

# From the body punishment to the good setting of behaviors in education

## Del castigo corporal al buen encauzamiento de las conductas en la educación

Study

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Received: 30 of March, 2016 / Accepted: 09 of January, 2017

### Abstract

Whereas Education is a prime area to study the exercise of power, the article analyzes the way power operates discipline which is exercised over the bodies of individuals and intended to watch them, control them and train them in order to make them docile and useful- and biopower which is exercised in the collective body of the people and feeds on the knowledge that are generated from the population itself. And the way how are you forms of power in the monocultural educational field was challenged and sismada for bilingual intercultural education: first, because the intercultural institutions emerges in opposition to the hegemonic education and as a banner of political struggle, epistemic Ecuadorian indigenous movement. Second, because it is in the insurrection and return knowing subject. Although intercultural bilingual education, sometimes also continues to play the same forms of constitution of subjects through a number of practices of knowledge-power.

**Keywords:** Ritualism, discipline, power; endurance, episteme.

### Resumen

Considerando que el *campo* educativo es un ámbito privilegiado para estudiar el ejercicio del poder, el artículo analiza la manera cómo opera el *poder disciplinar* –que se ejerce sobre los cuerpos de los individuos y destinados a vigilarlos, controlarlos y adiestrarlos con el objeto de hacerlos dóciles y útiles– y el biopoder – que se ejerce en el cuerpo colectivo de la población y se alimenta de los saberes que se engendran a partir de la propia población–. Y, la manera cómo estas formas de poder en el campo educativo monocultural fue cuestionada y sismada por la educación intercultural bilingüe: primero, porque la institucionalidad intercultural emerge en oposición a la educación hegemónica y como una bandera de lucha política, epistémica del movimiento indígena ecuatoriano. Segundo, porque se constituye en la *insurrección y retorno de saber sometido*. Aunque la educación intercultural bilingüe, en ocasiones también continúa reproduciendo las mismas formas de constitución de sujetos a través de un determinado número de prácticas de saber-poder.

**Descriptorios:** Ritualidad, disciplina, poder; resistencia, episteme.

## Introduction

The work begins by justifying the reasons why the theoretical horizon of the French philosopher Michel Foucault is constituted in a toolbox in the larger research project still in progress: “The transition from a disciplinary education to a control education in Riobamba”; of which it is part the present article: the first, is of theoretical and general order: it was decided to include education because of the importance it has for the discussions in the field of Foucauldian studies and especially in regard to the political reason which the philosopher is concerned with. He “risks” saying that this is an essential component for the operation of biopolitics, biopower and normalization devices that extends over social bodies. A subject that does not disconnect from the categories of vigilance, punishing and disciplining. *The second* is of a practical order. Educational processes -school-based and non-school-based seem to be good examples and privileged places for analyzing how disciplinary power, resistance, biopolitics, and normalization devices circulate (Veiga-Neto, 2013), knowing that Michel Foucault was one of the first to detect the departure of disciplinary societies towards control societies. Here we highlight the reflections of Foucault through the authors of *Empire*:

Disciplinary fixed individuals within institutions but did not succeed in consuming them completely in the rhythm of productive practices and productive socialization; it did not reach the point of permeating entirely the consciousnesses and bodies of individuals, the point of treating and organizing them in the totality of their activities. In disciplinary society, then, the relationship between power and the individual remained a static one: the disciplinary invasion of power corresponded to the resistance of the individual. By contrast, when power becomes entirely biopolitical, the whole social body is comprised by power’s machine and developed in its virtuality. This relationship is open, qualitative, and affective. Society, subsumed within a power that reaches down to the ganglia of the

social structure and its processes of development, reacts like a single body. Power is thus expressed as a control that extends throughout the depths of the consciousnesses and bodies of the population—and at the same time across the entirety of social relations (Negri y Hardt, 2002, p. 186).

*The third* is experiential and personal. The teaching exercise of the researcher in the primary, secondary and bilingual and monolingual higher education centers endorse the cross-linking of the Foucaultian theory with education in the Riobamba area. *Finally*, probably the most ambitious and long-term is the creation of a research laboratory in social sciences that, incorporating the Foucaultian method at the National University of Chimborazo, attends to the study of specific problems of the educational reality of Ecuador. Hence the importance of training, research and dissemination of the work of the French philosopher, and its use in the study of specific objects of social and educational reality.

