



ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSES THAT CONSTRUCTED THE IMAGINARY OF THE SUBJECTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE COLOMBIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: A PROPOSAL TO RECONFIGURE THE ACTIONS OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

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Abstract: *Power devices can institute and determine the types of subjects and prescribe the functionality they must have for economic, political and religious purposes. Therefore, this research aimed to explain the discourses that built the imaginary around the subjectivity of teachers and students in the history of the Colombian educational system to reconfigure their pedagogical actions. In this sense, a qualitative inquiry with a hermeneutic design was chosen. Among the main results of the research, it is highlighted that since the genesis of the Colombian educational system, pedagogy has been used to legitimize the instrumentalization of the work of teachers and used instruction to control the subjectivity and the body of students.*

Keywords: *subjectivity, instrumentalization, pedagogy, institute*

1. INTRODUCTION

Power devices can institute and determine the types of subjects. In addition, they prescribe the functionality they should have for economic, political and religious purposes. Therefore, this research aimed to explain the discourses that built the imaginary around the subjectivity of teachers and students in the history of the Colombian educational system to reconfigure their pedagogical actions. In this sense, the researchers opted for a qualitative inquiry with a hermeneutic design.

Among the main results of the research, it is highlighted that since the genesis of the Colombian educational system, the way in which pedagogy has been used to legitimize the instrumentalization of the work of teachers and used instruction to control the subjectivity and the body of the students has become evident. In this sense, Foucault is right in identifying the intimate relationship between knowledge-power and the role of governmentality in legitimizing the discourses that establish the boundaries between the forbidden and the permitted, the pronounceable and the unspeakable, the good and the bad; in short, in instituting the order of things.

Therefore, synthesizing the conclusions, it is argued that although we agree with most of this diagnosis, this reflection often reveals the instrumental interests that governmentality has used to subjugate the freedoms and autonomy of individuals. In general, it does not offer categories of emancipation and closes any possibility of transformation. Therefore, while sharing the diagnosis of archeological-genealogical studies, this research integrates the paradigm of the theory of communicative action as an alternative to rethink the role that teachers and students can play.

2. GENERAL OBJECTIVE

To explain the discourses that built the imaginary around the subjectivity of teachers and students in the history of the Colombian educational system to reconfigure their pedagogical actions.

3. METHODOLOGY

As mentioned, the methodology that this research has adopted to achieve the proposed objectives has been qualitative. The fact that more than the analysis of data or statistical quantification, it intends to describe a series of historical facts which configured the contour of the collective imaginary to create conceptions about the subject called teacher and student. These discourses gave rise to the instrumentalization of people for political, religious, economic and philosophical purposes. In this sense, the design that best explains the interests already announced are those offered by the interpretative studies of the hermeneutic sciences. This is understood, according to Grondin (1999),

as the attempt to deconstruct or destroy the traditional and questioned explanations of the past because: “hermeneutics only performs its task by way of destruction” (p. 147). In other words, it aims to help the researcher gain access to the original experiences of the subjects in the different historical epochs, which have been hidden behind the categories transmitted by tradition or the deformations of alienating opinions or ideologies.

Likewise, to avoid being trapped in the nets of interpretation or clarifications of the historical facts of Colombian education and the definitions it has given to the teacher and the student, this research argues that it is necessary to subvert the alienating practices that have been uncovered. That is to say, to understand and modify the instrumentalization by which education has been the best means of institutionality. That is to say, it is not enough to understand the social reality conceptually; it is also necessary to transform it through criticism. In this framework, Marx’s thesis (1976) makes sense when he stated: “Philosophers have done nothing more than interpret the world in different ways, but it is a question of transforming it” (p. 3).

In conclusion, on the one hand, the study uses the interpretative categories provided by hermeneutics to unveil the concepts or configuration that, through the educational sciences, have been given to teachers and students: the definition of their social role and subsequent instrumentalization for ideological purposes. On the other hand, a critical pedagogical theory is proposed that tends to the liberation of the subjects of educational centers and enables them to assume the responsibility of defining themselves as actors called to change, denigrating practices that occur within educational institutions.

Thus, historical research, through hermeneutics, does not bind itself to the idea of objectivity of the natural sciences. Instead, it seeks the possibility for subjects to understand themselves and why the present is this way and not another. Translating the above to the interests of this research, it seeks to determine from what moment the Colombian educational system began instrumentalizing teachers and students.

