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ORIGINAL

# Brazilian Influences on Popular Education in Spain. The Hallmarks of Paulo Freire in Enrique de Castro's Work

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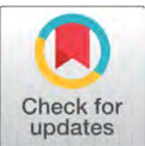
In the 1970s and 1980s, the social and professional imaginaries of education, sociopolitical conceptions of it, and educational practices in Spain, began to be influenced by certain elements specific to critical popular education, which had developed in Latin America during the *long 1960s*. Paulo Freire's work was particularly prominent among such influences, either directly or indirectly inspiring social and fundamental educational movements in contexts of poverty, marginalisation and social exclusion –for example, street educators. One of the most significant examples of these Freirean practices was Enrique de Castro– a working-class priest who worked in the south of Madrid (Spain) with young people in such a position, from the early 1970s. At the same time, he laboured to bring about social transformation and development; the project managed to Garner the involvement of practically the entire community. This article analyses Paulo Freire's influence in the educational and community principles expressed by Enrique de Castro in his works *¿Hay que colgarlos?* and *Dios es ateo*. Particular attention is paid to the notions of awareness-raising, education, social action, community development, social and critical leadership of institutions, which de Castro championed.

**Keywords** PAULO FREIRE, ENRIQUE DE CASTRO, SOCIAL EDUCATION, POPULAR EDUCATION, STREET EDUCATION

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

During the so-called 'long 1960s', Latin America was one of the key strategic geopolitical regions in the Cold War –especially in the wake of the successful Cuban Revolution and the shockwave it caused. This led the USA to step up its presence in the region, redoubling its efforts to foster economic, social and cultural development. In various cases, the USA also interfered in the national politics of Latin American countries, by supporting or propping up authoritarian regimes. Latin America was also the backdrop for cultural transformations and new social and educational movements that took shape. Both were marked by (1) increasing secularisation and diversification of society; (2) the wake of the Second

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Vatican Council and the different interpretations and manifestations of the nascent liberation theology, which transcended the intellectual sphere, challenged the various forms of oppression, and connected with popular church movements; (3) the sudden emergence of indigenous issues, driven by the decolonising movements in Africa and the Caribbean, and the then-groundbreaking postcolonial ideas of Frantz Fanon; (4) the student movements of 1968 –particularly in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay; (5) the second wave of feminism, which began to transform gender relations, break down the patriarchy, open up areas of society (including university) to women, intensify the process of women's politicisation and arousing other ways of being and relating to the world; (6) the leading role played by the arts –music in particular–, which took on a variety of new forms, becoming a medium for and a message of protest against dictatorial national regimes and, more broadly, against imperialism. It "conveyed a participatory educational message of action, and through television, popular culture reflected new ways of expressing the self" (Bruno-Jofré, 2019, p. 17); and (7) the process of radicalisation of so-called leftist groups, including some military factions which, though they were not connected to the base movements, chose other political means of bringing change about. All of the above aroused a sense of justice and liberation which went beyond typical revolutionary objectives. In addition, these were times when, similarly to in other parts of the world, a proliferation of *new social movements* took shape and emerged. Amongst other things, these movements were characterised by: the development of notions and experiences of alternative collective identities; discourse incorporating views connected to the incipient post-industrial globalisation; lifestyles and practices that reflected such globalisation; the use of organisational structures based on decentralisation, direct participation, interpersonal solidarity and collective, discussion-based decision-making; and opening up and conquering non-institutional political spheres, understood as arenas for action that lay somewhere between the public and the private spheres (Braghini, 2019; Carli, 2019; Fanon, 1963; Gadotti, 2014; Hernández-Huerta, 2004, 2018; Hinterholz, 1963; Hobsbawm, 1999; Jasper, 2016; Markarian, 1968; Ofer & Groves, 2016; Offe, 1985; Scott, 1989; Tarrow, 2012; Tilly & Wood, 2010; Zolov, 2015).

