

Hege Andresen

The Young Pioneers of Cuba:

The Formation of Cuban Citizens through Civic Education

“Patria O Muerte”

Havana, Cuba

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OsloMet- Oslo Metropolitan University

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Abstract

After the revolution in Cuba, it was a clear goal and commitment that only through education could Cuba recover from the massive social differences, poverty and underdevelopment. The Castro regime created a social contract with its people, and the regime promised to provide education, healthcare and racial, economic and political equality.

Education was made a resource priority. In this context, the two codes of education and moralism were basic to the revolution's self-image and the experience of reform and empowerment. The year of education (1961) can show for a massive literacy campaign with the outcome which made Cuba "free from illiteracy". With the massively investment that went into educational expansion, and the belief in education as a key to Cuba's future was ingrained in the process along with keeping the values of the revolution and making students good pioneers for Cuba.

The literacy levels underline the fact that Cuba's education system is incredible successful. On the other hand, not much attention has been paid to the philosophical structure underpinning this system. The Cuban revolution, building on the educational values of José Martí, has been and still is a big part of the educational presence in Cuba's citizenship education. Social norms and citizenship education in Cuba is taught through civic education.

The main findings in this study, shows that Civics education is highly ideological. The dynamic process of the Cuban ideology is deeply present in the citizens' social obligations towards the state, taught through civic education. The Cuban education system is a form of inclusive nationalism with a clear definition of what it means to be a member of the collective society. The Cuban regime has used the educational system to socialize Cubans to equate social independence with subversion and counterrevolution. This makes the ideological development of Cuba important in civic education.

Abbreviations

MINED	Ministry of Education
CUC	Cuban Convertible Peso
CUP	Cuban Peso
JMPO	José Martí Pioneer Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
CGCE	Critical Global Citizenship Education
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
UN	United Nations

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1.0 Introduction

After the Cuban revolution in 1959, the Cuban society faced not just a change in government but a change in educational development. In the next decade, “education for all” was achieved, along with the intention of educating students so that they remembered the values of the revolution. Because of this, Cuba is now known for being one of the few countries in the Global South that has managed to obtain free education for all.

In this chapter I will outline why I have carried out this study as well as present the research objectives.

1.1 Problem statement

From 1959 onwards, the Cuban state has had high expectations of its students. They should embody the ideals of the revolution, put their best foot forward and model their behavior on the guidelines set forth by the state. To this end, the state established a series of institutions and drafted a code of conduct that would socialize and control the students. The objectives were twofold: to foster a revolutionary personality and to develop a labor force which was considered of great importance to Cuba’s development (Fernández, 2000). In Fidel Castro’s words:

In the conditions under which we live, because of the problems that our country is facing, we must inculcate our youth with the spirit of discipline, of struggle, of work. In my opinion, everything that tends to promote in our youth the strongest possible spirit, activities related in some way with the defense of the country (Fernández, 2000, p. 88).

The narrative of civic education lies in Castro’s statement, where the revolutionary ideology is the students’ patriotic commitment to the state. They have to accept the problems of the country, and defend Cuba with discipline and work. In Cuba, education is mainly a part of the public sphere and is regulated by the state. This means that education is organized by the state in the way that it deems fitting for the majority of its citizens. The state holds the power to decide what knowledge is to be taught and what the official teachings and learnings shall be.

1.1 Objectives

The objective of this study is to explore the role of civic education in the formation of Cuban citizens. With the following research question, I wanted to explore the ideology of civic

education, the way it is practiced and in what way it has impacted students in Cuban classrooms.

A) What are the ideologies behind the educational policies in Cuba?

B) To what extent is civic education a contributor in the formation of the Cuban citizens? And is there coherence between the curriculum and the actual classroom teaching?

C) To what extent do the principles of the CGCE discourse exist in the development of “Good Cuban citizens in the classroom”?

D) To what extent are the students socialized to be patriots with a national identity?

2.0 The Cuban context

The purpose of this chapter is to present civic education in the Cuban context and briefly introduce Cuba's history, from pre-revolution to during and after the revolution. This is explored, in order to get an understanding of the underlying ideology in the educational sector which is important in the formation of the Cuban citizens. This brief introduction gives an understanding of and context for why the ideological framework in civic education is important for the socialist education of Cuban citizens. This chapter will first describe the period before and after the socialist revolution in 1959, in order to get insight into the educational policies that followed. After this presentation, I will look at the educational aspect and explain the concept of ideology and civic education.

2.1 From pre-revolution to embargo

To understand the meanings of the values that are taught in Cuba's civics classrooms it is crucial to remember the importance of history. Throughout this thesis, there will be a focus on the "values from the Revolution," but to understand the values of the Revolution it is important to have an image of the events in history leading up to it. This presentation does not give an in-depth account of the historical events in Cuba but will serve as an overview to highlight my questions.

Cuba has a legacy of colonialism, something which has led to distinct challenges to the reconstruction of Cubans' national identity. The previous foreign domination has highlighted the state's aim to portray the active efforts to establish independence and authority (Bellino & Williams, 2017). Cuba's fight for independence from colonial rule began as a struggle against the Spanish in 1868. The US involvement in Cuban affairs was sealed following the signing of an 1891 preferential trade agreement between the United States and Spain. As the revolution spread throughout Cuba, the struggle for independence grew into the 1898 Spanish-American War, with the US ultimately wresting control over Cuba away from the Spanish. Cuba gained independence from Spain, only to then be occupied by the US. During the Spanish invasion, the majority of the Native Americans were wiped out, but they have left their marks on Cuban culture (Bredlid, 2013a). In 1902, after four years of occupation, the US granted Cuba independence on the condition that the Platt Amendment be added to the Cuban constitution, which provisioned that the US should retain control over Cuba. The US gained special access to the Cuban market, and in the next thirty years the Cuban economy was under great stress, worsened under the Great Depression in 1930 (Roberg & Kuttruff, 2007). In 1933, reformist Ramón Grau was elected president of Cuba, and he openly rejected

the Platt Amendment and launched a number of reforms including strengthening women's rights, eight-hour workday, minimum wage, redistribution of publicly owned land and a requirement that Cubans constitute at least half of each firm's workforce. Grau's policies confronted both Cuban and US economic interests, and because of this the US was able to convince Fulgencio Batista, the army chief, to remove Grau. However, Batista demanded a high price for his assistance: the removal of the Platt Amendment. Even so, the US remained in control of the military bases (Roberg & Kuttruff, 2007). The pre-Castro era was marked by repressive leaders and heavy foreign involvement, which made the way for Castro and the rebels to be welcomed by the Cuban people. The Castro regime created a social contract with its people, and the regime promised to provide education, healthcare and racial, economic and political equality. In exchange, the Cuban people agreed to stay out of political affairs and to not oppose the regime (Roberg & Kuttruff, 2007). Jose Marí, was the forefather of the revolution with writings and impassionate speeches, which captured the spirit of the Cubans, and is still highly present in Cuba's ideology and society (Martí, 2007). The revolution promised a final break from the legacy of imperialism. However, the connection with the Soviet Union did not come without its own imperial effects (Griffiths, 2019). Initially, Castro claimed that the revolution was humanist rather than socialist or Marxist, and in 1959, private property was confiscated and redistributed, and all foreign and domestic enterprises and institutions were nationalized. The government took control over the media and religious institutions (Gordy, 2015). In 1960, a year after the revolution, President Eisenhower placed the first trade restrictions on exports to Cuba (Drain & Barry, 2010). In 1961, Castro proclaimed adherence to Marxism–Leninism, and following the adoption of this ideology, Castro employed the tactics of moral suasion, mass ideological education and indirect coercion, which would all be hallmarks of the regime. Also, during this time the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) were created, and the government encouraged volunteerism and the revolutionary idea of “conciencia”¹ (Gordy, 2015). Amongst the less supportive citizens, the government employed the CDR and other more coercive measures. As mentioned previously, the Castro regime promised to improve economic equality, redistribute land, reduce rent and place a cap on utilities, improve healthcare, and increase literacy among the populace. When it comes to living conditions, healthcare and education, it was substantially better than pre-revolution (Roberg & Kuttruff, 2007). In February 1962, President Kennedy imposed a trade embargo due to Cuba's ties to the Soviet Union. In 1963,

¹ “Conciencia” is a notion of consciousness of a national identity and refers to the fact that Cuba was independent and no longer subservient to an outside colonizer (Roberg & Kuttruff, 2007).

the embargo effectively also banned traveling and prohibited any transactions with Cuba. The Cuban economy faced difficulties, especially with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, which brought Cuba into economic instability. The government declared a “Special Period in Time of Peace” to face the national emergency (Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, & Smorkaloff, 2003). The system was weakened by “the special period,” and it put an increasing demand on services. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba was forced to rethink its agricultural policy, as 80 percent of pesticides, fertilizer and oil were lost, and they had to use new low-cost and environmentally-friendly agricultural techniques (Breidlid, 2013a). This made the Cuban agricultural techniques some of the most efficient in the world. The people, however, still faced a lot of difficulties. The impact of this special period forced Cuba to re-define socialism for the post-Soviet period (Griffiths, 2019). The loss of Soviet aid caused extreme conditions: shortages of household supplies, food and regular and prolonged electricity blackouts, and the state rationed electricity across the country as the supply of Soviet oil ended (Griffiths, 2019, p. 243). The period made the Cuban government adopt a dual currency system in 1993, first by recognizing and legalizing US dollars as a second currency alongside the Cuban Peso (CUP) and by creating a convertible Peso (CUC) as the legal second currency. The state sector and professional employees received their wages in CUP, but a majority of consumer goods were only accessible with CUC. This contributed to an inversion of the social values and hierarchies, as people engaged in unskilled work in the tourism industry, where they could earn a month’s salary in one day (Griffiths, 2019). In 2015, President Obama announced that the US would ease the restrictions on trade and travel with Cuba, but the economic embargo is still maintained to this day.

2.2 Ideology

In education, it is not a question of whether or not ideology should be taught, but which ideology should be taught (Apple, 2004). In working on this thesis, one of my questions has been: Which ideology is the focus in Cuban education, promoted by the government? Gordy (2015) points out that one problem with the ideological analytical distinction, is that lived ideologies do not fit into clear categories. The principles of an ideology will form and emerge out of history and history will shape and help to understand it. The two revolutionary periods in Cuban history have served as a basis for Cuban ideology. Some critics argue that socialism was a betrayal of Cuban revolutionary history, and others who defend the revolution in 1959 use the same history to give socialism legitimacy as an indigenous ideology, contrary to the Marxism–Leninism imported from abroad (Gordy, 2015).

The ideology in Cuba is not necessarily straightforward. In the beginning of the revolution, the Castro regime did not front the Marxist–Leninist ideology. However, they did promote socialist values, such as: equality, free health facilities, education for all and equal opportunities. Smith (2016) states that in its 50 years of power, the revolutionary government has demonstrated, amongst others, a Soviet-Style, Marxist-Leninist ideology, with a socialist agenda. However, the Marxist-Leninist term was not used before 1961, and was developed from existing nationalist codes. The interesting factor was that during the revolution and the few years after, the Castro government avoided the connection to Marxist–Leninist ideology. When the connection was made, the strong relationship with the Soviet Union got confirmed. And there has been a commitment to the protection and the furtherance of Cuban independence, and especially a rejection of US imperialism (Smith, 2016). The Cuban government has always pursued a socialist agenda, and there has been a clear goal of dedicated pursuance of basic humanizing conditions, with equal rights for all, sufficient food (provided by the *liberta* ration book), guaranteed housing, high-quality health care and free education. The ideal is associated with “cubanidad” (Cubanness) and the teachings of José Martí (Smith, 2016). Blum (2010) highlights that the response of the Cuban people to their government is crucial to cultivating and maintaining “conciencia,” in order to reproduce and perpetuate socialism. Ernesto “Che” Guevara used the term when he formulated his ideas about moral incentives, and for him “conciencia” meant more than “consciousness” or “awareness”. “Conciencia” was created through education with explicit political goals and participation in revolutionary activities, and involved a commitment to action (Blum, 2010, p. 5). Blum (2010) further explains that Fidel Castro defined “conciencia” as, “an attitude of struggle, dignity, principles, and revolutionary morale” (Blum, 2010, p. 5). Kapcia (Kapcia, 2000) defines “cubania” as “the teleological belief in ‘cubanidad’” (p. 6), which draws on a history of struggle, typified by Martí, in which various codes and values of society, including activism, culturalism, moralism, youthism and ruralism. This is understood to be a natural destiny for the Cuban people. The ideology had a radical dissenting tradition, embodied in the “cubania” branch, which refers to the “cubania rebelde” and entails a strong understanding of the troubles in the pre-revolution Cuba. The troubles of the country were not the result of efforts within the country but of a distorting influence of external forces (Kapcia, 2000). In Cuba, the lived life with the socialist ideology depends not solely on the Cuban state’s espousal of its official ideology, or even on the fact that the state’s version of this ideology is disseminated and dominates in officially sanctioned public discourse and in the ideological state apparatuses. Cubans are living the ideology, they live in socialism because Cuba is a

one-party state ruled by the communist party, the economy is centrally planned, and the government policies have often, but not always, been guided by socialist principles. They live it because it has become hegemonic (Gramsci & Østerling Nielsen, 1973). The cultural effects supports the status quo, and the dominant class is in control. Cultural domination by the state, reinforce the power with what is communicated to the people, and the images that is presented. It is exercised in the cultural dominance. Gordy (2015) writes that the more counterhegemonic an ideology is the harder it will be to confirm it. The explanation of the ideology and its practices will only be determined by the counterhegemonic ideology. Even if socialist ideology is hegemonic at the national level in Cuba, it can continue to be counterhegemonic at the international level. The living ideology is not simply a question of behaving in accordance with the ideological commandments, but it involves believing in the fundamental values of the core principles that constitutes the ideology. To live an ideology is both to negotiate in the society where choice is limited, but also to re-conceptualize that ideology as one encounters particular sets of conditions.

2.3 Cuba's educational background

In Cuba, public education for all has been a part of the political agenda. After 1959 and the revolution in Cuba, Fidel Castro became the prime minister, and tuition free education for all became a top priority. Before the revolution, Cuba struggled with corruption, high social differences and a tremendous racial divide. After the revolution, it was a clear goal and commitment that only through education could Cuba recover from the massive social differences, poverty and underdevelopment. The high investments in the educational sector, with a vision of achieving equity and empowerment through education, together with health-care facilities and social services, made the system one of the best in the world by the 1980s and 1990s (Carnoy, 2007). Since the revolution of 1959, the socializing and idealizing function of education has been at the heart of all policy. The decision to make education a resource priority means that its system yields tangible outcomes comparable with those of “developed” neoliberal economies (Smith, 2016). In this context, the two codes of education and moralism were basic to the revolution's self-image and the experience of reform and empowerment. 1961 was named “the year of education” in Cuban history (Breidlid, 2007). This is on the basis of the massive literacy campaign the government conducted, with 200,000 voluntaries who with great success managed to make the population literate. However, even before the literacy campaign, a massively increased investment went into educational

expansion, and the belief in education as a key to Cuba's future was ingrained in the process long before socialism and Soviet-influenced models (Kapcia, 2006). Already in 1961, UNESCO declared Cuba a "territory free from illiteracy" (Bredlid, 2013). Between 1969 and 1988, Cuba had a large growth in the number of students in school, as the government fulfilled the promises of the revolution. The student-teacher ratio went from 27:1 to 12:1 (Aguirre & Vichot, 1998) (Roberg & Kuttruff, 2007) (Carnoy, 2007). To maintain this ratio, and to ensure enough teachers, the government permitted individuals without university degrees to teach, and it redefined the teaching profession to pre-university level, which meant that university students were permitted to teach, if they had the right knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and other relevant subjects (Aguirre & Vichot, 1998). Today the literacy is at a stable 99.8 percent, there is tuition-free and compulsory education from 1st-10th grade, and the quality of the education is world leading in relation to student achievements. The literacy levels underline the fact that Cuba's education system is incredible successful. On the other hand, not much attention has been paid to the philosophical structure underpinning this system; the idea that education can be more effective, meaningful and successful if it is informed, accompanied and guided by an appropriate values or belief system. The Cuban revolution, building on the educational values of José Martí, has been and still is a big part of the educational presence in Cuba's citizenship education.

2.3.1 Educating citizens

UNESCO (1990) defines citizenship education as "*educating children, from early childhood, to become clear thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society.*" In addition, UNESCO highlights a focus on Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in response to the increasing violations of human rights, inequality and poverty in the world. "GCE works by empowering all learners to understand that these are global issues and to become active promoters of more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable societies" (UNESCO). Ross (2001) underlines that there is an agreement that the appropriate term for social studies is citizenship education, when most social studies educators justify the subject on the grounds of citizenship. However, he states that there is no consensus on what *citizenship* means, or the implications of democratic citizenship for curriculum and instruction. *Citizenship education*, in the Cuban context, promotes a state with an ideological agenda, therefore it is important to notice what types of knowledges that are taught in school and consider the epistemology base in the organization of the education. Cuba has for a long time tried to create citizens that share a social purpose and value system. By trying to do that, the society, the teachers, the curricula and school textbooks need to follow the value system

(Apple, 2004). Smith (2016) explains that social norms and citizenship education in Cuba is taught through civic education. The reproduction of the social norms is affected through processes of the themes in the curriculum and the attitudes, behaviors and purpose of the education. Dawley-Carr (Dawley-Carr, 2015) emphasizes in her dissertation, *Citizenship Education in Cuba*, that since the 1959 revolution, the state has outlined an official narrative of ideal citizenship. State-sponsored civic norms that draw on a socialist ideology of egalitarianism, communitarianism and moral values are not only included in political documents but are also purposefully honored throughout Cuba's many public institutions. These civic norms are meant to align across public and private spheres, and they cohere with citizenship ideals stemming from the revolution. The Cuban Revolution created and nurtured an education system designed to reproduce its values and, thereby, its social and political structures (Smith, 2016). Within social-structural contexts, there is considerable leeway to make organizational choices, and the state-generated social capital is crucial to the way the school system is organized, and it is also important for the quality of the curriculum (Carnoy, 2007). In western so-called democracy, freedom of speech is highlighted, taught and practiced in school. Trial elections are an ongoing practice in primary, middle and high school. Our science-based ontology makes it almost impossible to understand and accept a different view. In Cuba, however, they have, after the revolution in 1959, carried out a clear vision for the Cuban citizens. Inclusive nationalism is a definition of what it means to be a Cuban citizen, in a nation that is based on inclusion rather than exclusion (Gordy, 2015). *Cubania* (Cubanness) is defined by what people have in common rather than what distinguishes them from others. Gordy (2015) highlights that placing inclusive nationalism together with socioeconomic equality also points to the importance of creating the conditions that facilitate a common sense of identity. Being Cuban is not about abstract equality (we are equal because we are Cuban) but about actual equality (we are Cuban because everyone is equal, because our lives are materially lived in a similar way, and because we share common experiences) (Gordy, 2015).

2.4 Civic education

Civic education can be a slippery term. In the process of investigating my field of interests in Cuba, I went through a moral education, values education, and citizenship education, realizing that the term I was looking for, at least in Cuba, is civic education. In other countries, it has different names, like democratic education, but for obvious reasons this is not the name in Cuba. In *Making Civics Count* (2012) Campell explains that Cuba has provided a working definition of civic education as "the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experience to prepare

someone to be an active, informed participant in democratic life (p. 8).” However, this definition does not apply directly to Cuba, as it is not democratic, so in this context I will be using “the knowledge, skills, attitudes and experience to prepare someone to be an active, informed participant in daily life.” The Cuban state has from 1959 expected its students to embody the ideal of the revolution. And the state has established a series of institutions and drafted a code of conduct to socialize and control the students based on guidelines set forth by the state. The objective was twofold: to foster a revolutionary personality and to develop a labor force, which was considered of great importance to Cuba’s development (Fernández, 2000). In Fidel Castro’s words:

In the conditions under which we live, because of the problems that our country is facing, we must inculcate our youth with the spirit of discipline, of struggle, of work. In my opinion, everything that tends to promote in our youth the strongest possible spirit, activities related in some way with the defense of the country (Fernández, 2000, p. 89).

The Cuban school paradigm, after the revolution, comprised the teaching and learning but also the becoming; the formation of persons whose collective and personal identities were nationally and ideologically specific. The presentation of citizenship education through civic education as a discrete subject tends to treat values education as an adjunct to the core business of education where the ideological development of a new nation is significant, because it highlights the importance of citizenship education as a process for state formation (Kapcia, 2005). Moral values are not only included in political documents, they are also purposefully honored throughout civic education and other efforts by the Cuban state. These civic norms are meant to align across public and private spheres, and they cohere with citizenship ideals stemming from the revolution. The Cuban school paradigm emphasizes the formation of persons whose collective and personal identities are nationally and ideologically specific (Smith, 2016). In Cuba, education is mainly a part of the public sphere and is regulated by the state, and it is organized in the way the state deem fitting for the majority of its citizens. The state holds the power to decide what knowledge is taught and what the official teachings and learnings are. The subject *educación cívica* (civic education) was not introduced into the Cuban school curriculum until 1992, but the lack of a formal subject should not be taken to suggest that moral and political training were not crucial to schooling and to the whole development of the revolution (Smith, 2016). In Cuba, civic education is a subject from primary school to the end of secondary school. “The world we live in” is the

subject in primary school. Here the aim is that the student realize the aspect of the political- and social life in the society, as a part of their citizens education. Another part of the subject is early morning activities and visits to historical places. In the second part of primary school, 5th–6th grade, the students have the formal subject “Education Civica – how to be a good citizen”, which continues into secondary school. In the universities, civic education is called “extension affairs,” which includes sports, culture, history and debates. The formation of Cuban citizens is incorporated through civic education, which extends on the notion of a taught “Ideology.”

2.4.1 The work-study principle

The work-study principle is fundamental to the process of forming the new socialist citizens. Innovation in educational programs sought to create the new socialist (wo) man, and it included combining work, productions, and study. This emphasized the study of socially useful subjects and incorporated voluntary labor, stressing moral rewards and cooperative study (Blum, 2010). The subjects’ aim to eliminate the contradiction between the school and society, to prepare the students for the socialist life (Smith, 2016). The work-study principle combines academic work (mental) and physical labor (manual) on a regular basis. The manual activities take different forms at different grade levels, from school maintenance, participation in recycling programs, attending woodshops or sewing, and working in the community garden to intensive weeks of living and working in the countryside, performing agricultural labor. Students undertake “socially useful work” several times a week, for a few hours, except the secondary students, who go for their weeks-long stint of agricultural work in the countryside (Blum, 2010). Through these work activities, which students from kindergarten to university participate in, the Cuban government hopes to communicate the equal importance of all professions, eliminate class stereotypes, encourage empathy, solidarity, and foster “a love for work” and a devotion to “la patria” (Blum, 2010, p. 9). The work-study subject is, alongside civic education, a contributor to the formation of the Cuban citizens in serving the objectives of the revolutionary society. Both subjects function as an expression of the Cuban ideology in education.

2.5 The present situation in Cuba

Since Raúl Castro left office recently, the leaders of the revolution of 1959 no longer have any position of power in the government of Cuba. The new head of state, Miguel Díaz-Canel, was, as many others in the remaining government, born after the revolution. This change in

leadership does not however guarantee a new course for Cuba, neither economically nor politically.

Díaz-Canel's promise to the old leaders is "continuity," which is probably one of the reasons why he was selected to take over the "throne". Raúl Castro, who took over as leader ten years ago after Fidel, promised economic reforms inspired by "market socialism" in China and Vietnam. This created a new hope for the Cuban youth and optimism for change in Cuban society. This also laid the foundation of President Obama's visit in March 2016. However, only a month after the proposal of a new economic system, the new reform was put on hold, apparently following Fidel's last warning that opening up the society would mean the fall of the communist party (Bye, 2021).

The coronavirus pandemic, painful financial reforms and restrictions re-imposed by the Trump administration have again brought food queues and shortages reminiscent of the "special period" that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. But unlike past crises that brought Cubans together, concern is now on the rise, fueled by the spread of the Internet and a growing inequality that has laid bare the troubles of the socialist system (Rodriguez, 2021).