However, it is also necessary to establish that, according to Gadamer (2004), hermeneutic researchers should not approach history from an objectifying point of view, as if they were trying to reveal the truths of facts because they are not:

“In reality, it is not history that belongs to us, but we who belong to it. Long before we understand ourselves the reflection, we already understand ourselves in a self-evident way in the family, society and the state in which we live” (p. 344).

Therefore, the way in which the interpretation of texts is understood is through the hermeneutic circle. That is to say, the researcher’s previous understanding and prejudices are tested with the information provided by the bibliographic sources. From this, a new, more informed understanding emerges, which, in turn, will again be confronted with other historical archives so that the process continues to repeat itself until the researcher determines it. The above can be synthesized in the following figure, where (p) is prior understanding and (u) is understanding of the text.

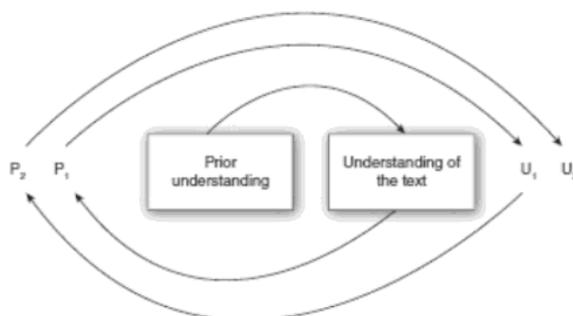


Figure 1. Hermeneutic circle.

Source: Kuckartz (2014).

Now, the steps to be followed to guide the research in the hermeneutic circle, according to Palanques (2016), should start from the text in question to the process of knowledge transmission. To do so,



the objective and the questions must be clearly stated, the central ideas determined, and the information must be questioned again. As shown Figure 2.

Texto	Cuanto más admiro la excelencia de la Constitución Federal de Venezuela, tanto más me persuado de la imposibilidad de su aplicación a nuestro estado. Y según mi modo de ver, es un prodigio que su modelo en el Norte de América subsista tan prósperamente y no se trastorne al aspecto del primer embarazo o peligro. A pesar de que aquel pueblo es un modelo singular de virtudes políticas y de ilustración moral; no obstante que la libertad ha sido su cuna, se ha criado en la libertad y se alimenta de pura libertad; lo diré todo, aunque bajo de muchos respectos, este pueblo es único en la historia del género humano, es un prodigio, repito, que un sistema tan débil y complicado como el federal haya podido regirlo en circunstancias tan difíciles y delicadas como las pasadas. Pero sea lo que fuere de este Gobierno con respecto a la Nación Americana, debo decir que ni remotamente ha entrado en mi idea asimilar la situación y naturaleza de los estados tan distintos como el Inglés Americano y el Americano Español. ¿No sería muy difícil aplicar a España el código de libertad política, civil y religiosa de la Inglaterra? Pues aún es más difícil adaptar en Venezuela las leyes del Norte de América. ¿No dice <i>El Espíritu de las Leyes</i> que éstas deben ser propias para el pueblo que se hacen? ¿que es una gran casualidad que las de una nación puedan convenir a otra? ¿que las leyes deben ser relativas a lo físico del país, al clima, a la calidad del terreno, a su situación, a su extensión, al género de vida de los pueblos; referirse al grado de libertad que la Constitución puede sufrir, a la religión de los habitantes, a sus inclinaciones, a sus riquezas, a su número, a su comercio, a sus costumbres, a sus modales? ¡He aquí el Código que debíamos consultar, y no el de Washington!
Objetivo	Delinear la concepción de hombre en el Discurso de Angostura de Simón Bolívar
Preguntas	¿Cuál es la concepción de ser humano en este texto?
Anticipación	1. Supongo que hay una relación con alguna vertiente de la concepción ilustrada de hombre. 2. Puede haber dos niveles en el razonamiento: uno general al ser humano y otro adaptado a sus particularidades históricas
Ideas centrales	Es necesario aplicar lo dicho por Montesquieu y buscar una constitución que se adapte al carácter del territorio y pueblo al que se dirige.
Repreguntar	¿cómo es compatible lo prodigioso del pueblo norteamericano con aquella idea inicial de la humanidad mayormente indiferente ante la libertad?
Transmisión	1. ¿hay dificultades en expresar esto en términos contemporáneos? 2. ¿cuáles ideas pudieran ser "tergiversadas" por un uso inadecuado del lenguaje?