On the other hand, Angel Palerm mentions: “I greet the future in which for social scientists it will be possible to speak of Marx as biologists do of Darwin and the physicists of Einstein” (2008, p. 46). In this line of reflection, it can be said that if a social scientist does not immerse himself in the depths of Foucauldian thinking, power, knowledge and self, it is as if a priest does not read the Bible.

The great influence of Michel Foucault in philosophy, history, anthropology, social theory and contemporary cultural studies is undoubted, however, in the peripheral academies; neither Foucault nor his thought seems *to be born*, constituting a privileged theory only of the university centers located in the metropolis. The absence of Foucauldian works on the shelves of libraries and libraries in peripheral spaces is visible. This crisis may be part of what Aída Hernández argues:

Unfortunately information and people do not flow as easily from south to south, as do capital and the labor force (when required) from north to south and from south to north, respective-



ly. Political and intellectual exchange between Latin America, Africa and Asia has been limited by linguistic barriers and by the precariousness of our publishing industries and scientific and educational institutions (2014, p.195).

The strategy of adopting and employing the theory of the philosopher Michel Foucault to study the educational field in the context of Riobamba does not imply to place the debates as a simple reception, as if we were the Latin American or riobambeñan branch of a transnational company called “conceptual trilogy: power, Knowledge and subjectivity, “but to show that the specificity of the Latin American debate can only be seen in the light of what has been discussed elsewhere under this rubric (Castro-Gómez, 2005). Moreover, Foucault is not only part of the so-called classics, but is still part of the restlessness of contemporary thought that is no longer based on truth but on the coherence of discourses in the networks of communicating networks (Lechuga, 2007). There is no pretense of making invisible the blind spots or the limits<sup>1</sup> of the Foucaultian theory.

With this background, this text analyzes how punishments in education were publicly ritualized. The body is the place where the educational power is exercised, being the school body and mind the object of power or coloniality: coloniality of knowledge, coloniality of being, manufacturing to its interest; that is, obedient, submissive and docile individuals. These are the themes that the text deals with in the following sections in the light of the Foucaultian theory and ethnographic field work. Interviews, life stories, participant observation were used. A collaborative and mili-

tant anthropological approach prevailed, an *emic and non-etic* research, breaking with traditional research perspectives that conceived of the interlocutors as mere “objects of study”.

## Punishment to the body: ritualities

In Ecuadorian education, the phrase “the letter with blood enters” operated with naturalness and normality in the educational classrooms, and with more radicalism in rural and indigenous spaces. In a certain way, the school was a kind of panoptism<sup>2</sup>, not because it was a prison center<sup>3</sup> but because it constituted itself in the house of inspection, of control of power. The school is an architectural construction from which the crowds are directed and monitored, in the courtyards, in the corridors, in the stairs, in the classrooms. A single individual can control and discipline a whole crowd, for example, the inspector general manages to control the behavior of a group of a thousand students in the courtyards of the institution. In the same way, a teacher can monitor and punish, almost, in a ritualized way his disciples. In this sense the student-subject is not abstract, incorporeal, empty, but the subject is defined in the body from the regimes of knowledge and power (Lechuga, 2007). The body is the place where the educational power is exercised. In other words, the school body was a target and object of power and knowledge. The school body being an object of power, when entering the domain of power is fabricated to its interest; that is, obedient individuals.

Physical punishment of students was manifested in multiple ways: with pushing against

1 In one of the criticisms, which may also be applicable in education, Silvia Federici, in her book: *Caliban and the witch. Women, body and original accumulation* argues: “For their part, feminists have accused Foucault’s discourse on sexuality to omit sexual difference, while at the same time appropriating many knowledge developed by the Feminist Movement. This criticism is quite correct ... Moreover, Foucault is so intrigued by the productive nature of the techniques of power that the body has been invested that its analysis leaves virtually no criticism of power relations (2016, 29).

2 The panoptic category for Michel Foucault is “a way in which power materializes in architectural devices, but also in a regime of gaze. A project to see and monitor everything from a single point” (Parrini, 2007, p.16).

3 Although for Miguel Morey: “Not only are prisoners treated like children, but children are treated as prisoners. Children suffer from infantilization that is not theirs. In this sense it is true that schools are a little prisons, and factories much more” (2008, 28).



the blackboard; hits with a ruler in any part of the body, preferably in the hands or in the head; Pinching; blows, the jolts; the rolling of the ears. These punishments fulfilled the role of correcting, guiding, improving the committed failures (Herrera, 2013). The intention is to dominate them, to diminish them, to the point of obtaining the surrender of their wills and their spirits.

