The Construction of the Political Subject in the Educational Discourse: From the Theoretical Definition to the Cuban Case

Jeisil Aguilar Santos, Thompson Rivers University, Canada

Abstract: This research examines the construction of the political subject in the educational discourse and explores how educational contexts shape citizenship and political commitment. It seeks to understand how Cuban educational institutions (K-12) construct political subjects by reinforcing ideological power through the curriculum. The findings suggest that education plays a significant role in shaping political subjectivities within the Cuban context where textbooks and other educational materials contribute to the formation of citizenship and political engagement. The research reveals that while schools play a crucial role in political socialization, they often produce subjugated, passive subjects disconnected from critical political engagement. The study argues for a more participatory and critical curriculum that reflects the lived realities of students and enables them to actively question and engage with political systems.

Keywords: Political Subject, Subjugated Subject, Educational Discourse, Symbolic Power, Cuban Education

Introduction

The Loss of Desire is the Loss of Action

When a child goes to school, they do not only have the beautiful goal of learning mathematics, biology, or letters. That child goes to school to learn to be a citizen. But what kind of citizen? What for? How? In what way do contexts, moralities, interests and ideological powers shape the kind of citizen we are taught to be and, ultimately, the kind we all become? Do all citizens become political subjects? What happens in strictly politicized contexts, such as the Cuban one? What is, in short, a political subject?

Being a citizen means belonging to a political community and exercising a certain civic identity. To become a political subject (Rojas & Arboleda, 2014), a citizen needs to understand the circumstances, actively participate in decision-making, propose actions and criticize the system. Being a political subject is learned at school (García & Morales, 2024), in the community, and through social interactions (Arias & Villota, 2007).

Taking myself as data and starting from the previous idea, when faced with the complex and polarizing question of whether I am a political subject, my immediate answer is "no, I am not." I do not find within myself a desire for political understanding and participation. I have no faith in revolutions, no faith in epic stories, no faith in change. I do not find a close or familiar path in any kind of militancy. But neither am I an apolitical person; is it even possible to be apolitical? Then I think: what happened to me? Where along the way did I lose that possible desire to question, to participate and to belong?

Recently, while re-reading Foucault (1989) and his theory on discipline, I found myself reflected in the idea of educational institutions as spaces of kidnapping. Even today, in Cuba, these rigid structures persist, with figures of authority and power controlling space, time, and the body (Andresen & Breidlid, 2024). The individual constructed within this system is a subject that functions solely within it, for its benefit, as it is presented as the only possible reality. It is a colonized subject who, when confronted with the question "Why do we do what we do?" (Mignolo, 2021), responds by mobilizing individual or domestic concerns, without questioning the power structures that shape them.

Raised in a country where the slogan is "Homeland or Death" and where, in recent years, a dissident slogan – "Homeland and Life" – has emerged, I find no personal connection with the concept of Homeland. Who has taken that possibility away from me? It is possible that the constant slogan, the politicization of knowledge (Dawley-Carr, 2015), the processes, relationships and identities in Cuba, rather than creating an individual willing to engage politically, have created in me an individual distanced from politics to the point of refusing to take a position, to define and exercise that individual or collective political subjectivity? The Cuban revolution, with its discourse of "everyone," has made me want to be alone.

In my process of educational abduction (Foucault, 1989), I experienced what most Cuban students experience: discipline, standardization, and political polarization. I was part of it and believed in the process. A whole country could not be wrong. Let's understand each other, without internet, state television and textbooks illustrated all the possibilities, scenarios, roles and punishments (Aguilar, 2024). Years later, far from the damned circumstance of water everywhere[1], I understood that there was no common enemy or epic identity based on invincible[2] hatred against the attacking enemy.

Now, Cuba is no longer an isolated place in the world; however, when we look for literature on these issues, we find little, and even less in Spanish. Cuban academic production, of course, is in the hands of the government. This raises the need to question the processes, not necessarily from a militant perspective, but from a place of knowledge, even philosophical. Understanding what the political subject is, how it is formed, what role the educational discourse plays, and contextualizing it to the Cuban reality can be beneficial for those who still participate as educational actors, such as teachers, or for parents who may not know that their children are being ideologically kidnapped and mutilated.