It was in this context that what is known as critical popular education arose; this movement can be understood, generally speaking, as 'the practices exercised by various types of non-governmental organisations and basic organisation, connected to social and political movements and, often, to left-wing political parties'. These practices were able to place the popular classes as 'subjects at the heart of both discourse and practice–, aiming to bring about radical structural changes –a somewhat Utopian goal'. Among the proponents of this way of viewing education, Paulo Freire is particularly noteworthy for his proposals for the Brazilian education system. In the early 1960s, he developed an alternative style of adult education and a method for teaching basic literacy which, in record time, achieved considerable success in contexts of poverty, marginalisation and social exclusion. In addition, after being forced into exile in the wake of Brazil's military coup in 1964, Freire became an internationally famous public example of the power of the system to crush social, cultural, political and educational projects that could lead to large-scale change. Furthermore, after publishing *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970), completed during his exile in Chile,

he became a point of reference for educators of all kinds –and, over time, from *all over the world*– seeking to understand humanity's plight, ways of transforming the world through words, and different ways of understanding and developing education (Bruno-Jofré, 2016, 2019; Igelmo-Zaldívar, 2016). According to Schugurensky (2011), Freire's ideas and practices have been particularly well received over the course of time and in different countries –particularly after the Brazilian educator's death:

> Many of his proposals have inspired individuals, groups, and organizations all around the world to carry out a great variety of pedagogical initiatives during the last three decades. He did not believe in disciples that would spread his ideas like a gospel. As per his request, after his death his ideas are being "reinvented," and this includes not only theoretical discussions and debates, but also practical issues related to the implementation of a variety of projects and programs all over the world.
>
> *(Schugurensky, 2011, pp. 112-113)*

Spain, which was still under Franco's dictatorship, also felt the wind of change blowing from Latin America. From the early 1970s, there began to be signs of receptiveness to the ideas and educational practices inspired, or influenced, by various branches and facets of critical popular education from the other side of the Atlantic. Among these sources of inspiration was Paulo Freire's movement which, either directly or indirectly, inspired a range of social and educational actions, both within and without the sphere of influence of the Catholic Church. One of the best examples of such projects run in Spain was the work of Enrique de Castro, a working-class priest. He had, since the early 1970s, been working with marginalised and socially excluded young people in the Vallecas district in the south of Madrid. At the same time, he spearheaded a project aiming for social transformation and development which, starting with a simple but radical change in his parish, manage to involve practically the whole community.

The aim of this research is to contribute to studies on the international transfer and processes of reception of educational ideas and practices in non-institutional contexts.[1] In concrete terms, the objective of this contribution is to offer an initial assessment of the influence of Paulo Freire's work –specifically, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970)– in the educational and sociological thinking expressed by Enrique de Castro in his work: *¿Hay que colgarlos?* (Must they be hanged?) and *Dios es ateo* (God is an Atheist) (De Castro, 1985, 1997). Particular attention is paid to the notions of consciousness-raising, education, social action, community development, social leadership and criticism of institutions which Enrique de Castro developed.

[1] For an in-depth study of the history and theory of the reception, see Burke (2013) . for a more targeted analysis of the mechanisms of 'transcultural transfer' and 'processes of reception' of pedagogical wisdom, see Schriewer (2012).

## 2 THE RECEPTION O FREIRE'S IDEAS IN SPAIN DURING THE 1970S AND 1980S

During the 1970s and 1980s in Spain, tentatively and by a minority of people, but progressively, the social and professional concepts of education, sociopolitical analyses of education, and educative practices, began to incorporate various elements of critical popular education which had been developed in Latin America during the previous decade. Notable among these influences was Paulo Freire, whose work *Education, the practice of freedom* and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in the twilight years of the Franco regime and during the Transition to democracy, 'were photocopied and disseminated secretly, passing from hand to hand among students and professors. Freire's ideas were discussed at meetings and assemblies, and in independent publications. In addition, books and articles about his methods and techniques were printed' (Groves, 2016).

Once democracy had been restored to Spain, the socialists were in power for 14 years (1982 to 1996). The socialist governments promulgated three laws on the organisation of the education system, and helped to neutralise the political and educational activities of the *Movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica* (MRP – Movements for Pedagogical Innovation) (Díaz, 2011). During these years, Freire gained space and recognition in academic circles. An example of this can be found in the Brazilian educator's four visits to Spain during the 1980s and 1990s. First, he was invited to the Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca (UPSA), in 1984, where he gave three lectures as part of the event organised by the Cátedra San José de Calasanz (García-Madrid, 2003, 2004, 2016). Second, he visited the Universidad de Barcelona (UB), in 1988, to receive an honorary doctorate (Doctorado Honoris Causa). 1991 saw a third visit, to receive a second honorary doctorate from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM). Freire's final visit to Spain was in 1994, again visiting the University of Barcelona, to give the closing address of the conference *Educación y Participación Comunitaria* (Igelmo-Zaldívar & Quiroga-Uceda, 2021).