The reasons why they inflicted violence upon the school bodies were not missing, nevertheless we cite some for illustrative purposes: because e bad calligraphy; because they bought food into the classroom; for standing up without the teacher's authorization; for tarnishing their notebooks, for folding the edges of the books, etc., there were plenty of reasons for punishment. The bodies were subjected to docility, obedience, discipline and correction in order to make them work and to make them a productive, physical and intellectual, workforce (Lechuga, 2007).

Violence to the school body was not shameful, it was expressed directly and even publicly exhibited, the more publicly presented the more effective the punishment, for example, one of the teachers interviewed reveals that the punishment called a *plantón* consisted of making the student "Stand" in a corner of the classroom for a long time without the affected turn to look at whoever exercises power or his viewers, in this case his classmates. The individualized individual is located in a reduced space, trimmed, monitored at all points, where the smallest movements are controlled, in which all events are recorded (Foucault, 2009). In a certain way, here the formula works: "the observer can see the observed and not the inverse." At least in this type of punishment the fenced student cannot see, only who exercises the power.

For some teachers it was not right to punish but admit that it was the best way to educate and even express their longing:

Because the education of the past was better than the one of today. Today they cannot be touched, they have protection from the Ministry of Education, the Code on Children

and Adolescents. There is no fear of anything, that is why they are very irresponsible (Anonymous, June 15, 2015).

According to this testimony, physical punishment would produce the kind of responsible, fulfilling and timid subject. This longing for the "past", to the way of educating with punishment is also missed by some university students, future teachers, although they suggest "a soft punishment" to form responsible, respectful citizens, while insinuating to apply "firm hand" while teaching, admitting that he or she is a good student because of teachers with "firm hand". "This ambiguous and contradictory narrative not only circulates in the students and teachers, they are also reproduced by the parents of family; on the one hand, they question the punishment to the body of their children, on the other hand they see the necessity of its presence and application, sometimes even suggest energetic measures for their child to be disciplined. In this sense, "strategies", "programs" and "technologies" of power are justified as moral necessity and power (Morey, 2008; Gledhill, 2000). "I am right to punish, since you know that it is wrong to steal, kill, not doing homework, being late... (Morey, 2008, p. 28).

Some instruments used for corporal punishment of schoolchildren varied in urban / rural, countryside / city scenarios. The indigenous body was not the same body as the mestizo or white, it was the body of the nonhuman, it was the body of non-being; Therefore, the animalized body had to be treated without consideration, with repressive actions. The ritualization of punishment to the body of the child and the teenager on the school was more radical than in the city; For example, the "Indian line" was applied, which consisted of forming two columns of students so that the unruly body passed through it receiving kicks, punches, murmurs, whistles, shouts. The ritual was even more solemnized, when someone from the line "out of consideration or friendship" was not inserted in that game of power, ran with the same fate of being punished.



In this sense, the disciplinary technology fixes, immobilizes or regulates the movements; resolves confusions, compact agglomerations over uncertain circulations, calculated distributions (Foucault, 2009). But ultimately who dominates, controls and directs the behaviors and forces of the students are the teachers or any educational authority, however, one cannot deny the unforeseen moments and forms of unforeseen resistance of students or will have to explore the New types of student struggles, for example, non-centralized struggles, cross-cutting struggles (Negri, 2004, Deleuze, 2014 [1986])<sup>1</sup>, a subject that will be analyzed in depth in later articles.

Another instrument of punishment used in the school environment is the application of the bouquet of black nettle<sup>2</sup> on the neck of the “affected”, or the fact of whipping it on the hands, causing inflammation and irritation in the skin with intense itching. The suffering of punishment is due to the nettle, having hairs and thorns, release an acidic substance that causes stinging in the skin.

The instrument of punishment in rural schools were eucalyptus seeds, the same students used to pick them up in a forest near the institution, on those seeds the unruly students were put on their knees, after several minutes they got up with wounds, drops of blood rolled down the knees to the rhythm of tears that rolled down their cheeks. Inside or on the professor’s desk was a cowhide whip<sup>3</sup>, also called “veta” or “lash”.