In thinking about the above, many possible relationships come into debate. We must discuss the relationship between education and ideology; the symbolic power in the educational discourse (e.g., the curriculum); the struggles for power in education; the construction of knowledge and from where it is constructed; the possibility of a power "from below," from "the masses," that pushes for a deep systemic change; the particularities and resistances to the possibility of a spontaneous exercise of education; the fear of that spontaneity; etc.

We cannot cover everything. Let us begin with the concept of the political subject because its understanding will allow us to look at the context through a clear prism. This question will help unveil how the political subject is constructed in the educational discourse within Cuban schools. Understanding that there is no empirical research that addresses the latter, I will provide a personal, reflective and unfinished view on the subject.

The question that guides the following research and reflection is: What nuances does the concept of political subject have in its definition and possible relationship with educational contexts in Cuba? How the political subject is constructed in the educational discourse within Cuban school institutions.

Search engines and databases (Redalyc, Dialnet, SciELO, Latindex, Scopus, ERIC) were used for the literature review with key terms such as "political subject in education," "curriculum and political discourse," and "student political agency." The search initially focused on Cuba, expanding to Latin America due to limited results on Cuba.

The bibliography was filtered from 2020, but earlier sources were included due to their scarcity. For example, Apple (2014) is relevant for understanding how education serves as a vehicle for political ideologies, which is central to the analysis of the political subject. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) offers crucial insights into how educational systems reproduce social structures, which is significant for exploring the political subject's formation. Martínez and Rodríguez (2010) provide a valuable analysis of the relationship between curriculum and textbooks, essential for understanding the mechanisms of ideological transmission in education. Furthermore, McLaren (1999) offers an important perspective on how schooling functions as a performance that shapes political and social dynamics. Most of the research is theoretical, with a focus on the formation of the political subject.

The process consisted of identifying common themes, analyzing debates and comparing the approaches of different authors, which allowed for an understanding of how the concept of political subject relates to concepts such as power, ideology, resistance and the educational environment, especially in contexts such as Cuba.

---

[1] Phrase from Virgilio Piñera's poem "La Isla en peso" (The Island in Weight): "The damned circumstance of water everywhere forces me to sit at the coffee table. If I didn't think that water surrounds me like a cancer, I could have slept soundly. I would have been able to sleep soundly." (1943)

[2] It is common in Cuba for children to learn Martí's poem: "The love, mother, for the homeland is not the ridiculous love for the earth, nor for the grass that our plants trample; it is the invincible hatred for those who oppress it, it is the eternal resentment for those who attack it". (1869)

Political Subjects, Education and Power

In the following section, I will offer a reflection on relevant aspects of the political subject in education. First, I will explain what the literature review says about definition of the concept and its relationship with power and ideology, with emphasis on the educational context. Second, I will share some ideas about textbooks as curricular artifacts that contain ideology and participate in the arming of citizens. Then, I will discuss the symbolic dispute in the field of education and the concept of the subjugated individual in contrast to the political subject.

The Definition and Dispute over the Political Subject

The political subject is constructed through a process of confrontation with and response to power. Both Foucault (1975) and Apple (1999, 2015) offer valuable insights into how power shapes individuals and societies. Foucault argues that power is not only repressive but also productive, as it forms identities, behaviors, and knowledge through various institutions, such as schools and prisons. In this sense, the political subject is not simply a passive recipient of power but an active participant in the formation of its own subjectivity within these power structures.

As Foucault (1981) suggests, power "is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, but something that circulates"(p. 94) and is inherent in all relationships. Apple (1999) explores how education functions within power structures to shape political meaning and identity, arguing that schools do not merely reflect power but actively contribute to the construction of identities that reinforce social inequalities. Furthermore, Apple (2015) focuses on how education, as an ideological tool, plays a crucial role in the construction of political subjects. For Apple, the educational system works to reproduce social inequalities by promoting certain ideologies that benefit dominant groups, thereby shaping political identities in a way that reinforces existing power dynamics.

