CRITICAL PSICOSOCIAL CONCERNS IN ITALY AND SPAIN

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This paper provides an overview of critical work carried out in the field of psychology in Spain and Italy during the last three decades. What is presented here is a joint outcome of a sum of coincidences which have allowed in social and political contexts the convergence in themes and concerns. This entails approaching critical psychology as part of wider transformations (and social movements) rather than a disciplinary topic of interest by its own. We shall finally argue that it is not sustainable or desirable to categorise these works under any disciplinary formation or trend however inclusive it might be.

ANTI-PSYCHIATRIC EXPERIENCES

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s critical work in psychology was part of a wider movement that promoted basic social values. A common concern among these works was that all forms of psychological knowledge and practices were bound to socio-political interests. For most of these critical stands psychology was a complex and well structured set of theoretical and material devices eager to adjust people and minds to changing productive and regulatory regimes. These early critical work focused on the causes not just the effects of oppression and worked actively to promote social justice. This was the main intend of the Italian anti-psychiatric movement since of the 1970s (Antonucci, 1993).

For this wide-spread and far-reaching movement there was no separation between theorists and activists: theories were constructed collectively and therefore shared practices played a big part in such a process. In this context we could locate the *Calate di Reggio Emilia*[1] (Colacicchi, 1993) which under the common concern of opposing psychiatric abuses brought together professionals and other intellectuals who sympathised with the anti-psychiatry ideas. As we will address later on the situation is enormously different nowadays since critics of psychology are basically delegated on to 'professionals' whit all the negative implications it carries with (Biglia, 2000).

A similar movement developed in Spain in the late 1960s under Franco's regime. This movement was indebted to two former psychiatric reforms (Duro, 1987). The first one began in 1914 under the auspices of local Catalan government which saw its end with Primo de Rivera's coup d'etat in 1924. The anti-psychiatric movement was resumed in the Spain during the Civil War. Although anti-psychiatric reformist fronts also developed in Madrid, its most critical face was based in Catalunya during the war. The latter paved the way to more articulated and influential anti-psychiatric mobilisations during the sixties and seventies.

Most of the exponents of this group were engaged in left-wing politics during the dictatorship and were, subsequently, politically repressed. As García (1995: 67) notes

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[1] These collectives decided they wanted to control the conditions in which their relatives were kept in mental institution. People how was living in the mountains of Reggio Emilia with some mental healt profesional and other 'sympatizer' forced the entrance of the psychiatric hospital to see their friends. It mayor contribution was raising awareness among people and improve the quality of life of psychiatrics residents.

'the critical anti-psychiatric movement, from its early moments moved beyond professional settings and competences including progressively as active groups of patients and relatives as well as neighbourhood associations, political groups, journalists, intellectuals and students'. Some of these collectives are still working against psychiatric abuse and gathered around a network called *Collectivo Crítico para la Salud Mental* [Critical Collective for Mental Health].

In the shift from the professional to the social still being placed currently a set of critical psy-professionals including Ramon Garcia coordinator of mental health community services of the *Pais Valenciano*, Guillermo Rendueles, lecturer at UNED (the first Spanish University at Distance) Nuria Pérez de Lara who works in the educational sector and teaches at the Universitat de Barcelona, Onésimo Gonzales at Oviedo University, Enrique Gonzales Duro a psychiatrist at the General Hospital Gregorio Marañón in Madrid. Despite they are still a minority they all work in mental institutions under the same purpose: promoting a less oppressive and abusive approach and professional mental care practice.

The Italian and the Spanish anti-psychiatric traditions were mainly concerned with the deconstruction of the psychological problems as mental illness. They also had in common their demand for the closure of psychiatrics hospitals and, alternatively, the provision of support for people with psychological suffering. Nevertheless the shift from the professional to the society which characterised Spanish critical psychiatry differs from the Italian one.

The Italian anti-psychiatry decline responded to a combination of repression and institutionalisation processes (Biglia, 1999). Despite of its conformist nature Basaglia's law[2], as the reform was called, was internationally claimed as extremely progressive[3]. The illusion of change accorded to it was used in Italy to divide and rule the entire anti-psychiatric movement.

