life balance, the subjects elaborated discourses that generated a critical examination of their attitudes and their decisions.

Despite a large body of work on processes of critical reflection and reflexivity in social work, diachronic approaches based on the social and professional memory of social workers, collected through biographic inquiry, are rarer. I hope, with the present article, to have contributed to expand social work's historical critical research, by offering a look into a methodology which merges oral history, the biographic method and narrative analysis.

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Note

1. All the interviews were collected in places indicated by the subjects: eight were conducted in their homes, four in secluded spaces in their work places, and only two in public venues.

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APPENDIX E - LIST AND PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES AND INTERVIEW PLAN

Int.	Venues	Duration	Sessions	Usage in articles	Occupation (1974-1976)	Relevant activities (1974-1976)
#1	Online (Skype) from home	1h45'	1	A3	SW student; Social Worker	Involvement in SW student mobilisation; member of a SAAL brigade
#2	Interviewee's home	6h	1	A3	Social worker	Supporter of the CERCIS movement; involvement in the occupation of private property and in housing cooperative services
#3	Interviewee's research centre	2h	1	A2 A3 A4	Social worker	Backing up SAAL initiatives; promotion of community services; community organiser
#4	Interviewee's home	10h	2	A2 A3	Social worker	SAAL coordinator; community organiser; social movements' coalitions builder; SNPSS board member
#5	Public library	4h	2	A2 A3 A4	Social work student	Involvement in the agrarian reform; rural cooperative activist
#6	Interviewee's home	3h	1	A3	Social worker	Involvement in squatting of public facilities; active in promoting service users' rights; SW union activist
#7	Interviewee's retirement residence	1h15'	1	A3	Social worker	Involvement in the agrarian reform; board member of SNPSS; head of regional welfare services branch, promoted State support of residents' movements
#8	Interviewee's work place	2h	1	A3	Social worker	Union activist; professional intervention in workers' union structures
#9	Interviewee's work place	1h45'	1	A3 A4	SW student	SAAL brigade member; community organiser, lived in the community
#10	Interviewee's home	2h	1	A3	Social worker	SNPSS board member; involvement in the agrarian reform (rural cooperatives support); PCP militant
#11	Interviewee's home	3h	1	A2	Social worker	Integrated Lisbon's municipal housing services, managing housing claims
#12	Cafe	2h	1	-	SW student	revolutionary activism (squatting); militancy in left-wing political forces
#13	Interviewee's work place	3h	1	A2	Social worker SW teacher	Supervision of students in SAAL projects; backup to SAAL brigades
#14	Interviewee's home	2h	1	-	Social cooperative worker	Involvement in a social cooperative & creation of a community kindergarten