The difference from the "special period" is that some of the youth no longer want lack of commodities and a future with no hope. With the charismatic Fidel Castro gone, there is no one who are able to pick up the pieces and calm down the public. The combination of the Cuban economic crisis and the regime's identity dissolving has led to different protests amongst the youth in the cities. Instead of reaching out to these groups, the state calls the protesters "tools of imperialists" (Bye, 2021).

The new leaders of the party consist of no people from the opposition, nor from the private sector of the economy or anyone from the growing internet sector. The old generals are out, but younger generals have taken over the leadership of the state apparatus. The Prime Minister, Manuel Marrero Cruz, is potentially a person who could introduce new economic reform, but it is unlikely that the rest of the state apparatus would consent (Bye, 2021).

Cuba is dependent on getting a better relationship with the USA, and there is hope with Joe Biden as the new president. However, Biden has to take into consideration that many Cubans in Florida want to see real change in Cuba before there is an easing of the embargo. "Beyond trying to alleviate Cuba's severe humanitarian conditions by removing remittance and travel restrictions, the Biden administration is likely to be very cautious in re-engaging Cuba," said

Michael Shifter, president of Inter-American Dialogue in Washington. “The potential political costs of doing so are just much higher than the benefits (Rodriguez, 2021)”.

After the 2021 congress, the Cubans need to choose between a new reform process or a status quo that is doomed to fail. Instead of restarting this process, it looks like the communist party is repeating the old, outdated slogan “Patria O Muerte” – Homeland or Death – while the youths are yelling “Patria y Vida” – Homeland and Life (Bye, 2021).

2.5.1 Dual currency

Since 1994, foreigners in Cuba have mainly used the Convertible Cuban Peso, or CUC, linked to the dollar, while locals have mainly used the much weaker Cuban Peso. A change took effect from January 1, 2021, when it was decided that the CUC would be removed from circulation in June. This is meant to give hope to the citizens, as it will put the country on a sounder footing “to go ahead with the transformations that we need to update our economic and social model,” according to Díaz-Canel in a televised speech, accompanied by former president Raúl Castro (Rodriguez, 2021).

The socialist economy has been hurt by the slump in income from tourism brought on by the pandemic, and it was already suffering under the US embargo. The unification of the currencies is part of a wider reform package which the government has also said will include modification of salaries, prices and subsidies (Fieser, 2021).

Díaz-Canel stated that the end of the dual currency system will guarantee social justice and equality for Cuban citizens. The government claim this will help bring in foreign investments to the country, but the reform has been put on the table several times, and, as with most reforms, has not been put into practice. The economic and political situation in Cuba is therefore not very promising in the foreseeable future (NTB, 2020).

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented an overview of the historical events of Cuba that are important in relation to civic education. The historical events leading up to the revolution, resulting in the Castro regime and the blockade from the USA, are still highly relevant in the Cuban state today. The ideology in the Cuban society has its roots in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with an emphasis on social values. The core principles of “cubania” are a part of the daily life and present in the Cuban education system. The literacy campaign initiated by the

Castro government set the foundation for this system. Today, there are no Castros left in government, and the new leader Miguel Díaz-Canel was born after the revolution. There are a lot of challenges present, and evolving, in Cuban society. It will be interesting to see if the government will implement some of the changes that they have continuously stated that they are going to, and if the youth will have any influence in the rise of the new social media.

3.0 Research methodology

Since this study aims to explore the ideological formation of the Cuban student in civic education, and since there was a possibility to do fieldwork for six weeks, it seemed most suitable to conduct a qualitative case study. A case study strives to portray “what it is really like” to be in a particular situation and to catch the reality, rich detail and “thick descriptions” (Clifford Geertz, 1973) of participants’ lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for a situation. It involves looking at a case, or phenomenon, in its real-life context, usually employing many types of data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018, p. 377). In this study I ended up with a multiple case study, where I looked into the specifics of civic education in two different schools. I used interviews and document analysis to get more detailed insights, in addition to the observations. Cohen et al. (2018, p. 377) points out:

A key feature of a case study is its rejection of a single reality, rather, there are multiple realities operating in a situation, and the researcher’s view and interpretation is only one of many. Indeed, the researcher has a duty to address reflexivity and to address or report others’, for example, participants view on the case in question.

This case study combines several qualitative methods to fully capture the ideology behind civic education in the two schools in Havana. Prior to the fieldwork, there were many important aspects I had to carefully consider. How would I be able to get the data that I wanted in order to answer my problem statement, and what was the right method to achieve the answers? I was aware that in the field I would be likely to meet different challenges and realized early that even though the research was well planned, it could end up going in another direction. I ended up using a multi-method approach, as it employs more than one method or source of data, and this made it possible to cross-check information and, to a certain extent, ensure the reliability and validity of the data (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 275). This study utilizes participant observation, qualitative interviews, drawings and document analysis. These methods generate rich and in-depth descriptions of the civic education. My methodological framework consisted of collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data in a systematic and thorough way with an open mind towards the data. The methods can help us to understand how we should go about doing research and figure out if our assumptions correlate with real life or not (Desai & Potter, 2006). In this chapter, I will present the methodology I used in my research. The chapter contains both the methodological assumptions of the research and the methods employed during the fieldwork in Cuba, from September 20th until 4th of November.

3.1 Access to the field

When going to Cuba for fieldwork, one gets “well-meaning” advice from academics, stating that this is a difficult country to conduct research in. Breidlid (2013b) states that in many ways conducting fieldwork in Cuba may be more difficult than in many African countries, since participants are not comfortable with sharing information. I only had the opportunity to stay for six weeks, so my time there was limited. I understood that I had to depend on getting appointments before I went there, which made it even more important for me to establish a gatekeeper prior to my arrival in Cuba. Cohen et al. (2018) highlights that gatekeepers might provide or block access. They might modify or steer the course of the research, possibly in the direction of their own interest (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 123). As I was warned, this was not to be an easy task. After a while and a lot of mail correspondence with researchers in Cuba, I realized that my only hope to get any information on my subject in this short amount of time was to get an academic visa. Then a new problem reared its head, when it turned out that in order for me to get an academic visa, I had to be invited to a school, and no school would make contact with me without an academic visa. It was a loop that I was not certain how I would solve. After a lot of emails and getting shut down, I tried to contact someone my supervisor had introduced me to and that had not come through previously. This person introduced me, by email, to the president of the pedagogical organization, which later gave me an internship. After sending in the objectives of my study, and a lot of back-and-forth correspondence, I was officially invited to the pedagogical organization’s international seminar from October 4–7, 2019. The president of the organization could also assure me that he would help me with all that I needed in order for me to write my thesis. The letter of invitation from the pedagogical organization was enough to get me the academic visa at the Cuban embassy in Oslo. It is clear that gaining access to the field and establishing a network of informants and gatekeepers is difficult and require hard work and therefore might need multiple negotiations (Cohen et al., 2018), as my experience clearly illustrates. However, with the academic visa, I tried some of the contacts that had rejected me previously, and I got an appointment with a Norwegian researcher that was going to introduce me to the university on my first Monday in Havana. My field trip looked all planned now, although I still had in the back of my mind that my appointment with the pedagogical organization was two weeks after my arrival and might not go through as I wanted. I was therefore open to the fact that I had to split my research into unofficial and official research.

3.2 Methods for qualitative research

Doing qualitative research provides one with an understanding of people's lived life, their attitudes, meanings, behaviors, and it gives those who participate a voice (Cohen et al., 2018). This study uses a qualitative research approach and is inductive in the sense that theory is generated from research (Bryman, 2016). Rather than generate new theory, the intention of this particular study is to contribute to the already existing pool of knowledge in the field of civic education in Cuba. The inductive approach makes it possible to generate "thick descriptions" (Clifford Geertz, 1973). The understanding of why someone acts in a certain way and interacts using certain kinds of symbols is, according to Geertz (1973), connected to culture. I wanted to get an understanding of civic education in the classroom, but also understand the background of civic education and why it is relevant in Cuban society, the meanings, intentions and how it is relevant in social interactions. Therefore, fieldwork is an important method for data collection when one studies other cultures and ways of life and education. Qualitative research is described as constructionist, which "implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between the individuals, rather than phenomena out there, and separate from those involved in its construction" (Bryman, 2016, p. 266). This shows that it was a good option for me to study civic education, as the students, teachers and society are all part of the social interactions within the social phenomena of civic education. In addition, qualitative data can contribute to communicate experiences and complex social relations in an explicit way (Johannessen, Christoffersen, & Tufte, 2016). The goal of all research is to understand different phenomena, and in the process of understanding the phenomena, a clear system is necessary (Cohen et al., 2018). It is important to be able to see the world from the informant's perspective and develop a contact with the interviewee to make sure the informant is comfortable in the situation. Dedication and a functional systematic approach is important in the qualitative field. The systematic approach in qualitative research is about gaining a sample from a random starting point, but with a fixed periodic interval, in relation to the society surrounding the sample. The sampling interval is then processed and analyzed, with the surrounding influences. Contrary to the systematic approach, it is spontaneous, as not all discoveries can be planned for systematically, and some data can come suddenly and unexpectedly (Thagaard, 2013). However, the systematic approach is important in order to display the decisions made in the research process. As Cohen et al. (2018) states: "[...] the systematic approach concerns to doing research with people and communities rather than doing research to or for people and communities" (p. 37). This is in line with Bryman (2016), who argues that "[...] the systematic approach helps the

understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of the world, by its participants” (p. 266). Hence, the interpretation of civics by Cubans, by educators, is viewed in this study as an attempt to promote the ideology of the state through civic education. This is in line with Campbell (as cited in Cohen et al. 2018, p. 37), who says that participatory research can be understood as a reaction to those western researchers who have adopted a top-down approach in order to work with local communities. However, I did not manage to stay within the paradigm of “participatory research,” so therefore my framework is a case study. I am not interested in pointing out what is right or wrong about Cuba’s civic education, but to investigate it as a case with a focus on to what degree ideology is taught and what impact it has on the emerging citizens of Cuba.

3.2.1 The informants

Teacher 101, from Havana, is an English teacher in her 50s who was embarrassed to talk English with me, but my translator helped her along the way. She had a few classes that she taught at school, but mainly her function was practical, functioning as an assistant to the principal. My first interview was with her. She insisted on reading my questionnaire, and it did not really work as a proper interview, but she had some interesting views. One can say she was a knowledgeable person on civic education. Knowledgeable people are defined by Cohen et al. (2018) as persons who have in-depth knowledge about the particular topic. Teacher 102 is a 32-year-old teacher from Bayamo, Granma, Cuba, who moved to Havana for better job opportunities. He lives in shared housing with other teachers from the south on the outskirts of Havana. He became a teacher because he wants to share his knowledge, and he loves to teach. He is well aware of his role as a teacher and had no problem answering any of my questions. He is a member of the communist party and is in the process of doing his master in human resources. Teacher 103 is a 24-year-old teacher from Havana. She taught the 5th grade in every subject, including my subject of interest, civic education. She told me that she did not intend to become a teacher, but after having pedagogical practice, she wanted to continue. Although she struggled with answering some questions, she was calm and prepared in the classes I observed. President 104 has been the president of the organization I was invited to for 20 years. He travels around Cuba to join different seminars and is working on a project on civic education. He shared his knowledge and gave me a lot of information about civic education and Cuban history. Teacher trainer 105 has worked as a teacher trainer for more than 30 years. She is not directly linked to civic education, but she had interesting views on how education contributes to form Cuban citizens. History teacher 106 is a professor, and I

unfortunately only shared a brief conversation with him. He brought up some interesting perspectives that I want to use. He was retired, but he was brought back to work as an observer and counselor for new teachers in a secondary school in Havana. Students, 9th grade, 201–205, were all in the same grade that I observed. They were from 13–14 years of age and lived in the same area. One of them had gone to a primary school in another district, but the four others had been together since primary school. Student 205 was the president of the student council and a true patriot who had no trouble with answering questions in English. I made an effort to interview several of the students in 5th grade, but my questions were too general, so it was difficult for them to answer, except for one who had a lot to say about the matter. I could have rearranged my questions, as I was in the class for a long time, but I decided to go for a homework assignment as a means of getting information from the students in 5th grade. They had homework where they had to explain to someone from another country what it means to be a Cuban citizen. My last informant, 301, is a former employee in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the Cuban government. She is an intriguing woman in her 70s, who is a former *Damas de blanco*. This was an opposition movement which protested against the government's imprisonment of their husbands or relatives in the main street of Havana. I had many interesting, long conversations with her, and some might be relevant for my assignment. Although I might not use a lot of her quotes, she has given me a different and valuable view of Cuban society. I had another interesting conversation with two teacher students at the first school where I observed. They were 17 years old, next year they will be English teachers, and we could not have a conversation in English, so my translator helped. They informed me that they did not want to be teachers but wanted to work in the tourism industry.

3.2.2 The schools

I decided to pretend that I did not know about the restrictions about foreigners entering schools without an invitation, so I got some help to locate the nearest school to where I lived. I observed civic education in a 5th grade every Thursday for six weeks. The school was in a nice neighborhood, and from what I had seen from the rest of Havana, the school was well kept. These interviews could be categorized as a convenience sampling, since the informants were selected according to their proximity to the researcher, as it was the school I first was looking for, and it was in my neighborhood (Cohen et al., 2018).



In front of the second school, behind the gates. Inside the gates, is the bust of José Martí, who is in every school in Cuba and all over Havana (Picture by: Hege Andresen).

The class I observed was a 5th grade class with 28 students. The classroom was located in a building at the back of the school. They had a 24-year-old teacher, who had been their teacher since 2nd grade.



The second school, where I conducted my official research, organized by the pedagogical organization (Picture by: Hege Andresen).

I also observed a 9th grade in a school in the Kohly district of Havana, which was where I conducted my official research organized by the pedagogical organization. The president of the organization followed me the first day and provided me with a translator. However, the

two next Tuesdays the president was not present, so students in the class translated for me, which worked as well as any other translator.

3.2.3 Qualitative interviews



Interview with the 9th grade teacher, to the right, and translator to the left
(Picture: Hege Andresen).

Qualitative interviews are about entering a dialog with humans to collect data that can give answers to a problem or phenomena (Cohen et al., 2018). Qualitative interviews involves a meeting between different people, from different backgrounds, norms and values. In the interview setting, the context and relations are important elements of the knowledge that develops (Kvale, 2009).

Qualitative interviews are often classified as either exploitative or descriptive, unstructured, constructivist or postmodern interviews (Kvale, 2009). In their approach they can be structured, with an interview form that is precise and followed throughout the interview, and the same approach is used in every interview. I wanted my thesis to reflect the object of the interview and have the ability to ask unplanned follow-up questions, so my approach was a semi-structured interview. In open semi-structured interviews I wanted to find out about the interviewee's world and try to understand it from another viewpoint. A semi-structured interview is close to an everyday conversation, but it has a deeper purpose that needs a specific approach (Kvale, 2009). The last form of approach is an open interview, which did not fit my intentions, as I had clear topics I wanted the interviewee's perspectives on, and I wanted to have themes with some of the same questions towards my interviewees. A weakness of semi-structured qualitative interviews is the looseness of the approach, which makes it difficult to compare with other interviews or other sources. In a more structured form

of data collection, like a questionnaire or a structured interview, the informant's answer will be easier to compare with a specific topic (Kvale, 2009). However, this method would not give me access to a detailed description, which is important for me to answer my problem statement about how civic education is a contributor in the formation of Cuban citizens. I thought that the interviewees' perceptions would present themselves best if they could attend a semi-structured interview (Johannessen et al., 2016). As any method, interviews also have some downsides, and the biggest concern is representativeness and accuracy, especially when interviewing a small group (Desai & Potter, 2006). It is argued by Willis (Desai & Potter, 2006) and Cohen et al. (Cohen et al., 2018) that the interviewee may tell the interviewer what she thinks is the "correct answer" and it may be difficult to determine whether they are telling the truth. In my case it was quite clear that my informants fit into both types of interviewees suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (2019): those who are restricted and sensitive to the topics, and those who willingly reveal information. According to Hammersley and Atkinson, the aim is then to target those who have the knowledge needed and who are willing to communicate it. Even though this is hard to achieve for all the interviewees, as some interviewees are more restricted and sensitive, this was still the goal for my sample. I had qualitative interviews with 9 informants. In addition, I had semi-structured interviews with two teacher students and small interviews with 20 5th graders. Of this, 5 were in an interview setting with a translator present, and 5 was in a group interview where one of the informants operated as a translator. Two of these interviews were with civics teachers, one was with the president of the pedagogical organization, and one was with a teacher trainer. The interviews had a duration of 60–90 minutes. The reason for me to choose interviews as one of my methods is that I wanted to get an in-depth understanding of civic education and to see how the interviews enlightened me in relation to the other sources. Doing qualitative research gives you an understanding of people's lived life, their attitudes, meanings, behaviors, and it gives a voice to those who participate (Cohen et al., 2018), which is one of the main issues of this research.

3.2.4 Group interviews

I wanted to avoid group interviews since the literature stated that the interviewees would be guided by each other (Johannessen et al., 2016). However, when the president of the organization arranged for me to interview students, all five came at once, so I chose to go along with it. Arksey and Knight (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 527) suggest that when there is more than one interviewee present, you can get two versions of events, or a cross check, where one

complements the other with additional points, leading to a more complete view of events. On the other hand, one respondent can dominate the interview. I experienced both situations in the group interview I had with the 9th grade students. One of the students, the student council president, was the only one who spoke English, so he also functioned as a translator for the others. The group nodded when someone said something they agreed with or when they approved of one of the other's statements. However, the student's council president was definitely the one leading the show. It was interesting to see that they often had the same experiences – or lack of experiences. I might have gained more information, if the student's council president had not been so vocal in the group, or if the others had not stated, "I agree with the previous." But it was time-saving, as Cohen et al. explains (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 527): "Group interviews are often more time-saving than individual interviews." The literature also argues that the interviewees can influence the focus group interview when it comes to what is communicated and who communicates it (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). However, the interviewers' job as a moderator will be difficult, and there is a danger of assuming that group interviews reflects the informants' individual life. Last, but not least, the interviewer's assumptions, beliefs and biases may ultimately impact the outcome of the interview (Desai & Potter, 2006).

3.2.5 Participant observation



The picture up and to the left shows the 5th grade classroom. Pictures 2 and 3 show the 5th grade class I observed (Picture by: Hege Andresen).

Observation has the potential to yield more valid data than is the case with mediated or inferential methods (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 196). To get a picture of the social interactions, as well as the academic expectations and achievements in the schools, I conducted structured observations inside the civics classrooms. The purpose was to observe teachers and students in their natural environment and also the class, their behavior and the civics teachings. There are different forms of participation in observation; my case is represented by “observer-as-participant,” since I was identified by the group as a foreign researcher, did not have much contact with the group and was mainly taking notes about what was happening (Cohen et al., 2018). I tried to take notes during classes, but my translator was not always willing, and when she was not present, I wrote observations on the reactions and engagement of the students. I also had the opportunity to record videos. Cohen et al. (2018) argues that all forms of observation are somehow participatory as we become a part of the world we study in one way or another. They also classify the different roles a researcher may have in observation and what they list as the “observer-as-participant” (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 457), which describes my role during the fieldwork. As an outsider who participated in some, but not all, activities and has a clear role as researcher, I was first an observer. In participant observation, the members of the social setting are aware of the researcher’s role (Bryman, 2016). My informants paid some attention to me, in the beginning of the class, but after a short while, their attention was towards the teacher. The teacher did a good job in directing them, and I was sitting at the back of the classroom and tried to be as invisible as possible. However, the students were still aware of my presence, and I cannot know to what degree my presence influenced the teaching, their attention or their interaction.

3.2.6 Document analysis

I have applied document analysis to explore Cuba’s educational policies when it comes to civics education. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing and evaluating documents. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Cohen et al., 2018). The policy documents I analyzed, were the constitution of Cuba (2019), the civics curriculum for 5th (2014) and 9th grade (2009), the student’s civics assignments and the 5th grade textbook (2014) in civic education. I looked at the documents in relation to their connection to the ideological element in civic education and what guidelines they promoted for the students to be a good Cuban citizens. “The primary

documents” (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 325) were not easy to access, but I had several moments of good luck. The 5th grade teacher allowed me to take a picture of the whole civics textbook (2014), the curriculum and the student’s workbook. In my last interview, the 9th grade teacher gave me a copy of the new constitution (2019), the 9th grade curriculum (2009) and many other books related to civic education and teacher preparation. Unfortunately, I did not have the capacity to go through everything he gave me but focused on the constitution and the curriculum. The 9th grade textbook was being revised; the teacher did not use it for his classes, so I did not go through it. The organization also provided me with documents from MINED about their research on civic education, which is a continuous focus in Cuba. The documents supplemented and verified my research data, and the information gained was a valuable addition to the knowledge base.

3.2.7 Analyzing data

This section describes the process of data analysis, which gradually began when I started to collect data in Cuba. In qualitative research there is no single way to do data analysis, however it is done to make sense of data in terms of the participants’ definition of the situation, noting patterns, categories and regularities (Cohen et al., 2018).

To analyze the data from my case study in Havana, I use grounded theory as a basis of my analysis. Grounded theory is, according to Cohen et al. (2018, p. 599), intended to “build and generate theory rather than to test an existing theory.” A grounded theory approach therefore seeks to derive theory from the systematically gathered and analyzed data. Nevertheless, existing theories and literature has been added to comprehend and explain the findings presented in chapter 5.

In the data analyzing process, I used a coding procedure, which includes open, axial and selective coding. Open coding breaks the data apart and delineates concepts that represent blocks of raw data (Corbin, 2008, p. 195). In the open coding, I named and categorized themes found in my data, and then I used “axial coding” to “integrate codes around the axes of central categories” (Ezzy, cited in Cohen et al., 2018, p. 493). Selective coding was employed to identify a core code, then the relationship between the core code and other codes were explored, before the categories and codes were compared with existing theory and literature within the field of civic education in Cuba (Cohen, 2018). In this process, some categories were cut, due to a mismatch with the overall theme, and to fit the purpose of my research. I then linked the themes together and found relevant literature and theory which supported my findings.

The initial analysis of the data took place through the process of transcribing the interviews and observations, and then I categorized them into categories according to my research questions. I used Cross-case analyze to mix the data and sort it into themes that were analyzed. To gain an overview, I selected different colors for the different themes. The themes are in focus in my analysis, and the interviews, observations, homework and documents are analyzed separately during the process and then together. During my fieldwork, I took field notes, but I did not, however, formally start to analyze my findings.

3.3 The role of the researcher, with a translator

The role of the researcher in qualitative research is to attempt to access the thoughts and experiences of the study's participants (Cohen et al., 2018). It was not ideal to be dependent on a translator, but I did not want language to be a hindrance to me doing research in Cuba. Even though Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p. 144) state that "care should be taken to select an interpreter who is culturally acceptable, as well as proficient in the language," when selecting my first translator, I went through a translator's social media profile and got a quick answer. I needed a translator to make contact with a school, and I would then consider if the translator knew English well enough to help me with the interviews. One problem was that the translator did not really translate a lot during observations, just the minimum so that I could understand the context, and during interviews, she gave her own explanations to the interviewees. Due to this, I only had one interview with this translator, and at a later stage, I got to ask the same interviewee some follow-up questions. Fortunately, I recorded all interviews on tape, and I used a different translator to help me transcribe. However, in retrospect, I should have done the interview a second time. In my internship with the pedagogical association, I was provided with different translators every time I was there, three different translators in all. On two occasions, there was no translator present. On the first occasion, one student translated for me, and on the second, two different students translated for me. One of them took the task so seriously I would have hired the student full time if it had been possible. And in the end, due to a failure in communication with my first interpreter, I met with a translator that I got in touch with through a contact at the University of Oslo. This translator was an English teacher and turned out to be a thorough and brilliant translator. She did not help the interviewees with their statements, and she let them take their time to consider their statements. After they were done talking, she carefully translated, and if she was unsure what the interviewee's opinion was, she asked them what they meant. I had some difficulties during the interviews: Since they were not in a language I could speak, I was not able to reply with follow-up questions as rapidly as I would have wanted to. The translation

process also took a lot of time. I could, however, think about the follow-up questions when the translator translated.