For its part the Spanish groups and mobilisations were initially weakened by giving an illusion of support from the establishment. Paradoxically the institutional supported served to minimised the impact of anti-psychiatric by incorporating and neutralising the movement by means of allocating insufficient resources for its implementation at the aegis of the first elected socialist government after the transition. The latter also raised among psy-professionals the need of self-criticism.

CRITICAL WORK IN CURRENT SPANISH PSYCHOLOGY AFFAIRS

Most of our 'critical' Spanish colleagues in the field of psychology refuse to be identified with any particular category. However it does not prevent our works from being mindful of and learning from other alternative trajectories and developments. This is the case with British critical psychology which has been and still is a key referent for many alternative work in Spain. The close liaisons and continuous theoretical and methodological exchanges with critical British psychology has not prevented us from

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[2] The full text of the law can be found at http://www.ecn.org/telviola/L180.htm
[3] As an example of its influence, it is worth noting that 1999 Brazilian psychiatric reform was still based in Basaglia's law.

considering contextual differences and contingencies as illustrated by the following accounts:

> Is there such a thing as 'critical psychology' in Spain?, Should there be? Are we talking about another psychology? Is 'critical psychology' imported from UK and applied to the very same critical practices (as for instance feminists ones) already taken on board long ago?

> Regarding critical Psychology in Spain and, in particular, in Madrid (it might be that there is a critical psychology in Barcelona), I would also say, it does not exist... Another issue is whether the unification under the 'critical psychology' term accords political strength to it in the UK or if it would be possible to articulate an equally efficient critique by means of distinct and diverse 'critical practices of psychology'.

The responses above, as discussed somewhere else (Cabruja and Gordo López, 2001), were provided by colleagues and researchers based at the Departamento de Psicología Social at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid. This group has been active in promoting alternative discussion and events within and outside academic spheres during the last decade. Their works have been supervised by social psychologists who since the mid-seventies inaugurated a debate between qualitative and quantitative perspectives. A selection of these early influential works include Blanco (1980), Jiménez Burillo (1976; 1977), Munné (1980), Sabucedo, (1984), Torregrosa y Crespo (1983), Torregrosa y Sarabia (1984) and Torregrosa (1985). An actualised overview of these 'new social psychology' and its dialogues with more established trends in Spanish academic psychology can be also found in Íñiguez (2000), Fernández Villanueva (2003) and Ovejero (2000, 2003).

With regard to the historical psychology (or genealogical research) left aside by most of previous works, there is a longstanding tradition that suggests that the increasing participation of psychology in culture should be understood as an added effect of modernization. A common preoccupation of this trend is to analyse the social conditions which have rendered possible the increasing success and expansion of psychology beyond professional and academic settings (or *psychological culture*) and how this expansion is bound up with the also increasing discontent in culture.

This tradition has also emphasised the correspondence between discontent in culture and the increasing success of psychological culture as already noted in Durkheim's analysis and was later on developed by Norbert Elias (1982) and Michel Foucault (1971, 1977, 1980). Especially relevant in this genealogical tradition of research are Robert Castel's work on *Le Psychanalysme* (1973) and, in Castilian language, the co-authored work by Álvarez-Uría and Varela on *Las Redes de la Psicología* [The Nets of Psychology] (1986) and *Sujetos Frágiles* [Fragile Selves] (1989). Another major referent related to these tradition are the works of Tomás Ibáñez (1982; 1989) on power relations of scientific knowledge and on the crisis of psychology and possible alternatives (Ibáñez and Íñiguez, 1997).

These less established traditions have been closely related to collective editorial efforts including the titles published by the collection entitled the 'Genealogía del Poder' (Genealogy of Power, La Piqueta) (directed by Alvarez-Uría y Varela) and the journals

Archipiélago and *Anthropos* and more recently the critical psychology series published by the publisher Gedisa (i.e. Íñiguez, 2003). More recently there are other editorial initiatives which are promoting analysis of alternative forms of globalisation as 'Traficantes de Sueños'[4] (Dream Dealers) and 'Virus'. Interestingly enough these publishers have been very active in the translation and promotion of the key works and ideas spreading from the Italian social movement and its engagement with new forms of social movement, activism, dissidences and resistance (feminism, ecologism, autonomism, anarchism) (see Rodríguez, 2003; Gordo López and Pujol, 2004).