The lashes caused unbearable pain and bleeding. Both “nettling” and “lashes” were often applied to the buttocks making them undress either to a woman or a man, without any modesty. . The use of lashes was common and natural in schools, even the parents themselves and handed them to the teacher, the same representatives asked the teachers to punish their kids, as told by one of the interviews. It was one of the ways to normalize the use of the whip in the bodies of the undisciplined. The more “angry” and violent the teacher the better teacher was considered. The indiscipline of the students was attributed to the meekness of the teacher. The whip was an instrument that produced severe pain, but it was normal to see students with traces of lashes, it was natural to see the teacher in the courtyards, classrooms with whip in hand. The use of this object was synonymous with correction and discipline, today is an object synonymous with abuse and aggression. In the absence of the whip it was replaced the so-called “rods” or branches of plants or trees, says one of the interviewees.

This type of punitive and coercive education accompanied the humiliating, discriminating, sexist, racist discourses. For example, it was common to hear: “You only serve to shepherd goats; Instead of spending the money produce something taking care of pigs; Go to the moor and never come back to my class”. In this sense education is an instrument of power that is imposed by techniques, often sophisticated and invisible, of standardization, of “normalization”, which make the school, like the barracks or the factory, resemble the modern prison (Foucault, 2009 [1976]). Although a similar speech was expressed by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1976). From his approach, the moral education that is performed in the school is the key in the modern society to subject to the young people to a set of rules that, at the same time that they are imposed like mandates, generate the regularity of habits necessary in the industrial society.

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1 Referring to the resistance, Gilles Deleuze, quoted in Miguel Morey, says: “If the children were to make their protests heard in a nursery or even simply voice their questions, that would be enough to provoke an explosion in the whole system of education” (2008, 27).

2 The nettle has a square-shaped section stem, oval shaped leaves, with the serrated edge. The most well-known feature of this plant is the presence of stinging hairs whose caustic liquid causes intense irritation to the skin when touched or rubbed.

3 The whip is a multifunctional object used not only by the teacher but also by the parents to correct the behavior of their children. The narratives point out that the same object served to punish the older Indians by the landowners, but the Indian also kissed the whip after receiving the punishment as a sign of humility and gratitude. This same object was used to carry the animals, to educate the students, to discipline the indigenous.



## From the punishment of the body to the control of the souls

At the present - in the area where the current investigation is carried out - one of the ways to control, monitor and punish is not the body, but the soul. The exhibition, the ritual-ity of physical punishment, punitive education is diluted, operates in a more transformed manner. Because physical punishment is considered as an inconvenient, dangerous and inadequate practice to educate children and young people (Herrera, 2013). Painful punishments, physical punishment on the body of children in school, considered to be harmful and vexatious have been questioned, denounced and suppressed. It is claimed that physical force does not assure neither the authority on the part of the teacher nor the obedience in the disciple (Herrera, 2013) nevertheless, the intrusion of politics and power on the *bio*<sup>4</sup> of individuals and school crowds continues to be part of education.

One of the reasons for corporal punishment to give way to spiritual media is because of the questioning of intercultural bilingual education (IBE), it is not possible to say that the techniques of control and surveillance of individuals have been eradicated. In the IBE, power also intrudes into intimacy and penetrates bodies and mentalities in the same way as in hegemonic and monolingual education. In the IBE, power cares for and preserves the body, no longer reduces or mistreats the school and collegiate body, hence the relevance that the indigenous school body

acquires as a bearer of cultural identity: dress, long hair. In this sense, the indigenous bodies sculpted and historically violated are now exalted, the animalized indigenous bodies are now valued and humanized (Tejeda, 2012).

Evidently, in this area, the functioning of positive power is by no means a repressive but productive power, an inventive and not a conservative power. Foucault's discovery of positive power lies in the fact that its functioning is not limited to saying "no", or to prohibiting, impeding, hindering; If power had no other functions than to exclude and repress, "if it were exercised only in a negative way, it would be very fragile." If it is strong, it is because it produces positive effects at the level of desire and also at the level of knowledge (Lechuga, 2007, p. 117).

Power relations should not be limited to the possibility of violence, since they are a complex set of mechanisms and technologies whose essence is not to prohibit, but to monitor, control behaviors, deal with the development of people in institutions such as schools, and act on their gestures, their ways of acting, their skills (Lechuga, 2007, p.120).

Despite the passage from a punitive education to a positive education, from the transition from a prohibitive education to a permissive<sup>5</sup> education, both forms of education continue to be - in practice - monolingual, mono-cultural, hegemonic. In this sense:

The educational system recreates and reproduces the racial hierarchies of Ecuadorian society. Moreover, most educators reproduce racial hierarchies in their classrooms. Therefore, the passing through school, college and university are usually traumatic experiences full of vexations and obstacles (De la Torre 1996, p.34).