Castañeda (2008) maintains that the political subject "only exists in the specific dispute it establishes" (p. 215), emphasizing that it is defined by its resistance to the surrounding context. This process varies according to the environment; each specific context imposes conditions and dynamics that determine how the individual recognizes and responds to power. Therefore, the political subject is always contextual. In a highly censored, surveilled, normalized and disciplined context, confrontation with and response to power becomes a great challenge. A citizen becomes a political subject when they are aware of their circumstances and develop consciousness through interaction with institutional frameworks, with education playing a key role in shaping this awareness. This process of becoming a political subject is nurtured within the educational discourse through the promotion of participation, autonomy, and critical thinking.

Educational scenarios are inherently spaces of reproduction of cultural hegemonies (Gramsci, 1971). Individuals internalize the norms and values of the prevailing political system, which means that students not only acquire knowledge, but also assimilate expectations of loyalty and belonging to a specific set of values (Apple, 2014). Thus, educational institutions, through discourses, rituals and symbols, shape the identity of students from an early age, with the intention of molding them to fit into society according to a design established through the curriculum and tools such as textbooks (Aguilar, 2024).

Rojas and Arboleda (2014) argue that "one cannot speak of the political subject in an individual sense, but rather collectively" (p. 130). According to them, the construction of the political subject occurs through social interaction, where resistance emerges as a collective activity, especially in spaces such as the school, where "political subjects are formed [...] to the extent that they resist disciplinary practices and hegemonic norms imposed by the system" (p. 135). In this sense, the school not only acts as a space of discipline, but also as a place where power is recognized and political identity is fostered (Giroux, 1988). But how does this happen? Is it through the curriculum?

Education is a fundamental tool for forming critical citizens capable of understanding and participating in public life. However, this process is not linear; symbolic power, participation or political engagement are not achieved through mere school attendance. If this were the case, all individuals attending Cuban institutions would be political subjects. What often happens is that through curricular artifacts, dominant ideologies and power relations are reinforced (Foucault, 1972). That is why there is currently a polarized debate about which topics should be included in the educational discourse such as gender, diversity, identity and religion. This debate is a debate about power that shapes individuals.

The Power of Textbooks as Curricular Artifacts and Political Construction

Martínez and Rodríguez (2010) state that textbooks are not mere neutral educational resources, but artifacts that reflect and reinforce a given ideology. That is, they are direct molders of the individual. By selecting and presenting specific content, these materials legitimize certain perspectives and marginalize others, thus shaping students' understanding of history, identity, and culture (Apple, 2014; Giroux, 1988). Textbooks represent the legitimization of the knowledge that a community has selected as valid to educate its population, imposing a worldview aligned with the values of those in power. In the Cuban context, this selection of content serves a single purpose. It could be argued that it has a single "author," as the state regulates and controls the content, assuming ownership of all educational materials.

The selection and presentation of textbook contents reflect and reinforce power relations in society. Martínez and Rodríguez (2010) argues that the textbook transmits a form of symbolic power by naturalizing a hegemonic model of knowledge relations within educational institutions. By defining content, educational authorities determine what knowledge is considered valid and relegate others to the margins, perpetuating hegemonic visions and excluding alternative perspectives (Freire, 1970). This is particularly evident in contexts such as Cuba, where textbooks are used to disseminate the ideology of the state, aligning students with the values and principles of the regime (Dawley-Carr, 2015; Aguilar, 2024).

Cuban textbooks constantly insist on the construction of a "we" that is national, homogeneous, and built in opposition to a threatening "other." For example, a good family is one that is revolutionary, a good child is one who wants to be a militia member and a pioneer who has promised to be communist. This is accompanied by exalted images of military forces, the historical leaders of the revolution, poetic or narrative texts that tell a version of history. They do not cover recent history or include dissenting versions and speak from a paternal authoritative standpoint that contributes to the idea that Cuban leader Fidel Castro (Palomares, 2020) is the father of all, that parents must be respected and accepted.