If Anglo-Saxon, mainly British, critical psychology has greatly informed key methodological and theoretical debates, South and Central America theoretical and practical debates have inspired a long-standing political psychological research in our country. It is not accidental that political psychology, developed in the aegis of profound revolutionary movements in vein of Latin America (i.e. Theology of Liberation, Neo-Zapatist movement in Chiapas, Workers without Land in Brazil), have been major referents for social movements which pursuit non-hegemonic forms of international development and relations. Among these movements other forms of community participations and research have been also forged.

Half-way between the demands of theoretical knowledge and popular mobilisation, participatory action-research, as Montenegro (2001) has recently brought into attention, promoted the creation and strengthening of socially relevant forms of research, which sought to organize and shape itself according to the profound social urges.

Unlike orthodox Marxist guidelines, this form of participatory perspective kept outside its aims notions of total revolution or direct power undertaking. What is proposed instead is accompany or 'go with' the social movements in order to yield a deepening in democratic methods and procedures able to widen the participation of people in relation to issues and decision making process which affect their lives and environments. Achieving such targets, according to this approach, involves the 'insertion' of intellectual work into social movements. In addition, it also implies a process of 'de-professionalisation' and 'de-institutionalization' of expert knowledge and *doxa* respectively (as psychology and critical psychology within it).

These South American participatory resources and referents have experienced a revival among emerging critical groups. Such revival have rendered possible deeper understandings of foreign and global international politics, including the cancellation of external debt of Southern countries, prohibition of economic, fiscal and legal paradise, implementation of a global taxation system or the protection of public goods and services. Setting up these sort of standards might involve attending to the 'centres of action and non action which naturalise which are proper research topics and intervention and which other fall within the controlled proliferation of invigilated margins for resistance' (Santos, 2003: 294—our translation).

Seemingly influential have been other works in South and Central America in the field of social psychology, in particular on social imaginary (Fernández Christilieb, 1994; Correa de Jesús, Figueroa-Sarriera y López, 1991) and, among other topics, on gender and techno-culture issues and relations (Figueroa-Sarriera, López y Román, 1994). In

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[4] All the title published are in copy left or creative common licens and can be freely descharged from http://traficantes.net

the field of cyberculture and its relations with psychology it is worth mentioning the editorial effort of the electronic journal *Tecknokultura* (edited by H. Figueroa-Sarriera since the late nineties).[5] These different research lines can be noted in other edited volumes published under the title of 'social critical psychology' (Ibáñez e Íñiguez, 1997), 'social psychology as critique' (Ibáñez y Domènech, 1998) psychology and power (García Borés et al, 1995; Gordo López and Linaza, 1996; Gordo López and Parker, 1999) and psychology and warfare development (Díaz, 1998).

However, unfortunately, with the exception of the Departament de Psicologia de la Salut at the Universitat Autònoma, Barcelona, there has not been a tradition of introducing undergraduate students to alternative psychological theories and methodologies. More over the visibility of unorthodox perspectives in postgraduate programmes is still very low or non-existent. These asymmetric patterns of curricular visibility partly explain, according to some psychologists in the Universidad de Granada, the difficulties faced by staff and students in our psychological establishments who are trying to make sense of, and work alongside, alternative psychological terms. Some of these difficulties have been explicitly expressed in Villuendas y Gordo López (2003).

These difficulties, in conjunction with the complexity of terms and jargon used by some of our works – according to other views – disqualify alternative work while legitimising more established and, apparently, 'legible' mainstream accounts. Regarding curricular visibility and exposure it might be worth asking, what does critical psychology as (sub)discipline or psychological curricular integration/recuperation mean?