3.3.1 Ethical considerations

I had to take into account many ethical considerations prior to and during my research. When it comes to doing research on education, and in my case research inside the civics classroom, there are different ethical aspects that need to be taken into consideration.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) show five main ethical issues that apply for ethnographic studies: the privacy of the participant; to do no harm; getting informed consent; exploitation of those studied; and possible consequences for future research. I have tried to carry out my research according to all five ethical considerations, to the best of my ability. I ended up splitting my research into “official research” led by the pedagogical organization and “unofficial research” that I carried out myself. I did not like the way I carried out my unofficial research, which I did by showing my welcome letter and visa to other schools in order to get access and be able to observe. I felt I misused the pedagogical organization’s trust. But by doing this, I was able to observe the 5th grade civics class and gain access to the 5th grade curriculum and textbook, the students assignments and interviews with teachers, which was a large sample for my research. Without this access, I would have had fewer sources to use in the writing of my thesis. With this in mind, I would have proceeded with the unofficial research again, if I had to, and take the principals’ approval as reassurance.

My research was overt and carried out from an outsider’s perspective. This means that I informed the participants about my research, allowing them to take part or withdraw at any time during the data collection process (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 210). Before I went into the field, I had printed out permission slips and information about my research so that I could hand them out to the interviewees. Sometimes it did not feel right to give these out, so I gave them the information orally. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) point out, researchers “rarely tell all the people they are studying everything about the research.” The informed consent was not always applied in very informal conversations during informal settings, although my role as a researcher was always clear. Further, for researchers it can be challenging to inform participants about the whole study since they themselves do not know everything (Cohen et al., 2018). I made it clear that my gain from this research was a master’s degree, which would give me better career possibilities.

As a teacher, and mother, it was important to me to gain parental consent before interviewing students. Because I gained access to the first school unofficially, I was scared parental consent would cause problems for the principal and the school for allowing a foreign researcher into the school. In the official school, I viewed the president's arrangement as a type of consent. This complicated the research and put me in an ethical dilemma, highlighting the problems of time and practicality. I therefore ended up talking with the students without parental consent. I chose to accept the teacher's consent, as unfortunately it would have taken too much time to get parental consent, time that I did not have. In retrospect, I should have made an effort to get parental consent and not have decided beforehand that it would take too much time.

Another dilemma was that I, at the end of my stay, gave presents to the school and some of the interviewees, which is an ethical dilemma for researchers in the Global South (Hammett & Sporton, 2012).

It is a part of my culture to show appreciation; I did not mention any gifts or payment prior to my interviews or observations. However, if another researcher visits the same places, the schools and interviewees may expect gifts, and this may have changed what they expect of researchers in the future. This is not something I would like to encourage. However, the interviewees provided me with their time, insight and often food, and I wanted to show them appreciation and gave them a personal written card explaining my gratitude. I also gave them my contact information, so they could contact me if there were any concerns.

I knew that the bureaucratic process in Cuba would not allow me as a foreigner to just enter a school, and I knew that my invitation to the pedagogical association was for an international event hosted by them, but this also made it possible for me to get an academic visa for Cuba.

My first translator advised me not to tell the truth about me writing about ideology in civic education, because she thought that others in the education system would be scared that my intentions were political. However, it was important to me to main truthful towards my informants, and I never hid my intentions. I got confirmation that "ideology" could be a touchy subject, however I received feedback that it was positive that I, a foreigner, showed interest in civic education.

The inequality of power between researcher and researched is divided into two levels: real difference, and perceived difference (Scheyvens, Nowak, et al., 2003). The real difference is what was most evident during my fieldwork, as access to education and money clearly illustrated the difference in what they strive for and what I might take for granted. The

perceived difference is present in the minds of both the informants and the researcher in the sense that one might feel inferior, and the other superior (Scheyvens, Nowak, et al., 2003). This difference might have been even greater in the school where the president of the pedagogical organization introduced me and set up the meeting for me in the class and with the five students. The students, even though they were told they could withdraw at any time and did not need to be there or answer any questions, probably felt obligated to be there. Especially since the interview took place inside the pedagogical organization, and they were asked to be there by the president of the pedagogical organization.

Another ethical dilemma I faced, prior to the fieldwork, was that I went to Cuba before I got my approval from the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD). Ethically, I should have gotten approval from NSD before entering Cuba, but I was not in a position where I was able to postpone my research. In retrospect, I should have applied NSD sooner and have used more time on the application.

3.3.2 Trustworthiness in research

Trustworthiness in this research, which focuses on the formation of Cuban students through civic education, lies in my ability to represent the reality of the subject of civic education through observations, interviews and textual analysis (Cohen et al., 2018). I wanted to deliver this thesis in the most objective way possible, as I feel research on Cuba has a tendency to be either “for or against” the Cuban way of doing things. However, my values and interests are shaped by my socio-historical reality and culture (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), and the findings are thus indicators that are used to create a picture of the real world. I wanted to present my findings in an objective manner, however I realized that it is not possible to strive for objectivity, but rather focus on portraying a subjective confirmation of the lived life and practice of civic education. I have had an interest in social skills education for a long time, as a teacher and as a student. I was thus already interested in civic education, and this knowledge and interest might color my perception. I have read a lot about the Cuban school system and its supposed excellence. In many ways I value their state system, although I have some objections, and their education system is one of the best in the world. Cohen et al. (2018) explains that by not addressing consequences and implications, the researcher allow the status quo of inequality, social injustice and oppression to be perpetuated. Therefor it is incumbent on the researcher not to hide behind putative value-neutrality, since, in effect, such research is not value-neutral but reinforces the dominant ideology, and the interests of the powerful. I had

little knowledge of how civic education was practiced in Cuba, and I did not know how it was taught in class, how often or in what way.

To ensure validity in my study, I used multiple methods. Yin, quoted in Mertens (2014), writes that “the use of multiple cases can strengthen the external validity of the result” (p. 272). This is in line with Geertz’ (1973) “thick description” theory. In my qualitative research, I have applied a variety of methods for gathering data (Cohen et al., 2018). By using different techniques and multi-methods approach to collect data, I have gained a lot of information that can answer the research questions. The multi-method approach, which refers to combining two or more methods to study a single phenomenon, helps to improve the validity of my study (Cohen et al., 2018). To ensure validity, I have recorded and transcribed all the interviews and observations and have re-listened to the recordings together with a translator (Brinkman & Kvale, 2009). During this process, I made sure that my biases did not affect my interpretation of the data, and I let the empirical findings lead the way towards a grounded theory.

3.3.3 Participant bias

I did my best to make sure that the interviews were conducted with informed consent, and I gave the interviewees the ability to withdraw from the interview at any time. It is, however, important to keep in mind that the students are a part of the Cuban education system, and Cuba is a society with limited freedom of speech. In light of this, there is a concern that the interviewees might not speak their mind. Since they have been indoctrinated in the system, they have not been taught how to speak their own mind, only to repeat the state’s ideology. This is a concern when it comes to reliability, but I have done my best to portray their answers in a reliable way, be accurate in transcribing the interview and show the consistency of the findings. I had only scheduled one interview per day, and this was also due to a lack of informants, but this nevertheless led to me being rested so that I could transcribe the interviews to the best of my ability.

3.3.4 Challenges

Getting around in Havana was definitely a challenge. Not understanding the language, living alone, and not having an interpreter present during daily encounters ensured that there were a variety of obstacles.

The main challenge was the how difficult it was to get fuel. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, and now later with the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, getting access to fuel has been an endless struggle for the Cubans. Due to the fuel shortages, there has been severe cutbacks in

the public transport sector, leading to never-ending queues. The fuel situation did not give me a positive, but rather a contradictory and negative, image of the ideal Cuban state. In order for me to arrive at my appointments on time and not be stuck in the bus line for four hours, I saw no other option than to rent a car. I later learned that foreigners are not allowed on the public busses, as they are for Cubans. Before starting my fieldwork, I had decided where to stay, which was basically random places around Havana that I wanted to experience. In retrospect, I should have been more practical when finding places to live; many of them were far away from the city center and the pedagogical institute. Before renting a car, I walked to get to my appointments, and this was something I got a lot of comments on, because one couldn't walk very far in the sun.

I attended a three-day course with presenters and a discussion organized by the pedagogical organization. There was, unfortunately, a 90 CUC entrance fee. I did not carry that amount of cash with me, and I had not received any information about such a fee. I had however been warned that this could happen, and the other delegates also paid (I do not know how they could afford it), so I arranged to pay the next day. The association provided me with a translator, most of the time, and I made some acquaintances, such as with an anthropologist from New York who became my friend and helped me translate and transcribe some classroom observations. The president promised to help me with anything I would need for my research, however when it came to setting up interviews with civics teachers, he came up with an additional fee of 50 CUC, for the pedagogical association. This time, I was caught off guard by this additional fee. I got pretty upset, because I felt we had established mutual respect and something of a friendship during the time I had been there. When he saw my reaction, he immediately retracted his claim, but he did not, unfortunately, provide any teachers to interview. He told me he had taken care of it, but I waited for four days, and no one turned up. He told me it was the teachers' fault; I, however, have my doubts, and I think that maybe the outcome would have been different if I had paid an extra 50 CUC.

Being a woman alone in the field could have led to some trouble. I was a Norwegian woman who had grown up in a capitalistic, affluent country, and that made me notice some sharp contrast in Cuban society. This especially in relation to access to commodities, transportation and lack of fuel. However, "Being alone for a male or female anthropologist gives a greater intensity to the whole field experience than living with company, and frequently provides more intimate data [...](Robben & Sluka, 2007, p. 96). On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of loneliness and getting 'fed- up'. The power inequality between researcher and

researched is divided in two levels: real difference, and perceived difference. The real difference, in my fieldwork, is me coming from a capitalistic society, representing everything that the Cuban state is against. The perceived difference is present in the minds of both the informants and the researcher, in the sense that one might feel inferior, and the other superior (Scheyvens, 2011). The research should therefore not reinforce suppressive emotions or give the informants the feeling of powerlessness.

4.0 Presentation of findings

In this chapter, I will present the empirical facts from the field in Havana, Cuba, September–October 2019. I had several categories during the process, but I ended up with these main categories: Ideology in educational policies, civic education, and the creation of the Cuban citizen and patriotism. My empirical findings is derived from 9th and 5th grade observations, workbooks and textbooks, the Cuban constitution, semi-structured and group interviews, an international teachers’ seminar, and 5th graders homework assignments.

4.1 Ideology

In this part of the findings, I explore the ideology underlying the educational policies in Cuba. According to the Cuban constitution, the education policy is based on a democratic, socialist ideology. The introduction of the constitution underlines the importance of Cuba’s ideology, the teachings from José Martí, patriotism and the triumph of the revolution, with a reminder that Cuba is a free country and intends to stay free as a socialist country that will never be taken over by the capitalist forces. Article 1 of the constitution (2019) states that

Cuba is a socialist state, democratic and independent with a focus on everyone’s well-being as republic. Everyone is entitled to: freedom, resemblance, equality, solidarity and to be satisfied in the community together, as well as individually.

However, the ideology also comes with restrictions, and there is no alternative, as stated in Article 9: “You have to be a socialist, it is mandatory. You have to follow the rules and live by the premises of the country, and its limitations.” The idea that Cuba has a democratic character, despite being a one-party nation, is explained in article 5:

The communist party of Cuba is the only and superior party with inspiration from Martí, Fidel, Marx, Lenin. The Cuban nation is based on a democratic character, with a permanent link to the people, with the political force, the superior leader, the state and the organizations, who all contribute to the common efforts in the construction of socialism, and the progress towards a communist society. It works to preserve and strengthen the patriotic unity of Cubans, and to develop static moral and civic values.

The 9th grade teacher confirmed the paragraph from the constitution about the idea of Cuba being a democracy:

In Cuba, the president follows the population’s opinions. Cuba is a democratic country were all the laws and regulations are a proof of our national unity. First, the matter is discussed with the population, in the different organizations, and then the president

and the ministers explain what they will do. Therefore, the organizations represent the power of the people.

The teacher trainer provided an example of how democracy works in practice when she explained a situation from the past, when fish were too expensive: “We were promised fish for everyone, but it was too expensive for us to buy. We complained, and the government listened and reduced the price of the fish. You see, it is democracy.” One of the 9th grade students, the students’ council president, also supported the idea of Cuba being a democracy: “[...] the people in the country can choose the president. I do not know how to explain it, but people choose the candidate, it is in that level of politics.” Further, he explained that the people decided who should have the leading positions of the organizations, and these were the people who later ended up as politicians, and that was how the people decided who should be president. The interviewees did not seem to have any insight when it came to alternative ideologies, or and they did not criticize the government. Some of the interviewees did not like questions about ideology, and in a conversation with translator number one, she explained, “in our culture it is rude to ask those questions about ideology.” However, the English teacher, informed me that, “We have to teach the system and motivate, as teachers it does not matter what we believe, we must put our doubts and thoughts at home as we walk into school and teach the ideology of the government.” This is in line with the constitution and the curriculums, which show no alternative to the ideology. The 9th grade teacher had an additional comment: “At least our government does not use time to argue against each other.” An important aspect for a democracy is freedom of the press. The 9th grade teacher explained the freedom of the press in Cuba: “In Cuba, we have a real freedom of the press, because the press is self-critic. The press is a result of the government and also of the social impact of the work the government does, and they represent the people.”

4.1.2 The Socialist values from the Revolution

A big part of the Cuban legacy, ideology and history is the triumph of the revolution. The achievements from the revolution and the values it promoted is a big part of the constitution, the 9th grade curriculum and the curriculum in the 5th grade, where it is explained that the purpose of the education is to built on the values from the revolution: “The essential purpose of education is the formation of personal convictions and behavior [...] that are fit to build the new society and defend the conquest of the revolution.” This is in line with the goals for the education in the curriculum, Unit 7, with the heading “Life in socialist Cuba”:

Exemplify and value the effort made by the people and the revolutionary government to guarantee work, life, health, education [...]. The knowledge of the socialist legal system in Cuba contributes to personal and social identity, citizen responsibility and social participation.

This was confirmed by the 9th grade teacher, who on several occasions, in class and in the interview, highlighted the importance of the government's socialist values and the effort made by the people and the revolutionary government. In the second lesson, in the 9th grade, 22.10.19, the topic was *the justice of the revolution*, and the position of the constitution after the revolution. The teacher gave a lecture on the justice system and the different courts. The 9th grade teacher explained to the students how Cuba's revolutionary thoughts create problems with the countries that disagree with them, and how these countries want to change the way they think:

We have our revolutionary thoughts, and the countries that disagree with us want to change the way we think. We have the USA, who has always tried to control us and tried to apply measures to affect our economy and the services for the people. Despite these attempts, we have houses and families, and we don't need to pay for health care or education [...] our country has been taking measures, with the intention of helping the people because we cannot face this situation alone, we have to do it as a team.

When I observed the class for the third time, the teacher welcomed me once again and explained to the class: "With her presence, Cuba can be represented in the entire world, and we can show the world the principles of the revolution that we have built" (Civics class, 9th grade, 29.10). The values of the revolution also came up in a homework assignment in the 5th grade. In a text to a foreigner about what it means to be Cuban, a 5th grader emphasized the revolutionary values: "Dear Carlos, I want to tell you what it means to me to be a Cuban, I love my country, and I fight for the revolution, and I do my duties."

4.1.3 The creation of the Cuban citizens

"The citizens of Cuba need to be taught how to be good socialists in order to take part in the ideology of the society" (President of the pedagogical organization). The president's statement is in line with article 90 of the constitution, which states that all citizens have to contribute to the socialist society, and since the citizens are provided with freedom, they have obligations to

- a) Serve and defend the country

- b) Comply with the constitution and other legal norms
- c) Respect and protect the national symbols
- d) Contribute to the financing of public gas in the manner established by law
- e) Respect their family, the society and the authorities

These obligations are confirmed in the curriculum for the 5th grade, where education is described to cover the different aspects of citizenship training, which includes:

1. Respect for the symbols of the country.
2. Care and respect for social and personal property.
3. The relationships between members of the family.
4. Moral qualities.
5. Values.
6. The integration of the family into the tasks of the socialist society.
7. The values of the results of working for society.
8. Rights and duties of workers.
9. Respect and compliance with laws in a socialist society.

Point number three, “The relationships between members of the family,” was something that came up during my first observation in the 5th grade class (26.09.19). The teacher read about family relations, and the importance of family in the Cuban society, from the textbook (Appendix VI). The teacher then asked the students questions about their families and their extended families, like neighbors, and national heroes. The teacher also read from the constitution about domestic violence and informed the students that the law protects them against violence, and that even family members go to jail if they violate the law. “We are protected by the state, the state protects us. The state is our family” (Teacher 101). The students of the 5th grade class were given homework: They should write a letter to someone from another country, explaining to them what it meant to be a Cuban citizen. One of the students also mentioned being a big family: “To be Cuban means to fight for your country, to be born here and to treat everyone equally.”

The ideology and the formation of citizens is mainly presented in the teachings of the civics class. Therefore, in the next part of the findings, I will present the civic education, and then to what extent it is a contributor in the formation of Cuban citizens.

4.2 Civic education

Social norms and ideology are primarily taught in the civics class. However, a majority of the informants stated that the reproduction of social norms and ideology also relies on other subjects in school, particularly history, in addition to other aspects of society. In the introduction of the 5th grade curriculum (2018) in civic education, the outline of the essential purpose of Cuban education is explained:

Civic education is a part of a general education that addresses the formation of man as citizens. The subject leads to the achievement of the objective of a Communist Education, where the students go through a political education where they learn their rights and political duties as a citizens, as well as the process of how to coexist with the other members of the society [...]. The subject will contribute to develop the knowledge, skills, abilities, feelings, values, habits and norms of the students. In order to conduct what is required for the moral formation of the citizen preparation for a full life in the construction of socialism in Cuba.

The curriculum's objective is confirmed by the 5th grade teacher, who emphasized that civic education is important because the students need to learn how to be good citizens and how to behave in society. In addition, one of the 9th grade students explained: "Civic education is important for us, because we learn about our rights and duties as citizens."

The 9th grade curriculum, which is the students' last year of basic secondary school, shows the end of the objectives, which correlates with the 5th grade curriculum: "The educational objective of each grade and level is the formation of values in students, with emphasis on responsibility, honesty, and patriotism." This was confirmed by the 9th grade teacher, who highlights that the aim for *basic secondary cívica* education is to make the students identify with their nation, Cuba, and be true patriots. "The students must learn the history of their country to understand the importance of socialism in Cuba. To form the right values and make them good citizens during their education is a priority in every grade and class, but especially in civic education." This is in line with what the teacher trainer said; she also emphasized the "good citizens" as a goal for civic education: "The main goal for civic education is that we want to educate good citizens, for Cuba and the world, to reach the goals we have as a

society.” Further, the 9th grade teacher also highlights the aim to educate global citizens: “The students need to be aware of global problems, not just as good citizens of Cuba, but of the world.” In additional interviews, in written sources, and in conversations, the notion that the goal of civic educations is to educate “good citizens” often came up. In the process of finding out what is meant by being a “good citizen” there were a lot of similarities in the answers. The teacher trainer, for example, summarized a good citizen in three points: “1. Love the country. 2. Respect for other people, international values. 3. Respect for the Cuban revolution, and a willingness to contribute to the values of the revolution.” However, when she explained how it would be for a foreigner to become a Cuban citizen, nationality played an important role: “If you were not born here and have not gone through the proper education, you might fail to feel the values of the revolution.” Her remarks are supported in the Cuban constitution. Article 33 states: “You become a Cuban because you are born here, by Cubans.” On the other hand, the five 9th grade students were more positive about me as a foreigner becoming Cuban: “You being in Cuba, being interested in civic education, is a great start to becoming Cuban.” They also emphasized kindness, having the right values and respecting the Cuban system. The 5th grade teacher highlights that one must know Cuban history and the laws of the constitution, and that one must take care of and know the national symbols, to be good citizen of Cuba. The 9th grade teacher, however, focused on the missing values in today’s society: “Civic education is an urgent need for the society, because of the lack of values and principles. This generation is the lost generation; it is time to focus more on civic education.” He further told me about the terrible economic situation after the fall of the Soviet Union; they managed to keep education free, but there was a loss of values. However, he ended up contradicting himself: “Today we have recovered from this loss of values, and the values are rescued, even though the USA would want them to go away, this will not be the case.” The English teacher agrees with his first statement and is concerned with the students’ values, especially in the cities:

You have to teach the system and motivate the students to be good persons. Civic education is easier in the rural areas and more difficult in the cities, because in the cities there is influence from the environment, where you have TVs, iPads, tourists, everything they see influence them, and it makes the teaching civics more difficult. You teach them one thing, and they see another.

The students in 9th grade felt that civic education was important to them keeping their values and understanding the political reality in their country and their rights and duties. They also

wanted to continue with civic education to learn more about how to be good citizens in the future and how they should behave in certain situations. However, one 5th grade student did not like civic education: “I like history education, I think civic education is too political, and I do not think children should be taught politics.” The president of the pedagogical institution said that civic education is not just political but is important in order for the students to gain respect for people, culture and tradition. He also focused on the teacher’s obligation to educate the students all day:

Some teachers only focus on citizenship education in class. They do not realize that civic education covers all spheres of social life. It is not only political, it is also nutrition, culture, traditions, respect for things and people, protection of the environment. Civic education is to preserve the values in the society in addition to the general education in school.

His statement correlates with the 5th grade curriculum: “In school, there are many ways to educate students to become citizens, but this work must be present at every moment of school life, which makes it necessary to rely on other subjects as well.”

4.2.1 History teaching

The pre-revolutionary history in Cuba sets a standard for the current ideology, as the collective of Cubans do not want a return to the society of those days. Therefore, the history of Cuba has an important role in determining which values should be taught. The constitution points out the significance of history teaching for the formation of values, in article 32 on Education and culture: “c) Education promotes knowledge of the history of the nation and promotes the values of our society.” The curriculum for *Secundaria básica* 9th grade agrees; there the history of Cuba is highlighted as important for the formation of the students as future socialists:

Knowing and understanding your past will allow you to face your present and prepare you for the future to consciously adopt the option of socialism, which will guarantee the defense of social conquests and the continuity of the work of the Revolution.

The goals of the 5th grade curriculum is in line with the constitution. The students are expected to “[...] Mention the components that characterizes the Cuban nation and explain its meaning for the integration of the Nation. They shall explain based on their knowledge of history the importance of the revolution ... and historic traditions [...]” This is in line with the second observation in the 5th grade (3.10), where historic traditions were a topic. The

teacher lectured and the students wrote in their books about the importance of the historical days when the revolution came, the occupation of the Spanish and the occupation by America. The 5th grade teacher highlighted the importance of history teaching and other aspects: “It is important to know the content of the history of our country, the law of the constitution, the national symbols and how to take care of them to meet the requirements of civic education and to be able to be good Cuban citizens.” In an informal conversation with the history teacher, he claimed that that, “History is the path on the way to ideology, you cannot have an ideology if you don’t know what happened in history. To keep the ideology, you need to know what happened in history.” The student council president in 9th grade agreed with the history teacher’s statement: “Civic education has a strong relationship with history, it helps to promote feelings towards our revolution that has supported us for 60 years as a united people.” The history teacher, 107, the president, 104, and the teacher trainer, 106, all mentioned that “you can teach ideology, but if you do not know your history, the teaching ideology is worth nothing.”

4.2.2 Rural work in the fields

Another way to educate the student has been for the students to take part in rural work in the fields. In this next section I will present my findings about work in the fields and if it is still a part of the Cuban educational value system or not.