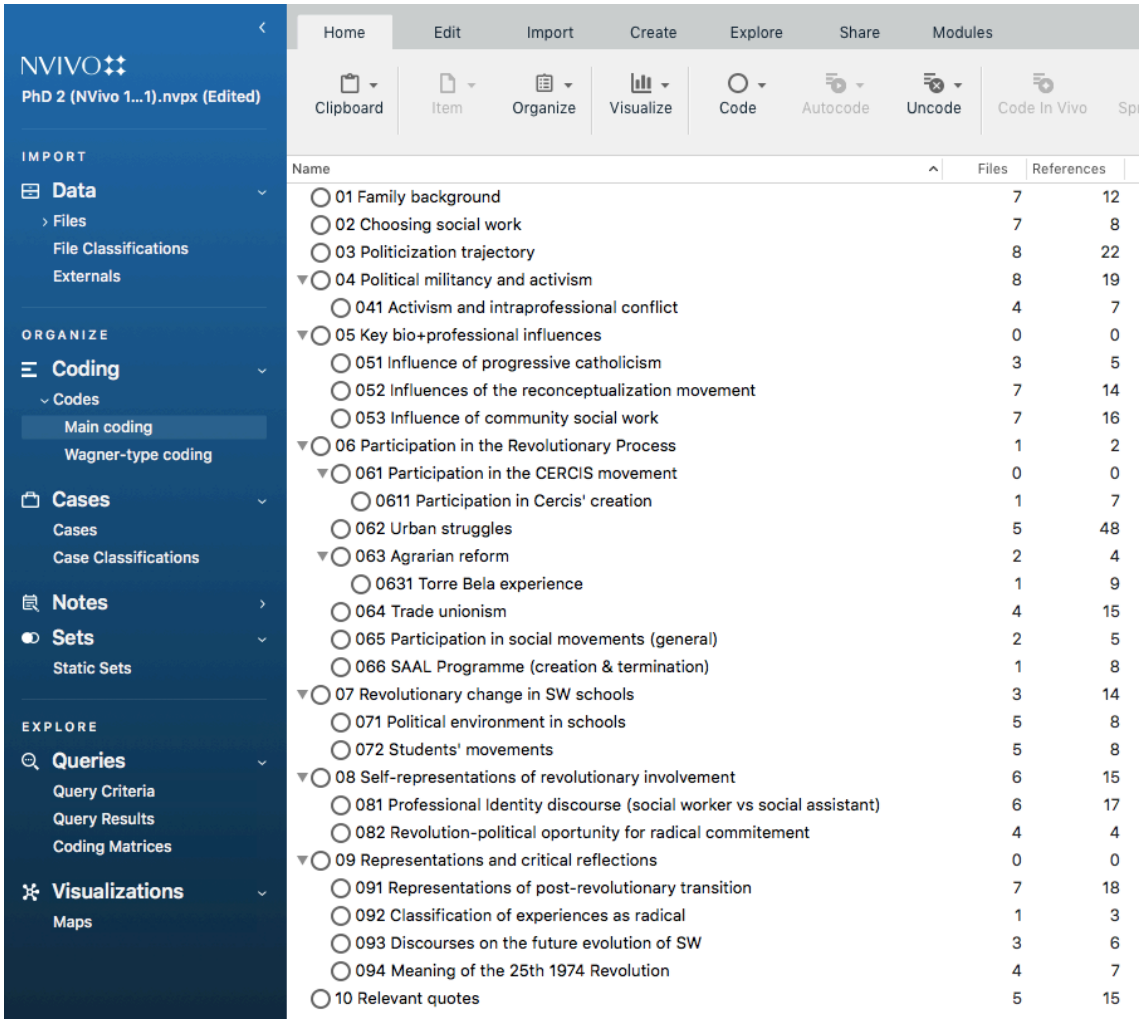
Source: own elaboration

APPENDIX F - INITIAL CODING FRAME

CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES
1. Urban struggles	1.1. housing occupations; 1.2. intra-professional relations in the SAAL; 1.3. engaging in the SAAL, 1.4. social work activities in the SAAL, 1.5. representations about the SAAL, 1.6. the end of the SAAL
2. Agrarian reform	2.1. involvement in land occupations, 2.2. involvement in the rural cooperative movement, 2.3. social work practice in rural cooperatives
3. Grassroots initiatives	3.1. The CERCIS movement
4. Political activity and militancy of social workers	4.1. political militancy in general, 4.2. discourses on the relation political activism/professional practice, 4.3. personal consequences of political militancy
5. Influence of the LARM	
6. Self-representations of revolutionary involvement	
7. The ending of the Revolutionary Process	
8. How revolutionary social work participation was framed – *emic* discourses and conceptualisations	
9. Students' movements	
10. political debates/activity in social work schools	
11. criticism of revolutionary social work engagement	
12. discourses on differences between pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary social work	
13. the social work vs. social assistant issue – discourses on professional (re)definition	
14. the revolutionary process and community practice	
15. changes in social work practice	

Own elaboration

APPENDIX G - FINAL CODING FRAME (NVIVO LAYOUT)