Subscribing to these new perspectives and analytical critical psychological models can also be perceived to be a danger if it results in a lack of consensus and unproductive strains for individuals and collectives concerned with action-research (or 'meta-theory') as Grupo de Estudios Sociales Asturiano (*G.E.S.A.*) [Asturian Social Study Group]. All the better if critical psychological practice does not draw upon any academic work, according to views by the counter-psychological and anti-psychiatric collective *Esquicie*. Other extra-academic collectives opposed to all forms of psychological abuse and institutionalisation of psychology can be also found recently in the Spanish State. Some of these collectives are DI*PSI*DENCIA (Madrid), llineasdefuga (Barcelona), Versus (Malaga)[6], and last but not least, Enajenad@s (Madrid)[7] which is the name of a psychiatrised collective in struggle. Most of them rise up some years ago and were constituted by former students of psychology with political and social compromise[8]. These groups have been in regular contact by means of the mailing list called <inciativacritica>[9] and regular workshops and conferences hold during the last years.[10]

CRITICAL WORK IN CURRENT ITALIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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[5] http://teknokultura.rrp.upr.edu

[6] http://versus-psi.20m.com/

[7] http://enajenadas.mahost.org/wakka.php?wakka=Portada

[8] For further information visit the website http://www.cop.es/colegiados/O-00763/mapa.htm .

[9] http://www.eListas.net/lista/iniciativascriticas

[10] The first meeting was held in 2001 in Malaga, the second one in Barcelona in 2003 (http://www. liniesdefuga.org/encuenredes.htm) and the third one will be held in Madrid in 29th march - 1st april 2004.

In Italy 'critical psychology' does not exist either as a corpus of knowledge or a common way to analyse society. Obviously there are different psychologists who work from critical perspectives but who kept away from constituting themselves in any form of alternative discipline or critical formation.

Probably the processes of Social Movements control and repression in the '70-80' entailed a set of difficulties for the reactivation of critical theoretical formations. In that period many critical intellectuals involved in social struggle and transformation were arrested if not exiled. The ones left moved on to social policy making and formal politics (reducing their critical power) or kept a low profile in order to continuous their work. Unfortunately, this reconfiguration of the critical map resulted in a new separation between theory and practice.

The Antonucci's case is especially revealing in regard to the problems radical psychological practices meet in Italy. Antonucci was appointed as director of Imola Mental Healt Hospital after the law 180. His work with the self manage ward made possible that many "chronic" patient recovered a minimum of dignity for the lives. Nevertheless Antonucci was legally prosecuted after a car accident of a patient in which this person was considered completely responsible of the accident.

In more general terms the inhuman treatment still exists: reclusion in hospitals, electroshock, arbitrary use of psycho-drugs and, among other inhuman conditions, lack of care from local centers. Altogether shows that the psychiatric reforms was, basically a farce and its implementation a political maneuver. In response to that in November 2000 a national demonstration was hold claiming gouvernment compromise and legal measure to face the mental health status quo. This protest was organized by the *Consulta Nazionale per la Salute mentale* [National Consulter for Mental Health], an organization that involves *Psichiatria Democratica*[11] [Democratic Psychiatry], groups of relatives of mental health survivors, NGOs, neighborhood groups and trade unionist (Cgil). This platform fought under the conviction that was not possible to let mental health care just in the hand of specialist (Armuzzi, 2002).

In regard to more specific psychology networks and agencies, a significant number of voices placed themselves outside of the university were, following the law 180 which offered spaces for critical practices (Di Vittorio, 1999). A common concern among them is that, following Bucalo (1997:54), 'anti-psychiatry is not a theory but a practice […] It is an everyday practice with which we confront other people's experience and at the same time define our own […] interpersonal relations. Anti-psychiatry does not limit itself to the negation of internment or the coercion of people's subjectivities; it is furthermore an acknowledgment of those experiences/ abilities within human beings'. For that reason these experience have been strictly related with social movement practices and, in many case, find shelter and alliances in squatter Social Centres.