In the process of educating good citizens, it has been important that the students learn the practice of manual labor. In 1971, Fidel Castro extended the rural work-study program to primary as well as secondary schools. This was done in boarding schools in the countryside, but also as a field work experience for students. The English teacher stated that “The boarding schools did the opposite of what they wanted to do. Instead of boosting the students’ morale, they tore them down and inspired criminal gangs.” When the informants were asked if this still was a part of the education system, they gave different answers. The 9th grade teacher said: “It is not part of the educational system, but the students can choose. However, it is still a part of high school, but because of fuel problems the work takes place in the community and not in the countryside.” The president of the pedagogical institution stated that: “The students conduct social work around the school, and the students from primary schools participate once or twice a year in the fields. When it is time to harvest the potatoes, the students help, but there is the trouble with fuel, so it might be difficult at this time.” In the group interview with the students, however, only two of them remembered that they had had an opportunity to grow vegetables inside the area of the school, and none of them had entered the fields in their

nine years of education. The 9th grade student council president did not take part in it: “Our school does not do that, but we have a small-scale garden that we practice in where we grow vegetables in the soil, twice or three times, inside the school grounds. We liked it.” Student 202 also remember the opportunity to grow vegetables: “Yes, I do not remember how many times a year, but we had crops inside the school area.” The other students did not have any memories of work in the fields, inside or outside of school. The former foreign affairs employee talked about when it was mandatory to go to schools in the fields, and how terrible it was. She did not like that all people were mixed together, because there was a great loss of moral values. She meant that those places bred criminals, because previously people were too proud to steal, but after being sent to those schools they learned to steal by others that were a bad influence. The 9th grade teacher found it difficult to be a civics teacher in these economically troubled times when they could not teach outside of the classroom:

The main problem we face is the economic situation we are in as a country, because we cannot do activities which require transport, because there is no fuel. As an alternative we do activities in the community near the school because the civics classes in Cuba have not been designed to only take place in the classroom, it needs to interact with society. We need to put theory into practice; it is useless to fill their head with theory if they cannot use it in practice.

The president of the pedagogical institute was positive that the economic situation and the lack of fuel had had an impact on civic education:

Yes, of course it has an impact on the education, we cannot hide these issues. It is difficult to show the students the right way when they witness all the difficulties on their way too school, but we need to remember that we have been able to overcome these challenges in the past ... no school is closed, education is really important to us, we would not let this situation affect our schools.

The teacher trainer, however, said that the solidarity of people helped the situation: “With the troubles of the public transportation, inspectors and different people do their best to help the situation. Government vehicles are obligated to stop for the ones who are waiting, it is a solution by solidarity.” Unfortunately, daily there were never-ending queues at the bus stops, even though official cars and other people stopped to give people a lift. A woman I gave a lift told me in an informal conversation:

[...] the people of my generation has had enough with this situation, we do not want to face yet another economic crisis. We want change. Now is the time to take action and not just accept the misery and rely on pride to survive, but as long as there is the embargo, there is no hope.

The teacher trainer also admitted that it was challenging: “It is a challenge for us to find ways to deal with the constraints we have because of the blockade. It is very challenging for civic education, to make the students understand that their family and country comes before their needs.” The president of the pedagogical institute emphasized that Cubans were used to times when the economic situation is bad. But Cubans always find a solution to get out of it.

4.2.3 Structure and methods in the civics class

As I showed in my literature review, the student–teacher ratio in Cuba is supposed to be 1:9, but that was not the case in the schools observed in this case. There were variations in the number of students, and in the 5th grade class there were 28 students, while in the 9th grade class there were 20. When asked about the ideal 1:9 ratio, the 5th grade teacher said she had never heard about such an ideal. This is in line with what the rest of the interviewees said; they had never heard about this ratio. The president stated that in special needs schools, or in music and sports schools, such a ratio could be the case. With her 28 students, the 5th grade teacher had a clear structure for her classes: They started the lesson every time with the teacher reading about the subject of the day in the civics textbook, and sometimes the students would read, which they were excited about. She would ask questions along the way, and the students would raise their hand to answer, and for some it was a contest hoping to win the chance to answer the question correctly. After the readings, the students were given a task in the workbook which was related to what they had just read, and this they did individually and quietly. Not on any occasion were there any interruptions of significance in this section. After each student had finished their task, they went up to the teacher’s desk, handed in their book, and then returned to their desk to wait for everyone to finish. When everyone were done with their task, they did not need to be told to go on to the next task, everyone moved around their desk, in set groups, for group work where they created a folder with the topics of each civic class. When I asked her about what the main goal for civic education was, the 5th grade teacher answered: “[...] civic education is important because in this country and in other countries the child needs to know how to be a good person and how to behave in general. To make good citizens.” From what I could observe in the 5th grade class, what the teacher taught the class was according to the textbook. According to her, the textbook was based on the

curriculum. The students' homework was also from the civics workbook. Moreover, according to the findings, she was right, the content in the text- and workbooks correlated with the curriculum. However, in the 9th grade there was another structure in class. The three times I observed the teacher, he was prepared, but did not bring with him the textbook, but a written sheet of paper with the goals and plans for the teachings for the day. He informed me that he used the curriculum as a guide to prepare for the classes, as the textbooks were being revised. He also used paragraphs from the constitution in his teaching, which was part of the goals of the curriculum. Getting to know the constitution and the laws of Cuba is considered an important aspect of becoming a Cuban citizen. The class teachings consisted of a monologue from the teacher, occasionally asking close-ended questions. When asked about whether it was possible for the students to interact in his classes, he explained that they had theory classes and then discussion classes. He did not say when the discussion class took place, but when asked if he could give an example of a discussion they had had, he pointed out one in 7th grade. When asked if his classes were open for discussion, he answered: "Civic education do not impose any meanings on the students, I give the students different choices, and in a result between the positive and negative outcome, they decide for themselves, with guidance by me, to choose the right, positive way." The students also struggled with answering the question of whether or not they were able to debate in class. After three observations of classes and a group interview with the students, I am still uncertain if the students knew what is meant by discussing a school subject. Student number two meant there was time to debate in class: "There is time to debate, perhaps not the entire class, but I think it is important to debate because it is not about memorizing the content, it is about understanding it. It is important to debate." This is in line with what student number three said: "We have time, especially when we have to do homework in groups, consult each other and the teacher about how we need to do it." Student number four answered that there was time for questions in each class: "At the end of the class, the teacher will listen to the students' questions." I did not, however, witness this available time for discussion in class. The student council president said that they had debates in every class: "I believe that our teacher understands the importance of us really getting the essence of each class. Therefore we have debates in each class." Student number one informed me that the students could disagree with the teacher: "Yes, even if we do not agree, we can tell him our opinion, he really listens to us and takes our opinion into consideration." However, she could not provide an example of that: "No." All five shook their heads. "There are very few occasions where we disagree."

4.3 Cuban patriotism

In the heart of the civic education is the national feeling, and in this section, I will present the findings on Cuban patriotism.

At the beginning of the constitution of Cuba, under the subheading “*We, the people of Cuba,*” the history of the oppressed is honored, and the courage and patriotism of those who fought in the liberation wars against the *Yankee* occupation is recognized. Further, they recognize those who fought for 50 years against imperialist domination and all the negative things that followed the occupation, and they salute them for promoting and integrating the Marxist and Leninist values in Cuban society. The birth of Martí is recognized, the man who led Cuba to the revolutionary victory in January 1959 and unity for the Cuban people.

In article 13, the purpose of the basic and secondary education in Cuba is outlined: “a) Channel the efforts of the nation in the construction of socialism and strengthen national unity.” In the objectives of civic education for the 5th grade, the aim is to contribute to develop the students ideas of the subject and notion of the following concepts:

... socialist family, homeland, nation, socialist patriotism, socialist legality, work, political organization of society, socialist way of life ... Promote the understanding of the need for the fulfillment of patriotic duties, as well as awaken duties and positive attitudes towards these. Defend the country in all its forms in the search for peace as an essential objective of socialism.

The student council president in 9th grade is a defender of his country and a good example of a citizen who fulfills his patriotic duties. This was evident when he explained his love for his nation:

In 1868, our country started to fight for its freedom, and since that moment we have struggled with other countries. All we ever wanted were to be free and develop our national identity. As a Cuban, the love for my country has developed for years, and I have learned the importance of commitment, and I am prepared to do my part, because of the love I have for my country. In the rest of my life, I am prepared to say that Cuba is an example for the rest of the world.

Further, in the 5th grade curriculum it is expected of the students to explain in elementary form:

[...] the essence and meaning of Cuban nationality and what is considered Cuban according to the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba. Consult books, magazines and newspapers for simple research on the language, traditions, symbols of Cuba. In addition [...] be able to demonstrate their patriotism, expressed in their rejection of capitalism, the hegemony of Yankee imperialism, in the conscious adoption of the Cuban socialist alternative [...].

The curriculum was clearly present in my observations in the classroom. In the second observation (3.10.19), Cuba – mi patria (my homeland) was a topic (Appendix V). The teacher, 101, asked: “What is your country?” All the students raised their hands, one answered: “Cuba is my country, my nation.” Further, in the class they were lectured about their cultural traditions, in interaction with the teacher (Appendix VI). The lesson continued with cultural traditions such as dance and production of tobacco, sugar and coffee. The curriculum also mention the importance of the national symbols and the flag: “Demonstrate knowledge of parts of the flag and the shield, the national anthem and the meaning of each of the symbols, master their correct use [...]” This is in line with what I witnessed during the third observation, where patriotic symbols were the topic (17.10.19). The teacher talked about the flag of the single star (after the revolution, they made a new flag), the national anthem (El Himno de Bayamo “La Bayanesa”) and the mariposa flower. The teacher asked the students to describe the flag in detail. Discussion of the patriotic symbols continued in the fourth observation (24.10.19), and especially what they represent for Cuban citizens. “The symbols represent that Cuba is free, patriotic, always fighting for socialism, liberty and sovereignty, and that Cuba will always be free and sovereign” (teacher 101). Further, the class was focused on respecting the symbols of the Cuban nation. The teacher read page 34 (Appendix VII) and asked the students about the placement of the flag, and she further explained that Cuba is free, also in its relationship with other countries. The class continued with the teacher explaining how to fold, maintain and raise the flag and the importance of the one star in the flag. The work continued in the textbook while a student presented her homework for the class: “All Cubans should respect the symbols of the Cuban nation.” The rest were asked to write a paragraph, in the following space, where they argued for this. In the 9th grade, there were also coherence between the curriculum and the teaching in the classroom. Shown here, in the general objectives for civic education in the 9th grade curriculum (2009):

The basic secondary school aims at the basic and integral formation of the Cuban adolescent, based on a general culture that allows him to be fully identified with his

nationality and patriotism [...] Explain the need for responsible personal action by adolescents, as an indispensable element for the future of the country and the problems of today's world [...].

This is in line with the topic taught in the class (29.10.19) when the headline was “The ideological battle for human rights and peace in Cuba.” After some information on the ongoing exam, the teacher continued: “Today we will talk about the importance of the ideology and ideals of Cubans.” “Our ideals are the ones that allow us to defend our country in any given situation.” After the lesson, I had an informal conversation with the president of the pedagogical organization:

The priority in class is to transform to be able to educate. We want to transform the student's way of thinking in order to educate them. The school cooperates with the families, and they work together with the main objective to educate the kids. Our traditional way of thinking is that the families ask what they can do for the school, and then they participate actively in the school community to contribute to a better education for their children.

The teacher trainer also emphasized the importance of the home environment in order to integrate citizens: “The challenge is to integrate citizens. Step by step their education at home has to be a good one, because when the student starts school, the school can continue to build on that.” This is in line with the many notions about civic education not being the only way to create Cuban citizens, and in the next section, I will look into the findings that cover the aspects of the education that has not yet been presented.

4.3.1 Surrounding influences in the creation of Cuban citizens

The president of the institution emphasized that civic education was not the only answer in the formation of Cuban citizens:

Civic education does not solve the problem of having the citizens we want or need. The most important notion for school and civic education is to educate and train people for life, for social life. Education is not only for information and for knowledge, it needs to provide the students with convictions and values in order to change the reality for the better. We do not only educate citizens for now, we educate them for the future. The next leaders of our country are in our schools, and children today are men tomorrow.

This is in line with what the teacher trainer said, who also emphasized that civic education was not the only solution to educate citizens: “Civic education, where we train our citizens, is one subject, and it is not the solution by itself, it requires different activities and tactics.”

However, every morning the students have a morning ritual at their school, where they sing the national anthem, repeat revolutionary slogans and salute the flag next to the bust of José Martí (Appendix VII). This is outside of civics class, and an important part of becoming Cuban citizens, as portrayed in the 5th grade curriculum:

Show respect and emotion when singing the anthem, raising or lowering the flag, reading or exhibiting something related to the homeland [...]. Express yourself in prose or verse about your homeland [...]. Demonstrate love and respect for national symbols, for the heroes and martyrs of the homeland, to the fighters of the revolution and the ideals and examples of Martí, Che and Fidel as paradigms of Cuban revolutionary thought and its consequent action.

At the heart of Cuban education is José Martí, the national hero that had ideas that inspired the revolution, the constitution, the Cuban mindset, and all the students are incorporated into The José Martí Pioneer Organization.

4.3.2 José Martí Pioneer Organization (JMPO)



Picture from the 5th grade textbook, with the text: “Pioneers for communism. We want to be like Che!”

The José Martí Pioneer Organization (JMPO– PJM, *Organización de Pioneros José Martí*) is set out to protect the interests of the students and is the arranger of after-school voluntary work. The constitution explains the principles of the organization in article 6: “The union of young communists [...] contributes to the education of the youngest generations in the

revolutionary and ethical principles of our society and promotes their participation in the building of socialism.” This is in line with what the president of the pedagogical institute stated: “The young people are the ones who will form the next generation, so it is important that they learn and build on the principles from the revolution.” Fidel Castro promoted the school as a pioneer palace, here from a speech quoted in the 9th grade curriculum: “The school is the main Pioneer Palace, a pioneer palace is essentially a training center, an education center, and perhaps the most important type of center [...] a center of patriotic training [...].” This is in line with what the curriculum of the 5th grade (2018), explains about the student’s revolutionary task and commitment:

The organization of pioneers calls out for a set of revolutionary tasks that brings social identity to early adolescents. When a good level of group functioning is achieved, the morale norms can be regulated in between members that are responsible for work as a sense of social contribution [...].

Organizations, and their defense of the interests of their members, was the topic in the first observation in the 9th grade class (15.10). The teacher explained to the students that “The objective is to organize the people advocate for our country. Everyone in society is involved in a committee, and all Cubans take part in a committee to defend the interests of the revolution.” Further into the class, the subject of the JMPO came up. The teacher explained that “the objective of the pioneer organization is to respond to the interest of the parliament, and the pioneers feel motivated and interested to study and to feel love for our country and take care of it.” Many of the teachers and students did not understand the question when I asked if being a member of The JMPO was compulsory or voluntary. After a while, Student 203 explained that being a member of the organization was a part of going to school: “The organization is a separate part of life in primary and secondary school. The organization is in charge of organizing the different activities for the students. The organization follows the ideas of the national heroes.” When asked if the students could choose to be a part of the organization, the 9th grade student council president answered: “Well, it is meant to be a part of the education, as you progress as a student, you belong to different organizations, you don’t choose, as a student, the organization represents your interests.” The students’ teacher also explained that the teachings needed to be practical, like the organization provided outside of school hours, for the civic content to integrate with the students. Most of the students had a tag on their left shoulder, showing their commitment to the organization. The ones that did not wear it, explained that they forgot it at home. However, the former foreign affairs employee

had some other thoughts on the pioneer organization: “They all have to be pioneers, and maybe at home they thought in another way, but they have to believe at school [...] and now the government is saying that we have to bring back the values [...]” The English teacher, 103, explained that “even if you don’t agree with the government, you have to leave that at home. As a teacher you have to follow the government’s policies, like a true patriot.”

4.3.3 Elpidio Valdés and Fernanda

A particular influence outside of school that was mentioned by the informants, were the cartoons *Elpidio Valdés* and *Fernanda*. These cartoon characters were displayed on posters the students had made all over the classroom walls and inside the school buildings.

Apparently, these characters teach the children about good morals and the right values and are known as true patriots and educators of children. However, at the international seminar on 8.10.19, they were worried that the TV shows were starting to become outdated and that the children might not find it sufficient for entertainment. They were saddened by this, as they found Elpidio’s message important for children:

These cartoons are very famous; they fight for our values and independence, but nowadays the children like princesses instead of the war heroes. It is a consequence of the influence of the globalized world [...] so you cannot prohibit your child from watching these cartoons, but you need to have a critical point of view, you have to have a critical view of the hidden agenda.

In informal conversation, all knew who *Elpidio Valdés* and *Fernanda* were, and they were a part of their childhood. One teacher attending the seminar told us about his childhood memories: “When I was a child, my father showed me these cartoons, and now I sit down to watch these kinds of cartoons because I feel happy to watch them.” My translator explained to me that “Here in Cuba, we have four channels run by the state. One of them is an educative channel, from MINED. There we broadcast some classes, mathematics, English, but also cartoons for children like *Elpidio Valdés* and *Fernanda*.”



Elpidio Valdés, the cartoon character promoting the values of the revolution, on the walls of the second school (Picture by: Hege Andresen).



Poster of *Fernanda*, inside the school building where the 5th grade has classes (Picture by: Hege Andresen).

4.4 Summary of findings

In this chapter, I have presented the findings from my fieldwork in Havana, Cuba. The following three sections summarizes the findings in thematic order.

Ideology in education

In sum, ideology is highly present in Cuban education. Through observation, interviews and textual analysis, my findings show that ideology is present in education and that the students are expected to be socialistic citizens and live by the premises of the country. The values of the revolution is the core of the ideology that is continued through their education.

Civic education

The promotion of ideology in Cuba's education is primarily done through civic education, with the goal of creating "good Cuban citizens." The teachers' impression is that civic education is important for teaching children the right values of the Cuban society. An important addition to civic education is the students' history education, through which they can understand the reasons for the revolution and the socialistic values descended from it. The work-study principle was once an important addition to civic education, but, as my study shows, it is no longer a part of the students' education.

Cuban patriotism

I found through my research that national identity is highly important in Cuban society and in civic education. Again, the values of the revolution play an important role, and they go to the core of Cuban nationalism and the development of patriotism within students. In addition to civic education, the JMPO and the society surrounding the students are a part of developing their national pride.

3.0 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will present and introduce the theoretical framework, which shapes the analysis and discussions of my empirical data. The first subsection addresses the theories of ideology and presents theories and definitions of ideology. Then I will discuss ideology in education, in order to get a profound understanding of ideology related to my research topic. To explore how Cuban citizens form their identities, I look at the concept of identity and the diversity in the concepts of individual- and collective societies, in order to get an understanding of how school and society aid in the formation of citizens. Under the subsection Curriculum, I present Goodlad's five different curriculum levels, from the ideal curriculum to what the students experience in school. The final subsection explores the theories of socialization and how students can be socialized into becoming a patriot with a national identity.

3.1 Ideology

In this section, I will explore the complex and extensive concept of ideology and its multiple definitions, as well as introduce the definition used in this study. Kapicia (2000) explains that little has been written about ideology inside and outside of Cuba. This is understandable considering the theoretical and methodological difficulties of studying ideology generally and in Cuba specifically. Even though Michel Freeden (2003) frames ideology as "one of the most controversial terms in the political vocabulary," most scholars agree that one can talk about ideology as some sort of system of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality. Throughout the '60s, '70s, and '80s in the US, the term "ideology" appeared frequently in official discourse, in the press, on television, and on the radio, suggesting a kind of self-consciousness about the use and nature of the term (Gordy, 2015). Gordy (2015) also underlines the difficulties of defining the term:

One of the most significant challenges is that there is a fundamental tension between the concept and the practices of ideology. On the one hand, as a set of abstract propositions about the world, ideologies have a timeless quality. On the other hand, to identify a specific ideology is to pin down its historically contingent content and meaning, to distinguish it from others, and to be able to hold elites and citizens accountable for what is done in its name (Gordy, 2015, p. 27).

Nigel Harris' (1968) definition in his book *Beliefs in Society: The problem of Ideology* is accurate for this thesis. According to Harris, "Ideologies are not disguised descriptions of the

world, but rather real descriptions of the world from a specific viewpoint, just as all descriptions of the world are from a particular viewpoint” (p. 22). Teun A. Van Dijk (1998) is not content with the historical definitions of “ideology” and agrees with the other scholars that the defining ideology is controversial and difficult. Van Dijk focuses on the discourse of ideology in his book *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* and presents a new approach to “ideology”, which I will also use as the basis of my thesis. Van Dijk has used and integrated the classical ideas about ideology to create a new approach, where he defines ideologies as “the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group” (2006, p. 2). And he also states: “The principles form the basis of the world view.” (Dijk, 1998, p. 17) He points out that even if many individuals share the same ideology, not all members have “identical copies” of the representation. Rather, we must assume that because of obvious individual differences of “ideological socialization” in the group, each member will have their own personal “version” of the ideology (Dijk, 1998, p. 79). Louis Althusser (Althusser, Engelstad, & Østerberg, 1969) famously describes the process of interpellation as the ideological formation of subjectivity. For Althusser “the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology in so far as all ideology has the function of constituting concrete individuals as subjects.” For Althusser there is no such thing as a preexisting subject who creates, adopts, and acts upon ideologies. However, ideologies could be actualized or concretized in the abstract category of the subject who perpetuated that ideology in a variety of social practices (Apple, 2004). The work of Antonio Gramsci and José Carlos Mariátegui suggests, however, that the system is not so closed (Moore, 2014) (Gramsci & Østerling Nielsen, 1973). They argue that ideology evolves through political action and acquires legitimacy because it helps people to make sense of their lived conditions. This is relevant in Cuba’s civic education in the way that the state’s legitimacy is acquired through MINED, the curricula and therefore in civic education. However, what makes an ideology more than a list of disparate values? As Antonio Gramsci (1973) argued, its ability to make sense of lived conditions. A critique of a particular ideology must therefore show that its categories and the way they are linked together exclude other forms of thought that would expose other elements of that same social reality; not that the ideology is false in the sense of failing to correspond directly to concrete conditions. Gramsci introduced the concept of “cultural hegemony,” from of Karl Marx’ theory that the dominant ideology of society reflects the beliefs and interests of the ruling class. Gramsci (1973) argues that consent to the rule of the dominant group is achieved by the spread of ideologies, values, beliefs and assumptions through social institutions such as schools. In case of the school, this institution does the work of socializing people into the

norms, values and beliefs of the dominant social group, and the group that controls these institutions therefore controls the rest of society. To focus on ideology in this section, Gramsci believed that Marx had not given enough credit to the power of ideology. Gramsci describes the power of ideology to reproduce the social structure through institutions such as education. He argued that society's intellectuals, often viewed as detached observers of social life, are actually embedded in a privileged social class and enjoy greater prestige, and that they encourage the rest of society to follow the norms and rules established by the ruling class (Gramsci, 1965). Michael Freeden (2003), however, argues that the division between ideology and political philosophy is not as clear cut as political philosophers would have it, as a form of political thinking is shaped from political concepts and their relationships. He also argues that the methodological framework for studying a particular situated ideology should emerge from the context in which the ideology operates. Apple (2004), on the other hand, puts ideology, as a phenomenon, into three categories:

1. Quite specific rationalizations or justifications of the activities of particular and identifiable occupational groups.
2. Broader political programs and special movements.
3. Comprehensive worldviews, outlooks, or what Berger and Luckman (1967) and others have called symbolic universes (Apple, 2004). False consciousness (Marx & Birkeland, 1992) has also been one way to evaluate ideology, as it distorts one's picture of social reality and serves the interests of the dominant classes of society. The state will retain power because the people value their known societies, and the driving mechanism is the cultural narrative, and when the people in the bottom of the hierarchy continue to help the top hierarchy, then we have a false consciousness. Related to "false consciousness" is William E. B. Du Bois' (1994) term "double consciousness," from his book *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903. Du Bois used the term "double consciousness" in the relation to being an African American in American society. He describes an individual who is divided into several facets and reveals the psychosocial divisions in American society and the injustices in the national world system for an African American. With this, he allows for an understanding of those divisions. Denise Blum (2010) points out that there is a limit to the "double consciousness" analogy, in relation to the "two-ness" of African Americans, and suggests a contradictory duality or "two-ness" that is more accurate for the Cuban case (p. 202). Blum (2010) calls for the definition "double conciencia" for the "two-ness" in Cuban society, where the "double conciencia" is tied to a "contradictory economic and political reality, demanding different and competing ideological

values in order to succeed” (Blum, 2010, p. 202). In addition, Cubans struggle with the duality of two-ness, which if forsaken will make it difficult for them to be a “normal subject” in contemporary Cuba (Blum, 2010). However, Geertz (1964) sees “ideology” as a “system of interacting symbols” that takes part in making incomprehensible social situations meaningful and understandable:

- 1) Legitimation – social acceptance – domination of the right principles
- 2) Power conflict – conflict in people seeking power
- 3) Style of argument, systematic and explicit rhetoric

Michel Foucault (1980) also argues that the problem with the notion of ideology is threefold: it presumes a truth against which an ideology can be measured; it presumes a subject who adopts or rejects an ideology; and it presumes an object that determines an ideology. Instead of ideology, which was plagued by Marxist positivism and crude materialism, Foucault used the term “discourse,” which involves not assessing its truth or falsity, but rather its effects (Foucault & Gordon, 1980). However, Foucault’s framework can be so totalizing that it precludes the possibility of talking about alternative sets of principles. Van Dijk (1998) explains the negative discourse surrounding the term “ideology”: “The negative meaning and uses of the everyday concept of ideology shows what most earlier analysts also emphasized, namely, that ideologies express or conceal one’s social or political position, perspective or interests: few of ‘us’ (in the West or elsewhere) describe our own belief systems or convictions as ‘ideologies’. On the contrary, Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology” (p. 12). For Cubans, their truth is their lived lives, and *Cubanía* (Cubanness) is defined by what people have in common, rather than what distinguishes them from others (Blum, 2010). In Cuba, the ideology is popularly called *Cubanía*, and it is an interaction with Marxism and Leninism through counterhegemonic movements. The revolutionary direction was domesticated and formalized by the state, in the years following the revolution. The dynamic state formation works in two ways, with individuals and, in this case, the schools where they have capacity for both reproduction and the production of knowledge (Smith, 2016).