However, it was outside of university circles that Freire's ideas and practices had greatest impact in Spain –in particular, in some areas of primary education, adult education programmes, and work with adolescents and young people in the context of poverty, marginalisation and/or social exclusion. To begin with, they made a mark on, and extended, the activity of a number of MRPs, including the *Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular* (MCEP – Cooperative Movement for the Popular School), which carried out an in-depth study of the relations between work in schools and in wider political and social spheres. Secondly, the ideological and practical principles were at the heart of various types of adult education projects, in urban environments –e.g. the Coordinadora de Escuelas de Trabajadores Adultos de Madrid, the Coordinadora de Escuelas de Adultos de Catalunya (Barcelona), and the Escuela de Personas Adultas La Verneda (Barcelona)– and rural ones, such as Escuelas Campesinas (Ávila). In both cases, these initiatives took on a political dimension, often helping urban workers to develop strategies to critically assess their environment, and helping rural populations to become aware of their own situation, and the liberating opportunities offered by culture and education (Groves, 2011; Ofer & Groves, 2016).

Thirdly, Freire's teachings –sometimes indirectly, but perceptibly– inspired grassroots socio-educational movements, which arose in contexts of poverty, marginalisation and/or social exclusion, such as the street educators movement. This peculiar, informal, heterogeneous and countercultural movement arose out of the need imposed by the ugliest part of the reality constructed by developmentalism and the supposed welfare state, which actually excluded broad sectors of the populace, treating them as non-persons, in practice (Arquero, 1995). Between the mid-1970s and the 1980s, three particularly significant street-schooling initiatives sprang up, all of which were directly connected, or at least close to, the local diocese. One took place in Barcelona, and was led by José Antonio Montull –the diocese priest dispatched to a neighbourhood that was particularly hard-hit by heroin dealing and use (Hernández-Huerta, 2004; Montull, 1994). The other two were run in Madrid, by Enrique Martínez Reguera, a theologian and psychologist by training (Martínez-Reguera, 1982), and Enrique de Castro, a working priest who had spent 40 years labouring to make Utopia a reality from the parish of El Pozo del Tío Raimundo –one of the poorest neighbourhoods, and for a long time, one of the most isolated, in the south of Madrid (De Castro, 1985, 1997, 2004; García-Madrid, 2002; Martín-González, 2004; Rodríguez-Leal, 2007; Sarrats, 2013).

## 3 ENRIQUE DE CASTRO: BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Enrique de Castro was born in Madrid, in 1943, into a comfortable family (his father, whom he remembered fondly, was an aviator for the Ministry of the Air). He received an education founded on bourgeois, Catholic values and lifestyles, and studied at Colegio del Pilar (Madrid). Later, during the late stages of the Second Vatican Council and the earliest implementations of its decrees, he began studying for ecclesiastical ordainment, first in Comillas and then in Madrid, where he earned a degree in Theology and Philosophy from the UCM, and was ordained as a priest in 1972.

During his years of training and his first few years as a practising priest in the parish of Alto del Arenal (Vallecas, Madrid), he took part in student protests, taught classes in marginalised neighbourhoods and settlements built around "slums" –which was his first direct experience of a marginalised existence and pure poverty. He came into contact with Christian Marxism, the work of Paulo Freire and liberation theology (especially the thinking of Leonardo Boff), different branches of anarchism (which he never went into detail about), and, on a purely pedagogical level, with Enrique Martínez Reguera.

In the late 1970s, due to certain pressures from his superiors in the Church, a number of his fellow priests and neighbours, he was forced to move to the parish of San Carlos Borromeo, in Entrevías. There, the material conditions of the parish buildings were better, but the social, cultural and economic conditions were similar, worsened by growing unemployment and the havoc wreaked by drug addiction and trafficking (particularly of heroin). There he remained, until his recent retirement. His activities focused on poverty-stricken, marginalised and/or socially excluded adolescents and young people. In their contexts, the ideas take shape and can be seen at work in the lives of the young people –mainly street

children–, in the neighbourhood or the parish, but also in prisons, youth centres, police stations, courts of justice, hospitals, cemeteries, psychiatric centres and all kinds of social services. Enrique de Castro profiles the young people thus:

> 1. They are young people who, in their childhood, experienced family, educational and social models such as neglect, hostility and rejection, and were also blamed when those models inevitably failed. 2. In search of security, they find the street and their friends, and this becomes the affirmation of their lives and the arena in which they live. 3. finding no other points of reference than those which the system itself provides, without intending to, and without necessarily being in control of it, they replicate the same models which have led to their own situation. 4. The system uses them for financial gain, political and ideological ends (here, these aspects go without saying). 5. As security factors (which they cannot find in themselves because they were never valued), they use extrinsic factors: money, weapons, and force. 6. As they are running from their past and cannot look to the future, the hearing now is the only dimension they experience, and a pleasurable survival is their reason for being. They have scarcely any elements that have considered personal value, and therefore, ethical value, to them. 7. Difficult to find a moral component, as the referential value framework has never been inculcated in them.
>
> *(Castro, 2005, pp. 120-121)*

## 4 THE HALLMARKS OF PAULO FREIRE IN ENRIQUE DE CASTRO'S WORK

What traces of Freire's work and experiments can be found in Enrique de Castro? We only have two explicit references to instances where Enrique de Castro consulted Freire's writings and experiments, and drew inspiration from them. One is the interview with de Castro in 2003, by María Martín González, in which he acknowledges having read Freire's work and that, in the parish of San Carlos, there were a number of initiatives to teach the immigrant population to read using Freire's methods, though de Castro never took part in these initiatives directly (Martín-González, 2006). The other is in his 1997 book *Dios es ateo*, which offers a reasonably ordered and reflective account of his 25 years of experience. In the book, he remarks that possibly the greatest contribution made by the network of worker priests, which was constructed in Vallecas in the 1970s, was 'the promotion of culture at all levels and to all age groups, always with a critical sense, in line with an approach adapted from Freire's pedagogy. This helped people to discover their own value, and the options available in their area to stand up against any type of subjugation by the political and social authorities' (de Castro, 1997, p. 40). Beyond this, de Castro's writings contain no references to a particular author or a particular publication –only to specific people he encountered in his day-to-day life, some of whom carried a great deal of social, political, religious or community influence. His writings are the product of his experiences, and on occasion, as is the case of '*¿Hay que colgarlos?*', the product of the urgent need to speak out about (against) a

part of reality that was censored by institutions –an inconvenient truth for everyone, which practically nobody wanted to address: the so-called 'street kids' and the injustices they suffered, but also the aspirations they harboured.

At this point, we wish to highlight those examples we believe are most significant: The idea of awareness-raising (Collyer, 1996; Freire, 1963, 1967, 1970, 1973; McLaren, 2010; Torres, 1978), as we have seen, resulted in people being awakened to their own value. This strategy draws upon Freire's original ideas about critical problematisation of reality, but is more closely linked to each individual's and community's capacity to act, based on decision-making through participative and democratic procedures.

This manifested itself in two different ways. Firstly, it triggered the use of educative strategies designed to develop personal independence, responsibility and, above all, promote personal and community freedom. A crucial step in this direction was to destroy people's fear. In this process, there are two particularly relevant aspects. First is the idea of resurrection, understood as the conviction that 'they may destroy our bodies, but they cannot take away our lives, our essences, and therefore, we should not be afraid'. Such a philosophy facilitates the generosity necessary to work in full awareness. According to de Castro (year), 'the cry of resurrection is the most revolutionary cry, because it encourages conflict'. Second is the development of an education style based on direct personal relationships, affection, solidarity and understanding, acceptance of others, love as a foundation and a driving force for social and educative action –in a 2012 interview, de Castro stated that the optimal distance for education is that of an embrace: i.e. the necessary and ineluctable human contact with other people. "(…) Enrique calls for complete and utter involvement. In contrast to those who say that you cannot get involved because if you do, you cannot educate, he has always opted for unconditional involvement, understanding and contamination as the three fundamental gradual steps in gaining the child's trust" (Sarrats, 2013, p. 105) The key, as can be seen from his work, is willingness to put in the effort of "seventy times seven" (Matthew 18:22). This is because, as Enrique de Castro puts it, "Christ's forgiveness is not a superfluous thing. If someone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other, again and again and again, but never give up fighting and never be intimated by anything, which is a very different thing. Of course, you will suffer another blow, but you will never be intimidated into giving up the fight. (…) The fact that someone cannot do something at a particular time does not mean that it is impossible" (Sarrats, 2013, p. 230). It is from the same root that he draws the significance of affection and love in working with the young people: "(…) it liberates them, awakens them, personalises them, and from there spring their confidence and the ability to face up to their past but look to the future. love and affection bring moral authority, not based on rules or formalism, but in reference to people by whom they feel themselves loved, and relationships with whom bring about self-acceptance and stimulation" (Castro, 2005, p. 125). However, that effort must be nuanced. In educative, social and institutional relations, Enrique de Castro established very clear, inviolable standards and tolerance limits. For example, in the church and the house where the young people live, it is utterly forbidden to bring 'browns' (drugs, crime-related paraphernalia, stolen goods, etc.). As the counterpart to this, under no circumstances are

the social services, police or any other representative of an institution allowed to enter the house.