Individual alienation occurs when the knowledge transmitted in school feels distant from students' everyday experiences. Martinez (2008) describes how "the textbook distances students from knowledge, placing it outside their own experiences and problematics" (p. 64). This disconnection limits students' critical capacity and autonomy, since knowledge is presented in an abstract and decontextualized way (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). In educational systems where teaching is homogeneous and aligned with state interests, as in Cuba, the lack of connection with lived reality contributes to the passive acceptance of transmitted ideologies, hindering the development of critical consciousness (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1988).

The symbolic element in Cuban educational discourse emphasizes both historical (pre-revolutionary) (Schultz, R. 2020) (Read, 1970) and current threats (perceived from the Global North). This narrative portrays the Cuban Revolution as a liberating force, forging collective memory and national identity based on resistance to external domination (Andresen & Breidlid, 2024). The Cuban curricular discourse has a symbolic weight that seems unquestionable because the owner of all state ideological apparatuses (Althusser, 1971) is the same entity.

The Concreteness of the Symbolic Dispute

Civic education in Cuba permeates the entire curriculum, allowing revolutionary ideology to be deeply integrated into students' daily learning, with the goal of forming individuals who become responsible citizens and defenders of the system's ideals. This educational approach functions as an ideological apparatus that influences not only political knowledge, but also personal identity and citizenship (Andresen & Breidlid, 2024).

The dominant ideologies reflected in curricular content shape students' perceptions of what is considered legitimate or valid in society (Szkudlarek, 2013). In contexts that reinforce hegemonic ideology, resistance emerges when political subjects question and challenge these symbolic control mechanisms. However, questioning is only possible if students learn that it is possible and if there is space for such questioning. Students who grow up understanding that there is no space for change or revolution — because the revolution has already taken place — develop without awareness of their circumstances and without dialoguing, participating or exercising their political subjectivity.

This is clearly visible in the Cuban case where children are nucleated around pioneer organizations, which raise the possibility of knowing and exercising duties and rights, but only those that have been accepted by the restrictive superior entity, the revolutionary government. "Being a good Cuban" means siding with the system. Dawley-Carr (2015) notes that these shared values "form a significant part of students' daily experiences, with the goal of transforming them into well-educated citizens who serve as moral guides" (p. 105). So, are Cuban citizens not political subjects?

Martínez (2016) suggests that not all citizens become political subjects. The transition to an active and critical role implies a process in which the individual, instead of passively accepting the dominant ideology, seeks alternatives that allow him or her to challenge the pre-established paths. This construction of the political subject requires not only an evolution from formal citizenship to critical participation, but also the ability to balance individual and collective interests. Arias and Villota (2007) support this point of view, stating that what is required is coherence and correspondence between the two. In short, the political subject is configured in a dual relationship with power, in which, although conditioned by ideological structures, he or she can also resist and reinterpret those same structures (Le & Nguyen, 2021).

An individual becomes a political subject through critical self-awareness and interaction with the social environment, distinguishing themselves from a subjugated subject. This process requires an environment of active participation, such as the school, where symbolic power is debated and resistance is cultivated, as a subject who is not taught resistance struggles to become a politically engaged citizen.

In education, the organization and presentation of knowledge can lead to certain ideologies being accepted as "natural" and unquestionable. The interaction between teacher, student and textbook creates an idealized "discursive interaction" within the textbook itself. By establishing a uniform narrative structure, the curriculum imposes a singular worldview, molding students' perceptions toward a restricted model of citizenship. This process of naturalization reinforces a dominant ideology presented as the only possible truth, limiting students' ability to question and challenge established norms.

The Subjugated Subject

The school not only produces political subjects but also creates "subjugated subjects," that is, individuals who, while possessing a certain capacity for action, are deeply conditioned by the power structures that surround them. Foucault (1975) explains that "power produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (p. 194), indicating that disciplinary institutions such as the school not only control individuals, but also construct subjectivities. In this sense, the relationship between power and the subject is not unidirectional: although the individual is conditioned by these structures, he or she retains a capacity for resistance that allows for critical and subversive action.

The idea of the "subjugated subject" presents a paradox in the process of formation of the political subject. Gramsci (1935) highlights how cultural hegemony ensures conformity through the internalization of hegemonic norms and values, stating that "hegemony protects conformity and consent" (p. 12). Thus, the political subject may be constrained in his or her agency due to the norms and practices that control what is politically possible (Hoyos, 2015). Therefore, the school can both construct politically active subjects and subjugate individuals through conformity to a particular social order.