3.1.1 Ideology in education and curriculums

In the case of Cuba, and for this thesis, it is important to understand the ideology and the nature of the Cuban educational system. It is crucial to accept the idea that while education is a right of citizenship, the role of the school is conditioned by and subordinated to the state (Mujal-León & Busby, 2001). Cuba’s government’s belief in Marxism–Leninism govern their actions, and they incorporate it into the education system. This is the only entity responsible

for providing the service and for guaranteeing it as a right, and therefore it is an education of and for the state: In the Althusserian sense, we understand it as the “ideological state apparatus” (Althusser et al., 1969). The ideological state apparatus, where institutions like education serve to transmit the value of the state, and to interpellate those individuals affected by them. In addition, the ideology in education serves to maintain order in society, and to reproduce capitalist relations of production. In the Cuban case, the term is highly relevant, and it was contrasted with the so called “repressive state apparatus” of the armed forces and police, and is allotted a major role in securing compliance within society (Althusser et al., 1969). In the Cuban ideological state apparatus the state itself reflects a particular class interest with a vision of equality. The theory of the ideological state apparatus has been criticized for simplifying relations between education and the state, and underestimating their autonomy (Levinson, 2004). Cuba’s education system is reflected and shaped by the ideological processes of the state. The state aims to educate their students to be functioning members of society and uses the education system as a tool, through the curricula.

One of my goals for this thesis was to analyze the ideology behind the Cuban curriculum, and to see if there was coherence between the state’s ideology and the teaching in the classrooms. The curriculum is a presenter of the ideals, ideologies, visions and goals for Cuba’s students and their society as a whole. In Cuba’s case, due to the ideological one-party rule, there has been little discussion about which ideologies should underpin the curriculum, but the curriculum is also a display of attitudes, traditions and the main goal of the education (Apple, 2004). Social efficiency is one theory that is relevant for the making of the curriculum. Social efficiency says that the purpose of schooling is to efficiently meet the needs of society by training youth to function as future mature contributing members of society (Wright, Wright, & Jenkins-Guarnieri, 2013). Social efficiency ideologists believe that the most efficient achievement of a curriculum’s objectives comes as a result of the underlying assumption that learning takes place in a direct cause–effect, action–reaction, stimulus–response context. This conception requires social efficiency educators to predetermine the relationships between cause and effect, action and reaction, and stimulus and response to predict the causes, actions and stimuli that will lead to the desired effects, reactions and responses. Cuba is educating their students to be future mature members of their society. The students are trained according to the state’s ideology, and given the necessary skills, in order to be productive for the society. For example, Cuba is in a situation where they have too few teachers. A temporary solution to the problem has been to offer students one year of teacher training after secondary education,

“secundaria básica.” Due to this, the students are able to practice teaching at the age of 16. Cuban teachers will not question the curricula or textbook, and will follow the directions from MINED, ensuring that the education will be efficient and similar for all students. The students are the product of their education, which prepares them for life as Cuban citizens. John Goodlad (1979) describes five different levels of the curriculum on the way from an idea, to what the students experience in school. Goodlad’s (1979) conceptual framework, which illustrates relationships between intentions and realization as well as reflections and communication around curriculum questions, forms the basis for an analysis of the tension between teachers and curriculum, theory and practice, and the different levels of curriculum. In the analysis chapter, I will discuss to what extent Goodlad is relevant for the Cuban curriculum. Goodlad (1979) presents five different levels of the curriculum, constructed by society, scholars, teachers and pupils: the ideal, the formal, the perceived, the operational and the experienced (see Figure 1).

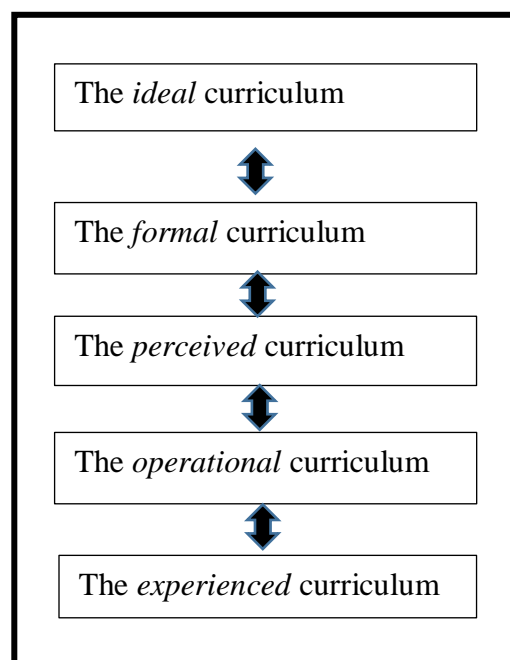


Figure 1. Five different levels of curriculum (Goodlad, 1979).

These domains characterize different ways to conceive curriculum and different perspectives from which it can be conceptualized and experienced. The ideal curriculum represents educators’ intentions of what they desire, know and believe should be taught. The ideal curriculum is often a result of idealistic teaching planning processes. Goodlad (1979) suggested exploring the content of the ideal curriculum by examining “textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides and the like.” Textbooks can be viewed as a nation’s deeper or hidden social and political curriculum. On the notion of textbooks, Bellino and Williams (2017) highlights

that the state occupies an important role in the conceptions of textbooks, in the provision of schooling, the organization of the curriculum and the preparation of citizens. It is clear that the state is not a silent actor in questions of the collective national identity, and the subnational and supranational influences may play an important role. And in the textbooks, the state is always at the table, even if silent and unacknowledged. Apple (1993) terms government-approved textbooks that reflect the political philosophy of the ruling power “official knowledge.” The official knowledge contained within textbooks tends to present desirable images of a country and its people, sometimes subtle and sometimes not. This is particularly relevant in addressing the Cuban context. Goodlad’s next stage is the formal curriculum that, by comparison, is the ideal curriculum transformed into the physical curricula document: “Curriculum guides, state or local syllabi, adopted texts, units of study set forth by a curriculum committee” (Goodlad, 1979, p. 61). The formal curriculum is official, authorized in some way and often a consensus document.

The perceived curriculum refers to the teachers’ ideas and interpretation of the physical curriculum. It is how the curriculum is perceived in the minds of teachers, how they read and understand the written text. Curricular reforms are an engagement between state regimes and the educational sector, relying on the favorable political circumstances and support by teachers. Matthias vom Hau (2008) highlights the importance of teachers’ perceptions of state legitimacy, as well as the ways in which the teachers position themselves with the state, as subversive agents or representatives of the state order. In my analysis chapter, I will discuss how the teachers position themselves in relation to the state’s ideology in curriculum work.

Goodlad’s (1979) operational curriculum conceptualizes teachers’ daily interactions with students in the school and the classroom. The experienced curriculum represents the pupils’ point of view and will in most cases be perceived different by students. How the Cuban curriculum is viewed by the various pupils is a point of investigation in my analysis chapter.

3.2 Identity formation of citizens

One of the goals of civic education is to contribute to the students’ formation as Cuban citizens. In working on this thesis, one of my interests was to try to detect what makes a Cuban citizen. To investigate this matter, it is important to define identity in order to understand the identity process in the development of the citizens that identify with the nation. Therefore, in this subsection, I will look into the concept of identity and relevant other concepts, such as collectiveness and individuality. In sociology, the term identity is often used in relation to confidence. While confidence is more about “what do I think of me?”, identity is

more about “who am I?”. In this thesis, I will focus on the way the social sciences and anthropology approach the term, where it is viewed more openly and in relation to a group’s social, cultural and ethnic identity (Tetzchner, 2019). The UN’s Convention on the Rights of the Child states in article 8: “States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality [...]” (UNICEF, 1989). We are all part of a bigger community, in different ways, which contributes to our social identity. The development of identity is a process where one creates the self in relation to others. According to Erik Erikson (1968), young people are open for persuasion and more available for recruitment into new experiences. He describes how young people are searching for a sense of self that is unambiguous, action-oriented, and ideological:

... because in adolescence, an ideological realignment is by necessity in process and a number of ideological possibilities are waiting to be hierarchically ordered by opportunity, leadership and friendship ... (p. 134).

Émile Durkheim (2002) promotes the theory of the “collective conscience” as a reflection of the collective representation and insists that the individual becomes socialized by adopting the behavior of the group. One group’s behavior that can be adopted is that of one’s peers in class and other relations in the school community. While Durkheim (2012) promoted society as the creator of the collective identity, Karl Marx used the notion of the working class and that the material situation characterized the collective identity, in a “class consciousness.” He also claimed that the capitalistic mentality would determine a collective identity, where the collective had a common relation in the means of production. The economic production situations, with competition as a binder would spread the collective identity, first in the nation, then to the global arena. At its core, the “collective identity” is a process rather than a property of social actors with a focus on “a sense of we,” and the process where social actors recognize themselves as a collective (Snow, 2001). This notion of identity is very relevant in the case of Cuba. In Cuba the “collective identity,” has been built in a process where there have been established variants of “identity work,” which encompasses the range of activities people engage in, both individually and collectively, to express who they are and what they stand for in relation to others (Snow, 2001, p. 7). Maintenance of symbolic resources used to bind and distinguish the collective internally and externally, by underlining commonalities and differences, is important for the establishment of “collective identities.” “Symbolic resources” can be the constitution, curricula in school, how to dress, music and other national symbols that are generated and employed during the course of a collective’s efforts to define

its collectiveness. This can be “identity talk,” such as war stories and histories of great historical figures, that group members repeatedly tell each other (Snow, 2001). As I will show in my analysis chapter, this is relevant in the case of Cuba. “Key words” and “slogans” also function in a similar fashion, as do systems of gestures and signs. Together they function as a boundary marker of collective differentiation, distinguishing insiders from outsiders, in a fashion that heightens awareness of in-group commonalities and connections and out-group differences. Together they congeal into a kind of “semiotic bricolage” that gives symbolic substance to the claimed distinctive “we” (Snow, 2001, p. 177). However, an important distinction is that individuals often have multiple identities that vary in perception, experience, interaction and pervasiveness. According to Zygmunt Bauman (2007), Ulrich Beck (2011) and Anthony Giddens (1990), collective identities are dissolving, and the main reason is globalization. The globalized world makes traditional patterns and identities less distinct and floating. According to Bauman (2007), this is what characterizes “liquid modernity”; it seems to possess no sense of direction, with the same frequency and without detectable regularity that could have predicted the next move. As I will show in my analysis, this is not necessarily the case in Cuba.

3.2.1 Formation of citizens in school and society

Identity development in school is relevant for this thesis. How does the school contribute to the students’ perception of themselves and in developing their identity? The school clearly has two main objectives: to provide students with scholarly knowledge and skills, and to contribute to the students’ social and personal development. The school is not just focused on subjects as included in the curriculum; it is also identity-forming (Verhoeven, Poorthuis, & Volman, 2019). The school is important for how students see themselves, their behavior, and their learning achievements (Lannegrund-Willems & Bosma, 2006). Erik Erikson (1968), based on Freud (1950), created the theory of personal development, and there he presented the development of the personality as a continuous development in eight stages. Erikson, in contrast to Freud, gave more credit to social aspects and negotiations between the desires of the self and what is socially accepted. Piaget (1954) specialized in child development, specifically focusing on the role of developmental social interactions. The development of ‘the self’, evolved through a negotiation between the world as it exists in one’s mind, and the world that exists, as it is experienced socially. Kohlberg (2014) developed the theory of moral development, which is about the way that people learn the good and the bad in society is important for a smoothly functioning society. Hofstede (1991) defines individualism and collectivism, which is central to the collectivistic Cuban society: Individualism pertains to

societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism, as its opposite, pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive groups, which throughout people's lifetime continues to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (p. 51). In the school context, it can mean that in individualistic cultures the student is responsible for their own schoolwork, while in collectivist cultures the family, teachers and classmates are expected to share the responsibility. Correspondingly, the success of the group as a whole is valued as highly as or even higher than the success of the individuals within the group (Stevenson, 1990). Members of a collectivist society often identify themselves more as a part of social groups and their relationships. Their actions and cognitions are largely affected by the perceived thoughts and anticipated behaviors of significant others, like a teacher or class peers (Kitayama, 2000). When compared with members of individualistic societies, the sense of belonging can become so strong that it makes sense to think of the relationship instead of the self as the functional unit of conscious reflection (Kitayama, 2000). In the 1980s and 1990s, Pierre Bourdieu (1980), James Coleman (1987) and Robert Putnam (2002) extended the use of the concept "social capital" within the social sciences. Bourdieu explored the way in which different forms of capital – economic, cultural as well as social – influenced patterns of power and social status. Coleman's (1987) notion was that families influence their children's learning through human and social capital. The families' social capital also get influences from parents' interactions with neighbors and the community at large. Carnoy (2007) takes the model further by looking into the possible influence of social capital on a national government's policies and how this affects children's broader social capital to national government policies. This contributes to the affection of the children's broader social environment and what Carnoy called "state-generated social capital." The national focus on social capital in education can raise educational expectations for all children, and the government can therefore generate a cohesive and supportive educational environment on a regional or national scale that creates learning benefits for all students (Carnoy, 2007).

3.3 Global citizenship education

Citizenship education and civic education has traditionally been associated with each other (Torres, 2017). UNESCO and The United Nations are promoting the term "Global Citizenship Education (GCE)" for sustainable development. The UN secretary, Dr. Soo-Hyang Choi, launched in 2012 the objectives of GCE, as an aim to equip learners of all ages with values,

knowledge and skills that are based on respect for human rights, social justice, diversity, gender equality and environmental sustainability. GCE is promoted to empower learners to be responsible global citizens. The GCE should give the learners the competencies and opportunity to realize their rights and obligations to promote a better world and future for all (UNESCO, 2015).

Global citizenship education examines the interconnected world and the flow of knowledge and people. This has led to the field of global citizenship education (GCE), which highlights the knowledge and skills needed to thrive in modern globalized societies (Skårås, Carsillo, & Breidlid, 2019). Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) argue that there is a need for old barriers to be dismantled and that there should be a discussion about developing a new form of global citizenship. The creation of national citizenship went hand in hand with the development of national civic education. Banks (2008) promotes the need for GCE, as national boundaries are becoming more porous because of the international human rights that are codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by the UN. The declaration states that every individual, regardless of their belonging to a nation-state, shall have freedom of expression, religious belief, right to privacy and to be presume innocent until proven guilty if charged with a crime. Skårås, Carsillo and Breidlid (Skårås et al., 2019) refer to Andreotti (2015), Howard et al. (2018) and Wright (2011), who point out the asymmetrical power relations between the epistemological traditions of the West and the non-West, resulting in a dominant Western theoretical framework in citizenship education research (p. 1). This is particularly true in the case of Cuba, where the hegemonic Western framework is under criticism. Dill (2015) uses the term “perspective consciousness” to illustrate how national, ethnic, religious and class boundaries must all be transcended or held at a distance in order to develop a global consciousness (p. 40). Dill (2015) points out that by developing “perspective consciousness” the students come to realize that their view of the world is not universally shared. Moreover, Skårås, Carsillo and Breidlid (Skårås et al., 2019) stress that understanding the human experience from different perspectives is central in global consciousness. Critical global citizenship education (CGCE) aims to promote change, without telling the students what they should think. Instead, CGCE creates a space where the students can analyze and experiment with other perspectives, promoting change from the inside (Andreotti, 2006). This is relevant in the Cuban case, as presumably Cuban education lack the aspect of being critical in the educational discourse. Where GCE focus on for the other, the focus in CGCE is responsibility towards the other, in a shared accountability. According to GCE, we are all equally

interconnected, we all want the same thing, and we can all do the same thing, and CGCE emphasizes asymmetrical globalization, unequal power relations and Northern and Southern elites imposing their own assumptions as universal. Cuba is a part of this unequal power relationship and has a history of oppression. CGCE discourse could open up for debate in the classroom concerning this balance. GCE focuses on the individual and supports campaigns to change structures and donate time, expertise and resources. In contrast, the individuals who promote CGCE analyzes their own position and context and participates in changing structures, assumptions, identities, attitudes and power relations in their contexts. This is the opposite of the reality in the Cuban classroom, where there seem to be no debate or analysis of the students position.

In the GCE discourse, change happens from the outside to the inside, while in CGCE the ideal is that change should happen from the inside to the outside. GCE's basic principles for change is universalism; there is a non-negotiable vision of how everyone should live and what everyone should want. In CGCE, however, the basic principles for change is reflexivity, dialogue, contingency and an ethical relation to difference. The main goal of GCE is to empower individuals to act and become active citizens according to what has been defined for them as a good life or an ideal world. The main goal of CGCE is to empower individuals to reflect critically on the legacies and processes of their cultures, to imagine different futures and to take responsibility for decisions and actions. GCE's strategy is to raise awareness of global issues and to promote campaigns, while CGCE's is to promote engagement with global issues and perspectives, an ethical relationship to difference and addressing complexity and power relations (Andreotti, 2006). The question is how far educators working with GCE are prepared to include a discourse of CGCE in the present context in the North. The students need to understand the global issues and the complex web of cultural and material local and global processes. For this to happen, contexts needs to be examined and analyzed in an open classroom with room for debate.

Banks (2008) argues that cultural and group identities in society are important, but they are not sufficient for citizenship participation, because of the effects of globalization. In addition to the scholars above, he argues that students need to develop the knowledge needed to function in a global society. He points out, however, that nationalists worry that if citizens are allowed to identify with their cultural communities, they will not become sufficiently attached to the nation state (Banks, 2008). Education is deeply contextual and linked to the historical and political context it takes place in (Skårås et al., 2019). A national political climate, and its

attendant classroom structures and climate, are decisive for the extent to which students and teachers are able to discuss and address civic rights and national and global oppressive structures in the classroom (p. 5). It is difficult to picture Cuba adopting CGCE, and they are not likely to let others directly influence their curricula. Andrew Dobson (2016), a British political author who specializes in environmental politics, addresses the grounds for global citizens and starts his analysis with his perspective, which is common in the “Western” context:

How can severe poverty of half of humankind continue despite enormous economic and technological progress and despite the enlightened moral norms and values of our heavily dominant Western civilization (p. 170).

The assumption that the West possesses the right values is the problem. Our basic concern for people we have never met should be framed around a political obligation to see justice done rather than sympathy or pity. The West forces an imposed practice as a global institution, that reproduces poverty and impoverishes people (Dobson, 2016). Dobson further demonstrates that those who can and do act globally are in effect often projecting their local assumptions and desires as everyone else’s global (Dobson, 2016). This is interesting in the Cuban context, because they have, over decades, rejected the US demands to get rid of their Marxist–Leninist ideology. Said, Bhabha and Spivak (1988) stress that the colonial powers change the sub-alternate perceptions of self and reality and at the same time legitimize its cultural supremacy and the epistemic violence of creating an inferior other. So, the global dimension and the notion that different cultures only have traditions, beliefs and values, while the west has “universal knowledge,” this causes significant implications in order to include the discourse of “global citizenship.” This is relevant for Cuba because of its history of oppression and its past as a colonial state. The identity formation of the Cuban student could be opened up by CGCE discourse, which would allow the students to form a different perspective on the self and reality.

3.4 Socialization

The Cuban government has emphasized the role of education in socialization. There are mainly four channels through which Cuban students are socialized: the family, schools, state-controlled mass organizations (like the JMPO) and the informal sphere. For this thesis, it is interesting, and important, to explore the concept of socialization and to look into the formation and socialization of Cuban citizens. Berger and Luckman (1967) define

socialization as “the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or sector of it” (p. 150). Berger and Luckman (1967) understand

primary socialization as the first socialization which an individual undergoes in childhood, through which the child becomes a member of society. The secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society (p. 150).

Durkheim (2012) was interested in the relationship between the individual and the group, where the group is in control over the individual. He argued that socialization is a one-way process because society develops and molds the individual to fit the group. He also argued that school was essential to imprint shared social values into the mind of students. Durkheim (2002) asserts, on the basis of historical observation, that every society, considered at a given moment in its development, has a system of education which is imposed on individuals. Every society sets itself a certain “human ideal,” an ideal of what a person should be from the intellectual, physical and moral points of view; this ideal is the crux of education. Society can subsist “only if there is sufficient homogeneity among its members” (p. 203). Education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by inculcating in the child’s mind the fundamental relationships required by life in the community. Through education, the “individual being” is turned into a “social being.” This homogeneity is, however, only relative—in societies characterized by a division of labor, the greater the differentiation and solidarity between various types of occupation, the more a certain degree of heterogeneity is necessary (Durkheim, 2002). However, Durkheim’s conception left little room for individual’s initiative and freedom in the process of socialization, and he did not leave any role to the individual in the socialization process. Durkheim’s perception of the relationships between the individual and the group is of special relevance in the case of the Cuban education system.

In Albert Bandura’s Social Cognitive Theory (1997), in the triadic reciprocal model of determinism, the concept of self-efficacy is an essential cognitive factor that relates to people’s behavior within their environment. Specifically, self-efficacy is concerned with judgments of personal capabilities and is “a belief about what one can do under different sets of conditions with whatever skills one possesses” (Bandura, 1997, p. 37). Furthermore, it is the individuals’ self-efficacy beliefs that motivates them through adversity and influences their outcome expectations, which is viewed as “a person’s estimate that a given behavior will lead to certain outcomes” (Bandura, 1977, p. 193). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) is also

interested in the self and the surroundings. They analyze cultural rules, what they call *habitus*, that link economic and cultural control and distribution together. Their focus is on the students' ability to cope with middle class culture, and they argue that cultural capital is stored in schools, and the schools acts as an effective filtering device in the reproduction of a hierarchical society. They want us to look at cultural capital in the same way we look at economic capital. Since educational systems are responsible for reproducing cultural capital, it is important to explore what kind of capital is reproduced (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In relation to Cuba's civic education, the theory of cultural capital is relevant because it studies the distribution of power through knowledge. The cultural capital represents the legitimized knowledge which, if owned, confers status and social mobility (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The benefited group is the dominant group in society, as determined by the group's ideology, socio-economic class and epistemology.

3.4.1 Hidden curriculum

A big part of school life and socialization, however not so visible, is the concept of the hidden curriculum (Dreeben, 1969). The hidden curriculum in schools serves to reinforce the norms of society, which establishes the boundaries of legitimacy. Dreeben (1969) examined the relationship between basic assumptions and potent relationships in a collectivity and the hidden curriculum, and argues that the students tacitly learn certain identifiable social norms mainly by coping with the day-to-day encounters and tasks of classroom life. These norms penetrate many areas of later life and are critical for the student's acceptance of the occupational and political institutions which contributes to the stability of society. Apple (2004) emphasizes the importance of hidden teaching, and states that incidental learning contributes more to the political socialization of a student than civic classes or other forms of deliberate teaching of specific value orientation. Through the hidden curriculum, the students are taught how to deal with and relate to the structure of authority of the collectivity to which they belong by the patterns of interaction they are exposed to in a certain extent in schools (Apple, 2004). Peer groups and family will also easily affect the students' general orientation to authority, however there is a strong suggestion in recent research that schools are rather close rivals to the family as significant agents of political socialization (Apple, 2004).