Some initiatives are worth mentioning here including the *Telefono Viola*[12], a sort of autonomous phone line to support psychiatric abuse survivors. This initiative started in Bologna in 1993 and rapidly spread to other Italian cities where groups of people frequently connected with the 'autonomous movement'. It offers legal assessment to people that have been psychiatrically treated against their will and enable them to meet

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[11] http://www.psichiatriademocratica.com
[12] Further information can be obtained at http://www.ecn.org/telviola/

and exchange experiences and resources in order to prevent themselves from new abuses (Antonucci and Coppola, 1995). They have some minor editorial projects like the publication of a manual of psycho-drugs effects (Telefono Viola di Milano) that explain in a useful way information of academics works (Bellantuaono, Tansella, 1994; Cestari, 1995; Manfredonia, 1997). *Telefono Viola* actually works as network which connects similar experiences developed in different cities. In Milan it is part of a wider project, *Ambulatorio Popolare Autogestito di Via dei Transiti* [Popular Self-Managed Ambulatory] that bring free medical assistance to people in need (especially migrants). This initiative also counts with a feminist-driven Council Unit.

Another interesting experience is the one realized in Furdi Siculo (Sicily) by the *Comitato d'iniziativa Antipsichiatrica* [Anti-psychiatric Initiative Committee] between 1986-1992. Medical health was draws upon community assumptions and recurs to the many experiences in order to minimise psychiatric impact from the diversity of accounts and trajectories. That experience is explained in a book with a very suggestive title *Dietro ogni scemo c'é un villaggio* [Beside any stupid, there is a village] (Bucalo, 1993).

Finally, cyberspace has been the arena of new experiences and a good opportunity to create networks. More then ten years ago was formalized the project *Isole Nella Rete* [Isles in the Net] that create the European Counter Network (http://www.ecn.org) offering to Social Movement tools to quickly interchange information to coordinate actions and to spread DIY productions. Contemporary they made a cyberculture diffusions with workshops, seminars, a specialized journals –*Decoder*- and related editorial efforts to promote among activists the opportunity to use the Net for political purposes (Baraghini, 1994; Berardi,1990; Collettivo Interzone, 1991; Daniele, 1997; Dazieri, 1996; DiCorinto, Tozzi, 2002; Paccagnella, 2000; Pasquinelli, 2002; Scelsi, 1990).

At present times alternative networks in Italy have proliferated.[13] contributing to the organization of related activities of social movements. Self-called anti-psychiatry groups have recently entered in the network too. They run a platform formed by survivors of psychiatric practices.[14] a non-psychiatric mailing list[15] and more diffuse community.[16], like as a plethora of other less known experience.

Within the academy there are scholars who still working along with a critical perspectives. One of them is the psychology historian and epistemologist Saadi Marhaba whose main agenda is to render visible the ideology that undergos psychological theories and, subsequently, recuperate the work of radical thinkers (Marhaba, 2000, 2001, 2002a,b). Another one is the sociologist Ivano Spano who works on the intersection between Marxist theories, social analysis and science construction paying special attention on the influence of social processes in the construction of subjectivity (Spano, 2000a, 2000b, 1999, 1983). Finally another interesting front is the phenomenological trend which finds its mayor exponent in people working in theory construction and psychological practices at once (Borgna, 2003, 2001, 1999; Galimberti

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[13] between them http://www.tmcrew.org , http://www.inventati.org and http://www.autistici.org
[14] See also http://www.ecn.org/antipsichiatria/home.html; http://www.antipsichiatria.it/; http://www.inventati.org/antipsichiatria/ and http://www.club.it/cuculo/
[15] http://it.groups.yahoo.com/group/no-psichiatria/
[16] http://www.nopazzia.it/

2004, 2003a,b,c). More over there are collectives that works from a feminist approach on the importance of care-education relation (Ipazia, 1997) and on media construction of mental health (Fiorillo and Cozza, 2002).