Now, what to do in the face of the normalization and mutilation of the political subject? Sant et al. (2020) posit that citizenship education could benefit from incorporating agonistic and deliberative pedagogies, which encourage students to engage with diverse perspectives and foster critical thinking. This approach contrasts sharply with the Cuban model, which focuses on reinforcing a unified national identity aligned with state ideology. Adopting pedagogies that encourage conflict and debate can help form citizens who are more critical of their social and political environment, rather than simply conforming to a prescribed set of values. However, this seems impossible if both students and educators have learned the same system doctrines.

The classroom relationship between student, teacher, and knowledge is crucial in the formation of students' political subjectivity. Teachers can act as agents of resistance or of ideological reproduction. Through daily interaction,

teachers and students negotiate and construct meanings based on the curriculum, reflecting and reinforcing symbolic power in education (Hooks, 1994; Giroux, 1988). However, this relationship is often constrained by the official curriculum, which restricts teachers' autonomy and predefines the knowledge framework (Apple, 2014).

Ideological uniformity reinforces cultural hegemony by reducing the diversity of perspectives and centralizing discourse within a unified narrative. Thus, the Cuban educational system not only transmits knowledge, but constructs a political subject aligned with state ideology, limiting students' ability to develop a critical and autonomous consciousness (McLaren, 1999). Consequently, the potential of agonistic pedagogy (Sant et al., 2020), which would embrace democratic discourse and challenge hegemonic narratives, remains uncertain in such a tightly controlled educational environment.

Gaps in the Research of the Political Subject

While some authors define the political subject as someone focused on the collective (Mouffe, 2000), others argue that the political subject seeks to impose individual values on the collective, aligning them with the general interest (Bennett, 2018), highlighting a tension regarding whether political agency is truly collective or a mere extension of individual interests. An emerging area of interest is the relationship between the political subject and digital citizenship, as the construction of an individual prepared to exercise digital, rather than merely national citizenship presents new challenges in education. Authors such as Castells (2010), Jenkins (2006), Papacharissi (2015), and Mounk (2020) explore how political participation is transformed in the digital age and suggest that the political subject must be prepared to interact and exercise agency in increasingly globalized and connected environments.

Final Notes and Recommendations

What to Do Where Hope Has Been Lost?

Offering recommendations for political reform in Cuba is a complex task that often remains in the realm of the utopian or merely circumstantial. Economic, social, political, and educational factors are intricately interconnected (Garcés, 2021). Any change depends on the individuals driving the processes, who must assume the risk of proposing and implementing change, fully aware of the potential consequences of such actions. For proposals to emerge, there must be a space: a platform for voices to be heard, an audience willing to listen, and legal, ethical, and ideological frameworks that allow and protect such expressions. The feeling of a lost battle often arises before the fight even begins: the desperate notion that there is nothing to be done. The following recommendations are based on this idea.

It is crucial to reassess and refine the concept of the political subject in educational contexts. This concept should be viewed not only in theoretical terms but also as a dynamic and nuanced entity shaped by the socio-political and cultural context. In Cuba, the political subject is a "subjugated subject," whose identity and agency are constrained by the prevailing power structures in the educational and political environment. The Cuban political subject cannot fully exercise their agency (Dawley-Carr, 2015), as they are embedded in a system that regulates and restricts the formation of political identities. Although this political subject is potentially active, they are hindered by the disciplinary and normalizing practices that dominate educational institutions.

Resurrecting the Curriculum

Schools must foster a living curriculum (Liu Baergen, 2020) that considers the realities of the students, is flexible, evolves with the context, and incorporates the lived experiences of students and communities. Cuban students today are not the same as those from two decades ago. The internet has arrived in Cuba, breaking the bubble a bit. This has allowed people to look outward, not necessarily to leave. Today, Cuba has a generation that has lived many years of misery and censorship, a generation born within the revolution that does not know a better time.