Figure 2. Steps of the hermeneutic circle.
Source: Palanques (2016).

However, collecting information obeys the criteria demarcated by the research categories. Therefore, the data collection technique implemented to systematize, in the context of hermeneutic research, will be the documentary analysis and the instrument: the record card. While, according to Espinoza (2019), “the documentary analysis data are collected from secondary sources. Books, bulletins, journals, magazines, brochures, and newspapers are used as sources to collect data on the variables of interest. The instrument customarily used is the data recording form” (p. 178). According to the above, it can be schematized as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Research categories for collecting the data.

Categories	Research technique	Instrument for the collection of information.
Resignification of the concept of history: an archeology-genealogy of the history of Colombian education.	Documentary analysis	Data Logging Form # 01
Discourses on the subjectivity of teachers and students in the history of Colombian education.	Documentary analysis	Data Logging Form # 02
Reconfiguring the role of teachers and students: the critical pedagogy of communication.	Documentary analysis.	Data Logging Form # 03

Source: Espinoza (2019).

4. RESULTS.

A. Study Archaeology-genealogy of the history of education in Colombia: The school and the student as invention.

The history of the Colombian educational system is also the story of how power has been expressed to discipline, correct and train the body. Therefore, it is not a matter of finding the thread that



explains the progress or formation of the institutions that gave a framework to educational fact. Instead, what is sought is to elucidate the discourses that established the contours of what was to be understood by the subjectivity of students and teachers. In this regard, the narration of chronological facts and the exaltation of the characters who contributed for their ingenuity or dedication does not allow to understand the networks, the complex networks that established the boundaries between what is valid and what is not, between what is pronounceable and what should be kept out of the word in the complex world designed under the artifice called public instruction.

Therefore, the archeological-genealogical study undertaken in this research sought to trace the power networks that established and shaped the institutionality of the Colombian educational system. Given that, according to Hilario (2015):

“The whole educational structure is organized in power relations; authority is the backbone of its structure, it is outside and inside the classroom, outside and inside the institution, outside and inside the Ministry of Education, that is, the teacher’s authority begins and ends in the classroom, because outside the classroom he is also subject to a greater authority” (p. 130).

Nowadays, power imposes demands that translate into the training of the body and consciences, which are legitimized by discourses that mostly integrate a moral dialectic. In the case of the Colombian educational system, since colonial times, the interest in correcting the barbaric traits of children and training them to save their souls or to train them for labor in pursuit of the progress of the crown or to internalize the maxims of freedom and independence in need to defend the nascent Republic was evident. In short, since the sixteenth century, education has been the scene of a constant internalization of the subjectivization of students and teachers that sought the humanization that would result in civilization and whose maximum expressions would be good manners, productivity and public health.

From this point of view, as Ruggiano (2013) observes, all the pedagogical knowledge built in the modern era that seeks to train children will deploy a whole series of practices whose objective is not only their regulation but their production of corporeality. All this is translated into a set of dispositions and codes to which bodies must adapt, subtle and even imperceptible molds that shape bodies. Thus, it can be argued that “[All] pedagogical work with students always involves work with and in the body - more or less explicit - and [...] that work is the basis and condition of all other learning” (p. 62)

Therefore, the archeological-genealogical study of the history of Colombian education from this research shows that the subjectivity of teachers and students was finely constructed by discourse that sought to train the bodies of its actors according to the interests of power. To this end, discipline and correction were based on the social right to enforce the laws that maintained civil order. Over the years, punishment went from the torture of the body to the internalization in the conscience of normalized and socially legitimized behaviors. Thus, Herrera (2013) can affirm that:

The educational system had to be then, and henceforth, one that brought into play all the resources of intelligence and piety to convince and transform the delinquent from a dangerous man into a useful man. The punishments imposed on children’s bodies were to be essentially prophylactic, teaching them to be Christians, to hate crime and love virtue, and endowing them with something that would enable them to fight successfully in life. In this sense, corporal punishments yield their place to spiritual and dignified means of man (p. 75).