The academic work mentioned along editorial projects identified with social movement. It is worth mentioning here the initiative *Sensibili alle Foglie* [Sensibly to petals] 'a cultural research laboratory anchored to the life condition and to the direct experience of its cooperative members. Experience characterized by a large internment in total institution and the participation in the Italian 70's experience' (taken from their web page). This group is particularly sensible to women discrimination as showed by the large amount of books from/on women who lived experience of psychiatrics abuse (Coppedè 1993; Hamulic Trbojevic, 1995; Polloni, 1995; Paolucci 1994; Signorelli, 1996). *Sensibili alle Foglie* has shown also attention to creative protest of people submitted to compulsory reclusion in mental health institutions (Aa.Vv. 1994; Curcio, 1998, 1995; De Rosa 1998; Valentino, 1996) in a similar line that more general critical mental health essays (i.e. Antonucci, 1994; Bertali, Bertini and Segatori, 1999).

Another interesting initiative is the *Derive Approdi* Project which promotes links between social movements reader and critical theories, for example, by means of monographs on postcolonial Studies (Mezzadra and Rahola, 2003). It often confronts established critics. For example, in a moment in which art is seen as a liberating process, *Derive Approdi* denounces the way art has been transformed into a consolidation of all it would like to destroy, becoming a sort of therapeutic resource at the service of psychiatry (Simonetti, 2001). Last but not least important we have to remember the work of *Stampa Alternativa*[17]. Well known in the past for the publication of short (and cheap) text, at present is one of the most important alternative editorial in Italy (on critical psychology see Baraldi, 2002; Majore, 1996; Morici, 2002). In addition the *Manifestolibri*[18] *is* the editorial of the left journal *Manifesto* with a large trajectory and impact.

In recent years a trans-disciplinary attitude can be noted as showed, for example, by the experience of *Storie in movimento*.[19] [Histories in movement]. It first published on-line debates from activist and professionals of various disciplines to produce in recent years a journal on the story of the movement called Zapruder (the anonymous video maker that in 1963 filmed the homicide of Kennedy). They are editing monographs related with everyday topics. The launch issue was on 'Squat conflicts' (Aa.Vv., 2003a), the second issue on 'Wars' (Aa.Vv., 2003b) and the third have been dedicated to "Work issues' (Aa.Vv., 2004). On trans-disciplinary line deserve to be mentioned the collective *Laser* which includes a group of researcher-students of 'hard' science that pursuits a critical analysis of the relation between various disciplines and society. Laser articulates critics of the power that Academy and Professionals are assuming in relation with all social organization and relationships (Laser, 2002).

CRITICAL WORK IN THE TIME OF NEOLIBERAL GEOPOLITICS

As we have shown different projects co-exist under the umbrella of critical psychology

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[17] http://www.stampaalternativa.it
[18] http://www.manifestolibri.it
[19] www.storieinmovimento.org

in Italy and Spain. There are those who conceive critical psychological as a temporal strategy or as a new form of psychology. Other colleagues and collectives find in critical psychology a way of interfering with the increasing participation of psychology in wider socio-political spheres (what we have referred to above as *psychologisation of culture*), or simply, a way of constructing less restrictive spaces for alternative work in our institutions which in many cases, involves a full set of strategies of camouflage and survival.

Another issue is whether this clandestine position is any worse or any better than fostering the institutionalisation of critical perspectives as it is the case in different Anglo-Saxon spheres. The danger is that locating in the frontier can bring us to performatively became the frontier or the border. This institutionalisation involves the confinement of critical work to clinical, educational and research sector and the systematisation of what is good practice and good critical methods in critical psychological research (Gordo López, 1999). Such preoccupations have resulted in a lack of acknowledgment of more diversified scenarios and socio-political issues, which, paradoxically, work as the condition of possibility for critical psychology to be developing into a new sub-discipline into the international neo-liberal scenario.

This is not strange within current neoliberal order which enjoys critical flexibility while maintaining the status quo. Within Fordist society any kind of subversive idea had to be silenced (with physical force if necessary). The neo-liberal logics find now easier to take the demand, turn it upside down, empty it of meaning and use it as a slogan to shut up 'popular protest' (Biglia, 2003). Such a form of 'incorporation' is not puzzling either if considering the increasing role of immaterial production in current state of socio-economic affairs.