3.4.1 Socialized to be a patriot with national identity

Civic education in Cuba is not only about teaching ideology to the students, it is also a big part of Cuban nation-building. In this subsection, I want to explore patriotic and national

development of a Cuban national identity. First, I will discuss the term nationalism, look into infrastructural power and Anderson's imagined communities.

Cuba is a stable authoritarian state, and pressure from the outside world has not been sufficient to produce regime change (Hawkins, 2001). The US has long been known as the defender of global democracy (Gilens, 2014). Unfortunately, they have their own troubles with their democracy: wealthy people pay for their presidential campaigns, making the presidential candidate obliged to follow the politics of those who are paying for their campaign, if they win the elections. This corruption in the so-called US "democracy" is caused by inequality, and it is also a leading factor in maintaining inequality in the US. Where the states interests are opposed to the citizens' interests. By the definitions of democracy, where "equal representation" is important, the US does not qualify. The leaders have been chosen, the opportunities to vote are few and segregating (Nardulli, 2005). The weaknesses in the US "democratic" republic is also a weakness in the concept of democracy. Due to several definitions and unclear standards for a democracy, one can understand that the Cuban republic might feel free to call their system democratic, if they compare themselves to the standard set by the US. So one might wonder if there is just old resentment that is being held on to by the US. However, as the defender of global democracy, with their illusion of a democracy, it might strengthen their position by not accepting others as democracies. The state officials in Cuba actively foster the idea that party competition, campaigning and other trappings of "bourgeois democracy" are foreign to Cuba's national spirit (Hawkins, 2001). Hawkins mentions three factors that are widely associated with democratization: 1. Socioeconomic development. 2. Economic crisis. 3. Favorable international structure. All these factors have been present in Cuba, yet they have failed to produce a transition to democracy. The hard truth, however, is that a transition from authoritarianism to democracy is very difficult (Coleman, 2013). History suggests that the transition towards a genuine substantive democracy characterized by resilient majority rule, free and fair elections, and strong minority and civil rights protections will be slow (Coleman, 2013). On the other hand, not being a democracy but still a national culture does not mean that the culture controls the actions of the members. Positively the national culture is a pattern of meaning, where communication is shared by a collective. It has been there forever, but is changeable, it has resemblance but is different, in what Giddens (1990) calls a symbolic hegemony, where there is room for resistance. Smith (2016) argues that nationalism is integral to the sense of collective identity that binds the Cuban people together. More generally, Benedict Anderson

(2016) argues that nationalism inspires an allegiance that transcends specific political and ideological standpoints to the extent that it is “the most legitimate value in the political life of our time” (Anderson, 2016, p. 3). However, Michael Billig (1995) introduces the term “banal nationalism,” which critically focuses on everyday representations of a nation that shares a sense of national belonging amongst the citizens. Attempts to construct a national identity often homogenize difference or presume that new discourses of multiculturalism reposition historically marginalized groups on equal footing with those who have long enjoyed the benefits of national membership or privilege (Billig, 1995). In other cases, they convey social belonging as conditional or impossible for particular groups (Bellino & Williams, 2017). Matthias vom Hau (2008) draws a conceptual distinction between two discursive formations of nationalism: 1. Nationalism is a highly explicit and consciously articulated ideology put forward by the state to legitimate authority and achieve social control. This form of nationalism is reflected in presidential speeches, school textbooks, monuments and public ceremonies. 2. Nationalism is a cultural script with almost self-evident plausibility that provides a lens through which social reality is framed in daily habits and routines (Vom Hau, 2008). This form of nationalism is for example reflected in taking the national news for granted. However, the two forms of nationalism are connected to each other in a dynamic process where state ideologies aim to become gradually translated into hegemonic cultural scripts, which contributes to propel the pervasiveness of states towards their population. At the same time, cultural scripts enjoy relative autonomy from state control. Vom Hau (2008) explains that state infrastructural power is key to explain variations of nationalism. The presence of logistics across national territories, such as a largely literate population or road networks, allow state authorities to broadly diffuse new forms of nationalism. In addition, infrastructurally powerful states can draw on a variety of social control mechanisms, one in particular being organizations and schools. And last, infrastructural powerful states exhibit the capacity to provide social services, thereby also enhancing the diffusion of their ideological projects among the resident population (Vom Hau, 2008). Philip Gorski (2003) explains the state’s “organized persuasion” and that the “cultural machinery,” where public schooling and the ideological work of the state can be included in mass communication. This is particularly relevant in the Cuban case where an extensive network of public primary schools facilitates the broader circulation of state-sponsored ideological products. The state authorities may issue detailed guidelines defining the content of school textbooks or engage in explicit promotion of art or literature (Vom Hau, 2008). Vom Hau (2008) explains that another feature of state infrastructural power, conceptualized at the national level, is the relationship between

state authorities and the institutions of penetration, like schools. However, the power may be limited, because of the lack of allies among the principal actors within those institutions, for instance if the schoolteachers resist the ideological orientation of the official curriculum, designed and implemented by educational officials, and employ a variety of strategies to subvert its transmission in the classroom. Benedict Anderson (2016) describes the way that nations have formed in order to serve a function, arguing that they differ from states and that they are “imagined communities.” They are imagined because they are based on an imaginary sense of recognition and identification by individuals in the collective with the discourses of shared values or characteristics (Anderson, 2016). Anderson’s (2016) notion about imagined communities describes how people within a community can feel attached to other people, in absence of personal knowledge. In most nations, each citizen will not have personal relations with everyone, but they will still feel a sense of belonging with and connection towards one another. Anderson finds this peculiar and analyses it in three parts. 1. It must be clear who is a part of the community, and who is not. 2. There are usually similarities in the differences of those who do not belong, and 3. There is a consensus on what these differences are, amongst the ones who are a part of the community. Finally, Anderson discusses memory in the nation, as a way in which national solidarity and identity are reproduced. A whole industry of history and commemoration produces national memory; and give particular memories in a national frame. Schoolchildren learn their national story, and vacationers visit the sites of historical battles (Anderson, 2016, p. 230). However, this is not all about memory, it is also about forgetting. When Cuban schoolchildren remember the great revolutionists, they forget their negative actions, as it was in the name of the revolution.

5.0 Analysis

This chapter presents a discussion of my empirical data by using the theoretical framework. The analysis explores the relationship between teachers, curriculum, theory and practice. The following sub-chapters will be structured according to the main findings of the research, aligned with the thematical order of the research questions.

A) What are the ideologies behind the educational policies in Cuba?

B) To what extent is civic education a contributor in the formation of the Cuban citizens? And is there coherence between the curriculum and the actual classroom teaching?

C) To what extent do the principles of the CGCE discourse exist in the development of “Good Cuban citizens in the classroom”?

D) To what extent are the students socialized to be patriots with a national identity?

The first sub-chapter will address research question A, with a focus on the ideology behind the educational policies in Cuba. I will address the concept of *Cubanía* and the fact that many of my informants view Cuba as a democracy. At the end of this sub-chapter, national policies, the ideological state apparatus and the work-study principle will be discussed, as they are part of the ideology underpinning the Cuban education system.

In the second subchapter, I will address the focus of this study, which is civic education. The practical elements of the teachings are briefly presented, such as the student–teacher ratio, teacher preparations and the teacher approaches to teaching civic education. A discussion of the power of civic education in Cuban education finishes this sub-chapter.

Subchapters three and four address the formation of the Cuban citizens and their national identity. With a focus on Global Citizenship Education vs. Critical Global Citizenship Education, I conclude that the problem of the Cuban classroom is a lack of opportunity to analyze and discuss the Cuban model. Lastly, I discuss the formation of the students’ national identity, with a focus on the José Martí Pioneer Organization, and the importance of history education in the formation of the students’ national identity.

In the last sub-chapter, I discuss the surroundings of Cuban society that influence civic education in a direct or indirect way. The aspect of the double conciencia in the Cuban mind is highlighted with the Cuban ideology on one side and the troubles of with the US embargo, the tourism industry, and mass media on the other. These were all elements affecting civic

education in Cuba. In this section, I will discuss the ideology of Cuba's educational system and look into the terms democracy, nationalism and imagined communities by analyzing the findings from the constitution, curricula and textbooks in light of my theories.

5.1 Cuba's ideology

Under this sub-heading, I am analyzing the relationship between the ideology, the constitution and the civics curricula in light of my observations, interviews and textual analysis. This is done to understand the ideological nature imposed by the state through education, and the citizens' collective obligations towards the Cuban state, which is part of my focus in this thesis. As presented in my theoretical framework, the ideology in Cuba is popularly called *Cubanía*, which is a socialist combination of Marxism and Leninism developed through counterhegemonic movements (Blum, 2010). The revolutionary direction of Cuban society was domesticated and formalized by the state in the years following the revolution. As shown in my findings, this was emphasized by a 5th grader: "[...] I love my country, and I fight for the revolution, and I do my duties." This shows that dynamic state formation works in two ways, with individuals and, in this case, the schools, and the schools have the capacity for both reproduction and production of knowledge (Smith, 2016). The socialist ideology is rooted in the constitution. Article one states that "Cuba is a socialist state, democratic, independent, governed by the people. Together we work for everyone's well-being, as a republic together" (ConstitutionDeCuba, 2019, p. 3). The first article is clearly about the collective. The constitution states initially that "[...] the people of Cuba are the people who fought for the revolution. [...] it is only through socialism and through communism people find their dignity. [...] the biggest honor you can get is to defend your country [...]" (ConstitutionDeCuba, 2019, p. 3). This underlines the collective nature of the constitution and the social obligations of the citizens towards the state and country. One of the 9th grade students explained how she contributed to society: "I do volunteer work in my community whenever it is needed, especially on the occasion of national anniversaries." This highlights the students' social obligations towards the community. As noted in my findings, my translator explained to me that Cubans do not like the term "ideology." Gordy (2015) mentions similar experiences, from her research in Cuba:

[...] during my initial visits to Cuba, several of these social scientists suggested that using the term "ideology" might bring problems with the authorities and make the future research difficult. Ideology, they explained, was a dangerous term because the

leadership was no longer quite sure what the ideology of the revolution was, given the changes it had made to its own economy, and given the global discrediting of socialism in particular and the term and concepts of ideology more generally (Gordy, 2015, p. 8).

Gordy (2015) explains that ideology is a dynamic process where it produces its subjects, and in turn is produced by them. In the civics curriculum, the state's purpose is to create an ideological hegemony, where the state's ideology is the only one accepted, as shown in my findings and in article 9 in the constitution: "You have to be a socialist, you will live by the premises of the country and its limits [...]." The fact that Cubans do not like the term *ideology* may be an indication of the ideological hegemony by the state. They are scared to say anything "wrong," and there is little room for criticism against the state's ideology. This could be one reason why it was difficult to get a statement about ideology from the informants. However, the document analysis shows the precise ideology of the state. Through my findings, seen through the lenses of my theoretical framework, there is no doubt that the Cuban state employs the ideological state apparatus to influence institutions such as education, and this apparatus serves to transmit the values of the state and to interpellate Cubans (Althusser et al., 1969). Althusser's notion, to reproduce the capitalist relations of production, is contrary to Cuba, where the constitution states that "they will never be taken over by capitalist forces" (ConstitutionDeCuba, 2019, p. 1). In Cuba, the "ideological state apparatus" is intent on maintaining order in society and protect the ideology and the values of the state. While this is not unique to Cuba, the difference from the curricula in most countries in the Global North is that the ideological content is counter-hegemonic in relation to so-called dominant Western ideology.

5.1.1 Ideology in the educational policies

As stated in my theoretical framework, it is important to underline the ideological nature behind Cuba's educational policies. In my findings, I found that the constitution was also an educational document, as it is the cornerstone of the Cuban state laws. Article 32 of the constitution states that "The state guides, encourages and promotes education [...] teaching is a function of the State based on the principle and values of our society [...]." The constitution is the heart of the Cuban state and represents the ideology in the civic education topic. According to the constitution, students in Cuban classrooms are future obedient citizens, who need to be good pioneers for the state's ideology. As I showed in my theoretical framework,

the Cuban state's ideology is connected to the school institutions. This is in line with what Louis Althusser writes about the *ideological state apparatus*:

The school teaches *knowhow*, but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice. All the agents of production [...] must in one way or another be "steeped" in this ideology, in order to perform their tasks *conscientiously* [...] of the ruling ideology (Althusser, 2006, p. 88).

The civics curricula from the 5th and 9th grade and the constitution are highly ideological, and the curriculum and the constitution have clear goals related to the role of education. As pointed out in my theoretical framework, Gramsci (1973) highlighted the state's intention in educating the citizens into the state ideology, creating an "ideological or cultural hegemony." Throughout my findings, it has been highlighted that the aim for civic education is to make the students identify with their nation and be true patriots. The group identity is related to the state's ideology, and the school is a part of the formation of the collective identity. The training for ideological obedience is a totality project, aligned with the literacy campaign in the '60s, when the Cuban government created a society with totalitarian tendencies. The Freirean ideal of the learner, where the learner and education is in a state of a "co-intentional" exchange of knowledge, rather than a dissemination by the teacher and imbibing by the learner, does not exist in Cuba (Freire, 2000, p. 51). Through my findings, I detected that the outline of the civic education curriculum is a part of the general education that addresses the formation of a (wo)man as a citizen, with it the obligation to take pride in the Cuban nation. The student council president understood civic education to be important in their formation as citizens "[...] the goals of civic education is really important, especially nowadays, to teach us everything we need to know in order to be of good use to society." Durkheim's (2002) notion that "school is essential to imprint shared social values into the minds of the students" agrees with the student council president's understanding. However, the student council presidents' "primary socialization" is most likely a part of the value system of the state that will contribute to highlight the "secondary socialization" in a subsequent process of his "primary socialization" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This is in line with what the teacher trainer emphasized: "Their education at home has to be a good one, because when the students start school, the school can continue to build on that." As shown in my findings, the educational objectives of each grade and level are the formation of values in students, with an emphasis on responsibility, honesty and patriotism. The Norwegian pedagogical researcher and curriculum author Gunn Imsen (2020), stresses that the formal curriculum is where the

political authorities display their values, for governance, inspiration and information. Engelsen (2012) explains that the formal curriculum in a Western context does not always have the function of providing advice or guidelines for the teachers' work, and that it does not focus on their function as a presenter of political visions. It is different in Cuba because, as noted, the curriculum is highly political, promoting the politics and the ideology of the one party in power. However, the actual implementation of the ideology in class may differ somewhat from teacher to teacher. As referred to in my theoretical framework, Goodlad's (1979) conception of the curricula reflects the continuity and wholeness of their education, from idea to the students' experience. From my findings, the 9th grade teacher pointed to the ideas behind the education: "We have our revolutionary thoughts [...] we have houses [...] and we do not have to pay for health care or education [...] our country has been taking measures [...] and we do it as a team." In this statement, the teacher points to the idea behind the education system, even though it is the state, as noted, that more or less solely decides the ideas of the curriculum. The elements in the ideology behind the Cuban educational policies expose aspects of the same social reality. In Cuba, in Goodlad's term, "the formal curriculum" does not differ much from "the ideal." However, it is clear that Goodlad's framework is adopted from a Western discourse, which makes it difficult to compare it to the Cuban context. The civics curriculum is closely linked to the taught ideology, and the formal curriculum is the official, authorized, and the consensus document. It is clear that the state is not a silent actor in matters of the collective national identity.

5.1.2 Nationalism and imagined communities

In this sub-chapter, I discuss the concepts of nationalism and "imagined communities" in relation to the school system. As observed in my findings, Cuba is portrayed as the counterhegemonic force against global capitalism, with the US as the big foe, and this stimulates nationalism. As shown in this chapter and the previous one, the US embargo has a clear and visual impact on Cubans and their society. However, the education's focus on the enemies can also be viewed as inclusive nationalism: the Cubans are banding together against the USA. This means that inclusive nationalism, as discussed in my theoretical framework, could be understood as a definition of what it means to be a member of the Cuban nation that is based on inclusion rather than exclusion. Anderson's (2016) model of "imagined communities" can be linked to the idea of the common ideological basis in Cuba enforced through education. Anderson (2016) analyses the notion of nationalism and how the nation is socially constructed and imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of the group. My observations in Havana, where each morning, at 08:00 o'clock, the students gather

in front of the school to raise the Cuban flag, sing the national anthem and recite revolutionary quotes is an example of this imagined community. This is part of their education in becoming, as displayed in the 5th and 9th grade curriculum, “a good patriot” and a “fighter for the revolutionary values.” Matthias vom Hau (2008) draws on two dimensions in the formation of nationalism. The first dimension explains that nationalism is a highly explicit and consciously articulated ideology put forward by the state, to legitimate authority and achieve social control. This form of nationalism is reflected in presidential speeches, school textbooks, monuments and official public ceremonies. All this is in place in Cuban society; there are presidential speeches on national TV, monuments are all over Havana, and there are public ceremonies. As I will further discuss, civic education is also a part of this. Vom Hau’s second dimension points out that nationalism is a cultural script with almost self-evident plausibility that provides a lens through which social reality is framed in daily habits and routines. The two actions are connected in Cuba and are translated into hegemonic scripts, which contribute to the pervasiveness of the state toward the population. Anderson (2016) portrays nationalism as an “imagined community” where it must be clear who is a part of the community and who is not. When I asked different informants about me as a foreigner becoming a Cuban, I was met with different feedback. The teacher trainer was skeptical to me as a foreigner becoming Cuban, in line with Anderson, as I was a clear outsider in the community since I was not born in Cuba, or as she stated: “You have not had the necessary training, so you might fail to understand the values of the revolution.” This is also in line with what the constitution states in article 33, that to be Cuban you have to “be born in Cuba, by Cubans.” This highlights the basics of what is important for being “part of the community.” However, the 9th grade students felt that my interest in civic education could be a great asset in becoming Cuban. In this case, I as a foreigner did not belong at first sight. If I proclaimed that I was a socialist and believed in the values of the revolution, it could be a different story. This is stated in the constitution, in article 9: “You have to be a socialist and follow the rules and live by the principles of the country, and its limitations.” In this article, the constitution also informs us of who are not a part of the community. Those who do not share the Cuban value system are not socialists, and they do not accept the principles of the country, and thus they do not belong in the country. This probably refers to the Cubans who fled to Miami after the revolution.

5.2 Civic education

Civic education is a part of forming Cuban students into proper Cuban citizens.

Under this sub-heading, I analyze the ideals and ideology of the students' experiences in the civics classroom. Part of the students' socialization process in becoming a citizen, and in addition to the teachings in the civics classroom, is the work-study principle and the José Martí Pioneer Organization (JMPO), which will therefore be analyzed under this civic education umbrella. It is worth noting that civic education is based on the same ideology and ideas that I discussed on a more general level in the first part of this chapter. The Cuban education system states that the socialization process for their students starts in grade 1. As one of the 9th grade students explained: "Civic education is important for us to learn about our rights and duties as citizens." The socialization process is strengthened in civic education from the 5th grade level. In line with Breidlid (2007), I noted that the informants in Cuba are loyal to the education policy and do not criticize the official policies. As presented in my findings, the 5th grade civics curriculum explains that civic education is a subject that will contribute

[...] to the development of knowledge, skills, abilities, and fundament of feelings, values, habits, and norms of conduct that require the moral formation and citizens preparation of man, for a full life in the construction of socialism in Cuba [...]. The goal is [...] to educate the students into the value system and make them independently conclude that the Cuban model is the only and right way to rule the country [...] (2009).

It is interesting that the framing of the aim states that the students will "independently" come to understand the superiority of the Cuban system, when it is common knowledge that it is the powerful state apparatus which determines the opinions of the students. I came across the power of the state apparatus on several occasions in the civics classroom, with teachers, students and in casual conversation. However, the 9th grade civics teacher had an interesting comment: "At least our government does not use time to argue against each other." Which shows his loyalty towards the government, and his opposition to Western democracies, who use time to discuss the country's policies and implications. One of the 9th grade students expressed in an interview that "There is no conflict between the state's convictions and mine." This is an example of the ideological power dynamics in the classroom in Cuba, which is well recognized, and the teachers' personal beliefs are not to be addressed. However, as mentioned above, it is hardly possible to promote a "value-free education." As discussed in my

theoretical framework, Freire (2000) states: “There is no such thing as a value-free education,” and in Cuba the hegemonic values to be taught in civic education are indeed not value-free, but supposed to contain the Marxist–Leninist, or socialist, ideology. Hofstede (1991) points out that in a “collective society,” the citizens are, from birth, classified into strong cohesive groups, where the state will protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. Cuban students are educated to share a collective feeling towards the national symbols, history, norms and values underlined in the motto “Be a good Cuban.” As showed in my findings, the focus on these common values was a large part of the students’ daily school experience. The Cuban students are expected, particularly stressed in the civics curriculum, to work in the socialist society as well-behaved citizens, acting as moral guides towards each other. As noted in my findings section, the five 9th grade students agreed that they found civic education to be important in order to keep their values and to understand the political reality and their duties towards their country. They expressed that they wanted to learn how to be good citizens and how they should behave in certain situations. One dissenting student in the 5th grade, stated that “Civic education is too political, and kids should not be taught politics.” However, he did like history education, but was not interested in the political aspect of history education. His voice can possibly be interpreted as a statement against the indoctrination of the Cuban school system, through civic education. A great part of what is written in the civics curriculum is based on the primary ideology of the constitution, which as I have shown in my findings is clearly expressed in the classroom.

The essential purpose of education is the formation of personal convictions and behavior as a citizen [...], fit to build the new society and the conquest of the revolution [...] into the achievement of a Communist Education [...] the knowledge of the socialist legal system in Cuba contributes to personal and social identity, citizen responsibility and social participation (5th grade curriculum, 2018).

This is similar to my findings in the 9th grade curriculum. However, the president of the pedagogical organization highlighted that the teachers are obligated to teach the students the value system throughout the school day, not just in civics class: “The teachers need to realize that civic education covers all spheres of social life [...] Civic education, is to preserve the values, so we can build and develop the students.” This statement is in line with Durkheim’s (2002) concept of “collective representation,” where the individual becomes socialized by adopting the behavior of the group. The Cuban government has emphasized the role of civic education in the development of society and individual personality. Schools are one of the two

principal venues of state-controlled socialization (Fernández, 2000), which is concentrated in the civics classroom. The 9th grade teacher added that “to form the right values, and make the students good citizens during their education, is a priority in civics class.” To help the civic education process in socializing the students into submissive citizens, there are four channels in which Cubans are socialized; family, schools, state-controlled mass organizations (like the JMP organization that I will address later) and the informal sphere. Erikson’s concept of identity is relevant to understand the essential needs of the government in meeting with the personal identity needs of the students in the civics classroom. Their sense of self-importance and their value as citizens is reinforced in the classroom, which exposes a visible transformation in the physical environment that is important for national pride. The students’ energies are channeled into prescribed patterns of behavior, they are expected to provide a social service for the community, where they are given responsibilities, and collectivism is encouraged and expected. The focus in the civics classroom is on the historical and cultural production of knowledge and power in order to empower the learners to make informed choices. However, in the civics classroom, the choices of action and meaning are never imposed, as the “right to signify” is recognized and respected. Gorski’s (2003) reference to “organized persuasion” and “cultural machinery” is relevant in the Cuban context, as Cuba’s civic education is a part of the public school, which is free of charge for everyone. The student council president talked as a true patriot and defender of civic education: “[...] we want to be free and develop our national identity. As a Cuban, I have learned the importance of commitment, and I will do my part, because of the love for my county.” Every Thursday, the teachers had a meeting, and the student council president’s grandmother always came, bringing coffee to the teachers. It therefore appears that his socialization into the national identity comes in several layers, and that it is deeply rooted in civic education.

5.2.1 Teachers about civic education

Even though the curriculum has its ideological and pedagogical priorities, my study also shows that there were different approaches to the preparation process before the civics class. The 9th grade teacher used the constitution as part of his preparations. He had prepared the class lesson in writing, which he lectured for the students. He also informed me that civics teachers in the neighborhood met once a month so they could collaborate. A book by José Martí and other government books were also part of their preparation. According to my findings, the 9th grade teacher was a member of the Communist Party and a true representative of the Cuban ideological system. The teachers I observed taught the ideology as expected, like loyal citizens and teachers should. The 5th grade teacher did not show any signs of being in

opposition to the ideology of the state and was sincerely happy with the salary increase she had just received. However, in the same school, the English teacher informed me about the pressure to teach according to the guidelines from the state:

We have to teach the system and motivate, as teachers it does not matter what we believe, we must put our doubts and thoughts at home as we walk into school and teach the ideology of the government.