The phrase "we are in a crisis, we will return to how it was in the 80s" no longer works, because the generation that hears it does not have that romantic and effervescent memory of the early revolutionary years. The internet, influencers, and communication with the outside world are more common now in Cuba. If effectively leveraged, these factors contribute to shaping a new generation of students exposed to global influences and experiencing a context

different from their predecessors. Involving students in the creation of curricular content that reflects their realities would validate their voices and foster a sense of agency.

Creating a Dissenting Agenda in Education

We must establish a dedicated agenda to address the construction of Cuban citizenship, recognizing that a country lacking electricity, food, medicine, and youth has little energy to think, question, or participate. The momentum must come from the intellectual community, political dissent, and the diaspora. Keep in mind that between 2021 and 2024, more than 800,000 Cubans arrived in the United States in 2022 (Colomé, 2024). This does not include Cubans who have migrated to Uruguay, Europe, and Ecuador before this date. This is a community that can discourse about Cuban education. The discourse on Cuba today must begin to engage with concepts, deconstruct rituals, myths, and fetishes (Aguilar, 2024). If we do not understand, analyze, and challenge our conceptual foundations, it will be difficult to confront the imposed frameworks. For example, in the case of textbooks, the Cuban alternative community could create a literary repertoire that tells other versions of history—diverse, contemporary, inclusive, fleeting, dissenting.

Creating a Dissenting Curriculum

In a politically charged environment (Garcés, 2019), there may be cultural resistance to recognizing and addressing the hidden curriculum. Educators and policymakers may fear repercussions for challenging established ideologies. Additionally, the lack of access to educational resources, such as literature and technology, may hinder the implementation of interdisciplinary programs and workshops. Therefore, in the coming years, alternative educational initiatives may emerge within the Cuban diaspora, internal dissent, and responsible intellectual circles. Initiatives such as alternative online educational channels, textbooks, and a different, open curriculum could circulate through parents, civil society organizations, and independent media.

There must be an alternative and dissenting curriculum (Szkudlarek, 2013) that circulates hand-to-hand, among parents and teachers, presenting subversive ideas on cultural, social, and authoritarian matters. A dissenting curriculum challenges dominant ideologies and fosters critical thinking, promoting the inclusion of marginalized perspectives and questioning established narratives. It aims to empower students to reflect on their reality and actively participate in social transformation, recognizing diversity and local contexts. This curriculum should address plural identities, with the goal of forming citizens who can decide who they are, how they participate, what they want for themselves, and how they will defend it. This space should recognize contexts, communities, perspectives, and values without imposing a mutilating morality or ideology, with the goal of forming a citizen for the world.

REFERENCES

Aguilar, J. (2024). The Cuban pañoleta and standardization in educational institutions. *Revista Sudamericana de Educación, Universidad y Sociedad*, *12*(1), 38-50. https://doi.org/10.48163/rseus.2024.12138-50

Althusser, L. (1971). *Ideology and ideological state apparatuses*. In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (pp. 85-126). Monthly Review Press.

Andresen, H., & Breidlid, A. (2024). *The Young Pioneers of Cuba: The Formation of Cuban Citizens through Civic Education*. Qeios. https://doi.org/10.32388/42RUHG

Apple, M. W. (2014). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2015). Conocimiento, poder y educación: Sobre ser un académico/activista. *Revista Entramados-Educación y Sociedad, 2*(2), 29-39.

Arias, G. M., & Villota, F. F. (2007). *De la política del sujeto al sujeto político: Educación para la emancipación. Ánfora: Revista Científica de la Universidad Autónoma de Manizales*, 39-52.

Bennett, W. L. (2018). *The politics of illusion* (10th ed.). University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. Sage Publications.

Castells, M. (2010). *The rise of the network society* (2nd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.

Castañeda, E. (2008). La construcción del sujeto político: Un acercamiento a la obra musical de Emir Kusturica & The No Smoking Orchestra desde la obra de Jacques Rancière. *Eidos*, (8), 1-18.