Under the current sociological and global shifts (including mass protest world-wide with profound political implications, see anti-war protest in Spain in 2003 and the last general elections results, 14th March 2004) there is the urge radical work in psychology engage with new tactics as well as new forms of culture and asymmetric international relations. A major referent for some of these tactics is found in Italian Movement 77's, known as the barefoot intellectuals which among other collectives gathered youth people and intellectuals who inverted the terms by postponing their entrance into the labour market and getting permanent jobs (which is often referred to as 'exodus') (Virno, 1993; 2003). The acceptance of mobility and the refusal to rush into permanent posts prompted the possibility of other forms of socialisation away from direct production, including social centres and student movements which, subsequently, enabled them the possibility to occupy and cooperate productively in other social spheres beyond remunerated work. This 'exodus' involved an acknowledgement and liking of certain forms of individual autonomy and experimentation, altogether, reshaping the capitalist productive organisation. At the same time the decline of the work society unleashed the dissolution of traditional political forms and, most importantly, paved the way for the experimentation of other forms of non-representative democracy (Negri, 2000; Lazzarato and Negri, 2003; Virno, 2002, 2003) (for an updated analysis of this type of social movement see Rodríguez, 2003).

Behind these strategies there are some aspect to be carefully considered. For instance, these strategies are often related to middle class (white men) sectors with a high cultural capital and education, with hierarchical political vision and who rarely let room for

emotion or relationship care (PGA, 2004; Raven, 1995; Sardella, 2001; Subbuswamy, Patel, 2001; Tensas, 1997). That's mean that very open minded analysis have been paradoxically based on contradictory personal practice which often lacks of any further reflection or questioning. A question to pose here is if profound social change can be pursuit without an every day self-critical attitude? A second major concern in regard to this "evolving critical intelligentsia" mainly rooted in Italy but quickly spreading to other social and cultural geographies (i.e. Catalunya/Spain) without proper reflection is that that the 'exodus' phenomenon and strategy is probably an elitist option that can barely shared or been affordable by major social sectors. Most of people, and especially minority groups (i.e. immigrants, women) have still to assume precarious working conditions rather than 'exits' (Precarias a la deriva, 2004; Rahola, 2003). Finally that "exit" subversive strategy belongs to the late 70's, perhaps we ought to imagine news ones. This does not imply considering its potential values for present times.

In the seventies activists who decided to enter into the system or the institution were considered treacherous (and probably some of them where). In the eighties and nineties, with the abolition of popular protest lot of people enter in the institution or in formal politics under the slogan of resisting and articulating transformation from within. As indicated above at present days we ought to pay attention as well to the explosion of other forms of struggle in a context in which capitalist machinery incorporates and requires of continuously shifting critical margins (and its marketing whether in the form of critical psychology and qualitative research methods, social forum, NGOs, or even certain forms of antiglobalisation movements).

These collectives transcend the logics of established ideologies and legal systems. They don't know, and they don't want to know, about long-term ideological apparatus or regimes. They are merely becoming aware of their capacities and power to call for new international law or to defend laws which are not yet formulated. Most of these initiatives recreate space of debate outside the institution or on their frontiers, like a recent conference of activist research in Barcelona[20]. Such lines of actions are becoming a reality as indicated by the GNU Project-Copy Left on which different groups are working (as the international Hackers meetings in Italy and Spain) and the raising up of different autonomous groups of action-research such as Universidad Nomada (Madrid), Laser (Italia), Facoltá di Fuga (Italia), Precarias a la Deriva (Madrid), BORDERlines (Barcelona).

Any critical action, whether inside or outside psychology in the last instance, might support ways of opening up and connecting disciplinary relations and referents to current issues and struggles in local and global settings 'overcoming the fictitious distinctions common to academicism' (Aa.Vv., 2003c). It necessarily involves moving between disciplinary practices and the transformations which punctuate them, as shown by the correspondences found between, for instance, developmental psychology and world development (Burman, 1995) and, between world wide transnational forces and processes of subjectification (Papadopoulos, 2003). The latter is still a pending subject for critical psychology although there are some attempts, as we have indicated in this paper, to work on those lines among some activists and collectives in the Italian and Spanish geopolitical landscapes.

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[20] More information on the meeting website www.investigaccio.org

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