Her statement was the most critical comment I got from a teacher on the subject of ideology in education. Indirectly, she showed dissent by saying “we have to” and “we must put our doubts and thoughts at home.” As I understood her comments, she was not convinced of the state’s ideology, but as a teacher, she could not display those feelings on the school premises. According to the English teacher’s statement, she does not tell the students about her doubts about the system and the ideology but keeps it safe at home. The ideology is not open for debate, and her personal opinion is not welcome. This is not exceptional for Cuba. From my experiences of being a teacher in Norway, it would be expected of me to not talk about my own personal convictions in the classroom but to be a professional and teach the curriculum. In spite of this similarity, the main difference seems to be that a teacher in Norway is expected to be religiously and politically neutral and objective even though it is contested if this is possible or even a desired goal. Cuban civic education shows similarities with Kohlberg’s (2014) theory of moral development, as the students learn the positive and negative aspects of the community, in order to secure a smooth and functioning society. However, in civics class this is done solely on the principles of the Cuban state, which I will address later in the CGCE discourse.

5.2.2 History education

Many of my informants highlighted the importance of history education in setting the standard for the ideology: “You can teach ideology, but if you do not know your history, then teaching ideology is worth nothing.” This was in relation to Cuban history and context, not focusing on the global context. This remark also highlights the importance of history education in the development of civic education. An important distinction is that history education is not all memory, it is also forgetting. When I asked the 9th grade teacher about the negative things the national leaders had done, or proclaimed², he answered that their mistakes

² I was thinking of the work camps where homosexuals were sent because of their sexual orientation, and of Che Guevara, who was critical of homosexuals. This is still a problem in Cuba and is something which deserves to be written more about, but in a different setting.

in the past were used as examples for the students, showing that they could learn from their mistakes. This seems to show that Cuban leaders could be criticized in history class, however not something I observed or could detect through document analysis. My analysis of the civics curriculum, which includes history teaching, and the constitution seems to indicate that Anderson's notion on what they choose to "forget" is reminiscent of the teaching about their Cuban historical leaders, and their historical errors. Anderson (2016) highlights memory as an important factor in the way that the industry of history produces national memories and gives particular memories a national frame. In addition, the collective is strengthened with their political "enemies," who are important in keeping the imagined community. The people of Cuba feel attached to other Cubans, even if they do not know them personally, because they are familiar with the same ideology.

5.2.3 Work-study principle

One important aspect of civic education is the work-study principle, which can be related to Durkheim's (2002) theory of "collective conscience" and the idea that the individual becomes socialized by adopting the behavior of the group. One group behavior that can be adopted in the school community is manual labor with peers. The Cuban students are all part of a bigger community. A student explained in a letter that "For me, to be Cuban makes me happy because I am part of the Cuban community [...]." This was emphasized in the creation of the new (wo)man, where the importance of socially useful subjects and voluntary labor for moral rewards was strengthened. In the '70s, students went to boarding schools, where the students were to teach the value of work, how to cooperate to achieve group goals and to gain independence from their family. This is in line with the objectives of civic education and fits the idea of "social efficiency" (Althusser et al., 1969), where the purpose of schooling is to efficiently meet the needs of society. This need is met by training youth to function as future mature contributing members of society and promoting the ideologies with the idea that learning takes place in a direct cause-effect, action-reaction, stimulus-response context (Wright et al., 2013). In addition, this school-work principle was meant to break down class and gender discrimination and racial prejudice. However, the English teacher stated that "the boarding schools did the opposite of what they wanted to do. Instead of boosting the students' morale, they tore them down and inspired criminal gangs." However, the purpose of the schools was in line with what civic education is meant to do: to develop the students' morale and motivation to work, and the students learnings should be for social benefits rather than for

material gain. The idea to boost the students moral by learning them the value of manual labor, is similar to Karl Marx notion on the collective identity, in a “class consciousness.” Marx (1888) used the notion of the working class and that the material situation characterized the collective identity, in a “class consciousness.” At its core, the “collective identity” is a process rather than a property of social actors. The “collective identity” focus on “a sense of we” and shows the importance the process through which social actors recognize themselves as a collectivity. This notion of identity is very relevant in the case of the work-study principle and civic education. To capture a “collective identity,” there has to be a process where there have been established variants of what could be termed “identity work.” This encompasses the range of activities people engage in, both individually and collectively, to express who they are and what they stand for in relation to others. According to my findings, working in the fields or joining a boarding school was no longer a compulsory part of the education, and it seemed like the transition or change was due to infrastructural problems rather than an ideological reorientation from the state. Civic education had taken over the ideological responsibility towards the students. The 9th grade teacher explained: “It is not part of the educational system, but the student can choose [...] it is still a part of high school, but because of the fuel problems, the work takes place in the community rather than in the countryside.” The president of the institute said:

The students conduct social work around the school, and the students from primary schools participate once or twice a year in the fields. When it is time to harvest the potatoes, the students help, but there is the trouble with the fuel, so it might be difficult at this time.

None of the students I interviewed, had any memory of ever doing work in the fields in the countryside. The dilemma, or problem, with the fact that the principle is not being practiced due to infrastructural and economic, rather than ideological, issue is that the Cuban state loses an important way to teach the students the importance of combining intellectual and practical work.

5.2.4 The José Martí Pioneer Organization (JMPO)

Through their everyday life and through civic education, the Cuban students are taught how to cope with their society, and their cultural capital is reproduced with help of the JMPO. All students, from 1st–9th grade, are enrolled in JMPO. The organization was founded based on attaining the values from the revolution, which is aligned with the objectives of civic education. Through the organization, the Cuban government can indoctrinate the students

with the cultural rules, *habitus* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). One of the teachers explained the objectives of the organization:

The objective is to organize people to defend our country [...]. All Cubans take part in a committee [...] to defend the interests of the revolution [...]. The JMP organization is part of the school socialization process and an additional component in educating Cuban citizens. The organization is a supplement to the life and teachings in the schools and is meant to highlight the state's value system and make the students good socialists and citizens, with the motto "We want to be like Che."

The constitution explains the principles of the organization in article 6: "The union of young communists [...] contributes to the education the youngest generation in the revolutionary, and ethical principles of our society, and promotes their participation in the building of socialism." The JMPO is enforced to continue the hierarchical society, where the state is with the legitimate power. As noted in the findings section, the student council president informed me that it was not an option to not be a part of the organization, because it is a part of their civic education. It was clear that the participation in the organization is as mandatory as enrolling in school. This emphasizes the production of the students' cultural capital, in order to fit the Cuban state's values. All my informants agreed with the activities of the JMPO. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that cultural capital is stored in school, and that it is an effective filtering device in the reproduction of a hierarchical society. The JMPO is used to distribute power through knowledge. The cultural capital represents the legitimized knowledge which, if owned, confers status and social mobility. The Cuban model is looking for equality and equal rights, which makes civic education and the JMPO an example of the state's culture and vision, which is to be transmitted to the student. The student's education and participation in the JMPO will form a sense of recognition and identification with the individuals in the collective; they will share the same values and characteristics. JMPO is also a part of the students' "secondary socialization," as a part of the school and after school activities.

5.3 The CGCE discourse in the making of "Good Cuban citizens"

In this subsection, I will discuss if it is possible for students to get a critical citizenship education in Cuba and how they are educated to become "good Cuban citizens" through civic education. As noted in my theoretical framework, Critical Global Citizenship Education (CGCE) addresses inequality and oppression at both a local and a global level, in particular related to issues of neocolonialism and Western hegemony. The CGCE addresses the legacy

of colonialism and promotes a form of counter-hegemony emphasizing deconstruction of oppressive global structures (Skårås et al., 2019). This is in contrast to the GCE discourse, which is infused with hegemonic Western perceptions, and thus different from the Cuban perspective. This can make it hard for the students to relate to the GCE and develop *perspective consciousness*, which relates to the students understanding that their view of the world is not universally shared. The Cuban students consciousness and ideology are bound to their society, and that they are not part of a global consciousness.

5.3.1 Oppression

Oppression of Cubans prior to the revolution is clearly addressed in the civics classroom throughout the students' education, and the same is true of the oppression from the Global North. The colonial influence is part of the classroom and the society, with the revolution emphasized as the great savior. According to my findings, the students' perspective in the classroom is based on their own Cuban history. In CGCE discourse, these issues should be open for debate and put in a global context, but that is not the case in Cuba, in my experience. Perspective consciousness is about broadening the students' perspectives, increasing their knowledge and teaching them to embrace the experiences and ideas of others. At its core, it is about getting the students to understand that other people's reality is often different from theirs. I found that it was not part of the civics curriculum to transcend the Cuban context and ideology and discuss the global context from other perspectives than the Cuban. The US was, however, discussed as a symbol of the oppressor as the Western country responsible for imposing sanctions on Cuba. In this way the Cuban classroom has elements of CGCE discourse. As I show in my findings, the US embargo was not only discussed in Cuban society outside the school premises, but also inside the classroom. However, if this issue were to be discussed properly in relation to the CGCE discourse, the discussion would view both sides critically in a historical and global perspective and include the students' perspective. To explore the CGCE discourse and discuss values such as tolerance, human rights and so-called democracy would clash with the Cuban idea of creating an obedient citizen with lack of critical thinking. The lack of a critical discussion of this discourse is a natural consequence of the closed Cuban ideological discourse which, somewhat paradoxically, is dependent on the capitalistic global world. I will address this later, in relation to the "double conciencia" in Cuban society. The Cuban people were oppressed by the colonizers, and by the US before the revolution as well as now, but there is also domestic oppression by the state. Cuban students are not allowed to reflect upon the socio-economic circumstances and political situation and take action towards changing the status quo in an open debate in the classroom, nor in Cuban

society. Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony, surrounding the Cuban society will remain oppressed until they have become "critically conscious" (Freire 1972), which is in line with the CGCE discourse. Although the legacy of colonialism is addressed in the civics classroom to form a counter-hegemony deconstruction of oppressive global structures, which is in line with CGCE, there is a sense that such an important discussion only takes place within the ideological context of the Cuban state, and that other viewpoints are not accepted.

5.3.2 The power of ideology

The power of ideology reproduced in school, described by Gramsci (1973), represents the reality in Cuba, and this is hard to unify with a CGCE discourse that opens up for alternative interpretations. Cuban schools have the power to uphold and indoctrinate the students with the ideology of the state by socializing the students into their norms, values, and beliefs. Cuban civic education does not focus on the globalized outside world in its multiple dimensions but focuses on developing and nurturing Cuba and the Cuban citizen in a somewhat restricted ideological universe. This was exposed in my interviews and other conversations, where it was clear that civic education play an important part in creating "good Cuban citizens." The history of the oppressed is honored, the great leaders are acknowledged, and Marxist–Leninist values are highlighted. In article 13 of the constitution, the state's essential purpose for basic and secondary education and civic education is outlined: "Channel the efforts of the nation in the construction of socialism and strengthen national unity." This means the purpose is the formation of "good Cuban citizens," which imposes a certain way of thinking about the historical events in the past. In contrast to GCE, CGCE promotes change without telling learners what they should think or do by creating a space where they are safe to analyze and experiment with other forms of thinking and relating to one another and a space where they can focus on globalization and its implications.

5.3.3 State-generated social capital

The Cuban school system does not reflect the CGCE discourse, as the MINED is controlled by the state. This does not open up for comprehensive, transparent reflections, as the education policies guide teachers' and students' thoughts in a very specific way. The Cuban state, through civic education, is in line with Carnoy's (2007) notion of "state-generated social capital," where the government of Cuba has a focus on the educational environment on a national scale to create learning benefits for the students and the state. What differentiates the Cuban state apparatus from its counterparts in the West is that the ideological policies, according to the constitution, the curriculum and my informants, define the Cuban system as

democratic even though it is a one-party state. In Cuba's civics classrooms, the aim is to socialize the students so that they form a group mentality with a focus on Cuban collectiveness and socialism.

5.3.4 Free speech

To socialize the students to a group mentality is not according to the CGCE, as free speech and a place to open up for an analyzing discourse in the classroom, is not a part of the Cuban collective representation. In my interviews with the 9th grade teacher, the teacher insisted that they taught the students to be critical. One of the students stated, however: "We can disagree, but we rarely need too. We agree with the teacher." This is not necessarily typical in Cuba, but understandable in a teacher–student relationship. The 9th grade teacher explained:

Civic education does not impose any opinions to the student. I give the students the different choices, and in a choice between the positive and negative outcome, they decide for themselves by being guided to choose the right, positive way.

The statement reveals that the students' options are limited, since the final answer, the positive, is given. This is an example of how deeply contextual and ideological Cuban education is. This is rooted in the national political climate, as the classroom structures do not allow students and teachers to discuss and address civic rights and national and global oppressive structures, other than the US and structures that support Cuban ideology. The absence of debate in Cuban society and classrooms creates a lack of creative and critical thought processes among the students, making them more obedient towards MINED's policies. Even though there is support for the decolonialization discourse promoted in CGCE, since it in many ways supports the ideological agenda of the Cuban state, the support is limited to what is acceptable within the Cuban ideological universe. Admittedly, different ideas seem to be transmitted to the students, but as noted there is not really a choice between them. Since the constitution and the curriculum give clear ideological directions as to how to educate the students so that they can become good Cuban citizens, and since this is being imposed upon the students, also outside the classroom, it does not come as a surprise that the teacher responds in the way he does. His response is yet another example of the hegemonic ideology that cannot really be questioned. The teacher teaches, in line with Durkheim's "collective representation," where the individual, here the students, become socialized by adopting the behavior of the group. According to Durkheim, when the students are not met with alternative views to the hegemonic ideology, they will adopt the same ideology as their

own. The Cuban state seem to fear that their position might be weakened, if they were to open up for discussions and CGCE in the curriculum and in the classroom.

5.3.5 Multiple identities

In relation to the identities addressed earlier, CGCE discourse opens up an important door for multiple identities. As shown in my theoretical framework, and according to Bauman (2007), Beck (2011) and Giddens (1990), collective identities are dissolving, and the main reason is globalization. The globalized world, here represented by the CGCE discourse, makes traditional patterns and identities less distinct and more floating. The “liquid modernity” which Bauman discusses (2007), possesses no sense of direction and has no detectable regularity that could have predicted the next move. However, this is not necessarily the case for Cuba, where the Cuban state represents “solid modernity,” in contrast with the “liquid modernity” of capitalism and the global marketpace, where the consumer is part of the product.

5.4 Surrounding influences of the formation of Cuban citizens

Inside every classroom, there is teaching on display that cannot be planned for, and are a part of the surroundings. In this sub-chapter, I will discuss the hidden curriculum and the surrounding influences, such as the “double conciencia” and mass media’s place in the teaching of civics in Cuba. What influences the teaching that is not written in the curricula nor planned for in-, and in the surroundings of the classroom? The constitution and the curricula are not alone in exposing the ideology. As noted in the chapter on my findings, the school buildings display the students work of national heroes, important historical events, and how to act as a citizen of Cuba. This is exposed not just on the classroom walls but on the student’s uniforms, their primrose tag, and also outside the school buildings, with busts of José Martí and the national flag in the air, and it is impossible to fail to see them. In the Cuban context, as I show in my theoretical framework, I argue that the students’ surroundings also have an impact on the ideology being taught in the classroom. And what I argued in the previous sub-heading, what Cuban society chooses to remember and what it chooses to forget, is a big part of school life and the students’ surroundings and can be considered to be the hidden curriculum (Dreeben, 1969). As shown in my theoretical chapter, Dreeben (1969) examined the relationship between basic assumptions and potent relationships in a collectivity and the hidden curriculum, and he argues that the students tacitly learn certain identifiable social norms mainly by coping with the day-to-day encounters and tasks of classroom life.

Apple (2004) views hidden teaching as the incidental learning that contributes to the political socialization and value orientation of the student, even more than civics class. On their way to school, the students are likely to meet revolutionary slogans, billboards, busts and ideological statements. In addition, both of the schools I observed had revolutionary slogans, pictures of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and other influential leaders and inspirators outside the school building, inside it and inside of the classroom. And, of course, in front of all government buildings I encountered a bust of José Martí. I will argue that the revolutionary surroundings of the students is a part of the hidden curriculum, as it is a way to underpin the ideology in the revolutionary value system and make the students accept states ideology and the teachings which are not open for questioning. In addition, their surroundings are a part of the way the state projects its hegemonic powers towards its citizens.

5.4.1 Double conciencia

In Cuba, a big part of the hidden teaching is also a part of the students' "double conciencia." The duality of the Cuban society and the world that the students live in, is obvious. The contrasts are apparent when it comes to the tourism industry and the former division of the CUC and CUP currencies. The tourism industry that the Cubans have relied on economically since the fall of the Soviet Union, functions as a critical voice for the students and represents the duality, with communist values on one side and capitalist on the other. The embargo highlights the "double conciencia," as it is a symbol of both the enemy and the duality in Cuban society. Cubans blame the US for a lot of their problems, and the US is the image of the enemy and of the capitalist system. The "double conciencia" permits Cuban citizens to operate with both socialist and capitalist realities at the same time. The English teacher, explaining civic education, said it was harder to teach the students from the cities because they were influenced by all the tourists. It was easier to teach the students in the rural areas because they had less outside influence. Her perspective can be understood as a constant battle towards the capitalist forces mentioned in the constitution. The Cuban society and way of life wants to isolate itself from capitalism. However, because of the tourism industry and the internet, the citizens of Cuba are being influenced by capitalism, highlighting the *double conciencia*. On the basis of my findings, I show that the acquired effect of the teachings in the civics classroom is for the students to be good pioneers of the Cuban states ideology. Their civic teaching is based on the values of the revolution, to grow up promoting "Cubanidad" and to contribute to society. Castro's famous dictum, "Within the revolution, everything: against the revolution, nothing," summarizes the conformist and collectivist norms that the state fosters (Hawkins, 2001). For many Cubans, to establish autonomous groups outside the

revolution means to become a traitor to the homeland, which can be contradictory in the “double conciencia.” The norms of conformity and solidarity reinforce representation to prevent the emergence of strong independent social groups (Hawkins, 2001), which again highlights the nature of “double conciencia.” The president of the institute said: “The citizens of Cuba need to be taught how to be good socialists, in order to take part in the ideology of society.” And the student of the 5th grade: “To be Cuban means to fight for your country, to be born here and to treat everyone equally.” As noted, this is also confirmed in the constitution and the curricula. Article 5 of the constitution states: “The communist party ... works to preserve and strengthen the patriotic unity of Cubans, and to develop static moral and civic values.” And in the curriculum of the 5th grade we find:

[...]The essential purpose of education is the formation of personal convictions and behavior. The achievement of developed personalities, who think and act creatively and that are fit to build the new society and defend the conquest of the Revolution.

5.4.2 Mass and social media

As mentioned in my background chapter, the Castro government took over the media and religious institutions and nationalized them. This makes the Cuban mass media a part of the larger social system which controls the other subsystems. However, access to the internet is gradually improving in Cuba. Cubans used to only be able to connect to the internet and social media platforms via public Wi-Fi parks, but now it is possible to get internet connections at home. For most Cubans this is not affordable, however, and the government is still in control. Here the “double conciencia” is apparent, since only those with money have the possibility to obtain an important service that everyone wants. As I show in my findings, the 9th grade teacher claimed that the Cuban press is in an ideal situation:

In Cuba, we have a real freedom of the press, because the press is self-critical. The press is a result of the government and also of the social impact of the work the government does, and they represent the people.

This confirms the impression that some Cubans have a somewhat problematic understanding of what a free press is and what free choice really means, even though these terms also pose problems and dilemmas in the Global North. With the emergence of the new social media in Cuba, there is a sense that the Cuban government would have strengthened its position if it opened up a discussion in the civics classroom about the role of social media and its contents, and if the students were allowed to critically discuss global developments from different

perspectives. This might make the students more prepared for life, and they could get access to tools in the classroom which they could use to critically evaluate social media and developments in the Global North. The problem is that with no discussion and no conscientization about the world, the new social media, which gradually also comes to Cuba, is allowing a platform for debate whether the regime likes it or not. And the question is if this in the long run will be tolerated by a young population which is exposed to other discourses via the internet and social media. With the emergence of social media and with a closed civic education, the students will probably soon detect that the reality of civic education does not necessarily correspond to the realities outside the classroom and Cuba. This is probably the future challenge of the Cuban state and education system. Cuban education represents an alternative discourse, and the Cuban hegemonic discourse makes no place for any other discourse.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a discussion of my empirical data by using the theoretical framework. The analysis explores the relationship between teachers, curriculum, theory and practice, with a focus on the ideology behind the educational policies in Cuba. I have discussed the concept of *Cubanía* and that many of my informants view Cuba as a democracy. Civic education is a big part of the formation of Cuban citizens, and the practical elements of the teachings are a part of that. I have presented the power of civic education in the Cuban education. The students' national identities are formed in The José Martí Pioneer Organization and by their surroundings in Cuban society. Despite all the problems, the children of Cuba are provided with free education until graduation, including lunch at school. And whatever ideology one may salute, that is impressive.

6.0 Concluding Remarks

As my thesis shows, the ideological underpinnings of “Cubanía” is absolute and deeply rooted in the national policies and the educational documents which is the basis for civic education in Cuba. The dynamic process of the so-called Cuban ideology is shown in this thesis to be deeply present in the citizens’ social obligations towards the state, taught through civic education with the help of surrounding elements. The Cuban education system is a form of inclusive nationalism with a clear definition of what it means to be a member of the collective society. The Cuban regime has used the educational system to socialize Cubans to equate social independence with subversion and counterrevolution. This makes the ideological development of Cuba important in civic education as a disseminating predetermined ideological tenet and as an element of state formation (Smith, 2016).

In the civics textbooks for 5th grade in Cuba, the state plays an active role. This is the situation in most countries, be they capitalist or socialist. Apple (1993) terms government-approved textbooks that reflect the political philosophy of the ruling power “official knowledge.” The official knowledge contained within textbooks tends to present desirable images of a country and its people, sometimes subtly and sometimes not. Civic education takes part in the socialization process that results in the students becoming Cuban citizens. Civic education is coordinated in the powerful state apparatus which ensure the students’ right moral development, according to the Cuban state. However, even though most of my sources stated that the work-study principle was important for the students education in becoming a good Cuban citizens, it was not part of civics education, at least as far as I could detect. Still, a vital part of the students’ becoming good Cuban citizens was, as shown in this thesis, the JMP organization, which fulfilled civic education goals for the students.

The Cuban students are likely to acquire knowledge of history, the great leaders and what it takes to be a good citizen at an early age. This knowledge is not necessarily gained only through education; it can also be attained in their everyday life. If they are not aware of it before entering the civics classroom, they will be told there that not all countries act and think like Cuba. Cuba’s socialist platform and ideology is contrasted with the ideology of the US, and the US embargo has a negative impact on the students’ daily life and cannot be ignored.

The CGCE discourse explores and discusses values such as tolerance, human rights and so-called democracy. This is in many ways the opposite of the idea of creating an obedient citizen by use of critical thinking. The lack of a critical discussion of this discourse is a natural consequence of the closed Cuban ideological discourse which, somewhat

paradoxically, is dependent on the capitalistic global world. However, civic education shows elements of CGCE, as the US was discussed as a symbol of the oppressor and guilty of the inequality imposed on Cuba by a Western country.

In this thesis, I conclude that the ideology found in the curriculum and the constitution is a part of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony (Gramsci & Østerling Nielsen, 1973). My findings show that the state, through civic education, intends to convey its ideology, its values, beliefs and assumptions, to Cuban students. As Gramsci describes it: "The power of ideology is reproduced in the social structure, through schools" (Gramsci & Østerling Nielsen, 1973). Ideology is clearly reproduced in Cuba, and as I have shown in this thesis, the intention of the Cuban state is to reproduce the ideology in the schools, using civic education to impose ideological control. Carnoy (2007) emphasizes that the constitution and the national curriculum are tightly linked to teacher education and professional development, ensuring that the teachers deliver the national curriculum effectively. The construction of the national identity, in civic education and by surrounding elements, homogenizes the differences amongst the population, leaving, in Cuba's case, the state's ideology as the one truth and the only option. Which means that "the West's" interpretation of democracy, or liberal democracy, is not present.