However, this does not mean the absence of coercive actions; on the contrary, the technification of education through relatively young sciences such as psychology, pedagogy, sociology and educational administration have based their discourse on the knowledge of the mind, the body and human behavior. This gives their discourses the status of scientific knowledge and, therefore, unquestionable. Therefore, the practices, actions and discourse observed in the school formation of children are, in many aspects, the correlate of the logic that emerges at the moment in the history of the West when a man is understood as a subject, an individual from which the world comes into existence or, in Descartes words: “*cogito ergo sum.*”



B. Discourses on the subjectivity of teachers and students in the Colombian educational system.

The previous discussion has revolved around identifying the foundations for understanding both the instrumentalization and the discourses that have given identity to teachers and students since the origins of the Colombian educational system. For this, it has been necessary to redefine the concept of history to find the power devices that have been configuring, in a hidden way, the borders of the pronounceable and unpronounceable, of the legal and illegal, of the truth or falsehood, of the good or bad in the system. To this end, the epistemological postulates of Foucault's archeological-genealogical studies were assumed.

In this, the discourses that were evidenced in different historical moments, especially in the colonial period and in the independence, configured the subjectivity of teachers and students. In this sense, it was highlighted that the first subject in charge of holding the role of the teacher in Colombia was the priest doctrine; while the first students were the soulless Indians. Likewise, it was pointed out that the legislation produced at the Council of Trent disrupted all church activities, redesigned educational concepts, deepened instructional techniques and initiated the control and training devices that the Bourbon reforms would implement.

However, it was the expulsion of the religious order of the Jesuits in 1767, when the state assumed control and complete legislation of the educational system, that took shape the discourse that demarcated teachers and students as subjects that were understood according to the juridical and political criteria that the crown would point out. From this moment on, teachers will not only respond to the moral criteria once assigned by the church but their activity will also be regulated, controlled and monitored by the devices of governmentality.

However, as Alzate (2011) explains, at the end of the eighteenth century, a subtle tendency to privatize many gestures, acts and behaviors that in the past had scenarios in the public world spread in many of the main cities of the New Granada. All this, in the name or arguing the need for civilization. In this, the discourse and a whole scaffolding of inspection are born under the concept of police. With it, it is sought to monitor and correct the coexistence of the inhabitants of a given territory. Now, the main characteristic of all these power devices was the need to control the body, educate it and make it fit for the nascent system of economic production that, in its incipient beginnings, began to configure a type of public instruction.

The period of independence did not differ from the previous one. Likewise, power controlled education for the instrumental purposes that the new political context demanded and teachers and students were involved in the same logic of control, surveillance and training. However, the great difference will be the concept of citizen that, during the period of the Republic, ipso facto is assigned to the subjects of education. This ties men to a territory, subscribes them to a geographical environment and gives them the responsibility to defend the interests of the Nation even with their own lives.

The great challenge of the nascent neo-Granadian Republic was the regulation, through legislation, of public instruction. The Congress of Cúcuta in 1821 and the subsequent decree on the study plan (1826), issued by the vice-presidency headed by Santander, precisely defined the academic contents, the opening times of the schools, the jurisdiction and the authorities responsible for the institutions. Among the factors to be highlighted was the emphasis on moral, religious and labor education that the schools should have. To this end, the control of time and the surveillance of bodies were the main objects of power devices.

Therefore, regardless of the historical period of the political or economic ideals that have assumed education as a means to their ends, the constant instrumentalization of teachers and students is evident. This, instead of dissolving, with the passage of time, has deepened, perfected, and even regularized as the only way of understanding and functioning of the educational system. Now, according to the findings of this research, public instruction was one of the scenarios that, par excellence, served as a stage to propagate the control devices established by the power discourses. As Monroe (1995) observes, in the modern world, among the public services offered by capitalist societies, schools were among the first to be promulgated and extended.



Therefore, it is necessary to rethink the epistemological foundations of pedagogy. In conclusion, we propose the need to conceive education from the criteria of the critical communication theory as a model of rationality to restructure the actions of the main actors of the educational system. That is to say, to inquire into axiological positions from which the main actors of the educational system achieve self-determination and do not merely follow the postulates of external power devices. In short, this is what this research intends to suggest and which will be synthesized below.

C. Reconfiguration of the role of teachers and students through the critical pedagogy of communication and cooperation as a biological characteristic of learning.

In the previous sections, it became evident how the control of education by the government increased its control over the subjects. As the state assumed public instruction as a means of training, the discourse that became popular would be the one that served governmentality. In this model, it is no longer privileged to teach reading, writing or the subjects of mathematics and science; but it also includes the need to inculcate citizen values to propagate the new national policies. Kemmis (2008) is right when he states:

With mass education, the control of education became the object of state regulation (e.g., through inspection systems). The regulation of mass education required a more detailed and state-controlled system of teacher preparation, curriculum specification, examinations, and teacher qualifications and registration (p. 97).