Colomé, C. G. (2024, septiembre 23). Más de 850.000 cubanos llegaron a Estados Unidos desde 2022 en "el éxodo más grande de la historia de Cuba". *El País*. https://elpais.com/us/actualidad/2024-09-24/mas-de-850000-cubanos-llegaron-a-estados-unidos-desde-2022-en-el-exodo-mas-grande-de-la-historia-de-cuba.html

Dawley-Carr, J. R. (2015). *Citizenship Education in Cuba: Ideals, Contradictions, and Convivencia* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison].

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.

Foucault, M. (1989). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (16th Ed.). Ciudad Juárez (Chihuahua): 21st Century.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books. (Original work published 1976).

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage Books.

Giroux, H. A. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: Toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. Bergin & Garvey.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. International Publishers.

Garcés, R. (2019). L'État c'est moi? Notas sobre poder y estado en Cuba. *Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales Interdisciplinares*, 129-141.

Garcés, R. (2021). *Repressive mechanisms of the Cuban state. Revista Foro Cubano (RFC)*. https://doi.org/10.22518/jour.rfc/2021.2a05

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. Routledge.

Hoyos, N. E. (2015). *El rol del profesor desde su concepción de ciencias: aportes a la construcción del sujeto político.* (Master's thesis). Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Bogotá, Colombia.Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. NYU Press.

Le, K., & Nguyen, M. (2021). *Education and political engagement. International Journal of Educational Development*, 85, Article 102441. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2021.102441

Liu Baergen, P. (2020). *Tracing Ted T. Aoki's intellectual formation: Understanding historical, societal, and phenomenological influences*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Martínez, J., & Rodríguez, J. (2010). El currículo y el libro de texto escolar. Una dialéctica siempre abierta. En J. Gimeno Sacristán (Ed.), Saberes e incertidumbres sobre el currículum (pp. 246-268). Morata.

Martínez, J. (2016). Apuntes alrededor de la idea del sujeto político y la educación pública. *Saggi/Ensayos/Essais/Essays: Otros movimientos sociales. Política y derecho a la educación*, 04, 1-10.

McLaren, P. (1999). *Schooling as a ritual performance: Towards a political economy of educational symbols and gestures* (3rd ed.). Rowman & Littlefield.

Mignolo, W. (2021). *Memorias y reflexiones en torno de la de/colonialidad del poder. Políticas de la memoria*, 21, 79-96. https://doi.org/10.48160/pm.21.79-96

Mouffe, C. (2000). *The democratic paradox*. Verso.

Mounk, Y. (2020). *The people vs. democracy: Why our freedom is in danger and how to save it*. Harvard University Press.

Palomares, E. (2020, June 21). *Homenaje al eterno padre Fidel*. Granma. https://www.granma.cu/

Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. Oxford University Press.

Read, G. H. (1970). The Cuban revolutionary offensive in education. *Comparative Education Review*, 14(2), 131-143. https://doi.org/10.1086/444303

Rojas, B. P., & Arboleda, R. (2014). *La construcción del sujeto político en la escuela*. *Revista Aletheia*, 124-139.

Sant, E., Davies, I., Pashby, K., & Shultz, L. (2020). Pedagogies of agonistic democracy and citizenship education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 52(2), 111-121.

Schultz, R. (2020). The liberal moment of the revolution: Cuba's early educational reforms, 1959–1961. *Cuban Studies*, 49, 215–236. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26983800

Szkudlarek, B. (2013). Educational politics as symbolic contestation in citizenship education. *Journal of Political Education*, 5(2), 45-63.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Author Name: Dr. Jeisil Aguilar Santos holds a Ph.D. in Philosophical Sciences from the Universidad Central "Marta Abreu" de Las Villas (UCLV, Cuba) and recently graduated with a Master's degree in Education from Thompson Rivers University (TRU, Canada). She currently works as a Learning Technologist at TRU and serves as a professor in doctoral and master's programs in Education at Universidad de la Empresa (Uruguay) and FLACSO Uruguay. She teaches Research Methodology, supervises theses, and serves as a permanent member of academic project evaluation committees. She is also the coordinator of the Diploma in Qualitative Research Methodology at FLACSO Uruguay. Her research interests include education, ideology and power relations, institutional standardization in education, and discourse analysis.