<sup>4</sup> Biopower intervenes and extends life. Biopolitics claims to be interested in educating and training physically for life (Tejeda, 2012, p.20). From the decade of the 70s, with the contributions of Michel Foucault, the categories of biopower and biopolitics are introduced in the philosophical thinking to allude to the paradigm shift that inaugurates the passage of the modern disciplinary societies to the societies of control or postmodern. In reality, the term biopower is broader than biopolitics, since the former implies the power exercised over the life of people from any context (hospital, school, business) while the latter refers specifically to the management of life People from the action of the State (Lesteime, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> "It occurred to me to sing, unconsciously, the teacher without hesitation and in a good way told me to sing for everyone. But I was very ashamed". For here the facultative, permissive power functions.



In opposition to this type of education and as an alternative intercultural bilingual<sup>6</sup> education emerges as a political, epistemic project of indigenous peoples, which attenuates the form of prohibitive / productive education.

## IBE as a political and epistemic project

In this section I begin by asking some epistemic questions. What does it mean to consider the IBE as an epistemic project? Has the IBE's irruption in the colonial national educational system contributed to the awareness of the indigenous knowledge and knowledge process? The institutionalization of the IBE conveys, in Foucauldian terms, the struggle for the insurrection of the subjugated knowledge:

And by knowing I understand two things. On the one hand, I want to designate, in short, historical contents that were buried, masked in functional coherences or formal systematizations ... Secondly, because I know I have to understand something else and, in a certain sense, a very different thing. By this expression I refer equally to a whole series of knowledges that were disqualified as non-conceptual knowledge, as insufficiently elaborated knowledge: naive knowledge, hierarchical inferior knowledge, knowledge below the required

level of knowledge or scientificity (Foucault, 2006 [1976], 21).

The recovery of subjugated knowledge or attempts to recover through the IBE does not occur in a peaceful field, but in a field of permanent struggle that defies a hierarchical institutional order that seeks to confront colonial legacies, including Geopolitics of knowledge. Here it is interesting to point out the new, or rather, the renewed attention given by indigenous and Afro groups to thinking as a field of struggle, intervention and creation, thus making evident an IBE project that is not only political but also epistemic (Walsh, 2007) in the sense of imagining not only "new paradigms" inscribed in the project of modernity (both colonizers and liberators), of which the project of neoliberalism is part and consequence, but of "other paradigms" (Mignolo, 2000), which affect and delegitimize the national hegemonic curriculum, with the insurgency of a subjugated knowledge, condensed in the Model of the Intercultural Bilingual Education System (MOIBES). The insurgency of submitted knowledge, according to Luis Macas (2005) is in direct contradiction with the occidental thought. For this activist and indigenous intellectual there are two parallel and fundamental struggles. The first one refers to the challenges faced by indigenous communities and peoples in the face of globalization. The second refers to the dispute that exists in the field of knowledge, in the formation of knowledge. In this struggle game, the emergence of the IBE, at least in its discourse, attempts to decolonize official hegemonic, punitive, excluding education; but not from outside the structure but from within; therefore, the struggle is "legal" and "admitted". The Ecuadorian indigenous movement does not pretend or have ever intended to act and define itself outside the State:

The power is of the people, not of the ruler. We want the government of Rafael Correa to finish his term but he must listen to the popular clamor. We do not want the government to fall, we want the corrupt system that surrounds it

6 The National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education, NDIBE, was created by Executive Decree No. 203 of November 9, 1988, published in Official Registry No. 66 of the same month and year, to meet the educational needs of the indigenous population from the country. Among its functions, it is responsible for the development of the appropriate curriculum for each of the systems and modalities of intercultural bilingual education, as well as for the promotion and strengthening of indigenous languages. By Law No. 150 of April 15, 1992, published in Official Registry No. 918 of April 20 of that same year, NDIBE is elevated to the level of a decentralized technical, administrative and financial agency; and for its operation has its own functional organic structure. In the same way, in 1992, the Model System of Bilingual Intercultural Education was made official with philosophical, juridical, pedagogical and psychological foundations. Later, in 2003, it was redesigned on the basis of the different experiences of IBE in the country (MOSEIB, 1992; García, 2007; Zavala, 2007; Martínez, 2009).



to fall ... (Address by the new president<sup>12</sup> of Ecuaurunari, December 21, 2009)<sup>7</sup>.