Unlike Freire, Enrique de Castro did not employ a specific method, plan or system in his educational action, which aims to create the conditions necessary to give sense and meaning to the learning of literacy. Rather, de Castro's approach is something like an emergency pedagogical intervention, marked by the conditions and concrete situations of daily life –that is, marked by extreme uncertainty, which only allows for broad and distant objectives. Every day becomes an unmissable opportunity to learn, with everyone learning from everybody else:

> When one of my colleagues asked me about my short-, medium- and long-term goals with the children, I was at a loss. I didn't know, from one minute to the next, what I wanted to do. I answered, with a certain degree of suppressed anger, that he should come and spend three days living with me and the children, and I would unquestioningly accept whatever learning objectives he then set out for me,
>
> *(de Castro, 1985, p. 50)*

On the other hand, like Freire, Enrique de Castro opened up spaces where participants would be free to develop the processes of community consciousness-raising equivalent, and with a similar purpose, to Freire's culture circles (Elias, 1994; Freire, 1971; Gadotti, 1994, 2014; Souto-Manning, 2010; Streck, 2008; Torres, 1978). From the very start, the Vallecas priest established dialogue-based masses which, soon, became community-wide assemblies, for social discussion of the problems, needs and aspirations of the local residents, whether they were believers or not, and wherever they came from. Thus, the parish gradually became the epicentre of informal processes of political awakening and projects to transform the community, and 'a meeting place where all are welcome, whatever their origin and ideology, in which the common denominator must be solidarity'. This transformation arose from the simple but radical idea that, while 'evangelism' is 'spreading the good word', it has many facets, none of which corresponds to the spreading of a doctrine, a set of dogmas or a moral code. According to de Castro, "there is only one good word for the different stages of human life, and when it comes about, I am sure it will be celebrated. Is it not worthy of celebration when a released prisoner wants to rebuild his life, when a family living on the street is finally housed, or a boy quits heroin which has caused so much damage to him and to those around him...? (…) All these actions, at every point on the path, are genuine sacraments, symbols of Utopia or, better put, moments that bring Utopia into being: evidence that Utopia is possible' (de Castro, 1997, p. 140).

Enrique de Castro's pragmatic nature led him to incentivise, organise or drive forward a range of associative initiatives, which operated on the basis of solidarity, cooperation and self-management. These initiatives served the same purpose as the assemblies, but were defined by action. There are four actions that are of particular note:

1. Promotion of self-employment. For example, as a bookbinder, as a seamstress working from the parochial buildings, running a neighbourhood bar, a grocer, a rabbit

farm in a village, a rudimentary messenger service using a few mopeds and later a van that they acquired, and the association *Traperos de Emaús* (Emmaus Junkyards), which had its headquarters in Pozo del Tío Raimundo. This association, which was founded in the early 1980s, inspired by the scheme run in France in 1949 by Abbé Pierre, is still operating even today, and defines itself as a 'Collective of workers made up of very different people, all with the common goal of promoting solidarity'.

2. The Asociación de Madres contra la Droga de Madrid (Madrid Mothers Against Drugs), which was born in the 1980s, in the throes of the heroin epidemic, through various meetings held in the parish. In addition to the obvious problem, this group decried the police's involvement in the matter, and proposed that drugs should be legalised as a way of stopping them from being a social problem.
3. Participation in the establishment of the Escuela sobre Marginación (School about Marginalisation), spearheaded by Enrique Martínez Reguera from 1978, with no link whatsoever to any political, economic or religious group, but which come up from the very beginning, worked in collaboration with the parish church of San Carlos Borromeo (Madrid), to analyse and learn about the world of marginalisation, and to train people who would work or collaborate with the sectors of the population who were marginalised and/or socially excluded.
4. The Coordinadora de Barrios (Local Coordinator), founded in the latter half of the 1980s as part of the Colectivo de Defensa del Marginado (CODEMAR – Collective for Protection of the Marginalised), which continues to run even today. It involves joint activity in multiple neighbourhoods, to lead a discussion about the problems facing young people, how to address those problems and how to organise to offer a solution, support young people in their neighbourhoods, and in the streets, in search of alternative ways of life and of work, in police stations, prisons and hospitals, and to provide spaces and offer socialisation activities other than those available on the streets.