APPENDIX H - INTERVIEW GUIDES

Common part to all interviewees

1. Biographic elements
    1.1. Birth date, birth place, residence place until initiating higher education.
    1.2. Parental family/domestic environment [inc. political attitudes].
    1.3. Family socio-economic background.
2. Professional and academic trajectory.
    2.1. Studying social work [when, what school, motivations]
    2.2. Remembering student times (socialisation, experiences, education/teaching).
    2.3. Particular memories of teachers and colleagues [as life references for personal and professional development].
    2.5. Recollection of having contacted ideas of Latin-American Social Work.
    2.6. Political participation prior to the Revolution.
    2.7. Trajectory of politicisation? (suppressed for interviewees #3, #5)
    2.8. Participation, before the Revolution, in political and civic action.
    2.9. Overview of professional trajectory [internship, early social work professional placement, life-long professional activity – *develop conversation and reconnect to this issue along the interview*].

Part specific to interviewee #1

3. Pre-professional experience and student involvement.
    3.1. The White Book on the SAAL mentions you as a social worker involved in a SAAL project in Lisbon. How did you get there?
    3.2. How long were you involved in the SAAL?
    3.3. What were your functions there?
    3.4. How do you classify the kind of intervention social workers did done in the SAAL?
    3.5. Were there more social workers intervening with you?
    3.6. How did the school of social work articulate with the SAAL structure?

Part specific to interviewee #2

3. Participation in cultural cooperatives and civic movements.
    3.1. In which progressive cultural associations were involved and how it started?
    3.2. What kind of activities developed in those milieus?
    3.3. What was the role of Catholic Progressive groups in your adherence to those associations?

3.4. Participation in cultural associations and own process of political conscientisation

3.5. Were you engaged in oppositional activities? Of what sort?

3.6. Did you meet other social work colleagues in those civic and associative milieus?

4. Participation in the Revolutionary phase

4.1. Where were you on the 25th April? How do you remember that day?

4.2. What impact the Revolution had on you, personally and professionally?

4.3. How did you become involved in the CERCIS movement?

4. 4. To you what represented the PREC?

Part specific to interviewee #3

3. Political participation and trajectory.

3.1. How did your politization trajectory started?

3.2. As a student, prior to 1974, did you participate in oppositional movements or political/civic groups?

3.3. Were you involved in democratic opposition organisations like the GRAAL, Pragma, etc.?

4. Participation in the BRs.

4.1. How did you become involved in the BRs?

4.2. Did you have to go into hiding? (explore that livelihood)

4.3. What sort of actions you carried out while in the BRs?

4.4. The BRs proposed a revolutionary path towards socialism. Did you ever think about how it could possibly link to an ethical-political project in social work?

4.5. What impact did such "direct" participation in revolutionary struggle have on the social worker [redacted]?

5. The post-revolution.

5.1. A transition from activism and militantism to a more technocratic and institutional professional layout marked the end of the 1970s and early 1980s in social work. [Do you see it in those terms? How did you experience that transition?]

5.2. How would you classify the PREC and its ending?

Part specific to interviewee #4

3. Integrating the SAAL programme.

3.1. When and how.

3.2. Role as social work professional.

3.3. Leaving the SAAL [remember the termination of the programme].

4. Participation in the SAAL.

4.1. Social workers' functions.

4.2. Social workers' intervention instruments/techniques.

4.3. Social workers' liaisons with other professionals.

4.4. Relation between pre-1974 social work education and professional experience and intervention in the SAAL.

4.5. SAAL's articulations between higher powers and grassroots movements – describe social workers' roles in that process.

4.6. The SAAL and possible intra-professional conflicts (some research refers conflicts between municipal structures and municipal social workers and the SAAL teams – is there any recollection of such?).

4.7. Possible experience as social work internship supervisor.

4.8. Evoking the SAAL 40 years later – makes sense?

5. Social workers and the "urban struggles" of the 1970s.

5.1. SAAL projects were connected to grassroots participation, protest and urban uprisings. Where did social workers in that equation?