When the rationality of schooling, controlled by the state, appeared, it gave rise to a huge bureaucratic system required to coordinate, regulate and control teachers and other subjects involved in the social fact called education. From this perspective, instrumentalist logic reified a pedagogical apparatus, an impersonal entity characterized by rules, procedures, authority structure and formulas that characterize its functioning. This event was considered by all participants as a real fact, as much as the bricks of school buildings.

However, it would be simplistic to understand the role of education exclusively as an instrumentalist and of manipulation of teachers and students. It is true, as has been described that the institutionalization of public instruction allowed the establishment of a type of pedagogical rationality, that is, the one that conceived subjects as means to achieve governmental ends; however, this does not mean that there are no bases on which to establish a normative discourse to reconfigure the role of public instruction. Therefore, this research proposes the paradigm of a critical pedagogy of education to explain and redesign the work of teachers and the role of students.

From the point of view of the critical pedagogy of education, the instrumentalization evidenced in the history of the Colombian educational system is a symptom that reveals a much more structural problem that affects other fields of social life, not only that of public instruction. That is the institutionalization of a way of thinking, understanding and deciphering the world, an end-oriented rationality and a one-dimensional vision of understanding science and, therefore, of conceiving pedagogy. That is the universalization of the axioms of positivism. Therefore, in what follows, we seek to unmask the ideological apparatus that, underhandedly, sustains scientific technicism. In addition, it proposes a theoretical alternative to reconfigure the role of teachers and students.

To this end, it is pertinent to specify the types of rationality that educational systems may adopt at certain moments. According to Habermas (2003), at least three types of actions can be differentiated in the social order: strategic, norm-regulated and dramaturgical. For this exposition, the first two will be detailed. By strategic, we mean the capacity of the subjects to act, using the most appropriate means and tools to achieve the proposed ends. This assumes the existence of an objective world governed by cause-effect laws and, therefore, measurable, quantifiable, calculable and predictable. In this field, the empirical sciences best explain the facts that occur in it. As it became clear, the main characteristic of pedagogy in the genesis of public instruction in Colombia responded to this logic.

According to Hoyos (2013), what is the danger of generalized instrumentalist rationality in the educational system? The answer is dogmatism. That is, the difficulty is that public instruction, seen from the point of view, establishes a single way of working academically. As a result, the teaching



work is reduced to a pedagogical criterion framed in the axioms of technique, technology and innovation for competitiveness and productivity. In other words, the new myth of science is the exclusive path to progress. And, although the need for it is not denied, humans -students- are more than science; they are also playfulness, aesthetics, and culture.

On the other hand, Habermas (1989) explains a second type of rationality. While instrumentalization has genesis in life linked to work and seeks to control nature through technique, communicative actions establish their origin in the milieu of socialized individuals in community life, where language predominates for interrelation. In this space, inter-subjective understanding predominates so that people capable of language and action reach agreements and carry out coordinated activities.

Unlike instrumentalist rationality, communicative rationality establishes a space of inter-subjective relations, mediated by communication, where socialized individuals understand each other and agree to coordinate their actions and act together in the community world. In this, the network that underlies this type of relationship is a concatenation of symbolic interactions built by tradition and culture, where all its members have sense, meaning and orientation in society.

Then, how does Habermasian sociological thinking translate within the pedagogy framework? García (1993) argues that educational systems are scenarios where both actions coexist, social norms, communicatively shared, run alongside training in cognitive and professional competencies. History has shown the predominance of instrumentalization; however, it has also evidenced spaces where teachers and students through their linguistically coordinated procedures. In coherence with this, Paz (1993) points out that, through the tasks aimed at transmitting knowledge and developing knowledge, rationality with purposeful arrangements is the predominant one. Meanwhile, the tasks in charge of the socialization of social norms and personal self-affirmation gravitate within the framework of communicative action.

However, due to the overwhelming growth of positivist pedagogy, which privileges the exclusivity of instrumentalist rationality, it is necessary to develop a critique that accounts for the normative role of communicative action. In this sense, McLaren (1997) argued that: “the critical tradition examines teaching as a form of cultural politics. From this perspective, teaching always represents a form of social life” (p. 48). According to this view, educational systems are an act of political posturing by their very composition. Consequently, believing in the value neutralism propagated by positivism is false, which makes the innocent mistake of pretending to abstract the subjects from the social framework. In reality, all actors, regardless of their scientific stance, take sides in promoting one way of life to the detriment of others; that is to say, technical scientism has fallen victim to the evil it sought to eradicate: its postulates are ideological insofar as they promote a type of society and its forms of production.