Closely related to the above is the idea of revolutionary social leadership (Coben, 1998; Collyer, 1996; Freire, 1970; Irwin, 2018; Weiner, 2003). Like Freire, Enrique de Castro believes that charismatic leaders, with personal authority and the ability to influence reality, are made by living with other people, becoming one of them, becoming involved in the daily lives or the ordinary people who are the heart and soul of the communities, gaining their trust and respect. However, unlike Freire, who was involved with governments, international organisations and global elite universities, de Castro stresses the risks of institutionalising any social or community movement, claiming that to do so denatures the movement and makes it into something else. He also professes his mistrust for all institutions, which he believes cannot change, no matter how many good and committed people are part of them, as they are designed to work in a particular system –the very same system which is responsible for the marginalisation and social exclusion of very broad sectors of the population. What must be done is to demolish the system and rebuild it from scratch, or at least, do so for all repressive institutions which have lost their original meaning –including the Catholic Church:

> The problem is the institution itself, which serves specific interests, whomever it may be that represents those interests (…) All our deeds and attitudes bear the hallmark of that which we serve.
>
> *(de Castro, 1997, p. 200).*

## 5 FINAL POINTS

Over the course of time, Enrique de Castro has become one of the most significant examples of the influence, reception and interpretation of the decrees of the Second Vatican Council, the tenets of Liberation Theology, the Popular Schooling movement which developed in the 1960s in Latin America, and of Paulo Freire's ideas in contexts of poverty and social exclusion. In the latter case, we see the Brazilian educator's influence behind de Castro: it is diffuse, and adapted rather than followed to the letter, but the influence is perceptible. More accurately, we can speak of metamorphosis and experimentation with some of Freire's key concepts of social, political and cultural analysis of reality, and some of his educational and community principles. In a manner of speaking, Enrique de Castro gave these concepts a pragmatic interpretation, conditioned by the urgent needs of daily life.

in addition, the Spanish priest could be considered a genuine and equally significant expression of the quest for change, perceived to be almost within reach, which would lead to a foreseeably better future –one with greater fairness, freedom and solidarity. His activity –and the shockwave which it produced– can be seen as the material and concrete manifestation of the *new social movements* in the sphere of influence of the Catholic church. Indeed, de Castro worked towards social transformation and development. Starting with a simple but radical transformation of his own parish, he managed to involve almost the entire community. This led the participants to gradually realise their own value, let go of their fears, and led to growing willingness and capacity for social action on the part of that community. Crucial to this process were the ways of viewing and implementing the ideas of freedom, love, faith, resurrection, forgiveness, dialogue, commitment, confidence and understanding, rooted in pure Christianity, altered by the winds of change that brought the reforms of the Second Vatican Council and Spain's Transition to democracy, and by schools of thought in liberation theology, socialism and anarchism, and marked by day-to-day emergencies.

These ideas guided de Castro's pedagogical, social and religious *praxis*, infiltrating the projects which he undertook, backed or inspired, directly or indirectly, all governed by a few firm (and sufficient) principles: cooperation, solidarity and self-management. On an educational level, he employed emergency teaching which, though it has broad guiding objectives, is marked by uncertainty, requiring constant action and adaptation. In this context, common sense becomes particularly important; so too does the *capacity for reflection*, the ability to *read* circumstances with commitment, perspective and critical thinking; the instinctual sense of social justice, liberty, tolerance and solidarity, and charismatic leadership, developed through living with the young people, establishing connections of affection, love and understanding.

This teaching style, free from plans, curricula and short-, middle- or long-term educational projects, and Enrique de Castro's harsh criticism –and even distrust– of all institutions and practically any type of institutionalisation of ideas and actions, are two key elements which set him apart from Paulo Freire. This reinforces the idea that one should consider the work of Enrique de Castro as a unique form of active, selective and creative interpretation of the Brazilian pedagogue's work, at the same time.

Finally, this work readily feeds into other research questions. Indeed, although we can clearly see indicators of Freire's influence in Enrique de Castro, the question with which we are currently faced is broader and more complex: it is a matter of the metamorphosis and eclectic differentiation of the edicts of the Second Vatican Council and liberation theology, popular education in keeping with the Latin American model, social psychology and psychology of education, and the transition away from Marxist, socialist, Christian stances towards ones not far from Christian anarchism.

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