5.2. Maria Proença said in an interview to a newspaper that the SAAL wanted to make the residents the protagonist of the process (not just the architects). Did the social workers had any role in casting that protagonism?

5.3. The SAAL left a mark in the profession of architecture. Can it be said the same about social work?

5.4. The SAAL had an eminently political dimension. Do you see social workers' participation in the SAAL as a form of political action?

6. The end of the SAAL.

6.1. How is it remembered / reminiscences of key episodes/events/people.

6.2. The end of the SAAL coincided with a political shift in the country – how was it felt personally and professionally?

6.3. The 1976 Constitution acknowledged housing as a fundamental right, but the new

6.4. Constitutional order ended the SAAL – how do you read this apparent paradox?

6.5. Assuming that social workers were involved in collective mobilisations (?), is it correct to affirm that the demobilising of popular movements in the neighbourhoods was due to the exit of SAAL teams?

6.6. Do you consider social workers' participation in the SAAL having repercussions in the future of Portuguese social work?

6.7. Do you think that, in the present, there is space and motives for activism in social work?

6.8. How would you define the kind of social work you have put into practice during the Revolutionary time?

Part specific to interviewee #5

3. Political participation and trajectory.

3.1. How did your politization trajectory started? [a press story mentioned having militated in the MRPP – in that case, was that militancy done alongside other social workers or social work students?]

3.2. As a student, prior to 1974, did you participate in oppositional movements or political/civic groups?

4. The Revolution.

4.1. Where were you on the 25th April? How do you remember that day?

4.2. As a student of social work, what impact had the revolution on you?

5. Participation in the Torre Bela Cooperative.

5.1. How did you got in the Torre Bela?

5.2. How long were you there?

5.3. What activities you did there?

5.4. Were there any other social workers or social work students there?

5.5. In the Torre Bela, direct democracy practices were key – did you ever think about how it could possibly link to an ethical-political project in social work?

5.6. What impact that experience had in the social work student and future social worker [redacted]?

5.7. The end of the cooperative and the end of the experience there.

6. The post-revolution.

6.1. A transition from activism and militantism to a more technocratic and institutional professional layout marked the end of the 1970s and early 1980s in social work. [Do you see it in those terms? How did you experience that transition?]

6.2. How would you classify the PREC and its ending?

Part specific to interviewee #11

3. Working at Lisbon's municipal housing service (GTH).

3.1. When did you enter that service?

3.2. What memories you have from the earliest days at the service?

3.3. What functions did you have?

3.4. In terms of methodology, what kind(s) of social work was(ere) made there in the first half of the 1970s?

4. The Revolution and the PREC in the GTH.

4.1. Where were you on the 25th April? How do you remember that day?

4.2. Did the Revolution bring any changes to the procedures done in the GTH?

4.3. In a recent Master's thesis it is said that the 1970s implied a transition from assistance-focused casework to a systemic and community approach in the GTH. [Do you think the Revolution had anything to do with that?]

4.4. The issue of the residents' movements and housing occupations – how was it lived in the GTH?

4.5. Workers' control and self-management were common in the PREC, whether in industrial companies or in state services. There are evidences of the GHT having been under self-management for some period of time – do you recall it? How was it done?

Part specific to interviewee #13

3. The SAAL and the housing issue.

3.1. How were involved in the SAAL programme and what kind of contribution you had?

3.2. Forty years later, how do you classify the SAAL and its relation with social work?

4. The PREC in the schools of social work.

4.1. In a 1992 masters' work it is mentioned an open conflict in Lisbon's school between students and social work teachers. [Do you recall that conflict? What was at stake? How did it relate to the political transition of the time? How did it relate to the critical thinking then sprouting in the profession].

4.2. How was the internship supervision organised in the Lisbon school during the Revolutionary period?