Therefore, as long as education is constructed through the premises of positivism, it will not make possible the realization of all the human capacities of its main actors -teachers and students-. Its only interest will be the formation of labor competencies for individuals to fit into the market. That is why Kemmis (2008) states that it was only possible to institutionalize instrumentalization through public instruction, as a matter of state, in modern capitalist societies; because they demanded the formation of a productive subject, such a situation has hardly had any precedent in pedagogical history. Hence, I argue that the educational systems under this paradigm gave:

The role of schooling is, of course, to produce a qualified workforce and to achieve the reproduction of society, the reproduction in later generations of the values and ways of life and work that together characterize the economic, political and cultural patterns of the modern state (p. 46-47).

However, it limits the possibility of criticism and makes it impossible to overcome the alienating social conditions faced by teachers and students, not only within educational institutions but also in society. The proposal, in this sense, is to broaden the reduced field of action that the positivist paradigm assigned to teachers and empower them with theoretical tools so that the educational system is the product of their participation and active elaboration. That is to say, to take away from technocrats the leading role in constructing education’s objectives and social goals.

To achieve the concreteness of the above proposal, the theorists of critical pedagogy proceed by claiming two lines of argumentation. On the one hand, using the postulates of the members of the



social theory of the Frankfurt School, they make a voracious critique of the attempts to reduce educational systems to mere instrumentalist terms. On the other hand, adopting the communicative action paradigm proposed by Jürgen Habermas, they interpret the school, its objectives and social goals differently.

About the critique of the positivist vision, they proceed by demonstrating, according to Giroux (2003), how technical rationality not only invaded the field of research in the natural sciences, but also colonized all disciplines of scientific research under the sophism that only those disciplines that followed the method imposed by it were recognized. The consequence of this, in education, was to marginalize teachers from the important debates in the construction of knowledge and the social purposes of teaching. In this sense, Giroux (2003) proposes:

To overturn the culture of positivism, social studies educators will have to do more than exchange one set of principles of social organization for another. They will need to construct alternative social formations and worldviews that affect both the consciousness and the deep life structure of their students' needs (p. 59-60)

In this sense, the first call of the school of critical pedagogy theorists is to make the curriculum detach itself from the reductionist axioms of positivism to achieve a reflection that can account for other types of human activities and actions. Not all student behaviors inside and outside educational institutions can be measured, calculated and quantified. Often, no internal logic can explain why they decided on a particular field of action.

On the other hand, Carr and Kemmis (1988), using the postulates developed by Habermas on the sciences, propose broadening the field of interest and action of scientific knowledge. In their opinion, humanity has developed various ways of understanding, explaining and dominating the reality surrounding them. Indeed, for the sake of the species' survival, instrumentalization has been necessary for the defense against natural threats by providing the necessary resources for existence, and knowledge of the physical world has been indispensable for this purpose. Unfortunately, however, this logic has overflowed and surpassed the frontiers by envisioning the whole world as susceptible to consumption; now, everything is prone to be overexploited to the limit of the threat of self-destruction.

Now, the instrumental explanation of nature and human relations has been motivated by work, its logic is based on cause-effect explanations, its main manifestation in knowledge is reflected in the physical-mathematical sciences, and the overwhelming growth of modern technology demonstrates its manifestation in practice. But this knowledge is not the only one in the experience of human knowledge and although it threatens to colonize all fields of social activities, there are other forms of rational actions with pretensions of validity. In this sense, Carr and Kemmis (1988) develop what they understand by the practical interest for understanding; that is: "Practical interest generates knowledge in the form of interpretative understanding, capable of informing and guiding practical judgment" (p. 14). To understand the above, it is necessary to resort to the meanings social constructions assign to human actions and institutions.

Therefore, it is pertinent to understand that many people's practices are mediated by symbolic charges and human interrelationships that endow them with meanings: language and social institutions are clear examples of this. In this sense, the knowledge produced by the hermeneutic sciences helps to understand and interpret this plexus of relationships that do not have a physical existence -like natural phenomena- but in which subjects participate and are affected daily. As will be noted, this type of study goes beyond the epistemological field of the physico-mathematical sciences; therefore, it demands a different reflection.