In a certain way, the emergence of the IBE recognized by the Ecuadorian State, meant a social justice that implies cognitive, ontological and historical justice. That is, to avoid historical forgetfulness (where we come from), epistemological oblivion (what we know) and ontological oblivion (who we are) (De Sousa Santos, 2010).

Several indigenous intellectuals married the mestizas in order to forget their status as indigenous, they wanted to escape their language ... The institutionalization of Bilingual Education stops that escape. Indigenous people who wanted to de-indiginize themselves see in Bilingual Education a space, their space of reflection and awareness ... (Carlos Moreno, January 9, 2014).

This testimony evidences the denial of his own existence: the *coloniality* of being. *The coloniality* of being refers to non-existence and dehumanization, a negation of the status of the human being that began within the complicity systems of colonialism and slavery (Walsh, 2007).

The “longed-for” marriage of an Indian with a mestiza - after his social mobility through education - sees, apparently, the need for whitening, transforming and modifying, ceasing to be a non-being. But also, subjectivity would always be a way of being and, at the same time, of not being. Similar to this testimony seems very frequent, not to discover who we are, but to reject what we are. Imagining and creating what we could be, erasing your being or our being. In short, it draws the line of escape to exit the mechanisms and modern structures of know-power, through de-indigenation.

In order to block the escape route, the IBE creates literacy programs, educational institutions

at all levels (community educational centers, colleges, institutes, universities) and, in addition, these educational entities are articulated as a scaffold in the formation of Critical consciousness, becoming part of the process of indigenous awakening. In spite of these objectives, the IBE, from its beginnings, operated with a series of difficulties as the shortage of teachers trained in the areas of kichwa and culture; Paradoxically some of the positions created by the Ministry of Education for bilingual teachers have been occupied by non-bilinguals due to the lack of professionals with training in the subjects that should be taught in the intercultural system (Montaluisa, 1990, cited in Martínez Novo, 2009).

We were not prepared for the birth of the IBE. The IBE emerged at the least expected and least prepared moment. The reaction of the parents was adverse, so was the indigenous communities'. Of the closed meetings within the Ministry and CONAIE, the IBE emerges, without prior planning. We were not prepared to administer many schools, but few (Emilio Ajitimbay, January 29, 2014).

This testimony agrees with the following hypothesis:

[...] the preservation of indigenous languages and cultures has been more an objective of certain external agents such as ethno-linguists, the progressive and left-wing Church, and some indigenous leaders, than a desire of the indigenous base (Martínez, 2009, p.192).

The question that arises is: Did not some educational experiences, such as Popular Radio Schools of Ecuador-ERPE, serve to raise awareness? Beyond the affirmative or negative answer, the attempt to reappear those knowledges from below, from these unqualified and even disqualified knowledge, from that particular knowledge -Foucault (2006 [1976]) would say, knowledge of the People- I would say knowledge of the indigenous peoples, in which they find limitations, tensions and ambiguities in the protagonists of in-

<sup>7</sup> In the III Congress of the Ecuaurunari (indigenous movement of regional scope) was unanimously elected, representing the Confederation of the Indigenous Movement of Chimborazo (CO-MICH), Delfín Tenesaca.



house<sup>8</sup> and external, that do not allow to face the coloniality of knowledge and the dominant geopolitics of knowledge<sup>9</sup>. In addition, the issues of the previous section - of being ceasing to be, what are we? And in Foucauldian terms we would say: What is the subject? - is not only an ontological problem; also contain two dimensions: an ethical and political dimension, and an epistemological dimension. . The first would refer not only to the type of relationship established between who is considered to be and who is not, but also what are the purposes of their denial and affirmation of their condition of being. On the other hand, the epistemic dimension indicates the conditions of possibility of knowledge itself. This is evidenced, for example, in the presentation of iconographies of indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian nationalities in school texts called pedagogic kukayos. This knowledge of the self questions the legitimacy and hegemony of representations and knowledge and, in terms of the latter, indigenous contents are placed in classrooms of all intercultural bilingual levels as the history of Indigenous leaders<sup>10</sup>, indigenous organizations, traditions and customs of peoples or nationalities and their worldviews. These texts never entered, at least, to the archives of the monolingual schools of Riobamba. In this sense, the IBE undermines the “universal” and colonial knowledge, constituting a contribution to *the insurgency of the subjugated knowledge*.