The central aim of civic education is to reproduce the state's ideology in such a way that the formation of Cuban citizens continues smoothly.

The duality between Cuban society and the world that the students live in is obvious, and it will be interesting to observe if the state will implement the planned changes.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Interview Guide- Civic Teachers

(Biography; age, living, grew up, did you participate in/what does ‘‘the triumph of the revolution’’ means to you?)

1. Where were you born and when? Donde nació? Cual es la fecha de su cumpleaños?
2. Can you talk about your teacher preparation experience?
3. In your opinion, what qualities, skills and abilities make up an exemplary teacher/repasadora/profesora?

PRACTISE

1. Why did you choose to become a teacher?
2. How is your relationship with the students?
3. How many are in you class?
4. How do you plan your lectures?
5. In what way do you use the curriculum?
6. How do you evaluate them?
7. How do you collaborate with other teachers?
8. In what way do you reflect on your practice?
9. What are greatest problems you face as a teacher?
10. Is there room for discussions in class?
11. What kind of discussion do you have?

CIVICS EDUCATION

12. In what way is literacy important for the Cuban education? –and for civics education?
13. Can you describe the goal of civics education?
14. In what way is civics education important for the Cuban education?
15. What are the difficulties of teaching civics education today?
16. What do you, as a teacher, feel is importance of civics education?
17. What does it mean to be a good person? How do you teach it?
18. Are you as a teacher, or the school, responsible to form the students as good citizens outside of the class of civics education?
19. What is Jose Marti Pioneer organization, and how does it affect the civics education?
20. Are you open for other views on the Cuban system?
21. What would you say are three basic criteria’s for a citizens of Cuba?

IDEOLOGY

22. In what way is civics education important for the students to be a Cuban citizens?
23. How do the students become a good Cuban citizens?

24. What do you think it means to be “a good Cuban citizens”?
25. Is there a distinction between “a good Cuban citizens” and a “good citizens”?
26. Can I be a good Cuban citizens?
27. Can you describe how you as a teacher, and at home, contribute to the society?
28. What is the relationship between manual and intellectual labor, is it still a part of the education?
29. What is your view on Cuban ideology?
30. What do you think is the reason for Cuba’s high academic achievements?

Appendix II: Interview Guide- Students

PRACTISE

1. How is your relationship with the teacher?
2. How many are in you class?
3. How are your work evaluated?
4. How do you collaborate with other students?
5. Is there room for discussions in class?
6. What kind of discussion do you have?
7. What do you want to be when you grow up?

CIVICS EDUCATION

8. Why do you think civics education is important?
9. Could civics education in Cuba be for other students, or just for Cubans?
10. What do you teach in school about how you should behave?
11. What do you feel is the goal of civics education?
12. What do you think are the difficulties of teaching civics education today?
13. What does it mean to be a good person? How do you learn it?
14. What is Jose Marti Pioneer organization, and how does it affect the civics education?
15. Can you choose to be a part of the organization?.

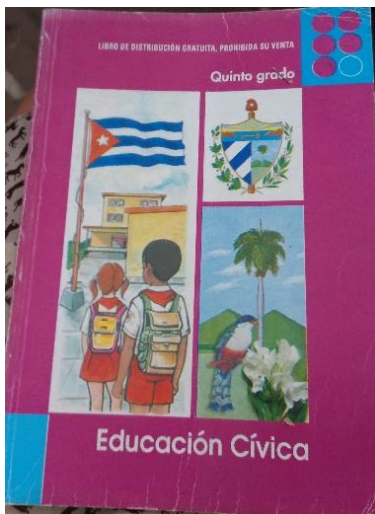
IDEOLOGY

16. In what way is civics education important for you to be a Cuban citizens?
17. Can I be a good Cuban citizens?
18. What is the relationship between manual and intellectual labor, is it still a part of the education?
19. What does the triumph of the revolution means to you?
20. Can you describe how you as a students, and at home, contribute to the society?
(community)
21. Is there a conflict in the schools teachings and how you view yourself as Cuban?
22. What is you view on Cuban ideology?

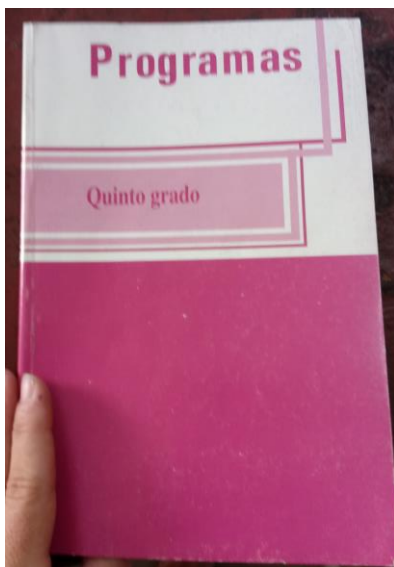
Appendix III: Interview Guide- Educational leaders, administrators

1. What are the goals for your institution?
2. What is your philosophies?
3. In what way is citizenship education important?
4. How do you make sure the quality of the teachings is sustained?
5. How do teachers cooperate? –If they face a challenge, where or whom do they go to?
6. What does the curriculum say about citizenship/values/moral/ ideology teachings?
7. What are the goals for ideology teaching?
8. How do you evaluate the ideology teachings?
9. How do you interact with the students in ideology teachings?
10. What is the challenges with ideology teachings?
11. How do you motivate the teachers?
12. How is the interaction between the school and the parents?
13. How do you think ideologies teaching be a factor in Cuba's high academic achievement?

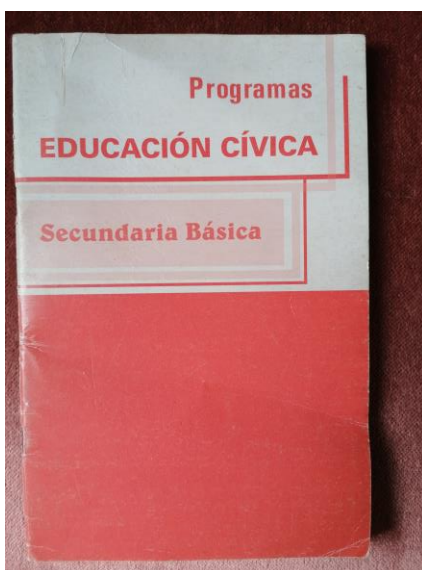
Appendix IV: Documents



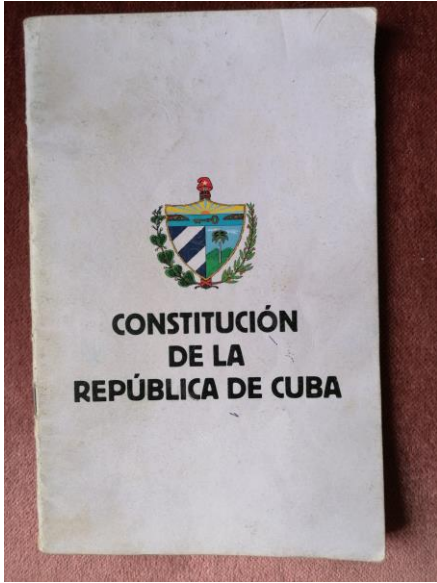
Front cover of the 5th grade Civics textbook.



Front cover of the 5th grade curriculum.



Front cover of the 9th grade Curriculum.

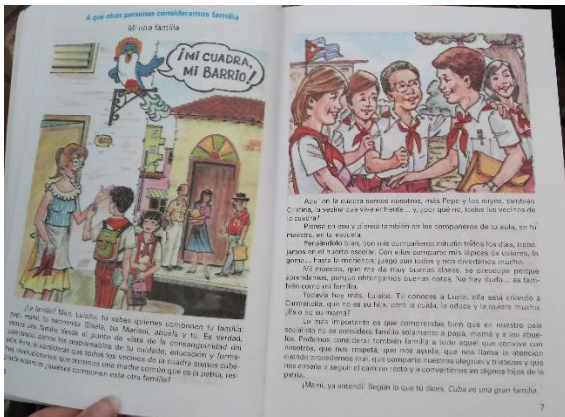


Front cover of the Constitution.

Appendix V: 5th Civics education, ‘Family’

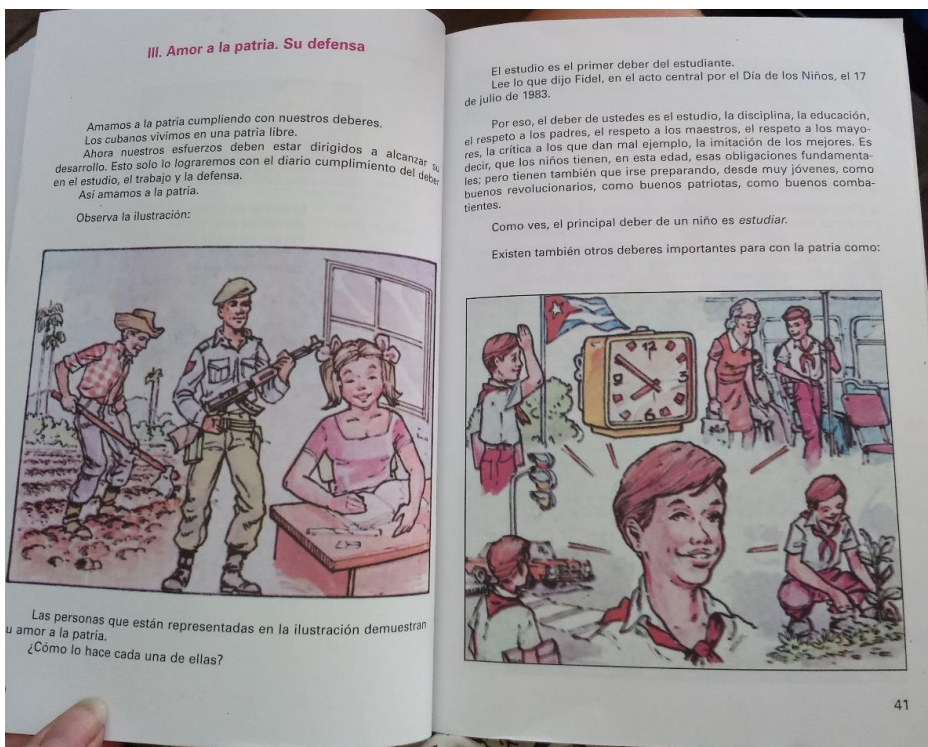
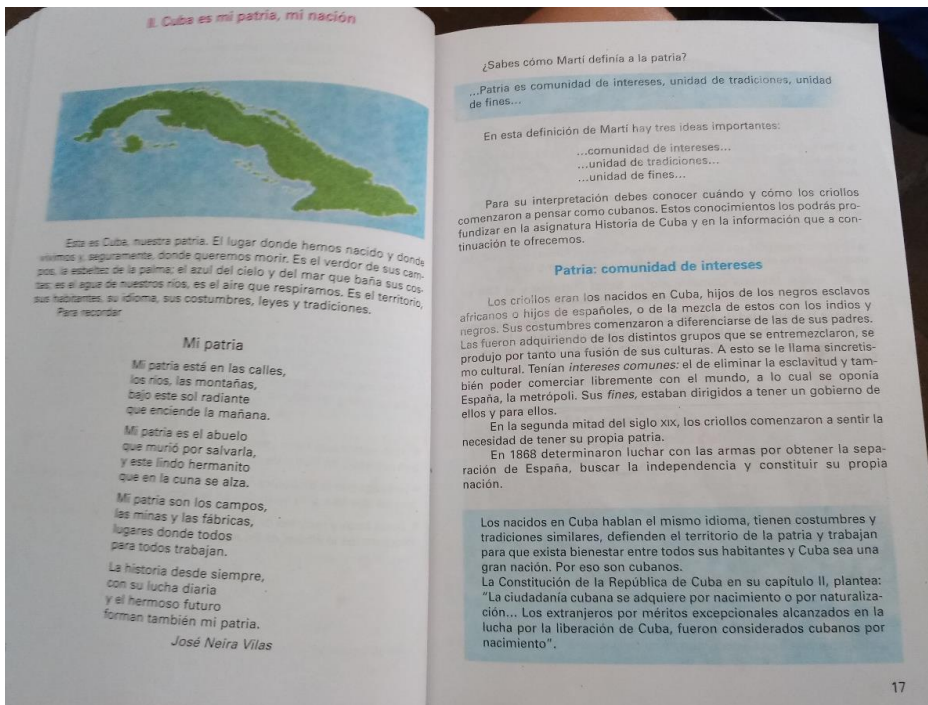


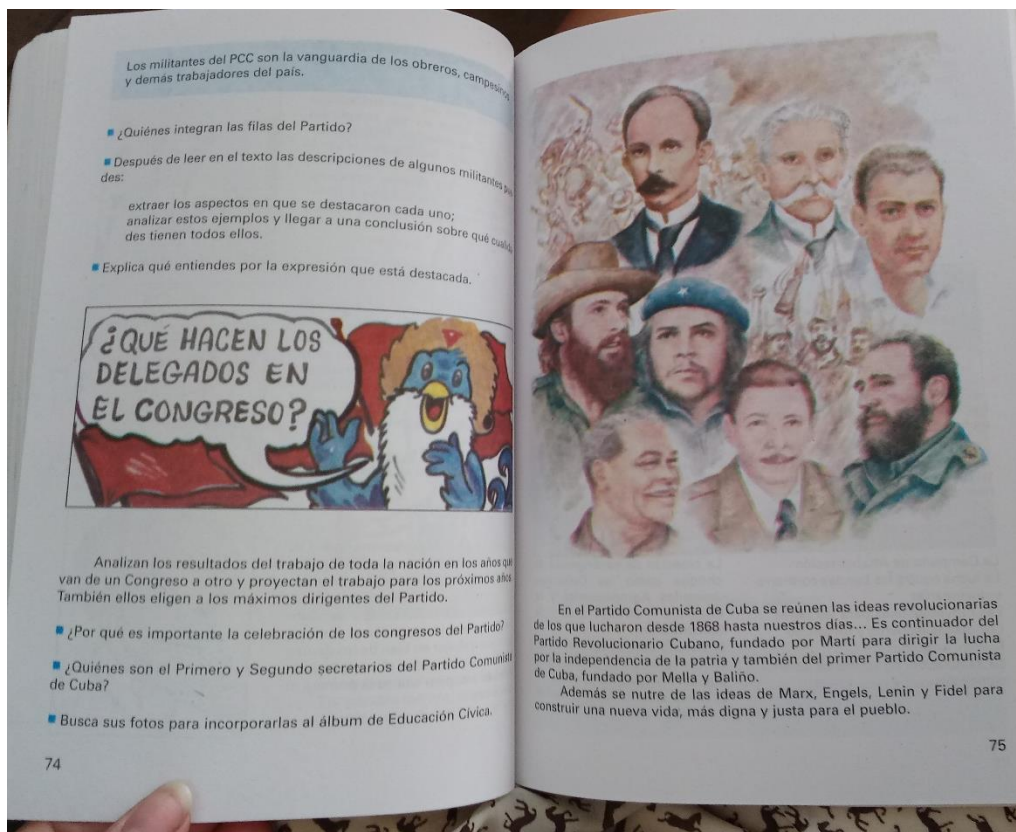
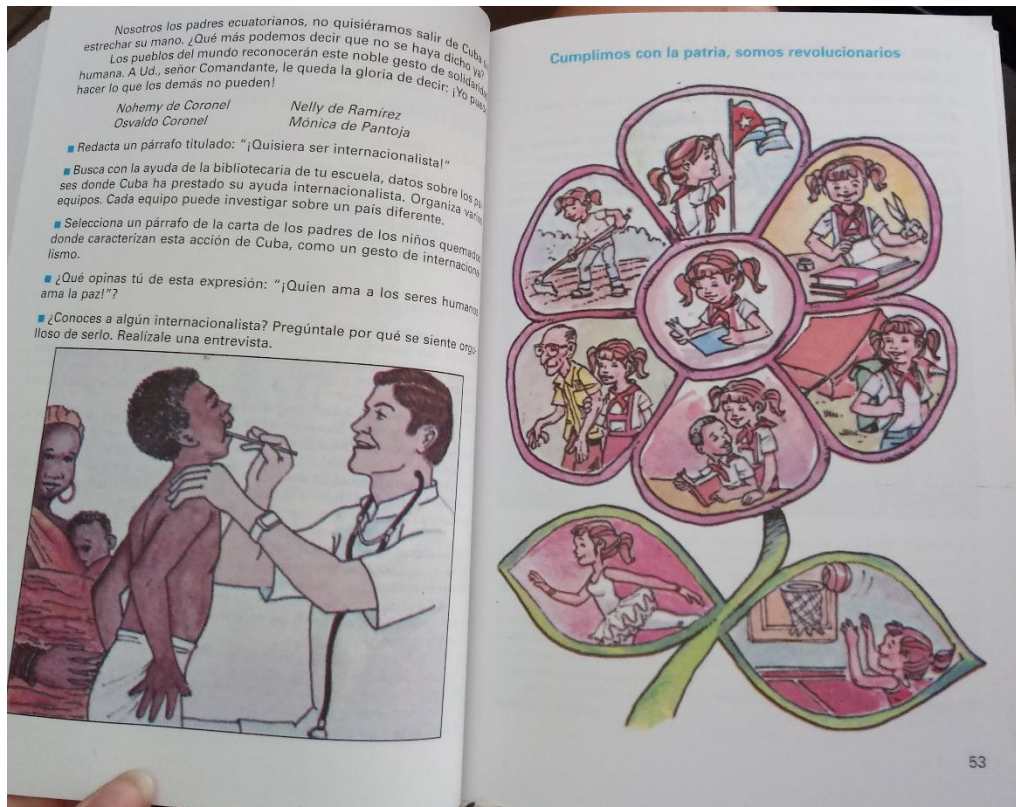
1. Page, ‘La Familia’.



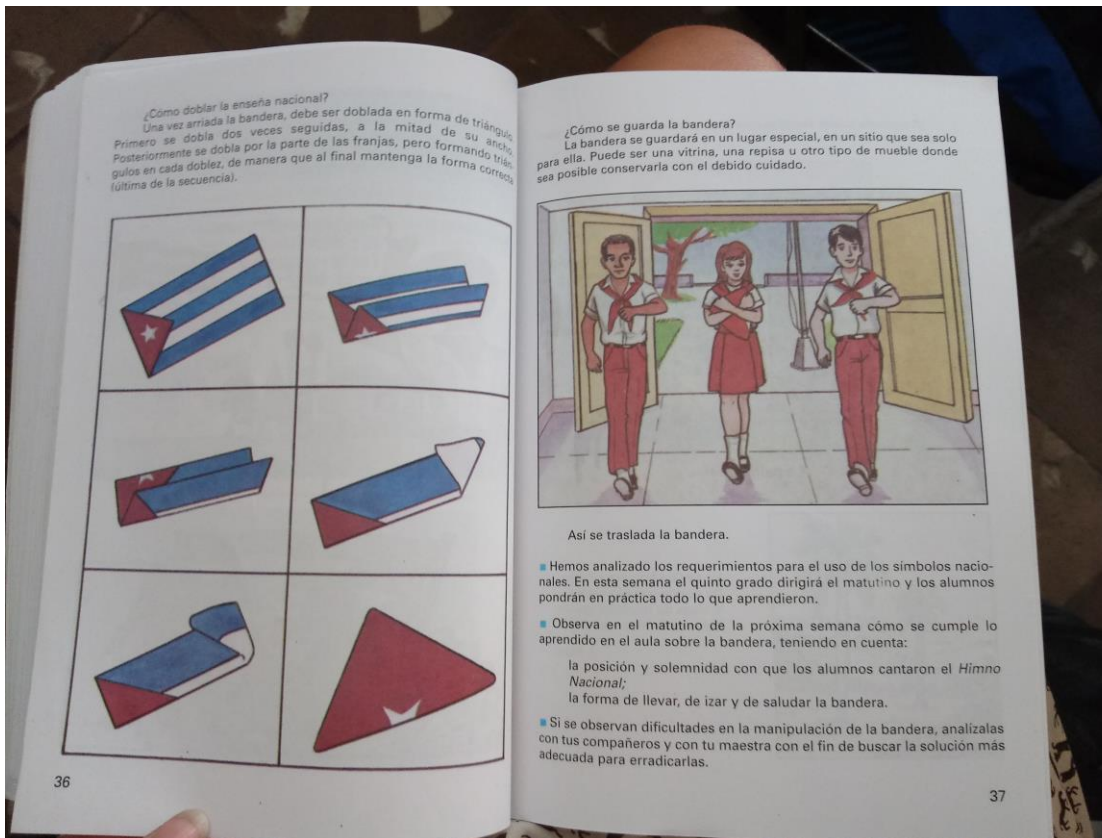
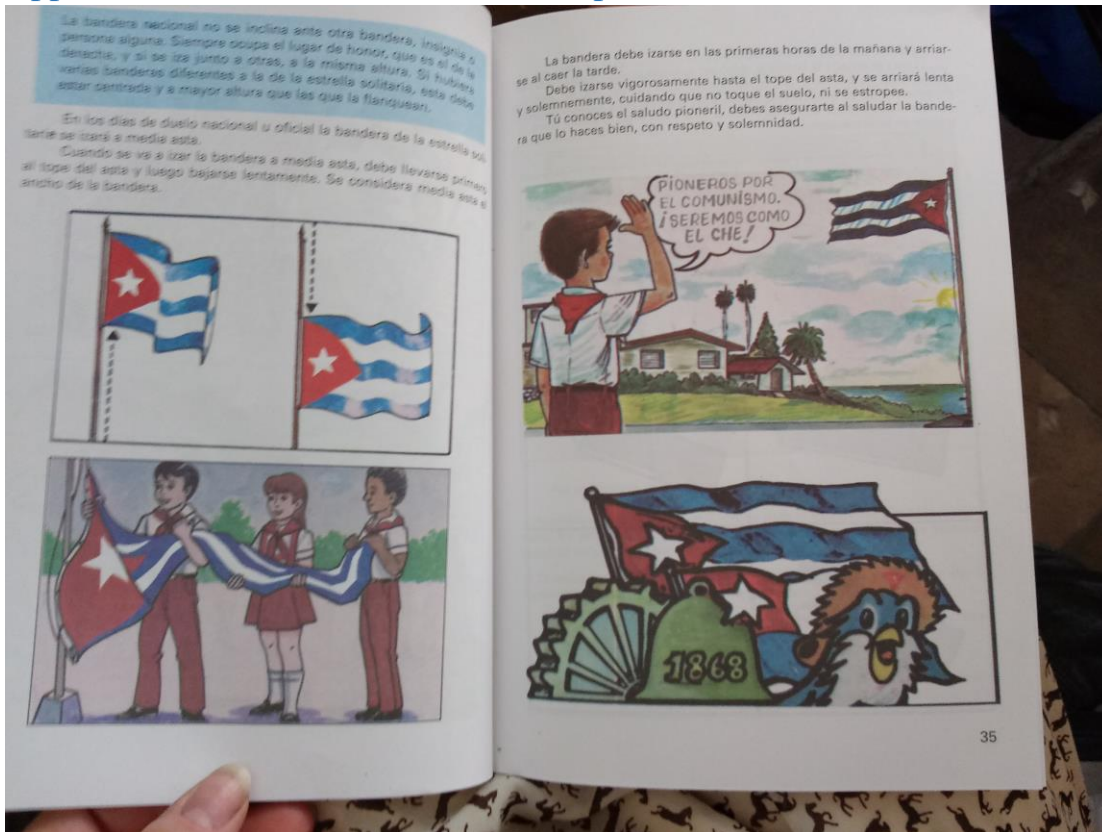
“my other family”

Appendix VI: 5th Civics education, "Cuba, my nation"





Appendix VII: 5th Civics education, "p.34"



Appendix VIII: Bust José Martí



1. Picture: Bust of José Martí, outside the first school in Havana. 2. Picture Bust of José Martí, from a public Wifi-park, outside Havana (Pictures by: Hege Andresen).