Finally, in their typification of the interests of knowledge, Carr and Kemmis (1988) develop what they call emancipatory. According to them, there is: "A basic human interest for rational autonomy and freedom, which translates into demanding the intellectual and material conditions within which non-alienated communications and interrelations can occur" (p. 148). Since human existence in many social relations is in alienating conditions, the critical sciences seek the emancipation and coordinated transformation of these circumstances through language and action. In this sense, this knowledge provides the subjects with the conceptual and theoretical tools to achieve a type of self-



reflective understanding through which the subjects involved can explain the conditions that frustrate them and, thanks to this, coordinate their actions to transform or eliminate the source of their alienation.

In conclusion, characterizing the different interests that motivate human knowledge helps broaden the reduced scope of study established by positivism. As we have seen, actions can never be evaluated according to a single type of rationality. They obey either labor, language or power to transform alienating conditions. Therefore, to pigeonhole the analysis of the Colombian educational system in its history, one would proceed with a simplistic study of the situation.

Therefore, the first approach to the proposal of critical pedagogy lies in theorizing the curriculum from the postulates of the critical sciences. That is, adopting the emancipatory interest through coordinated action to eliminate social relations that degrade the dignity of those involved in them. This implies, at least, the active participation of teachers and students as main actors in the teaching-learning processes. But, as has already been pointed out, this perspective takes away the leading role of social scientists in elaborating proposals for the objectives and goals of education since they are not directly involved in the field.

The coordinated actions of the subjects involved in curriculum development are animated by the desire to transform social relations and make them fairer. In this sense, those who participate must assume an eminently participatory role, in the words of Carr and Kemmis (1988):

On the one hand, it means that bystanders who help establish processes of self-reflection in schools must become participants in the schools themselves; on the other hand, it means that school communities must become participants and see themselves as such, in a general social project by which education and educational institutions can be critically transformed within society at large (p. 171).

Therefore, the first idea that stands out in this thesis is teachers' active participation in the curriculum's construction. As a social elaboration, the curriculum must always be open to criticism and reflection by all the subjects involved. In this, language plays a fundamental role for intersubjective understanding. In summary, this proposal draws on the paradigm of Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action.

In the framework of a curriculum proposal, mediated by the paradigm of communicative action, Hoyos (2008) emphasizes that:

The communicational paradigm that we have been proposing for a discursive theory of education and pedagogy allows to articulate as a new form of humanism the different forms of knowledge in an activity, which by nature is communication, in the perspective of a democracy that realizes in the public sphere the communication capacity of human beings, such as civic competence (p. 21).

It is a question of not renouncing the Enlightenment project of modernity, which assigned to education the ideals of emancipation from chains, superstition and the authority of tradition. The maxims of equality, fraternity and liberty must still be in force in reflecting on the social role of education, and the curriculum must not renounce them. In short, the school should not turn its back, in its organization and teleological conceptualization, on the needs and urgencies of the surrounding society. Likewise, teachers and students should think of their role as actors called to coordinate their actions to eliminate forms of social relations that promote marginalization.

In short, critical pedagogy adopts the communicative action paradigm to rethink how the subjectivity of teachers and students is understood. This does not deny that, in the genesis of the Colombian educational system, the rationality imposed was instrumentalist, interested in manipulation for the service of governmentality. However, it is possible to establish a normative framework from which the work of teachers and students is configured.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The general purpose of this research has been to explain the discourses that built the imaginary around the subjectivity of teachers and students in the history of the Colombian educational system to reconfigure their pedagogical actions. To this end, the study started from the colonial period until independence to trace the different power devices that established the contours of what was



pronounceable, what was allowed, the truth concerning the role to be played by teachers and the object of discipline to which the students' bodies would be subjected. In this sense, the main conclusion of the research was that in most of the periods of Colombian history, instrumental rationality has predominated, which makes it necessary to propose epistemological alternatives in which it is possible to promote spaces of communicative rationality.

To this end, following the specific purposes, it is concluded that since the genesis of the Colombian educational system, pedagogy was used to legitimize the instrumentalization of the work of teachers and instruction was used to control the subjectivity and the body of students. In this sense, Foucault is right in identifying the intimate relationship between knowledge-power and the role of governmentality in legitimizing the discourses that establish the boundaries between the forbidden and the permitted, the pronounceable and the unspeakable, the good and the bad; in short, in instituting the order of things.