On the other hand, the IBE is not distant from some difficulties such as the educational kukayos abandoned in several educational centers with little interest in the indigenous contents; this

is because some hispanic and indigenous teachers were not prepared to receive and use texts self-imagined by the actors themselves and, in parallel with the production of pedagogical kukayos, didactic materials were not produced for teachers and students in the various indigenous languages at a institutional level, with the exception of some efforts from the regional or provincial levels. The images produced and their circulation in school texts is intimately linked to the worldview of each indigenous particularity. Such representational discourses, both narrated and visual, would inform about the “imagined Indians”, who in different historical periods have become a cultural capital that has served the interests of different imaginaries (Muratorio, 1994, p.10).

These ambiguities and contradictions in the epistemic and political field not only exist between the IBE and the State, but also within the bilingual intercultural agents themselves. . On the one hand, little importance is given to the knowledge of the elders and to the non-western ways of inscribing and transmitting knowledge, as Carmen Martínez Novo (2009) mentions; In the linguistic field a similar event occurs: teachers spend most of their time teaching Spanish literacy, parents demand that their children be educated in Spanish and taught to read and write in Spanish (2009). On the other hand, the official discourse - undertaken within a field of struggle against the structure and against its own agents - continues to demand the application of linguistic principles: “the native language constitutes the main language of education and Spanish has the role of Second language and language of intercultural relation” (MOSEIB, 1992, p.13). And, in epistemological terms, the IBE Model mentions: “to develop a program that rescues and actualizes ethnoscience in accordance with the integrated theory of science and the worldview that characterizes indigenous peoples” (1992, p.12). There seems to be not only distance between discourses and educational practices, but also in a field of permanent struggle, in a double way: against the state and between and from its own agents.

8 The in-house indicates the internal processes of the organizations, but mostly of communities, to build and to strengthen a own thought and knowledge.

9 For Catherine Walsh, the way to face the coloniality of knowledge is to reconstruct and strengthen our own thoughts and knowledge, not as a local folk knowledge, but as epistemology, as systems of knowledge (2007).

10 In the Kukayo pedagogical texts elaborated by the Regional Directorate Sierra, the life, struggle and thought of indigenous people like Alejo Sáes, Fernando Daquilema and Dolores Cacuango appear, as well as the stories of CONAIE, ECUARUNARI and other indigenous organizations.



## Conclusions

In the educational field, according to Julia Varela (1993), Michel Foucault, as is well known, never dedicated to education a systematic and finished work. However, it shows relationships and power plays in pedagogical relationships, for example in the transmission of knowledge, when it is accepted that one knows more than another (Lechuga, 2007). For this reason, Foucault's thinking takes effect in the educational field, while in *Discipline and Punish*; it does not analyze only the prisons, but also the hospital, the school, the orphanage and the factory.

Just as education is a privileged domain for the exercise of power, it is also one of the scenarios of political and epistemic resistances and insurrections, although John Gledhill (2000) states that "power inevitably provokes" resistances "has little real basis". However, the key to understanding power games and avoiding falling into domination is resistance; *where there is power there is resistance*. There is resistance when someone says "no," when someone opposes a given situation with the intention of modifying it or avoiding it. Its "capillary" model of power privileges the micro-politics of resistance or *infra-educative*.

Physical punishment of students was manifested in multiple ways: with pushing against the blackboard; hits with a ruler in any part of the body, preferably in the hands or in the head; Pinching; blows, the jolts; the rolling of the ears. These punishments fulfilled the role of correcting, guiding, improving the committed failures. The bodies were subjected to docility, obedience, discipline and correction in order to make them work and to make them a productive, physical and intellectual, workforce. Violence to the school body was not shameful, it was expressed directly and even publicly exhibited; the more publicly presented the more effective the punishment.

Facing a punitive education, centered on the ritualized punishment of the body; In front of the educational system that recreates and reproduces the racial hierarchies of Ecuadorian society;

facing certain educators who reproduce racial hierarchies in their classrooms; facing the production of traumatic experiences full of vexations and obstacles in the passage through the school, the college and the university (De la Torre, 1996), bilingual intercultural education emerges as an alternative and a political and epistemic project of indigenous peoples, which attenuates the form of prohibitive / productive education; Although sometimes it reproduces the same "vices" that the traditional educational system.

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