Whether one understands the work of the professors as that of the doctrinal priest, called to endow the godless Indian with a soul, or that of the pious man, who must transmit the logos to the uneducated peasant who does not speak Spanish, or that of the pure-blooded citizen, who has to instill the responsibility of work and trades to the growing mass of lazy youths that swarm the streets of the New Kingdom of Granada, or that of the patriot, who is obliged to instill in the imagination of the children the need to build citizenship in charge of forming the Nation. All of these are only examples of how power and knowledge have constructed the subjectivity of what should be understood by teachers and students. In short, instrumentalist logic has been the one that imposed the actions and relationships around the role that the educational system should play in Colombia.

However, although most of this diagnosis is agreed upon, this reflection often reveals the instrumental interests that governmentality has employed to subjugate the freedoms and autonomy of individuals. In general, it does not offer categories of emancipation and closes any possibility of transformation. Therefore, while sharing the diagnosis of archeological-genealogical studies, this research integrates the paradigm of the theory of communicative action as an alternative to rethink the role that teachers and students can play.

In this aspect, the pedagogical consequences of the Theory of Communicative Action were assumed. However, the predominance of instrumental reason in how teachers and students conceived was evidenced. The critical paradigm of society opens other types of conceptualization of rationality. Among them is the fact that subjects can coordinate their actions through autonomy. That is, actions that are oriented toward understanding the world of life. In this, at least two people capable of speaking understand each other about a problematic issue and can reach a consensus on how they will address the adversity. Thus, the result of this exercise is not the imposition of power devices or the utilization of individuals for private welfare. On the contrary, by achieving consensus, everyone involved can see themselves reflected in it.

One of the consequences of the above has been to make the curriculum detach itself from the reductionist axioms of positivism to achieve a reflection that can account for other types of human activities and actions. Not all student behaviors inside and outside educational institutions can be measured, calculated and quantified. Often, no internal logic can explain why a particular field of action was chosen and, much less, it is unacceptable that the subjects, from birth, are entirely determined to validate or sustain a social condition, especially when they become alienating or oppressive. That is why schools are called to subvert these conditions for others that dignify their members.

In conclusion, the pedagogical proposal derived from the Theory of Communicative Action lies in theorizing the curriculum from the postulates of the critical sciences. That is, adopting the emancipatory interest through coordinated action to eliminate social relations that degrade the dignity of the subjects immersed in them. This implies at least the active participation of teachers and students as main actors in the teaching-learning processes. However, as has been pointed out, this understanding of the educational phenomenon marginalizes social scientists from elaborating proposals, objectives and goals of education as long as their experiences are not contextualized in the contextual experiences of schools.



From this point of view, the research question asked: What were the discourses that built the imaginary of the subjects in the history of the Colombian educational system to reconfigure the pedagogical actions of teachers and students? The answer is that in different historical moments, especially in the period of the colony and independence, they configured the subjectivity of teachers and students. In this sense, it was highlighted that the first subject in charge of holding the role of the teacher in Colombia was the priest doctrine; while the first students were the soulless Indians. Likewise, it was pointed out that the legislation produced at the Council of Trent disrupted all church activities, redesigned educational concepts, deepened instructional techniques and initiated the control and training devices that the Bourbon reforms would implement.

However, it was the expulsion of the religious order of the Jesuits in 1767, when the state assumed control and complete legislation of the educational system, that took shape the discourse that demarcated teachers and students as subjects that were understood according to the juridical and political criteria that the crown would point out. From this moment on, teachers will not only respond to the moral criteria once assigned by the church but their activity will also be regulated, controlled and monitored by the devices of governmentality.

The period of independence did not differ from the previous one. Likewise, power controlled education for the instrumental purposes that the new political context demanded and teachers and students were involved in the same logic of control, surveillance and training. However, the great difference will be the concept of citizen that is assigned to education subjects during the period of the Republic. This ties men to a territory, subscribes them to a geographical environment and gives them the responsibility to defend the interests of the Nation even with their own lives.

Therefore, regardless of the historical period of the political or economic ideals that have assumed education as a means to their ends, the constant instrumentalization of teachers and students is evident. Instead of dissolving with time, this has deepened, perfected, and even regularized as the only way to understand and function. For this reason, it is necessary to rethink the epistemological foundations of pedagogy. In conclusion, it is necessary to conceive training from the criteria of the critical communication theory as a model of rationality to restructure the actions of the main actors of the educational system.

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